



## Criminological profile of minors who have committed child-to-parent violence

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The rise of CPV cases in the last decade has become a matter of concern among researchers, who have investigated prevalence rates and factors related to this type of behavior. This study aims to analyze the criminological profile of the minors who have committed CPV compared to minors who have committed other type of crimes. The participants were 341 juveniles with a disciplinary record in the Juvenile Court of a Spanish province, whose ages ranged from 14 to 17 years old ( $M = 15.86$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ). The results showed that the CPV group represented a moderate level of recidivism and the comparison group had a low risk of recidivism. The CPV group had mostly committed CPV, while the comparison group had tended to commit property crimes. The CPV group had generally served probation or confinement sentences, while the comparison group had mostly been acquitted or served probation.

**Keywords:** Child-to-parent violence; CPV; crime; criminological profile; educational measure; juvenile offender; recidivism; YLS/CMI; Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory.

### Introduction

The Spanish Society for the Study of Child to Parent Violence (Pereira et al., 2017) defines child-to-parent violence (CPV) as follows: a set of repeated behaviors of physical, psychological or economic violence (verbal or non-verbal) by sons and daughters against their parents, or the adults who take their place. This phenomenon has recently become a matter of concern among professionals and researchers from various countries, who have investigated prevalence rates and factors related to this type of behavior (Beckmann et al., 2021; Calvete et al., 2020; Margolin & Baucom, 2014). The estimated global prevalence of CPV ranges between 5% and 21%,

but when it refers to verbal, psychological and emotional CPV the percentage rises to between 33% and 93% (Simmons et al., 2018). The data for the Spanish population of CPV range between 7% and 21% for physical aggression towards parents (Calvete et al., 2014; Ibabe & Bentler, 2016; Ibabe et al., 2013), rising to 88% when it refers to psychological violence towards parents (Ibabe & Bentler, 2016).

Although an increasing number of parents are choosing to report their children for committing CPV, they are still reluctant to take this step, as it involves feelings of guilt and shame, as well as a sense of responsibility, so the scope of the problem may be larger than

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official statistics reflect (Walsh & Krienert, 2009; Williams et al., 2017). Based on the judicial data provided by the Annual Report of the Fiscalía General del Estado (2020), the figures fluctuated between 4300 and 4800 of CPV reported cases between 2013 and 2019, while they have exceeded 5000 in 2020. This is not an excessively large increase, but it is revealing since the figures of CPV for the decade as a whole are very high compared to other crimes, for which the number of convicted minors in Spain in 2019 was 14,112. These minors were convicted mostly for injuries (29.6%), robberies (18.4%) and theft (11%; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE, 2020). In overall terms, crimes against property are the most frequently committed among juvenile offenders. These data are also apparent in Spanish and international studies (Ortega-Campos et al., 2016; Van der Put & de Ruiter, 2016; Verbruggen et al., 2016). Indeed, although property crime index arrest rates, which include burglary, larceny-theft, auto theft, vandalism, shoplifting and arson, have been declining in recent years (Snyder, 2004), adolescents still continue to commit property crimes more often than any other types of crimes (Klaus, 2006).

Research into the gender of CPV perpetrators suggests there seems to be more male than female perpetrators, with figures ranging between 60% and 80% in both Spanish and international studies with CPV samples (Armstrong et al., 2018; Loinaz et al., 2020; Pagani et al., 2004). Although some studies show a higher percentage of less severe violent behaviors among females who commit CPV (Calvete et al., 2013; Loinaz et al., 2020), the percentage of males is higher in more severe forms of violence in CPV (Loinaz et al., 2020; Orue, 2019). These differences are larger in general samples of juvenile offenders, in which the percentage is around 80% and 90% for males, and around 10% and 20% for females (INE, 2020; Ortega-Campos et al., 2016; Van der Put & de Ruiter, 2016; Verbruggen et al., 2016). For age, research on

CPV in Spain shows a majority of juveniles between 15 and 16 years old who commit CPV (Cuervo et al., 2017; García & Cerezo, 2017; Loinaz et al., 2020), while international studies place the age range for these minors at between 16 and 17 years old (Armstrong et al., 2018; Ulman & Straus, 2003), and the same applies to general samples of juvenile offenders (INE, 2020; Ortega-Campos et al., 2016; Van der Put & de Ruiter, 2016; Verbruggen et al., 2016). In fact, antisocial behavior usually starts by the age of 13 years, increases until 17 years and finally decreases (Loeber et al., 2011; Moffitt, 1993, 2007; Olver et al., 2012; Verbruggen et al., 2016).

A range of personal and environmental aspects contribute to creating minors' experiences, and as most of them are dynamic, they can potentially be modified. The evidence suggests that dynamic risk factors reduce with age, which highlights the importance of early intervention (Van der Put et al., 2011). The use of standardized instruments provides courts with an accurate method to identify the risk factors of juveniles so they can develop the appropriate interventions. The use of these instruments is therefore essential for preventing future crimes (Ibabe & Jaureguizar, 2010). In this regard, some authors use the *Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory* (YLS/CMI; Hoge & Andrews, 2006) as an instrument that provides a score for recidivism risk, based on eight factors that have been found to be major predictors. It classifies juveniles into four risk levels: low, moderate, high and very high. The YLS/CMI (Hoge & Andrews, 2006) has been used in some studies of CPV, obtaining the following results: 12.5% of minors showed a low risk of recidivism, 53.13% showed a moderate risk, and 34.37% showed a high risk (Cuervo et al., 2017). Meanwhile the following results were obtained for general samples of juvenile offenders: between 9.2% and 16.65% showed a low risk of recidivism, between 53.25% and 66.6% showed a moderate risk, between 21.6% and 37.6% showed a high risk, and

between 0% and 2.3% showed a very high risk (Garrido, 2009; Graña et al., 2006; Pintado, 2012).

According to Capdevila et al. (2005), it is important to determine the recidivism rate among juvenile offenders, since it is not only a statistical number, but a way to anticipate future behaviors of minors and adolescents. The recidivism rate for juveniles who had committed CPV could be placed at around 35% (Cuervo et al., 2017; Maroto & Cortés, 2018; Moulds et al., 2019). While focusing on general samples of youth offenders, the majority of studies show a juvenile recidivism rate of around 23%, with 45% of that figure accounted for by crimes against people, 25% by crimes against property and the remaining 30% involving 'other crimes' (Capdevila et al., 2005; Cuervo & Villanueva, 2015; Cuervo et al., 2020; Ortega-Campos et al., 2014).

According to Romero et al. (2005), there are two different groups of offenders who commit CPV: those who have committed other crimes apart from CPV and the ones who only commit this type of crime. Most of the minors who commit CPV also commit other type of crimes during their criminal careers. These minors present risky behaviors in most areas of their lives (maladaptive behaviors, violent behavior towards peers, truancy, unemployment, substance abuse, etc.), tend to have a higher level of autonomy and have nuclear families who need professional help due to their unstable situation (changes in the family members living together, financial difficulties, negligent parenting styles, etc.). They are usually reoffenders, and they mostly serve probation. The minors who only commit CPV have single-parent families, with differences in parenting educational styles between the father and mother and no previous interventions by professionals. They usually have an absence of feeling of belonging, creating an excessive individuality and difficulty in sharing their emotional life. They are not usually reoffenders, and conciliation is the main solution to the conflict.

There is little in the way of data for the educational measures used in CPV cases, understood as sanctions applied to juveniles when they commit a crime, such as: confinement, probation, socio-educational tasks, and so on. However, in their study, García and Cerezo (2017) analyze main and accessory measures applied to minors who have committed CPV. An accessory measure is understood to be a deprivation of rights or other type of prohibition that accompanies the main measure. The authors determine that in the 46.7% of CPV cases minors serve a main and an accessory measure. Furthermore, 43.4% are only subject to a main measure, and 9.9% are subject to three or more educational measures (a main measure and two or more accessory ones). Taking the main measures into account, probation is the most frequently applied (32.7%), followed by semi-open confinement and living in an educational group (both applied in 22.4% of the cases) and semi-open therapeutic confinement (17.1%). According to the Spanish *Organic Law 5/2000, January 12, regulating the criminal responsibility of minors*, the educational measure of living in an educational group attempts to provide the minor with a positive socialization environment, through their coexistence for a period determined by the Judge, with a person, a family other than his/her own or an educational group that offers to fulfil the role of the family to enable the minor to develop prosocial socio-affective patterns. As for general samples of juvenile offenders, the most widely used educational measures are probation (42.9%), community service (15.3%) and socio-educational tasks (12%; INE, 2020). These data are consistent with an international tendency in which non-custodial educational measures such as probation are the most commonly applied, and acquittal is even used in most cases (Morales et al., 2013).

Some studies examine the criminological profile of minors who have committed CPV (Calvete et al., 2020; Cortina & Martín, 2020; Loinaz & de Sousa, 2019), although they do

not usually include recidivism rates, the educational measure served or their relationship with other crimes over a long follow-up period. In addition, they do not usually compare CPV profile with general samples of juvenile offenders, in order to tailor intervention programs to their risk level. Accordingly, this study analyzes the criminological profile of minors who have committed CPV in comparison to minors who have committed other type of crimes. The following variables were analyzed: sex, age, the recidivism rate, the number of crimes committed, the type of crimes committed and the educational measures imposed.

Bearing these findings in mind, we hypothesized the following:

1. Juveniles in the CPV group would present a higher risk of recidivism and more crimes than those in the comparison group.
2. Minors in the CPV group would commit different types of crimes during their criminal trajectories, while juveniles of the comparison group would mainly commit property crimes.
3. Juveniles in both groups would serve non-custodial educational measures.

## Method

### Sample

The participants were 341 juveniles with a disciplinary record in the Juvenile Court of a Spanish province. Their ages ranged from 14 to 17 years ( $M = 15.86$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ). By gender, 248 minors were male (72.7%), and 93 were female (27.3%).

The sample was selected according to whether the juveniles had committed child-to-parent violence or other types of crimes during the follow-up period (from 2011 to 2017). Minors who had committed child-to-parent violence were included as the CPV group in this study, and juveniles who had committed other types of crimes were included as the

comparison group. The CPV group consisted of all the juveniles who had committed this type of crime at some point in their criminal career. This group comprised 153 minors (44.9%), with 97 boys (63.4%) and 56 girls (36.6%) with an average age of 15.92 years ( $SD = 0.98$ ). The comparison group was selected by deleting one juvenile in every four, listed by the case number in the same period of time. This group consisted of 188 juveniles (55.1%), with 151 boys (80.3%) and 37 girls (19.7%) with an average age of 15.81 years ( $SD = 1.05$ ). The juveniles included in this group had committed all types of offenses, ranging from crimes against property to crimes against people.

### Instrument

*The Youth Level Service of Case Management Inventory* (YLS/CMI; Hoge & Andrews, 2006) is a recidivism risk hetero-assessment inventory, which consists of 42 items grouped into eight risk factors that yield an overall score. Each item can be marked as present or absent. The eight factors are as follows: (a) prior and current offenses/adjudications; (b) family circumstances/parenting; (c) education/employment; (d) peer relations; (e) substance abuse; (f) leisure/recreation; (g) personality/behavior; (h) attitudes/orientation. The total score provides a recidivism risk level for him/her, which can be classified as low (from 0 to 8 points), moderate (from 9 to 22), high (from 23 to 32) and very high (from 33 to 42). The YLS/CMI has shown satisfactory psychometric properties in previous studies, obtaining a Cronbach's alpha ranging from .56 to .91 (Catchpole & Gretton, 2003; Cuervo et al., 2017; Rodgers & Rowe, 2002; Schmidt et al., 2002; Thompson & Putnins, 2003) for all the items. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha was .87.

The information to complete the YLS/CMI (Hoge & Andrews, 2006) was obtained by a member of the Psychosocial Team in the Juvenile Court from different sources, including interviews with the adolescent and his/her

family, prior court records and data from other social centers the young offender was or had been associated with.

### Procedure

According to the *Organic Law 5/2000, January 12, regulating the criminal responsibility of minors*, Spain has a specialized legal system for minors from 14 to 17 years old. A disciplinary record is created in the Juvenile Court when a juvenile is accused of committing a crime. The disciplinary record is fulfilled with the criminal and personal information available for each juvenile, covering individual, educational, familiar and social aspects of his/her environment.

The data for this study were obtained from an analysis of the records of youth offenders in the Juvenile Court of a Spanish province. The charges occurred in 135 municipalities, covering over 600,000 inhabitants. Two variables were taken into account: the number of crimes and criminal recidivism. The number of crimes refers to the number of records that a minor accumulated when appearing before the Juvenile Court from 2011 to 2017. Criminal recidivism refers to whether the minor committed an offense in the follow-up period, and is a dichotomous variable. Moreover, the types of measures served were analyzed, and were classified as acquittal (acquittal), non-custodial educational measures (probation, conciliation, community services, socio-educational tasks, reprimands and alternative tasks) and custodial educational measures (confinement).

### Data analysis

The descriptive results for the CPV and comparison group were analyzed. In order to examine the statistically significant differences between both groups,  $\chi^2$  tests were used for dichotomous variables, and analysis of variance (ANOVA) analyses were used for continuous variables. The YLS/CMI recidivism risk level score was also examined. The types

of crimes and the measures served from 2011 to 2017 were also analyzed.

### Results

As shown in [Table 1](#), the gender is mainly masculine for both CPV and the comparison group (63.4% and 80.3%, respectively), although the percentage in the comparison group is higher than that in the CPV group, with a statistically significant difference. As regards age, the differences between the two groups are not statistically significant, as the average ages are around 16 years old. Moreover, [Table 1](#) also shows that there is a significant difference in the recidivism rates between the two groups, as minors of the CPV group reoffend more than minors of the comparison group (60.1% vs. 30.3%). If the number of crimes is analyzed, minors of the CPV group show a higher average of crimes committed than minors of the comparison group (2.54 and 1.61, respectively), and that difference is statistically significant.

The result for recidivism above is also supported by [Figure 1](#), which shows the different YLS/CMI levels of risk for the two groups. As can be seen, the CPV group presents mostly a moderate risk of recidivism (68.1%), while the comparison group mostly shows a low risk of recidivism (55.5%), which is a statistically significant difference,  $\chi^2(2) = 50.45, p = .000$ . The total average score for the first evaluation of the YLS/CMI Inventory for the CPV group was 16.46, while for the comparison group it was 9.14. In this sense, [Table 2](#) shows the statistically significant differences in all the subscales of the YLS/CMI Inventory when comparing the CPV and the comparison group. The major differences between risk factors were in the subscales of family circumstances/parenting, personality/behavior and substance abuse.

[Table 3](#) shows the first crime committed by each group during the follow-up period of this study. The comparison group mainly committed theft (Crime 4; 22.5%) and injuries

Table 1. Differences in gender, age, recidivism and the number of crimes committed between the CPV group and the comparison group.

	CPV group 44.9% (n = 153)			Comparison group 55.1% (n = 188)			Significance
	M (SD)	%	n	M (SD)	%	n	
Gender							$\chi^2(1) = 12.1,$ $p = .000^*$
Masculine		63.4	97		80.3	151	
Feminine		36.6	56		19.7	37	
Age	15.92 (0.98)			15.81 (1.05)			$F(1.27) = 0.76,$ $p = .384$
Reoffenders		60.1	92		30.3	57	$\chi^2(1) = 30.47,$ $p = .000^*$
Non-reoffenders		39.9	61		69.7	131	
Number of crimes	2.54 (2.18)			1.61 (1.24)			$F(10) = 3.92,$ $p = .000^*$

Note: N = 341. CPV = child-to-parent violence.  
\* $p < .05$ .

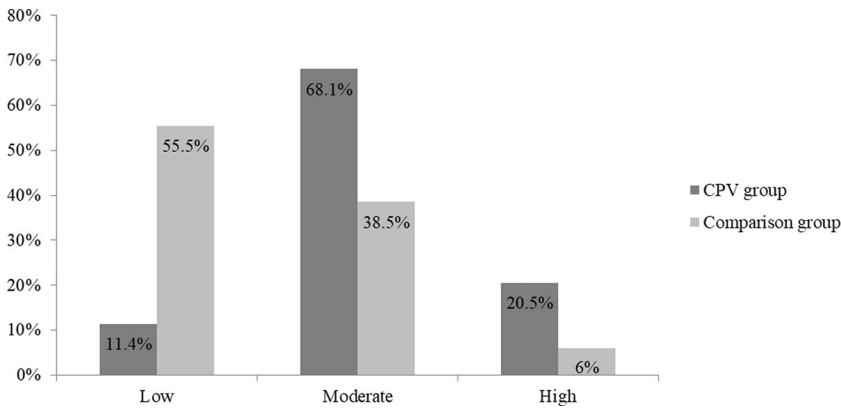


Figure 1. Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI) recidivism risk level for the child-to-parent violence (CPV) group and the comparison group (n = 276).

(Crime 1; 20.9%), among others, while the majority of the CPV group began their criminal trajectories with CPV (Crime 5; 71.3%). These differences are statistically significant,  $\chi^2(8) = 197.48, p = .000$ .

Table 4 shows the second crime committed by reoffenders among the members of each group. The comparison group mainly committed injuries (Crime 1; 24.1%) and robbery with violence (Crime 7; 24.1%), among

other offenses, while the majority of the CPV group mainly committed CPV (Crime 5; 50%). These differences are statistically significant,  $\chi^2(8) = 41.39, p = .000$ .

As for the type of measure served depending on the group, Table 5 shows that the majority of the minors in the comparison group were acquitted (Measure 2; 44%) or served probation (Measure 1; 21.7%), while the minors in the CPV group served probation (Measure 1;

Table 2. YLS/CMI risk subscales for the CPV group and the comparison group.

	CPV group <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Comparison group <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Prior and current offenses/adjudications	0.67 (0.99)	0.29 (0.68)	13.03	.000*
Family circumstances/parenting	3.22 (1.90)	1.26 (1.28)	111.03	.000*
Education/employment	2.62 (1.27)	1.87 (1.48)	16.84	.000*
Peer relations	1.31 (1.19)	1.36 (1.49)	0.096	.757
Substance abuse	1.61 (1.53)	0.56 (1.03)	44.75	.000*
Leisure/recreation	2.42 (0.94)	1.88 (1.12)	15.38	.000*
Personality/behavior	2.56 (1.8)	0.98 (1.4)	63	.000*
Attitudes/orientation	1.19 (1.3)	0.57 (1.03)	18.2	.000*

Note: *N* = 270. YLS/CMI = Youth Level of Service/Case Management Inventory; CPV = child-to-parent violence. \**p* < .05.

Table 3. First crime committed by the CPV group and the comparison group.

	CPV group 44.9% ( <i>n</i> = 153)		Comparison group 55.1% ( <i>n</i> = 188)	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Injuries	8	13	20.9	40
Crimes against the sexual liberty and gender-based violence	—	—	2.7	5
Strong arm robbery	3.3	5	11.1	21
Theft	5.3	8	22.5	42
CPV	71.3	109	—	—
Crimes against freedom and privacy	1.3	2	7.5	14
Robbery with violence	2.7	4	11.8	22
Damages and other crimes against heritage	2.7	4	9.6	18
Crimes against the administration of justice and others	5.4	8	13.9	26

Note: *N* = 341. CPV = child-to-parent violence.

Table 4. Second crime committed by members of the CPV group and the comparison group (reoffenders).

	CPV group 63% ( <i>n</i> = 92)		Comparison group 37% ( <i>n</i> = 54)	
	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>
Injuries	9.8	9	24.1	13
Crimes against the sexual liberty and gender-based violence	1.1	1	3.8	2
Strong arm robbery	6.5	6	13	7
Theft	9.8	9	14.8	8
CPV	50	46	—	—
Crimes against freedom and privacy	5.4	5	5.6	3
Robbery with violence	5.4	5	24.1	13
Damages and other crimes against heritage	7.6	7	9	5
Crimes against the administration of justice and others	4.4	4	5.6	3

Note: *N* = 146. CPV = child-to-parent violence.



Table 5. First measure served by members of the CPV group and the comparison group.

	CPV group 39.9% (n = 116)		Comparison group 60.1% (n = 175)	
	%	n	%	n
Probation	46.6	54	21.7	38
Acquittal	14.7	17	44	77
Conciliation	6.9	8	9.1	16
Community services	1.7	2	6.9	12
Socio-educational tasks	4.3	5	7.4	13
Reprimand	0.9	1	5.7	10
Confinement	21.6	25	—	—
Alternative tasks	3.3	4	5.2	9

Note: N = 291. CPV = child-to-parent violence.

46.6%) or confinement (Measure 7; 21.6%). These differences are statistically significant,  $\chi^2(8) = 80.06, p = .000$ . Moreover, some participants in this study received a restraining order as an accessory measure. Nobody belonging to the comparison group received any such measure, but 96.1% of the CPV group did so, which was a statistically significant difference,  $\chi^2(1) = 7.45, p = .006$ .

Table 6 shows the second measure served by each group for reoffenders. The comparison group mainly served sentences of probation (Measure 1; 51.6%) and community service (Measure 3; 16.1%), while minors in the CPV group served probation (Measure 1; 43.3%) and confinement (Measure 5; 22.4%). These differences are statistically significant,  $\chi^2(8) = 41.39, p = .000$ .

Finally, as shown in Table 7, the members of both the CPV and the comparison group mainly served non-custodial educational measures, although more minors of the comparison group were acquitted than those in the CPV group, and only minors in the CPV group served custodial educational measures.

**Conclusion**

The aim of this study was to analyze the criminological profile of the minors committing CPV in comparison to the minors who

committing other type of crimes. Minors in both the CPV group and comparison group were mainly males rather than females, which is consistent with the results obtained in similar studies (Armstrong et al., 2018; INE, 2020; Loinaz et al., 2020; Ortega-Campos et al., 2016; Pagani et al., 2004; Van der Put & de Ruiter, 2016; Verbruggen et al., 2016). However, the proportion of males in the comparison group was higher than that in the CPV group, as shown in similar studies (Calvete et al., 2013; Loinaz et al., 2020; Orue, 2019). The average age in both the CPV and comparison group was around 16 years old, as in similar studies, and as such there are no differences between the two profiles (Armstrong et al., 2018; Cuervo et al., 2017; García & Cerezo, 2017; INE, 2020; Loinaz et al., 2020; Ortega-Campos et al., 2016; Ulman & Straus, 2003; Van der Put & de Ruiter, 2016; Verbruggen et al., 2016).

A higher risk of recidivism and more crimes were expected among the CPV group. This hypothesis was supported by the results, as the CPV group presented a higher percentage of reoffenders and a higher number of crimes committed during the follow-up period, which is consistent with the results obtained in similar studies (Capdevila et al., 2005; Cuervo & Villanueva, 2015; Cuervo et al., 2017, 2020; Maroto & Cortés, 2018; Moulds et al.,



Table 6. Second measure served by members of the CPV group and the comparison group (reoffenders).

	CPV group 68.36% ( <i>n</i> = 67)		Comparison group 31.64% ( <i>n</i> = 31)	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Probation	43.3	29	51.6	16
Acquittal	13.4	9	12.9	4
Community services	19.4	13	16.1	5
Socio-educational tasks	1.5	1	13	4
Confinement	22.4	15	6.4	2

Note: *N* = 98. CPV = child-to-parent violence.

2019; Ortega-Campos et al., 2014). In fact, the general percentage of the recidivism risk level classified using the YLS/CMI in the first evaluation was moderate for the CPV group and low for the comparison group. These results are similar to those of other Spanish and international studies that have used this inventory (Cuervo et al., 2017; Garrido, 2009; Graña et al., 2006; Pintado, 2012). This higher risk of recidivism among minors who have committed CPV may be due to their possible impulsivity (Calvete et al., 2020). This fact could also be supported by the high average in the personality/behavior factor of the YLS/CMI in the CPV group. Perhaps consideration should be given to teaching skills to enable them to manage their emotions, in order to reduce their impulsivity and stop and think before acting (Calvete et al., 2020).

The minors in the CPV group were expected to have committed different types of crimes during their criminal trajectories, while the juveniles in the comparison group would mainly have committed property crimes. The comparison group mainly committed theft and injuries, while the majority of the CPV group began their criminal trajectories with CPV. Among reoffenders, the second crime committed by the comparison group was injuries and robbery with violence, while the majority of the CPV group mainly committed CPV. These results are partially consistent with those of other studies (Romero et al., 2005). According

to Ibabe et al. (2007), minors who only have records of CPV adapt well to their school environment and do not abuse drugs, and as such they have a better prognosis. Substance abuse and a failure to adapt at school normally reflect the minor's mental discomfort, leading them to neutralize this discomfort by engaging in violence against their parents. In our study, minors of the CPV group present a higher average in the substance abuse and family circumstances/parenting factors of the YLS/CMI than minors of the comparison group. Drug addiction prevention and school intervention are therefore necessary, but so is intervention within the family. On the other hand, general groups of juvenile offenders are mainly characterized by failing to attend school, having poor school habits, truancy, repeating school years or bad behavior at school (Alcázar et al., 2015; Iborra et al., 2011). Academic failure and truancy have appeared as determining factors related to juvenile recidivism in a wide range of studies (Bravo et al., 2009; Iborra et al., 2011; San Juan & Ocariz, 2009). Indeed, students with problems at school need to be identified, since failure at school can lead them to engage in delinquent behavior (Hart et al., 2007). Moreover, an intervention in behavioral problems at school with a focus on truancy and behavioral management and academic support will prevent escalation to truancy-related problems. A broader, ecological perspective will consequently be more

Table 7. Differences in custodial and non-custodial educational measures between the CPV group and the comparison group.

	CPV group				Comparison group			
	First measure 40% (n = 116)		Second measure 68% (n = 67)		First measure 60% (n = 175)		Second measure 32% (n = 31)	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Acquittal	14.7	17	13.4	9	44	77	12.9	4
Non-custodial educational measures	63.7	25	64.2	43	56	98	87.1	27
Custodial educational measures	21.6	74	22.4	15	0	0	0	0

Note: CPV = child-to-parent violence.

effective in treating youths (Schwalbe et al., 2008).

Both groups were expected to have served non-custodial educational measures. The majority of the minors in the CPV group served probation or confinement, and the majority of them had a restraining order as an accessory measure, while the minors in the comparison group had been acquitted or served probation, as shown in similar studies (García & Cerezo, 2017; INE, 2020; Morales et al., 2013). Minors who commit CPV seem to require more restrictive measures such as probation or confinement, as well as accessory measures such as a restraining order. However, despite the fact that the most frequently imposed measures on CPV minors are the most restrictive, they are more likely to be reoffenders than the general population of juvenile offenders. This may be due to the fact that they require more specific educational measures, such as living in an educational group (García & Cerezo, 2017). This fact could also be supported by the high average in the family circumstances/parenting factor of the YLS/CMI in the CPV group. Studies have highlighted the importance of positive educational practices, as well as the importance of educating young people in a climate of non-violence. Strategies based on monitoring and control, such as positive reinforcement, could be essential. Moreover, the ways that the

disciplinary strategies are implemented may be crucial, as if implemented impulsively, more rational and non-punitive correction will in turn likely lead children to engage in impulsive behavior (Calvete et al., 2020). It is therefore vital that interventions should not only focus on promoting adaptive disciplinary strategies, but also evaluate their implementation and develop families' skills in their adaptive and effective application of disciplinary measures.

Finally, this study has some limitations. The data from this study came from a specific Spanish province, and as such the results should not be generalized to other Spanish provinces, other countries or the general population of youth offenders. Furthermore, a relevant issue within CPV samples is the parents' difficulties with reporting their sons and daughters due to shame and guilt, as discussed in the introduction, meaning that the scope of the problem may be broader than official statistics reflect. Despite these limitations, all the findings above may have practical implications for professionals who work with juvenile offenders, as identifying the criminogenic differences between minors who have committed CPV and minors who have committed other types of crimes is essential in their daily practice when classifying cases in intervention programs, or even assessing possible developments in cases, as well as for designing

specific intervention programs. It is fundamental to consider factors such as the risk of recidivism when proposing objectives for intervention, and it can provide information for designing of treatment programs and follow-up plans. Its application in different contexts or with different predictive aims will enhance its usefulness for clinicians and front line professionals.

## Ethical standards

### Declaration of conflicts of interest

Natalia Palanques has declared no conflicts of interest.

Keren Cuervo has declared no conflicts of interest.

Lidón Villanueva has declared no conflicts of interest.

### Ethical approval

This article does not contain any studies with human participants or animals performed by any of the authors.

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