

LEARNING FROM THE RAPID DECLINE
IN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE:
*INCREASING OUR REACH IN PREVENTION
OF CHILD ABUSE*

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Themes I want to develop

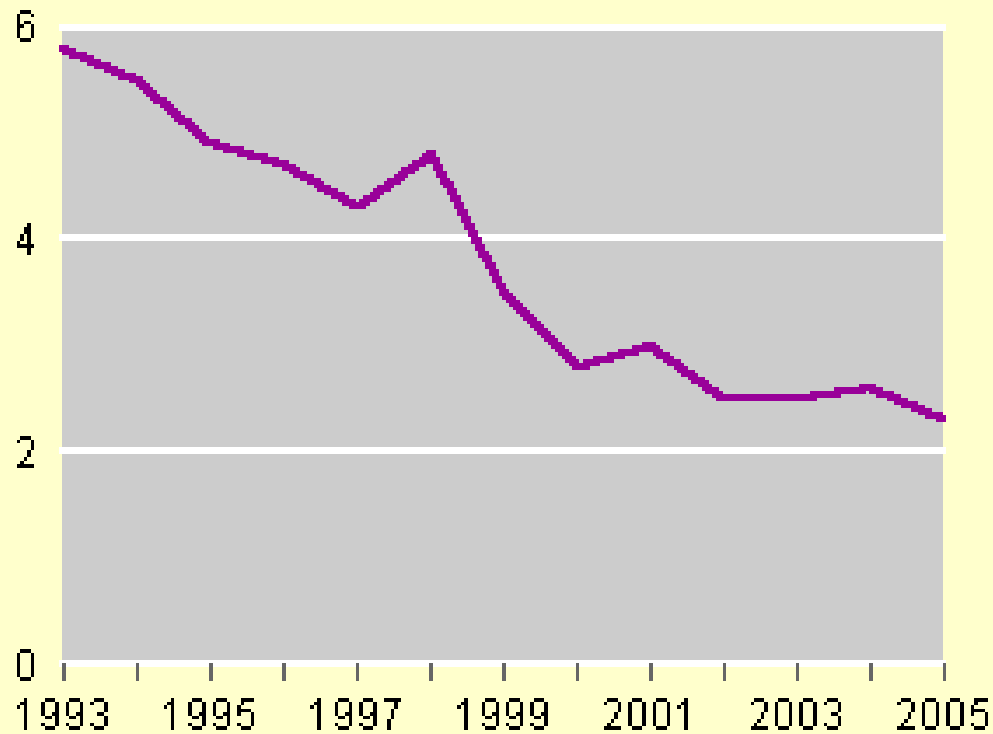
- IPV has fallen precipitously
- Homicide, divorce, & crime have fallen
- Social capital decline doesn't fit
- CA&N has fallen (2000 year perspective)
- Poverty doesn't explain
- Stigma & women's movement
- Make CA&N a political movement
- Include children's voices



Intimate Partner Violence Has Declined 60.3% since 1993!

Nonfatal intimate partner victimization rate, 1993 - 2005

Rate per 1,000 persons age 12 or older



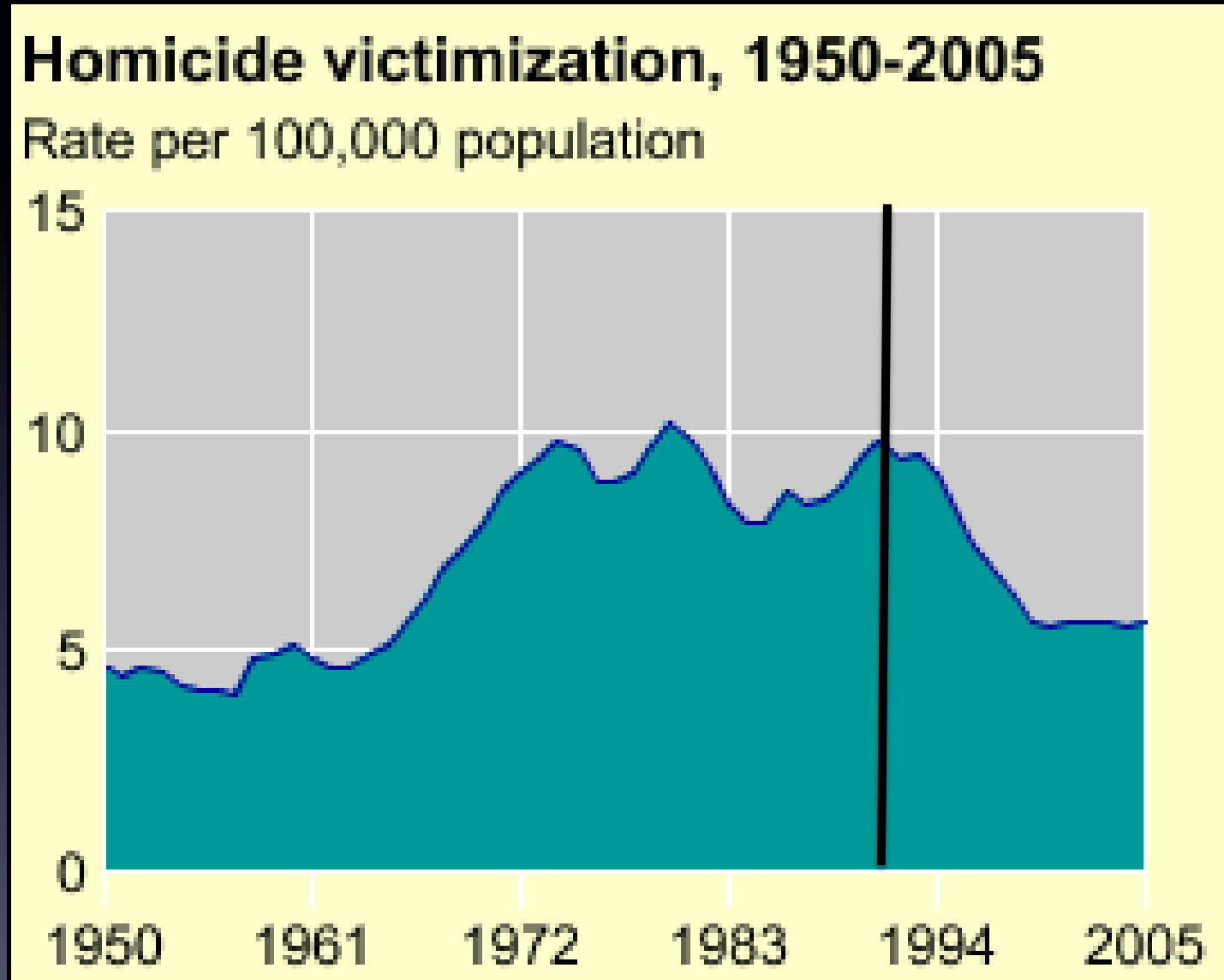
Why has IPV declined?

- Screening?
- Mandatory reporting?
- Social services Intervention?
- A new specialty in medicine for women's care
- Prosecution?

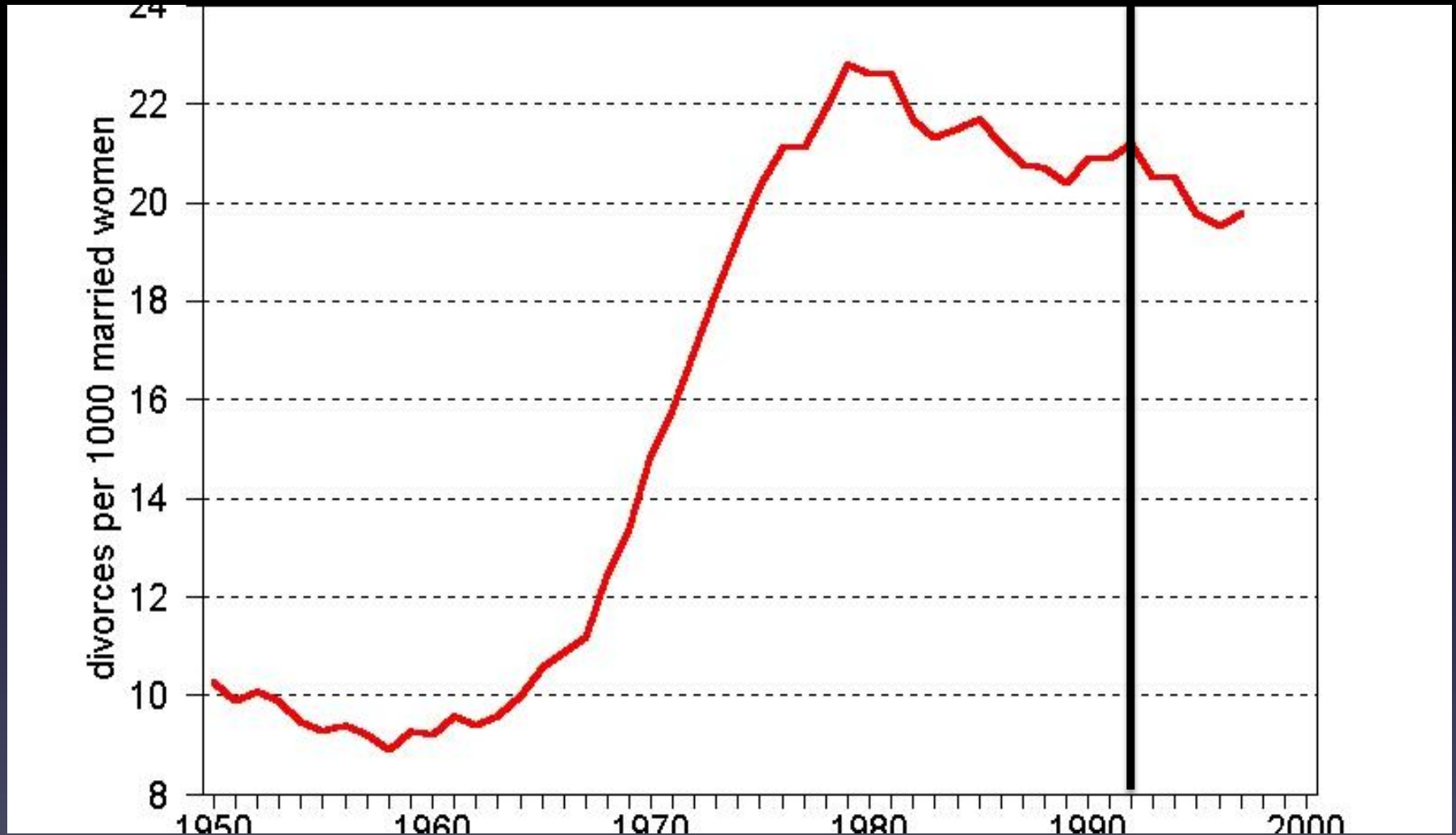
Stigma

- Stigma is a Greek word that in its origins referred to a marking or tattoo cut or burned into criminals, slaves, or traitors.
- The stigmatized are ostracized, devalued, rejected, scorned and shunned.

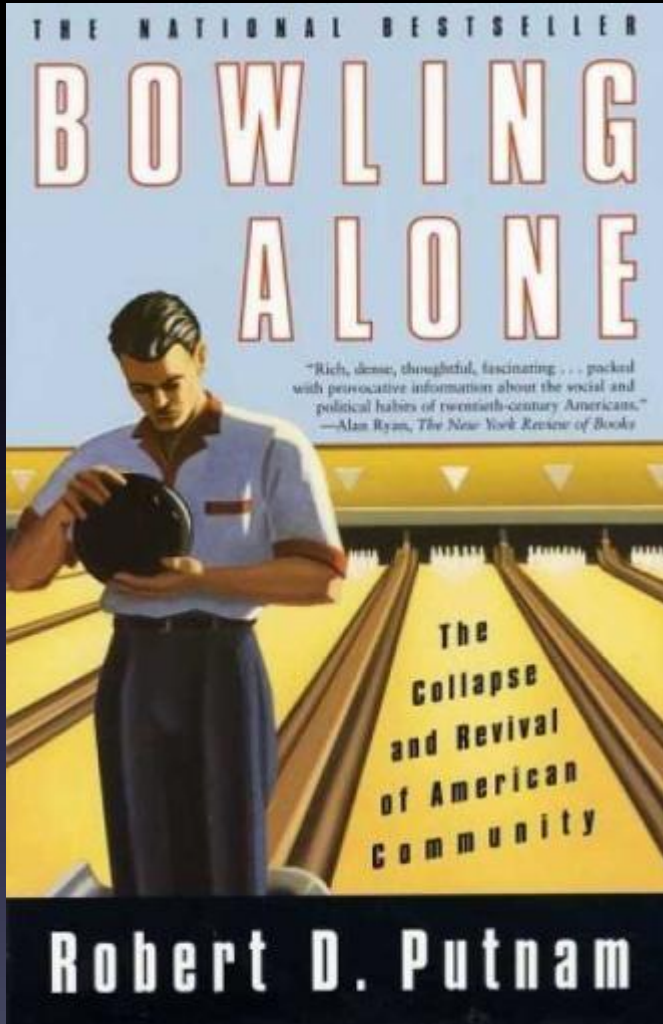
US Homicide Trends: 50% Decline since 1993



US Divorce Rate Trends



The decline of social capital



If social capital is declining- less voting, PTA participation, bowling leagues, etc---

Why have rates of IPV, Child abuse, homicide and crime all declined?

Culture and abuse

- society's shared fund of ideas, beliefs & behaviors about social conduct
- "Culture is the negotiable template for daily life ... that directs parents in their parenting tasks & helps define unacceptable acts"
- Culture includes the shared understanding about how parents should raise their children...
- And how spouses treat each other...

Child discipline by parent report in the US (NC & SC 2003)

- Taking privil. 85%
- Time-out 79%
- Yelling 75%
- Spanking 45%
- Spanking (object) 25%
- Slapping face 6%
- Pinching 6%



Harsh discipline in past year “Extended Battered Child”

- Overall 4.3%
 - Shaking < 2 2.6%
 - Beating 0.3%
 - Burning 0.2%
 - Kicking 0.3%
 - Hitting with object (not on buttocks) 3.4%



Western modes of child rearing

L. DeMause 1974

- Antiquity - Infanticidal mode
- 5th - 14th century - abandonment mode
- 14th - 17th century - ambivalent mode
- 18th century - intrusive mode
- 19th century - socializing mode
- 20th century - helping mode
- MODE IS USED IN A STATISTICAL SENSE- MOST COMMON FORM OF BEHAVIOR

Infanticide in antiquity

- Supported by Plato and Aristotle
- Ancient Greece - Infants examined by Council of elders- if weak or deformed thrown from mountaintop
- Roman Law of Twelve Tables - forbade raising of deformed children
- "Slaughter of the Innocents"





20. Theani Sidicini infans natus est ma
que totidem, capite & ventre vno, binoq;

Abandonment

- Founding of Rome
- Abandonment of Moses
- Development of Foundling Hospitals
- Wet nurses & apprenticing
- “Street Arabs” & “Guttersnipes”



Ambivalent mode



Intrusive mode



- “Withhold not correction from a child: for if thou strike him with a rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with a rod and deliver his soul from hell.”

» Proverbs 23: 13-14

Socializing mode



HOME "FINISHERS": A CONSUMPTIVE MOTHER AND HER TWO CHILDREN

Helping Mode - 20th century



Field workers, 9 to 15 years old, Communist labor farm.

- 1904 National Child Labor Committee
- 1937 Fair Labor Practices Act
- Development of kindergartens
- 1962 Recognition of child abuse

Recognition of child abuse

- “I coined the term “The Battered Child Syndrome” in 1962 despite its provocative and anger-producing nature. I had for the preceding 10 years talked about child abuse, non-accidental, or inflicted injury but few paid attention.”
 - *C. Henry Kempe Archives of Diseases of Childhood 1971 46:48*

Kempe's 1971 report of incidence
New Cases per Year (Children's Hospital, Pittsburgh)

– Phenylketonuria (PKU infants)	11
– Wilms' tumour	6
– Neuroblastoma	7
– Cystic fibrosis (less than 3 years)	11
– Leukemia (0-16 years)	25
– Abuse or suspected abuse	41
– Failure to thrive	37

Kempe Windemere Lecture 1971

- “If we discontinue tonsillectomies and open the resultant vacant beds to the baby whose growth and weight curves have flattened for no particular reason, who does not smile or develop motor and social skills appropriately, we would gain tremendously in terms of preventing long range and often irreversible pathology and lasting human emotional and physical economic loss.
- Testing for phenylketonuria is far less urgent and the yield far less impressive.”

1971: Kempe's Estimate of Incidence

- **“Nobody knows the true incidence of the extended syndrome but from prospective observations of families from all walks of life, I believe that it is as common as 6 in 1,000 live births.”**

Kempe's Thoughts on Diagnosis

- This country rightly has had a long-standing love affair with the detective story. The temptation is certainly large for the physician to decide who the culprit is.
- In fact, I see much time wasted on trying to find out 'who did it'. It is now clear to us that the important question for the physician to answer is 'did something happen?'

Etiology

- “If he thinks something happened he must then assume that he is dealing with at least four sick individuals: the baby, the father, the mother, *and himself*. Each in their own way are debilitated by the event and need treatment.”

Kempe on the dynamics

- For every battering parent - mother or father
 - there is a spouse who abets, condones, and covers up the battering. Marriage partners tend to be very protective of one another

tough on children for a long time

- World population in 0AD: 170,000,000
- Roman Law of 12 tables: IV. 1 "A dreadfully deformed child shall be killed."
- A child could be put to death for speaking back to a parent
- The Slaughter of the Innocents by Herod
- Biblical Stories of Abraham & Issac, Jeptah in Book of Judges
- Abandonment in myth (Remus and Rommulus) and religious story (Moses)

Was child abuse the modal form of child rearing in antiquity?

Critics argue that the evidence is not present

DeMause may overstate homicide and abandonment risk

Review of historical texts doesn't give much insight

Can developing world data provide insight?

International data on physical abuse

- Egypt : a survey of children in 4th grade
 - **37% were beaten or tied-up**
- South Korea:
 - 69/1000 4th & 5th grade children report severe violence: (defined as kicking, beating, biting, throwing, or threatening with a knife or a gun *more than 2 times a month*)
 - Parent : **67% whipped & 45% hit, kicked or beat children**

International data on physical abuse

- Romania:
 - 47% of parents admit to beating their children “regularly” & 16% report beating with objects.
 - 4.6% of children themselves report severe & frequent abuse such as hit with object, burning, or being deprived of food

WorldSAFE:

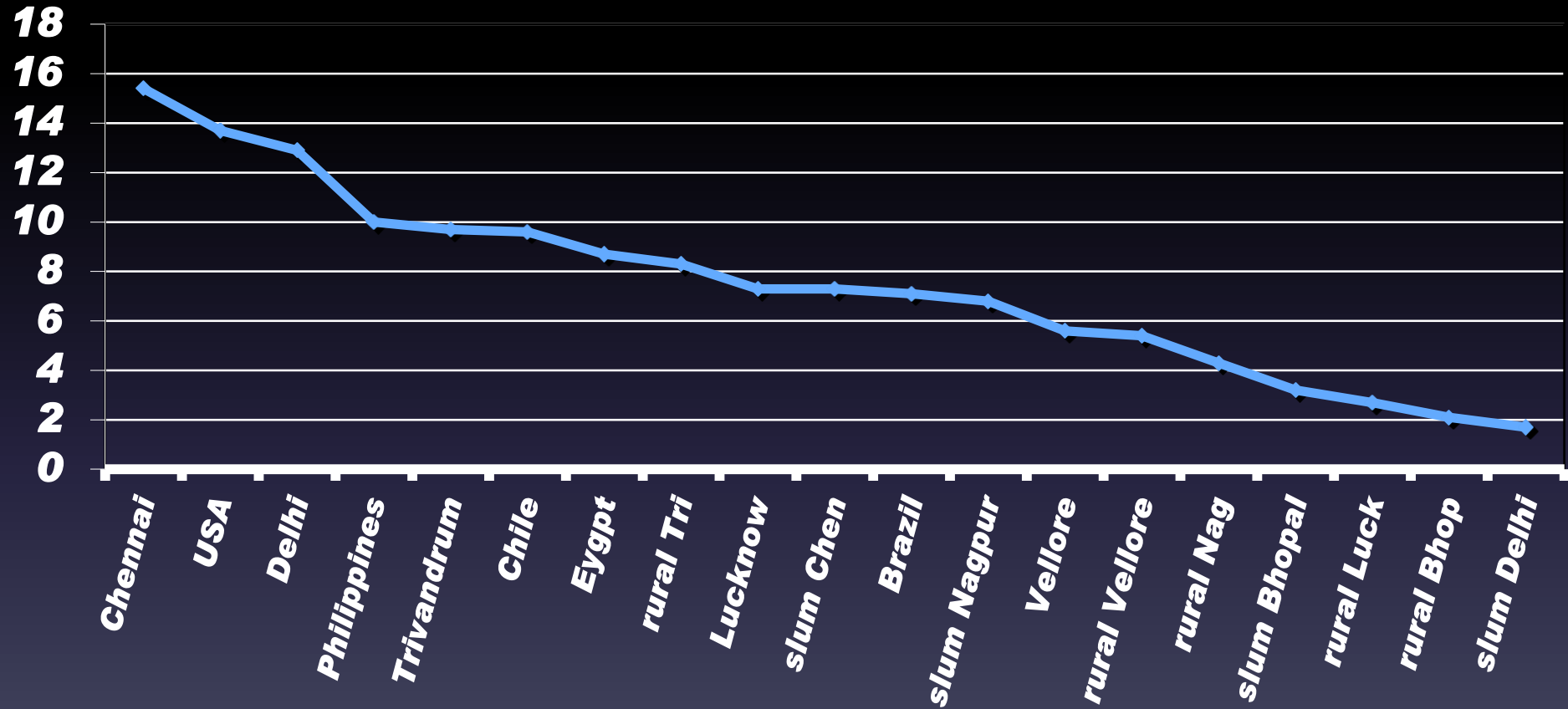
World Studies of Abuse & the Family Environment

- An international project investigating violence toward women & children.
- *WorldSAFE* examined factors related to violent behavior, & see how these factors vary across cultures.

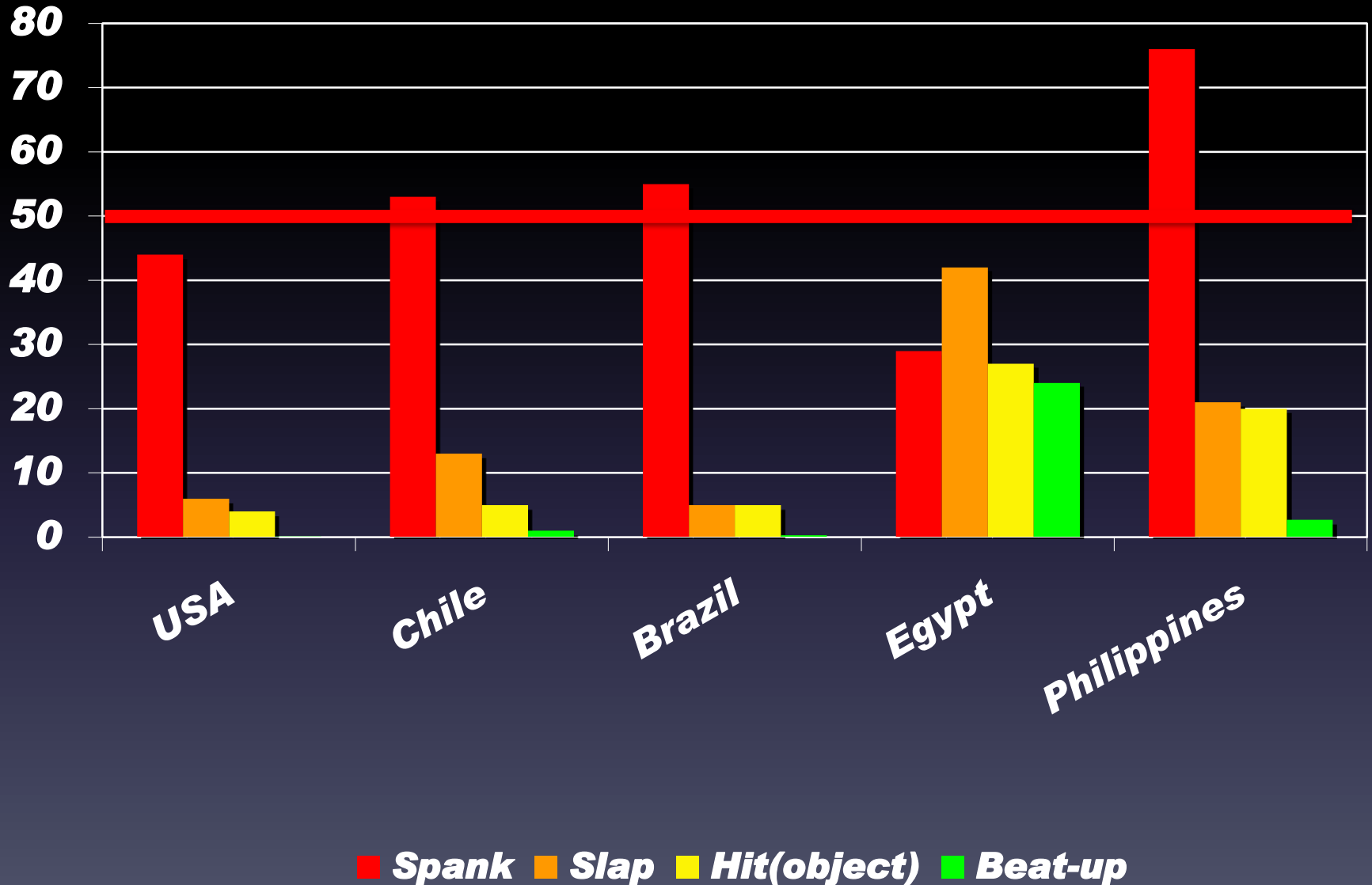
19 samples in 6 countries (14 in India)

- Chennai non-slum
- NC & SC in USA
- Delhi Non-slum
- Manila, Philippines
- Trivandrum, India
- Temuco, Chile
- Ismailia, Egypt
- Trivandrum-rural
- Lucknow Non-slum
- Chennai slum
- Brazil slum
- Nagpur slum
- Vellore Non-slum
- Vellore Rural
- Nagpur rural
- Bhopal slum
- Lucknow rural
- Bhopal rural
- Delhi slum

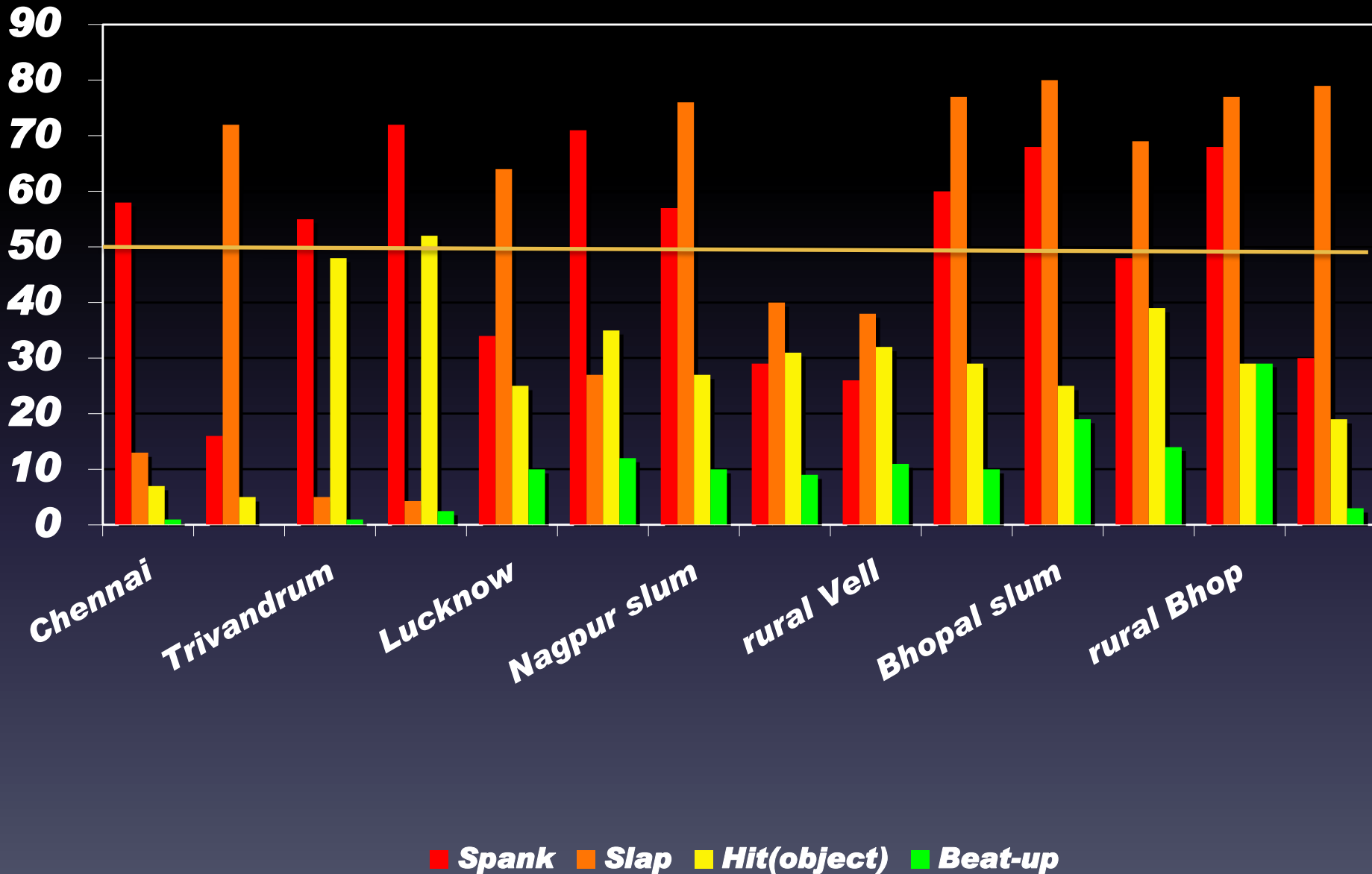
Average years of maternal education



Physical discipline in 5 countries



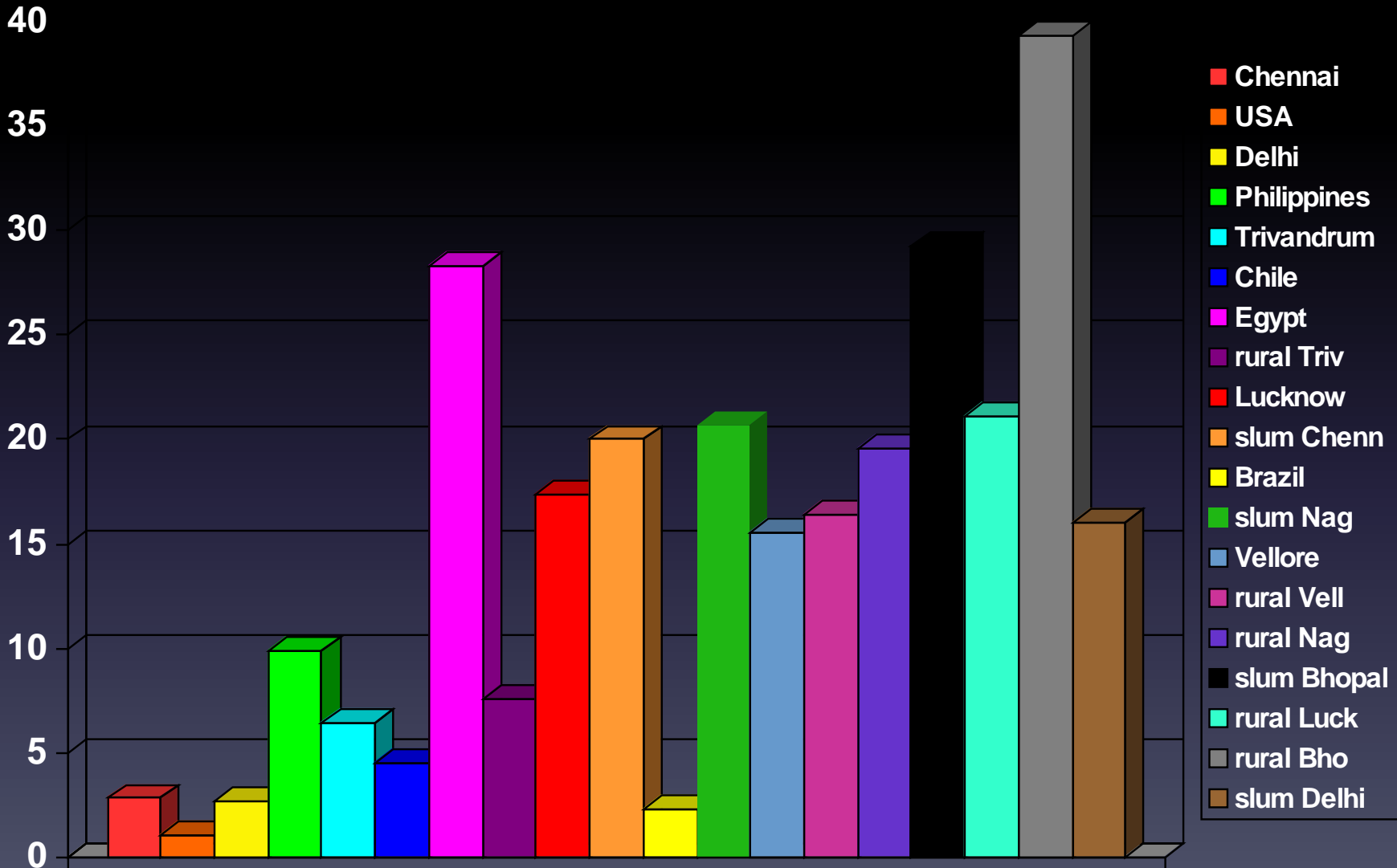
Physical discipline in India



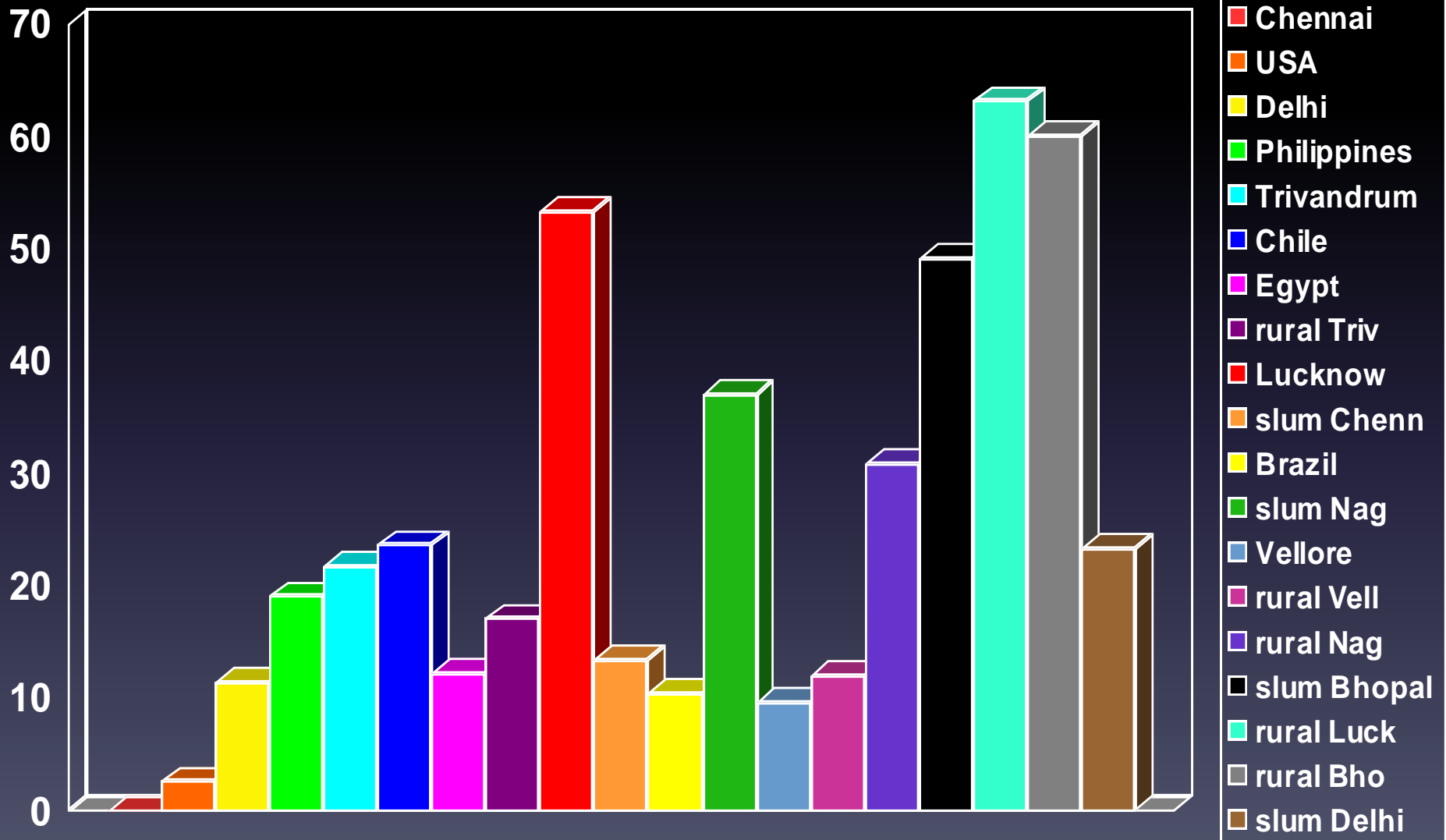
Notes on physical discipline

- In 11 of 14 Indian communities slapping face more common than spanking
- Beating-up reported in Egypt & in less educated communities of India

Percent parental self-report of harsh punishment (abuse?)



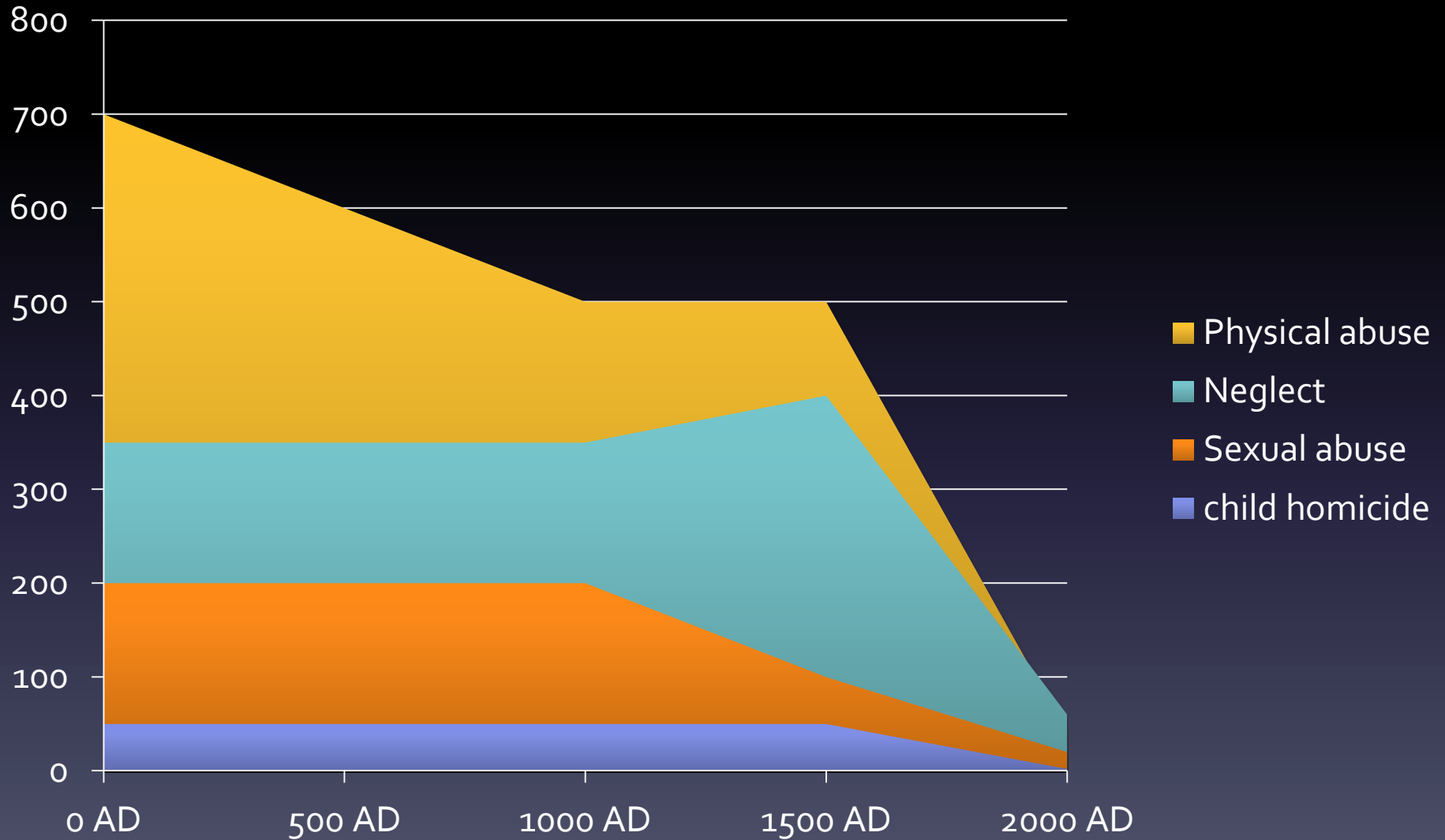
Percent parental self-report of shaking children under 2 years of age



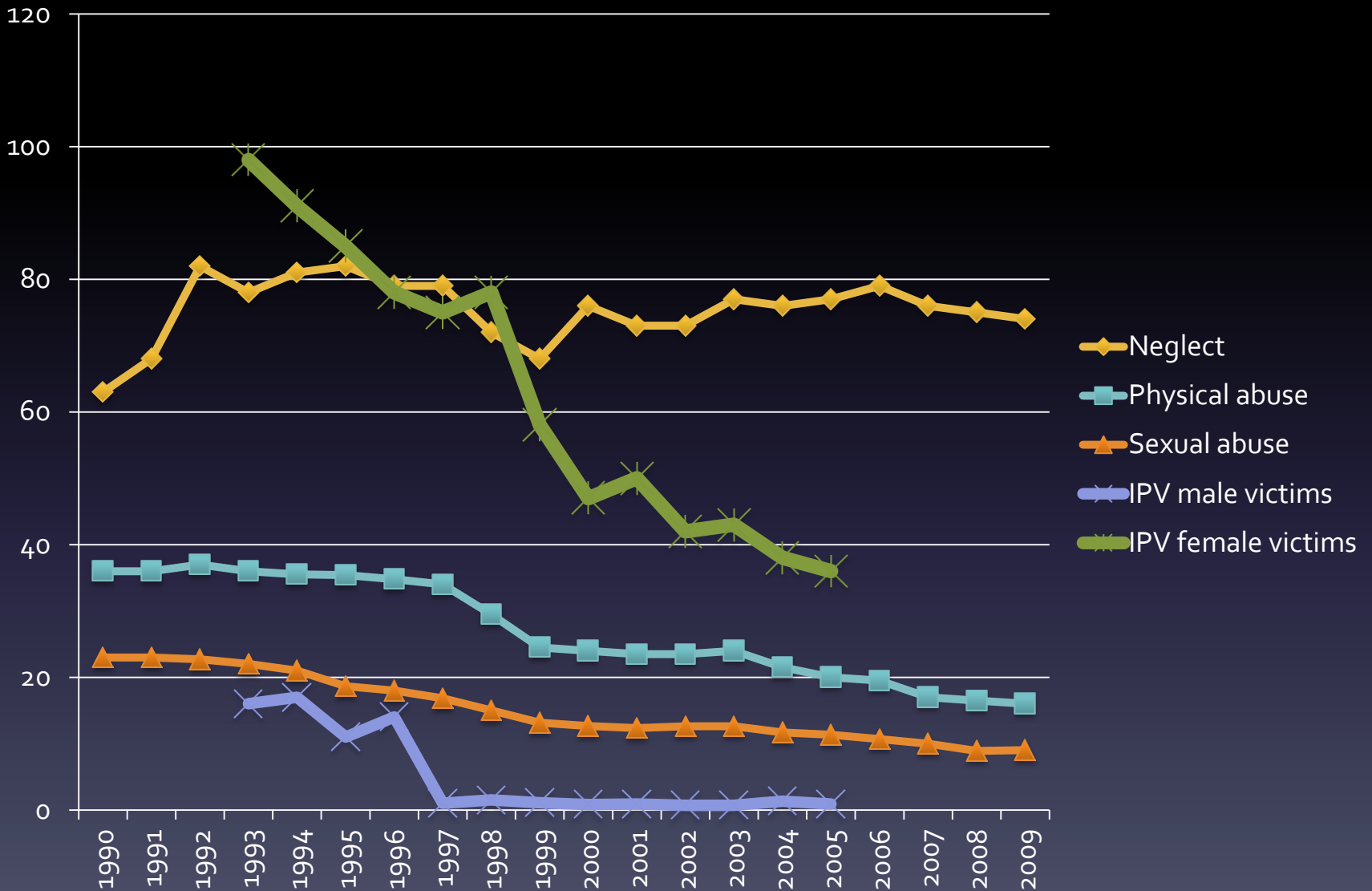
Notes on harsh punishment & shaking

- International data from the developing world suggest past rates of maltreatment among parents not reached about CA&N
- Other abuses such as child labor & child marriage not added
- Estimate that more than 50% of children were abused yearly in antiquity plausible

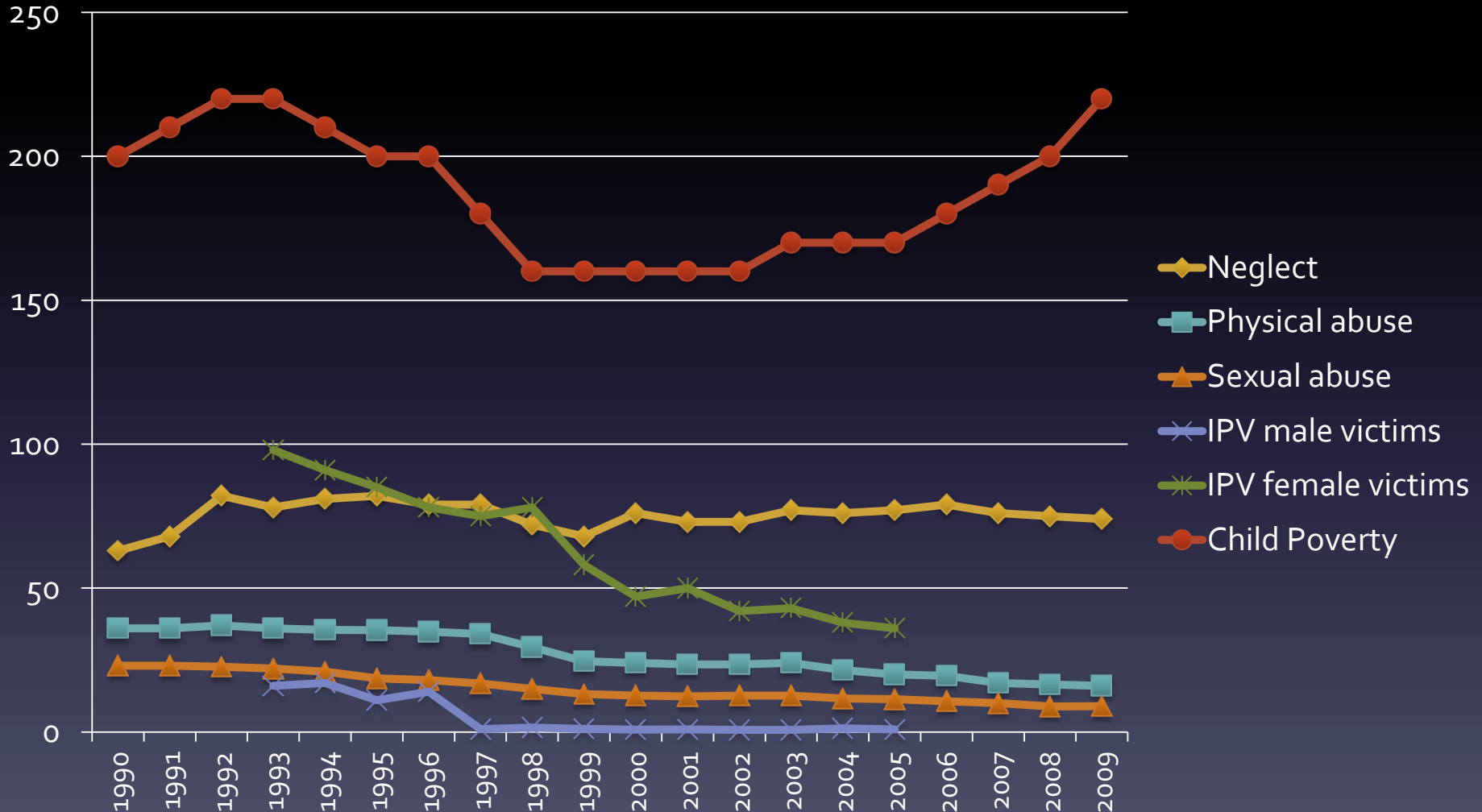
Presumptive 2000 year trend on child abuse/ 1000 children



Trends in Official CAN & IPV per 10,000 at risk



Child Abuse & IPV Trends mapped Against Child Poverty Rate



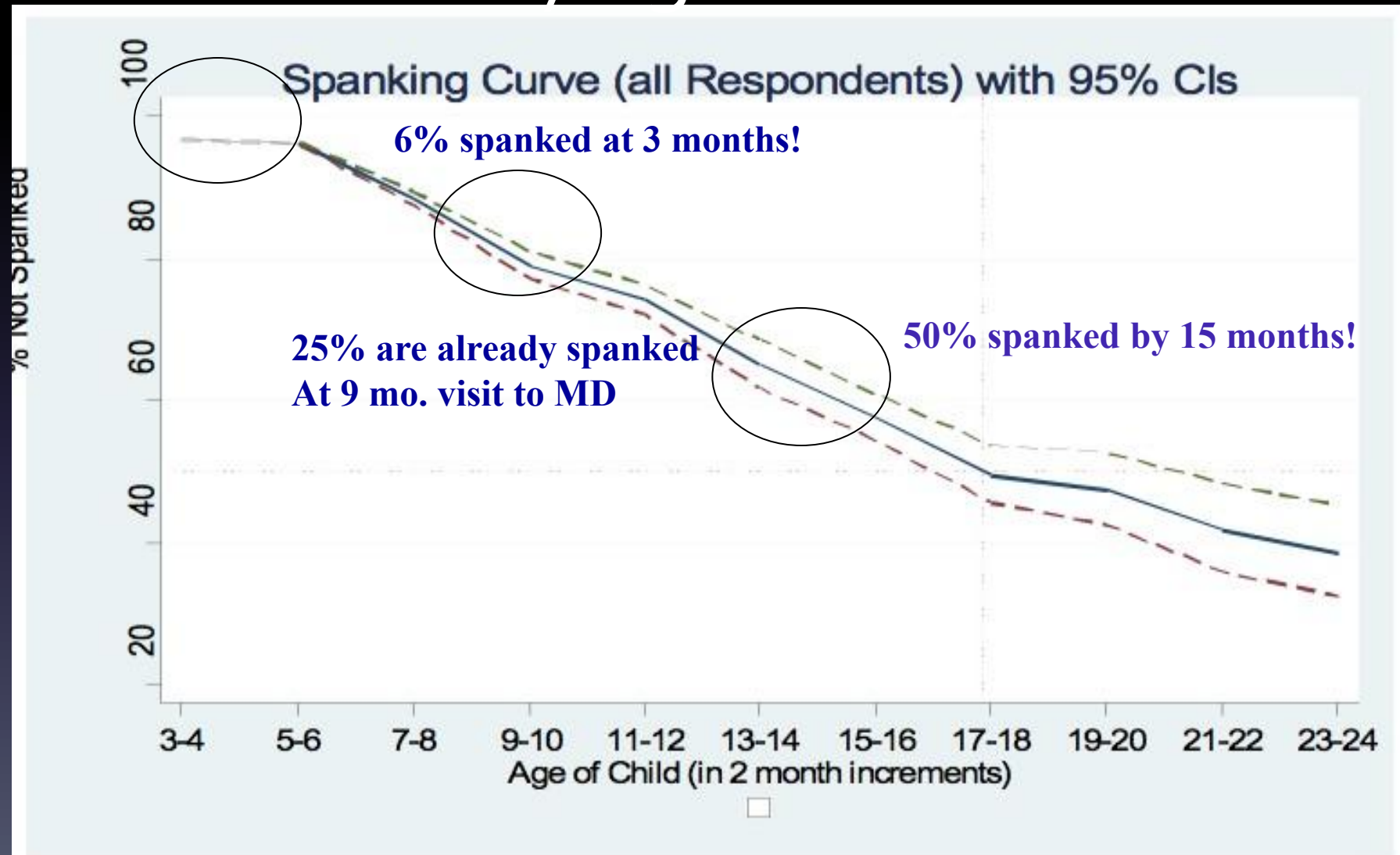
Parent reported behavior trends in slapping & spanking of 3-5 year old and 6-8 year old children

	3-5 year olds	6-8 year olds
Slapped / spanked 1975	82%	80%
Slapped / spanked 1985	86%	81%
Slapped / spanked 1995	81%	67%
Slapped / spanked 2002*	79%	60%

* NC & SC children

The reduction in spanking of 3-5 year old children is modest but the rate of reduction of spanking of older children is 25%

Parent report: unspanked children by age in months



Summary and discussion

- Developing country data suggest DeMause assessment that child abuse was modal is plausible
- Public attention to child abuse is clearly linked to a dramatic formulation by Kempe et al.
- IPV decline leads the decline in child abuse
- IPV against the mother increases the risk of a child abuse report 44% in the next year
- Little evidence that CA&N prevention efforts have an impact
- The decline in CA&N may be do to reductions in IPV

Why might IPV folks be more successful?

- IPV driven by activists
- Not professionally directed
- Victims are adult
- Tied to women's movement
- Focused on root causes
- Angry victims with capacity to act
- Public Health has been engaged
- CAN driven by professionals
- Lack of authentic voices
- Kids don't vote
- Neglect isn't as dramatic as beating of women
- No attention from NIH with limited support from CDC

What can we do to prevent child abuse and neglect

- The real problem is 10-20 times greater than official statistics
- Increasing social services is not the answer
- Primary prevention is needed
- We need
 - a social movement, not just a professional one
 - to elevate kids voices
 - to elevate victims to advocates
 - Jointly engage the public, children, & professionals
 - To increase the stigma?