

**Joint Statement on Physical Punishment
of Children and Youth**

Coalition on the Physical Punishment of Children and Youth

April 25, 2003

Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth

**Coalition on the Physical Punishment
of Children and Youth**

April 25, 2003

publication pending endorsements

Également offert en français sous le titre:
Déclaration conjointe sur les punitions corporelles données aux enfants et aux adolescents

For additional copies please contact:
The Director of External Development
Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario
410 Smyth Road
Ottawa, ON
K1H 8L1
tel.: (613)737-7600
fax: (613)738-3216

This publication is also available in English and French on the website of the
Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario (CHEO) at: www.cheo.on.ca

No changes permitted. Photocopy permission not required.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data [to be completed]

-
-
-

ISBN [to be assigned]

Acknowledgements

The Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth had its genesis in a search by the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario (CHEO) for a way to assist parents who have difficulty at the hospital with their children's behaviour. The desire to support these parents grew into a plan to provide all Canadians—parents, caregivers and professionals who are curious or concerned about the physical punishment of children and youth—with authoritative information on this critical and controversial subject. The Advocacy Committee of the CHEO Board of Trustees and a coalition of national organizations supported and steered the joint statement from concept to publication and beyond. The dedication of these coalition partners and their representatives on the working group is gratefully acknowledged:

Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario
Child Welfare League of Canada
Family Service Canada
Canadian Child Care Federation
Canadian Institute of Child Health
Canadian Public Health Association
Canadian Association for Young Children

Other organizations and some key individuals concerned with the well-being of children were partners in spirit and substance to the development of the statement. The Independent Order of Foresters' financial support, the able leadership of Dennise Albrecht, CHEO's Director of External Development, and the guiding hands of Charlotte Gray and Pamela Mountenay Cain, the CHEO Trustees who chaired the coalition, are also gratefully acknowledged. The joint statement was researched and written with commitment and care by:

Joan Durrant, Ph.D.; University of Manitoba
Ron Ensom, M.S.W., RSW; CHEO, Ensom & Associates
Susan Wingert, BHEcol., M.Sc. candidate; University of Manitoba

All who were part of the development of the joint statement appreciate the contribution to its potential benefit for children and youth made by all who welcomed and endorsed it.

Contents

Executive summary

Preface

| | |
|--|----|
| Statement of purpose | 1 |
| Audience | 1 |
| What physical punishment is | 1 |
| What physical punishment is not | 2 |
| Terms used in this document | 2 |
| Prevalence | 2 |
| Public attitudes | 3 |
| Which children are most likely to receive physical punishment? | 4 |
| What are the risk factors for use of physical punishment? | 5 |
| When is physical punishment most likely to be used? | 6 |
| Are there risks associated with use of physical punishment? | 7 |
| Does physical punishment have any benefits? | 9 |
| Summary of the risks and benefits of physical punishment | 10 |
| What can parents and caregivers do instead? | 10 |
| What is the legal status of physical punishment in Canada? | 11 |
| Physical punishment and human rights | 13 |
| How have other countries addressed the issue? | 14 |
| Recommendations | 15 |
| Conclusion | 16 |

Appendices

| | |
|--|----|
| A: Sample resources for parents and caregivers | 19 |
| B: Organizations that have documented their opposition to physical punishment | 25 |
| C: Nations that have prohibited physical punishment in all forms and in all settings | 27 |
| D: Nations that have prohibited physical punishment in their schools | 32 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| References | 34 |
|-----------------------------|-----------|

Executive summary

Background

The Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth was developed by a national partnership of organizations concerned with the well-being of children and their families. It has been formally endorsed by many Canadian organizations and individuals involved in a broad range of issues related to children and youth.

Purpose and audience

Based on extensive research evidence, the statement provides an overview of the developmental outcomes associated with the use of physical punishment on children and youth. Scenarios depicting disciplinary situations ground the document in the realities well known to parents and caregivers. The statement will also be of interest to professionals, policy and program planners, many members of the public, and children and youth themselves. Resources are identified for those interested in learning more about effective discipline and parenting.

Highlights of findings

The research evidence now available permits us to move beyond the debate about whether physical punishment is harmful to children and youth or is even effective as discipline.

- Few parents believe that physical punishment is effective, most believe it is unnecessary and harmful, and a majority think the most common outcome is parental guilt or regret.
- There is strong evidence that physical punishment places children at risk for physical injury, poorer mental health, impaired relationships with parents, weaker internalization of moral values, antisocial behaviour, poorer adult adjustment, and tolerance of violence in adulthood.
- There is no clear evidence of any benefit from the use of physical punishment on children.
- Parents are more likely to use physical punishment if they approve of it, experienced it themselves as children, feel anger in response to their children's behaviour, are subject to depression, or are burdened by particular forms of stress.

Conclusion and implications

On the basis of the clear and compelling evidence—that the physical punishment of children and youth plays no useful role in their upbringing and poses only risks to their development—parents should be strongly encouraged to develop alternative and positive approaches to discipline. The implications of this evidence and this goal are examined in relation to Canadian law, human rights and actions taken by other countries.

Recommendations

Recommendations for action in Canada include: (1) delivery of public awareness messages to inform all Canadians that physical punishment is harmful to children's development and is ineffective as discipline; (2) development of universal parenting education; and (3) provision of the same protection of children from physical assault as is given to Canadian adults and to children in a growing number of countries. Responsibility for action lies within the jurisdiction of national, provincial and territorial and local levels of government, the mandates of organizations, and the expertise of professionals who serve children and youth. The statement as a whole may be considered an urge to action by parents and caregivers—within and beyond their families.

Preface

This Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth is dedicated to the healthy development of the children of Canada, and to those most responsible for it—their parents and caregivers.

The joint statement began as an initiative of the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario, and grew into a national partnership. Many organizations and individuals supported its development, and many more have endorsed it. Those whose names this document bears hope that it will be a resource for everyone committed to sharing and acting on the now persuasive evidence—that the physical punishment of children and youth plays no useful role in their upbringing and poses only risks to their development.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the information in this statement is based on research evidence and expert opinion current at the time of publication. References are provided to enable readers to verify findings and extend their own inquiry into the critical and contentious issues which have surrounded physical punishment of children and youth.

Statement of purpose

The purposes of the Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth are to:

- create a common understanding of the ways in which physical punishment can affect children’s development
- summarize the evidence of its risks
- identify the factors that perpetuate its use
- encourage parents^a and other caregivers to choose effective approaches to discipline that do not rely on physical punishment.

Audience

This statement has been researched and written for parents and others who care for children and youth, professionals who provide services to them, those who develop policy and programs which affect children and families, interested members of the public, and children and youth themselves.

What physical punishment is

Physical punishment is an action intended to cause physical discomfort or pain to correct a child’s behaviour, to ‘teach a lesson’, or deter the child from repeating the behaviour. The intended effect is a change in the child’s behaviour. Physical punishment may be administered with the hand or may involve the use of objects, such as rulers, belts and wooden spoons. In some cases it does not involve striking the child—for example, requiring a child to hold an uncomfortable position, kneel on hard objects, or place a foul tasting substance in her mouth.

Some other words for hitting children

- ▶ spanking
- ▶ smacking
- ▶ slapping
- ▶ paddling
- ▶ whupping
- ▶ hiding
- ▶ whacking

There is no clear distinction between physical punishment and physical abuse. Attempts to distinguish them in terms of degree of force, parental intent or even extent of injury have not been successful^{1 2}. Health Canada³ recognizes that “child physical abuse is usually connected to physical punishment or is confused with child discipline” (page 5).

Some physical punishments that don't involve hitting

- ▶ washing a child’s mouth out with soap
- ▶ requiring a child to remain motionless or in a sitting position without a chair
- ▶ forcing a child to kneel on a floor grate
- ▶ isolation in a confined space
- ▶ denying a child’s use of the toilet
- ▶ forced physical exertion
- ▶ placing hot pepper sauce in a child’s mouth
- ▶ denying access to needed water, food or sleep

^a Throughout this document, the terms ‘parent’, ‘caregiver’ and ‘adult’ are used interchangeably and include parents, guardians, grandparents and other relatives, members of caring communities, child care providers, babysitters and any other adult responsible for the care and supervision of children or youth.

What physical punishment is not

Physical punishment should not be confused with protective physical restraint, which is the application of external control, not to punish, but to protect the child or others from physical pain and harm. Examples of protective restraint are holding a child back from a busy road, pulling a child's hand away from a hot stove, or holding a child who is hurting another.

Physical punishment should not be confused with self-defence, which is not intended to correct behaviour, but to *protect oneself* from harm.

Terms used in this document

While 'physical discipline', 'corporal punishment' and 'spanking' are commonly used terms, 'physical punishment' will be used in this document for the following reasons.

- 'Physical discipline' confuses the concepts of *discipline* and *punishment*. Discipline encompasses a wide range of philosophies and methods properly aimed at protecting, socializing and guiding children toward self-control, independence, and respect for oneself and others. The practice of physical punishment is at odds with the concept of discipline.
- 'Corporal punishment' has a connotation of severity, and is associated with acts such as caning and belting.
- 'Spanking' connotes triviality and is associated with light taps and slaps of hands and buttocks.

'Physical punishment' includes this entire range of potentially painful and injurious acts, whatever their degree or outcome and regardless of the intent behind them.

Prevalence

To estimate the true prevalence of physical punishment is a challenge. Because physical punishment does not occur frequently throughout the day in most families, it is difficult for researchers to observe and record. As a result, estimates of its prevalence are most often based on parental reports, which are subject to errors of recall and parents' willingness to report behaviour they often regret^{4 5 6}. Further, variation in methods of data collection—from questionnaires to telephone surveys to in-person interviews—can lead to variations in responses. Therefore, *prevalence estimates are likely to underestimate actual rates of the use of physical punishment and lead to conflicting findings.*

Myths about child rearing

- ▶ shaking a baby will teach him not to cry
- ▶ biting a child will teach her not to bite
- ▶ hitting a child will teach him not to hit
- ▶ the threat of a spanking will encourage better eating
- ▶ spankings will speed up toilet training
- ▶ a good slap will end a tantrum
- ▶ striking a 'rebellious' teenager will prevent delinquency

In fact, in all of these situations, physical punishment is likely to worsen the behaviour, increasing the parent's frustration and, in turn, the intensity of the punishment.

National surveys of Canadian parents

- In a 1988 survey⁷, 21% reported that they use physical punishment (19% occasionally, 2% often or very often).
- In a 2001 survey⁸, 10% reported that they use physical punishment when their children break the rules.
- In a 2002 survey⁹, 50% reported that they or their spouse had “inflicted light corporal punishment, like a slap” on their children; 6% reported that they or their spouse had “inflicted painful corporal punishment”.

Regional surveys

- In a sample of Ontario parents¹⁰, 85% reported having slapped or spanked their children and 20% reported having hit their children with objects.
- In a sample of mothers of preschoolers in Manitoba and Ontario, 70% reported having used physical punishment; one-third of those who used it did so at least once per week⁵.
- In another sample of mothers of preschoolers in Manitoba, 59% reported having used physical punishment in the previous two weeks¹¹.
- In a 1999 survey of Québec mothers¹², 48% reported having physically punished their children in the 12 previous months by pinching, shaking, or hitting the child on the buttocks. Acts of severe violence such as shaking an infant, hitting a child on the face or head, punching, kicking or slapping, or hitting with an object within the previous 12 months were reported by 7% of mothers in the sample.
- In a 2000 survey of university students in Manitoba and British Columbia, 75% reported having received physical punishment as children or adolescents. Thirty-seven percent of these reported being slapped on the head, 34% being hit with an object, and 18% being whipped¹³.

Public attitudes

Although physical punishment is not uncommon, several studies suggest that many Canadian parents do not think that it is constructive. Only 2% of parents surveyed in 1988⁷ believed that physical punishment is the most effective way to change children’s behaviour, while more than three-quarters believed that physical punishment is harmful to children and unnecessary.

Similarly, the majority of a sample of mothers of preschoolers in Manitoba and Ontario believed that physical punishment is ineffective, unnecessary, and harmful⁵. Fewer than one-third of Canadians surveyed in Manitoba and Ontario viewed physical punishment as a reliable method of increasing obedience, learning, or respect for the parent. In fact, a majority believed the most common outcome of physical punishment is parental guilt or regret⁴. A survey of more than

1000 parents in the United States revealed similar findings. More than 60% believed that spanking will not lead to better self-control and is likely to lead to increased child aggression ¹⁴.

Most parents would prefer to use alternative methods to teach their children, resolve conflict, and deal with their own frustration ⁶. In a study of the educational needs of Canadian parents of young children, 91% reported that they believe information about discipline should be made available on a wide scale ¹⁵. Mothers are less likely to use physical punishment when they are exposed to clear and intense messages from professionals and from the media that discourage its use ¹⁶. Public education seems, therefore, a potentially powerful mechanism for decreasing caregivers' use of physical punishment and increasing their use of effective discipline strategies.

Physical punishment of an infant may happen this way

parent expects infant to be able to sleep on schedule and control his crying
 —
 infant cries at 3 a.m.
 ↓
 parent feeds infant
 ↓
 infant continues to cry
 ↓
 parent experiences crying as stressful and interprets crying as resistance to attempts to comfort
 ↓
 parent becomes frustrated and angry
 ↓
 parent shakes^b or strikes the infant

Which children are most likely to receive physical punishment?

Physical punishment is most commonly used with preschoolers ^{12 17} who are in a stage of high activity, exploration, and drive for independence. Children in this age group also are likely to exhibit negativism, impulsivity, and limited understanding of harm and danger. In the Québec survey, 70% of parents of three- to six-year-olds reported using physical punishment in the year preceding the study.

Of course, younger children also are physically punished ^{17 18 19}. In the Québec survey ¹², 49% of parents of children aged zero to two years reported physically punishing them within the previous 12 months ^b.

A substantial proportion of older children also experience physical punishment ^{13 17 20}. In the Québec survey, 57% of parents of 7- to 10-year olds, 37% of parents of 11- to 14-year-olds, and 19% of parents of 15- to 17-year-olds reported using physical punishment within the previous year ¹². Adolescents were the victims in 38% of substantiated cases of inappropriate punishment reported to Canadian child protection agencies in 1998 ¹⁹.

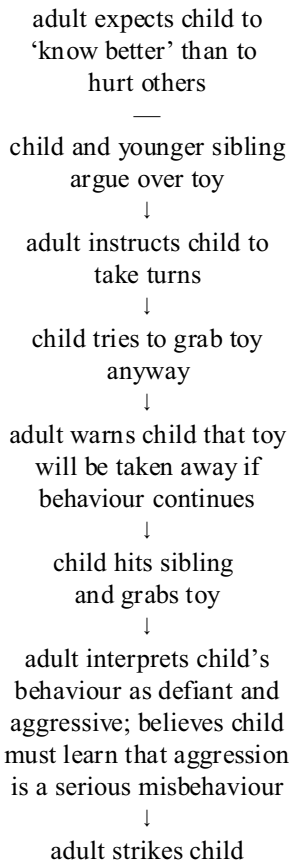
Physical punishment of a preschooler may happen this way

adult expects child to have self-control
 —
 child has strong drive to explore, limited understanding of damage and danger
 ↓
 child touches expensive object
 ↓
 adult tells her to stop
 ↓
 child does not stop
 ↓
 adult interprets child's behaviour as defiance
 ↓
 adult becomes angry
 ↓
 adult strikes child

^b Physical punishment of infants and toddlers sometimes takes the form of shaking. For information on Shaken Baby Syndrome, see Joint Statement on Shaken Baby Syndrome, Health Canada, Minister of Public Works and Government Services, Ottawa, 2001.

Children are most likely to be physically punished for behaviours that can harm themselves or others. It is ironic that caregivers are most likely to strike children when they are trying to either prevent injury to the child or teach her that hitting is wrong ^{4 21 22 23 24 25}.

Physical punishment of a school-age child may happen this way



Boys are more likely to be physically punished than girls ^{12 26 27 28 29 30 31}, although some studies suggest this gender difference may be small ^{32 33 34}.

What are the risk factors for use of physical punishment?

Several factors increase the risk of use of physical punishment. The more of these risk factors present in a parent's life, the greater the likelihood the parent will use physical punishment.

Parental anger in response to conflict with a child

The more anger a parent feels in response to conflict with a child, the more likely it is that physical punishment will occur ^{24 35 36}.

Parent's own experience of physical punishment as a child or youth

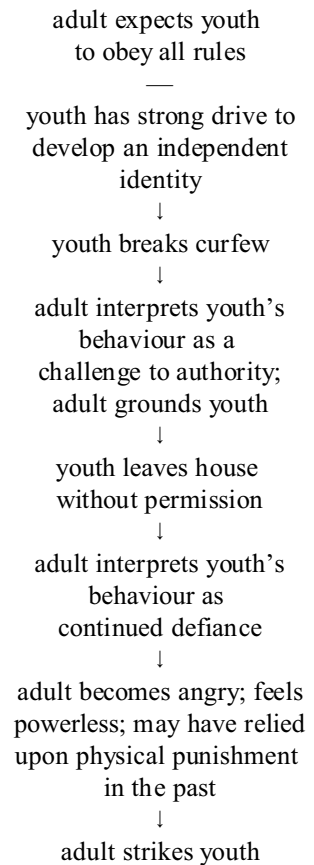
Parents who were themselves physically punished in childhood or adolescence are more likely to respond to their own children's behaviour this way than are parents who do not have a history of being physically punished ^{6 31 37 38 39 40}.

Parental belief systems

Parents who interpret child misbehaviour as intentional and serious—as defiance rather than a developmental stage—are more likely to use physical punishment ^{6 11 37}. *Parents'*

approval of physical punishment is a very important factor in its use ^{25 40}. It has been found to be more important than parental mood ²⁴, anger ^{35 38}, or childhood experience of physical punishment ³⁵. In a study examining the power of eight parental variables to predict mothers' use of physical punishment with their preschoolers, approval of its use was found to be the most powerful predictor ¹¹.

Physical punishment of an adolescent may happen this way



Parent's gender

In many studies that ask parents to describe their child rearing practices, mothers report using physical punishment more than fathers ^{26 28 34 30 39}. Other studies find no gender difference ^{25 41 42}.

When children or adults are asked to describe their childhood experiences, some studies indicate more mothers use physical punishment than do fathers^{43 44} while other studies find no gender difference⁴⁵.

Parent's level of education

Studies on the relationship between parents' education and use of physical punishment have conflicting findings. In some, parents with lower levels of education report greater use of physical punishment^{46 47}; others link lower levels of education to less use of physical punishment⁴⁸; and others find no relationship⁴⁹ or an unclear one⁴².

Parent's age

The relationship between parental age and use of physical punishment is unclear. In some studies, younger parents report they use physical punishment more often than older parents^{25 31 42 48}. In other studies, older parents report higher rates^{46 50}. Some find no relationship to parental age⁴⁹.

Parental depression

Depressed parents report using physical punishment more often than parents who are not depressed^{42 46 50}.

Stress

Some studies suggest that physical punishment is more frequent in families experiencing economic stress^{18 25 46 48 51}, although other studies find no relationship^{49 31} or an unclear one^{42 47}. The more children in the family, the greater the likelihood the children will be physically punished^{47 50 52}. Marital conflict or violence, relationship stress and parenting stress are associated with increased use of physical punishment^{18 31 34 42 46 47}.

When is physical punishment most likely to be used?

A typical situation resulting in physical punishment begins with a parent whose sense of control is threatened by a child's behaviour. For example, when a child has difficulty with self-control, or when a child exhibits a desire for independence or a teenager tests the standards of the family and the community, a parent may perceive the behaviour as defiance. Believing that the behaviour is an intentional challenge to parental authority, the parent becomes angry. If this parent experienced physical punishment as a child, or believes that it is an appropriate means of gaining control, or feels desperate to maintain authority, physical punishment is a likely outcome.

On the other hand, a parent with knowledge of child development who has appropriate expectations for a child's behaviour is likely to interpret a drive for independence, or testing, as just that. This parent is less likely to become angry in response to the child's behaviour and is, therefore, less likely to use physical punishment. Rather, this parent will guide the child to understanding how to behave in the circumstances.

However, even a parent who understands a child's motivations and knows effective techniques for guiding behaviour will, at some time, feel frustrated and angry. This is particularly likely to happen when the parent is in a bad mood, tired, or stressed by life's demands. At such a time, a parent can respond emotionally, rather than intellectually, and strike a child. *Physical punishment is often an impulsive act, driven by emotion, rather than by reason.* In fact, the majority of parents, even many of those who think that physical punishment is acceptable, do not think that it works¹⁴. Most feel regret after striking their children^{4 5 6}. Sometimes it is not so much punishment as retaliation.

Are there risks associated with use of physical punishment?

Many studies have been conducted on common physical punishment and its relationship to the well-being of children and youth. A landmark analysis by Gershoff⁵³ of the findings of 88 studies has demonstrated that even this form of physical punishment places their well-being at risk in a number of areas.

Child injury

Physical punishment places children at risk of physical injury. Most cases of child physical abuse occur during episodes of physical punishment^{54 55 56 57}. In a 1998 national study of child maltreatment, it is estimated that more than 10,000 substantiated cases of child physical abuse in Canada took place within the context of punishment⁵⁸. These constituted over two-thirds of all substantiated child physical abuse cases in that year⁵⁸. Of the 10 studies of this relationship examined by Gershoff, physical punishment was found to be a risk factor for physical harm in all 10⁵³. Although caregivers may be attempting to protect children from danger when they punish them physically, they are actually increasing the likelihood that they themselves will harm the children.

The more strongly caregivers approve of physical punishment, the more harshly they administer it^{10 59 60}. And the more often caregivers use even mild physical punishment, the more likely they are to inflict severe violence⁶¹. In the Québec study¹², children who experienced minor physical violence (e.g., pinching, shaking, spanking) were seven times more likely to experience severe violence (e.g., punching, kicking, hitting with an object) than those who had not been subjected to minor physical violence. Therefore, physical punishment is likely to escalate into injurious violence in the lives of many children.

Parent-child relationship

Deliberately inflicted pain can lead to fear, anxiety, insecurity and anger in a child^{6 18 62}, eroding the parent-child relationship as he learns to avoid his parent^{63 64 65 66}. Indeed, all of the 13 studies in Gershoff's analysis that addressed this question revealed that *physical punishment is linked to*

Four ways in which physical punishment can escalate to injury

1. Caregiver believes that physical punishment works; when the child does not respond, the caregiver increases the intensity of the punishment.
2. Caregiver may have a disciplinary intent, but her frustration, anger or stress increases the level of force beyond what was intended.
3. Caregiver feels powerless and desperate to regain control.
4. Caregiver's motive is not only punitive, but retaliatory.

impaired parent-child relationships ⁵³. Even at two years of age, children who are physically punished are more likely to distance themselves from their mothers than those who are not physically punished ⁶². Over time, parent-child communication may be impaired such that by adolescence, a youth with this earlier experience would be less likely to turn to her parents for advice.

Child mental health

Physical punishment is a risk factor for poorer child mental health as demonstrated in all 12 studies of this relationship in Gershoff's analysis ⁵³. It is associated with depression ^{67 68}, unhappiness and anxiety ^{46 69}, and feelings of hopelessness in children and youth ⁷⁰.

How does physical punishment contribute to child behaviour problems?

1. Physical punishment serves as a model, rather than an inhibitor, of aggression.
2. Physical punishment may interfere with the development of trust in the relationship with the parent, reducing the child's desire to comply.
3. If compliance is controlled by physical punishment, the child's internal motive to comply in the punisher's absence is weakened.
4. Fear of physical punishment focuses the child's attention on consequences to himself, rather than the consequences of his behaviour for others.

Child reasoning and problem solving

Children who receive physical punishment are less likely to internalize moral values than children who are not physically punished. This relationship was found in 13 of 15 studies examined by Gershoff ⁵³. Physical punishment is associated with lower levels of resistance to temptation, lower levels of altruistic behaviour, and lower levels of empathy and moral judgment ⁷¹. This could be because it relies on external controls, rather than building on internal ones. Physical punishment may focus the child's attention on the consequences of his behaviour for himself, rather than on how it affects others ⁷². The erosion of the parent-child relationship associated with physical punishment may also decrease children's motivation to internalize their parents' values ^{53 73}.

Child behaviour

Given the above findings, it is not surprising that *physical punishment has been associated consistently with increased levels of aggression in children and youth*. In her analysis of 27 studies of this relationship, Gershoff found that physical punishment was associated with increased child aggression in all 27 ⁵³. Children who receive physical punishment have an increased tendency to act out ^{74 75}, attack their siblings ^{76 77}, hit their parents ^{76 78 79}, and retaliate aggressively against peers ⁸⁰. Another study ⁸¹ demonstrated that physical punishment of 13-year-old boys predisposes them to physically assaulting their girlfriends several years later.

Physical punishment has been associated with increased antisocial behaviour in children and youth (e.g., bullying, lying, lack of remorse) in 11 of 12 studies of this relationship ⁵³. While many parents believe that physical punishment will keep their children out of trouble, *delinquency and antisocial behaviour have been found to increase over the long term in children who are physically punished* ^{20 82 83}.

Parents who use physical punishment to teach their children not to hit or bully others are actually more likely to increase their children's aggression and antisocial behaviour over the long term.

Adult adjustment

Childhood experience of physical punishment is related to negative outcomes long into adulthood. Since decreased levels of moral internalization and increased levels of aggression are among these outcomes, it is not surprising that physical punishment in childhood has been linked to the development of adult antisocial behaviour. Physical punishment was consistently associated with higher levels of adult aggression (4 of 4 studies), criminal and antisocial behaviour (4 of 5 studies), and abuse of one's own child or spouse (5 of 5 studies) in Gershoff's analysis⁵³. Childhood experience of physical punishment also was found to be associated with poorer adult mental health (e.g., depression, alcoholism) in all of the eight studies in this analysis⁵³. In a study of Ontario residents, those who reported having been slapped or spanked as children, but not physically or sexually abused, had an increased lifetime rate of anxiety disorders and alcohol use or dependence⁸⁴.

Adult definitions of violence

Another long-term effect of physical punishment that is evident in adulthood is greater tolerance of violence. For example, the strongest predictor of adult approval of a particular punishment is having experienced that punishment as a child⁸⁵. The rate of approval of common (e.g., shaking, hitting with a belt) and severe (e.g., burning, tying up) physical punishments is two to three times greater among those who have experienced them than among those who have not⁸⁵. Even among those who have been severely punished (e.g., punched, choked), the majority do not consider these acts to have been abusive^{40 86 87 88 89}.

Clearly, seriously abusive behaviour can be perceived as normal if it is part of one's early personal experience^{54 90}. Personal definitions of normal and abusive discipline are then carried into parenting practice, where they will influence the likelihood of the cycle of maltreatment continuing^{8 33 40 91}. It is important to note, however, that risk is not destiny. Many adults who were physically punished as children commit themselves to never striking their own children.

Does physical punishment have any benefits?

Research findings on the association between physical punishment and immediate compliance are unclear. Of five studies that examined this relationship, three found that physical punishment can result in short-term compliance⁵³. However, its effectiveness in increasing compliance is questionable. In one of these studies, for example, an average of eight spankings was required in a short period to achieve children's compliance⁹². This suggests not only that the short-term effectiveness of physical punishment is limited, but that the risk of its escalation is high. The studies summarized above that have examined the relationship of physical punishment to child reasoning and problem solving demonstrate that this practice is not associated with long-term compliance.

Summary of the risks and benefits of physical punishment

Research findings on physical punishment are remarkably consistent. *They link its use to many negative developmental outcomes in children. As well, no positive long-term developmental outcomes have been identified by the research on physical punishment.* It is a risk factor for physical injury of a child and erosion of the parent-child relationship, as well as for poorer psychological adjustment and increased levels of aggression throughout life. Furthermore, it perpetuates the use of violence by the next generation.

What can parents and caregivers do instead?

An important goal of parenting is to provide children with a repertoire of problem-solving skills and the competence and confidence to use them throughout their lives. *The choices that parents make in disciplinary situations provide powerful models to children of aggression or self-control, retaliation or problem-solving, intimidation or communication, bullying or empathy.* These choices provide children with a set of enabling or disabling responses for contending with everyday challenges in child care settings, schools, neighbourhoods and in sports.

Because physical punishment is at best ineffective in teaching socially appropriate behaviour—and potentially physically and emotionally harmful—caregivers should be strongly encouraged to develop alternative, positive approaches to discipline. In 1995, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended that Canada launch educational campaigns to decrease public support for physical punishment⁹³.

In order to build their caregiving competence, parents can:

- ▶ improve their problem-solving skills
- ▶ understand the child's point of view
- ▶ learn more about normal developmental stages
- ▶ learn effective ways of communicating with children
- ▶ model and reinforce positive behaviours
- ▶ develop skills to prevent parent-child conflict
- ▶ recognize anger triggers and form strategies for managing them
- ▶ reduce personal and family stress.

A list of resources representing a wide range of child rearing philosophies and approaches is provided in Appendix A.

Methods of guiding young children's behaviour

- ▶ *restructuring* the environment so that the child can explore safely
- ▶ *distracting* the child from dangerous objects
- ▶ *modeling* appropriate behaviour
- ▶ *explaining* and teaching
- ▶ *supervising* the child
- ▶ *reinforcing* desired behaviour
- ▶ *preparing* the child for transitions
- ▶ *planning* for challenging situations
- ▶ *establishing expectations and limits* ahead of time

Methods of guiding behaviour of older children and youth

- ▶ *communicating* expectations clearly
- ▶ *recognizing* positive behaviour
- ▶ *respecting* the child's growing need for independence
- ▶ *modeling* negotiation and problem-solving
- ▶ *explaining* the reasons for rules and limits
- ▶ *listening* to the child's perspective
- ▶ *helping* the child to find ways to express himself
- ▶ *teaching* fairness and justice

What is the legal status of physical punishment in Canada? °

The legal status of physical punishment in Canada varies by jurisdiction and statute. Provincial and territorial legislation defines and provides for intervention in all forms of child abuse; and it variously limits the use of physical punishment in certain child-serving programs which fall under provincial and territorial jurisdiction. Federal legislation defines and establishes penalties for criminal offences for all provinces and territories.

Provincial and territorial legislation

Child welfare laws in all provinces and territories define child physical abuse similarly. Their definitions are based on actual harm or risk of harm arising from a parent's or caregiver's behaviour toward a child. Child welfare laws in British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario specifically forbid physical punishment by foster parents. Ontario prohibits physical punishment of all children receiving services from a child protection agency or other service provider licensed or approved by the province.

Child care legislation prohibits physical punishment in provincially-licensed child care programs in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Northwest Territories, Yukon and Nunavut.

Education acts have abolished physical punishment from the schools of British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut. Where physical punishment is not prohibited by provincial education acts, many school boards expressly forbid it by policy in their schools.

The Québec Civil Code no longer defines a "right of correction". Although reference to it was removed from the Civil Code in 1994, there is some uncertainty as to whether this reform means that the right of correction itself was abolished⁹⁴. However, a number of rulings have stated that the right of correction is no longer recognized in Quebec's civil law—"The right of discipline granted to parents over their children no longer explicitly admits this right of physical correction, even when moderate and reasonable"⁹⁵ cited in⁹⁴.

Policy in many other child-serving organizations prohibits physical punishment, even where it is not prohibited by law (Appendix B).

Federal legislation

The use of physical force against another person is an assault under the Criminal Code of Canada. All citizens are technically protected from assault under Canadian law. However, section 43 of the Criminal Code protects "persons in authority" (parents, teachers, persons standing in the place

° The information in this section was accurate at publication but is subject to change.

of parents) from criminal prosecution if their use of physical force against a child is deemed “reasonable” and “by way of correction”. Section 43 applies across Canada ^d.

In December 1999, section 43 was challenged in the Ontario Superior Court on constitutional grounds related to three sections of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms ^{see 96 97 98 99}. The Court recognized the “growing body of evidence that even mild forms of corporal punishment do no good and may cause harm” (page 28). The Court’s decision noted that experts from both sides agreed that: (1) “hitting a child under two is wrong and harmful ... has no value and can destroy a child’s sense of security and self-esteem,” (2) physical punishment of teenagers “is not helpful and potentially harmful,” (3) “corporal punishment using objects such as belts, rulers, etc. is potentially harmful both physically and emotionally and should not be tolerated,” (4) “physical punishment should never involve a slap or blow to the head,” (5) “corporal punishment which causes injury is child abuse” ¹⁰⁰ (page 5). It was noted in the decision that not a single expert witness advocated or recommended physical punishment as a form of discipline.

Despite these findings, the Court ruled in July 2000 that section 43 is constitutional. This decision was upheld on appeal to the Ontario Court of Appeal in January 2002. The Supreme Court of Canada has granted leave to appeal this decision. At every court challenge of section 43, the Government of Canada has argued that this section is constitutional and should remain in the Criminal Code.

Legal confusion

The contradictions between criminal law definitions of assault and provincial and territorial law definitions of child abuse are the source of considerable confusion and conflict among the public and professionals in Canada. For example, a provincial or territorial child welfare authority may investigate a report of parental physical abuse of a child, conclude that she is at risk in her family, and apprehend her. When this happens, police may lay a charge of assault. However, section 43 provides parents with a legal defence against such a charge. This has led to situations which seem to defy logic, in which the definition of “a child in need of protection” in provincial and territorial law leads to the child’s apprehension, but the protection afforded to parents under section 43 of the Criminal Code leads to their being acquitted of assault.

Other laws further contribute to the permission versus prohibition confusion surrounding physical punishment. To extend the example above, when the apprehended child is placed in foster care in some provinces and territories, her foster parents would by law, or by policy of the responsible child welfare agency, be forbidden from using physical punishment on her even though section 43 would still provide a defence for them if they did use it. If the foster parents use physical punishment on their biological children but spare her, all of the children receive mixed, confusing and stigmatizing messages. All involved in this situation—the child, the foster parents’ biological

^d Other defences are provided in the Criminal Code for those who must, in the circumstances, use force to protect a person or property, such as in the case of self-defence or necessary care. Section 43 applies only to force used for the purpose of “correction” of a child.

children, the foster parents themselves and the child welfare professionals involved—are challenged in these perplexing situations to try to make sense of the permission versus prohibition confusion. If the child were subsequently adopted, her adoptive parents, like other parents, would not be forbidden by provincial or territorial statute or by child welfare agency policy from using physical punishment on her. Section 43 would, as always, provide her adoptive parents with a defence if they were to assault her. This inconsistency sends a very confusing message to parents and caregivers—and children and youth—regarding young people’s rights to security and legal protection from physical assault.

Physical punishment and human rights

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified by Canada in 1991. Article 3 of the Convention states that:

... in all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.

Under the terms of the convention, the best interests of the child clearly include protection against assault ⁹⁶. By ratifying the convention, Canada undertook to put into place “all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and education measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence” (Article 19). Such measures include provision of violence prevention, support and treatment programs. Article 28 obligates Canada to “ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child’s human dignity”.

The international Committee on the Rights of the Child, the treaty body that monitors nations’ implementation of the convention’s principles “has stressed that corporal punishment of children is incompatible with the Convention” ¹⁰¹. It has recommended that ratifying nations review all relevant legislation to ensure that all forms of violence against children, however mild, are prohibited. With regard to Canada specifically, the committee has recommended “that the physical punishment of children in families be prohibited” and that “education campaigns be launched with a view to changing attitudes in society on the use of physical punishment in the family” ⁹³.

The Supreme Court of Quebec has ruled that the Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms grants protection against “interferences with the fundamental attributes of a human being which violate the respect to which every person is entitled simply because he or she is a human being” ⁹⁵ cited in ⁹⁴. Furthermore, a report of the Québec Commission on the Rights of People and the Rights of Youth ⁹⁴ states that “corporal punishment violates the child’s dignity, partly due to the humiliation he or she is likely to feel, but mainly due to the lack of respect inherent in the act” (page 8).

In his submission to the United Nations General Assembly, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights noted that physical punishment is inconsistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and called upon states “to take adequate measures, in particular legal and educational ones, to ensure that the right to physical and mental integrity of children is well protected in the public and in the private spheres”¹⁰².

How have other countries addressed the issue?

Increasingly, countries are taking proactive measures to ensure children’s rights to protection. Over recent decades, a number of nations have removed the defence of “lawful chastisement” or “reasonable force” from their criminal laws to give children the same protection from assault as adults. For example, Sweden repealed its defence in 1957, Finland in 1969, Norway in 1972, and Austria in 1977. Some nations have never had such a defence in their laws¹⁰³.

A growing number of countries are taking further steps to clarify their positions and their laws on physical punishment. Since 1979, *11 nations have explicitly abolished all forms of physical punishment* by parents and all other caregivers (Appendix C). The purposes of these laws have been: (1) to recognize in law children’s rights to dignity and physical integrity; (2) to set a clear standard of behaviour for caregivers and thereby to shift attitudes; (3) to establish a framework for parent education and support; and (4) to facilitate earlier and less intrusive intervention when child protection is required.

The effect of Sweden’s efforts is particularly informative. Following its 1957 repeal of the criminal defence to assault of a child, Sweden in 1979 became the first nation to explicitly ban physical punishment. This ban was accompanied by a national education campaign. Today, there is little public support for physical punishment. Sweden’s unequivocal declaration against physical punishment has led neither to an increase in long-term out-of-home care for children nor to a higher rate of prosecution of child physical assault cases¹⁰⁴. Over recent decades, serious assaults against children have become uncommon, and fatal child abuse has become extremely rare^{104 105}. Children and youth are being socialized at least as well today as they were before the physical punishment ban was passed¹⁰⁶.

At least 90 nations on all continents have legally abolished physical punishment from their school systems. They have recognized it is an ineffective way to educate children and that it can cause physical and emotional harm (Appendix D).

Numerous professional organizations around the world have declared their opposition to physical punishment (Appendix B). Many work actively to assist parents and other caregivers to learn about child development and build repertoires of effective discipline strategies. Many also advocate for legislative reform.

Recommendations

1. Public awareness strategies must be developed to inform all Canadians about the risks associated with physical punishment.
 - 1.1 *A clear message* should be given consistently by governments at the national, provincial and territorial and local levels to all parents and caregivers, that hurting children and youth is not an acceptable method of managing their behaviour.
 - 1.2 *Universally available parenting education* programs should be offered to all parents and caregivers to provide guidance with regard to dealing effectively with children's and youths' behaviour, the normal stages of child development, parent-child conflict, and other key issues. National, provincial and territorial governments share responsibility for leadership—the shaping of policy and provision of resources—to assure that universal parenting education is provided across Canada.
 - 1.3 *Targeted prevention strategies* should be implemented for parents and parents-to-be in pre-natal classes, foster and adoptive parent preparation programs, and orientation programs for new Canadians. Information about physical punishment and effective discipline should be part of the curricula of babysitting courses, child and youth worker training programs, early childhood care and education studies, teacher training, and elementary and high school family studies and civics classes.
2. Provincial and territorial ministries which deliver education, health and social services are mandated and positioned to raise awareness and provide specific education about the physical punishment of children and effective approaches to discipline. Opportunities for this are present in a host of programs and services already in place, such as: elementary, high school and adult/continuing education; health services (hospitals, public/community health, health-related disciplines); and parent/family support programs, child welfare and social assistance.
3. Organizations that serve children and families or provide relevant professional education have policy and service responsibilities regarding physical punishment of children and youth.
 - 3.1 Child- and family-serving organizations should develop and proclaim clear positions regarding physical punishment.
 - 3.2 Professionals should help parents and caregivers understand the risks of physical punishment and assist them in replacing its use with effective disciplinary strategies.
 - 3.3 Professional training should include information about children's physical, psychological and social development, risk factors for and of physical punishment, and effective methods of guiding and socializing children.

4. Child welfare eligibility and investigative protocols must be reviewed and sufficiently resourced to ensure that they facilitate early supportive/preventive intervention and services.
 - 4.1 Intervention should be proactive and educational and begin earlier in the violence escalation cycle.
 - 4.2 An aim of early intervention should be to build parenting competence to reduce the need for removal of children from their families and for criminal prosecution of parents.
5. The physical punishment of children can no longer be justified by the Criminal Code of Canada.
 - 5.1 Children in Canada must be given the same protection from physical assault as that given to Canadian adults and to children in a growing number of countries. Our children's rights to physical integrity and dignity must be recognized in our law.
 - 5.2 Canadian laws must be consistent in communicating a clear standard of caregiving, and consistent with Canada's 1991 ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.
 - 5.3 The law should not contradict the growing and persuasive body of research evidence that physical punishment has no benefit and poses only risk to children and youth. The effectiveness of public education messages to this effect will be limited as long as they are undermined by the Criminal Code.
6. Reliable baseline and ongoing data should be collected at the national level on Canadians' attitudes toward and use of physical punishment, so that the impact of public awareness and education strategies can be assessed. This too should be a shared responsibility of the national, provincial and territorial governments.

Conclusion

Physical punishment has been consistently demonstrated to be an ineffective and potentially harmful method of managing children's behaviour. It places them at risk of physical injury and interferes with parents' and caregivers' goals of healthy psychological adjustment, socialization, moral internalization, non-violence, and positive adult-child relationships. Its use is a violation of children's rights to physical integrity and dignity.

In order to reduce the prevalence of physical punishment of children and youth, three broad national initiatives must be undertaken. First, public awareness campaigns must deliver a clear message consistently and persistently that hurting children as punishment is unacceptable and places them at risk of physical and psychological harm. Second, public education strategies must be launched to increase Canadians' knowledge of child development and effective parenting, and

existing programs supported. Third, the Criminal Code of Canada must provide the same protection to children from physical assault as it gives to adults; and the Government of Canada must meet its obligations under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Appendix A

Sample resources^c for parents and caregivers

The purpose of this statement is to provide current and authoritative information about the risks and the ineffectiveness of physical punishment of children and youth. Effective discipline is an important part of raising well adjusted, respectful and responsible children.

The following are examples of resources that may provide information about effective discipline and effective parenting. They may be found within parents' and caregivers' reach in many communities. The first section lists reading references, video and audiotapes, and websites, which may be found in libraries, parent or family resource centres, community health centres, family and educational book stores or sections in general book stores, pediatricians' and family physicians' offices, and on the Internet. The second section lists some of the places and services where parents in many communities may find information and support.

Reading and audiovisual references

Printed material

Canter, L., & Canter, M. (1994). What to do when your child won't behave: A practical guide for responsible, caring discipline. Santa Monica: Lee Canter & Associates.

Christophersen, E. R., & Mortweet, S. L. (2003). Parenting that works: Building skills that last a lifetime. Washington: APA Life Tools.

Clarke, J. I., Gradous, D., Sittko, S., & Ternand, C. (1986). Help! For parents of children 6 to 12 years (Vol. 5). San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers.

Coloroso, B. (2001). Kids are worth it! Giving your child the gift of inner discipline (2nd ed.). Toronto: Penguin Books.

Covey, S. R. (1997). Seven habits of highly effective families. New York: Golden Books.

^c Endorsement of this joint statement by organizations and individuals does not extend to these resources. They are listed to be helpful to parents and caregivers who want to learn more about discipline specifically and parenting generally. Those seeking assistance are advised to assess the credibility and suitability of a resource or service they are considering, and to specifically ask about its position with regard to physical punishment.

- Crary, E. (1993). Without spanking or spoiling: A practical approach to toddler and preschool guidance (2nd ed.). Seattle: Parenting Press, Inc.
- Crary, E. (1995). 365 wacky, wonderful ways to get your children to do what you want. Seattle: Parenting Press, Inc.
- Faber, A., & Mazlish, E. (1999). How to talk so kids will listen & listen so kids will talk. New York: Avon Books, Inc.
- Favaro, P. (1994). Smart parenting: An easy approach to raising happy, well-adjusted kids. Chicago: Contemporary Books, Inc.
- Galinsky, E., & David, J. (1988). The preschool years: Family strategies that work—from experts and parents. New York: Times Books.
- Glenn, H. S., & Nelsen, J. (2000). Raising self-reliant children in a self-indulgent world: Seven building blocks for developing capable young people (2nd ed.). Roseville: Prima Publishing.
- Gordon, T. (1989). Teaching children self-discipline at home and at school: New ways for parents and teachers to build self-control, self-esteem, and self-reliance. New York: Times Books.
- Greenspan, S. I., & Salmon, J. (1995). The challenging child: Understanding, raising, and enjoying the five "difficult" types of children. Don Mills: Addison-Wesley.
- Hyman, I. A. (1997). The case against spanking: How to discipline your child without hitting. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ingersoll, B. (1988). Your hyperactive child: A parent's guide to coping with attention deficit disorder. New York: Main Street Books.
- Kurcinka, M. S. (1998). Raising your spirited child: A guide for parents whose child is more intense, sensitive, perceptive, persistent, energetic. New York: Harper Collins.
- Leach, P. (1989). Your baby & child: From birth to age five (2nd ed.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nelsen, J., Lott, L., & Glenn, H. S. (1993). Positive discipline A to Z: 1001 solutions to everyday parenting problems. Rocklin: Prima Publishing.
- Riera, M., & Di Prisco, J. (2002). Right from wrong: Instilling a sense of integrity in your child. Cambridge: Perseus Publishing.

Shore, P., Leach, P., Sears, W., Sears, M., & Weininger, O. (2002). Teaching your child positive discipline. Toronto: The Parent Kit Corporation.

Turner, S. (2002). Something to cry about: An argument against corporal punishment of children in Canada. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press.

Wolfe, J. (1998). I'm three years old: Everything your three-year-old wants you to know about parenting. New York: Becker & Mayer Books.

Video and audiotapes

Alvey, Kerby T.: Yelling, Threatening & Putting Down: What To Do Instead. Gold Bell Productions, P.O. Box 171103, Salt Lake City, UT 817-1103 (801-272-3670). (videotape)

Bavolek, Stephen J.: Shaking, Hitting, Spanking: What To Do Instead. Gold Bell Productions, P.O. Box 171103, Salt Lake City, UT 84117-1103 (801-272-3670). (videotape)

Coloroso, Barbara: Winning at Parenting . . . without beating your kids. kids are worth it!, inc., P.O. Box 621108, Littleton, CO 80162. (videotape, audiotape)

Faber, Adele & Mazlish, Elaine: How to be the Parent You Always Wanted to Be. Faber/Mazlish Workshops, P.O. Box 1072, Carmel, NY 10512. (audiotapes and book)

Lynn, Kathy: Discipline: Steps to Success. Parenting Today, 2762 Wall St., Vancouver, BC V5K 1A9. (audiotapes)

Websites

The following websites are a rich source of information about parenting, families, child care and the health and development of children. These sites also provide links to other websites where even more information may be found.

Canadian Association for Young Children www.cayc.ca

Canadian Association of Paediatric Health Centres www.caphc.org

Canadian Child Care Federation www.cccf-fcsge.ca

Canadian Council on Social Development www.ccsd.ca

Canadian Institute of Child Health www.cich.ca

Canadian Public Health Association www.cpha.ca

Child Welfare League of Canada www.cwlc.ca

Family Service Canada www.familyservicecanada.org

Health Canada www.hc-sc.gc.ca

National Youth in Care Network www.youthincare.ca

Community information and support services for parents

Parenting courses are offered by some family resource centres, family service agencies, community health centres, and school boards. They provide information on child and adolescent development, the parenting role, communicating with children and youth, effective discipline strategies, and other issues related to raising children. They usually provide reference materials. Access to professional consultation on parenting problems and referral to other parenting services may be available.

Parent support groups are often provided by the same organizations as above, as well as by some children's mental health services and pediatric hospitals. Their format is small-group professionally-guided discussion, and their atmosphere is respectful and supportive. These groups enable parents to identify their needs, share their concerns, learn from and support one another, reduce feelings of isolation and ineffectiveness, gain skills and confidence, and learn about resources and services in their community.

Child care centres, day care and home care programs, preschools and after-school programs in a variety of forms are depended upon by parents to provide reliable away-from-home care for their children. These programs, for the most part, must meet provincial and territorial government standards. Most programs affiliated with organizations and supervised by professionals provide parenting information. Some can provide guidance with regard to particular parenting issues and problems and make referrals to community services.

Parent-child play groups and physical activity programs are offered by family resource centres, community health centres, recreational programs, and private parent groups. They provide opportunities for parents to have fun with their children, learn new skills together, and strengthen family relationships. They also provide opportunities for parents to get together, share experiences and form informal support networks.

Family physicians and pediatricians are able to provide parenting guidance or make referrals to community services for particular parenting needs and problems.

Public health, community health centres and family resource centres offer a variety of services and programs for parents and families, as well as information on community resources.

Aboriginal and First Nations child and family service agencies provide child welfare services according to provincial and territorial child welfare legislation to Aboriginal children. First Nations child and family service agencies provide services to residents on-reserve and in some cases off-reserve, whereas Metis and Urban Aboriginal family service agencies provide services off-reserve only. Increasing numbers of these agencies are working toward establishing tribal child welfare laws in keeping with treaties or other self-government agreements. A list of these agencies is available on-line at www.fncfcs.com.

Native friendship centres, Metis and Inuit organizations offer a range of support, educational and recreational services within a cultural framework. Information and concrete supports related to parenting, school, health and other family needs are offered in respectful and practical ways.

Multicultural, ethnocultural and immigrant centres and services provide a range of assistance to new Canadian parents and families, ethnic and cultural groups. Information and concrete supports related to parenting, school, health, and other family needs are offered in respectful and practical ways.

Provincial and territorial child welfare/child protection services are able to provide parents with information about local parenting resources. A growing number of native, Aboriginal and First Nations communities in Canada are responsible for their own child welfare/protection services which they provide in keeping with their culture and traditions. Some child welfare services operate parent or family support programs of their own, as well as supervised parent-child access and visitation.

Parent help/support lines and crisis/distress lines operated by a variety of professional services have been growing in number and popularity. Callers speak with a professional or trained volunteer able to provide parenting information and guidance and referrals to other resources. These phone services operate on a provincial and territorial, regional or local basis. The national Parent Help Line operates on a 24-hour basis and can be reached, toll-free, at 1-888-603-9100.

Child and youth help/support lines are available in some Canadian communities. Children and youth with concerns about physical punishment can call local child and youth help lines or the national Kids Help Phone which operates 24-hours a day, toll-free, at 1-800-668-6868.

Churches and other religious communities may be able to provide some assistance with parenting needs and problems. Parents may feel comfortable in speaking with clergy, pastoral counsellors, or family support volunteers to ask for guidance or referral for particular parenting issues and problems.

Community information services, lines and directories are found in many urban centres. They generally have information about a broad range of community services.

Community libraries offer many resource materials for parents such as those described earlier in Reading and audiovisual references on parenting.

Parenting conferences and lectures are organized in many communities from time to time. They may offer particular perspectives on parenting issues, and usually provide participants with information about community parenting and family resources.

Appendix B

Organizations that have documented their opposition to physical punishment

(Note: This is a list of examples; it is not exhaustive.)

International organizations

Consortium for Street Children
Defence for Children International
International Federation of Medical Students' Associations
International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect
NGO Group for the Convention on the Rights of the Child
OMCT—World Organisation Against Torture
UNESCO
UNICEF
Amnesty International

Canadian organizations

[names to be added following receipt of documentation during endorsement process]

Organizations in other nations

Action for Children & Youth Aotearoa, New Zealand
Activating Bridgebuilders, Finland
American Academy of Pediatrics
American Public Health Association
American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
Americans for Constitutional Protection of Children
Borneradet—National Council for Children in Denmark
Brainwave Trust, New Zealand
CECODAP, CRC Coalition, Venezuela
Center for Effective Discipline, USA
Center for Non-Violent Education and Parenting, USA
Central Union for Child Welfare, Finland
Centre for Human Rights (AMOS), Republic of Macedonia
Centre for the Protection of Children, Kyrgyzstan
Children of the Andes, United Kingdom
Children's Agenda, New Zealand
Children's Fund of the Slovak Republic—Defence for Children International, Slovak Section
Children's Rights Alliance for England

Coalition Against Child Labour (CACL), Pakistan
 Coalition Camerounaise des ONG pour les Droits de l'Enfant, Cameroon
 Czech Society for Child Protection, Czech Republic
 End Physical Punishment of Children (EPOCH), New Zealand
 End Physical Punishment of Children (EPOCH), USA
 Free the Kids!, USA
 Halley Movement, Mauritius
 Hong Kong Committee on Children's Rights
 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Australia
 Human Rights Without Borders, Chad
 Hutt Rape Counselling Network, New Zealand
 Independent Board of Advisors of the Parliament of Georgia
 Institute of Humanistic Science, USA
 IPPA, The Early Childhood Organisation, Ireland
 Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (ISPCC), Ireland
 Korea Welfare Foundation
 LACRI—Laboratory of Child Studies, Brazil
 Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, Austria
 Macedonian National Child Rights Coalition
 Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, Finland
 Massachusetts Citizens for Children
 National Association of School Psychologists, USA
 National Children's Rights Committee, South Africa
 National Coalition to Abolish Corporal Punishment in Schools, USA
 National Council for the Child, Israel
 National Education Association, USA
 NGO Coalition on the CRC, The Gambia
 National Task Force for Children, Jordan
 Pakistan Council on Family Relations
 Parents and Teachers Against Violence in Education (PTAVE), USA
 People Opposed to Paddling Students (POPS), USA
 Polish Forum for Child's Rights
 Red por los Derechos de la Infancia en Mexico
 Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health, United Kingdom
 Save the Children Sweden
 Save the Children UK
 Scottish Alliance for Children's Rights
 Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child (SPARC), Pakistan
 Somaliland Children Assistance Organization (SCAO)
 Uganda Girl Guides Association
 Youth Human Rights Group, Kyrgyzstan
 Youth Law—Tino Rangatiratanga Taitamariki, New Zealand
 Yugoslav Child Rights Centre

Appendix C

Nations that have prohibited physical punishment in all forms and in all settings ^f

Sweden

Physical punishment was banned in all schools and childcare settings in 1962. The Penal Code defence for physical punishment of children was repealed in 1957. Physical punishment was explicitly prohibited in 1979.

The parent or guardian shall exercise necessary supervision in accordance with the child's age and other circumstances. The child may not be subjected to physical punishment or other injurious or humiliating treatment (Parenthood and Guardianship Code, 1979).

An affirmation of children's rights was added to the law in 1983.

Children are entitled to care, security, and a good upbringing. Children are to be treated with respect for their person and individuality and may not be subjected to corporal punishment or any other humiliating treatment (Parenthood and Guardianship Code, 1983).

Finland

Physical punishment was banned in schools in 1914. The defence of "lawful chastisement" was removed from the Criminal Code in 1969. Physical punishment was explicitly prohibited in 1983.

A child shall be brought up in the spirit of understanding, security and love. He shall not be subdued, corporally punished or otherwise humiliated. His growth towards independence, responsibility and adulthood shall be encouraged, supported and assisted (Child Custody and Rights of Access Act, 1983).

^f Source: Boyson, R. (2002). *Equal Protection for Children: An Overview of the Experience of Countries that Accord Children Full Legal Protection from Physical Punishment*. London: National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Norway

Physical punishment was banned in schools in 1936. The Criminal Code defence for physical punishment was repealed in 1972. Physical punishment was explicitly prohibited in 1987.

The child shall not be exposed to physical violence or to treatment which can threaten his physical or mental health (Parent and Child Act, 1987).

Austria

Physical punishment was banned in all schools in 1974. The criminal defence of “reasonable” punishment was repealed in 1977. Physical punishment was explicitly abolished in 1989.

The minor child must follow the parents’ orders. In their orders and in the implementation thereof, parents must consider the age, development and personality of the child; the use of force and infliction of physical or psychological suffering are not permitted (section 146a, General Civil Code, 1989).

Denmark

Physical punishment was banned in schools in 1967. It was completely abolished in 1997.

A child has the right to care and security. He or she shall be treated with respect as an individual and may not be subjected to corporal punishment or other degrading treatment (Parental Custody and Care Act, 1997).

Cyprus

Physical punishment of children was banned in a law that prohibits all forms of violence within the family.

Any unlawful or controlling behaviour which results in direct actual physical, sexual or psychological injury to any member of the family [is prohibited] (Violence in the Family Law: Prevention and Protecting Victims, 1994).

Latvia

Physical punishment was explicitly abolished in 1998.

A child shall not be treated cruelly, tortured or physically punished, and his or her dignity or honour shall not be violated (Law on Protection of the Rights of the Child, 1998).

Croatia

Physical punishment was explicitly abolished in 1998.

Parents and other family members must not subject the child to degrading treatment, mental or physical punishment and abuse (Family Act, 1998).

Israel

A 2000 Supreme Court ruling outlawed all violence in child rearing. This decision was confirmed by the Knesset (Parliament) in June, 2000.

[Physical punishment] injures [the child's] body, feelings, dignity and proper development. Such punishment distances us from our goal of a society free of violence. Accordingly, let it be known that in our society, parents are now forbidden to make use of corporal punishments or methods that demean and humiliate the child as an educational system (Justice D. Beinisch, Supreme Court, 2000).

Germany

Physical punishment was prohibited in schools and residential care facilities in the 1970s. It was completely banned in 2000.

Children have a right to be brought up without the use of force. Physical punishment, the causing of psychological harm and other degrading measures are forbidden (Civil Law, 2000).

Iceland

Physical punishment was abolished in the Children's Act, passed in March 2003. The new law will enter into effect on November 1, 2003.

It is the parents' obligation to protect their child against any physical or mental violence and other degrading or humiliating behaviour (Article 28, Children's Act, 2003).

Other legal reforms

Italy

Physical punishment was banned from schools in 1928. In 1996, the Court of Cassation (Supreme Court) declared that physical punishment can no longer be considered lawful.

The very expression ‘correction of children’, which expresses a view of child-rearing that is both culturally anachronistic and historically outdated, should in fact be re-defined, abolishing any connotation of hierarchy or authoritarianism and introducing the ideas of social and responsible commitment which should characterise the position of the educator vis à vis the learner.

This law has not yet been confirmed in legislation.

Belgium

In 2000, a new clause was added to the constitution to confirm that children have an absolute right to moral, physical, psychological and sexual integrity.

South Africa

The law commission reviewing child care legislation has delivered a draft law that includes a provision that effectively prohibits all physical punishment.

Appendix D

Nations that have prohibited physical punishment in their schools

| | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Albania | Islamic Republic of Iran |
| Andorra | Iraq |
| Armenia | Ireland |
| Austria | Isle of Man |
| Azerbaijan | Israel |
| Bahrain | Italy |
| Belarus | Japan |
| Belgium | Kazakhstan |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | Kenya |
| Bulgaria | Republic of Korea |
| Burkina Faso | Latvia |
| Cameroon | Liechtenstein |
| China | Lithuania |
| Congo | Luxembourg |
| Costa Rica | Macedonia ^g |
| Croatia | Malawi |
| Cyprus | Maldives |
| Czech Republic | Malta |
| Denmark | Mauritius |
| Dominican Republic | Republic of Moldova |
| Egypt | Monaco |
| El Salvador | Mongolia |
| Estonia | Montenegro |
| Ethiopia | Namibia ^h |
| Fiji | Netherlands |
| Finland | Netherlands Antilles |
| France | New Zealand |
| Georgia | Norway |
| Germany | Oman |
| Greece | |
| Guinea-Bissau | |
| Honduras | |
| Hong Kong | |
| Hungary | |
| Iceland | |
| Indonesia | |

^g legislation is in the process of going through Parliament

^h Supreme Court ruling declared school physical punishment unconstitutional and unlawful

Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Qatar
Russian Federation
Saint Helena
Samoa
San Marino
Serbia
Slovakia
Slovenia
South Africa
Spain
Sri Lankaⁱ
Suriname
Sweden
Switzerland
Taiwan
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
Turkey
Uganda
Ukraine
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland^j
Uzbekistan
Yugoslavia
Zambia^k
Zimbabwe^l

Note: In Canada, physical punishment has been prohibited in the schools of British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.

In the United States, it has been abolished in 27 states.

In Australia, it is prohibited in all schools in New South Wales and Tasmania, as well as the state schools of the Capital Territory, South Australia, and Victoria.

Source: website of the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children
www.endcorporalpunishment.org

ⁱ prohibited by government circular

^j not yet in private schools of Northern Ireland but legislation is promised

^k High Court declared it unconstitutional and unlawful in 1999

^l Minister of Education confirmed ban in November 1999

References

1. Durrant, J. E., *Distinguishing physical punishment from physical abuse: Implications for professionals*. *Canada's Children*, 2002. **9**(1): p. 17-21.
2. McGillivray, A., *Reconstructing child abuse: Western definition and non-Western experience*, in *The Ideologies of Children's Rights*, M. Freeman, & P. Veerman, Editors. 1992, Kluwer: Dordrecht, The Netherlands. p. 213-236.
3. Health Canada, *A Conceptual and Epidemiological Framework for Child Maltreatment Surveillance*. 2001, Minister of Public Works and Government: Ottawa.
4. Durrant, J. E., *Public attitudes toward corporal punishment in Canada*, in *Family Violence Against Children*, D. Frehsee, W. Horn, & K.-D. Bussmann, Editors. 1996, Walter de Gruyter: New York. p. 19-26.
5. Durrant, J. E., Rose-Krasnor, L., & Broberg, A., *Physical punishment and maternal beliefs in Sweden and Canada*. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, in press.
6. Graziano, A., Hamblen, J.L., & Plante, W.A., *Subabusive violence in childrearing in middle-class American families*. *Pediatrics*, 1996. **98** (4 Supplement): p. 845-851.
7. Decima, *Report to the Institute for the Prevention of Child Abuse on a Nation-wide Survey of Attitudes Toward Child Rearing*. 1988, Decima Research: Toronto.
8. Berger, E., *National Report on Inter-Generation Abuse*. 2001, Berger Population Health Monitor: Toronto.
9. Canadian Press & Leger Marketing, *Child Abuse Report*. 2002, Author: Montréal.
10. Lenton, R. L., *Techniques of child discipline and abuse by parents*. *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology*, 1990. **27**(2): p. 157-184.
11. Ateah, C., & Durrant, J.E., *Maternal use of physical punishment in response to child misbehavior: Implications for child abuse prevention*. Under review.
12. Clément, M. E., Bouchard, C., Jetté, M., Laferrière, S., *La Violence Familiale dans la Vie des Enfants du Québec*. 2000, Institut de la Statistique du Québec: Québec.

13. Ateah, C., & Parkin, C.M., *Childhood experiences with and current attitudes toward corporal punishment*. Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 2002. **21**(1): p. 35-46.
14. Lally, J. R., Lerner, C., & Lurie-Hurvitz, E., *National survey reveals gaps in the public's and parents' knowledge about early childhood development*. Young Children, 2001. **56**(2): p. 49-53.
15. Ateah, C., *Disciplinary practices with children: Parental sources of information, attitudes, and educational needs*. Under review.
16. Walsh, W., *Spankers and nonspankers: Where they get their information on spanking*. Family Relations, 2002. **51**: p. 81-88.
17. Wauchope, B. A., & Straus, M.A., *Physical punishment and physical abuse of American children: Incidence rates by age, gender, and occupational class*, in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, M.A. Straus, & R.J. Gelles, Editors. 1992, Transaction: New Brunswick, NJ. p. 133-148.
18. Coyl, D. D., Roggman, L. A., & Newland, L. A., *Stress, maternal depression, and negative mother-infant interactions in relation to infant attachment*. Infant Mental Health Journal, 2002. **23**(1-2): p. 145-163.
19. Trocmé, N., & Durrant, J.E., *Physical punishment and the response of the Canadian child welfare system: Implications for legislative reform*. Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law, in press.
20. Loeber, R., Drinkwater, M., Yin, Y., Anderson, S. J., Schmidt, L. C., & Crawford, A., *Stability of family interaction from ages 6 to 18*. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 2000. **28**(4): p. 353-369.
21. Catron, T. F., & Masters, J.C., *Mothers' and children's conceptualizations of corporal punishment*. Child Development, 1993. **64**: p. 1815-1828.
22. Durrant, J., *Spare the rod and spoil the child? The physical discipline of children and child abuse*. Institute for Social Research Newsletter, 1993. **8**(1).
23. Giles-Sims, J., & Mason, J.A., *Attitudes Toward Physical Punishment: Antecedents and Consequences for Social and Cognitive Development*. 1990, Paper presented at Southwestern Society for Research in Human Development meetings, Dallas.
24. Holden, G. W., Coleman, S. M., & Schmidt, K. L., *Why 3-year-old children get spanked: Parent and child determinants as reported by college-educated mothers*. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1995. **41**: p. 431-452.

25. Holden, G. W., Miller, P. C., & Harris, S. D., *The instrumental side of corporal punishment: Parents' reported practices and outcomes*. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1999. **61**(4): p. 908-919.
26. Day, R. D., Peterson, G. W., & McCracken, C., *Predicting spanking of younger and older children by mothers and fathers*. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1998. **60**(1): p. 79-94.
27. Giles-Sims, J., Straus, M. A., & Sugarman, D. B., *Child, maternal, and family characteristics associated with spanking*. Family Relations, 1995. **44**: p. 170-176.
28. Mahoney, A., Donnelly, W. O., Lewis, T., Maynard, C., *Mother and father self-reports of corporal punishment and severe physical aggression toward clinic referred youth*. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 2000. **29**(2): p. 266-281.
29. Smith, J. R. & Brooks-Gunn, J., *Correlates and consequences of harsh discipline for young children*. Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine, 1997. **151**(8): p. 777-786.
30. Straus, M. A., & Stewart, J.H., *Corporal punishment of American children: National data on prevalence, trends, and relationship to child and family characteristics*. Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 1999. **2**(2): p. 55-70.
31. Tajima, E. A., *The relative importance of wife abuse as a risk factor for violence against children*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 2000. **24**(11): p. 1383-1398.
32. Straus, M. A. & Stewart, J. H., *Corporal punishment by American parents: National data on prevalence, chronicity, severity, and duration, in relation to child and family characteristics*. Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 1999. **2**(2): p. 55-70.
33. Graziano, A. M. & Namaste, K. A., *Parental use of physical force in child discipline*. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1990. **5**(4): p. 449-463.
34. Wilson, C. M., Wilson, L. C., & Fox, C. A., *Structural and personal contexts of discipline orientations of Guyanese parents: Theoretic and empirical considerations*. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 2002. **33**(1): p. 1-13.
35. Durrant, J. E., Broberg, A.G., & Rose-Krasnor, L., *Predicting maternal use of physical punishment from maternal characteristics in Sweden and Canada.*, in *New Directions in Child Development: Conflict as a Context for Understanding Maternal Beliefs about Child Rearing and Children's Misbehavior*, P. Hastings, & C. C. Piotrowski, Editors. 1999, Jossey-Bass: San Francisco. p. 25-41.

36. Jackson, S., Thompson, R.A., Christiansen, E.H., Colman, R.A., Wyatt, J., Buckendahl, C.W., Wilcox, B.L., & Peterson, R., *Predicting abuse-prone parental attitudes and discipline practices in a nationally representative sample*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1999. **23**(1): p. 15-29.
37. Rodriguez, C. M. & Sutherland, D., *Predictors of parents' physical disciplinary practices*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1999. **23**(7): p. 651-657.
38. Socolar, R. R. & Stein, R. E. K., *Spanking infants and toddlers: Maternal beliefs and practice*. *Pediatrics*, 1995. **95**(1): p. 105-111.
39. Stattin, J., Janson, H., Klackenber-Larsson, I., & Magnusson, D., *Corporal punishment in everyday life: An intergenerational perspective*, in *Coercion and Punishment in Long-term Perspectives*, J. McCord, Editor. 1995, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. p. 315-347.
40. Bower-Russa, M. E., Knutson, J. F., & Winebarger, A., *Disciplinary history, adult disciplinary attitudes, and risk for abusive parenting*. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 2001. **29**(3): p. 219-240.
41. Holden, G. W., & Zambarano, R.J., *Passing the rod: Similarities between parents and their young children in orientations toward physical punishments*, in *Parental Belief Systems: The Psychological Consequences for Children*, I.E. Sigel, A.V. McGillicuddy-DeLisi, & J. J. Goodnow, Editors. 1992, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Hillsdale, NJ. p. 143-172.
42. Wissow, L. S., *Ethnicity, income, and parenting contexts of physical punishment in a national sample of families with young children*. *Child Maltreatment*, 2001. **6**(2): p. 118-129.
43. Irish Marketing Surveys, *Childhood Experiences and Attitudes*. 1993, Author: Dublin, Ireland.
44. Duncan, R. D., *Maltreatment by parents and peers: The relationship between child abuse, bully victimization, and psychological distress*. *Child Maltreatment*, 1999. **4**: p. 45-55.
45. Joubert, C. E., *Antecedents of narcissism and psychological reactance as indicated by college students' retrospective reports of their parents' behaviors*. *Psychological Reports*, 1992. **70**: p. 1111-1115.
46. Eamon, M. K., *Antecedents and socioemotional consequences of physical punishment on children in two-parent families*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 2001. **25**(6): p. 787-802.

47. Xu, X., Tung, Y.-Y., & Dunaway, R. G., *Cultural, human, and social capital as determinants of corporal punishment: Toward an integrated theoretical model*. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 2000. **15**(6): p. 603-30.
48. Wolfner, G. D., & Gelles, R.J., *A profile of violence toward children: A national study*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1993. **17**: p. 197-212.
49. Dietz, T. L., *Disciplining children: Characteristics associated with the use of corporal punishment*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 2000. **24**(12): p. 1529-1542.
50. Eamon, M. K. & Zuehl, R. M., *Maternal depression and physical punishment as mediators of the effect of poverty on socioemotional problems of children in single-mother families*. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 2001. **71**(2): p. 218-226.
51. Straus, M. A., *Corporal punishment and primary prevention of physical abuse*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 2000. **24**(9): p. 1109-1114.
52. Asdigian, N. L. & Straus, M. A., *There was an old woman who lived in a shoe: Number of children and corporal punishment*. 1997, Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire: Durham, NJ.
53. Gershoff, E. T., *Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review*. *Psychological Bulletin*, 2002. **128**(4): p. 539-579.
54. Coontz, P. D., & Martin, J.A., *Understanding violent mothers and fathers: Assessing explanations offered by mothers and fathers of their use of control punishment*, in *Family Abuse and its Consequences: New Directions in Research*, G.T. Hotaling, D. Finkelhor, J.T. Kirkpatrick, & M.A. Straus, Editor. 1988, Sage: Newbury Park, CA. p. 77-90.
55. Gil, D. G., *Violence Against Children: Physical Child Abuse in the United States*. 1970, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
56. Kadushin, A., & Martin, J.A., *Child Abuse: An Interactional Event*. 1981, New York: Columbia University Press.
57. Margolin, L., *Child abuse by babysitters: An ecological-interactional interpretation*. *Journal of Family Violence*, 1990. **5**: p. 95-105.
58. Trocmé, N., NacLaurin, B., Fallon, B., Daciuk, J., Billingsley, D., Tourigny, M., Mayer, M., Wright, J., Barter, K., Burford, G., Hornick, J., Sullivan, R., & McKenzie, B., *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect*. 2001, National Clearinghouse on Family Violence: Ottawa, ON.

59. Corral-Verdugo, V., Frías-Armenta, M., Romero, M., & Munoz, A., *Validity of a scale measuring beliefs regarding the "positive" effects of punishing children: A study of Mexican mothers*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1995. **19**(6): p. 669-679.
60. Moore, D. W., & Straus, M.A., *Violence of parents toward their children*. 1987, Family Research Laboratory, University of New Hampshire: Durham, NH.
61. Vasta, R., *Physical child abuse: A dual-component analysis*. *Developmental Review*, 1982. **2**: p. 125-149.
62. Crockenberg, S., *Predictors and correlates of anger toward and punitive control of toddlers by adolescent mothers*. *Child Development*, 1987. **58**: p. 964-975.
63. Azrin, N. H., & Holz, W.C., *Punishment*, in *Operant Behavior*, W.K. Honig, Editor. 1966, Appleton-Century-Crofts: New York. p. 380-447.
64. Bugental, D. B., & Goodnow. J.J., *Socialization processes*, in *Social, Emotional, and Personality Development*, W. Damon, & Eisenberg, N., Editor. 1998, Wiley: New York. p. 389-462.
65. Parke, R. D., *Some effects of punishment on children's behavior - revisited*, in *Contemporary Readings in Child Psychology*, E.M. Hetherington & R.D. Parke, Editors. 1977, McGraw-Hill: New York. p. 176-188.
66. Saarni, C., Mumme, D.L., & Campos, J.J., *Emotional development: Action, communication, and understanding*, in *Social, Emotional, and Personality Development*, W. Damon & N. Eisenberg, Editors. 1998, Wiley: New York. p. 237-309.
67. Turner, H. A. & Finkelhor, D., *Corporal punishment as a stressor among youth*. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1996. **58**: p. 155-166.
68. Csorba, J., Rozsa, S., Vetro, A., Gadoros, J., Makra, J., Somogyi, E., Kaczvinsky, E., & Kapornay, K., *Family and school-related stresses in depressed Hungarian children*. *European Psychiatry*, 2001. **16**(1): p. 18-26.
69. Lau, J. T. F., Liu, J.L.Y., Cheung, J.C.K., Yu, A., & Wong, C.K., *Prevalence and correlates of physical abuse in Hong Kong Chinese adolescents: A population-based approach*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1999. **23**(6): p. 549-557.
70. DuRant, R. H., Cadenhead, C., Pendergrast, R. A., Slavens, G., & Linder, C. W., *Factors associated with the use of violence among urban Black adolescents*. *American Journal of Public Health*, 1994. **84**(4): p. 612-617.

71. Lopez, N. L., Bonenberger, J. L., & Schneider, H. G., *Parental disciplinary history, current levels of empathy, and moral reasoning in young adults*. North American Journal of Psychology, 2001. **3**(2): p. 193-204.
72. Hoffman, M. L., *Discipline and internalization*. Developmental Psychology, 1994. **30**(1): p. 26-28.
73. Hirschi, T., *Causes of Delinquency*. 1969, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
74. McCabe, K. M., & Clark, R., *Family protective factors among urban African American youth*. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1999. **28**(2): p. 137-150.
75. Stormshak, E. A., Bierman, K.L., McMahon, R.J., & Lengua, L.J., *Parenting practices and child disruptive behavior problems in early elementary school*. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 2000. **29**(1): p. 17-29.
76. Larzelere, R. E., *Moderate spanking: Model or deterrent of children's aggression in the family?* Journal of Family Violence, 1986. **1**(1): p. 27-36.
77. Straus, M. A., *Ordinary violence, child abuse, and wife beating: What do they have in common?*, in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, M.A. Straus, & R.J. Gelles, Editor. 1990, Transaction: New Brunswick, NJ. p. 403-424.
78. Brezina, R., *Teenage violence toward parents as an adaptation to family strain; Evidence from a national survey of male adolescents*. Youth & Society, 1999. **41**6: p. 424-425.
79. Ulman, A., & Straus, M. A., *Violence by children against mothers in relation to violence between parents and corporal punishment by parents*. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 2003. **34**(1): p. 41-60.
80. Strassberg, Z., Dodge, K. A., Pettit, G. S., & Bates, J. E., *Spanking in the home and children's subsequent aggression toward kindergarten peers*. Development and Psychopathology, 1994. **6**: p. 445-461.
81. Simons, R. L., Lin, K.H., & Gordon, L.C., *Socialization in the family of origin and male dating violence: A prospective study*. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1998. **60**(2): p. 467-478.
82. Gunnoe, M. L. & Mariner, C. L., *Toward a developmental-contextual model of the effects of parental spanking on children's aggression*. Archives of Pediatric Adolescent Medicine, 1997. **151**: p. 768-775.

83. Straus, M. A., Sugarman, D. B., & Giles-Sims, J., *Spanking by parents and subsequent antisocial behavior of children*. Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine, 1997. **151**: p. 761-767.
84. MacMillan, H. L., Boyle, M.H., Wong, M.Y.Y., Duku, E.K., Fleming, J.E., Walsh, C.A., *Slapping and spanking in childhood and its association with lifetime prevalence of psychiatric disorders in a general population sample*. Canadian Medical Association Journal, 1999. **161**(7): p. 805-809.
85. Buntain-Ricklefs, J. J., Kemper, K. J., Bell, M., & Babonis, T., *Punishments: What predicts adult approval*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 1994. **18**(11): p. 945-955.
86. Knutson, J. F. & Selner, M. B., *Punitive childhood experiences reported by young adults over a 10-year period*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 1994. **18**(2): p. 155-166.
87. Berger, A. M., Knutson, J. F., Mehm, J. G., & Perkins, K. A., *The self-report of punitive childhood experiences of young adults and adolescents*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 1988. **12**: p. 251-262.
88. Bower, M. E., & Knutson, J.F., *Attitudes toward physical discipline as a function of disciplinary history and self-labelling as physically abused*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 1996. **20**: p. 689-699.
89. Miller, K. S., & Knutson, J.F., *Reports of severe physical punishment and exposure to animal cruelty by inmates convicted of felonies and by university students*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 1997. **21**: p. 59-82.
90. Rorty, M., Yager, J., & Rossotto, E., *Aspects of childhood physical punishment and family environment correlates in bulimia nervosa*. Child Abuse & Neglect, 1995. **19**(6): p. 659-667.
91. Straus, M. A., & Smith, C., *Family patterns and child abuse*, in *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 Families*, M.A. Straus, & R.J. Gelles, Editor. 1992, Transaction: New Brunswick, NJ. p. 245-261.
92. Bean, A. W. & Roberts, M. W., *The effect of time-out release contingencies on changes in child noncompliance*. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 1981. **9**(1): p. 95-105.
93. Committee on the Rights of the Child, *UN Doc CRC/C/15/Add 37*. 1995.
94. Bernard, C., *Corporal Punishment as a Means of Correcting Children*. 1998, Research and Planning Department.

95. *Protection de la jeunesse-681*: J.E. 94-683 (C.Q.). p. 20.
96. Covell, K. & Howe, R. B., *The Challenge of Children's Rights for Canada*. 2001, Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
97. Turner, S. M., *Something to Cry About: An Argument against Corporal Punishment of Children in Canada*. 2002, Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press.
98. Greene, S., *The unconstitutionality of Section 43 of the Criminal Code: Children's right to be protected from physical assault, Part I*. *Criminal Law Quarterly*, 1998. **41**: p. 288-317.
99. Greene, S., *The unconstitutionality of Section 43 of the Criminal code: Children's right to be protected from physical assault, Part II*. *Criminal Law Quarterly*, 1999. **41**: p. 463-484.
100. *Canadian Foundation for Children, Youth and the Law v. Canada (Attorney General)*. 2000: O.J. No. 2535.
101. Committee on the Rights of the Child, *UN Doc CRC/C/34*. 1994.
102. van Boven, T., *Report of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the Question of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, UN Doc. A/57/50/Rev. 1*. 2002.
103. Boyson, R., *Equal Protection for Children: An Overview of the Experience of Countries that Accord Children Full Legal Protection from Physical Punishment*. 2002, National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children: London.
104. Durrant, J. E., *Evaluating the success of Sweden's corporal punishment ban*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 1999. **23**(5): p. 435-448.
105. Nilsson, L., *Barnmisshandel. En kartläggning av polisanmäld misshandel av små barn*. 2000, *Brottsförebyggande rådet* (National Council for Crime Prevention): Stockholm.
106. Durrant, J. E., *Trends in youth crime and well-being since the abolition of corporal punishment in Sweden*. *Youth & Society*, 2000. **31**(4): p. 437-455.