

Advocacy Paper:

The Will and the Way: Ending Violence against Children by 2030

"There can be no keener revelation of a society's soul than the way in which it treats its children."
-Nelson Mandela¹

Nations can develop astounding technologies, achieve unrivaled economic strength or win an endless series of brutal, bone-shattering battles. But no nation will ever be great that does not protect its children. We know what must be done to end violence against children in our lifetime. The question is: do we have the will to act now?

Our children cannot wait. In the time it takes you to read this paper, somewhere on the planet violence will take the life of a child.² It waits for no one; Violence respects no boundary, no race, no economic class, no gender, no social status. In the past year, at least 1.4 billion of the nearly 2 billion children on the planet aged 2 to 17 years, experienced some form of physical, emotional and/or sexual violence.³

The suffering of one child is a tragedy. The suffering of billions is unconscionable. No great society would accept it. If we want to leave the world better, safer, filled with more possibility than we found it, we must take bold, significant and immediate action to safeguard our children from the multiple forms of violence they face.

What Our Children Face

- **Physical Abuse & Neglect**
Each year, at least 1 in 7 children worldwide experiences physical abuse or neglect.⁴ While it is difficult to document child abuse in real time, one measure remains shockingly consistent across international surveys: 1 in 4 adults report being physically abused as children.⁵

[1-in-4 stat]

Prevalence of child abuse varies widely by socioeconomic status, however, with poorer children experiencing up to five times more abuse and neglect as children from more affluent families.⁶

Neglect

Failing, despite having the means, to provide medical care, education, shelter or other essentials for a child's healthy development.



Neglect is easily the greatest existential threat children face. Despite having the means, we let 5.6 million children each year – 15,000 per day -- die before they reach age 5 from causes that

could have been prevented with adequate clean water, proper sanitation, improved nutrition regular immunizations, and access to basic healthcare.⁷

- **Corporal Punishment**

Corporal punishment is the most common form of violence against children, despite the fact that the Convention on the Rights of the Child obligates signatories to ban the punishment in all its forms.⁸

Worldwide, roughly 6 in 10 children between the ages of 2 and 14 are regularly beaten by their caregivers as a form of punishment.⁹

[Insert 6-in-10 graphic]

While 54 countries legally prohibit corporal punishment in all settings, the best estimates say that over 220 million children between 2 and 4 years old (roughly 63% globally) are still subject to corporal punishment each year, with the highest prevalence in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁰

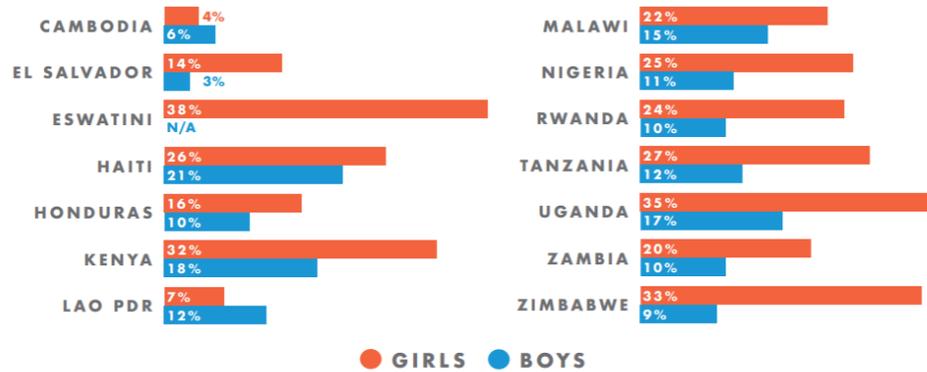
Studies of more than 160,000 children have found that spanking was useless as a form of discipline and did not result in more immediate or long-term compliance.¹¹ More than 50 years of research, moreover, consistently demonstrates that corporal punishment is associated with increased behavioral problems in children, including antisocial behavior, aggression and long-term mental health issues.¹²

- **Sexual Exploitation & Abuse**

Although global data on the prevalence of child sexual abuse is difficult to obtain, by extrapolating from national-level data, recent studies have come to strikingly similar estimates. Worldwide, roughly 8% of males and nearly 20% of females have experienced sexual violence before they reached age 18.¹³

[Insert Pie Graphs for Girls and Boys]

The prevalence of sexual abuse differs widely by country, however. Available data from the 14 countries that have reported results of Violence Against Children Surveys (VACS), for example, shows that the percentage of girls who experience childhood sexual violence ranges from a low of 4% (Cambodia) to as high as 38% (Eswatini, formerly Swaziland).¹⁴ For boys, the ranges are similarly broad, from 3% (El Salvador) to 21% (Haiti).¹⁵



Percentage of youth who experienced sexual violence prior to age 18

Source: *Together for Girls, 2019*

One way to estimate rates of sexual violence against children is to measure how well a country protects its children from it. In 2019, the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) examined how 60 countries addressed childhood sexual violence, analyzing social environments, legal frameworks, government capacity and the engagement of industry, civil society and the media.¹⁶ The result was a country-level benchmark index that researchers used to rank 40 countries based on how well they were protecting their children from sexual abuse and exploitation.

Among the 40 countries that could be bench-marked, the United Kingdom was ranked the safest country for protecting children from sexual violence, while Pakistan ranked the least safe.¹⁷

83.9	United Kingdom	58.1	South Africa	50.0	Jamaica	36.6	Myanmar
82.3	Sweden	57.3	Uganda	49.8	Albania	35.9	Ghana
76.1	Australia	56.7	Turkey	47.9	Mongolia	35.3	Bangladesh
76.0	Canada	56.7	Philippines	47.7	Morocco	34.7	Cote d'Ivoire
73.6	Germany	56.5	Tanzania	47.6	Indonesia	32.0	Egypt
72.9	United States	55.4	Thailand	47.3	Nigeria	31.9	Uzbekistan
72.6	South Korea	54.5	Mexico	47.2	Russia	31.9	Algeria
70.3	Italy	54.5	Malaysia	47.2	Kazakhstan	30.0	Venezuela
65.5	France	53.8	El Salvador	46.4	Nepal	29.7	Angola
63.9	Japan	53.8	Kenya	46.3	Argentina	29.1	Ethiopia
63.5	Colombia	53.7	Cambodia	43.6	Madagascar	28.9	Cameroon
63.5	Peru	53.1	Romania	43.4	China	28.7	Niger
62.9	Brazil	51.5	Sri Lanka	42.8	Vietnam	28.6	Pakistan
59.1	Serbia	51.1	UAE	37.7	Mozambique	28.6	Burkina Faso
58.2	India	50.3	Rwanda	37.6	Saudi Arabia	26.4	Dem Rep of Congo

Source: *Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019*

While sexual violence against children occurs in every country, regardless of economic status, the EIU rankings – with the top 10 countries all high-income nations -- confirmed that a country's wealth is closely correlated to the level of protection from sexual violence it affords its children.¹⁸

- **Online Sexual Exploitation & Abuse**

Online child sexual exploitation and abuse (CSEA) is a relatively new, but expanding dimension of violence against children. It includes grooming, live streaming, consuming child sexual abuse material, and coercing or blackmailing children online for sexual purposes.¹⁹

INTERPOL has intercepted more than 1.5 million CSEA images and videos, compiled in the International Child Sexual Exploitation (ICSE) image and video database²⁰ A systematic examination of the material found that girls accounted for 65% of unidentified victims, but that the images and videos of boys were more likely to depict severe abuse and paraphilic themes.²¹

[Insert pie graph with slice cut-out: 60% pre-pubescent, 4.3% infant or toddler]

Over 60% of the unidentified victims, moreover, were prepubescent, including infants or toddlers, whose images comprised 4.3% of the collected material.²² Even more disturbing, the analysis found that the younger the victim, the more severe the sexual abuse they were made to endure.²³

- **Early & Forced Marriage**

Every year, an estimated 12 million girls – 1-in-5 – are married as children, in some cases before they have reached their 15th birthday.²⁴ While this represents an improvement over the 1-in-4 girls who were married as children just a decade ago, there are still over 650 million girls and women alive today who were married before their 18th birthday.²⁵

[Insert 1-in-5 girls, 1-in-30 boys graphic]

Early marriage of girls is common-place among some Middle Eastern and African nations. In Niger, 76% of girls are married before they reach age 18 – the highest rate in the world, followed by the Central African Republic (68%), Chad (67%), Yemen (32%), Iraq (24%) and Egypt (17%).²⁶

[Insert MENA map with country percentages]

The first, in-depth analysis of child grooms, completed in 2019, revealed that 1-in-30 young men aged 20 to 24 were married before their 18th birthday.²⁷ Moreover, of the estimated 115 million child grooms around the world, 23 million – 1-in-5 – were married before they turned 15 years of age.²⁸ While the highest concentrations of child brides are disproportionately located in the countries of South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, however, the countries with the highest prevalence of child grooms are different and geographically diverse.²⁹

Forced marriage is one in which one or both spouses do not or cannot give consent to the marriage, but were coerced into it by the threat of use of violence or any other form of duress.³⁰ Even if child brides and grooms were capable of consenting to the arrangements, most have not. In fact, the International Labor Organization estimates that children under the age of 18 represent more than 1/3rd (37%) of all individuals forced into marriage worldwide.³¹

- **Bullying**

Bullying is the most common form of violence against children in schools.³² In any given month, at least one in three students (32%) worldwide has been bullied by their peers.³³ In any given year, nearly one in three have also been physically attacked by their peers, usually for being perceived as 'different' somehow.³⁴ Children with disabilities, for example, are 2 to 3 times more likely to be bullied than their non-disabled peers.³⁵

Cyberbullying is when a child intentionally intimidates, offends, threatens, or embarrasses another child online or through the use of a cellular telephone or other mobile device. Reports of cyberbullying have increased by roughly 25% since 2011, based on recent international surveys.³⁶ One in five parents worldwide (33%) report that their child was a victim of cyberbullying, and one in three (33%) say they know a child in their community who has been a victim.³⁷

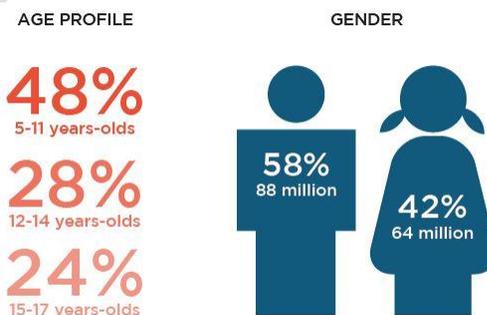
[insert graphic on 1-in-5 and 1-in-3]

Bullying victims are roughly 8 times more likely than their non-bullied peers to have thought about suicide, while victims of cyberbullying are over 11 times more likely to consider it.³⁸

- **Child Labor**

An estimated 152 million children—88 million girls and 64 million boys—worldwide are victims of child labor. Of these, nearly half (73 million, or 48%) experienced the worst forms of child labor—including slavery, forced and bonded employment, conscription as soldiers, sexual exploitation and the use by adults for illicit activities, including drug trafficking³⁹--all of which expose children to dangerous or hazardous working conditions.⁴⁰

Nearly half of the children subject to child labor are under 11 years of age, and more than three-quarters (76%) are under the age of 15.⁴¹



[insert graphic that flips the percentages and follows boy and girl as they grow]

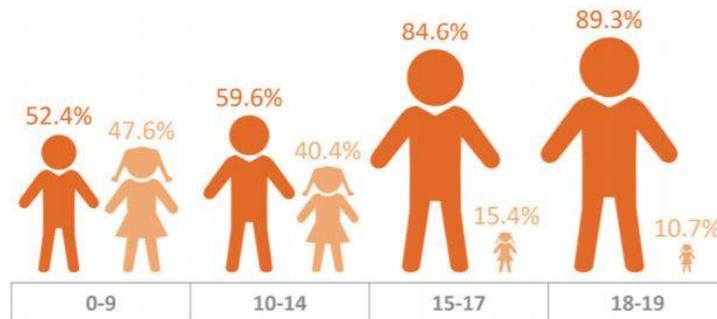
While the number of children subject to child labor has declined by 94 million since 2000, the rate of reduction has slowed by two-thirds in recent years.⁴² Under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), nations have committed to ending all forms of child labor by 2025.⁴³ At current rates, however, by 2025, more than 121 million children will still be toiling in dangerous and hazardous working conditions.⁴⁴

- **Gang Violence & Criminal Exploitation**

Criminal activity is responsible for more deaths worldwide than armed conflict or terrorism combined.⁴⁵ Homicide, in fact, is among the top three causes of adolescent deaths around the globe.⁴⁶ In the ten years between 2008 and 2017, more than 205,000 children under the age of 15, and nearly 1.7 million youths aged 15 to 29, died as a result of homicide.⁴⁷

Males are particularly at risk. Prior to age 15, boys constitute roughly 6 in 10 victims of homicide. Between 15 and 29 years of age, their risk increases dramatically, with young males constituting more than 86 percent of all homicide victims.⁴⁸

**Share of male and female homicide victims aged 0-19 years, worldwide
(2016 or latest year with available data)**



Victimization of children and youth in Latin American, which is home to 8% of the world’s population, but experiences 33% of the world’s homicides, is driven largely by participation in gangs and organized criminal syndicates.⁴⁹ While the overall homicide rate in Europe is much lower, gang violence has intensified in some European cities and the homicide risk for children and young people who live there has increased substantially.⁵⁰ The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, for example, detected escalating violence between gangs with new territorial disputes resulting from recent changes in the traditional supply routes feeding drugs into Europe.⁵¹

- **Armed Conflict**

Every year, in just 10 countries affected by armed conflict, more than 100,000 infants die who, in the absence of conflict, would have survived.⁵² Official reports show this number is expanding, not diminishing. In 2017, there were 10,677 UN-verified reports of children being killed or maimed in conflict-affected areas, an increase of nearly 6% from the year before.⁵³

By the best estimates, 1.87 billion children—more than 80% worldwide—are living in countries that have experienced at least one lethal combat event in the last year.⁵⁴ Nearly one in five children worldwide—an estimated 420 million—are living less than 50km from where armed conflict is taking place.⁵⁵ That number has grown by almost 30 million since 2016.

[Insert graphic for 1-in-5, showing growth from 2016 to 2018]

Worse still, not only has the number of children exposed to armed conflict grown in recent years, the severity of their exposure has worsened as well. Over the last decade, the number of ‘grave violations’ of children’s rights in combat zones has nearly tripled.⁵⁶

[Insert graphic displaying rapid rise in child rights violations in combat zones]

What We Pay

Exposure to violence in childhood can profoundly impact health and social development throughout a child’s life. Victims of childhood violence are more likely to develop chronic diseases, experience mental health problems, contract sexually-transmitted infections and commit crimes, all of which cost governments billions of dollars to address.⁵⁷

National economies pay a price for permitting violence against children, not only in increased healthcare costs, but in productivity losses and expenses for child protection and juvenile justice systems. One recent study, for example, examined the costs incurred by Australia’s six states by violence against children.⁵⁸ When combined with excess social welfare burdens and losses in productivity, researchers found that violence against children cost each state more than AUD\$34 billion annually, a total cost to Australia of more than AUD\$200 billion each year.⁵⁹

[Insert bar graph showing losses across each sector]

Worldwide, physical, psychological and sexual violence against children costs governments up to US\$7 trillion each year, consuming more than 8% of global GDP, or roughly the entire annual economic output of France and the U.K. combined.⁶⁰

[insert world graphic with France & UK ‘pull-outs’]

What You Can Do

1. Collect Better Data

The first step in preventing violence against children is gathering accurate information from children about the nature, prevalence and consequences of the violence they experience. The global community has committed to ending abuse, exploitation and all violence against children by 2030.* Yet, the international community collects very little data on childhood violence, and almost none of it from children directly. This information gap makes it nearly impossible to accurately identify and measure a nation's progress.

Countries should be more proactive about measuring violence against their children, collecting data from children themselves, when possible and appropriate. At the very least, every UN member state should commit sufficient resources to surveying representative samples of its population. They should calculate baselines of childhood violence by employing tested and verified methods to derive accurate estimates, then regularly measure their progress toward ending it. National governments may have broad discretion on the methods they choose for measuring violence against children; but they should be given scant leeway to avoid choosing any measurement at all.

[TEXT BOX – Official Indicators: UNICEF MICS

Officially, progress toward ending violence against children is measured by calculating the percentage of children aged 1-14 who, according to self-reports by mothers or primary caregivers, experienced any violent discipline at home in the past month.⁶¹ This information is gathered from households using Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) developed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to help states gather data on the situation of women and children in a country.⁶² To date, MICS data has been collected on 116 countries, though not all countries have completed final reports detailing the results.⁶³ National household surveys like MICS provide no accurate measure of child neglect or emotional violence and may under-report physical abuse since they require mothers and caregivers to disclose acts of violence they inflict.⁶⁴

[TEXT BOX – Unofficial Indicators: CDC VACS

The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Violence Against Children Surveys (VACS) are national household surveys administered to a single child aged 13-24 years from each household. Unlike MICS or school-based health surveys, which focus on violence in a specific location or by a single type of perpetrator, VACS evaluate multiple dimensions of violence that children may experience in multiple settings. Because VACS are administered to a cross-sectional sampling of families, results can be extrapolated to estimate rates of violence and children nationwide.⁶⁵

Since the first VACS was administered in 2007, however, only 16 lower-income nations (11 African, 3 Latin American, and 2 Southeast Asian) have completed the surveys and reported results.⁶⁶ Wider use of VACS would permit countries and civil society organizations to monitor

* Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) target 16.2 requires U.N. member states to “end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children” by 2030.

changes in childhood violence over time and identify the most effective, culturally-specific interventions to address it.^{67]}

2. Listen to Children

When children are at risk or have suffered abuse or exploitation, it is critical that they have people and places that will offer protection and redress. But having sufficient laws and institutions in place is insufficient, if children do not know that they exist or do not understand how to employ them.

Nations should establish and support methods for children to identify gaps in protection services and challenges accessing justice systems. Child-focused accountability methods should include official channels for children to securely and directly engage the public officials with the authority to make meaningful changes. When service gaps and access barriers are identified, moreover, member states should commit to sufficiently funding and implementing the recommended reforms.

[TEXT BOX – Child-friendly Accountability

ChildFund Alliance has developed and is field-testing a method to empower children (ages 13 to 17) and young people (ages 18 to 25) to identify and monitor local child protection systems, report to community leaders and work with local authorities to develop ways to fill service gaps and better protect children. After successful pilot programs in Mexico, Paraguay, Vietnam and India, ChildFund has expanded the initiative to 11 countries—and more than 8,000 children—and is measuring results, evaluating best practices and formulating a final, verified methodology that can be scaled to national levels. Once completed, nations can integrate the methodology in everything from curriculum development to their civic engagement strategies.]

3. Fully Fund Evidence-Based Strategies

Children face multiple forms of violence in several specific contexts perpetrated by dozens of different actors. With a problem this vast and varied, it would be easy to conclude that it is impossible to end violence against children in the next 10 years.

The world's most qualified researchers, academics and scientists, however, say otherwise.

The World Health Organization (WHO), in collaboration with UNICEF, the CDC, the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children, USAID and others, evaluated hundreds of interventions around the world and identified 7 strategies that the best scientific evidence indicates can effectively reduce violence against children, if countries fully implement them.⁶⁸

The INSPIRE Strategies:

Implement & enforce laws

Nations should adopt laws prohibiting all forms of violence against children, including banning executions of anyone under the age of 18, physical abuse by caregivers, corporal punishment or punishments that are inhumane or degrading, sexual exploitation, early and forced marriage, and the worst forms of child labor.

Evidence shows that laws prohibiting violence can effectively reduce violent behavior and hold perpetrators accountable, but only if they are consistently enforced. Laws limiting drug and alcohol consumption, access to firearms and interaction with extremists have also been shown to reduce children's exposure to key risk factors for violence.

reform social Norms

Nations should implement community educational programs to uncover restrictive cultural beliefs, training programs in bystander intervention to call out harmful social norms, and whole-school or whole-community anti-bullying campaigns, supported by social media strategies.

Evidence indicates that community-based campaigns can effectively reduce violence against children when supported by mass media and social mobilization campaigns. And bystander intervention has been proven effective at lowering intimate partner violence and sexual abuse and exploitation.

create Safe environments

Nations should create and sustain safe streets and civic spaces where children and youth can gather and recreate without fear, and safe and accessible public transportation systems so they can move freely throughout the community.

Evidence supports the effectiveness of modifying the social and physical environments to foster positive behaviors and deter harmful ones. For example, providing accessible public transportation and bright overhead lighting makes it easier for people to see those around them, while the presence and upkeep of village greens and town squares generates a sense of collective ownership of community space, boosts civic engagement and reduces youth violence.

Educate Parents and caregivers

Nations should implement widespread, comprehensive and non-threatening educational programs for parents and caregivers, and sanction limited interventions for social workers to demonstrate positive parenting techniques.

Helping parents and caregivers understand the detriments of harsh parenting practices and training them in positive, non-violent discipline, has been proven to reduce physical and mental abuse and increase bonding, not only between parent and child, but (as children begin to mimic these tactics) between child and other children, resulting in a domino effect that helps prevent youth violence over time.

provide Income and financial security

Nations should invest in direct and regular cash transfers to vulnerable families, with complementary social and behavioral interventions for women and girls, and should spearhead microfinance and group savings and loan programs that increase access to capital markets and financial services for low-income families.

According to the best evidence, boosting family and caregiver income—particularly women’s access to economic resources—reduces child abuse, reduces children’s aggression, improves parental monitoring and increases parental investment in education. By avoiding violence triggered by financial hardship, these programs reduce both violence caregivers inflict on children and (because children mimic the violence they witness) violence between children as well.

improve Response and support services

Nations should invest in treatment programs for serious or chronic juvenile offenders, adopt kinship foster care policies and expand access to trauma-related cognitive behavioral therapy for children who have experienced violence.

The best evidence demonstrates that access to emergency medical care, mental health and social welfare services, including specialized counseling and reproductive care, can help children recover better from abuse and assault, not only lessening the impact of violent experiences, but helping to break the cycle of violence for good.

strengthen Education systems

Nations should provide school supplies, uniforms and basic healthcare for at-risk students (and reproductive health services for young women), adopt curriculum modules that build positive relationships between students and with teachers, implement whole-school anti-bullying campaigns that also train teachers on effective intervention, and develop mechanisms for children to influence anti-violence policymaking at the local, municipal and national levels.

Providing proper nutrition and supplies has been proven to reduce drop-out rates by as much as 82%, which also reduced early child marriage. Evidence shows that improved school enrollment and attendance, in concert with curriculums that build a positive school environment, lead to significant reductions in violent behaviors, while awareness-raising programs protect children from certain forms of violence, including sexual abuse and exploitation, bullying and early and forced child marriage.

We know how to end violence against children quickly and effectively, and we could achieve it by 2030, if we just apply the resolve and the resources. Solid evidence demonstrates that we can return trillions of dollars in lost revenue to national economies by making investments in evidence-based strategies proven to protect children from violence.

Now is the time to act boldly. There is an immediacy to ending violence against children that few causes share. Children remain children but for a brief period of their lives. Yet the many violent risks they face in childhood threaten to undermine their health and happiness for as long as they live.

There is no time to waste. Delaying decisive action to end childhood violence impacts adults just as profoundly as children by contributing to a growing cynicism regarding the effectiveness of collective action. After all, if adults are incapable of coming together to keep their children safe, then what hope is there for sustainable international cooperation on any other issue?⁶⁹ This is the issue. Now is the time. Take action today to end violence against children.

¹ Mandela, Nelson, Address at the Launch of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, Pretoria, May 8, 1995. Available at http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1995/950508_nmcf.htm.

² Trauernicht, Gitta, "Foreword," *The Right to Protection: Ending Violence Against Children*, SOS Children's Villages, March, 2017. Available at https://www.sos-childrensvillages.org/getmedia/83145000-19d4-453c-9e98-15c65fd6842d/TheRightToProtection_EN.pdf.

³ Hillis, Susan, et. al., "Global Prevalence of Past-year Violence Against Children: A Systematic Review and Minimum Estimates," *Pediatrics*, 137(3), March, 2016. Available at <https://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/pediatrics/137/3/e20154079.full.pdf>.

⁴ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), "Preventing Child Abuse & Neglect," www.cdc.gov, Home > Injury Center > Violence Prevention, February 26, 2019. Available at <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/childabuseandneglect/fastfact.html>.

⁵ World Health Organization (WHO), *Child maltreatment*, www.who.int, September 30, 2016. Available at <https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/child-maltreatment>.

⁶ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), "Preventing Child Abuse & Neglect," www.cdc.gov, Home > Injury Center > Violence Prevention, February 26, 2019. Available at <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/childabuseandneglect/fastfact.html>.

⁷ Figure assumes 2018 data and is derived from UNICEF, "Number of deaths of children under five," data.unicef.org, Data by Topic and Country > Child Mortality > Under-5 mortality, September, 2019. Available at https://data.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/U5MR_deaths_2019.xlsx.

⁸ Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment, "Corporal punishment of children and the Convention on the Rights of the Child – 30 years of progress," *Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment News*, November 19, 2019. Available at <https://endcorporalpunishment.org/crc-30-years-of-progress/>.

⁹ UNICEF, *Hidden in Plain Site: A Statistical Analysis of Violence against Children*, 2014. Available at https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Hidden_in_plain_sight_statistical_analysis_Summary_EN_2_Sept_2014.pdf.

¹⁰ Cuartus, Jorge, "Guest feature: Estimating the global prevalence of violent and non-violent discipline in early childhood," *Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment News*, June 4, 2019. Available at <https://endcorporalpunishment.org/estimating-the-global-prevalence-of-violent-and-non-violent-discipline/>.

¹¹ Gershoff, Elizabeth T. and Andrew Grogan-Kaylor, "Spanking and Child Outcomes: Old Controversies and New Meta-Analyses," *Journal of Family Psychology*, v.30, issue 4, 2016. Available at http://local.psy.miami.edu/faculty/dmessenger/c_rsrscs/rdgs/emot/spanging.meta.2016.JfamPsych.pdf.

¹² Pace, Garrett T. et. al., "Spanking and young children's socioemotional development in low- and middle-income countries," *Child Abuse & Neglect*, v.88, 2019. Available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0145213418304095>.

¹³ Oak Foundation, the Equality Institute and Together for Girls, *What Works to Prevent Sexual Violence Against Children*, Evidence Review, 2019. Available at <https://www.togetherforgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-11-15-What-Works-to-Prevent-Sexual-Violence-Against-Children-Evidence-Review.pdf>.

¹⁴ Oak Foundation, the Equality Institute and Together for Girls, *What Works to Prevent Sexual Violence Against Children*, Evidence Review, 2019. Available at <https://www.togetherforgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-11-15-What-Works-to-Prevent-Sexual-Violence-Against-Children-Evidence-Review.pdf>.

¹⁵ Oak Foundation, the Equality Institute and Together for Girls, *What Works to Prevent Sexual Violence Against Children*, Evidence Review, 2019. Available at <https://www.togetherforgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2019-11-15-What-Works-to-Prevent-Sexual-Violence-Against-Children-Evidence-Review.pdf>.

¹⁶ See The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Out of the Shadows: Shining Light on the Response to Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation*, 2019. Available at <https://outoftheshadows.eiu.com/>.

¹⁷ Joanne Lu, "Here's How Every Country Ranks When it Comes to Child Abuse and Exploitation," *UN Dispatch*, January 18, 2019. Available at <https://www.undispatch.com/here-is-how-every-country-ranks-on-child-safety/>.

¹⁸ Joanne Lu, "Here's How Every Country Ranks When it Comes to Child Abuse and Exploitation," *UN Dispatch*, January 18, 2019. Available at <https://www.undispatch.com/here-is-how-every-country-ranks-on-child-safety/>.

¹⁹ ECPAT International, "Online Child Sexual Exploitation," ecpat.org, Home/What we do!, 2016. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/what-we-do/online-child-sexual-exploitation/>.

²⁰ INTERPOL and ECPAT International, *Towards a Global Indicator on Unidentified Victims in Child Sexual Assault Material*, Summary Report, 2018. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TOWARDS-A-GLOBAL-INDICATOR-ON-UNIDENTIFIED-VICTIMS-IN-CHILD-SEXUAL-EXPLOITATION-MATERIAL-Summary-Report.pdf>.

²¹ INTERPOL and ECPAT International, *Towards a Global Indicator on Unidentified Victims in Child Sexual Assault Material*, Summary Report, 2018. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TOWARDS-A-GLOBAL-INDICATOR-ON-UNIDENTIFIED-VICTIMS-IN-CHILD-SEXUAL-EXPLOITATION-MATERIAL-Summary-Report.pdf>.

²² INTERPOL and ECPAT International, *Towards a Global Indicator on Unidentified Victims in Child Sexual Assault Material*, Summary Report, 2018. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TOWARDS-A-GLOBAL-INDICATOR-ON-UNIDENTIFIED-VICTIMS-IN-CHILD-SEXUAL-EXPLOITATION-MATERIAL-Summary-Report.pdf>.

²³ INTERPOL and ECPAT International, *Towards a Global Indicator on Unidentified Victims in Child Sexual Assault Material*, Summary Report, 2018. Available at <https://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TOWARDS-A-GLOBAL-INDICATOR-ON-UNIDENTIFIED-VICTIMS-IN-CHILD-SEXUAL-EXPLOITATION-MATERIAL-Summary-Report.pdf>.

²⁴ Child Rights Now!, "Delivering Progress for the Most Excluded Children," *Policy Brief*, October, 2019. Available at <https://child-rights-now.org/publications/delivering-progress-for-the-most-excluded-children/>.

²⁵ UNICEF, *Child Marriage: Latest trends and future prospects*, July, 2018. Available at <https://data.unicef.org/resources/child-marriage-latest-trends-and-future-prospects/>.

²⁶ Enaji, Mohad, "Child marriage is stalling sustainable development," www.weforum.org, World Economic Forum, Home > Agenda > 2019 > 10, October 18, 2019. Available at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/10/sustainable-development-goals-hindered-by-child-marriage/>.

²⁷ UNICEF, "115 boys and men around the world married as children – UNICEF," Press Release, June 6, 2019. Available at <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/115-million-boys-and-men-around-world-married-children-unicef>.

²⁸ UNICEF, "115 boys and men around the world married as children – UNICEF," Press Release, June 6, 2019. Available at <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/115-million-boys-and-men-around-world-married-children-unicef>.

²⁹ Gaston, Colleen Murray et. al., "Child marriage among boys: a global overview of available data," *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies*, v.14, issue 3, May 2, 2019. Available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17450128.2019.1666584>.

³⁰ Grierson, Jamie, "Forced marriage unit reports spike in cases as awareness rises," *The Guardian*, May 24, 2019. Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/may/24/forced-marriage-unit-reports-spike-cases-awareness-rises>.

³¹ International Labour Office (ILO), *Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage*, 2017. Available at https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf.

³² UNESCO, *Behind the numbers: Ending school violence and bullying*, 2019. Available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000366483>.

³³ UNESCO, *Behind the numbers: Ending school violence and bullying*, 2019. Available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000366483>.

³⁴ UNESCO, *Behind the numbers: Ending school violence and bullying*, 2019. Available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000366483>.

³⁵ Rose, Chad and Nicholas A. Gage, "Exploring the Involvement of Bullying Among Students with Disabilities Over Time," *Exceptional Children*, 83:3, 298-314, November 4, 2016. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0014402916667587>.

³⁶ Statistic derived by averaging the increase in the percentage of parents reporting that their child was the victim of cyberbullying and the percentage reporting that they know a child in their community who was the victim of cyberbully. See Newall, Mallory, *Cyberbullying: A Global Advisor Survey*, Ipsos Public Affairs, 2018. Available at <https://www.slideshare.net/IpsosMORI/cyberbullying-an-ipsos-global-advisor-survey>.

³⁷ Newall, Mallory, *Cyberbullying: A Global Advisor Survey*, Ipsos Public Affairs, 2018. Available at <https://www.slideshare.net/IpsosMORI/cyberbullying-an-ipsos-global-advisor-survey>.

³⁸ Alavi, Nazanin et. al., "Relationship between Bullying and Suicidal Behavior in Youth Presenting to the Emergency Department," *Journal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 26:2, 70-77, July 1, 2017. Available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC550935/>.

³⁹ UNICEF, "Child Labor," *Child protection from violence, exploitation and abuse*, www.unicef.org, May 22, 2017. Available at https://www.unicef.org/protection/57929_child_labour.html.

⁴⁰ International Labour Office (ILO), *Global estimates of child labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016*, Geneva, 2017. Available at https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575499.pdf.

- ⁴¹ International Labour Office (ILO), *Global estimates of child labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016*, Geneva, 2017. Available at https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575499.pdf.
- ⁴² International Labour Organization (ILO), *Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes*, second edition, 2018. Available at https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/informationresources/WCMS_653987/lang--en/index.htm.
- ⁴³ See Agenda 2030, SDG Target 8.7: "Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking, and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms." (
- ⁴⁴ International Labour Organization (ILO), *Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes*, second edition, 2018. Available at https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/informationresources/WCMS_653987/lang--en/index.htm.
- ⁴⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Global Study on Homicide: Killing of children and young adults*, 2019. Available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet_6new.pdf.
- ⁴⁶ World Health Organization (WHO), *Violence against children*, www.who.int, Home > Newsroom > Fact Sheets > Detail, June 7, 2019. Available at <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-children>.
- ⁴⁷ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Global Study on Homicide: Killing of children and young adults*, 2019. Available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet_6new.pdf.
- ⁴⁸ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Global Study on Homicide: Killing of children and young adults*, 2019. Available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet_6new.pdf.
- ⁴⁹ Muggah, Robert and Katherine Aguirre Tobon, *Citizen security in Latin America: Facts and Figures*, Igarape Institute, April, 2018. Available at <https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Citizen-Security-in-Latin-America-Facts-and-Figures.pdf>.
- ⁵⁰ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Global Study on Homicide: Killing of children and young adults*, 2019. Available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet_6new.pdf.
- ⁵¹ Hatton, Barry, "EU Drug Agency Sees Rising Gang Violence Amid Steady Prices," *U.S. News & World Report*, November 26, 2019. Available at <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2019-11-26/eu-drug-agency-sees-rising-gang-violence-amid-steady-prices>.
- ⁵² Save the Children UK, *Stop the War on Children: Protecting Children in 21st Century Conflict*, 2019. Available at https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/gb/reports/stop_the_war_on_children_report_2019.pdf.
- ⁵³ Save the Children UK, *Stop the War on Children: Protecting Children in 21st Century Conflict*, 2019. Available at https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/gb/reports/stop_the_war_on_children_report_2019.pdf.
- ⁵⁴ Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), "Children Affected by Armed Conflict, 1990-2017," *Conflict Trends*, October, 2018. Available at <https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=11264>.
- ⁵⁵ Save the Children UK, *Stop the War on Children: Protecting Children in 21st Century Conflict*, 2019. Available at https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/gb/reports/stop_the_war_on_children_report_2019.pdf.
- ⁵⁶ Save the Children UK, *Stop the War on Children: Protecting Children in 21st Century Conflict*, 2019. Available at https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/gb/reports/stop_the_war_on_children_report_2019.pdf.
- ⁵⁷ Massetti, Greta M. and Linda L. Dahlberg, "Addressing gaps in global data on violence against children and adolescents," *Lancet Child and Adolescent Health*, v.3, issue 9, September, 2019. Available at https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/80614/1/cdc_80614_DS1.pdf.
- ⁵⁸ Deloitte Access Economics, *The economic costs of violence against children and young people*, June, 2019. Available at <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/au/Documents/Economics/deloitte-au-cost-violence-against-children-050719.pdf>.
- ⁵⁹ Deloitte Access Economics, *The economic costs of violence against children and young people*, June, 2019. Available at <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/au/Documents/Economics/deloitte-au-cost-violence-against-children-050719.pdf>.
- ⁶⁰ ChildFund Alliance and ODI, *The Cost and Economic Impact of Violence Against Children*, 2014. Available at <http://childfundalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/ODI-Policy-Brief--The-cost-and-economic-impact-of-violence-against-children.pdf>.
- ⁶¹ UNICEF, "Violent discipline," *data.unicef.org*, Home > Data by Topic and Country > By Topic > Child Protection > Violence, October, 2019. Available at <https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-protection/violence/violent-discipline/>.
- ⁶² UNICEF, *User Guide to Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS)*, No Date. Available at http://www.ceecis.org/mics/printed_material/User_Guide_to_MICS_eng.pdf.
- ⁶³ Khan, Shane and Attila Hancioglu, "Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys: Delivering Robust Data on Children and Women across the Globe," *Studies in Family Planning*, 50(3), 279-286, September, 2019. Available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6771654/>.
- ⁶⁴ Arifiani, Sandra Dewi, et. al., "Assessing large-scale violence against children surveys in selected Southeast Asian countries: A scoping review," *Child Abuse & Neglect*, v.93, 149-161, July, 2019. Available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S014521341930167X#bib0055>; Rumble, Lauren, et. al., "The Importance of Contextual Factors in Carrying Out Childhood Violence Surveys," *Child Indicators Research*, 11(2), 405-421, April, 2018. Available at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12187-017-9457-8>.
- ⁶⁵ Chiang, Laura F., et. al., "Violence Against Children Surveys (VACS): towards a global surveillance system," *Injury Prevention*, 22 (suppl.1), i17-i22, April, 2016. Available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6158784/>.
- ⁶⁶ Together for Girls, *Violence Against Children Surveys*, 2017. Available at <https://www.togetherforgirls.org/violence-children-surveys/>.
- ⁶⁷ Chiang, Laura F., et. al., "Violence Against Children Surveys (VACS): towards a global surveillance system," *Injury Prevention*, 22 (suppl.1), i17-i22, April, 2016. Available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6158784/>.
- ⁶⁸ Evidence supporting the following claims, along with examples of effective policy reforms, can be found in World Health Organization (WHO), et. al., *INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence Against Children*, 2016. Available at <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/207717/9789241565356-eng.pdf>.
- ⁶⁹ Paraphrasing, if not quoting outright, Save the Children's George Graham in *Stop the War on Children: Protecting Children in 21st Century Conflict*, 2019. Available at https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/gb/reports/stop_the_war_on_children_report_2019.pdf