

This essay will consider the meaning of childhood and the history surrounding it. Key issues impacting on children's lives in two countries will be compared. The implementation of the UNCRC will be discussed alongside maternity leave and whether this influences a mother's choice to breastfeed. Poverty and its effect on children will also be looked at. The essay will discuss the subject of smacking and the effects this has on children's development. Positive parenting strategies in both countries will also be looked at.

The country's chosen for this essay are Wales and Norway. In 2016, the population of Wales was 3,168 million people and 5,258 million people in Norway (UK Population, 2016; Expansion, 2016). Both countries have their own culture. Mal (2018) states on March the first every year Wales celebrate their Patron Saint, they dress in national costume and parades are held in towns and cities. Norway holds a similar celebration. Barnehaug (2014) states that on May the seventeenth Norway celebrates constitution day, they dress in national costume and celebrate with children's parades and marching bands. People celebrate with parties and in particular they celebrate children (Barnehaug, 2014). According to Dennison (2009), Maslow believed children needed social belonging, to feel secure with family and friends, the third level of his pyramid. Both Norwegian and Welsh children benefit as they belong to a living culture, this enables children to make their way to the top of Maslow's pyramid where they reach the point of self-actualisation, this is where learning takes place (Dennison, 2009). Norway and Wales have their own native language. Sadly, in both countries the language is under threat and certainly in Wales, is a dying language. Rhys and Harries (2017) say that only eleven percent of people living in Wales speak Welsh fluently. In Norway, Sprakadet (No date) are trying to strengthen the status of the language as despite the majority of people speaking Norwegian, the English language is becoming popular. Fouche (2008) blames globalisation and the internet in particular for the threat to the Norwegian language (Study in Norway, 2007).

The Audiopedia (2016) and MacBlain et al. (2017) believe that childhood is the time from birth to adolescence. NSPCC (2018) states how the UNCRC clearly defines how a child is classed as anyone under the age of eighteen. Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues (2012) share a similar view, they say that childhood is the development of the brain that takes place from the moment of conception until the person becomes an adult, this development is affected by experiences the child receives.

As suggested by McDowell Clark (2010) there is no universally agreed meaning of childhood, it has different meanings in different cultures all over the world. NSPCC (2018) say how across many parts of the world there are different laws and age limits for children, each country has their own guidance. Waller (2014) and Penn (2014) both share the view that childhood environments differ in terms of where the child lives, their language and culture. Rogoff (2003) agrees, she says childhood around the world is different, there are many ways in which children develop and cultural practices influence this, thus there are multiple childhoods. Vygotsky believed that children develop in the cultural environment they belong to, through interactions with their family and more capable others, they learn and acquire knowledge and memory (Parker-Rees and Leeson, 2015).

MacBlain et al. (2017) says historically children were viewed as mini adults. This supports the view of Aries (1973) who explained how children considered no longer needing attention and supervision from their mother were seen fit enough to enter adult society. Children would work long hours in factories and coal mines in the early 1900's. Santer et al. (2007) states that during this time it would be rare for children to be seen playing, adults lacked the understanding on the importance of play. The McMillan sisters played a crucial role in changing the lives of children, they were concerned for children's health and advocated that they be given freedom to play both indoors and outdoors (Santer et al., 2007). By today, play is recognised as the foundation to children's learning and development (Santer et al., 2007).

Following the birth of a baby, Norway has one of the best parental leave schemes. Norwegian babies spend the first year of their lives at home with both parents (Chemin, 2011). Brandth and Kvande (2017) state that father's benefit from a two week leave after the birth of their baby and have the option of a further ten weeks (Chemin, 2011). Norwegian mothers are entitled to a full year paid maternity leave with the option of two years unpaid to care for their child. Parents have the option to share this parental leave between them (Brandth and Kvande, 2017). In Wales, women are entitled to fifty two weeks maternity leave, just twenty six weeks of these are paid (NHS Direct Wales, 2018). New fathers are entitled to just one or two weeks paternity leave depending on their place of work (Gov.UK, No date). Haug and Storo (2013) states how the Norwegian Government values that children need to be with their family, they give parents a monthly cash benefit to keep their children at home rather than attend

kindergarten, this is thought to strengthen the bond children have with their parents (Haug and Storo, 2013). Norway believes that a strong bond between parent and child has health benefits later in life (Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues, 2012).

The fact that Norway has a generous maternity leave scheme allowing mothers to care for their children during the first year is possibly the reason ninety five percent of mothers are breastfeeding their babies. Breast milk contains all the nutrients babies need. In Norway, only one percent of babies have never been breastfed, and at the age of six months eighty percent of babies are still being breastfed (Belfield and Kelly, 2010; The Department of Health, 2012). According to The Department of Health (2012) in accordance with the Working Environment Act, mothers are entitled to take one hour unpaid every day to breastfeed their child. Public sector employees have the advantage of two hours paid per day to breastfeed. Norway has laws to protect breastfeeding mothers (Brown, 2017).

In contrast, Wales has a low percentage of breastfeeding mothers, a possible reason for this is the lack of maternity leave. Baker and Milligan (2008) state that one of the reasons mothers choose not to breastfeed is that they are unable to take time off work to continue breastfeeding. Welsh Government (2012) states that in 2010, only thirty six percent of mothers were breastfeeding their new born babies, this figure dropped to seventeen percent breastfeeding at six weeks old. Health Challenge Wales (No date) states that the Equality Act implemented in Wales in 2010 was aimed to address a mother's right to breastfeed. However, Department of Health (2012) states there are still no legal provisions in Wales for mothers to return to work and continue breastfeeding their babies. Brown (2017) advocates for changes in legal rights in Wales to support breastfeeding mothers. Rees and Sabia (2009) agree that more needs to be done to encourage breastfeeding, breastfeeding has a positive outcome on health, if the government were to invest money into the advantages of breastfeeding, it would save money in healthcare years later as the benefits of breastfeeding is sustained many years after breastfeeding stops (The National Assembly for Wales, 2001;).

Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health (RCPCH (2017) recommends Wales sets targets to increase breastfeeding and support to mothers.

Children in Norway are at a better advantage than those in Wales. Binns et al. (2016) demonstrated that Unicef recommends mothers breastfeed their babies exclusively in the first six months, with a view to continue this for the next two years as breastfeeding protects against the development of diabetes and reduces the risk of childhood obesity, in fact breastfeeding also protects children from asthma and frequent ear infections (Belfield and Kelly, 2010).

King (2012) states how John Bowlby believed that children need constant attention from their mothers. The National Assembly for Wales (2001) agree with this, they believe a close relationship develops between a mother and her suckling baby, the baby fully dependent on their mother. Rogoff (2003) shares this view as she believes a natural bond of attachment is developed between a mother and baby. Breastfeeding not only encourages an emotional attachment but also lays the foundations for later development (Unicef, 2018). Breast feeding is linked with higher intelligence results and cognitive testing (Binns et al., 2016). However, Denny and Doyle (2010) question this, they say that many studies completed on breastfeeding could be driven by selection bias, they often do not take into consideration any other factors that could attribute to a Childs development. Save the Children (2014) state how a lack of parental stimulation can be a contributing factor of risk to a child's cognitive development.

Breast feeding is just one of the inequalities children in Wales face today (The National Assembly for Wales, 2001). Wales has a high infant mortality rate, on average two hundred and ten infants die in Wales each year. The majority of these are children under a year old (RCPCH, 2017; The National Assembly for Wales, 2001). Poverty has an impact on these deaths (RCPCH, 2017). Jjelflaat (2016) states that in Norway poverty does not impact on child death but can impact a child's standard of living and in particular children from families with low education status or unemployed parents. Both Better Life Initiative (2015) and Kakar (2017) state in some low income areas of Norway, it is believed that one in every three children are poor, the majority of these children are believed to be immigrant children. As Norway is one of the best developed countries in the world, children from these poor areas are still able to access education and health care alongside the richer children and the number of infant deaths in Norway over the last twenty years has halved (Kakar, 2017). However, Tatone (2016) believes there are ninety thousand children living in poor families in Norway, this

number is increasing. Consequently, it will be interesting to see if poverty will begin to have any effect on children.

The Flying Start project in Wales needs to ensure it is available to all children living in poverty (RCPCH, 2017). Poverty has the potential to ruin children's childhood, the early years are important in relation to children's development (Save the Children, 2014). Children brought up in poverty in their early years are less likely to have access to fresh fruit and vegetables and are less likely to eat the necessary nutrients their developing bodies need (Save the Children, 2014).

Poverty has a particular effect on babies, it affects their working memory, and this directly affects the child's ability to acquire language and reading skills. Children in poverty are estimated to have heard fewer words than wealthier children by the age of three, this again impacts on the child's language acquisition (Save the Children, 2014).

In Wales, poverty stricken parents who receive certain benefits benefit during school term time as their children can have free school dinner (Gov.UK, 2018; Wood, 2017). However, Save the Children (2014) claim that while free school meals are available to the poorest of children in Wales, many children from poverty stricken working families are not entitled to them. Research shows that one in seven children arrives in school hungry due to lack of food at home, this directly affects children's ability to concentrate (Save the Children, 2014).

School dinner in Norway is vastly different to Wales and Norwegian children could be at a disadvantage as a result. Illokken (2015) states Norway has no arrangement to provide children with a school meal and many children do not have access to a healthy meal during a school day. Parents are responsible for providing children with a packed lunch. (Illokken, 2015). This is worrying as Bere et al. (2015) believes that children in Norway do not consume the recommended five fruit and vegetables per day, parents on a low income may lack money to be able to provide a healthy lunch.

Many schools do not have canteens and children eat their packed lunch in the classroom (Eufic, 2012; Hjelle, 2014). Andresen and Elvbakken (2007) believe that as lunch times are unsupervised many Norwegian children are skipping on lunch, many bring a packed lunch but do not eat it. For poorer children whose parents do not provide lunch, skipping meals can sometimes go unnoticed as children are not supervised at lunch time in school. However, Hjelle (2014) states there has been an

increase in supervised lunch time in schools and so there is less opportunity to skip lunch. When considering Maslow's Hierarchy of needs, the unsupervised children in Norway may never reach the point of self-actualisation as they are not having their basic needs met (Dennison, 2009).

The link between Norway and children feeling safe can be seen evidently through the Governments work to ensure this. Historically Norway was the first country to establish a Children's Ombudsmen in 1981, this was to protect children's rights (Whewell, 2016). Norway places the best interests of the child as primary concern (Horne, 2016). According to End all Corporal Punishment of Children (2017) in 1987, Article 30 of the Parent and Child Act 1981 was revised to include the fact that children were no longer allowed to be smacked. Unfortunately, another amendment was needed to this as a step father was found guilty of smacking his step sons. In 2010, Article 30 (3) of the Parent and Child Act was changed to:

The child must not be subjected to violence or in any other way be treated so as to harm or endanger his or her mental or physical health. This shall also apply when violence is carried out in connection with the child's upbringing. Use of violence and frightening or annoying behaviour or other inconsiderate conduct towards the child is prohibited.

(Government, 2016).

In Wales, Children are not offered the same security as Norwegian children. Heilman et al. (2015) states many children are still subject to physical punishment in wales. Despite the fact that physical punishment in line with UNCRC breaches children's human rights, Parents in Wales are legally allowed to smack their children as long as it is seen as reasonable punishment (Heilmann et al., 2015). Children's Commissioner for Wales (2018) states how the First Minister of Wales has tried to win support to ban smacking. A ban would ensure Wales is complying with the UNCRC Article 19, which 'makes it clear that children and young people have the basic human right to dignity. This means they have the right to be protected from violence, just like everybody else' (Children and Young Peoples Commissioner Scotland, 2018).

Historically, smacking was a normal form of punishment, a ban on smacking would make it clear that smacking is unacceptable in wales, just as this is clear in Norway (Welsh Government, 2018). A recent survey undertaken in Wales found that in 2015,

just twenty four percent of parents admitted it was necessary to smack their child as punishment, however, when asked if there should be a complete ban on smacking only forty six percent agreed (Welsh Government, 2018). Morris (2018) believes the reason for this is the possibility that parents could be criminalised.

Research has proven that children who receive cruel discipline are disadvantaged. Both positive and negative childhood experiences impact on children's well-being. It has been shown that smacked children are left feeling scared, lonely and embarrassed (Welsh Government, 2018). When children have had more negative experiences this often results in Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE's). With this in mind, Children's Commissioner for Wales (2018) states there is evidence to prove that children subjected to physical punishment are linked with anti-social behaviour. Welsh Government (2017) states that when children receive sensitive and responsive care from their parents this leads to secure and trusting relationships. Children need to learn right from wrong and need some form of discipline (Welsh Government, 2018) and in view of this the welsh Government has set out to promote the idea of positive parenting. Positive Parenting offers support techniques to parents, this allows them to manage their children's behaviour in a positive manner (Welsh Government, 2017). The positive parenting approach is based upon the principles set out in the UNCRC. In Norway, they also run similar positive parenting courses. Government (2014) states that Norway strives to promote the importance of good parenting in order to prevent abuse against children. The Norwegian Government offers parent support to all families as they believe that the family is the most important for the child. Schloss-Wilhelminenberg (2016) states that a positive parenting programme is available to all families at an early stage to help resolve any problems. These are offered to parents on a one to one basis and as part of a group. The sessions are run by fully trained leaders in parental support, Norway believes the family unit influences children's development and as young children are more receptive than older children, they encourage all parents to participate in these programmes in order to prevent or minimise issues (Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues, 2012). It is proven that positive parenting encourages close positive relationships with children, reduces the negative parent child interactions and children have a good state of mental health and well-being (Reedtz and Klest, 2016; Welsh Government, 2018). This is further strengthened by the fact that in Norway children have the right to have a say in

decisions that may affect them and actively encouraged to express their opinion and thought (Ministry of Children and Equality, 2008). When considering Harts Ladders of Participation, it is clear to see that Norwegian children are consulted and informed to enable them to fully participate in decision making and so can reach the top of the rungs on the ladder (Williams et al., 2012). However, Tisdall and Liebel (2008) criticise this, they say only the confident children benefit and it can also exclude some children. Despite Norway's efforts to combat violence against children The Ombudsman for Children in Norway (2017) states that many children are still victim to violence. Figures show that one in every twenty children under the age of eighteen has experienced violence from their parents. The Norwegian Ombudsmen is calling for further efforts to try and tackle violence against children (The Ombudsman for Children in Norway, 2017).

One critique of the Norwegian Child Protection Service is that they act too quick in cases of suspected child abuse. Whewell (2016) states how one particular case in Norway left the country in shock when Social Services placed children in emergency foster care when parents were suspected of smacking their children. By today, a greater number of children are placed into emergency foster care (Whewell, 2016). In Norway's defence Horne (2016) states that decisions to place children into emergency care are taken with the best interests of the child at the core of decisions made and will always be a last resort decision. Government (2015) states that Norway leads the way in protecting children's rights and ensures compliance with all articles set out in the UNCRC. The law in Norway clearly states that any violence against children is against the law and parents will be convicted, children's rights are well protected in Norway (Schloss-Wilhelminenberg, 2016).

To conclude, while Wales continues to implement change in order to improve the experiences of children there is a lot more that needs to be done, firstly to implement policy to ensure that children are safe from physical violence. Although Norway could be criticised for taking precautions too early, they have the best interests of the child at the heart of all they do. Children in both countries benefit from their native cultures and with the help of positive parenting programmes, there is hope that children and parents can build on strong family relationships that will ensure the well-being and mental health of their children.

References.

Aries, P. (1973) 'Summary: The Two Concepts of Childhood', in Aries. P *Centuries of Childhood*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 125-130.

Andresen, A. and Elvbakken, K. T. (2007) 'From poor society to the welfare state: school meals in Norway 1890's-1950's', *Journal of Epidemiol Community Health*, Volume 61, Issue 5, pp. 374-377. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2465698/pdf/374.pdf> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Baker, M. and Milligan, K. (2008) 'Maternal employment, breastfeeding and health: Evidence from maternity leave mandates', *Journal Of Health Economics*, Volume 27, pp. 871-887. [On-line]. Available at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.475.238&rep=rep1&type=pdf> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Barnehage, K. (27th November 2014) *Norway and the Norwegian Kindergarten*. YouTube. [On-line]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yU2ds6e_sWw [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Belfield, C. R. and Kelly, I. R. (2010) *The Benefits of Breastfeeding Across the Early Years of Childhood*. Working Paper 16496. National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge.

Bere, E., Velde, S. J., Småstuen, M. C., Twisk, J. and Klepp, K. (2015) 'One year of free school fruit in Norway – 7 years of follow up', *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, Volume 12, Issue 139, pp. 1-7. [On-line]. Available at: <https://ijbnpa.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s12966-015-0301-6?site=ijbnpa.biomedcentral.com> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Better Life Initiative. (2015) 'How's Life in Norway?' <https://www.oecd.org/statistics/Better%20Life%20Initiative%20country%20note%20Norway.pdf> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Binns, C., Lee, M. and Low, Y. W. (2016) 'The Long-Term Public Health Benefits of Breastfeeding', *Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 28, Issue 1, pp. 7–14. [Online]. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1010539515624964> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (2017) 'Norway' http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Country_notes/2017/Norway_2017_FINAL.pdf [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Brown, A. (2017) 'Swansea academic asks governments to help increase breastfeeding rates', *ITV News*, 1 August: pp.1. [On-line]. Available at: <http://www.itv.com/news/wales/2017-08-01/swansea-academic-asks-governments-to-help-increase-breastfeeding-rates/> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Children and Young Peoples Commissioner Scotland. (2018) 'Article 19' <https://www.cypcs.org.uk/rights/uncrcarticles/article-19> [Accessed: 30th March 2018].

Children's Commissioner for Wales. (2018) 'Briefing provided by the Children's Commissioner: Legislative Proposal for Removal of the Defence of Reasonable Punishment' <https://www.childcomwales.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/CCfW-briefing-removing-the-defence-of-reasonable-punishment.pdf> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Chemin, A. (2011) 'Norway, the Fatherland', *The Guardian*, 19 July: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2011/jul/19/norway-dads-paternity-leave-chemin> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Dennison, P. (2009) 'Reflective Practice: The Enduring Influence of Kolb's Experiential Learning Theory', Volume 1, Issue 1, [On-line]. Available at: <https://journals.gre.ac.uk/index.php/compass/article/view/12/28> [Accessed: 21st March 2018].

Denny, K. and Doyle, O. (2010) *The casual effect of breastfeeding on children's cognitive development: A quasi-experimental design*. Working Paper WP10/05. UCD Centre for Economic Research, Dublin.

Department of Health. (2012) 'United Kingdom' <http://www.health.gov.au/internet/publications/publishing.nsf/Content/int-comp-whocode-bf-init~int-comp-whocode-bf-init-ico~int-comp-whocode-bf-init-ico-uk> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

End All Corporal Punishment of Children. (2017) 'Corporal Punishment of Children in Norway' <http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/assets/pdfs/states-reports/Norway.pdf> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Eufic. (2012) 'School lunch standards in Europe' <http://www.eufic.org/en/healthy-living/article/school-lunch-standards-in-europe> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Expansion. (2016) 'Norway – Population 2016' <https://countryeconomy.com/demography/population/norway> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Fouche, G. (2008) 'First languages fear second place', *The Guardian*, 23 May: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2008/may/23/tefl.gwladysfouche> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Government. (2014) 'Opening of Expert Meeting on Good Parenting' <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/opening-of-expert-meeting-on-good-parenting/id2351279/> [Accessed: 26th March 2016].

Government. (2015) 'Children's Rights' <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/foreign-affairs/human-rights/ny-struktur/barns-menneskerettigheter/id2008669/> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Government. (2016) 'Information about the 1996 Hague Convention' <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/families-and-children/innsiktsartikler/haagkonvensjonen-1996/information-about-the-1996-hague-convention/id2506528/> [Accessed: 26th March 2016].

Government. (2017) 'The Children Act- Act of 8 April 1981, no'7 relating to Children and Parents (The Children Act)' <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/the-children-act/id448389/> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Gov.UK. (2018) 'Apply for free School meals' <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-25434961> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Gov.UK. (No date) 'Paternity pay and leave' <https://www.gov.uk/paternity-pay-leave/leave> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Haug, K. H. and Storo, J. (2013) 'Kindergarten – a universal right for Children in Norway', *International Journal of Childcare and Policy*, Volume 7, Issue 2, pp. 1-13. [On-line]. Available at: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/2288-6729-7-2-1> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Health Challenge Wales. (No date) 'Breastfeeding welcome scheme' <http://www.healthchallengewales.org/breastfeeding-welcome-scheme> [Accessed: 27th February 2018].

Heilmann, A., Kelly, Y. and Watt, R. G. (2015) *Equally Protected? A review of the evidence on the physical punishment of children*. Scotland: NSPCC.

Hjelle, I. A. (2014) 'Less time for meal breaks', *Science Nordic*, 13 March: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <http://sciencenordic.com/less-time-meal-breaks> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Horne, S. (2016) 'Keeping the Children safe: a shared responsibility' <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/topics/families-and-children/child-welfare/child-welfare-cases-across-national-borders/keeping-the-children-safe-a-shared-responsibility/id2484024/> [Accessed: 26th March 2016].

Illokken, K. E. (2015) *Effects of a free school meal on lunch habits in Norwegian Elementary School Children*. Thesis (MA). University of Agder. [On-line]. Available at: <https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/299763/Kristine%20Engebrets%20Illøkken.pdf?sequence=1> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Jjelflaat, T. (2016) 'Children and Poverty – A Norwegian Context', *A Social Work International Journal*, Volume 3, Issue 1, pp. 1-6.

Kakar, A. (2017) 'Six Important Facts About Child Poverty in Norway', *The Borgen Project*, 25 September: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <https://borgenproject.org/child-poverty-in-norway/> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

King, L. (2012) 'Supporting Active Fatherhood in Britain' <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/supporting-active-fatherhood-in-britain> [Accessed: 14th March 2018].

MacBlain, S., Dunn, J. and Luke, I. (2017) *Contemporary Childhood*. London: Sage.
Ministry of Children and Equality. (2008) *Report - The Rights of the Child*. Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality.

Mal, N. (2018) 'When is St David's Day and what is the history behind it?', *Wales Online*, 16 February: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/st-davids-day-what-history-14300795> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

McDowell Clark, R. (2010) *Childhood in Society: For Early Childhood Studies*. Exeter: Learning Matters.

Morris, S. (2018) 'Wales could ban parents and carers from smacking children', *The Guardian*, 9 January: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jan/09/wales-ban-parents-carers-smacking-children> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

NHS Direct Wales. (2018) 'Maternity and Paternity Benefits' <https://www.nhsdirect.wales.nhs.uk/livewell/pregnancy/HealthWellbeingHealthAtWorkKMPB/> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues. (2012) *Nordic Children Early Intervention for Children and Families*. Sweden: Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues.

NSPCC. (2018) 'A child's legal rights' <https://www.nspcc.org.uk/preventing-abuse/child-protection-system/legal-definition-child-rights-law/legal-definitions/> [Accessed: 30th April 2018].

Parker-Rees, R. and Leeson, C. (2015) *Early Childhood Studies: An introduction to the study of Children's lives and Children's worlds*. London: Sage.

Penn, H. (2014) 'The Globalisation of Early Childhood Education and Care', in Maynard, T. and Powell, S. (eds) *An Introduction to Early Childhood Studies*. London: Sage, pp. 48-59.

Rhys, S. and Harries, R. (2017) 'The Welsh language is a living, breathing, beautiful thing – not fodder for an ugly tedious debate', *Wales Online*, 6 September: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/welsh-language-living-breathing-beautiful-13574718> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Reedtz, C. and Klest, S. (2016) 'Improved parenting maintained four years following a brief parent training intervention in a non-clinical sample', *BMC Psychology*, Volume 4, Issue 43, pp. 1-14. [On-line]. Available at: http://dua.uit.no/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Improved-parenting-maintained-four-years-Reedtz_Klest-2016.pdf [Accessed: 30th March 2018].

Rees, D. I. and Sabia, J. J. (2009) 'The Effect of Breast Feeding on Educational Attainment: Evidence from Sibling Data', *Journal of Human Capital*, Volume 3, Issue 1, pp. 43-72.

Rogoff, B. (2003) *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health (RCPCH). (2017) *State of Child Health: 2017 Recommendations for Wales*. Cardiff: Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health (RCPCH).

Santer, J., Griffiths, C. and Goodall, D. (2007) *Free Play in Early Childhood: A Literature Review*. London: National Children's Bureau.

Save the Children. (2014) *A fair start for every child: why we must act now to tackle child poverty in the UK*. London: Save the Children.

Schloss Wilhelminenberg, V. (2016) 'High Level Conference- towards Childhoods free from Corporal Punishment' <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/high-level-conference--towards-childhoods-free-from-corporal-punishment/id2502475/>

[Accessed: 26th March 2016].

Sprakadet. (No date) 'The Language Council of Norway' <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Study in Norway. (2007) 'Language' <https://www.studyinnorway.no/living-in-norway/language> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Tatone, J. (2016) 'Child Poverty in Norway increases', *Norway Today*, 27 December: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <http://norwaytoday.info/news/child-poverty-norway-increases/> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

The Audiopedia. (26th July 2016) *What is Childhood? What does Childhood mean?*. YouTube. [On-line]. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g-yhuB6kJ8Y> [Accessed: 30th March 2018].

The Department of Health. (2012) 'Norway' <http://www.health.gov.au/internet/publications/publishing.nsf/Content/int-comp-whocode-bf-init~int-comp-whocode-bf-init-ico~int-comp-whocode-bf-init-ico-norway> [Accessed: 27th March 2018].

The National Assembly for Wales. (2001) *Investing in a better start: Promoting Breastfeeding in Wales*. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

The Ombudsman for Children in Norway. (2017) *The U N Convention on the Rights of the Child: Supplementary Report – Norway*. Oslo: The Ombudsman for Children in Norway.

Tisdall, E. K. M. and Liebel, M. (2008) *Overview paper: Theorising children's participation in 'collective' decision-making*, paper for the European Science Foundation Seminar "Children's participation in decision-making: Exploring theory, policy and practice across Europe", Berlin, June 2008. [On-line]. Available at: <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/6873573/tisdall-liebel-overv-childhood-studies-the-university-of-> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Unicef. (2018) 'The benefits of breastfeeding' <https://www.unicef.org.uk/babyfriendly/what-is-baby-friendly/the-benefits-of-breastfeeding/> [Accessed: 28th March 2018].

UK Population. (2016) 'Population of Wales 2016' <http://ukpopulation2016.com/wales> [Accessed: 31st March 2018].

Waller, T. (2014) 'Modern Childhood: Contemporary Theories and Children's Lives' in Waller, T. and Davis, G. (eds) *An Introduction to Early Childhood*. 3rd edition. London: Sage, pp. 27-46.

Welsh Government. (2012) 'Infant feeding Survey' <http://gov.wales/statistics-and-research/infant-feeding-survey/?lang=en> [Accessed: 27th march 2018].

Welsh Government. (2017) *Flying Start: Parenting Support Guidance*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government. (2018) *Legislative Proposal To Remove The Defence Of Reasonable Punishment*. WG33656. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Whewell, T. (2016) 'Norway's Barnevernet: They took our four children....then the baby', *BBC News*, 14th April: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-36026458> [Accessed: 26th March 2018].

Williams, V., James, N., Barclay, M., Stalker, K., Watson, N. and Hudson, K. (2012) *The Conversations Project : A report to the Steering Group of The National Review of Services for Disabled Children and Young People*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government.

Wood, C. (2017) 'Trussell Trust wants food plan to tackle 'crisis'', *BBC News*, 15th August: pp. 1. [On-line]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-40886549> [Accessed: 28th March 2018].