A Review of the Research on Corporal Punishment

This report was prepared by: Primary Prevention Committee of the Health Care Coalition on Violence
Dear Colleague,

Parents often ask health professionals for advice about child discipline. As with any parenting controversy, the medical research on the subject is constantly evolving and difficult to keep abreast of in a busy clinic environment.

In the last decade, the research around corporal punishment has significantly increased in quality and quantity. Our report, *A Review of the Research on Corporal Punishment*, presents the best quality of data for your review. We hope this report is a useful tool to help you decide what's best for your patients and families.

Sincerely,

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Children’s Hospitals and Clinics of Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota
Member, Primary Prevention Committee

This report was prepared by the Primary Prevention Committee. Partners in this project include the University of Minnesota Extension Service, the Children’s Defense Fund, UCare Minnesota, and Children’s Hospitals and Clinics of Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota.
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By the time American children reach the age of four, 94% of them have been spanked (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Corporal punishment is highly dependent on a child’s age. Parents are most likely to report daily use of corporal punishment when a child is 12-18 months (Klackenberg-Larsson & Stensson, 1970). More than half of American parents still use corporal punishment at age 12 (Straus & Stewart, 1999). However, a growing body of research has found that corporal punishment, while potentially effective in stopping immediate behavioral transgressions, may have a range of unintended negative effects on children.

This report draws heavily on Gershoff’s seminal work, “Corporal Punishment by Parents and Associated Child Behaviors and Experiences: A Meta-Analytic and Theoretical Review” published in a 2002 volume of the American Psychological Association’s Psychological Bulletin. Gershoff’s selection criteria, exclusion criteria, and outcome categories are used in order to narrow the research to 88 of the highest-quality studies available. Those 88 studies are summarized in this report in the summary tables on page 3 and cited in the first section of the bibliography on pages 15 to 19. This report also discusses additional research relevant to the hypotheses posed by Gershoff. Those studies are cited in the second section of the bibliography on pages 20 to 22.

Over three hundred works on corporal punishment (including peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, and dissertations) were evaluated for inclusion in Gershoff’s meta-analyses. Studies were excluded from her meta-analyses when:

- The data were inapplicable or inadequate. (For example, over half of the works focused on the history of, prevalence of, and attitudes about corporal punishment.)
- Researchers combined families who used abusive discipline techniques either alone or with corporal punishment.
- Researchers combined corporal punishment with other disciplinary techniques (e.g. verbal punishment).
- The study did not provide appropriate statistics for the meta-analyses.
- Outcomes were predicted that have not been studied consistently (for example, recent research linking corporal punishment with lowered IQ).
- The corporal punishment was administered by non-parents or the study used an atypical population.

With 88 studies that remained after Gershoff’s exclusion criteria were utilized, Gershoff sought to determine:

- Does corporal punishment increase/decrease the likelihood of long-term compliance to desired behavior?
- Is corporal punishment associated with an increase/decrease in aggression in childhood?
- Is corporal punishment associated with an increase/decrease in physical abuse of children?
- Does corporal punishment positively/negatively affect the quality of the parent/child relationship?
- Does corporal punishment positively/negatively affect mental health in childhood?
- Is corporal punishment associated with an increase/decrease in delinquent and antisocial behaviors in childhood?
• Is corporal punishment associated with an increase/decrease in aggression in adulthood?
• Is corporal punishment associated with an increase/decrease in criminal and antisocial behavior in adulthood?
• Does corporal punishment positively/negatively affect mental health in adulthood?
• Does corporal punishment positively/negatively affect the likelihood of abuse of a future spouse?
• Does corporal punishment increase/decrease the likelihood of short-term compliance to desired behavior?

As in Gershoff’s article, the definition of corporal punishment, for the purposes of this report, is: “the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of the child's behavior” (Straus, 1994a). While corporal punishment causes pain, it does not cause injury.

Using these 88 works, corporal punishment was significantly associated with a host of undesirable effects: decreased long-term compliance to desired behavior, increased child aggression, increased child delinquent and antisocial behavior, decreased quality of relationship between parent and child, decreased child mental health, increased risk of being a victim of physical abuse, increased adult aggression, increased adult criminal and antisocial behavior, decreased adult mental health, and increased risk of abusing a future spouse. Undesirable effects generally were more likely when corporal punishment was used on boys rather than girls and when it was used at higher ages rather than lower ages.

The results indicated that there were associations between the behaviors/experiences listed above and the use of corporal punishment but did not show direct cause and effect. The results did not imply in any way that all children will develop these behaviors/experiences if corporal punishment is used; a variety of other factors affect life behaviors and experiences.

If corporal punishment is significantly associated with these undesirable behaviors/experiences, why then is corporal punishment used? One of the eleven constructs measured show a desirable outcome to corporal punishment: short-term compliance. Spanking, in some cases, makes children stop misbehavior immediately.

While a great deal of research is needed on the effects of corporal punishment and the ways in which it may lead to undesirable effects, there are clear, demonstrable concerns with the use of corporal punishment. These concerns, coupled with the existence of discipline techniques equally effective as corporal punishment but without the risk of unintended side effects, justify the replacement of corporal punishment with safer discipline techniques.
### Summary Tables

#### Undesirable Behaviors/Experiences Significantly Associated With Corporal Punishment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior/Experience</th>
<th># of studies</th>
<th># of participants</th>
<th>Breakdown of Studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long-term compliance</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,285</td>
<td>13 of 15 studies concluded decreased likelihood of long-term compliance to desired behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggression in childhood</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12,326</td>
<td>27 of 27 studies concluded increased levels of aggression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>escalation to child abuse</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2,349</td>
<td>10 of 10 studies concluded increased risk of child abuse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality of parent/child relationship</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,216</td>
<td>13 of 13 concluded decreased quality of parent/child relationship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality of mental health in childhood</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4,884</td>
<td>12 of 12 studies concluded decreased quality of mental health.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delinquent and antisocial behaviors</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7,016</td>
<td>12 of 13 studies concluded increase in delinquent and antisocial behaviors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likelihood of abuse of future spouse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7,019</td>
<td>5 of 5 studies concluded increase in abuse of own child or spouse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggression in adulthood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,402</td>
<td>4 of 4 studies concluded increase in aggression in adulthood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>criminal/antisocial behavior in adulthood</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,248</td>
<td>4 of 5 studies concluded an increase in criminal/antisocial behaviors in adulthood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality of mental health in adulthood</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5,851</td>
<td>8 of 8 studies concluded a decreased quality of mental health in adulthood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Desirable Behaviors/Experiences Significantly Associated With Corporal Punishment

| short-term compliance                  | 5            | 3 of 5 studies concluded corporal punishment leads to short-term compliance.     |

All report findings were statistically significant as evaluated by Gershoff. Tables adapted from Gershoff, E. (2002). Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: a meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin*,128, pp. 545-547.
Boundaries and Limitations of This Research

Definition of Terms
For the purposes of this report, corporal punishment is defined as “the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of the child’s behavior” (Straus, 1994a).

Or, as further offered by Gershoff, who used the same definition, “behaviors that do not result in significant physical injury (e.g., spank, slap) are considered corporal punishment, whereas behaviors that risk injury (e.g., punching, kicking, burning) are considered physical abuse” (Gershoff, 2002).

How Were Studies Excluded?
Following the exclusion criteria set forth by Gershoff, 88 out of 367 works were chosen for inclusion in this report. As Gershoff detailed, 49% of the works did not include data (for example, articles centered on the debate about, prevalence of, or history of corporal punishment). An additional 28% were excluded due to issues with the data such as:

- Abusive techniques were included.
- Only abusive techniques were examined.
- Outcomes were evaluated that have not been consistently studied in the literature on corporal punishment (e.g. intelligence, Smith & Brooks-Gunn, 1997).
- Adequate statistics were not provided for the meta-analyses.
- Other types of discipline were included (e.g., verbal punishment along with corporal punishment, Brenner & Fox, 1998).
- Corporal punishment by non-parents was studied.
- Atypical populations were examined.
- Studies were not available.

Eighty-eight studies met the above criteria and were included by Gershoff in her meta-analyses. The total number of participants was 36,309 with a range of 14 participants (Chapman & Zahn-Waxler, 1982) to 4,529 participants (Straus, 1994a) per study.

Limitations of the Research on Corporal Punishment
Researchers face a variety of challenges as they work with data about corporal punishment. As with most research on parenting and child behavior, conclusions about causality are rare since establishing a causal connection between any parental discipline technique and child behavior is difficult. Also, most parents report using corporal punishment infrequently (e.g., 1-2 times per month for toddlers, Straus & Stewart, 1999), increasing the difficulty of establishing a causal connection. Another challenge researchers face is the lack of direct, independent observation of the data. Most corporal punishment occurs when children are under the age of five and, therefore, unable to self-report their experiences (Straus & Stewart, 1999). Therefore, most research relies on parent reports or on adolescent or adult children’s recollections. Another complicating factor is most researchers’ reliance on measuring corporal punishment and child behavior at the same time. This is several steps removed from the ideal where researchers would document use of corporal punishment and then return at regular intervals over a long time period to note child behavior and, if present, continuing use of corporal punishment.
Child Behaviors/Experiences Associated with Corporal Punishment

1. Decreased Likelihood of Long-term Compliance to Desired Behavior

Aronfreed (1961) declares that a lesson or moral has been learned when a child has “his own explicit standards and...no longer requires the support of external norms and sanctions.” Because corporal punishment does not teach children how and why to behave, it does not contribute to long-term compliance (Hoffman & Hoffman, 1964).

In addition, corporal punishment may hinder compliance to the desired behavior. It teaches children why it is desirable to not get caught and undermines one the most powerful behavioral motivations, love for the parent, by teaching a child to fear a parent (Becker et al., 1962).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>2,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>Thirteen of the studies concluded that corporal punishment does not contribute to the child’s long-term compliance to the desired behavior.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Increased Aggression in Childhood

Several literature reviews have concluded that corporal punishment is associated with increased aggression in children (Becker, 1964; Patterson, 1982; Radke-Yarrow, Campbell & Burton, 1968; Steinmetz, 1979). One longitudinal study named childhood use of corporal punishment as the strongest predictor of adolescents’ aggression 8 years later (P. Cohen, Brook, Cohen, Velez, & Garcia, 1990). Moreover, physical punishment for aggression enhances rather than hinders aggressive acts; i.e., when parents physically punish a child for aggression, peers are more likely to give the child higher ratings of aggression (Eron, Walder, & Lefkowitz, 1971). Non-physical punishments for aggression are not correlated with an increase in aggression (Lefkowitz, Walder, & Eron, 1963).

Aggressive behaviors were most frequently measured in behaviors toward peers; boys’ abuse of animals (e.g., causing the death of an animal, animal neglect, or animal abandonment) also was determined to be linked to the use of corporal punishment even after controlling for child abuse, father-to-mother violence, and father’s education (Flynn, 1999).

Theories on social information processing propose that corporal punishment may be linked to long-term aggression in several ways. First, corporal punishment may affect a child’s social-cognitive processes such that they evaluate aggression as an acceptable, effective form of problem-solving. Second, experiences with corporal punishment may cause children to be more sensitive to hostility, more likely to attribute hostility to others, and more likely to respond in a more aggressive way to perceived hostility (Dodge et al., 1986).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>12,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All 27 studies concluded that corporal punishment was significantly associated with increased aggression in children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Increased Risk of Physical Abuse

Parents who have abused their children report that as many as two-thirds of their abusive incidents began as attempts to change children’s behavior or to “teach them a lesson” (Gil, 1973; Kadushin & Martin, 1981). If corporal punishment is too severe in the way it is approached, or is used too frequently, the outcome can be physical abuse (Gil, 1973; Vasta, 1982). When families report low incomes or mothers report having been abused as children, the risk of escalation to child abuse heightens even further (Webster-Stratton, 1985).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>2,349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All 10 studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with physical abuse of children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Decreased Quality of Parent/Child Relationship

Physical punishment erodes the bond between a parent and child and affects the ability of adolescents to adjust well to life’s events (DeVet, 1997). The mechanisms for such an effect are theorized to be the feelings of fear, anxiety, and anger children feel when corporal punishment is used. If these emotions are associated with the parent, they can create fear and avoidance of the parent (Bugental & Goodnow, 1998; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). That avoidance may, in turn, erode trust and closeness (Azrin & Holz, 1966; Parke, 1977).

Parents with secure, strong bonds with their children are more likely to report using verbal reminders and other techniques versus corporal punishment (Barnett, Kidwell, and Leung, 1988). A healthy parent/child attachment, on the other hand, has been linked with higher self-esteem, competent peer interactions, and better coping with high-stress life events such as a divorce (Peterson & Zill, 1986; Wierson, Forehand, Fauber, & McCombs, 1989; Kenny, 1987; Walker & Greene, 1986).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>2,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All 13 studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with a decrease in the quality of the parent/child relationship.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Decreased Quality of Mental Health in Childhood

Adolescents who have experienced corporal punishment show higher levels of depression and feelings of hopelessness as well as an increased propensity to use violence (DuRant et al., 1994). Harsh punishment, including corporal punishment, has been associated significantly with adolescent depression and distress (McLoyd, Jayaratne, Ceballo, & Borquez, 1994) even after controlling for history of physical abuse, gender, age and family socioeconomic status (Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). Children with behavior, anxiety, or disruptive disorders are more likely to report previous harsh physical punishment (Goodman et al., 1998).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>4,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All 12 studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with a decrease in children's mental health.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Increase in Delinquent and Antisocial Behaviors in Childhood

Corporal punishment has been implicated in a variety of studies as a factor in delinquent behaviors like truancy, theft, running away and school behavior problems and as a factor in antisocial behaviors like bullying, lying and cheating (Burt, 1925; Gove & Crutchfield, 1982; Straus, Sugarman, & Giles-Sims, 1997; Glueck & Glueck, 1964; Hetherington, Stouwie, & Ridberg, 1971; McCord and McCord, 1959; West & Farrington, 1973). Harsh physical discipline is strongly associated with participation in crime as a juvenile (Laub & Sampson, 1988; Sampson & Laub, 1993). When parents use corporal punishment in an attempt to reduce antisocial behaviors in their child, the long-term effect tends to be a further increase in antisocial behaviors (Straus, Sugarman, & Giles-Sims, 1997).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>7,016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>Twelve of the thirteen studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with an increase in delinquent and antisocial behaviors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Increased Likelihood of Abuse of Future Spouse

Acting violently with an adult romantic partner is associated with average forms of corporal punishment (e.g. spanking) inflicted by parents (Caesar, 1988; Downs, Miller, Testa, & Parek, 1992; Sigelman, Berry, & Wiles, 1984; Straus & Yodanis, 1996; Swinford, DeMaris, Cernkovich, & Giordano, 2000).

Studies theorize that parental corporal punishment leads individuals to view aggression or violence as legitimate (Bandura & Walters, 1959; Eron, Walder & Lefkowitz, 1971; Walters & Grusec, 1977; White & Straus, 1981), and leads them to attribute hostile intent to the behavior of others (Dodge, 1986) therefore making them more likely to resort to aggression during conflicts with spouses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>7,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All five studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with future abuse of spouse or the subject’s own children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Increased Aggression in Adulthood

The best predictor of adult aggression is childhood aggression. Longitudinal studies show that, by the time a child is six years old, if patterns of aggressive behavior have been established, they usually persist into adulthood (Eron, Huesmann, & Zelli, 1991). Children exposed to a high degree of physical punishment are more likely to be physically aggressive as adults (Carroll, 1977).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>2,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All four studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with increased aggression in adulthood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Increased Criminal/Antisocial Behavior in Adulthood

In one longitudinal study of delinquency, boys’ experiences of a harsh parental discipline style predicted their arrest rates at ages 17 through 45 (Laub & Sampson, 1995). Another longitudinal study found physical punishment during childhood to be significantly more prevalent among drug addicts (Baer & Corrado).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>1,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>Four of the 5 studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with criminal and antisocial behavior in adulthood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Decreased Mental Health in Adulthood

Various markers of mental health (e.g., depression, alcoholism, suicidal tendencies, self-mutilation, self-esteem) were measured in the studies chosen for this review and all studies found corporal punishment to be linked with a poorer quality of adult mental health. For example, harsh physical punishment predicted both alcohol and depressive disorders when children perceived the punishment to be unfair and inconsistent (Holmes & Robins, 1987). Women with major depression reported significantly more frequent corporal punishment as children (Hallstrom, 1987). Even after controlling for low socioeconomic status, children who experienced corporal punishment in adolescence (e.g., almost half of U.S. adults) were at increased risk in later life for depression, suicidal thoughts and alcohol abuse (Straus & Kantor, 1994).

There is a lack of theoretical works to help identify the processes by which corporal punishment may affect mental health, but coercive discipline techniques have been associated with decreased confidence and assertiveness in children and increased feelings of humiliation and helplessness (Baumrind & Black, 1967).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>5,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>All eight studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with a decreased quality of adult mental health.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Short-Term Compliance

Corporal punishment often secures short-term, immediate compliance from children. Some consensus around short-term compliance exists among large studies (Larzelere, 2000; Baumrind, 1996a). However, of all of the behaviors/experiences reviewed in this report, the association with short-term compliance was the least uniform among the studies.

Timeout, a discipline strategy involving a brief period of time where a child’s activity is interrupted, has been shown to be equally as effective as spanking in achieving short-term compliance (Day & Roberts, 1983; Roberts & Powers, 1990).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Participants</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments/Conclusions</td>
<td>Three of the 5 studies concluded that corporal punishment is significantly associated with short-term compliance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Parenting Pyramid

At the bottom and middle of the Parenting Pyramid are tools that build the child/parent relationship, help prevent misbehavior, and teach proper behavior. The tip of the pyramid provides tools to cope with misbehavior.

As parents spend more time focusing on techniques presented in the middle and at the bottom of the pyramid, there will be less need to use the tools at the top of the pyramid.
Books to Recommend to Parents on Behavior and Discipline

Agassi, Martine, PhD. *Hands Are Not for Hitting*. Free Spirit Publishing, 2000. Written to be read aloud, this book helps young children understand that violence is never O.K. and they are capable of positive, loving actions. A special section for adults that reinforces these concepts includes ideas for things to talk about and activities to do with children.


We encourage duplication for educational uses.


**Additional Resources**

**AAP Guidance for Effective Discipline policy**
www.aap.org/policy/re9740.html
This AAP policy discusses the research, recommends approaches with parents when discussing discipline, and provides alternate discipline options to corporal punishment.

This Web page includes meta-analyses used as a framework for this report along with responses to the original article.

**Positive Discipline: A Guide for Parents**
Fifty-two page booklets for parents review common parenting challenges and suggested positive discipline techniques. The booklets can be downloaded for distribution in waiting rooms or can be ordered for $2/copy by calling (612)624-4900 or (800)876-8636 or by emailing order@extension.umn.edu.

**University of Minnesota Extension parenting fact sheets**
http://www.parenting.umn.edu/
These parenting fact sheets contain tips on handling conflict, building positive relationships with children, and other topics. Click the Info-U link to obtain fact sheets for distribution in waiting rooms.

**Peaceful Parenting for Healthier Children: A Three-Part Strategy for Effective Discipline Video**
This 12-minute video is targeted at clinicians and other health professionals who provide guidance to parents about child discipline. Produced by Children’s Hospitals and Clinics of Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN, it can be ordered for $2.00 per copy by faxing a request for an order form to (952)931-3596.
Bibliography: Works Included in Gershoff’s Meta-Analyses

+ References marked with a plus sign indicate works that constitute multiple reports from a study already included in Gershoff’s meta-analyses.


Bibliography: Additional Works Consulted for this Report


Larzelere, R.E. (2000). *Child outcomes of non-abusive and customary physical punishment by parents: An updated literature review*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Nebraska Medical Center, Omaha, and Father Flanagan's Boys' Home, Boys Town, NE.

Larzelere, R.E., Kuhn, B.R., & Johnson, B. (2000). *The intervention selection bias*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Nebraska Medical Center, Omaha, and Father Flanagan's Boys' Home, Boys Town, NE.


A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH ON CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, OCTOBER 2003


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