

# Supplementary Submission to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child regarding the Repeal of Section 43 of the Criminal Code (Canada)

**State Party:** Canada

**Treaty:** Convention on the Rights of the Child

**Clusters:** III General Principles (Art. 3); IV Civil Rights and Freedoms (Art. 19); VI Basic Health and Welfare (Art. 24); VI Education, Leisure and Cultural Activities (Art. 28)

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Call to Action #6

Rationale for Repeal of Section 43 of Canada’s Criminal Code

## Current Status of Section 43 of Canada’s Criminal Code

There has been no change in the Government of Canada’s refusal to repeal section 43. Senate Private Member’s Bill S-206 reached Third Reading in the Senate but died on the Order Paper when a federal election was called in 2021. The introduction of a further Private Member’s Bill is currently under consideration due to the federal government’s continuing resistance. It will be the 18<sup>th</sup> such bill tabled since 1989.

## Update of Information Provided in Alternative Report

At the time we submitted our Alternative Report (March 2020), 59 countries had prohibited all corporal punishment of children. Since then, four more countries have done so – Guinea, Japan, Republic of Korea, and Seychelles. In addition, Scotland and Wales have passed full legal prohibitions in the past two years.

In March 2020, 648 professional organizations across Canada had endorsed the *Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth*, which calls for the repeal of section 43. That number has increased to 664. Two recent endorsers are the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada.

## New Developments

### Research

The large body of research demonstrating corporal punishment’s many negative outcomes and lack of positive outcomes has continued to grow. In July 2021, *The Lancet* published a narrative review of 69 prospective longitudinal studies of corporal punishment’s outcomes.<sup>1</sup> These studies control for children’s behaviour and follow it over time, meeting a key criterion for causality. This review confirmed that corporal punishment does not predict any positive outcomes over time. But it does consistently predict increases in behaviour problems – a finding that was robust across child and parent characteristics. ([https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(21\)00582-1/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(21)00582-1/fulltext))

An analysis of 69 population-based surveys in 49 countries found that children who experienced corporal punishment were 24% to 38% less likely to have reached basic developmental milestones and 30% less likely to be on-track in the social-emotional domain than children who were not corporally punished.<sup>2</sup>

A neuroscience study found that spanking can disrupt brain development; children who are ‘spanked’ exhibit greater activation in the brain regions involved in responding to threat.<sup>3</sup> This finding confirms previous research showing that exposure to violence is associated with heightened vigilance to threat cues. ([https://sdlab.fas.harvard.edu/files/sdlab/files/cuartas\\_2021\\_corporal\\_punishment.pdf](https://sdlab.fas.harvard.edu/files/sdlab/files/cuartas_2021_corporal_punishment.pdf))

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<sup>1</sup> Heilmann, A., Mehay, A., Watt, R.G., Kelly, Y., Durrant, J.E., van Turnhout, J., & Gershoff, E.T. (2021). Physical punishment and child outcomes: A narrative review of prospective studies. *The Lancet*, 398(10297), 355-364.

<sup>2</sup> Cuartas, J. (2021). Corporal punishment and early childhood development in 49 low- and middle-income countries. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 120, 105205.

<sup>3</sup> Cuartas, J., Weissman, D.G., Sheridan, M.A., Lengua, L., & McLaughlin, K.A. (2021). *Child Development*, 92, 821-832.

A study of the impact of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) among 2,380 families found that ‘spanking’ worsens children’s behaviour regardless of whether they are exposed to ACEs.<sup>4</sup> It also found that the associations between spanking and child outcomes “are statistically indistinguishable from the association of forms of maltreatment that are legally prohibited in the US context with the same child outcomes” (p. 175). The authors repeated the calls of other researchers to classify ‘spanking’ as an ACE.

Recent studies continue to confirm the association between corporal punishment and intimate partner violence.<sup>5,6</sup> A meta-analysis of 66 studies found that parent-to-child aggression predicted later dating violence – both perpetration and victimization – in adolescence and young adulthood.<sup>7</sup>

## Policy Statements

In November 2021, The World Health Organization published a *Fact Sheet on Corporal Punishment and Health* (<https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/corporal-punishment-and-health>). It called for “implementation and enforcement of laws to prohibit physical punishment.”

In 2021, the Convention against Torture Initiative published, *Positive Discipline and Alternatives to Corporal Punishment of Children* (<https://cti2024.org/resource/uncat-children-and-positive-discipline-tool-10-uncat-2021/>), calling for universal prohibition of corporal punishment.

In 2021, an esteemed group of Canadian theologians, clergy, social scientists and public health experts created and signed a *Christian Theological Statement in Support of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Call to Action #6*, which calls for the repeal of section 43. The Theological Statement (Annex) calls upon “Christian churches to petition our government to ensure the full protection of children, including the repeal of section 43 of the Criminal Code of Canada.”

In 2022, the *Rationale for Repeal of Section 43 of Canada’s Criminal Code* (Annex) was publicly released, endorsed by the Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children, Child Welfare League of Canada, Children First Canada, Children’s Hospital of Eastern Ontario, First Nations Child and Family Caring Society, National Collaborating Centre for Indigenous Health, Positive Discipline in Everyday Life, UNICEF Canada, and Youth in Care Canada. This document provides human rights and research rationales for repeal of section 43 and situates the current law within international and national developments.

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<sup>4</sup> Ma, J., Lee, S.J., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2021). Adverse Childhood Experiences and Spanking have similar associations with early behaviour problems. *Journal of Pediatrics*, 235, 170-177.

<sup>5</sup> Bott, S., Ruiz-Celis, A.P., Mendoza, J.A., & Guedes, A. (2021). Co-occurring violent discipline of children and intimate partner violence against women in Latin America and the Caribbean: A systematic search and secondary analysis of national datasets. *BMJ Global Health*, 6:e007063.

<sup>6</sup> Pu, D.F., & Rodriguez, C.M. (2021). Spillover and cross-over effects: Mothers’ and fathers’ intimate partner violence, parent-child aggression risk, and child behavior problems. *Child Maltreatment*, 26, 420-4390

<sup>7</sup> Goncy, E.A., Basting, E.J., & Dunn, C.B. (2021). A meta-analysis linking parent-to-child aggression and dating abuse during adolescence and young adulthood. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 22, 1248-1261.

## Comments on Canada's Combined Report to the Committee

In paragraphs 68 and 69 of Canada's combined Report to the UNCRC Committee, Canada provided the following rationale for its position:

*68. The Criminal Code and PT [provincial/territorial] child protection laws provide comprehensive protection to children against violence. Of note, section 43 of the Criminal Code is a limited defense to criminal liability for parents, persons standing in the place of parents, and teachers for the non-consensual application of reasonable force toward children that is reasonable under the circumstances. The issue of whether section 43 should be repealed raises differing and strongly held views across Canada. The Government of Canada continues to support parenting education programs that promote the non-physical discipline of children and alternative disciplinary choices, including publications that explain the law in Canada.*

Potential controversy over the repeal of section 43 does not justify continuing to violate children's rights to protection from all forms of violence (Article 19, Convention on the Rights of the Child; General Comment No. 8 on the Right of the Child to Protection from Corporal Punishment and Other Cruel or Degrading Forms of Punishment; General Comment No. 13 on the Right of the Child to Freedom from All Forms of Violence). The Government's statement that repeal "raises differing and strongly held views" suggests that it is more concerned with its political capital than with taking leadership on this fundamental human rights issue. The job of government is to protect its citizens, yet Canada continues to fail to protect its smallest and most vulnerable ones. Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees all citizens equal protection and benefit of the law, without discrimination on the basis of age (Section 15(1)). This alone should be sufficient to motivate the government to act. Its status as a Pathfinder Country for the Global Partnership to End Violence against Children obligates it to act.

That being said, 19 years ago, 51% of Canadians already were in favour of repeal of section 43; 80% would be in favour if repeal would reduce child abuse. These figures do not support the government's contention that repeal of section 43 is highly controversial.

There is no universal parent support program offered in Canada. The Government owns and supports, but does not fund, *Nobody's Perfect*, a targeted program for at-risk parents of children under age 6. It provides short-term research grants to other parenting programs but does not support their ongoing operations. Parent support is primarily offered through community organizations with small budgets.

The Government of Canada has produced one leaflet that addresses the law in Canada (<https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/publications/healthy-living/pamphlet-what-s-wrong-with-spanking.html>). Last updated in 2015, it states: "Most forms of physical punishment are considered crimes in Canada. The provinces and territories also have laws to protect children." This statement is far from a complete statement on section 43.

The Department of Justice webpage inaccurately and misleadingly states that "all children in Canada are protected from all forms of violence through the Criminal Code" (<https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/cj-jp/fv-vf/mcb-cce/index.html>).

Canada's Report continues:

*69. Many PTs [provinces/territories] offer programs that teach positive parenting and discipline strategies for home and in-care milieus. For instance, both New Brunswick and Québec have legislation that require operators of childcare facilities to ensure positive reinforcement and guidance of children, and ensure that no child is subjected to any form of physical punishment or verbal/emotional abuse or is denied physical necessities. Many PT governments have a zero physical discipline policy for childcare facilities.*

Provincial/territorial programs and legislation are irrelevant to federal legislation. The Criminal Code is federal law, falling within the Government of Canada's jurisdiction. Child protection and child care legislation fall within provincial/territorial jurisdiction. The fact that some provinces and territories have taken action that the federal government has not taken should be a source of embarrassment to the Government of Canada. It also creates a legal contradiction between federal and provincial/territorial laws that is confusing and contrary to promoting the rights of children.

Moreover, legislation is not consistent across provinces and territories. Children are protected in some settings and not others, depending on where they live. By repealing section 43, the Government of Canada would ensure that corporal punishment is not legal in any setting in any jurisdiction.

## Comments on Canada's Response to the Committee's List of Issues

In paragraph 8 of its List of Issues, the UNCRC Committee requested the following information:

- (a) Steps taken to prohibit corporal punishment of children in all settings since Bill S-206, which was aimed at repealing the defence allowing for "reasonable force" under section 43 of the Criminal Code, was not passed;
- (b) Measures taken to develop a comprehensive national strategy to address all forms of violence against children in line with target 16.2 of the Sustainable Development Goals.

The Government of Canada's response:

*29. The GC continues to explore how best to respond to the TRC's Call to Action 6 to repeal section 43 of the Criminal Code. See paragraphs 68 and 69 of Canada's Periodic Report and Question 8(B) for information on measures to protect children from violence.*

The TRC's Call to Action #6 is simple and straightforward: repeal section 43 of the Criminal Code. It strains credulity that this would require seven years of 'exploration' of how to respond. The Government of Canada has publicly committed to implementing every one of the TRC's 94 Calls to Action, but its progress has been very limited and is subject to criticism in Canada. It has taken no action on #6. With each passing year, Canada falls farther behind its peers and provides no credible reasons for its inaction. With each passing year, Canadian children are being hit and hurt by their parents with the permission of the Government of Canada. Far from being a "Pathfinder," Canada increasingly lags behind in the protection of children.

# A Christian Theological Statement in Support of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call to Action #6

Call to Action #6 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools calls for the repeal of Section 43 of the Criminal Code of Canada.

Section 43 provides a legal defence for the use of physical punishment by parents (and people standing in the place of parents) to correct a child's behaviour.

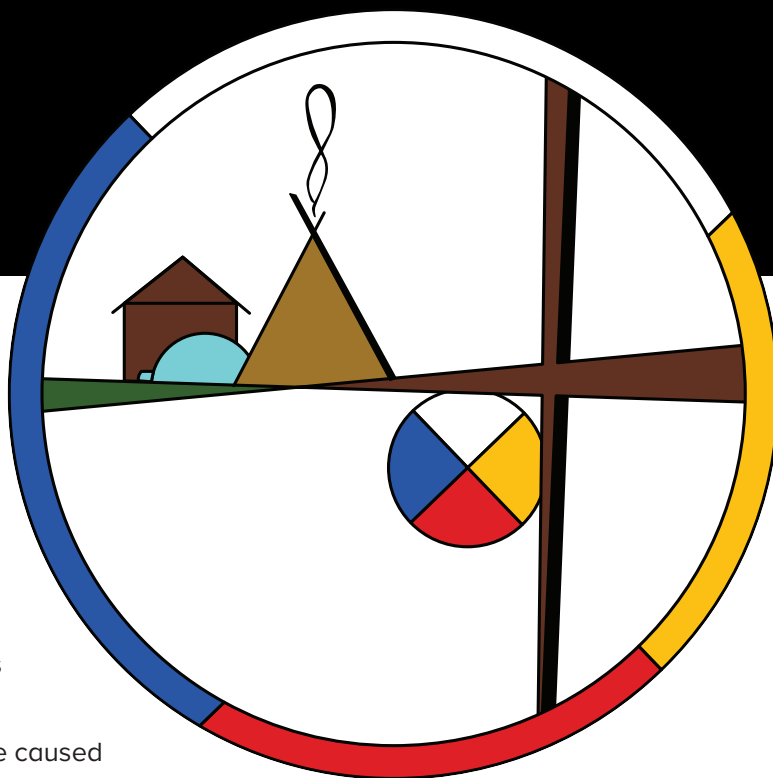
We acknowledge the legacy of damage caused to First Nations, Inuit and Métis children by residential schools. The resilience and courage of the Indian Residential School survivors has awakened us to our moral failure. This compels us to imagine a new and hopeful future, supporting the healthy development of children and their families for all peoples in Canada.

Research and lived experience have revealed the destructive effects of physical punishment on the mental, physical and spiritual health of children. Physical punishment also weakens the parent-child and other family relationships. It is time for Canada to provide children with protection from violence equal to that enshrined in the law for adults.

A full reading of scripture in light of the revelation of Jesus Christ, who embraced and welcomed children, is incompatible with physical punishment. Scripture constantly invites the people of God to imagine a better future. We affirm the following biblical principles: children are sacred gifts from God; fully human and deserving of dignity and respect; blessed with gifts, wisdom and strengths that enrich the common good; vulnerable persons deserving nurture, protection and justice; and individuals with growing moral and spiritual capacities.

While parenting can be challenging, children deserve respectful discipline and mentoring, so they know their identity as beloved children of God.

In response to Call to Action #6, churches and faith-based groups have a duty to call for the repeal of Section 43 as a vital step towards reconciliation, and a more just and peaceful society.



## Recommendations

Based on these principles and the final report of the TRC:

1. We call upon Christian churches to petition our government to ensure the full protection of children, including the repeal of section 43 of the Criminal Code of Canada.
2. We call upon Christian churches to recognize the deep societal wounds that remain as a result of colonialism, and to actively address the on-going, disproportionate physical, spiritual and emotional harm experienced by Indigenous children and youth.
3. We call upon Christian churches to increase awareness in our communities of the impact of violence, including physical punishment, in homes, families, institutions and communities.
4. We call upon Christian churches to endorse the Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth.  
<http://www.cheo.on.ca/en/physicalpunishment>
5. We call upon all leaders and educators in Christian communities to be active in the protection of children.
6. We call upon all Christians to work together in continuing to develop healthy, effective and non-violent approaches to discipline in raising children and youth.

The Right Reverend Mark MacDonald, National Indigenous Anglican Bishop, Anglican Church of Canada  
The Venerable Dr. Michael Thompson, General Secretary, Anglican Church of Canada  
The Right Reverend Riscylla Walsh Shaw, Suffragan Bishop & Ambassador of Reconciliation, Diocese of Toronto, Anglican Church of Canada  
The Reverend Dr. John H. Young, Executive Minister – Theological Leadership, The United Church of Canada  
The Reverend Dr. William Morrow, Professor of Hebrew and Hebrew Scriptures, School of Religion, Queen's University, Kingston, ON  
Dr. Marcia Bunge, Professor of Religion and Bernhardson Distinguished Chair of Lutheran Studies, Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, MN  
The Reverend Dr. Valerie Michaelson, Post Doctoral Fellow, School of Religion and Department of Public Health Sciences, Queen's University, Kingston, ON  
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The Reverend Dr. Peter Robinson, Professor, Wycliffe College, Toronto, ON  
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## Artist Statement

The logo evokes the homes of First Nations and Inuit families, which are connected to represent our overlapping experiences and the universal need for safe, strong homes for our families. Smoke rises in the form of the infinity symbol of the Métis Nation. In Indigenous teachings, burning sage carries prayers to the Creator; in Biblical teachings, the burning of incense is a vital part of ceremonial activities and prayer. The smoke is leaving the teepee where prayers are made, healing takes place, understanding develops, and cultural relationships can be restored. The smoke is going up toward God, the creator of people and the world. The homes are encircled by the Medicine Wheel, composed of four colours symbolizing the four stages of life – infancy, childhood, adulthood and old age. The cross, which spans from east to west and north to south, is connected to the circle and placed within the circle to represent the vision of reconciliation between Indigenous Peoples and the church. Beside the cross, the small Medicine Wheel represents the wholeness of the child.

Ken Letander, the logo's designer, is an Indigenous artist from Manitoba's Treaty One territory who worked with Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, hearing and documenting the stories of Indian Residential School survivors.






**CWLC LBEC**  
Child Welfare League of Canada  
Ligue pour le bien-être de l'enfance du Canada

**CHEO**

 Positive Discipline In Everyday Life

 NATIONAL COLLABORATING CENTRE FOR ABORIGINAL HEALTH  
CENTRE DE COLLABORATION NATIONALE DE LA SANTÉ AUTOCHTONE

 **CHILDREN FIRST CANADA** | **LES ENFANTS D'ABORD CANADA**

 Canadian Coalition for the Rights of Children  
Coalition canadienne pour les droits des enfants

 **Youth in care CANADA**

**unicef**   
CANADA

# RATIONALE FOR REPEAL OF **SECTION 43** OF CANADA'S CRIMINAL CODE

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## Section 43 of the Criminal Code of Canada

*Every parent, schoolteacher and person standing in the place of a parent is justified in using force by way of correction of a pupil or child, as the case may be, who is under his care, if the force does not exceed what is reasonable under the circumstances.*

This defence dates from 1892, a codification of the English common law which treated children as chattels. Corrective assault of all other Canadian citizens by persons in authority has been prohibited, including that of apprentices, sailors, convicted offenders and inmates.

## Section 43 Violates Children's Rights to Protection

1. In 1991, Canada ratified the UN [Convention on the Rights of the Child](#) (CRC), committing itself to: protecting children from all forms of violence (Article 19); acting in the best interests of children (Article 3); ensuring that school discipline respects children's human dignity (Article 28); and protecting the child from degrading treatment or punishment (Article 37).
2. In its [Concluding Observations](#) of 1995, 2003 and 2012 the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child called for repeal of section 43 with increasing urgency. The Committee has expressed "grave concern" about Canada's continuing inaction on this issue.<sup>1</sup>
3. In 2002, the Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights noted that physical punishment is inconsistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and called upon states to take legal measures to ensure children's rights to protection.<sup>2</sup>
4. In 2006, the [UN Secretary-General's Study on Violence against Children](#) urged states to "end the justification of violence against children, whether accepted as 'tradition' or disguised as 'discipline'" and concluded that "Governments are ultimately responsible for the protection of children. It is therefore up to Governments to act now, to fulfil their human rights obligations."<sup>3</sup>
5. In 2006, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child issued [General Comment No. 8](#), which emphasized that the CRC "requires the removal of any provisions (in statute or common - case - law) that allow some degree of violence against children (e.g., 'reasonable' or 'moderate' chastisement or correction) in their homes/families or any other setting."<sup>4</sup>
6. In 2007, Canada's [Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights](#) recommended repeal of section 43 by April 2009.<sup>5</sup>

7. The 2018 Report of the United Nations Human Rights Council's Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review calls on Canada to, among other things:
  - a. "Explicitly prohibit corporal punishment of children in all settings, including at home" (142.213 Montenegro).
  - b. "Enact and implement Bill S-206 as soon as possible" (142.214 Sweden).
  - c. "Continue the important work on reconciliation with Canada's indigenous peoples by fulfilling the Government's promise to implement all of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in a timely manner" (142.249 Sri Lanka).
  - d. "Implement all of the 'calls to action' from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" (142.250 Australia).
8. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees all citizens' rights to security of the person (Section 7) and equal protection of the law regardless of age (Section 15).

## ***Physical Punishment Is Linked to Broad and Enduring Personal and Societal Harm***

1. 75% of substantiated physical abuse cases in Canada arise from incidents of physical punishment.<sup>6</sup> In addition to its impact on children, physical abuse places an enormous economic burden on Canada.<sup>7</sup>
2. Across 75 studies, even mild physical punishment predicts poorer mental health, negative parent-child relationships, lower moral internalization, increased anti-social behaviour (bullying, dating violence, peer aggression), and increased risk of violence toward intimate partners and children in adulthood.<sup>8</sup>
3. Across 69 prospective longitudinal studies, physical punishment was found to increase child aggression and other behaviour problems over time and to place parents at risk of inflicting increasingly severe violence.<sup>9</sup>
4. Physical punishment can undermine brain development, activating neural systems that deal with threat<sup>10</sup> and reducing the volume of the areas involved in self-regulation and executive function<sup>11</sup>
5. No evidence has ever been found of long-term benefits.

## ***Canada is Out of Step with International Developments***

1. 63 States have prohibited physical punishment of children in all settings, as well as Scotland and Wales; 26 have clearly and publicly committed to doing so;<sup>12</sup> together, these constitute more than half of UN member states.
2. In 2008, the Council of Europe set a goal of abolishing physical punishment across Europe.<sup>13</sup> To date, 34 of its 47 member states have enacted prohibitions.

1. 23 of the 28 European Union member states have achieved full prohibition.
2. All UN member states have adopted the target of ending all forms of violence against children under the new Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030 (Target 16.2).<sup>14</sup> One of three indicators that will be used to measure progress toward this target is the proportion of children aged 1-17 years who experienced any physical punishment and/or psychological aggression by caregivers in the past month.<sup>15</sup>
3. As of 2018, Canada is a Pathfinding Country under the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children.<sup>16</sup> This commitment includes implementation of the INSPIRE initiative, which calls for prohibition of all physical punishment of children.<sup>17</sup>
4. In 2021, the World Health Organization called for the “implementation and enforcement of laws to prohibit physical punishment.”<sup>18</sup>

### ***Section 43 Is Out of Step with Canadian Attitudes***

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has identified repeal of section 43 as its sixth call to action,<sup>19</sup> stating “Corporal punishment is a relic of a discredited past and has no place in Canadian schools or homes.”
2. To date, more than 660 respected organizations representing most sectors have endorsed the Canadian Joint Statement on Physical Punishment of Children and Youth, which recommends repeal of section 43.<sup>20</sup>
3. Canadians’ approval of physical punishment has declined steadily; today only 17% approve of it.<sup>21</sup>
4. The proportion of parents using physical punishment declined from 50% in 1994 to 30% in 2008.<sup>22</sup>
5. A 2003 national survey found that 51% of Canadians were in favour of repeal of section 43; 80% would be in favour of repeal if it would reduce child abuse.<sup>23</sup>

### ***The Supreme Court of Canada’s Ruling on Section 43 Is Inadequate***

1. In 2004, the Supreme Court limited section 43 protection to parents who strike children over 2 and under 13, below the head, with their hands. This ruling contradicted the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, as well as the consistent findings of research showing negative outcomes of even ‘mild’ physical punishment for all children.
2. Lower courts have applied the Supreme Court’s limits inconsistently; child-serving and law enforcement organizations are confused by them.
3. This ruling does not allow for considerations of proportionality, an essential element of normal criminal law defences.
4. The ruling was interpreted by many parents as a ‘green light’ to strike their children.<sup>24</sup>
5. Since 2004 there has been an increase in research evidence documenting physical punishment’s lifespan and societal harms, and in international condemnation of the practice.

## Implications of Repealing Section 43

1. Repeal would symbolize this government's commitment to upholding children's human rights to be raised in a world free of violence<sup>25</sup> and ensuring that every child gets the best possible start in life.<sup>26</sup>
2. Repeal would support and facilitate multi-sectoral initiatives across the country aimed at ending violence against children and domestic violence, and promoting healthy family relationships.
3. Repeal would allow clear and meaningful education of parents, police, child welfare workers and prosecutors.
4. The Criminal Code defences of self-defence, defence of another person, and defence of property would remain available, as would the common-law defence of necessary restraint, which is well-accepted in law and policy.
5. Protocols for warnings, prosecutions and apprehensions, and supportive services for parents, can be carefully developed to ensure that the best interests of all children are upheld.
6. In those countries where physical punishment has been prohibited and police and child welfare investigations are tracked, there has been no increase in criminal prosecutions or child welfare apprehensions in minor cases – only decreased support for, and use of, physical punishment.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Committee on the Rights of the Child (2012). *Concluding Observations on the Combined Third and Fourth Periodic Report of Canada*, CRC/C/CAN/CP/3-4, para. 44.

<sup>2</sup> van Boven, T. (2002). *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/Rev. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pinheiro, P.S. (2006). *World Report on Violence against Children*. Geneva: United Nations. Pages 3, 355.

<sup>4</sup> 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*, para. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights (2007). *Children: The Silenced Citizens. Effective Implementation of Canada's International Obligations with Respect to the Rights of Children*, page 19.

<sup>6</sup> Durrant, J.E., Trocmé, N., Fallon, B., Black, T., & Knoke, D. (2006). *Punitive Violence against Children in Canada*. Centre of Excellence for Child Welfare, Information Sheet #41E.

<sup>7</sup> Bowlus, A., McKenna, K., Tanis, D., & Wright, D. (2003). *The Economic Costs and Consequences of Child Abuse in Canada: Report to the Law Commission of Canada*.

<sup>8</sup> Gershoff, E.T. & Grogan-Kaylor (2016). Spanking and child outcomes: Old controversies and new meta-analyses. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 30, 453-469.

<sup>9</sup> Heilmann, A., Mehay, A., Watt, R.G., Kelly, Y., Durrant, J.E., van Turnhout, J., & Gershoff, E.T. (2021). Physical punishment and child outcomes: A narrative review of prospective studies. *The Lancet*. Published online June 28.

<sup>10</sup> Cuartas, J., Weissman, D.G., Sheridan, M.A., Lengua, L., & McLaughlin, K.A. (2021). Corporal punishment and elevated neural response to threat in children. *Child Development*, 92, 821-832.

<sup>11</sup> Tomoda, A., Suzuki, H., Rabi, K., Sheu, Y.-S., Polcari, A., & Teicher, M.H. (2009). Reduced prefrontal cortical gray matter volume in young adults exposed to harsh corporal punishment. *Neuroimage*, 47, T66-T71.

- 12 States with prohibitions: Albania, Andorra, Argentina, Austria, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cabo Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kenya, Kosovo, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Seychelles, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, South Sudan, Spain, Sweden, TFYR Macedonia, Togo, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uruguay, Venezuela.
- 13 Council of Europe. *Raise your Hand against Smacking!*
- 14 United Nations. *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.
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