unicef

for every child

An Everyday Lesson

#ENDviolence in Schools

Contents

Introduction

Nqobile is taking a stand against violence in and around her school. And she is starting by speaking up about what happened to her.

At age 13, Nqobile was sexually assaulted on her way home from school in South Africa. In the aftermath, she struggled with self-confidence and feelings of shame.

"In school, I never told anybody," Nqobile said. "It was so difficult. In my culture, it's such a taboo."

Now a peer counsellor and Deputy President of her school, Nqobile, 18, encourages others to speak out and offers support to students who have experienced violence. One day, she hopes to study psychology so she can counsel children who have faced trauma.

"I'm opening up to people about this for the first time," she said. "I knew what I needed the moment that I needed it at school," she added. "I don't want any other girl to go through what I went through at school."

For millions of students around the world, the school environment is not a safe space to study and grow. It is a danger zone where they learn in fear.

For Nqobile and many others, the trip to and from school is perilous. In school, they face dangers that include threatening teachers, bullying, cyberbullying, sexual assault and violence that pushes into schoolrooms from the world outside. Far too often students are forced to take cover as gunfire invades their classroom. Sometimes this violence is caused by war or community conflict; other times it is a student with a gun.

A UNICEF analysis of data underscores how common violence is in schools around the world.

Globally, half of students aged 13–15, about 150 million, report experiencing peer-to-peer violence in and around school. This number includes students who report having been bullied in the last month or having had a physical fight within the past year.[1]

But bullying and physical fights are only two types of violence. Students routinely deal with corporal and other degrading forms of punishment, physical and sexual attacks and gender-based violence. For example, about 720 million school-age children live in countries where they are not fully protected by law from corporal punishment at school.[2]

Indeed, violence in schools puts bodies, minds and lives at risk. It causes physical injury and can lead to depression, anxiety and suicide. It has short-term effects on students' educational achievement and leaves a long-term impression on their futures.

In El Salvador, 23 per cent of students aged 13–15 said they had not attended school on one or more days in the past month due to safety concerns.[3]

The impact of violence in schools places an economic burden on society. It has been estimated that the global costs of the consequences of violence against children are as high as US$7 trillion per year.[4]

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Schools are monitored environments where students and adults come together for a single purpose: to teach and learn. In these defined settings, we can end violence – and we must.

Though violence against children is common, it is never acceptable – in school or anywhere. And ending it is not impossible. Indeed, school may be one place where we all truly have the power to #ENDviolence.

Schools are monitored environments where students and adults come together for a single purpose: to teach and learn. In these defined settings, we can end violence – and we must.

Education itself can play a powerful role. Education can transform beliefs and behaviours that lead to violence. It can engage children and adolescents in critical self-reflection and help teachers, parents and communities work together to promote social cohesion, gender equality and peace.

Efforts are under way around the world to #ENDviolence in and around schools. In some schools, the answer is to invest in supervised and orderly facilities, clean and protected toilets, and safe routes to and from school.[5] In other schools, the focus is on training teachers and involving parents and communities in creating safe learning environments.[6]

Partnerships are also under way to make a difference. For example, the Strong Schools and Communities Initiative in Latin America and the Caribbean supports the creation and dissemination of school-based and community-based interventions and interventions for national and local authorities. The initiative is spearheaded by the Global Business Coalition for Education, A World at School and UNICEF.[7]

Increasingly, students like Nqobile are taking the lead.

In schools around the world, students have founded Peace Clubs, marched to draw attention to violence in schools, provided support to survivors, and demanded policies and progress from political leaders.

But there is more to do.

That is why UNICEF is teaming up with DFID, UNESCO, other members of the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children and UNGEI to shed light on and spark action to #ENDviolence in and around schools.

As students take their fight to #ENDviolence from the classroom to the streets, it is time we all joined them to create a world where no child learns in fear.

Violence in schools: The latest numbers

Globally, half of students aged 13–15, about **150 million,** report experiencing **peer-to-peer violence** in and around school.

Globally, slightly more than **one in three** students aged 13–15 experience **bullying**, and about the same proportion are involved in **physical fights.**[8]

About **720 million** school-aged children live in countries where they are not fully protected by law from **corporal punishment** at school.
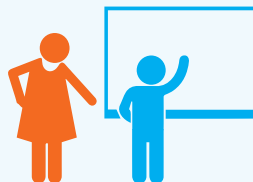
In 2017, the United Nations verified **396 attacks on schools** in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, **26 on schools** in South Sudan, **67 attacks** in the Syrian Arab Republic and **20 attacks** in Yemen.[9]

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School may be the most influential institution in children's lives, ranking just below family and home as the foundation on which they build their futures.

In the best cases, schools are safe and encouraging spaces where children gain the knowledge and skills they need to navigate adult life. Schools can buffer children from the risks of child labour, exploitation and child marriage. In school, a child can find shelter from violence and choose a more peaceful future.

In addition, education can engage children and adolescents in self-reflection about their role in ending violence and provide them with the resources and space they need to examine harmful norms and practices. Education systems can equip teachers, parents and communities to work together to promote principles of social cohesion, gender equality and peace.

For far too many young people around the world, however, school is dangerous. Instead of a haven that nourishes learning, inclusivity and friendships, schools introduce harmful relationships characterized by exclusion, bullying or aggression.

In a report, the United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence Against Children identified four main forms of violence in schools: bullying, physical violence, psychological violence, and violence that includes a dimension external to schools, including violence associated with gang culture, weapons and fighting.[10] It also determined that sexual violence in schools is a reality for many students.

In parts of Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal and Viet Nam where students characterized their schools as unsafe, the most common factors contributing to that assessment were humiliating language, physical fights and harassment from other students.[11] Available data suggest that bullying is the most common type of violence reported in schools. When combined with physical fighting, it is clear that the amount of peer-to-peer violence in schools is alarming.

Analyses of data from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam indicate that violence in schools – including physical and verbal abuse by teachers and other students – is the most common reason children say they dislike school. And disliking school was significantly associated with lower scores in mathematics, self-efficacy and self-esteem.[12]

Drivers and risks

Violence is driven by a complex interplay of socio-ecological factors that cannot be attributed to one culture or society.[13] These factors are found in the social structures that shape laws, policies, behaviours and beliefs about gender, power and authority. They are also found in institutional structures – the formal institutions and organizations that are governed by a set of rules, policies and protocols.[14] However, community opinions, beliefs and norms, interpersonal relationships and individual history also play a role as risks that can drive violence.[15]

Examples of structural drivers of violence include poverty, inequality or the vulnerabilities associated with migration. Institutional drivers might include weak child protection systems or harmful cultural or religious practices. In schools, institutional drivers of violence might include a lack of teacher training in child development, under-resourced schools or teachers who perpetuate culturally accepted violence.[16]

Community risk factors involve codes of silence about violence or cultural taboos. Among the interpersonal risk factors for child violence are early experiences of violence including witnessing domestic violence and family stress caused by poverty or unemployment.[17]

For example, bullying can be linked to a complex interaction of different factors including other violence among peers, violence or neglect in families and violence in communities.[18] Studies have also linked exposure to violence or harsh parenting in the home with greater instances of bullying.[19]

Global evidence suggests that certain risk factors increase a child's vulnerability to violence. These factors include disability, extreme poverty, ethnicity and HIV status. Children who live in institutional care or who are migrants, especially those who are unaccompanied or separated from adult caretakers, are also vulnerable.[20]

Social norms give adults the authority to teach, discipline and control children, often justifying the use of violence. Gender inequality promotes stereotypes of boys and girls and allows men to dominate women. For example, attitudes such as 'boys will be boys' provide cover for boys who harass or assault girls.

Sexual orientation or gender identity can also lead to greater vulnerability to violence in schools.[21] Children who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersex (LGBTI) can be especially vulnerable to targeted acts of violence by their peers.

Threats or acts of sexual, physical or psychological violence perpetrated as a result of unequal power dynamics, gender norms and stereotypes can be defined as school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV).[22] This type of violence is an element of many different forms of violence in schools, not only sexual assault or harassment. For example, corporal punishment and discipline often manifest as a form of SRGBV.

Girls and boys are equally at risk for bullying. However, studies indicate that boys are more likely to experience physical violence and threats. Girls are more likely to become victims of psychological or relational forms of bullying, which can involve spreading rumours or exclusion.[23]

Every child has the right to go to school and learn in safety. This right is enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and it is a foundation of development agendas and partnerships.

The Committee on the Rights of the Child specifically states that "children do not lose their human rights by virtue of passing through the school gates."[24] The CRC calls for education to respect the dignity of children and their right to participate in school life. It also calls for strict limits on discipline and for the promotion of non-violence in schools.

In addition, the CRC calls on states to protect children from all forms of abuse, neglect, negligent treatment, exploitation and sexual abuse while they are in the care of any person.[25]

When the global community came together to approve the Sustainable Development Goals, a development road map leading to 2030, violence was a critical topic. In Goal 16, governments were called on to significantly reduce all forms of violence and, in particular, to "end abuse, exploitation and all forms of violence against... children."[26] Goal 5 focused on violence against women and girls. And target 4.A of Goal 4 calls for upgrading education facilities so they "provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all."

Globally, slightly more than one in three students aged 13–15 experience bullying.
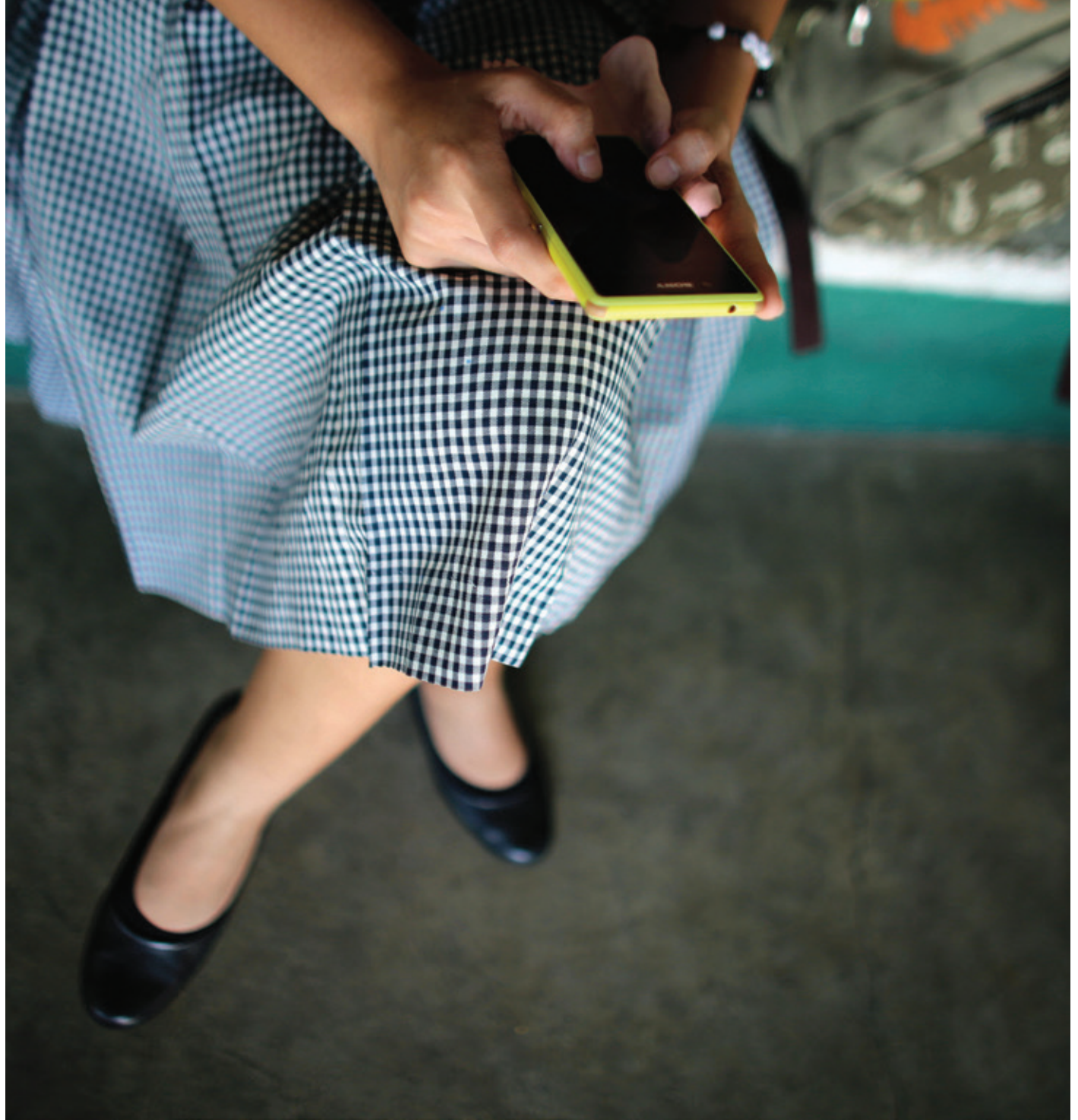
Bullying

School is where children cultivate friendships and form peer groups – pivotal steps towards adult socialization. Globally, slightly more than one in three students aged 13–15 experience bullying. In 39 industrialized countries, 17 million young adolescents admitted to bullying others at school.[27]

Children who are bullied are often marginalized by their peers and exhibit risk factors such as loneliness.[28] Children who identify with certain groups – such as ethnic minorities and children with disabilities – are also more likely to be singled out for bullying.[29]

Adolescents are often targeted because of their sexual identity. In the United Kingdom, a study found that 30 to 50 per cent of secondary school students who were attracted to the same sex experienced bullying.[30]

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Cyberbullying

Bullying occurs not only in school buildings or at school-sponsored events. In a digital world, bullies can disseminate violent, hurtful and humiliating words and images with the tap of a key.[31]

The Cyberbullying Research Center defines cyberbullying as "wilful and repeated harm inflicted through the use of computers, cell phones and other electronic devices." However, there is a strong link between online bullying and in-person bullying. A study with more than 100,000 participants in the United Kingdom found that very few experienced cyberbullying without also being physically bullied.[32]

Though the violence may be perpetrated digitally, the repercussions are tangible. Victims of cyberbullying are more likely to use alcohol and drugs and skip school than other students. They also are more likely to receive poor grades and experience low self-esteem and health problems. In extreme situations, cyberbullying has led to suicide.[33]

TAKING A STAND: Malaysia
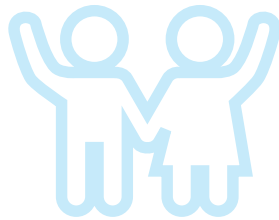
Angeline, 18, was a victim of cyberbullying during her school years in Kuala Lumpur. Now she is a teen reporter for R.AGE, an award-winning youth media group that produces news stories, editorials and campaigns on internet safety, bullying, cyber-sexual grooming and student trafficking.

When Angeline was 14, a misunderstanding about a school project evolved into a painful online confrontation from a friend.

Within weeks, an entire group of her friends was ignoring her at school, refusing to sit with her in classes and excluding her from the group.

Although she was able to reconcile with her friends eventually, Angeline says the experience changed her.

"You can never take back something you said or something you posted online," she said. "I realized how much a word can actually strike a person."

Once a gang member, Stephane became a leader of his school's Peace Club. The Government of Côte d'Ivoire started Peace Clubs in schools in 2011 to provide students with a role in peacebuilding after years of conflict.

"From the age of 8, I knew how to hold and shoot a gun," Stephane said.

A friend persuaded him to join the Peace Club at their school. He soon became the leader of the club, inviting many other former members of gangs to join.

"I'm no longer the violent child that I was yesterday," he said. "I wanted to transform my negative past into a positive future."

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Fights and physical attacks

In addition to bullying, peer violence in schools can manifest in other forms.

Globally, about one in three students aged 13–15 are involved in physical fights. In an earlier analysis of data from 25 countries, 20 per cent to over 50 per cent of girls and boys aged 13–15 reported having been physically attacked by other students at least once in the past year.[34] Physical attacks by fellow students are most common among boys.

Gangs play a violent role in communities around the world, especially communities where poverty, social exclusion, neighbourhood instability, unemployment and a lack of learning opportunities exist.[35] In these communities, socio-economic realities and cultural norms compound universal peer pressures, making young people vulnerable both as recruits and as victims of gang culture – with deadly consequences.

In Jamaica, for example, a 2016 study showed that gang violence was behind 40 per cent of the murders of children.[36] In Central America, gang violence has led many thousands of children to abandon school to protect their safety.[37]

Violence as punishment

In addition to peer violence, authority figures are far too often the source of fearful learning environments. Indeed, half of all school-age children live in countries where corporal punishment is not fully prohibited by law in schools. This means that about 720 million children are unprotected from this form of violence.

Some evidence indicates that younger children are more at risk of physical punishment from teachers than adolescents. In the Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states of India, 78 per cent of 8-year-olds and 34 per cent of 15-year-olds reported that they had been physically punished by teachers at school at least once in the past week.[38]

In addition to physical punishment, other cruel or degrading forms of punishment include actions that belittle, humiliate, denigrate, scapegoat, threaten, scare or ridicule a child.[39] These types of punishment qualify as violence and must end.

Globally, about one in three students aged 13–15 are engaged in physical fights.

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Schools under attack

In its most extreme manifestation, violence in and around schools can be deadly.

An estimated 158 million children and adolescents aged 6–17 live in conflict-affected areas.[40] For these children, classrooms can be no safer than their communities. Routes to and from school become frontlines. And educational activities are suspended when schools are commandeered for military purposes or to shelter the displaced or wounded.

Attacks on schools are included as one of the six grave violations frequently perpetrated in armed conflict and condemned by the United Nations Security Council. Since 2012, the Secretary-General's Report on Children and Armed Conflict lists perpetrators of violence against schools – armed forces or groups that have attacked schools or school personnel.

In 2017, the United Nations verified 396 attacks on schools in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 26 on schools in South Sudan, 67 attacks in the Syrian Arab Republic and 20 attacks in Yemen.[41]

Many of these attacks are deadly. The Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack reports that from 2013 to 2017, 41 countries experienced more than five attacks on education in which at least one incident was a direct attack or resulted in the death of at least one person. In 28 countries, there were at least 20 attacks on students, education personnel or institutions; and 46 countries experienced isolated attacks that included bombings, arson or violent repression of education-related protests.[42]

Conflict is not the only type of violence that seeps into school settings with deadly results. Between November 1991 and May 2018, 70 school shootings were documented in 14 countries. By definition, these shootings involved two or more victims and at least one fatality.[43]

Sexual violence

Sexual violence includes multiple kinds of violence, including direct physical contact with the use of force or restraint. It also involves less direct forms of violence, such as unwanted exposure to sexual language and images.[44] Sexual violence occurs in multiple kinds of contexts throughout the world, including in schools.

In a survey conducted in Mexico in 2013, 7 per cent of boys and 5 per cent of girls in upper-secondary school reported that they had experienced sexual insults from their classmates in the past year. A slightly lower percentage reported being forced into sexual behaviour during the same time.[45]

In Kenya, about one in five women and men aged 18 to 24 who experienced sexual violence before age 18 reported that the first incident occurred at school.[46]

Poor school infrastructure – such as toilet facilities that are not well lit or lack privacy and supervision – can heighten the risks of sexual violence. As with bullying, sexual violence can occur online and spill over into the physical world.

TAKING A STAND: Ethiopia

Kalkidan is a 14-year-old student and a member of her school's gender club in Addis Ababa. She joined the club more than a year ago because she knew girls who were victims of sexual abuse and wanted to help. She told her story in a blog post in February 2018. This is an abridged version.

Sometimes girls who have been abused are afraid to talk about what happened, and they are treated badly by society. This is because some people believe that the victims intentionally engage in the problem or that maybe they caught a contagious disease.

To help fix the problem I always try to create a friendly environment and encourage girls to share their story with me so I can step up and inform people who can help.

For example, a friend of mine was being sexually abused by her teacher. Some of her friends excluded her because they thought she brought it upon herself. She was even forced to leave her parents' house because of the shame she thought she would bring her family. When she told me what had happened, I reported it to the school. The school authorities pursued the case and punished the perpetrator.

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All forms of violence in schools can have serious, long-term consequences on children's lives, their futures and the future of the communities in which they live.

Impact on students

The repercussions of violence can become imprinted on a child's body and mind in the form of physical injury, sexually transmitted infections, anxiety, depression, suicidal thoughts and unplanned pregnancy. For some children, relentless and inescapable bullying, sexual assault or daily fear in school has led to death.[47]

In conflict-affected areas, where schools are targeted for attack, children regularly risk their lives in pursuit of the right to education.

In addition to the outward consequences of violence in schools, children's emotional and behavioural development can be affected. Evidence suggests that toxic stress associated with extreme exposure to violence in early childhood can interfere with healthy brain development, with lifelong consequences.[48]

Violence also can have long-term behavioural impacts resulting in aggressive and anti-social behaviours, substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour and criminal activity.[49]

Moreover, violence can be intergenerational. Studies show that children who grow up around violence are more likely to re-enact violence as young adults.[50] For example, men who experienced childhood violence are more likely to perpetrate violence against wives or partners. When girls are exposed early in life to household violence or harsh punishment, they are more vulnerable later in life to intimate partner violence.[51]

Violence in schools significantly hinders student attendance, contributes to lower academic results and leads to higher drop-out rates.[52]

The harm of violence on children around the world is not only physical and emotional. It can also be economic. For example, a 2010 study conducted in the United States followed two cohorts of children into middle adulthood and found that adults who had experienced physical or sexual abuse as children were, on average, 14 per cent less likely to be employed and own assets than their counterparts.[53] The study also showed a disproportionate long-term economic burden on young women.[54]

Globally, the estimated cost of all violence against children is US$7 trillion.

Impact on communities and nations

Violence in schools has a clear and often lifelong impact on students' lives and well-being. It can also impact the financial stability and economic fortunes of the communities and nations in which they live, undermining investments in health, early childhood development and education.

Globally, the estimated cost of all violence against children is US$7 trillion.[55] An estimate in East Asia and the Pacific indicated that the economic cost of maltreatment of children totalled US$150 billion to US$160 billion in 2004 – about 2 per cent of the region's gross domestic product (GDP).[56]

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Far too many students around the world have learned in fear for too long.

In many schools, violence persists because overstretched systems that lack resources make it difficult to train teachers and create curricula that address violence.

In countries around the world – and especially in fragile states or areas affected by conflict – weak referral systems and limited response services for victims mean that violence is not reported or addressed.

The ability to understand and respond to the problem is hampered by a lack of credible data about the scale and impact of violence in schools. Details about efforts that effectively address the problem are only beginning to emerge.

In addition, few governments have legislation in place that protects children from violence in schools.[57] However, violence in schools also continues because social, gender and cultural norms make discussing the problem taboo. As a result, violence becomes entrenched in schools and societies.[58]

The good news is that students increasingly are calling for an end to violence in and around schools – students including Nqobile in South Africa, Angeline in Malaysia, Stephane in Côte d'Ivoire and Kalkidan in Ethiopia.

In India, women at one university rallied against `eve-teasing', a prevalent form of sexual harassment on their campus.[59] In Nigeria, Youth Advocates for Change organized a march in Abuja to urge governments to protect schools and students from armed groups including Boko Haram in the northern regions of the country. In the United States, students organized March for Our Lives in response to school shootings.

Though social media makes some forms of violence in schools more common, it has also become a powerful tool for ending it.

The good news is that students increasingly are calling for an end to violence in and around schools.

A call to action

To truly #ENDviolence in schools, people from all corners of the world will need to join together to demand – and deliver – safe environments where students can learn without fear.

UNICEF is teaming up with DFID, UNESCO, other members of the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children and UNGEI to shed light on and spark action to #ENDviolence in and around schools.

To achieve this goal, UNICEF and its partners are urging action in the following areas:

Implement laws and policies to protect students from violence

We are calling on governments to develop and enforce laws and policies to keep students safe in and around school, including online. This means: fully prohibiting corporal punishment in those countries where protections are absent or incomplete; establishing effective and accessible response and referral systems; and providing resources to increase the knowledge, capacity and skills of school staff.

Strengthen safety measures in schools

Education personnel and local authorities are critical to ending violence in and around schools. We are calling on them and other members of the school community, including parents and caregivers, to play an active role in preventing and responding to violence. Examples include: ensuring that all bathrooms are separate and well lit; using positive discipline and child-centred approaches; and tailoring curricula to promote peacebuilding in schools and communities.

Encourage students and communities to challenge the culture of violence

In order to end violence in and around schools, all members of the community must recognize the devastating impact of violence against children, believe that preventing it is possible and be willing to do their part to make schools safe. We are calling on community and school leaders to foster an environment that promotes child rights and gender sensitivity and allows for freedom of expression without fear of reprisal. We are also calling on community members, parents and students to speak up about violence in and around schools and work together to develop solutions.

Raise and invest resources effectively

Targeted investments to end violence in and around schools will be critical. We are calling on national governments, institutional donors and the private sector to dedicate funding, support and technical and in-kind resources to keep students safe, and for those resources to be used specifically for violence-prevention programmes.

Generate and share evidence about what works

Understanding the problem and identifying promising solutions is an essential part of ending violence in and around schools. We are calling on national governments, donors, the private sector and research partners to collect disaggregated data in a way that protects the identity and well-being of children. We are also calling on them to invest in measurement and evaluation and share examples of good practices.

Endnotes

1   UNICEF analysis based on data from 122 countries with data from the HBSC and GSHS, covering 51 per cent of the global population of children aged 13 to 15 years. This figure includes the number of students who are bullied and/or who are involved in physical fights. This figure has been adjusted to account for children who are not in school on the basis of the latest global out-of-school rate for children of lower secondary school-age published by UNESCO Institute for Statistics in February 2018, available here: <http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/fs48-one-five-children-adolescents-youth-out-school-2018-en.pdf>.
In the Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS), the 2013 version of the core standard questionnaire includes the following definition of 'bullying': Occurs when a student, or group of students, say or do bad and unpleasant things to another student. It is also bullying when a student is teased a lot in an unpleasant way or when a student is left out of things on purpose. It is not bullying when two students of about the same strength or power argue or fight or when teasing is done in a friendly and fun way. Students are surveyed on how many days in the past 30 days they were bullied.
The following definition of 'physical fight' is used in the GSHS: A physical fight occurs when two students of about the same strength or power choose to fight each other. Students are asked how many times they were in a physical fight in the past 12 months. In the Health Behaviour in School-age Children Study (HBSC), the definitions used for 'bullying' and 'physical fights' are similar to those in the GSHS but the reference period and place of reference for bullying differ slightly in the HBSC since they refer to experiences that occurred at school in the past couple of months.
For 16 countries, an older GSHS had to be used for calculation of the composite indicator since the dataset for the latest GSHS has not been published yet. These countries are: Anguilla, Benin, Cook Islands, Fiji, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mauritius, Morocco, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Emirates, Vanuatu and Yemen.

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4   Pereznieto, Paola, et al., *The Costs and Economic Impact of Violence against Children*, Overseas Development Institute, London, September 2014, p. 1, <www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9177.pdf>.

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6   Ibid., p. 46.

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11 *A Familiar Face*, p. 39.

12 Ibid., p. 39.

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16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Swearer, Susan M., and Shelley Hymel, 'Understanding the Psychology of Bullying: Moving toward a Social-Ecological Diathesis-Stress Model', *American Psychologist*, vol. 70, no. 4, May–June 2015, pp. 344–353, <https://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/releases/amp-a0038929.pdf>.

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22 Education for All Global Monitoring Report, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and United Nations Girls' Education Initiative, 'School-Related Gender-Based Violence is Preventing the Achievement of Quality Education for All', Policy Paper 17, UNESCO, Paris, March 2015, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002321/232107e.pdf>.

23 *A Familiar Face*, p. 39.

24 Committee on the Rights of the Child, General Comment No. 1: The Aims of Education (article 2917 April 2001, <www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/a)GeneralCommentNo1TheAimsofEducation(article29)(2001).aspx>.

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43   This figure has been updated from *A Familiar Face* with new data for the United States only on the basis of information compiled by EveryTown Research; see <https://everytownresearch.org/gunfire-in-school/>.

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49   *Hidden in Plain Sight*, pp. 95, 164.

50   *Hidden in Plain Sight*, pp. 131–132, 158, 162.

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