PSYCHOSOCIAL CORRELATES OF CHILD ABUSE POTENTIAL IN MULTIPLY DISADVANTAGED ADOLESCENT MOTHERS

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This study had two aims: First to examine psychosocial correlates of child maltreatment risk, and second to assess the validity of the CAP Inventory (Milner, 1986) with multiply disadvantaged teenage mothers.

Method: Participants were 75 adolescent mothers who were wards of the Illinois child protection system. Mothers (aged 14–18) and infants participated in home-based psychosocial assessment of personal and parenting functioning. Group comparisons examined differences for mothers with elevated versus normal versus invalid CAP scores due to faking good.

Results: Findings indicated that abuse risk groups differed on emotional distress, social support satisfaction, reading achievement, and years of education, but not on parenting beliefs or quality of child stimulation. Differences favored the normal over the elevated risk group in all significant comparisons, whereas mothers with elevated faking good differed from normals only in lower reading achievement. Multiple regression analysis highlighted emotional distress, support dissatisfaction, and low achievement as significant predictors of greater abuse risk.

Conclusions: Despite sharing multiple disadvantages, adolescent wards are a heterogeneous group who show different levels of psychosocial functioning corresponding to levels of child maltreatment risk. The findings provide support for the concurrent validity and clinical applicability of the CAP Inventory with disadvantaged teenage mothers. © 2000 Elsevier Science Ltd.

Key Words—Child abuse potential, Adolescent mothers, Wards, Psychosocial factors.

INTRODUCTION

SINCE THE EARLY 1960s, teenage parenthood has provoked serious social and policy concerns, due to frequent evidence of negative educational, vocational, and social outcomes for young
mothers and their children (Brooks-Gunn & Chase-Lansdale, 1995; Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, & Chase-Lansdale, 1989; Hayes, 1987; Hofferth & Hayes, 1987). The quality of parenting by teenage mothers is likely to be compromised, in part because they experience at once the challenges of adolescence and first-time parenthood (McAnarney, 1988; Wekerle & Wolfe, 1993). Research reviews consistently have found that, compared to older mothers, teenage mothers are less verbally responsive to their children, less knowledgeable about childrearing, and provide less stimulating learning environments (cf. Brooks-Gunn & Furstenberg, 1986; Hans, Bernstein, & Percansky, 1991; Osofsky, Hann, & Peebles, 1993; Panzarine, 1988). The current research focuses on the intersection of early parenthood and another serious social morbidity: child maltreatment (Budd, Stockman, & Miller, 1998).

Many characteristics associated with perpetrators of child maltreatment (e.g., lack of education, single parenthood, poverty) also are true of adolescent mothers (Bolton, Laner, & Kane, 1980; Kinard & Klerman, 1980; Zuravin, 1988). This shared variance contributes to a common assumption that teenage mothers are more likely than older mothers to abuse their children. However, research investigating the association between maternal age and child maltreatment shows mixed and contradictory findings (e.g., Gelles, 1986; Kinard & Klerman, 1980; Massat, 1995; Miller, 1984; Stier, Leventhal, Berg, Johnson, & Mezger, 1993), suggesting that individual differences among adolescent mothers are important in determining child abuse risk.

The current study examined psychosocial correlates of child maltreatment risk in teenage mothers, all of whom were in substitute care of the state due to a history of abuse, neglect, or dependency in their families of origin. Research documents frequent unmet needs and adverse outcomes for youth in state wardship (e.g., Maluccio, Krieger, & Pine, 1990; McDonald, Allen, Westerfelt, & Piliavin, 1996); however, little is known about adolescent wards who are parents. Research with other adolescent mothers (e.g., Haskett, Johnson, & Miller, 1994; McCullough & Scherman, 1998; Nitz, Ketterlinus, & Brandt, 1995) confirms that, notwithstanding the prevalence of risk factors, individual differences exist in the teens’ personal and parenting characteristics. Child welfare workers are charged with conducting individualized assessments of adolescent wards to assist in service planning; however, practitioners acknowledge that, in reality, child welfare services to teens rarely are based on individualized, comprehensive assessments due to limitations in resources, trained clinicians, and valid assessment protocols (Stockman & Budd, 1997). The present research explored the hypothesis that child maltreatment risk in adolescent mothers within the child protection system would be associated with teens’ emotional adjustment, social support, parenting beliefs, and quality of child stimulation. Such differences would, in turn, support the clinical utility of child abuse risk screening with this population as one component of individualized assessment to facilitate identification, prevention, and intervention efforts.

Child maltreatment and the behavior patterns leading up to it typically occur in the privacy of the family setting, which makes assessment a complex task (Budd & Holdsworth, 1996; Milner, Murphy, Valle, & Tolliver, 1998; Wolfe, 1988). Professional interest in the development of risk assessment techniques is based on the premise that persons at elevated risk for child abuse or neglect can be identified and treated (Milner, 1991). Further work is needed to establish valid assessment procedures in the area of child maltreatment risk; however, one risk assessment tool that has been extensively evaluated and shown promising psychometric properties is the Child Abuse Potential (CAP) Inventory (Form VI) (Milner, 1986). The CAP Inventory’s primary purpose is to screen for physical child abuse; however, it also is advocated as a screening tool for individuals who are considered at risk for abuse based on other criteria (Milner, 1986, 1990). A growing body of research supports the concurrent and construct validity of the CAP Inventory (Milner, 1986, 1990, 1994). For example, CAP Inventory scores correlate positively with self-reported history of maltreatment (Miller, Handal, Gilner, & Cross, 1991), high levels of personal distress (Haskett, Scott, & Fann, 1995; Milner, Charlesworth, Gold, Gold, & Friesen, 1988), and an authoritarian parenting style as observed in direct parent-child interactions (Haskett et al., 1995). The CAP
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