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PARENTAL PRACTICES EXERCISED IN THE CHILDHOOD OF AUTHORS OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

PRÁTICAS PARENTAIS EXERCIDAS NA INFÂNCIA DE AUTORES DE ASSÉDIO SEXUAL

Daniela Baldez Diniz Federal University of Pará, Brazil

Lília lêda Chaves Cavalcante Federal University of Pará, Brazil

Daniela Castro dos Reis Federal University of Pará, Brazil

Abstract

This study aimed to identify positive and negative parenting practices carried out in childhood based on the reports of perpetrators of sexual assault. Therefore, we used a database consisting of 20 interviews with these individuals, whose textual content was submitted to exploratory reading, organisation of a system of categories and subsequent evaluation by judges, obtaining, from the Kappa value, the presence of at least three categories to analyse the interviewees' reports, two negative and one positive. Positive follow-up was associated with school and leisure time, which emphasizes the concern of parents for the education of their children and their well-being, even though the use of physical and psychological punishments has been reported in the process of guidance and supervision. Negligence was present in the report of authors of sexual assault researched, associating this practice with the experience of being left alone at home. Even with the presence of positive and negative parental practices, the predominance of negligence, physical and psychological abuse, suggests that these evidences should be more investigated regarding the impact that they have on the childhood and their implications to suffer or perpetrate the sexual assault in later cycles of life.

Keywords: parenting practices, childhood, authors of sexual assault

Resumo

Este estudo teve como objetivo identificar práticas parentais positivas e negativas realizadas na infância a partir de relatos de agressores sexuais. Para tanto, utilizamos um banco de dados composto por 20 entrevistas com esses indivíduos, cujo conteúdo textual foi submetido a leitura exploratória, organização de um sistema de categorias e posterior avaliação por juízes, obtendo-se, a partir do valor Kappa, a presença de pelo menos três categorias para analisar os relatos dos entrevistados, dois negativos e um positivo. O acompanhamento positivo foi associado à escola e ao lazer, o que enfatiza a preocupação dos pais com a educação e o bem-estar dos filhos, embora tenha sido relatado o uso de castigos físicos e psicológicos no processo de orientação e supervisão. A negligência esteve presente no relato dos autores das agressões sexuais pesquisadas, associando essa prática à experiência de ficar sozinho em casa. Mesmo com a presença de práticas parentais positivas e negativas, a predominância de negligência e abuso físico e psicológico sugere que essas evidências devem ser mais investigadas quanto ao impacto que têm na infância e suas implicações para sofrer ou perpetrar a agressão sexual em momentos posteriores dos ciclos da vida.

Palavras-chave: práticas parentais, infância, autores de agressão sexual

Introduction

Sexual violence against children and adolescents is a universal phenomenon identified in many societies, historical and cultural contexts, with the presence of all social and economic societies, independently from religion, sex and ethnicities. Facing the diversity that marks its occurrence, violence in general, but particularly sexual violence, has been described as socially complex, polysemous and multifactorial (Matos *et al.*, 2013). Studies related to this theme mostly focus on the victim of violence and the violent behaviour (Reis & Cavalcante, 2018), however it has been gradually observed an increase, albeit subtle, of studies related to the authors of sexual assault. Reis and Cavalcante (2018), in a systematic review of studies involving these individuals, published from 1980 to 2013, indicated out a vast scientific production concentrated in North America and countries of the European continent, while in South America the interest in the topic is still recent, but it expands from a greater visibility of the phenomenon of sexual violence in this context.

In this sense, research that aims to understand factors that might be associated to violent behaviour contributes to programmes of intervention and prevention of sexual violence (Wanklyn *et al*, 2012), and one of the ways of having access to these factors is through the author of sexual assault. That said, retrospective studies have presented as a possibility of identification of conditions in which these subjects have been exposed to during their childhood. In the literature, this process of return to the subject's child and their lived experiences, mainly within the familial environment, offers other variables to

be considered. Wankly et al. (2012), by comparing three groups of young authors of sexual assault, noted the presence of 19 risk factors found in the childhood distributed in four domains (individual, family, peers and school). The factors corresponded from aspects of the subject (such as low self-esteem, health issues, drug and alcohol abuse) to risk factors in the family (such as raising methods, child abuse and parental psychopathology). This finding demonstrates that this period of human development is reached by diverse factors that might be presented as a risk, and that these factors within the group of sexual aggression authors are prominent. Among the possibilities of research on childhood, the family environment has a relevant position regarding significant interactions and lived experiences. Studies (Costa et al., 2018; Paludo & Shiró, 2012) have shown that the family of perpetrators of sexual assault often presents certain characteristics that, supposedly, may imply risks for the perpetration of sexual assault, such as unemployment of parents and other caregivers, interpersonal conflicts associated with reconstituted families, abuse of alcohol and various drugs, absence of socioeconomic opportunities, presence of other forms of violence (Habigzang et al, 2005), such as sexual violence (Landi, 2019; Paludo & Shiró, 2012), neglect and physical violence (Marafiga & Falcke, 2020; Sanfelice & De Antoni, 2010) and low communication between family members (Lopes & Gouveia-Pereira, 2017). Such factors are pointed out in the literature as being experiences that occurred in the childhood of these subjects with risks to the healthy development of the child. Within this same environment, there is the use of parental practices that consist of a set of behaviours which parents choose and that concern the way they act with their children, usually with the objective of educating them to reach a specific domain (Pires et al, 2018). Such behaviours exert an expected influence on the social, cognitive and psychological development of children (Sarmento & D'Affonseca, 2022) and it is in the family that these parental practices are most frequent, as parents are mainly responsible for transmitting information about the world from the early years of childhood (Sarmento & D'Affonseca, 2022).

In addition to that, it is assumed that many common practices in the family environment can be pointed out as positive or negative for the development of certain behaviours in childhood. In this article, the studies by Gomide (2014) were chosen to assist in the identification of positive and negative parenting practices in the researched context, since the development of its Parenting Styles Inventory - PSI (2006) considers parenting styles as the confluence of forces between different parenting practices (Gomide, 2014). The developed PSI fills gaps referent to the need of instruments that quide professionals in the attend families at risk identified by the inventory (Santos & Coelho, 2020). An important addition to the discussion is that although parenting styles and parenting practices are constructs related to the way parents deal with their children, these denominations mark distinct and complementary ways of visualising this relationship, to mark this differentiation it is worth mentioning that parenting styles deal with the nature of the interaction between parents and children, involving not only parenting practices, but also a combination of values, parents' beliefs, emotional aspects. child's temperament, among others (Lawrenz et al, 2020, Baumrind, 1966), and parenting practices represented by behaviours that denote the way parental figures choose to educate their children.

For Gomide (2014), parenting practices can be divided into practices that favour the development of prosocial behaviours (responsibility, empathy, honesty), called positive parenting practices (PPP) or practices that favour antisocial behaviours (lying, drug abuse, theft and behaviours in conflict with the law), considered negative parenting practices (NPP). Positive behaviours are organised into two parenting practices: positive follow-up and moral behaviour, as shown in Figure 1 below.

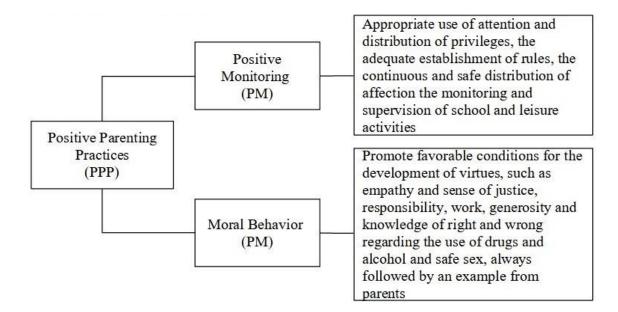


Figure 1. Concept of Positive Parenting Practices *Note.* Concepts token from Gomide (2014)

It is observed that, within each PPP, there is a set of direct practices such as: knowing the life of the child, showing affection and care, transmitting values and discriminating right and wrong to the child, as being strategies of parents in educating their children. Positive practices are seen in the literature as being capable of developing prosocial behaviours in children as empathy (Motta *et al*, 2006, Prust & Gomide, 2007, Salvo *et al*, 2005), in addition to being correlated with the mental health of children and adolescents (Benetti *et al*, 2010; Cid *et al*, 2015).

In contrast, antisocial behaviours can be developed through the use of five negative parenting practices: Negligence, inconsistent punishment, negative trail, relaxed discipline, and physical and psychological abuse (Gomide, 2014), conceptualized in Figure 2 below.

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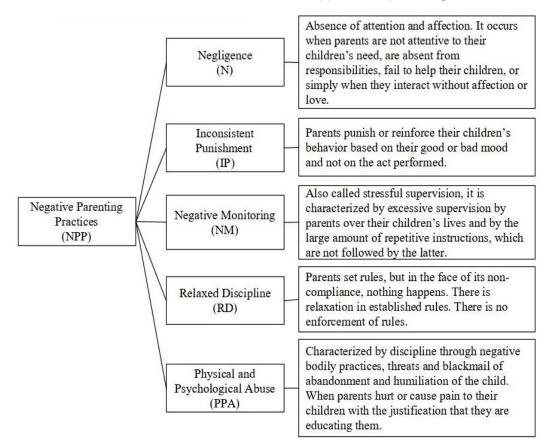


Figure 2. Concept of Negative Parental Practices *Note.* Concepts taken from Sampaio and Gomide (2007) and Gomide (2014)

Figure 2 shows several practices performed by parents in order to educate their children. However, within the literature, behaviours such as negligence and physical abuse can result in exposure of children and adolescents to other violence, such as sexual violence (Landi, 2019). The presence of negative parenting practices added to the reduced frequency of positive parenting practices demonstrate to be related to externalizing behaviours (aggressive behaviours and difficulty in following rules) of children (Batista *et al*, 2010; Olsen & Geronasso, 2022).

Although research on parenting practices is extensive and rich, it is difficult to locate in the literature studies that focus on authors of aggression, especially perpetrators of sexual assault. Lopes and Gouveia-Pereira (2017) in a study with three distinct sample groups: sexual abusers, marital violence and homicide, points out that sexual abusers have low communication with family members, this study, in addition to reinforcing the hypothesis that there is a difference between subjects who have committed different crimes, demonstrates that parental practices in the family can be a focus of investigation to understand the phenomenon of sexual violence.

That said, this study aimed to identify positive and negative parenting practices carried out in childhood by perpetrators of sexual assault, in order to generate knowledge about the development of these subjects while they were still children.

Method

This research has an exploratory character, aiming at filling gaps referent to studies on the childhood of sexual aggression authors, and presents a quantitative and qualitative approach, since it first uses a content analysis method based on Bardin's technique in the selection of excerpts of interviews that might correspond to parental practices. Thus, processes of pre-analysis, exploration of the material and treatment of the results were carried out (Silva & Fossá, 2015), to then submit the selected material to a statistical program to validate the textual content with the selected categories.

Research context

The present study was carried out in three prison units in the State of Pará Penitentiary System located in 3 municipalities of the Belém Mesoregion, named here as Prison Institutions A, B and C. The interviews were carried out between 2015-2016.

Ethical procedures

To collect data from this research, the appropriate formal authorizations were requested from the institutions involved in this study, which were the Ethics Committee of the Centre for Tropical Medicine of the Institute of Health Sciences UFPA, the authorization occurred by appear No. 650.210 on May 16, 2014, for the Legal Institutions and the Superintendence of the Penitentiary System of the State of Pará SUSIPE, an authorisation term was used for each. Participants were informed about the objectives, procedures, risks and benefits of the research through the Informed Consent Form (ICF), as well as the guarantee of the confidentiality of their personal information.

Participants

20 sexual aggressors participated, identified here as P1, P2... And so on. One of the participants did not reveal his age, so the average age of the 19 perpetrators of the sexual assault was 39.9 years (SD=10.5), they were mostly adult men, declared themselves brown (60%), had primary education incomplete (55%) and professed the evangelical religion in 60% of the cases, of the 20 interviewees, 11 (55%) practiced sexual violence within the family and 13 (62%) committed crimes against adolescents.

Instruments and Materials

A semi-structured interview script prepared by the researchers of the Author of Violence Study Group (GEAV) Ecology and Development Laboratory (EDL) of Federal University of Pará (UFPA) was used based on a study by Moura (2007). In the interview, there were topics about the characterisation of the participants (age, ethnicity, schooling) and life cycles (childhood, adolescence, adulthood), in which the participant talked about their good and bad memories of each period, activities carried out in the family, school

and neighbourhood, relevant figures and relationships established in each cycle, which made it possible to identify the parenting practices carried out in childhood.

The information obtained was organised in a spreadsheet in which it was possible to systematize the positive and negative parenting practices selected from the analysis of the interview transcripts.

Collection procedures

Regarding the collection, the interviews were conducted in the prison units where the perpetrators of sexual assault were located, each prison unit provided a room, and the semi-structured interviews were conducted and recorded with the participant's authorisation by researchers from the GEAV. In the room, there were only the researchers and the participants, so to ensure everyone's safety, the prison units made available a penitentiary agent who was outside and close to the door of the rooms, the request for them to stay outside the interview room came from the researchers themselves in order to favour the establishment of the interview. Besides that, all participants were handcuffed during the interview. The few occurrences that were registered in the records refer to the noise of handcuffs when a participant gestured, the entrance of a penitentiary agent for general information or the voices or yells of other inmates next to the room.

Analysis procedures

After conducting the 20 interviews, the material underwent a transcription and review process in the period 2017-2018, the research phase in which the first author joined the team responsible for the procedure. At the end of this process, all interviews were available for further analysis and research planned by the group. For this article, information was obtained to characterise the perpetrators of sexual aggression surveyed and to identify parenting practices following four distinct stages.

First Stage - Exploratory reading of the interview database

The exploratory reading was carried out in 20 interviews located in the research interview bank, using the Bardin technique, it was possible to locate textual fragments that contained the parenting practices carried out in childhood of these participants. The selection of these fragments followed certain criteria, namely: 1) to be a parental practice, that is, behaviour of the parents or guardians towards the child, now the author of sexual assault, who had the objective of educating him; and 2) to be a memory of the participant that occurred during his childhood.

Second Stage - Database Construction

The identification of parental practices allowed the construction of a new database organized in a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel Software (2010), the spreadsheet contained the system of categories elaborated by Gomide (2014), that is, positive parenting

practices (positive monitoring and moral behaviour) and negative (negligence, inconsistent punishment, negative monitoring, relaxed discipline and physical and psychological abuse) and selected textual fragments. In addition, the spreadsheet had the concepts of parental practices with their respective examples. Such examples were taken from the Gomide Parental Styles Inventory (2014), however, for this work, the phrasal time was changed, placing them in the past to facilitate the categorization process.

Third Stage - Judges' Evaluation

To validate the textual fragments of the interviews arranged in the system of categories, the content was submitted to the appreciation of two auxiliary researchers, in this work called judges. Like the author, the judges carried out a process of categorisation of the material extracted from the interviews, which was stored in an Excel spreadsheet (2010). After reading the interview fragment and understanding the concepts of each parenting practice, the judge would choose by marking an X, which parenting practice is explicit with that behaviour mentioned by the participant.

With the return of the judges, it was possible to find a certain level of agreement between the judges, through the Kappa (K) concordance test, also known as the Kappa coefficient, proposed by Jacob Cohen in 1960. The Kappa coefficient is generally used by health professionals and consists of the calculation performed between the proportion of times that judges agree and the maximum proportion that they could agree, both corrected by agreement due to chance (Alexandre & Coluci, 2011). The Kappa value can vary from 0 to 1, being evaluated as follows: K<0 no agreement, $0.51 \le K < 0.21$ slight agreement, $0.21 \le K < 0.41$ weak agreement, $0.41 \le K < 0.61$ moderate agreement, $0.61 \le K < 0.81$ substantial agreement, and finally a value of $0.81 \le K < 1$ almost perfect agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977 quoted in Matos, 2014), in this work, a Kappa value from 0.61 was considered, that is, substantial values for the analysis.

In the literature, Kappa is commonly used to assess the agreement between two judges (Silva & Paes, 2012). However, considering that this study involved three judges, to perform the calculation of the Kappa coefficient of agreement, the *IBM SPSS Statistics 25 program* was used. Thus, the calculation considered the data of two judges at a time. First, Judge 1 was related to Judge 2, then, again, Judge 1 to Judge 3, and finally, Judge 2 to Judge 3. After the result of each calculation, it considered the simple arithmetic mean of the three results evaluating each parental practice.

Results

In the exploratory reading of the material, 115 fragments of the textual content of the interviews were selected based on the inclusion criteria, and these were organised in a spreadsheet available for the three judged that categorised the fragments in each parental practice. Table 1 shows the arithmetic mean resulting from the Kappa value calculated in relation to the three judges and their level of agreement.

Parental PracticeAverage of the 3 judges – KappaAgreement levelPhysical and psychological abuseK = 0.865Nearly perfect agreementNegligenceK = 0.804Substantial agreementPositive MonitoringK = 0.681Substantial agreementMoral BehaviourK = 0.406Weak agreementRelaxed DisciplineK = 0.333Weak agreement		Arithmetic mean of the Kappa value calculated between the three judges.			
psychological abuseK = 0.804Substantial agreementNegligenceK = 0.681Substantial agreementPositive MonitoringK = 0.681Substantial agreementMoral BehaviourK = 0.406Weak agreement		Agreement level		Parental Practice	
Positive MonitoringK = 0.681Substantial agreementMoral BehaviourK = 0.406Weak agreement		Nearly perfect agreement	K = 0.865	•	
Moral BehaviourK = 0.406Weak agreement		Substantial agreement	K = 0.804	Negligence	
		Substantial agreement	K = 0.681	Positive Monitoring	
Relaxed Discipline K = 0.333Weak agreement		Weak agreement	K = 0.406	Moral Behaviour	
		Weak agreement	K = 0.333	Relaxed Discipline	
Inconsistent Punishment K = 0.258 Weak agreement		Weak agreement	K = 0.258	Inconsistent Punishment	
Negative MonitoringK = 0.059Slight presence of agreement	•	Slight presence of agreement	K = 0.059	Negative Monitoring	

Table 1

Arithmetic mean of the Kappa value calculated between the three judges.

Source: Prepared by the author of the work.

In three parenting practices (positive monitoring, neglect and physical and psychological abuse) the Kappa value was above 0.61, which represents a substantial level of agreement between the judges and greater consistency of the results obtained. The other parenting practices, moral behaviour, relaxed discipline and inconsistent punishment, obtained a level of agreement considered weak, while negative monitoring showed slight agreement between the judges.

In general, however, it is noted that there was a low level of agreement among the judges, since only three practices obtained results that had agreement at this satisfactory level. The hypothesis discussed for this occurrence is based on the very definition of parental practice, because, when considering it as an expression of behaviours that occur from interpersonal interaction, it is understood that the more complex this is, the greater the probability of it offering openness to other interpretations. Thus, parental practices that involve tangible and observable behaviours, such as physical punishment, humiliation, absence of responsibility, monitoring school and leisure activities, allow greater clarity and resources for people to assess which specific practice a sentence may be referring to. However, the more the behaviour refers to or depends on a more subjective field, such as over-surveillance that can be confused with care, inferring the parents' mood in the use of parental practice or whether or not there was compliance with rules, situations that require more contextual data, in addition to some fragments of texts, understanding and evaluation becomes more difficult to perform, as it requires interpretation and, in turn, is loaded with values, beliefs and personal experiences. Thus, this study analysed only parental practices in which there was substantial agreement between the judges, these practices corresponded to 68 fragments of text, distributed in Positive Monitoring (N=25), Physical and Psychological Abuse (N=31) and Neglect (N=12). Regarding positive parental practice, it was possible to identify reports involving monitoring and supervision of school activities, use of attention and distribution of affection. Regarding the supervision of school and leisure activities, the authors of sexual assault report moments when parents participated in school meetings, assisted in school activities and encouraged the task of studying. Verified in these report "He accompanied me (to school), took me, like my brothers, to the meeting they went to, when there was a course, in this school thing, when my mother didn't go, my father went" (P20, 37 years old) and reports below:

When I was a child, he helped me to do my homework... he helped me like that, he encouraged me to do my homework, he tried to see my grades, he encouraged me to get good grades, right? he gave me presents [gifts] when I passed the year. (P4, 44 years)

My father who took me every morning by bicycle (to school), and picked me up, it was two kilometres [...]. So that this wouldn't happen, of being late for school, which was in the morning at seven o'clock, so my father would take me and pick me up. (P7, 27 years old)

When it comes to the use of attention and distribution of affection, the participants report events they consider happy in their life trajectory, in which parental figures sought to make them feel special and even create environments in which they felt safe.

It's just a good event, but it's when it's business, when I was going, it's, to complete the year, you know, that the mother used to have those little parties there... [...] It was, she invited friends, friends, you know, and it was joy. (P13, 44 years)

(Given the sexual abuse suffered in childhood) So, she saw it as abnormal, right? In me. Oh, I remember that, because it was a very strong thing, you know? Then, she said: "My son, what happened?", then, I got that fear, that thing, you know? "Look, look, you won't be beaten, you…" she talked to me in such a way that she convinced me, and I told her what happened, you know? Then, she called the parents of this, this boy, then, she forbade him to go to the house, to go into the backyard to play. (P4, 44 years)

Negative parenting practices that can be analysed are: Physical and psychological abuse and neglect. The use of negative body practices that hurt and cause pain, were frequent in the reports, the participants of 15- and 33-years old states that "I was beaten but... it was... it was my mother's vine. He beat me because I was mischievous", in other reports physical abuse is also observed, "He (stepfather) hit with whatever he had in his hand. My best friends were my parents, although my stepfather beat me up, but he wanted my best, deep down, deep down he wanted my best" (P19, 26 years old).

My mother (adoptive) raised me, never... when we lied or hid anything, we were beaten. So, I was raised that way. So, I didn't lie, I told my truth. [..] My mother was like this: if I hit, if I fought in the street, when I got home, I would be beaten. And if I was beaten, I would be beaten too, you know? (P11, 52 years)

According to the reports, the use of physical punishments always had a justification to educate them, and for this purpose they even used other instruments such as the vine. In addition to physical abuse, psychological abuse also appeared in textual fragments. Through humiliation:

I was bullied at school and they still didn't like me at home, because I was the little black duck in the family [...] My father is the son of a Portuguese son, you understand? Son of Portuguese are those white people; do you understand? And I was born, I was the only coal, black boy born in the family, it was me, you know? My father called me cursed. (P17, 29 years old).

Then there were the parties, right? There was... There was a table with 12 seats, which was precisely, which were the children he had, right? I was the last to eat, because the foster kids always got last, you know? My (adoptive) mother wouldn't let me, but my (adoptive) father always left it last... (P11, 52 years).

Neglect was the third possible parental practice to be analysed, within the fragments possible to be analysed there is a routine involving the use of parents and religious routines. Like the reports below:

So, she had to choose, or she would take care of us, stay at home and we would starve, or else she would go out to work and try to take care of us, but in her absence, which was necessary, there were several types of things, right? This issue of sexual violence, there was this issue of mistreatment, right? from the very family that could be protecting. (P5, 32 years)

And my father was always traveling, my father was from the stretch, he only lived in the middle of the world. Within a month, it was very difficult to see him. Sometimes, he arrived at night, then, when it was morning, when we woke up, he was gone, he had already paid the alley (left) again. (P13, 44 years)

Sometimes my mother didn't take care of the children, she didn't know about the children, she didn't know what they were doing. [...] my mother only at church, prayer circle thing, midday prayer, vigil, this evangelical thing, you know, then, they left the house free, so, I closed it and went to the street [...] I missed my mother's caresses.. (P17, 29 years)

Discussion

The Kappa coefficient found agreement among the judges in three parenting practices, one positive and two negative, in relation to positive parenting practice, positive monitoring is presented in the literature (Gomide, 2014, Rodrigues & Mendes, 2019, Toni & Silvares, 2013) as an important variable to avoid antisocial behaviour, as it is characterised by the true interest of parents in their children's lives, adequate establishment of rules, providing safe environments for sharing secrets and demonstrations of affection and care. Through the reports, it is observed that in fact there were times when parents had positive monitoring with their children, mainly related to

school monitoring, Toni and Hecaveí (2014) point out that maternal and paternal practices are predictors of school performance, so the more parents exercise positive practices, among them positive monitoring, the more children tend to increase their school performance. Although most had incomplete elementary education, more than half of the participants reported that while they were in the school environment there was interest from parents and encouragement in academic life, this data can be explained by the view that one has of education, often represented by the school that symbolizes an instrument of economic improvement, social mobility and better chances in the labour market (Silva & Valore, 2019; Lemos et al., 2008), thus there is an appreciation of this aspect in the life trajectory of the child who starts to receive greater attention and participation from parents. It is noteworthy that although positive monitoring does not only involve this aspect, in general, among all aspects that characterised as positive monitoring, only when school follow-up is presented in a more relevant manner in the reports, whereas "adequate establishment of rules", "continuous and safe distribution of affection" and "adequate use of attention and distribution of privileges" were not found in the reports. Therefore, so that the consequences of a parental practice are effective, different elements are needed, such as frequency, intensity and a set of behaviours throughout the relationships, thus, the behaviour of monitoring specific situations might not be as effective in the behaviour of a child.

As for negative parenting practices, racism and treatment differentiation were observed when there was no consanguinity. Regarding racism, the family is generally seen as an important environment for the construction of black identity (Fernandes, 2018), so when this environment promotes a pejorative view in relation to the child's colour, it can cause psychological impacts that mainly affect self-esteem and the development of self-rejection (Silva, 2018). Thus, practices of humiliation with the intention of educating can develop problems with the way these subjects see themselves, a condition that is apparent in studies on perpetrators of sexual assault, Zilki *et al.* (2020) in a study on the psychological characteristics of these subjects concluded that there is impairment in cognitive, affective and self-perception aspects.

In several studies (Gomide, 2014; Sampaio & Vieira, 2010; Rodrigues *et al*, 2013, Rodrigues & Mendes, 2019), physical and psychological abuse is pointed out as one of the most harmful parental practices for the development of children and adolescents, being strongly linked to behaviours that violate the law. Araújo (2019) states that dysfunctional families are characterised using violent behaviours and increase the likelihood of dysfunctional behaviours. Understanding that the family is an environment capable of influencing the biopsychosocial characteristics of participants, when this environment has active practices of violence or deals with adverse situations through punishment, children can behave in different environments as they experienced within the family. Attention is paid to the fact that all participants were raised at a time when questions about violent parental practices were little discussed by society in general, only recently with Law No. 13.010/14 (2014), better known as the Palmada Law, families were able to reassess their ways of educating their children in Brazil.

The absence of parental figures due to work issues to maintain the family's

livelihood exposes the economic conditions existing within the family of the participants, the absence of the parental figure made possible the occurrence of other violence. Mata (2019) warns of the care in discussing negligence, since the lack of parental care during childhood can be crossed by several factors, including economic. However, participants who reported neglect also talk about the absence of affection and affection in the relationship with parental figures, this characteristic linked to physical abuse that was frequent may be associated with antisocial behaviours. Rodrigues *et al.* (2013) when evaluating maternal care with babies of different ages, realised that neglect increased accompanying the growth of the baby, despite being a study with babies, it can be inferred that parental figures begin to exercise less their responsibilities as their children grow up, giving them the ability to deal with different situations.

Conclusion

The identification of parental practices, from the Kappa value, demonstrates the presence of at least three categories in the interviewees' reports, being two negative and one positive. Positive follow-up was associated with school and leisure time, which emphasises the concern of parents for the education of their children and their wellbeing, even though the use of physical and psychological punishments has been reported in the process of guidance and supervision. This data suggests that their experiences were crossed by positive and negative practices, concomitantly. Regarding positive monitoring (N=25), the textual context, mostly, focused on school moments, demonstrating the preoccupation of the parents to their children's education, while other behaviours that characterised this practice were absent, so that positive monitoring is restricted to only one specific behaviour. On the other hand, the use of physical punishments and psychological abuse (N=31), besides having an increased textual context, showed up in different forms, justified and even comprehended by the participants as "common" manners of educating a child. However, it reveals that, even in the presence of a positive parental practice, the negative parental practice might be associated to behaviours that contribute to the behaviour of sexual violence, when a positive parental practice does not appear more frequently or with more intensity in other moments of life. About negligence (N=12), this exposed experiences that the participants were alone at home, but the literature points out a care to discuss this practice, since socioeconomic conditions of the family might interfere in the choice of this parental practice. However, it should be mentioned that, among the reports, it was observed that the absence of the caretakers was felt by the participants, although understood by them, revealing that this negative parental practice could have been more harmful than reported by the participants.

Regarding the limitations of the research, it is noteworthy that because it is a retrospective study, which depends on the memory of the participants, the possibility of verifying the frequency and intensity of these events was not possible to be achieved consistently, using only the information offered by the authors of sexual assault. In addition, the lack of specific questions to investigate parental practice made it difficult to obtain a higher number of experiences that occurred in childhood. The low number of

parental practices in which there was agreement between the judges, allows us to verify how challenging it is to work with this construct when it depends only on the verbal reports of the participants, since the behaviours related to parental practices require greater contextualisation as they are crossed by various interpretations.

Considering these factors and analysing what was possible in this study, it is concluded that, even when the family environment aims to educate and promote development in childhood, factors such as intensity, frequency and sociocultural aspects might influence the occurrence of parental practiced and their evaluation as positive and negative in terms of human development. This means that parental practices can constitute an important line of investigation when trying to understand the factors and contexts associated with the perpetration of violence and crimes of a sexual nature. In addition, more studies are expected that highlight authors of sexual assault that may consider existing family relationships or that existed during their life trajectory, studies with younger authors of sexual assault, which have specific questions about parenting practices, which may support more findings of this work in order to understand the phenomenon of sexual violence.

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Bionotes

Daniela Baldez Diniz is a Bachelor in Psychology, currently is a Master's student in the Behaviour Theory and Research Programme at the Federal University of Pará, Brazil. Her research includes sexual violence against children and adolescents, family microsystem, parenting practices and parenting styles. Member of the Study Group for Authors of Violence.

Email: danielabaldez.psico@gmail.con

Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4879-0753

Lília lêda Chaves Cavalcante holds a PhD from the Graduate Program in Theory and Research of Behavior, with a Post-Doctorate from the Graduate Program in Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. Lecturer in the Graduate Programme in Theory and Research of Behaviour at the Federal University of Pará, working at the Laboratory of Developmental Ecology (LED). Professor at the Faculty of Social Service. Board member of the Brazilian Association of Developmental Psychology (ABPD) in the 2018-2020 and 2020-2022 terms. CNPq Research Productivity Scholarship – Level 1C.

Email: liliaccavalcante@gmail.com

Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3154-0651

Daniela Castro dos Reis is a Bachelor in Psychology, psychologist, specialist in People Management, master and doctor in Theory and Research of Behaviour from the Federal University of Pará, Brazil (2016), Capes Honorable Mention Award-2017. Effective

professor at the Federal University of Pará, linked to the Graduate Program in Theory and Research of Behaviour. Member of the GT Family, Development Processes and Health Promotion of the National Association for Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology

Email: danireispara@edu.ufra.br

Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9505-4516

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