

The role of ambivalent sexism in child to parent violence

Paola Ilabaca Baeza¹, José-Manuel Gaete Fiscella², Helena Román Alonso³,
Fuad Hatibovic Díaz⁴ y Emanuel Arredondo González⁵

¹*Universidad Viña del Mar, Chile*

^{2, 4, 5}*Universidad de Valparaíso, Chile*

³*Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Chile*

The aim of the study was to evaluate the impact of ambivalent sexism on child-parent violence, considering family structure, adolescent sex and age as cofactors. A total of 1,115 Chilean adolescents participated, 52% were male and 48% female. The Child-Parent Violence Questionnaire and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory were applied. The regression tree technique was used under the Chi-square (CHAID) metric. Child-parent violence is explained by adolescent age and hostile sexism for all types of aggression. Family structure explains psychological aggression towards both parents. Benevolent sexism and the adolescent's sex explain psychological aggression towards the mother and physical aggression towards both parents. It is suggested to go deeper into this profile of families.

Keywords: Child to parent violence; ambivalent sexism; adolescents; family violence; domestic violence.

El papel del sexismo ambivalente en la violencia filio-parental

El objetivo del estudio es evaluar el impacto del sexismo ambivalente en la violencia filio-parental, considerando como cofactores la estructura familiar, sexo del adolescente y edad. Participaron 1,115 adolescentes chilenos, 52% eran varones y 48% mujeres. Se aplicó el Cuestionario de Violencia entre Hijos y Padres y el Inventario de Sexismo Ambivalente. Se utilizó la técnica de árbol de regresión, bajo la métrica Chi-cuadrado (CHAID). La violencia filio-parental se explica por la edad del adolescente y el sexismo hostil para todos los tipos

Paola Ilabaca Baeza  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0246-0145>

José-Manuel Gaete Fiscella  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6471-9394>

Helena Román Alonso  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3459-0411>

Fuad Hatibovic Díaz  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5144-3341>

Emanuel Arredondo González  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4818-9888>

All correspondence about this article should be addressed to Paola Ilabaca Baeza. Email: paolailabaca@gmail.com

de agresión. La estructura familiar explica la agresión psicológica hacia ambos padres. El sexismo benévolo y el sexo del adolescente explican la agresión psicológica hacia la madre y la agresión física hacia ambos progenitores. Se sugiere profundizar en este perfil de familias. *Palabras clave*: Violencia filio-parental; sexismo ambivalente; adolescentes; violencia intrafamiliar; violencia doméstica.

O papel do sexismo ambivalente na violência entre pais e filhos

O objetivo do estudo é avaliar o impacto do sexismo ambivalente na violência entre pais e filhos, considerando a estrutura familiar, o gênero do adolescente e a idade como cofatores. Participaram 1,115 adolescentes chilenos, 52% do sexo masculino e 48% do sexo feminino. Foram aplicados o Child-Parent Violence Questionnaire e o Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Foi usada a técnica de árvore de regressão, sob a métrica do qui-quadrado (CHAID). A violência entre pais e filhos é explicada pela idade do adolescente e pelo sexismo hostil para todos os tipos de agressão. A estrutura familiar explica a agressão psicológica contra ambos os pais. O sexismo benevolente e o sexo do adolescente explicam a agressão psicológica contra a mãe e a agressão física contra ambos os pais. Sugere-se aprofundar esse perfil de famílias. *Palavras-chave*: Violência entre filhos e pais; sexismo ambivalente; adolescentes; violência familiar; violência doméstica.

Child to parent violence is understood as an act of aggression (physical, psychological or economic) by adolescents towards their parents (or caregivers) to gain power and control over them (Cottrell, 2001). Ibabe (2020), for his part, complements this definition by including sexual aggression, the repetition of aggression over time and when the aggressor and the victim habitually live together. Research that has reported on the prevalence of this type of violence has found truly worrying results, due to the high rates of aggression found.

Research conducted in Europe found prevalences ranging from 3% to 72% (Beckmann et al., 2017; Calvete et al., 2011; Calvete et al., 2015; Contreras et al., 2020; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2012; Van Langenhove, 2005). Research conducted in North America reports prevalence rates in line with those in Europe, also with a wide oscillation that contemplates prevalences between 2% and 70% (Elliot et al., 2011; Kennedy et al., 2010; Margolin & Baucom, 2014; Pagani et al., 2009). In Latin America--where the present research is framed--prevalences are found with a greater range of oscillation between 3% and 89% (Calvete & Veytia, 2018; Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018; Jiménez-García et al., 2022).

The differences found in these investigations could be related to the focus that each investigation has had. For example, some studies have focused mainly on mild or severe physical aggression leaving aside psychological aggression (Beckmann et al., 2017; Pagani et al., 2003; Ulman & Straus, 2003). The prevalence found on physical aggression has ranged from 4% to 40% (Beckmann et al., 2017; Calvete et al., 2011; Hoyo-Bilbao et al., 2018; Jiménez-García et al. 2022; Pagani et al., 2004; Ulman & Straus, 2003). On the other hand, the prevalence regarding psychological aggression is even higher, ranging from 45% to 65% (Calvete et al., 2011; Jiménez-García et al. 2020; Pagani et al., 2004).

Other investigations have considered the characteristics of the family group. For example, some studies have analyzed the prevalence in families with both parents while others have focused on single-parent families, concentrating mainly on the mother. The results are contradictory, because while some studies mention that it is single-parent families who manifest a higher prevalence of these experiences (Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018; Loinaz et al., 2017), other studies find no significant differences in the experience of this type of aggression for the different types of family structure (Boxer et al., 2009). However, there is a lack of more studies, especially in Chile, that consider this aspect, especially when this type of aggression occurs in the family context and in which there is a clear role reversal in the parental-filial relationship. In this sense, aspects such as parental co-responsibility in the care of children, health, support for schoolwork, participation in common activities and the availability of parents to their children are aspects that could be determined by various factors, including the family structure.

In addition to research that has focused on describing prevalence rates, research has also focused on studying both individual and contextual causes of this phenomenon. For example, previous research has found contradictory results on the relationship between adolescent gender and child to parent violence. Girls tend to exert more psychological aggression towards their parents (Calvete et al., 2013; Calvete & Orue, 2016), whereas boys tend to exert more physical aggression, (Boxer et al., 2009). However, other studies find no significant differences in physical aggression perpetrated by male and female adolescents. (Calvete et al., 2015). Another difference found was that girls tend to assault their mothers more (Calvete & Orue, 2016). However, in other studies it is found that boys are the ones who assault both parents to a greater extent (Calvete et al., 2017). Therefore, it is expected that gender is related to CPV in different ways. In this sense, gender role socialization, especially the traditional gender role, could influence the occurrence of experiences of aggression towards parents. In this regard, we should mention the work done by Cottrell and Monk,

(2004) who found that the aggression exercised by adolescent boys towards their mothers was associated with the aggression exercised by the father towards the mother (Cottrell & Monk, 2004).

Along these lines, Glick and Fiske (1996) propose the theory of ambivalent sexism, which explains the existence of two different types of sexism: hostile sexism, characterized by a prejudice of negative evaluations towards women, that is, an attitude of hostility and aversion towards them in case they challenge the power of men; and on the other, benevolent sexism, characterized by traditional beliefs that idealize women in their role as mothers, wives and romantic objects, all of which positions them in a lower place in the social fabric.

Thus, together both types of sexism trigger a double mechanism of reward and punishment. In such a way that when a woman does not follow the roles assigned by society, she is sanctioned through negative evaluations (hostile sexism), and on the contrary, when she follows the social precepts assigned to her, they are rewarded through positive evaluations (benevolent sexism; Becker, 2010; Lee et al., 2010).

Consequently, ambivalent sexism acts as a form of legitimization of the structural power of men and of gender hierarchies (Herrera et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2010). Likewise, Glick and Fiske (1999) also mention that there are many reasons why it is probable that women may have ambivalent attitudes towards men: resentment for the structural power of men, sexist attitudes that portray men as superior beings and the way men exercise control within interpersonal relationships are among those highlighted. But at the same time, women may experience positive feelings of admiration, connection and protection towards men. This ambivalence is much more likely to occur in women who adhere to the more traditional attitudes towards men and may lead to resenting male power even if they agree with those supporting beliefs.

From this perspective, several authors have been interested in how this theory can explain different phenomena, including violence. The research that analyzes the role of sexism in child to parent violence are from Spain and their results show that hostile sexism increases the

probability of economic and psychological violence. While benevolent sexism was related to a lower probability of psychological violence (Cano-Lozano et al., 2023; Cortina & Martín, 2020; Martín & Cortina, 2023). However, there is no evidence of research that evaluates this relationship in a Latin American context. This aspect is relevant because in Latin America gender socialization is much more rigid than in the European context, and several authors argue that gender socialization can affect the conditions and processes of interpersonal relationships between parents and children (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Coinciding with this point, Cottrell and Monk (2004) suggest that one of the most successful strategies for studying child-parent violence is to also consider cultural beliefs -such as sexism- that endorse gender inequality.

The present study

The present research is framed in Chile, considering that this society has high prevalence rates of aggression in various interpersonal contexts (Espinoza et al., 2019; Larraín & Bascuñán, 2008). Additionally, Chile is a country recognized as having deep socioeconomic and gender inequalities, including the dedication to household chores, access to quality health systems, access to housing and the world of work, among others (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2016). These are inequalities that have an impact on Chilean families. For example, the participation rate in labor outside the home is 69.6% for men and 48.3% for women (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2022). Chilean women who work outside the home do so in more precarious jobs, with fewer hours and receive lower incomes than their male peers for equal jobs (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2022). They dedicate more hours to household chores (unpaid work) and care work (OECD, 2016). These characteristics of the family structure in Chilean society could have an impact on the well-being of its members and therefore on the presence of stressors that might favor the occurrence of violent situations.

In this line, Zhu & Chang (2020), point out that societies with gender inequality would favor sexist attitudes in their citizens, including minors. This is because women tend to spend most of their time raising children and caring for dependents and become more dependent on the economic support of men.

The present research has the following objectives: first, to analyze the prevalence of child to parent violence according to the sex of the adolescent. Second, to evaluate the impact of ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent) on child to parent violence, considering as cofactors or 2nd way the next variables: family structure, adolescent sex, adolescent and age. The assessment of hostile and benevolent sexism responds to the fact that we know --according to previous research-- that mothers are those with higher victimization rates when compared to fathers (Calvete & Veytia, 2018; Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018; Pagani et al., 2004). Following the approaches of Ullman and Straus (2003), we know that at least part of the explanation for the higher rates of child to parent violence toward their mothers has its basis in the subordinate status of women and stereotypical gender roles in Chilean society. And finally, because mothers spend more time dedicated to domestic and childcare tasks than fathers, they are more likely to be victims of violence by their children.

We also believe it is relevant to include family structure in our analysis, primarily because previous research has found an association between both variables (Carrasco et al., 2018). Secondly, because the scarce research conducted on this topic in Chile calls to our attention the need to know this phenomenon in a society with large gaps in inequality. In this context, social inequalities in Chile have an impact on family structures predisposing them to a greater presence of stressors that undermine their well-being.

Method

Participants

The study universe was composed of high school students in the Greater Santiago Metropolitan Region of Chile. The total number of secondary education institutions in Greater Santiago was 811 (119 public schools, 513 private subsidized schools and 179 private schools), with a student population of 221,368.

A sampling error of 3% and a confidence interval of 95% were used to calculate the sample. The final sample consisted of 1,115 adolescents, 52% of whom were male ($n = 581$) and 48% female ($n = 534$), between 13 and 20 years of age ($M = 15.72$; $SD = 1.22$). Most of the youth came from two-parent (36%) and single-parent families (31%). About twenty percent of the youth came from extended families (21%) and 12% from stepfamilies.

Instruments

At the beginning of the questionnaire, different sociodemographic characteristics of the participants were asked about their sex, age and family structure.

Child to Parent Violence Questionnaire

The questionnaire of Child to Parent Violence (Calvete et al., 2013), included 20 parallel items, 10 referring to the mother and 10 referring to the father. Seven of the 10 items asked about psychological aggression and the other three items inquired about physical aggression committed by adolescents towards their parents in the last 12 months. The response categories are in Likert format with four response options: 0 (never), 1 (rarely; has occurred between 1 and 2 occasions), 2 (sometimes; has occurred between 3 and 5 times), 3 (frequently; has occurred between 6 or more occasions). The reliability analysis of the questionnaire yielded adequate indices. The alpha coefficients were .93 and .99 for physical aggression toward the mother and father, respectively; .86

and .99 for psychological aggression toward the mother and father, respectively.

Ambivalent Sexism Questionnaire

The instrument developed by Glick and Fiske, (1996) was adapted and validated in the Chilean population by Cárdenas, Lay, González, Calderón and Alegría (2016), who reported good indices, both with respect to its criterion and predictive validity. It is composed of 22 items that assess the types of sexism described by the literature. Half of items (11) measure Hostile Sexism (negative attitudes and antipathy towards women) and the other half (11 items) measure Benevolent Sexism (apparently positive attitudes and beliefs about women, but which categorize them as inferior to men; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Items are answered according to a Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (6). Coefficient alphas were .82 for benevolent sexism and .87 for hostile sexism.

Procedure

Once the ethics committee of the University approved the project, the educational centers were invited to participate. With the authorization of the directors of the centers, the adolescents were informed of the objectives of the study and the voluntary nature of their participation, as well as asking for their parents' authorization to participate in the study. The questionnaires were administered in the educational institutions during the school day under the supervision of the principal investigator, and with a prior check on parental authorization to participate in the study. After collecting the data, a report was created for each participating school informing them of the most notable results. In addition, the schools received an informative lecture on the characteristics of youth-to-parent aggression.

Data analysis

To analyze the prevalence of Child to Parent Violence and to test whether the proportion of males and females differed in the perpetration of aggression (psychological and physical) toward their parents, we performed Chi-square tests (χ^2).

To evaluate the effect of adolescent sex and age, family structure, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism on Child to Parent Violence (physical and psychological) to both father and mother we used the regression tree technique, under the Chi-square metric (CHAID). This data mining tool allows us to explain a dependent variable from a set of explanatory variables.

The calculation mechanics is as follows: a dependency ranking is defined between the central variable of the study, in this case the level of physical or psychological aggression experienced by the parent, with each of the explanatory variables, such as, for example: sex, age, family group composition and beliefs of hostile or benevolent sexism. The latter constitutes the central hypothesis of the study, that an impact of sexism on aggression situations exists. This ranking allows the selection of a variable of greater dependence, which must also be significant at a certain level of confidence. With this information, the tree is divided according to the cases of this variable.

In the next iterative step, in each branch of the tree, the procedure is repeated: a dependence ranking of the main variable (aggression) versus the remaining explanatory variables is created. The one with the highest dependence is chosen and divided into branches according to them.

The method stops at each branch where there is no significant dependence under the Chi-Square test at a certain level of confidence, or the parent node to be divided contains too few individuals (respondents) or the possible child nodes of the branch contain too few children. The values of these chosen parameters are detailed in the following table.

The hierarchical nature of the CHAID, the dendrogram or tree representation, provides a visual description of the outcome and predictor, variables that cannot otherwise be identified by traditional methods (Piper et al., 2011; Rokach & Maimon, 2014; Ye et al., 2016).

Table 1

Parameters

	Standard	Values
Confidence level		90%
Minimum number of individuals in parent node		30
Minimum number of individuals in child node		15

Quality of fit

The fit was assessed through the overall risk estimate. This compares the difference between the expected value and that observed by the model, indicating the extent to which the tree correctly predicts the outcomes.

Notwithstanding, as mentioned above, the 90% confidence level was used for the significance in each dependence test under the Chi-square metric. This is because at 95% the trees are too short. It should be noted that in this sense the trees do not allow for a high-quality prediction, which is not the objective of the research, but they do show that there is a significant dependence that validates the hypothesis of this research.

Results

Prevalence of child-to-parent violence

The descriptive analysis of the sample regarding the prevalence of child to parent violence shows that 77% of the adolescents surveyed mentioned having used some type of aggression towards their parents at least once in the last 12 months. When we examined the type of aggression used, the results indicate that psychological aggression was the most prevalent at 77%, and physical aggression only 13%. These percentages included isolated cases of a single experience in the last 12 months.

However, in our analysis we estimated the prevalence of mild, moderate and severe psychological and physical aggression. Therefore, to create the variable that measures the severity of violence (severe, moderate and low), we considered the following cutoff points in the scores for each case (Valdez-Santiago et al., 2006): (a) Scores between one case and up to the mean were considered low or mild violence; (b) scores above the mean and up to one standard deviation were considered moderate violence; and (c) scores above one standard deviation were considered severe violence.

The percentages of aggression drop considerably when using this criterion. Table 2 shows the prevalence of violence toward parents in the previous 12 months. We find significant differences only for physical aggression toward the father $\chi^2 (3, N = 955) = 8.96, p = .030, r = .10$. Specifically, males perpetrate more physical aggression toward their father compared to females. No significant differences were found for psychological aggression. However, as we can see in Table 2, the results indicate that a high percentage of young people mentioned using mild psychological aggression, compared to the other types of psychological aggression (moderate and severe).

Table 2

Prevalence of physical and psychological child-to-parent violence

Type of violence	Mild			Moderate			Severe		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Physical against mother	5.8%	5.9%	5.9%	1.5%	0.8%	2.1%	0.8%	0.4%	1.2%
Physical against father	7.0%	6.5%	7.5%	2.9%	1.3%	4.5%*	2.9%	2.8%	3.0%
Psychological against mother	51.2%	51%	51.5%	19.6%	20.2%	19%	22.3%	21.7%	22.7%
Psychological against father	37.3%	37.1%	37.5%	34.5%	34.2%	34.7%	15.1%	14.9%	14.9%

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$

Evaluation of the impact of family structure, ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent), sex and age of the adolescent on child-parent violence toward the mother and father.

Four regression trees were generated: a) Psychological aggression toward the father; b) Psychological aggression toward the mother; c) Physical aggression against the father and d) Physical aggression against the mother

In general terms, the constructs of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism appear to significantly explain the trees, at different levels of importance. These constructs were defined as the direct sum of the respective questions, as detailed in the methodological chapter. Below are the specific results for each tree.

Psychological aggression toward the father

The final decision tree model was formed by three levels of depth and nine nodes of which 5 were terminal nodes (numbers 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8). The percentage of adolescents who reported mild psychological aggression toward their father ranged from 35.6% to 50%, moderate violence ranged from 26% to 37.4% and severe violence from 6.2% to 21.2%. It was found that psychological aggression toward the father could be explained by family structure ($p < .000$ at node 0; $p < .015$ at node 6), age of the respondent ($p < .087$) and hostile sexism ($p < .028$).

The main node was divided into two secondary nodes according to the variable family structure, finding a higher prevalence of mild violence (39.7%) in adolescents from single-parent families. Among adolescents in single-parent families, their age provided the most important division with a 50% prevalence of mild violence in adolescents under 14 years of age. For adolescents older than 14 years, a lower prevalence of mild violence (38.1%) was obtained. However, moderate (27.1%) and severe (14.8%) violence is higher than in those under 14 years of age.

For adolescents from reconstituted (stepfamilies), extended and two-parent families (node 2) the percentage of mild and moderate violence is similar (37.1%), while severe violence (15.7%) is higher than in the group of adolescents from single-parent families (13.6%).

In adolescents from these types of families (reconstituted, extended and two-parent) hostile sexism was the variable that most influenced the prevalence of violence. Mild violence was highest (37.6%) in adolescents who disagree with the sexist beliefs (with a cutoff score of less than 4 points). For adolescents who accept the beliefs associated with hostile sexism with a threshold above 4 points, a prevalence of moderate violence was found to be 37.2% and severe violence 17.8% higher than in the previous group. For adolescents whose acceptance of sexist beliefs exceeds the cut-off score of 4 the most influential variable is family structure, specifically adolescents from two-parent families obtain a higher prevalence of moderate violence (37.4%) and severe violence (21.2%). In contrast, adolescents from reconstituted and extended families have a higher prevalence of moderate violence (38.2%).

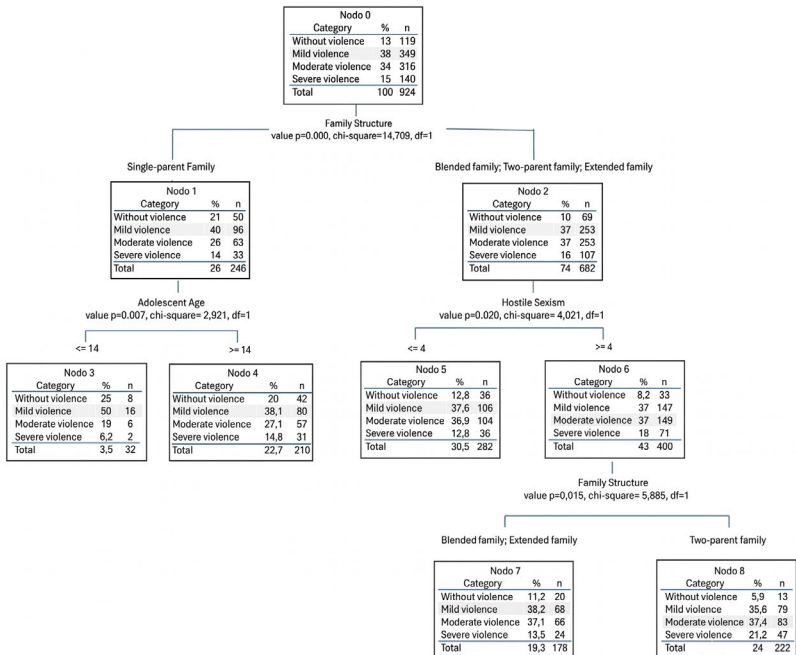


Figure 1. Psychological aggression toward the father

Psychological aggression toward the mother

The decision tree model associated with psychological aggression toward the mother was formed by three levels of depth and twenty-one nodes of which 14 were terminal nodes (numbers 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20). The percentage of adolescents who reported mild psychological aggression toward their mother ranged from 31.2% to 66%, moderate violence ranged from 10.6% to 40.6% and severe violence from 8.3% to 40.7%. It was found that psychological aggression toward the mother could be explained by hostile sexism ($p < .003$), benevolent sexism ($p < .013$), family structure ($p < .006$ for node 2; $p < .006$ for node 4), age of the respondent ($p < .006$ for node 5; $p < .062$ for node 9), and sex of the respondent ($p < .004$).

The first split variable was hostile sexism with a higher prevalence of mild violence 53.5% for adolescents who accept hostile sexism beliefs to a lesser extent (low cutoff score 8). Of those adolescents whose cutoff score was low 8 in hostile sexism, the next important variable was benevolent sexism. Those who had a cut-off score on benevolent sexism between 5 and 15 points manifested greater perpetration of mild violence (58.7%) as did adolescents whose cut-off threshold was above 17 points (56.9%). The highest prevalence of moderate violence was obtained in adolescents with a threshold between 15 and 17 points with 40.5% of the cases. In contrast, the highest prevalence of severe violence was found in adolescents whose cut-off threshold for benevolent sexism was between 2 and 5 points, with a reported perpetration rate of 28%. Among adolescents whose threshold associated with benevolent sexism was between 2 and 5 points, the next important variable was family structure. Adolescents in single-parent and extended families had the highest prevalence of moderate (22%) and severe violence (39%), in contrast to mild violence in which case adolescents in two-parent and reconstituted families had the highest prevalence at 56.1%. Among adolescents whose threshold for benevolent sexism was between 5 and 15 points, the most influential variable was the age of the adolescents. Adolescents under 14 years of age had a

higher prevalence of mild violence (66%), adolescents between 15 and 16 years of moderate violence (20.8%) and adolescents between 14 and 15 years of severe violence (24.1%).

For adolescents whose hostile sexism cut-off score was above 8 (node 2) the results indicate a higher prevalence of mild (46.9%) and severe violence (27.8%), the latter prevalence being higher than for the group of adolescents with a hostile sexism score below 8 points. Among those adolescents whose hostile sexism score was lower than 8 points, the next most influential variable was family structure, dividing into two groups those who came from single-parent and two-parent families who obtained a prevalence of 44.5% for mild violence, 19% for moderate violence and 31.6% for severe violence. The prevalence of these two types of violence (moderate and severe) was higher than among adolescents from extended and reconstituted families, where moderate violence was 18.4% and severe violence 20.5%. However, in this group, mild violence was higher at 51.5%. Among adolescents from single-parent and two-parent families, the most influential variable was the adolescent's sex. Males from these types of families had a higher prevalence of severe violence (40.7%), while females had a higher prevalence of mild (50%) and moderate violence (19.3%). With respect to adolescents from reconstituted and extended families, the most influential variable is age. Adolescents under 15 years of age had a higher prevalence of mild violence (56.9%) and moderate violence (20.7%), while adolescents between 15 and 16 years had a higher prevalence of severe violence (33.3%).

Physical aggression against the father

The decision tree model formed for physical aggression against the father was three levels deep and twenty nodes, of which twelve were terminal nodes (numbers 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19). The percentage of adolescents who reported physically violating their father fell drastically compared to psychological aggression. Mild violence ranged from 1.2% to 15.8%, moderate violence

from 1.3% to 12.5% and severe violence from 0.9% to 14.8%. It was found that physical aggression toward the father could be explained by hostile sexism ($p < .004$ for node 0; $p < .038$ for node 7), benevolent sexism ($p < .011$ for node 1; $p < .002$ for node 2), sex of the adolescent ($p < .056$) and age of the respondent ($p < .004$ for node 4; $p < .060$ for node 6; $p < .095$ for node 3). It should be noted that the results for physical aggression should be treated with caution due to the small proportion of people who reported using this type of aggression.

The first variable most influential in this type of aggression was hostile sexism. Adolescents who moderately agreed with sexist beliefs with a cut-off threshold above 6 points (threshold group 6 to 17 points and group above 17 points) presented a higher percentage of mild violence 8.9%. Among adolescents whose cutoff score is above 17 in hostile sexism there is a higher prevalence of moderate (5.1%) and severe violence (7.6%). In this same group the next most influential variable is the age of the adolescents, which was divided into those under 15 years of age and those over 15 years of age. The highest prevalence of mild (11.9%) and severe violence (11.9%) was found for those older than 15 years. While moderate violence was higher in those under 15 years of age with 5.4%.

Among those adolescents whose point threshold for hostile sexism was between 6 and 17, the next most influential variable was benevolent sexism. Adolescents who were more accepting of these beliefs (cutoff score above 17) had a higher prevalence of mild violence (9.4%). Adolescents whose cut-off score for benevolent sexism was less than 5 had the highest prevalence of moderate violence (6.5%) and severe violence (8.7%). The next important variable in this group is hostile sexism, which separated those who scored below 11 and those with a cut-off score above 11. Adolescents whose cut-off score is above 11 have a higher prevalence of mild violence (15.8%). In contrast, adolescents whose cutoff score is below 11 have a higher prevalence of moderate (11.1%) and severe violence (14.8%). Those adolescents who present a threshold between 5 and 17 points in benevolent sexism, the next most influential variable is the adolescent's sex. Male adolescents have

the highest prevalence for all types of violence; mild (13.3%), moderate (2%) and severe (1%).

As for adolescents whose cutoff score is less than 6 in hostile sexism (node 1), the variable that most influences physical aggression toward the father is benevolent sexism. In this group, those adolescents whose score is less than 5 have a higher prevalence of mild violence (6.6%) and severe violence (3.5%). Of these adolescents, the next most influential variable is the age of the adolescent. Adolescents over 17 years of age have the highest prevalence of all types of violence: mild (12.5%), moderate (12.5%) and severe (8.3%). Finally, adolescents who score above 7 in benevolent sexism the next most influential variable is the age of the respondents. In this case, adolescents older than 15 years obtain a higher prevalence of mild (7.7%) and severe violence (2.2%), while adolescents younger than 15 years present a higher prevalence for moderate violence with 2.4%.

Physical aggression against the mother

The final decision tree model formed was three levels deep and had fifteen nodes of which nine were terminal nodes (numbers 3, 4, 7, 9, 9, 10, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14). The percentage of adolescents who reported physically violating their partner ranged from 0.6% to 11.7%. Mild violence ranged from 3.4% to 11.7%, moderate violence from 0.6% to 6.2% and severe violence from 0.9% to 6.2%. It was found that physical aggression toward the mother could be explained by the sex of the respondent ($p < .066$), benevolent sexism ($p < .038$), hostile sexism ($p < .023$ for node 2; $p < .068$ for node 5) and age of the respondent ($p < .011$ for node 6; $p < .057$ for node 8).

The first split variable was sex of the respondent, with adolescent females obtaining a higher prevalence of mild violence (6.1%). Of those adolescents the next most important variable was hostile sexism. Adolescent girls whose score was above 8 had a higher prevalence of both mild (7.2%) and moderate violence (1.4%). Of those adolescents, the next important variable was the age of the interviewees, which was

separated into those older than 17 years and those younger than 17 years. The latter group had the highest prevalence of both mild violence (7.9%) and moderate violence (1.5%). It should be noted that women over 17 years of age do not present any type of physical aggression toward the mother (mild, moderate and severe). As for the adolescents whose hostile sexism score was low 6, the next important variable was also age. Those adolescents older than 16 years obtained a higher prevalence of mild violence with 11.7% and moderate with 1.7%. It should be noted that no prevalence of severe violence was found for females.

As for male adolescents, a higher prevalence was found for moderate (2.1%) and severe violence (0.8%) compared to females. The next important variable for this group is benevolent sexism. Those male adolescents whose cutoff score is less than 5 obtain a higher prevalence for mild (8.8%) and moderate violence (2.5%). However, those adolescents whose score is above 7 for benevolent sexism have a higher prevalence of severe violence (1.0%). Of those male adolescents whose cutoff score was above 7 (benevolent sexism), the next relevant variable was hostile sexism, with a higher prevalence of mild, moderate and severe violence (6.2% each).

Discussion

The results found reveal that the prevalence rate of adolescent aggression towards their parents is alarmingly high. Psychological aggression reached 77%, that is, 7 out of 10 adolescents mentioned having psychologically assaulted their parents. Prevalence very similar to that found by Jiménez-García et al., (2020), but lower than that found in previous research in Chile (Álvarez, et al., 2016; Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018). Despite this it is still a worrying prevalence given the consequences of this type of violence in the family context. Regarding physical aggression, the results indicate higher rates than those found in previous research both in Chile and abroad (Álvarez et al., 2016; Calvete & Veytia, 2018).

In this research, differences according to the sex of adolescents in the perpetration of aggression towards parents were analyzed. Unlike previous studies (Álvarez et al., 2016; Calvete & Veytia, 2018; Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018), we did not find significant differences for psychological aggression, that is., both males and females similarly assaulted the father and the mother.

However, we obtained significant differences for physical aggression exerted towards the father. In this case, it is the male adolescents who report more aggression towards their fathers than the female adolescents. These results are consistent with those found in other research demonstrating that men tend to use much more physical aggression, especially towards the father (Calvete, et al., 2011; Gámez-Guadix et al., 2012; Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018).

When analyzing the impact of the different factors (family structure, adolescent sex and age, and hostile and benevolent sexism) on the perpetration of child to parent violence, the results indicate that the final regression tree model demonstrated the multilevel interaction between the variables to explain the differences in the prevalence of the different types of aggression (psychological and physical) towards parents. The perpetration profile can be explained by adolescent age and hostile sexism for all types of aggression. In addition, family structure explains the psychological aggression towards both parents. Benevolent sexism and the sex of the adolescent explain psychological aggression toward the mother and physical aggression toward both parents. Finally, physical aggression is explained by the same factors, namely: sex and age of the adolescent, hostile and benevolent sexism. The findings of this study highlight the need for specific interventions, depending on the profile of the adolescents and their families. The terminal nodes show us a defined profile of adolescents with a higher probability of assaulting their parents and who deserve special attention to work on the prevention of child to parent violence with a more focused approach in these types of families.

Next, we will describe and discuss the profiles of adolescents who psychologically and physically assault their father, considering their level of severity (mild, moderate and severe).

First, adolescents under 14 years of age from single-parent families tend to be more likely to psychologically assault their father in a mild way in contrast to adolescents older than 14 years who engage in moderate and severe psychological aggression. These results are consistent with previous research that shows that sons and daughters of single-parent families show higher rates of aggression than families with both parents (Frías et al., 2009; Williams et al., 2016). Similarly, we know that single-parent families make great efforts to reconcile parenting, the economic maintenance of the family and the personal life of the parent in charge without the support of the other parent. This situation becomes even more challenging during adolescence, when the development of autonomy is a central element and often not free of conflicts. All this means that in this type of family a higher level of stress exists that can lead to the emergence of aggression. As noted by Simmons et al., 2018, who reports that environmental factors and coping strategies of these types of families are what would explain the higher likelihood of child to parent violence. Regarding the age of adolescents, our results are coherent with other studies finding higher levels of aggression in those adolescents of older ages (Kennair & Mellor, 2007; Fuentes, Motrico & Bersabé, 2003).

Second, adherence to stereotypical beliefs of hostile sexism was also a factor explaining psychological aggression toward the father. The highest prevalence of moderate and severe type was found in adolescents who moderately agreed with hostile sexism beliefs and who came from two-parent families. Other studies have also found that the two-parent families mention more violence from their children (Rechea & Cuervo, 2010).

Regarding hostile sexism, similar results have been found in previous research in which it has been evaluated that hostile sexism increases the probability of psychological and economic aggression towards parents (Cano-Lozano et al., 2023; Cortina & Martín, 2020; Martín & Cortina, 2023). Moreover, it is consistent with other studies on other types of violence, such as intimate partner violence and peer violence (Carrascosa et al., 2019; Expósito & Herrera, 2009). These

results show that accepting sexist beliefs (especially hostile ones) is a risk factor, not only for being a victim of violence, but also for perpetrating it. In addition, previous research has also found that accepting sexist beliefs is associated with violence perpetrated against men (Ibabe et al., 2016; León-Ramírez & Ferrando, 2014). This demonstrates that the acceptance of sexism beliefs, even when solely as a prejudice that women are inferior to men, is construed as a risk factor upon which more work is necessary. Another aspect that should be highlighted is that only a slight acceptance of these beliefs (cut-off score of 4 points) is enough to involve more severe aggression.

Regarding physical aggression towards the father involving severe aggression, two profiles of adolescents were found: On the one hand, adolescents older than 15 years who accept the beliefs associated with hostile sexism and, on the other hand, adolescents with a low acceptance of benevolent sexism and medium acceptance of hostile sexism. These findings reinforce the idea that accepting sexist beliefs is a risk factor for violence, regardless of the sex at whom the aggression is directed. The explanation for this could be related to the submissive behaviors established between aggressors and victims, regardless of the type of relationship established between them, especially in those who accept sexist attitudes (Carrascosa et al., 2019; Carrera-Fernández et al., 2013).

Second, the highest prevalence of moderate physical aggression toward the father was obtained in adolescents older than 17 years with low acceptance of benevolent and hostile sexism. Similar results were reported by Kennair and Mellor (2007) who point out that the differences in the age of the aggressor children are a function of gender. These authors found that as sons grew older, they tended to be more aggressive towards their fathers. The explanation for this could be associated with the evolutionary moment in which adolescents over 17 years of age find themselves, since they are leaving adolescence and are at the beginning of another stage of greater autonomy, such as entering higher education or the work force. This situation could mean an increase in conflicts between parents and children, due to the high demand for

autonomy and perception of leaving adolescence to integrate into the adult world (Fuentes, Motrico & Bersabé, 2003).

Third, the highest prevalence of mild physical violence was obtained in adolescents who do not agree with benevolent sexism beliefs and yet do moderately accept hostile sexism beliefs. Once again, these findings suggest the importance of working on sexist beliefs at an early age, since the results found reveal that adolescents who exercise some type of aggression have sexist attitudes (Martín & Cortina, 2023; Carrascosa et al., 2019).

Continuing with the discussion below, we will describe the profiles found of adolescents for psychological and physical aggression towards the mother, also considering their level of severity (mild, moderate and severe).

First, we find that the highest prevalence of mild psychological aggression is found in children under 14 years of age with an average acceptance of benevolent and hostile (sexism beliefs). As we found in our results of psychological aggression towards the father, age (specifically children under 14 years of age) tends to be the factor for engagement in milder aggression towards their parents, results consistent with another research (Kennair & Mellor, 2007; Motrico et al., 2001).

Furthermore, this adolescent profile shows that accepting even moderate beliefs associated with the perception of women as subordinate or inferior to men (hostile sexism) and as dependent and weak (benevolent sexism) was related to a greater risk of psychologically assaulting the mother. It should be noted that at this stage of development, ambivalence associated with sexist beliefs (hostile and benevolent) occurs, along with gender differentiation (Glick & Hilt, 2000), which makes this stage crucial for intervention on aspects associated with gender equality. At the same time, Connelly and Heesacker (2012) highlight the dangers of not reducing the ambivalence of such beliefs, especially in adolescence, given that previous findings show an association between the acceptance of sexist beliefs and aggression in any type of relationship (Carrascosa et al., 2019; Carrera-Fernández et al., 2013; Martín & Cortina, 2023).

Second, if the adolescent with the previous profile (average acceptance of hostile and benevolent sexism) is between 15 and 16 years old, the probability of engaging in moderate psychological aggression towards the mother increases. Adolescent age would be a contributing factor to explain the severity of violence, since the older the adolescent, the greater the probability of intensifying violent behaviors, as we found in the results associated with aggression toward the father in this study. These results are consistent with previous research demonstrating that adolescents of older ages exercise more aggressive behaviors, due to a decrease in subordination responses and an increase in disagreements with their parents (Elzo, 1999; Molina et al., 2009). These findings suggest the need for further analysis of conflict resolution strategies in the parent-child dyad, to evaluate to the extent these strategies are mediators in the occurrence of child to parent violence.

Third, psychological aggression toward the mother of the severe type was explained by the adolescent's sex, family structure, and adherence to beliefs associated with hostile sexism. Specifically, male adolescents from single-parent and two-parent families who agree with sexist beliefs, engage to a greater extent in episodes of severe aggression toward their mothers. These findings could have their basis in the subordinate status of women and stereotypical gender roles, as mentioned by Ulman and Straus (2003), especially in the Chilean context where stereotypical beliefs placing women in a disadvantaged position persist, especially in the domestic sphere. Likewise, the fact that it is women who spend more time caring for and educating their children exposes them to situations in which they must manage greater disagreements and conflicts at this stage in their development. In this same line, consistent with previous research findings (Ibabe et al., 2007; Ilabaca & Gaete, 2018; Martín & Cortina, 2023), adolescents from single-parent families manifested having exercised more aggression towards their mother. The same occurs with adolescents from families with both parents accepting sexist beliefs (Martín & Cortina, 2023). These findings show the importance not only of the family in the presence of child to

parent violence, but also of other factors such as sexism (hostile and benevolent). This finding is relevant since we know that the learning of sexist beliefs is mainly acquired in this primary group. In addition, as found in other studies, sons are more aggressive towards their mothers (Ibabe et al., 2009; Kennair & Mellor, 2007).

As for physical aggression toward the mother, aggression of a mild type was explained by the age, hostile sexism and sex of the adolescents. Our results showed that daughters older than 16 years who reject hostile sexism beliefs engage in this type of aggression toward their mother. Results contradict some previous findings showing that physical aggression is perpetrated to a greater extent by sons (Calvete et al., 2017). However, other studies report that daughters also tend to engage in physical aggression, although the main motive for aggression would be self-defense (Calvete & Orue, 2016).

When physical aggression was moderate and severe, the profile of adolescents was males who agree with benevolent and hostile sexist beliefs. These results once again emphasize the urgency of addressing sexist beliefs, as the stereotypes embedded in Chilean society, culture and family that are imposed from early ages an intergenerational socialization based on gender differentiation, could favor the transfer of dominance and submission schemes endorsed by such beliefs. Other studies have also shown evidence of victimization of women supported by sexist beliefs in other interpersonal contexts, especially by male aggressors (Carrascosa et al., 2019; Soto-Quevedo, 2012). Similarly, these results suggest that when sons perpetrate aggression they tend to do so with more severe consequences (Calvete & Orue, 2016).

In short, this research shows the importance of intervention about sexist beliefs, not only with adolescents, but also with parents, transitioning to a society based on equality, respect and cooperation, and, therefore, free of traditional stereotypes that legitimize power and the use of violence (Martínez-Pecino & Durán, 2019). We expect that by decreasing the acceptance of sexist attitudes in parents, it could decrease the acceptance of these beliefs in their adolescent sons and daughters and, therefore, have an impact on the prevention of child to parent

violence. However, we should not forget the role played by other social spheres (schools, peer group, media) in the development, transmission and reinforcement of sexist attitudes (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2011).

Limitations

Finally, we should mention the limitations of the present study. First, we should be careful when interpreting the prevalence of this phenomenon, especially when we only consider the report of the aggressors. It would also be important to include the parents' perception of this type of violence and compare it with that mentioned by adolescents. Second, we were not certain that adolescents, even when answering anonymous questionnaires, answered truthfully about having assaulted their parents, probably because they were ashamed of the social rejection of their behavior. Third, we should be aware that when assessing sexist beliefs, there are likely to be biases when expressing the degree of agreement with the beliefs due to the social desirability and/or rejection of the sexist behaviors assessed.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the present research is a further contribution to the study of child to parent violence, especially in the Chilean context where there is little empirical evidence on this type of violence. The results presented show the importance of addressing the problem of aggression against parents, even more so when in Chile there are no public policies that address this phenomenon. Likewise, this research provides us with more information on the relationship between sexist beliefs in this type of aggression and reinforces the idea of the importance of intervention and education surrounding these beliefs to prevent episodes of violence in the family context.

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