



**"Solidarity for the Children of SAARC"**

**3<sup>RD</sup> TECHNICAL CONSULTATION  
ELIMINATING HARMFUL PRACTICES AFFECTING CHILDREN  
IN SOUTH ASIA**

**25- 27 September 2013**

Hosted by: Royal Government of Bhutan

Organized by: SAIEVAC Regional Secretariat

Supported by: South Asia Coordinating Group on Action against Violence against  
Children (SACG),

SAARC Development Fund (SDF),

In Collaboration with the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Violence  
against Children (SRSG-VaC)

**TECHNICAL THEMATIC PAPER**

**ENDING ALL CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF  
CHILDREN IN ALL SETTINGS IN SOUTH ASIA<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> This technical paper is written by Mr. Laxman Belbase, Regional Gender & Child Protection Specialist, with support from Mr. Peter Newell, Coordinator, Global Initiative and Mr. Dominique Pierre Plateau, CPI Asia Representative, Save the Children. This paper has been developed for the SAIEVAC's 3<sup>rd</sup> Technical Consultation on Eliminating Harmful Practices Affecting Children in South Asia. The information and recommendations in this paper are based on literature review of secondary sources, including academic studies, global evaluation, meta-analysis, reports produced by SAIEVAC & SACG member agencies, empirical studies conducted by international development organizations and government reports and records.

## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
ISSUE DESCRIPTION .....	2
HUMAN RIGHTS IMPERATIVE .....	3
WHAT RESEARCH TELLS US.....	7
COUNTRY BRIEFS.....	8
Afghanistan.....	8
Bangladesh.....	9
Bhutan .....	9
India.....	10
Maldives .....	10
Nepal .....	11
Pakistan.....	11
Sri Lanka .....	12
CALL FOR ACTION .....	12
APPROACHES TO ENDING ALL CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN .....	15
MOVING FORWARD .....	15
REFERENCES.....	i

## INTRODUCTION

Violence against children in South Asia cuts across social, cultural, religious and ethnic lines. Children experience violence in a range of settings including at home, in schools, in care and in judicial systems and institutions, at workplaces and within their communities. Under its strategic framework, one of the South Asian Initiative to End Violence Against Children's (SAIEVAC's) major specific aims is to reinforce regional cooperation on ending corporal punishment in the region. The framework states that by 2015, all States have enacted the necessary measures to explicitly prohibit all corporal punishment in all settings, including law reform, and are reinforcing positive parenting practices and positive classroom management programs (SAIEVAC, 2010). Following the commitments made by all the governments of South Asia, SAIEVAC Regional Secretariat is currently operating a regional campaign "Equal Protection for Children" against corporal punishment of children in all settings, in cooperation with South Asia Coordinating Group on Actions Against Violence Against Children (SACG) and financial support from Save the Children.

In May 2012, SAIEVAC launched its first ever regional campaign "Equal Protection of Children" -aiming at prohibition and elimination of all corporal punishment across the region- in its 3<sup>rd</sup> Regional Technical Consultation on Violence Against Children organised by SAIEVAC and hosted by the Government of Sri Lanka, supported by SACG. In 2011, SAIEVAC published a progress report "**Prohibiting corporal punishment of Children in South Asia: A Progress Review**", which detailed the legal status of corporal punishment in each of the eight states and the changes needed to achieve full prohibition which all the states are committed to.

The SAIEVAC "Equal Protection for Children" campaign is guided by the obligations taken on by South Asian states in ratifying the UNCRC, including the right of the child to be protected from violence, develop to its full potential and the right of the child to participation. The campaign will also strengthen the capacity of the Member States to follow up on their international and regional reporting obligations towards the human rights monitoring mechanisms and bodies such as the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, the UN Committee against Torture, the Universal Periodic Review & the recommendations of the UN Secretary-General's Study on Violence Against Children. The campaign aims to achieve a clear and explicit prohibition of all corporal punishment and other forms of cruel and degrading punishment of children in all settings in each of the states. It also promotes the mainstreaming of positive, non-violent and effective forms of discipline in parenting, caring and teaching, as well as raising awareness of the harmful impact of corporal punishment and the recognition of all violent punishment as a harmful traditional practice. (SAIEVAC, The Campaign, 2012)

Being guided by its 5-year work plan 2010-15 (which serves as its regional strategic framework to coordinate and monitor progress among the member states)

SAIEVAC, with its aim of eliminating harmful practices affecting children in the region, is organising its 3rd South Asia Technical Consultation.

Identified as an urgent need, exploring and addressing harmful practices in South Asia was prioritized through a recommendation generated and endorsed at the 3rd Governing Board Meeting of the South Asia Initiative to End Violence against Children (SAIEVAC). This technical consultation has specific focus on ending Child Marriage (CM) and the prohibition and elimination of Corporal Punishment because of the commitments made to achieve progress in South Asia on these issues in particular. This consultation will also allow space for discussion on other issues and concerns, aiming to identify the full range of harmful practices based on tradition, culture, religion and superstition which are prevalent in South Asia (SAIEVAC, Concept Note, 2013).

This paper has been developed as a technical paper to guide the consultation and the discussions on prohibiting and eliminating corporal punishment of children. SAIEVAC encourages wide distribution of the paper to all those working, or potentially working, on this issue in the region. SAIEVAC also encourages the translation of this document into local languages, in order to reach out to all populations in the region.

## **ISSUE DESCRIPTION**

Corporal punishment is the most common form of violence against children affecting children globally, including across South Asia, irrespective of culture, religion, caste, ethnicity, geographical location and socio-economic status. Social acceptance of violent punishment of children is so entrenched that often authority figures such as police, school principals, clergy and community leaders do not see its prevalence and legality as a concern. The persisting legality and social approval of violent punishment is symptomatic of children's low status, as possessions rather than individual people and rights-holders<sup>2</sup> (Heiberg, 2011). The right to protection from all forms of violence is reflected in many articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC; for example, articles 6, 19, 34 – 36, 37, 39). The fact that it is lawful to treat children in ways that would be allowed in relation to adults, breaches the principle of equal protection under the law (Hindberg, 2001). Corporal punishment and other humiliating and degrading punishment of children is a violation of children's rights to full respect for their human dignity and physical integrity. Violent punishment affects millions of children in all countries and in all settings, including their homes and schools; in care and justice systems; and in work and community settings. The prohibition and elimination of corporal punishment is acknowledged by international and regional human rights monitoring bodies as an immediate human

---

<sup>2</sup> The International NGO Council believes that the continuing legal and social acceptance of these violations and the slow progress in identifying and effectively addressing them are symptomatic of children's low status, as possessions rather than individuals and rights-holders, in societies across all regions.

rights obligation. However, it continues to be socially accepted, commonly practiced, and legally authorized in the home and other settings in every country in South Asia.

The UNCRC Committee also addresses corporal punishment as a harmful traditional practice. Its General Comment No. 13 (2011) comprehensively covers “The right of the child to freedom from all forms of violence”. In describing “all forms of violence”, the Committee includes harmful practices, stating: “These include, but are not limited to:

- Corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment;
- Female genital mutilation, Amputations, binding, scarring, burning and branding;
- Violent and degrading initiation rites;
- Force-feeding of girls;
- Fattening;
- Virginity testing (inspecting girls' genitalia)
- Forced marriage and early marriage,
- “Honour” crimes;
- “Retribution” acts of violence (where disputes between different groups are taken out on children of the parties involved);
- Dowry-related death and violence;
- Accusations of “witchcraft” and related harmful practices such as “exorcism”;
- Uvulectomy and teeth extraction” (para. 29)

Most physical “child abuse” is corporal punishment – adults’ use of violence to control and punish children. Research has consistently found that the majority of incidents substantiated by authorities as abuse occur in a punitive context. The purported distinction between “ordinary” physical punishment and “abuse” is meaningless (Durrant, 2008): *no line can or should be drawn between “acceptable” and “unacceptable” violence against children*. SAIEVAC considers ending corporal punishment to be the foundation on which the elimination of all forms of violence against children must be built.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS IMPERATIVE**

The legality, social acceptance and practice of corporal punishment and other forms of cruel or degrading punishment of children are recognized by international and regional human rights monitoring bodies as human rights violations. SAIEVAC recognises that the global progress in challenging all violent punishment of children, in all settings of their lives, comes from the strong human rights consensus that prohibiting and eliminating it is an immediate human rights obligation. The firmly established human rights imperative to prohibit corporal punishment, the repeated recommendations from the Committee on the Rights of the Child and other UN treaty bodies, the prominence of the issue in the Universal Periodic Review of states’ overall human rights records, the strong recommendation to prohibit coming from the UN Study on Violence against Children in 2006 and in follow up the Study in all regions, must surely make us question why this fundamental human right is enjoyed

by so few of the world's children (SAIEVAC, 2011). SAIEVAC wants to build on the exciting legislative reform opportunities for quick progress in all the SAARC member states, as relevant bills are in preparation or before parliaments.

The SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements on the Promotion of Child Welfare in South Asia (SAARC, 2002) was signed in January 2002 during the Eleventh Summit in Kathmandu. The Convention envisages facilitating the development of the full potential of the South Asian child and reaffirms the conviction that children in South Asia deserve urgent and focused attention.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by 193 states, including all in Asia, requires states to protect children from "all forms of physical and mental violence". Article 19.1 of the UNCRC requires the protection of the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, exposure to violence (family or domestic violence), and sexual abuse, while in the care of parents, legal guardians or any other person who has the care of the child.

Every child has the right to be protected from all forms of violence and to be cared for – ideally by his or her family or in an alternative family care setting.

The Committee on the Rights of the Child also emphasizes the immediate obligation to prohibit all corporal punishment in its General Comment No 8 (2006): "There is no ambiguity: 'all forms of physical or mental violence' do not leave room for any level of legalized violence against children. Corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment are forms of violence, and states must take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to eliminate them."

The Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children (a SAIEVAC strategic partner) notes that the Committee has already recommended to 160 states

In General Comment No. 8 (CRC Committee, 2006), the Committee 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 such as 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 punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the child.

(including all states in South Asia) that they should prohibit all corporal punishment. The 2006 report of the UN Secretary-General's Study on Violence against Children recommends prohibition of all forms of violence (including corporal punishment), and sets this as a priority. "Yet, corporal punishment remains authorized in the law, widely socially approved and commonly practiced in the family homes of all countries in South Asia." (Pinheiro, 2006) Extreme forms of corporal punishment are still authorized in penal systems of some states as well. There has been limited progress in prohibiting corporal punishment in some settings, such as schools, but reforms have not yet been consistent or complete in any state, and no comprehensive strategy exists to eliminate corporal punishment.

Families hold the greatest potential to care for children and for protecting children from all forms of violence. Families can also support and empower children to protect themselves against violence, both in development and emergency contexts. The preamble statement of the UNCRC includes reference to the family as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and wellbeing of its members. It recognises the family as the cornerstone for the realisation of children's rights and their development. It also states that caregivers should be supported in providing for the child in a manner consistent with the Convention, taking the evolving capacities of the child into consideration.

Since the first session of the Universal Periodic Review of states' overall human rights records in the Human Rights Council in 2008, many states have been questioned about corporal punishment and 110 in all regions including South Asia have received recommendations to prohibit it.

The Treaty Bodies monitoring implementation of other international human rights instruments – many of which have been ratified by states in the region – have interpreted them as requiring prohibition of corporal punishment. For example, recommendations to prohibit corporal punishment of children have been made by the Human Rights Committee, the Committee against Torture, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.

**THE STATUS OF PROHIBITION IN SOUTH ASIAN COUNTRIES (SAIEVAC, Global Initiative & Save the Children, 2011)**

State	Prohibited in the home	Prohibited in alternative care settings	Prohibited in day care	Prohibited in schools	Prohibited in penal institutions	Prohibited as sentence for crime
Afghanistan <sup>3</sup>	NO	NO	SOME <sup>4</sup>	YES	NO	NO <sup>5</sup>
Bangladesh <sup>6</sup>	NO	NO	NO	YES <sup>7</sup>	NO	NO
Bhutan <sup>8</sup>	NO	NO	NO	NO <sup>9</sup>	[YES] <sup>10</sup>	YES
India <sup>11</sup>	NO	SOME <sup>12</sup>	NO	SOME <sup>13</sup>	SOME <sup>14</sup>	SOME <sup>15</sup>
Maldives <sup>16</sup>	NO	NO	NO	NO <sup>17</sup>	NO	NO
Nepal <sup>18</sup>	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
Pakistan <sup>19</sup>	NO	NO	NO	SOME <sup>20</sup>	SOME <sup>21</sup>	SOME <sup>22</sup>
Sri Lanka <sup>23</sup>	NO	NO <sup>24</sup>	NO	NO <sup>25</sup>	SOME <sup>26</sup>	YES

The countries of South Asia have criminal laws to protect citizens from assault. Many have constitutions and legislation intended to reflect human rights standards. Many

<sup>3</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings made in 2006 in a meeting of South Asia Forum following 2005 UN Study on Violence against Children regional consultation and also while endorsing the SAIEVAC's regional campaign against all corporal punishment of children in all settings in 2010

<sup>4</sup> Prohibited in pre-school provision

<sup>5</sup> Lawful under Shari'a law

<sup>6</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings made in 2006 in a meeting of South Asia Forum; Government accepted UPR recommendation to prohibit (2009) and while endorsing the SAIEVAC's regional campaign against all corporal punishment of children in all settings in 2010

<sup>7</sup> Unlawful under 2011 Supreme Court ruling, still to be confirmed in legislation

<sup>8</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings in 2006 in a meeting of South Asia Forum, the Child Care and Protection Act 2011 prohibits some but not all corporal punishment

<sup>9</sup> Code of Conduct and ministerial directives state corporal punishment is not to be used but no prohibition in law

<sup>10</sup> Possibly prohibited in Child Care and Protection Act 2011

<sup>11</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings confirmed in third/fourth report to UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (2011); Government accepted UPR recommendation to prohibit in all settings (2012)

<sup>12</sup> Prohibited in care institutions except in Jammu and Kashmir

<sup>13</sup> Prohibited for 6-14 year olds except in Jammu and Kashmir

<sup>14</sup> Not prohibited in Jammu and Kashmir

<sup>15</sup> Permitted in traditional justice systems

<sup>16</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings, including the home, made at July 2006 meeting of South Asia Forum, following 2005 UN Study on Violence against Children regional consultation

<sup>17</sup> Ministry of Education advises against corporal punishment but no prohibition in law

<sup>18</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings in July 2006 in a meeting of South Asia Forum; 2005 Supreme Court ruling removed legal defense for corporal punishment by parents, guardians and teachers

<sup>19</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings, including the home, made at July 2006 meeting of South Asia Forum, following 2005 UN Study on Violence against Children regional consultation; draft legislation under discussion (2013)

<sup>20</sup> Prohibited for 5-16 year olds in Islamabad Capital Territory, Sindh province and possibly Baluchistan province

<sup>21</sup> Prohibited in Juvenile Justice System Ordinance 2000 but this not applicable in all areas and other laws not amended/repealed

<sup>22</sup> Lawful under Shari'a law

<sup>23</sup> Commitment to prohibition in all settings, including the home, made at July 2006 meeting of South Asia Forum, following 2005 UN Study on Violence against Children regional consultation

<sup>24</sup> Legislation to prohibit in children's homes being drafted (2011)

<sup>25</sup> Ministerial circular states corporal punishment should not be used but no prohibition in law; legislation to prohibit being drafted (2011)

<sup>26</sup> Prohibited in prisons; legislation to prohibit in all penal institutions being drafted (2011)

also have specific child protection laws that make ill-treatment or abuse and cruelty an offence. Yet these legislative provisions do not guarantee children protection from all corporal punishment or other cruel and degrading forms of punishment. Some progress has been made in schools but quick progress is now needed to ensure that all countries in South Asia fulfil their commitments to have legal provisions prohibiting all corporal punishment in the home and in alternative care settings<sup>27</sup>.

## WHAT RESEARCH TELLS US

The evidence that corporal punishment is harmful to children, adults and societies is overwhelming – more than 150 studies show associations between corporal punishment and a wide range of negative outcomes, while no studies have found evidence of any benefits (Gershoff, 2002) (Talwar, 2011) (Jones, 2012). Corporal punishment's harmful effects include:

- direct physical harm
- negative long-term impacts on mental and physical health
- weak internalisation of moral values
- increased aggression and antisocial behaviour in childhood and adolescence increased tolerance and perpetration of violence in adulthood
- slower cognitive development
- school drop-out
- damaged family relationships

These outcomes have been found all over the world, including in South Asian countries. For example, a study of nearly 400 children carried out in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan found that physical and psychological punishment were among the primary reasons for children leaving home, dropping out of school, and eventually becoming involved in sex work, being jailed and/or living on the streets (Choudhury, 2008). A study of 12-year olds in Sri Lanka found that the level of corporal punishment they experienced was significantly associated with their level of psychological maladjustment (low self-esteem, hostility and aggression, and emotional instability) (De Zoysa, 2008). In any case, as noted above, 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.

A major study involving men in **Brazil, Chile, Croatia, India, Mexico** and **Rwanda** found that those who had experienced violence, including corporal punishment, during childhood, were more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence, hold inequitable gender attitudes, be involved in fights outside the home or robberies, pay for sex and experience low self-esteem and depression, and were less likely to participate in domestic duties, communicate openly with their partners, attend pre-natal visits with a pregnant partner and/or take paternity leave. (Contreras, M. et al, 2012)

---

<sup>27</sup> Detailed updated country reports and tables to be found at [www.endcorporalpunishment.org](http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org)

It's also observed that male adolescents are more likely than females to receive harsh discipline from their fathers, but equally likely to receive discipline from their mothers. Physical punishment reduces for girls as they grow older. Adolescent girls are scolded and humiliated, but fathers generally do not beat adolescent girls although mothers at times use physical punishment. For boys, physical punishment escalates as they grow older. They are subject to harsher physical punishment than girls. Most girls and boys feel that their parents are always nagging. Parents think that their persistent demands, reminders, requests and threats of negative consequences will influence the child to do what they want. The child usually complies but does not feel good about it. Some of the girls who joined the armed conflict in Nepal said they joined the Maoist camp to avoid this constant nagging. (Choudhury, 2008)

"If I make a serious mistake my father would use a cane to beat me. For less serious mistakes, he would use his strong legs and feet to hurt me. If the mistake is minor then he would use his hands". -A boy in jail in Pakistan (Choudhury, 2008)

A 2012 meta-analysis of 17 studies, which included data from over 18,000 children, found that children with disabilities were 3.6 times more likely to be victims of physical violence, including "spanking", than other children (Jones, 2012). Another study found that children with disabilities were significantly more likely to experience severe physical punishment than children without disabilities in seven of the 15 countries studied. (Global Initiative, 2012)

## COUNTRY BRIEFS<sup>28</sup>

SAIEVAC, in collaboration with the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children and Save the Children Sweden, published "Prohibition of Corporal Punishment of Children in South Asia: A Progress Review" at the end of 2011. This included reports on the legal status of corporal punishment in each of the eight states. Detailed country reports are maintained and kept updated and will be circulated at this meeting.

### Afghanistan

Research in Afghanistan has suggested that slapping, verbal use, punching, kicking and hitting with sticks, electrical cables and shoes are the most common forms of child punishment in the country.<sup>29</sup> Corporal punishment is prohibited in schools through the 2008 Education Act (Article 39). Article 45 of the 2005 Law on Prison and Detention Centres states that force can only be used if the prisoner is escaping, attacking others or causing disorder. Article 7 of the 2005 Juvenile Code prohibits "contemptuous and harsh punishment, even if for correction and rehabilitation

<sup>28</sup> All these country briefs have been taken from the report of "Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children"

<sup>29</sup> Kabul: Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (2008), *Love, Fear and Discipline: Everyday violence toward children in Afghan families*.

purposes", but the Committee on the Rights of the Child (2011) has expressed concern that children still are handcuffed and shackled in the juvenile rehabilitation centres for security reasons or as a form of punishment. Furthermore, the prohibition of corporal punishment has not yet been extended to the family home, alternative care settings and day care (early childhood care and day care for older children) and the Penal Code (1976) and the Shiite Personal Status Law still confirm the rights of fathers and teachers to punish children.<sup>30</sup> The government, with support from civil society and UN agencies, is currently working on the new Children's Bill, which could offer a strong opportunity for SAIEVAC and Children rights agencies to achieve complete prohibition of all corporal punishment of children in Afghanistan.

## Bangladesh

Research in Bangladesh from 2008 has shown that 91% of children in schools experience physical punishment and verbal abuse; 23% face corporal punishment every day and 7% reported injury and bleeding as a result.<sup>31</sup> Corporal punishment was declared unconstitutional and so unlawful in schools by the Supreme Court in 2011 and the Ministry of Education issued a circular stating that perpetrators of corporal punishment in school will face prosecution. Prohibition is being considered in a draft Education Bill (2011). The Penal Code, Court of Criminal Procedures, Whipping Act, Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, Cantonments Pure Food Act and Railways Act authorise corporal punishment as a sentence for crime in the form of judicial whippings. The Supreme Court has observed that all laws authorising corporal punishment as a sentence should be repealed and corporal punishment by parents be prohibited. The government has for some time been planning a law on eliminating violence against children.

## Bhutan

The Constitution of Bhutan prohibits cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and the country's 2011 Child Care and Protection Act includes a similar provision. However, the Act does not cover all corporal punishment in all situations and article 111 of the Penal Code states that "personnel of a prison or any other correctional institution can use force to enforce the lawful rules or procedures of the institution". Moreover, the Penal Code (Article 109) provides for the use of force by parents, teachers or other authorities for the prevention of serious misconduct, if it does not cause death or injury. A 1997 notification from the Ministry of Education stated that corporal punishment in schools should not be used, which was confirmed in the Teacher and Student's Code of Conduct from the same year but not reflected in legislation. The development of guidelines to be issued under the Child Care and Protection Act could provide an opportunity to prohibit corporal punishment in other settings.

---

<sup>30</sup> *Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment Of Children, Country Report – Afghanistan*, p.1.

<sup>31</sup> UNICEF & Ministry of Women and Children Affairs (2009), *Opinions of Children of Bangladesh on Corporal Punishment: Children's Opinion Poll 2008*.

## India

The first national study in India on child abuse was carried out in 2007. It examined the experiences of 12,500 children, 69% of whom reported being victims of physical abuse including corporal punishment.<sup>32</sup> Corporal punishment is prohibited against children between the ages of 6 and 14 in schools through the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act (Article 17). In some states (Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu), children are fully protected against corporal punishment in the education system under state laws. Corporal punishment is also unlawful as a sentence for crime under the Penal Code 1860 and the 2000 Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Act (amended in 2006). In addition, corporal punishment is prohibited as a disciplinary measure in penal institutions under the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) Rules 2007. The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights has campaigned consistently for the prohibition of corporal punishment in all settings. The Government of India committed itself to achieve full prohibition in its latest report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child and also in its 2012 response to recommendations to prohibit provided in India's Universal Periodic Review. Current proposals to amend the Juvenile Justice legislation could be used to achieve complete prohibition. A pilot project has been launched in Andhra Pradesh for the reporting of non-medical emergencies, including corporal punishment in schools and colleges. Parents and students can dial a number to lodge a complaint, which will be passed on to local police who will visit the scene.<sup>33</sup>

## Maldives

A 2009 study by UNICEF in Maldives found that almost half of the children had experienced physical or psychological punishment at home, in school or in the community. The draft Penal Code authorises the use of force by parents and others for the purpose of punishing children. The Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Child 1991 (Article 18) prohibits only severe punishment. There is no explicit prohibition on corporal punishment in schools. The 1991 Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Child states that punishment in schools "should be appropriate to the child's age and should not affect them physically and psychologically". The Ministry of Education states that corporal punishment should not be used but there is a legal defence for its use by teachers. The Penal Code does not authorise judicial corporal punishment. However, this does not apply to offences under the Sharia law. The 2006 Regulation on Conducting Trials, Investigations and Sentencing Fairly for Offences Committed by Minors states a number of offences for which flogging is prescribed. However, following the sentencing of a 15-year-old girl who had been raped to flogging, the Government issued a statement calling for a number of Bills currently pending to be passed into law urgently to protect (young) victims of offences.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Kacker, L. et al (2007), *Study on Child Abuse: India 2007*, New Delhi: Ministry of Women and Child Development.

<sup>33</sup> *The Korea Times*, 6 February 2013; *Express News Service*, 13 April 2013 in Global Initiative Newsletter 23.

<sup>34</sup> Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children Newsletter 23.

## Nepal

A 2008 study of 71 child centres in Nepal found that punishments such as hitting children, isolating them, locking them in the toilet, publicly humiliating and forcing them to clean floors and toilets are commonly practiced.<sup>35</sup> A joint report by the Centre for Victims of Torture and a forum for journalists in Nepal concluded that levels of corporal punishment in the education system are high.<sup>36</sup> Neither the 1971 Education Act nor the 2003 Education Regulation Act contains any explicit prohibition of corporal punishment in schools. Corporal punishment is unlawful as a sentence for crime under criminal law. The Interim Constitution 2007 (Article 26) prohibits cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. The Children's Act 1992 defines a child as below 16 years of age and prohibits cruel treatment, subjecting a child to handcuffs, fetters or solitary confinement, but its article 7 exempts "the act of scolding and minor beating to the child by his father, mother, member of the family, guardian or teacher for the interests of the child". In 2005 the Supreme Court withdrew Article 7 but that decision has not been confirmed by law reform.<sup>37</sup> The Abrogation of Some Criminal Cases and Remission of Punishment Act 1963 explicitly prohibit a number of cruel and humiliating punishments, but there is no explicit prohibition on corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in the penal system. The 2012 Standards for Operation and Management of Residential Child Care Homes ban the use of corporal punishment, but there is no prohibition in law.

## Pakistan

A consultation held in 2005 in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province with more than 3,500 children, 1,200 parents and nearly 500 teachers revealed that every child in the province had experienced corporal punishment at least once in his/her life.<sup>38</sup> In Pakistan, corporal punishment is lawful at home, in the schools, in alternative care institutions and in day care. In March 2013, the Prohibition of Corporal Punishment Bill, prohibiting corporal punishment in education and care settings, was passed by the National Assembly but fell at the general election, before going to the Senate; hopefully it will be re-introduced. The Right to the Free and Compulsory Education Act for the Islamabad Capital Territory and in the province of Sindh prohibit corporal punishment in government schools for children between 5 and 16 years of age. Similar legislation has been drafted in Balochistan and is expected in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In the penal system, the 2000 Juvenile Justice System Ordinance (Article 12) states that no child may be given corporal punishment while in custody. The 1996 Abolition of the Punishment of Whipping Act prohibits whipping as a sentence, but it does not apply to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

---

<sup>35</sup> UNICEF & Terre des Hommes (2008), *Adopting the Rights of the Child: A study on inter-country adoption and its influence on child protection in Nepal*.

<sup>36</sup> Reported in Upi.com, June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013. [http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/World-News/2013/06/06/Despite-training-abuse-continues-in-Nepals-schools/PC-1451370552250/](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2013/06/06/Despite-training-abuse-continues-in-Nepals-schools/PC-1451370552250/)

<sup>37</sup> *Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment Of Children*, Country Report – Nepal, p.1.

<sup>38</sup> Save the Children/UNICEF/Schools and Literacy Dept, Government of NWFP (2005): *Disciplining the Child: Practices and Impacts*.

Offences of *Hadd*<sup>39</sup> committed by children who have reached puberty are punishable by corporal punishment, including flogging. Various Islamic Law Ordinances provide for the enforcement of corporal punishment in the form of whipping and flogging of children in the presence of a medical officer to prevent the death of the convicted. The Enforcement of *Hudood* Ordinance<sup>40</sup> allows for amputation as a punishment.

## Sri Lanka

A 2012 survey of 177 Sri Lankan parents found that 76% had used corporal punishment in the past month. A third of the parents who were part of the survey said they were completely favourable towards corporal punishment<sup>41</sup>. In Sri Lanka, corporal punishment is prohibited only as sentence for a crime and as a disciplinary measure in prisons, but it is allowed in homes, schools, alternate care settings, day cares, remand homes, and approved home and certified schools. In 2011, the Ministry of Women and Empowerment and Child Welfare started a process of drafting legislation to prohibit corporal punishment in settings outside the home. In 2005, the Ministry of Education issued a circular stating that corporal punishment should be prohibited in schools, but this has not been confirmed in legislation. However, corporal punishment is prohibited as a sentence for crime and the Corporal Punishment (Repeal) Act No. 23 repeals corporal punishment in prisons under the Prisons Ordinance. Corporal punishment is lawful in the home, alternative care settings and day care under the Penal Code and the Children and Young Persons Ordinance.

## CALL FOR ACTION

The SAIEVAC regional campaign “Equal Protection of Children”, which was launched in May 2012 in Sri Lanka, aims at ending the legality, social acceptance and practice of violent punishment in South Asia, conducive to the full development of a quarter of the world’s children. This campaign is guided by its 3 strategic pillars: legal reform, public education, and awareness raising (SAIEVAC, Regional Campaign Strategy, 2011).

1. **Legal reform:** Through advocacy, technical support and strategic networking, SAIEVAC focuses on achieving an explicit prohibition of corporal punishment of children in all settings in every country in the region. This will be achieved through strong legal frameworks and comprehensive, well-coordinated and

---

<sup>39</sup> *Hadd* refers to the class of punishments that are fixed for crimes that are considered to be “claims of God”.

<sup>40</sup> The *Hudood* Law is intended to implement Islamic *Sharia* law, by enforcing punishments mentioned in the Quran and *sunnah* for *Zina* (extramarital sex), *Qazf* (false accusation of zina), Offence Against Property (theft) and Prohibition (of alcohol consumption).

<sup>41</sup> Institute for Participatory Interaction in Development & Save the Children (2012), *A Survey on Parental Disciplinary Practices and an Awareness Program to Eliminate Corporal Punishment and Other Forms of Negative Parental Practices*.

well- resourced national strategies, supported by confidential and child friendly provisions of services.

2. **Public education:** Knowledge of non-violent, positive and effective discipline in parenting, caring and teaching at the population level will be achieved by building the capacity of social workers, health professionals, educators, and all other professionals who work with families. .
3. **Awareness raising:** Broad recognition of the consequences of corporal punishment and re-defining it as a harmful practice will be achieved by information campaigns aimed at the public and community leaders. Such campaigns will empower children to protect themselves from all forms of violence.

Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child requires protection of children from all forms of physical or mental violence. The Committee on the Rights of the Child has consistently condemned all corporal punishment and recommended prohibition since it began examining states' reports in 1993. In 2006 the Committee issued re-affirmed, "the obligation of all State Parties to move quickly to prohibit and eliminate all corporal punishment and all other cruel or degrading forms of punishment of children" (citation).

The obligation and urgent need to prohibit and eliminate corporal punishment was re-iterated by the UN Study on Violence against Children (2006). In response, the South Asian countries committed themselves to prohibition of corporal punishment in all settings in 2005.

In 2010, SAIEVAC organized its first technical workshop on legal reform in collaboration with the South Asia Coordinating Group on Action against Violence against Children (SACG), spearheaded by Save the Children. Participants from Governments, UN agencies, I/NGOs and civil society organizations across South Asia, as well as Cambodia, Netherlands, Senegal and Sweden, participated. Children from India, Bhutan and Nepal also took part. The meeting was attended by Ms. Marta Santos Pais, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General on Violence against Children.

SAIEVAC's governing board approved a 5-year programme to end corporal punishment of children in all settings. The regional secretariat launched its first Regional Campaign against Corporal Punishment on 28th May, 2012 in Colombo during the South Asia Regional Consultation on the Follow-up of the UN Study on Violence against Children. The aim of the campaign is to end the legality, social acceptance and practice of violent punishment in South Asia.

Each of the SAARC member states has its own legal system and includes varied provisions, some of them authorising or condoning violent punishment of children and others limiting or prohibiting violent punishment in some settings of children's

lives. Thus each state requires distinct changes in and additions to legislation to achieve prohibition. A South Asia Consultation on Legislation to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, held with the National Law University Delhi in 2012 (Global Initiative, 2012), agreed that in every case legislative reforms need to ensure that:

- they recognise fully children's rights to respect for their human dignity and physical and mental integrity and to equal protection under the law, without discrimination on any grounds,
- there is no legislation authorising corporal punishment in any setting, or anything in statute or common law which can be interpreted as providing a justification or defence for corporal punishment or other cruel or degrading punishment of children, however light. The removal of all authorisations, justifications or defences provides children with equal protection under the criminal law from battery, whether or not disguised as discipline or control, in all settings and whoever is the perpetrator;
- "umbrella" legislation on child rights/child protection, applying to children wherever they are, or sectoral laws applying in the settings of children's lives, include explicit prohibition of all corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment; and
- the law is formulated so that it can be used effectively as an educational tool, helping to transform attitudes and practice.

In 2012, through the seminar on "Securing Access to Justice in the Enforcement of Human Rights", SAIEVAC's Regional Secretariat formally established links with SAARC-LAW (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation in Law) to achieve the "Legal Reform" pillar of the campaign in all the SAARC members states, including right to protection in general. Another aim of the collaboration is to seek to strengthen the SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements for the Promotion of Child Welfare in South Asia. In continuum, during 2013, SAIEVAC collaborated with SAARC Law on a landmark conference held in Bhutan and hosted by the Royal Court of Justice and the SAARC-LAW Bhutan Chapter, along with the SAIEVAC Secretariat and South Asia Coordinator Group (SACG). This conference, *Child Protection and Constitutionalism – Securing the Future*, was attended by Chief Justices, members of national judiciaries and law students from across South Asia, together with members of SAIEVAC's extensive partner network. Eight recommendations were adopted, including the following: "Countries in South Asia should move to fulfil their commitments to explicitly prohibit the legal and socio-cultural acceptance of physical and humiliating punishment of children in the region -each country should develop and implement a plan on moving from prohibition to elimination of physical and humiliating punishment of children in all setting". (SAIEVAC, 9th SAARC Chief Justices' Conference & 12th SAARCLAW Conference, 2013)

Law reform is rarely easy. Achieving equal protection for children – so that they are legally protected from assault just as adults are – can be a struggle. It challenges

deep rooted negative attitudes towards children as somehow not fully human and as needing to experience pain in order to learn and become full members of society, as well as the notion that corporal punishment is acceptable and even a duty in childrearing – views sometimes reflected in certain interpretation of religious beliefs and texts. These beliefs have been enshrined in written legislation and case law condoning the use of corporal punishment. Laws have also been enacted protecting children from extreme cruelty and abuse, reinforcing the notion that corporal punishment is somehow distinct from such ill-treatment.

## **APPROACHES TO ENDING ALL CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN**

SAIEVAC's Regional Campaign will advocate for - and support all relevant stake holders in each Member State to undertake - all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect children from all corporal punishment and other forms of cruel and degrading punishment in all settings. While international activities can be valuable, and financial support for education must include measures to deliver safe schools, the focus must be in ensuring that the right policy, legal, training and support frameworks are available in each country (Plan, 2012). It will strengthen the capacity of the Member States to follow up on their international and regional reporting obligations towards human rights monitoring bodies, such as the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, the UN Committee against Torture, the Universal Periodic Review and the recommendations of the UN Secretary-General's Study on violence against children.

SAIEVAC has been pursuing this strategy at regional and national levels in South Asia, and has been adopted in all the 8 South Asian States with ownership of the governments as well as civil societies and respective governments and donor agencies channel additional resources to support the campaign. This programme focuses its advocacy with all the South Asian States to instigate necessary actions and measures towards law reformation so as to prohibit corporal punishment in all settings. Also this campaign's backbone will be to support governments and civil society to implement programmes, at different levels, on positive parenting and discipline reinforcing positive parenting practices and positive classroom management programmes.

## **MOVING FORWARD**

Some argue that challenging and ending corporal punishment is not a priority, given the extreme breaches of children's rights and the extreme forms of violence that children in most states are facing. But the SAIEVAC campaign is not just challenging a particular form of violence – though it is the most common form of violence against children. As the Committee on the Rights of the Child asserts in its General Comment No. 8, ending corporal punishment is an essential strategy for ending all forms of violence against children: the idea that breaching a child's human dignity and physical integrity is acceptable, or even as some still suggest "in their best interests", makes every other sort of extreme abuse, including other forms of harmful

practices those affect children and sexual and gender based violence, more likely and easier. It further goes on to advise:

“In light of the traditional acceptance of violent and humiliating forms of punishment of children, a growing number of States have recognized that simply repealing authorization of corporal punishment and any existing defences is not enough. In addition, explicit prohibition of corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment, in their civil or criminal legislation, is required in order to make it absolutely clear that it is as unlawful to hit or ‘smack’ or ‘spank’ a child as to do so to an adult, and that the criminal law on assault does apply equally to such violence, regardless of whether it is termed ‘discipline’ or ‘reasonable correction’.

“Once the criminal law applies fully to assaults on children, the child is protected from corporal punishment wherever he or she is and whoever the perpetrator is. But in the view of the Committee, given the traditional acceptance of corporal punishment, it is essential that the applicable sectoral legislation – e.g. family law, education law, law relating to all forms of alternative care and justice systems, employment law – clearly prohibits its use in the relevant settings.” paras. 34 and 35 (CRC Committee, 2006)

No state can pretend that it has an effective child protection system while its laws and social attitudes still authorise and accept violent punishment of children. Ending all legalised violence against children is the only safe foundation for child protection. But the issue is more than a child protection issue, although corporal punishment does kill thousands of children every year and seriously injures and disables hundreds of thousands more. (Global Initiative, 2012) The UN Study on Violence against Children therefore called for a national strategy and plan of action to support the systematic protection of children, to be handled by a focal point at ministerial level with sufficient resources and high level responsibility and mandate to coordinate the implementation of the strategy. Just as challenging routine domestic violence has been a fundamental part of women’s emancipation and protection, so it is with children. The perceived right to hit and hurt and humiliate children deliberately is the most symbolic reflection of their low status in our societies as less than people, as possessions or objects.

For a child protection system to operate efficiently there is a need for a comprehensive National Plan of Action for protecting children against violence. The Plan of Action should provide set of measures to prevent and respond to incidences of violence against children, establish a coordination and monitoring mechanism at the national, regional and local level. Adequate resources, financial, human and technical should be allocated for implementation of the Plan of Action. Governments would also need to prioritize funding to the child protection system through allocating adequate financial resources and seeking assistance from external actors.

While all South Asian states define assault as a criminal offence, they also have defences for parents, other carers and/or teachers who assault children in the name of correction. SAIEVAC aims to ensure that all such defences are removed and explicit prohibitions of corporal punishment and other degrading treatment are integrated into family or civil law (Global Initiative, 2010).

Further, parents, teachers and other care-givers often lack knowledge on how to guide their children using non-violent methods and in many communities corporal punishment is a practice deeply rooted in social norms and culture. So, children in South Asia continue to feel scared, frustrated and humiliated by the acts of their parents, teachers and the people that they should be able to trust the most. However, a majority of parents in the study argue that they do not believe corporal punishment is an effective method of discipline. SAIEVAC further wants promote parenting education and be incorporated into the national education system, so that girls and boys are prepared for their future responsibilities. School programmes could change the sex role stereotyping and combat discrimination based on gender, ability, ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status. The media can be an effective delivery vehicle for parenting information and advice for reducing violence against children, and promoting gender equality and child development. Hence, it will be imperative to focus on effective ways of reaching out to the parents, teachers and care-givers on the non-violent ways of child rearing, teaching and disciplining methods.

SAIEVAC's aims to link corporal punishment with the priority issues for SAARC, and regional and global commitments to improving child health and development, gender equality, education and pro poor growth processes. SAIEVAC's secretariat will ensure coordinated and systematic approaches at the regional and national levels, engaging the SAARC authority, governments in the region, I/NGOs, children and civil society organisations. SAIEVAC secretariat also considers the establishment and strengthening of the National Coordination Groups a vital step to ensure similar cooperation and close relationship in their respective countries to support both the national governments and the civil society to bring about both legislative as well as behavioural changes on the issue of corporal punishment against children. SAIEVAC Regional Secretariat also encourages the development and adoption of effective strategies for the national level initiatives on ending all corporal punishment of children in all settings.

SAIEVAC aspires to ensure full understanding of the law reforms needed to achieve full and effective prohibition of all corporal punishment of children in all the SAARC Member States. For the same SAIEVAC will:

1. Design advocacy messages and tools for the regional campaign.
2. Capitalize on opportunities and entry points to promote its campaign.
3. Target the media as a key force in attitude change.
4. Promote innovation in advocacy

SAIEVAC Regional Secretariat sees the development of a national plan by the government with NACG, Children's Forum and other potentially active partners on how to progress from prohibition to elimination. This could be a distinct plan or an integral element in the national plan to eliminate all forms of violence against children.

SAIEVAC urges all the relevant stakeholders to strongly support this initiative.

*The essential foundation for the eradication of all forms of violence against children must include explicit prohibition to ensure that adults are forced to discard all their excuses for hurting children. It must reflect all the rights of the CRC. And it must also be sensitively drafted and sensitively implemented – designed always to promote the best interests of children. (Pinheiro, 2010)*

## REFERENCES

- Barbro Hindberg. (2001). *Ending Corporal Punishment*. Stockholm: Ministry of Health & Social Affairs/Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden.
- Choudhury, I. & Jabeen, S.F. (2008). *Perception of Children on Parenting Practice*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Save the Children Sweden, Regional Office for South and Central Asia.
- 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, USA: International Center for Research on Women.
- CRC Committee. (2006). *General Comment No. 8*. Geneva, Switzerland: Committee on the Rights of the Child.
- CRIN. (2005, 12 05). *Pinheiro at British Parliament on Corporal Punishment*. Retrieved from CRIN.
- De Zoysa, P. P. (2008). *Corporal Punishment in the Sri Lankan Context: Psychological Outcomes for our Children*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: University of Colombo.
- Durrant, J. E. (2008). Physical Punishment, Culture and Rights: Current Issues for Professionals. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics* , 29: 55-66.
- End All Corporal Punishment of Children, G. I. (2013). *Review of Research on the effects of Corporal Punishment of Children*. London, UK: Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children.
- Fox, N. A. & Shonkoff, J. P. (2011). How persistent fear and anxiety can affect young children's learning, behaviour and health. *Early Childhood Matters: Bernard van Leer Foundation* .
- Gershoff, E. T. (2002). Corporal Punishment by Parents and associated child behaviours and experiences: A meta-analysis and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin* 128 (4) , 539-579.
- Global Initiative. (2010). *Campaigns Manual – Ending Corporal Punishment*. London, UK: Global Initiative to End All Forms of Corporal Punishment.
- Global Initiative. (2012). *Ending Legalised Violence Against Children, Global Report*. UK: Global Initiative to End all Corporal Punishment of Children.
- Global Initiative. (2013). *Review of Research on the effects of corporal punishment: Working Paper*. London, UK: Global Initiative to End all Corporal Punishment of Children.
- Global Initiative. (2012). *South Asia Consultation on Legislation to End All Corporal Punishment of Children*. London, UK: Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children.
- Heiberg, T. e. (2011). *Stepping up Child Protection in South & Central Asia*. Kathmandu: Save the Children Sweden, Regional office for South & Central Asia.
- Hindberg, B. (2001). *Ending Corporal Punishment*. Stockholm: Ministry of Health & Social Affairs/Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sweden.
- Jones, L. e. (2012). *Prevalence and risk of violence against children with Disabilities: A systematic review and meta-analysis of observational studies*. UK: The Lancet.

- Lansford, J. E. & Dodge, K. A. (2008). Cultural Norms for Adult Corporal Punishment of Children and Societal Rates of Endorsement and Use of Violence. In *Parenting: Science and Practice* (pp. 257-270).
- Pinheiro, P. S. (2006). *Global Study on Violence against Children*. UN Secretary General's Office.
- Plan, G. A. (2012). *Learn Without Fear Campaign: Third Progress Report*. London, UK: Plan International.
- SAARC. (2002, January). *SAARC Regional Secretariat*. Retrieved September 2013, from SAARC Conventions: <http://saarc-sec.org/SAARC-Conventions/63/>
- SAIEVAC. (2013, May). *9th SAARC Chief Justices' Conference & 12th SAARCLAW Conference*. Retrieved from SAIEVAC: <http://www.saievac.org/news-updates/9th-saarc-chief-justices-conference-12th-saarclaw-conference/>
- SAIEVAC. (2013). Concept Note. *Concept Note on 3rd Technical Consultation on Harmful Practices Affecting Children*. South Asia: SAIEVAC.
- SAIEVAC. (2010). *Corporal Punishment Campaign*. Retrieved September 2013, from SAIEVAC Website: [www.saievac.org](http://www.saievac.org)
- SAIEVAC. (2011). *Prohibiting corporal punishment of Children in South Asia: A Progress Review*. Kathmandu: SAIEVAC, Global Initiative & Save the Children Sweden.
- SAIEVAC. (2011). *Regional Campaign Strategy*. Kathmandu, Nepal.
- SAIEVAC. (2012). *The Campaign*. Retrieved from SAIEVAC's Campaign : <http://saievac.org/cp/component/k2/item/79-the-campaign>
- SAIEVAC, Global Initiative & Save the Children. (2011). *Prohibition of All Corporal Punishment in South Asia: A Progress Review*. Kathmandu, Nepal: SAIEVAC Regional Secretariat.
- Talwar V, C. S. (2011). Effects of a Punitive Environment on Children's Executive Functioning: A Natural Experiment. In *Social Development, 20(4)* (pp. 805–824). Wiley Online Library.
- Talwar, V. C. (2011). Effects of a Punitive Environment on Children's Executive Functioning: A Natural Experiment. In *Social Development, 20(4)* (pp. 805–824). Wiley Online Library.
- Tomoda A. et al. (2009). Reduced prefrontal cortical gray matter volume in young adults exposed to harsh corporal punishment. *Neuroimage: 47*, 66-71.