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CHILD ABUSE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC - PROSPECT, RISK AND FACTORS: A NARRATIVE REVIEW

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Abstract: This narrative review focuses on the risk of child abuse, the determinants of child maltreatment during the Covid-19 outbreak and the conceivable psycho-social impact of child abuse. Literature was retrieved from Scopus, PubMed, PsycINFO, Web of Science along with Google Scholar, and reports from various sources with no time and context restrictions. The narrative analysis of all pertinent records shows that the risk of abuse towards children has spiked during the Covid-19 outbreak, especially sexual abuse and neglect. Prolonged living inside of homes, school closures, limited contact, unemployment, domestic violence, poor access to health care, and related social stressors have impacted on the rates of child abuse during the Covid-19 outbreak. These maltreated children may experience poor interpersonal relationships, problematic coping behaviours, and depressive disorders across their life span. These findings point to context-specific outcomes and protective measures that could assist prospective researches and guide policies.

Key words: Child abuse, Child maltreatment, Covid-19 pandemic, Psychosocial risk factors

INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

The world is currently dealing with the crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, with nearly 56 million confirmed cases, and a death toll of more than one million (World Health Organization, 2020a). The unprecedented number of deaths and the continued rise in the numbers of people affected by the virus risks leaving many people psychologically traumatized given the considerable panic, fear, and anxiety being reported (Ahorsu et al., 2020). As scientists work towards a vaccine, many national and international bodies have made recommendations to mitigate the spread of this viral disease. The core public health measures such as quarantine and physical distancing risk creating a range of psychosocial

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problems, one of which is the impact on society's vulnerable segment of the population, children (Fegert, Vitiello, Plener, & Clemens, 2020).

The public measures formulated to control the disease transmission have also exposed shortcomings and the negative impacts of isolation (Fischer, Elliot, & Bertrand, 2018). The prolonged COVID-19 pandemic has already given rise to global unemployment and economic recessions at national levels (Blustein et al., 2020). Parents or adult members of many families have lost their livelihoods, which has impacted on the psychological stressors within the family unit. Most educational institutions have been closed with 91% of the world's students out of school at some point over 2020 (Human Rights Watch, 2020), social contact has reduced, and out-of-home sports or recreational activities have been cancelled in many parts of the globe. Many children have been required to stay at home to reduce the spread of Covid-19 contamination with their unemployed parents or caregivers. One issue that may arise from this situation is an increase in domestic violence and child maltreatment. Notably, the abuse of children remains a hidden public health concern in many countries during the Covid-19 outbreak.

The World Health Organization (1999, p. 15) defines abuse as “all forms of physical and/or emotional ill-treatment, sexual abuse, neglect or negligent treatment or commercial or other exploitation, resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity in the context of a relationship of responsibility, trust or power”, with the apparent indication of the four categories of abuse: physical, psychological, and sexual abuse and neglect. The social and economic disruptions caused by the current outbreak also presents a risk to the children's well-being and protection. While children seem to be less vulnerable to the pathological effects of the corona virus (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 2020a), the collateral impact on their psychological health cannot be ignored. Research shows that the enforced social and public health measures, such as closure of schools, sports activities, and the wearing of masks, are a potential threat for children's psychological and cognitive development (Fegert et al., 2020).

The adverse health risk of children also places new stressors on parents who are at risk of unemployment and reduced income during the COVID-19 pandemic. It is documented that the health risk during Covid-19 will result in precarious economic instability, particularly in developing countries (Ahad, Parry, & Willis, 2020). This is linked with the uncertainty and anticipatory anxiety among individuals and increases the risk of family violence (Campbell, 2020). An upsurge in domestic and interpersonal violence can lead to reduced supervision and monitoring of child activities and increase the risk of child victimization and neglect within the household. The US Child Maltreatment Report of 2018 estimated that parents and caregivers are the prime perpetrators in 77% of the child abuse cases (USDHHS, 2020).

Children residing with parents infected with the virus may also be victims of food insecurity and inadequate medical care that may negatively impact on their psychosocial health. Children who have a disability, are homeless, refugees or orphaned are also extremely vulnerable to child trafficking, abusive behaviour, or being forced to engage in child labour (Ahad et al., 2020; Campbell, 2020; Dan, 2020). These risks are associated with lack of parental care, shortage of health and child monitoring services, and a drop in household

income (Dan, 2020; Leeb, Bitsko, Merrick, & Armour, 2012). Outside of these abuses, during school closures, children working on online education platforms also risk exposure to illegal content or online abuse. Despite this, issues such as child protection and welfare have remained overlooked and underserved during the current outbreak. Notably, while no clear precedent for the current crisis exists in the academic literature (Lee, 2020), exploring the prospect of child abuse during the Covid-19 pandemic and its impact may provide insights for the future researchers and professionals charged with caring for child abuse victims.

Aim

This study provides a narrative review of research on the possible increases in the maltreatment of children during the pandemic, focusing specifically on the determinants and the psychosocial impact on children during the COVID-19 outbreak.

METHOD

This article is a narrative review of the eligible literature on the topic of child abuse during pandemics. A series of scholarly and non-peer reviewed papers reporting of the current prevalence of child abuse, factors exposing children to physical and emotional maltreatment and psychosocial impairment of abusive practices were retrieved and carefully read. Additionally, peer reviewed papers on previous pandemics or epidemics were retrieved. The literature review was conducted without any geographic limitations, although the study only focuses on literature published in English. An advanced search was conducted using the databases Scopus, PubMed, PsycINFO, Web of Science and a search in Google Scholar to the first 10 frames. The following keywords were used to retrieve the relevant literature: (Abuse OR Maltreatment OR Ill-treatment OR Violence) AND (Child OR Infant OR Adolescent OR Under-age) AND (Pandemic OR Epidemic OR Plague OR Covid-19 OR Viral Contamination) AND (Impact OR Consequences OR Aftermath). The study did not seek to evaluate the quality of the articles, given a number were part of the grey literature, but rather to gather the available advice on the topic. As a consequence, a wide array of peer-reviewed articles, grey literature, and media reports were reviewed to meet the study objectives and gain updated knowledge on child maltreatment during the Covid-19 pandemic. While the mixing of both peer reviewed and grey literature is unusual, we are aware that media reports are often the precursor to serious policy and research on social problems. Further, we followed the guidelines proposed by Paez (2017) for use of grey literature in systematic literature reviews. Due to the complexity of research issues and to provide timely support for child maltreatment professionals, the paper provides a narrative discussion. One author (Parry) reviewed the findings. The identified discrepancies were resolved with the help of the third author (*Willis*).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The literature search resulted in 33 papers, of which 12 were peer-reviewed research articles, 12 were media reports (newspaper articles), 6 web pages and 3 reports (Appendix 1). The findings were grouped into three themes: The prevalence of child abuse, possible determinants of abusive behaviour towards children, and the Psycho-social impact of the child abuse during Covid-19 outbreak. The data is presented drawing, firstly, on the evidence from previous pandemics and epidemics and, then, on COVID 19 drawing on both grey (i.e., media reports, websites, and reports) and peer reviewed papers for both.

Prevalence of the child abuse during the Covid-19 outbreak

Pandemics expose children to all forms of maltreatment. In most cases, the perpetrators of these different forms of maltreatment are parents or family members. Research shows that two in every three children experience violent behaviour from caregivers during pandemic periods (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 2020b). Past pandemic incidences indicate that there is an upsurge in child abuse. For instance, the Ebola outbreak in Africa between 2014 to 2016 resulted a spike in child abuse and neglect, child labour and teenage pregnancies (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 2020b). Paediatricians also observed a sharp rise in child injuries and death from abusive head trauma during the disease outbreak and economic recession that followed for those countries caught in the outbreak (Agrawal, 2020).

Past pandemic experiences also led to predictions that sexual offences towards children would increase during the Covid-19 catastrophe. For example, throughout the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, particularly Guinea, there was a 4.5% increase in sexual violence and twice as many rapes. In Sierra Leone and Liberia, there was an upswing in adolescent pregnancy rates (Ketchell, 2020). France, Brazil, Germany, and Italy have also experienced an alarming rise of child abuse (Graham-Harrison, Giuffrida, Smith, & Ford, 2020). In France, there has been a 30% increase in domestic and child violence reports, while the violence figures in Brazil have jumped by 40-50% (Campbell, 2020).

Given the consequences of Covid-19 are unknown, the World Health Organization (WHO) (2020b) postulated that a third of world's population in lockdown with school enclosures would impact on more than 1.5 million children. For example, an increasing pattern of child abuse in the USA has come to light. A significant number of child maltreatment cases have been published by news media in the USA. Despite the assumption of increased child abuses during the pandemic, it is also thought that during lockdown measures, the reporting of many more cases to various childcare help line would decline (Woodall, 2020). It is believed that the schools are the most reliable sources of child maltreatment, but their closure limits reporting of child abuse incidences. Outside of reporting from schools, a variety of formal and informal sources play a major role in

reporting child abuse during pandemics. For instance, the online news media USA Today reported that hospitals are treating more children affected by abuse signalling that they are not safe at home during the Covid-19 pandemic (Woodall, 2020).

The Washington Post directly noted that reports of cases on child maltreatment have intensified since the Covid-19 pandemic started (Faiola & Herrero, 2020; Schmidt & Natanson, 2020). During March 2020, the National Child Abuse Hotline in the USA saw 31% more allegations than March 2019 (Schmidt & Natanson, 2020). The Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN) reported a 22% increase in monthly claims of abuse of children under 18 years during the lockdown period, with 67% of children revealing the perpetrator as a family member (Kamenetz, 2020). It is also assumed that in the USA, over 200,000 maltreatment allegations were unreported during March and April of 2020 (Barnum, 2020). The CNN and The New York Times projected that the recent decline of child maltreatment allegations to Abuse and Neglect hotlines during Covid-19 pandemic might mean a vast number of child abuse incidences are going unchecked and unnoticed (Agrawal 2020; LeBlanc, 2020). This may further result in long-term damage to the child's physical and psychological growth because the perpetrators may repeatedly mistreat children. The Human Right Watch (2020) has argued that due to reduced monitoring, child abuse is less likely to be detected and prioritized.

The issue of child sexual abuse has been extensively covered by various sources. The National Crime Agency in UK revealed that around 300,000 people in the UK are known to have sexually abused (via physical contact or online) children in the month of April 2020 (Grierson, 2020). Evidence suggests that sexual abuse is the hidden corollary of the Covid-19 pandemic. Numerous cases of child sexual abuse have been noted because of increased online activity by children during the lockdown. Reports by the Department of Justice of Philippines confirm this. They estimate that during the pandemic online sexual abuse against children has tripled with cases around 279,166 between March and May of 2020 (Handley, 2020).

Asian countries are also experiencing an increase in the incidences of child abuse during Covid-19 pandemic, although reports have been limited. The Guardian asserted that in China, reports of domestic violence particularly against women and children tripled and nearly 90% of the cases were linked to the Covid-19 pandemic (Graham – Harrison et al., 2020). A Government-led child helpline in India received more than 92,000 calls in first 11 days of lockdown measures in the country (Devare, 2020). If this persists, it can be assumed that millions of children are at risk of violence in South Asia.

The children of war-torn and disaster-affected areas are more vulnerable to maltreatment than children in other areas during the Covid-19 outbreak. For instance, Save the Children (2020) reported that around 5.5 million people including a significant proportion of children in Yemen, a combat-prone area, lack access to basic needs particularly food and health care during the pandemic. It is assumed that thousands of children will experience child neglect as a result of the persistent pandemic. Although limited, the evidence implies that a substantial proportion of children around the world will experience abuse and neglect in this unprecedented Covid-19 outbreak.

Possible factors for child maltreatment during the Covid-19 pandemic

It is important to note that the risks for child being abused by their parents or guardians is already common. The Covid-19 pandemic has increased stress for both children and their parents. The impact of Covid-19 restrictions around physical and social isolation has been a major factor in increasing the violence towards children. Overall, the circumstances surrounding the management of Covid-19 have intensified these risks.

Identified endogenous factors that place a child at risk of maltreatment include mental or physical disability (Leeb et al., 2012), children born before term (Tursz, 2011), and orphaned children (Morantz et al., 2013). With Covid-19, children with an existing risk for abuse have been confined socially and physically. Prior to the pandemic, these children had a routine; time at school, a few minutes walking in the park, perhaps a visit from an aunt or cousin. All these events may have protected them from maltreatment. However, once lockdown measures were put in place their vulnerability increased (Hjelmgaard, 2020). Some countries had had total lockdowns with people not able to walk down the streets. Children with inherent risks of abuse have had a radical change in their routine. Heightened changes in routine and behaviour for both the child and the caregiver can cause stress creating the potential for abuse. In some cases, Covid-19 restrictions have resulted in children being stuck at home with the wrong person.

It is assumed that during any pandemic crisis, there are failures in the job market and economic shutdown. Blustein et al. (2020) predicted that Covid-19 would generate rampant unemployment, effecting the well-beings of individuals and communities. In the management of Covid-19, WHO recommends social distancing of at least one metre (World Health Organization, 2020c) to reduce the spread, and the closure of companies and organisations that provide non-essential services resulting in further unemployment. Unemployment causes stress in an individual (McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005; Wanberg 2012) which in turn builds frustration that can be directed to the child. Losing a job has been associated with anxiety and depressive symptoms (Bordea, 2017) alongside social and economic loss that can be outwardly display as an irritable or withdrawn parent/guardian. The strains generated by economic losses during the pandemic can eventually dribble down to the children in the home in the form of both physical and emotional abuse. Research shows that children of unemployed parents are more susceptible to child maltreatment by their parents or other perpetrators, although the relationship is not well-understood (Raissian, 2015). It is usual that a stressed adult will have greater chances of verbally abusing a child by yelling, name calling, physical abuse in the form of beating, or even ignoring the needs of the child as a form of neglect.

Unemployment also impacts on household income. Some governments have sought to supplement the incomes of these families by introducing support programs. Kotch et al. (1995) found low income was a predictor of abuse for children, with children from families with lower incomes at higher risk. The kind of abuse associated with reduced income

includes neglect and emotional abuse. The loss of jobs has also meant that families are unable to provide for their children. Failure to meet even the most basic needs can be stressful. There is evidence in mainstream media, via videos and articles of women demonstrating on the streets due to a lack of money needed to feed their children. Lindo, Schaller, and Hansen (2013) conjectured that economic conditions are not always the primary cause of accelerating the rate of child abuse during epidemic—other social dysfunctional factors come into play.

Adverse events, for example pandemics, test couples' and families' coping mechanisms, with those unable to cope sometimes seeking divorce and separation. The level of divorce is postulated to increase during the post-pandemic period. Separation of spouses, divorce, and Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) have direct effects on the mental health of some children (Morrison & Cherlin, 1995). Furthermore, divorce results in decrease in income for the family and causes further stress between the parents that can be translated as abuse to the child. IPV is reported in media. Taub (2020) reported of one media story of how a woman was beaten by her husband while she held her child during the Covid-19 lockdown. Lee (2020) also found that in Hubei province of China, police noted that domestic violence cases had more than tripled during February 2020 in comparison to previous years. These types of stress translate into emotional abuse and neglect for children. Moreover, it is assumed that the Covid-19 pandemic will increase the exposure of children to parents or family members who are addicted to substance abuse (Rosenthal & Thompson, 2020). This could intensify parents' predilection to child violence.

Possible psycho-social impacts of child abuse during the Covid-19 pandemic

No studies were found which explicitly measured and discussed the potential impact of violence against children during pandemic or disasters. The findings of the studies included in this review primarily reported on the general social and health afflictions caused by the negligent behaviour parents or guardians against children during Covid-19 periods, with the majority focusing on the health consequences infected children.

The social and psychological adversities experienced by children during Covid-19 pandemic are mostly understood as outcomes of child neglect, which in turn is caused by the social and economic downfall. The common pandemic stressors including social restrictions, unemployment and the economic recession have put pressure on families resulting in domestic violence, reduced capacity to regulate stresses, and other mental health disorders (Fegert et al., 2020). Children are easy victims. Research has shown that children who experienced adverse childhood events have a higher risk of depression and anxiety across the lifespan (Currie & Tekin, 2012; Manyema, Norris, & Richter, 2018; Norman et al., 2012; Toth & Manly, 2019). The past incidents indicate that children, in particular, have a higher risk of psychological illness from the exposure to any pandemic. For instance, during the SARS outbreak in Singapore in 2003, children mostly experienced psychosomatic adversities, fostered by nervousness and fear of infection. If infected, the extent of traumatic experience was higher than usual psychiatric experiences (Fischer et al., 2018).

Explicitly, children infected with Covid-19 are at risk of mental illnesses, without any need of social stressors. Research indicates that in the cases of the Influenza and Swine Flu pandemics, survivors of the infection including children suffered from problematic coping behaviours, anxiety, post-traumatic stress and depressive disorders (Brand, McKay, Wheaton & Abramowitz, 2013; Fegert et al., 2020; Fischer et al., 2018; Lau et al., 2005; Mak, Chu, Pan, You, & Chan, 2009; Reissman, Watson, Klomp, Tanielian, & Prior, 2006). Beyond the history of depressive disorders, Okusaga et al. (2011) revealed that seropositivity for influenza and coronavirus are also associated with suicide attempts. Further, as the viral contamination is transmitted from human to human body, infected children may miss out on physical interactions with caregivers and thereby receive insufficient affection. Conversely, if parents or caregivers are infected with Covid-19, they too may minimise physical affection.

Outside of parental care, children may not be able to access proper health care during the pandemic. The “Young Minds”, a mental health charity survey, found that around 26% participants aged below 25 years were unable to access mental health support in the UK (Lee, 2020). This could further aggravate the condition of patients with psychological disorders in the post-Covid-19 period, because of delay in prompt diagnosis and treatment.

The conditions implemented to manage the outbreak of Covid-19 may impact on the psycho-social wellbeing of children. Of note, Governments in many countries have imposed strict guidelines during Covid-19 to maintain public health awareness measures, such as social distancing, quarantine, or travel restrictions. Unexpectedly, these have proven to have a psychological effect on a number of population groups (Fischer et al., 2018; Rosenthal & Thompson, 2020). These public health measures may generate a specific type of neglect, particularly for children and the elderly. Research postulates that children who have been neglected by peers or familial attachment show more internalized negative behaviours such as isolation, poor inter-personal relationships, social withdrawal, and depression (Lamont, 2010; Xiang, Wang, & Guan, 2018). It is commonly understood that a child’s relationship with their friends or peers plays a pivotal role in their social and cognitive development. The closure of schools in most countries has limited social contacts, which has disrupted the social interaction of children with their peer group, friends, and teachers. Previous epidemics have reported the psychological impact of this social isolation measure for children. For example, during the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) epidemic in Sierra Leone, social distancing interrupted the camaraderie between children and their peers. Children reported feelings of isolation and depression (Risso-Gill & Finnegan, 2015). Their social interaction was confined to family members, which further increased the risk of experiencing repetitive maltreatment. It is evident that children subjected to abuse are more likely to display dysfunctional psychological and cognitive development characteristics of loss of self-respect, impudent attitudes, deterioration of social skills and poor peer-relations (Meltzer, Doos, Vostanis, Ford, & Goodman, 2009; Toth & Manly, 2019).

Furthermore, the wearing of masks, gloves, and shields recommended in Covid-19 management plans and the requirement to stay away from this infectious disease (World Health Organization, 2020c) creates barriers to effective bonding and can be a source of distress for a child diagnosed or suspected to have the disease. These measures may instil fear

of avoidance among them and may also instigate a feeling of shame or disgrace by others (Bennett, Sullivan, & Lewis, 2010). Evidence suggests the prolonged exercise of these plans often leads to the rise of social stigma among children. During the Rift Valley Fever (RVF) outbreak in Tanzania in 2007, the affected communities reported feelings of social stigma that were associated with the loss of social dignity and honour (Peyre et al., 2015). The WHO has also warned against the social stigma that may arise from the Covid-19 outbreak (World Health Organization, 2020b). This negative experience could result in adverse psychological effects on children (Bennett et al., 2010).

The obligatory maintenance of institutional quarantine for international travellers as a means to curb the spread of the disease (Chinazzi et al., 2020) may also have a traumatic impact on children. Across the world international travellers have to quarantine for a period of at least two weeks. In some instances, there is a lack of basic needs in the quarantine centres. The centres often do not mimic a normal social environment for a child, and this may result in neglect (Rosenthal & Thompson, 2020).

CONCLUSION

Apart from the direct physical effects of pandemics, the global catastrophes like Covid-19 outbreak usually have indirect effects mediated by social factors, economic impact, existing medical conditions, and guidelines stipulated in management of these pandemics. This review suggests that Covid-19 may have increased the risk of both physical and psychological maltreatment for children. The review also delineated the possible child health adversities that might occur as a result of Covid-19. While efforts are being made to screen and follow-up cases attention should also be given to children to mitigate the risk of maltreatment.

The study addressed the following underlying protective measures for the safeguard of vulnerable children during the unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic.

1. Parents, frontline physicians, childcare services, and paediatricians must be aware of children's needs and health care during quarantine periods.
2. Poor or impoverished families should be eligible for government or private agencies aid or relief.
3. Awareness programs from government and community level should be initiated to keep children safe from violence inside of home during the lockdown and from the impact of social distancing measures during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Limitations

The present review has a number of limitations. Very few relevant cross-sectional peer-reviewed articles, government reports, lead articles in the print or online media, or internet documents were found, limiting the validity of this review. Further to this, the review draws on examples of other pandemics and epidemics such as the Ebola epidemic. While the

examples of other major disasters are useful, it has yet to be established what the major differences are between past pandemics/epidemics and Covid-19. The conclusions we have drawn may be inappropriate to other contexts. This narrative review follows a systematic pattern of retrieving records, but due to insufficient published studies on child abuse during the current Covid-19 outbreak, it was not possible to implement a methodical screening process and, hence, the results should be viewed with caution. Given these limitations, no statistical analysis was possible. The time limitation is also a major hindrance of the study. However, the narrative discussion of the review was methodologically robust and comprehensive.

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APPENDIX

Characteristics of included papers

SL. No.	Author (Year of publication)	Publication type	Context/geographic area	Key concepts discussed
1.	United Nations Children's Fund (2020b)	Web pages article	African region	Rise in child abuse cases associated with the pandemic Ebola in Africa
2.	Agrawal (2020)	Media report	USA	Increase in child injuries during the Covid-19 pandemic. Possibilities of under-reporting child abuse during the pandemic
3.	Woodall (2020)	Media report	USA	Decline in reporting of child abuse via child helplines
4.	Schmidt & Natanson (2020)	Media report	USA	Increase in child abuse reporting
5.	Faiola, Faiola, & Herrero (2020)	Media report	USA	Domestic violence during Covid-19 pandemic
6.	Kamenetz (2020)	Media report	USA	Increase in child abuse reporting
7.	Barnum (2020)	Webpages article	USA	Unreported child maltreatment cases
8.	LeBlanc (2020)	Media report	USA	Chances of under-reporting child abuse during the pandemic
9.	Human Rights Watch (2020)	Webpages article	USA	Reduced child abuse due to reduced monitoring for abuse among children
10.	Grierson (2020)	Media report	UK	Report on estimated numbers of child abuse
11.	Handley (2020)	Media Report	Australia	Violence against women and girls during Covid-19 pandemic
12.	Ketchell (2020)	Webpage article	Global perspective	Increase in reported child abuse during the Ebola pandemic
13.	Graham-Harrison et al. (2020)	Media report	Global perspective	Increased cases of child abuse Increase in reported violence against women and children

Child abuse during the Covid-19 pandemic

14.	Campbell (2020)	Journal article	Special issue Perspectives	Increased cases of domestic and child violence
15.	Devare (2020)	Media report	US	Social disorganization during Covid-19 pandemic
16.	Save the Children (2020)	Organisation report	Yemen	Child lacking access to basic needs
17.	Hjelmgaard (2020)	Media report	Global perspective	Child vulnerability to maltreatment
18.	Blustein et al. (2020)	Journal article	Editorial paper	Economic impact of Covid-19
19.	Taub (2020)	Media report	Global perspectives	Reported stories of intimate partner violence during the Covid-19 lockdown
20.	Rosenthal & Thompson (2020)	Journal article	Patient recommendations	Child exposure to substance abuse Psychological impact of public health measures
21.	Fegert et al. (2020)	Journal article	Review Article	Challenges and burden of the Covid-19 pandemic for child and adolescent mental health
22.	Okusaga et al. (2011)	Journal article	Global Perspective	Association of seropositivity for influenza and coronaviruses with history of mood disorders and suicide attempt
23.	Risso-Gill & Finnegan (2015)	Organisation report	Sierra Leone	Effect of social distancing during the Ebola outbreak
24.	Chinazzi et al. (2020)	Journal article	China	Travel restrictions and reducing the spread of Covid-19
25.	World Health Organization (2020c)	Webpage article	Global perspective	The measures to reduce the spread of Covid-19
26.	Peyre et al. (2015)	Journal article	Scoping review	Social effects of the rift Valley fever
27.	World Health Organization (2020b)	Webpage article	Stakeholder opinion	Child Violence associated with Covid-19
28.	Fischer et al. (2018)	Organisation report	Guidance note	The effect of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome SARS outbreak on mental health of a child Psychological impact of

				pandemics
29.	Brand et al. (2013)	Journal article	USA	The relationship between anxiety sensitivity symptoms and Swine flu fears
30.	Lau et al. (2005)	Journal article	Hong Kong	Population understanding of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS)
31.	Mak et al. (2009)	Journal article	Hong Kong	Prevalence of long-term psychiatric morbidities among survivors of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS)
32.	Reissman et al. (2006)	Journal article	USA	Psychological preparedness for pandemics
33.	Lee (2020)	Journal article	Author reflections	Access to mental health support during Covid-19 school closures