

Chapter 2

Theoretical Frameworks Conceptualizing Intergenerational Transmission of Child Maltreatment

2.1 Conceptualizing Intergenerational Transmission of Child Maltreatment

Since the 1960s, several major theories and frameworks have been used to explain child maltreatment, such as psychodynamic/psychopathology framework, Social Learning Theory, Attachment Theory, ecological models, strengths and resilience frameworks, and Social Information Processing Theory. These theories and frameworks have implications for the Intergenerational Transmission of Child Maltreatment (ITCM), and scholars have used them individually and in combination to examine ITCM. This chapter presents different theoretical frameworks that are useful in understanding ITCM along with some of the limitations.

2.2 Psychodynamic Models

Early research identified parental psychopathology as the cause of child maltreatment that needed to be treated psychiatrically (Ammerman 1990). There was little empirical support for this theoretical view and it was flawed with methodological issues. The model was criticized when studies showed that only a small percentage of maltreating parents actually experienced any psychopathological disorder (Kempe et al. 1985). However, some specific forms of parental psychopathology are risk factors for child maltreatment (Institute of Medicine and National Resource Council 2014). Maternal depression and anxiety have been associated with physical abuse and neglect (Brown et al. 1998). Antisocial personality disorders are also a risk factor (Belsky and Vondra 1989).

While ITCM research has not been driven by the belief that parental psychopathology causes child maltreatment, mental health variables have been

incorporated into studies. It has been argued that the consequences of child maltreatment such as mental health issues function as risk factors for the cycle of maltreatment continuing (Frias-Armenta 2002). Several studies found that depressive symptoms linked a history of child maltreatment and perpetrating child maltreatment (Banyard et al. 2003; Dixon et al. 2005a, b; Pears and Capaldi 2001; Thompson 2006). Dixon and colleagues (2005a) found parental mental illness/depression partially mediated ITCM. Jaffee and colleagues (2013) found the mothers in their study sample with a history of child maltreatment were more likely to have mental health problems, and those with a history of maltreatment who maltreated their children experienced more depression and antisocial behavior.

2.3 Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory is primarily concerned with an individual's learning through cognitive processes, modeling, and social observation (Bandura 1977). The basic principle is that humans can learn through observing models. Social Learning Theory provides a framework for understanding child maltreatment, especially in terms of its transmission across generations. For example, if a child experiences violence or maltreatment from a parent, the child learns that this is an acceptable interaction and may in turn imitate or exhibit similar behavior within similar and other situations. Behavior can also be reinforced through observation of rewards and punishments following the behavior. Social Learning Theory has been used to understand patterns of child maltreatment among individuals who have experienced abuse and/or neglect themselves as children. It is believed that children learn adaptive and maladaptive parenting practices from their own experiences of being parented. It could also be argued that the lack of a positive parenting model could cause a person to be unaware of necessary parenting skills to care for a child, potentially causing harm or neglect. The relationship between childhood history of abuse and the perpetration of abuse/neglect has been established; however, there is no causal link, and a history of abuse is not a necessary factor, nor is it the only factor. Social Learning Theory also fails to acknowledge many of the environmental factors that may shape parenting attitudes and contribute to child maltreatment and ITCM.

Studies examining ITCM both explicitly and implicitly incorporate Social Learning Theory. The transmission process is often implicitly based in Social Learning Theory. Studies may not necessarily cite Social Learning Theory, but they use terms that are consistent with Social Learning Theory such as "learned behavior" and "behavior modeling." However, some scholars explicitly ground their studies within Social Learning Theory (e.g., Marshall et al. 2011; Renner and Slack 2006; Widom and Wilson 2015).

2.4 Social Information Processing Theory

Social Information Processing Theory is concerned with all of the mental operations that are deployed to generate a behavioral response during social interaction. The theory seeks to understand how behavior results from peoples' understanding and interacting with their surroundings. The mental operations that are considered include selective attention to social cues, attribution of intent, generation of goals, accessing of behavioral scripts from memory, decision-making, and behavioral enactment. There are five stages that progresses where information is obtained and processed that ultimately leads to action. The stages are encoding, creating mental representations, response accessing, evaluation, and enactment.

Social Information Processing Theory has implications for understanding child maltreatment (Milner 1993, 2003). Specifically, researchers have examined social information processing as it relates to aggressive behavior of children who have been maltreated (Burks et al. 1999; Dodge et al. 1990) as well as their social adaptation (Price and Landsverk 1998). Studies have also used social information processing as the foundation of studies examining how parents perceive children's behaviors and attributes (Dadds et al. 2003; Montes et al. 2001). For example, Montes et al. (2001) compared mothers at low risk and high risk for child maltreatment and found evidence for social information processing of child physical abuse. They concluded that mothers in the two different groups processed information related to children differently and used more power-assertive discipline.

As Social Information Processing Theory has been used to examine both the outcomes of children who have been maltreated and parents who are at risk for maltreating their children, the theory can be seen as relevant to ITCM. When examining ITCM, Berlin and colleagues (2011) used Social Information Processing Theory to understand how we behave based on how we selectively attend to and respond to social cues. Berlin and colleagues (2011) conducted research to better understand aggression, child maltreatment, and ITCM through how individuals cognitively process social cues and act on their understanding of others and their behavior. Scholars believe that it is possible that children who experience physical maltreatment may be more likely to develop "biased patterns of processing social information" (Berlin et al. 2011, p. 164). Kim (2012) compares Social Information Processing Theory with Nisbett's Cultural Cognitive Theory and Turiel's Social-Cognitive Domain Theory to understand the role of culture in the inter-generational transmission of violence.

2.5 Attachment Theory

Attachment between a child and caregiver begins at birth when a child is completely dependent on the caregiver for survival and relies on the caregiver to provide consistent and responsive care. Through this process, an attachment is formed

between the child and the caregiver that is reciprocal in nature, where a behavior from one evokes a response from the other. For example, a hungry child cries and the caregiver responds either by meeting the child's needs or not. According to Attachment Theory, the attachment relationship which continues through the first years of a child's life serves as the template for future relationships and interactions in the social world (Bowlby 1982). Attachment security is the basis for a child's psychological growth and the development of mental representations that are subsequently applied to the child's current and future environment (Bowlby 1982). The attachment between caregiver and child becomes the foundation for the child to develop a sense of trust and security, a sense of self, and an ability to explore his/her environment (Ainsworth 1989; Bowlby 1982). When a secure attachment is not established between the caregiver and child, a child may develop an internal working model that reflects an inconsistency and unresponsiveness in others that translates into unrealistic expectations of others. The child may also experience adverse developmental consequences related to physical, behavioral, cognitive, and social functioning, such as aggressive behavior.

Attachment Theory helps us understand how individuals with a history of child maltreatment can experience various challenges related to interpersonal relationships, parenting, and psychosocial functioning in adulthood. Maltreated children may experience instability in the home, distant and inconsistent parenting, and inconsistent supervision and discipline. Children who have been abused and neglected tend to show insecure-avoidant attachment patterns and may experience difficulty in future intimate relationships (Baer and Martinez 2006; Crittenden 1992; Hildyard and Wolfe 2002). It might then be postulated that maltreated children who have experienced a dysfunctional attachment may then display similar attachment patterns with their children and others. Research has shown that parents who experienced childhood maltreatment may have inconsistent parenting patterns and the children of parents who have experienced maltreatment and poor attachment with their caregivers exhibit the same parenting behaviors, possibly placing their children at risk of maltreatment (Robboy and Anderson 2011).

Despite the relevance of Attachment Theory in understanding the experiences of maltreated children, methods in measuring and testing this theory have significant limitations. Youth and adults have a difficult time recalling their own attachment experiences as infants and young children, and most interactions between caregiver and child are experienced privately and are difficult to observe in a natural environment. Another limitation in the application of Attachment Theory to child maltreatment is that cultural differences are often not considered in experimental studies and/or when determining what constitutes 'normal' parent-child interactions. In addition, most of the research in attachment in the 1970s and 80s was conducted with mothers as caregivers with young toddlers and did not include fathers, grandparents, siblings, or other caring adults in the child's life.

Considering the importance of attachment and relationships as they relate to ITCM, measuring and documenting these patterns has been lacking in the ITCM research literature. An exception is Egeland and colleagues (1988) who used Attachment Theory in their examination of mothers who were maltreated as children

and found that those who received emotional support from a nonabusive adult during childhood were more likely than the mothers who did not receive emotional support during childhood to break the cycle of abuse. Zuravin and colleagues (1996) also examined attachment and found that parents who experience maltreatment as children and had poor quality attachments with their caregivers were more likely than those with quality attachments to maltreat their children. Lounds and colleagues (2006) provided one of the more comprehensive uses of Attachment Theory in their ITCM study through using video interactions between mother and child to assess parent–child attachment. More recently, Thornberry and colleagues (2013) examined parent–child attachment as a protective factor in ITCM, although there was no evidence that attachment served as a protective factor. Thus, there is some support for attachment playing a role in ITCM. While scholars have identified Attachment Theory as a construct that can help understand ITCM, empirical studies have not adequately applied the theory.

2.6 Ecological Models

The ecological perspective posits that humans are active in the developmental process and are constantly affecting and being affected by their environment (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris 2006). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model typically involves four types of systems that interact and contain distinct but related roles, norms and rules, each nested within the next, that influence development and behavior: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem. The nature of the parent–child relationship is dependent on the interaction between factors in the child's and the parents' maturing biology, the immediate family and community environment, as well as the social landscape.

In order to capture the multidimensional concepts of parenting, child maltreatment, and ITCM, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model is a helpful and commonly used framework to understand ITCM (e.g., Leve et al. 2015; Sidebotham 2001; Valentino et al. 2012). Within this context, the microsystem is the individual (as parent or child) and the individuals' resources and characteristics that impact parenting. For example, the parent's, in addition to the child's, disposition and temperament will influence parental functioning. The mesosystem refers to the individual's active interaction within microsystems or the connections between contexts. The exosystem includes the link between a social setting in which the individual does not have an active role, nor is it within the individual's immediate surroundings (Bronfenbrenner 1979). For example, the relationship between family experiences and school or church experiences is part of the mesosystem, while the exosystem includes support networks and influences as well as the social context to which the parent has been exposed. The mesosystem and exosystem consist of the immediate family and household, as well as the systems in which the individual and/or family are embedded. Finally, the macrosystem consists of larger cultural and societal influences with the individual being active in

interactions with the social network and establishing the norms within this group. The macro level influences on child maltreatment and parental attitudes include cultural beliefs, the media, racism, as well as educational and economic opportunities. Family circumstances such as socioeconomic status, lack of social support, and neighborhood factors associated with child maltreatment and ITCM may have a direct or indirect effect on parenting ability, and these circumstances can act as risks or protective factors.

Belsky's (1984) Process Model of Parenting uses an ecological perspective in describing the individual and environmental factors that contribute to parenting practices. The model proposes that parenting practices are multiply determined by and nested within (a) the parent, (b) the child, and (c) the larger socio-cultural context of the parent and child. In Belsky's (1984) model, parent characteristics include the parent's developmental history and personality. A mature and healthy personality and positive experiences of being parented as a child might elicit sensitive parenting characteristics. Child characteristics, such as behavior and temperament, can influence the quality and quantity of parental responses. Parents may also experience a certain degree of stress from sources in the social environment, such as work and/or marriage. Belsky (1984) believed that parental characteristics and positive social supports have more influence on parenting than do child characteristics. He noted, for example, that difficult infant temperament does not compromise the quality of parenting if the parent has adequate supports and resources.

The use of an ecological framework has proved to be helpful in developing a greater understanding of various social phenomena with its ability to incorporate multiple levels of influences and interactions. Critics, however, suggest that Bronfenbrenner's ecological model is extremely broad and very difficult to test, and that it is perhaps instead a meta-theory that can essentially be applied to any concept or issue. Despite this, ecological models are used to provide a more comprehensive and descriptive approach and guide to child maltreatment assessment and interventions.

It is difficult to examine child maltreatment and ITCM within the context of either the individual or the environment. Child maltreatment and ITCM cannot be fully explained by one or the other, and a more complete understanding emerges only when the interactions of multiple levels of individual and familial characteristics, and the environment are examined simultaneously. Some examples presented in the research on child maltreatment and the formation of parenting attitudes and practices with an ecological framework include earlier works of Belsky (1993, 1984) and Baumrind (1994). Baumrind (1994) used an ecological perspective to unearth the impact of the social context in child maltreatment, specifically highlighting the economic and cultural factors that affect the occurrence of child maltreatment. Sidebotham (2001) outlined explicitly how an ecological approach can be used to examine child maltreatment and ITCM. More recently, Li and colleagues (2011), Currie and Widom (2010), and Dubowitz and colleagues (2011) used an ecological framework in examining long term consequences of child abuse and neglect, protective factors among families at risk of child maltreatment, and identifying children who are at high risk of child maltreatment and ITCM. Kotchick and

Forehand (2002) also contend that the use of an ecological perspective allows us to conceptualize “parenting as a process...that will facilitate a more sensitive approach to interventions and public policies” (p. 256). An ecological perspective allows for a multidimensional approach to understanding parenting, child maltreatment, and ITCM and is most appropriate in guiding study’s research questions, methodology, and analysis.

2.7 Strengths and Resilience Frameworks

Human service professionals, social workers, and other helping professionals are often charged with assisting children and families in challenging situations. With the violence, oppression, poverty, and disease that many of the children and families face, it can be difficult to focus on strengths, the positive side of life, and how they are able to manage and overcome many of the challenges they face. However, it has been shown to be clinically beneficial for clients and professionals to focus more on strengths—individual, family, and community related positive attributes, skills, and accomplishments—instead of only managing the difficulties. As discussed in Chaps. 4 and 5, it is helpful for researchers and practitioners to study and acknowledge the risk factors associated with one’s condition and experiences. However, it is equally important to also acknowledge, focus on, and cultivate the protective factors and resiliency one possesses.

Similarly, in examining and understanding ITCM, in addition to understanding the risks associated with ITCM, we must continue to focus on the strengths associated with how and when ITCM does not occur. Oftentimes, individuals possess a number of individual, familial, and community strengths and resources that they draw on to help with breaking the cycle of ITCM. Several of the studies presented and discussed in this text do not explicitly identify a theoretical framework guiding their research; however, many identify risk and protective factors and examine their influence on ITCM (e.g., Brown et al. 1998; Berlin et al. 2011). For more of a discussion on risk and resilience factors associated with ITCM, see Chaps. 4 and 5.

2.8 Combination of Theoretical Frameworks

In examining ITCM, several scholars use a combination of theoretical frameworks to better understand the risk and protective factors as well as the pathways of ITCM. For example, Marshall and colleagues (2011) applied Attachment Theory, Social Learning Theory, and socioecological models to better understand the parent, family, and child factors that play a role in ITCM. Widom and Wilson (2015) combined Social Learning Theory, Attachment Theory, Social Information Processing, neurophysiological models, and behavioral genetics to guide their research. Ben-David and colleagues (2015) propose several theories to inform their

study, such as trauma and stress theories, psychopathology, and social learning theory. All of these scholars who grounded their studies in theoretical frameworks select variables and outcomes suggested not only by previous research, but also from theory.

2.9 Conclusion

Researchers and practitioners alike use a variety of theoretical frameworks in understanding human behavior, and in this case, the context and dynamics of ITCM. Using a theoretical framework helps guide our research and practice as well as helps to organize new and emerging ideas and knowledge. Several things can drive our choice of framework, such as experience, training, orientation, and research questions. It is helpful to be aware of how ITCM is being conceptualized, researched, and understood by others. Based on the framework used, intervention efforts can be structured differently. This chapter is not all encompassing, but presents a brief overview of many of the theoretical frameworks that have been used to better understanding ITCM.

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