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Parent and Child Reporting of Corporal Punishment: New Evidence from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study

William Schneider, MS,

Columbia University, School of Social Work

Michael MacKenzie, PhD,

Columbia University, School of Social Work

Jane Waldfogel, PhD, and

Columbia University, School of Social Work

Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, PhD

Teacher's College and College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University

Abstract

This paper provides new evidence on parent and child reporting of corporal punishment, drawing on data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a birth cohort study of families in 20 medium to large US cities. In separate interviews, 9 year olds and their mothers (N=1,180 families) were asked about the frequency of corporal punishment in the past year. Mothers and children were asked questions with slightly different response categorize which are harmonized in our analysis. Overall, children reported more high frequency corporal punishment (spanking or other physical punishment more than 10 times per year) than their mothers did; this discrepancy was seen in both African-American and Hispanic families (but not White families), and was evident for both boys and girls. These results suggest that reporting of frequency of corporal punishment is sensitive to the identity of the reporter and that in particular child reports may reveal more high frequency punishment than maternal reports do. However, predictors of high frequency punishment were similar regardless of reporter identity; in both cases, risk of high frequency punishment was higher when the child was African-American or had high previous levels of behavior problems.

Keywords

corporal punishment; child reports; parent reports; Conflict Tactic Scales

Child maltreatment is notoriously difficult to measure. Administrative data capture only those children who have come to the attention of Child Protective Services (CPS) and may therefore be biased by the myriad factors that influence which families and children are reported (Drake, Lee, & Jonson-Reid, 2009; Waldfogel, 2009). Yet gathering data from population samples is also challenging. Asking questions about maltreatment is sensitive and

*Please address correspondence to: William Schneider (ws2305@columbia.edu) Columbia University School of Social Work, 1255 Amsterdam Ave. 719E. New York, NY 10027.

parents may not report accurately on their own behavior. For these reasons, information gathered from first-hand reports of children may be particularly informative.

This paper reports results from questions about corporal punishment asked of both mothers and their 9-year-old children, drawing on data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a large birth cohort study in 20 medium to large US cities. While corporal punishment is not synonymous with maltreatment, families in which children are being physically disciplined at high frequency may be those where children are also at risk of physical abuse; indeed, previous research has found that mothers reporting very frequent corporal punishment of their 9 year olds were significantly more likely to have been reported to CPS (Brooks-Gunn, Schneider, & Waldfogel, 2013). This paper therefore focuses on high frequency corporal punishment – where children are being spanked or administered other physical punishment more than 10 times per year. Our goal is twofold: 1) to determine whether the reported frequency of corporal punishment varies depending on the identity of the reporter, and, if so, whether such variation differs by race/ethnicity and gender; and 2) to determine whether the predictors of frequent corporal punishment vary depending on the identity of the reporter.

The present study adds to a small existing literature on variation in reporting of corporal punishment between children and parents. The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), the measure used in this study, was developed to capture parent reports of corporal punishment as well as abuse and neglect. It was later revised (Conflict Tactics Scale Parent-Child; CTSPC) in an effort to better capture the relationships between caregivers and children (Straus, Hamby, Finkelhor, Moore, & Runyan, 1998). Although the best available measure of parent-child conflict, the CTSPC is potentially limited in its ability to identify child maltreatment because it relies on caregivers' reports of their own behavior (Straus, 2007). A number of studies have attempted to better estimate child maltreatment by comparing data on maltreatment from different sources, including clinical observers and administrative records (Kaufman, Jones, Stieglitz, Vitulano, & Mannarino, 1994; McGee, Wolfe, Yuen, Wilson, Carnochan, 1995) and mothers and fathers (Lee, Lansford, Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 2012). A few studies have used longitudinal data to compare prospective parent reports of maltreatment with retrospective adolescent reports (Shafer, Huston, & Egeland, 2008; Tajima, Herrenkohl, Huang, & Whitney, 2004). Particularly relevant for our study are two studies that directly compared contemporaneous parent and child reports. One study in Hong Kong found low levels of agreement about maltreatment between parents and children (Chan, 2012); another study in the U.S. found that children reported much higher levels of violence than mothers did (Kolko, Kazdin, & Tay, 1996). Our work also builds on studies of child-parent discrepancies in reports of other phenomena, such as child behavior problems or child mental health, generally finding that children report more problems than their parents do, although children are also more likely to report no problems (see e.g. Mourizi, Gershoff, & Aber, 2012; Pahres, Compas, & Howell, 1989; Seiffge-Krenke & Kollmar, 1998; Verhulst & van derEnde, 1992).

METHOD

Data

Data come from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS), which captures the experiences of parents with births between 1998 and 2000. Mothers and fathers were interviewed in the hospital or shortly after the birth of a child in 20 cities in 15 U.S. states. When weighted, the data are representative of births in U.S. cities with populations of 200,000 or more people. The respondents were re-interviewed by telephone or in-home interview when the children were 1, 3, 5, and 9 years old (Reichman, Teitler, Garfinkel & McLanahan 2001). Importantly, children at the 9-year survey were interviewed and asked to report on a wide range of their own and their parents' behaviors and interactions. The present study (N=1,180) includes information on mothers' use of corporal punishment with their 9-year old child, as reported by both mother and child.

Measures

Corporal Punishment—At the 9-year survey mothers were asked a series of 14 questions about their positive and harsh parenting practices. Questions about harsh parenting were interspersed with questions about positive parenting. Three questions were asked about how many times in the past year (never, 1–2 times, 3–10 times, 11 to 20 times, or more than 20 times) mothers had spanked, hit, or slapped their child; frequency of corporal punishment was coded based on the highest category across the three questions. Similarly, as part of a series of three questions about positive and harsh parenting practices, children were asked a single question about how frequently in the past year (never, less than once per month, once to a few times per month, a few times a week) their mother had spanked, hit, or slapped them. Because mother and child questions had slightly different response categories, we harmonized them by using the following categories: never; 1–2 times per year (or less than once per month); 3–10 times per year (or once to a few times per month); and more than 10 times per year (or a few times a week).

Other Variables—Scholars have identified a number of predictors of the risk for child maltreatment and Child Protective Services involvement. Risk factors are often conceptualized as occurring on four levels – individual, family, community, and socio-cultural (Belsky, 1993; McDaniel & Slack, 2005) with the probability of risk being cumulative in nature (MacKenzie, Kotch, & Lee, 2011, MacKenzie, Kotch, Lee, Augsburg & Hutto, 2011). Among the individual predictors a robust literature has demonstrated that children from low-income families are at increased risk of experiencing maltreatment (Lee & George, 1999; Paxson & Waldfogel, 1999). In addition, factors like maternal age, educational attainment (Slack, Holl, Yoo, & Bolger, 2004), depression (Conron, Beardslee, Koenen, Buka, & Gortmaker, 2009), family size, maternal employment, maternal drug and alcohol use, and marital status have all been shown to be significant predictors of child maltreatment (Brayden, Altemeier, Tucker, Dietrich, & Vietze, 1992; Dubowitz, Kim, Black, Weisbart, Semiatin, & Magder, 2011; Slack et al., 2004). A wide range of research has also shown that parental stress and child problem behaviors are associated with child maltreatment (Gershoff, 2002). Last, research has indicated that Black families are more likely to be reported to Child Protective Services (Wildeman, Emanuel, Leventhal, Putnam-

Hornstein, Waldfogel, & Lee, 2014) and that this may be because Black families may be more visible to mandated reporters (Drake & Zuravin, 1998). To that end, we control for a number of predictors of child maltreatment from across these four groups.

Predictors of frequency of corporal punishment examined include a broad range of mother and child factors. Mother characteristics include: race/ethnicity (black, Hispanic, white), immigrant status, education (less than high school, high school, some college, college or more, poverty status (percent of the Federal Poverty Line for relevant family size), current marital status (married, cohabiting, single), employment status, age, whether the focal child was her first child, history of depression, report of neighborhood violence, drug/alcohol use, and self reported levels of parenting stress (“being a parent is harder than I thought it would be,” “I feel trapped by my responsibilities as a parent,” “taking care of child is more work than pleasure,” “I feel worn out from raising a family”). Child characteristics include: age, birth weight, externalizing behaviors (as reported by mother), and child’s teacher’s report of child’s problem behaviors at the 9-year survey.

Analytic approach—To address the first research question, frequencies of corporal punishment as reported by mother and child are calculated, both for the overall sample and for the sample disaggregated by race/ethnicity and child gender. To address the second research question, the relative risk of each level of corporal punishment, as compared to no corporal punishment, is estimated using multinomial logistic regression for both mother and child reports.

RESULTS

Frequency of Corporal Punishment in Mother vs. Child Reports

Overall, children report more high frequency corporal punishment (spanking, hitting, slapping) than mothers do. As shown in Table 1, only 7% of mothers report using corporal punishment more than 10 times per year, but 15% of children report receiving corporal punishment that frequently (different from each other $p < 0.001$). However, more children than mothers also report that corporal punishment is never used (46% of families according to child reports, vs. 36% according to maternal reports) (different from each other $p < 0.001$). Although mothers and children were asked questions with slightly different response categories, through collapsing categories we were able to harmonize the variables so that they were comparable.

These patterns vary a good deal by race/ethnicity, as shown in Figure 1. White children and mothers largely agree on the frequency of mothers’ corporal punishment, although the children are more likely to report “never” and less likely to report medium frequency than are the mothers. Hispanic children also are more likely than mothers to report “never”, but they are also more likely to report high frequency punishment (more than 10 times per year). African-American children and mothers largely agree on “never” and low levels of corporal punishment, but children report more than twice as much high frequency corporal punishment as mothers. Interestingly, though, if one combines the middle and high frequency categories, then African-American children and mothers largely agree.

Figures 2 and 3 break out the patterns shown in Figure 1 by child gender. Overall, boys report slightly more corporal punishment than girls, but otherwise the general patterns from Figure 1 are present in Figures 2 and 3. Most notably, in both Hispanic and African-American families, both boys and girls are more likely to report high frequency corporal punishment than are mothers.

Predictors of High Frequency Corporal Punishment

Given these discrepancies in reported frequency, it is of interest to examine whether similar factors predict high frequency corporal punishment when reported by children as opposed to mothers. Is the high frequency punishment reported by children a different phenomenon than that reported by mothers? The results in Table 2 indicate that in general, similar factors predict high frequency corporal punishment regardless of whether it is reported by a mother or child. In these multinomial logistic regression results, significant relative risk ratios indicate factors that are associated with significantly elevated likelihood of being in a more frequent punishment category as opposed to the reference category (never). In both the mother-reported and child-reported analyses, being African-American and having higher levels of child externalizing problems are significant and strong predictors of high frequency corporal punishment for 9 year olds. The effect of being African-American is larger in the child-reported model than the mother-reported one, reflecting the greater likelihood of African-American children as opposed to mothers to report in that category. There are also some factors (e.g. maternal reports of parenting stress and drug use) that are uniquely significant in the mother-reported models, but overall the patterns are of generally consistent predictors across the two types of reporters. (Results from models run separately by race/ethnicity and gender, available on request, are similar).

We combine the three questions about corporal punishment that were asked of mothers into one question so as to be comparable to the question the children were asked. However, it is possible that particular corporal punishment activities are driving the associations. Because mothers, unlike the children, were asked three separate questions about the frequency with which they spanked, hit, or slapped their child, we are able replicate the analyses in table 2 with each indicator of corporal punishment independently. Overall, we find results that are quite similar to our main model (table 3). However, in these secondary analyses being African-American is not significantly associated with maternal spanking, but it is associated with hitting and slapping.

DISCUSSION

Family-level data on frequency of parental corporal punishment are an important source of information about family disciplinary practices and risk for maltreatment. Most such data, however, come from parental reports, which could be biased. This study provides new results from a study that gathered information about high frequency corporal punishment from both mothers and children.

The results indicate that children are more likely to report high frequency corporal punishment than are parents; this is particularly true for African-American and Hispanic children, and holds for both boys and girls within these sub-groups. This result has

important implications for research and practice. Administrative data are often seen as undercounting the level of child maltreatment that actually occurs. This study indicates that relying exclusively on parent's self-report may also undercount actual levels of corporal punishment and, by extension, possibly also maltreatment. Thus, to the extent possible, researchers and practitioners should try to gather information from children as well as parents. We note that in future research it would be particularly helpful to ensure that the wording of questions posed to parents and children is as similar as possible. One limitation of the current study is that the wording, and number, of the mother and child questions were not identical and thus we had to construct comparable categories with the data available. Future research should explore the importance of asking parents and children the same set of questions.

The results also provide some evidence that children are more likely than mothers to report corporal punishment "never" being used. This pattern is found for both White and Hispanic children (whereas in African-American families, similar shares of children and mothers report "never"). Further research is needed to understand why some children report no corporal punishment when their mothers report at least some, and why this pattern would be found for White and Hispanic children, but not African-American children. Studies on other topics have found that children are more likely than adults to "satisfice," selecting the first offered response category (Borgers et al., 2003, 2004; Fuchs, 2005) and that children are more likely to select "never" when other categories are detailed numeric frequencies (Smith & Platt, 2013). Children may also be more likely than adults to anchor their responses in recent events, even when asked about the past year (Harel, et al., 1994). Perhaps these phenomena are playing a role here, although it is not clear why they would apply to some groups and not others.

Although children and parents are reporting different frequencies of corporal punishment, in cases where they report high frequency punishment (more than 10 times/year), the predictors are similar. In particular, being African-American is associated with higher risk of high frequency corporal punishment (two times as high in mother-reported data, and three times as high in child-reported data). The child having high levels of behavior problems is also a risk factor, regardless of reporter. So it appears that although mothers and children do not fully agree about when high frequency punishment is occurring, they are reporting it in similar types of families and circumstances. Although we could not test which type of corporal punishment may be driving our results for children, for mothers of the 9-year old children in our survey it appears that hitting and slapping, and not spanking, is driving our results. This may be a result of decreased use of spanking as children age.

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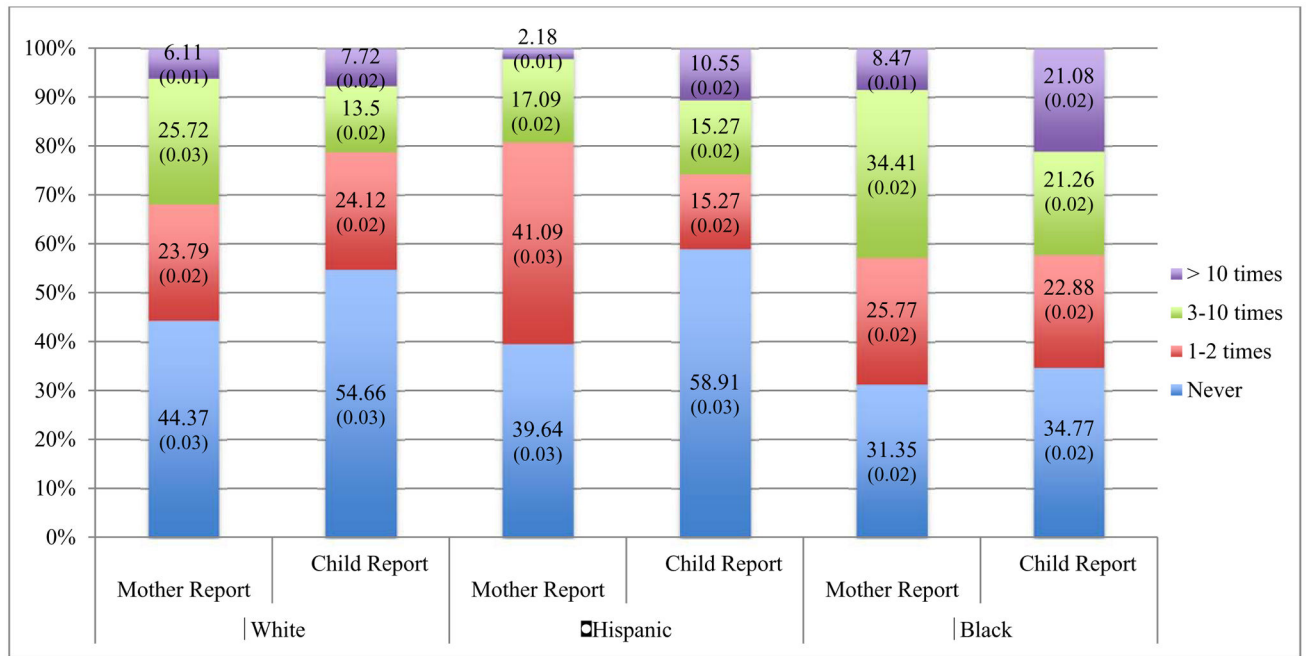


Figure 1.
 Corporal Punishment by Mother and Child Report*
 *Standard errors in parentheses

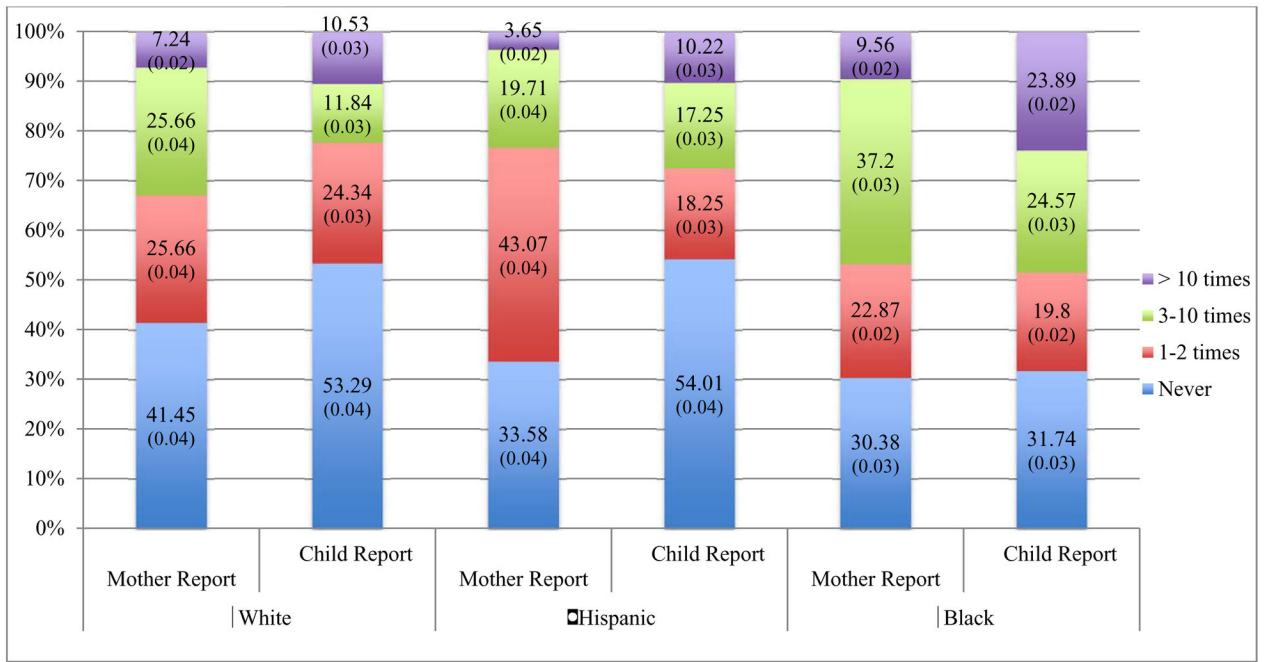


Figure 2.
 Mother and Child Report of Corporal Punishment Among Boys by Race/Ethnicity*
 *Standard errors in parentheses

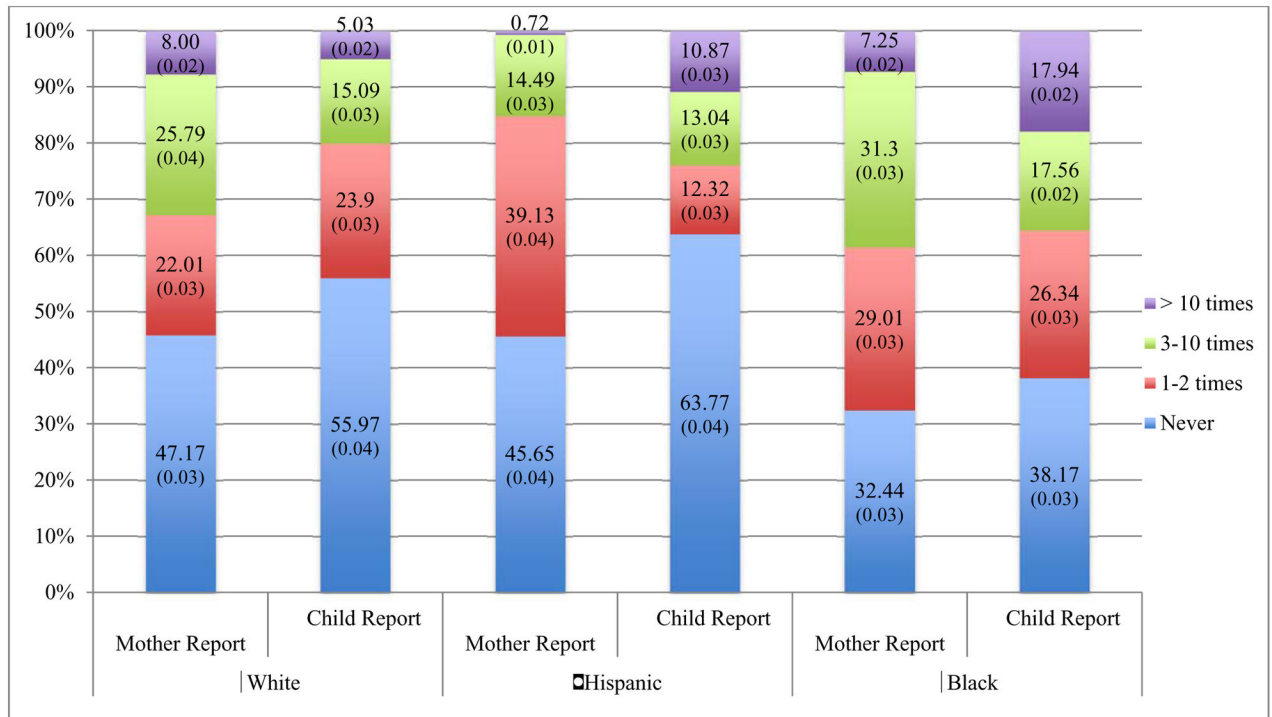


Figure 3.
 Mother and Child Report of Corporal Punishment Among Girls by Race/Ethnicity*
 *Standard errors in parentheses

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Table 1

Mother and child reports of maternal corporal punishment.

	Child reports	Mother reports
<i>Never</i>	46.3% (0.01)	36.2% (0.01)
<i>1–2 per year</i>	21.4% (0.01)	28.7% (0.01)
<i>3–10 per year</i>	17.3% (0.01)	28% (0.01)
<i>> 10 per year</i>	15% (0.01)	7.1% (0.01)
N	1,180	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

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Table 2
 Predictors of Mother and Child Reports of Maternal Corporal Punishment: Relative Risks Ratios from Multinomial Regressions

	Mother Self Report			Child Self Report		
	3 Items from Conflict Tactic in the last year			3 Items from Conflict Tactic in the last year		
	Never	1–2 times	3–10 times	Never	1–2 times	3–10 times
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>						
Black	ref.	1.206	1.901**	2.214*	1.502 ⁺	2.293***
Hispanic	ref.	1.423	0.728	0.481	0.522*	0.935
Immigrant	ref.	1.887*	0.946	1.073	2.790***	1.468
<i>Education</i>						
Less than HS	ref.	1.319	1.290	1.326	0.940	0.905
Some college	ref.	1.422 ⁺	1.191	0.915	1.194	1.101
College or more	ref.	1.422	1.497	0.980	0.860	0.556
<i>Poverty (FPL)</i>						
0–49%	ref.	0.524*	0.410**	0.240**	0.476*	0.575 ⁺
50–99%	ref.	0.863	0.982	0.266*	0.755	0.666
100–199%	ref.	1.176	1.787*	1.168	0.850	0.594*
<i>Marital status (9-Year)</i>						
Cohabiting	ref.	1.508	0.761	0.341	1.011	1.169
Single	ref.	1.332	0.864	0.560 ⁺	1.030	1.272
<i>Mother characteristics</i>						
Mother age	ref.	0.992	0.972 ⁺	0.982	0.968 ⁺	0.987
First birth	ref.	1.108	1.230	1.457	0.797	1.023
Ever depressed	ref.	0.886	1.010	1.270	1.040	1.050
Parenting stress	ref.	1.040	1.077*	1.198**	1.010	1.004
<i>Child characteristics</i>						
Child age	ref.	0.954*	0.951*	0.939	1.012	0.930**
Low birth weight	ref.	1.616 ⁺	0.879	0.605	1.329	0.844

	Mother Self Report			Child Self Report		
	3 Items from Conflict Tactic in the last year			3 Items from Conflict Tactic in the last year		
	Never	1-2 times	3-10 times	Never	1-2 times	3-10 times
Child male	ref.	0.953	1.024	1.233	ref.	0.996
Externalizing behaviors	ref.	1.081***	1.152***	1.189***	ref.	1.023
Teacher report of problem behaviors	ref.	1.007	1.013	1.020	ref.	0.996
<i>Risk Factors</i>						
Violent neighborhood	ref.	1.336	1.242	1.773	ref.	0.576*
Mother uses drugs	ref.	1.516	1.270	3.150*	ref.	1.698 ⁺
Mother alc.	ref.	0.837	1.124	1.380	ref.	1.241
Mother employed	ref.	1.118	1.231	0.616	ref.	0.715 ⁺
N				1180		

* Notes

⁺ p<0.10,

* p<0.05,

** p<0.01,

*** p<0.001

^a Includes city fixed effects

Table 3
 Predictors of Mother Report of Corporal Punishment: Relative Risks Ratios from Multinomial Regressions

	Spanking			Hitting			Slapping					
	Never	1–2 times	3–10 times > 10 times	Never	1–2 times	3–10 times > 10 times	Never	1–2 times	3–10 times > 10 times			
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>												
Black	Ref.	1.016	1.007	0.925	Ref.	2.608***	6.110***	3.128 ⁺	Ref.	1.459 ⁺	3.794***	4.385**
Hispanic	Ref.	1.356	0.605	0.471	Ref.	1.658 ⁺	1.473	0.221	Ref.	1.516	1.255	0.813
Immigrant	Ref.	1.710*	1.166	0.825	Ref.	1.509	0.963	0.581	Ref.	1.144	0.595	1.77
<i>Education</i>												
Less than HS	Ref.	1.158	1.244	0.583	Ref.	1.241	0.918	0.384	Ref.	1.087	0.893	1.065
Some College	Ref.	1.133	1.083	0.513	Ref.	1.096	0.881	0.599	Ref.	0.953	0.917	0.436 ⁺
College or more	Ref.	1.054	1.11	0.589	Ref.	1.152	1.426	0.166 ⁺	Ref.	0.927	1.209	0.391
<i>Poverty (FPL)</i>												
0–40%	Ref.	0.744	0.597	0.354 ⁺	Ref.	0.737	0.577	0.066**	Ref.	0.584 ⁺	0.421*	0.319 ⁺
50–100%	Ref.	1.042	1.205	0.199*	Ref.	0.69	0.882	0.153*	Ref.	0.685	0.632	0.283*
100–199%	Ref.	0.943	1.421	0.585	Ref.	0.941	1.358	0.575	Ref.	0.851	1.065	0.79
<i>Marital Status (9-Year)</i>												
Cohabiting	Ref.	1.213	0.371*	0.093 ⁺	Ref.	1.445	0.373*	0.444	Ref.	1.444	0.973	0.162
Single	Ref.	0.944	0.754	0.708	Ref.	1.782**	1.013	0.643	Ref.	1.373	0.884	0.883
<i>Mother characteristics</i>												
Mother age	Ref.	0.98	0.977	0.946	Ref.	1.006	0.957*	0.995	Ref.	1.004	0.983	1.001
First birth	Ref.	1.044	1.417 ⁺	0.597	Ref.	1.134	0.886	0.786	Ref.	1.134	1.175	1.883
Ever depressed	Ref.	0.871	1.018	1.314	Ref.	1.176	0.893	2.172	Ref.	0.854	1.036	1.502
Parenting stress	Ref.	1.038	1.078*	1.202**	Ref.	1.028	1.026	1.237*	Ref.	1.054 ⁺	1.129***	1.189**
<i>Child characteristics</i>												
Child age	Ref.	0.97	0.966	0.952	Ref.	0.991	0.975	0.831 ⁺	Ref.	0.964	0.953 ⁺	0.949
Low birth weight	Ref.	1.666*	1.33	0.637	Ref.	1.198	0.981	0.865	Ref.	1.104	0.471*	0.339 ⁺
Child male	Ref.	0.893	0.740 ⁺	1.311	Ref.	1.380 ⁺	1.287	0.968	Ref.	1.019	1.019	0.894

	Spanking				Hitting				Slapping			
	Never	1-2 times	3-10 times	> 10 times	Never	1-2 times	3-10 times	> 10 times	Never	1-2 times	3-10 times	> 10 times
Externalizing behaviors	Ref.	1.025 ⁺	1.067 ^{***}	1.107 ^{***}	Ref.	1.049 ^{***}	1.100 ^{***}	1.152 ^{***}	Ref.	1.058 ^{***}	1.103 ^{***}	1.120 ^{***}
Teacher report of Problem behaviors	Ref.	1.007	1.017 ⁺	1.022	Ref.	0.989	1.003	1.025	Ref.	1	1.01	1.031 [*]
<i>Risk factors</i>												
Violent neighborhood	Ref.	1.251	1.292	1.46	Ref.	0.868	1.01	1.223	Ref.	1.367	1.241	1.572
Mother uses drugs	Ref.	1.323	1.824 ⁺	1.722	Ref.	0.451 ⁺	0.82	4.336 ^{**}	Ref.	1.192	1.449	3.101 [*]
Mother alc.	Ref.	1.043	0.978	1.297	Ref.	1.134	1.153	1.051	Ref.	1.474 ⁺	1.671 [*]	2.527 [*]
Mother employed	Ref.	1.03	1.305	0.552 ⁺	Ref.	1.066	1.229	0.477	Ref.	1.057	1.064	0.814
N	1,180											

* Notes

⁺ p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

Includes city fixed effects

Table 4

Predictors of Mother Reporting Less Corporal Punishment than Child: Odds Ratios from Logistic Regression

Mother reports less corporal punishment than child	
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>	
Black	1.084
Hispanic	1.154
Immigrant	0.754
<i>Education</i>	
Less than HS	1.008
Some College	0.960
College or more	1.718*
<i>Poverty (FPL)</i>	
0–40%	0.783
50–100%	0.941
100–199%	1.322
<i>Marital Status (9-Year)</i>	
Cohabiting	0.751
Single	1.044
<i>Mother characteristics</i>	
Mother age	0.989
First birth	1.056
Ever depressed	0.992
Parenting stress	1.071**
<i>Child characteristics</i>	
Child age	0.979
Low birth weight	0.974
Child male	0.959
Externalizing behaviors	1.041***
Teacher report of Problem behaviors	1.004
<i>Risk factors</i>	
Violent neighborhood	1.155
Mother uses drugs	1.059
Mother alc.	0.950
Mother employed	1.113
N	1,180

* Notes

+ p<.10

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

Includes city fixed effects

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