Pregnant Women’s Hostile Beliefs about Infants Predict Offspring Maltreatment

Short Title: Pregnant Women’s Beliefs

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Abstract:

Objective

To evaluate pregnant women’s hostile beliefs (attributions) about infants as a risk factor for child maltreatment and hostile parenting during their children’s first and second years.

Methods

A diverse, representative, community-based sample of 499 pregnant women was followed longitudinally. Mothers’ hostile attributions were self-reported during a prenatal interview. Child maltreatment was coded from county child protective services records through age 26 months. Hostile parenting behaviors were self-reported during a follow-up interview when children were approximately one-and-a-half years old. Data were analyzed using logistic and linear regression models, controlling for maternal race, age, education, family income, parity, mental health problems, and social isolation.

Results

Mothers’ hostile attributions increased the likelihood that their child would be maltreated (OR = 1.26, 90% CI = 1.02, 1.56). Children of mothers who received the minimum score of 1 for hostile attributions had a 4% chance of being maltreated, whereas children of mothers who received the maximum score of 5 for hostile attributions had a 15% chance of being maltreated. Mothers who made more hostile attributions during pregnancy reported engaging in more hostile parenting behaviors when their children were toddlers (B = 0.06, p < .05).
Conclusions

The attributions that a pregnant woman makes about infants’ intentions signal risk for maltreatment and hostile parenting of her infant in the first several years of life. The findings highlight the value of practitioners attending to mothers’ beliefs about infants’ intentions. Specific methods for assessing mothers’ hostile beliefs are provided.

What’s Known on this Subject:
Research to date has identified associations between mothers’ negative beliefs about infants and problematic parenting. Methodological limitations (small samples, shared sources), however, have restrained confidence in the findings.

What This Study Adds:
This study adds more rigorous methodology and increases confidence that women’s hostile beliefs about infants constitute a risk factor for child maltreatment and hostile parenting. We also provide specific methods for practitioners to assess mothers’ hostile beliefs.
Introduction

Child maltreatment is a serious public health problem that disproportionately affects infants and toddlers. In the United States in 2008, 772,000 children, 10.3 of every 1,000 (1%), were alleged victims of abuse or neglect.\(^1\) Rates for children between birth and age 1 were more than twice as high.\(^1\) Parents perpetrated 80% of child abuse and neglect cases.\(^1\)

Child maltreatment is increasingly viewed on a spectrum of negative parenting behaviors, as, for example, both spanking and spanking with an object are associated with an increased likelihood of physical abuse.\(^2\) Reducing official cases of child maltreatment as well as negative parenting behavior requires cross-disciplinary, multi-pronged initiatives.\(^3\) In the interest of informing prevention and intervention efforts, in this study we examined pregnant women’s beliefs about infants as a risk factor for child maltreatment and hostile parenting during their children’s first and second years.

In our examination of expectant mothers’ beliefs, we focus on their attributions about the extent to which infants behave with negative intention (e.g., purposefully dirty their diapers). Research to date has illustrated some associations between such attributions and negative and/or abusive parenting behaviors behaviors.\(^4,5,6,7\) In a particularly relevant 2004 study of 73 low-income, predominantly Latina mothers and their infants, mothers’ negative attributions, assessed prenatally or shortly after the birth of their child, predicted self-reported harsh parenting behaviors (e.g., infant shaking, slapping) one year later if infants were also born “at risk” (> 2 weeks prematurely or with Apgar scores ≤ 8).\(^6\) Limitations of this study include its small, homogeneous sample and its reliance on self-report for assessing maternal attributions and parenting behaviors.
The current study extends this body of research, with a particular goal of informing practitioners’ consideration of mothers’ hostile attributions as a risk factor for child maltreatment and problematic parenting behaviors. We recruited a representative, community-based sample of pregnant women and followed them longitudinally. We tested the hypothesis that prenatal hostile attributions would predict official reports of child maltreatment between birth and age two, and mothers’ self-reported hostile parenting behaviors during their child’s second year.

Methods

Participants were 499 mothers and their infants from a small southeastern city and its surrounding county. Mothers were recruited during pregnancy by one of three trained female research assistants in the waiting rooms of prenatal care providers, including a large public health clinic and private OB/GYN practices. In addition, flyers were posted at these clinics and in other community locations. Potential participants were offered $20 per interview. Of the 383 women approached, 351 (92%) agreed to participate. Another 148 were recruited after responding to the flyer.

Mothers identified themselves as White (non-Latina) (35%), Black (non-Latina) (34%), Latina (23%), Asian (3%), bi- or multi-racial (3%) or other (1%). At enrollment, mothers ranged in age from 12 to 41 ($M = 27, s = 5.88$). Twenty-eight percent of the mothers had not completed high school, 13% had completed high school or a GED, and 17% had completed some college or vocational training. Twenty-three percent of the mothers had graduated from college, and 18% had completed a post-graduate degree. Annual family income ranged from $0 to $400,000, with a median of $35,000. Seventy-six percent of the mothers lived with a husband, boyfriend, or partner. Fifty-two percent of the mothers were primiparous. Comparison to population statistics for race, ethnicity, and education for mothers giving birth in the county during the year that study
participants were interviewed indicated that the sample is representative of the county from which it is drawn.

During the second half of pregnancy, participants completed a one-hour, face-to-face interview that included assessments of attributions about infant behavior, family demographics, mental health problems, and social isolation. Interviews were conducted in English or Spanish (by a native Spanish speaker), according to the participant’s preference. As part of standard informed consent procedures, approved by the researchers’ IRB, participants provided written consent for the research team to access county child protective service records for up to seven years after their child’s birth. County records were reviewed regularly for the presence of allegations and substantiations of child maltreatment among the participants’ infants.

During their children’s second year ($M$ child age = 16 months, $sd = 1.7$), 315 (63%) of the original sample participated in brief phone interviews to confirm child date of birth and sex, and to assess mothers’ self-reported parenting behaviors. Comparisons of the follow-up to the original sample indicated that those mothers who were retained for follow-up were generally more advantaged than those who were not. Mothers who were retained were more likely to be older, more educated, to have higher family incomes, and to have reported fewer mental health problems and less social isolation during pregnancy (all $p$’s ≤ .05). Almost all (92%) of the children were born at 37 or more weeks gestational age. Approximately half (54%) were male.

**Measures**

The independent variable, *mothers’ hostile attributions* was assessed with a short version of the Infant Intentionality Questionnaire Questionnaire.\(^8^,9^\) We administered 13 items that measure maternal attributions of both positive and negative intentions to infants between the ages of 6 and 12 months (e.g., “Do babies seek praise when they do something clever?”; “Do
babies ignore their mothers to be annoying?”). Mothers responded on a 5-point scale (from never [0] to always [4]). Mothers’ “negative intentionality” according to this scale has been associated with self-reported and observed negative parenting behaviors.

For the purposes of this study, all items were first recoded into dichotomous variables (1 = “rarely or never”; 2 = “sometimes, often, or always”). Subscales measuring negative intentionality and positive intentionality were created by selecting items with adequate response variability (at least 10% of responses in one of the 0/1 categories), and averaging the items relevant to each subscale (for negative intentionality [4 items], range = 1-2, $M = 1.18$, $sd = 0.27$, $\alpha = .67$; for positive intentionality [4 items], range = 1-2, $M = 1.69$, $sd = 0.29$, $\alpha = .52$). The negative and positive intentionality subscales were positively correlated ($r = .19$, $p < .001$).

Given this positive correlation, we created a new variable, hostile attributions, in order to index mothers’ attributions of infants’ negative intentions relative to mothers’ attributions of infants’ overall intentions (= negative intentionality / [negative intentionality + positive intentionality]; recoded onto a 5-point scale to facilitate interpretation; range = 1 to 5, $M = 3.03$, $sd = 1.40$).

To measure the first dependent variable, child maltreatment, county records of all child maltreatment reports were reviewed. In accordance with county regulations, information about perpetrators was explicitly excluded from the records available to our research team. Records were reviewed through the child’s age of 26 months. We identified 40 individual children (8%) with at least one incident of alleged or substantiated abuse or neglect. There was a total of 79 incidents for these 40 children, with 17 (43%) of the children having more than one allegation or substantiation. Of these 79 incidents, 62 (78%) were allegations only and 17 (22%) were substantiations. For analytic purposes, children were classified as victimized if they had at least one allegation or substantiation of abuse or neglect at or before age 26 months (maltreatment/no
maltreatment = 1/0; \( n = 40 \) [8%]). We combined allegations and substantiations because internal analysis of this county’s records as well as those from a national study has indicated that allegations and substantiations are equally strong predictors of subsequent involvement with child protective services.\(^{10}\) Moreover, several studies have demonstrated that child outcomes of alleged versus substantiated maltreatment do not differ significantly.\(^{11,12,13}\)

The second dependent variable, *hostile parenting*, was assessed with 4 items from the Parental Cognitions and Conduct Toward the Infant Scale, a psychometrically sound assessment of parental “hostile-reactive” behaviors towards their infants.\(^{14,15}\) Using a 5-point scale, mothers indicated the frequency with which they responded to occasions during the past three months when their toddler was “particularly fussy” by (a) being angry with their child, (b) spanking their child, (c) shouting at their child, and (d) shaking their child (0 = *never* to 4 = *more than once per day*). Because no mother reported ever shaking her child, that item was omitted. We averaged the three remaining items to create a hostile parenting scale (range = 0-3, \( M = 0.64 \), \( sd = 0.63 \), \( \alpha = .73 \)).

Demographic variables included maternal race/ethnicity (dummy coded to White/non-White = 1/0), age, education (8-point scale from 0 = *none* to 7 = *post college*; range = 0-7; \( M = 4.36 \), \( sd = 2.08 \)), annual family income (standardized; range= -1.12-8.64; \( M = 0.00 \), \( sd = 1.00 \)), and a variable indicating whether or not women were first-time mothers (dummy coded to primiparous/multipartos = 1/0).

Maternal mental health problems were assessed with 2 questions about prevalence of depressive symptoms and 1 question about anxiety symptoms, adapted from the Composite International Diagnostic Interview Short Form.\(^{16}\) Responses were summed to create a 4-point index of total mental health problems (range = 0-3; \( M = 0.85 \), \( sd = 1.10 \)).
Social isolation was assessed with 4 vignettes adapted from the Early Head Start Research and Evaluation Project, in which mothers reported the number of people, if any, from whom they could seek help under each of 4 scenarios. Responses to each scenario were coded on a 3-point scale with higher scores indicating less support (0 = 2 or more people, 1 = 1 person, 2 = no people) and averaged to create a single score for social isolation (M = 0.40, sd = 0.50).

Analytic Methods

All principal analyses were conducted using Mplus 6, with missing values estimated by multiple imputation. For all variables except family income, between 99% and 100% of the data were present. The family income variable was missing 13% of the mothers due to nonresponse. We used logistic regression to examine the prediction of mothers’ hostile attributions to child maltreatment. Given the combination of (a) high public health significance of child maltreatment and (b) relatively low rate (8%) of early maltreatment in this and other community-based samples, in order to reduce Type II error, the confidence interval for the logistic regression was set to 90%. We used linear regression (with a 95% confidence interval) to examine the prediction of mothers’ hostile attributions to hostile parenting behaviors. Both regression models included maternal race, age, education, family income, parity, mental health problems, and social isolation as covariates.

Results

Table 1 illustrates bivariate correlations between all variables. Significant, positive correlations were found between mothers’ hostile attributions and both dependent variables, child maltreatment and hostile parenting, and between mothers’ hostile attributions and their mental health problems and social isolation. Mothers’ hostile attributions were negatively correlated with majority (White) race, maternal age, education, and family income. In addition,
mothers’ hostile attributions were negatively correlated with parity such that multiparous mothers made more hostile attributions than did primaparous mothers. The dependent variables, child maltreatment and hostile parenting, were not significantly correlated. However, both child maltreatment and hostile parenting were negatively correlated with majority (White) race, maternal age, education, and family income, and positively correlated with maternal mental health problems and social isolation.

Table 2 illustrates the results of the logistic regression testing the prediction of mothers’ hostile attributions to child maltreatment between birth and 26 months of age. After statistically covarying the 7 demographic and psychosocial factors, mothers’ hostile attributions increased the likelihood that their child would be maltreated (OR = 1.26, 90% CI = 1.02, 1.56). Thus, for every 1-point increase in mothers’ hostile attributions (1-5 scale), their children had 26% greater odds of being maltreated.

Figure 1 depicts the bivariate association between mothers’ hostile attributions and the probability of their child being maltreated. Children of mothers who received the minimum score of 1 for hostile attributions had a 4% chance of being maltreated, whereas children of mothers who received the maximum score of 5 for hostile attributions had a 15% chance of being maltreated. Almost one quarter of the children in this sample (23%; n = 113) had mothers who received the maximum score of 5 for hostile attributions. Compared to the sample as a whole (8% maltreated), thus, children whose mothers received a score of 5 for hostile attributions were almost twice as likely to be victimized.

Table 3 illustrates the results of the linear regression testing the prediction of mothers’ hostile attributions to self-reported hostile parenting behaviors during their child’s second year. After statistically covarying the 7 demographic and psychosocial factors, there was a positive
prediction from mothers’ hostile attributions to hostile parenting behaviors, such that mothers who made more hostile attributions during pregnancy also reported more hostile parenting behaviors when their children were toddlers ($B = 0.06, p < .05$).

To illustrate this finding further, the hostile parenting scale was dichotomized at the mean into a binary variable reflecting “high” and “low” hostile parenting behaviors. Figure 2 depicts the bivariate association between mothers’ hostile attributions and the probability of their being “high” on hostile parenting behaviors. Mothers who received the minimum score of 1 for hostile attributions had a 47% chance of also being “high” on hostility, whereas mothers who received the maximum score of 5 for hostile attributions had a 62% chance of being “high” on hostility. Thus, a 4-point increase in hostile attributions was associated with a 15% greater probability of reporting more hostile parenting behaviors. It is also notable that the association between mothers’ hostile attributions and their hostile parenting behavior was not completely linear, as mothers who received a score of 2 for hostile attributions actually had the lowest probability – 36% - of being “high” on hostility.

**Discussion and Conclusions**

In the interest of reducing child maltreatment and associated negative parenting behaviors, this study examined pregnant women’s hostile attributions as a risk factor. Drawing on a large and diverse community-based sample, we found that, as hypothesized, prenatal attributions about infants’ hostile intentions predicted official reports of child maltreatment between birth and age two, and mothers’ self-reported hostile parenting behaviors when their children were approximately one-and-a-half years old. These associations emerged using multiple sources of data in bivariate analyses as well as multivariate analyses that covaried maternal race/ethnicity, age, education, income, parity, mental health problems, and social
isolation. These findings extend previous research on this topic and highlight the value of practitioners attending to mothers’ beliefs about infants.

First, we found that mothers’ hostile attributions increased the likelihood that their child would be maltreated, with every 1-point increase in mothers’ hostile attributions associated with 26% greater odds of being maltreated. Compared to the sample as a whole, mothers who received the highest possible score for hostile attributions had children who were almost twice as likely to be victimized. This finding is consistent with prior research and increases confidence in the use of hostile attributions as a risk factor for child maltreatment. Similarly, mothers’ prenatal hostile attributions predicted more self-reported hostile parenting behaviors when their children were toddlers. The 23% of the mothers who received the highest possible score for hostile attributions had a 62% chance of being “high” on hostility.

These findings highlight mothers’ hostile attributions as a risk factor, not only predictive of child maltreatment and hostile parenting behaviors, but also associated with demographic and psychosocial indicators of risk (i.e., lower maternal age, education, and family income, maternal mental health problems and social isolation). The finding that multiparous mothers made more hostile attributions than did primaparous mothers further implicates attributions as a maternal psychological characteristic, possibly exacerbated by increasing childrearing responsibilities, and not necessarily tempered by childrearing experience.

A limitation of this study concerns the child maltreatment data, specifically that neither the perpetrator nor the type(s) of maltreatment experienced by the children could be rigorously analyzed. It would be especially important to know if mothers’ attributions led them to perpetrate maltreatment, themselves, to have children who are victimized by others, or both. It is likely that a large proportion of the maltreatment cases in this study were perpetrated by mothers, because
most commonly often mothers are the actual perpetrators.\textsuperscript{20} Moreover, even when they are not, they may be considered perpetrators for failing to protect their child from being victimized by someone else (although often in such instances mothers, too, are victims of partner violence). These issues remain to be examined.

In terms of practical implications for reducing child maltreatment and negative parenting behaviors, this study highlights the value of practitioners attending to mothers’ and expectant mothers’ beliefs about infants’ intentions. This practice can be accomplished on informal and formal bases. Informally, if a new mother reports, for example, that her baby is repeatedly waking her up during the night because he is “spoiled” or “naughty,” referral to parenting classes addressing such topics as infant behavior and discipline would be prudent.

Additionally, the hostile attributions scale analyzed in this study is now available in the form of a brief online assessment at [URL]\textsuperscript{1}. Mothers or expectant mothers can complete the eight questions in an interview or self-administered format, with the resulting score for hostile beliefs instantly produced. Formally assessing mothers’ beliefs about infants may elicit less discomfort or defensiveness than existing risk assessments that probe such topics as maternal substance use, domestic violence, and trauma history.

Finally, community-based parenting programs are increasingly required to be theory- and evidence-based. One particularly promising cadre of services are short-term, individual or group parenting programs focusing on the developing infant-parent attachment and demonstrated through randomized experiments to increase supportive parenting behaviors.\textsuperscript{20} Such programs may be as brief as \textit{Attachment and Biobehavioral Catch-up}, a 10-session, home-based protocol that has shown positive effects on parenting, infant-mother attachment, and infants’ stress

\textsuperscript{1} This URL will be live by the time this manuscript goes to press.
regulation.\textsuperscript{21,22} Such programs may be especially relevant for pregnant women and new mothers who present with hostile beliefs about infants.

**Acknowledgements**

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Table 1

Bivariate Correlations

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<td>2. Maternal age</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3. Maternal education †</td>
<td>.53***</td>
<td>.54***</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>4. Family income</td>
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<td>.43***</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>5. Primiparous (1 = yes)</td>
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<td>-.07</td>
<td>.30***</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-.24***</td>
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<td>.32***</td>
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<td>8. Hostile attributions</td>
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<td>-.15**</td>
<td>-.34***</td>
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<td>-.11*</td>
<td>.08#</td>
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<td>9. Child maltreatment</td>
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<td>-.13**</td>
<td>-.17***</td>
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<td>.12*</td>
<td>.16***</td>
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<td>10. Hostile parenting</td>
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<td>-.26***</td>
<td>-.21**</td>
<td>-.004</td>
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# p < .10  * p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001
Table 2

Results of Logistic Regression Testing the Prediction from Mothers’ Prenatal Hostile Attributions to Child Maltreatment

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Odds Ratio</th>
<th>90% CI</th>
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<td>-0.05 (0.51)</td>
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<td>Maternal education</td>
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<td>0.96, 1.56</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social isolation</td>
<td>0.23 (0.37)</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>0.69, 2.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hostile attributions</td>
<td>0.23 (0.13)#</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.02, 1.56</td>
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</table>

$R^2$ .31**

# $p < .10$  * $p < .05$  ** $p < .01$
Table 3

Results of Linear Regression Testing the Prediction from Mothers’ Prenatal Hostile Attributions to Hostile Parenting

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<td>Maternal age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maternal education</td>
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<td>0.12 (0.08)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mental health problems</td>
<td>0.08 (0.03)</td>
<td>0.14*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social isolation</td>
<td>0.11 (0.09)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hostile attributions</td>
<td>0.06 (0.03)</td>
<td>0.14*</td>
</tr>
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\[ R^2 \] = .14***

# p < .10  * p < .05  *** p < .001
Figure 1

Probability of child maltreatment, predicted by mothers’ prenatal hostile attributions
(unadjusted, calculated from logistic regression)
Figure 2

Probability of mothers’ "high" hostile parenting behaviors, predicted by mothers’ prenatal hostile attributions (unadjusted, calculated from logistic regression)
References


