

RESEARCH ARTICLE/ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

# Reflection of adolescent-to-parent violence in media news in Turkey

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## Abstract

This study aims to analyze how news about adolescent-to-parent violence is reflected in the media. Certain phrases that define adolescent-to-parent violence were identified and searched on Google search engine. The news between 2018 and 2022 was scanned by applying the time filter. The news were evaluated in terms of the scope, the socio-demographic correlations, and the causes of adolescent-to-parent violence. Descriptive statistics was expressed as mean±standard deviation and median. Categorical parameters were represented with frequency and percentage values. The Chi-Square test were used for standard statistical analyses. A p value of <0.05 was considered 'statistically significant'. Between 2018 and 2022, a total of 58 individual news were identified. It was found that the majority of adolescents were male while the majority of parent-victims were fathers, and that adolescents had a high rate of using firearms in cases of violence that were usually due to an altercation. Inconsistencies between different media sources regarding their coverage of the incidents, which would lead to violations of the rights of adolescents and parent-victims, have been determined. The study showed that although the causes of adolescent-to-parent violence differ, it is apparent that adolescents use violence commonly as a way of solving their problems. Since no studies specific to adolescent-to-parent violence conducted in Turkey could be found, it can be concluded that there is a need for studies that will provide healthy and accurate data on the dimension, frequency and variables of the problem. In addition, it is suggested that the media can play an important role in preventing the violence in general through accurate, complete, impartial and responsible reporting.

**Keywords:** Adolescent-to-Parent Violence, Adolescents, Parents, Media, News

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Adolescent-to-Parent Violence (APV) is regarded as a specific and undisclosed form of family violence (Moulds et al., 2016; Seijo et al., 2020; Ibabe, 2019). For decades, studies on family violence have mostly focused on child abuse and intimate partner violence; however, other forms of family violence, such as adolescent violence against their parents, have been overlooked (Bobic, 2002). Kempe et al. (1962) first used the term “battered child”; and Walker (1977) introduced the term “battered woman” syndrome”. Despite being relatively common, APV has received limited attention until recent years; but then has become the focus of research due to the increasing number of incidents and its impact on the society (Ibabe, 2019; Seijo et al., 2020).

APV was first differentiated from other forms of family violence as ‘battered parent syndrome’ by Harbin and Madden in 1979. They defined the phenomena as: “any harmful act by a child, whether physical, psychological or financial, which is intended to gain power and control over a parent or carer” (Harbin and Madden, 1979). Although the term has evolved since then, there is still no consensus on a universal definition and terminology; and how it is defined, measured, and reviewed varies across disciplines and researchers (Sanders, 2020; O’Hara et al., 2017). Ibabe (2019) defined APV as “physical and/or psychological violence perpetrated by children or adolescents and directed toward their parents or caregivers”, however eliminated the intention to control parents which appeared in Harbin and Madden’s definition. Pereira et al. (2017), on the other hand, proposed to define APV as “repeated behavior of physical, psychological (verbal or non-verbal) or economic violence directed toward the parents or the people who occupy their place” and excluded the unique aggressions caused by diminished consciousness, psychological disorders, and occurred without history of previous aggressions.

Several different terms have been used in the literature, such as “child-initiated family violence” which is broader in scope; or “adolescent-initiated parent abuse” and “child-to-parent violence”

which focus on the age of the youth; and “child-to-mother or child-to-father” which refers to the sex of the victim (O’Hara et al., 2017). Wilcox (2012) observed that while practitioners prefer to use the term ‘child-to-parent violence’, academics are more likely to use the term ‘parent abuse’; and she argued that the term ‘abuse’ reflects the nature of the behaviour and correctly locates the phenomena within the wider field of familial abuse whereas the term ‘violence’ ignores the abundance of behaviours within familial relationships and supports the idea that it is solely about physical violence. Paterson et al. (2013) argued that the adolescents’ behaviour should be considered violent “if others in the family feel threatened, intimidated or controlled by it and if they believe that they must adjust their own behaviour to accommodate threats or anticipation of violence”. Regardless of the lack of consensus on definitions, APV is acknowledged to disrupt and reverse the direction of power relations between the parent and the adolescent (Wilcox, 2012; Paterson et al., 2013).

Globally, the knowledge regarding the extent of APV is limited and the number of specific studies is still scarce (Seijo et al., 2020; Wilcox, 2012). The rates of APV vary due to the plurality of definitions, the samples used, the variables of interest, and data collection methods (Paterson et al., 2013; O’Hara et al., 2017; Seijo et al., 2020). The data collection methods include community surveys based on self-reports by the victim and the perpetrator, questionnaires, police records, file reviews, case studies, structured interviews, qualitative data derived from focus groups and reports of clinical experiences; yet most studies focus exclusively on community samples and children reports (Ibabe, 2019). Although this diversity provides a better understanding of the phenomenon, it also has an adverse impact on how the currently available prevalence rates will be interpreted, compared and valued (Routt & Anderson, 2011; O’Hara et al., 2017).

The data on global prevalence rates of APV reveals a range of 5–22%; however, the studies on specialized samples show rates at the higher end of the range (O’Hara et al., 2017; Seijo et al., 2020). Studies conducted with community samp-

les, in which the incidents are reported by the adolescents, are regarded as a pertinent source of information about the extent of the phenomenon (Contreras et al., 2021). Findings based on adolescent reports show that prevalence rates for physical aggression range from 7.2% to 22%, while they rate from 65.8% to 93.5% for psychological aggression (Ibabe, 2019). However, while some studies claim that adolescents tend to scale down the rate and gravity of their violence when self-reporting (Wilcox, 2012), other studies state that the adolescent reports show insignificantly higher prevalence rates of physical and psychological violence than the parent reports (Ibabe, 2019). Apparently, APV incidents are reported and documented alongside other incidents rather than as a specific act, hence its inconsistency (Simmons et al., 2018). O'Hara et al. (2017) argue that "Although the full extent of this form of violence is unknown, it is clear that youth who exhibit violence toward caregivers represent an important population in need of effective prevention and intervention services."

The variability across studies regarding the measurement of APV also depends on the instrument used to assess APV, some of which are specifically developed for APV while some are revised for it (Arias-Rivera et al., 2020; Ibabe, 2020). The Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), which was developed by Straus (1979), is the most widely used instrument. Studies by Gámez-Guadix and Calvete (2012) and Beckman et al. (2017) used Child-Parent Conflict Tactics Scales (CPCTS) which was adapted to assess the physical and verbal aggression towards parents (Contreras et al., 2019). The Child-to-Parent Aggression Questionnaire (CPAQ), designed by Calvete et al. (2013) specifically for the study of CPV, includes items to assess physical and psychological aggression directed at both parents. The Child-to-Mother Violence Scale (CMVS) was also specifically devised by Edenborough et al. (2011) to explore the incidence and prevalence of child-to-mother violence, as well as the offenders, victims, experiences and consequences. The Intra-family Violence Scale (IVS), created by Ibabe et al. (2013), has 3 parallel items for both parents to measure physical, psychological, and emotional violence. The variations also derive

from the questionnaires used as some studies use one-item interview questions such as "Have you ever hit your parent?", while others use multi-item questionnaires such as the 20-item Likert scaled survey to determine how conflict is resolved between children and their parents. Likewise, behaviors included under the term of APV vary across studies, as some include only physical abuse, while some include physical, verbal and/or psychological aggression, physical violence, even damage to property (O'Hara et al., 2017). Contreras et al. (2019) emphasized that an instrument to assess the wide spectrum of violent behaviours needs to be developed and validated in order to define APV.

## 2. MATERIAL AND METHOD

This study aims to analyze how adolescent violence against parents is reflected in the media news. Phrases that describe APV, such as "s/he killed/hurt her/his mother/father", were scanned on Google search engine to reach the national and local news on APV within a five-year time frame between 2018 and 2022.

In consideration with the definition of "adolescence" by the World Health Organization as the second decade of life (World Health Organization, 2001), the news where the offender is outside the range of 10–19 years of age or when the offender's age was not specified were excluded. The APV incidents which have been the subject of more than one news were counted as one single incident. The news were evaluated to examine the extent, the socio-demographic correlations, and the means and motives of adolescent violence against parents.

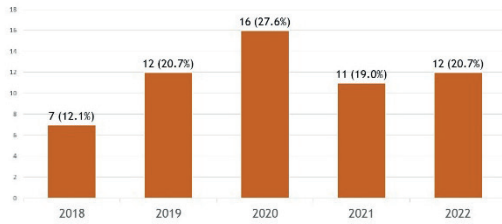
The data were analyzed using the statistical package program. Descriptive statistics of the numeric variables was expressed as mean, standard deviation, median, and max-min values. Categorical parameters were represented with frequency and percentage values. The Chi-Square test was used for standard statistical analyses. A p value of <0.05 was considered 'statistically significant'.

## 3. FINDINGS

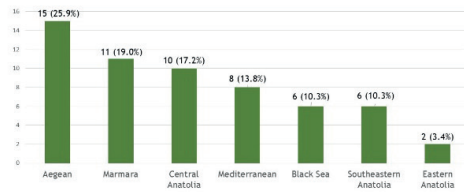
Within the five-year period between 2018 and

2022, a total of 58 news about APV incidents were identified, and 27.6% (n=16) of these news were in 2020 (Figure 1). A total of 15 (25.9%) incidents were in the Aegean region, followed by Marmara and Central Anatolia regions (n=11, 19.0% and n=10, 17.2% respectively) (Figure 2).

**Figure 1.** Distribution of news by years

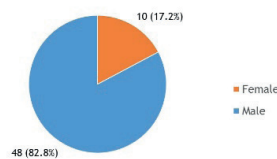


**Figure 2.** Distribution of news by regions

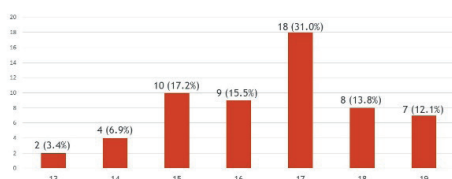


Of the total of 58 adolescents, 10 (17.2%) were female and 48 (82.8%) were male (Figure 3). Almost one third (18; 31.0%) of the adolescents were 17 years old. The average age was 16.5±1.6 and the median age was 17[13-19] (Figure 4).

**Figure 3.** Distribution of adolescents' sex

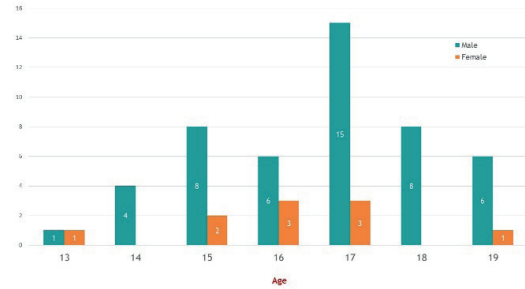


**Figure 4.** Distribution of adolescents' age



The adolescents, who were 14 and 18 years old, were all male; and there was male dominance in all ages except the 13 year olds. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the age and the sex of the adolescents ( $p>0.05$ ) (Figure 5).

**Figure 5.** Distribution of adolescents by age and sex

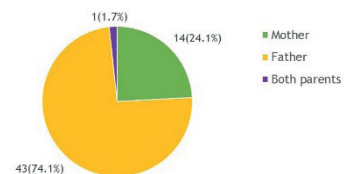


In the Aegean region, where the majority of the news originated, one third (n=5, 33.3%) of the adolescents were 17 years old while another one-third (n=5, 33.3%) were 18 years old. In Marmara region, both 16 and 19 years old adolescents were prominent (n=3, 27.3% each), whereas in Central Anatolia 40.0% (n=4) of the adolescents were 15 years old. There was no statistically significant difference between the age of the adolescent and the region ( $p>0.05$ ) (Table 1).

As the majority of the adolescents were male, the ratios within the regions also showed a male dominance. In Mediterranean and Central Anatolia regions, all adolescents, as well as the majority in other regions, were male; however, there was no statistically significant difference between the adolescent's sex and the region ( $p>0.05$ ) (Table 2).

Regarding the parent-victims, in 43 APV incidents (74.1%) the father was the target compared to 14 (24.1%) incidents where the mother was targeted. Only one (1.7%) APV incident was against both parents (Figure 6).

**Figure 6.** Distribution of parent-victims



The parent-victim was the father in 88.9% of the incidents among the 16 year olds, and in 80.0% of the incidents among the 16 year olds, which is higher than the average of 74.1%. However, there was statistically no significant difference between the age of the adolescents and the parent-victims ( $p>0.05$ ) (Table 3).

The parent-victim was the father in 80.0% of the incidents among female adolescents, which is higher than the average of 74.1%. However, there was statistically no significant difference between the sex of the adolescents and the parent-victims ( $p>0.05$ ) (Table 4).

Regarding what caused APV, 29 (50.0%) incidents were due to an altercation between the adolescent and the parent. In 10 (17.2%) incidents the father's violence against the mother was the reason for APV. Domestic violence and violence by the parents towards the adolescent (6, 10.3% each) and the mother's affair (3, 5.2%) were identified as other causes of APV. In 2 (3.4%) incidents APV occurred accidentally and no motive was identified for 2 (3.4%) incidents (Figure 6).

**Table 1.** Distribution of adolescents by age and region

Region	Age								Total	p
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19			
Aegean	n	0	0	2	1	5	5	2	15	0.229
	%*	0.0	0.0	13.3	6.7	33.3	33.3	13.3	100.0	
Marmara	n	1	0	2	3	2	0	3	11	
	%*	9,1	0,0	18,2	27,3	18,2	0,0	27,3	100.0	
Central Anatolia	n	0	0	4	2	2	1	1	10	
	%*	0.0	0.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	10.0	10.0	100.0	
Mediterranean	n	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	8	
	%*	12,5	12,5	12,5	12,5	50,0	0,0	0,0	100.0	
Black Sea	n	0	1	0	0	4	1	0	6	
	%*	0,0	16,7	0,0	0,0	66,7	16,7	0,0	100.0	
Eastern Anatolia	n	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	
	%*	0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	
Southeastern Anatolia	n	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	6	
	%*	0,0	16,7	0,0	33,3	16,7	16,7	16,7	100.0	
<b>Total</b>	n	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>58</b>	
	%*	<b>3,4</b>	<b>6,9</b>	<b>17,2</b>	<b>15,5</b>	<b>31,0</b>	<b>13,8</b>	<b>12,1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

\* % within row

**Table 2.** Distribution of adolescents by sex and region

Region	Sex				Total		p
	Male		Female		n	%*	
	n	%*	n	%*			
Aegean	11	73.3	4	26.7	15	100.0	0.586
Marmara	10	90.9	1	9.1	11	100.0	
Central Anatolia	8	80.0	2	20.0	10	100.0	
Mediterranean	8	100.0	0	0.0	8	100.0	
Black Sea	5	83.3	1	16.7	6	100.0	
Eastern Anatolia	2	100.0	0	0.0	2	100.0	
Southeastern Anatolia	4	66.7	2	33.3	6	100.0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>82.3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

\* % within row



Among 18 and 19 year olds, altercation was the most common cause for APV (62.5% and 71.4% respectively), and the rates were higher than the average of 50.0%. There was no statistically significant difference between the causes of APV and the age of the adolescents ( $p>0.05$ ) (Table 5).

Altercation was the most common cause for both female and male adolescents (50.0% each), yet the rates were the same as the average of 50.0%.

There was no statistically significant difference between the causes of APV and the sex of the adolescents ( $p>0.05$ ) (Table 6).

In Aegean, Mediterranean and Central Anatolia regions, majority of the APV incidents were due to altercation (60.0%, 57.1% and 60.0% respectively); whereas in Southeastern Anatolia, 50.0% of the incidents were due to father's violence against mother (Figure 7). There was no statisti-

**Table 3.** Distribution of parent-victims by adolescent's age

Parent-victim		Age							Total	p
		13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
Mother	n	1	1	2	1	5	2	2	14	0.978
	%*	50.0	25.0	20.0	11.1	27.8	25.0	28.6	24.1	
Father	n	1	3	8	8	12	6	5	43	
	%*	50.0	75.0	80.0	88.9	66.7	75.0	71.4	74.1	
Both parents	n	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	%*	0.0		0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	1.7	
<b>Total</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>58</b>	
	<b>%*</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

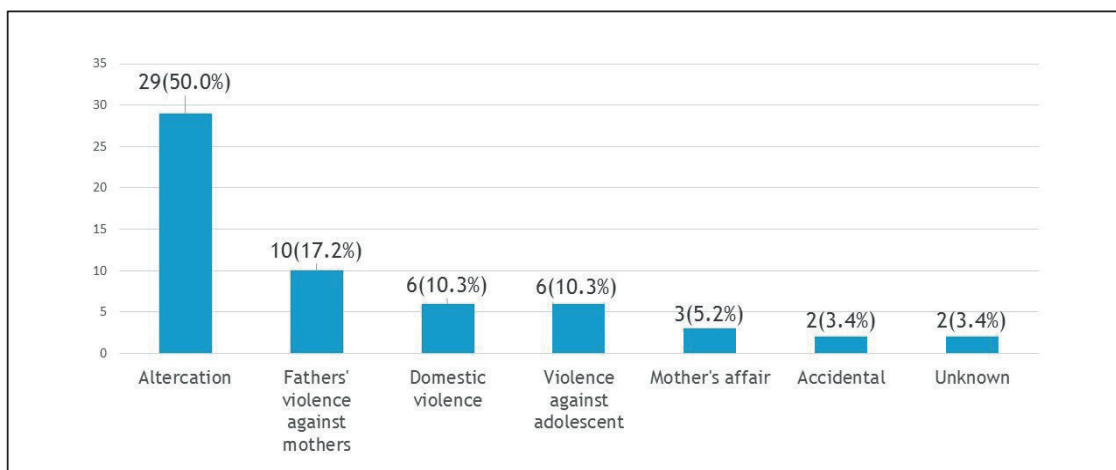
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**Table 4.** Distribution of parent-victims by adolescent's sex

Parent-victim	Sex				Total		p
	Male		Female		n	%*	
	n	%*	n	%*			
Mother	12	25.0	2	20.0	14	24.1	0.839
Father	35	72.9	8	80.0	43	71.4	
Both parents	1	2.1	0	0.0	1	1.7	
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

\* % within column

**Figure 6.** Distribution of causes for APV



cally significant difference between the causes of APV and regions ( $p>0.05$ ).

In 35 (60.3%) incidents, the adolescents used firearms, of which 17 (48.6%) were rifles and 18 (51.4%) were handguns. In 19 (32.8%) incidents knives and in 4 incidents (6.9%) other means were used (Figure 8).

Regarding the weapons used, half of the 13, 14 and 18 year olds used handguns, while the other half of the 13 year olds used knives (Table 7).

There was no statistically significant difference between the weapons used and the age of the adolescents ( $p>0.05$ ).

While 40.0% of the female adolescents used knives and 30.0% used handguns, the male adolescents used handguns, rifles and knives with a 31.3% each (Figure 9). There was no statistically significant difference between the weapons used and the sex of the adolescents ( $p>0.05$ ).

**Table 5.** Distribution of causes for APV by adolescents' age

Causes		Age							Total	p
		13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
Altercation	n	1	2	5	4	7	5	5	29	0.910
	%*	50.0	50.0	50.0	44.4	38.9	62.5	71.4	50.0	
Father's violence against mother	n	0	1	1	2	3	2	1	10	
	%*	0.0	25.0	10.0	22.2	16.7	25.0	14.3	17.2	
Domestic violence	n	1	0	1	1	2	1	0	6	
	%*	50.0	0.0	10.0	11.1	11.1	12.5	0.0	10.3	
Violence against adolescent	n	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	6	
	%*	0.0	25.0	10.0	22.2	11.1	0.0	0.0	10.3	
Mother's affair	n	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	
	%*	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	5.2	
Accidental	n	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	
	%*	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	3.4	
Unknown	n	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	
	%*	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	14.3	3.4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>58</b>	
	<b>%*</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

\* % within column

**Table 6.** Distribution of causes for APV by adolescents' sex

Causes	Sex				Total		p
	Male		Female		n	%*	
	n	%*	n	%*			
Altercation	24	50.0	5	50.0	29	50.0	0.833
Father's violence against mother	9	18.8	1	10.0	10	17.2	
Domestic violence	5	10.4	1	10.0	6	10.3	
Violence against adolescent	4	8.3	2	20.0	6	10.3	
Mother's affair	2	4.2	1	10.0	3	5.2	
Accidental	2	4.2	0	0.0	2	3.4	
Unknown	2	4.2	0	0.0	2	3.4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

\* % within column

Figure 7. Distribution of causes for APV by regions

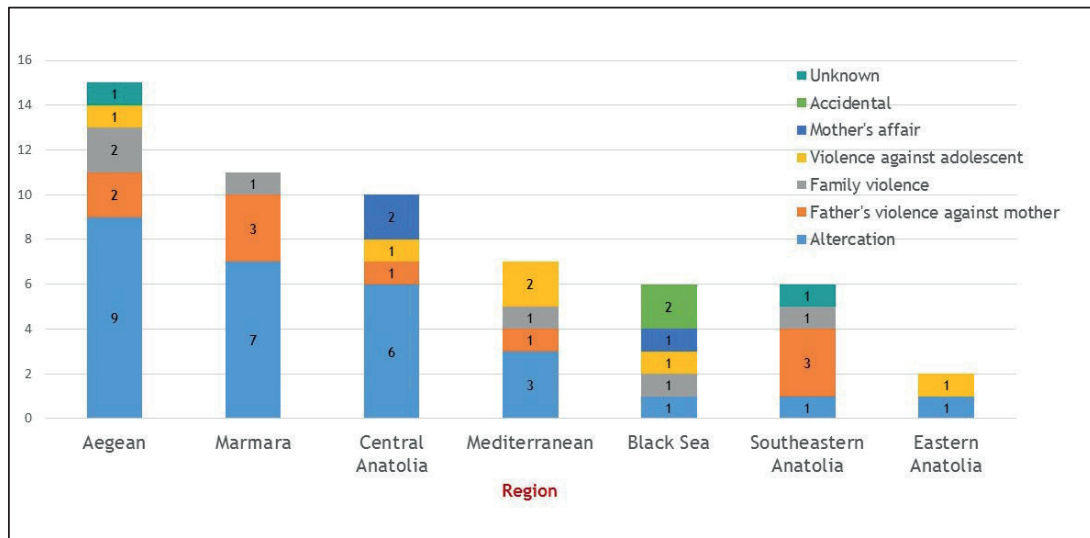


Figure 8. Distribution of weapons used

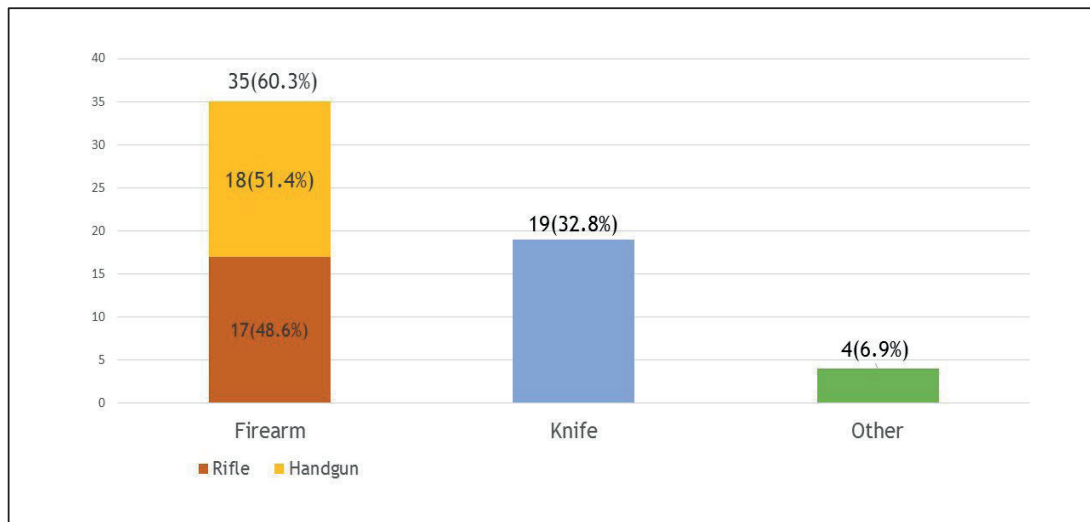


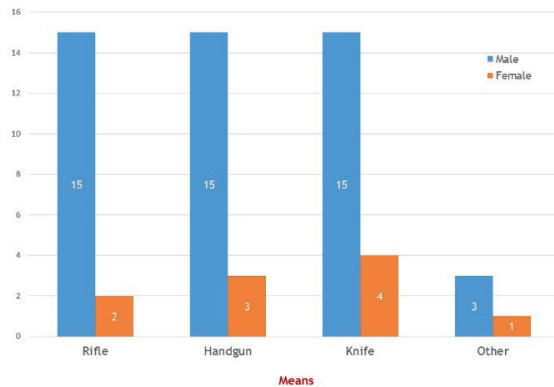
Table 7. Distribution of weapons used by adolescent's age

Causes		Age							Total	p
		13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
Knife	n	1	0	4	3	5	3	3	19	0.682
	%*	50.0	0.0	40.0	33.3	27.8	37.5	42.9	32.8	
Handgun	n	1	2	4	2	5	1	3	18	
	%*	50.0	50.0	40.0	22.2	27.8	12.5	42.9	31.0	
Rifle	n	0	1	2	2	7	4	1	17	
	%*	0.0	25.0	20.0	22.2	38.9	50.0	14.3	29.3	
Other	n	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	4	
	%*	0.0	25.0	0.0	22.2	5.6	0.0	0.0	6.9	
Total	n	2	4	10	9	18	8	7	58	
	%*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

\* % within column



**Figure 9.** Distribution of weapons used by adolescent's sex



The majority of the weapons used in Black Sea region were handguns (66.7%) while knives were used the most in Marmara region (63.6%). Rifles were used in half of the APV incidents in Mediterranean and Southeastern Anatolia, whereas rifles (50.0%) and handguns (50.0%) were used in Eastern Anatolia (Figure 10). There was no statistically significant difference between the weapons used and the regions ( $p>0.05$ ).

#### 4. DISCUSSION

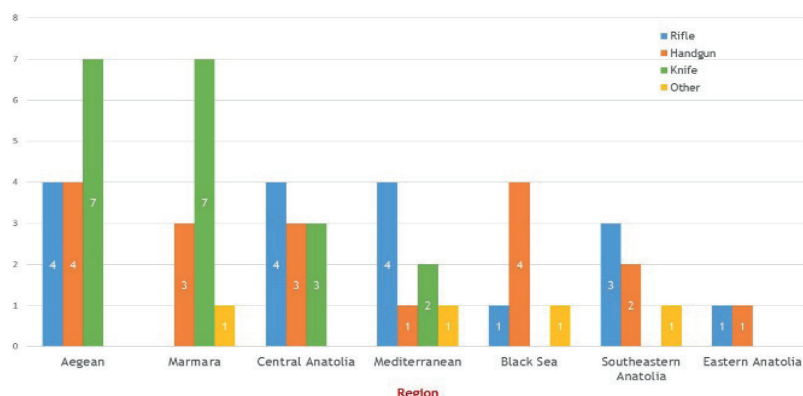
Individuals are susceptible to violence from very early ages and through the course of their lives. It is estimated that around 300 million children experience violence at home either as psychological aggression and/or physical punishment by their caregivers; while the abuse, violence, and exploitation takes different forms with an increased risk of victimisation as they move to adolescence (United Nations Children's Fund, 2017). The intentional use of physical force or power to threaten or harm others by young people aged 10-24 is referred to as youth violence

and includes a wide range of acts from fighting and bullying or threats with weapons, to severe assault and homicide. It is globally considered a significant public health problem as this adverse experience during childhood has long-term impacts not only on the health and well-being of the young people, who can be involved as a victim, offender, or witness, but also on their families and communities (World Health Organization, 2020; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2022).

Adolescence is a unique period of development when children differentiate into adolescents biologically and socially. They are more vulnerable and at heightened risk for violence perpetration and victimisation, which adversely affect their brain development, the course of their psychosocial maturing and health. The experience and/or threat of violence reduces adolescents' access to opportunities and services, while increasing the prospect of poor outcomes, thus compromising their whole lives (Engel et al., 2022; Hughes et al., 2017; Bruce, 2011). The violent experiences during adolescence have a wide spectrum, and APV is the least recognised and most likely to be under-reported form. This study aimed to assess APV through its reflection on the media news in Turkey.

The findings revealed that APV was prevalent among the 17 year olds (31.0%), and that the majority of the adolescents were male (82.8%). In literature, APV is considered to emerge during puberty although age has not been identified as a key characteristic in studies (Moulds and Day, 2017). Higher rates of APV is associated with an increase in age, size and strength of the adolescent (Harbin and Madden, 1979). Yet, the onset

**Figure 10.** Distribution of weapons used by region



and peak ages are shown to vary in different studies, ranging between 12 to 17 years old, and it was identified that APV by females increased with age, which peaks at 17 to 18 years old, but there was no association found between increasing age and males (McCloud, 2017). Studies in Canada and the United States suggest that adolescent violence begins at 12 to 14 years old, and the peak age is expected between 15 and 17 years (Howard, 2011).

There is also no consensus regarding the sex differences of the adolescents involved in APV. Some studies report that males execute violence more than females, while some others conclude that APV is a non-gendered phenomenon. (Moulds and Day, 2017). Studies indicate that in community samples, where the levels of APV are expected to be low, there are no or negligible differences between the sex of adolescents; yet females are more likely to inflict higher levels of psychological APV; on the other hand, males are more frequent perpetrators within legal frameworks, where physical APV is more grievous (Ibabe, 2019). Simmons et al. (2018), in their systematic review, concluded that the overall trend in community samples was towards the symmetry of the adolescents' sex; however, males accounted for 59–87% in offender samples. A study in Turkey found that the violence tendency scores of female and male adolescents showed statistically significant difference and males had a higher tendency to violence than females (Gençoğlu et al., 2014). Therefore, it is safe to say that this lack of consensus on the age and sex of the adolescents is associated with the type of samples employed (Seijo et al., 2020), and also the reporting party and the data source should be taken into consideration when interpreting age and sex differences (O'Hara et al., 2017).

Data regarding the sex of the parent-victim are manifold, and the findings on whether fathers or mothers are more likely to be victims of APV vary across studies. In this study, 74.1% of the parent-victims were the fathers; and fathers were more likely to be the victim among the 15 and 16 year olds (80.0% and 88.9% respectively) as well as among the female adolescents (80.0%). Contrary to our findings, many studies indicate that mothers are disproportionately the tar-

get of violence from both their adolescent sons and daughters (Paterson et al., 2013; Seijo et al., 2020), with percentages as high as 72%-97% and with ratio estimates as high as 8:2 mother versus father, despite showing great variance across samples (O'Hara et al., 2017; McCloud, 2017; Ibabe, 2019). A nation-wide study in Turkey shows that 10.6% of the adolescents indicated their mothers as the most conflicted person in the family in comparison with their fathers (6.7%); and that females were more in conflict with their mothers while males were in conflict with their fathers. It was also determined that the frequency of conflicts with parents increased with age; and the higher the socio-economic level, the higher the rate of conflict with parents (Turgut, 2013). However, other studies show that APV is extensive towards both parents regardless of the sex of the adolescent or the type of violence (Seijo et al., 2020; Calvete et al., 2015).

The findings of this study showed that 25.9% of the APV incidents were in the Aegean region, followed by Marmara and Central Anatolia regions (19.0% and 17.2% respectively). Half of the APV incidents were due to an altercation between the adolescent and the parent, while in 17.2% of the incidents, father's violence against the mother was the reason, followed by domestic violence and violence by the parents towards the adolescent (10.3% each). In Aegean, Mediterranean and Central Anatolia regions, majority of the APV incidents were due to altercation (60.0%, 57.1% and 60.0% respectively); whereas in Southeastern Anatolia, 50.0% of the incidents were due to father's violence against mother. A nation-wide study in Turkey found that the highest rate of conflict between the adolescent and the mother is in the Mediterranean region (18.4%), followed by Mediterranean and Black Sea regions (17.6% and 17.4% respectively), while the highest rate of conflict with the father is almost similar in Marmara and Black Sea regions (10.4% and 10.2% respectively) (Turgut, 2013).

Although it is acknowledged that there is no single risk factor but an accumulation of exposures that increases the risk for violent behavior (Ybarra et al., 2022); in literature, the growing violence in general is considered as a predictor for APV. Many studies have focused on family variables in

an attempt to understand the underlying factors related to APV, such as witnessing and/or previous or existing experience of family violence, ineffective parenting, and maltreatment within the family (Paterson et al., 2013). The sex of the parent is significant for analysing the dynamics of APV in relation to aggressive family discipline, i.e. one parent could use more aggressive practices than the other (Ibabe, 2019). Parenting styles have also been linked to APV due to their influence on the attitudes and behavior of the adolescents, i.e. a democratic style would lead to the development, self-esteem, and achievement of the adolescent, while a disciplinarian, indulgent or uninvolved parenting would have negative consequences (Seijo et al., 2020; Paterson et al., 2013; Simmons et al., 2018). In cases where the authority hierarchy is disturbed and the parents are reluctant to impose discipline or show affection, adolescents get an inflated sense of power and tend to take control and/or penalize their parents for their lacking leadership (Harbin & Madden, 1979). According to the nation-wide study in Turkey, the underlying reasons for altercation within the family vary; however, adolescents confront their mothers the most regarding domestic issues, while they argue with their fathers about out-of-home matters (Turgut, 2013).

Patterns of violence witnessed through childhood are likely to be repeated over generations; and becomes a risk factor for the development of adolescents (Paterson et al., 2013). The existence of violent dynamics within the family is considered to be linked to APV. Routt and Anderson (2011) suggested the hypothesis of bidirectionality, i.e. the violence committed by parents towards their children is related to violence committed by children towards their parents. The probability of developing APV is found to be 71% higher among adolescents who have been victimized by their parents than non-victimized adolescents (Seijo et al., 2020). A study in Turkey found that high school students who were exposed to physical violence from either of their parents used more verbal violence than those who were not exposed; and also inflict physical violence on others more than those who were not exposed (Genç et al., 2017). Another study in Turkey revealed that the mean violence tendency score of the adolescents who have been exposed

to violence from their parents was significantly higher than those who have not experienced violence (Gençoğlu et al., 2014).

The findings of this study showed that in 60.3% of the incidents, the adolescents used firearms, of which 48.6% were rifles and 51.4% were handguns. Half of the 13, 14 and 18 year olds used handguns, while the other half of the 13 year olds used knives. Howard (2011) suggests that younger adolescents are noted to cause more severe injury through the use of weapons. While 40.0% of the female adolescents used knives and 30.0% used handguns, the male adolescents used handguns, rifles and knives with a 31.3% each. The majority of the weapons used in Black Sea region were handguns (66.7%) while knives were used the most in Marmara region (63.6%). Rifles were used in half of the APV incidents in Mediterranean and Southeastern Anatolia, whereas rifles (50.0%) and handguns (50.0%) were used in Eastern Anatolia. In Turkey, civilians have approximately five times more firearms than the armed forces and law enforcement; and the annual number of gun violence related deaths are more than 2000, with the highest rate in the Marmara, Mediterranean and Aegean regions, while more than 3000 people are injured across the country. The most at risk group is the individuals between the ages of 20-24, the majority of whom are male, and they are both the perpetrators and the victims (Yasuntimur and Ögünç, 2022). The findings of this study show that adolescents' easy access to firearms needs to be discussed.

In this study, all APV incidents on the news have resulted with the murder of the parent. It would be appropriate to assume that media considered murder as more news-worthy, and also other types of violence may have been kept in the family without making to the news. Studies define various types of violence exercised by the adolescents against parents, 7-22% being physical, 91-99% psychological and 75% verbal; however, regarding the offense type and outcome, there are no sex variations regarding the rates of injury and use of weapons (O'Hara et al., 2017). A study in Turkey found that male adolescents use more verbal violence than females (75.1% to 71.5% for verbal and 66.4% to 45.6% for physical violence respectively) (Genç et al., 2017). The

2011 Turkish Statistical Institute Youth Statistics data show that the rate of murder is 2.8% among young males and 3.5% among young females (Avcı Haskan and Yıldırım, 2014). Although verbal aggression is reported to be more common than physical violence overall, there are also studies that found that boys are more physically aggressive according to parent reports, psychological violence is higher for girls according to adolescent reports, and mothers are presumably the target of psychological violence (Calvete et al., 2015; Seijo et al., 2020). As stated by Dr. Emanuel Tanay, the forensic psychiatrist, homicides are mostly committed by acquaintances, who have an instant conflict and a close-at-hand weapon (Kaplan, 2012).

This study analyzed how media reflects APV. Globally, the media is called the 'fourth pillar' of democracy and this significant task comes with its unique responsibilities. Media is considered a significant source of information that forms the public opinion and perception if presented in a fair and impartial way; however, it can also disseminate false and inflammatory messages and values that nurture violence (Commonwealth Commission on Respect and Understanding, 2011). Media violence is considered a visual representation of one person's acts of physical aggression towards another, and news on violence is acknowledged to contribute to violence (John et al., 2020); and the representation of violence on media has been of concern since the 1970s.

Violence in the media is increasing. All types of violence are intensely featured and reproduced in the printed and visual media due to its appeal to the society. Research has shown that news of violence in the media makes the crime attractive, yet ordinary and has negative effects on the phenomenon. It is found that people who are exposed to media violence can be desensitized to real world violence, and that some people might even enjoy watching media violence and not become anxious (American Psychological Association, 2013). According to the American Academy of Pediatrics, "... media violence can contribute to aggressive behavior, desensitization to violence, nightmares, and fear of being harmed." (Council on Communications and Media, 2009). Confronted with violence in the media, the children and

the adolescents, who naturally have a tendency to imitate whatever they see, may become indifferent to others' pain and suffering; yet more frightened of the world around them; and more apt to behave in aggressive or detrimental ways to other people (National Institute of Mental Health, 1982). Children and adolescents, whose brains keep developing until their mid-20s, may not differentiate reality from fiction and understand the motives for aggression. Exposure to media violence may lead them to think and act aggressively in the real world; and may also serve as another contributing factor for decreased empathy and prosocial behavior particularly for adolescents who experience conflict or aggression in their families and/or among their peers (Furlow, 2017).

The link between media violence and aggression has been examined in many studies, including meta-analyses, longitudinal studies, randomized experiments, and cross-sectional correlation studies, all of which have provided evidence that media violence-aggression link is strong (Kaplan, 2012). Although it is suggested that exposure to violence in any media is just one of many risk factors contributing to aggressive and violent behavior in children and adolescents and that violent behavior never occurs when there is only one risk factor present (Gentile and Bushman, 2012; Kaplan, 2012; Furlow, 2017); Anderson et al. (2010) in their comprehensive meta-analysis concluded that the "evidence strongly suggests that exposure to violent video games is a causal risk factor for increased aggressive behavior, aggressive cognition, and aggressive affect and for decreased empathy and prosocial behavior." Ybarra et al. (2022) found that exposure to violence across media during childhood is associated with seriously violent behavior in adolescence and adulthood, which increases by 70% over time; and concluded that exposure to violence in one medium highly interacts with exposure in another medium. Khurana et al. (2019) suggested that media violence exposure is an important risk factor that can be associated with aggressive outcomes in adolescents.

Our findings indicated that there were discrepancies between different media sources in their approach to APV incidents. For the same inci-



dent, some media sources used the names of the adolescents and the parents with initials, while others used either name in full. The photographs of adolescents were mostly used blurred; however, the photographs of parents were shared openly. Despite the fact that almost all incidents occurred at the place of residence of the family, the photos and/or videos of the crime scene and/or the residence were mostly shared without any concealment. However, it is a universally recognized fact that media reporting on children and young people should never put them at risk and journalists have the responsibility for not compromising the rights of children and young people while serving the public interest. These responsibilities include not further stigmatizing the children and young people, confirming the accuracy of the story and providing an accurate context, changing the name and obscuring the visual identity of the children and young people, and when in doubt, reporting on the general situation rather than on an individual (United Nations Children's Fund, n.d.).

## 5. CONCLUSION

Adolescent violence against parents is an emerging and increasingly recognized problem with substantial detrimental consequences for the family and the society. Globally, documented prevalence rates vary in a wide range, however, it is also speculated that these rates are grossly underestimated. Many families come up against and experience adolescent aggression and violence in their homes, yet the parents and caregivers are hesitant to report these incidents. The findings of this study revealed that adolescents commonly use violence as a way to resolve their problems with their parents. However, as it is acknowledged in the literature, exclusive studies that investigate the prevalence and incidence rates and the impact of APV are still lacking. There is also no scientific study specific for APV conducted in Turkey; but rather some general research on the profile of adolescents or the violence that they face or practice in different contexts, such as schools or workplaces.

This study has limitations regarding the generalization of the results due to the fact that the sample is biased as only those incidents that

made to the media news were analyzed. Further research to collect healthy and accurate data to determine the dimensions and the frequency, the variables, and the different systems involved in APV is needed and a measure of APV that has clearly defined precise criteria needs to be established. In addition, as discrepancies were found between different media sources regarding how they approached and handled the APV incidents, it is suggested that the media can play an essential role in preventing violence in general and adolescent violence against parents in particular through correct, complete, sensible and responsible news-making.

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