



# Attending to Neglect:

Using Metaphors and Explanatory Chains to Reframe Child Neglect in the United Kingdom

Marissa Fond • Adam Simon • Abigail Haydon • Nathaniel Kendall-Taylor

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION.....3

ABOUT THIS STUDY.....4

FINDINGS.....8

RECOMMENDATIONS.....12

ABOUT THE FRAMEWORKS INSTITUTE.....15

APPENDIX.....16

ENDNOTES.....21

# INTRODUCTION

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Although there is awareness of the prevalence and severity of child abuse and neglect in the United Kingdom, engaging the British public in thinking about the *causes* of child maltreatment, and the steps necessary to *reduce* its occurrence, remain major challenges. Public thinking about the causes of neglect, in particular, is limited. Framing tools that explain *what causes neglect*, and *how this issue can be addressed*, are critical to building broad public support for appropriate solutions.

The research presented in this report was supported by the Big Lottery Fund and conducted in collaboration with the Social Research Unit at Dartington. Building on earlier findings on the effect of values on people's thinking about child abuse and neglect,<sup>1</sup> this report examines the role of *Explanatory Metaphors* and *Explanatory Chains* in reframing public understandings of child neglect.

Explanatory Metaphors compare a complex, abstract concept to more familiar, everyday ideas in order to give people new ways of thinking. Explanatory Chains make explicit the relationship between a problem's cause and its consequences, thereby helping people reason about potential solutions. By helping people think more critically and productively about how an issue works and what should be done to address it, these tools fulfil a critical explanatory role in a larger strategy for framing child maltreatment. More specifically, if members of the public understand the role of social factors in child neglect, they will be better able to connect these causes to a set of solutions that can improve the lives of children.

## ABOUT THIS STUDY

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The purpose of the research reported here was to identify Explanatory Metaphors and Explanatory Chains that deepen the British public's understanding of the causes of neglect by explaining *the role of social determinants*. Specifically, these frames are intended to help people understand: 1) what neglect is; 2) what causes neglect; and 3) how programs and policies can prevent neglect and improve the lives of children who have been neglected.

To achieve these goals, FrameWorks developed a set of eight candidate Explanatory Metaphors designed to help the public think more productively about how social conditions such as financial insecurity, community violence and past abuse make neglect more likely. The metaphors were first piloted in a set of interviews with experts who would be potential end-users of these tools. Following these expert interviews, FrameWorks researchers conducted a set of 56 on-the-street interviews with members of the general public in the UK.

Three metaphors, described below, proved particularly successful in drawing people's attention to how social factors undermine parents' and guardians' capacity to care for their children. These three metaphors were also effective in helping people think about the importance of programs, policies and public resources in addressing these social determinants and, in turn, reducing rates of neglect.

FrameWorks also developed a set of Explanatory Chains designed to explain the root causes of neglect by tracing the connections between social factors and neglect outcomes.<sup>2</sup> The three Explanatory Chains tested in this experiment were developed from recommendations from prior FrameWorks research in the UK on child maltreatment.<sup>3</sup>

To assess the effects of these explanatory tools on public understanding of neglect, FrameWorks conducted an experimental survey with 4,550 members of the British public, recruited to match demographic baselines provided by the UK's Office for National Statistics.<sup>4</sup>

The three Explanatory Metaphors tested compared the reasons for neglecting children to the following concepts:

Explanatory Metaphors
1. <i>Overloaded</i> – Parents carry too much weight, or too many burdens, to care for their children.
2. <i>Eroding Support</i> – Parents are worn down by external forces over time.
3. <i>Staying Afloat</i> – Parents are distracted from caring for their children by having to navigate rough waters and weather frequent storms.

More detailed presentations of these metaphors can be found in the Appendix.

Each of the metaphors was tested in two different forms: 1) a *deterministic* form, in which the metaphor states that social determinants *cause* neglect, and 2) a *probabilistic* form, in which the metaphor states that social determinants make neglect *more likely* to occur. The decision to test two different forms of each metaphor was based on findings from on-the-street interviews where respondents reacted differently when the causes of neglect were framed deterministically as opposed to probabilistically.

The three Explanatory Chains consisted of the following:

EXPLANATORY CHAINS
1. <i>Losing a Job</i> – Explained how a devastating event for a parent, such as losing a job, is connected to factors that cause neglect.
2. <i>Violence in the Community</i> – Explained how situations that affect a parent’s everyday life, such as living in an unsafe neighborhood where assault, street crime or break-ins are constant threats, are linked to factors that cause neglect.
3. <i>Equipping Parents</i> – Explained how a parent’s past life events, such as trauma in childhood, influence factors that cause neglect.

The Explanatory Chains explained the causal links between a specific social determinant and neglect. In other words, they provided an example, but also included significant explanatory information that clearly connected causes to outcomes. Again, more detailed presentations of these Explanatory Chains can be found in the Appendix.

Because FrameWorks’ prior research on values<sup>5</sup> found that adding a fact and a solution enhanced the effectiveness of communications, the experiment also examined the effect of appending two pieces of additional information to the Explanatory Chains: a fact about the prevalence of neglect, and a concrete solution about how to address this issue. These additional tests were driven by the hypothesis that this information would amplify the effects of the chain. Each of the three chains was therefore tested in two forms: on its own, and in combination with fact and solution information.

Respondents were randomly assigned to one of these 12 messages – six metaphor conditions and six Explanatory Chain messages — or to a control group that received no message, and which served as a baseline to measure the effects of other messages.<sup>6</sup> Exact wording of the tested messages can be found in the Appendix. Respondents were then asked a set of questions designed to measure the impact of the messages. These questions were developed through an analysis of expert interviews, a review of relevant literature and materials from the field, and consultations with Dartington. The questions were presented in random order to all respondents. For the purposes of the analysis, the questions are organised into the following groups, or ‘scales’:

## KNOWLEDGE

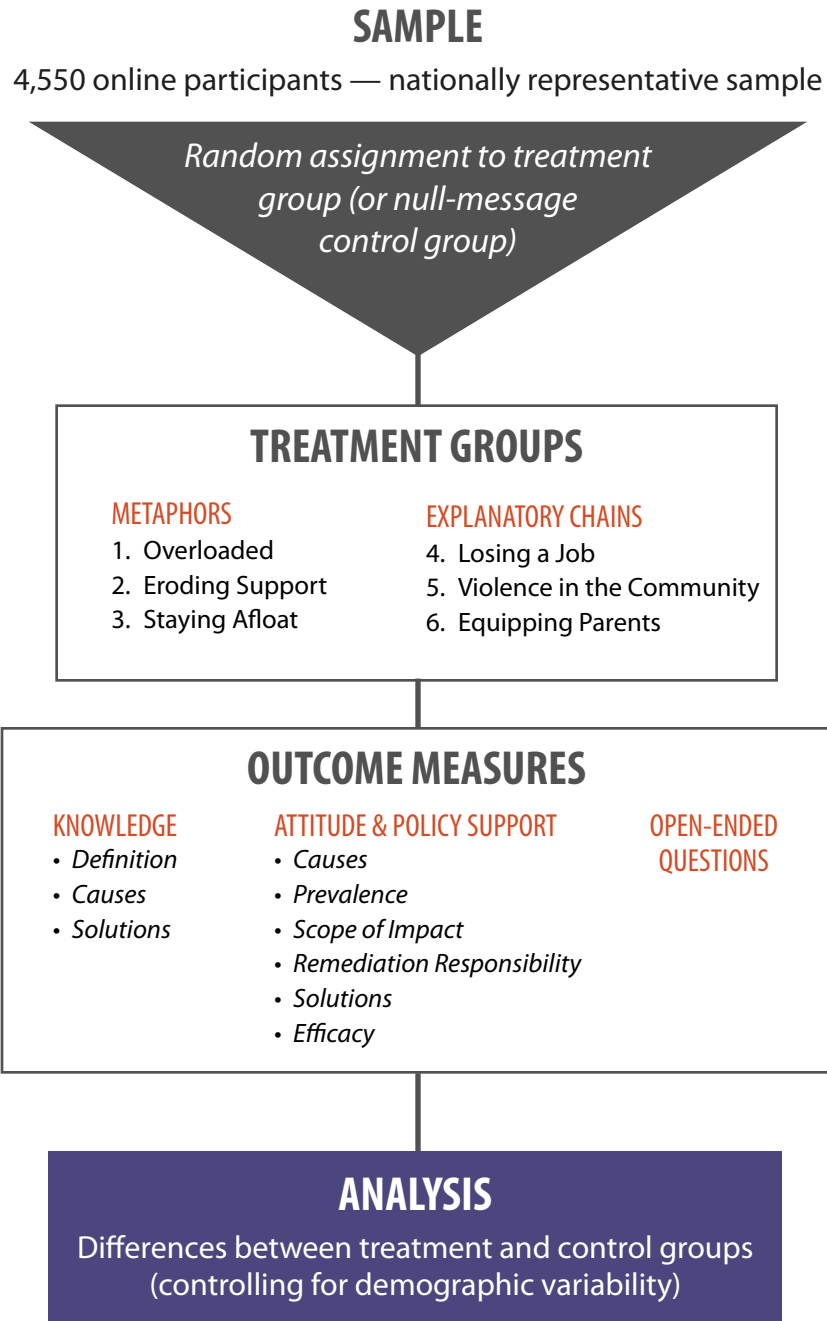
- *Definition of Neglect* – Measured respondents' understanding of basic definitions of neglect.
- *Causes of Neglect* – Measured respondents' understanding of the causes of neglect.
- *Solutions to Neglect* – Measured respondents' understanding of viable solutions to the problem of child neglect.

## ATTITUDE AND POLICY SUPPORT SCALES

- *Neglect Causes* – Measured respondents' agreement with the known causes of child neglect.
- *Prevalence* – Measured respondents' agreement with expert understandings of the prevalence of child neglect in the UK.
- *Scope of Impact* – Measured respondents' ability to see child abuse and neglect as a societal rather than a narrowly individual-level issue.
- *Remediation Responsibility* – Measured respondents' support for collective — as opposed to individual — solutions to child neglect.
- *Neglect Solutions* – Measured attitudes towards, and support for, programs and policies that experts identified as important in reducing child neglect.
- *Efficacy* – Measured respondents' level of confidence that the problem of child neglect can be addressed and improved.

In addition to these closed-ended questions, respondents were asked three open-ended questions. The first, presented after exposure to the message and before the survey questions, asked respondents to recall what they had just read. The second and third questions, presented after the closed-ended questions, asked respondents to: 1) describe the main causes of child neglect, and 2) state what they think could be done to address the issue of child neglect.

# Experiment Design Diagram



# FINDINGS

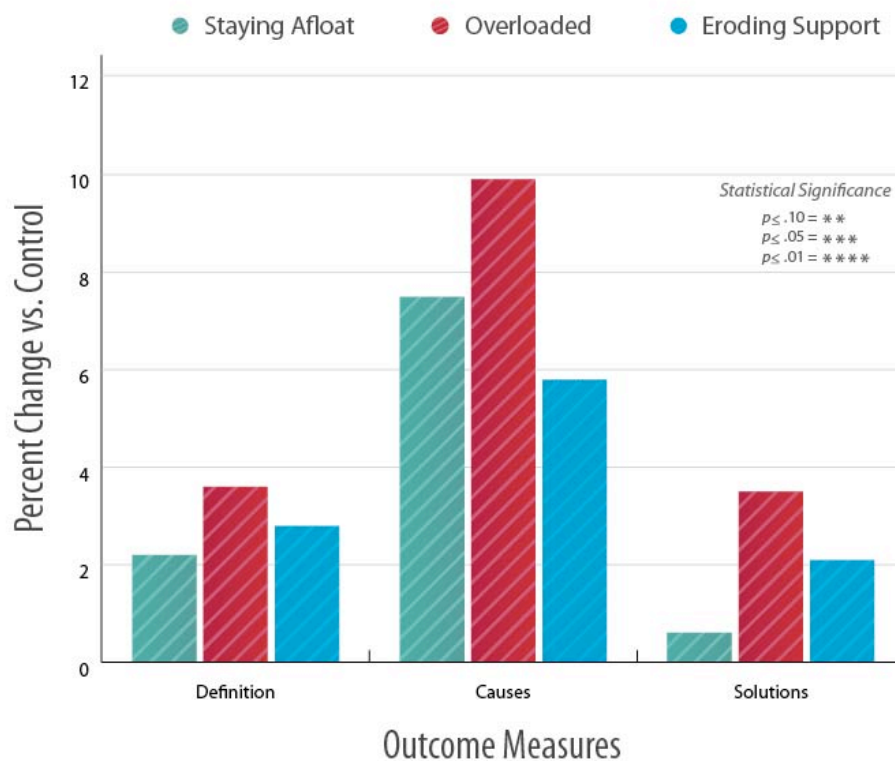
**Question No. 1:** Which Explanatory Metaphor is most effective at increasing knowledge and shifting attitudes about child neglect?

**Finding No. 1: *Overloaded* increases people’s knowledge about child neglect.** The *Overloaded* metaphor produced statistically significant gains on multiple knowledge measures.

- While all of the metaphors demonstrated improvements, *Overloaded* produced the largest statistically significant improvements in people’s knowledge about the definition, causes and solutions associated with child neglect.<sup>7</sup>
- The largest gains were observed in people’s knowledge of the *causes* of neglect. This is a critical finding, given that helping the public understand the key role that social factors play in causing neglect is vital for more effective communications on this issue, and was a primary goal of this research.

Figure 1

## Effects of Metaphors on Knowledge Measures

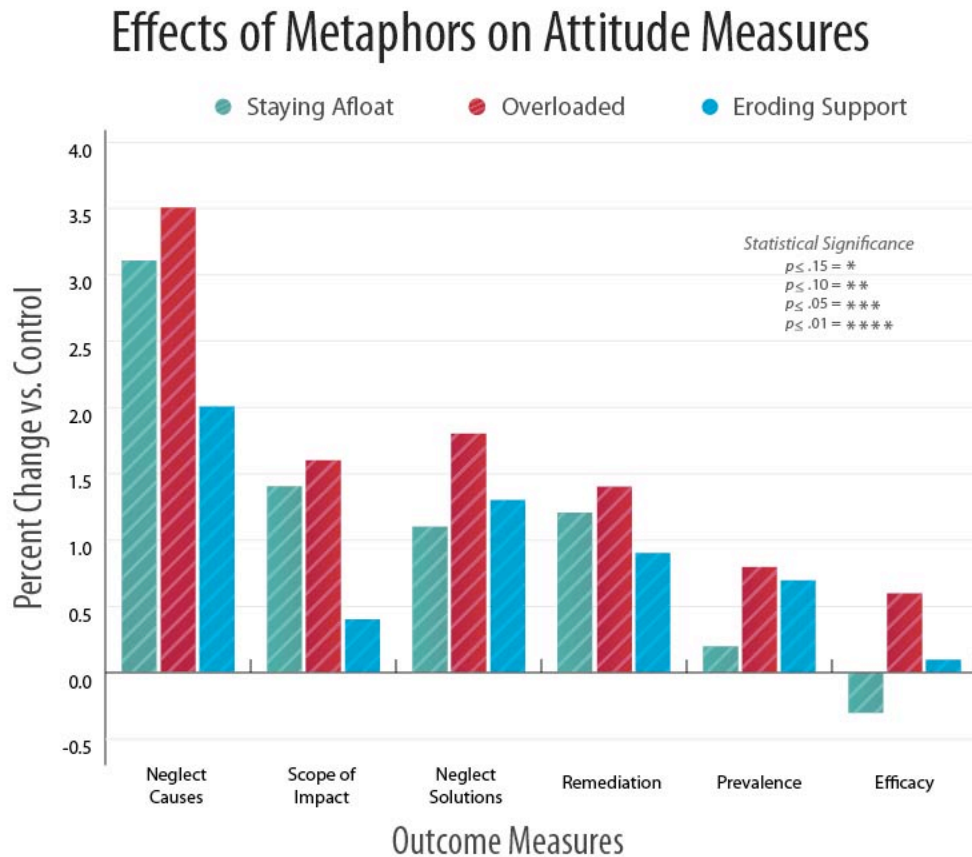




**Finding No. 2: *Overloaded* is also effective in shifting attitudes and increasing policy support.**

*Overloaded* produced statistically significant effects on four important areas of attitudes and policy support: *Neglect Causes*, *Scope of Impact*, *Neglect Solutions* and *Remediation Responsibility*. *Overloaded* also generated productive shifts in attitudes across two additional scales, *Prevalence* and *Efficacy*, although these effects did not reach statistical significance.

Figure 2



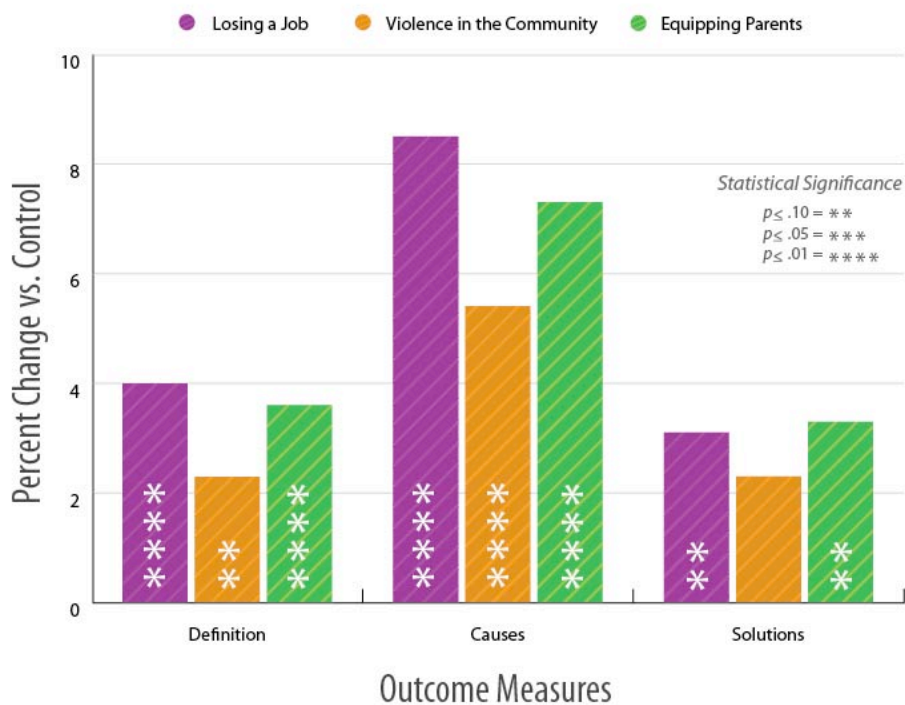
**Finding No. 3: *Overloaded* is a sticky metaphor.** Analysis of responses to the open-ended questions, as well as data from the on-the-street interviews, provide additional evidence of the power of *Overloaded*. These analyses found that the language of the metaphor was ‘sticky’ — that is, it was frequently taken up and incorporated into respondents’ own talk or writing. Respondents very often mentioned ‘overload’, ‘burden’, ‘pressures’ and ‘weighed down’, as well as ‘alleviate’, ‘ease’ and ‘relieve’. Overall, respondents focused on the notion that external pressures — or ‘burdens’ — overload parents, and these burdens hamper their ability to care for their children. Respondents also used the metaphor to discuss how effective solutions must alleviate overload and ‘reduce burdens’, so that an individual can return to his or her normal, caring state.

**Question No. 2:** Which Explanatory Chain is most effective at increasing knowledge and shifting attitudes about child neglect?

**Finding No. 4:** *Losing a Job and Equipping Parents* increase knowledge about child neglect. *Losing a Job* and *Equipping Parents* showed the strongest results on the knowledge measures. Both chains produced statistically significant increases in knowledge on *Definition of Neglect, Causes* and *Solutions*.<sup>8</sup>

Figure 3

## Effects of Explanatory Chains on Knowledge Measures

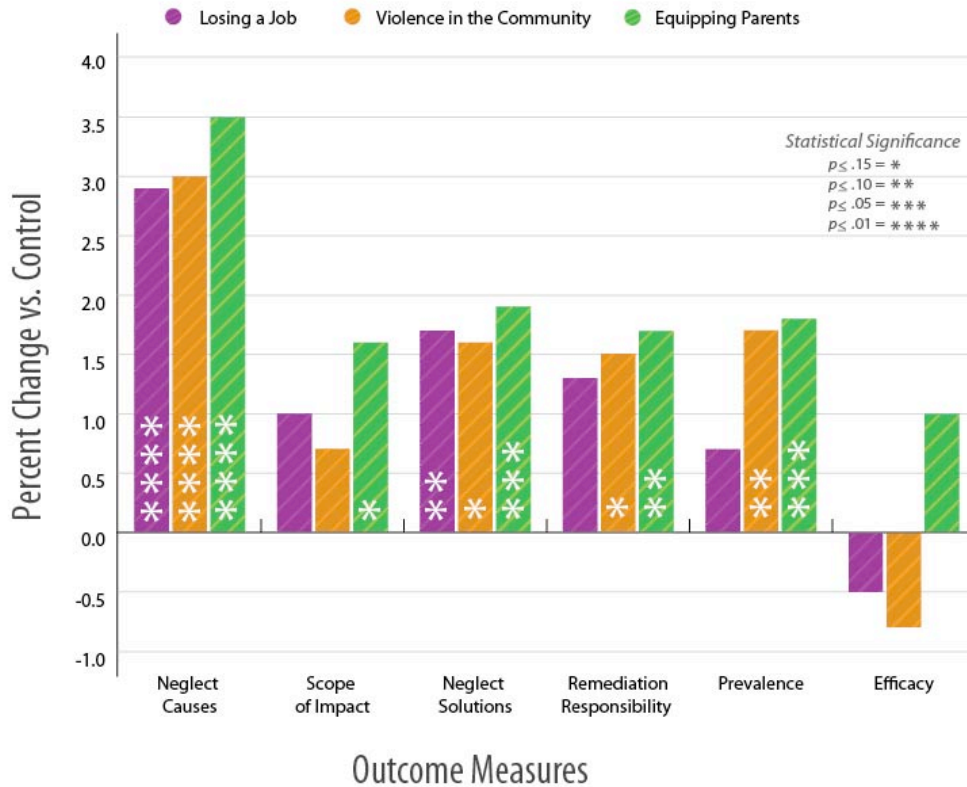


**Finding No. 5:** *Equipping Parents* shifts attitudes and support for policies. *Equipping Parents* generated statistically significant increases in all of the outcomes tested, with the exception of *Efficacy*. It is important to note that the largest increase is in helping people think about the *causes of neglect*, which was the primary goal in designing these tools. The ability to shift people’s thinking about causes is a major advantage for those communicating about neglect in the UK.

The public know that cycles of maltreatment exist, but their model of how this works is that people who were abused later abuse their children because this is ‘all they know’. The public also know that some people become parents though they are ‘ill-prepared’ to do so, and thus the public place responsibility for abuse and neglect squarely on the parents. Both of these patterns of thinking are productively addressed with the *Equipping Parents* chain, because it leverages people’s focus on parents and expands it to include the social factors that shape behaviour and constrain choice.

Figure 4

## Effects of Explanatory Chains on Attitude Scales



**Question No. 3:** Does appending facts and solutions about child neglect amplify the effects of Explanatory Chains?

**Finding No. 6:** In general, the addition of facts and solutions improves the effectiveness of the Explanatory Chains. This is especially pronounced for the *Equipping Parents* Explanatory Chain.

- Overall, adding fact and solution information to the Explanatory Chains increased the effectiveness of these tools. This was particularly notable on the scales that measured causal thinking.
- The addition of the fact and solution information to the *Equipping Parents* Explanatory Chain caused substantial increases in knowledge measures (*Definition, Causes* and *Solutions*) and attitudes and policies (*Causes, Scope of Impact, Remediation Responsibility* and *Efficacy*).
- Analysis of the open-ended question responses lends further support to this finding. The statement that ‘almost one in 10 children living in the UK are neglected’ was highly salient to respondents and frequently recalled in their responses. Respondents also frequently mentioned that ‘there are things we can do’, and these ‘things’ were typically large-scale, societal-level initiatives consistent with the solutions provided in the example.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

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On the basis of these findings, we recommend that communicators:

- 1. Use the *Overloaded Explanatory Metaphor* to frame messages about the causes of, and solutions to, neglect.** After priming their message with the value of *Social Responsibility*,<sup>9</sup> communicators should use the *Overloaded* metaphor to explain *how* child neglect happens, and the relationship of social determinants to neglect.

The weight of things like poverty and violence can overload a person's mental and emotional capacity to manage stress and give care and attention to his or her children. Over time, this heavy load puts a strain on people, and can lead to things like mental health issues and substance abuse problems that weaken people's ability to care for children. Just as a lorry can bear only so much weight before it stops moving forward, when an especially large burden — such as the loss of a job — is loaded on a person who is already overloaded, it can cause a breakdown in care. This doesn't mean that bad social conditions always lead to neglect, but that these kinds of conditions make it more likely that care will break down. However, just as we can unload an overloaded lorry by bringing in other lorries or moving cargo in other ways, we can provide social supports that offload sources of stress from overloaded parents and improve their capacity to care for their children. Social supports can help keep families moving forward in bad conditions.

Communicators should not focus on deploying this metaphor verbatim. Rather, they are strongly encouraged to apply their skills, creativity and knowledge of their audiences to leverage the richness of the idea presented above in fluid and authentic ways. Communicators are encouraged to become proficient in using the metaphor in their work — using it in different styles and modes of communication. This is how the frame will be optimally effective.

- 2. Emphasise the 'sticky language' of the *Overloaded* metaphor.** Communicators should emphasise the 'stickiness' of the language of the metaphor — for example, 'load', 'loaded', 'overloaded', 'weighted down', 'stacked', 'carrying a load', 'burdened', 'pile', 'pile on', etc. Our evidence suggests that people easily take up and use this language.
- 3. Leverage the explanatory power of the *Overloaded* metaphor.** Communicators should use the metaphor to explain *how* social factors can lead to child neglect, and to frame discussions about *how* societal-level solutions can address child neglect (e.g., by 'taking the load off', or helping people 'manage the load').
- 4. Use the *Equipping Parents Explanatory Chain* to increase people's understanding of how context shapes parenting and neglect.** Given its positive effects on knowledge, attitudes and support for policies, communicators should use this Explanatory Chain to provide a concrete example of *how* social factors can lead to child neglect. However, be careful not to allow this chain to devolve into

blaming parents — keep the focus on the way that *context* affects parents rather than how the lack of skills is a parent's fault.

Being a parent is a difficult job. Parents across the UK face many challenges in caring for their children. When parents have experienced abuse or trauma in their own childhoods, their cognitive and emotional abilities may not have had the chance to develop properly. These challenges can even lead to mental health issues and substance abuse problems. As a result, they might not react in the most appropriate ways with their own children — for example, they might struggle when their child has emotional outbursts or they might not know the best ways to be supportive. When parents have experienced abuse or neglect themselves, it can leave them ill-equipped to care for and support their children, and make it more likely that they might neglect their children.

- 5. Maintain the components and sequence — the 'chain' — of the Explanatory Chain.** The power of an Explanatory Chain derives from its clear links between causes and effects. The chains show, for example, how problems in a person's development early in life can lead to the neglect of his or her own children — even if these events might not initially seem related. Communicators should tailor the exact wording of the chain to suit their goals, but they should always make sure to maintain the presence of the components of the chain: determinants → process → effects. Using language that signals cause and effect ('because', 'since', 'so', 'as a result', etc.) will help to make sure that these links are strong and understood. Maintaining the components and sequence of the Explanatory Chain is key in maximising its effects.
- 6. Include and explain facts and solutions.** Communicators should incorporate information about the prevalence of neglect, and examples that illustrate how this problem can be effectively handled, alongside Explanatory Chains that detail the role of social determinants. Doing so will help the public to connect causes to solutions and avoid a sense of fatalism (or the idea that child neglect cannot be prevented or eliminated).
- 7. Avoid deterministic language when talking about social factors that contribute to neglect.** During on-the-street interviews, respondents rejected versions of the metaphors that did not clearly lay out the idea of 'probability' — that social circumstances increase the *probability* that neglect will occur, but do not guarantee its occurrence. Therefore, it is important for communicators to include clear statements of probability when using the metaphor, and to not overstate an absolute causal relationship between social factors and neglect. Being clear about the probabilistic relationship between social determinants and neglect is both true to the science, and sound communications practice.
- 8. Leverage the different strengths of the Explanatory Metaphor and Explanatory Chains.** The survey experiment showed that these tools produce comparable knowledge and attitude gains, but they have different strengths as part of a communications strategy. *Overloaded*, due to its sticky language and the visceral feelings it taps, can be used for shorter, oral, and even image-based communications. *Equipping Parents* can be used for more extensive communications in which people

are able to engage with the causal mechanisms described. With the metaphor and Explanatory Chains, communicators have options for communicating in a variety of contexts.

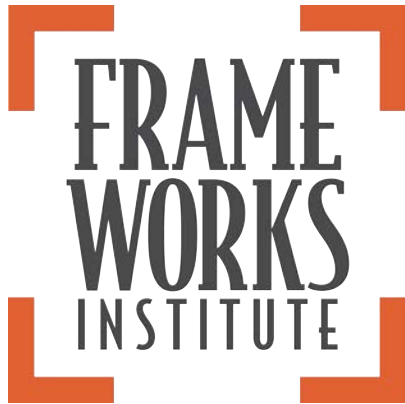
### AN EMERGING CORE STORY FOR COMMUNICATING ABOUT MALTREATMENT

These explanatory tools represent an important component of an emerging *Core Story* for communicating about child maltreatment, and child neglect in particular. Below, we provide an emerging outline of this Core Story:

- Begin with the **value of Social Responsibility** to leverage productive assumptions about responsibility that people already hold, and to increase their receptivity to solutions.
- Include **facts and solutions** that provide information about the prevalence of maltreatment and discuss solutions in concrete terms.
- Introduce the **Overloaded metaphor** to describe *how* child neglect happens.
- Use the **Equipping Parents Explanatory Chain** to explain how specific social factors can affect parenting capacities and lead to neglect.

## ABOUT THE FRAMEWORKS INSTITUTE

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The FrameWorks Institute is an independent nonprofit organisation founded in 1999 to advance science-based communications research and practice. The Institute conducts original, multi-method research to identify the communications strategies that will advance public understanding of social problems and improve public support for remedial policies. The Institute's work also includes teaching the nonprofit sector how to apply these science-based communications strategies in their work for social change. The Institute publishes its research and recommendations, as well as toolkits and other products for the nonprofit sector, at [www.frameworksinstitute.org](http://www.frameworksinstitute.org).

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## APPENDIX

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Survey experiment conditions (12):

### *METAPHOR: STAYING AFLOAT (DETERMINISTIC)*

Trying to care for children in bad social conditions is like trying to stay afloat on rough seas. Imagine a boat, with parents and their children on it. When rough waters rock the boat — experiences like poverty and violence — parents need support to stay afloat and maintain the ability to care for their children. Without support, parents have to use their energy to constantly bail water and watch for the next storm. The stress of those storms leads to mental health issues and substance abuse problems that make it even harder to stay afloat and care for children. And when an especially large wave hits — such as losing a job — it completely tips the boat over. In all this turmoil, parents neglect their children. In other words, bad social conditions lead to neglect. However, just as we can build harbours where boats can take shelter, we can provide social supports that shelter people during stormy and stressful times. We can give them a chance to repair their boats and regain their capacity to care for their children. Social supports keep these boats afloat in bad conditions.

### *METAPHOR: STAYING AFLOAT (PROBABILISTIC)*

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### *METAPHOR: OVERLOADED (DETERMINISTIC)*

Trying to care for children in bad social conditions is like trying to drive an overloaded lorry. The weight of experiences like poverty and violence overloads a person's mental and emotional capacity to manage stress and give care and attention to their children. Over time, this heavy load puts a strain on people, and leads to things like mental health issues and substance abuse problems that weaken people's ability to care for children. But a lorry can only bear so much weight before it stops moving forward. And when an especially large burden — such as the loss of a job — is loaded on an already overloaded lorry, it causes a breakdown of care. Under all this weight, parents neglect their children. In other words, bad social conditions lead to neglect. However, just as we can unload an overloaded lorry by bringing in other lorries, or moving some cargo by train instead, we can provide social supports that offload sources of stress from overloaded parents, and improve their capacity to care for their children. Social supports keep families' lorries moving forward in bad conditions.

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### *METAPHOR: ERODING SUPPORT (DETERMINISTIC)*

People's ability to care for their children can get worn away over time in the same way that water wears away the foundation of a building or bridge, making it less stable. Experiences like poverty and violence erode the mental and emotional foundation that allows people to manage stress and give care and attention to their children. This gradual wear causes mental health issues and substance abuse problems, which weaken people's ability to care for their children. And when a particularly heavy rain comes — such as the loss of a job — it further erodes people's ability to care. In other words, bad social conditions lead to neglect. However, just as we can bring in engineers and builders to repair the damage caused by erosion and prevent it from happening again, we can provide social supports that strengthen and repair people's ability to deal with stress and care for their children. Social supports keep parents' foundations solid in bad conditions.

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### *EXPLANATORY CHAIN: LOSING A JOB*

Being a parent is a difficult job. Parents across the UK face many challenges in caring for their children. One challenge that many families confront is the loss of a job. When a parent loses a job, this creates intense stress — especially when the job was the family's main source of income. While parents deal with the stress of looking for another job, they also have to pay the bills, make ends meet, and do everything else that it takes to run their lives. This chronic stress can even lead to mental health issues and substance abuse problems. As a result of this stress, their attention and energy get consumed. When this happens, it can become difficult for parents to adequately care for and support their children. When parents experience major stresses like losing a job and don't have support to rely on, it makes it more likely that they might neglect their children. This is part of the reason why there are children in the UK who are neglected.

### *EXPLANATORY CHAIN: LOSING A JOB + FACT & SOLUTION*

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In fact, almost one in 10 children living in the UK are neglected, and child neglect makes up nearly half of all maltreatment cases. The good news is that there are things we can do. By addressing the causes of neglect — for example, by supporting families in highly stressful situations with support from a health visitor, community support groups, or job training — we can make sure that fewer children in the UK are neglected.

### *EXPLANATORY CHAIN: VIOLENCE*

Being a parent is a difficult job. Parents across the UK face many challenges in caring for their children. One challenge that many families confront is violence in their community. When a parent continually has to deal with violence it creates intense and ongoing stress in their lives. When parents face these stresses in the midst of applying for jobs, looking for housing, or seeking medical care, everything else they have to do becomes harder. This chronic stress can even lead to mental health issues and substance abuse problems. As a result of this stress, their attention and their energy are consumed, and it can become more difficult to adequately care for and support their children. In short, when parents experience ongoing stresses like violence, it makes it more likely that they might neglect their children. This is part of the reason why there are children in the UK who are neglected.

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### *EXPLANATORY CHAIN: EQUIPPING PARENTS*

Being a parent is a difficult job. Parents across the UK face many challenges in caring for their children. When parents have experienced abuse or trauma in their own childhoods, their cognitive and emotional abilities may not have had the chance to develop properly. These challenges can even lead to mental health issues and substance abuse problems. As a result, they might not react in the most appropriate ways with their own children — for example, they might struggle when their child has emotional outbursts or they might not know the best ways to be supportive. In short, when parents have experienced abuse or neglect themselves, it can leave them ill-equipped to care for and support their children, and make it more likely that they might neglect their children. This is part of the reason why there are children in the UK who are neglected.

### *EXPLANATORY CHAIN: EQUIPPING PARENTS + FACT & SOLUTION*

Being a parent is a difficult job. Parents across the UK face many challenges in caring for their children. When parents have experienced abuse or trauma in their own childhoods, their cognitive and emotional abilities may not have had the chance to develop properly. These challenges can even lead to mental health issues and substance abuse problems. As a result, they might not react in the most appropriate ways with their own children — for example, they might struggle when their child has emotional outbursts or they might not know the best ways to be supportive. In short, when parents have experienced abuse or neglect themselves, it can leave them ill equipped to care for and support their children, and make it more likely that they might neglect their children. This is part of the reason why there are children in the UK who are neglected.

In fact, almost one in 10 children living in the UK are neglected, and child neglect makes up nearly half of all maltreatment cases. The good news is that there are things we can do. By addressing the causes of neglect — for example, by supporting families in highly stressful situations with support from a health visitor, community support groups, or job training — we can make sure that fewer children in the UK are neglected.

## ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Simon, A. (2014). *Taking responsibility for solutions: Using values to reframe child maltreatment in the United Kingdom*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

<sup>2</sup> FrameWorks does not typically test Explanatory Chains in on-the-street interviews, as they tend to be too complex for the brief, oral presentation format.

<sup>3</sup> Lindland, E., & Kendall-Taylor, N. (2013). *'No idea how that works or what you would do about it': Mapping the gaps between expert and public understandings of child maltreatment in the UK*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

<sup>4</sup> Specifically, the respondents fell into these categories: Age – 18-39: 30.3%; 40-64: 47.9%; 65+: 21.8%. Gender – Male: 45.4%; Female: 54.6%. Partisanship – Conservative: 26.7%; Labor: 27.4%; Liberal Dem: 8.9%; UKIP: 10.3%. Ethnicity – White: 95.2%; Asian: 2.5%; Black/African: 1.5%. Nationality – England: 83.7%; Scotland: 8.8%; Wales: 5.5%; Northern Ireland: 2.0%. Income – Less than £20,000: 31.0%; At least £20,000 but less than £50,000: 44.3%; More than £50,000: 15.8%.

<sup>5</sup> Simon, A. (2014). *Taking responsibility for solutions: Using values to reframe child maltreatment in the United Kingdom*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.

<sup>6</sup> All of the metaphor and Explanatory Chain messages tested were roughly parallel in length, employed similar syntactic structures, and contained similar semantic elements. This parallelism (coupled with random assignment and experimental control) allows us to attribute effects on the outcome measures to the message content, rather than the variable wording of the messages.

<sup>7</sup> Note that this analysis combines the deterministic and probabilistic versions of each metaphor.

<sup>8</sup> Note that this analysis combines the 'cause only' and 'fact and solution' conditions.

<sup>9</sup> Simon, A. (2014). *Taking responsibility for solutions: Using values to reframe child maltreatment in the United Kingdom*. Washington, DC: FrameWorks Institute.