CORA Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Title	Corporal punishment and reporting to child protection authorities: An empirical study of population attitudes in five European countries
Authors	Burns, Kenneth;Hellend, Hege Stein;Križ, Katrin;Sánchez-Cabezudo, Sagrario Segado;Skivenes, Marit;Strömpl, Judit
Publication date	2020-12-02
Original Citation	Burns, K., Helland, H. S., Križ, K., Sánchez-Cabezudo, S. S., Skivenes, M. and Strömpl, J. (2021) 'Corporal punishment and reporting to child protection authorities: An empirical study of population attitudes in five European countries', Children and Youth Services Review, 120, 105749 (10 pp). doi: 10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105749
Type of publication	Article (peer-reviewed)
Link to publisher's version	https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S019074092032171X - 10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105749
Rights	© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-ND license - https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Download date	2026-10-13 16:26:35
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/10829

University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Children and Youth Services Review 120 (2021) 105749

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Children and Youth Services Review

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/childyouth

Corporal punishment and reporting to child protection authorities: An empirical study of population attitudes in five European countries

Kenneth Burns [a], Hege Stein Helland [b], Katrin Križ [c], Sagrario Segado Sánchez-Cabezudo [d], Marit Skivenes [b,*], Judit Strömpl [e]

[a] School of Applied Social Studies, University College Cork, Donovan's Road, Cork, Ireland
[b] Centre for Research on Discretion and Paternalism, University of Bergen, Department of Administration & Organization Theory, Christies Gate 17, 5007 Bergen, Norway
[c] Department of Sociology, Emmanuel College, 400 Fenway, Boston, MA 02115, USA
[d] National Distance Education University, Spain
[e] Institute of Social Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Corporal punishment
Reporting to child protection authorities
Confidence
Cross-country comparison

ABSTRACT

This study, which draws upon representative survey data of the populations of Austria (n = 1000), Estonia (n = 1069), Ireland (n = 1000), Norway (n = 1002) and Spain (n = 1000), compares population attitudes towards corporal punishment (CP) and whether citizens would report corporal punishment to the child protection authorities. We found significant cross-country differences in attitudes towards CP, but only small differences between countries in attitudes towards reporting it. The most interesting and puzzling finding was the mismatch between attitudes towards CP and attitudes towards reporting it: almost one third of individuals who reject CP would not report it, and a quarter of those accepting CP would report it. We discuss whether the observed mismatches are due to perceptions that the CP we described does not meet a threshold to require state intervention, and whether knowledge about bans of CP and/or moral obligations to report CP has impact. Furthermore, we discuss the role of populations' confidence in the state and populations' trust in the ability and competency of the child protection authorities to improve a child's life.

1. Introduction

A global consensus that violence against children challenges children's fundamental human rights appears to be expanding, with more and more countries reforming their laws to prohibit physical punishment of children in all settings, including in the private domain of the family (Freeman, 1979, 2010; Pinheiro, 2006; Saunders, Leviner, & Naylor, 2018; Saunders, 2019; Todres, 2019). We do have knowledge about populations' attitudes towards child maltreatment such as corporal punishment (Bell & Romano, 2012; Bensley et al., 2004; Clément & Chamberland, 2014; Fréchette & Romano, 2017; Friedson, 2016; Hayes & O'Neal, 2018; Lansford, Cappa, Putnick, Bornstein, & Deater-Deckard, 2017; Skivenes, 2018; Taylor, Fleckman, & Lee, 2017; Zolotor & Puzia, 2010); however, there is less knowledge base about populations' willingness to report corporal punishment to child protection authorities and how this corresponds with population attitudes towards corporal punishment (henceforth referred to as 'CP' in the text).

The use of CP to discipline children is widespread globally (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2020). Individuals' acceptance of CP and willingness to report it to the child protection authorities are important topics because of the adverse impact that CP has on children. CP of children may lead to physical, psychological and cognitive problems, and may manifest in peer violence and in adulthood as domestic violence, anti-social behavior and mental health issues, especially depression (Afifi et al., 2017; Durrant & Ensom, 2012; Elgar et al., 2018; Font & Cage, 2018; Freeman & Saunders, 2014; Gershoff, 2002, 2008, 2010, 2013; Grogan-Kaylor et al., 2018; Knox, 2010; Lee, Altschul, & Gershoff, 2014; Pace, Lee, & Grogan-Kaylor, 2019; Saukkonen, Aronen, Laajasalo, Salmi, & Kivivuori, 2016). The CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child), (2006) (CRC Committee), which has strenuously argued for the elimination of all forms of CP, defines CP as: 'any punishment in which physical force is

* Corresponding author.
E-mail addresses: K.burns@ucc.ie (K. Burns), hege.helland@uib.no (H.S. Helland), krizka@emmanuel.edu (K. Križ), ssegado@der.uned.es (S.S. Sánchez-Cabezudo), marit.skivenes@uib.no (M. Skivenes).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105749
Received 2 August 2020; Received in revised form 16 November 2020; Accepted 18 November 2020
Available online 2 December 2020
0190-7409/© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-ND license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light' (p. 4). The literature on CP divides CP into a 'weak' and a 'strong' type. The 'weak' type includes a child being pulled by the hair, pinched, pushed and hit with a flat hand; the 'strong' type includes being hit with a fist or an object and being beaten (Mossige & Stefansen, 2016). In the design of this study we have used the 'weak' type of CP.

Our aim is to examine the degree to which populations in five European countries accept the use of CP towards a child. We used a survey vignette to explore whether citizens believe that a teacher should report CP to the public child protection authorities. This study provides baseline knowledge about the relationship between attitudes towards CP and its reporting in Austria, Estonia, Ireland, Spain, and Norway. The study also provides information about normative yardsticks of how a population regards disciplining practices towards children and the role of child protection authorities in responding to corporal punishment. There are supranational conventions and bodies that are common to these countries that contribute towards some legal common ground. However, the five countries have different welfare state models, child protection systems, socio-demographic and socio-cultural compositions, and have introduced legal bans on corporal punishment at different times over the last few decades, which makes them interesting for research purposes. Comparing attitudes towards CP and its reporting across countries will draw attention to the different mechanisms that are in play when such attitudes are formed and maintained. The data for this analysis consists of population responses to a survey vignette administered in 2016 to a representative sample of citizens in Austria (n = 1000), Estonia (n = 1069), Ireland (n = 1000), Norway (n = 1002) and Spain (n = 1000) – a total of 5071 respondents.

The paper begins by surveying legislation, and reporting data and policies in each country before examining the scholarship on population attitudes towards CP. We then present our research methods and findings, followed by discussion and concluding remarks.

2. Legal bans on corporal punishment and mandatory reporting laws

Norway and Austria were among the first countries worldwide to ban any type of violence against children by law (Bussmann, Erthal, & Schroth, 2009; Zolotor & Puzia, 2010; Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2015). Today, CP of children is banned in 60 countries, and 28 more countries have expressed a commitment to prohibit CP by law reform (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2020). The physical punishment of children is becoming less and less acceptable, which has led to legal reform and prohibition worldwide (Skivenes, 2018). Austria, Estonia, Ireland, Norway, and Spain have all banned CP by law, although at different times: Norway in 1987, Austria in 1989, Spain (fully) in 2007, Ireland (fully) in 2015, and Estonia in 2016. Despite these bans, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) Committee's periodic country reports have continued to identify weaknesses in how these states address and respond to corporal punishment in policy, law and practice (CRC, 2005a, 2005b, 2010, 2016, 2017, 2018).

In Austria, the Supreme Court confirmed the prohibition of violence against children by deciding in 1992 that children can be removed from parents who do not abide by the law. Estonia banned corporal punishment in the home with the Child Protection Act 2014, Paragraph 31 ('General principles of child treatment'). This law was enacted in 2016. In 2017, the CRC Committee expressed concern 'that favorable attitudes towards corporal punishment are still dominant in Estonian society' (CRC Committee, 2017, paragraph 26). Ireland's road to a full ban on corporal punishment has been a long one, introducing legislation to implement a full ban on corporal punishment following an adverse finding by the European Committee of Social Rights of the Council of Europe in 2015 (complaint 93/2013). In Norway, a ban of CP came into effect in 1987. However, after a Supreme Court ruling in 2005 (Rt-2005–1567) stating that 'lighter smacks would be permitted' according to the law, the law was amended in 2010 to ensure that the Supreme Court ruling would not become practice (Initiative, 2019). In Spain, the 'punishment of the minors' was banned in 1981 (Law 11/1981). However, in 2002, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 2002) reiterated its recommendation that Spain ought to change the wording of article 154 in the Civil Code. In 2007, as part of changes to the Spanish international adoptions law (The International Adoption Act, 2007 No. 54/2007 of 28 December), the ban of CP came into full effect.

The mandatory reporting by teachers and other professionals of suspected child abuse and neglect are in place in some form in all five countries in this study. Table 1 shows when the legal ban on corporal punishment and the laws on mandatory reporting were introduced in the countries under study.

3. Prior research

3.1. Population attitudes towards corporal punishment in the five countries

Prior research has demonstrated that norms and attitudes towards maltreatment of children vary between countries (Ellonen et al., 2015, 2017; Hayes & O'Neal, 2018; Roberts, 2000). No research to date has systematically compared population attitudes towards corporal punishment in the five countries under study, but there are some country specific studies. In Austria, a survey conducted by Market-Institut for the newspaper *Standard* (n = 603) in 2013 asked respondents to state their acceptance of the statement: 'a healthy slap in the face did not hurt anyone in the past and is also not hurting anyone today' (Seidl, 2014, no page number). A little over a quarter of the respondents (27 per cent) leaned toward accepting the statement (Seidl, 2014).

Respondents in a recent survey in Estonia (n = 1248 adult and n = 1100 child respondents) were asked about their attitudes towards CP with the statement that 'corporal punishment of children is sometimes inevitable.' Fifty-eight per cent of respondents disagreed and 42 per cent agreed (Anniste, Biin, Osila, Koppel, & Aaben, 2018). Furthermore, 64 per cent of adult respondents either agreed or totally agreed with the statement that children's corporal punishment is violence and not a child-rearing method, while 36 per cent of respondents did not agree with this statement. In 2010, when 475 parents with children under 18 were surveyed by the European Social Survey (additional module about Estonia, see factsheet on Estonia at the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children's website), 47 per cent agreed or tended to agree with this statement. Thus, the negative attitudes of

Table 1
Laws on corporal punishment and mandatory reporting in Austria, Estonia, Ireland, Norway, and Spain.

	Year of law banning CP	Mandatory reporting by the public	Years that law on mandatory reporting by public professionals was passed and came into effect
Austria	1989	Not mandated	2013
Estonia	2014. Came into effect in 2016	Since 1993 a moral obligation, and by law for all persons in 2014, and started in 2016	Same obligation for all persons, 2014 and started 2016
Ireland	2015. Came into effect in 2017	Certain mandated professionals only; a moral obligation for public	2015. Started December 2017
Norway	1987; amended in 2010	Yes, a moral obligation/ duty	1986
Spain	2007; full ban, CP was first banned in 1989	Yes, by law	1996

Estonian population on acceptance of corporal punishment show some positive change, even if the pace of change is rather slow.

In an Irish longitudinal study of 9739 three-year-olds, primary caregivers were asked about their disciplining strategies. The study showed that less than one per cent said they used smacking regularly or always, but 45 per cent said that they used it rarely or now and again (Williams, Murray, McCrory, & McNally, 2013). An earlier report in the same series (n = 8570 children aged nine, and their families and teachers) from 2007 to 2008 found that 11 per cent of mothers said they smacked their children 'now and again', 32 per cent rarely and 57 per cent never. At the same time, 38 per cent of the girls and 39 per cent of the boys said they were 'sometimes' smacked by their mother, and 31 per cent of the girls and 37 per cent of the boys by their father. Four per cent of boys and three per cent of girls said they were 'always' smacked by their mother and six per cent of boys and four per cent of girls always by their father (Williams, Greene, Doyle, Harris, Layte, McCoy, & Thornton, 2009). A government-commissioned survey (1353 parents aged 21–69) from 2010 in Ireland showed that almost 30 per cent of parents believed that smacking is wrong and should never be used, while 58 per cent disagreed. Almost half of parents (49 per cent) agreed that smacking is necessary as a last resort, while 40 per cent disagreed (Halpenny, Nixon, & Watson, 2010).

In Norway, a study of 1199 children and teenagers (aged 12–16) demonstrated that 82 per cent thought that a child should never be corporally punished, while 8 per cent thought that a child can be corporally punished using 'weak' forms of punishment (e.g. smacking). Furthermore, 86 per cent disagreed that parents have a right to use 'weak' forms of corporal punishment on their children (UNICEF, 2011). A study by NOVA (Mossige & Stefansen, 2016) (n = 4530) found that young adults reported having experienced 'weak' (20 per cent) and 'strong' (six per cent) CP from at least one of their parents. The survey also showed a decrease in parental use of CP between 2007 and 2015.

In a study of the Spanish population (n = 2316), Gracia and Herrero (2008b) reported that 56 per cent of respondents believed in the necessity of using CP of children (spanking or slapping) for child rearing. The CRC Committee (2018) reports in its concluding observations that 'while noting with appreciation that corporal punishment is prohibited in all settings, the Committee notes with concern that corporal punishment, particularly in the home, persists' and recommends that Spain 'adequately monitor and enforce the prohibition of corporal punishment' (p. 3).

3.2. Population attitudes and legal bans on CP and reporting CP in the five countries

Prior scholarship is not conclusive about the causal direction between legal bans on CP and changing population attitudes. While several studies (see, for example, Durrant, 2003; Durrant & Smith, 2011; Hayes & O'Neal, 2018; Lansford et al., 2017; Roberts, 2000) indicate that waning attitudes towards violence against children predate bans, other studies contradict such findings (see, for example, Gracia & Herrero, 2008a; Bussmann et al., 2009), although they do not claim a causal relationship between bans and attitudes. A review of twenty-four countries' laws on CP compared changes in attitudes and behaviors since the introduction of bans on CP (Zolotor & Puzia, 2010). The authors found a correlation between the introduction of the ban, the punishment of parents suspected of breaking the ban, and supporting programs for families and parents using alternative disciplining methods while rearing children. In countries such as Finland, Sweden and Norway, which introduced a CP ban in 1983, 1979 and 1987 respectively, the ban was implemented concurrently with non-punitive programs supporting parenting (Bell & Romano, 2012; Durrant, 1999; Gershoff, Lee, & Durrant, 2017; Zolotor & Puzia, 2010). Zolotor and Puzia (2010) found that attitudes, behaviors and reporting willingness are more positive in these countries compared to other countries where legislation has a more punitive character (cf. also Bussmann et al., 2009). The authors' analysis points to an important aspect of the effects of legal bans: the decrease in populations' attitudes supporting CP had already started before the changes in legislation (e.g. Sweden). However, Bussmann and collogues study of populations in five countries concludes that there are strong empirical effects of a legal ban on CP (2009).

3.3. Individual factors affecting attitudes towards CP and mandated reporting

At the individual level, the acceptance of CP in general is mediated by individuals' socio-economic background (Gracia & Herrero, 2008a; Halpenny, Nixon, & Watson, 2010; Helland, Kriź, Sánchez-Cabezudo, & Skivenes, 2018; Karu, Turk, Biin, & Suvi, 2012; Anniste et al., 2018). Gracia and Herrero (2008a) analyzed the correlates of the acceptance of CP in 14 European countries. They found that men, individuals who are older, and individuals with lower levels of education (cf. also Seidl, 2014; Gracia & Herrero, 2008b), showed the greatest acceptance of CP. Furthermore, lower income (Bussmann et al., 2009; Gershoff, Purtell, & Holas, 2015) and stronger religious convictions (Gershoff, Miller, & Holden, 1999) are also correlated with higher acceptance of CP.

To our knowledge, there are no studies that examine population attitudes towards reporting CP to public child protection authorities, exploring how attitudes towards CP and its reporting might be associated. The majority of research on reporting CP to the child protection services has been conducted on mandated reporters, and especially professionals working directly or indirectly with children (Ashton, 2001, 2004; Gershoff et al., 2016; Kenny, 2004; Taylor et al., 2017; Tirosh, Shechter, Cohen, & Jaffe, 2003). A meta-synthesis of qualitative studies on mandatory reporters (MR) of child maltreatment, resulting in an inclusion of 42 studies, displays the following results about contextual and individual factors that influenced MRs' decisions to report:

> 'The amount of evidence of maltreatment (eg, challenges identifying less overt forms of maltreatment); The context of the reporter (eg, institutional support; time burden); Preferred alternative responses (eg, chart and follow child progress instead of reporting); The perceived impact of the report on the child or family (eg, concern regarding stigma); Consultation (ie, MRs' decision or need to consult with a colleague or CPS before filing a report); Family context (eg, perceived parental skills)' (Mc-Tavish et al., 2017, p. 6).

We cannot expect that all these factors are relevant for the population in general, but there may be some similarities. There might be at least three reasons why a person would choose to report an incident to the authorities. First, if the person perceives that CP is a wrongful act and that this act is of such seriousness that it requires intervention. Second, if the person knows the law banning CP and/or the moral obligation to report CP. Third, if the person trusts that the child protection authorities can improve a child's life.

The mechanism of trust in government links to our inquiry into citizens' attitudes towards CP and to their willingness to see CP reported to the public child protection authorities because it is related to their level of trust in government to do what is right and fair. Researchers commonly use population levels of trust as a measure of legitimate and functioning democratic orders. A Gallup World Poll measured in 2016 for the OECD (2017) showed that amongst the five countries included in this study, Norwegians had the highest level of trust in government, followed by the Irish, Austrians and Estonians, while the Spanish showed the lowest levels of trust in their government. When asked whether they had confidence in their national government, 66 per cent of the Norwegians, 57 per cent of the Irish, 43 per cent of the Austrians, 34 per cent of the Estonians and 30 per cent of the Spaniards who were surveyed replied with a 'yes' (OECD, 2017). A Eurobarometer survey gathered in 2016 to 2017 of the populations of the 28 countries of Europe showed slightly different results. 60 per cent of Austrians, 55 per cent of Estonians, 45 per cent of the Irish, and 18 per cent of Spaniards

surveyed responded that they tend to trust their government (Commission, 2017).[1]

Research has shown that the general trust level in a country is related to trust levels towards specific parts of the public a sector (Christensen & Lægreid, 2003). To our knowledge there are no Austrian, Estonian, Irish or Spanish studies that explore the populations' trust in the child protection system, but there are two studies of representative sample of the Norwegian population from 2014 and 2020. These show that 50 per cent (2014) and 62 per cent (2020) of citizens reported having quite a lot or a great deal of trust in the child protection system (Juhasz & Skivenes, 2017; Skivenes, 2020). Furthermore, a report on the citizens' trust in the child welfare services as an institution shows that 62 per cent state that they have high or very high levels of trust in the institution (Sentio Research Norge, 2018). Based on this prior research, we have developed two hypotheses:

H1. Most citizens do not accept CP, but attitudes will vary across countries according to the dates that the bans of CP were fully introduced in each country. Based on the introduction of bans and previous research on CP we expect that individuals in Norway are most likely to reject CP, followed by individuals in Austria (the second most likely), Estonia (the third most likely) and Ireland (the fourth most likely) and Spain (the least likely to reject CP).

H2. There will be congruence between population attitudes towards acceptance of CP and reporting to the child protection authorities. We expect those individuals who reject CP to be more likely to report to the authorities than those who accept CP.

4. Research methods and data material

This study is based on a survey vignette, a method considered particularly advantageous to secure cross-country comparability (Braun, Behr, & Kaxzmirek, 2013). The data collection company Norstat collected the survey data in the period between May 31 and September 28, 2016. Judging by demographic factors such as age, gender, county, education, household income and urbanization, we obtained a representative probability sample of the general populations of Austria (n = 1000), Estonia (n = 1069), Ireland (n = 1000), Norway (n = 1002) and Spain (n = 1000) – a total of 5071 respondents. The representativeness was ensured by Norstat's programming for country representative quotas, which adjusted the daily survey rounds in the following way: if a demographic was underrepresented in the sample, more respondents of that demographic were surveyed to ensure representativeness. The sample is further weighted so that the representativeness should be accurate.[2]

To ensure transparency in analysis of data, we have an online appendix with supplementary material (https://discretion.uib.no/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Burns-et-al-2020-CP-five-countries.pdf). For the background questions, we used standard formulations provided by the data collection firm. In addition, we asked about religious affiliation and migrant background. A migrant is defined as foreign-born persons with two foreign-born parents, or a person born in the given country with two foreign born parents.[3]

The vignette was developed by authors Helland and Skivenes, and was tested on actors known in the field of child protection and education in Norway and on fellow researchers. The vignette was first written in Norwegian and then translated into English so that the authors and assisting researchers who do not speak Norwegian would be able to review the vignette and the translations. We used the translation company Amesto to translate the survey from English into Estonian, German and Spanish, followed by a validation of the translation as well as a translation back into English and a review of the language and concepts by native language researchers from Austria, Estonia, Ireland and Spain. The strength of the vignette method lies in the fact that the participants are presented with identical cases and facts, eliminating design effects and observational biases (Soydan, 1996; Wilks, 2004; cf. Braun et al., 2013).

The vignette presented a boy who told his teacher that he experienced CP at the hands of his parents. A randomized half of the sample was informed that the boy's parents were native Austrian/Estonian/Irish/Norwegian/Spanish. The other half were told that the boy's parents were migrants to the country of the respective respondents.

> The school is worried about a 7-year old boy as information has emerged that he is exposed to physical violence by his parents. The teacher summons the parents to an interview at the school to obtain more information. The parents are native to (Austria / Estonia / Ireland / Spain / Norway)/ The parents are migrants to (Austria / Estonia / Ireland / Spain / Norway), both work and have little education. When the teacher asks about using violence, the parents say that a slap on the backside and on the ear are used to punish what they describe as 'bad behavior'. They don't view this as violence, but as completely necessary to correct undesirable behavior by the boy. The school considers the boy to have social and cognitive abilities adequate for his age, moderate concentration difficulties and high energy levels.

Following the vignette, the respondents were asked: 'Is the parents' method of punishment acceptable?' The possible answers were: (1) 'Yes, a slap on the backside and the ear are acceptable to correct undesirable behavior' and (2) 'No, a slap on the backside and the ear are not acceptable to correct undesirable behavior.' The respondents were subsequently asked: 'Do you believe that the school should report this matter to the child protection services?' The possible responses were: (1) 'Yes, the school should report it.' and (2) 'No, the school should not report it.'

Data has been analyzed as collated per population, although we originally applied an experimental design to test the effect of migrant background.[4] We used the statistical program SPSS Version 25 for Windows and ZIGNE Signifikans 5.9 (Aardal & Berglund, 2014) to analyze the data. SPSS was used to generate descriptive data and to conduct binary logistic regressions that were used to evaluate which demographic variables were predictors to the dependent variables: the rejection or not of CP and whether the school should report the CP or not. Logistic regressions were performed for the five different countries and for the total sample. These results are presented in Tables A4 and A5 in the Appendix. We used the program ZIGNE Signifikans to test for significant differences between samples (between countries and between demographic groups, see details in the Appendix) using a two-tailed test for a single randomized sample and report at a 1 and 5 per cent significance level. In the data tables, we report significance as ** =

[1] Norwegians were not surveyed, but 78 per cent of Swedes surveyed replied that they tend to trust their national government; the list was headed by the Netherlands, where 78 per cent stated that they tended to trust in the national government.

[2] See online supplementary material for details. https://discretion.uib.no/projects/supplementary-documentation/#1552296903999-5fea5d9a-4dc9.

[3] Variable is not included in our analysis for Estonia. See Appendix for details on the variables.

[4] An experimental design was chosen in order to pursue the question of potential biases towards migrant children, as the method allows for meaningful interpretation of the causal effect of the manipulated factor, the child's background, and the respondents' assessments (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). This, however, did not provide us with any significant results on the aggregate level (see Authors' own, 2018 for the study of the Austrian, Norwegian and Spanish data) and no differences in attitudes were found in the overall assessments (expect from a significant difference at 5% level between the migrant/non-migrant sample in willingness to report in Ireland, see Appendix tables A1 and A2), although some differences were identified in population subgroups.

$p < 0.05$, *** = $p < 0.01$, with the awareness that $p < 0.05$ is on the margin of what is relevant to report as statistically significant.

5. Results

Both of our hypotheses are confirmed (see Table 2). Hypothesis one is overall confirmed, as a majority of citizens (73.8 per cent) do not accept CP. There were some cross-country differences with Norway the least accepting (12.7 per cent) and Spain the most accepting (38.8 per cent) of CP. The ranking of the countries in between is somewhat different than we expected. Individuals in Norway were significantly more likely to reject CP than individuals in Austria, closely followed by Estonia, Ireland and lastly Spain (see Table A3 in appendix for further information).[5] Our second hypothesis is also confirmed, as a majority – 57.3 per cent of all the individuals in our sample - think that the school should report the case to the child protection authorities (see Table 2). However, only small differences are observed between the proportions of respondents answering 'Yes' to reporting in the five countries: 62.8 per cent of the population in Norway, 59.8 per cent in Austria, 58.1 per cent in Spain, 53.3 cent in Ireland and 52.6 per cent in Estonia. The differences between Norway and Spain; Ireland and Spain; and Estonia and Spain, are significant at the 5 per cent level (see Table A3 in the appendix) while the difference between Austria and Estonia, Austria and Ireland, Estonia and Norway and Ireland and Norway are significant at the 1 per cent level.[6] The cross-country differences in views on reporting are smaller than expected, revealing a lack of congruence between not accepting CP and reporting, as well as accepting CP and reporting. This puzzle requires further investigation.

5.1. Mismatch groups

There are two groups of individuals that we label *mismatch groups*: One that reject the use of CP, but do not wish the school to report the case to the child protection authorities – *Reject CP Mismatch*. A total of 31.2 per cent are in this group (see Fig. 1). Another group, a total of 26.2 per cent, accept CP and wish the school to report to the child protection authorities – *Accept CP Mismatch* (see Fig. 2). We find country differences in mismatch groups. In the Reject CP Mismatch group, Estonia is on top with 40% and Spain in the other end of the spectrum with 24% (see Fig. 1). In the Accept CP Mismatch group, Spain is on top with 34% and Norway on the bottom with 16.5% (see Fig. 2).

Table 2
Acceptance of CP, per country and in total, per cent and n (total n = 5071) and attitudes towards reporting, per country and total, per cent and n (total n = 5,071).

Country	'Is the parents' method of punishment acceptable?'	Do you believe that the school should report this matter to the child protection services?'
	No, it is not acceptable. % (n)	Yes, it should be reported % (n)
Norway	87.3 (875)	63.2 (633)
Austria	76.4 (764)	59.4 (594)
Estonia	76.1 (813)	52.8 (564)
Ireland	67.5 (676)	53.4 (534)
Spain	61.2 (612)	59.7 (597)
Total	73.8 (n = 3740)	57.6 (2922)

Examining whether respondents in the Accept CP Mismatch group are different from those that Accept CP Match (match group), i.e. accept CP and do not wish for the school to report it, the Mismatch group distinguish themselves on the following variables (see Table 3): a higher proportion of respondents (significance at 1% level) are young adults (18–34 years old); living in urban area/cities, and having comparatively lower income. On a significance level of 5%, there is more single individuals and migrant persons in the mismatch group.

Examining whether the respondents in the Reject CP Mismatch group differ from those that rejects CP and want it to be reported (Match group, see Table 4), there are (significance at 1% level) a higher proportion in the mismatch group that are older people (over 54 years old), and people with low income. At significance of 5% level, those unemployed are to a larger degree in the mismatch group, whereas persons with children under 18 years of age and teachers, to a lesser degree, are in the mismatch group.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The objective of this article was to provide baseline knowledge about population attitudes towards corporal punishment and reporting it to public child protection authorities by using population data from five European countries. The results of our analysis show that our hypotheses are partly confirmed. We can confirm that a majority of citizens do not accept CP. There were significant cross-country differences in the level of rejection, with Norway showing the highest level, followed by Austria, Estonia, Ireland, and Spain. We think that these differences can in part be explained with the comparatively early ban CP in Norway (1987) and the country's strong child-centric culture (Skivenes, 2011, 2018). Our findings confirm previous findings on low acceptance of CP in Norway. Even though Austria enacted a ban only two years after Norway, we believe that this society's strong family-oriented values, which conceptualize the family as the main authority in child-rearing issues (Richter & Lemola, 2014), could explain the difference with Norway. However, our findings are in line with findings from Austria in terms of low acceptance of CP, and similar, our findings are in line with previous research from Estonia and their trend of not accepting CP (cf. also Bussmann et al., 2009). Our findings from both Ireland and Spain are in line with previous findings with a relatively high acceptance of CP. This finding correlates with the late legal bans of CP in 2007 (Spain) and 2015 (Ireland) in combination with strong family values (Connolly, 2015; Goodwin & Plaza, 2000), and these factors may explain why there is such a relatively high acceptance of CP in both these countries.

In terms of our second hypothesis, that there would be a congruence between populations' attitudes towards CP and views on reporting CP, we do find that a majority of participants in the study follow this line. The mere logical demand of consistency between attitude and preferred action, we believe partly explains this finding, in combination with respondents' possible knowledge about professionals (i.e. the teacher in the vignette) as mandatory reporters.

However, the results also revealed two interesting mismatch groups that requires explanation. Firstly, the group of respondents that reject CP and do not want to report it, and secondly the group of respondents that accept CP and do want it to be reported. An explanation for mismatches may be that individuals express their public attitudes and behaviors in agreement with laws and norms that they know about (Brian, 2015); in this case, prohibitions on using CP and mandatory reporting to state child protection authorities. We do not have data to substantiate this explanation, but wish to explore other possible explanations for mismatches.

Starting with the group that reject CP but do not wish it to be reported, an explanation may be that even though these individuals believe that CP is unacceptable, they do not think that the threshold for a child protection involvement has been met. These individuals may not consider the described CP situation as sufficient for involving the authorities, and/or that they do not experience that they have enough

[5] In addition, results from the logistic regressions on demographic variables in terms of who accepts and does not accept are presented in Table A4 in the Appendix.

[6] In addition, results from the logistic regressions on demographic variables in terms of who is in favor of reporting and who is not are presented in table A5 in the Appendix.

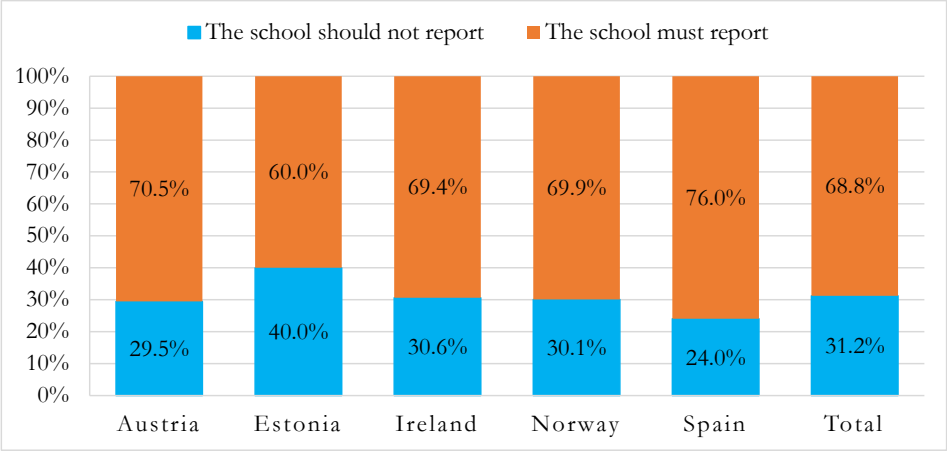

Fig. 1. Reject CP and reporting, by country and total, in per cent. Total N = 3740. Reject CP Mismatch group in blue. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

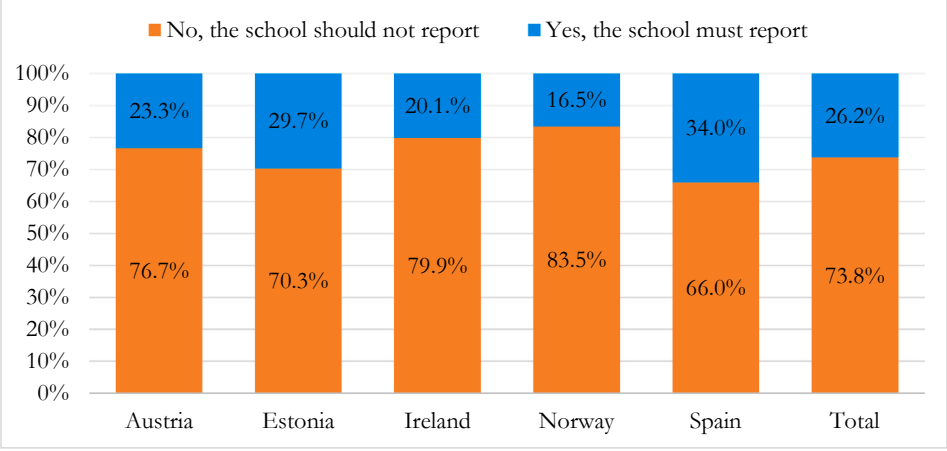

Fig. 2. Accept CP and reporting, by country and total, in per cent. Total N = 1331. Accept CP Mismatch group in blue. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

Table 3
Accept CP Mismatch group versus 'match group'. Significant differences in attitudes towards reporting corporal punishment among those who accepted corporal punishment. Demographic variables. All five countries grouped.

Accept CP		**Match Group**		**Mismatch Group**			
		Not Report(%)	N=	Report (%)	N=	Value	T-value
Immigration Background	No**	89.0	717	84.1	227	4.9	1.97
	Yes**	11.0	89	15.9	43	4.9	1.97
	Total	*100*	*806*	*100*	*270*		
Age group?	18–34***	31.4	310	43.0	149	7.8	3.78
	35–54	35.8	353	34.6	120	5.8	0.4
	>54***	32.8	324	22.4	78	6.9	3.82
	Total	*100*	*987*	*100*	*347*		
Civil status	Without a partner**	34.9	314	41.6	128	6.3	2.1
	With a partner**	65.1	587	58.4	179	6.3	2.1
	Total	*100*	*901*	*100*	*307*		
Location Size	Small town / rural area***	55.0	541	46.1	158	8	2.85
	Larger city***	45.0	443	53.9	185	8	2.85
	Total	100	984	100	343		
Income group	Low Income***	17.6	152	25.4	79	7.1	2.74
	Average Income	53.2	460	55.1	173	6.4	0.64
	High Income***	29.3	253	19.5	61	7	3.56
	Total	*100*	*865*	*100*	*313*		

Note: Two-tailed Independent Samples T-Test. Sig. level: ***= p > .01, **= p > .05. Only displaying variables with significant results (full table in Appendix table A6).

Table 4
REJECT CP MISMATCH group versus 'match group'. Significant differences in attitudes towards reporting corporal punishment among those who did not accept corporal punishment. Demographic variables. All five countries grouped.

Reject CP		**Match Group**		**Mismatch Group**			
		Report (%)	N	Not Report (%)	N	Value	T-value
Age group?	18–34***	31.4	802	27.0	319	4.1	2.78
	35–54	36.8	940	35.7	422	3.3	0.65
	>54***	31.9	814	37.3	440	4.3	3.27
	Total	*100*	*2556*	*100*	*1181*		
Children under 18 in household	No**	64.0	1607	67.6	789	3.3	2.15
	Yes**	36.0	905	32.4	378	3.3	2.15
	Total	*100*	*2512*	*100*	*1167*		
Income group	Low Income***	21.5	464	26.2	248	4.3	2.8
	Average Income**	50.9	1098	45.9	434	3.8	2.52
	High Income	27.7	598	27.9	263	3.4	0.06
	Total	*100*	*2160*	*100*	*945*		
Are you working or in education?	Not working / not in education**	29.8	715	33.8	378	3.3	2.36
	Occupational / in education**	70.2	1688	66.2	740	3.3	2.36
	Total	*100*	*2403*	*100*	*1118*		
Occupation within the teaching sector	Other professions**	94.8	2288	96.5	1072	1.4	2.55
	Teaching**	5.2	126	3.5	38	1.4	2.55
	Total	*10*	*2414*	*100*	*1110*		

Note: Two-tailed Independent Samples T-Test. Sig. level: ***= p > .01, **= p > .05. Only displaying variables with significant results (full table in Appendix table A7).

information to ask for this to be reported. Another possible reason for this mismatch is that respondents are unfamiliar with reporting laws and thus may not be aware that it is the school's responsibility to report. In terms of better understanding those that accept CP but nevertheless will have it reported, we anticipate that they have knowledge about mandatory reporting. Furthermore, it may be that they have knowledge about thresholds for child abuse as reported in cognate studies (Anniste et al., 2018; Karu et al., 2012). This may also be interpreted as citizens adhering to and following the law irrespective of their personal beliefs.

The incongruence for both mismatch groups may be due to factors related to respondents' confidence in the child protection authorities and/or the government. Respondents with low confidence are more likely to not report, whereas those with high confidence are more likely to report. Levi and Stoker (2000) concluded that citizens who trust their government and public institutions tend to comply with laws and regulations, and their data suggested that 'social trust may affect participation in and attitudes toward government' (p. 495). Marien and Hooghe (2011) show similar findings with data from 33 countries using the 1999–2001 European Values Study (N = 41,125), with a strong correlation between political trust and legal permissiveness. As previously mentioned, the general trust level in a country may be related to trust levels towards specific parts of the public sector (Christensen & Lægreid, 2003). Lack of confidence in a system and public authorities' role in intervening in private citizens' lives (Mansell, Ota, Erasmus, & Marks, 2011), may be countered by sector specific confidence and a positive view of the child protection systems. To our knowledge there are no Austrian, Estonian, Irish or Spanish studies that explore the populations' trust in the child protection system, but there are two studies of representative samples of the Norwegian population from 2014 and 2020 (Juhasz & Skivenes, 2017; Skivenes, 2020). Comparatively, Norwegians have high confidence in the child protection system (cf. also Sentio Research Norge, 2018). However, this does not correspond with higher reporting willingness amongst Norwegians citizens compared to citizens in the other four countries in this study, nor do we find a higher degree of mismatch amongst the Norwegians who accept CP. However, for the citizens of Spain, we identify a relatively high degree of mismatch amongst those that accepts CP. Marien and Werner (2019) explain that citizens do 'not only evaluate a system's functioning based on its outcomes but also on how they are treated by the authorities' (pp. 89–90), indicating that if people expect public authorities to treat them with respect, they are more likely to report a wrongful act. We need more data about this, but we do not find it realistic that Spanish citizens have a particular high trust in child protection authorities. Possibly, we are detecting a tension in Spanish society between culture and traditional family values on the one hand, and on the other hand, an increasing weight on children's rights and knowledge of the newly-enacted ban on CP. Trust in government may also be about citizens' perceptions of an effective government that acts in the interest of the general public (Zhang & Zhou, 2014), and this may shed light on respondents' willingness to report CP even though they find CP acceptable (see data above on Spain).

In general, it is young people, respondents with high education and being politically left oriented that display the highest confidence in the child protection system (Juhasz & Skivenes, 2017; cf. Skivenes, 2020). This resonates somewhat with the findings for the reject CP mismatch group as especially older respondents and low-income respondents stood out in terms of not wanting to report to the authorities. We do not see the same variables - high education and young people - being prevalent in the accept CP mismatch group.

To conclude, we have identified that a majority of citizens in five countries do not find it acceptable to use CP towards children, and there appears to be evidence that this is a view that is gaining traction within these countries. We believe the attitudes expressed by participants are a result of an increasing child centrism and recognition of children's rights in high-income societies, co-facilitated by legislation banning CP. Research puzzles to examine further are the mismatch in views expressed and the recommended actions, and an examination of whether there is a correlation between confidence in government / child protection system, and citizens' willingness to report child maltreatment.

6.1. Limitations

One limitation of the sample is related to its size. Though the sample is large, frequencies for certain subsamples were quite low (for example for respondents of immigrant background); while we found significant differences, additional analyses would need to be conducted with larger samples in the future. Other limitations are related to dissonance between individuals' public appearances and private realities (Snyder, 1987), and critiques of the vignette method. Three often-mentioned objections to the use of the vignette method are related to realism, complexity and whether the respondents' answers reflect what they would have done in a real situation. We asked several researchers and practitioners to assess the vignette to ascertain that the described situation is realistic. As for the complexity of the situation, the vignette provides little information, which may be a weakness as respondents

may have too little information to engage with the scenario. We cannot know for sure how people would act in a real situation, but their responses do reflect how they respond to a scenario that is realistic. Furthermore, we have designed the vignette so that it is the school that shall act, and thus we avoid the disturbances that lie in people's various reasons for not wanting to contact public authorities themselves. A strength of the vignette method is said to be the reduction of 'social desirability factors' and the avoidance of observer effects (Soydan, 1996; Wilks, 2004). However, what is expressed in the respondents' answers may not necessarily reflect how they would actually act in a real situation. Respondents may have several reasons for answering in ways that may seem more socially acceptable or more acceptable to the researchers (Barter & Renold, 2000; Finch, 1987; Wilks, 2004).

Funding

This project has received funding from the **European Research Council** (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement no. 724460), from the Research Council of Norway under the Independent Projects – Humanities and Social Science program (grant no. 262773), and from the University of Bergen, Norway.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Acknowledgements

The paper has been presented at seminars at the University of Bergen, and we are grateful for insightful and constructive feedback and comments from participants. We are greateful for insightful comments from reviewers.

Appendix A. Supplementary material

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105749.

References

Aardal, B. & Berglund, F. (2014) ZIGNE. Signifikans 5.9. Available from: https://www.sv.uio.no/isv/forskning/prosjekter/valgforskning/zigne-signifikanstesting.html.

Afifi, T. O., Ford, D., Gershoff, E. T., Merrick, M., Grogan-Kaylor, A., Ports, K. A., MacMillan, H. L., Holden, G. W., Taylor, C. A., Lee, S. J., & Bennett, R. P. (2017). Spanking and adult mental health impairment: The case for the designation of spanking as an adverse childhood experience. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 71*, 24–31. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.01.014

Aguinis, H., & Bradley, K. J. (2014). Best practice recommendations for designing and implementing experimental vignette methodology studies. *Organizational Research Methods, 17*(4), 351–371. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428114547952

Anniste, K., Biin, H., Osila, L., Koppel, K., & Aaben, L. (2018). Lapse õiguste ja vanemluse uuring 2018. Uuringu aruanne. [Study on Children's Rights and Parenting 2018. Study Report] Tallinn: Centre for Political Studies Praxis] (accessed 1st November 2018).

Ashton, V. (2001). The relationship between attitudes toward corporal punishment and the perception and reporting of child maltreatment. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 25*, 389–399. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(00)00258-1

Ashton, V. (2004). The effect of personal characteristics on reporting child maltreatment. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 28*, 985–997. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2004.03.012

Barter, C., & Renold, E. (2000). "I want to tell you a story": Exploring the application of vignettes in qualitative research with children and young people. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 3*, 307–323.

Bell, T., & Romano, E. (2012). Opinions about child corporal punishment and influencing factors. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 27*(11), 2208–2229. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260511432154

Bensley, L., Rugges, D., Simmons, K. W., Harris, C., Williams, K., Putvin, T., & Allen, M. (2004). General population norms about child abuse and neglect and association with childhood experiences. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 28*, 1321–1337. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2004.07.004

Braun, M., Behr, D., & Kaxzmirek, L. (2013). Assessing cross-national equivalence of measures of xenophobia: Evidence from probing in web surveys. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 25*(3), 383–395. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/eds034

Brian, P. A. (2015). The role of social desirability bias and racial/ethnic composition on the relation between education and attitude toward immigration restrictionism. *The Social Science Journal, 52*(4), 459–467. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2014.09.005

Bussmann, K. D., Erthal, C., & Schroth, A. (2009). *Familie – kein Platz für Gewalt! [Family. No place for Violence!]*. Wien: Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft, Familie und Jugend.

Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (2003). Trust in Government – the Significance of Attitudes Towards Democracy, the Public Sector and Public Sector Reforms, Working Paper 7. Bergen: Stein Rokkan Centre for Social Studies, Bergen University Research Foundation.

Clément, M.-È., & Chamberland, C. (2014). Trends in corporal punishment and attitudes in favour of this practice: Toward a change in societal norms. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 33*(2), 13–29. https://doi.org/10.7870/cjcmh-2014-013

Connolly, L. (2015). Locating the Irish Family: Towards a plurality of family forms. In L. Connolly (Ed.), *(2015) The 'Irish' Family*. New York: Routledge.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2002). UN Committee on the Rights of the Child: Concluding Observations: Spain. CRC/C/15/Add.185. Genève: United Nations. https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CRC,CONCOBSERVATIONS,ESP,3df58d454,0.html. Accessed 2 August 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2005a), UN Committee on the Rights of the Child: Concluding Observations: Austria, CRC/C/15/Add.251, https://www.refworld.org/docid/43f3053511.html. Accessed 2. August 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2005b). UN Committee on the Rights of the Child: Concluding Observations: Norway. https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CRC,CONCOBSERVATIONS,NOR,45377ea20,0.html. Accessed 2 August 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2006). General comment No. 8 (2006): The Right of the Child to Protection from Corporal Punishment and Other Cruel or Degrading Forms of Punishment (Arts. 19; 28, Para. 2; and 37, inter alia), CRC/C/GC/8. Genève: UN. https://www.refworld.org/docid/460bc7772.html Accessed 2 August 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2010). Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 44 of the Convention: Convention on the Rights of the Child: concluding observations: Spain. Genève: UN. https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CRC,CONCOBSERVATIONS,ESP,506962b62,0.html. Accessed 2 August 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2016). Concluding observations on the combined third and fourth periodic reports of Ireland. https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CRC,IRL,56c17f574,0.html. Accessed 1 July 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2017). Concluding Observations on the Combined Second to Fourth Periodic Reports of Estonia. https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CRC,EST,589dc6fa4,0.html. Accessed 1 July 2020.

CRC (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child) (2018). Concluding observations on the combined fifth and sixth periodic reports of Spain. http://intersex.shadowreport.org/public/2018-Spain_CRC_C_ESP_CO_5-6_30177_E.pdf. Accessed 1 July 2020.

Durrant, J. E. (1999). Evaluating the success of Sweden's corporal punishment ban. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 23*(5), 435–444. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(99)00021-6

Durrant, J. E. (2003). Legal reform and attitudes toward physical punishment in Sweden. *The International Journal of Children's Rights, 11*, 147–174. https://doi.org/10.1163/092755603322397241

Durrant, J. E., & Smith, A. B. (Eds.). (2011). *Global pathways to abolishing physical punishment: Realizing children's rights*. New York: Routledge.

Durrant, J., & Ensom, R. (2012). Physical punishment of children: Lessons from 20 years of research. *Canadian Medical Association Journal, 184*(12), 1373–1377. https://dx.doi.org/10.1503%2Fcmaj.101314.

Elgar, F. J., Donnelly, P. D., Michaelson, V., Gariépy, G., Riehm, K. E., Walsh, S., & Pickett, W. (2018). Corporal punishment bans and physical fighting in adolescents: an ecological study of 88 countries. *BMJ Open., 8*. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2018-021616

Ellonen, N., Jernbro, C., Janson, S., Tindberg, Y., & Lucas, S. (2015). Current parental attitudes towards upbringing practices in Finland and Sweden 30 years after the ban on corporal punishment. *Child Abuse Review, 24*, 409–417. https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2356

Ellonen, N., Lucas, S., Tindberg, Y., & Janson, S. (2017). Parents' self-reported use of corporal punishment and other humiliating upbringing practices in Finland and Sweden – A comparative study. *Child Abuse Review, 26*, 289–304. https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2482

European Commission (2017). Special Eurobarometer 461 report. Designing Europe's future: Trust in Institutions, Globalization, Support for the Euro, Opinions about Free Trade and Solidarity. Brussels: European Union.

Finch, H. (1987). The vignette technique in survey research. *Sociology, 21*, 105–114. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038587021001008

Font, S., & Cage, J. (2018). Dimensions of physical punishment and their associations with children's cognitive performance and school adjustment. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 75*, 29–40. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.06.008

Fréchette, S., & Romano, E. (2017). How do parents label their physical disciplinary practices? A focus on the definition of corporal punishment. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 71*, 92–103. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.02.003

Freeman, M. (1979). *Violence in the home: a socio-legal study*. Aldershot: Gower.

Freeman, M. (2010). Upholding the dignity and best interests of children: international law and the corporal punishment of children. *Law and Contemporary Problems, 73*(2), 211–251. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25766392.

Freeman, M., & Saunders, B. J. (2014). Can we conquer child abuse if we don't outlaw physical chastisement of children? *International Journal of Children's Rights, 22*, 681–799. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02204002

Friedson, M. (2016). Authoritarian parenting attitudes and social origin: The multigenerational relationship of socioeconomic position to childrearing values. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 51*, 263–275. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.10.001

Gershoff, E. T., Miller, P. C., & Holden, G. W. (1999). Parenting influences from the pulpit: Religious affiliation as a determinant of parental corporal punishment. *Journal of Family Psychology, 13*(3), 307. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.13.3.307

Gershoff, E. T. (2002). Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 128* (4), 539–579. https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-2909.128.4.539

Gershoff, E. T. (2008). *Report on physical punishment in the United States: What research tells us about its effects on children*. Columbus OH: Center for Effective Discipline.

Gershoff, E. T. (2010). More harm than good: a summary of scientific research on the intended and unintended effects of corporal punishment on children. *Law and Contemporary Problems, 73*, 31–56.

Gershoff, E. T. (2013). Spanking and child development: We know enough now to stop hitting our children. *Child Development Perspectives, 7*(3), 133.137. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12038

Gershoff, E. T., Purtell, K. M., & Holas, I. (2015). *Corporal punishment in U.S. public schools: Legal precedents, Current practices, and future policy*. Springer.

Gershoff, E. T., Font, S. A., Taylor, C. A., Foster, R. H., Garza, A. B., Olson-Dorff, D., Terreros, A., Nielsen-Parker, M., & Spector, L. (2016). Medical center staff attitudes about spanking. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 61*, 55–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.10.003

Gershoff, E. T., Lee, S. J., & Durrant, J. E. (2017). Promising intervention strategies to reduce parent's use of physical punishment. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 71*, 9–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.01.017

Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children. (2015). The positive impact of prohibition of corporal punishment on children's lives: messages from research. http://endcorporalpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/research/Summary-of-research-impact-of-prohibition.pdf. Accessed 9 July 2020.

Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children. (2019). Country Report for Norway. http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/country-reports/Norway.pdf. Assessed 15. November 2020.

Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children. (2020). States which have prohibited all corporal punishment, including in the home. https://endcorporalpunishment.org/countdown/ Accessed 2. August 2020.

Goodwin, R., & Plaza, S. H. (2000). Perceived and received social support in two cultures: collectivism and support among British and Spanish students. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 17*, 282–291. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407500172007

Gracia, E., & Herrero, J. (2008a). Is it considered violence? The acceptability of physical punishment of children in Europe. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*, 210–217. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00472.x

Gracia, E., & Herrero, J. (2008b). Beliefs in the necessity of Corporal Punishment of children and public perceptions of child physical abuse as a social problem. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 32*, 1058–1062. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.05.004

Grogan-Kaylor, A., Ma, J., Lee, S. J., Castillo, B., Ward, K. P., & Klein, S. (2018). Using Bayesian analysis to examine associations between spanking and child externalizing behavior across race and ethnic groups. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 86*, 257–266. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.10.009

Halpenny, A. M., Nixon, E., & Watson, D. (2010). *Parenting styles and discipline: parents' perspectives on parenting styles and disciplining children*. Dublin: The Stationery Office/Office of the Minister for Children and Youth Affairs.

Hayes, B. E., & O'Neal, E. N. (2018). The effects of individual- and national-level factors on attitudes toward child maltreatment. *Child Abuse & and Neglect, 83*, 83–93. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.07.012

Helland, H. S., Kriź, K., Sánchez-Cabezudo, S. S., & Skivenes, M. (2018). Are there population biases against migrant children? An experimental analysis towards corporal punishment in Austria, Norway and Spain. *Children & Youth Services Review, 85*, 151–157. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.12.012Get

Juhasz, I., & Skivenes, M. (2017). The population's confidence in the child protection system – A survey study of England, Finland, Norway and the United States (California). *Social Policy & Administration, 51*(7), 1330–1347. https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12226

Karu, M., Turk, P., Biin, H., & Suvi, H. (2012). *Lapse õiguste ja vanemluse monitoring [Monitoring of Children's Rights and Parental Education]*. Tallinn: Poliitikauuringute Keskus Praxis [Centre for Political Studies Praxis].

Kenny, M. C. (2004). Teachers' attitudes toward and knowledge of child maltreatment. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 28*, 1311–1319. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2004.06.010

Knox, M. (2010). On hitting children: A review of corporal punishment in the United States. *J Pediatric Health Care, 24*, 103–107. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pedhc.2009.03.001

Lansford, J. E., Cappa, C., Putnick, D. L., Bornstein, M. H., & Deater-Deckard, K. (2017). Change over time in parents' beliefs about and reported use of corporal punishment in eight countries with and without legal bans. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 71*, 44–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.10.016

Lee, S. J., Altschul, I., & Gershoff, E. T. (2014). Wait until your father gets home? Mother's and fathers' spanking and development of child aggression. *Children and Youth Services Review, 52*, 158–166. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2014.11.006

Levi, M., & Stoker, L. (2000). Political trust and trustworthiness. *Annual Review of Political Science, 3*(1), 475–507. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.3.1.475

Marien, S., & Hooghe, M. (2011). Does political trust matter? An empirical investigation into the relation between political trust and support for law compliance. *European Journal of Political Research, 50*, 267–291. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2010.01930.x

Marien, S., & Werner, H. (2019). Fair treatment, fair play? The relationship between fair treatment perceptions, political trust and compliant and cooperative attitudes cross-nationally. *European Journal of Political Research, 58*(1), 72–95. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12271

Mansell, J., Ota, R., Erasmus, R., & Marks, K. (2011). Reframing child protection: A response to a constant crisis of confidence in child protection. *Children and Youth Services Review, 33*, 2076–2086. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2011.04.019

Mc-Tavish, J., Kimber, M., Devries, K., Colombini, M., MacGregor, J., Wathen, C., Agarwal, A., & MacMillan, H. (2017). Mandated reporters' experiences with reporting child maltreatment: a metasynthesis of qualitative studies. *BMJ Open, 7*, 10. https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2016-013942

Mossige, S., & Stefansen, K. (2016). Vold og overgrep mot barn og unge. Omfang og utviklingstrekk 2007–2015 [Violence and abuse of children and youths. Scope and trend 2007–2015]. Oslo: Norwegian Social Research, NOVA. https://kriminalitetsforebygging.no/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Vold-og-overgrep-mot-barn-og-ung-NOVA-Rapport-5-16-web.pdf. Accessed 15 November 2020.

OECD. (2017). Trust in government, in Government at a Glance 2017. Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/gov_glance-2017-en Accessed 4th April 2020.

Pace, G. T., Lee, S. J., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2019). Spanking and young children's socioemotional development in low- and middle-income countries. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 88*, 84–95. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.11.003

Pinheiro, P. S. (2006). Report of the Independent Expert for the United Nations Study on Violence against Children. United Nations. https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/491/05/PDF/N0649105.pdf?OpenElement. Accessed 3 July 2020.

Richter, D., & Lemola, S. (2014). Institutional rearing is associated with lower general life satisfaction in adulthood. *Journal of Research in Personality, 48*, 93–97. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2013.11.001

Roberts, J. (2000). Changing public attitudes towards corporal punishment: The effects of statutory reform in Sweden. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 24*, 1027–1035. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0145-2134(00)00155-1

Rt-2005-1567. Supreme Court Judgment on Punishment of Child. November 30th 2005.

Saukkonen, S., Aronen, E. T., Laajasalo, T., Salmi, V., & Kivivuori, J. (2016). Victimization and psychopathic features in a population-based sample of Finnish adolescents. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 60*, 58–66. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.09.008

Saunders, B. J., Leviner, P., & Naylor B. (Eds.) (2018). Corporal punishment of children: comparative legal and social developments towards prohibition and beyond. (Stockholm Studies in Child Law and Children's Rights; Vol. 4). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004355972.

Saunders, B. J. (2019). Children's human rights and social work advocacy: "Lawful correction". *Australian Social Work, 72*(4), 490–502. https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2019.1590611

Seidl, C. (2014). Grünwähler versuchen, gewaltfrei zu leben. Der Standard. Retrieved on September 6, 2016 at http://derstandard.at/2000003349039/Gruen-Waehler-versuchen-gewaltfrei-zu-leben Accessed 21 July 2014.

Sentio Research Norge (2018). Befolkningens holdninger til barnevernet. The Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs. https://bibliotek.bufdir.no/BUF/101/Tabell_og_figurvedlegg_til_befolkningsundersokelse_om_universell_utforming.pdf. Accessed 15 November 2020.

Skivenes, M. (2011). Norway: Toward a child centric perspective. In N. Gilbert, N. Parton, & M. Skivenes (Eds.), *Child protection systems. International trends and orientations* (pp. 154–179). New York: Oxford University Press.

Skivenes, M. (2018). Barneperspektiv i fokus" [Child perspective in focus, in Norwegian]. In I. Steinrem, & G. Toresen (Eds.), *Barnas Barnevern [Childrens Child Protection, in Norwegian]* (pp. 14–19). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Skivenes, M. (2020). Public support for child protection? [Centre for Research on Discretion and Paternalism]. https://discretion.uib.no/public-support-for-child-protection/. Accessed 19 November 2020.

Snyder, M. (1987). *Public appearances, private realities: The psychology of self-monitoring*. New York: W.H. Freeman.

Soydan, H. (1996). Using the vignette method in cross-cultural comparisons. In L. Hantrais, & S. Mangen (Eds.), *Cross-national research methods in the social sciences* (pp. 20–128). London: Pinter.

Taylor, C. A., Fleckman, J. M., & Lee, S. J. (2017). Attitudes, beliefs, and perceived norms about corporal punishment and related training needs among members of the "American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children". *Child Abuse & Neglect, 71*, 56–68. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.04.009

The International Adoption Act (2007). Law No. 54/2007 of 28 December. Spain: Boletin Oficial del Estado BOE, 312, pp. 53676–53686.

Tirosh, E., Shechter, S. O., Cohen, A., & Jaffe, M. (2003). Attitudes towards corporal punishment and reporting of abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 27*, 929–937. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0145-2134(03)00140-6

Todres, J. (2019). Violence, exploitation, and the rights of the child. In U. Kilkelly, & T. Liefaard (Eds.), *International Human Rights of Children* (pp. 215–237). Singapore: Springer.

UNICEF (2011). Nordic Study on Child Rights to Participate 2009–2010. Innolink Research.

Wilks, T. (2004). The use of vignettes in qualitative research into social work values. *Qualitative Social Work, 3*(1), 78–87. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1473325004041133.

Williams, J., Greene, S., Doyle, E., Harris, E., Layte, R., McCoy, S., Thornton, M. (2009). Growing up in Ireland: National longitudinal study of children – the lives of 9-year-olds. Dublin: Office of the Minister for Children and Youth Affairs, Department. of Health and Children.

Williams, J., Murray, A., McCrory, C., & McNally, S. (2013). *Growing Up in Ireland: Development from Birth to Three Years – Infant Cohort*. Dublin: Department of Children and Youth Affairs/ESRI.

Zhang, X., & Zhou. (2014). Empowering leadership, uncertainty avoidance, trust, and employee creativity: Interaction effects and a mediating mechanism. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 124*(2), 150–164. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2014.02.002

Zolotor, A. J., & Puzia, M. E. (2010). Bans against corporal punishment: A systematic review of the laws, changes in attitudes and behaviors. *Child Abuse Review, 19*(4), 229–247. https://doi.org/10.1002/car.1131