

Statement by international health organisations in support of prohibition and elimination of all corporal punishment of children

STATEMENT

“In light of the human rights consensus on children’s right to legal protection from all violent punishment, we, as organisations working for the health of children and adults, support prohibition of all corporal punishment and all other cruel or degrading punishment of children, in the family home and all other settings.”

“On the basis of the evidence of the harmful effects of corporal punishment on children, adults and societies, we believe that prohibition of corporal punishment, accompanied by measures to implement the prohibition and eliminate the use of corporal punishment in practice, is a key strategy to reduce all forms of violence against children and other violence in societies and to improve the physical and mental health and other developmental outcomes for children and adults.”

“We therefore call on:

- all governments to work for the prohibition and elimination of all corporal punishment*
- all organisations working for health to include the issue in their work”*

Further endorsements from international organisations working on health and related issues are being sought – contact elinor@endcorporalpunishment.org for information.

ENDORSED BY:

International Association for Adolescent Health

International Council of Nurses

International Council of Psychologists

International Federation of Medical Students’ Associations

International Pediatric Association

International Society for Social Pediatrics and Child Health

International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development

International Union of Psychological Science

World Federation of Public Health Associations



Background

Introduction

All corporal and other cruel and degrading punishment of children – whether inflicted by their parents, carers, teachers or others – is a violation of children’s rights. However, the long-held social acceptance of this form of violence against children has become enshrined in law – children can legally be hit and hurt by family members and others in most countries. Research by UNICEF and others has found that violent punishment is experienced by a large majority of children in most states worldwide.¹

International human rights law – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and other human rights treaties – requires prohibition of all corporal punishment, and progress on the issue is accelerating. As at June 2016, 49 countries have prohibited all corporal punishment, including in the family home, and many more have committed to do so. But much remains to be done.

There is no need to look for evidence of the negative effects of corporal punishment to know that it must be prohibited and eliminated – just as there is no need for research to show that violence against women is harmful before efforts are made to end it. However, evidence of the negative impact of corporal punishment shows how violent punishment breaches not just children’s right to freedom from all violence, but also their rights to health, development and education, and lends extra force to the call for prohibition.

“In the light of the impact of corporal punishment on children’s health, including fatal and non-fatal injury and the psychological and emotional consequences, the [UN] Committee [on the Rights of the Child] reminds States of their obligation to take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to eliminate corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment in all settings, including the home.”²

Definition of “corporal punishment”

“The [UN] Committee [on the Rights of the Child] defines ‘corporal’ or ‘physical’ punishment as any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light. Most involves hitting (‘smacking’, ‘slapping’, ‘spanking’) children, with the hand or with an implement – a whip, stick, belt, shoe, wooden spoon, etc. But it can also involve, for example, kicking, shaking or throwing children, scratching, pinching, biting, pulling hair or boxing ears, forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions, burning, scalding or forced ingestion (for example, washing children’s mouths out with soap or forcing them to swallow hot spices). In the view of the Committee, corporal punishment is invariably degrading. In addition, there are other non-physical forms of punishment that are also cruel and degrading and thus incompatible with the Convention. These include, for example, punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the child.”³

1 UNICEF (2014), *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*, NY: UNICEF

2 UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2013), *General comment No. 15: The right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health*, para. 68

3 UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006), [General Comment No. 8: The right of the child to protection from corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment \(arts. 19; 28, para. 2; and 37, inter alia\)](#), para. 11

Messages from research: the impact of and associations with corporal punishment

A **major 2002 meta-analysis** of 88 studies found associations between lawful corporal punishment by parents and ten negative outcomes,⁴ and a **major 2016 meta-analysis**, which used 75 studies published over 50 years, involving a total of 160,927 children,⁵ confirmed the findings of the earlier meta-analysis and found evidence of associations with five more negative outcomes. The large and consistent body of evidence on the topic includes studies using sophisticated techniques which researchers have employed to address the arguments advanced by a few opponents of prohibition. The body of evidence is now overwhelming – more than 250 studies show associations between corporal punishment and a wide range of negative outcomes, while no studies have found evidence of any benefits. Some of the evidence of the impact of and associations with corporal punishment is summarised below.⁶

Direct physical harm

Corporal punishment kills thousands of children each year, injures many more and is the direct cause of many children’s physical impairments.⁷ Research in countries in all regions attests to the severity of the physical violence which children experience in the name of “discipline”. Corporal punishment includes children being hit with hands and objects; being kicked, shaken and forced to maintain uncomfortable positions; and a wide range of other painful and degrading treatment.⁸

Most violence against children commonly referred to as “abuse” is corporal punishment. Research has consistently found that the majority of incidents substantiated by authorities as physical “abuse” are cases of physical punishment.⁹ The intent to discipline or punish has been shown to be a common precursor in many child homicide cases.¹⁰

4 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), “Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review”, *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(4), 539-579; see also E. T. Gershoff (2008), [Report on physical punishment in the United States: what research tells us about its effects on children](#), Columbus, Ohio: Center for Effective Discipline

5 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), “Spanking and Child Outcomes: Old Controversies and New Meta-Analyses”, *Journal of Family Psychology*, advance online publication 7 April 2016

6 A detailed review of the research is available from the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, www.endcorporalpunishment.org

7 Krug E. G. et al (2002), *World Report on Violence and Health*, Geneva: World Health Organization

8 Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006), [General Comment No. 8: The right of the child to protection from corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment \(arts. 19; 28, para. 2; and 37, inter alia\)](#) (CRC/C/GC/8)

9 For example, Jud, A. & Trocmé, N. (2013), [Physical Abuse and Physical Punishment in Canada](#), Child Canadian Welfare Research Portal Information Sheet # 122

10 Cavanagh, K. & Dobash, P. (2007), “The murder of children by fathers in the context of child abuse”, *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 31, 731–46

When research has distinguished between physical punishment and “abuse”, it has found associations. All ten of the studies on child protection in the major 2002 meta-analysis found that corporal punishment was significantly associated with physical “abuse”¹¹; the 2016 meta-analysis examined eight studies and confirmed this finding.¹² Other studies have found similar associations¹³ and links between corporal punishment and involvement with child protection services.¹⁴

All physical punishment, however “mild” and “light”, carries an inbuilt risk of escalation: its effectiveness in controlling children’s behavior decreases over time, encouraging the punisher to increase the intensity of the punishment.¹⁵ The risk of escalation is increased by the fact that adults who inflict physical punishment are often angry: their anger can increase the level of force used beyond what was intended, and their intent may be retaliatory as well as punitive.¹⁶

Poor moral internalisation and increased antisocial behaviour

Far from teaching children how to behave, corporal punishment in fact makes it less likely that they learn the lessons adults want them to learn. In the 2002 meta-analysis, 13 of 15 studies on the topic found that corporal punishment does not contribute to the child’s long-term compliance to the desired behaviour.¹⁷ The 2016 meta-analysis examined eight studies on low moral internalization and confirmed the association.¹⁸

Corporal punishment has been found to be a factor in behaviours such as bullying, lying, cheating, running away, truancy, school behaviour problems and involvement in crime as a child and young adult. In 12 of the 13 studies included in the 2002 meta-analysis, corporal punishment was found to be significantly associated with an increase in delinquent and antisocial behaviour.¹⁹ The 2016 meta-analysis examined nine studies on antisocial behaviour and confirmed the association. It also examined 14 studies on children’s externalizing behaviour problems and eight on children’s internalizing behaviour problems and found associations between corporal punishment and both types of behaviour problem.²⁰ The link with behaviour problems has been confirmed by numerous later studies, including longitudinal studies involving both young²¹ and older²² children.

11 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

12 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

13 Trocmé, N. et al (2010), Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect – 2008: Executive Summary & Chapters 1-5, Ottawa: Public Health Agency of Canada; see also Jud, A. & Trocmé, N. (2013), [Physical Abuse and Physical Punishment in Canada](#), Child Canadian Welfare Research Portal Information Sheet # 122

14 Lee, S. J. et al (2014), “Parental spanking of 1-year-old children and subsequent child protective services involvement”, *Child Abuse & Neglect*, published online 3 March 2014

15 Straus, M. & Douglas, E (2008), “Research on spanking by parents: Implications for public policy” *The Family Psychologist: Bulletin of the Division of Family Psychology* 24(43), 18-20

16 Durrant, J. E. et al (2004), [Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth](#), Ottawa: Coalition of Physical Punishment of Children and Youth

17 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

18 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

19 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

20 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

21 Scott, S. et al (2013), “Early parental physical punishment and emotional and behavioural outcomes in preschool children”, *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 40(3), 337-45; MacKenzie, M. J. et al (2013), “Spanking and Child Development Across the First Decade of Life”, *Pediatrics*, published online 21 October 2013

22 Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2005), “Corporal Punishment and the Growth Trajectory of Children’s Antisocial Behavior”, *Child Maltreatment*, 10, 283-292

Corporal punishment can reduce empathy²³ and moral regulation.²⁴ It does not teach children how to behave or help them understand how their behaviour affects others; rather than helping children to develop the desire and motivation to behave well of their own accord, it teaches them that it is desirable not to get caught. Corporal punishment may also decrease the likelihood of long-term compliance by damaging adult-child relationships, introducing fear and undermining the powerful behavioural motivations of children's love and respect for their parents and other adults involved in their care and education.

Increased aggression in children

There is abundant evidence that corporal punishment is associated with increased aggression in children. All 27 studies on the topic included in the 2002 meta-analysis found an association.²⁵ This was confirmed by the 2016 meta-analysis, which examined seven studies on the topic.²⁶ All the other numerous studies on the topic have also confirmed the association.²⁷ Children who have experienced corporal punishment are more likely to be aggressive towards their peers,²⁸ to approve of the use of violence in peer relationships, to bully and to experience violence from their peers,²⁹ to use violent methods to resolve conflict³⁰ and to be aggressive towards their parents.³¹

The reasons may include that aggression is a reflexive response to experiencing pain, that children learn that violence is an appropriate method of getting what you want and that children copy their parents' behaviour. Children describe feeling aggressive after being physically punished.³²

Adult perpetration of violent, antisocial and criminal behaviour

The violent behaviour of children who have experienced corporal punishment persists into adulthood. In the 2002 meta-analysis, all four studies on aggression in adulthood found a significant association with childhood experience of corporal punishment and four of the five studies on corporal punishment and criminal and antisocial behaviour in adulthood found an association.³³ The 2016 meta-analysis examined three studies on adult antisocial behaviour and confirmed the association.³⁴

23 Lopez, N. et al (2001), "Parental disciplinary history, current levels of empathy, and moral reasoning in young adults", *North American Journal of Psychology*, 3, 193-204

24 Kerr, D. C. R. et al (2004), "Parental Discipline and Externalizing Behavior Problems in Early Childhood: The Role of Moral Regulation and Child Gender", *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 32(4), 369-383

25 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

26 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

27 Straus, M. A. et al (2014), *The Primordial Violence: Spanking Children, Psychological Development, Violence, and Crime*, NY: Routledge

28 Ani, C. C. & Grantham-McGregor, S. (1998), "Family and personal characteristics of aggressive Nigerian boys: Differences from and similarities with Western findings", *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 23(5), 311-317

29 Ohene, S. et al (2006), "Parental Expectations, Physical Punishment, and Violence Among Adolescents Who Score Positive on a Psychosocial Screening Test in Primary Care", *Pediatrics*, 117(2), 441-447

30 Hart, C. H. et al (1990), "Children's expectations of the outcomes of social strategies: Relations with sociometric status and maternal disciplinary styles", *Child Development*, 61(1), 127-137

31 Ulman, A. & Straus, M. A. (2003), "Violence by children against mothers in relation to violence between parents and corporal punishment by parents", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 34, 41-60

32 Dobbs, T. (2005), *Insights: children & young people speak out about family discipline*, Save the Children New Zealand

33 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

34 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

Corporal punishment perpetuates itself. Adults who have experienced corporal punishment are more likely to inflict it on their own children and children who experience it are more likely to approve of its use.³⁵ The 2016 meta-analysis examined five studies on the topic and found an association between experiencing corporal punishment as a child and holding positive attitudes about spanking as an adult.³⁶

Corporal punishment and partner violence: the relationships

Corporal punishment and partner violence are closely linked. Studies have found that social settings in which corporal punishment is prevalent tend to be social settings in which partner violence is prevalent.³⁷ Corporal punishment and intimate partner violence often coexist: studies have found that parents in households where intimate partner violence was perpetrated are more likely to inflict corporal punishment on their children³⁸ and that approval of husbands hitting their wives is associated with a belief that corporal punishment is necessary to rear children.³⁹ Associations have been found between experiencing corporal punishment as a child and perpetrating violence towards a partner as an adult,⁴⁰ experiencing violence from a partner as an adult,⁴¹ holding inequitable gender attitudes⁴² and verbally coercing or physically forcing a partner to have sex as an adult.⁴³

35 Lunkenheimer, E. S. et al (2006), "The Intergenerational Transmission of Physical Punishment: Differing Mechanisms in Mothers' and Fathers' Endorsement?", *Journal of Family Violence*, 21, 509-519

36 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

37 Levinson, D. (1989), *Family violence in cross-cultural perspective*, Newbury Park: Sage, cited in Straus, M. A. et al (2014), op cit

38 Taylor, C. A. et al (2012), "Use of Spanking for 3-Year-Old Children and Associated Intimate Partner Aggression or Violence", *Pediatrics*, 126(3), 415-424

39 Lansford, J. E. et al (2014), "Attitudes Justifying Domestic Violence Predict Endorsement of Corporal Punishment and Physical and Psychological Aggression towards Children: A Study in 25 Low- and Middle-Income Countries", *The Journal of Pediatrics*, published online 9 January 2014

40 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

41 Bott, S. et al (2012), [*Violence Against Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: A comparative analysis of population-based data from 12 countries*](#), Washington DC: Pan American Health Organisation & Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

42 Contreras, M. et al (2012), *Bridges to Adulthood: Understanding the Lifelong Influence of Men's Childhood Experiences of Violence, Analyzing Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey*, Washington DC: International Center for Research on Women & Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo

43 Straus, M. A. et al (2014), op cit

Mental harm

Corporal punishment is emotionally as well as physically painful and its links to poor mental health in childhood are clear. In the 2002 meta-analysis, all 12 studies found that corporal punishment is significantly associated with a decrease in children's mental health, including with behaviour disorders, anxiety disorders, depression and hopelessness.⁴⁴ The 2016 meta-analysis examined ten studies on childhood mental health problems and confirmed the association. It additionally examined three studies on self-esteem and found an association between children experiencing corporal punishment and having low self-esteem.⁴⁵ Other studies have found associations with suicide attempts, alcohol and drug dependency, low self-esteem, hostility and emotional instability.⁴⁶

The associations hold true in adulthood. All eight studies on mental health in adulthood in the 2002 meta-analysis found an association between corporal punishment and poor mental health, including low self-esteem, depression, alcoholism, self-harm and suicidal tendencies.⁴⁷ The 2016 meta-analysis examined eight studies on adult mental health problems and confirmed the association.⁴⁸ Significant later studies include nationally representative studies in Canada,⁴⁹ Finland⁵⁰ and the USA⁵¹ which found associations with mental health problems including depression, anxiety disorder and alcohol and drug abuse.

Indirect physical harm

Corporal punishment can have a negative impact on children's physical health. Associations have been found between corporal punishment and children feeling that their health was poor, experiencing physical illnesses such as asthma, suffering injuries and accidents, being hospitalised and developing habits which put their health at risk, such as smoking, fighting with others and alcohol consumption.⁵²

The effect can continue into adulthood. Studies have found associations with developing cancer, asthma,⁵³ alcohol-related problems,⁵⁴ migraine,⁵⁵ cardiovascular disease, arthritis and obesity as an adult.⁵⁶

44 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

45 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

46 Fergusson, D.M. & Lynskey, M.T. (1997), "Physical punishment/maltreatment during childhood and adjustment in young adulthood", *Child Abuse and Neglect* 21, 617-30; de Zoysa, P. et al (2008), "Corporal Punishment in the Sri Lankan Context: Psychological Outcomes for Our Children", in Devore, D. M. (2006), *New Developments in Parent-Child Relations*, Nova Science Publishers Inc

47 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

48 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

49 Afifi, T. O. (2014), "Child abuse and mental disorders in Canada", *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, published online 22 April 2014

50 Österman, K. et al (2014), "Twenty-Eight Years After the Complete Ban on the Physical Punishment of Children in Finland: Trends and Psychosocial Concomitants", *Aggressive Behaviour*, 9999, 1-14

51 Afifi, T. O. et al (2012), "Physical Punishment and Mental Disorders: Results From a Nationally Representative US Sample", *Pediatrics*, 2 July 2012

52 Lau, J. T. F. et al (1999), "Prevalence and correlates of physical abuse in Hong Kong Chinese adolescents: A population-based approach", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23, 549-557

53 Hyland, M. E. et al (2012), "Beating and insulting children as a risk for adult cancer, cardiac disease and asthma", *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 29 September 2012

54 Cheng, H. G. et al (2011), "Childhood physical punishment and the onset of drinking problems: Evidence from metropolitan China", *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 118, 31-39

55 Fuh, J. et al (2010), "Relationship Between Childhood Physical Maltreatment and Migraine in Adolescents", *Headache*, 50, 761-768

56 Afifi, T. et al (2013), "Harsh Physical Punishment in Childhood and Adult Physical Health", *Pediatrics*, published online 15 July 2013

Damage to education

Studies suggest that corporal punishment can have a negative impact on children’s cognitive development. The 2016 meta-analysis examined eight studies related to cognitive development and found an association between experience of corporal punishment and impaired cognitive ability.⁵⁷ Other studies have found associations between corporal punishment by parents and lower IQ scores,⁵⁸ smaller vocabularies,⁵⁹ poorer cognitive abilities,⁶⁰ slower cognitive development⁶¹ and poorer school marks.⁶² Similar associations have been found for school corporal punishment.⁶³

School corporal punishment violates children’s right to education, including by creating a violent and intimidating environment in which children are less able to learn. A 2016 review which drew on more than 20 studies on the effects of school corporal punishment found that it injures children, damages their learning and is linked with mental health and behaviour problems.⁶⁴ School corporal punishment is often a reason given by children for not attending or for dropping out of school.⁶⁵ It has negative effects on the quality of education in schools as a whole: research has found links between the legality of corporal punishment in schools and poorer test results.⁶⁶

The negative impact of corporal punishment on children’s cognitive development and education may last into adulthood. In some studies, adults who experienced corporal punishment as children were less likely to graduate from college⁶⁷ and to have high status and highly paid jobs.⁶⁸

57 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

58 Smith, J. R. & Brooks-Gunn, J. (1997), “Correlates and consequences of harsh discipline for young children”, *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 151(8), 777-786

59 MacKenzie, M. J. et al (2013), “Spanking and Child Development Across the First Decade of Life”, *Pediatrics*, published online 21 October 2013

60 Straus, M. A. & Paschall, M. J. (2009), “Corporal Punishment by Mothers and Development of Children’s Cognitive Ability: A Longitudinal Study of Two Nationally Representative Age Cohorts”, *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 18, 59-483

61 Straus, M. A. et al (2014), op cit

62 Cherian, V. I. (1994), “Self-reports of corporal punishment by Xhosa children from broken and intact families and their academic achievement”, *Psychological Reports*, 74(3), 867-874

63 Ogando Portela, M. J. & Pells, K. (2015), *Corporal Punishment in Schools Longitudinal Evidence from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam – Innocenti Discussion Paper 2015-02*, Florence: UNICEF Office of Research

64 Gershoff, E. T. (2016), *School Corporal Punishment in Global Perspective: Prevalence, Outcomes, and Efforts at Intervention*, Report submitted to the Know Violence in Childhood Initiative, Violence in Schools Learning Group

65 Pinheiro, P. S. (2006), *World Report on Violence against Children*, Geneva: United Nations

66 Center for Effective Discipline (2010), *Paddling Versus ACT Scores - A Retrospective Analysis*, Ohio: Center for Effective Discipline

67 Straus, M. A. & Mathur, A. K. (1995), “Corporal Punishment of Adolescents and Academic Attainment”, paper presented at the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological, San Francisco, 7 April 1995

68 Straus, M. A. & Gimpel, H. S. (1992), “Corporal Punishment by Parents and Economic Achievement: A Theoretical Model and Some Preliminary Empirical Data”, paper presented at the 1992 meeting of the American Sociological Association

Damage to the parent-child relationship

Corporal punishment inflicted on a child by her or his parents can severely damage the parent-child relationship. In the 2002 meta-analysis, all 13 studies on the topic found an association between corporal punishment and a decrease in the quality of the parent-child relationship.⁶⁹ The 2016 meta-analysis examined five studies on the topic and confirmed the association between corporal punishment and negative parent-child relationships.⁷⁰ Other studies have found that corporal punishment is associated with poor attachment by babies to their mothers⁷¹ and with poor family relationships in adolescence.⁷²

Corporal punishment can make children feel rejected by their parents,⁷³ and teach them to fear and avoid their parents: children report feeling hurt, angry and frightened of their parents after being physically punished.⁷⁴

Conclusion

The evidence that corporal punishment is harmful to children, adults and societies is overwhelming –more than 250 studies show associations between corporal punishment and a wide range of negative outcomes, while no studies have found evidence of any benefits. Corporal punishment causes direct physical harm to children and impacts negatively in the short- and long-term on their mental and physical health and education. Far from teaching children how to behave, it impairs moral internalisation, increases antisocial behaviour and damages family relationships. It increases aggression in children and increases the likelihood of perpetrating and experiencing violence as an adult. It is closely linked to partner violence, and ending it is essential in combatting other forms of violence in societies. Respect for children’s rights to protection, health, development and education requires that all corporal punishment of children be prohibited in law and eliminated in practice.

Background prepared by the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children
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69 Gershoff, E. T. (2002), op cit

70 Gershoff, E. T. & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2016), op cit

71 Coyl, D. D. et al (2002), “Stress, Maternal Depression, and Negative Mother-Infant Interactions in Relation to Infant Attachment”, *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 23(1-2), 145-163

72 Abolfotouh, M. A. et al (2009), “Corporal punishment: Mother’s disciplinary behavior and child’s psychological profile in Alexandria, Egypt”, *Journal of Forensic Nursing*, 5, 5-17

73 Rohner, R. P. et al (1991), “Effects of Corporal Punishment, Perceived Caretaker Warmth, and Cultural Beliefs on the Psychological Adjustment of Children in St. Kitts, West Indies”, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 53(3), 681-693, cited in Straus, M. A. et al (2014), op cit

74 Dobbs, T. (2005), op cit