ENDING VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD

OVERVIEW

Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative
The images running through the Ending Violence in Childhood: Global Report 2017 steadily completing a child’s sweater, reflect the need to embrace children in stronger and carefully interwoven strategies for violence-prevention. They have been designed and created by Sarah Naqvi, a textile artist from India.

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ENDING VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD

OVERVIEW
KNOW VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD:
A Global Learning Initiative

This Report is an output of Know Violence in Childhood – an independent global learning initiative. The Initiative makes the case for ending violence in childhood across the world. By examining existing data and commissioning new research, the Initiative has synthesized knowledge on the causes and consequences of childhood violence, and identified evidence-based strategies to prevent childhood violence.

Bringing together a diverse, multidisciplinary group of researchers and experts, the Initiative organized its work around three Learning Groups – Homes and Families, Schools, and Communities and Public Spaces. Forty-four papers from over a hundred authors at universities and institutions around the world were commissioned. These papers, in turn, drew on over 3,100 articles, books and reports, including over 170 systematic reviews of evidence on preventing childhood violence. A special issue of the Journal of Psychology, Health and Medicine (March 2017), background papers and an annotated bibliography have been produced during the Initiative’s three years.

The Initiative also organized a series of regional meetings in Central Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, Latin America, and South Asia which brought together researchers, practitioners and policy makers to address issues of childhood violence salient to their regions.

Partners of Know Violence in Childhood include FXB USA, Inc., the Public Health Foundation of India, and the University of Delaware. Financial support has been provided by an anonymous donor, American Jewish World Service, the Bernard van Leer Foundation, the IKEA Foundation, the NOVO Foundation, OAK Foundation, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the UBS Foundation and UNICEF.

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For a large proportion of the world’s population, life is better than it was 30 years ago. Incomes have risen significantly. Life expectancy has increased. Fewer people are living in extreme poverty. Fewer mothers die in childbirth. The global community has also moved in many directions to make the world a more peaceful place for all.

And yet, at least three out of every four of the world’s children – 1.7 billion – had experienced some form of inter-personal violence, cruelty or abuse in their daily lives in a previous year, regardless of whether they lived in rich countries or poor, in the global North or the global South.

It is unfortunate that a culture of silence surrounds violence. As a result, violence against children is still largely invisible in the development discourse.

Violence violates the dignity and rights of children, and robs them of the joys of childhood. Childhood violence also disrupts the formation of capabilities, and imposes huge financial and human costs on individuals and societies.

The tide is however turning. The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by all but one of the UN member states, has been the inspiration for national governments and others to end violence against children. With ending violence being a clearly articulated priority of the Sustainable Development Goals, we have a unique opportunity to break the cycle of violence, especially for children and women who bear the brunt of it.

This Report has marshalled global evidence to show how collaboration and learning across geographies, disciplines and sectors can unite academics, policy makers and practitioners to end childhood violence.

The Report finds large gaps in global knowledge and evidence related to different dimensions of childhood violence. It therefore calls for much greater investment in data, research and evaluation to break the silence around violence and to promote public action across the world.

Defining and measuring childhood violence is not easy. The Report makes a beginning by using estimated prevalence rates to develop a global picture of violence in childhood. It calls for States to invest in strengthening data systems to report on all forms of violence experienced by children across ages and settings.

This Report also calls for global and local actions to promote child rights and prevent violence. It advocates a shift away from seeing violence as a series of discrete episodes towards recognizing that it is a thread running through the everyday lives of children everywhere.

Violence breeds fear. And freedom from fear is as fundamental to life as freedom from want and freedom from hunger. We firmly believe that ending childhood violence should become a priority for the world to achieve truly sustainable human development.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Ending Violence in Childhood Global Report 2017 is the product of a collective effort of Know Violence in Childhood, an independent time-bound global learning initiative, and many external advisers and contributors. The findings, analysis and policy recommendations of this Report are those of Know Violence in Childhood and the authors who prepared background papers, and may not necessarily represent the viewpoints of the members of the Steering Committee or the financial supporters of this Report.

We have received support and guidance from eminent individuals and organizations around the world. We would like to begin by acknowledging the leadership role that the late Peter Bell played in launching us on this journey. Susan Bissell, Director of the Global Partnership to End Violence against Children, was instrumental in the establishment of the Initiative along with others including Robert Alexander Butchart, Michael Feigelson, Geeta Rao Gupta and Lisa Jordan.

Our Steering Committee Chair, Lincoln Chen, and members Kathleen Cravero-Kristoffersson, Michael Feigelson and Marta Santos Pais, have played a strategic role in shaping the work of the Initiative and guiding it to completion. We are particularly thankful to Lincoln Chen for his intellectual guidance and wise counsel, and to Marta Santos Pais for the constant encouragement and confidence vested in us.

We are thankful to the Chairs of our three Learning Groups who helped determine the research framework that has informed this Report. Patrick Burton, Nancy Guerra, Robert Muggah, Maureen Samms-Vaughan and Charlotte Watts galvanized researchers from around the world to bring together the evidence and shape the key messages of the Report.

Lorraine Sherr served as the Senior Research Adviser and brought her considerable experience to bear on our work, including overseeing the Special Issue of the Journal of Psychology, Health and Medicine brought out by the Initiative in March 2017.

Over 100 researchers contributed background papers to the Initiative, collaborating across disciplines, institutions and geographies to identify gaps in knowledge, and to bring together information on key issues relating to violence in childhood. Many participated in meetings and provided peer feedback on papers. Our grateful thanks go to Naeemah Abrahams, Thomas P. Abt, Rahul Ahluwalia, Elizabeth Allen, Jeannie Annan, Kim Ashburn, Loraine J. Bacchus, Rodrigo Serrano-Berthet, Theresa S. Betancourt, Sarah Bott, Rachel Bray, Isabelle Brodie, Felicity L. Brown, Monica Bulger, Betzy Butron, Claudia Cappa, Marilyn A. Campbell, Flavia Carbonari, Marisa Casale, Yasmin Iles-Caven, Ko Ling Chan, Alejandro Cid, Kelly Clarke, Lucie Cluver, Manuela Colombini, Sarah Cook, Rose Davies, Ashley Deanne, Bianca Dekel, Charlene Coore-Desai, Karen Devries, Jenny Doubt, Michael P. Dunne, Genette Ellis, Mary Ellsberg, Lonnie Embleton, Valeria Esquivel, Kristin Fox, Natasha Gandhi, Katherine Gannett, Frances Gardner, Michelle L. Gatton, Elizabeth T. Gershoff, Jean Golding, Leah Goldmann, Anne M. de Graaff, Alessandra Guedes, Andrea Harris, Natasha Hollis, Emma Howarth, Zuhayr Kafaar, Andrea Kaufmann, Huma Kidwai, Melissa Kimber, Sunita Kishor, Louise Knight, Howard Kress, Michael Lambert, Cayleigh Lawrence, Ha Thi Hai Le, Soraya Lester, Lezanne...

The Report’s statistical resources relied on the expertise of the leading international data-providers in their specialized fields – UNICEF, UN Women and UNFPA. We express our special gratitude to Ilhom Akobirshoev and A.K. Nandakumar, who provided intellectual and statistical support for the econometric imputation exercise conducted for this Report. We are particularly thankful to Peter Adamson, Carmen Barroso, Susan Bissell, Maria Calivis, Juncal Plazoola Castano, Ted Chaiban, Andrew Claypole, Florence Gaspar, Geeta Rao Gupta, Saraswathi Menon, Theresa Kilbane, Milorad Kovacevic, Shahreshoub Razzavi, Joanna Rubinstein, Rachel Snow and Cornelius Williams, who provided valuable technical and other feedback on the statistical measures used in the Report.

Our Global Associates helped us to build on the academic learning with opportunities to engage with diverse actors across different regions of the world. Victoria Schmidt and Azamut Shambilo brought perspectives from Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Olaya Hanashiroy and Oscar Vilhena Vieira facilitated discussions in Latin America, Bernadette Madrid and Ravi K. Verma infused East and South Asian perspectives, respectively, and Theophane Nikyema collaborated with us closely from Eastern Africa. We owe them a debt of gratitude for their unwavering solidarity and support. In East Asia, Stephen Blight, Irene Cheah, Michael P. Dunne, Lauren Rumble, Sarah Norton Staal and others took our work forward with other research institutions in the region to create a new network for applied research. Other participants at the regional meetings are too numerous to list here, but their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. Detailed participant lists are available on our website at: http://www.knowviolenceinchildhood.org/about/download.

Other close partners who we gratefully acknowledge include Jo Boyden, Sarah Cook, Florence Martin, and Joanna Rubinstein. They were always available for advice and inputs, and contributed in immeasurable ways to the Initiative. The UNICEF Office of Research – Innocenti also organized a key meeting that informed our work, exploring pathways between social protection and violence-prevention. Manuel Eisner, Berit Kieselbach, Baroness Doreen Massey, Catherine Maternowska and Christopher Mikton are owed special mention for formative discussions at different stages of our work.
Many people helped us as reviewers of the Report. In addition to several of the people listed above, we would like to acknowledge Ramatu Bangura, Claudia Cappa, Michael Gibbons, Maureen Greenwood-Basken, Kendra Gregson, Rodrigo Guerrero, Ghazal Keshavarzian, Brigette de Lay, Anna Maembe, Siddiquir Osmani, Christina Polzot and colleagues at Oxfam, Vivek Singh and Aisha Yousaafzai, who responded positively to our request for review and encouraged us towards completion. Others offered us platforms to present our work. Britta Holmberg and Paula Guillet de Monthoux organized an early dissemination opportunity in Stockholm, Sweden. Rinchen Chopel offered advice and a platform for collaboration.

UNICEF has been a key partner in our work. At headquarters, we would like to acknowledge the support and guidance of Claudia Cappa, Ted Chaiban, Madeline Eisner, Theresa Kilbane and Cornelius Williams. Stephen Blight and Kendra Gregson supported outreach in East Asia and the Pacific and South Asia. At UNICEF India, we would like to specially acknowledge Javier Aguilar, Louis-Georges Arsenault, Joachim Theis and Serena Tommasino.

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We received tremendous support from our host institutions, FXB USA, Inc., the Public Health Foundation of India (PHFI), and the University of Delaware. We specially acknowledge Silvana Paternostro and Karina Weinstein at FXB USA, K. Srinath Reddy and Sutapa Neogi at PHFI, and Nancy Guerra and the team at the University of Delaware. Without the support of many individuals in all these organizations, the Initiative would not have succeeded in fulfilling its objectives in the time-frame we had set ourselves. A special thanks to Poonam Muttreja and the Population Foundation of India, New Delhi, for housing the team.

The Know Violence in Childhood team brought together exceptional individuals at different points of our journey, all of whose contributions have been invaluable. We acknowledge the important contributions of Mark Aurigemma, Nina Badgaiyan, Sheena Chadha, J.J. Divino, Soumya Kapoor Mehta, Neeta Misra, Sudeshna Mukherjee, Jonathan Rich and Bhagya Sivaraman, in India and the USA. Julie Harrod and Anwesha Rana provided professional copy-editing services. The teams at Addictive Media, Lopez Design and NDTV Ltd. in New Delhi, helped us realize the communications potential of our collective outputs.

We owe much to Peter Stalker who has played a vital role in shaping this Report.

Lastly, my deepest personal gratitude is reserved for A.K. Shiva Kumar and Baroness Vivien Stern who provided untiring and dynamic leadership.

Ramya Subrahmanian
Executive Director
Know Violence in Childhood
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACRONYM</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAF</td>
<td>Corporación Andina de Fomento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCTV</td>
<td>Closed-circuit TV</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Centers for Disease Control and Prevention</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEE-CIS</td>
<td>Central Eastern Europe-Commonwealth of Independent States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CELCIS</td>
<td>Centre for Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Convention on the Rights of the Child</td>
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<tr>
<td>DHS</td>
<td>Demographic and Health Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAP</td>
<td>East Asia and the Pacific</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESA</td>
<td>Eastern and Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross domestic product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNI</td>
<td>Gross national income</td>
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<td>GSHS</td>
<td>Global School-based Student Health Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>HBSC</td>
<td>Health Behaviour in School-aged Children Study</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human immunodeficiency virus infection/acquired immune deficiency syndrome</td>
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<td>IC</td>
<td>Industrialized Countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>ITU</td>
<td>International Telecommunications Union</td>
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<td>LAC</td>
<td>Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
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<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>MICS</td>
<td>Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>South Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDG</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goal</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEL</td>
<td>Social emotional learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN SRSG</td>
<td>United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>United Nations Development Fund</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<td>UNGA</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
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<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
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<td>UNHCHR</td>
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<td>UNSD</td>
<td>United Nations Statistical Division</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>US Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>VAC</td>
<td>Violence against Children</td>
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<td>VIC</td>
<td>Violence in Childhood</td>
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<td>WCA</td>
<td>Western and Central Africa</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
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ENDING VIOLENCE IN CHILDHOOD
Children are all too often victims of persistent violence. But this need not be the case: concerted efforts and collective action can end violence in childhood within a single generation.

Stark violence – the violence of news headlines – is just the tip of the iceberg. Hundreds of thousands of children are caught up with armed forces and groups, forced to flee (often alone) from war, exposed to abuse in refugee camps, or trafficked into labour or sexual exploitation. These extreme manifestations of violence are the cumulative outcomes of children being routinely exposed to neglect and abuse.

Many millions of children all over the world are subjected to violence in their everyday lives. Such violence takes place in homes, in families, in schools, in institutions and on city streets – where they can be subject to all manner of violence, whether in the form of beating, bullying, corporal punishment, sexual violence or even murder. For many children, there is no safe place.

Estimates generated by Know Violence in Childhood suggest that in 2015, at least three out of every four of the world’s children – 1.7 billion – had experienced interpersonal violence in a previous year, regardless of whether they lived in rich countries or poor, in the global North or the global South.\(^1\) (FIGURE 1) This figure includes 1.3 billion boys and girls who experienced corporal punishment at home, 261 million schoolchildren who experienced peer violence, and 100,000 children who were victims of homicide in the past year. In addition, it includes 18 million adolescent girls aged 15–19 who had ever experienced sexual abuse at some point in their childhood, and 55 million adolescent girls in the same age-group who had experienced physical violence since age 15. While each form of violence differs in terms of scale and impact, all can have harmful effects. Such violence is often hidden in the mesh of familial and intimate relationships.

This Report argues that preventing hidden forms of everyday violence can create the foundations for children to lead fuller, richer and more peaceful lives. In 2006, the landmark World Report on Violence against Children called for the prioritization of violence-prevention.\(^2\) Since then, there has been a groundswell of progress\(^3\) and many nations have taken action.\(^4\)

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**FIGURE 1: Global burden of violence against children, 2015.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violence Type</th>
<th>Children Abused (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corporal Punishment 1-14 years</td>
<td>1,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullying 13-15 years</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Fights 13-15 years</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Violence: Adolescent girls 15-19 years</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Violence: Adolescent girls 15-19 years</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Homicide 0-19 years</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children abused in a previous year (in millions)

Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.
The UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) embed in their vision the rights of children to lead lives free of violence and fear, providing a unique opportunity for concerted global action. The INSPIRE technical package of strategies, endorsed by ten international agencies, is yet another example of collaborative efforts to end violence against children. This momentum needs to be accelerated and sustained.

Global efforts to address violence against children have been inspired and driven by the 1989 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which has been ratified by all but one UN member state. In keeping with the spirit of the CRC, this Report uses the term “violence” to cover behaviour that can result in physical or psychological harm for children. This includes violence witnessed by children.

Most forms of violence manifest in inter-connected ways in children’s lives – spilling across settings including the home, residential institutions, schools, online and in the community – and throughout childhood. A substantial number of children are “poly-victimized” – that is, exposed to more than one form of violence in more than one setting.

This Report therefore uses the term “violence in childhood” to highlight these inter-connections of experience and impact. It draws attention to the links between violence experienced by children and violence against women. Violence against children often co-occurs with attacks on their mothers. Witnessing family violence – which almost always victimizes women – can leave significant though invisible scars on children.

This Report specifically addresses issues of inter-personal violence against children: violence perpetrated by adults and caregivers, and peer violence (perpetrated by children against children). It does not address forms of violence such as female genital mutilation/cutting, which are specific to some communities and regions. Two further categories are outside the scope of this Report: self-directed violence (such as suicide and self-harm), and collective violence (inflicted by entities such as states, organized political parties, terrorist organizations and other armed groups). Finally, this Report does not address issues related to slavery, exploitation and trafficking, which have been the subject of other recent global reports.
The magnitude of violence

Reliable data on inter-personal violence in childhood are difficult to obtain. This is partly because such violence takes place within relationships and is hidden by a strong culture of silence. Fearing potential stigma or retribution, many children and women are reluctant to report abuse. There are also significant gaps in the availability of comparable international data. Most widely reported are data on child homicide rates which are available for 172 countries. Data on bullying in schools is available for 106 countries, and on physical fights for 104 countries. There are 77 countries that have collected information on corporal punishment at home. Forty-two countries have data on physical violence experienced by adolescent girls since age 15, and 40 countries on sexual violence ever experienced by adolescent girls (aged 15–19). Only six countries report data on male experience of physical violence since age 15, and four report on sexual violence ever experienced by adolescent boys (aged 15–19). There are 91 countries that report data on physical and sexual violence against women.

The extent of data gaps makes forming an integrated view of childhood violence a challenge. Yet without such an integrated view, establishing a global conversation about ending violence is not easy. Know Violence in Childhood has therefore estimated the scale of childhood violence globally and across regions.

To address the problem of data gaps, Know Violence in Childhood has used the econometric method of multiple imputation to arrive at national estimates of missing values of prevalence rates for six indicators of violence against children: child homicide rate, corporal punishment at home, violence among peers (an indicator each on bullying and physical fights) and violence experienced by adolescent girls (physical violence since age 15 and forced sexual violence including in childhood). In addition, values have been imputed where national data were missing for violence against women.

The picture of childhood violence that emerges is disturbing. Millions of children experience inter-personal violence across all regions of the world. (FIGURE 2)

In 2015, child homicide rates (0-19 years) varied across regions of the world as follows:

- **West and Central Africa**: Child homicide rate 0.099
- **Eastern and Southern Africa**: 0.064
- **Middle East and North Africa**: 0.023
- **South Asia**: 0.023
- **Central and Eastern Europe/CIS**: 0.016
- **East Asia and the Pacific**: 0.015
- **Latin America and the Caribbean**: 0.113
- **Industrialized Countries**: 0.016

The above data show that child homicide rates are highest in West and Central Africa, followed by Eastern and Southern Africa, Middle East and North Africa, and South Asia. The lowest rates are seen in Central and Eastern Europe/CIS and East Asia and the Pacific. The data for Latin America and the Caribbean and Industrialized Countries are higher than the average, indicating a higher incidence of child homicide in these regions.

Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>% of girls aged 15-19 who ever experienced sexual abuse including in childhood</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern and Southern Africa</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West and Central Africa</td>
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<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
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<td>Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrialized Countries</td>
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</table>

% of girls aged 15-19 who ever experienced sexual abuse including in childhood

Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.

Use of violence to discipline children was widespread across all global regions. In 2015, a majority of children – three out of every four in the age-group 1-14 years – had experienced violent discipline (psychological aggression or physical punishment) in the past month. Nearly one child in two (58 per cent) in the industrialized countries had experienced some form of violent disciplining at home.

The extent of bullying in schools varied across regions of the world. Nearly one in three children reported being bullied at least once in the past two months in schools across industrialized countries and Latin America and the Caribbean. On the other hand, almost every other child had been bullied in schools across Africa.

Unlike other forms of inter-personal violence, the variation across regions in the prevalence rates of physical fights in schools was relatively small. The proportion of children aged 13-15 who reported being involved in a physical fight in school one or more times during the past 12 months ranged from 24 per cent in East Asia and the Pacific to 45 per cent in West and Central Africa.

Of all forms of inter-personal violence, physical and sexual violence against adolescent girls varied the most across regions. The proportion of girls aged 15-19 who experienced any physical violence since age 15 was the lowest in industrialized countries and in Central and Eastern Europe–Commonwealth of Independent States, and the highest in West and Central Africa, where more than one-third of girls aged 15–19 had experienced some form of physical violence.

Sexual violence against girls was most prevalent in Africa where more than one in every ten adolescent girls aged 15–19 had experienced some form of sexual violence in their lifetimes. Adolescent girls were least sexually abused in the industrialized countries and in Latin America and the Caribbean. (FIGURE 3)

Children also often suffer violence at the hands of peers, family and strangers as a result of prejudice and discrimination. For instance:
Overview

Violence features in every stage of childhood, from prenatal to age 18, and is experienced differently by boys and girls.

- **Disability** – Children with disabilities, including autism spectrum disorders, and learning and intellectual disabilities, are particularly vulnerable to bullying as well as emotional and sexual violence.10
- **Appearance** – Children who are obese or wear spectacles are more likely to be bullied than their slimmer, non-bespectacled peers.11
- **Sexual orientation** – A high proportion of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students experience homophobic and transphobic violence, particularly in schools.12
- **HIV status** – Children and adolescents with HIV/AIDS can suffer extreme discrimination, stigma and punishment.13
- **Racial, ethnic or religious identity** – In many countries, children can be bullied and discriminated against, based on their race, religion or ethnic group.14

Unfortunately, the scale and magnitude of such violence against children are not known. There are very few nationally representative surveys that capture the experience of violence arising from prejudice and discrimination.

**Aggression in childhood**

Children can be exposed to violence at every stage in their growth, even within the womb. (FIGURE 4) However, both the nature of the violence and its potential impacts vary according to children’s level of emotional, cognitive, and physical development, as well as the family context and community in which they grow up. Analyses undertaken for this Report show that violence features in every stage of childhood, from prenatal to age 18, and is experienced differently by boys and girls.15

**FIGURE 4: Exposure to violence through stages of childhood.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prenatal and birth</th>
<th>Early childhood 0-4</th>
<th>Middle childhood 5-9</th>
<th>Early adolescence 10-14</th>
<th>Late adolescence 15-19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>HOME</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex-selective abortion</td>
<td>Witnessing domestic violence</td>
<td>Violent discipline at home</td>
<td>Sexual violence</td>
<td>Intimate partner violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessing intimate partner violence</td>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>Corporal punishment at school</td>
<td>Bullying by peers at school</td>
<td>Sexual violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Witnessing domestic violence</td>
<td>Physical fights at school</td>
<td>Physical violence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bullying by peers at school</td>
<td>Physical fights at school</td>
<td>Physical violence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Physical fights at school</td>
<td>Witnessing domestic violence</td>
<td>Homicide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Know Violence in Childhood 2017.
As they grow older and enter school, children become more vulnerable to emotional and physical abuse from their peers.

**Prenatal period and birth** – During the prenatal period until birth, the health and well-being of the foetus and newborn child are inextricably bound up with that of the mother who during pregnancy may face physical, sexual or emotional violence from her intimate partner or others. On average, between 4 and 12 per cent of women had been physically abused by an intimate partner during pregnancy in a majority of countries for which data are available. There is also a risk of sex-selective abortion – particularly in societies that undervalue girls and discriminate against women.66

**Early childhood** (0–4 years) – As infants, children are exposed to the most serious crime – murder. Around one in every five homicide victims among children is below the age of four. Most are killed by their caregivers: for children under one year, the offender is likely to be the mother; for older children, the offender is more likely to be the father.

Much of the physical violence against children by their caregivers takes the form of corporal punishment. The extent of such discipline varies considerably around the world. Physical violence tends to be higher for younger age groups and then tapers off: at age two, between 55 and 60 per cent of girls and boys experience physical violence.17

**Middle childhood** (5–9 years) – Schoolchildren of all ages are subject to corporal punishment which, compared with parental corporal punishment, is more likely to involve the use of objects, such as canes. A study across four countries found

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**FIGURE 5: Emotional and physical violence is high amongst boys and girls in school, 6-19 years.**

Notes: Data sources: GSHS, HBSC, PIRLS, TIMSS and systematic review publications. Model shows children’s self-reported exposure. Pooled prevalence estimates at ages 6, 7 and 19 years are from unadjusted meta-analyses, all others are adjusted meta-regression estimates. To read bar graph: age of the child is on the y-axis; prevalence of each form of violence is on the x-axis. Prevalence corresponds to the distance of the bar along the x-axis for boys (to the left), and girls (to the right). Forms of violence are overlaid; and the black bars are a 95% confidence interval. For example, for boys aged 8 years, the prevalence of physical violence is 54% (95%CI: 43-65) and the prevalence of emotional violence is 74% (95%CI 63-84%).

Source: Devries and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.
that among children aged eight, the proportion witnessing a teacher administering corporal punishment in the past week was over half in Peru and Viet Nam, three-quarters in Ethiopia and over nine-tenths in India.18

As they grow older and enter school, children become more vulnerable to emotional and physical abuse from their peers. Both boys and girls experience emotional violence – for which the prevalence rate rises to nearly 80 per cent by the age of nine, then declines between ages 12 and 16, and rises again to over 80 per cent until age 19. There is less physical violence but this is notably higher for boys, peaking between the ages of eight and 11 at over 50 per cent. For girls, physical violence from other students begins at around age six, with a prevalence of 25-30 per cent. (FIGURE 5)

Adolescence (10–19 years) – Puberty (the biological onset of adolescence) brings changes to children’s bodies, sexuality, capacities and agency, and social relationships.19 Puberty also opens up opportunities, exposes children to risks and makes them vulnerable to intimate relationships, early marriage and childbearing. With the earlier onset of puberty than in previous generations, adolescence has become a longer period of transition from childhood to adulthood.20

The period of adolescence can be further divided into two phases: early and late.

Early adolescence (10–14 years) – During this stage, children become more independent, and interact with wider groups of people. Boys are more likely than girls to be physically attacked or suffer intentional and unintentional injuries. There is also an increase in fighting between children, sometimes with knives or firearms. Early adolescence is also the age at which children become vulnerable to online violence via cyberbullying, sites that promote anorexia, suicide and sexual assault, “sexting”, pornography and grooming for sexual exploitation.21

Late adolescence (15–19 years) – Girls continue to experience corporal punishment and sexual abuse by parents, caregivers or family members, and teachers. However, they are now also increasingly vulnerable to the kind of aggression directed towards older women in general. Boys, on the other hand, remain vulnerable to physical attacks by family members, teachers, friends and acquaintances, and are at greater risk of dying from homicide.22

Sexual violence in adolescence

Adolescence sees a rise in sexual violence, particularly for girls. Girls and boys in cultures throughout the world are treated differently from birth onward, but at puberty this gender divide increases significantly. During adolescence, opportunities tend to expand for boys and contract for girls. As boys begin to take advantage of new privileges reserved for men, girls endure new restrictions that are applied to women. Boys gain autonomy, mobility, opportunity and power (including power over girls’ sexual and reproductive lives), while girls are correspondingly deprived.

Girls are increasingly socialized into gender roles and are under pressure to conform to conventional notions of masculinity and femininity.23 Sexual abuse can also occur with early and forced marriages, as well as in dating relationships. In some countries, mostly in Africa, nearly 30-40 percent of adolescent girls become victims of sexual violence before the age of 15.24

Far less is known about sexual violence experienced by boys, probably because in many societies boys who report being victims of such abuse are more likely to be stigmatized than girls, and are less likely to report it.25 Recent surveys suggest that up to 20 per cent of adolescent boys in countries such as Haiti and Kenya may be facing sexual violence by the age of 19.26

Adolescence sees a rise in sexual violence, particularly for girls.
The perpetration of sexual violence can also start in adolescence. According to recent surveys, a relatively large proportion of men report that they were teenagers (younger than 15 in some cases) when they first perpetrated rape.

Impacts of violence in childhood

While each form of violence differs in terms of scale and impact, all can have harmful effects. Violence in childhood can be deeply destructive.

The damage goes far beyond immediate trauma and fear, extending through many aspects of a child’s life, affecting her or his health and education, and restricting future opportunities. Violence can lead to depression and behavioural problems, post-traumatic stress, anxiety and eating disorders. These impacts on mental health can make young people more vulnerable to substance abuse, and poor reproductive and sexual health.

Another consequence is poor educational achievement. Children with a history of maltreatment may have impaired mental well-being that affects their academic performance. Learning can also be impaired by corporal punishment, since children who fear being physically harmed by their teachers tend to dislike or avoid school. Another major concern at school is bullying: bullied adolescents miss more school and have poorer school achievements than non-bullied peers. Bullying also adversely affects the bully – both bully and victim can have significantly lower academic achievement and poorer health than their peers.

The impacts of childhood violence can extend well into adulthood. Many social, health and economic problems can be traced back to childhood experiences. Young people who have experienced sexual abuse often feel shame and blame themselves, and can be at greater risk of repeated suicide attempts. But there are also implications for perpetration: children who bully at school, for example, are more likely to be violent later in life.

Adults whose health and education have been compromised by childhood violence may also struggle to find secure employment. Violence in childhood can be transmitted through generations – from parent to child or sibling to sibling – although only a small proportion of those who witness or experience abuse and violence go on to perpetrate violence as adults.

Intergenerational transmission can start even before birth. The most immediate risk for the unborn child is domestic violence against the mother by a partner, spouse or other member of the family. Whether they are suffering or witnessing abuse, children who grow up with violence in the home learn early and powerful lessons about the use of violence to dominate others.

Beyond the human costs, there are also financial consequences. Violence in childhood is wrong in itself, and must be eliminated. But governments can be reassured that doing the right thing also makes financial sense. It has been estimated that the annual costs of physical, sexual and psychological violence against children (measured indirectly as losses in future productivity) are 2–5 per cent of global GDP – in the highest scenario, the figure rises to 8 per cent, or about US$7 trillion.

Childhood violence and human development

From a human development perspective, all acts of violence, more so against children, are a violation of human dignity and human rights.
Violence can be prevented even at low levels of income, so low-income countries need not wait to become rich before ending violence in childhood.

An essential starting point for State action is robust and regular measurement, which in turn can help to track progress towards ending violence over time. Ideally, such measurement should cover children across different age groups and record all forms of violence across different settings. The requirement for countries to report on progress relating to the SDG indicators provides an excellent opportunity for governments to strengthen their data gathering systems on violence.

Composite indices, like the human development index can help to draw public attention to critical concerns of society. A newly constructed Violence in Childhood (VIC) Index commissioned for this Report seeks to do precisely this, using available and imputed data across several indicators. The Index combines indicators covering two dimensions: violence against children and violence against women. The inclusion of the latter is in recognition of the harmful effects on children of witnessing violence against women, and reinforces the importance of ending domestic violence as a necessary component of efforts to end violence in childhood.

Computing the VIC Index allows for examining country-level associations of childhood violence with broader macro-level indicators of human development. For instance, according to the human development perspective, higher levels of per capita income do not necessarily imply greater freedoms for people. This is so with freedom from fear or ending childhood violence as well. Similarly, the Index allows for extending the analysis of childhood violence to the performance of nations on different dimensions of human development including respect for human rights, rule of law, and good governance.

The VIC Index shows that violence in childhood occurs in every country, no matter how rich or poor. The weak association between a country’s income level and magnitude of childhood violence is revealed in the distribution of countries according to their ranking on the VIC Index and their GNI per capita. (FIGURE 6) The two curves reveal that the disparity among countries is much greater in income than in childhood violence. In other words, there is no predictable association between the level of per capita income in a country and childhood violence.

**FIGURE 6: Disparity between countries is much greater in income than in the VIC Index.**

The chart shows two separate distribution of countries. The upper curve shows their ranking according to VIC Index and the lower curve represents their ranking according to GNI per capita. The two curves reveal that disparity among countries is much greater in income than in VIC Index. There is no predictable association between the level of per capita income in a country and childhood violence.

Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.
association between a country’s level of per capita income and the level of violence in childhood.

This analysis has two important implications for policy makers. First, that violence can be prevented even at low levels of income, so low-income countries need not wait to become rich before eliminating violence in childhood. Second, high-income countries cannot afford to become complacent: violence against women and children can persist in spite of greater prosperity, improved standards of living, and better living conditions.

The VIC Index also helps establish that childhood violence is lower in countries that are committed to a human development agenda and that prioritize child health and education, particularly for girls. Violence in childhood thus tends to be lower in countries that have higher rates of child survival and where more girls are going to secondary school. (FIGURE 7) (FIGURE 8)

Ending violence in childhood is likely to become a reality when nations achieve greater political stability with a higher respect for rule of law – countries with better governance are more likely to end violence in childhood. The strong association, for instance, between the VIC Index and the Fragile State Index confirms that situations of conflict expose children to abuse and acts of violence. A similarly high correlation of the VIC Index with the World Bank’s governance indicators indicates that countries where governments are more effective in service delivery and where rights are better assured are more likely to reduce childhood violence.

Two clear messages emerge from the analysis using the VIC Index to highlight the close linkages between childhood violence and human development across countries. One, violence in childhood cannot be ended unless human rights and human development are accorded greater priority by nation-states.

**FIGURE 7:** Childhood violence tends to be lower in countries where more children under-5 survive.

**FIGURE 8:** Childhood violence tends to be lower in countries where more girls complete secondary education.

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Childhood violence is lower in countries that are committed to a human development agenda.


Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for *Know Violence in Childhood 2017*.
Two, development cannot be sustained unless the world makes a concerted effort to end childhood violence.

A multidimensional challenge

The starting point to end violence is a more informed understanding of its multiple dimensions. Violence emerges out of a complex interplay between individual aggression and more deeply rooted structural drivers and factors that increase the risks of violence. Some are individual factors, such as mental health issues and poor impulse control. Others may be relational, including marital or relationship stress and economic hardship. Still others may reflect broader social pressures, particularly in “fragile” communities. For instance, intimate partner violence is more common in households whose members suffer from poor mental health and substance abuse, compounded by unemployment and poverty – and in settings where there are high levels of social isolation and community violence.

Violence may not be directly caused by circumstances such as deprivation, inequality and injustice. Nevertheless, some of these factors may create the conditions for violence. For instance, in some countries of Latin America, community-based violence can emerge from the discrimination and stress caused by social and economic inequalities.

The risks may also be greater when social norms uphold violence as an acceptable way to express social control and power. Intimate partner violence, for example, is often associated with norms that reinforce men’s sexual entitlement and their right to control women, as well as norms that prioritize family privacy and shift blame on to the victims. Moreover, social and cultural norms such as taboos on sexuality can silence disclosure and contribute to the persistence of violence.

Children may be exposed to multiple forms of violence in many settings with overlapping risk factors. Ending violence in childhood thus requires a concerted and integrated effort in all contexts and at all levels.

Realizing children’s rights to a violence-free childhood

There is now better understanding of the extent and nature of the abuse to which children are exposed, and the implications for their development and well-being. The international community is therefore in a stronger position to act to end violence in childhood.

Such actions can be seen as an intrinsic component of a “rights revolution” which has extended the rule of law to cover violence within the most private of places – the home. The CRC encapsulates such aspirations and recognizes that children are the foundation for sustainable societies. Children are not objects to be cared for, but persons with rights of their own that must be articulated and enforced.

Children can, and often do, pursue many aspects of these rights themselves. Indeed, they often have a strong sense of fairness and justice. Interactions with older children reveal that they are not always passive victims in the face of violence. While some might seek help, others may be left with no options but to run away or use violence to defend themselves against the instigators. Very young children, however, may simply not have the ability to express themselves and, to that extent, may be helpless. Such children rely on responsible adults and on society to intervene.
Targets for ending violence against children

Target 16.2 end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children.

Target 5.2 eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.

Target 5.3 eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation.

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.

Target 4.7 ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge... (for) promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence.

Target 4.a provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.

Targets to reduce the impact of violence in families, communities and all settings

Target 16.1 significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.

Target 11.2 provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all.

Target 11.7 provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children.

Targets to ensure access to fair and effective institutions and to justice for all

Target 16.3 promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all.

Target 16.9 by 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration.

Target 16.a strengthen relevant national institutions, including through incorporation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime.
on their behalf. Moreover, even older children in many societies may not be allowed to express themselves without fear, or may not be taken seriously when they do.

The imperative of ending violence against children has now been recognized within the UN SDGs. While the CRC presents a vision and framework for the realization of child rights, the SDGs lay out the pathway for achieving these rights. Adopted by the UN in September 2015, the SDGs set targets for ending all forms of violence and related deaths, abuse, exploitation, trafficking and violence against children. The SDGs also explicitly embed children’s well-being in a wider framework of sustainable human development. (FIGURE 9)

Enhancing children’s capabilities

A human development approach provides an overarching framework within which to focus on what children are capable of doing or becoming in the real world. These capabilities would include, for instance, the capability to lead a long and healthy life, to be well-nourished, to enjoy bodily integrity and not be abused, and to engage in various forms of social interaction. They also include the capability to play, to laugh, to enjoy recreational activities, and more broadly, to enjoy childhood.

Childhood violence disrupts the formation of these capabilities. Violence breeds fear, violates the dignity and rights of children and robs them of the joys of childhood. Freedom from fear is as fundamental to life as freedom from want and freedom from hunger, and is essential for harnessing human potential. Both the CRC and the SDGs thus implicitly adopt a “human development” approach – paying attention to what children are capable of doing or becoming, and helping them realize their full potential.

Protecting children from violence is thus understood as a much broader obligation – for every state and society. The human development approach underscores the responsibility of the State for ending violence. Violence is not a private matter that should be left to families to resolve, but a matter of human rights that states have a duty to uphold. State intervention is also important because many acts of violence generate negative externalities for society as a whole.

Another reason for state intervention stems from the responsibility of the State to uphold constitutional commitments, including the need to preserve and protect the dignity of women and children. Laws banning corporal punishment or domestic violence need to be enacted and enforced because they reflect public recognition that harsh punishment impairs capabilities in a long-term and frequently irreversible way.

Prevention is possible. Governments are beginning to realize that even small measures to prevent violence can greatly improve children’s prospects, and also enhance the returns on existing investments in education and health. Many, have started to do so. Moreover, several campaigns, national and international, to end violence have been organized by a wide range of international organizations. These campaigns demonstrate that attitudes and social norms can – and do – shift over time, as exemplified by Sweden’s remarkable success story in reducing corporal punishment.

Prevention strategies

Experience from across the world demonstrates that violence in childhood can be prevented. Some previous approaches have been quite limited, dealing with violence primarily as series of separate
incidents, failing to recognize its deep social and economic roots. However, evidence shows that responses need to be more broadly-based, supporting parents and children while investing in more peaceful communities, schools and public services. This Report points to several promising strategies. These are clustered into three groups. (FIGURE 10)

Enhance individual capacities

Children may be raised in diverse living arrangements, with or without both biological parents. These arrangements may include living with extended family and kin networks, with non-family members such as employers, or with foster or adoptive parents. Some homes expose children to greater risks than others. For instance, violence can occur in both rich and poor households, but the risks are greater when families are under stress from poverty. Such stress can sap parents’ energy, as well as their sense of competence and control. Similarly, violence in the home is likely to be aggravated when parents suffer from depression and abuse substances such as drugs and alcohol. Children may also develop violent tendencies where parental or adult monitoring is weak, and adult caregivers serve as aggressive role models.

Equip parents and adult caregivers

Well-informed parents and caregivers can both prevent violence and create a nurturing environment free from fear for children to realize their full potential. Backed by knowledge and services, they can create safe, supportive and stimulating spaces for caregiving. Parents and adult caregivers should be made aware of both the impact of harsh discipline on their children and alternative ways to control children’s behaviour. They also need to be alert to their children’s safety.

Home visitation programmes, individual and group parenting programmes, and improved paediatric care have helped create positive approaches to parenting and reduce child maltreatment. Similarly, community mobilization and economic empowerment of parents (particularly women) combined with gender equality training have successfully reduced intimate partner violence. For instance, well-designed cash-transfer programmes can (by mitigating income deprivation) help to improve strained relationships that are exacerbated by economic uncertainty and hardship, and also reduce transactional sex among adolescent girls.

Empower children

Children must be at the heart of violence-prevention efforts. There may be several situations in a child’s everyday life when protective adults are not present. It is therefore important to build children’s capacities to think for themselves and act in their own interests. Well-designed pre-school programmes have succeeded in imparting appropriate cognitive, social-emotional, interpersonal and social skills. Well-structured school curricula and enrichment programmes that enhance self-awareness and improve self-management have reduced children’s vulnerability to victimization. Exposing children to ideas that challenge prevailing and unequal gender norms have helped prepare both boys and girls for equitable and violence-free intimate relationships. Such programmes have also shaped children’s attitudes, equipped them to deal with peer violence and discrimination, and enabled them to take responsible decisions. Services such as child helplines can provide children with direct, confidential counselling and support in the event of risk or exposure to violence.

Embed violence-prevention in institutions and services

Violence-prevention is not the sole responsibility of “child protection” services. Violence is interwoven into the everyday lives of children and women, so its prevention should be built into all of the institutions and services that address their everyday needs.

Prevent institutionalization

While growing up in stable, nurturing families is associated with the best outcomes for children, this is not always possible. For some children, family care is neither assured nor may it be in their best interests.

Millions of children live in institutions, despite the overwhelming evidence that institutional care denies children their rights and cannot meet their needs. Children in such institutions show negative cognitive outcomes including impaired growth and poor attachment, with placement at young ages and long duration of stay further increasing the risk of harm and negative impacts. Children in institutions are also at significantly greater risk of physical and sexual abuse than those in foster care or the general population. Children with disabilities are particularly at risk — they are often abandoned within institutions without stimulation or human contact, and often physically restrained.
Deinstitutionalization – taking children out of residential institutions and placing them into appropriate family-based care arrangements – is essential to ending violence against children. The UN Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children emphasize the responsibility of states to provide adequate family care through preventative and remedial services, such as promoting positive parent-child relationships, providing parenting classes and other social care services (including financial support, substance abuse treatment and services for children and families with disabilities). Most high-income countries have dismantled large-scale institutions, while many middle- and low-income countries are in the process of reforming their alternative care systems to support family-based alternative care.

Transform school cultures

Violence is influenced by a school's ethos. Certain classroom, teacher and school characteristics may inhibit or fuel bullying and physical fights. A school that tolerates unjust practices signals to the child that violence is acceptable. In some cases, this may happen because the schools and teachers themselves are under pressure. Teachers may exercise extreme authority to control the class and demand absolute obedience while taking out their frustrations on children.

Schools and other institutions should become centres of non-violence. They should discourage hierarchical systems that condone violent behaviour and bullying. After school and other programmes to stop bullying, prevent peer victimization and dating violence, as well as campaigns to end corporal punishment, offer many lessons for transforming the culture of schools.

The most effective response is a whole-school approach that treats violence as a symptom of a disturbed ecosystem and targets interventions at students, parents, teachers and classrooms, and the wider community. Experience also suggests that eliminating corporal punishment from schools, for instance, will require the support not just of teachers and the education sector but also the involvement of families, children, and community members.

Teachers should be at the centre of this transformation. In addition to preventing violence, teachers need to develop a good understanding of child development and acquire non-cognitive “soft” skills including the ability to monitor and manage feelings, control impulses and develop positive behaviour. Governments should also address the problem of under-resourcing, both in terms of human resources and finances that schools face in many countries. This can go a long way towards mitigating stress felt by teachers and equipping them with appropriate skills.

Ensure online safety

Children's access to and use of internet and mobile technologies is rising around the world. The internet offers children many new possibilities for learning and growth. Children can use the internet to circumvent rigid social hierarchies, seek out information and amplify their voices. The anonymity of the internet also provides opportunities for girls and sexual minorities to find vital information and connect with others.

Nevertheless, digital violence such as phone or email persecution, harassment on social networks and objectionable recording of videos for "sextortion" expose children to violence, trauma and aggression. Online violence is linked with offline violence. Indeed, most aspects of a child's experience have an offline dimension. For instance, online
violence (including sexual harassment of women and girls) is often an extension of offline violence.92

Children are also vulnerable to random targeting by perpetrators of online violence.91 “Grooming” occurs when a stranger “befriends” a young person online with the intent of physical or sexual exploitation.94 Additionally, even though viewing child pornography does not entail contact with children, it does involve real child victims and perpetuates a wider culture of violence against children.95

Online systems have been used proactively to promote children’s safety on- and offline. Results are better when parents and teachers are able to support children with appropriate guidance. Several programmes have strengthened children’s capacities to use the internet to their advantage in an age-appropriate way.96 Online technology applications have been used to enable girls and women to map and create alerts about rape. They have also been used to record and raise awareness about sexual harassment of girls and women online.97 Mobile phone technology is helping to increase public safety for women.98

The internet can also be used to make institutions more accountable for protecting children’s rights. Crowd-sourcing websites and services for recording cases of violence and abuse against children demonstrate the potential for coordinated responses from child protection and other services.99,100

Prioritize violence-prevention in health services

Healthcare professionals have a special role to play in preventing childhood violence, because children come into contact with healthcare systems even before they enter the world. These professionals are ideally placed to prevent childhood violence by ensuring early detection, early response, and appropriate rehabilitation following trauma.

Childhood violence can be effectively prevented when health professionals, whether offering emergency, antenatal or primary health care, are equipped with standard screening tools and trained to arrange appropriate referral and treatment if they detect exposure to violence and trauma.100 For example, emergency services and primary-care providers are likely to see children who have been injured, or women who have been raped. In high-income countries, such events typically trigger support from a range of specialized services, including those for child protection.

Health systems are more effective in preventing violence when services offer links to safe spaces for women and children.102 Violence-prevention is also better when perpetrators, particularly young perpetrators, can access counselling services for controlling aggression. Prevention is also promoted when information is collected in a safe and confidential way, and used to inform policies, monitor services and improve responses.

Eliminate the root causes of violence

Societies and governments should address many of the root causes of violence in order to establish violence-free communities and change adverse social norms.

Free communities from violence

Both rural and urban communities can foster violence. While cities are engines of prosperity and offer better opportunities for health, education and employment than rural areas, rapid urbanization in particular has contributed to high levels of violence. Parts of many cities present major risks.103 The highest rates of violence are typically found in neighbourhoods...
with low levels of social cohesion and few informal systems of social regulation and control. This creates fear and mistrust, especially among young people. Under these circumstances, they may be attracted to gangs which offer them a sense of belonging.

Young people living and working on the streets are particularly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. They are often stigmatized as juvenile delinquents, and their presence on the street is frequently criminalized. Public spaces may also pose risks of sexual violence for girls, often leading to school dropout and reinforcing cultural practices such as early marriage.

Violence thrives in communities controlled by criminal organizations, street gangs, vigilantes and paramilitary groups. There is ample evidence, particularly from Latin America, of strategies that reduce violence by strengthening systems of formal justice supplemented with community-based mediation. Local authorities can target hotspots with a range of services and resources, offer young people more productive outlets for their energy, and strengthen community cohesion. Disputes can be resolved through formal justice institutions, community-based mediation and arbitration, particularly in marginalized neighbourhoods. Police can work effectively in partnership with communities to help increase levels of trust as well as the reporting and prevention of crime and violence.

Reshaping the physical environment to create safe public spaces can help reduce violence. An important principle is to design streets, parks, bus stops, sports fields, squares and parking lots according to the safety needs of women and children. In addition to proper lighting and signage, safe community spaces should have clear, well-kept paths and good visibility with low, wide sidewalks for strollers, wheelchairs and walkers, and easy access to clean, secure, child-friendly toilets. Offering people easy access to services and employment opportunities via public transport links that connect parks, libraries and community centres to low-income neighbourhoods can reduce stress and frustration.

FIGURE 11: Countries where boys and girls (aged 15–19) justify men beating their wives or partners are less likely to end violence in childhood.

Source: Shiva Kumar and others 2017 for Know Violence in Childhood 2017.
Regulating firearms and alcohol abuse is equally important for preventing violence. States should ban gun use by children, starting with laws that prescribe the appropriate minimum age – at least 18 years, or more – for possessing or purchasing a gun. Similarly, a comprehensive alcohol policy should make alcohol more expensive and establish and enforce a minimum age for purchase.112

Change adverse social norms

In many societies, social norms may legitimize acts of violence.113 Such behaviour becomes the accepted or even expected response in cases of small disputes, perceived slights or insults. Norms based on patriarchy reinforce male authority and demand women’s submission to that authority. It is not surprising that a significant proportion of women in low- and middle-income countries agree that wife-beating by a partner is justified.114 Children also absorb these norms especially when it comes to the justification for men beating their wives and partners. (FIGURE 11)

In contexts where violence is normalized, any failure on the part of a victim to respond in self-defence may be seen as a sign of weakness, with an associated risk of further victimization.115 Parents may even expect teachers to discipline their children as a way of reinforcing compliant behaviour in the home.116 The use of violence to discipline children belonging to disadvantaged socio-economic communities that lack social power is often normalized as a way to support children’s learning and development.117 Norms that discourage homosexuality may lead adolescents to engage in self-harm and even commit suicide.118

Social norms may appear difficult to change, but in fact norms on violence are constantly shifting. Beliefs and norms are not rigid. Norms that endorse physical punishment of children may now be weakening. Globally, only around three in ten adults now believe that physical punishment is necessary to properly raise a child.119 Countries with lower levels of childhood violence tend to have a positive attitude towards women and greater respect for gender equality. Both men and women in these countries believe less in the use of physical punishment to “discipline” children and wives.120

Committed community activists and opinion leaders are known to make a difference, as shown by successful peer influence programmes that impart specific skills for preventing violence to volunteers who themselves might have been involved in acts of violence. Such volunteers often emerge as trusted and credible community leaders and find themselves in a strong position to persuade others. Public opinion is steadily moving against bullying, corporal punishment and other forms of abuse.

In all such cases, there comes a “tipping point” when an idea gains sufficient momentum and rapidly proliferates to become a new social norm. The move, for instance, by a single teacher or a group of respected teachers to stop using corporal punishment in the classroom can snowball into a wider movement, especially when other teachers see improvements in attendance rates and student grades.121

Enacting and enforcing appropriate laws are also necessary to change social norms. Governments should repeal discriminatory laws, stringently enforce positive laws and introduce new legislation to reduce the power inequalities underpinning violence against women and children. Such legislation would include measures to promote equal
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inheritance, equal rights in marriage and assure childcare support. It should also include the effective regulation of alcohol and firearms.

**Essential public action**

Many positive benefits can accrue to children who grow up in a non-violent world, free from fear and insecurity, and surrounded by caring adults and friendly peers.

Broadly speaking, urgent actions to prevent childhood violence are needed along three critical fronts. (FIGURE 12)

**Break the silence**

Breaking the silence around childhood violence is essential in order to prevent it. Violence needs to be made visible, using public forums and the media to reveal the magnitude of the problem, build awareness and educate the public.
Advocacy should draw particular attention to children who are particularly vulnerable because of their characteristics (such as sexual orientation, disability or ethnicity) and in particular contexts (such as humanitarian crises, including conflict and post-conflict situations).

Advocacy and communication should focus on highlighting forms of violence that are not socially sanctioned, such as rape, incest and other serious forms of abuse. Alternative approaches to disciplining and conflict-resolution should be prioritized and publicized. Gender and social norms that belittle the dignity and freedoms of women should be challenged. Closer cooperation between the movements concerned with violence against children and those concerned with violence against women can add further impetus to breaking the culture of silence around childhood violence.

Ending violence demands a strong action alliance between all stakeholders. To start with, support to national, regional and global movements to end violence in childhood must become a priority.

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**INSPIRE: The violence-prevention package**

In 2016, ten major international organizations and campaigns launched INSPIRE, an evidence-based resource package of seven strategies to end violence against children.

The seven strategies are:

- Implementation and enforcement of laws;
- Norms and values;
- Safe environments;
- Parent and caregiver support;
- Income and economic strengthening;
- Response and support services; and
- Education and life skills.

The package identifies a select group of strategies backed by the best available evidence to help countries, communities and other stakeholders, including the private sector, to intensify their efforts to end violence.

Additionally, INSPIRE emphasizes two important cross-cutting activities that help connect and strengthen the seven strategies. These are: intersectoral activities and coordination, emphasizing the roles of multiple sectors in coming together to develop an integrated platform of concerted actions to end violence; and monitoring and evaluation to track progress and ensure effective investments.

Source: WHO 2016.
social workers and police officers. Violence-prevention should be part of college curricula across disciplines – law, medicine, public health, social work – to create a workforce that is conscious of children’s vulnerability and equipped to address violence. Professional associations can also provide leadership on violence-prevention to their members.

Investing in violence-prevention can greatly increase the returns on existing investments in health, education and social services – and improve sustainability. Both national governments and donors – including bilateral agencies, multilateral agencies and foundations – should earmark dedicated and sufficient resources across sectors for preventing childhood violence, based on clearly articulated violence-prevention plans.

**Improve knowledge and evidence**

Implementing the violence-prevention agenda demands immediate actions to build knowledge, support research and encourage evaluation to bridge policy and practice.

Specialized research can throw light on the social determinants of violence against women and children – especially its linkages with social inequality, denial of freedoms, lack of opportunities, unequal access to resources, discrimination and culture. Useful insights can also be gained from economic analyses that illuminate the inter-connections between deprivation, inequalities and childhood violence. A thorough understanding of the gendered nature of violence and its links with gender inequality and gender roles, stereotypes and myths can help design effective strategies to protect women and girls. Boys remain vastly neglected even though there is growing evidence to suggest that, depending on their age and the setting, they experience considerable degrees of violence.

Well-designed studies can generate evidence to improve the functioning of the criminal justice and legal systems including better implementation of laws, legal responses to domestic and family violence across jurisdictions, and interactions between the police and child protection systems.

Operations research can offer useful insights into designing service responses that are culturally appropriate in reaching particularly vulnerable groups of women and children, and are at the same time efficient, effective and sustainable.

An explicit aim should be to encourage an evaluation culture using robust methodologies that combine quantitative and qualitative methods. This can build a better understanding of how change can be generated and sustained to end childhood violence.

Investing in violence-prevention can greatly increase the returns on existing investments in health, education and social services – and improve sustainability of human development.
The promise of a future free of violence

Children should grow up in a very different world by 2030 – the target year for the SDGs. Positive social norms should ensure freedom from fear. Domestic violence should become a scourge of the past. Enhanced social and economic security should enable parents, both mothers and fathers, to better care for their children. And finally, children should have safe spaces in which to live, play, study and travel. This is not a distant dream. It can be realized if efforts are made to prevent and end violence in childhood – starting now.

This is a promising moment for leaders, governments and communities across the world to make a significant difference in the lives of children and the future of societies. Even as the crises facing children across the world are increasingly apparent, so are the opportunities to prevent childhood violence. Working together can help the world realize the aspirations of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs of building a just, violence-free and equitable world for all – a world worthy of its children.
The establishment of the office of the UN Special Representative on Violence against Children at the global level, along with regional bodies, as well as the Special Rapporteurs on Children and Armed Conflict and the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, has led to increased global awareness and dialogue on the issue across multiple dimensions including conflict and sexual exploitation. Movements such as the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children have succeeded in getting countries to develop legislation that protects children’s rights. Alliances to address online violence, such as WeProtect, underscore the determination of a wide range of actors across public and private sectors to address cross-border threats to children posed by new technologies and rapidly expanding access to the internet. The End Violence campaign and the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children have given further impetus to global efforts to end violence against children.

Many governments have introduced legislation to prohibit corporal punishment. Thus far, 52 states have prohibited corporal punishment in all settings including the home. A further 54 states are committed to achieving a complete legal ban. To date, corporal punishment is fully prohibited in schools in 129 states, in penal institutions in 138 states, and in alternative care settings and day-care. And in 59 states corporal punishment is fully prohibited. More and more countries are ratifying the Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child. See Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children 2017.

The Report uses these estimated prevalence rates to arrive at the number of children across the world experiencing these different forms of violence in a year. See Shiva Kumar and others 2017.

The Fragile States Index ranks each country based on a sum of scores for 12 indicators, with each indicator scored on a scale of 0-10, 0 being the lowest intensity (most stable) and 10 being the highest intensity (least stable) creating a scale spanning 0-120. Indicators relate to various aspects of state stability and strength e.g. demographic pressures, refugees and internally displaced people, poverty, corruption and lack of representation, human rights and rule of law.

The Voice and Accountability rank reflects perceptions of the extent to which a country’s citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media.

The 2030 agenda was developed with the active participation of more than 800,000 children from around the regions, resulting in the inclusion of ending violence as an outcome area (See http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/sustainable/children-summit.html. Accessed 20 May 2017).

The SDGs are also in line with the “Whole Child” approach – developed by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) and the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) – which espouses that “each child, in each school, in each of our communities deserves to be healthy, safe, engaged, supported, and challenged.”

Mathews and others 2014. South Africa is widely acknowledged as a country that has invested in a broad-based violence prevention system. Besides a special Children’s Act (108) that falls under the Constitution of the country, it has enacted a law that aims to protect children in cases of domestic violence (the Domestic Violence Act); a law that categorizes sexual offences and sets out ages of consent to sexual activity (the Sexual Offences Act); and a Child Justice Act which regulates the criminal justice system in the country in a manner that cases pertaining to children accused of having committed offences are discussed separate from the system. It has also tried to achieve intersectoral coordination by means of the Children’s Act, mandating that all departments work together, under the guidance of a lead department, to implement the Act in an integrated manner.

There are several international campaigns run by United Nations agencies such as the ILO, UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNODC, UNWomen and WHO. Similarly, international civil society organizations such as ECPAT International, Girls not Brides, Oxfam, Plan International, Save the Children, and Together for Girls, and initiatives such as the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children and Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children, run powerful advocacy campaigns to keep the spotlight on childhood violence.

Sweden was the first country in the world to introduce a ban on corporal punishment in 1979. The Swedish ban on all forms of violent and emotionally abusive treatment of children can be seen as a result of legal reforms introduced as early as the late 19th century. The explicit ban on corporal punishment in home environments is considered a legal success, resulting in low (8 per cent) parental acceptance of corporal punishment along with reduced rates of serious abuse and assault as well as violent deaths compared with other industrialized countries. Parents in Sweden today are arguably a lot less likely to use physical punishment as part of parenting than 35 years ago, and are also less likely to do so compared to parents in most other countries. (See Leviner 2013).
71 Mathews and others 2015.
72 UNGA 2010.
73 UNGA 2010.
74 Greenberg and Partskhaldze 2014; Better Care Network and UNICEF 2015.
75 Naker 2017.
76 Menesini and Salmivalli 2017.
77 Symeonidis 2015.
79 Naker 2017; Espelage and others 2004; Cohen 2006; Gottfredson and others 2005; Freiberg 1999; Kasen and others 2004; Johnson 2009; Steffgen and others 2013; Karwowski 2008; Devries and others 2015.
80 Naker 2017; Parkes and Heslop 2013.
81 World Bank 2015.
82 Lenhart 2015.
83 UNESCO 2014.
84 Bachan and Raftree 2011.
85 Livingstone and Mason 2015.
86 See www.youngafricalive.com
87 ITU and UNESCO 2015.
88 Popadić and Kuzmanović 2013.
89 Sextortion is defined as “threats to expose a sexual image in order to make a person do something or for other reasons, such as revenge or humiliation”. See Wolak and Finkelhor 2016.
90 Livingstone and Smith 2014; SRSG 2014.
91 Livingstone and Bulger 2013.
92 ITU and UNESCO 2015.
94 UNICEF 2012.
95 Livingstone and Smith 2014; SRSG 2014.
96 UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre 2011.
97 See www.takebackthetech.net
98 Harrassmap in Egypt, and Township Mamas in South Africa.
99 Mattila 2011.
100 UNICEF 2012.
101 Resnick and others 2004.
102 Day and Pierce-Weeks 2013.
103 Braga 2015.
104 Muggah 2017.
105 Embleton 2017.
106 Action Aid 2011.
109 Carbonari and others 2017.
111 Villaveces 2017.
113 Lilleston and others 2017.
114 UNICEF 2014.
118 DiStefano 2008.
119 UNICEF 2014.
120 Shiva Kumar and others 2017.
121 Lilleston and others 2017.
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Overview


STATISTICAL TABLE
TABLE 1: Key indicators of inter-personal violence in childhood, 2015.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Corporal punishment at home* (%)</th>
<th>Peer violence in schools* (%)</th>
<th>Violence against adolescent girls* (%)</th>
<th>Child homicide rate (per 100,000) (0-19 years)</th>
<th>Violence against women* (15 years and above)</th>
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<sup>a</sup> values in italics denote imputed values.

#### Data Sources:
Know Violence in Childhood Commissioned Papers


If we are to build more peaceful societies, we must start with our children.

The time has come to end violence in childhood. This Report documents the scale of violence experienced by millions of the world’s children in their everyday lives and relationships – in their homes, schools and communities. It presents the latest evidence on the causes and the consequences of such violence, and demonstrates how it can be prevented.

The Report has been produced by the Know Violence in Childhood: A Global Learning Initiative. Researchers and experts from around the world have investigated this sensitive and difficult subject, which for too long has remained hidden or taboo. Their findings have been distilled into this Report, and as well as into academic publications and a comprehensive website.

The joyful experience of childhood should not be darkened by aggression and fear. Violence in childhood can be ended through concerted efforts. Prevention strategies should seek to enhance individual capacities, embed violence-prevention in institutions and services, and eliminate the root causes of violence. Public action must begin by breaking the silence that shrouds violence, strengthening violence-prevention systems, and improving knowledge and evidence.

"Every child deserves a childhood free from violence. Yet, this heinous crime of our society continues to remain a silent epidemic. Therefore, at a time when the world has shown its commitment to the new Sustainable Development Goals and ending all forms of violence against children, we need reports like this more than ever. This Report brings the knowledge that is important for the development of effective programmes to prevent and address violence and child abuse. This Report helps also to create a blueprint for collective action for change."

— Her Majesty Queen Silvia of Sweden

"Violence towards children not only devastates human beings when they are most delicate and vulnerable, it also leaves damages that last throughout people’s lives. By bringing out, through carefully analyzed statistics, the massive dimensions of this terrible phenomenon, and also by drawing attention to the remedial things that can be done to eradicate this evil, the authors of this extraordinarily important Report have put us hugely in their debt.”

— Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen

www.knowviolenceinchildhood.org