

Corporal Punishment: A Crime or Act of Love?

A qualitative study examining corporal punishment within the South African culture of lower-income families in Johannesburg



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MASTER THESIS

Student number: 6298451

Master Social Policies and Public Health (RIT)

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In collaboration with the Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA)

Supervised by Lauren Stuart

June 2019

9990 words



Utrecht University



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Abstract

Corporal punishment (CP) in South Africa is banned in schools, on judicial ground and more recently in homes. Despite these laws in stopping CP nationally, CP remains widespread used in South Africa. This study examined what the reasons and feelings are of parental CP within the South African culture, how community and societal factors interrelate with CP and what the effect is of a family intervention by offering non-violent disciplinary methods. A qualitative comparison of two groups was drawn; nine participants participated in a family intervention, and nine did not participate in any intervention (control group). Semi-structured interviews were therefore conducted (N=18) in eleven different townships in Johannesburg. It appeared that caregivers are still struggling with the change in law and in disciplining children. Nevertheless, a family intervention has proven to reduce the usage of parental CP and has a strong positive influence on parenting behaviour and wellbeing of the child. However, the usage of CP is culturally sensitive and reducing it comprises not only legal action at national level, but also making a cultural swift in raising awareness of CP and offering caregivers' tools to discipline children in a non-violent way.

Key words: corporal punishment, South Africa, caregivers, discipline, children, culture, family, intervention

Introduction

Corporal punishment (CP) in South Africa is banned in schools (Act No. 10 of 1996), on judicial ground (Act No. 33 of 1997) and more recently in homes (12A in Act No. 38 of 2005). Despite these laws in stopping CP nationally, CP remains widespread used in South Africa: in schools – where it is illegal – and in homes where it is hidden from public view and protected through civil and customary law (UNICEF, 2012). One out of three parents use severe CP in the form of beatings in South Africa (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar & Richter, 2005), and more recently statistics demonstrate that still 50% of pre-school and primary school children experience CP by parents (Richter, Mathews, Kagura & Nonterah, 2018). It can be assumed that a young person learning violence within the home by parental use of CP becomes far more likely to enter cycles of violence him or herself. The use of CP is also reinforced by the fact that children face violence regularly at school (Graham, Bruce & Perold, 2010). In addition, CP often forms part of the upbringing of children within South African townships, which is used as a disciplinary strategy (Ward, Gould, Kelly & Mauff, 2015).

Moreover, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), an international treaty to which South Africa is signatory, declares that all legislative, administrative, social and educational measures must be taken to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence (UNICEF, 2012). However, the CRC does not specify what discipline techniques parents or caregivers should use (UNICEF, 2012), although the Children's Act requires the development of appropriate parenting skills and the capacity of parents and caregivers to safeguard the wellbeing and best interests of their children, including the promotion of positive non-violent forms of discipline (Ganyaza-Twalo & Viviers, 2012). Family strengthening interventions are one kind of service that promote non-violent forms of discipline and could have substantial benefits for disadvantaged families and children. The family is one of the most powerful socialising environments for children which continues throughout adolescence (Ward, 2007). An example of a family intervention in South Africa is "Sihleng'imizi" ('we care for families' in isiZulu) which aims to strengthen families as a protective environment for children and which could lead to a better child wellbeing. This intervention focuses on five main objectives: first, an improvement of the relationship between caregiver and child, especially in building cohesion, learning communication and positive behaviour management skills; second, connectedness of social- and community life, such as strengthening social networks, developing capacity to find and access community

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services; third, involvement of the caregiver in the child's education, particularly in actively building a positive collaboration between caregivers and schools; fourth, empowering financial capabilities of the family, specifically in budgeting and saving skills; fifth, providing nutritional knowledge in how to prepare low-cost high nutrition food (Patel et al., 2019). This study specifically focuses on the first objective, the positive behaviour management skills of caregivers, in particularly aiming for a reduction of CP. CP is described as the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child pain, but not injury, for the purposes of correction or control of the child's behaviour (Straus, 2001). CP represents a risk factor for the development of negative behavioural, psychological, and cognitive characteristics of children (Mulvaney & Mebert, 2007). It is therefore of great importance to further investigate the usage of CP in South Africa, why it is still largely used by parents and caregivers, while it is forbidden by law and harmful for the child and society as a whole.

By getting a deeper understanding of the usage of parental CP within the South African culture and the effect of the Sihleng'imizi intervention on the usage of CP, a further nuance on the empirical research will be made and therefore enrich the limited available knowledge on parental CP in South Africa. It may also contribute to the Sihleng'imizi intervention in a way that it can add knowledge regarding the first objective of the program. This can assist in making any relevant adjustments to the program in order to strengthen its service offering to disadvantaged families. In the long-term, South African families can be helped more effectively and in this way it will improve their quality of life.

Effects on Children

To further emphasize the importance of this study; CP contributes to an increase of child behaviour problems. According to Ward et al. (2015) and Mulvaney and Mebert (2007) CP in the upbringing increases the risk that children will develop both externalising disorders (behavioural problems such as aggression) and internalising disorders (anxiety and depression). Both types of disorder can have serious, lifelong consequences for the individual, family and society, since they affect survival, ability to succeed at education, and employability. Children's behavioural problems may increase when they are exposed to violence in the home, as they may model the abuser's behaviour. They are also more likely to attribute hostile intentions to others, attributions that in turn increase the likelihood that they will behave aggressively in social interactions (Gershoff, 2013). Concluding that CP whether elicited by children's behaviour or not, increases the risk that the child will develop either externalising or internalising symptoms.

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Furthermore, several studies indicate that children do not agree with the use of CP as it causes physical and emotional pain (Dobbs, Smith & Taylor, 2006; Willow & Hyder, 1998) and that it is the least fair disciplinary method, when compared to other methods such as reasoning, time out and withdrawing privileges. Children also show high levels of confusion in trying to make meaning of their caregivers' actions and their own views about CP, with some children expressing strong negative feelings toward the adult who hit them (Breen, Daniels & Tomlinson, 2015). This can lead to a damage of the parent-child relationship (Gershoff, 2002).

Ecological Framework

To better understand the use of parental CP in South Africa, this study will use an ecological framework. Ecological theory suggests considering both the individual, community- and societal factors, and their interrelatedness (Grogan-Kaylor & Otis, 2007). Parents or caregivers' actions are often viewed and judged by their surroundings: neighbours, friends, and community members. Reactions in these settings, as well as the caregivers' own observations of others' actions, provide information that may or may not support the use of CP. The ecological framework views violence not as the outcome of any single risk factor, but of multiple risk factors and causes interaction at all four levels of a nested hierarchy (World Health Organisation, 2019). The model includes levels of the individual, family/close relationships, community and society (see Figure 1). This study will indicate certain factors to each level. At the individual/relationship level, the factors of parenting styles, motivation of caregivers, the childhood history and socialisation goals will be presented. At the community level, school factors and cultural factors will be explored, and finally the societal level will comprise factors regarding poverty, the society and history. After an analysis through an ecological lens, non-violent disciplinary methods will be demonstrated as part of the Sihleng'imizi program. The ecological model will thus show the complexity of the use of CP in South Africa, influenced by different factors within different levels of life.

Figure 1 The Ecological Model

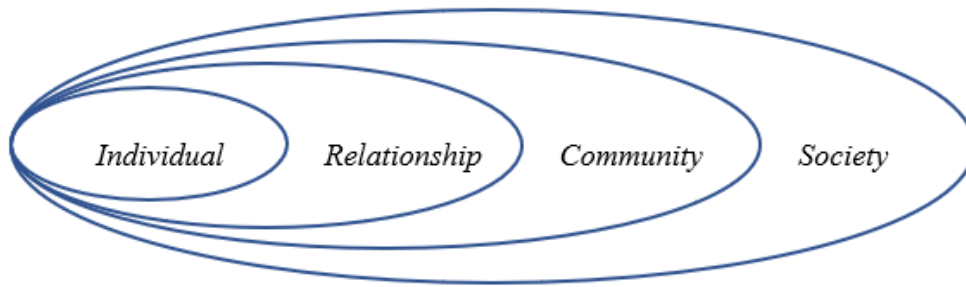


Figure 1. The ecological model for understanding corporal punishment at different levels and their interrelatedness. This figure is adopted from the Violence Prevention Alliance Approach. Copyright 2019 by World Health Organization.

Individual and relationship level

Parenting styles. According to the existing literature we can identify four parenting styles used to interact with children: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and neglectful. Although some families fall between the styles, most families use one of these approaches (Klein & Ballantine, 2001). Parenting style is mostly conceptualized as a constellation of attitudes towards the child that are communicated to the child and that create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviour is expressed (Darling & Steinberg, 2017). First, we can identify authoritative caregivers, who are high on acceptance and behavioural control, but low on psychological control (Kimble, 2014). This child-centred approach includes high parental involvement, interest, and active participation in the child's life. It is further characterized as having open communication, trust and acceptance, encouragement of psychological autonomy and awareness of where children are, with whom and what they are doing (Darling & Steinberg, 2017). Second, authoritarian caregivers are characterized as rejecting and psychologically controlling (Kimble, 2014). They show little trust towards their children and their way of engagement is strictly adult-centred. These caregivers often fear losing control, discourage open communication (Darling & Steinberg, 2017), are highly demanding and are often punitive and forceful in order to adhere to an absolute standard of behaviour (Kimble, 2014). Third, permissive caregivers are responsive, warm, accepting, and child-centred, but non-demanding. They mostly lack parental control and avoid coercive or confrontive practices as much as possible. They are indulgent and allowing children to make their own rules and decisions (Kimble, 2014). And fourth, neglectful caregivers are neither responsive nor demanding. They do not support or encourage their child's self-regulation, and

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they often fail to monitor or supervise the child's behaviour. They may respond to a child with hostility or may not respond at all, neglecting all the needs of the child (Kimble, 2014). At the end you can describe them as uninvolved (Klein & Ballantine, 2001).

Different parenting styles create different outcomes for children. Parenting styles affect children's psychological well-being, their school achievement and other aspects of their social and psychological adjustment, including adolescent problem behaviour such as aggression, drug and alcohol abuse. In addition, parenting styles vary depending on the social milieu in which the family is embedded (Darling & Steinberg, 2017). CP might be used by parents belonging to all parenting styles though in different ways. Authoritative caregivers may use CP, but authoritarian caregivers tend to use it more frequently. Permissive caregivers on the other hand tend to use it less frequently but more harshly (Mulvaney & Mebert, 2007). Neglecting caregivers may threaten the child with CP, but most of the time they do not follow up with action (Kimble, 2014).

Motivation. Another major influence on the usage of CP is the motivation of caregivers, which is shaped in different ways. At first, caregivers regularly face situations in which they attempt to use CP to gain children's compliance: they believe that it sends a clear message to children that they must comply. It relates to a very short-term compliance (Kassing, Pearce, Infante & Pyles, 1999; Knox, 2010). In these situations, CP represents a tactical nonverbal message. Caregivers who use CP may not recognize additional messages that accompany the use of CP, such as messages concerning children's self-esteem (e.g. thinking they are a bad person to get beaten like that) and aggression (e.g. hitting is an effective way to get people do something). In addition, the regular use of CP may create a communication climate within families that permits and condones both physical and verbal aggression (Kassing, Pearce, Infante & Pyles, 1999). Second, Straus (1997) pointed out that sometimes beating is believed to be necessary at times and a valid method for influencing children's behaviour. This mindset has produced reasoning as beating is needed as a last resort, to be effective and harmless. Third, its use also depends on the type of misbehaviour of the child (Simons & Wurtele, 2010). Caregivers are more likely to beat for a reason to discipline or when the misbehaviour results in a threat to the child's safety (e.g. running into a busy street) as compared to moral reasons, which include violating other's rights (e.g. stealing, hitting a friend or sibling). Fewer caregivers approve using CP for violating social norms or family rules (e.g. disobeying a parent, interrupting a parent on the phone).

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Nevertheless, caregivers are often not aware of other alternatives (Klein & Ballantine, 2001) or fail to use alternatives (Knox, 2010).

Childhood History. The childhood history is interrelated with the parenting style and motivation for caregivers to use CP. The caregivers' use of CP depends on their own experiences with being beaten or hit as a child (Simons & Wurtele, 2010). Numerous studies have found that those who witnessed or experienced CP as a child approve its use and are more likely to physically punish their own children (Kassing, Pearce, Infante & Pyles, 1999; Ateah & Parkin, 2002; Simons & Wurtele, 2010). Furthermore, modelling the use of CP by caregivers is presumed to be of primary importance in the intergenerational transmission of the use of CP. It teaches children that it is acceptable and reasonable for the person in charge to use violence to get what he or she wants, and that violence is sometimes a part of loving relationships. In addition, the fact that caregivers often beat to punish children's aggression can be confusing to children, with beating becoming a hypocritical "do as I say, not as I do" form of parenting. This is part of the transmission of violence in families across generations (Gershoff, 2013). Thus parental CP can be viewed as normative and appropriate because of childhood experiences, transmitted intergenerationally and therefore creating a cycle of family violence (Kassing, Pearce, Infante & Pyles, 1999).

Socialization Goals. To understand the processes in which parenting styles, motivation and childhood history influence the usage of CP, it is also important to look at the goals towards which socialization is directed and the parenting practices used by caregivers to help children reach those goals (Darling & Steinberg, 2017). Researchers from Symonds (1939) to Dornbusch et al. (1987) state that the values caregivers' hold and the socialization goals they have for their children are critical determinants of parenting behaviour. These socialization goals include both the child's acquisition of specific skills and behaviours (e.g. appropriate manners, social skills, and academic ability) and the child's development qualities (e.g. curiosity, critical thinking, independence, spirituality, and the capacity to experience joy or love). Although these goals and values have a direct effect on parenting behaviour, they only indirectly - through parenting behaviour - influence the development of a child (Darling & Steinberg, 2017).

Community level

School factors. CP is a still practised method in South African schools, even though it is banned in the South African Schools Act (Morell, 2001). South Africa's courts found CP to be an infringement of a person's human rights. Nevertheless, some teachers consider CP as a mean of keeping order in class given the many constraints teachers face in their teaching environments. In the book 'Growing Up in the New South Africa' Bray et al. (2010) state that too many teachers lack both competence and confidence, and resort to CP to encourage their learners. The fact that teachers use CP reflects their frustration and desperation. Although, effective alternatives were not initially introduced, and many teachers simply do not know what to do (Bray et al., 2010). Furthermore, Morell (2001) states that there does appear to be a strong connection between home and school modes of discipline. Children from disadvantaged families try to find the emotional connections and responses they lack at home in school, where they can be confronted with CP. This will further undermine their confidence and ability to learn (Bray et al., 2010). All in all, the association between the use of CP at home and at school and poor child outcomes has been demonstrated, including mental health problems and aggressive behaviour (Morell, 2001).

Cultural factors. The usage of CP in homes and in schools is reinforced by the existing culture the family lives in. The impact of CP depends on cultural norms and beliefs about CP (Vittrup & Holden, 2010). Child rearing attitudes of caregivers are rooted in cultural discipline practices, which either favour CP as appropriate or not (Bell & Romano, 2012). When CP is seen as appropriate, it may also be found necessary and viewed as a way to protect children from danger (Levine et al., 1996). In addition, when children see the adults in their lives (caregivers or teachers) using CP, they are more likely to view it as a social norm (Vittrup & Holden, 2010). Within cultures for which CP is relatively normal, individual differences in CP do not strongly predict individual differences in child aggressive behaviour. However, more CP was consistently associated with more aggression in children, even when it was perceived that communities largely accepted CP (Gershoff, 2013). Furthermore, greater normative acceptance of CP may also be related to greater levels of societal violence. This phenomenon is also explained by the Cultural Spill Over Theory of violence, which holds that violence in one domain tends to generalize, or spill over, into other domains (Lansford & Dodge, 2008). This theory suggests that CP towards children would be related to societal levels of violence in other domains.

Societal level

Poverty factors. Besides societal levels of violence, poverty and inequality form barriers to access of sources of wellbeing, status, and respect that can in turn lead to feelings of shame, humiliation, and loss of self-respect. Where there is great inequality there is likely to be great anger and frustration, and violence might be used to gain power resources and influence which others have, or are perceived to have (Seedat et al., 2009). In addition, caregivers living in poverty are more likely to be depressed and stressed, which increases the likelihood of using CP. Specifically, poor caregivers are more likely to be young and unmarried, to have more children and fewer financial resources, and to report lower educational attainment (Simons & Wurtele, 2010). Poor caregivers are also less likely to have the social support that may ease stress and are less likely to be warm towards their children or to monitor them sufficiently (Ward, Gould, Kelly & Mauff, 2015).

Societal factors. The South African government introduced new laws concerning CP at three different levels in society. First, the South African Schools Act (Act No. 10 of 1996) was introduced which abolished CP in schools, second; a Corporal Punishment Act (Act No. 33 of 1997) was introduced which abolished CP on judicial ground; and more recently the Children's Amendment Bill (12A in Act 38 2005) was introduced which abolished CP within homes. The existing laws and thus the awareness to stop CP within every domain in society, suggest that the existence of CP in all its forms is recognized nationally. CP violates children's human rights according to at least seven human rights treaties (Gershoff, 2013). Despite the laws, the use of CP can be reinforced by cultural norms approving violence and cultural beliefs about the necessity and effectiveness of CP (Breen, Daniels & Tomlinson, 2015). CP is largely culturally permitted in the home because of strong beliefs about caregivers' rights to discipline as well as a societal view of caregivers as "owners" of children. This perspective of children as "property" may serve to maintain individual and societal beliefs that condone and perpetuate violence towards children (Knox, 2010). All in all, the social norm within a society raises or lowers the probability that a caregiver or teacher beats children to correct misbehaviour (Breen, Daniels & Tomlinson, 2015).

Historical factors. South Africa's society is shaped by its history. South Africa's history of apartheid and the separation of families due to migrant labour and influx control policies, among other forms of institutionalised separation of families, resulted in severe disruption of family life and changing family structures (Patel et al., 2019). One of the legacies of apartheid is that it left black African caregivers without the resources to create a

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favourable home environment for their children (Posel & Grapsa, 2017). These historical structures may have led to the frequent use of CP in South Africa. Authoritarian systems are ideologically based on the notion that discipline must come in the form of punishment because it was assumed that most members of society were incapable of critical thinking and self-discipline, and thus needed to be taught to fear disobedience. This was extensively used since South Africa was under colonial and apartheid rule. CP became one of the ways in which the patriarchal, racial and authoritarian apartheid system entrenched itself (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar & Richter, 2005).

Non-violent Disciplinary Methods

Sihleng'imizi. The Sihleng'imizi program offers three non-violent disciplinary methods. First, making the child aware of the possible consequences of his/her wrongdoing; second, depriving the child of a favourite thing or activity; third, a calm down corner. Knox (2010) states that behavioural methods such as positive reinforcement of prosocial behaviour and consequences such as removal of privileges and time-out are highly effective alternatives for CP. A disciplinary technique works if a child learns from it and engages in more adaptive behaviour in the future because of it. Children who are beaten are in fact less likely to learn the lessons caregivers are trying to teach (Knox, 2010). The Sihleng'imizi program therefore aims to make the caregivers more aware of the consequences of CP, of the existence of effective non-violent alternative ways to discipline children and to actually practice and evaluate these methods in group sessions.

Research Focus

Aim and research question(s). There is still limited empirical research available on the prevalence of parental CP in South Africa specifically given that it is highly prevalent and socially accepted (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar & Richter, 2005; Holdstock, 1990 in Morell, 2001). CP is common in many families in South Africa and is often the 'first-line tactic' in resolving conflict (Morell, 2001). The few studies available largely ignore the potential role of culture as a moderator of links between CP and children's adjustment, also few knowledge exists on ethnic differences in parenting styles. On top of that, limited knowledge is available if raising awareness on non-violent disciplinary methods actually reduces the usage of CP. For the latter, a comparison between caregivers who participated in the Sihleng'imizi intervention and caregivers who did not, might offer insights regarding the influence of offering non-violent disciplinary methods. This study therefore aims to get new qualitative insights in the ongoing practice of parental CP in South Africa and if a family

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intervention offering non-violent disciplinary methods can reduce the use of CP. The main research question therefore is:

“How to understand the usage of parental corporal punishment within the South African culture and to what extent does the Sihleng’imizi intervention influence the usage of parental corporal punishment?”

The sub questions are the following:

1. “What are the reasons and feelings of parental corporal punishment within the South African culture and what factors on community and societal level influence parental corporal punishment in Johannesburg?”
2. “How does raising awareness, by offering non-violent disciplinary methods included in the Sihleng’imizi family intervention, reduce the usage of parental corporal punishment in Johannesburg?”

Expectations. The expectation of this study is that parental CP is mostly used by authoritarian caregivers because according to the study of Mulvaney and Mebert (2007) authoritarian caregivers use it more frequently and authoritarian systems tend to be ideologically based on the notion that discipline must come in the form of punishment (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar & Richter, 2005). This leaves the option open that also other caregivers use CP because they are not aware of alternative disciplinary methods (Klein & Ballantine, 2001) or fail to use it (Knox, 2010). In addition, it is also expected that the existing cultural norms in South Africa reinforce the use of CP by approving violence and beliefs about the necessity and effectiveness of CP (Breen, Daniels & Tomlinson, 2015). The use of CP may also be related to societal levels of violence in other domains (Lansford & Dodge, 2008). Moreover, the expectation regarding the Sihleng’imizi intervention is that it would reduce the usage of CP because it provides non-violent disciplinary strategies and it also helps in positively achieving caregivers’ socialization goals for their children.

Methods

Research Design

This study is a qualitative study and is framed by an interdisciplinary research perspective. The aim is to get a deeper understanding of the usage of parental CP within the South African culture and how a family intervention by offering non-violent disciplinary methods reduces the use of CP within lower-income South African families. For this purpose, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect primary data to create a detailed picture of experiences and perceptions of caregivers about parental CP. Semi-structured interviews have in some degree a predetermined order but still ensure flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant (Clifford, Cope, Gillespie & French, 2016). Furthermore, an interview-guide was used to give direction to the interview with a list of topics and main questions developed by the theory and empirical findings regarding CP. Moreover, a pilot-interview was conducted to test the interview-guide and overcome possible shortcomings. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at the caregivers' homes in order to better understand their living environment. Moreover, the data is supported by using memos. Memos are in fact field notes, which describes how a particular situation has been interpreted and are particularly valuable in providing a chain of reasoning (Boeije, 2010).

Population and Sampling

The priority population for this qualitative study consists of eighteen South African caregivers from eleven different townships in Johannesburg. Nine of these caregivers participated in the Sihleng'imizi intervention implemented in 2015 and the other nine caregivers have not participated in any intervention. In this way a comparison is made to examine differences regarding participating in the Sihleng'imizi intervention. During the interviews all caregivers had to have one child in mind between the age of six to nine years old (primary school children). These children were also selected by the researchers of the Sihleng'imizi program. Moreover, concerning the characteristics of the participants (see Table 1), the caregivers differ in gender, age and ethnicity. Furthermore, all participants were required to receive the Child Support Grant (CSG) and to have the same socio-economic status (SES). In this way differences between the groups are not based on confounding factors but on differences concerning the family intervention. Moreover, caregivers were compensated for their participation by offering refreshments and R60 airtime.

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Table 1

Participants Characteristics

Gender Caregivers	Year of Birth Caregiver	Age Child	Gender Child	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Number of People in Household	Educational Level	Employment Status
Female i	1961	7	Girl	Married	-	9	Grade 9	Unemployed
Female i	1991	8	Boy	-	-	-	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female c	1984	8	Girl	Engaged	Sepedi	9	Grade 12	Self-employed
Female c	1984	6	Girl	Single	Sesotho	5	Grade 11	Employed
Female i	1979	8	Boy	Widow	Xitsonga	5	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female c	1976	9	Girl	Married	Sesotho	5	Grade 12	Unemployed
Male c	1974	7	Girl	Married	Ndebele	5	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female c	1976	8	Girl	Single	-	15	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female c	1973	6	Girl	Single	Xitsonga	7	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female i	1992	6	Girl	Single	Xitsonga	7	Grade 12	Self-employed
Female i	1986	7	Boy	Married	-	7	Grade 6	Unemployed
Female i	1977	8	Boy	Single	-	5	Grade 11	Unemployed
Female i	1968	7	Girl	Living together	Afrikaans	7	Grade 10	Employed
Female i	1976	7	Girl	Single	isiZulu	6	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female i	1971	8	Girl	Single	isiZulu	5	Grade 5	Unemployed
Female c	1972	6	Girl	Single	isiXhosa	4	Grade 4	Unemployed
Female c	1989	7	Boy	Single	Sepedi	4	Grade 12	Unemployed
Female c	1982	7	Girl	Single	isiZulu	10	Grade 10	Unemployed

Note. Characteristics of the caregivers (N=18) and relating children are presented above, with both the control group and intervention group together. The “i” indicates the intervention group participants, and the “c” indicates control group participants.

In consultation with the researchers and facilitators from the Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA) the caregivers were selected from a list of participants from the Sihleng’imizi intervention. This list included 40 caregivers that either participated in the Sihleng’imizi program or served as a control group, who did not receive any intervention. Both groups were asked through phone call to participate on voluntary basis. The recruitment was done with a fieldworker from the CSDA by calling the participants in a language that was most comfortable for the particular caregiver. The fieldworker was informed beforehand about the aim and content of the study, in order to introduce the research project properly. The car of the fieldworker was used to visit the homes of the participants. The fieldworker was familiar in the specific townships in Johannesburg and helped navigating the addresses of the participants. Thus the interviews took place at their homes to provide a safe and well-known environment for the participants. However, when this was wrongly assumed and participants felt more comfortable meeting at the CSDA institute, this was also a possibility. Moreover, since not all participants were expected to speak English on a sufficient level to express

themselves, the fieldworker was present during all of the interviews to assist with translating. All participants were informed of their rights, the purposes, procedures and central ethical aspects of the study (informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and potential risks) before starting the semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, all eighteen interviews were recorded with audio recording and took approximately 60 minutes. A maximum of three interviews were conducted per day and in two weeks after the fieldwork, all interviews were transcribed.

Instruments

The focus of the semi-structured interview is to examine the reasons and feelings of parental CP within the South African culture and how that is related to relationship, community and societal factors. In addition, regarding the intervention group, the effect of the Sihleng'imizi program was examined concerning the first objective: lowering the use of CP. Also non-violent disciplinary methods were further deepened. The interview-guide is based on the ecological model, the theory and empirical findings that has been demonstrated. Followed from this, more specific topics and indicators were developed and examined. Caregivers' actions are often viewed and judged by their surroundings: neighbours, friends, and community members. Therefore the indicators school factors and cultural norms and beliefs are examined. To further understand the caregivers' individual behaviour using CP and the relationship with the child, the parenting styles, motivation, childhood history, socialisation goals and social support are examined. And this is again interrelated with the environment caregivers live in: community violence, poverty and historical factors. Furthermore, if new information was given by the participants, this was inductively added in the analysis. The ecological model is used as a lens to look at parental CP within the South African context (see figure 2).

Figure 2 The Ecological Model for Understanding Corporal Punishment

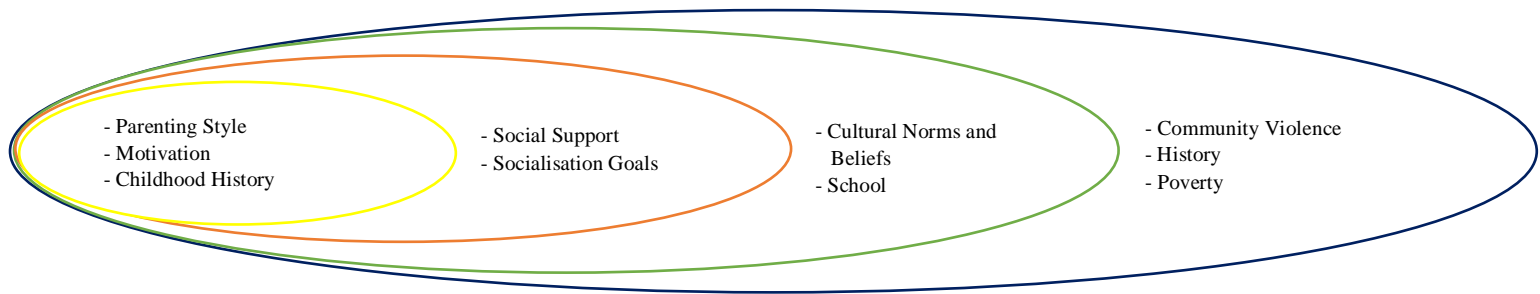


Figure 2. The ecological model for understanding corporal punishment applied in the South African context. Factors influencing the usage of corporal punishment at different levels: individual, relationship, community, society. All these factors at different levels show their interrelatedness.

Operationalisation

The concepts used in the interviews were operationalised as followed: the parenting styles; 1) authoritative, 2) authoritarian, 3) permissive, 4) neglectful (Darling & Steinberg, 2017; Kimble, 2014). Several questions are asked about the attitudes towards the child that are communicated to the child and the upbringing of the child in which the parent's behaviour is expressed. The motivation is operationalised as internal and external factors that stimulate desire and energy in people to be interested and committed to a job, role or subject, or to make an effort to attain a goal (Business Dictionary, n.d.). The childhood history is operationalised as that caregivers might be influenced by their childhood experiences and re-create with their children what they have experienced with their own parents (Lerner, 2016). Social support is operationalised as social relationships that could have beneficial effects on health, regardless of life situation, and on persons exposed to stressors, such as negative life events and hardships over time (Bøen, Dalgard & Bjertness, 2012). Socialisation goals are operationalised as the values caregivers' hold and the goals they have for their children (Symonds, 1939; Dornbusch et al. 1987). Furthermore, cultural norms and beliefs are operationalised as norms how to behave in accordance with what a society has defined as good, right, and important, and to what most members of the society adhere. Beliefs are the tenets or convictions that people hold to be true. Individuals in a society have specific beliefs, but they also share collective values (Lumen Sociology, n.d.). School factors are operationalised through two themes; the first one questions the continued use of CP by

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teachers despite its abolition by law in 1997, and the second theme unpacks caregivers' perspectives on the use of CP by teachers in schools. Moreover, community violence is operationalised as exposure to intentional acts of interpersonal violence committed in public areas by individuals who are not intimately related to the victim (NCTSN, n.d.). The historical factors are operationalised as the apartheid that left black African caregivers without the resources to create a favourable home environment for their children (Posel & Grapsa, 2017), in which CP has been a way to enforce patriarchal, racial and authoritarian relations (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar & Richter, 2005). Poverty is operationalised as deprivation and also takes into account how being poor limits what a person "can and cannot do" both in terms of immediate and future actions (Terrace, 2007). And last, non-violent alternative forms of discipline such as positive reinforcement of prosocial behaviour and consequences such as removal of privileges and time-out (Knox, 2010) were offered by the Sihleng'imizi program and will be evaluated regarding the intervention group. All concepts, operationalisation and interview questions are presented in a table in appendix 1, whereas the full interview-guide is presented in appendix 4.

Analysis

The analysis of the qualitative data was thematic and NVivo 12 was used for this purpose. The transcripts were coded according to predetermined codes, although new additional codes were added during the analysis process. The predetermined codes were based on the theoretical factors and empirical findings regarding CP. Thus the gathered data were both deductively and inductively coded and analysed. In addition, cross-checking coding by different researchers were undertaken to ensure a minimum of bias and maximum consistency and coherence in code usage (Friese, 2014).

Results

Individual and relationship level

Parenting styles. The authoritative parenting style is a common way in which parenting behaviour is expressed towards the child. Caregivers state that they help their child with their homework, play together, have an open communication climate in which they talk about their days and discuss thoughts and have clear house rules such as time regulation (coming home before the dark). Caregivers mentioned the latter frequently as this especially has to do with the community violence in the streets. Because of this high risk of danger in the streets and community as a whole, caregivers therefore always know where their child is, with whom and for what reason. In addition, caregivers encourage their child to do well in school and compliment and reward (school-relating) accomplishments (if the wallet allows it). Furthermore caregivers' say that they let their child involve in the decision-making within the household. A participant states:

"(...) If I take a decision without thinking of my child, it might not be according to him. He might not go along with the decision that I'm taking. So if I take a decision, I have to think of him as well. If that decision will suit him as well or not." (respondent 6)

On the other hand, when the child misbehaves, caregivers' (especially from the control group) still use CP frequently to correct for misbehaviour or naughtiness.

Motivation. The motivation to use CP is first because of the type of misbehaviour of the child. Caregivers' point out that when their child misbehaves too much, CP is used as a last resort. Second, CP gives caregivers a short-term fulfilment to stop the child's misbehaviour for that specific moment. And third, a strong motivation to use CP is to teach their child important values (e.g. make the child listen and to teach them respect). Thus CP is used to "lead the child into the right direction" and it is believed that CP sends a clear message to children. Regarding the socialisation goals, caregivers wish their child to be a better person, educated and successful in life. And in order to achieve this, respect, discipline and going to school is required. A woman emphasizes this with the following:

"I'm still saying that I wish corporal punishment would brought back again, so that our children can be on the right direction." (respondent 15)

However, there are two conditions to its usage. The values a child obtains by experiencing CP (discipline and respect) only occur when the child has done something wrong: beating a child

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for no reason or mistakenly is believed unacceptable. Secondly, beating a child with the intention to hurt the child is not tolerated: it has to serve as a warning, reminding the child that its behaviour is wrong and should not be replicated. Furthermore, the control group used CP relatively more frequent than the intervention group. Nevertheless, the control group has limited its use because of an external motivation: the governmental involvement in abolishing CP in homes. Furthermore, the new acquired knowledge and skills from the Sihleng'imizi program helped the internal motivation of caregivers of the intervention group to reduce CP: it raised awareness of its consequences and offered tools to use non-violent disciplinary methods (e.g. the calm down corner). Moreover, reasons for the control group to stop CP were the experience of extreme CP (resulting child running away from home), a realisation it is not a good fit for the child or worries about hurting the child badly.

Childhood History. Furthermore, the motivation of caregivers is embedded in the childhood history, cultural norms and beliefs, and societal factors as well. The motivation to use CP strongly interrelates with the caregivers' childhood history. A participant narrates:

“What I’m doing is not a bad thing at all by beating children. I grew up being beaten as well. I’m a good person, I’m what I am today because I was beaten at home. I’m still using it even now, in this house. But because of the laws, I try to limit it.” (respondent 15)

CP has been a frequently used child raising practice in the caregivers' own childhood. One participant recalls that they were always beaten in their childhood if they had done something wrong. This high use of CP normalized the use of it. Caregivers mention that it was not a bad thing, it was “just normal” for them. Their parents were trying to show them the way: teaching respect. It was thus part of a loving relationship between caregiver and child. For example:

“If our parents beat us, they didn’t show us that they hate us. They loved us. But that was the way to do. It was a good thing” (respondent 9)

CP was used by parents/caregivers, by neighbours and by teachers, in every aspect of a caregivers' life during childhood. Caregivers of the intervention group state to have more negative experience with CP than caregivers of the control group. One participant says that it gives her a life perspective in which misconduct needs to be fought. Another participant states CP let her become a more fearful person with a lower self-esteem. On the other hand, participants of the control group mention more positive sides of their experience being beaten. It taught them to be disciplined and respectful towards others, especially towards elders.

Community level

Cultural norms and beliefs. The motivation of caregivers to use CP is also strongly related to the existing cultural norms and beliefs about CP. Caregivers reckon that CP is part of the South African culture. Their parents and grandparents were raised in that way too. CP has a strong intergenerational transmission, passing from one generation to another. Nevertheless, the cultural beliefs are being restricted by the lawful consequences CP now brings. The overall reason to stop or reduce CP is the existing fear of being arrested by the police or getting involved with social workers. Caregivers have seen this happening to their neighbours or have heard this in their social network. Therefore they made a choice to prevent such situations and stop using CP anymore or to use it less frequently. Furthermore, intervention group participants state to interfere more in situations within the community if they see someone beating a child for misbehaviour, than participants of the control group. Someone of the intervention group remembers:

“There was a lady hitting a child and then I said to her: you know what, you mustn’t hit a child, don’t. Rather speak to the child.” (respondent 13)

In the control group on the other hand, caregivers were withholding such situations more or would not interfere at all. The reason not to interfere is risking own safety or just “not interfering with someone else’s business”.

Societal level

Abolition CP. The decision of the government to ban CP in homes, and in schools, affected children, caregivers and teachers in various ways. Caregivers think that children are given too many rights. In the past children had no rights at all and were raised under strict parental rule. Nowadays children have been given rights and CP is therefore banned. Caregivers feel they cannot control their children anymore and are struggling to find a good way to discipline them. According to the caregivers, this change in laws has given children too much freedom and rendered them less disciplined and harder to handle (violence, drug use, low school motivation) compared to the caregivers’ generation. The caregivers also mention that children nowadays have lost respect since CP is abolished, especially towards elders. When the government introduced these laws, caregivers were living within financial hardship under dire living conditions. The majority of the caregivers is unemployed and maintains a life in poverty: unable to afford electricity, furniture, clothes, school items, school activities, further education or even a birthday present. Most of them live in shacks, i.e. little

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squared houses made from steel material, sometimes living there with five to fifteen family members. On top of that, some caregivers live in extremely violent communities, further impeding the capacity of providing a safe and encouraging upbringing for the child with a sufficient quality of life. So the only thing the caregivers from the control group were familiar with (normalised CP), was taken away from them by law without proposing alternatives. All in all, mostly the caregivers from the control group feel restricted by these laws.

“The government has closed us parents in a bottle, we have nothing to say, nothing to do. So it’s all about children but forgetting that we as parents we need to control these kids.”

(respondent 18)

Because of the laws abolishing CP, teachers are also experiencing difficulties according to caregivers. There is a sentiment that children nowadays do not obey the teachers’ rule anymore and have lost respect towards them. It is even mentioned that children beat their teachers now. Nevertheless, teachers are finding new ways to use non-violent disciplinary methods like extra homework, lunch deprivation, cleaning the classroom or verbal disciplinary communication. Eventually teachers will call or write the caregiver a letter about the situation of the child. Some teachers did advise caregivers of the control group not to use CP anymore and discussed why CP has a negative impact on children, by emphasising an open communication climate. All in all, caregivers and teachers seem to be struggling with the laws. Nonetheless, they are both trying and coming up with new ideas and non-violent strategies to manage and discipline children.

Introducing Non-Violent Disciplinary Methods

Sihleng’imizi. The most popular techniques that were still used by the participants from the intervention group were “the naughty corner” and depriving the child of what he or she wants. In combination with talking to the child, the caregiver is more aware of the cause of the misbehaviour of the child. Caregivers are making an effort to create an open communication climate to encourage talking as a tool to communicate. A participant states:

“The child mustn’t be afraid to come to you and talk about what is bothering them.”

(respondent 11)

Caregivers also learned in the Sihleng’imizi program to regulate their anger or frustrations and to talk calmly and politely to their child as well as provide reasons for the decisions or comments caregivers make. A participant states:

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“At first with me, I thought no this is for whites, we can't do this for our kids. Our kids are different. But when time goes on, you see that it's helping a lot. Cause some of us we don't even talk with our kids. Just that kids are kids. You don't explain yourself. So I think the program helped. Cause now we are more open with them.”(transcription 14)

Eventually caregivers from the intervention group state that the Sihleng'imizi program helped them in getting more knowledge about the consequences of CP and more skills in disciplining children by offering non-violent disciplinary methods. They said it made them stop using CP, or in less frequency. Someone mention that if it was not for the Sihleng'imizi program, she will probably be still using CP for disciplining her child.

All in all, the caregivers from the intervention group seem to be feeling more empowered in their role of raising their children and to positively shaping their child into an independent self-regulated individual. A caregiver formulates a recurring pattern in the results stating that she learned a lot as a parent, as the programme gave her courage, a better relationship with her child and just gave her that feeling “of being a human being”.

Discussion

CP is still common practice in South Africa. The caregivers' main motive to use CP is to teach the child two important values: respect and discipline. This should lead the child into the right direction. Its use is thus to positively achieve the socialisation goals the caregivers have for their children. Concluding that the intentions of caregivers using CP is grounded in a base of love towards the child. Furthermore, in line with the theory of Breen, Daniels & Tomlinson (2015) and Straus (1997) the use of CP by caregivers is reinforced by the intergenerational transmission of CP and the cultural norms and beliefs approving violence. CP is believed to be necessary and effective to discipline children, which in return strengthen the motivation to do so. The caregivers who used CP have seen the adults in their lives (parents, caregivers and teachers) using CP in high frequency, and are therefore more likely to view it as normative. CP is so normalised in the South African society, that caregivers never considered CP as violence, only as a disciplinary act. Contradictory to the expectation, most of the caregivers in this study were not authoritarian but rather adopted an authoritative parenting style in positively encouraging the development of their child. Only when it comes to misbehaviour, authoritarian characteristics came more to the forefront.

Furthermore, this study confirms that family interventions such as Sihleng'imizi help lowering the usage of CP. The program provided the intervention group with new insights and tools about parenting, disciplining children and how to positively approach and communicate with the child. The awareness of the potential impact of non-violent disciplinary methods has therefore increased. Caregivers from the intervention group were using non-violent disciplinary methods as the naughty corner, withholding rewards and talking. Also the control group applied non-violent disciplinary methods as the government adopted laws forbidding CP in homes. Thus both groups use non-violent disciplinary methods, but the intervention group has stopped or reduced CP because of an internal motivation (the awareness of negative consequences of CP) while the control group stopped or limited CP because of an external motivation (laws forbidding CP).

Moreover, this study shows that caregivers from the control group are still struggling in finding new ways to discipline their children and that they feel restricted by law. It seems daunting for caregivers in South Africa to introduce laws forbidding CP while the living conditions for caregiver-child relations are worrisome and social rights (adequate housing, including running water and electricity, safety, good quality education and employment) are not fulfilled. Furthermore, the high unemployment status among caregivers perpetuates life in poverty. Caregivers living in poverty are more likely to be depressed and

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stressed, which increases the likelihood of using CP (Seedat et al., 2009). In addition, community violence influence the parenting style in a way that additional rules were made to keep the child safe.

Concluding, as the government decided to stop violence in the form of CP in homes and schools, it is highly recommended that alternative non-violent disciplinary methods are introduced as well. The Sihleng'imizi intervention is an outstanding example strengthening existing parental skills and providing more knowledge on raising children well. By introducing such family programs for all parents/caregivers at primary schools in South Africa, as an early intervention measure, they as well as their children will be more aware of non-violent disciplinary methods whereby a positive communication climate will be established. An early positive relationship experience is of key importance for subsequent interpersonal functioning in close relationships (Woodward & Fergusson, 2002). A focus on achieving a cultural shift from the use of CP and towards the use of positive discipline is likely to have a better chance of success than the legislative ban on the use of CP that is not informative in suggesting what to do apart from CP.

All in all, CP can be seen as an act of love from the perspective of the caregivers; leading their children into the right direction. However, regarding the wellbeing of the child, it is recommended using non-violent disciplinary methods. A chance to achieve this goal is to further investigate the effects of non-violent disciplinary methods on the reduction of CP. In the end, individual-, relationship-, community-, and societal factors regarding CP are all connected with one another and interrelated with each other within the South African context. It is therefore believed that the ecological model captures the complexity of the problem, especially in a non-western culture as South Africa.

Limitations

There are some limitations to this study. The questions asked during the study could pose an intrusive threat to the participants because CP is a sensitive subject which is private and/or stressful. Participants may have found the thought of a stranger enquiring about a personal event offensive. They may also have protected themselves by circumventing or omitting answers to certain questions (Boeije, 2010), or not have been willing to be fully truthful in sharing their story. This risk may weaken the study's internal validity. However, participants were allowed to tell the whole story to an attentive listener and this may have provided a sense of relief. Talking about one's experiences can also be therapeutic and helpful. Furthermore, there is the risk that information was lost or differently interpreted through translation. However, the translator was an experienced fieldworker and has done a lot of translations for a large number of interviews. Concerning the external validity, only one man has been interviewed in this study which weakens the study's generalisation on male caregivers. However, since the majority of caregivers receiving the CSG is female (Voster, & De Waal, 2008; Patel & Hochfeld, 2011), the study's results on women still represent the majority of the targeted population.

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Demographics	Operationalization	Interview questions
Gender	Male or female caregiver.	- Are you a male or female?
Age	The age of the different caregivers.	- What is your date of birth?
Marital status	The status of relationship.	- Are you married, divorced, separated, engaged, living together without being married or single?
Ethnicity	A group which shares common cultural norms, values, and identities and patterns of behaviour.	- What is your home language?
Composition	Overview of family members	- How many family members are living in your household? Who? And for how many children do you care for (which age/gender)? How many of these children are your own?
Education	Education level.	- What is your highest level of education?
Employment	Employment status.	- Are you employed? If yes, what is your occupation?
Theory	Operationalization	Interview questions
1. Parenting styles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Authoritative; 2. Authoritarian; 3. Permissive; 4. Neglectful (Darling & Steinberg, 2017; Kimble, 2014). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you encourage your child to talk about his/her troubles? - How do you explain to your child why he/she should obey the house rules? - What do you do when your child does something good? - What do you do when your child is upset? - In what ways do you explain the consequences of your child's behaviour? - What do you do when your child's behaviour does not meet your expectations? - What do you do to improve your child's behaviour? - In what ways do you explain why you discipline your child the way you do? - When you decide something, or do groceries, do you take your child's wishes into account before deciding? Or do you decide on your own? - How do you encourage your child? Do you do this also when he/she disagrees with you? - How do you punish your child? - How do you accomplish desirable behaviour of your child? <p>Prompt questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In which situations do you feel you have control over your child? And in what situations do you feel you have less control? Can you give examples. - In what ways do you support your child in his/her development? - Do you share a lot with her/him? For example about school or things that happen that day. - What do you do when your child finds something difficult to do?
2. Motivation	Internal and external factors that stimulate desire and energy in people to be interested and committed to a job, role or subject, or to make an effort to attain a goal. Motivation results from the interaction of both conscious and unconscious factors such as the (1) intensity of desire or need, (2) incentive or reward value of the goal, and (3) expectations of the individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you do when your child is misbehaving? For example by doing something they should not have done. - Is there a reason to do that? What makes you choose to use that [use their method]? - How do you improve your child's behaviour now and in the past? <p>Prompt questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why do you beat your child to correct misbehaviour? - Do you think beating your child to correct misbehaviour is the best way in disciplining your child? Why?

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	and of his or her peers. These factors are the reasons one has for behaving a certain way (Business Dictionary, n.d.).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you think beating your child to correct misbehaviour would help your child's development? Can you elaborate your answer. - Could you think of other ways of disciplining your children? So yes, in which ways? So no, why not? - Does it happen that your child is present when you have a conflict with your partner or another adult in the family? If so, how does the child react? - Are you sometimes worried about hurting your child when correcting for misbehaviour? Could you elaborate this more.
2.1 Socialization Goals	The values caregivers' hold and the goals they have for their children are critical determinants of parenting behaviour (Symonds, 1939; Dornbusch et al. 1987).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you hope for your children's future? - What do you think your child needs to achieve these future goals? - Do you think your children's life will be easier or harder than yours? In what ways? Prompt questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you want him/her to be later in life? - What does he/she wants to be when he/she grows up?
2.2 Childhood History	Caregivers are deeply influenced by their childhood experiences. Caregivers often re-create with their children what they have experienced with their own parents (Lerner, 2016).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you tell more about your own childhood and the way your parents/caregivers raised you? - What did they do when things went wrong, or when they were unhappy with your behaviour? Can you give an example? - How do you think your own upbringing influences the way you raise your children? Prompt questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you have an idea why your parents/caregivers did it in this way? - How did the beatings to correct for misbehaviour impact your life/adulthood? - How different was your own upbringing compared to your child?
3. Cultural Norms and Beliefs	Cultural norms define how to behave in accordance with what a society has defined as good, right, and important, and most members of the society adhere to them. Beliefs are the tenets or convictions that people hold to be true. Individuals in a society have specific beliefs, but they also share collective values (OER services, n.d.).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you think beating a child for misbehaviour is normal/common within the South African culture? Why do you think so? Can you explain this more. Prompt questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Does your community say something when a caregiver beats a child in public? - Does your community say something when you don't hit your child when your child did something naughty?

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<p>3.1 Social support</p>	<p>Social relationships have a beneficial effect on health, regardless of life situation, and have a beneficial effect for persons exposed to stressors, such as negative life events and hardships over time (Bøen, Dalgard & Bjertness, 2012).</p>	<p>- Are there people in your life who support you when you face any problems? In what ways? Can you please give an example. Prompt questions: - Who can help you at any times? - Do you have people who you can trust to watch the children? - What do you think your family members and friends think of [beating a child for misbehaviour, using their language]?</p>
<p>3.2 School factors</p>	<p>The association between the use of CP at home and at school and poor child outcomes has been demonstrated, including mental health problems and aggressive behaviour (Morell, 2001).</p>	<p>- How does your child’s school discipline its children? - When their child’s school use beating to correct misbehaviour: Under what circumstances? If not, why not do you think? - What do you think of beating to correct misbehaviour by teachers in schools? Prompt questions: - Does your child feel safe at school? If yes, why? If no, why not? - Does this influence the way you discipline your children? If yes, in which ways? - How do you react when your child is hitten by his/her teacher? - When it is clear the parent beats the child for misbehaviour and when it’s clear it is used at school too: how do you think your child will perceive beating to correct misbehaviour when it is both used at home and at school?</p>
<p>3.3 Poverty</p>	<p>Deprivation refers to the effects of poverty on a person’s life. Deprivation also takes into account how being poor limits what a person “can and cannot do” both in terms of immediate and future actions (Terrace, 2007).</p>	<p>- What are some of the issues in your daily life what concern you? Why? - Do you think these issues influence the way you raise your children? How? Can you explain this more?</p>
<p>3.4 Community violence</p>	<p>Community violence is exposure to intentional acts of interpersonal violence committed in public areas by individuals who are not intimately related to the victim. Common types of community violence that affect youth include individual and group conflicts (e.g., bullying, fights among gangs and other groups, shootings in public areas such as schools and</p>	<p>- Is there violence in the community? If yes, please describe the types of violence you encounter? - How does this violence effect you and your family? - What things do you do to keep your child safe? From dangers outside the home such as traffic, safety in taxis, safe from strangers or burglars. Can you please describe this.</p>

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	communities). Families who live with community violence often have heightened fears that harm could come at any time and experience the world as unsafe and terrifying (NCTSN, n.d.).	
3.5 Historical notions	The apartheid left black African caregivers without the resources to create a favourable home environment for their children (Posel & Grapsa, 2017). CP became one of the ways in which the patriarchal, racial and authoritarian apartheid system entrenched itself (Dawes, De Sas Kropiwnicki, Kafaar, Richter, 2005).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What was the most common method used to discipline children when you were young? - Looking at South Africa's history before 1994, was the treatment for everyone the same? Yes/No, can you elaborate this more? - Can you see a difference before 1994 and after 1994 regarding the use of beating children for misbehaviour?
4. Non-violent alternative forms of discipline offered by Sihleng'imizi	Knox (2010) stated that behavioural methods such as positive reinforcement of prosocial behaviour and consequences such as removal of privileges and time-out are highly effective alternatives for CP.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you still using one of the techniques learned in the Sihleng'imizi intervention? If yes, why? If not, why not? - Can you tell me what has changed for you since the Sihleng'imizi intervention? - What do you feel could assist you with challenges in correcting a child's misbehaviour? - If you could start over in raising your children, is there anything you would do differently? Is there anything you would not change? <p>Prompt questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What techniques in the Sihleng'imizi intervention worked for you in disciplining your children, and why? - Which techniques were less working for you in disciplining your children, and why? - Did you feel that you needed more choices in other non-violent alternatives? - Do you have more feedback about the program?

Appendix 2a
Code Tree - Control Group

Nodes				
Name	Files	References		
Alternative forms of discipline		0		0
Giving tasks to do		1		1
Clean the yard		1		1
Doing homework		1		1
Face the wall		1		1
Tell the child to sleep		2		2
Watching tv		1		1
Ignoring		1		1
Making child aware of consequences		2		4
Not providing what the child wants		4		5
Shouting		3		5
Talking		8		21
Bad living conditions		0		0
Bad housing		0		0
Broken windows		3		3
Hostel mainly occupied by males		1		1
Living in shacks		7		7
Toilet cabine outside		3		3
Wholes in ceiling		1		1
Family member on drugs, alcohol and stealing from child		3		5
Rubbish on the streets		1		1
Water pomp for neighbourhood		1		1
Child present in fights with family members		1		1

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☐	●	Childhood History			0	0
☐	●	Alternative forms of discipline			0	0
	●	Not allowed in the house			1	1
	●	Talking			2	2
☐	●	Consequences corporal punishment			0	0
	●	Fairness of corporal punishment			1	1
	●	Generational transition			3	4
	●	Positive influence on parenting			8	11
☐	●	Corporal punishment in school			2	3
	●	Ideas in other ways to discipline			1	1
	●	Normalization corporal punishment			4	6
	●	Poverty			4	8
☐	●	Strict upbringing			0	0
	☐	●	High use of corporal punishment		6	12
		●	Negative feelings towards CP		1	1
		●	Teaching discipline		3	3
		●	Teaching respect		2	3
☐	●	Community Violence			0	0
	●	Dangerous driving			3	6
☐	●	Effecting families			3	4
	●	Precautionary measures			6	11
	●	Taverns			1	1

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<input type="radio"/>	Violence			7	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural Norms and Beliefs			0	0
<input type="checkbox"/>	Interfere in community			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Depends on person			2	2
<input type="radio"/>	Do not interfere with others			3	3
<input type="radio"/>	Interfere the situation			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Only interfere when it's a friend			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Normalization corporal punishment			5	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	Opinion family and friends			4	4
<input type="radio"/>	Discussing the use corporal punishment			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	South African culture			3	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Using corporal punishment to a certain degree			4	5
<input type="radio"/>	Teaching boundaries to child			1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Government involvement			0	0
<input type="checkbox"/>	Abolishing corporal punishment			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Aware of consequences			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Caregivers feel helpless			1	2
<input type="radio"/>	Children have too many rights			2	4
<input type="radio"/>	Children loose respect			3	7
<input type="radio"/>	Getting used to new methods			1	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	Historical notions			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Democracy creates instability			2	2

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: A CRIME OR ACT OF LOVE

<input type="radio"/>	Post-Apartheid benefits			5	6
<input type="radio"/>	Post-Apartheid more corruption			2	2
<input type="radio"/>	Togetherness in Apartheid			3	4
<input type="checkbox"/>	Inspiration using alternative discipline methods			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Advise from sister			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Brainstorming on their own			1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Motivation			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Child gets spoiled without corporal punishment			2	2
<input type="radio"/>	External factors			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Naughtiness child			2	2
<input type="radio"/>	To make the child listen			3	4
<input type="radio"/>	To teach the child discipline and respect			2	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	Parenting styles			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Authoritarian			3	4
<input type="radio"/>	Authoritative			9	35
<input type="radio"/>	Neglectful			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Permissive			0	0
<input type="checkbox"/>	Positive behaviour management skills			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Rolemodel			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Teaching child to save money			1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Poverty			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Child Support Grant			2	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployment			6	9

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: A CRIME OR ACT OF LOVE

<input type="radio"/>	Creating stress		3	4
<input type="radio"/>	Living with little financial capacity		8	14
<input type="radio"/>	Poverty maintains unemployment		1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Realizing power of using other discipline methods		1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Reason to stop corporal punishment		0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Heavy corporal punishment incident		1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Not working for the child		1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Worried hurting child badly		1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Relationship caregiver and child		4	4
<input type="checkbox"/>	School factors		0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Alternative forms of discipline		7	8
<input type="radio"/>	Benefits corporal punishment in school		3	3
<input type="radio"/>	Children don't respect teachers		3	3
<input type="radio"/>	Good communication with teachers		1	1
<input type="radio"/>	No motivation for school		1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Teachers advise parents not to use corporal punishment		2	2
<input type="radio"/>	Teachers are being restricted		1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Social Support		7	8
<input type="radio"/>	Dependent on social network		1	2
<input type="radio"/>	Socialization Goals		8	9

Appendix 2b

Code Tree - Intervention Group

Nodes			
Name	Files	References	
Alternative Forms of Discipline		0	0
Leave the situation		2	2
Not giving the child what he or she likes		3	5
The naughty corner		3	5
Verbal		0	0
Shouting		2	3
Talking		7	17
Bad living conditions		0	0
Bad housing		0	0
Broken windows		2	2
Hostel mainly occupied by males		1	1
Lack of basic sanitary needs		1	2
Living in shacks		7	7
No electricity		2	3
Toilet cabine outside		3	3
Wholes in ceiling		1	1
Community Violence		2	3
Effecting the families		5	7
Precautionary measures		6	9
Taverns		4	4
Violence		6	8
Consuming alcohol in household		2	2

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<input type="radio"/>	Rubbish on the streets			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Water pump for neighbourhood			1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Childhood History			1	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	Alternative forms of discipline			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Talking			1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Consequences corporal punishment			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Generational transition			1	1
<input type="radio"/>	Negative feelings towards corporal punishment			3	4
<input type="radio"/>	Negative influence on adulthood			2	2
<input type="radio"/>	Positive influence on parenting			4	5
<input type="radio"/>	Corporal punishment in school			6	8
<input type="radio"/>	Normalization corporal punishment			6	11
<input type="radio"/>	Poverty			6	6
<input type="checkbox"/>	Strict upbringing			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	High use of corporal punishment			7	16
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cultural Norms and Beliefs			0	0
<input type="checkbox"/>	Discussing usage corporal punishment			4	6
<input type="radio"/>	Opinion relatives			4	6
<input type="radio"/>	Interfere in community			5	5
<input type="checkbox"/>	Perspective of caregiver			0	0
<input type="radio"/>	Against corporal punishment			4	9
<input type="radio"/>	Pro corporal punishment			3	4

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: A CRIME OR ACT OF LOVE

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Using corporal punishment to a certain degree		6	16
	<input type="checkbox"/> South African culture		5	6
	<input type="checkbox"/> Unaware of alternative methods of discipline		1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Government involvement		0	0
	<input type="checkbox"/> Abolishing corporal punishment		2	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> Aware of consequences		5	7
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children loose respect for their teachers		3	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Historical Notions		0	0
	<input type="checkbox"/> Post-Apartheid benefits		7	10
	<input type="checkbox"/> Post-Apartheid cons		1	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Inspiration source of using alternative discipline methods		0	0
	<input type="checkbox"/> Sihlengimizi		0	0
	<input type="checkbox"/> Social work		1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Misbehaviour of children		0	0
	<input type="checkbox"/> Lack of motivation school		1	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> Lack of rolemodels		1	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> Teenage mothers		1	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> Youth on drugs		1	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Motivation		0	0
	<input type="checkbox"/> Childhood experience		2	2
	<input type="checkbox"/> Naughtiness child		1	1
	<input type="checkbox"/> Short-term fulfillment		1	1

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: A CRIME OR ACT OF LOVE

<input type="radio"/> Lowering the use of corporal punishment			7	9
<input type="radio"/> 2. Connectedness of social- and community life			1	1
<input type="radio"/> 3. Involvement of the caregiver in the child's education			2	3
<input type="radio"/> 4. Empowering financial capabilities of the family			5	6
<input type="radio"/> 5. Providing nutritional knowledge			2	3
<input type="radio"/> Positive reflections			8	11
<input type="radio"/> Socialisation Goals			8	10