



Children's Rights Impact Assessment (CRIA)

If you are uncertain whether a CRIA is required please refer to Section 7 of [Children's Rights Scheme](#).

Where you remain uncertain if a CRIA is required you should adopt a cautionary approach in favour of completing a CRIA. Guidance and advice on when to complete a CRIA, is available from the Measure Implementation Team at: CRIA@wales.gsi.gov.uk Further advice and information on resources to help inform your assessment is available on the [CRIA Intranet pages](#).

If a CRIA is required you should complete the template below as fully as possible. You should be aware of the following:

- The completed CRIA may be used to evidence Ministerial compliance with the due regard duty under Section 1 of the [Rights of Children and Young Persons \(Wales\) Measure 2011](#).
- In line with the Ministerial CRIA publication commitment, CRIAs are required to be published or made available upon request through the WG CRIA newsletter (see page 2).
- The completed CRIA will be available to any person making a Freedom of Information request and will be publically available.
- The National Assembly for Wales may refer to a completed CRIA when scrutinising Ministerial compliance with the Section 1 duty (above).

Please remember that CRIA is a process. Prior to completing this template, you may wish to start by having a conversation with your team about:

- **who should be involved in developing the CRIA;**
- **what the CRIA should include; and**
- **starting to populate this template at the earliest opportunity.**

You may wish to complete the CRIA over a period of time, returning to consider or reconsider issues as new evidence becomes available and/or a proposal is subject to change.

You may wish to cross-reference to other completed CRIA. Please ask the Measure Implementation Team for examples: CRIA@wales.gsi.gov.uk

Once completed the CRIA should be retained on iShare and a copy forwarded to the Measure Implementation Team for monitoring purposes at: CRIA@wales.gsi.gov.uk



CRIA Template

Policy or Legislation Title: Proposal for Legislation to Remove the Defence of Reasonable Punishment

Related MA: MA-C-HID-0109-17

Name of person responsible for CRIA: Sarah Rhodes

Secretary or Minister responsible: Minister for Children and Social Care

Department: Education and Public Services Group

Date CRIA initiated: Summer 2017

Date CRIA completed: December 2017 – under continuous review

The following sections should be completed in sufficient detail to enable the reader to fully understand the assessment and how these have been reached, including by referring to evidence that has informed the assessment.

You should avoid technical language or jargon.

Please read the guidance at each stage.

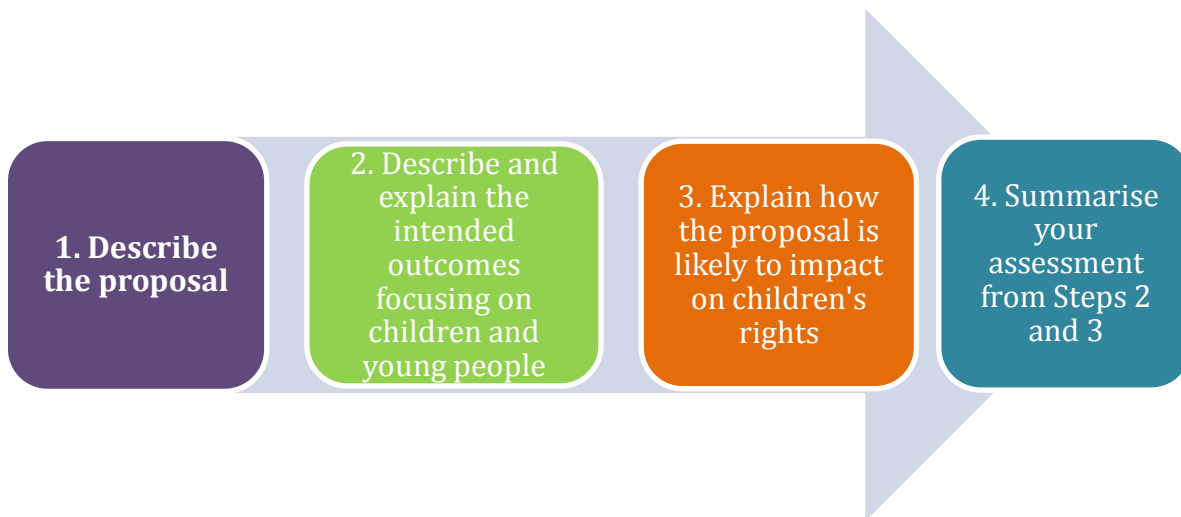
When should a CRIA be published?

All fully completed CRIA documents relating to legislation must be published on the Welsh Government website, on the appropriate WG webpage as agreed with your departmental Web Team. This is also the case for subordinate legislation, for example, regulations made under primary legislation.

For all other pieces of work, CRIA titles are listed on our CRIA Newsletter and must be made available upon request. To do this, send your CRIA to our mailbox CRIA@wales.gsi.gov.uk

Choosing to publish your CRIA as a matter of course e.g. alongside a public consultation is good practice and allows for early stakeholder engagement and increased transparency of the process.





Step 1: Describe the proposal

This section is intended to provide a descriptive summary of the proposal to a reader unfamiliar with the background. You should:

- Set the proposal in context, including any reference in the Welsh Government’s programme for government.
- Briefly explain why the proposal is being introduced making reference to any evidence used to establish the need for policy/legislation (summary information and/or links or references to available data will be sufficient).
- The primary objectives of the proposal and the key mechanisms for achieving those objectives (note: the intended outcomes from the proposal will be described in more detail in Step 2).
- Identify the intended main beneficiaries from the proposal.
- Explain how the proposal links with other existing or intended policy or legislation.
- Explain, if applicable, how the proposal is supported by budgetary allocation.

On 18th May 2016, the First Minister announced the Welsh Government’s intention to introduce legislation to remove the parental defence of reasonable punishment. In his statement the First Minister said: “we will take forward, on a cross-party basis, legislation that will remove the defence of reasonable chastisement.” The Government’s intention to take forward this legislation is reaffirmed in “Taking Wales Forward”, the Programme for Government.

The national strategy “Prosperity for All” published in September 2017, demonstrates the Welsh Government’s recognition that an individual’s childhood experiences play a significant part in shaping their future and are critical to their chances of going on to lead a healthy, prosperous and fulfilling life.

Timeframes

On the 27 June 2017, the First Minister announced that the Welsh Government would consult on proposals in Year 2 of the legislative timetable, with a view to introducing a Bill to Remove the Defence of Reasonable Punishment.

Purpose of Legislation

Given the lead the Welsh Government has taken in setting our policy for children and their families firmly in the context of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the overarching objective of the proposed legislation is to support children's rights by prohibiting the use of corporal punishment, through the removal of the defence of reasonable punishment. This would remove the current anomaly whereby children have less protection with regard to physical punishment than adults.

Our understanding of what is needed to protect and support individuals, children and their families has changed considerably over the years and societal norms have changed as a result. In years gone by it was legal to:

- travel in a car without a seat belt;
- physically punish children in schools; and,
- smoke in enclosed public places and in cars carrying children.

Times have changed. We all now understand these things are not acceptable in a healthy, prosperous and progressive society and laws have been passed to safeguard individuals, children and families.

Attitudes to parenting practices have also changed. Whilst physically punishing children was accepted as normal practice in previous generations, research shows parents today are increasingly using positive approaches which are proven to be more effective, whilst feeling less comfortable about using physical punishment. In 1998, for example, 88% of British adults agreed that "it is sometimes necessary to smack a naughty children" while in 2015 only 24% of parents in Wales supported this statement.

Prohibiting the use of physical or corporal punishment of children will therefore address an aspect of the law which is out of date and at odds with our modern and forward thinking society.

Despite evidence showing that physical punishment is not effective and is potentially harmful (section 3); it is still legal due to the existence of the defence of reasonable punishment. The Welsh Government wants to remove this anomaly in the law and send the clearest message that physical punishment of children is not acceptable

Context

The proposal is part of a much wider package of measures the Welsh Government is taking to support children and their parents. We recognise children need boundaries and parents often need advice and support on positive alternatives to physical punishment.

In 2015, we launched the "Parenting. Give it time" campaign which is targeted at all those responsible for raising children from birth to 5 years old. It aims to equip parents with the tools to help them do the best job they can, through a website and media campaign providing positive parenting tips and information.

The principles of positive parenting are that parents are warm and supportive; model good behaviour; provide appropriate supervision; provide clear, consistent and age-appropriate boundaries based on realistic expectations; praise good behaviour; and handle problem behaviours consistently without resorting to physical punishment or excessive shouting.

We want parents in Wales to be confident in managing their children's behaviour without feeling they must resort to physical punishment. We want to reinforce the growing change of attitude in the way parents want to raise their children by making physical punishment unacceptable and sending a strong message that proven positive alternatives are much better for our children and their wellbeing.

Alongside our campaign, parents and carers in Wales have access to a range of services to promote positive parenting delivered by partners in local government, health, education, social services, social justice and the third sector. Support is delivered at different points in a child's life (antenatal to teenage) and ranges from support for parents with low levels of need, through to more targeted, intensive support. All families have access to a range of universal services provided by the Family Information Services, GPs, health visitors and midwives. Schools and childcare providers also have a vital role in identifying children and families who have additional needs and in supporting parents to provide a positive home learning environment. In addition supporting parents is an integral part of our more targeted interventions, Flying Start and Families First, which offer support and advice to parents in raising happy and healthy children.

Flying Start is a Welsh Government programme for families with children under 4 years of age who live in disadvantaged communities in Wales. In addition to receiving parenting support, parents and carers in Flying Start areas are entitled to intensive health visiting, good quality part time childcare for 2-3 year olds and support for speech, language and communication.

The Families First programme is delivered at a local level with each Local Authority strategically commissioning projects to respond to the needs of local populations. Families First supports parents in a number of ways, from the provision of information and advice to the provision of evidence based parenting interventions. Projects which provide access to parenting interventions or parenting support services cover a range of ages, from pre-birth to older children.

This legislative proposal is therefore just one part of the wide-ranging action the Welsh Government is taking to support parents to give their children the best start in life.

Children affected

Our aim is to accelerate attitudinal change of parents, in Wales, in the way children and young people are raised and disciplined, by making physical punishment unacceptable and by promoting positive alternatives. This proposed change in legislation will affect all children and their families with in Wales and those who visit its boundaries.

Evidence

There is no evidence that smacking is associated with improved behaviour in children¹, whereas there is evidence that positive styles of parenting are². Research suggests that positive (authoritative) parenting is beneficial at all points in a child's development³. A

¹ Helimann et al., 2015, Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016) "Spanking and child outcomes: Old controversies and new meta-analyses"

² O'Connor, T & Scott, S (2007) "Parenting and outcomes for children", York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

³ Sroufe, et al 1990; Seaman et al, 2005; Daly, 2007; Moretti, 2004; Asmussen, 2007; O'Connor, 2007; Katz and Redmond, 2009; Nixon, 2012

positive parenting style is more likely to lead to better social, emotional and academic outcomes for children.

Comprehensive reviews of several decades of literature in this area^{i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix} indicate a significant relationship between the use of physical punishment and short and long-term negative outcomes. It has been suggested that despite this significant relationship, the size of these negative effects are modest^x.

There is evidence from a number of studies, including longitudinal studies, which indicate a relationship between the use of physical punishment and increased childhood aggression and anti-social behaviour.^{xi} There is also evidence that more frequent physical punishment in one year is significantly related to more frequent child anti-social behaviour in the next year. Children who are smacked frequently are more likely to be reported as having difficult behaviours, including being over-active, and defiant. These findings concur with models^{xii} suggesting parents' use of physical discipline promotes children's anti-social behaviour, more so than child anti-social behaviour elicits harsh parenting^{xiii}.

A US study in 2000^{xiv}, examined the outcomes for children in families where parents used non-abusive, routine physical punishment. One finding was that "spanking" (or smacking as it may be termed in the UK) has consistently beneficial outcomes when it is non-abusive and used primarily to back up milder disciplinary tactics with 2- to 6-year olds by loving parents. However, when one of the same researchers conducted a meta analysis of 26 published studies on corporal punishment^{xv} five years later he concluded that even mild physical punishment, if used as the primary method of discipline, was linked with poorer child outcomes.

Physical punishment has also been associated^{xvi xvii xviii xix xx} with:

- decreased quality of relationship between parent and child;
- decreased child mental health;
- decreased adult mental health;
- increased risk of being a victim of physical abuse;
- increased adult aggression;
- increased adult criminal and anti-social behaviour;
- an increased risk of abusing own child or spouse; and
- lower academic achievement.

A review of evidence⁴ has also shown that in many countries, including the UK, the prevalence of physical punishment is declining and public attitudes have shifted, with the use of physical punishment becoming less and less acceptable and a high proportion of parents doubting its usefulness. They found there is convincing evidence that these declines are accelerated in countries that have prohibited the use of physical punishment, and that such laws have important symbolic value. Cross-country comparisons showed that declines in the use of physical punishment are accelerated in countries that have prohibited its use, demonstrating the important symbolic value of legislation.

⁴ Heilmann A, Kelly Y and Watt R G (2015) "Equally Protected? A review of the evidence on the physical punishment of children"



Step 2: Describe and explain the intended outcomes of the proposal, with a focus on children and young people

This section requires a summary of the intended outcomes from the proposal and an explanation of why it is thought the proposal will result in the outcomes described. You are also required to draw attention to the intended outcomes for children, or outcomes likely to affect children.

In this section you should:

- Describe the intended outcomes from the proposal.
- Identify how the intended outcomes will affect the lives of children.
- If relevant, explain how the proposal will affect different groups of children (e.g. children living poverty, children with a disability etc.).
- Identify any positive affect the proposal will have on the lives of children, and explain why this is likely to be an outcome from the proposal.
- Identify any negative affect the proposal will have on the lives of children.
- Explain how resources will be applied to support implementation of the proposal, including budgetary resources if applicable
- Make reference to any evidence that has informed your assessment of the affect of the proposal on the lives of children (both positive and negative outcomes).
- Make reference to any evidence from children or their representatives that has informed your assessment of the affect of the proposal on the lives of children.
- Consider whether any additional evidence is required to inform your assessment.

Positive Impacts on Children, Young People and Families

- Physical punishment of children will no longer be acceptable in law. Social marketing research suggests that people seek to conform to what they perceive are social norms and will adjust their behaviour to fit in with this;
- Children will no longer have less protection under the law than adults.
- Alongside the legislation parents will be offered support to help them choose alternative and more effective methods of behavioural management.
- The clarity in the law will help professionals provide unequivocal advice about physical punishment in their task of communicating, guiding and advising families.

Legislation combined with a package of support to parents should result in:

- Children displaying improved behaviour and having better social and emotional development;
- Parents experiencing less stress and improved well-being;
- Parents and children having a better parent-child relationship

Potential Negative Impacts Some individuals and groups have questioned whether the

legislation would have a negative impact on parents and increase the number of successful prosecutions against parents.

It's important to note that the effect of the legislation will be to remove the defence of reasonable punishment so it is no longer available to anyone facing a charge of common assault or battery. Any adult who smacks a child would therefore no longer be able to rely on the defence of reasonable punishment and a successful criminal prosecution for common assault could potentially be brought against them. As outlined in the consultation document and as is currently the case, it would be a matter for the Crown Prosecution Service to determine whether or not to prosecute. Discussions with the Crown Prosecution Service have indicated that whilst the Charging Standard would be updated to make clear the defence of reasonable punishment no longer applied in Wales, the evidential and public interest tests to determine whether to prosecute would remain unchanged.

Like England and Wales, New Zealand's legal system is based on a common law jurisdiction and legislation to end the use of corporal punishment related to criminal law. Following the enactment of the Crimes (substituted section 59) Amendment Act 2007, which prohibited corporal punishment, the Police were obliged to monitor the number of reports they received of potential incidents and the outcomes for each of those reports. In the 2 years following enactment, the Police received 36 reports of "smacking" and 179 reports of "minor acts of physical discipline"⁵. Of the 36 "smacking" cases, 35 resulted in warnings or no further action and 1 case resulted in a prosecution. Of the 179 cases of "minor acts of physical discipline", 166 cases ended in warnings or no further action and 13 resulted in prosecutions.

This demonstrates that, despite a change in law, the increase in the number of cases heard in court was not significant. As the Deputy Police Commissioner (Operations) at the time stated, "the amendment has had minimal impact on police activity and officers have continued to apply a common sense approach".

How will you know if your piece of work is a success?

The Welsh Government has commissioned independent surveys of parents in Wales in 2013 and 2015 that were published in 2014 and 2016. These surveys explored attitudes to child discipline and law reform⁶. It is intended to carry out further independent research to explore changes over time in parental attitudes.

Consultation with Children and Young People

Prior to the introduction of the Bill a public consultation will be carried out with the public and stakeholders, to help inform the development of the proposals. All consultation documentation will be provided in children, young people and easy read versions to encourage them to provide their views on the proposals. In addition, a series of consultation events aimed at parents, care givers, children and young people and stakeholders will be delivered by a supplier contracted by the Welsh Government to ensure a wide range and cross section of views are represented through the consultation.

⁵ <https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/2-year-review-of-crimes-section-59.pdf>

⁶ Welsh Government. 2014. Managing Children's Behaviour, Attitudes and Practices.

Welsh Government. 2016. The Attitudes of Parents Towards Managing Young Children's Behaviour.

Additional evidence required (if none required enter N/A):



Step 3: Explain how the proposal is likely to impact on children rights

This section requires an assessment using informed judgment of the likely impact of the proposal on children’s UNCRC rights. It is vital that you avoid the assumption that the intended outcomes identified at Step 2 are the same as the predicted impact on children’s rights.

You will need to carefully consider how the intended outcomes relate to children’s rights and what impact they will have. There may be predicted impacts which are not intended outcomes from the proposal.

You should:

- Identify which [UNCRC articles](#) are most relevant to the proposal
- Explain if, and if so - how the proposal maximises, supports or promotes children’s UNCRC rights, making connections between the outcomes identified at Step 2 and the rights you have identified.
- Remember that prompting children’s rights includes: increasing children’s access to their rights, or to services and/or resources that give access to rights, or enabling children to participate and take advantage of their rights. You should explain how the proposal achieves these objectives, if at all.
- Explain any negative impact on children’s rights arising from the proposal, including any reduction in resources available to support other policies or programmes (if applicable).
- When considering each of the above ensure you take account of how the proposal will impact on the rights different groups of children (e.g. children living poverty, children with a disability etc.).
- Make reference to any information or evidence that has informed your assessment.
- Make reference to any evidence from children or their representatives that has informed your assessment.

The Children’s Rights Impact Assessment has been developed to ensure due regard is given to Children’s Rights when ministerial decisions are made about the proposal to legislate to remove the defence of reasonable punishment.

The Welsh Government is committed to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as a basis for all of its decision making affecting children and young people, as

encapsulated in the Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) measure 2011.

The Committee on the Convention on the Rights of the Child have issued a general comment to highlight their recognition of the right of the child to respect of their human dignity, physical integrity and equal protection under the law. The committee's view is that addressing the widespread acceptance or tolerance of corporal punishment and eliminating it in the family, is an obligation of the State parties under the Convention, and that corporal punishment is incompatible with the convention.

The proposal to remove the defence of reasonable punishment aligns with the Welsh Government's well-being objectives, set out in *Taking Wales Forward*, including that of creating conditions to give every child the best start in life and are consistent with the themes of the UNCRC.

How are you improving the way children and young people access their rights?

For the majority of children, the family home is where they will realise many of the rights laid out in the UNCRC. Parents clearly have a pivotal role as guardians and advocates of children's rights with a responsibility on the state to assist, influence and support parents in this role. By legislating to remove the defence of reasonable punishment combined with a package of support to parents the Welsh Government aims for parents to be assisted to parent in a positive, supportive manner that considers and reflects children's rights.

The focus on positive parenting will support children and young people's rights and build on the foundations of other Welsh Government programmes to support children and young people including Flying Start and Families First.

UNCRC articles

Articles 1-5 the Welsh Government observes these articles in taking forward the legislative proposals.

The Committee on the Convention on the Rights of the Child has identified the principle that the 'best interests' (**Article 3**) of the child should be a primary consideration in all actions concerning children. The Convention also asserts, in **Article 18** that the best interests of the child will be parents' basic concern. The committee emphasises the interpretation of child's best interest needing to be consistent throughout the convention, which includes the obligation to protect children from all forms of violence.

Article 37 of the Convention requires States to ensure 'no child shall be subjected to ...degrading treatment or punishment'. This is complemented by **Article 19** which requires that 'State Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence... while in the care of parents(s)'.

By legislating to remove the defence of reasonable punishment combined with a package of

support for parents the Welsh Government, will be directly implementing **Article 4** which calls for states to ‘undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative and other measures to the implementation of the rights recognised in the present convention’

Articles 41 and 42 – relate to existing statutory provision and promotion of the Convention which the Welsh Government will continue to work towards in respect of the proposals.

In developing the legislative proposal, officials will continue to be mindful of the need to ensure that, as far as possible, it supports the UNCRC.

Additional evidence required (if none required enter N/A):



Step 4: Summarise your assessment from Steps 2 and 3

This section is intended to highlight the key points from your assessment at Steps 2 and 3 to bring these to the attention of the Secretary or Minister. Do not repeat the assessments in full.

IMPORTANT NOTE

This section **does not** require you to confirm whether the proposal is compliant with Section 1 of the Rights of Children and Young Person (Wales) Measure 2011.

This CRIA is a contribution to Ministerial compliance with Section 1 of the Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure 2011. It provides the Cabinet Secretary / Minister with information required in order to discharge the Ministerial duty of due regard to the UNCRC.

You should:

- Highlight key points in summary.
- Draw attention to any additional evidence required (which you have not been able to obtain prior to completion of this CRIA).
- Draw attention to any significant reduction in resources available to support other policies or programmes.

If the proposal will result in ANY negative impact on children’s rights you should bring this to the Cabinet Secretary / Minister’s attention. You should do this even if the negative impact is fully compensated by other positive impacts.

“Prosperity for All” recognises that confident, positive and resilient parenting is fundamental to preparing children for life and providing help and support to parents is important. Legislating to remove the defence of reasonable punishment is a commitment within “Early Years” one of the Welsh Government’s five cross cutting priorities.

The proposed legislation will support positive parenting and contribute to several of the national well-being goals under the Well-Being of Future Generations Act. These include:

- A healthier Wales – a growing body of evidence indicates good or positive parenting is a strong factor in promoting positive outcomes for children. This benefits their health, happiness and well-being as children and lays the foundation for reaching their full potential in adult life.
- A more equal Wales – the removal of the defence of reasonable punishment would provide equal protection in law to children who currently have less protection with regard to physical punishment than children. Whilst the consultation document sets out that this legislation will address an anomaly in the law which provides children with less protection than adults, a wider narrative around equal protection would risk straying outside of the narrow exception to the reservation provided by the Wales Act 2017.
- Globally Responsible Wales – reforming legislation around the physical punishment of children in the home would be in accordance with Article 19 (protection from all forms of violence) of the UNCRC. It is also consistent with successive recommendations from the Committee on the Rights of the Child for the UK to prohibit “all corporal punishment in the family, including through repeal of all legal defences in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland



Arrangements for Monitoring and Review

Person or department responsible for monitoring outcomes from the proposal:

.....Sarah Rhodes.....

Brief description of new or existing arrangements for monitoring the outcomes from the proposal (e.g. data available, indicators).

How it will be established whether the proposal has had the proposed impacts identified at Step 3?

The consultation exercise will be used to test our current assessment of impacts and further inform

the development of a full RIA, which will be published at introduction.

Date for review CRIA:

.....NONE..... (if no date has been set enter **NONE**)

Person or department responsible for review of CRIA:

.....NONE..... (if no arrangements have been made for review of CRIA enter **NONE**)

ⁱ Parents' Perspectives on Parenting Styles and Disciplining Children (2010) The National Children's Strategy Research Series, Office of the Minister for Children and Youth Affairs, Ireland

ⁱⁱ Bunting, L., Webb, M. & Healy, J. (2008) "The 'Smacking Debate' in Northern Ireland – Messages from Research", Barnardo's Cymru, Northern Ireland Commissioner for Children and Young People and NSPCC Northern Ireland

ⁱⁱⁱ Smith, A.B., Gollop, M., Taylor, N.J. and Marshall, K. The Discipline and Guidance of Children: A Summary of Research, Office of the Children's Commissioner, Wellington, 2004. Retrieved 14 November 2007 from http://www.occ.org.nz/media/files/discipline_guidance

^{iv} Gershoff E. T. (2002) 'Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviours and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review', Psychological Bulletin, 128 (4), 539-79.

^v Gershoff, E. T. (2013) 'Spanking and Child Development: We Know Enough Now to Stop Hitting Our Children', Child Development Perspectives, 7 (3), 133-137.

^{vi} Gershoff, E. T., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016) "Spanking and Child Outcomes: Old Controversies and New Meta-Analyses". Journal of Family Psychology.

^{vii} Henricson, C. and Grey, A. (2001) "Understanding discipline: An overview of child discipline practices and their implications for family support" National Family and Parenting Institute

^{viii} Robertson, L. (2017) "Literature review on outcomes of parental discipline styles, evidence on effective parenting styles and the international experience of prohibition of physical punishment in law". Glasgow: Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research <http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Literature-review-on-outcomes-of-parental-discipline-styles.pdf> [Accessed: 16 October 2017]

^{ix} Heilmann, A., Kelly, Y., and Watt, R. C. (2015) Equally Protected? A review of the evidence on the physical punishment of children [online]. Available from: <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/globalassets/documents/research-reports/equally-protected.pdf> [Accessed: 16 October 2017]

^x Ferguson, C.J. (2013) "Spanking, corporal punishment and negative long-term outcomes: A meta-analytic review of longitudinal studies" Clinical Psychology Review 33 (2013) 196–208.

^{xi} Gershoff, E. T. (2013) 'Spanking and Child Development: We Know Enough Now to Stop Hitting Our Children', Child Development Perspectives, 7 (3), 133-137

^{xii} Early Intervention Foundation 2016 "Foundations for Life: What Works to Support Parent Child Interaction in the Early Years" See page 89 for a description of Patterson's model of 'coercive' parent-child interactions <http://www.eif.org.uk/publication/foundations-for-life-what-works-to-support-parent-child-interaction-in-the-early-years/>

^{xiii} Lansford, J. E., Sexton, H. R., Davis-Kean, P., & Sameroff, A. J. (2012) "Reciprocal Relations Between Parents' Physical Discipline and Children's Externalizing Behavior During Middle Childhood and Adolescence", Dev Psychopathol. 2011 February; 23(1): 225–238

^{xiv} Larzerele, R.E. (2000) Child outcomes of non-abusive and customary physical punishment by parents: An updated literature review. Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review

^{xv} Larzerele, R.E. & Kuhn, B.R (2005) Comparing Child Outcomes of Physical Punishment and Alternative Disciplinary Tactics: A Meta-Analysis

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- ^{xvi} Smith, A.B., Gollop, M., Taylor, N.J. and Marshall, K. The Discipline and Guidance of Children: A Summary of Research, Office of the Children's Commissioner, Wellington, 2004. Retrieved 14 November 2007 from http://www.occ.org.nz/media/files/discipline_guidance
- ^{xvii} Gershoff E. T. (2002) 'Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviours and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review', *Psychological Bulletin*, 128 (4), 539-79.
- ^{xviii} Gershoff, E. T., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016) "Spanking and Child Outcomes: Old Controversies and New Meta-Analyses". *Journal of Family Psychology*.
- ^{xix} Robertson, L. (2017) "Literature review on outcomes of parental discipline styles, evidence on effective parenting styles and the international experience of prohibition of physical punishment in law". Glasgow: Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research <http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Literature-review-on-outcomes-of-parental-discipline-styles.pdf>
- ^{xx} Heilmann, A., Kelly, Y., and Watt, R. C. (2015) Equally Protected? A review of the evidence on the physical punishment of children [online]. Available from: <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/globalassets/documents/research-reports/equally-protected.pdf> [Accessed: 16 October 2017]