

A ticking time bomb of future harm: Lockdown, child abuse and future violence

Authors:

Dr Anthony Ellis, University of Salford

Prof Daniel Briggs, Universidad Europea, Madrid

Dr Anthony Lloyd, Teesside University

Dr Luke Telford, Staffordshire University

Abstract: The Covid-19 pandemic and the implementation of national lockdowns has generated significant changes in the citizenry's material realities. Although the efficacy of lockdown is yet to be determined, emerging evidence points to a litany of unintended harms such as increased child abuse and neglect. Indeed, reported incidences of child abuse in many countries across the world have increased exponentially as at-risk children are confined to their dwelling for significant periods of time with a violent perpetrator. Drawing on recently developed theories that indicate a mediated causal link between childhood trauma and a commitment to violent behaviour in later life, particularly in young men, this short article claims lockdown may be an unintended 'violence generating mechanism' that might potentially manifest itself in increased violent outbursts in the future. First, the article briefly outlines how lockdowns have impacted upon societies. It then explores the statistical upsurge in child abuse and neglect, including as far as Croatia, South Africa, Uganda, Nepal and the United Kingdom. The paper closes with a discussion of the empirical evidence that demonstrates a link between childhood trauma and violence in later life, concluding that lockdowns may act as a *ticking time bomb of future harm*.

Keywords: Covid-19, lockdown, child abuse, violence, trauma

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic represents the most significant global event so far in the 21st century and one that is likely to ignite considerable social and economic change within societies (Schwab and Malleret, 2020). Since the first confirmed cases in the Chinese city of Wuhan in December 2019, numerous states across the world have entered a prolonged period of profound crisis and uncertainty. At the time of writing, John Hopkins University has recorded almost 100 million cases of Covid-19 globally with in excess of 2 million deaths attributed to the disease. Initially, in the absence of effective treatments and vaccines, numerous states imposed a range of measures designed to reduce the transmission rate; social distancing, travel restrictions, self-isolation, curfews and face

masks have become part of daily existence for many. Despite the recent roll out of several approved vaccines in a number of states, fears about new variants of the virus mean that intermittent restrictions on social life may have to continue for some time.

Arguably the most dramatic and perhaps controversial measure is the implementation of lockdowns, which, despite the unintended harms that result, has yet to receive any efficacy evaluation (Herat, 2020; Sharma and Mahendru, 2020). Lockdowns curb peoples' freedoms, and - perhaps understandably as some argue in the current climate - were necessary as a means to break the chain of infection and allow health systems to cope with an anticipated steep rise in hospital admissions (Ferguson, 2020; Moser and Yared, 2020). However, lockdowns have not escaped criticism. On a policy-level, some have argued that lockdown pronouncements were underpinned by inadequate and poor-quality datasets as well as unreliable modelling (Kuhbandner et al., 2020). Furthermore, containment strategies adopted without careful consideration of national socio-economic and cultural contexts negatively impacted the efficacy of lockdown, both in terms of the emergence of significant social and economic hardship and the unsuccessful curtailment of virus transmission (Ghosh, 2020).

Lockdowns immediately remove people from their daily routines and thrust upon them a new set of material conditions. Even if some are able to cultivate coping mechanisms and new routines to deal with sudden change such as spending more time watching Netflix and online shopping (Briggs, et al. 2020; Mutz and Gerke, 2020), research so far has found generally increased stress and anxiety levels in a wide range of different social groups as a result of these measures (Marchetti et al., 2020; Shanahan et al., 2020; Stokes et al., 2020). The outbreak of Covid-19, and measures taken in response, have exacerbated pre-pandemic inequalities (Schwab and Malleret, 2020) and exposed the considerable differences between social groups, both in terms of their exposure to the virus and the detrimental impact of lockdown measures (see Ali et al. 2020; Briggs et al. 2020; Chiou and Tucker, 2020; Raghunath and Tan. 2020; Ramaswamy and Seshadri. 2020; van Dorn. 2020). For example, the lockdown in Italy – one of the worst affected countries in Europe – was followed by significant increases in poverty and inequality as many already-poor households went without both governmental support and food (Brunori et al. 2020).

Concern is growing as emerging evidence indicates that lockdowns have had unanticipated and underestimated costs, including contributing to projected increases in avoidable deaths as a result of diagnostic delays, increased mental health issues, increased

consumption of drugs and/or alcohol, and increased domestic abuse (Campbell, 2020; Green, 2020; Maringe et al, 2020; Petrowski et al., 2020). Without wanting to discount the significance of the former outcomes, it is the latter, violent abuse and neglect of children, to which we devote our attention in this short article.

Our contention is that recorded increases in the abuse and neglect of children - as both victims and witnesses - during the pandemic, should be considered part of a group of ‘violence generating mechanisms’ (Eisner and Nivette, 2020) with the potential to catalyse future forms of violence (also see Green, 2020). We begin by briefly reviewing the current work to date on child abuse and neglect during the Covid-19 pandemic period, giving particular attention to the impact of lockdowns, before discussing the possible generative nature of this abuse through existing theories addressing the relationship between early trauma and violence.

The secondary pandemic: Child abuse and neglect during Covid-19 lockdowns

Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, it was estimated that around one billion children and young people (aged 2-17) across the world had experienced physical, sexual or emotional violence or neglect (Hillis et al., 2016). The ensuing Covid-19 crisis and, in particular, measures taken because of it, have the potential to exacerbate this number, both in the short term (during the pandemic) and the medium to long term (as the trauma experienced by many of these children and young people later manifests itself in a reproduction of violence). This reflects what Green (2020: 1) calls the “*secondary pandemic of child neglect and abuse*” or the “*secondary harm being done to the adults of the future*”.

While Covid-19 lockdown measures may limit the risks for virus contagion, they have the potential to confine children to a domestic dwelling over a lengthy period of time with a violent perpetrator (Campbell, 2020). Indeed, The Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action (2020) warned that the impact of the pandemic risks increasing rates of child abuse, as well as the possibility of children experiencing neglect and/or witnessing violence between family members. Feminist research in particular has unequivocally demonstrated the dangers that are present within the familial home (Wykes and Welsh, 2009). Despite the suggestion of sanctity, “*the homes we live in are almost as likely to be places of rage, conflict and dispute as they are of sustenance, nurturing and safety*” (Atkinson, 2012: 243). Children in families subject to a history of ‘patriarchal terrorism’ (Ray, 2011) are significantly at risk during the pandemic. While the immediate and sudden restrictions placed upon movement and prolonged confinement to domestic

space, may provoke negative changes to the family dynamic. Concerns over finances and employment may induce stress and further heighten the possibility of conflict within families (De Cao and Sandner, 2020; Jentsch and Schnock, 2020; Petrowski et al., 2020).

Evidence gathered from studies conducted so far, albeit subject to caution due to widely acknowledged limitations in recording and reporting mechanisms (Lund et al., 2020), largely confirms these predictions. Trends in Croatia confirm that reported rates of family violence in which the children were victims rose 35% to 502% (Dapić et al. 2020). Childline South Africa reported a 400% increase in calls within the first week of its lockdown and identified a 62% increase in child abuse and neglect cases (Smilie and Ajam, 2020). While 53% of Indian children were found to have experienced different kinds of abuse prior to the pandemic, such as nude photography, assault, inappropriate touching and abuse, during the country's lockdown Childline India Foundation reported a 50% increase in calls for assistance (Podder and Mukherjee, 2020). Furthermore, in those cases in which a perpetrator was prosecuted by the Indian courts in this period, 93% were relatives or known individuals (Unni, 2020).

In Uganda – a country which experienced one of the world's most stringent lockdowns – there was a 13-fold increase in the number of child abuse and neglect calls made to the Uganda Child Helpline (from on average 100 calls a day to 1369) during the lockdown period (Seerwanja et al., 2020). Research in the UK in response to the first lockdown imposed in March 2020 found increased reports of violence between intimates, including from child to parent or carer (Condry et al, 2020). While police recorded crime data showed an increase in domestic-abuse related offences during the pandemic, it was acknowledged that this may be reflective of changes in police recording practices for such offences (Office for National Statistics, 2020a). Similarly, other commentators suggest that vulnerable children in the UK are subject to a “*prolonged exposure to potential harm*” (Romanou and Belton, 2020: 4), since both access to protective services and time spent outside the household is diminished.

Reporting the injustices documented above may prove difficult as perpetrators monitor victims' communications, in addition to the restrictions upon leaving dwellings. Indeed, American research has highlighted a decrease in the reporting of child abuse possibly for these reasons rather than an actual decline in incidents (Campbell, 2020). The three-month lockdown in Nepal from March 24th to June 14th resulted in 885 complaints of abuse from young women and girls: twice the number received from the previous quarter of December 2019 to February 2020 and this, the authors suggest, is

considered vastly underreported (Dahel, et al., 2020). Data from several national German studies (see Hell et al., 2020 and Mairhofer et al., 2020) show decreases in child abuse and neglect reporting because of closures and restrictions placed on child-welfare agencies to undertake frontline face-to-face work (see also Baron et al. 2020 and Zussman 2020 for similar findings in the USA and Canada respectively).

In this respect, lockdowns also impact on the operations of social services as well as specialist child services. Their transition from home visits to ‘online support’ is now also thought to possibly reduce the potential for abuse cases to come to light (Donagh, 2020) at a time when there is an increased demand for services (Fore, 2020; Usher et al., 2020). With limited space for reprieve due to school, library, and church closures, as well as restrictions on accessing outdoor spaces, children may also be on the violent frontline of not only abuse they perhaps previously received prior to Covid-19, but also as a result of the pressures caused by the pandemic, such as an amplification of stress due to household unemployment, reduced or limited income, restricted support and social interaction in general (De Cao and Sandner, 2020). In light of this evidence, the next section will draw upon theories of trauma and violence to ask whether current lockdowns inadvertently activate a *ticking time bomb of future harm*.

A ticking time bomb? Trauma, Violence and Economic Hardship

While considering the possible connections between the pandemic and violence, Eisner and Nivette (2020) allude to both immediate and more distant generators of violent behaviour. The immediate onset of the pandemic and lockdowns transformed day-to-day situational conditions and routine activities in ways that reduced – as well as also generated - opportunities for violence. Early evidence indicates some societies experienced considerable declines in public violence (ibid), while the previous section suggests a potentially opposite trend for private violence which is partially-attributable to the greater amount of time spent indoors. Importantly, Eisner and Nivette’s report draws attention towards proximally more distant ‘violence-promoting mechanisms’ that will likely build up gradually as the longer-term subjective and social effects of the pandemic begin to be felt, such as “*stress, depression, anger, hunger...loss of employment, social contact, and hope*” (ibid: 3).

The pandemic has already severely affected national economies. States have initiated a range of fiscal stimulus packages to cover the costs of the public health response and to support individual citizens unable to work and businesses at risk of

permanent closure. As a result, the financial costs of the pandemic will be considerable. In the UK, for example, the Institute for Government (Lilly et al, 2020) has reported recently that the costs to the UK government in 2020/21 alone will be in the region of £317.4 billion. Labour market indicators in the UK also present a concerning picture. Since the pandemic began, the number of individuals classed as unemployed has increased with 318,000 more people registered unemployed in September 2020 compared with the same period a year earlier (ONS, 2020b). Furthermore, a record number of redundancies (314,000) were registered in the period from July – September 2020 (ONS, 2020b). Social scientific evidence indicates associations between economic downturns, a paucity of secure legitimate work opportunities, disruption to social institutions, and increased violence (Currie 2016). As Schwab and Malleret (2020:84) suggest about the aforementioned social and economic impacts of the pandemic: *“when people have no jobs, no income and no prospects for a better life, they often resort to violence”*. How these ‘promoting mechanisms’ are addressed by states will therefore likely prove significant in determining the level of social unrest and violence that may manifest in the future particularly if labour markets and support services continue to contract.

Traumatic intimate abuse must be added to the aforementioned list of ‘promoting mechanisms’ for the generative risks that it poses. Psychological trauma may result from a range of adverse experiences, including experiencing or witnessing abuse, and will not necessarily manifest in negative internalising or externalising behaviour (Greenwald, 2002). However, exposure to more frequent and intense adverse and traumatic experiences during early life is likely to negatively impact upon mental health (Cecil et al, 2017). A considerable body of evidence now indicates that there is a possible mediated association between early trauma, specifically violent victimisation, and violence perpetration later in life, particularly amongst males (Ellis, 2016; Ellis et al. 2017; Walsh, 2020; Winlow, 2014).

Trauma induced through severe parental abuse and neglect can severely disrupt fundamental processes for acquiring empathy and self-control (Stein, 2007). Severely abused and traumatised children may also experience difficulty with ‘self-soothing’ in the absence of sufficient external comfort from an empathetic and responsive caregiver (Bollas, 1995). Stein (2007) has argued that extreme and habitual dissociation becomes a means through which severely traumatised individuals may manage and defend against the memories of these experiences. Aggression is one potential response to the hyper-sensitive state traumatised individuals can experience subsequently, in which minor or

neutral stimuli may be mis-interpreted (Greenwald, 2002). Indeed, stressful situations generate “*powerful emotions*” that in acutely traumatised individuals “*may come to be registered as emanating from other people, who are then perceived as causative agents of one’s internal distress*” (Stein, 2007: 118).

Similarly, De-Zulueta (2006: 5) has argued that memories of past abuse that are dissociated “*can be processed into rage...when triggered by the appropriate stimuli*”. Whilst the underlying psychic mechanisms of trauma and violence are becoming better understood, there remains a need to acknowledge both the influence of gender, particularly masculinity, upon this association (Walsh, 2020) and traumatic abuse which can lead to forms of future violence. Numerous research studies indicate overwhelmingly that violence, particularly persistent and more harmful violence, is largely the preserve of males (Currie, 2016; Ellis, 2016; Winlow, 2014). Most serious violence recorded internationally is committed by males; yet, they are most often the victims of homicide too (UNODC, 2019), leading Walsh (2020:191) to conclude that “*violence is pervasive, and is the most commonly experienced trauma by boys and young men*”. It is highly likely then that violence arising in part from the impact of the pandemic will be perpetrated predominantly by already vulnerable, at-risk males who have been most adversely affected.

Moreover, evidence suggests harsh parenting styles and experiencing violence at home increases the risks of male children behaving violently in the future both at home and in public (Gadd et al, 2013; Fulwiler, 2003; McPhedran, 2009) as does research on the effects of witnessing violence committed by others in the community (Gibson et al, 2009). In-depth qualitative research with persistently violent males in deprived communities in the north of England explored the symbolism of early trauma in their accounts of violence (Ellis et al, 2017). In the study, many of the men attached great significance to their early experiences of being physically abused both within the home and the immediate neighbourhood. The inability to act or defend themselves from physically superior attackers was a source of humiliation that structured their perceptions and subsequent interactions with others (see also Winlow, 2014). They would often seek out a surrogate victim who could act as an approximation of their past abuser(s) and receive the violence they wished they could have inflicted in the past (Ellis et al, 2017). It is this combination of biography, environment and exposure to traumatic events in childhood that underpins this theory of violence (Winlow, 2014; Ellis et al, 2017) and thus provides a framework for us to at least speculate that increased incidence of child

abuse and neglect during the lockdown may have significant negative long-term consequences.

Conclusion

In this short article, we have opened up space for discussion and future research on the relationship between abuse during lockdown and future violence. It appears to us as though the pieces are in place for this consideration: research on violent subjectivities has increasingly acknowledged the role of trauma, often in childhood, on subsequent emotional development and violent behaviour, particularly amongst young men (Ellis et al, 2017). Meanwhile, early research on childhood abuse during the pandemic has indicated both a worldwide upswing in reported cases and the likelihood of a significant ‘dark figure’ of abuse and neglect (Condry et al, 2020).

Although designed to limit the transmission of Covid-19, lockdowns may catalyse future forms of violence by altering daily routines and exposing children to greater physical and emotional abuse. As emergent statistics indicate this upward trend, we have speculated that lockdown may act as a delayed or distant ‘violence generating mechanism’, storing up problems for an increasingly uncertain future. In effect, the consequence could be a greater proportion of severely traumatised and neglected young men within the population, growing up with few prospects and reduced legitimate opportunities, which greatly increases the possibility of future violence. If fragments of the future are indeed visible to us in the present, the challenge is to ensure that unintended traumas of lockdown do not manifest as socially harmful forms of violent behaviour in years to come.

As Zhang (2020) notes, however, more research is required on family violence during and after the pandemic, as well as on the structural conditions that engender violent activity in this period. This will enable researchers to construct a more detailed picture of what potentially lies ahead in the future. Meanwhile, policy responses need to include additional support and resources from both the state and non-governmental organisations to manage the consequences of child abuse (Zhang, 2020). There also needs to be a long-term support plan for victims (Every-Palmer, et al., 2020). Whilst this should include vital intervention mechanisms like counselling and therapy, the Covid-19 pandemic provides states with an opportunity to fundamentally restructure society along more progressive lines (Briggs, et al., 2020). Indeed, placing the social and economic needs of society’s most vulnerable groups at the forefront of this would

help to mitigate the potential long-term consequences of childhood trauma experienced during the lockdown.

References

- Ali, K., Mufti, U., Sharma, G., & Mufti A. (2020). A Cross-Sectional Study to Assess the Quality of life, Depression, Anxiety and Stress Levels after 45 Days COVID-19 Lockdown. *International Journal of Current Research and Review*, 12(22), 108-114. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31782/IJCRR.2020.122211>
- Atkinson, R. (2012). Accommodating harm: the domestic home in criminology. In S. Winlow & R. Atkinson (Eds.), *New Directions in Crime and Deviancy*, (pp 239-251). Routledge.
- Ayres, T. (2020). Childhood Trauma, Problematic Drug Use and Coping. *Deviant Behavior*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2020.1746132>
- Baron, E. J., Goldstein, E. G., & Wallace, C. T. (2020). Suffering in silence: How COVID-19 school closures inhibit the reporting of child maltreatment. *Journal of Public Economics*, 190, Article 10425. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2020.104258>
- Bega, S., Smillie, S., & Ajam, K. (2020, May 16). Spike in child abandonments and the physical abuse of youngsters during lockdown. *IOL*. <https://www.iol.co.za/saturday-star/news/spike-in-child-abandonments-and-the-physical-abuse-of-youngsters-during-lockdown-48012964>
- Bollas, C. (1995). *Cracking Up: The Work of Unconscious Experience*. Routledge.
- Briggs, D., Ellis, A., Lloyd, A., & Telford, L. (2020). New Hope or Old Futures in Disguise? Neoliberalism, the Covid-19 pandemic and the possibility for Social Change. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 40(9/10), 831-848. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-07-2020-0268>
- Brunori, P., Maitino, M., Ravagli, L., & Scicilone, N. (2020). *Distant and Unequal. Lockdown and Inequalities in Italy*. (Working Paper 13/2020) Retrieved from https://www.disei.unifi.it/upload/sub/pubblicazioni/repec/pdf/wp13_2020.pdf
- Campbell, A. (2020). An increasing risk of family violence during the Covid 19 pandemic: Strengthening community collaborations to save lives. *Forensic Science International: Reports*, 2, Article 100089. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fsir.2020.100089>
- Cecil, C., Viding, E., Fearon, P., Glaser, D., & McCrory, E. (2017). Disentangling the mental health impact of childhood abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 63, 106– 119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.11.024>
- Chiou, L. & Tucker, C. (2020). *Social Distancing, Internet Access and Inequality*. (Working Paper 26982) Retrieved from https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w26982/w26982.pdf
- Condry, R. Miles, C., Brunton-Douglas, T., & Oladapo, A. (2020). *Experiences of Child and Adolescent to Parent Violence in the Covid-19 Pandemic*. University of Oxford. https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxlaw/final_report_capv_in_covid-19_aug20.pdf
- Currie, E. (2016). *The Roots of Danger: Violent Crime in Global Perspective*. Oxford University Press.

- Dahel, M., Khanal, P., Maharajan, S., Panthi, B., & Nepal, S. (2020). Mitigating violence against young women and girls during Covid 19 induced lockdown in Nepal: A wake up call. *Globalisation and Health*, 16, Article 84, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-020-00616-w>
- Dapić, M., Flander, G., & Prijatelj, K. (2020). Children Behind Closed Doors Due to COVID-19 Isolation: Abuse, Neglect and Domestic Violence. *Archives of Psychiatry Research*, 56(2), 181-192, <https://doi.org/10.20471/dec.2020.56.02.06>
- De Cao, E. & Sandner, M. (2020, May 8). The potential impact of the COVID-19 on child abuse and neglect: The role of childcare and unemployment. *Vox Eu CEPR*. Retrieved from: <https://voxeu.org/article/potential-impact-covid-19-child-abuse-and-neglect>
- De-Zulueta, F. (2006). *From Pain to Violence: The Traumatic Roots of Destructiveness*. Wiley.
- Donagh, B. (2020). From Unnoticed to Invisible: The Impact of COVID-19 on Children and Young People Experiencing Domestic Violence and Abuse. *Child Abuse Review*, 29(4), 387-391. <https://doi.org/10.1002/car.2649>
- Eisner, M. & Nivette, A. (2020) *Violence and the Pandemic: Urgent Questions for Research*. Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation <https://hfg.org/Violence%20and%20the%20Pandemic.pdf>
- Ellis, A. (2016). *Men, Masculinities and Violence*. Routledge.
- Ellis, A., Winlow, S., & Hall, S. (2017). Throughout My Life I've had People Walk All Over Me': Trauma in the Lives of Violent Men. *Sociological Review*, 65(4), 699–713. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0038026117695486>
- Every-Palmer, S., Jenkins, M., Gendall, P., Hoek, J., Beaglehole, B., Bell, C., Williman J., Rapsey, C., Stanley, J., (2020). Psychological distress, anxiety, family violence, suicidality, and wellbeing in New Zealand during the Covid-19 lockdown: A cross-sectional study. *Plos One*, 15(11), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0241658>
- Ferguson, N.M., Laydon, D., Nedjati-Gilani, G., Imai, N., Ainslie, K., Baguelin, M., Bhatia, S., Boonyasiri, A., Cucunuba, Z., Cuomo-Dannenburg, G., Dighe, A., Dorigatti, I., Fu, H., Gaythorpe, K., Green, W., Hamlet, A., Hinsley, W., Okell, L.C., van Elsland, S., Thompson, H., Verity, R., Volz, E., Wang, H., Wang, Y., Walker, P.G.T., Walters, C., Winskill, P., Whittaker, C., Donnelly, C.A., Riley, S., & Ghani, A.C. (2020). *Report 9: Impact of non-pharmaceutical Interventions to Reduce COVID-19 Mortality and Health Care*. <https://spiral.imperial.ac.uk/bitstream/10044/1/77482/14/2020-03-16-COVID19-Report-9.pdf>
- Fore, H. (2020). Violence against children in the time of COVID-19: What we have learned, what remains unknown and the opportunities that lie ahead. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104776>
- Fulwiler, C. (2003). Discussion of "A Vicious Circle". *Modern Psychoanalysis*, 28(2): 247-257.
- Gadd, D., Corr, M. L., Fox, C., & Butler, I. (2013). *From Boys to Men: Phase Three Key Findings*. Manchester University Press.
- Gaidhane, S., Khatib, N., Zahiruddin, Q., Gaidhane, A., Telrandhe, S., Godhiwal, P. (2020). Depression, anxiety and stress among the general population in the time of COVID-19 lockdown: A cross-sectional study protocol. *International Journal*

- of Research in Pharmaceutical Sciences, 11(1), 360-364.
<https://doi.org/10.26452/ijrps.v11iSPL1.2726>
- Ghosh, J. (2020). A critique of the Indian government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Industrial and Business Economics*, 47(3), 519–530.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40812-020-00170-x>
- Gibson, C.L., Morris, S.Z., & Beaver, K.M. (2009). Secondary Exposure to Violence During Childhood and Adolescence: Does Neighbourhood Context Matter? *Justice Quarterly*, 26(1), 30-57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418820802119968>
- Green, P. (2020). Risks to children and young people during covid-19 pandemic. *British Medical Journal*, 369(8244), <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.m1669>
- Greenwald, R. (2002). The role of trauma in conduct disorder. *Journal of Aggression Maltreatment & Trauma*, 6(1), 5–23. https://doi.org/10.1300/J146v06n01_02
- Hell, A., Kampf, L., Kaulek, M., & Kohrsal, C. (2020, May 6). Hausliche Gewalt in der CoronaKrise. Wenn das Kind verborgen bleibt. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.
www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/coronavirus-haeusliche-gewalt-jugendaemter-1.4899381
- Herat, M. (2020). “I feel like death on legs”: COVID-19 isolation and mental health. *Social Sciences and Humanities Open*, 2(1), 1-8.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2020.100042>
- Hillis, S., Mercy, J., Amobi, A., & Kress, H. (2016). Global Prevalence of Past-year Violence Against Children: A Systematic Review and Minimum Estimates. *Pediatrics*, 137, e20154079, <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2015-4079>
- Jentsch, B. & Schnock, B. (2020). Child welfare in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic—Emerging evidence from Germany. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 110(2), Article 104716. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104716>
- Kuhbandner, C., Homburg, S., Walach, H., & Hockertz, S. (2020). Was Germany's Corona Lockdown Necessary? *Advance Social Sciences & Humanities*, Preprint. <https://doi.org/10.31124/advance.12362645.v3>
- Lilly, A., Tetlow, G., Davies, O., & Pope, T. (2020). *The Cost of Covid-19: The impact of coronavirus on the UK's public finances*. Institute for Government.
<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/cost-ofcovid19.pdf>
- Lund, R., Mânica, S., & Mânica, G. (2020). Questões colaterais em tempos de COVID-19: abuso infantil, violência doméstica e feminicídio. *Revista Brasileira de Odontologia Legal*, 7(2), 54-69. <https://doi.org/10.21117/rbol-v7n22020-318>
- Mairhofer, A., Peucker, C. H., Pluto, L., van Santen, E., & Seckinger, M. (2020). *Kinder- und Jugendhilfe in Zeiten der Corona-Pandemie*. DJI Publication.
- Maringe, C., Spicer, J., Morris, M., Purushotham, A., Nolte, E., & Sullivan, R. (2020). The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on cancer deaths due to delays in diagnosis in England, UK: a national, population-based, modelling study. *The Lancet*, 21(8), 1023-34 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1470-2045\(20\)30388-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1470-2045(20)30388-0)
- McPhedran, S. (2009). Animal Abuse, Family Violence and Child Wellbeing: A Review. *Journal of Family Violence*, 24(1), 41-52.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-008-9206-3>
- Marchetti, D., Fontanesi, L., Di Giandomenico, S., Mazza, C., Roma, P., & Verrochio, M. (2020). *The Effect of Parent Psychological Distress on Child Hyperactivity/Inattention During the COVID-19 Lockdown: Testing the Mediation of Parent Verbal Hostility and Child Emotional Symptoms*. Frontiers in Psychology Brief Research Report, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.567052>

- Moser, C. & Yared, P. (2020). *Pandemic Lockdown: The Role of Government Commitment*. Munich Personal RePEc Archive, <https://mpra.ub.unimuenchen.de/99804/>
- Mutz, M. & Gerke, M. (2020), Sport and exercise in times of self-quarantine: How Germans changed their behaviour at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690220934335>
- Office for National Statistics (2020a) *Domestic abuse during the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, England and Wales: November 2020*. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/domesticabuseduringthecoronaviruscovid19pandemicenglandandwales/november2020>
- Office for National Statistics (2020b) *Labour market overview, UK: November 2020*. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/uklabourmarket/november2020>
- Petrowski, N., Cappa, C., Pereira, A., Mason, H., & Daban, R. (2020). Violence against children during COVID-19 Assessing and understanding change in use of helplines. *Child Abuse and Neglect*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2020.104757>.
- Podder, S. & Mukherjee, U. (2020). Ascending Child Sexual Abuse Statistics in India During COVID-19 Lockdown: A Darker reality and Alarming Mental Health Concerns. *Indian Journal of Psychological Medicine*, 42(5), 491–493. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0253717620951391>
- Ramaswamy, S & Seshadri, S. (2020). Children on the brink: Risks for child protection, sexual abuse, and related mental health problems in the COVID-19 pandemic. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 62(Suppl 3), S404–S413. https://dx.doi.org/10.4103%2Fpsychiatry.IndianJPsychiatry_1032_20
- Ray, L. (2011). *Violence and Society*. Sage.
- Romanou, E. & Belton, E. (2020). *Isolated and Struggling: National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children*. NSPCC. <https://learning.nspcc.org.uk/media/2246/isolated-and-struggling-social-isolation-risk-child-maltreatment-lockdown-and-beyond.pdf>
- Schwab, K. & Malleret, T. (2020). *Covid-19: The Great Reset*. World Economic Forum.
- Seerwanja, A., Kawuki, J., & Kim, J. (2020). Increased child abuse in Uganda amidst COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jpc.15289>
- Shanahan, L., Steinhoff, A., Bechtiger, L., Murray, A.L., Nivette A., Hepp, U., Ribeaud D., & Eisner, M. (2020). Emotional distress in young adults during the COVID-19 pandemic: evidence of risk and resilience from a longitudinal cohort study. *Psychological Medicine*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S003329172000241X>
- Sharma, D. (2020). Lockdown poses new challenges for cancer care in India. *The Lancet*, 21(7), 884. [https://dx.doi.org/10.1016%2FS1470-2045\(20\)30312-0](https://dx.doi.org/10.1016%2FS1470-2045(20)30312-0)
- Stein, A. (2007). *Prologue to Violence: Child Abuse, Dissociation and Crime*. Analytic Press.
- The Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action. (2020). *Protection of Children during the Covid 19 Pandemic*. The Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action.
- United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (2019). *Global Study on Homicide* <https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/gsh/Booklet1.pdf>

- Unni, J. (2020). Social effects of Covid-19 pandemic on children in India. *Indian Journal of Practicing Pediatricians*, 22(2), 102–104.
- Usher, K., Bhullar, N., Durkin, J., Gyami, N., & Jackson, D. (2020). Family violence and COVID-19: Increased vulnerability and reduced options for support. *International Journal of Mental Health Nursing*, 29(4), 549–55. <https://doi.org/10.1111/inm.12735>
- Walsh, C. (2020). The Utility of a Psycho-Social Approach for Understanding and Addressing Male Youth Violence: The Interface between Traumatic Experiences and Masculinity. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma*, 29(2), 186–205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10926771.2018.1561572>
- Winlow, S. (2014). Trauma, guilt and the unconscious: Some theoretical notes on violent subjectivity. *The Sociological Review*, 62(2), 32–49. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12190>
- Wykes, M. & Welsh, K. (2009). *Violence, Gender and Justice*. Sage.
- Xue, J., Chen, J., Chen, C., Hu, R., & Zhu, T. (2020). The Hidden Pandemic of Family Violence During Covid-19: Unsupervised Learning of Tweets. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 22(11), e24361. <https://doi.org/10.2196/24361>
- Zhang, H. (2020). The Influence of the Ongoing Covid-19 Pandemic on Family Violence in China. *Journal of Family Violence*. Advance Online Publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00196-8>
- Zussman, R. (2020. May 11). Reports of child abuse down amid COVID-19, as B.C. advocates remind public of duty to report. *Global News*. <https://globalnews.ca/news/6929622/child-abuse-reporting-coronavirus>