Adolescent-to-Parent Violence and Abuse: Abused Parents' Accounts

Rebecca Bell

Title: **Adolescent-to-Parent Violence and Abuse: Abused Parents' Accounts**

By Rebecca Bell

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science by research

September, 2018

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

ADHD: Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder

APVA: Adolescent to Parent Violence and Abuse

CAMHS: Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service

CD: Conduct Disorder

DV: Domestic Violence

ODD: Oppositional Defiance Disorder

IPV: Intimate Partner Violence

Contents

Abstract

Adolescent-to-parent violence and abuse (APVA); is an adolescents utilisation of "a pattern of behaviour that uses verbal, financial, physical or emotional means to practice power and exert control over a parent" (Holt, 2013, p. 1). As well as causing psychological damage to the parent and child it is a growing social problem which is largely absent from within both academic and social policy domains (Miles & Condry, 2014). This study sought to contribute to existing literature by examining parents' accounts of APVA shared within online forums to identify themes of issues of significance to them via a thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006). Data comprised thirty-two archived message 'posts' written by twenty-three (71.8%) mothers, four (12.5%) fathers, and five (15.6%) step-fathers describing the abuse that they experienced by their adolescent (93.3% male, 13.3% female). Findings formed three themes; the 'emotional turmoil', the 'need to explain', and 'fractured relationships. The themes are discussed in relation to wider literature and recommendations for further study are suggested to address limitations.

1.0   Introduction

Domestic violence is a major public concern because of the emotional, psychological and physical effects. Since the 1960s, a focus on child welfare has raised awareness of child abuse and the 1970's 'Women's Rights Movement' has increased focus on Intimate Partner Violence; (IPV) (Peters & Wolper, 2018). However, an area of family violence that has received little attention is Adolescent-to-Parent Violence and Abuse (APVA); the perpetration of abuse and/or violence by adolescents towards their parents.

Adolescence can be viewed as a 'transitional' period in which conflict between an adolescent and their family can increase as they seek to gain greater levels of autonomy over their life choices (Edenborough, Jackson, Mannix, & Wilkes, 2008). APVA substantially differs from 'normative' adolescent 'conflict' during this transition marked by a clear distinction (Coogan, 2011), in which adolescents attempt to dominate, coerce, and control their parents (Tew & Nixon, 2010).

The perpetration of abuse and/or violence by adolescents against their parents represents an inverse of the typical power dynamics in the parent-child dyad and challenges conceptions of idealised views of family life (Moulds, Day, Mildred, Miller, & Casey, 2016).

The phenomenon was first cited as 'parent battering' by Harbin and Madden (1979) but has remained largely neglected in both academic and social policy domains until as recently as the last decade (Holt, 2013).

The purpose of this study is to further contribute to understanding this complex from of family abuse through an exploration of APVA parents' lived experiences. This report begins with a comprehensive review of current literature, outlining the statistical data of prevalence rates and demographic features before providing an evaluation of identified 'risk factors' and proposed theoretical explanations.

1.1   Definition and Terminology

The growing literature is fraught with varied terms and definitions which are often used interchangeably, ranging from; 'child-to-parent violence, child-to-mother violence, adolescent violence to parents or parent abuse' (McKenna, O'Connor & Verco. 2010, p.1).

Within the literature, adolescents have been referred to as 'perpetrators' to acknowledge their role in 'eliciting' the violence, and as 'offenders' (e.g. Contreras & Cano, 2014), which reflects the criminal implications of their behaviour. Similarly, APVA parents have been denoted as 'victims' to demonstrate their vulnerability and helplessness (Moulds et al, 2016). However, in contrast to other forms of domestic violence, within the context of APVA there is no clear distinction between 'victim' and 'perpetrator' as the abuse occurs within a cyclical nature in which 'victimisation' is a shared experience (Boxer, Gullen, Mahoney, 2009; Calvete, Orue, Gamez-Guadix & Bushman, 2015; Holt, 2013; Moulds et al., 2016; Routt & Anderson, 2011). A point which is subsequently explored in greater detail in section 1.8.4.1 'A cycle of violence'.

In 2001, Cottrell defined the abuse of parents by their adolescents as:

> '*a harmful act by a teenage child intended to gain power and control over a parent…where the abuse if physical, psychological or financial*' (Cottrell, 2001, p.3)

This definition was criticised for failing to provide a distinction between 'abusive' and 'normative' adolescent-to-parent conflict (Gallagher, 2004) and for failing to capture the cumulative nature of abusive behaviours (Holt, 2013). Subsequently, Holt (2013) defined the abuse as an adolescents' utilisation of:

> '*a pattern of behaviour that uses verbal, financial, physical or emotional means to practice power and exert control over a parent*' (Holt, 2013, p.1)

1.2   Prevalence

Prevalence rates are difficult to ascertain because of varied definitions, research methods and police recording criteria (Condry & Miles, 2013). Due to stigma and fear of penalisation from professional services, incidents are unlikely to be reported at all or until they have reached alarming levels (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Holt, 2013).

In the Pan European Project 'Responding to Child to Parent Violence' led by Dr Wilcox, researchers from the UK, Bulgaria, Ireland, Spain and Sweden, revealed prevalence ranged between 3 and 27 percent (Selwyn & Meakins, 2015), with as many as 1 in 10 families experiencing APVA (Stevenson, 2016).

Internationally, in Canada, Cottrell & Monk, (2004) estimated that between 9 and 14 percent of parents are physically assaulted by their offspring before the age of 18 at least once. In Australia 51 percent of mothers have reported experiencing APVA (Edenborough et al., 2008) and within the United States, in one of the largest studies, it was found that nearly a quarter (24%) of 'intimate partner offenders' had committed physical assaults against a relative, half of which (50%) had been parents (Snyder & McCurley, 2008).

Within the UK, ParentlinePlus; a parenting support helpline, revealed that they had a 20 percent increase in a two-year period of parents or carers experiencing abuse from their child (ParentlinePlus, 2010). Between 2009-10, the first large-scale study of official police data found that there had been 1892 reports of violence within that period reported to the Metropolitan Police by APVA parents (Condry & Miles, 2013). Most recently, in a study of 538 APVA families, including 53 percent of adoptive parents, found that 6 in 10 of the families reported experiencing daily attacks from their adolescent (Thorley & Coates, 2018).

1.3   The Abuse

Abuse is defined as a pattern of cruelty (Abuse [Def.2], 2018). Throughout the APVA literature, inconsistent operationalisations of 'abusive behaviours' have been employed creating difficulty in generalising findings (Simmons, McEwan, Purcell & Ogloff, 2018). For example, 'shouting' has been defined as 'verbal' (Straus & Fauchier, 2008) and 'psychological' (Calvete, Gamez-Guadix, et al., 2013) abuse.

'Verbal abuse', encompassing behaviours such as shouting or screaming, the use of derogatory and insulting terms and other offensive language is the most frequent form of abuse that APVA parents report experiencing (Holt, 2013).

It is important to consider the contextual nature of this abuse. Within APVA, verbal abuse refers to a 'pattern' of verbal aggression that is utilised by adolescents to challenge normative constructions of the hierarchy of power within the parent-child dyad (Holt, 2013). The abuse tends to begin in a verbal form before escalating onto alternative forms over time (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Eckstein, 2004; Holt, 2013; Jackson, 2003).

'Economic' abuse is also typically reported as emanating early in the abuse. It includes actions that cause a financial impact upon the parents; property damage, theft, demands of money and/or possessions, financial responsibility of fines and/or other costs. This abuse may be viewed as adolescents' exploitation of the financial responsibility of parents to provide for their offspring in Western cultures (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Holt, 2013).

'Emotional' abuse comprises behaviours such as intimidation, threats to harm self and/or others, deception, running away from home and withholding affection. Parents' report experiencing greater difficulty in enduring this form of abuse due to the all-encompassing effects (Holt, 2013).

'Physical' abuse is the least ambiguous form, comprising of actions including hitting, punching, kicking, slapping, spitting, pushing and the use of objects to cause harm. APVA parents have expressed their inability to manage physical attacks as their adolescent grows physically stronger (Holt, 2013).

APVA adolescents are found to also target other 'vulnerable' family members including younger siblings, grandparents and pets (Cottrell, 2001).

1.4   The Effects of APVA

Research has shown that parents suffer from both physical and mental health effects including anxiety, depression and suicidal feelings (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Holt, 2013; Patterson, 2002).

Parents' have disclosed their mixture of emotions ranging from fear, concern, helplessness, grief, guilt, betrayal, and resentment (Clarke, 2015; Cottrell, 2001; Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Haw, 2010; Holt, 2011; Kennair & Melor, 2007; Laing, 2014; Williams, Tuffin & Niland, 2017). They describe living in a state of constant surveillance, 'walking on egg shells' to avoid triggering further abusive episodes (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Edenborough et al., 2008; Haw, 2010; Holt, 2011) and the effects of the abuse are found to be far encompassing impacting upon all areas of the parents' lives including their relationships, employment and housing (Holt, 2013).

APVA has been found to negatively impact upon an adolescents' school attainment (Pagani et al, 2004) and their mental health, including increased risk of suicide attempts (Biehal, 2012; Paulson, Coombs, & Landsverk, 1990).

The adolescents have been found to exhibit greater potential for further offending (Laurent & Derry, 1999), including violence outside the home (Finklehor, Turner & Ormrod, 2006; Howard & Rottem, 2008) and the trajectory of violent behaviours in future romantic relationships (LaPorte, Jiang, Pepler & Cumberland, 2009; O'Leary, Malone & Tyree, 2004; Pagani et al, 2004, 2009).

1.5   Responses to APVA

APVA families have been found to attempt multiple strategies both within the home and externally, through frontline services to address the abuse.

1.5.1   Personal Responses

As within wider situations of family violence, APVA parents may accommodate, minimize, or forgive the 'perpetrator' because of the 'love' they feel for them (Moulds et al., 2016).

Parents have been found to initially challenge the abuse through the use of sanctions, attempts at reasoning with the adolescent, physical retaliation and severing contact, however if unsuccessful will then attempt to contain the situation which in turn further isolates them and places them in increasing danger (Holt, 2011).

Parents report little social support with friends and family often trivializing the abuse as an act of 'rebellion' or 'just a phase' (Stewart, Wilkes, Jackson, & Mannix, 2006), and often attributing blame to the parent(s), before turning to professional agencies such as schools, General Practitioners (GP), Social Services, and the Police (Parentline Plus, 2010).

1.5.2   Professional Responses

A number of practice guideline have been produced and have informed the construction and/or delivery of tailored interventions.

1.5.2.1 Legislation

Within recent years, there has been a significantly greater research focus on APVA which has informed practitioner responses and the establishment of intervention programs.

In the UK in 2013, legislation pertaining to domestic violence and abuse was amended to include coercive control and the legal age of accountability for these actions was lowered from 18 to include 16 and 17-year olds (Home Office, 2013). Two papers; The H.M Government (2014) 'A call to end violence against women and girls: Action plan, and the Home Office (2015) 'Information guide: Adolescent to parent violence and abuse were released to provide professional guidance.

Such developments are encouraging but have not gone far enough as abusive adolescents under the age of 16 are not included within the legislation and although statutory guidance has been constructed for professionals, there is yet to be any for the parents themselves (Clarke, 2015).

1.5.2.2 Intervention

Parents seek support from a vast range of 'frontline' services and organisations, often perceiving their GP as a 'gatekeeper' for access (Clarke, 2015; Holt, 2013).

Parents' have frequently described being discredited or disbelieved by professionals, deeming response services as ineffective, having been signposted to multiple agencies and having not met the 'high-thresholds' to receive assistance (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Holt, 2011).

Many APVA parents (80%) have endured the abuse for substantial periods of time before reporting it to the police (Howard & Abbott, 2013), however within the Criminal Justice System, a priority of the safety of the 'minor', coupled with the parents' legal responsibility for the 'child' and their reluctance to 'pursue' criminal 'charges' against their 'child', limit the viable options available (Routt & Anderson, 2011). This 'unresponsiveness' is symbolically perceived by the adolescents' as a lack of accountability from a lack of consequences for their abusive behavior (Williams, Tuffin, Niland, 2016).

Specifically tailored interventions have been designed and implemented in the US such as 'Step-Up', throughout Australia including; 'Breaking the Cycle', 'Who's in Charge' and 'Keeping Families Safe' and within the UK including; 'Break4Change', 'Do it Different', SAAIF (Stopping Aggression and Anti-Social Behaviour in Families), RYPP (Respect Young People's Programme), and NVR (Non-Violent Resistance) programmes that provide training and practitioner guidance and/or practical sessions for parents and/or their adolescents (Bonnick, 2018).

With the absence of a 'statutory' coordinated response to APVA the accessibility of the courses is somewhat of a 'postcode lottery', depending upon the family's geographical location and are also dependent upon the 'voluntary engagement' of the adolescent (Holt, 2013).

1.6   Theories of APVA

A number of theories have been utilised to explain APVA which although fail to provide a definitive explanation, may offer some insight when taken together (Brezina, 1999).

Research has demonstrated the multifaceted and interrelatedness of determinants on the individual, family and the community within APVA, thus a model that incorporates these multidimensional factors is essential in beginning to understand the contributions that each hold within APVA (Moulds et al, 2016).

Bronnfenbrenner's (1979) Social-Ecological Theory of risk factors for violent offending provides such a medium to provide a multi-factor model of interconnection between 'microsystem'; family environment and relationship factors, 'mesosystem'; peer friendships, 'exosystem'; subcultural elements, 'macrosystem'; wider cultural influences, and 'chronosystem'; environmental (in)constituency, and interaction with interpersonal socio-demographics features in APVA (Cottrell &

Monk, 2004; Holt, 2013; Hong et al, 2012; Simmons et al, 2017). Each of these factors' contribution to APVA are outlined below.

1.7 Intrapersonal Factors

A large body of existing literature has focused on identifying the demographic composition of adolescents who perpetrate abuse toward their parents including their cognitive, emotional and behavioural processing and behaviours.

1.7.1 Gender

APVA is a gendered phenomenon, with a large body of research suggesting that males are more likely than female adolescents to perpetrate abuse and/or violence toward their parents (Ibabe, Arnoso, & Elgorriga, 2014; Nock & Kazdin, 2002; Routt & Anderson, 2011; Walsh & Krienert, 2007). Although 'father-victims' and 'daughter perpetrators' have been identified (Condry & Miles, 2013; Holt, 2013; Pagani et al, 2009) it is typically sons' perpetrating the abuse and/or violence against their mothers (Cottrell & Monk; Edenborough, Jackson, Mannix & Wiles, 2008; Hong et al, 2012; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Laurent & Derry, 1999; Nock & Kazdin, 2002; Walsh & Krienert, 2007). Utilising Metropolitan Police data, Condry & Miles (2013) found that three-quarters (77.5%) of parents who reported their adolescent to the Police for violence against them were female and the overwhelming majority of adolescents were male (87.3%).

Gender differences have been found among the ways in which male and female adolescents perpetrate the abuse. In terms of physical aggression, boys have been found to exhibit higher rates against their parents compared to girls who are more likely to perpetrate psychological and verbal abuse (Bobic, 2004; Boxer, Gullan & Mahoney, 2009; Calvete et al, 2013; Calvete, Orue, & Gamez-

Guadix, 2015; Evans & Warren-Sohlberg, 1988 Gallagher, 2008; Nock & Kazdin, 2002; Walsh & Krienert, 2007).

It is important to note that the gendered asymmetry in APVA may reflect perceptual, reporting and apprehension biases (Embry & Lyons, 2012). For instance, abuse perpetrated against fathers is often misconstrued, frequently 'constructed as a 'fight' (Cottrell, 2001). However, the fact that throughout the literature, mothers are overwhelmingly the target of APVA may suggest that APVA reflects wider societal processes of gendered socialisation of patriarchal power (Edenborough et al, 2008; Ulman & Straus, 2003).

1.7.2 Age

There appears to be a general consensus among researchers that APVA typically occurs in adolescents aged between 14 and 17 years old (Holt, 2013; Howard, 2011; Pagani et al, 2004) although some have identified adolescents as young as 12 (Kennair & Mellor, 2007).

Adolescents aged between 12 and 17 are more likely to perpetrate APVA, with the use of physical aggression increasing with age (Kennair & Mellor, 2007). Cottrell (2001) found APVA adolescents were typically aged between 12 and 14 years old. Another study found prevalence highest in preschool aged children, with a third of 3-5 year olds, and a tenth of 14 to 17 year olds displaying violence to a least one parent (Ulman & Straus, 2003). The decline in aggression toward parents from toddlerhood has been confirmed in another study (Tremblay, 2007). Parents have retrospectively reported 'problematic' behaviour in children from five years old, but only began to acknowledge the behaviour as abusive during adolescence (Cottrell, 2001; Howard & Rottem, 2008).

APVA parents have been found to be aged between 41 and 50 years old (Condry & Miles, 2013; Kethineni, 2004; Nock & Kazdin, 2002; Routt & Anderson, 2011; Walsh & Krienert, 2007).

1.7.3   Antisocial behaviour

APVA typical occurs within a broader context of antisocial behaviour (Ibabe, 2014; Ibabe et al, 2013a; Jaureguizar et al, 2013; Pagani et al, 2003; Purcell et al, 2014; Ulman & Straus, 2003). Adolescents who perpetrate violence against their parents are more likely to associate with peers who behave similarly to their own parents (Cottrell & Monk, 2004), who are likely to endorse each other's behaviour and thus 'reinforce' it (Agnew & Huguley, 1989).

1.7.4   Psychological Factors

Research has identified cognitive and emotional risk factors in adolescents' who perpetrate violence toward a parent ranging from; poor emotion regulation and coping skills (Contreras & Cano, 2016b; Margolin & Baucom, 2014; Nock & Kazdin, 2002), low levels of empathy (McCloskey & Lichter, 2003), low self-esteem and self-confidence (Calvete et al., 2014; Ibabe et al., 2009; Ibabe et al., 2013b; Ibabe, 2014), limited impulse control and an external locus of control (Routt & Anderson, 2011), general feelings of unhappiness (McCloskey & Lichter, 2003), higher rates of depressive symptoms (Ibabe et al., 2014), and higher rates of self-harm and suicide attempts (Biehal, 2012; Kennedy et al., 2010; Paulson, Coombs, & Landsverk, 1990).

Approximately 39 percent of APVA adolescents have a diagnosable psychological disorder (Routt & Anderson, 2011). The most frequent diagnosis within the literature is Attention-Deficit-Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) (Biehal, 2012; Contreras & Cano, 2014a; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Purcell et al., 2014; Routt & Anderson, 2011). Conduct Disorder and Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) are also common diagnoses (Contreras & Cano, 2014a; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Purcell et al., 2014). A

diagnosis needs to be taken with caution as the occurrence of APVA may be used as a 'determining' feature of the disorder (Simmons et al., 2018).

1.7.5 Substance Misuse

Substance use has been frequently cited as a source of conflict within the APVA literature (Calvete, Orue & Gamez-Guadix, et al., 2013; Ibabe et al., 2013b; Pagani et al, 2004; Purcell et al, 2014; Stewart et al 2006). Disputes over an adolescent's substance abuse (Kennair & Mellor, 2007) and their financial demands to 'purchase' substances (Holt, 2013) have been cited as a cause of verbal and psychological APVA directed at both mothers and fathers (Calevete et al., 2015; Pagani et al., 2004; Pagani et al., 2009). The relationship between substance use and physical APVA is mediated by gender, demonstrating a positive association when directed at fathers (Ibabe et al., 2013b; Pagani et al, 2009) but not for mothers (Ibabe et al., 2013).

1.8   Microsystems

The interpersonal context in which APVA occurs is central in gaining an understanding of the multifaceted, interwoven factors of the phenomenon. An exploration of the adolescents' microsystem; the quality of their familial relationships, may highlight problematic relational patterns, that can inform targeted interventions (Simmon et al., 2018).

Gelles and Straus (1979) assert the 'dynamics' of the family environment; the concentrated periods spent together, the investment and commitment made between members, and the private nature, with lack of official 'interference' or regulatory 'controls', places the family as the most violent of all institutions.

1.8.1 Family Structure

Findings are disparate for the composition of APVA families with some studies demonstrating a higher prevalence in single parent families (Contreras & Cano, 2014; Hunter, Nixon & Parr, 2010; Ibabe, Jaureguizar & Diaz, 2009; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Pagani, Larocque, Vitaro & Tremblay, 2003), 'step-families' (Routt & Anderson, 2011) and others in two-parent families (Nock & Kazdin, 2002).

It has been posited that it is not the occurrence of separation/ divorce or the resulting lone parenting as entities within themselves that contribute to APVA, but their associated concomitants; conflicts over custody, financial difficulties and general restructures within the family; the adjustment to single-parenthood, increased responsibility for the adolescent(s) and reduction of social support for the family (Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Pagani et al, 2003). The lack of emotional and physical support from parenting alone is posited to inhibit the ability in recognising incidents of abusive behaviour as emerging abuse (Cottrell & Monk, 2004)

APVA mothers have discussed the impact of an 'absent father' within the abuse, citing a lack of a 'male-role' model for their adolescent as a contributing factor (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Downey, 1997; Edenborough, et al., 2008; Laing, 2014; Stewart et al., 2007; Williams, Tuffin & Niland, 2017).

The number of children within APVA families has also been explored with some findings suggesting its occurrence as higher among smaller families with one or two children (Contreras & Cano, 2014; Kethineni, 2004), in which the eldest sibling is most likely to perpetrate the violence and/or abuse (Contreras & Cano, 2014)

1.8.1.1 'Mother Blaming'

Goodwin and Huppats (2010) argue that 'Womanhood' and 'motherhood' are "synonymous identities and social categories" (ibid, p.3) and that ideologies of mothering are historically and socially

influenced to form a social construct; a conventional set of rules of the roles, norms and values, which are internalised by mothers of the feelings and behaviours a mother 'should' attain and enact. Mothers are also seen as the natural caregivers of their children, by way of a 'biological imperative' (Goodwin & Huppats, 2010), and as such are subjected to higher levels of scrutiny than fathers, when they fail to live up to the idealised norms (Jackson & Mannix, 2004; Holt, 2013).

The socially desirable concept of 'Intensive mothering' is espoused within Western cultures, in which mothers are socially expected to be fully devoted to the care of their children, in favour of their own needs and assume sole responsibility for this (Hays, 1996).

Weingarten, (1994) states that a culture of 'mother blaming' results from the 'good mother', 'bad mother' dichotomy which is established through social constructions of 'right' and 'wrong' parenting practices. A 'good mother' is one whom is able to nurture her children to prevent the development of problems, or who is able to remedy any issues. A mother who cannot is thus scrutinised as a 'bad mother' (Peterson et al, 2002). Mothers that fail to live up to these conceptions are viewed as an impaired mother who is either unable or unwilling to provide her caregiving duties (Johnson & Ferguson, 1990).

Mothers who fail to meet these high expectations of motherhood display higher levels of maternal guilt and stress and lower self-efficacy (Henderson et al, 2016; Meeussen & Van Laar, 2018). A stronger sense of blame is attributed to those mothers who fall within the 'deviant discourse of mothering' (Arendell, 2000) such as lone, working, and /or lesbian mothers (Walls, 2007).

Throughout the APVA literature, parents, particularly mothers, are held responsible for their adolescents' behaviour, despite the circumstances of that relationship (Barnett, 2011; Bobic, 2004; Holt, 2013). 'Blame' is often attributed to mothers (Edenborough, et al., 2008; Holt, 2013; Jackson & Mannix, 2004; Laing, 2014) for the abuse, viewed as a product of ineffective parenting.

When examining demographical information of APVA parents it is central to avoid parent-blaming as this will reinforce stigma, reassert parents' feelings of guilt from 'personal blame', and further increase their isolation (Bobic, 2004; Gallagher, 2004a,b; Holt, 2013; Moulds et al., 2016).

1.8.2   Parenting Style

Baumrind (1991) defined four parenting styles. The 'authoritarian' style is characterised by high levels of authority and punishment and low levels of responsiveness; 'warmth' or 'supportiveness'. 'Authoritative' parents exhibit high levels of warmth and support alongside their authority. The 'indulgent' style is characterised by permissiveness and indulgence. These parents are warm and supportive toward their offspring and are undemanding. Lastly, 'uninvolved' parents are both permissiveness and neglectful, they display low levels of warmth, support and authority to their children.

A permissive parenting style has been associated with APVA (Cottrell, 2002; Calvete et al, 2015; Kennair & Mellor, 2007; Tew & Nixon, 2010). Some authors have stated that this type of parenting produces an over-inflated sense of self-worth and entitlement which the adolescent then utilises to exert power and gain control over a parent (Gallagher, 2004a). Whilst others have argued that similar to a neglectful parenting style (Pagani et al, 2004) an adolescents' frustration may arise from the absence of clearly defined roles and boundaries within the parent-adolescent dyad (Calvete et al, 2015).

Authoritarian parenting has also been associated with APVA (Calvete et al, 2011; Gallagher, 2004; Ibabe et al, 2013; Ibabe & Bentler, 2016; Pagani et al, 2004; Robinson et al, 2004). It has been posited that these parents may continue to rigidly control their offspring thereby inhibiting their development of independence in turn creating feelings of humiliation and resentment (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

Permissive and authoritarian parenting styles may result from a sense of helplessness that can develop as parents develop a perception that they have 'lost control' to their child. A 'cycle' can follow as the

parent becomes 'inactive' due to depressive symptoms (Holt,2013) and the adolescents' abuse can increase in severity as they both 'gain greater control' and 'lose respect' for their parent (Gallagher, 2004a).

Authors have argued that parenting styles alone are unreliable predictors of APVA (Calvete et al, 2011; Ibabe et al, 2013). Simmons et al (2018) suggest that it would be more useful to examine the association between APVA and specific parenting practices or 'techniques' or the quality of interactions in the parent-child dyad, than general parenting styles. They draw on findings of the interaction between parents' forms of 'discipline' and gender. Specifically, parents' use of verbal punishment predicted verbal APVA in both male and female adolescents' which they state are indicative of a 'social learning' mechanism. However, adolescents' perpetration of physical APVA was only significantly predicted by parental verbal and physical punishment in the case of mothers. It was also found that less supervision significantly predicted adolescents' verbal and physical APVA toward mothers and not fathers (Pagani et al, 2004; Pagani et al, 2009). The authors attribute these findings to gender roles within industrialised societies in which mothers are more typically primary caregivers and as such their lack of supervision may reflect latent, broader variables compared with fathers. They also posit that children may be less likely to assault their father due to his physical size and through fear of retaliation (Simmons et al, 2018).

A lack of parental warmth characterised by limited affection and support and negative communication styles is associated with APVA (Calvete, Gamez-Guadix & Orue, 2014; Gamez-Guadix et al, 2012; Calvete et al, 2015). This has been associated with narcissistic traits including grandiosity, proposed to emanate as an 'overcompensation schema' for maladaptive parenting i.e. ineffective support, affection and communication, which have been found to be a predictive factor for APVA in both male and female adolescents (Calvete, Gamez-Guadix & Oure, 2014).

1.8.3 Attachment

The quality of early childhood attachment shapes an individual's internal working model; a schema of oneself, others and their world (Bowlby, 1969). When parents' are emotionally unavailable, neglectful or rejecting, a child will develop an insecure attachment, which will negatively impact upon their self-esteem and emotion-regulation skills and will induce an expectation of loss and rejection (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Accordingly, a number of contextual factors with the APVA literature have been cited to explain their influence upon the relationship between parent and child. As previously outlined, the concomitants of divorce; a 'dysfunctional environment' (Pagani et al., 2003), subsequent single parenthood (Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010) and parental conflict in addition to the financial implications of divorce are posited to create strain and thus impact upon the quality of parent-child attachments due to external strain and emotional unavailability (Cottrell & Monk, 2004).

A number of studies have examined the association between APVA and 'qualities' of attachment including the degree to which adolescents felt 'in agreement' with (Peek et al, 1985), 'close and accepted' by (Agnew & Huguley, 1989), and 'emotionally rewarded' by (Paulson et al, 1990) their parents.

The concept of 'mattering'; the extent to which adolescents' feel they matter within their family has been cited as a risk factor within APVA. When adolescents' believe they are unimportant they can feel shame and frustration, concluding that there are no risks within conflict with parents as their relationships are already fractured whilst subsequently viewing conflict as holding the benefit of restoring their self-concept (Elliott et al., 2011).

Conversely, conducive family environments characterised by positive adolescent-to-mother relationships have been correlated with low levels of both verbal and physical abuse within this dyad (Pagani et al, 2003) in addition to both parents (Ibabe et al, 2013; Jaureguizar et al, 2013; Pagani et al, 2003).

The quality of the parent-child attachment and parental discipline strategies has a bidirectional effect on APVA in that parenting behaviour effects the child's behaviour, and this in turn, influences the child's violent behaviour, which then impacts upon their relationship with their parent (Ibabe & Bentler, 2016).

However, inconsistent measures and operationalisations have prevented the comparison and generalisability of findings onto existing models of attachment and between studies (Holt, 2013; Simmons et al, 2018).

1.8.4 Family Violence

Exposure to family violence as a variable in APVA from a nested ecological model would typically be framed as a historical personal factor. However, research suggests that its occurrence is ongoing within familial relationships, thus within this context it is to be viewed as a familial factor (Simmons et al, 2018).

Consistent findings have been found between forms of witnessing and experiencing family violence and APVA perpetration directly (Ibabe, Jauregizar & Oscar, 2009; Routt & Anderson, 2011). In a three-year study, exposure to family violence; child abuse, Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and/or violence between siblings, in year one was found to directly predict adolescent violence toward parents in year three (Calvete, Orue, Gamez-Guadix & Bushman, 2015).

1.8.4.1 A cycle of violence

The concept that those who have experienced and/or witnessed abuse during childhood will then go on to perpetrate similar behaviours in the future; the 'Cycle of Violence' Theory (Chauhan & Widom, 2014) has been utilised to explain inter-generational transmission of violence within the family (Holt, 2013). Indeed, a breadth of literature has been produced to support this assumption, demonstrating associations between differing forms of family violence including links between childhood abuse and later sibling abuse (Laurent & Derry, 1999; Tidefors et al, 2010), and IPV (e.g. Boxer et al, 2010; Kennedy et al, 2010; Swinford, DeMaris, Cernkovich, & Giordano, 2000; Widom, Czaja & Dutton, 2014) in addition to a co-occurrence of child-abuse and APVA (Boxer et al, 2010; Brezina, 1999; Browne & Hamilton, 1998; Cornell & Gelles, 1982; Ibabe, Jaureguizar & Bentler, 2013; Stith et al, 2000; Ullman & Straus, 2003).

Social Learning Theory (Bandura et al, 1961) providing the theoretical underpinnings of the intergenerational transmission of violence, supports the 'operant conditioning' of 'vicarious learning that is posited to occur in these processes and significant associations have been evidenced in the transmission of violence in sons who had witnessed their Father perpetrate violence toward their Mothers to then perpetrate APVA against their Mothers themselves. These adolescents were also found to justify their behaviour, claiming that they had acted in self-defence (Sampedro, Calevete, Orue & Gamez-Guadix, 2014). Such an assertion may be understood in Paterson's (1982) Coercion Theory which suggests that in incidents of APVA, adolescents violence is intended to act as a means of deterrence against ill-treatment by family members. General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992) supports this by stating that delinquency, in all forms serves an instrumental function for adolescents in response to environmental stresses (Brezina, 1999).

Social Learning Theory is heavily criticised for its simplicity and subsequent lack of applicability outside of the laboratory. It also fails to account for the mediating effect of gender found within a number of studies of the association between witnessing interparental violence and APVA directed at Mothers, not Fathers (Ullman & Straus, 2003) or that this was only significant in the case of adolescent sons (Carlson, 1990; Boxer et al, 2009).

In this sense it may be more helpful to draw upon 'Cycles of Violence' as a means to understand the processes in which 'values' and 'attitudes', as a pose to a single focus on behavioural aspects, are transmitted through generations (Holt, 2013). However, the largely deterministic nature of this theory may in turn pathologize individuals who have experienced domestic abuse. Indeed, only a weak to moderate effect size has been found for the transmission (Stith et al, 2000) and the majority of adults who have witnessed violence during childhood do not become violent (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000; Leach, Stewart & Smallbone, 2016).

1.8.4.2 The Family Systems Model

The Family Systems Model (Bowen, 1978) provides a useful framework to conceptualise the influence of an individual's behaviour through considering the effects of their broader environments. Utilised to inform therapeutic practice, the model views family members as inextricably associated "to one another at individual, dyadic, systemic, and international levels" (Erdem & Safi, 2018, p. 470).
As such, it is well suited to Bronfenbrenner's Social-Ecological Theory (1979), which positions behaviour as emanating from a level broader than the individual (Kazak, Simms, & Rourke, 2002).

The Family Systems Model has been proposed to explain the processes enacted within families to maintain 'symptomatic behaviour' through the reoccurrence of family sequences across five 'levels'. In the first, family relationships become centred upon the violence either in its attempts to become excessively 'involved' or 'distant' from the APVA. This results in a 'symptom maintaining pattern' from

the isolation that ensues as the family withdraw from social interactions and interests as they dedicate themselves to the violent adolescent. The 'labelling' of the adolescent as 'troubled' or 'disturbed' then defers the family's attention from their own role in the violence, thus maintaining the cycle. A number of perceptual biases about the APVA held among the family members are reinforced by one another and distract attention from the adolescent thereby further increasing their feelings of isolation. Finally, the family ignore their personal feelings toward the APVA in order to avoid further conflict and preserve their familial relationships (Micucci, 1995).

1.8.4.3 Parallels and Distinctions between APVA and IPV

APVA behaviour shares many parallels with Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). Within both instances, notions of 'power' are abused through 'tactics of control' (Hunter, Nixon & Parr, 2010) resulting in immediate as well as long term detrimental effects for all parties involved. These including feelings of fear, guilt and hopelessness which frequently result in withdrawal from social support, in addition to health and employment difficulties (Holt, 2009; 2013).

APVA parents are frequently found to employ metaphors akin within wider domestic violence (DV) literature such as 'walking on eggshells' and 'behind closed doors' when describing the abuse they experience from their adolescent (Clarke, 2015; Cottrell & Monk, 2005; Edenborough, 2012; Holt, 2011; 2015).

Moreover, in both types of violence there is a largely gendered orientation with the 'perpetrators' being predominately males and the 'victims' females (Condry & Miles, 2013; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Edenborough et al, 2008; Hunter, Nixon & Parr, 2010 Holt, 2013; Pagani et al, 2004; Walsh & Kreinert, 2007; Wilcox, 2012).

However, unlike IPV cases, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between 'victim' and 'perpetrator in cases of APVA. Although IPV abuse may have resulted in coexisting feelings of fear and dependency within the 'victim' upon the 'perpetrator', within APVA the parental responsibilities morally and legally hold parents to their offspring despite the circumstances of that relationship in turn placing the

'victimised' parent accountable and indeed prosecutable for their 'abuser' adolescent's behaviour in the form of 'parenting orders' (Hunter, Nixon & Parr, 2010; Wilcox, 2012).

The double victimisation experienced by these parents is further exacerbated by a culture of victim blaming and associated stigma of bad parenting arising from a contradiction in expected power relations between parents and their adolescents (Edenborough et al, 2008). The negative perceptions of which are likely to be internalised (Bruel & Eckstein, 2016).

1.9   Exosystem Factors

Exosystem factors occur within a broader structural level of society, connecting the individual to their wider community (Simmons et al., 2018).

1.9.1   *Ethnicity*

APVA is found to occur across the globe with reports spanning throughout Europe, South America, Australia and parts of Asia (Holt, 2013).

Some data from Western cultures have found APVA to be more common among Caucasian families ranging from 59 percent (Miles & Condry, 2013) to as high as 78 percent (Walsh & Krienert, 2008). However, research within this area has not produced consistent differences in the ethnicity of APVA families (e.g. Holt, 2015; Wilcox, 2012).

The community literature consistently reports APVA is most common among Caucasian families (Elliot et al, 2011; Lyons et al, 2015; Stewart et al, 2006). An over-representation of Afro-Caribbean adolescents drawn from criminal data (Condry & Miles, 2014; Routt & Anderson, 2011) has been posited as a reflection of potential biases within the wider Criminal Justice System (Condry & miles, 2014; Simmons et al, 2017).

1.9.2   Socioeconomic Status

There are inconclusive findings regarding the socioeconomic status of families experiencing APVA. Some studies have found higher prevalence among families of a lower stratification status (Cottrell & Monk, 2004), others depicting greater prevalence among middle and upper class families (Gallagher, 2004; Kennair & Mellor, 2007; Nock & Kazdin, 2002; Paulson et al, 1990), some finding its occurrence across all socioeconomic statuses (Calvete et al, 2011), and others finding no significant differences (Boxer et al., 2009).

The inconsistent findings suggest that APVA occurs within families across the socioeconomic spectrum (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Kennair & Mellor, 2007).

1.9.3   School Engagement

Throughout associated literature, APVA adolescents display greater levels of aversion to authority figures within school (Ibabe et al., 2014; Routt & Anderson, 2011), and lower levels of engagement with their education (Ibabe, 2016). APVA adolescents have also been found to have higher rates of learning difficulties (Ibabe et al., 2009; Ibabe et al., 2013a) with as many as half (52%) of adolescents' being found to display school adaption difficulties including learning difficulties and disruptive behaviour (Ibabe, Jauregizar & Oscar, 2009).

A child's general conduct within schools from a young age has been found to predict later perpetration of APVA. In a longitudinal study following Canadian youth from kindergarten (M=6.15yrs) through to mid-adolescence (M=15.7yrs), early childhood demonstrations of 'disruptive' behaviour, as rated by their teachers, was shown to predicted physical aggression toward mothers during adolescence (Pagani et al., 2003).

1.10   Macrosystem Factors

To the author's knowledge, no study today has investigated cross-cultural differences in adolescent-to-parent abuse and violence.

1.11   Current Research Methods

In recent years a number of studies, outlined below, have begun to approach the subject from a qualitative stance to enable a 'deeper' understanding of the lived experiences of APVA families.

Holt (2011) explored parents' experiences of APVA that had been shared on online support forums as this method provided the anonymity to fully share experiences with individuals experiencing similar situations with their teen(s). Data was analyzed via a 'discourse analysis' and findings formed three themes; the 'emotional terrain' depicting two main feelings of 'fear of the future' and 'parental guilt'. The second theme; the 'psychologicalisation of the adolescent as a perpetrator' in which two recurring metaphors; a 'lit-fuse' or a 'Jekyll-and-Hyde' personality were adopted. The final theme; 'parental responses' was divided between experiences of conflict-resolution strategies that had been employed at home and perceptions of involvement from external agencies (Holt, 2011).

Via an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) of interview data with parents experiencing abuse from their adolescent, Laing (2014) identified three superordinate themes. Parents' described the 'emotional rollercoaster' of their feelings of unconditional love through to resentment for their teen, they disclosed the 'blame' that they felt for themselves, and the fear of and their experiences of blaming from others, and they inferred the 'fathers responsibility' in the abuse with regards to the impact of a male role model.

In another study, during semi-structured interviews, IPA revealed three similar superordinate themes; 'tensions'; resisting violence and wanting to parent and love their child unconditionally whilst simultaneously feeling the need to physically and emotionally distance themselves. 'Ambiguities'; regarding the acceptability, seriousness and aetiology of the abuse and uncertainty of own and others

identity. 'Managing the harms'; the varied coping strategies utilised ranging from medical intervention, minimization, through to peer and professional support (Clarke, Holt, Norris & Nel, 2016).

More recently, an IPA study conducted in New Zealand with mothers and grandmothers revealed what the authors concluded to be contributing factors accountable for silencing APVA parents. These were the 'emotional bloody roller coaster' which evidenced the mothers/grandmothers conflicting feelings towards their abusive adolescents' spanning from unconditional love to feelings of hatred. The theme 'Judgement: 'I felt more judged by myself' depicted parents feelings of self-blame, guilt and judgement felt from others. The final theme; 'Absent Fathers: 'That boy stuff. That man stuff' centered upon the parents' perceptions of the relevance a lack of a male 'role model' within the adolescents' abuse towards them (Williams, Tuffin & Niland, 2017).

1.12   Rationale

Until as recently as the last decade, there has been limited research into the phenomenon of APVA (Holt, 2013), and this research has been primarily quantitative in nature, focusing on the identification of determinants at the individual and/or familial level, such as the behavioural and emotional characteristics of the APVA adolescent (Calvete, Orue & Gamez-Guadix, 2012), family profile (Contreras & Cano, 2014), quality of family relationships (Ibabe & Bentler, 2016), previous history of domestic violence (Ibabae, Jaureguizar & Bentler, 2013), parenting styles (Calvete, Orue & Gamez-Guadix, 2013), and reciprocity patterns within the APVA adolescent-to-parent dyad (Bartle-Haring, Slesnick & Carmona, 2015).

The failure to contextualise such 'risk factors' within the wider Social-Ecological Systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) in which the APVA families exist, fails to acknowledge the complex bidirectional interactions between the individual at the 'dyadic, systemic, and intergenerational levels' (Erden & Safi, 2018, p. 470). In doing so, such families are conceptualised as in some way flawed, having not met societal expectations of 'normative family ideals' (Brule & Eckstein, 2016; Moulds et al, 2016),

and therefore at 'fault' and are stigmatised (Holt, 2013). The associated stigma silences disclosure, which increases isolation and further exasperates the abuse (Holt & Retford, 2013).

A limited body of research (e.g. Clarke, Holt, Norris & Nel, 2016; Holt, 2011; Laing, 2014; Williams, Tufflin & Niland, 2017) has explored APVA qualitatively, enabling an in-depth exploration of intra and interpersonal processes through the lived experiences of APVA families (Krahn & Eisert, 2000).

APVA parents have frequently been found to search for guidance and support online (Bonnick, 2010). However, only one study (Holt, 2011) has utilised this rich data source.

This study aimed to replicate Holt's (2011) online forum data collection method, supported by interview data, in order to continue the momentum within recent years of moving beyond typically employed quantitative, descriptive techniques within the field, to enable a richer understanding of the phenomenon of APVA through the exploration of APVA parents' lived experiences, and the identification of issues of significance to them.

The purpose of this study was not to ascertain facts or identify correlates, but to initiate dialogue, awareness, and understanding. It aimed to contextualise APVA parents' experiences within the multidimensional Social-Ecological Theory model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to demonstrate the interrelatedness of the individual, family, and community and APVA (Hong et al, 2012; Simmons et al, 2018). Specifically, it sought to address the following research questions:

1. What are parents' experiences of the abuse directed at them by their adolescent?
2. How do parents' conceptualise the abuse?
3. How do parents' present their experiences?
4. In what ways do the parents' address the abuse?

5. What, if any, professional support have parents received?

6. If so, do their experiences differ in light of the aforementioned legislative and practice guidelines advancements?

2.0   Methodology

2.1   Methodological approach and research design

The methodological approach or epistemology relates to the stance or theoretical approach underlying a research project.   In order to gain an understanding of the meanings of participants various epistemological positions were considered.

 'Constructivism' has been used an umbrella term for the postmodern epistemological positions of 'Constructivism' and 'Social Constructionism' (Charmaz, 2000; 2006; McLeod, 1996). Both epistemologies are concerned with the processes by which social phenomena are constructed and interpreted by having being given meaning to, through those whom exist within the phenomena itself.

From a Constructivist perspective, a single reality does not exit. But rather, multiple versions of reality coexist as what constitutes reality is unique to the individual having been constructed through their individual interpretations or 'constructions', of their individual experiences (Appel, 2011). In this sense, Constructivism departs from typical Postmodernism through the espousal that all constructions of reality are viewed as of equal validity providing that that the "narrative works in a particular context (Doan, 1997, p.131 in Appel, 2011)".

Social Constructionism accepts that multiple accounts of reality exist, however, acknowledges the contextual influences in which an individual constructs their reality. 'Meaning' evolves through interpersonal processes of interactions with others' versions of reality which are shaped by the political, historical and social context in which they occur (Hoffman, 1990).

Language is the medium through which interaction takes place and shared meanings are established (Van Niekerk, 2005). Language systems are dictated by a specific social context thereby directing the 'discursive resources'; the corpus of vocabulary, and the function and meaning of words, ultimately restricting one's worldview within these confines (Appel, 2011). 'Meaning' therefore is constructed from a 'community of voices' that are founded upon its members socially constructed set of norms

and values to form a socially shared understanding (Georgaca & Avdi, 2012). It is thus argued, from a Social Constructionist perspective, that those who hold social or political 'power' within the community direct 'dominant discourses' that produce 'Grand Narratives' (Appel, 2011) which dictate interpretation and meaning making and in doing so, marginalise, subjugate and pathologise those for whom their interpretations of reality fall outside of the dominant discourse (Van Niekerk, 2005).

A Social Constructionist approach seeks to understand the ways in which individuals use language to establish meaning from their experiences whilst acknowledging the constraints of the social context and the effects this places upon the available lexicon and subsequent subjugating effect of discourses. Thus, Social Constructionists resolve to deconstruct the realities of marginalised groups of society by attending to the ways in which their realities or 'stories' are related to that of the 'Grand Narratives' of the dominant community (Van Niekerk, 2005).

Narratives of 'good' and 'bad' mothering (Paterson et al, 2002; Weingarten, 1994), for instance, need to be considered within context due to the large body of research demonstrating the degree to which environmental conditions negatively impact upon parenting capacity. In decontextualizing conceptualisations of parenting, blame is attributed to the individual; parents' who fail to adhere to the dominant discourse with their community, rather than being constructed as a reflection of a wider social problem (Gillies, 2005 in Geinger, Vandenbroeck & Roets, 2013). Moreover, these conceptualisations situate such individuals within a subject position which affects both their subjectivity and constructions of reality, and others' responses to them. Such as in the conceptualisation of 'damaged' women in need of 'treatment' who are 'survivors' of domestic abuse (Timberlake, 2015, p.48).

As previously stated, the Social-Ecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) provides a framework for ascertaining how individuals' construct knowledge at the micro level; through their intra and interpersonal relationships, as informed by the shared symbols and beliefs systems ascribed at the macro level (Henderson & Baffour, 2015).

A Social Constructionist epistemological position will guide this research, influenced by the Social-Ecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) therefore acknowledging both the APVA parents' and adolescents' as encapsulated within a series of concentric environmental systems with varying degrees of interdependent influence over their behaviour (Kazak, Simms, & Rourke 2002) to locate APVA parents' meaning making of their experiences of the abuse.

Qualitative methods stimulate a rich understanding of complex phenomena, enable the exploration of novel 'topics' and provide a medium to highlight the lived experiences of 'voiceless' groups (Sofaer, 1999). The differential theoretical and methodological foundations guide the research process; directing the studies focus, construction, implementation, analysis and interpretation of findings (Lewis & Ritche, 2003).

2.1.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis provides a procedure for interpreting meaning and identifying patterns within data to construct themes. Unrestrained by a specific epistemological perspective, it offers a flexible method of data analysis (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). However, differing approaches to the procedure have created ambiguities in its distinction from a content analysis (Vaismoradi, Turuen & Bonda, 2013). In order to counter this pitfall Braun & Clarke (2006) provide a six-step framework in which shared meaning can be 'recognised' and 'captured' (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006).

The identification of 'themes' within this study, was guided by a Social Constructionist epistemological position, drawing attention to the function of the language that APVA parents used to construct their experiences, whilst considering the availability of discourses to them, such as the 'good' mother, 'bad' mother dichotomy (Peterson et al, 2002) from a 'macro' level perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Thematic Analysis is particularly appropriate given the anticipated relatively small sample size and the restrictive nature of the predefined text obtained via the online sampling method (Jowett, 2015). The analysis offers a unique insight into the lived experiences of APVA by examining parents' accounts of the abuse produced outside of typical research constraints (Jennings-Kelsall, Aloia, Solomon, Marshall, & Leifker, 2012).

2.2   Sample

A purposive sampling method was employed to ascertain data from online, UK based parenting websites.

Table 1: Gender of Parents and Adolescents

Gender	Number	Percentage
Gender of Adolescent		
Male	23	93.3
Female	9	13.3
Total	**32**	**100%**
Gender of 'Targeted' parent		
Male – Father	4	12.5
- Step-Father	5	15.6
Female – Mother	23	71.8
- Step-Mother	0	0
Total	**32**	**100%**

It can be seen in table 1 that 93.3% of the adolescents were males and 13.3% of the adolescents' were females. The sample included two families in which more than one child was described as abusive to their parent, in both instances their Mother, these were twin boys and a brother and sister.

Mothers were the target of the abuse in 71.8% of cases. Biological Fathers were accounted for 12.5%, and Step-Fathers for 15.6% of targets of the abuse. Within the sample 10% (3) of parents identified as an 'abused parent' but did not specify their gender and/or their relationship with the adolescent.

Interestingly, in each of the nine instances (28.1%) in which (Step)Fathers were the subject of the abuse, Mothers were also targeted by their teens.

2.3   Procedure

In the first instance, ethical approval was granted by the University of Bedfordshire's ethics committee (Appendix I, Parts A&B) for a mixed methods qualitative data collection approach of 'open forum' archived posts and interviews with APVA parents.

Preliminary searches had been conducted to ensure that sufficient data was archived from internet forums and available to conduct an efficient analysis. Although there were a number of suitable 'data sets' which depicted APVA parents' experiences of the abuse and the strategies that they had attempted to 'manage' it themselves, there appeared to be little detail of assistance sought and/or received from outside the home.

Given that a point of interest for this project was to explore APVA parents' experiences of professional assistance in light of recent advancements in this field from academic (e.g. Condry & Miles, 2013), legislative (e.g. Home Office, 2013, 2014, 2015) and intervention (e.g. Break4Change) disciplines, and following concerns expressed by my supervision team that the use of the online data collection method would not directly address this issue, alternative methods were considered.

It was decided that it would be appropriate to compliment the online forum data collection methodology with interviews as this would produce more robust data and would enable the opportunity to directly address all proposed research objectives.

Time limitations for securing participants for this however was a central concern. It was concluded that obtaining consent from gatekeepers from professional organisations such as Children's Services or the Youth Offending Service, for example, was unrealistic within the given timeframe.

The utilisation of university students for participation was also debated. Specifically, the investigation of their involvement of violence and/or abuse directed at, or received as a parent. It was feared that

this may not capture the full extent of APVA, instead revealing 'normative' adolescent-to-parent conflict.

After further deliberation, it was concluded to advertise online for APVA parents to participate in interview to ameliorate the limitations outlined above.

A recruitment advertisement was 'posted' on three UK based online parenting support forums having received consent from the websites hosts. The posts were active for a six month period however, not one response was received. Subsequently the search for interviewees was discarded and the study proceeded with only the archived forum data collection method outlined below.

In order to replicate Holt's (2011) methodology, an initial internet search for 'parent forums' yielded links to multiple website. From these, three websites were selected as they contained 'open forums'; public discussion groups that do not require 'users' to register.

Each forum was then searched for archived 'posts' pertaining to 'aggression', 'violence' and/or 'abuse'. Selected posts were then filtered for those directed specifically to parent(s); biological and/or 'Step' Mother and/or Father, from an (pre)adolescent aged between 10 and 18 years old. Due to the increased focus, as previously cited, on APVA within the UK from 2013, only archived messages from this time onwards were selected for analysis.

Forum posts that specified a diagnosis of a specific learning difficulty and/or Autism spectrum disorder were not included to limit possible confounds.

A total of 32 posts were selected for analysis. The posts ranged from 49 to 1222 words in length, with an average of 303 words per post.

2.4   Ethical Considerations

Providing a wealth of naturalistic, readily available material, the use of Internet forums for research purposes has rapidly increased in recent decades (Jowett, Peel & Shaw, 2011).

The internet as a resource for parents is highly accessed with as many as 65% of parents utilising websites and 45% consulting social media in parenting matters (Baker, Sanders & Morawska, 2017). APVA parents have frequently been found to search for guidance and support online (Bonnick, 2010). The anonymised nature of online forums may afford these parents to fully share their experiences with individuals experiencing similar situations with their children (Holt, 2011) and may therefore provide an effective medium in accessing 'hard to reach' samples (Southern Health and Social Care Trust, 2010).

However, the ethical considerations for internet mediated research is a matter of contention (Whitehead, 2007). A crucial debate centres on whether the forum data is obtained from a 'public'; restriction free, or 'private'; password accessed and/or subscription based, website (Warrell & Jacobsen, 2014).

It has been argued that it is unreasonable of users of publicly accessible sites to assume privacy in this context (Kitchin, 2007). Comparisons have been drawn between researchers of forum data and 'eavesdropping' in a coffee shop with the reasoning that if a matter was to be viewed as exceptionally private, it would not be discussed in public and thus researchers are justified to view such content as ethically secured (Moreno, Frost & Christakis, 2008).

The BPS (2013) Ethics Guidelines for Internet-Mediated Research provides direct guidance on this issue;

"(w)here it is reasonable to argue that there is likely no perception and/or explanation of privacy (or where scientific/social value and/or research validity considerations are deemed to justify undisclosed observation), use of research data without gaining valid consent may be justifiable" (BPS, 2013; 7).

It also warns that;

"(r)esearchers should be aware that participants may consider their publicly accessible Internet activity to be private… (and) (i)n cases where direct quotations are necessary to the research methodology then the consent of those sampled should be sought" (BPS, 2007; 3-4).

Considering the ethical issues surrounding this data collection method and in adherence to the BPS (2013) Ethics Guidelines for Internet-Mediated Research, data sets within this study from 'open'; non-password protected forums were collected. It was therefore not possible to ascertain consent directly from the participants themselves. However, the websites Privacy Policy states no responsibility for third party data usage and the posts had been published on publicly accessible forums and can therefore arguably be assumed to be in the public domain (Jowett, 2015; Kitchin, 2007; Moreno, Frost & Christakis, 2008).

The Research Centre for Applied Psychology Ethics Committee stipulated that as it was not possible to gain consent from the forum 'posters', then that the anonymity and confidentiality could not be assured, 'no direct quotations are included in the final report'.

Due care has been taken to adhere to this ethical demand by the utilisation of excerpts, rather than direct quotations, each entered into both Google Chrome and Internet Explorer search engines to ensure that they are untraceable, in order that suitable content be provided to capture the overall essence of what has been originally said and thus evidence the identified theme, whilst maintaining anonymity.

2.5   Data Analysis

Guided by a Social Constructionist epistemological position, in which language is held as the medium through which an individual establishes meaning making of their experiences (Van Niekerk, 2005) and informed by the research objective of identifying issues of importance to APVA parents as disclosed

within their forum posts, data was analysed in accordance with the Thematic Analysis procedure defined by Braun & Clarke, (2006).

1.   'Repeated Reading'; data analysis began with individual cases. Each forum post was read multiple times to enable full immersion with the data. Initial notes of points of interest and/or significance were made

2.   'Coding'; the text was then analysed 'line by line' to further identify significant elements and attention was drawn to the descriptive, linguistic and conceptual components of text to construct initial codes

3.   'Identified themes' are clustered based upon their contextual similarity in which 'patterns' within the individuals account are assessed in a hermeneutic manner; both in relation to the text as a whole and as the whole in relation to the individual part

4.   'Theme Refinement'; an integrative analysis is conducted in which the themes were examined for convergence and divergence between each data set and across the corpus. Themes are amended when necessary to incorporate 'group level' characteristics and incomplete or unsupported themes are discarded

5.   'Themes defined'; each theme is descriptively conceptualised and labelled accordingly

6.   'Reporting'; excerpts are drawn from data to illustrate each theme

2.6   Reflexivity

It is recognised that the research process including the researcher can shape the outcomes of research (May & Perry, 2017). The researcher therefore has the responsibly to consider their role in the research process including their underlying assumptions and pre-conceived ideas.

I hold a co-constructivist epistemological position toward my research. Incorporating Social Constructivism which professes that the construction and maintenance of an individual's reality and identity form through discourses; 'systems of meaning' and social practices (Georgaca & Avdi, 2012), and adopting a 'relativist' stance; which asserts that 'declarations' cannot be objectively proven and so must be assessed holistically in terms of their congruence and clarity within an ideological, political and social context (Potter, 1996) will guide this research to locate APVA parents meaning making of their experiences of the abuse.

3.0 Findings

This section presents the findings of the themes that emerged from a Thematic Analysis of parents' lived experiences of the abuse directed at them by their adolescent shared within online parenting support forums.

Table 2: Themes of parents' experiences

Theme	Subtheme
Emotional Turmoil	Desperation and frustration with professionals at not being heard
	Powerlessness
	Remorse, Shame and Blame
	Fear
	Ambiguity
	Coping Mechanisms
	Moral Support
The Need to Explain	To Understand
	To Exonerate
Fractured Relationships	Separation: Missing Fathers
	Repeat Victimisation and Intergenerational Violence
	The Quality of Current Relationships

3.1   Emotional Turmoil

Reading through the accounts, it was clear that parents' experienced emotional turmoil through their demonstration of a plethora of emotional responses to the abuse. There were feelings of failure, guilt,

hopelessness and helplessness, in addition to frustration at the 'professional' responses they had received.

Parents spoke of feelings of fear and depression mixed with an abundance of uncertainty and confusion.

They also disclosed their feelings of powerlessness in preventing the abuse and its impact upon their employment and housing, and in being held 'accountable' for their adolescents' criminal behaviours.

3.1.1 Desperation and frustration with professionals at not being heard

Many parents' demonstrated the sense of having reached a 'breaking point', lost as to what to do next or where to turn for help. Parents simply described themselves as at the (3) 'End of my tether' or that they felt that they (4) '…cannot sort this problem out'. This was coupled with feelings of 'hopelessness' in which parents' described feeling unable to improve their situations in the future (13) '…it's still not easy and I don't think it ever will be'.

Another mother declared herself as 'heartbroken' when portraying her sense of desperation in an emotive account of the abuse her daughter perpetrated towards her:

 (54) '…it breaks my heart…I have got to the stage where her behaviour… makes me want to kill myself…it's lonely and shit and I hate it'

Parents' sense of hopelessness was further portrayed, in the vast majority of instances, with feelings of frustration when describing their interactions with professionals. Parents' defined an exhaustive list of 'agencies' from which they had sought assistance including; GPs, CAMHS, Children's Services, Schools, the Police, behaviour specialists and counselling services at individual and/or family levels, and specifically for drug misuse.

Nearly all of the parents spoke of their view of the 'ineffectiveness' of the 'intervention' they had received (42) [sought] 'advice from our GP who sent us on a parenting class which was a waste of

time'. It became evident that many parents had 'attempted' multiple approaches (47)'Social services, police, drug counselling, parent counselling and nothing has helped' , or (54)' [we] saw therapists, doctors, nothing helped [for mother or daughter].

One father's frustration was evident in his post in which he described his 'ongoing battle' with his son to 'take responsibility' for and 'address' his behaviour:

(45) 'We then tried … a drug counselling programme…, but again unwillingness to engage and admit he had a problem meant the programme had to come to an end'.

One parent exclaimed to have felt supported by CAHMS and had found 'mediation' between herself and daughter to have been effective in helping them 'bond', however she proceeds to contradict herself by depicting being subsequently subjected to high levels of violence and aggression from her daughter (and son) and exclaims that she is due to be questioned by the police having 'slapped her daughter across the face'

(25) 'CAMHS…were very supportive…We had mediation and social services helping us to bond as a family, to be fair, it worked…'

A reoccurring theme within parents' accounts of professional assistance was a lack of understanding that they received. One mother described how her GP minimised her son's behaviour by exclaiming to her son; 14) ' that hitting people isn't very nice'. Another mother disclosed her feelings of having been dismissed by a number of professionals (59) 'I've spoken to his school, health visitors and they all fob me off that it's normal hormones'

One mother spoke of having reported her son to the police after he had stolen an expensive bracelet from her, viewing this as the 'final straw' having experienced numerous thefts, damage to property, financial liability for her son's court fines, harassment at work, threats of physical violence and possession of weapons:

(49)   'I have tried going to the police but was basically persuaded out of having him charged'

Another mother pointily describes her perceptions of being subjected to prejudice from her son's school whom she concludes fail to comprehend the multifaceted nature and complexity of the abuse:

(47)   '… the school… [were] no support, [they] just labelled us a deprived family so he had help with academics…I know people think it's easy to law down the law, grow a pair and get him to stop'

Parents spoke of their 'difficulty' in accessing services including lengthy waiting periods:

(41)   'I am waiting for an urgent CAMHS appointment but… [this is one month away]… All the crisis team say is call the Police when he is violent but I don't want to'

Not reaching 'thresholds' and what has been described as the 'hot potato' act (Holt, 2013) in which the families pass through a number of agencies which fail to take 'ownership' of the situation were also described by APVA parents: (17) 'We went to the doctors and they told us to go to the school', and (18) 'Social Services have been round and interviewed us all but we don't qualify for their help'

3.1.2   Powerlessness

An overarching theme throughout the posts were the references made to notions of power and control. Two mothers specifically noted the physical size of their adolescent sons, using comparisons to emphasise their sons' physical power and in doing so implicitly suggesting their own loss of it.

A mother compared her son's stature when describing the escalation of the abuse as he grew older and larger, in what may be seen to portray her sense of vulnerability from physical attacks:

(4)   'It's been getting worse and worse each year….he is tall and muscly… not like a tiny little 14 year old. He is the same height as his step dad…[he] punched his step dad, kicked me and left me covered in bruises…'

Another mother depicts both the physical and emotional power that her son holds over her through threats to 'call the authorities' (Holt, 2013) when describing her attempts to intervene in physical attacks enacted by her son to his siblings and defend herself in such situations:

(14)   'He's the tallest and strongest person in the house…he's been very aggressive and violent…I've

had to restrain him, but he misinterprets that as child abuse'

Such a sense of 'powerlessness' was evident in many parents' accounts of the abuse they were

subjected to by their adolescents'. Parents described not only fearing violence within their homes but

spoke of fear of the 'external', formal consequences that they would be subjected to for their teens

behaviour.

A step-father discussed the 'power' that his partner's twin sons were afforded in terms of her

employability. The sons were 'openly' drug dealing from the family home and had threatened to

'frame' their mother should they be caught. The poster exclaims:

(26)   'Their mother has tried to stop them [drug dealing] but they constantly tell her that if they get

raided…they will tell the police that the drugs are hers…this would flag up in her CRB check

and she would lose her job'

The disempowering effects of APVA were found to hold bearing on many parents' employment. One

mother stated that she was temporarily unable to work due to the effects of the abuse (2) '… I am

currently off work due to continued depression'.

Another mother described how her son's 'bullying' continued at work. This portrayed a sense that the

mother not only felt unable to 'escape' the abuse but that she also feared the impact that this may

have upon sustaining her job (49) '…when [I'm] at work [he is] calling me dozens of times, texting me

dozens of times until I gave in…'

One mother describes the legal sanctions she has taken on responsibility for due to her son's actions

(49) 'We have been to court four times now, two of which for beating people up…he got done for

bashing up neighbours' cars whilst drunk. I am now paying the court fines…'

In a similar vein, another father expressed his concern at the possibility of facing penalisation for his son's truancy. He noted that (45) 'Myself and my partner nearly faced court on two occasions as his truancy was so bad'.

APVA impacted across multiple areas of the parents' lives. There were also disclosures of feelings of powerlessness from fear of the impact upon their housing. For example, one mother described how her son's antisocial behaviour had fractured relations with her neighbours and as a consequence she feared eviction (14) '[They are] taking [every] vindictive opportunity to report us'

Another mother expressed her fear of penalisation from the police and social services having been reported to them by her daughter following an incident in which she had physically retaliated during an altercation (25) 'She has contacted the police…[and] social services and told them I have beaten her…I have …to be formally interviewed by the police under caution!'

The abuse was also found to resonate upon parents' ability, or more specifically their 'lack of' or 'powerlessness' to 'parent'; to set rules, boundaries and discipline with both the abusive 'adolescent' and their other children (16) '…if I tell my other two [children] that it's bedtime she will challenge me and say 'no' it's ok they can stay up'

Another mother describes her powerlessness in 'protecting' her other children from witnessing her son's conduct (46) 'I also have other children who shouldn't even know what weed is…they are being subjected to things we don't want them to be'

Some parents disclosed their 'powerlessness' from 'fear' of physical attacks from their adolescent, implying parents' reluctance to 'challenge' their abusive teen for example (59) '…he's… lashing out the second he doesn't get his way', or: (3) 'whenever things don't go his way', and: (37)   'If   she doesn't get what she wants then all hell breaks loose'

These statements can be seen to exemplify a 'shift' in the 'power-dynamic' of typical parent-child relationships and suggest the 'intentionality' of the adolescents' abusive behaviours as a means to exert control over their parents (12)'She wants to control me if I discipline her in any way'

This notion was reinforced by another parent's perception of her daughter's 'manipulation (54) 'She will even use the trauma [abuse from older boyfriend] to get what she wants and manipulates me all the time'

3.1.3   Remorse, Shame and Blame

Feelings of guilt were expressed by many parents. They spoke of a sense of personal failure, implying that they were to 'blame' for the abuse, and their difficulty in coping with these emotions:

(54)   'And now there is the awful maternal guilt…I feel guilty and shitty and maybe like it's all my fault, what has happened to her; because I wasn't the best at boundaries and I don't always stay calm, and I'm not always consistent''

Guilt from feelings of 'personal failure' were shared by many parents. One mother exclaimed (40)'…I feel like a failure, what made my son go so wrong'. One parent depicted the guilt she felt from contemplating her life without her son (5)'Sat thinking my life would be so much easier without him is a horrible thought'. Another Mother demonstrated guilt through her feelings of regret (21) 'I wish I'd done more while he was younger'.

Parents were found to refer to stigma that they felt they faced as a consequence of the abuse perpetrated towards them by their adolescents'. One mother failed to specify the 'source' of the stigma she felt, instead she spoke of general feelings of judgement: (2)   'I know I am being judged by outsiders, who have no idea what it was like'

3.1.4 Fear

Many parents described a sense of fear. For some the fear referred to their immediate circumstances, including fear of further physical abuse (25) 'I was scared she was going to come down and do something else', and (6) 'I'm scared to tell him off'

One mother, having found 'weapons' including a hammer and knives in her son's bedroom ambiguously concluded (49) 'I think it's only a matter of time'

Some parents expressed their fear of an escalation of the abuse (3) 'I'm so worried, frightened and scared… if this is how he behaves now, how will he be [when he is older]…'

One mother depicted feelings of unrest and of being in a constant state of 'high alert'. She described one of the measures she had taken to prevent further incidents of theft from her son (49) 'We now have to take purses to the toilet with us'. Others displayed feelings of fear of the 'unknown' (24) 'I just don't know what is going to happen next'

3.1.5 Ambiguity

Another common feeling shared among parents were their demonstrations of confusion and disbelief. The excerpt bellow typifies many of the parents 'internal battle' in coming to terms with the fact their adolescent was abusive towards them (37)   'She just didn't seem to be my daughter at all!... I don't believe she is a badly behaved child, she behaves well at school and is no trouble there at all…' Another mother rationalised (54) 'She's smart and clever and pretty and can be so funny…it's difficult for me to separate the usual teenage stuff, laziness etc, with what is trauma'

Parents spoke of feelings of embarrassment (5) 'It's embarrassing that at 12 he can reduce me to tears' and feelings of disgust (3) '…he is just simply vile'

Feelings of being 'torn' embedded the parents' posts. For example, one mother discussed the consequences of removing her teenage son from the family home (47)   'Yes it will break me and my

family apart but I haven't got the strength to do this anymore'. Another mother reasoned that (46) 'I think if we throw him out it will only get worse and he will haunt us with it forever'

One mother spoke of feeling a sense of 'duty' for her son, an 'unconditional bond' (40)'My son is my son and no matter what he does to me…(I will protect him)'.

A parental 'instinct' to 'protect their adolescent, in spite of the circumstances of that relationship was evident throughout many parents' discourses. A number of parents depicted the 'dilemma' they faced between reporting their adolescent to the police and the consequences of this for their them:

(18)   '…I got no apology (stole £300) so I reported him to the police, made a statement and he had to be arrested as he wouldn't go of his own free will, he has a youth caution now'

And:

(40)   (following physical attack) 'he's now spending the night in the police cell. I feel awful'

3.1.6   Coping Mechanisms

When discussing the abuse that parents faced from their adolescent, they spoke of both the personal strategies that they had employed within the home, and their experiences of having sought external, professional assistance.

Parents' were frequently found to trivialise the abuse. Some 'minimised' the true extent by drawing on comparisons of 'less serious' 'events' (25) '…the occasional argument…but nothing too serious…', or (37) '(she) has had her hands around my husband's neck, pushes him (and me to a lesser extent)…'

Whereas others, 'downplayed' the abuse they experienced, 'normalising' it as 'typical teenage behaviour' and through comparisons of other parents' accounts of the abuse they encountered from their adolescents':

53

(13) '…obviously the occasional I hate you and go and kill yourself and I wish you were dead but that seems to be a teen language…After reading some of the things on here I'm starting to feel like my problems aren't that bad'

Many parents appeared to find 'reassurance' in themselves by adopting personal 'agency' in response to their adolescents': (2) 'I've sent my son away…I've committed myself to the tough love option', and: (53) 'I have said to her.. I will not stand for it and told her it is parental abuse'

A sense of 'agency' was further exampled by the 'preventative' measures parents' had taken in an attempt to inhibit escalation of their adolescents aggression and violence: (49) '…he used to steal that (alcohol) - hence we longer keep it in the house', and other parents' discussed their use of incentives to deter the behaviour: (37) '…points system in place…to earn positive points that they can use to buy things from a list that they put together'

Parents spoke of 'reasoning' with their teens: (23) 'I try to talk things through calmly as possible…', and (37) '…so I asked her, calmly to go to her room and come back when she'd calmed down'. In addition to 'punishing' them: (5) '…he'd been banned of his phone, tablet and Xbox for 3 weeks, or 'avoiding' them: (42) 'I'm getting to the point where I don't even like being around him anymore'

Some parents' depicted a sense of desperation having exhausted all other options available to them, viewing their only 'option' as removing their abusive teen from the family home: (39) '…I have sent her to live with her dad as we couldn't stand anymore'. One mother considered requesting a voluntary care order from children's services: (12) 'My last resort is to put her in voluntary care'

Another mother empathetically responded and provided an evaluation of the costs and benefits to her family: (13) 'My daughter went into voluntary care for about 6 weeks and although it ripped me apart it wasn't a bad thing...

Two mothers stated that they had physically retaliated to the abuse. They both provided detailed accounts in which they contextualised the incidents:

(16)   '…she was in my face…so I pushed her…was pulling my hair…I held her down…my husband came to diffuse it'

(25)   'So I tried grabbing hold of her arms at least, to try and get her off me. When I couldn't I slapped her across the face'

3.1.6.1 Moral Support

Some parents specifically made reference of some form of social support that they received either as a 'physical presence' within the family home: (49) '…my partner…he totally stands by me and I think that he has given me the courage to be stronger…', or as a source of 'moral' support: (25) 'I…called my mother as I literally couldn't breath and I needed help…'. However there was in fact, an overwhelming absence of any mention of support within the majority of the APVA parents' posts which may indicate why parents sought support online.

The data within this study was collected via archived posts taken from UK based parenting support forums. As has been previously demonstrated, many parents discussed, at length, the emotional turmoil and the varied effects that resulted from their adolescents' abuse. For many parents the forums appeared to provide a medium to 'vent' their frustrations and to seek guidance and support from others in similar circumstances.

All of the 'posters' requested some form of advice and/or confirmation in some way. Some parents welcomed general 'input' from fellow forum users: (25) 'I am hoping to get some help and advice', and some parents asked for clarification on specific matters: (37)   'Is punishment the right way?'

Other parents spoke of their use of the forums in a cathartic sense (45)   'I have decided to register to try and vent some of my feelings… Other parents, portrayed a sense that they wanted confirmation that they were not alone: (39)   'Has anyone else been in my shoes?'. And a large majority of parents

shared feelings of empathy to other parents experiencing similar situations: (2)'This mirrors where I am completely', and:(4) ''…let you know you are not the only one going through it'

One parent in particular, portrayed great levels of empathy and spoke with a sense of 'urgency' when 'warning' others of her own difficulties in securing external assistance:

(7)   '…try to sort it out before he leaves the child system at 16 because then it gets harder to get

        help and remember he will keep growing and so will the temper. I speak from experience'

3.2   The Need to Explain

Nearly all of the parents demonstrated an attempt to explain their adolescents' abusive behaviour. During analysis it became evident, to the researcher, that it was possible to differentiate between the underlying motivation to offer an explanation. It appeared to be that some parents' were utilising the forums to 'air' their experiences in an attempt to identify contributing factors and/or to solely understand the abuse.

In other instances, it could be construed that parents' were presenting explanations to locate and attribute the 'root' cause, or to provide a reason for one's own actions, in order to defer personal responsibility.

3.2.1   To Understand

In making sense of the abuse, parents' proffered a variety of explanations to account for their adolescent's abusive behaviours.

A range of 'interpersonal' explanations offered by parents' are outlined in the subsequent section; 'Fractured Relationships', in which parents' inferred or attributed the abuse to the family environment; separation, domestic violence, lone parenting and/ or absent fathers.

In addition, it was found that many parents framed the abuse from an intrapersonal perspective; locating the cause as within the 'individual', framed as a medical 'issue' comprising mental health and/or personality 'traits' and/ or substance misuse.

A number of parents described seeking medical assessments of their adolescents', with the expectation of receiving a diagnosis and described their frustration and dismay at the responses they received, a point that is subsequently discussed in further detail in the 'Coping and Enduring: Professional Assistance' subsection later in this chapter. (* It is noteworthy that within this study adolescents that had received a diagnosis were removed in order to reduce possible confounds as the focus was to examine parents' experiences of abuse directed at them by their 'typically' developing teenagers.)

For instance, one mother describes the verbal and emotional abuse that she encounters from her teenage son. She asks for 'advice' and in what appears to be a means of searching for a medical explanation, simply ends the post by asking (19) 'We are wondering if he has ODD?'

Although undiagnosed, one mother located her daughter's abusive behaviour as resulting from 'mental health conditions' (17) 'She has recognised she has a problem and we went to the doctors…'

 Another mother describes how she has experienced great 'opposition' from her 15 year old son since an early age but stated that he had recently refused to attend school and had become increasingly verbally and physically abusive to her. She explained that he had been assessed by CAMHS as anxious regarding his exams but appears to be dissatisfied, believing that additional medical 'conditions' may account for the abuse:

(15)   '..CAMHS…say how he has anxiety, mainly about exams…I think he has… agoraphobia, and
          even Asperger's…nothing is diagnosed really…I hope he can get better…'

Other parents pointed to innate personality 'traits' in their offspring, describing them as have displayed aggressive tendencies since a young age:

(5)   '…(He)has had a bit of a bad temper since the age of about 4…he wasn't violent just got easily frustrated'

Medically framing the abuse was not always taken in isolation in parents' accounts of their comprehension of the abuse. One mother for example, discusses her daughter has having had 'a rough time of it' having witnessed and experienced alternate forms of domestic abuse, in addition to 'suffering' from both physical and mental health difficulties:

(54) 'she's always struggled with her mental health -nightmares, anxiety and compulsive behaviours…(she) had a major operation…she saw therapists, doctors, nothing helped…'

Drug and alcohol misuse were frequent explanations offered by parents (46)   'My   son   is completely out of control, smoking weed, not coming home, stealing…'. Another mother describes how her son's abusive behaviour is increased by the consumption of substances (49)   'He   goes completely crazy on alcohol…He acts like he has been on cocaine, so we are told by police and doctors, but he has never admitted to it'

The way in which these parents' presented the above 'explanations'; the timing, the phrasing and the context in which they were portrayed, suggested that they were utilised by the parents' as a means to 'make sense' of the abuse. That is, in order to locate (a) contributing and/or a 'causative' factor(s) to understand the origins and in doing so would be able to 'address' and 'remedy' the abuse, as evidenced by the search for a medical diagnosis and the implication of potential 'treatment' that this might enable.

3.2.2 To Exonerate

The following parents again discussed potential causative factors, however the context in which they were presented suggested that they were offered more than as a means of simply understanding the

abuse but included in the posts as an attempt to remove personal responsibility, that is to defer parental responsibility for the actions of either the adolescent or the parent themselves.

The nature of Thematic Analysis means that interpretation may differ between individuals however the analytical procedure was adhered to and reflexivity was a central concern throughout the process. Also, it is important to realise that in investigating parents' lived experiences this is a theme that came to light as of importance to them. The reasons for this may suggest that parents' are 'enacting' a 'defence mechanism', allowing them to cope with the abuse and/or it may suggest that parents are aware of, or have experienced stigma, and therefore feel the 'need' to exonerate themselves as a 'bi-product' of that stigma.

Throughout the following post, the mother mentions the father of her two adolescents' multiple times. She displays resentment towards him (depicted in the 'Repeat-victimisation and Intergenerational Domestic Violence' subsection) and implicitly attributes him to blame for the perpetration of their son and daughter's violence and abuse toward her. She then goes on to present herself as a 'saviour' having 'rescued' her children from their abusive father, and as a 'martyr' having made multiple sacrifices in order for this to happen:

(25)   'Ok, I guess if I start at the beginning…they (son and daughter) have lived with their dad most of their lives as he was abusive towards me…(my son) begged to come and live with me…so I gave up my husband, my friends, my job and basically my life…so they didn't have to change their schools and leave their friends…'

As previously mentioned, a number of parents framed the abuse as an intrapersonal 'issue' within the adolescent, however rather than just suggesting this as a possible cause', then proceeded to present examples of the ways in which they had not contributed.

For example, one mother depicts her son as being 'difficult' from a young age but then lists ways in which she had attempted to address the abuse, and in doing so gave the impression that she was deferring individual responsibility. For example, one mother stated:

(59)   'Since he was 6 he has always had extreme tantrums, screaming and crying for hours on end and has only gotten worse…'(It) doesn't matter how we handle it, talking, taking time out, taking away privileges, offering new opportunities, everything falls on deaf ears'

Another demonstrated her attempt to understand her son's behaviour through a 'social learning' and 'medical' lens, exclaiming that she had provided her son with a positive role model and a stable environment. Therefore, implicitly implying that her son's actions could be attributed to him and not her or her husband:

(24)   '…he just hits me for no reason. His dad who I am married to has never hit me so we don't know where he gets it from…'…still no one knows what is wrong with him. We have tried CAMHS but they said nothing is wrong with him'

One mother appears to defer responsibility by offering a 'justification' for her physical retaliation, by listing a number of ways in which she is not at 'fault':

(16)   'I never shout at her…I've tried to reason with her…she was in my face…so I pushed her…I have been patient for years…I'm the adult so I'm upset with myself…'

Other parents' used comparison as a means to direct 'blame' from themselves by drawing attention to their other children not behaving abusively and therefore implying that the 'abusive' adolescents' behaviour could not be attributed to their 'parenting' (3) 'I have three younger children who are not like him', and (54) 'Her brother is totally different - he has some school anxiety but is sweet and kind and loving'

The 'need to explain' to both 'understand' and 'exonerate' whether by directly removing personal responsibility and/or attribute 'blame' onto another party, was intertwined with the superordinate

theme; 'fractured relations' in which parents' described the effects of divorce/separation, previous domestic violence and the consequences of these.

3.3   Fractured Relationships

The superordinate theme of 'Fractured Relationships' is closely related to the theme 'The Need to Explain' however, both its frequency and significance within APVA parents posts warranted that it be considered within its own right.

Parents provided both historical and current accounts of their familial relationships. They spoke of divorce and separation and the effects of an absent father and lone parenting held within the abuse. They 'framed' APVA within a wider context of family violence depicting its intergenerational and repeat-victimisation occurrences. In addition to suggesting the impact that these factors had contributed to their experiences of APVA and the quality of their current relationships with their child(ren) and partners.

3.3.1   Separation: Missing Fathers

A large majority of the posts mentioned either the divorce or separation of the parents' of the adolescent. Some parents did not direct attention to the fact, instead briefly mentioning it in passing, however its occurrence within the posts may suggest that the parent(s) subconsciously believed it to have been of significance when describing their current situation. For example, one mother simply began her post by stating (4)   'I split up with his dad before he was one…'

However, another mother directly attributed her divorce to her son's father for the abuse that her son now perpetrated against her (2) 'Parenting your children should still be done together… I think this is what has impacted on my son'

The implications of separation for the 'child'; little, inconsistent or no contact with their 'estranged' parent, which within this study was their father, was a concern expressed by many mothers.

One mother explained that her son had displayed aggressive behaviour towards her from a young age commencing shortly after she had separated from his father, but that this had subsided in the two years they had not had any contact. She states that her son's abusive behaviour including arson attempts, threats of physical violence, possession of weapons and threats of suicide was retriggered with the reacquaintance and subsequent separation from with his father:

(5)   …(His) dad came back into their lives…with all the promises…this was short lived…(it has) now (been) 3 months since he last saw them'

Despite this, the mother still seemed to believe that her son 'needed' his father. She states:

(5)   'I'm so tempted to send him to his dad even though he's a stranger'

The sense of significance of a fathers' absence in the abuse was further depicted by a mother who explained that her son directly attributed the death of his father for his actions:

(49)   '…my son's father died at age 36 of a heart attack 9 years ago and he blames that as well'

She also explains the effect that parenting alone has had by drawing comparison to the 'strength' she has gained to challenge her son's financial demands now that she is in a relationship:

(49)   '…I have become much stronger and don't give him anything… don't give in…this seems to have happened since my partner has been around, he totally stands by me and…has given me the courage to be stronger'

3.3.2 Repeat-victimisation and Intergenerational Domestic Violence

APVA co-occurred with a wider context of violence within the family for a small number of the posters. None of them drew a direct association between IPV and/or child abuse and APVA but each presented varying degrees of detailed accounts of the abuse that they had faced from their (ex)partners, or that they themselves, or their children, had faced from a parent.

One stated that she experienced domestic violence from her ex-partner, the father of their two children. She explains that she suffered from a 'nervous breakdown' in response to the abuse and exclaims that her ex-partner:

(25)   'used this to gain custody…he managed to twist everything and turn it round until it suited him'

Both 'children', now in their teens, and behaving physically, emotionally and verbally abusive toward their mother, have chosen to live with her having been subjected to abuse by their father:

(25)   '…[My son] told me his father was abusive and was constantly hitting him…[he] had them diagnosed with ADHD and made them take medication so that he could claim extra benefits'

The mother also describes how she has herself used violence in retaliation to a physical attack by her daughter:

(25)   '…she lunged at me…sunk her teeth into [me]…was kicking and punching me…pulling my head down…[I tried to] get her off me…I couldn't [so] I slapped her across the face…'

Another poster echoes the utilisation of violence within her family perpetrated among members against each other. The family appear to be divided, with the father siding with the daughter against the mother, and the son prepared to physically defend his mother:

(53)   '…I cut off her WiFi as a form of discipline…she [daughter] convinced my husband that there was no reason [to] so he demanded me to turn it [back] on. I said 'no' and he took my phone. I fought with him to get it back. She [daughter] then jumped on me and punched me in the face twice… [my] son…got into a fighting match with her'

Another mother implicitly portrays a cyclonic nature to abuse throughout her family in which she and her daughter have been repeatedly victimised. The mother having grown in a domestically abusive household and been in an abusive relationship herself, and her daughter also having been in an

abusive relationship, aged 16, with a significantly older man, now behaves abusively toward her mother:

(54)   '…[her boyfriend] abused and violated her [daughter]…my own background is disastrous – mentally ill mother, violent father…I wanted everything different for my child…'

During the course of explaining their accounts of the abuse that parents' experienced from their adolescent, a small number of mothers were found to share rhetoric frequently expressed within the literature of wider domestic violence such as:

(3)   'Behind closed doors… he is simply vile'

Another mother utilised a 'popular' metaphor within IPV to describe her own and her younger children's attempts to avoid being targeted by her 'violent' teenage daughter:

(16)   '…[we] walk on eggshells around her…'

3.3.3   The Quality of Current Familial Relationships

A small number of the parents referred to the quality of their relationship with their adolescent making specific reference to what can be construed as 'insecure attachment' qualities; ineffective communication styles, lack of parental warmth and/or support. Two of these mothers provided contextual information of their previous relationships when doing so. For instance, one mother stated that: *(54)   'In fact my family's abandonment and lack of care has always been part of the problem'*

She proceeded to describe the impact that this had on her relationship with her daughter:

(54)   'I have always loved her, always supported her, but was simply unable to connect or reach her. She demanded far more attention than I could ever give her…'

Another mother declared her separation from her son's father and depicted her sons 'disconnection' with both of his parents:

(4) 'He says it's our fault [biological parents] as we make him feel not wanted'

One mother portrayed her son's lack of a 'secure attachment' when stating that he had been referred to therapy for his: *(14) 'fear of being alone'*

Parents' also spoke of their intimate partner relationships and the 'pressure' that they felt the APVA placed on them and the conflict it had created.

One father explains how he has resorted to 'kicking out' their son, much to his partners' disapproval and his own feelings of disbelief upon his partner resolving to clear their son's financial debt to his drug dealer:

(45)   'I have faced massive opposition with his mother over this [kicking out their son] which I obviously expected…I was lost for words [mother agreeing to clear drug debt] but that was the deal that was made'

A mother depicted a similar conflict with her husband as to the possibility of removing their son from the family home, highlighting the 'strain' the APVA was having upon their marriage:

(46)   'It's also putting massive pressure on my marriage as I really don't want to throw him out but my husband does'

Another mother attributes the break-down in her relationship to the actions of her son. She adds that as a consequence of this, her son has 'control' within her home: (6) '…[My son] threatened my partner and now he's moved out he [son] controls my home…'

A sense of isolation is further exhibited by a mother who explains that her daughters' abuse has impeded upon her relationship with her other child: (12) '...she beat up her sister really bad and (now) my other daughter will not come back to see me.'

The isolating effects were also felt by the siblings of the abusive adolescent. One mother described how her daughter was abusive to her sister and her sister's friends which had resulted in them refraining from visiting: (3) '…to the point they don't really want to come over'

4.0　Discussion

The findings from this study confirm that APVA is a serious issue that impacts upon all areas of the affected parents' lives. A Thematic Analysis revealed three themes within parents' accounts of the abuse they experienced from their adolescent. The 'emotional turmoil', the 'need to explain', and 'fractured relationships', detailed below.

4.1　Emotional Turmoil

The theme of 'emotional turmoil' developed from a broad analysis of parents' feelings described within accounts of their experiences of APVA. These descriptions were pooled together to create five sub themes which encompassed the wide range of emotions that parents felt toward themselves, their adolescent and professionals that they had encountered as a result of the abuse. Two further sub themes were revealed during this analysis in which APVA parents depicted their coping mechanisms and their search for support in enduring the abuse.

4.1.1　Desperation and frustration with professionals at not being heard

APVA parents within this study disclosed general feelings of hopelessness and anxiety, and depression and/or suicidal ideation, in line with previous research (Cottrell & Monk, 2004, Clarke, 2015; Holt, 2011; Patterson, 2002). Poor mental health can impede parenting efficacy, further exacerbating the adolescents' abusive behaviours, which in turn has the bidirectional effect of weakening the quality of the parent-adolescent attachment (Ibabe & Bentler, 2016).

The finding of the frustration that parents felt at not being heard by professionals is supported by previous research (Clarke, 2015; Laing, 2014; Holt, 2013). APVA parents within this study cited multiple

agencies from which they had sought assessment and/or practical assistance. All spoke of the lack of understanding among professionals. Doctors and teachers minimised the abusive behaviours as a by-product of hormones; implying it as 'normative', frontline services were unable to intervene until the abuse had reached 'higher' levels of severity, police dissuaded parents from pressing charges, and interventions including counselling and parenting classes were deemed as ineffective by parents as they were dependent upon their adolescents' cooperation.

This reflects the construction of children's rights and parental responsibilities within legislative and practice guidelines for frontline services that are designed to safeguard children who are viewed as vulnerable and in need of protection. This may create a delay in a response as abusive behaviours are overlooked and thresholds are not met until the abuse reaches severe levels. In the case of APVA the lack of a clear distinction between 'victim' and 'perpetrator' further exacerbates the complexities within professional responses (Holt, 2013; Holt & Retford, 2013; Hunter & Nixon, 2012; Miles & Condry, 2014; Wilcox, 2012). It essential that policy guidelines and practice are revaluated to ensure that 'at-risk' families are appropriately supported to prevent the escalation of the abuse.

The Family Systems Model (Bowen, 1978), may be well placed to inform intervention programmes, enabling the consideration of the effects of the APVA families behaviour in relation to their broader environments (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Intervention can be targeted at addressing one of the five levels of 'symptomatic behaviour', as previously outlined (Clark, 2015; Micucci, 1995).

4.1.2 Powerlessness

Parents' spoke of their sense of powerlessness, which can be seen to challenge typical constructions of parental power. Within this study, some parents' disclosed the use of manipulation by their adolescents as a means to gain power and control and thus, their own loss of it. This finding adds support to the enactment of 'intentionally and maliciously' motivation of abusive behaviours found

by Clarke (2015) which was suggested by the author as a potential artefact from an interpretative phenomenological analysis, to explain the contradiction with earlier research in which adolescents' were deemed as 'loving and remorseful' by their parents (Laing, 2014).

The intentionality of adolescents' behaviour was further supported by 'threats to call the authorities' to report 'child abuse' that were depicted in parents' accounts and are commonly cited throughout the literature and can be seen as symbolic acts to gain power over a parent (Holt, 2013). Again, these threats can be seen to highlight the impact of the 'child saving movement' which has afforded children with a set of 'rights' which can be utilised by an abusive adolescent to exert power over their parent (Hunter & Nixon, 2012; Holt, 2013)

Consistent with earlier research (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Holt, 2013), the sense of powerlessness felt by parents' within this study strongly related to the financial abuse they received from their adolescent in terms of being financially liable for replacing damaged or stolen items, paying court fines and/or debts accrued by the adolescent for their drug use. It has been posited that within Western cultures, an emphasis on parents to materially provide for the offspring creates a sense of overentitlement in which there is an expectation within both adolescents and their parents that material goods will be provided unconditionally (Gallagher, 2004).

Data within this study was analysed via a Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006), informed by a Social Constructionist epistemology, the research was exploratory in nature and aimed to identify issues of importance in APVA parents' lived experiences. In order to have captured the structural power relations in operation, a Discourse Analysis (Willig, 2008) would have enabled a greater understanding of influence at the macro level (Timberlake, 2015).

4.1.3 Remorse, Shame & Blame

Judgement is frequently expressed throughout APVA research (Baker, 2012; Edenborough et al., 2008; Hunter, 2010; Holt, 2013; Jackson & Mannix, 2004). Feelings of self-blame were perhaps the most

profound of all throughout parents' accounts within this study. Increased accountability of parents' in terms of societal expectations and legislative guidance has resulted in a 'parent blaming' discourse, which within the context of APVA often translates into 'mother-blaming' as these families are typically lone mother lead (Baker, 2012; Edenborough et al., 2008). This results in these mothers facing a 'double stigma' in which they are 'victimised' by their adolescent, and 'blamed' for that abuse (Holt, 2013).

The 'good mothering', 'bad mothering' dichotomy (Paterson et al., 2002) explains the 'self-blame' and guilt expressed by the mothers within this study stems from the belief that if they were 'good' mothers their adolescent would not behave abusively towards them, or that they would be able to 'fix' the situation. This perception is reinforced by the adolescent's attributions of blame that again, were found within this study.

APVA research has been primarily quantitative in nature, identifying individual and /or familial determinants such as the behavioural and emotional characteristics of the APVA adolescent (Calvete, Orue & Gamez-Guadix, 2012), family profile (Contreras & Cano, 2014), quality of family relationships (Ibabe & Bentler, 2016), previous history of domestic violence (Ibabae, Jaureguizar & Bentler, 2013), parenting styles (Calvete, Orue & Gamez-Guadix, 2013), reciprocity patterns (Bartle-Haring, Slesnick & Carmona, 2015). The failure to contextualise these 'risk factors' within the wider systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) in which they exist, frames these families as in some way 'flawed', and therefore at 'fault' (Holt, 2013). The associated stigma silences disclosure, which increases isolation and further exasperates the abuse (Holt & Retford, 2013).

This necessities the need to increase awareness among both professionals and the public through the utility of a multidimensional framework to examine the bidirectional interactions between contributing factors rather than assessing personal variables that are typically blame orientated (Brule & Eckstein, 2016).

4.1.4 Fear

Consistent with previous literature (e.g. Holt, 2011) parents within this sample expressed fear relating to the immediate safety and future implications of the abuse for both themselves and their adolescent. Parents' within this research described 'walking on eggshells' and utilised alternate metaphors, akin with wider DV rhetoric (Clarke, 2015; Cottrell & Monk, 2005; Edenborough, 2012; Holt, 2011; 2015) highlighting a similarity between these two form of family abuse.

4.1.5 Ambiguity

In line with wider literature, (e.g. Clarke, 2015; Holt, 2011) parents' expressed difficulty in accepting that their adolescent was personally responsible for their abusive behaviours. For example, one mother exclaimed that 'She just didn't seem to be my daughter at all!'. This may exemplify a parents' unconditional love for their child which places parents' in a contradicting position as both a 'protector' and a 'victim' (Edenborough et al, 2008) and would explain why some parents within this study could expel their abusive adolescent from the family home. It thus, necessitates the need for practitioners to acknowledge this compromising position of parents so that the phenomenon can be articulated by parents without fear of judgement and further understood (Williams, Tuffin & Niland, 2017).

One parent disclosed the guilt that they felt from their son being arrested following an assault, and another parent described having been dissuaded from pressing charges against their teen by the police. In both instances it can be construed that parents are enacting their protective instincts for their offspring, concerned for the wider criminal ramifications, despite the circumstances of that relationship. This may account for the previous finding that allegations of APVA rarely result in a prosecution (Holt & Retford, 2013).

4.1.6 Coping Mechanisms

Mothers' were found to employ various 'defence mechanisms' such as minimising the extent of, or justifying their adolescents' behaviour to unconsciously protect themselves from 'difficult' emotions and counteract their feeling of shame by failing to acknowledge their reality (Clarke, 2015; Holt, 2011). This can be viewed as an unconscious response to a sense of failure at having not lived up to gendered socialisation norms in which mothers are seen as the primary caregivers (Gallagher, 2004a,b) and idealised views of motherhood are established. This creates a societal dialogue of 'mother-blaming' which is then internalised by mothers and reinforces their feelings of self-guilt (Jackson & Mannix, 2004). Fearing stigma, mothers will not speak out which creates feelings of isolation in which the abuse will prevail.

Parenting styles are commonly cited throughout the literature as a predictive factor within APVA (Cottrell, 2002; Calvete et al, 2015; Kennair & Mellor, 2007; Pagani et al, 2004; Tew & Nixon, 2010) and were indirectly mentioned within parents' accounts within this study. Parents' spoke of their attempts to discipline their adolescents through various means of 'removing privileges' coupled with attempts at 'reasoning' which point to an authoritarian approach to parenting. Whereas others', depicted themselves as resorting to a 'tough love' approach suggesting a lack of supportiveness and thus more indicative of an authoritative parenting style.

It has been posited these parenting styles can influence the adolescents' abusive behaviours as a means to 'gain greater control' as they 'lose respect' for their parent (Gallagher, 2004a). However, inconsistent findings between parenting style and gender differences (Pagani et al, 2004; Pagani et al, 2009) suggests that it would be more productive to assess specific parenting 'techniques' and the quality of interactions between the dyad (Simmons et al, 2018).

4.1.6.1 Moral Support

The absence of social support from friends, family and frontline services throughout parents' accounts may indicate why they had sought help online. The parents' displayed empathy towards each other and in some instances offered support through agreeing with each other's decisions to remove their adolescent from the home. Holt (2011) found that none of the parents were able to offer suggestions of 'successful remedies' and that there was an overwhelming sense of hopelessness and helplessness throughout APVA parents online forum accounts. A finding that was replicated within this study.

4.2   The Need to Explain

Nearly all of the parents' offered an explanation of their adolescents' abusive behaviours towards them within their online posts, in contradiction to Holt's (2011), in which it was posited that parents were unable to articulate their experiences.

An interpretation of the underlying motivation in providing an explanation suggested that some parents' used the process as a means to further understand the abuse in an attempt to identify potential 'causes' in order to address them. Whereas in other circumstances, parents' appeared to present an explanation of causative factors to defer personal responsibility. We turn to each of these points now.

4.2.1   To Understand

In line with previous research (Clarke, 2015), parents within this study presented a dialogue of their accounts of the abuse in which they appeared to rationalise their experiences in an attempt to identify underlying causative factors. Many parents framed their adolescents' behaviour within a medical sense and accordingly sought a diagnosis. It is noteworthy that within this study APVA adolescents that had received a diagnosis were removed from the sample in order to counter possible confounds,

as the presence of abusive tendencies toward parents has itself been counted as a determining factor within particular disorders (Simmons et al, 2018). However, parents' disclosed a number of mental health conditions they suspected their adolescent had including ADHD, ODD and CD. This is in line with a plethora of existing literature that has demonstrated higher levels of mental health concerns among APVA adolescents (Contreras & Cano, 2014a; Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010; Purcell et al., 2014; Routt & Anderson, 2011).

It has been proposed that medically framing the abuse can relieve parents' of feelings of guilt and associated stigma (Holt, 2013) but may conversely misdirect the family's attention by focusing on the adolescent as the 'root cause', from their own role, as outlined in the 'Family Systems Model' (Micucci, 1995). However, when assessed contextually, the parents' accounts within the theme 'the need to understand' suggested that they were searching for an underlying cause to locate and remedy the abuse with the assistance of medical intervention. Indeed, parents have been found to find it easier to understand the abuse upon their adolescent receiving a clinical diagnosis (Cottrell & Monk, 2004; Haw, 2010). Moreover, providing an explanation to justify the abuse can be seen as a parents' 'protective' instinct for their children, preventing public judgement of the adolescent, therefore protecting their self-esteem (Paterson et al, 2002). It may also be indicative of parents' understanding that it is socially acceptable to forgive the behaviour and present their unconditional love (Laing, 2014)

4.2.2   To Exonerate

Parents' also presented explanations for their adolescents' perpetration of abuse as a means to attribute accountability to exonerate themselves.

Again, medical issues were drawn upon to locate the abuse as resulting from an 'innate trait' within the adolescent, but these explanations were followed by assertions that the parent had 'tried

everything', or had had been a 'positive role model', or had provided a 'stable environment' for their offspring thus deferring personal responsibility.

Parents also exonerated themselves by drawing on comparisons between the behaviour of the abusive adolescent and their other children. Clarke (2015) employed the 'Karpman Drama Triangle' (DT; 1968), in which individuals' can assume one of three roles; victims, perpetrators, or rescuers within abusive relationships, to explain that these parents might therefore situate themselves as a 'rescuer' with the ability to parent effectively and 'resolve' the abuse.

Clarke (2015) uses the DT to explain that APVA parents may pathologize the adolescent and attribute the abuse away from oneself to place them self in the role of 'victim' and the 'pathology' as the 'perpetrator'. However, pathologizing the adolescent has the converse effect by preventing the parent to assume 'victim' status which increases their powerlessness when attempts at seeking support are repeatedly unsuccessful and parents' adopt a 'learned helplessness', further exasperating their sense of isolation and desperation (Holt, 2013) .

'Blame' was a central concept in mothers' accounts of their adolescents' fathers' absence or inconsistency in their life, the implications of which are further discussed below. This may be indicative of mothers' fear of judgement in the well documented construction of 'mother-blaming' (see Holt, 2013) and highlights the centrality of avoiding attributing blame within discourses of APVA as this revictimizes parents' by reinforcing stigma; reasserting parents' feelings of guilt from 'personal blame', and further increase their isolation (Bobic, 2004; Holt, 2013; Moulds et al., 2016).

4.3 Fractured Relationships

4.3.1 Separation: Missing Fathers
The parents', specifically some mothers' within this study, described how their separation from their adolescents' father had resulted in 'absent' or 'inconsistent' fathering.

A lack of a 'male role model' has been cited as a nuanced way of explaining the psychological impact on an adolescents' identity formation and its influence in adolescents' perpetration of abuse toward their mothers within previous research (Laing, 2014; Williams, Tuffin & Niland, 2017). It also demonstrates the need for research to move beyond direct attention to this dimension.

The disruption within the family environment through ensuing custody battles and financial difficulties, coupled with the additional pressures of lone parenting that may create emotional distress could then impact upon the quality of attachment. Although, not identified as a theme within her study, Clarke (2015) suggests the notion that these factors, may have contributed to the establishment of insecure attachments. The establishment of an 'ambivalent' attachment may result in a child exhibiting controlling and demanding behaviour in an attempt to elicit care from a parent and or seeking control in a disorganised style of attachment. A finding which is supported within the wider literature (e.g. Calvete et al, 2015).

Previous research has explored qualities of attachment within APVA (Agnew & Huguley, 1989; Paulson et al, 1990; Peek et al, 1985). This study also revealed dimensions that point to insecure attachments including an adolescents' 'fear of being alone', another adolescent 'not feeling wanted' and a mothers assertion that she was 'unable to connect or reach' her daughter. The concept of 'mattering' may explain the ways in which these feelings contribute to the perpetration of abuse toward a parent, as adolescents' are not frightened about losing a relationship that they feel they have never had (Elliot et al, 2011).

The role of attachment with APVA is largely neglected within wider research, and when this factor has been considered, inconsistent measures have prevented the generalisation of findings (Elliot et al, 2011; Holt, 2013). When taken together, the findings that mothers' cite separation/ divorce and the role of absent/ inconsistent fathers within their accounts of the abuse, as well as implying their own insecure attachments with their adolescents, clearly warrants further attention.

4.3.2 Repeat Victimisation and Intergenerational Domestic Violence

Within this sample APVA cooccurred within a wider context of violence within the family. This finding lends support to the 'cycle of violence' theory professed within the wider literature (e.g. Ibabe, Jaureguizar & Bentler, 2013) as it can be argued that children who are raised within violent families may vicariously learn that violence is an effective mean to resolve conflict. They may also view their mother as an 'easy target' (Holt, 2013) It is important to note however, that the majority of 'posters' did not refer to any former DV within their families, and the deterministic view of this theory fails to account for these families within this sample, but also fails to provide an explanation as to how the large majority of individuals who experience DV at an early age do not go onto perpetrate violence later in life (Holt, 2013).

It may be that rather than attaining a direct effect, previous DV may present indirectly within the APVA in creating lone parenting in which the adolescent assumes the 'vacant' male role within the family (Kennair & Mellor, 2007), or that the ramifications of the separation cited above, have interrupted the formation of secure attachments with parents, which again, necessitates future research within this area.

4.3.3 The Quality of Current Relationships

APVA parents' have been found to report strained relationships with family and friends resulting from judgement, or in an attempt to avoid stigma (Williams, Tuffin & Niland, 2017). In addition to the effects that APVA had on parents' relationships with their adolescents', the abuse was also found to impact upon parents' relationships with others. Marriages/ partnerships were cited as heavily strained, stemming largely from disagreements in each other's responses to the abuse, and relationships with other children were compromised. This contributed to parents' sense of isolation, which places them further at risk (Holt, 2011)

4.4 Limitations and Recommendations

This study had originally intended to employ a mixed methods qualitative data collection approach. Working within the one-year confine of a Masters Research project, obtaining consent from gatekeepers from professional organisations to recruit APVA parents for research purposes, such as Children's Services or the Youth Offending Service, for example, was deemed unviable. Advertisements were placed on the same online parenting support forums that the forum data was ascertained, but following six months of advertisement, no responses were received. Upon reflection, the scale of this study; the challenges of accessing this 'hard to reach' research population was perhaps out of the scope of the time restriction of a Masters Degree. Indeed, the limited studies that have approached interviewing APVA parents in fulfilment of a postgraduate degree have done so within a PhD (Clark, 2015; Laing, 2014).

The study proceeded with the utilisation of online forum data thus enabling access to this group (Bonnick, 2010; Holt, 2013), but prevented opportunity to further explore or clarify parents' accounts. The 'restricted' forum data was then analysed via a Thematic Analysis to identify issues of significance to the APVA parents, classified within themes. This research was informed by a Social-Ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), guided by a Social Constructionist approach, and although providing rich findings, it is acknowledged that a Discourse Analysis (Willig, 2008) would have been better placed for a greater exploration of the broader power relations within APVA and the ways in which they are influenced by macro level factors (Timberlake, 2015).

By considering the phenomenon of APVA through a Social Constructionist perspective, informed by Social-Ecological Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), it is recommended that future research utilise a mixed methods data collection approach of both interview, and online forum data, in order to direct attention to the contribution of systems at the individual, dyadic, intergenerational, and systemic levels, within APVA. Thus enabling the current nature of the narratives and discourses of APVA to be contextually framed, understood and evaluated which potentiates change and reduction of associated

stigma stemming for societal blame attributions (Brule & Eckstein, 2016). It is crucial that awareness is raised, particularly among professionals in frontline services, to recognise early risk factors and encourage disclosures so that families living with this form of violence receive the assistance they may require to address the abuse (Holt, 2013).

Relative to the quantitative APVA research (e.g. Condry & Miles, 2013), the small sample size within this study prevents the generalisation of findings. Further, the majority of sample participants in this research were females. In order that a broader understanding of the contextual dynamics of this concept be reached, it is strongly recommended that future research is focussed on fathers' experiences in order for comparisons to be made between genders.

The role of attachment within APVA warrants further investigation. In order to achieve this a consensus in operational definitions, terminology and measures are required. To further enhance understanding of this complex phenomenon future research should aim to ascertain the perspectives of adolescents' who perpetrate violence and/or abuse toward their parents.

4.5 Conclusion

The findings from this study confirm that APVA is a serious issue that impacts upon all areas of the affected parents' lives. A Thematic Analysis revealed three themes within parents' accounts of the abuse they experienced from their adolescent. The 'emotional turmoil', the 'need to explain', and 'fractured relationships'.

In line with previous research (Cottrell & Monk, 2004, Clarke, 2015; Holt, 2011; Patterson, 2002), parents were found to be in a state of 'emotional turmoil' experiencing feelings ranging from desperation and guilt through to disbelief and ambiguity.

Nearly all of the parents within this study, offered an explanation of their adolescents' abusive behaviours towards them within their online posts, in contradiction to Holt's (2011) study, in which it

was posited that parents were unable to articulate their experiences, but lends support to Clarke's (2015), finding in which parents' appeared to rationalise their experiences in an attempt to identify underlying causative factors. This study contributed to the literature through the identification of the utilisation of parents' need to explain, as a means to 'exonerate' themselves by attributing 'blame' to alternate factors, which has not been identified within previous research. It is proposed that this may have resulted from the sense of judgement frequently expressed throughout exiting APVA research (Baker, 2012; Edenborough et al., 2008; Hunter, 2010; Holt, 2013; Jackson & Mannix, 2004) as feelings of self-blame were perhaps the most profound of all throughout parents' accounts within this study.

The significance that 'fractured relationships'; including divorce/separation and subsequent absent or inconsistent fathers, previous domestic violence and the quality of current relationships, held within the abuse was evident throughout the APVA parents' accounts within this study. This can be viewed to demonstrate the interdependent relationships within APVA families and the bidirectional influence of these relationships across multiple systems (Henderson & Baffour, 2015) as purported from a Social Ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Finally, the findings from this study support the necessity of increasing awareness among both professionals and the public through the utility of a multidimensional framework to examine the bidirectional interactions between contributing factors to APVA, rather than assessing personal variables that are typically blame orientated. Furthermore, the utility of the Family Systems theory (Bowen, 1978), that acknowledges the individuals within their family and the family within the Social-Ecological systems, can provide a theoretical lens with which to inform intervention work with APVA families ((Micucci, 1995). By focusing on the multiple levels of influence, blame can be avoided (Brule & Eckstein, 2016; Holt, 2013).

5.0   References

Agnew, R., and Huguley, S. (1989). Adolescent Violence toward Parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 51(3), pp.699-711.

Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E. & Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation*, Hilldale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Appel, D. L. (2011). *Narratives on death and bereavement from three South African Cultures* (Doctoral dissertation, University of South Africa).

Arendell, T. (2000). Conceiving and investigating motherhood: The decade's scholarship. *Journal of marriage and family*, *62*(4), 1192-1207.

Baker, S., Sanders, M.R. and Morawska, A. (2017). Who uses online parenting support? a cross-sectional survey exploring australian parents' internet use for parenting. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *26*(3), pp.916-927

Barnett, M. A., Scaramella, L. V., McGoron, L., & Callahan, K. (2011). Coparenting cooperation and child adjustment in low-income mother-grandmother and mother-father families. *Family science*, *2*(3), 159-170.

Bartle-Haring, S., Slesnick, N., & Carmona, J. (2015). Reciprocity in adolescent and caregiver violence. *Journal of family violence*, *30*(2), 149-159.

Baumrind, D. (1991a). Parenting styles and adolescent development. In J. Brooks-Gunn, R. Learner, & A. C. Peterson (Eds.), The encyclopaedia of adolescence pp.746-758. New York: Garland.

Biehal, N. (2012). Parent Abuse by Young People on the Edge of Care: A Child Welfare Perspective. *Social Policy and Society*, 11(2), pp.251 - 263.

Bobic, N. (2004). *Adolescent Violence Towards Parents*. Rosemount: Australian Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse.

Bonnick, H. (Autumn 2010). Searching for help for Parent Abuse 12239424 108

Bonnick, H., Holes in the Wall (2018) *Documenting Parent Abuse*. Available at https://holesinthewall.co.uk/resources/projects-and-programmes/

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice*. New York: Aronson.

Brezina, T. (1999). Teenage violence toward parents as an adaptation to family strain: Evidence from a national survey of male adolescents. *Youth & Society*, 30(4), pp.416-444.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Harvard university press.

Browne, K.D. and Hamilton, C.E. (1998). Physical violence between young adults and their parents: Associations with a history of child maltreatment. *Journal of family violence*, 13(1), pp.59-79

Calvete, E., Gámez-Guadix, M., Orue, I., González-Diez, Z., de Arroyabe, E.L., Sampedro, R., Pereira, R., Zubizarreta, A. and Borrajo, E. (2013). Brief report: The Adolescent Child-to-Parent Aggression Questionnaire: An examination of aggressions against parents in Spanish adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, 36(6), pp.1077-1081.

Calvete, E. Orue, I,. Gamez-Guadix, M., and Bushman, B.J. (2015). Predictors of child-to-parent aggression: A 3-year longitudinal study. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(5), pp.663-676

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. *Handbook of qualitative research*, *2*, 509-535.

Charmaz, K., & Belgrave, L. L. (2006). Grounded theory. *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology*.

Clarke, K., Holt, A., Norris, C., & Nel, P. (2017). Adolescent–to–parent violence and abuse: Parents' management of tension and ambiguity — an interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Child and Family Social Work*. DOI: 10.1111/cfs.12363

Condry, R. and Miles, C. (2013). Adolescent to Parent Violence: Framing and mapping a hidden problem. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 14(3) pp.257-275

Contreras, L. and Cano, C. (2014). Family profile of young offenders who abuse their parents: A comparison with general offenders and non-offenders. *Journal of Family Violence*, 29(8), pp.901-910

Contreras, L. and del Carmen Cano, M. (2016). Child-to-parent violence: The role of exposure to violence and its relationship to social-cognitive processing. *The European Journal of Psychology Applied to Legal Context*, 8(2), pp.43-50

Contreras, L. and Cano, M.C. (2016). Social competence and child-to-parent violence: Analyzing the role of the emotional intelligence, social attitudes, and personal values. *Deviant Behavior*, *37*(2), pp.115-125

Coogan, D. (2011). Child-to-Parent Violence: Challenging Perspectives on Family Violence. *Child Care in Practice*, 17(4), pp.347-358.

Cornell, C.P. and Gelles, R.J. (1982). Adolescent to parent violence. *Urban and social change review*, 15(1), pp.8-14

Cottrell, B. (2001). *Parent abuse: The abuse of parents by their teenage children*, Ottawa, Canada: Family Violence Prevention Unit, Health Canada.

Cottrell, D. and Boston, P. (2002). Practitioner review: The effectiveness of systemic family therapy for children and adolescents. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 43(5), pp.573-586

Cottrell, B. and Monk, P. (2004) Adolescent-to-parent abuse: A qualitative overview of common themes. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25(8) pp.1072-1095

Dobash, R.E. and Dobash, R. (1979). *Violence against wives: A case against the patriarchy.* pp.179-206. New York: Free Press.

Downey, L. (1997). Adolescent Violence: A Systemic and Feminist Perspective. *ANJFT*, 18(2), pp.70-79.

Eckstein, N. J. (2004). Emergent Issues in Families Experiencing Adolescent-to-Parent Abuse. *Western Journal of Communication*, 68(4), pp.365-388.

Edenborough, M., Jackson, D., Mannix, J., & Wilkes, L. M. (2008). Living in the red zone: the experience of child-to-mother violence. *Child and Family Social Work*, 13, pp.464-473.

Embry, R. and Lyons Jr, P.M. (2012). Sex-based sentencing: Sentencing discrepancies between male and female sex offenders. *Feminist Criminology*, *7*(2), pp.146-162.

Erdem, G., & Safi, O. A. (2018). The cultural lens approach to Bowen family systems theory: Contributions of family change theory. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *10*(2), 469-483.

Evans, E.D. and Warren-Sohlberg, L. (1988). A pattern analysis of adolescent abusive behavior toward parents. *Journal of adolescent research*, 3 (2), pp.201-216

Finkelhor, D., Turner, H. and Ormrod, R. (2006). Kid's stuff: The nature and impact of peer and sibling violence on younger and older children. *Child abuse & neglect*, 30 (12), pp.1401-1421.

Finlay, L. and Gough, B. eds., (2008). *Reflexivity: A practical guide for researchers in health and social sciences*. John Wiley & Sons

Gallagher, E. (2004a). Parents victimised by their children. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 25(1), pp.1-12.

Gallagher, E. (2004b). Youth who victimise their parents. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 25(2), pp.94–105.

Gallagher, E (2008) Children's violence to parents: a critical literature review. *Unpublished Masters thesis*, Monash University

Gámez-Guadix, M., Jaureguizar, J., Almendros, C. and Carrobles, J.A (2012). Family socialization styles and violence of children to parents in the Spanish population. *Behavioral Psychology / Psicologia Conductual* , 20(3).

Geinger, F., Vandenbroeck, M., & Roets, G. (2014). Parenting as a performance: Parents as consumers and (de) constructors of mythic parenting and childhood ideals. *Childhood*, *21*(4), 488-501.

Gelles, R. J. & Strauss, M. A. (1979). '*Determinants of violence in the family: toward a theoretical integration*', in W. R. Burr, F. Reuben Hill, I. Nye & I. L. Reiss (eds). Contemporary theories about the family, New York, NY: Free Press.

Giorgi, A. (1994). A phenomenological perspective on certain qualitative research methods. *Journal of phenomenological psychology*, *25*(2), pp.190-220.

Goodwin, S., & Huppatz, K. (Eds.). (2010). *The good mother: Contemporary motherhoods in Australia*. Sydney University Press.

Harbin, H. T., & Madden, D. J. (1979). 'Battered parents: a new syndrome'. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 136, pp.1288-1291.

Haw, A. (2010). Parenting Over Violence: Understanding and Empowering Mothers Affected by. Government of Western Australia. Department for Communities. Womens Interests.: The Patricia Giles Centre Inc. 12239424 111

Hays, S. (1996). The cultural contradictions of motherhood. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Henderson, D. X., & Baffour, T. (2015). Applying a socio-ecological framework to thematic analysis using a statewide assessment of disproportionate minority contact in the United States. *The Qualitative Report*, *20*(12), 1960-1973.

Henderson, A., Harmon, S., & Newman, H. (2016). The price mothers pay, even when they are not buying it: Mental health consequences of idealized motherhood. *Sex Roles*, *74*(11-12), 512-526.

Hoffman, L. (1990). Constructing realities: An art of lenses. *Family process*, *29*(1), 1-12.

Holt, A. (March 2011). Responding to the problem of 'Parent Abuse'. *The Psychologist*, 24(3), pp.186-188.

Holt, A. (2011). "The terrorist in my home": teenagers' violence towards parents – constructions of parent experiences in public online message boards. *Child and Family Social Work*, 16(4), pp.454–463.

Holt, A. (2013) *Adolescent to parent abuse – current understandings in research, policy and practice*. Bristol, UK. Policy Press.

Holt, A. and Retford, S. (2013). Practitioner accounts of responding to parent abuse–a case study in ad hoc delivery, perverse outcomes and a policy silence. *Child & Family Social Work*, 18(3), pp.365-374

Holt, A. (2015). Adolescent-to-Parent Abuse as a Form of "Domestic Violence": A Conceptual Review. *Trauma, Violence and Abuse*. pp.1-10.

Home Office. (2013). Information for Local Areas on the change to the Definition of Domestic Violence and Abuse. Against Violence and Abuse: Crown Copyright.

Home Office. (2014). Strengthening the Law on Domestic Abuse Consultation–Summary of Responses.

Home Office. (2015). Information guide: adolescent to parent violence and abuse (APVA) retrieved on 24th March 2015 from: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/420963/APVA.pdf

Hong, J. S., Kral, M. J., Espelage, D., & Allen-Meares, P. (2012). The Social Ecology of Adolescent-Initiated Parent Abuse: A Review of the Literature. *Child Psychiatry Hum Dev*, 43, pp.431–454.

Howard, J., & Rottem, N. (2008). It All Starts at Home: Male Adolescent Violence to Mothers. A Research Report. Melbourne: *Inner South Community Health Services Inc*.

Howard, J. (2011). *Adolescent Violence in the Home - The Missing Link in Family Violence Prevention and Response*. Australian Domestic & Family Violence Clearinghouse.

Hunter, C., Nixon, J., & Parr, S. (2010). Mother Abuse: A Matter of Youth Justice, Child Welfare of Domestic Violence? *Journal of Law and Society*, 37(2), pp.264-284.

Ibabe, I., Jaureguizar, J., & Diaz, O. (2009). Adolescent violence against parents. Is it a consequence of gender inequality? *The European Journal of Psychology Applied to Legal Context*, 1(1), pp.3-24.

Ibabe, I., & Jaureguizar, J. (2010). Child-to-parent violence: Profile of abusive adolescents and their families. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 38, pp.616–624.

Ibabe, I., Jaureguizar, J. and Bentler, P.M. (2013). Risk factors for child-to-parent violence. *Journal of family violence*, *28*(5), pp.523-534.

Ibabe, I., Jaureguizar, J. and Bentler, P.M. (2013). Protective factors for adolescent violence against authority. *The Spanish journal of psychology*, *16*

Ibabe, I., Arnoso, A., & Elgorriaga, E. (2014). Behavioral problems and depressive symptomatology as predictors of child-to-parent violence. *The European Journal of Psychology Applied to Legal Context*, 6, pp.53-61. 12239424 113

Ibabe, I. and Bentler, P.M. (2016). The contribution of family relationships to child-to-parent violence. *Journal of family violence*, *31*(2), pp.259-269

Jackson, D. (2003). Broadening constructions of family violence: mothers 'perspectives of aggression from their children. *Child and Family Social Work*, 8, pp.321-329.

Jackson, D., & Mannix, J. (2004). Giving voice to the burden of blame: A feminist study of mothers' experiences of mother blaming. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 10, pp.150–158.

Jaureguizar, J., Ibabe, I. and Straus, M.A. (2013). Violent and prosocial behavior by adolescents toward parents and teachers in a community sample. *Psychology in the Schools*, *50*(5), pp.451-470

Jennings-Kelsall, V., Aloia, L.S., Solomon, D.H., Marshall, A.D. and Leifker, F.R. (2012). Stressors experienced by women within marine corps families: A qualitative study of discourse within an online forum. *Military Psychology*, *24*(4), pp.363-381

Johnson, M.P. and Ferraro, K.J. (2000). Research on domestic violence in the 1990s: Making distinctions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *62*(4), pp.948-963

Jowett, A., Peel, E. and Shaw, R. (2011). Online interviewing in psychology: Reflections on the process. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *8*(4), pp.354-369

Karpman, S. B. (1968). Fairy tales and script drama analysis. *Transactional Analysis Bulletin*, 7, pp.39-43.

Kazak, A. E., Simms, S., & Rourke, M. T. (2002). Family systems practice in pediatric psychology. *Journal of pediatric psychology*, *27*(2), 133-143.

Kennair, N., & Mellor, D. (2007). Parent Abuse: A Review. *Child Psychiatry Hum Dev*, 38, pp.203–219.

Kethineni, S. (2004). Youth-on-parent violence in a Central Illinois County. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 2(4), pp.374-394.

Kitchin, H. A. (2007). *Research ethics and the Internet: Negotiating Canada's TriCouncil policy statement*. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood

Krahn, G. L., & Eisert, D. (2000). Qualitative methods in clinical psychology. In *Handbook of research in pediatric and clinical child psychology* (pp. 145-164). Springer, Boston, MA.

Laing, M. (2014). *The Dark Side of Parenting: the Victim Experience of Parent Abuse*, Massey University, Palmerston Noth, New Zealand, unpublished MSc.

Laurent, A., & Derry, A. (1999). Violence of French Adolescents Toward Their Parents: Characteristics and Contexts. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 25, pp.21-26.

Leach, C., Stewart, A. and Smallbone, S. (2016). Testing the sexually abused-sexual abuser hypothesis: A prospective longitudinal birth cohort study. *Child abuse & neglect*, *51*, pp.144-153

Margolin, G. and Baucom, B.R. (2014). Adolescents' aggression to parents: Longitudinal links with parents' physical aggression. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *55*(5), pp.645-651.

May, T & Perry, B. (2017). Reflexivity: the essential guide. Sage Publications

McCloskey, L.A. and Lichter, E.L. (2003). The contribution of marital violence to adolescent aggression across different relationships. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *18*(4), pp.390-412

McKenna, M., O'Connor, R., & Verco, J. (2010). Exposing the dark side of parenting: A report of parents' experiences of child and adolescent family violence. South Australia: *The Regional Alliance Addressing Child and Adolescent Violence in the Home*.

Micucci, J. A. (1995). Adolescents who assault their parents: A Family Systems Approach to Treatment. *Psychotherapy*, 32(1), pp.154-161.

Moulds, L., *Day*, A., *Mildred*, H., *Miller*, P., & *Casey*, S. (*2016*). Adolescent violence towards parents—the known and unknowns. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 37 (4), pp.547–557

Moreno, M. A., Frost, N. C., & Christakis, D. A. (2008). Research ethics in the MySpace era. *Pediatrics*, 121, pp.157–161

Nock, M. K., & Kazdin, A. E. (2002). Parent-Directed Physical Aggression by Clinic-Referred Youths. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 31(2), 193-205.

Pagani, L., Larocque, D., Vitaro, F., & Tremblay, R. E. (2003). Verbal and Physical Abuse Toward Mothers: The Role of Family Configuration, Environment, and Coping Strategies. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 32(3), pp.215-222.

Pagani, L., Tremblay, R., Nagin, D., Zoccolillo, M., Vitaro, F., & McDuff, P. (2004). Risk factor models for adolescent verbal and physical aggression toward mothers. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28(6), pp.528-537.

Pagani, L., Tremblay, R. E., Nagin, D., Zoccolillo, M., & Vitaro, F. (2009). Risk Factor Models for Adolescent Verbal and Physical Aggression Toward Fathers. *Journal of Family Violence*, 24(1), pp.73-182.

Parentline Plus. (2010). When Family Life Hurts: Family experience of aggression in children. London: Parentline Plus.

Patterson, J. M. (2002). Understanding Family Resilience. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 58, pp.233-246.

Paulson, M. J., Coombs, R. H., & Landsverk, J. (1990). Youth who physically assault their parents. *Journal of Family Violence*, 5(2), pp.121-133.

Peek, C.W., Fischer, J.L. and Kidwell, J.S. (1985). Teenage violence toward parents: A neglected dimension of family violence. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp.1051-1058

Peters, J. and Wolper, A. (2018), *Women's rights, human rights: International feminist perspectives.* New York: Routledge.

Pietkiewicz, I. and Smith, J.A. (2014). A practical guide to using interpretative phenomenological analysis in qualitative research psychology. *Psychological Journal*, 20(1), pp.7-14

Robinson, P. W., Davidson, L. J. & Drebot, M. E. (2004). Parent abuse on the rise: A historical review, *American Association of Behavioural Social Science*, pp.58-67.

Routt, G., & Anderson, L. (2011). Adolescent Aggression: Adolescent Violence towards Parents. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 20, pp.1-19.

Sampedro, R., Calvete, E., Gamez-Guadix, M. and Orue, I. (2014). Child-to-parent aggression in adolescents: Prevalence and reasons. In *16th European Conference on Developmental Psychology. International Proceedings Division* pp. 201-204

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research*. London: Sage.

Snyder, H. N., & McCurley, C. (2008). Domestic assaults by juvenile offenders. *Juvenile Justice Bulletin.*

Stewart, M., Wilkes, L.M., Jackson, D. and Mannix, J. (2006). Child-to-mother violence: A pilot study. *Contemporary Nurse*, 21(2), pp.297-310.

Stewart, M., Burns, A., & Leonard, R. (2007). Dark side of the mothering role: abuse of mothers by adolescent and adult children. Sex Roles, 56(3-4), pp.183-191.

Stith, S.M., Rosen, K.H., Middleton, K.A., Busch, A.L., Lundeberg, K. and Carlton, R.P. (2000). The intergenerational transmission of spouse abuse: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(3), pp.640-654

Straus, M.A. and Stewart, J.H. (1999). Corporal punishment by American parents: National data on prevalence, chronicity, severity, and duration, in relation to child and family characteristics. *Clinical child and family psychology review*, 2(2), pp.55-70

Straus, M.A. and Fauchier, A. (2008). The Dimensions of Discipline Inventory (DDI) A Brief but comprehensive tool for Clinical Screening and Research. In *International Conference on Violence, Abuse and Trauma, Alliant University International, San Diego, CA*.

Swinford, S.P., DeMaris, A., Cernkovich, S.A. and Giordano, P.C. (2000). Harsh physical discipline in childhood and violence in later romantic involvements: The mediating role of problem behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2), pp.508-519

Tew, J., & Nixon, J. (2010). Parent Abuse: Opening Up a Discussion of a Complex Instance of Family Power Relations. *Social Policy and Society*, 9(4), pp.579 - 589.

Tidefors, I., Arvidsson, H., Ingevaldson, S., & Larsson, M. (2010). 'Sibling incest: a literature review and a clinical study'. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 16(3), pp.347-360.

Ulman, A., & Straus, M. A. (2003). Violence by children against mothers in relation to violence between parents and corporal punishment by parents. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 34, pp.41-60.

Walsh, J. A., & Krienert, J. L. (2007). Child–Parent Violence: An Empirical Analysis of Offender, Victim, and Event Characteristics in a National Sample of Reported Incidents. *Journal of Family Violence*, 22, pp.563–574. 12239424 118

Warrell, J.G. and Jacobsen, M. (2014). Internet Research Ethics and the Policy Gap for Ethical Practice in Online Research Settings. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 44(1), pp.22-37

Widom, C.S., Czaja, S. and Dutton, M.A. (2014). Child abuse and neglect and intimate partner violence victimization and perpetration: A prospective investigation. *Child abuse & neglect*, 38(4), pp.650-663

Wilcox, P. (2012). Is Parent Abuse a Form of Domestic Violence? *Social Policy & Society*, 11(2), pp.277–288.

Williams, M., Tuffin, K. and Niland, P. (2017). "It's like he just goes off, BOOM!": mothers and grandmothers make sense of child-to-parent violence. *Child & Family Social Work*, 22(2), pp.597-606.