Drivers of Violence Against Adolescents in Myanmar

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The Drivers of Violence Against Adolescents in Myanmar: Consultations to Inform Adolescent Programming Report is part of the **Understanding Violence Against Adolescents in Myanmar Series** which aims to contribute to this growing body of evidence to understand better why violence against children is happening and what is driving it. The Series draws data from both nationally representative data as is presented in this report and from the UNICEF-supported interventions where diverse information is being collected as part of programme monitoring. The Series attempts to give it a closer look at the data and information at hand and dig deeper the issue of violence against children in Myanmar. We hope to generate evidence, create deeper understanding of the issue and stimulate discussions – all to better inform programming to address violence against children in Myanmar.

This publication has been funded by the Australian Government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Government of Canada, as well as the UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict. The views expressed in this publication are the author's alone and are not necessarily the views of the Australian Government, Canadian Government, UN Action or UNICEF.

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Suggested citation: Fry, D. and S. McChesney. The Drivers of Violence Against Adolescents in Myanmar: Consultations to Inform Adolescent Programming. Yangon: UNICEF, 2019.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was written by Dr Deborah Fry from the University of Edinburgh and Stacer McChesney from Plan International with formatting and editing assistance from Chad Hemady as part of the **Understanding Violence Against Adolescence in Myanmar Series** commissioned by UNICEF Myanmar.

This project would not have been possible without the guidance and feedback from key UNICEF Myanmar Staff to whom the consultant team is most grateful: Chief of Child Protection Noriko Izumi and her team including Ruslana Sirman, San Tun and Kyi Htun from the Rakhine field office, Khet Mar from the Myitkyina UNICEF office, Van Chi Pham and Pwint Mon Shwe Win from UNICEF Myanmar Country Office.

This consultation was conducted on the ground by Plan International in Kachin, Relief International in Central Rakhine, and Community and Family Services International (CFSI) in Northern Rakhine.

In Kachin, warm gratitude goes to the Plan International facilitators Lawrence Set Nyi Nyi Aung, Luk Nam, La Ring, Htaw Mar, the Plan International management team John Aung, Soe Moe Kyaw and Lin Lin Aung, and to the Karuna Mission Social Solidarity facilitators Mung Chyi Awng, Seng Nan, Roi Nan, and Mung Dam for their passion and tireless dedication to the development of young people in Kachin State.

In Central Rakhine, we would like to thank the Relief International facilitators Chit Naing, Khin Hnin Hnin Khine, Myo Sandar Aung, and Sandar Kyaw; the notetakers Aye Aye San, Khin Mar Win, and Kyaw Ko Ko Lwin; and the Muslim Translators Daw Ma Htay and Maung Maung Khin.

In Northern Rakhine, we would like to express our warmest thanks and gratitude to Community and Family Services International (CFSI) Team who heartily and arduously facilitated the Myanmar Adolescent Consultation process with adolescent groups in Maungdaw and Buthidaung Townships in Rakhine State. The CFSI team of facilitators and note-takers consists of Mohamed Shaker, Aung Zaw Phroe, Ma San Thein, Khine Than Zin Thin, Yee Yee Than, Zin Mar Lwin, Sadak Husson, Maung Kyaw Myaing, Tawsmein, Mi Phyu, Mohamed Alom, Khin Khin Oo, Abdul Hashim, and Cho Mar Myint. Credit also goes to Ali Zuhar, CFSI Community Services Officer, for organising the team and providing leadership support throughout the process.

Most importantly, to the young people of who took part in this study, thank you for sharing your perspectives, insights, and boundless creativity. This is dedicated to you.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Consultations with 207 young people ages 18 to 22 years old (95 males, 112 females) using a range of participatory activities were held in Central Rakhine, Northern Rakhine and Kachin Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Camps and host communities (defined as non-IDP communities in Northern Rakhine with both Muslim and Rakhine participants), to explore social norms and drivers of violence against children with the specific goal of (re)designing prevention interventions.

Complimentary quantitative polls were also conducted using U-Report. U-Report is an innovation based, user-centred social monitoring tool based on simple Short Message Service (SMS) messages (poll questions, results, and sharing of useful information). It is designed to strengthen community-led development. In total, U-Reporters provided responses to several polls in the consultation phase (9,827 polls were filled out by females, 6,809 by males and 356 by those who identified in non-gender binary terms as 'other').

Key areas of exploration for both the qualitative consultation and the U-Report polls were identified through an initial secondary analysis of national surveys such as the Global School Based Health Survey (GSHS), the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) and the Myanmar Census as being key issues for young people in order to improve programming:

- school violence and bullying,
- migration,
- substance abuse,
- adolescent intimate partner violence and help-seeking behaviours.

The consultations also highlighted the dynamics of growing up in Myanmar and different adolescent profiles in these areas.

Key Findings

School Violence and Bullying

Perhaps what is most alarming is that out of 96 countries that use the GSHS measure, Myanmar is the only country globally where self-reported school violence and bullying has an increasing trend for both boys and girls. To understand what is causing this school violence and bullying, the consultation process asked young people about their perceptions of the causes of bullying in school.

Young people thought the main causes of bullying related to lack of empathy and intolerance of difference. Most of the main causes young people ranked as the top causes of bullying pointed to a lack of empathy that pupils have towards others who are different (whether different ethnicity, appearance, gender, socio-economic status, etc). This is one of the coherent overarching themes coming out of the school violence and bullying data from the qualitative focus groups. As one group from Northern Rakhine mentioned, one of their top reasons for what causes bullying is that "there is no sympathy in humanity…hatred is always given precedence."

Young people highlighted the link between how teachers treat students and how students treat each other. When young people talked about bullying in the listing and ranking activity, they often talked about the preferential treatment from teachers (either for good or in terms of corporal punishment) and the links with bullying between pupils. The example given by participants in Central Rakhine was around teachers favouring rich students by giving them hints for exams and also that those students who cannot make donations for seasonal occasions (such as Kathein ceremony offerings to monks) are badly treated by teachers and then, in turn, are also badly treated by pupils. In this way, teachers' treatment of pupils sets the example for how pupils also treat each other.

School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) was commonly mentioned by both boys and girls. Strikingly, in both the Muslim girls' and boys' groups, one main reason for bullying was *because of being a girl* or gender inequality. This also came up in girls' IDP camps as a main reason, but specifically teasing and bullying behaviours related to girls' body parts especially during puberty (e.g. growing buttocks and breasts). Whereas, SRGBV also happened to boys in IDP camps as a way to put boys in their place and make fun of them through sexual harassment. Examples given include getting their trousers and *longyis* pulled off and their butts being fingered from behind *almost always by other boys.*

Norms differ among boys and girls about what they should do if they witness school violence or bullying. When asked how they thought their friends *would expect them to react if they witnessed bullying,* 70% of females compared to only 42% of males said their friends would expect them to report it to another adult—the most common expectation for both genders. Whereas, boys also had expectations from friends in 1 in 5 instances to join in on the bullying or in nearly 1 in 4 instances to intervene. This suggests that the norms are much stronger for girls and in one direction (to report)—whereas there are conflicting norms from friends for boys on whether to report, to try and stop the bullying and/or to join in on the bullying. Likewise, young people experienced conflicting normative messages from parents and teachers about what they are expected to do if they witness bullying. This data suggests that a school-based intervention that focuses on bystander roles could be successful in shifting norms since there is not one single strong norm influencing behaviour.

Intimate Partner Violence

Existing nationally representative data from the Demographic Health Survey (2015/16) highlight that *intimate partner violence is frequent in adolescent relationships* in Myanmar with 15% of 15- to 19-year-old girls who are in relationships having experienced physical violence by their partner since age 15. Of these, 10% have experienced it often or sometime in the past 12 months. *Adolescents who are married as children also experience the highest levels of controlling behaviours from their spouses and partners.* Most marital control behaviours are more common in the youngest age group: 10% of women age 15-19 report that their husbands demonstrate three or more marital control behaviours, as compared with 6% of women age 40-49.

Adolescents also hold more negative gender norm beliefs around intimate partner violence than adults with 64% of all adolescents agreeing with at least one statement condoning the use of intimate partner violence compared to 52% of adults. *Common across all the activities in the focus groups, equating love with violence was a central theme particularly for young people from host communities in Kachin and Central Rakhine.* For Northern Rakhine in both Rakhine and Muslim community sites we see stressors, such as lack of employment opportunities, as being one of the top reasons for violence within relationships (mentioned more frequently by boys) alongside gender inequality (mentioned by girls).

A total of 5,174 participants ages 18 to 24 years old filled out the U-report questions on gender norms (3,140 girls and 1,976 boys, and 58 participants with non-binary gender from 15 regions in the country) and the *findings show that perceptions of the acceptance of controlling behaviours came up frequently among young people*, echoing the findings from the DHS data that adolescent girls experience a larger amount of controlling behaviours in their relationships. Monitoring of their partners was identified as socially acceptable behaviour to be done by boys and girls with monitoring movements by about 1 in 5 young people and monitoring social media by approximately 1 in 3 young people. Similar to monitoring physical movements, monitoring online movements and interactions was perceived to be acceptable behaviour regardless of whether it was done by teenage boy to his girlfriend/wife (where 30.4% of girls and 34.4% of boys agreed) or by a teenage girl to her boyfriend/husband (with 34.1% of girls and 30.8% of boys agreeing).

While controlling behaviours happen to both boys and girls in relationships, the gender norm is that girls cannot go against their partner's control without repercussions (disapproval from parents and even violence from partners, for example). For girls, more than half believe that parents and friends will disagree with them if they disobey their husband or boyfriend. This sanction or negative repercussion for not following the social norm (in this instance to obey your husband and boyfriend) only existed for girls. This social norm around who has control in the relationship over the other person's behaviour is important for understanding repercussions (such as violence) when a girl breaks this norm, with parents serving as the main reference network for how a young wife should behave in a marriage with her husband.

Feelings of jealousy, often described as "loving too much", underpin controlling behaviours among adolescents in intimate relationships. These controlling behaviours were linked to attention seeking among boys which also lead to restricted social networks and activities for their female partner. Among girls these feelings of jealousy also lead to the monitoring of their social media activity within the relationship as well as pushing expectations upon their male partner to demonstrate proof of their affection. When discussing how girls could respond to experiencing physical intimate partner violence, both boy and girl groups responded with suggestions that the girl could explain herself and reason with her partner. *Such responses underpin the typical expectation of girls, which is to play a communicative role in their relationship, family, and community. Apart from intimate partner violence, this gender role was a regular theme across many discussions including forced migration and child marriage.*

Adolescents do tell someone such as a family member about the violence they experience in their relationships but they are less likely to seek professional help than adults. DHS data highlighted that for those that had experienced violence, 50.2% of girls (1 in every 2 girls) aged 15-19 years told someone about the violence they experienced but also reported not seeking professional help (higher than all other age groups) for said violence. When explored in qualitative focus groups it was found that several factors inhibit help-seeking. Both boys and girls mentioned the shame and stigma of having experienced violence as a barrier to help-seeking alongside being fearful of the safety for a girl if she does report. Uniquely, girls also mentioned what they called 'cultural norms and attitudes', citing specifically that a girl may not know that what she is experiencing is indeed violent behaviour, nor the existing laws in place surrounding intimate partner violence. They also mentioned that even if she was aware of such laws, the laws themselves would not be helpful to her. Girls also mentioned that their religious beliefs reinforce the concept that the violence they are experiencing in their relationships are their given luck or destiny, because their lives have already been written for them.

These are significant normative barriers to help-seeking that programming should seek to address specifically among girls.

Migration

From national data, findings show that *nearly 1 in every 5 young people (ages 15-24) in Myanmar have migrated from their place of birth with very little difference between boys and girls.* Furthermore, the demographics of migration show that older adolescents (ages 15-19 years old) are more likely to migrate for employment opportunities compared to younger adolescents who migrate with their families. Also uniquely, young people who migrate for employment (often internationally) are from the wealthiest quintiles, which is different to other countries in the region where migration typically affects those in lower wealth quintiles who migrate to earn money to send back to their families. Exploring the causes of migration through the qualitative focus groups found that both IDP and host community young people identified the desire to upgrade one's living standard through education and job opportunities as a key driver for adolescent migration. These groups also identified difficulties in business due to a variety of reasons ranging from employer exploitation and inflation in host communities, to restrictions on business in IDP camps, as drivers for adolescent migration. Both groups also mentioned war or conflict as an impetus for young people to migrate. When discussing this topic with groups in both IDP and host communities in Kachin State, both boy and girl groups highlighted linkages to early marriage for girls as a potential outcome of migration and playing a financial support role for their family in their home community.

Some important differences emerged between host community and IDP adolescents in relation to migration. IDP young people mentioned two unique themes. *One was the freedom that comes with migration,* as they mentioned 'wide spaces', the ability to 'go freely', and the draw to migrate to urban centres and cities. *IDP young people also discussed at length the racial and religious discrimination that has led to the conflicts that then lead to migration.*

Throughout discussion activities across all sites, participants often provided community anecdotes related to the topics being discussed. In Kachin all of the anecdotes regarding migration and employment shared by both boy and girl groups were of girls who migrated in order to provide support for their families, many of which were also linked to child marriage. While the underlying theme of providing for the family was consistent between sites, the perspective and response to being pressured into migration differed between Kachin and Rakhine. While in Central Rakhine, the majority of discussion groups proposed that girls should research their destination country and verify the work arrangements made for them to avoid trafficking, Kachin groups suggested that girls should articulate their opinions and desires to stay near home while seeking support from family and the community.

Substance Abuse

Substance abuse was a topical theme identified by the programme team as an area that anecdotally was seen as a big problem among adolescents within the study sites. Substance abuse is also an area where there is no nationally representative data for adolescents in terms of prevalence. Among the 4,160 respondents to the U-Report poll, both female and male said they did know someone who uses drugs (n=2,304). *Approximately 1 in every 2 young people said that drug use was 'common' amongst their friends* and, considering that the U-Report respondents are likely to be more 'engaged' youth, we can hypothesize that this may even be an underestimate of the true prevalence. *Both boys and girls also responded that drugs were both available and affordable to adolescents in their communities.*

When asked what they thought caused drug use, a combination of boredom and being influenced by others accounted for approximately 50-70% of the reasons, according to young people. Consistent with previous findings that determine the strongest reference network, the majority of respondents from all genders and regions had indicated that they would speak to their friend if they were worried that someone was taking drugs. While similar to the issue of adolescent intimate partner violence, many girls would also disclose to their mothers when worried about someone's potential drug use.

In Central and Northern Rakhine, community anecdotes shared by participants show that drug abuse is an issue that affects both boys and girls. Although this may also be true in Kachin State, all community anecdotes shared by participants were of boys who had become addicted to drugs. Discussions with participants during the vignette activity also showed that intervention approaches in response to the individual's drug use vary based on location and sex of the victim. In Kachin, the common intervention method for the male drug user in the vignette story focused on relocation, rehabilitation, military enrolment, and religious intervention with local leaders and youth groups. In Central Rakhine however, the intervention response for the female drug user in the vignette, apart from seeking external support from family and service providers, was to shift her focus away from drugs through increased socialization and activities with her friends.

Recommendations

Responses from these groups across all activities not only identified underlying trends that link behaviours, practices and expectations to the drivers behind violence against children, but also the programming interventions and potential entry points to mitigate and respond to them. The following programmatic recommendations are not meant to be taken as stand-alone interventions to be applied in one region, but rather as elements of a design that should be included or strengthened with the partnership and collective input shared among the development community, including local civil society organisations (CSOs), government stakeholders, service providers, community leaders, parents, and most importantly youth themselves. These recommendations are based on the evidence found through this consultation process of analysing national data, consultations with young people in three sites and findings from U-Report polls.

No.	Thematic Programming Area	Target Groups	Intervention Specified	Evidence–based Issue Targeted
1.	Gender Transformative Child and Adolescent Programming	Children	**Mental health and psychosocial support / empathy building with children**	Bullying and early gender-based harassment between young students at school
		Adolescents	**Peer-to-peer dialogue on healthy intimate relationships, communication, gender roles, and solidarity**	Peer bullying at school, violence in relationships and community
		Adolescents	**Regional specific vocational and job skills training**	Unsafe job environment (i.e. migration, trafficking, mines)
		Adolescents Boys	**Positive masculinity development with boys and role-models**	Violent behaviours relationships; Risk behaviours
		Adolescents	**Drug awareness prevention linked to productive alternatives**	Drug use among school-aged boys and girls

No.	Thematic Programming Area	Target Groups	Intervention Specified	Evidence–based Issue Targeted
2.	Parent/Guardian Intervention	Parents / Guardians	**Adolescent Parenting Curriculum**	Family / community shame is a barrier to disclosure and help seeking for girls
		Parents / Guardians & Adolescents	**Intergenerational Dialogue**	
3.	School-Based Violence and Bullying Intervention	Teachers of children and adolescents / students	**Active by-stander intervention trainings**	Discriminatory behaviours sourced from both teachers and students; Gender-based discrimination cited as early as 6-7 years old at school
		Teachers of children and adolescents / students	**Gender-based bullying prevention, including primary schools**	
		Teachers	**Collaboration with government on positive discipline focused training programs and identifying effective teaching approaches**	
4.	Community Support Strengthening	Health / protection service providers	**Youth friendly, counseling, service provision, protection response networks, and reporting platforms**	Mixed community / household solutions to drug use, i.e. relocation, military, etc.
		Religious Leaders		Perception that survivors of violence are "destined" to be victims
		Private sector / vocational schools / entrepreneurs	**Private sector collaboration to identify and develop employment opportunities and vocation training**	Risk of unsafe jobs (i.e. migration, child marriage, trafficking, drug use)

In Summary

Through these consultations, young people highlighted social norms of being shamed in front of friends and specific emotional abuse/controlling behaviours as being a key driver of intimate partner violence and bullying. Discrimination came up substantially in the social norms data as both a driver of coercive controlling behaviour between partners but also peers (e.g. bullying). Young people also highlighted the more structural drivers of both substance abuse and migration and the complex drivers' pathways for both that differ by region.

The consultation findings are intended to help practitioners and policymakers and advance their awareness to support investments on prevention intervention programmes to reduce the prevalence of violence against children. The findings document theoretical and practical learning on how implementation can and should be adapted in context-sensitive, complex situations found in humanitarian settings. A workshop was held in Yangon in June 2019 to discuss findings with key stakeholder groups which has informed this final consultation report. A suite of other materials including key thematic papers from secondary analysis of national quantitative data are also available from this reprogramming exercise.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Violence against children (VAC) is a global challenge affecting up to than 1.7 billion children every year - more than 110,000 children per hour- with wide-reaching consequences for children, families and even nations (Hillis et al 2016; Know Violence in Childhood 2017). Evidence in the last decade from coalitions of scientists, donors and policy makers is unequivocal (Together for Girls 2018): violence in childhood is deeply damaging. It disrupts the formation of human capabilities; it breeds fear and it violates children's dignity. Violence affects children's health and education and restricts children's future life opportunities. Beyond the human costs, there are also financial consequences (Fry 2016; Fang et al 2015).

Violence against children (VAC) has been recognized as one of the global development agendas in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and UNICEF at country level is expected to take the lead in assisting national governments to achieve those goals. The Government of Myanmar is committed to the overall ASEAN-led efforts at regional level on ending violence against children. In particular the Government in partnership with UNICEF had successfully organised the national consultation in early April 2019 with the framework of the mid-term review of the ASEAN Regional Plan of Action on the Elimination of VAC The issue of Violence Against Children (VAC) in Myanmar is also getting more visibility in recent months due to the increasing global attention to children and armed conflict agenda. Besides the children and armed conflict agenda, the disclosure of serious cases of child sexual abuse within the social media, such as the Victoria case, has caught high attention from the society, pressuring the government for urgent protection of children from all forms of violence, abuse and exploitation.

In 2018, UNICEF and its local implementing partners (IP) assisted 13,226 adolescent boys and girls affected by emergencies by teaching them life skills and awareness-raising activities. Although these activities have been somewhat effective in increasing utilisation of services and enhancing incident reporting, they have not always been able to adequately address social norms and determinants of violence against children and women/girls, as well as barriers to disclosure and help-seeking. In order to improve focus on preventing violence against children and adolescent boys and girls, and generate more sustained behavioural change, UNICEF initiated a reprogramming exercise with the objective to consolidate more accurate and in-depth information on social dynamics, behavioural patterns and locally relevant pathways to change related to the prevention and response to violence against children and women/girls. There is a particular focus on adolescents and youth in crisis situations in Myanmar in this consultation in order to develop more locally relevant, evidence-based and sustainable community-based interventions and services responsive to the specific needs and demands of adolescents and youth.

This adolescent reprogramming exercise had series of evidence-generation activities covered in this report and a series of data briefs, which aim to contribute to the growing body of evidence to understand better why violence against children is happening, and what is driving it– all to better inform programming to address violence against children and adolescents in Myanmar.

The Lens of Social Norms

The rules and beliefs around behaviour within a culture or society are known as social norms, which assume certain standards of appropriate behaviour in terms of what is socially or culturally acceptable as well as governing our interactions with others (WHO, 2009). These cultural and social norms persevere within our societies because of an individual's predilection to conform as well as assuming others will also conform (WHO, 2009). There are both internal and external factors involved in the

maintenance of cultural and social norms such as the expectation of social approval or disapproval and the associated feelings of acceptance or guilt (Fry, Hodzi & Nhenga, 2016). For these reasons, cultural and social norms are highly effective in determining individual actions and behaviours, which includes the perpetration of violence (WHO, 2009). This consultation had developed specific activities to help determine which causes of violence against adolescents may be *normative*.

Norms can be a protective factor, but they can also promote and reinforce the use of violence and this understanding is important for violence prevention (Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016). In addition, different types of violence are reinforced by different cultural and social norms (e.g. child maltreatment is reinforced when children have lower status in society and gender-based violence (GBV) is more prevalent when men have more power in society than women) (WHO, 2009). Social norms are often presented as cultural or traditional and therefore unchanging, however there is plenty of evidence that social norms can and do change in societies (Marcus and Page 2014; Watson 2015). A growing evidence base demonstrates that well developed interventions can catalyse changes in violent behaviour (Neville, 2015) and this is what is being undertaken as part of the Myanmar reprogramming process – understanding which behaviours and norms underpin adolescent experiences of violence and how we can utilise our programmes to address and prevent this violence.

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2 METHODOLOGY

Violence - sexual, physical and emotional - occurs in the homes, schools and communities of children throughout the country. Confronted with growing global evidence on the incidence and prevalence of violence, governments and policy makers are asking: What drives violence affecting adolescents and what can be done to address it?

Identifying and analysing what shapes behaviours that affect violence that adolescents experience is important for creating effective behaviour change programmes. This series of consultation activities helped to identify root causes and drivers of violence to better inform national strategies and interventions for violence prevention. The goal was to translate evidence and use it more effectively in policy, practice guidelines and implementation throughout Myanmar by answering the following questions:

- What are the current gaps in evidence to help inform current adolescent programmes to prevent violence?
- What are the main causes of violence against adolescents, from adolescents' own perspectives?
- What are the drivers' pathways (e.g. the causes of the causes) that drive violence against adolescents?
- Which groups of people are important for changing these drivers?

These evidence-generating activities employed a mixed methods approach that allowed data to be unpacked to determine the normative components and contexts around the drivers of violence against adolescents. This approach consists of four main components:

1. A secondary analysis of existing national datasets;
2. Based on this secondary analysis, an outcome mapping undertaken to understand the current programming and existence of data/evidence gaps;
3. Based on these evidence gaps, participatory consultations (called Round Robin sessions) held with young people in Kachin, Rakhine and Northern Rakhine; and
4. Complementary quantitative U-report 'polls' conducted with young people across the country.

The details of each of these methods will be further described below.

2.1 Secondary Analysis of National Surveys

The 2015/16 Demographic Health Survey (DHS) dataset, the most recent Census data (2014) and the Global School-Based Health Survey from 2007 and 2016 as well as the 2009/2010 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey were analysed to explore the scope, causes and consequences of the following issues (see Table 1):

- School violence and bullying,
- Child marriage,
- Adolescent intimate partner violence,
- Adolescent sexual and reproductive health,
- Help-seeking and disclosure behaviours, and
- Migration

A detailed secondary analysis report contains more detailed information on the methodology and findings from these analyses. Data are also included in this report as an introduction to each evidence chapter.

2.2 Outcome Mapping

A participatory, theory-based approach to evaluation, called 'Outcome Mapping', was used to assess current programme logic (Morton, 2015; www.matter-of-focus.com). Outcome Mapping, which mapped current programmes in the area of child protection funded by UNICEF in Kachin, Rakhine and Northern Rakhine, asked 5 key questions:

1. What we do (activities)
2. Who it's with (target groups)
3. How they feel about it (process)
4. What they learn and gain (knowledge and skills)
5. What they do differently as a result (behaviour change)
6. What difference this makes (impact)

Through participatory workshops with programme implementers this activity helped to:

1. clarify the contribution of the programme to reduce violence in terms of defining shared agreements, assumptions and understanding of key risks with stakeholders and project teams,
2. assemble and align existing data and evidence to understand the delivery and impacts of the programmes to determine whether activities are contributing to the outcomes as intended and where data gaps exist for understanding behavior to contribute to better programming, and
3. share and embed learning around programmes and their intended outcomes among implementation teams.

2.3 Round Robin Methodology

Previous studies on social and behaviour change have utilised participatory group sessions (called 'Round Robin Discussions'). The Round Robin methodology was originally developed by Drs. Fry and Nhenga to explore the drivers and pathways surrounding particular issues (originally designed to explore violence affecting children), and was based on rigorously tested participatory activities, using a focus group discussion approach with elements that have been proven to be effective in also measuring social norms[1].

The Round Robin format relies on an iterative process, soliciting consecutive contributions from each participant. It also has the distinct advantage of encouraging contributions from all participants in the group, allowing each participant an equal opportunity to voice their thoughts, and a space to present their ideas without undue influence by potentially overly assertive individuals. Participants moved through a series of topics and activities facilitated by a nationally-trained facilitator. This approach has been used in research funded by UNICEF in Zimbabwe on social norms related to VAC, in Zambia to look at school drop-out and in Jordan to explore social and behavioural drivers of child marriages.

The Round Robin sessions consisted of four inter-related qualitative participatory activities (which were adapted to the country context and findings from the secondary analyses and outcome mapping activities) and spread over a one-week format with young people.

1. Age and gender timelines
2. Listing and ranking activity
3. Drivers Pathways
4. Social Norms Vignettes

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[1] Fry, D., Casey, T., Hodzi, C. and Nhenga, T. Exploring Determinants of Violence in Childhood: Methodology of research on Social Norms and Violence Prevention in Zimbabwe. Understanding Violence Against Children in Zimbabwe Series, No. 4. Harare: UNICEF, 2016.

Table 1: Datasets Used and Key Analysis Variables

Dataset		Years Analysed	
GSHS		2007 & 2016	
Main purpose of study	**Sampling (method)**	**Sample size (disaggregated by age/gender)**	**Key analysis questions (based on available data)**
Led by the World Health Organization and the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the GSHS is a school-based survey conducted in 96 countries and territories to assess behavioural risk and protective factors in 10 key areas, including alcohol/ drug/tobacco use, mental health, physical activity, sexual behaviours and violence.	The 2007 survey sampled students in grades 8-11 while the 2016 survey sampled students in grades 7-10, which are typically attended by students aged 13-17. Both surveys used a two-stage cluster sample design and was used to produce data representative of all students in the respective grades.	2016 2,838 13-17 year olds 2007 2,806 13-15 year olds	What is the prevalence of different types of School Violence and Bullying (SVB): • Bullying (physical, psychological and sexual) • Physical fights • Physical attacks What are the risk factors for SVB? • Age • Gender • Race, nationality or colour • Physical appearance • Religion • Family-related factors • Peer-related factors What are the health-related consequences of bullying? • Mental health • Physical heath What are the prevalence trends over time and how does this compare to other GSHS countries?

Dataset		Years Analysed	
DHS		2015/16	
Main purpose of study	**Sampling (method)**	**Sample size (disaggregated by age/gender)**	**Key analysis questions (based on available data)**
USAID-funded programme which gathers information on health-related areas – such as maternal and child health, family planning and HIV/AIDS – in low- and middle-income countries. In Myanmar the survey was implemented by the Ministry of Health and Sports (MoHS)	Nationally –representative household survey using clustered and stratified sampling; Questionnaires administered by interviewers through face-to-face interviews	12,885 women and 4,737 men age 15-49 years 1,822 15-19 year-old females 762 15-19 year old males	How many children under the age of 18 years are married and how does this vary by gender, region, urban/rural, educational attainment, wealth index and number of household members? Has this changed over time? What is the prevalence of intimate partner violence against adolescent girls? What is the prevalence of physical and/or psychological violent discipline by gender, urban/rural, State/Region, wealth quintile, maternal education level? What are the beliefs around wife-beating? Who holds these beliefs? (Exploring Demographic indicators including age, gender, urban/rural, wealth quintile). What is the prevalence of 'marital control' behaviours and what is the association with spousal violence? Do adolescents disclose and seek help after experiencing violence?

Dataset		Years Analysed	
MICS		2009/2010	
Main purpose of study	**Sampling (method)**	**Sample size (disaggregated by age/gender)**	**Key analysis questions (based on available data)**
Conducted by national governments with assistance from UNICEF. The Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) aim to fill data gaps to monitor the situation of women and children. In Myanmar it was conducted by the Planning Department, Department of Health and Planning and the Department of Health	Nationally-representative household survey using clustered and stratified sampling; Questionnaires administered by interviewers through face-to-face interviews	30,081 women aged 15-49 years	What is the prevalence of child marriage among girls?

Dataset		Years Analysed	
Census		2014	
Main purpose of study	**Sampling (method)**	**Sample size (disaggregated by age/gender)**	**Key analysis questions (based on available data)**
Conducted by the Ministry of Labour, Immigration and Population in order to gather demographic, social and economic information about the population.	Census enumeration areas were mapped with the aim of counting everyone in Myanmar on the night of the 29th March 2014 (with the exception of some parts of northern Rakhine State and some areas of Kachin state and one township in Kayin State; Data gathered using household questionnaires; a shortened questionnaire was also used to collect data on persons in institutions (e.g. hospitals, prisons, boarding schools, 'floating' population such as outdoor sleepers, etc.)	50,213,067 enumerated persons 24,225,304 males 25,987,763 females	How many children are involved in labour and how does this vary by age, gender, urban/rural, education, region/State? How many children live with a disability in Myanmar and how does this vary by age, gender, urban/rural? Do the experiences of children with disabilities differ from those without disabilities in terms of wealth index, education, labour and marriage? How many children under the age of 18 years are married and how does this differ by age, gender, urban/rural, education, region/State, wealth index? What is the adolescent fertility rate nationally, by State/Region and by urban/rural? How does this compare to other countries in the region? How many children and young people migrate within Myanmar (urban-rural and inter-State/Region) and outside Myanmar (disaggregated by age and gender)? What are their reasons for migrating?

Activities of the Round Robin Sessions

The Round Robin sessions comprised four interrelated qualitative participatory activities:

1. Age and gender timelines- Participants started by creating a timeline, describing their understanding of the physical, emotional and social changes in a boy's and girl's life from childhood into adolescence, from the ages of 0 to 18 years of age.

2. Listing and ranking activity- This activity involved discussing the definitions of the key concepts included in the questions (e.g. bullying and intimate partner violence), brainstorming and listing the causes of these different types of violence and responding to questions as a group. After responding to questions, participants grouped similar answers. At the end, each participant provided a vote on her or his personal top three responses. For listing and ranking participants focused on two questions: "What causes bullying in schools?" and "What causes adolescent intimate partner violence?"

3. Drivers Pathways- The 'Drivers Pathway' shifts the emphasis from proximal causes to more distal ones, such as the social and structural determinants ('the causes of the causes') in order to more effectively think about prevention of violence. For the Drivers Pathways activity, each group mapped two Drivers Pathways. For each Pathway, the groups focused on one outcome and discussed as a group, the potential pathways of why this outcome happens. Each potential cause behind the primary outcome was first identified by participants and written inside of a box. Each written cause was then discussed further to identify why they (the identified causes) themselves occur. These steps were repeated with participants to explore the drivers further and further along the pathway from the original outcome. The specific Drivers Pathways were identified from the secondary analysis and one each from the following areas was conducted in each group:

School Violence and Bullying

- Drivers Pathway 1: Corporal punishment in schools against Children
- Drivers Pathway 2: Emotional bullying among girls

Adolescent Relationship Violence

- Drivers Pathway 1: Adolescent intimate partner violence
- Drivers Pathway 2: Female victims of violence who did not tell anyone or seek help

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4. Social norms vignettes – Participants were given vignettes to consider. These vignettes were developed around specific topics identified in the secondary analysis as areas where further information was needed for programming. The vignettes were discussed and developed specific to each location (Kachin, Central Rakhine/NorthernRakhine). For each vignette, participants were asked questions about possible pre-story scenarios. After participants discussed the possible pre-stories, they engaged in discussions about different actors and their expectations. Participants then explored each actor and their expectations about the main character in the story using the following questions which participants filled out in the form of a table on flipchart paper:

Who else is involved in this story?	What is this person's expectation of the main character(s)?	What happens if main character(s) doesn't follow this expectation?	How to change this?

Each group discussed two of the following vignettes. The vignettes developed by local teams include the following, used in Kachin:

- *Vignette 1: Intimate Partner Violence among adolescents*
  [Mai Mai] lives in [Myitkyina IDP] and she is 17 years old and is in a relationship with [Aung Aung]. [Aung Aung] is very jealous about who [Mai Mai] sees and tries to control what she does and whom she sees. In the last couple of months [Aung Aung] has been getting angry and hitting [Mai Mai]. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Mai Mai] and [Aung Aung].

- Vignette 2: School Violence & Bullying
  [La Aung] lives in [Wai Maw] and is 14 years old. He goes to the same school as his sister who is 12 years old. Both of them are bullied almost every day. [La Aung] is hit and pushed around and [Lu Lu] is completely ignored by her peers. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [La Aung] and [Lu Lu].

- Vignette 3: Drug Use
  [Naw Naw] lives in [Hpakant]. He is 15 years old and has started hanging out with a group of older boys who offer him alcohol and drugs. He does not want them to make fun of him, so he agrees. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Naw Naw].

- Vignette 4: Migration and Employment
  [Kaw Kaw] lives in Tang Hpre and she is 17 years old. Her parents are ill and cannot work. There is little money and little food for the family. Her friend tells her that she can get a job if she moves to [Muse]. She decides to move to the city on her own so she can send money back to her family. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Kaw Kaw].

These vignettes were then adapted by the Central and Northern Rakhine teams to reflect more local circumstances as follows:

- Vignette 1: Drug Use (Central Rakhine)
  [Mi Mi] is 13 years old and attending Grade 8. One day, she is told by her friend that drugs are available in the shop in the community because they saw their guy friends using the drugs. Her friend is encouraging her to try out the drugs. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Mi Mi].

  Northern Rakhine:
  [Kyaw Kyaw] is 14 yrs and attending Grade 8. His friends encourage him to smoke drugs. When [Mu Mu] who is [Kyaw Kyaw's] friend sees the conversation between [Kyaw Kyaw] and friends for smoking, it is complained to [Kyaw Kyaw's] parents.

- Vignette 2: Migration and Employment
  [Zar Zar] lives in [rural community name] and she is 17 years old. Her father passed away and her mother is ill and cannot work. There is little money and little food for the family. Her friend tells her that she can get a job if she moves abroad on her own so she can send money back to her family. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Zar Zar].

- Vignette 3: Child Marriage
  [Ni Ni] lives in [community name] and she is 15 years old and is a student in secondary school. [Ni Ni] has two younger sisters and two younger brothers and [Ni Ni's] parents have a lot of debt so they decide to arrange Nini to get married to a man in the community who is rich in order to solve the debt. [Ni Ni] doesn't want to get married but she wants to go school. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Ni Ni].

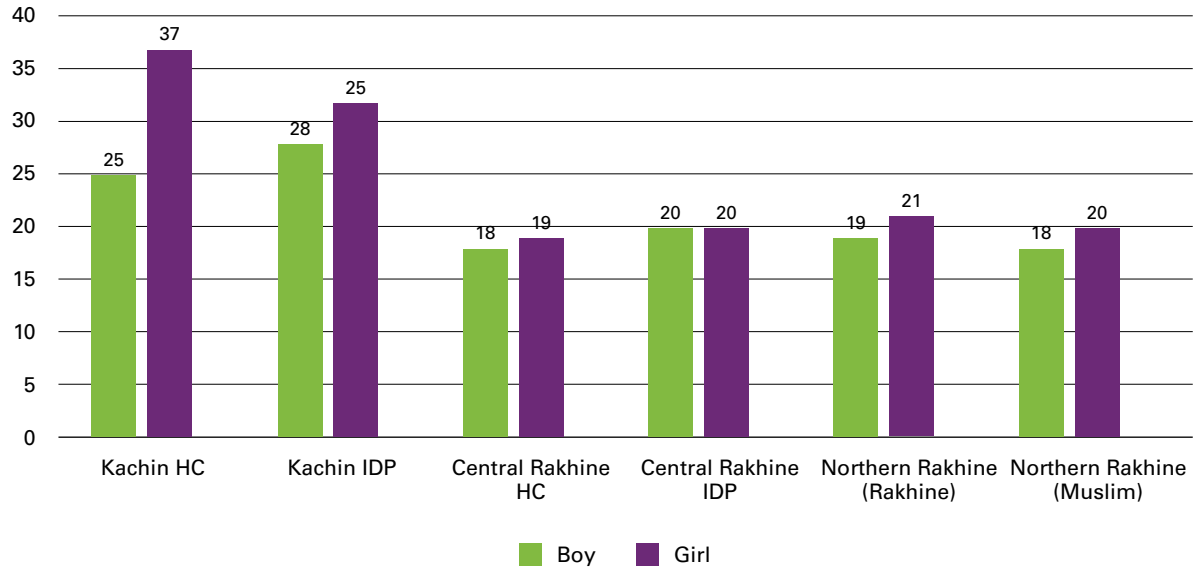
- Northern Rakhine:
  [Ni Ni] is 14 years old and learning in Grade-8. She has one elder brother and one younger sister. Her parents are too poor and owe money to others and have engaged her to be married to the son of a rich person.

- Vignette 4: School Violence & Bullying
  [Aung Aung] lives in [community name] and is 12 years old. He goes to the same school as his sister who is 9 years old. Both of them are bullied almost every day. [Aung Aung] is hit and pushed around and [Hla Hla] is completely ignored by her peers. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for [Aung Aung] and [Hla Hla].

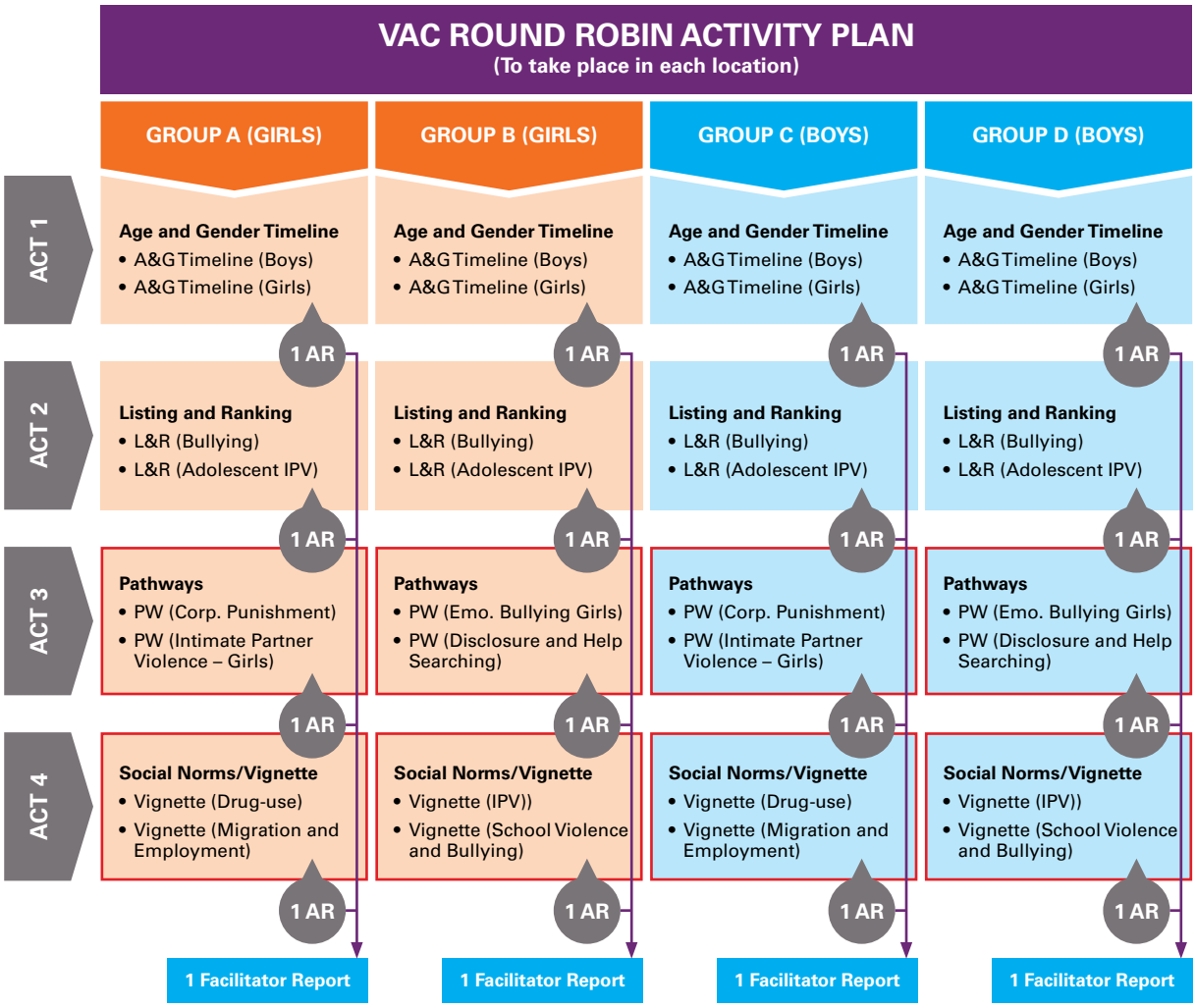
2.4 Structure of Consultations and Information about Participants

A total of 207 young people aged 18-22 years old participated in the Round Robin focus groups discussions. Each main site: Kachin, Central Rakhine and Northern Rakhine, chose two separate host community sites and two IDP camps (or Muslim community sites in the case of Northern Rakhine). Each of these sites then had a focus group of girls and of boys. Each community had a sample size of approximately 20 young people (10 boys and 10 girls) which means each State had an approximate sample size of 80 young people (see graph below for the number of participants by site).

Total number of discussion participants, by region



The graphic below highlights an example of how the consultation worked with the activities in Kachin. To reiterate, each State (Central Rakhine, Northern Rakhine and Kachin) had a mix of both IDP and non-IDP participant sites (called either host communities or in the case of Northern Rakhine, both Rakhine and Muslim villages that are not IDP camps).



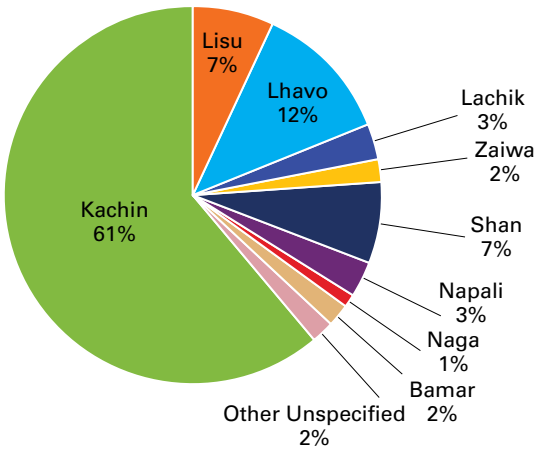
As highlighted above, some of the tools were adapted by site (for example, the vignettes). Below is a table of the activities and topics used in consultation across the three sites.

Discussion topic coverage, by region

Act. #	Activity Topic	Location of Discussion Site		
		Kachin	Northern Rakhine	Central Rakhine
1	Age and Gender Timeline	X	X	X
2	Listing and Ranking: School Bullying	X	X	X
	Listing and Ranking: Ad. Intimate Partner Violence	X	X	X
3	Drivers Pathways: Corporal Punishment	X	X	X
	Drivers Pathways: Intimate Partner Violence	X	X	X
	Drivers Pathways: Emotional Bullying Among Girls	X	X	X
	Drivers Pathways: Disclosure and Help-Seeking	X	X	X
4	Social Norms Vignette: Ad. Intimate Partner Violence	X		
	Social Norms Vignette: School Bullying	X		X
	Social Norms Vignette: Migration and Employment	X	X	X
	Social Norms Vignette: Drug-use (Male Character #1)	X		
	Social Norms Vignette: Drug-use (Male Character #2)		X	
	Social Norms Vignette: Drug-use (Female Character)			X
	Social Norms Vignette: Child Marriage		X	X

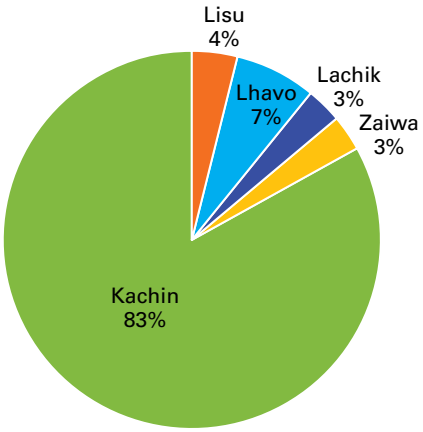
In Kachin State, participants from many ethnicities participated reflecting the diversity of that State.

Ethnicities of participants in Kachin State (HC / IDP)



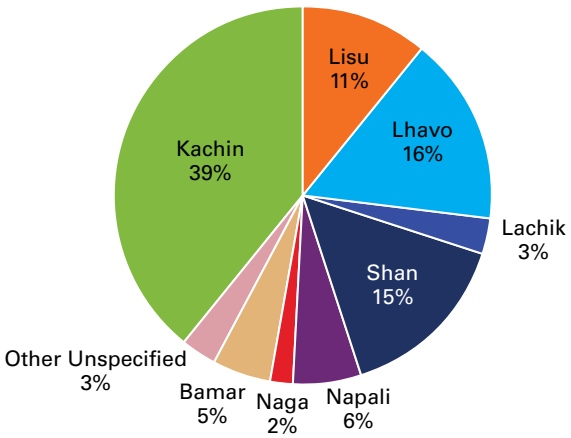
If we examine this by IDP camps, we can see that 83 per cent of participants were Kachin followed by much smaller percentages of Lhavo, Lachik, Zaiwa and Lisu.

Ethnicities of participants from IDP camps in Kachin



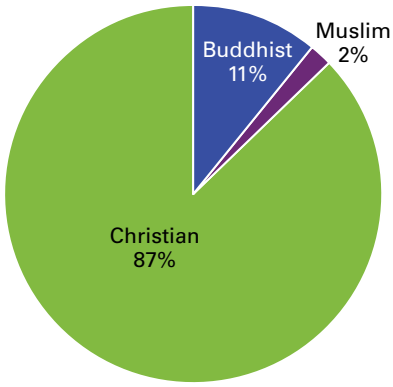
Most of the diversity in Kachin participants comes from the host community sites as detailed in the graph below:

Ethnicities of participants in Kachin (HC)

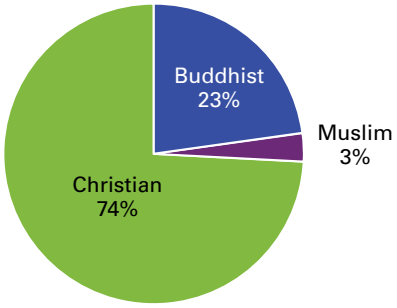


If we look at religion in Kachin, we see the majority of the participants self-identified as Christian, with 100 per cent of those in the IDP camps identifying as Christian.

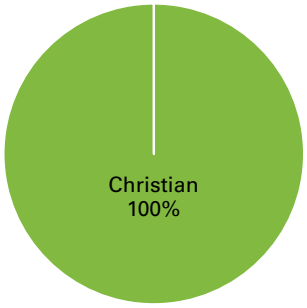
Religions of Participants in Kachin (HC/IDP)



Religions of participants from Kachin (HC)

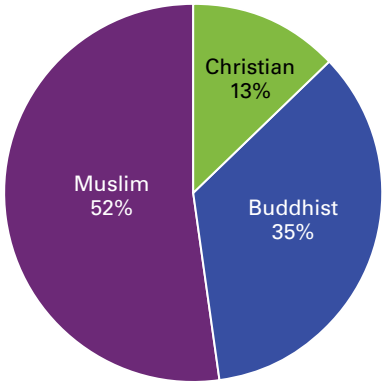


Religions of Participants from Kachin (IDP)

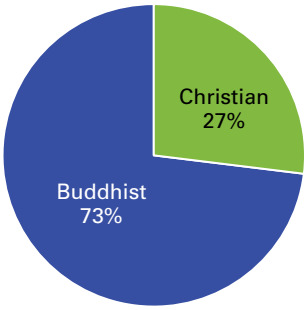


If we look at religion in Central Rakhine, 52 per cent of participants self-identified as Muslim, 35 per cent self-identified as Buddhist and 13 per cent identified as Christian. And this is broken down by participants in host community and IDP sites.

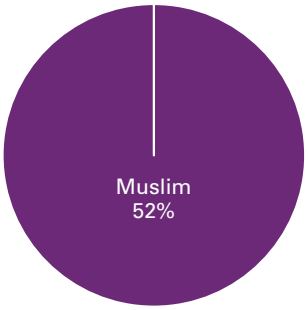
Religions of participants from Central Rakhine (HC/IDP)



Religions of participants from Central Rakhine (HC)

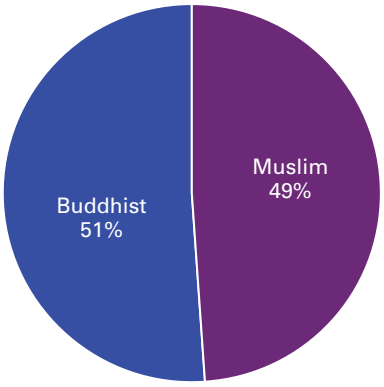


Religions of participants from Central Rakhine (IDP)



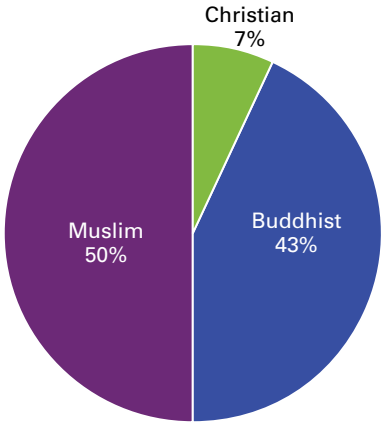
In Northern Rakhine, participants were nearly equal between Buddhist and Muslim participants.

Religions of participants in Northern Rakhine



If we combine these for Central and Northern Rakhine or Rakhine State, we see the following picture:

Religions of participants from Central and Northern Rakhine State



2.5 U-Report Quantitative Polls

Complimentary quantitative 'polls' were also conducted using U-Report. U-Report is an innovation based user-centered social monitoring tool based on simple Short Message Service (SMS) messages (poll questions, results, and sharing of useful information). It is designed to strengthen community-led development.

U-reporters sign up for the service and are sent a series of questions as well as health and well-being information regularly. U-report was used to ask participants questions around social norms – specifically the beliefs and expectations of others (empirical expectations) and what the respondent thinks others' beliefs and expectations are towards their own behaviours (normative expectations). These two concepts (empirical and normative beliefs and expectations) are central to social norms research and are with questions about the 'reference group' (e.g. the people who the respondent refers to for different behaviours).

No identifying information was collected, and current U-reporters had the opportunity to opt-in to the consultation without affecting their normal U-report use. Questions for U-report were sent in batches of questions at any given time known as 'question trees'. Because they are sent through an SMS platform, they need to be 160 characters or fewer.

Region Name	Question trees related to empirical expectations surrounding school violence and bullying			Question trees related to normative expectations and school violence and bullying			Question trees on gender norms			Question trees on substance abuse			Question trees on migration	
	F	M	O	F	M	O	F	M	O	F	M	O	F	M
Mon	103	71	4	62	47	1	97	69	3	88	73	3	0	0
Ayeyarwady	45	49	0	35	36	0	47	65	2	44	43	0	0	0
Bago	65	67	0	41	40	1	76	51	3	63	58	2	0	0
Chin	89	81	2	46	47	2	81	86	2	82	88	3	0	0
Kachin	100	82	2	68	50	0	104	93	5	102	73	2	94	65
Kayah	235	168	3	182	116	2	213	114	2	255	158	2	0	0
Kayin	213	116	5	167	116	1	169	107	6	206	126	3	0	0
Magway	88	84	2	54	42	1	83	81	1	92	81	2	0	0
Mandalay	254	194	1	138	103	1	258	186	1	202	153	5	0	0
Rakhine	33	22	1	22	18	0	44	35	1	35	27	0	30	33
Sagaing	56	65	0	26	41	0	44	70	1	49	69	2	0	0
Shan	447	276	11	283	173	4	1086	467	15	451	263	11	0	0
Tanintharyi	48	39	0	15	22	0	55	41	0	36	36	0	0	0
Yangon	753	497	16	513	345	10	783	511	16	677	480	15	0	0
Total	**2,529**	**1,811**	**47**	**1,652**	**1,196**	**23**	**3,140**	**1,976**	**58**	**2,382**	**1,728**	**50**	**124**	**98**

F = Female, M = Male, O = Other

A series of 9 polls were done with U-Report participants, who opted-into the consultation. The U-report questions were sent at different times to sub-samples of young people between the ages of 18 and 24 years old on the U-report platform. Every poll was open to participants from across the country, except the migration poll which was specifically targeted towards young people living in Kachin and Rakhine.

Several theorists have written about what defines a social norm and how best to measure social norms. Overall, many agree that there are four key tenants: (1) measuring one's beliefs about others (called empirical expectations below), (2) their social expectations (normative expectations), (3) who they believe the reference group is, or those important for the decision or behaviour in question, and (4) the anticipated reaction of others to following or not following the social norm, in the form of possible sanctions (see Mackie et al. 2015 for a good description on the history and differences between various social norms theories).

Specifically, each poll asked the following types of questions that are important for understanding social norms:

Empirical Expectations or one's beliefs about others

- The # of others who use the behaviour (according to the beliefs of the respondent)
- How frequently they think others do/use the behaviour
- Whether others approve/disapprove of behaviour (e.g. is it socially approved/socially appropriate)

Normative Expectations or the social expectations

- # of others that expect respondent to comply
- The importance of each of these people to the respondent
- Individual expectations of the strength of others' expectations

Reference Group or those important for the decision or behaviour in question

- Who the respondent consults with about important issues

Short vignette

- Very short story about a hypothetical character asking a series of questions about what the character should do and why. This is based on research that shows asking about 3rd party/ hypothetical situations, is a better way at getting at social norms than asking direct questions to participants.

The specific topics for the U-report question trees were developed based on the secondary analyses and outcome mapping planning with UNICEF and implementing partners.

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3 GROWING UP IN MYANMAR: AGE AND GENDER TIMELINES

Young people in each group were asked to complete both a boy's and girl's timeline for growing up in Myanmar. Groups were asked to reflect on what happened to boys and girls at each age; what were the key milestones or both social and physical things happening to them? Some key findings emerged.

Developmental milestones are very similar across both IDP and host community sites. However, some key differences did emerge particularly related to opportunities and behaviours. It was recognised across both boys' and girls' timelines that there were less educational opportunities in IDP camps and that school dropout may be a common feature among adolescents. Upon discussion, most adolescents in IDP camps wanted to continue their education but they identified a lack of options to stay in school. While for the host community, using drugs and skipping school were mentioned more frequently (and often together).

There was more discussion of future aspirations and human rights in host community boys' and girls' timelines including in Central and Northern Rakhine and Kachin villages. One major difference was a sense of "responsibility and a need to work and to become an adult" among the IDP youth, versus feeling of becoming rebellious against their parents among the host community youth. There was talk of education and further educational aspirations in host communities but not among IDP camp youth, again perhaps because they did not see many options for continuing their education (something mentioned further in the qualitative focus groups, see example chapter 5 on migration). The milestone of marriage was also discussed earlier in IDP camps for both boys and girls (average age of 15) compared to later in host communities (average age 18 where they placed marriage as a milestone).

Sexual experiences and violence was mentioned as happening earlier to children in IDP camps, especially girls. IDP camp youth also mentioned more about displacement and general crimes happening to children. The stealing habits of boys were mentioned frequently in all communities.

Some behaviours were seen as common across all the communities for children growing up, including using drugs in all communities, but this was mentioned more in Rakhine. Hygiene issues were also discussed, specifically around girl's menstruation signalling adulthood (and for some groups a sense of shame around menstruation). This was also more frequently mentioned in Rakhine.

Some key differences emerged between boys and girls.
Girls more frequently mentioned earlier sexual experiences than boys did. For example, sexual experiences came up for girls while the same group and age of boys were just noticing girls were wearing pants. Sexual violence was also referenced far more frequently in girl's timelines. However, some boys were already beginning to sexualise girls from a very early age. For example, it was stated that boys in IDP camps were learning to cat-call from as early as seven years old. *Overall, across all groups, sexual experiences came before the concept of relationships.*

Across all timelines, girls' had more awareness of beauty and body image, while boys were reported to have more freedom, confidence, and to be able to work outside for family income while girls are helping with house chores, cooking and doing business at home (sometimes as young as seven years old for girls). The boys' timelines of girl's lives also assumed that girls should stop schooling at

15 and should join vocational training and get married. In fact, marriage was mentioned earlier and more frequently for girls across all timelines. Most of the groups also referenced that girls were more passive, especially in communication in the teenage years.

Across the timelines, it was noted that boys are more interested in religious practice than girls. This was stated especially in Rakhine.

Groups also noted that boys have access to their own income and mobile phone, often earlier than girls, especially in host communities. It was also noted that there may be more 'up and down' attendance for boys at school, meaning they may skip or not attend school frequently at certain ages, particularly the early teen years. As we will see in the substance abuse chapter, boys were more associated with drugs and smoking than girls.

The timelines between IDP camps and host community young people also identified that young people feel like an adult at an earlier age in IDP camps compared to host communities.

When reflecting on the other gender's timeline, the perceptions were more negative, meaning young people often mentioned more negative things about the opposite sex. Overall, it is important to understand that this is perception data but is a key source of information from young people themselves about the experiences of growing up in Myanmar and sets the stage for triangulation with other sources of quantitative and qualitative data.

4 SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND BULLYING

4.1 Introduction

In most countries, young people spend more time in educational settings than anywhere else outside their homes (UNESCO, 2019). Educational settings are therefore a potentially effective entry point for achieving the wider range of sustainable development goals for children (Maternowska & Fry, 2018). Schools can be places of safety and inclusion, or sites of violence. The school environment can support and promote young people's dignity, learning and development as well as address the factors that increase violence, such as negative gender norms (Januario et al., 2015). Creating safe, non-violent and inclusive schools is a significant global policy priority for the next fifteen years through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNESCO, 2019).

Addressing Violence Against Children (VAC) in schools is in and of itself a Sustainable Development Goal (SDG 4; Quality Education). It is also linked to preventing the consequences of educational inequalities. Evidence shows that young people who are victims of violence (SDG 16; Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions) are more likely to experience school failure (Usta, et al., 2008), or leave school permanently, than their non-abused peers (Widom 2000; Duncan, 2000). This has significant economic implications and reinforces poverty cycles (SDG 1; No Poverty) (Fry et al., 2018). Exposure to violence has been found to be a significant predictor of lower grades (Huang & Mossige, 2012), lower standardised test scores (Fry et al., 2018) and lower levels of educational self-efficacy (Macmillan & Hagan, 2004), leading to educational inequalities (UNESCO, 2019; Gilbert, et al., 2009; Leiter, 2007; Macmillan & Hagan, 2004; Paolucci, Genuis & Violato, 2001; Slade & Wissow, 2007; Veltman & Browne, 2001).

Effectively preventing VAC in the educational setting will also impact other SDGs. School related gender-based violence (SRGBV), and the larger field of VAC and Violence against Women, also has significant implications for gender equality (SDG 5) (Guedes et al., 2016).

A Note on School-Related Gender-Based Violence (SRGBV)

This chapter focused on several key findings that emerged that highlighted, school-related gender-based violence is a norm. Gender is not just about differences between boys and girls but is a conceptual lens for examining intersecting structural power inequalities, as well as a way of understanding how these are constituted and perpetuated in homes, classrooms and communities. Why do we look at gender? It shows us that when gender norms are learned in everyday interactions, it can lead to childhood violence and impact learning. We can also see how those who fit the norm control those who deviate from it with exclusion and violence, as well as with implicit practices that reproduce inequality and injustice. (Parkes et al., 2015; Humphreys et al., 2008).

SRGBV can be defined as acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around schools, perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes and enforced by unequal power dynamics (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). Much of what young people described as driving violence was related to discrimination based on either gender or ethnicity. And even when other causes such as ethnicity were at the heart of the perceived reasons for school violence and bullying, often the type of violence used is based on gender-based violence (e.g. boys discriminating and sexually harassing other boys due to ethnicity or other reasons but treating them as inferior through sexual harassment, e.g. treating them like girls).

4.2 Existing Data on School Violence and Bullying

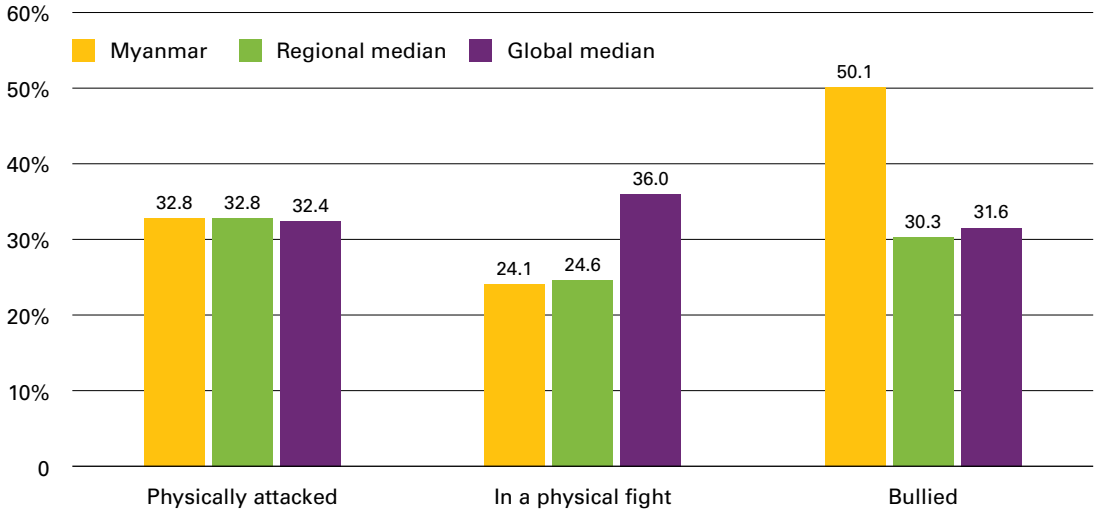
The Global School Based Health Survey (GSHS) is one of the best comparable sources of global data on bullying. This includes harmonised questions about bullying victimization, asked across all the countries that participate and several questions about both physical and psychological bullying. Bullying was described as occurring "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" (UNESCO, 2019).

The GSHS also measures the prevalence of students self-reporting being physically attacked one or more times in the previous year. While this question does not specify the location or perpetrators of the attack, it is a good measure of how much physical violence, outside of bullying, children may be facing globally. A physical attack was described as occurring "when one or more people hit or strike someone or when one or more people hurt another person with a weapon (such as a stick, knife, or gun). It is not a physical attack when two students of about the same strength or power choose to fight each other. Whereas, a physical fight was described as occurring "when two students of about the same strength or power choose to fight each other" (UNESCO, 2019).

Key findings from a secondary analysis of GSHS data on school violence and bullying include (please see accompanying data brief on school violence and bullying for more data from the secondary analysis):

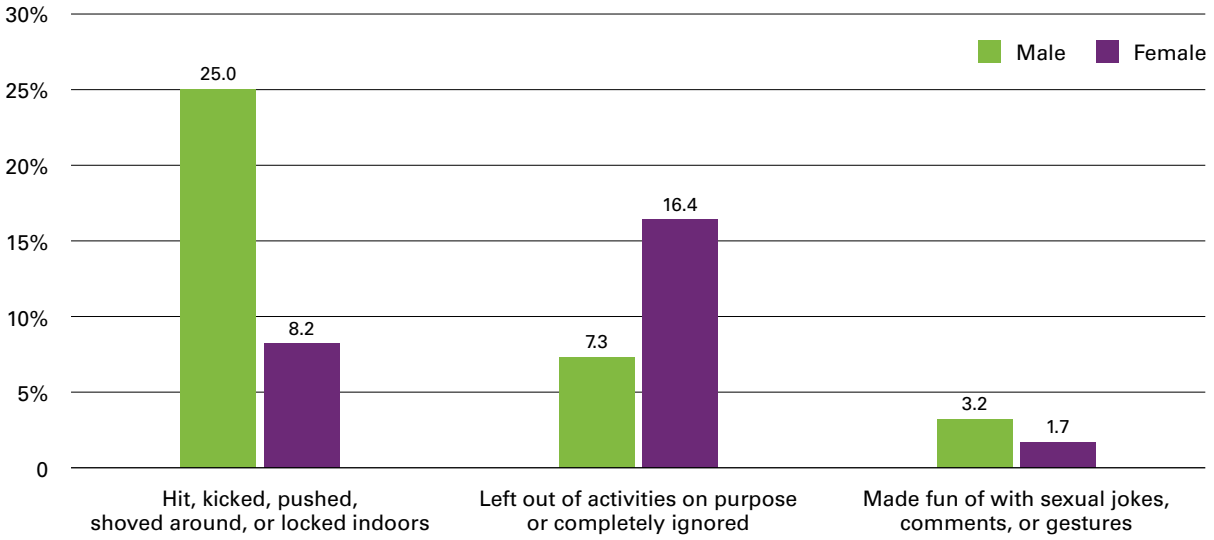
GSHS data shows that the prevalence of physical attacks and physical fights is similar or lower than the regional and global medians. However, the prevalence of bullying is much higher than the regional and global medians.

National, regional and global prevalence for types of school violence and bullying in last 30 days, GSHS (2016)



When examining the gender differences between types of bullying, boys report physical bullying much more frequently than girls. Whereas, girls are more likely to report psychological bullying, a trend that is consistent globally.

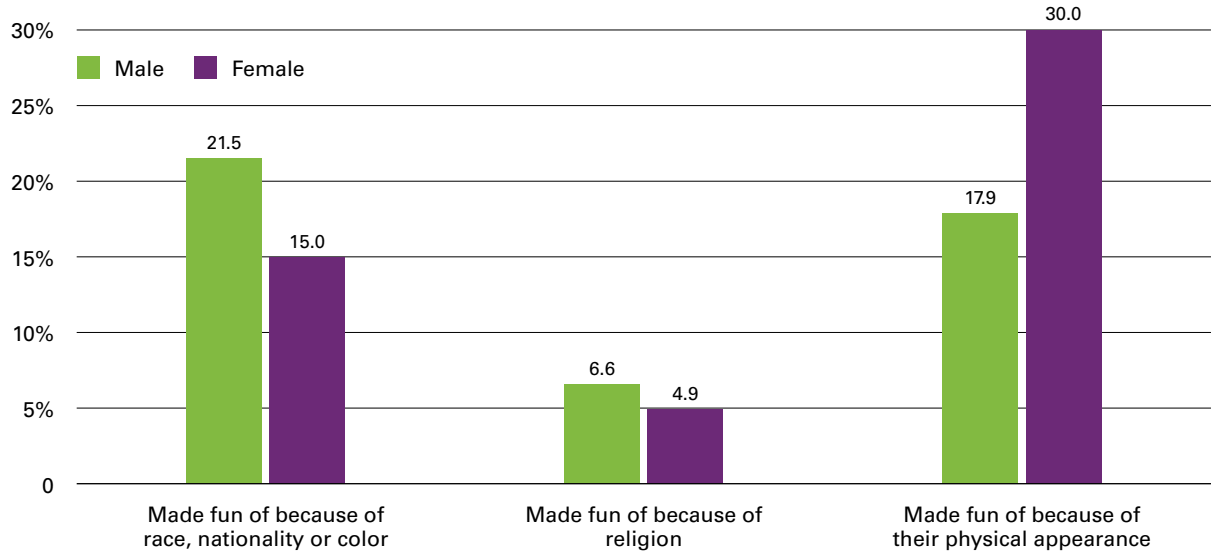
Prevalence of different types of bullying in the last 30 days by gender in Myanmar, GSHS data (2016)



Boys also report experiencing more sexual bullying than girls. This follows regional trends. In most countries, girls are also more frequently made fun of with sexual jokes comments and gestures except in Asia and the Pacific and Central and South American regions where boys report experiencing this more frequently. However, the same gender norms around masculinity underpin both sexual harassment of girls and boys.

When asked why they thought they were bullied, children gave several key responses that all varied by the gender of the pupil.

Reasons given by students for why they experienced bullying by gender, GSHS data (2016)

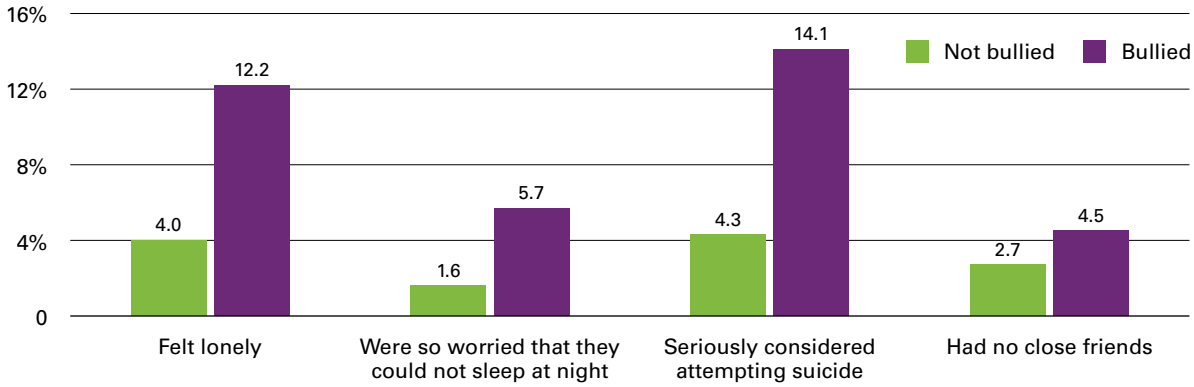


Being made fun of because of their physical appearance was more common among girls than boys, whereas boys are more likely to report being made fun of because of their race, nationality or color. Being made fun of because of their religion was the least common driver of bullying among both boys and girls.

Perhaps what is most alarming is that out of 96 countries that use the GSHS measure, Myanmar is the only country globally where self-reported school violence and bullying has an increasing trend *for both boys and girls.* This trend is however not surprising given the socio-political changes during this time period. Rapid socio-economic change is one of the nine persistent drivers of violence found in various country contexts in the Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children Study (Maternowska et al., 2018).

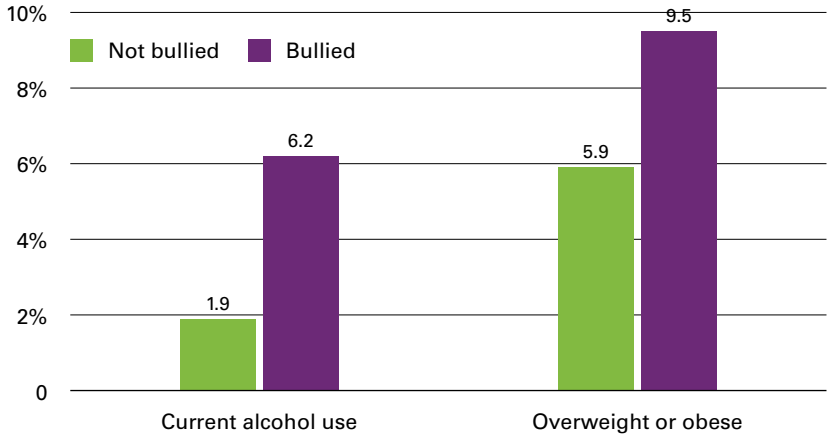
School violence and bullying also has a significant impact on children including on physical and mental health and risk-taking behaviours.

The impacts of bullying on children's health and well-being, GSHS data (2016)



The above graph shows that children who are bullied are at a three times increased risk of also reporting having seriously attempted suicide and feeling lonely in the past 30 days.

Bullying status by current alcohol use and being overweight in Myanmar, GSHS data (2016)



Being bullied is also correlated to current alcohol use among children and being overweight or obese. It is difficult to determine the direction of causality as these could be coping mechanisms for having experienced bullying, or lead to the physical appearance that children perceive as the cause of bullying or, most likely, a combination of both.

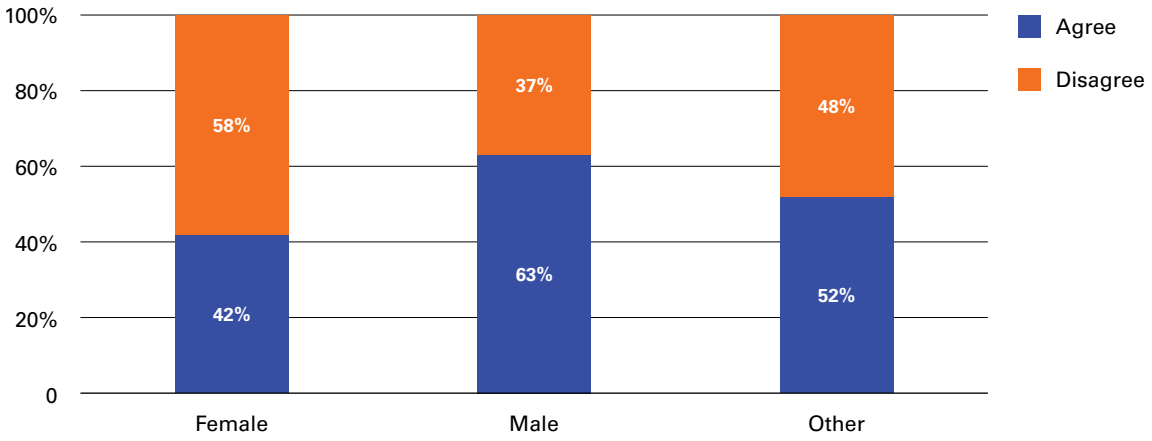
4.3 U-Report Data

A total of 4,387 U-Reporters between the ages of 18 and 24 filled out the question trees related to school violence and bullying and empirical expectations (2,529 identified as female, 1,811 identified as male and 47 identified as 'other') and 2,871 filled out the U-report related to normative expectations and school violence and bullying (1,652 identified as female, 1,196 identified as male and 23 identified as other). Similar to the nationally representative GSHS data, the U-report polls found that both boys and girls thought that physical bullying was the most prevalent type of bullying for boys (69% of girls and 54% of boys thought this). The *perceived* prevalence for sexual bullying for boys was also comparable to the GSHS actual prevalence data (4% of both boys and girls thought it the most common form compared to 3% of boys that reported experiencing sexual bullying in the last 30 days in the GSHS survey).

Unlike the GSHS survey, both girls and boys thought *physical bullying* was also the most common form of bullying against girls (69.2% of girls thought this and 54.3% of boys did as well), whereas GSHS noted that girls reported experiencing emotional bullying more frequently (16.4% of girls reported experiencing emotional bullying). The difference between the two numbers is that the U-report is the *perceived* prevalence or what young people think is *more common* and GSHS is about young people's actual experiences in the past month.

What is interesting is that both boys and girls think that they are more bullied than the other gender. When asked if they agree with the statement 'Boys are more bullied than girls', 63% of boys agreed whereas 58% of girls *disagreed*.

Do you agree with the statement: Boys are bullied more than girls?



Very similar to GSHS, young people from U-Report agreed that the main reason pupils are physically bullied is because of their physical appearance (46.6% of girls and 48.9% of boys agreed that this was the main reason) more than any other reason. Following closely behind as a main reason from young people's perspective of bullying is age *differences* or being the younger or older pupil which is also echoed by GSHS data which shows that physical bullying *experiences* decline as pupils get older (e.g. it is more frequently reported by the younger adolescent age cohorts).

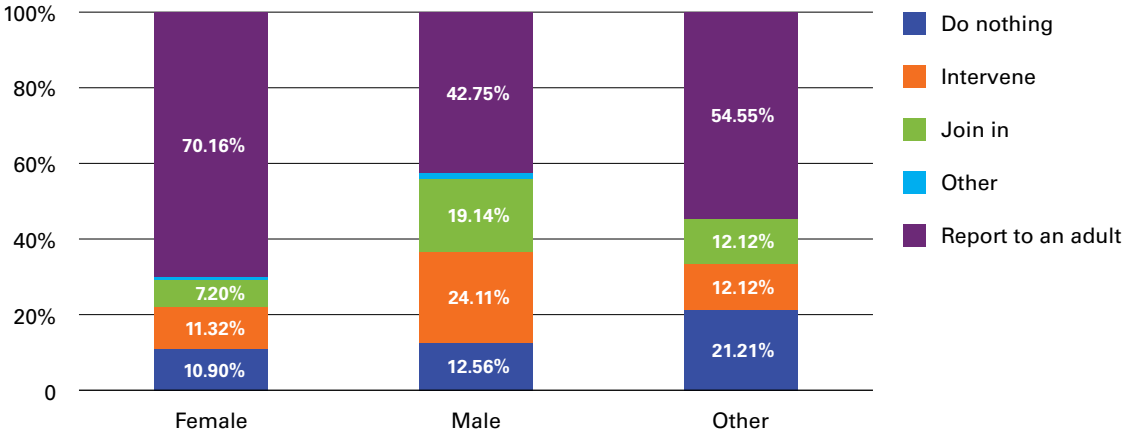
For emotional bullying, again the main reason young people from the U-Report polls thought this happened was because of physical appearance (58.6% of girls and 55.6% of boys agreed). However, unlike physical bullying the number two reason people thought emotional bullying happened was because of someone's ethnicity (16.7% of girls and 12.8% of boys stated this as a main reason for emotional bullying).

Similar to emotional bullying, making fun of someone with sexual comments, gestures and jokes was again thought to be caused by someone's physical appearance (65.1% of girls and 68.1% of boys thought this) but the second most common reason young people thought this happened was to make fun of someone because of their ethnicity but using sexual harassment/violence as the means to do this (14.4% of girls and 10.1% of boys thought this was a main reason for sexual bullying).

When asked about disclosure and help-seeking for school violence and bullying, overwhelmingly the belief was that you should NOT keep quiet but that you should tell someone (92% of females and 88% of males agreed). When asked who you would tell if a boy experienced bullying in school from another pupil, the majority of both boys and girls said they would tell a friend (52% of boys and 49% of girls). The second most common person they would tell would be a teacher (27% of boys and 24% of girls said they would tell a teacher if they saw a boy being bullied). Whereas, if they saw a girl being bullied by another pupil, most young people said they would be most likely to tell a teacher (40% of boys and 31% of girls) followed by telling another adult (29% of boys and 33% of girls). Friends did not appear as a likely source to tell for witnessing girls being bullied (only 12% of boys and 9% of girls said they would tell a friend). This perhaps suggests that young people view bullying against girls as a more serious occurrence than bullying against boys.

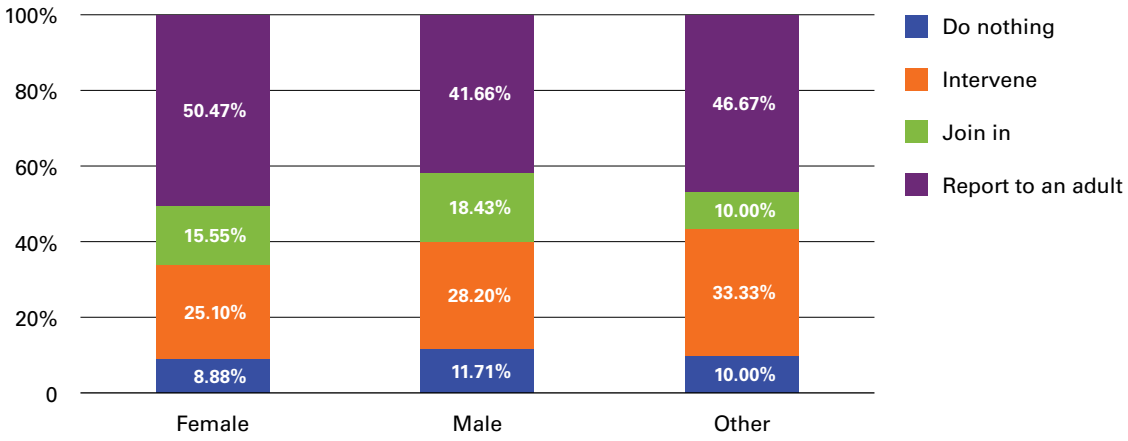
When asked how they thought their friends *would expect them to react if they witnessed bullying,* 70% of females compared to only 42% of males said their friends would expect them to report it to another adult, the most common expectation for both genders. Whereas, boys also had expectations from friends in 1 in 5 instances to join in on the bullying or in nearly 1 in 4 instances to intervene. This suggests that the norms are much stronger for girls, in one direction (to report), whereas there are conflicting norms from friends for boys on whether to report, to try and stop the bullying and/or to join in on the bullying.

Friends' expectations of how you react towards witnessing bullying by gender



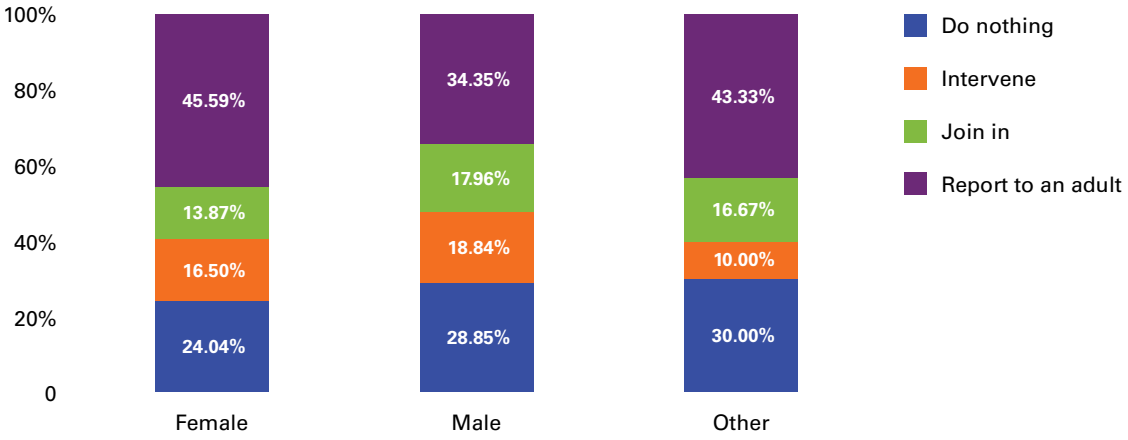
Interestingly, the expectations of teachers vary from those of friends in terms of how pupils should respond if they witness bullying. Half of all girls stated that teachers expected them to report to an adult compared to 41% of boys. More frequently is the expectation that teachers have of young people that they will intervene and try to stop the bullying or play a *more active role*. This may present challenges and safety concerns for young people that should be considered. Interestingly, some young people also thought that teachers might expect them to join in on the bullying, with similar percentages of boys saying this is an expectation from both friends and teachers and more girls saying this an expectation from their teachers but not their friends.

Teachers' expectations of how you react towards witnessing bullying



Finally, when asked about the expectation of parents, we see even greater conflicting norms among young people, with a much larger percentage expected to do nothing than is expected from friends or teachers.

Parents' expectations of how you react towards witnessing bullying



What this data shows is that there are varying reference groups and expectations, *many of which may be conflicting norms held in place by people important in young people's lives* with no clear indication to young people about what they should do if they witness bullying. This also suggests that a school-based intervention that focused on bystander roles could be successful in shifting norms since there is no one clear strong norm.

4.4 Round Robin Data: Listing and Ranking

The young people that participated in the qualitative Round Robin sessions were also asked to list and rank what they thought were the top causes of bullying (including all types, physical, emotional and sexual).

Being either rich or poor was an emerging theme for one of the top causes of bullying for boys in both host communities and IDP camps. This is unique data that shows being very wealthy can also lead to bullying because of the *deferential (biased) treatment received by teachers.* When young people talked about bullying in the listing and ranking, they often talked about the preferential treatment from teachers (either for good or in terms of corporal punishment) and the links with bullying between pupils. The example given by participants in Central Rakhine was around teachers favouring rich students by giving them hints for exams and also that those students who cannot make donations

for seasonal occasions (such as Kathein ceremony offerings to monks) are badly treated by teachers and then, in turn, are also badly treated by pupils. In this way, teachers' treatment of pupils sets the example for how pupils also treat each other. Being rich or poor was also a top reason mentioned by boys in all IDP camps.

Discrimination was mentioned as the top reasons for bullying in Northern Rakhine among boys in the Muslim villages and for both boys and girls in IDP camps in Central Rakhine and Kachin. Discrimination because of different racial backgrouns was also found as a main reason for bullying as identified by Muslim girls in Northern Rakhine. One group expanded further that ethnicity covered not only young people's beliefs but also their customs (religious and ethnic traditions) and skin colour (e.g. tone/shade of 'darkness'). This reason that young people think causes bullying, appears much more frequently than is reflected in the GSHS data.

Apart from the primary reference to discrimination, either in the form of discrimination because of socio-economic status, customs, beliefs, racial backgrounds and skin colour as the primary cause for bullying, the following drivers were also mentioned by participants:

- Wanting to appear powerful/to humiliate others: Participants from both Central Rakhine and Kachin cited wanting to appear more powerful or to humiliate others (either in what seems as a joking way, e.g. pupils not understanding perhaps the serious consequences of bullying or wanting to be accepted by their peers) as one of the causes for school bullying.

- School-related gender-based violence (SRGBV): Strikingly, in both the Muslim girl's and boy's groups, one main reason for bullying was *because of being a girl* or gender inequality. This also came up in girl's IDP camps as a main reason but specifically teasing and bullying behaviours related to girls' body parts especially during puberty (e.g. growing buttocks and breasts). Whereas, SRGBV also happened to boys in IDP camps as a way to put boys in their place and make fun of them through sexual harassment. Examples given include getting their trousers and *longyis* pulled off and their butts being fingered from behind *almost always by other boys.*

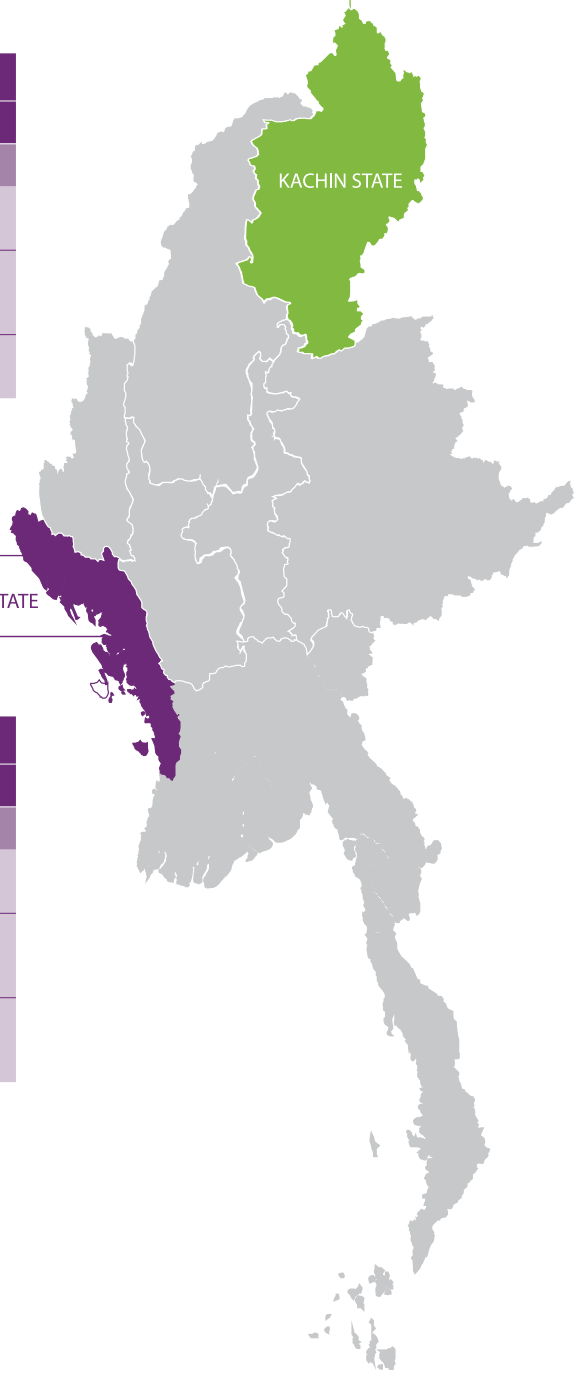
- Lack of Empathy and Intolerance of Difference: The previous themes all point to a larger theme of the lack of empathy that pupils have towards others who are different (whether different ethnicity, appearance, gender, socio-economic status, etc). This is one of the coherent overarching themes coming out of the school violence and bullying data from the qualitative focus groups. As one group from Northern Rakhine mentioned, one of their top reasons for what causes bullying is that "there is no sympathy in humanity…hatred is always given precedence."

Each group of young people both independently and collectively ranked their top three causes for bullying. The tables below represent the combined causes across similar groups in each State. To obtain the combined causes, all the top three causes were thematically grouped and the number of ranks for each cause determined and a new combined top three causes across two groups was obtained and is presented below:

Kachin State			
Host communities		IDP camps	
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1. Student's bad character	1. Being rich or poor	1. Being rich or poor	1. Discrimination due to family status
2. Wants to show power	2. Religious discrimination	2. Discrimination by ethnicity	2. Due to perceived low intelligence
3. Wants to have others' possessions	3. Due to disability	3. To make jokes, esp. about appearance	3. Discrimination by ethnicity

Northern Rakhine State			
Host communities		Muslim communities	
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1. Discrimination by ethnicity	1. Drug use	1. Discrimination by gender	1. Discrimination by gender
2. Discrimination by beliefs	2. Due to disability	2. Inherent cruelty in humans	2. Discrimination by ethnicity
3. Poverty	3. Poverty	3. Suspicion and lack of trust	3. Drug use

Central Rakhine State			
Host communities		IDP camps	
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1. Being rich or poor[2]	1. Poverty	1. Being rich or poor	1. Bias by teachers
2. Wants to humiliate others	2. Bias by teachers	2. Many boys competing over one girl	2. Discrimination by ethnicity
3. Wants to make others afraid of them	3. Drug use	3. Wants to humiliate others	3. Puberty

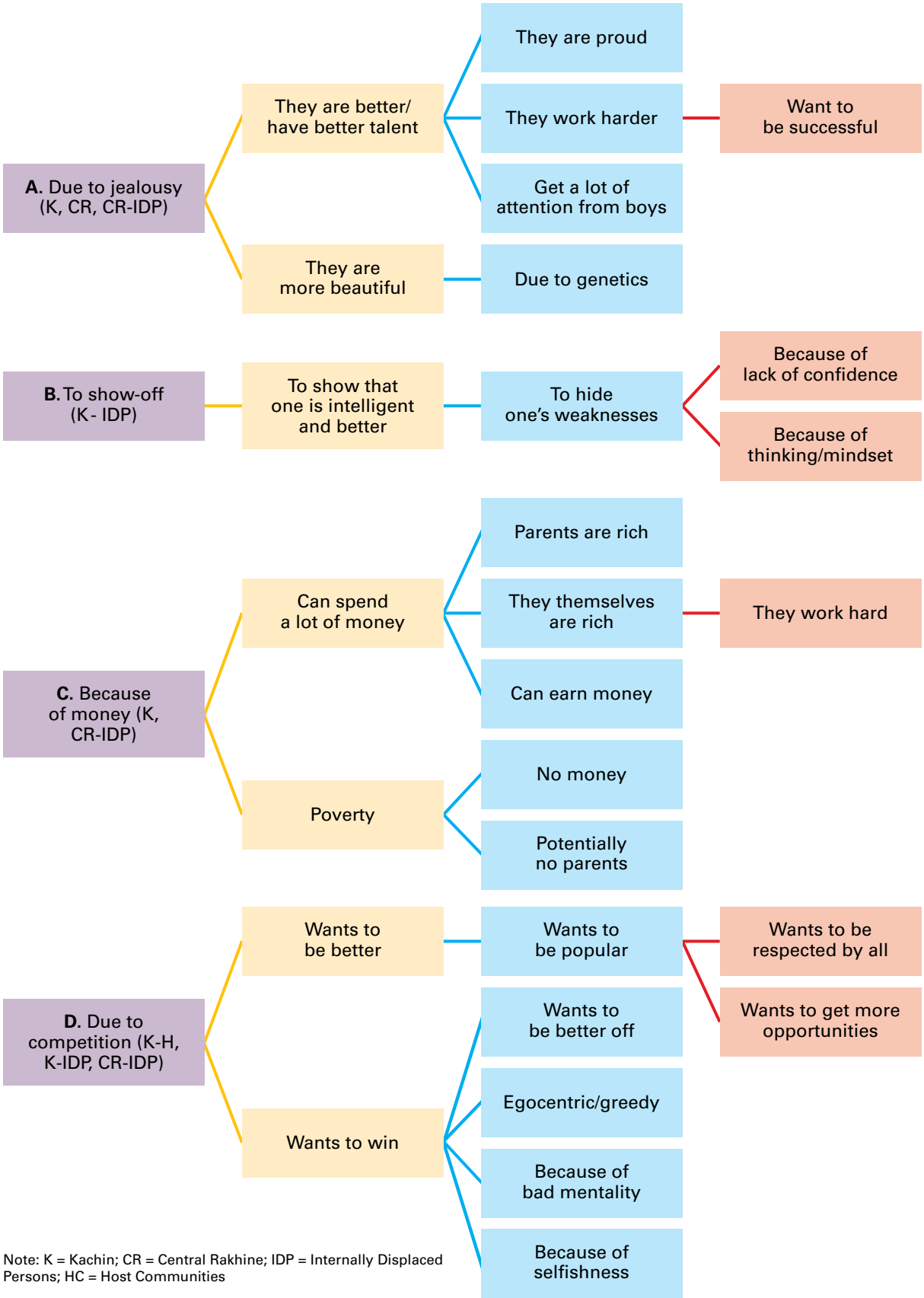


[2] Teachers favor rich students, who can make monetary donations on seasonal occasions to pay respect to teachers. Rich students may also pay for private lessons, known as tuitions, given at the house of the student or teacher. Because of this, rich students may earn favors such as hints on exams, while poor students may be mistreated by both teachers and peers.

4.5 Drivers Pathways for School Violence and Bullying

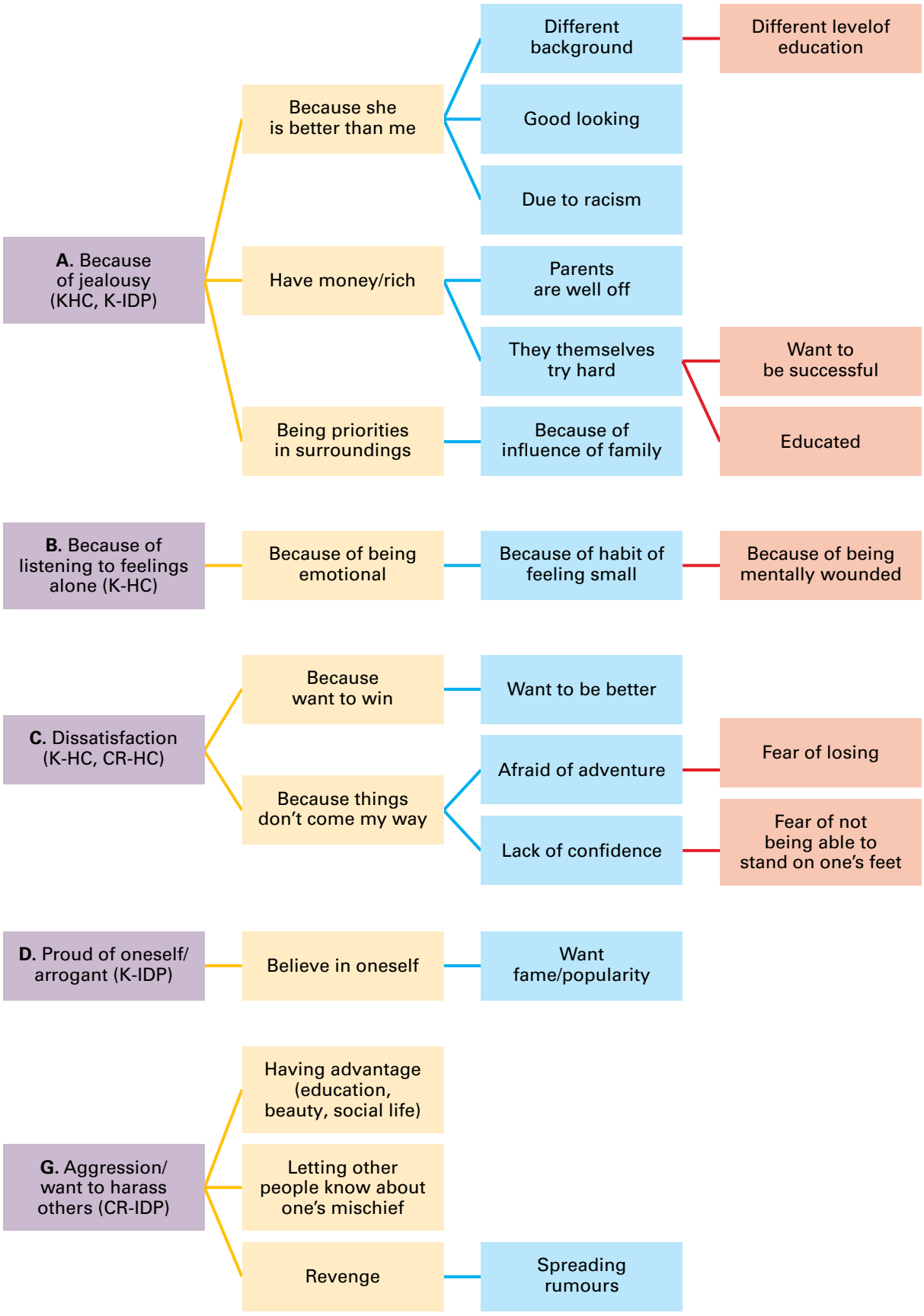
This section focuses on the drivers of school violence and bullying as identified by young people through the consultation process.

Drivers Pathway: Emotional Bullying Among Girls in School - Combined Boys' Perspective

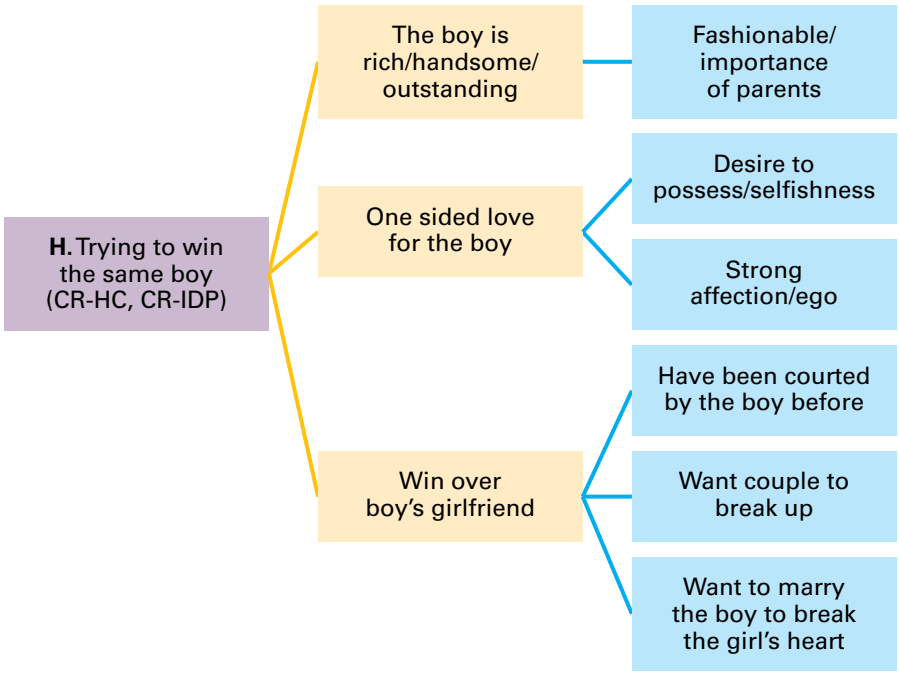


Note: K = Kachin; CR = Central Rakhine; IDP = Internally Displaced Persons; HC = Host Communities

Drivers Pathway: Combined Girl's Perspective on Emotional Bullying



Note: K = Kachin; CR = Central Rakhine; IDP = Internally Displaced Persons; HC = Host Communities



The GSHS data identified emotional bullying as being the most frequently occurring experience of bullying for girls so, the qualitative focus groups delved into more what causes, from both boy's and girl's perspectives, the emotional bullying of girls.

Both groups thought jealousy and wanting to show off to friends was one of the key drivers of emotional bullying. Both groups mentioned similar reasons, often due to competition between girls such as the other girl was more beautiful, talented, richer, etc. Interestingly, the boy's perspective of what causes emotional bullying among girls stops at this more surface level of appearances while the girls' drivers' pathways go much deeper. Girls identified *feelings of self,* including self-confidence, feeling lonely, being dissatisfied or arrogant as an important driver. Girls also mentioned appearance as part of this self-confidence, which echoes findings from the GSHS data that shows that the main reason identified by girls for bullying is based on physical appearance. *However, the qualitative data added that from girls' perspectives, it wasn't always about the other person but for girls, their reasons were just as much about the girl who bullies and how she feels about herself.*

Girls also mentioned relationships with boys as a key driver of emotional bullying by trying to win the same boy as another girl and if that couple is already in a relationship, of using bullying to try and break them up.

Vignettes

Discussion groups from Kachin and Central Rakhine used the following school violence and bullying vignette or short story to explore the expectations and behaviours of various characters around this issue. The ages for the two characters in this story were changed based of the preferred contextualization between Kachin and Central Rakhine. In Kachin communities, the ages for the male and female characters were 14 and 12, respectively. In Central Rakhine the male and female characters were 12 and 9 years old, respectively. The story is as follows:

> La Aung/Aung Aung lives in [village name] and is [14/12] years old. He goes to the same school as his sister who is [12/9] years old. Both of them are bullied almost every day. La Aung/Aung Aung is hit and pushed around and Lu Lu/Hla Hla is completely ignored by her peers. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for La Aung/Aung Aung and Lu Lu/Hla Hla.

An analysis of participant responses to the School Bullying vignette showed that there were few differences in reference groups, behaviours, and proposed solutions for characters across all discussion groups. The primary expectation reference groups discussed were balanced between parents, teachers, and between the two vignette characters, the older brother and his little sister.

The common underlying theme coming through these discussions across all sites was the future outcome and risk following the instance of bullying presented in this story. These negative outcomes affected both characters, but were particularly focused on the older brother, whose experience with bullying would potentially lead to more bullying, whether or not school authorities or parents became involved. For the older brother, participants across all sites referenced public humiliation, physical suffering and isolation, while participants commonly referred to the younger sister as becoming lonely as a result of continued bullying.

In Kachin, some groups highlighted the expectation of the older brother to be brave. This expectation and role was primarily sourced from his younger sister and was also reinforced by other expectations from friends for him to fight back.

In both Central Rakhine and Kachin, both male and female participants mentioned that dropping out or transferring to another school could be both a potential negative outcome and a solution to the current bullying taking place.

Lastly, responses from this group also support a common theme occurring among male characters from vignettes discussed in Kachin State, which is the use of relocation as a solution to a negative situation or means of correcting abusive behaviour. Relocation occurs primarily in reference to drug abuse (see the associated vignette on substance use) but was also mentioned in this vignette as a corrective measure for the abuser in this story.

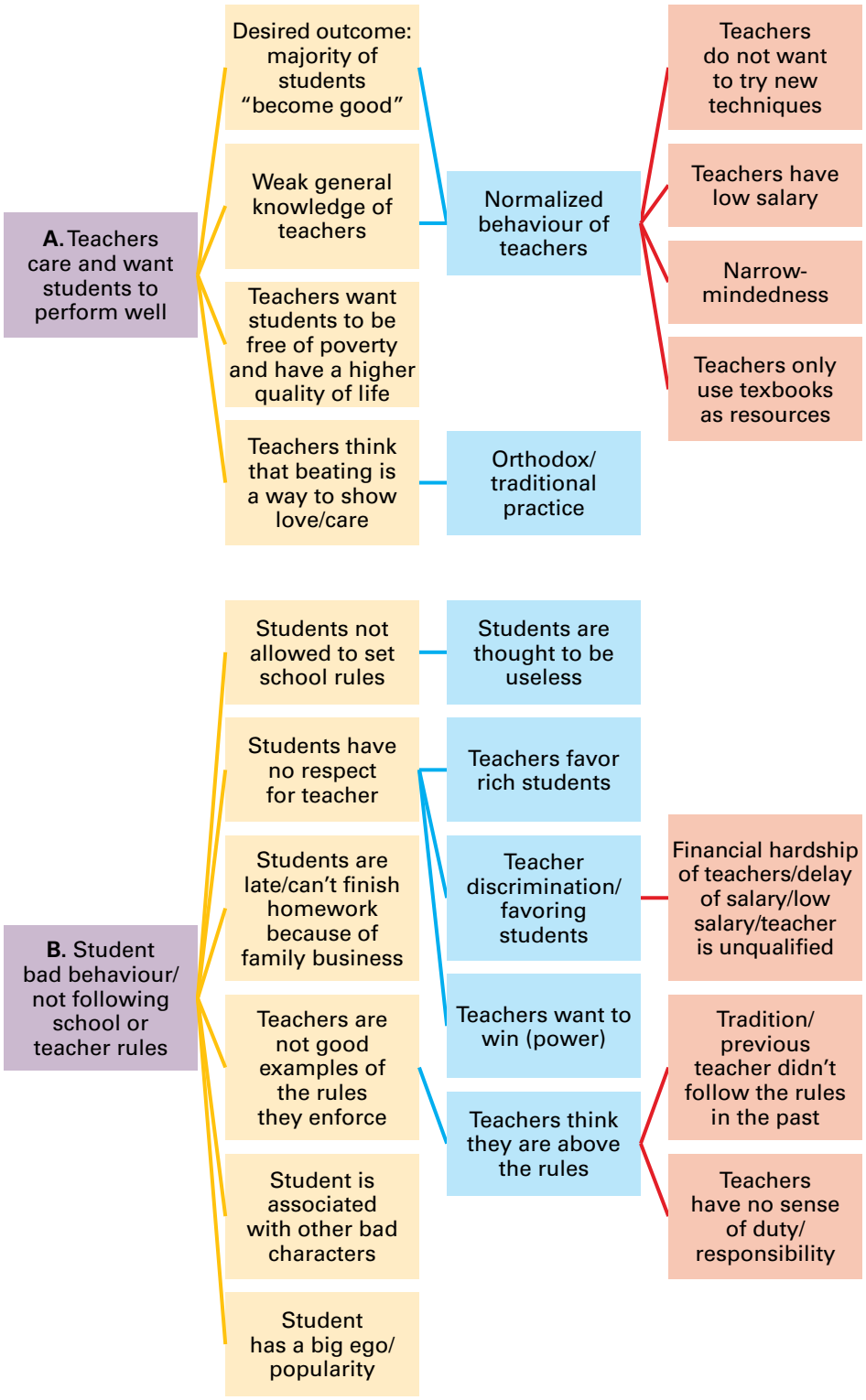
Drivers Pathways

This chapter explores the different kinds of violence and bullying that girls and boys face at school with a particular focus on that which occurs among peer groups. The listing and ranking exercise with both boys and girls shows that the behaviours and preferential treatment of students from their teacher links with and may influence the bullying that occurs between peers.

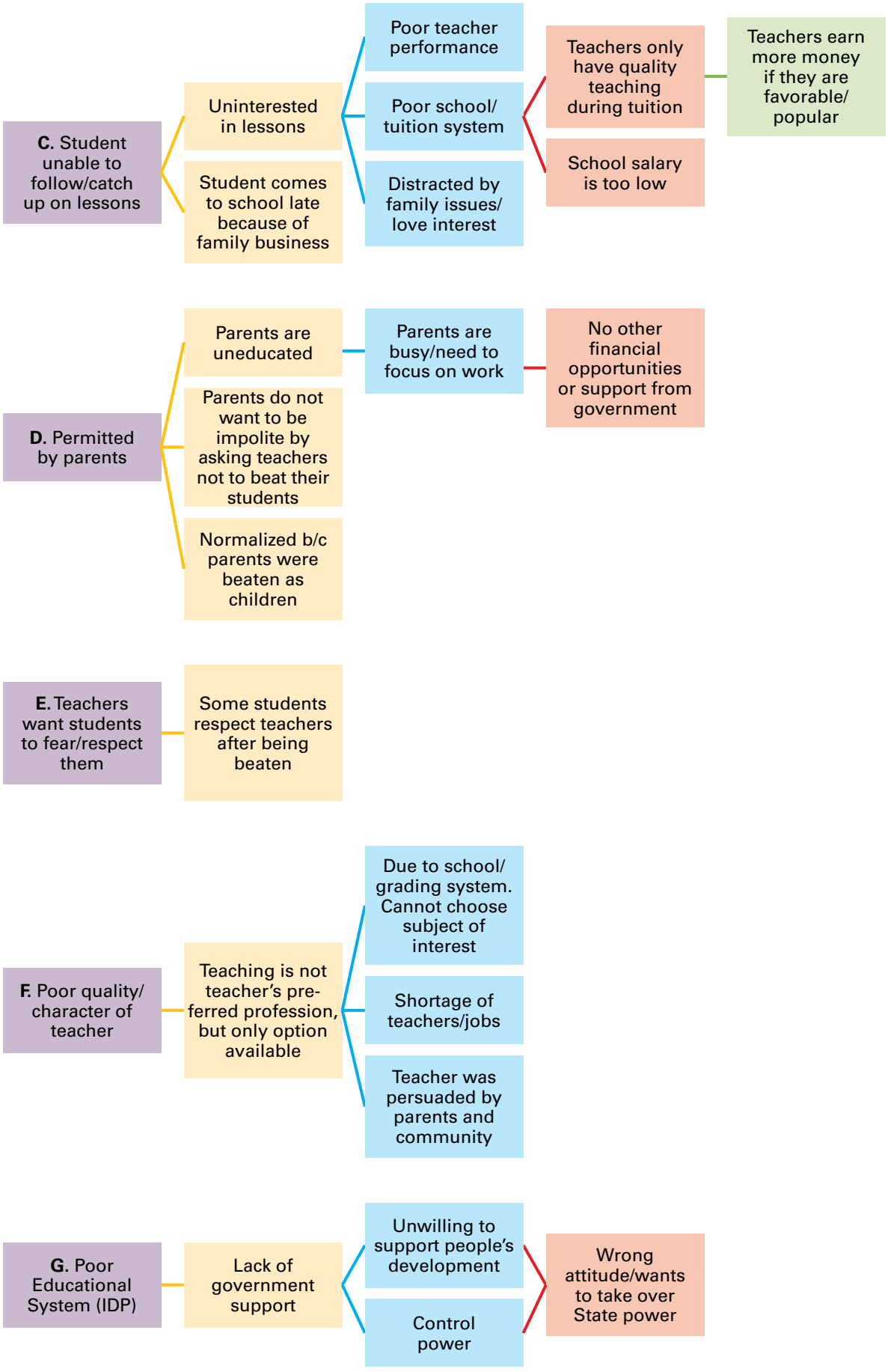
In addition to discussing peer-to-peer violence with discussion groups, corporal punishment from teachers and school authorities were explored with all groups from Central and Northern Rakhine, and Kachin through the Drivers Pathways activity. The consolidation of the pathways across all sites has been categorized between girl and boy groups across all sites because little difference was found between sites. The few nuances relevant to location that were discovered are described further below:

Consolidated Drivers Pathways for Corporal Punishment across all sites:

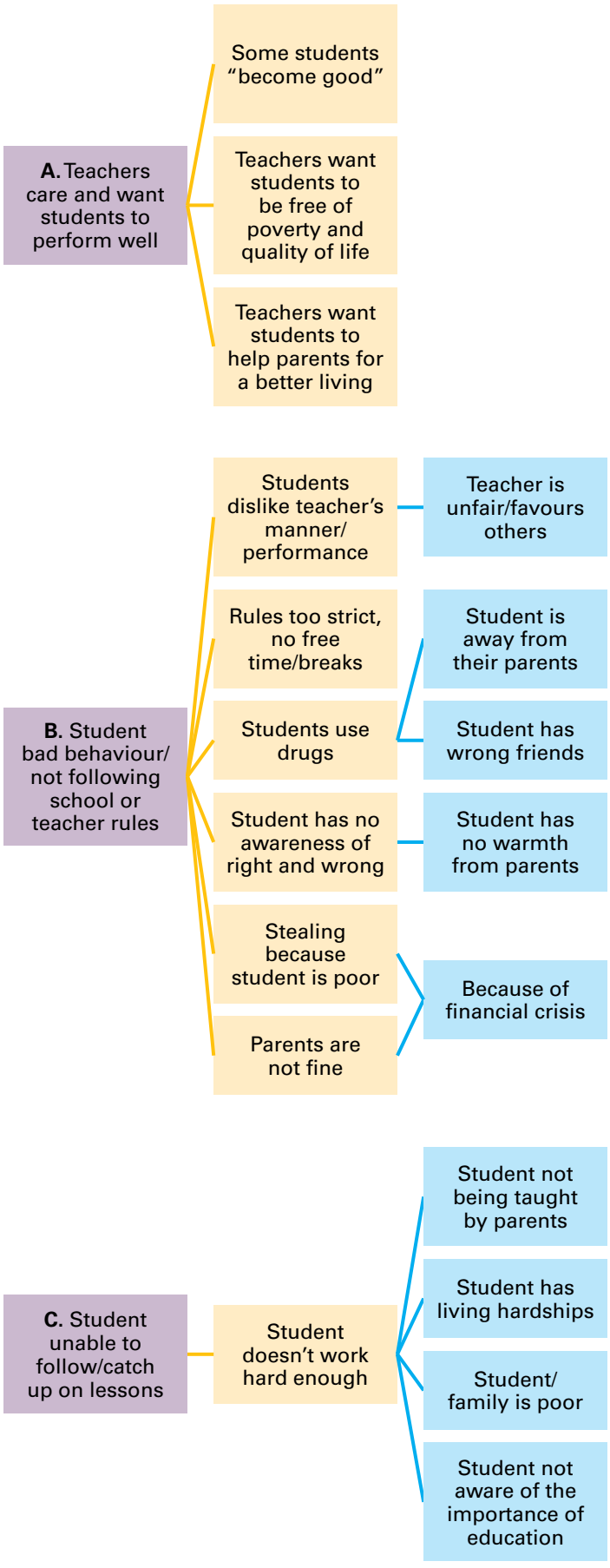
Drivers Pathway: Corporal punishment – Combined boys' perspective



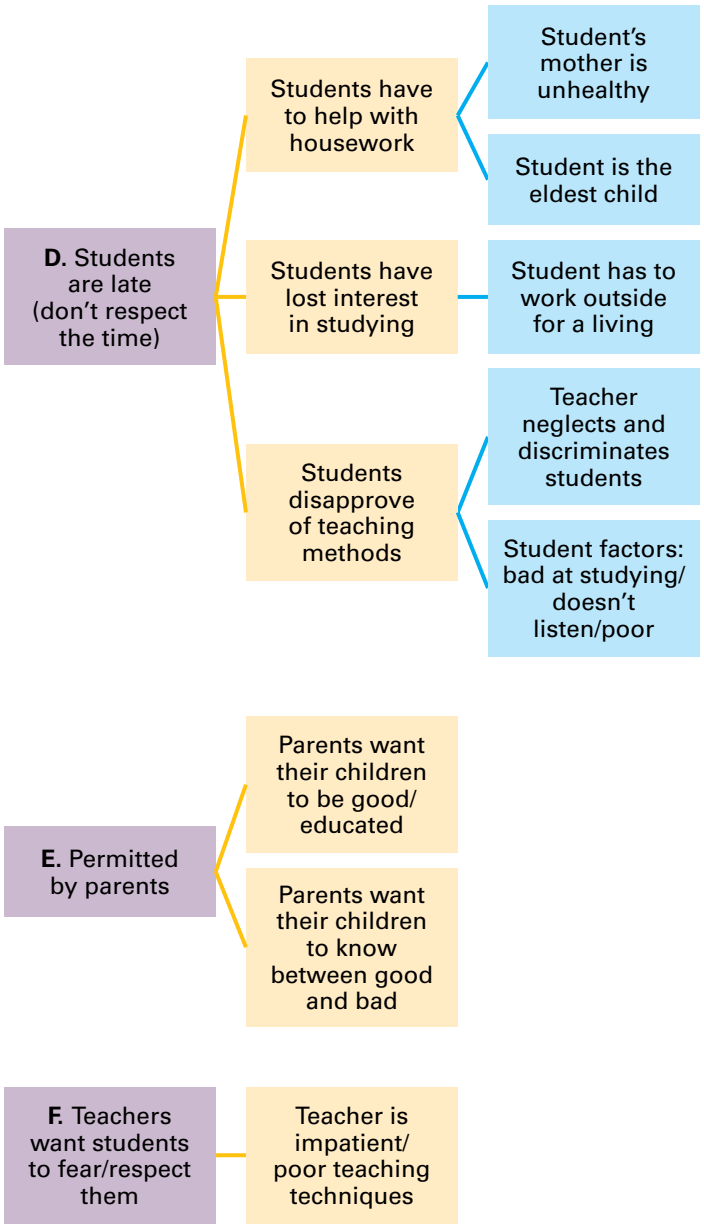
Drivers Pathway: Corporal punishment – Combined boys' perspective *(continued)*



Drivers Pathway: Corporal punishment – Combined girls' perspective



Drivers Pathway: Corporal punishment – Combined girls' perspective *(continued)*



All groups from each location laid out very similar frameworks that explore the drivers of corporal punishment at school with some nuances primarily seen through the different perspectives of boys and girls. One common theme that was discussed across the groups was the teacher's discrimination of their students. The differences between these groups however were identified as the primary figures upon whom the blame of corporal punishment falls, and the specification of tardiness at school as a driver of corporal punishment according to perspectives shared from girl groups.

Discrimination of students by their teachers was also a commonly identified driver of corporal punishment across the sites. This point also highlights a common theme that links to bullying among peers as identified in the listing and ranking activities on school bullying and emotional bullying amongst girls. The discrimination of students identified included preferential treatment based on students' intelligence, family finances, appearance, and ethnicity. Although physical appearance was something identified across both boy and girl groups in regard to school bullying, it was mentioned specifically by boys in this activity that "spinster" teachers will give preference to those that they identify as attractive. When discussing specifically what kinds of punishment is administered at school[3], Muslim boys specifically cited verbal abuse based on their ethnicity and religion from teachers. These different classifications of discrimination and preferential treatment administered by teachers was also identified as reasons for student misbehaviour.

Along with discrimination and preference of the teacher, both boy's and girl's groups identified the student, specifically their actions and behaviour, as a reason behind the occurrence of corporal punishment. Furthermore, both boy's and girl's groups also eventually identified the character and quality of the teacher as the driver behind corporal punishment. Both boys and girls also mentioned that some teachers use corporal punishment "out of love" and out of care for their students and their futures. These two groups differ, however, in that boy groups highlighted criticisms of teachers as well as the education institution itself at earlier levels and in greater detail. One group from Kachin State traced the pathway of corporal punishment to what they described as the government institution's lack of support in the education system. Among the common driver pathways explored by participants, this detail was identified as the primary difference between groups in Kachin versus Rakhine state.

Participants from boy groups also identified the lack of teacher motivation when describing their quality. This lack of motivation included the absence of other professional options available to their teachers and the lack of desire to learn new practices outside of the textbook curriculum. These groups also linked the quality of their teaching to their financial standing as employees with low and delayed salaries, citing also an increase in their teaching performance during tuition hours.

Furthermore, both boy's and girl's groups mentioned the fault of students not being able to follow or catch-upon lessons as a reason for the occurrence of corporal punishment. Along this pathway, both boys' and girls' groups identified working outside of school as a reason for this, however girls' groups specifically highlighted tardiness at school due to housework and also linked this to the responsibility of taking care of their family, particularly as the oldest sibling.

Lastly, according to supplemental discussions in Central and Northern Rakhine with both boys' and girls' groups, on types of punishment administered at school, participants identified being forced to work on school grounds, public humiliation and physical discomfort in class, and asking the individual or the family to pay a contribution to the school.

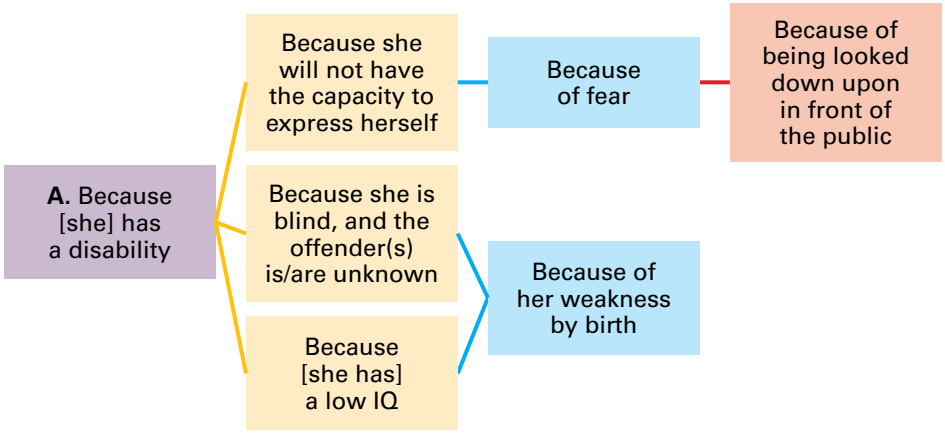
[3] The Drivers Pathways activity naturally uncovers what corporal punishment looks like at school at times, however it primarily focuses on identifying *why* it occurs as a common practice. All groups from Central and Northern Rakhine therefore held supplementary discussions with facilitators to identify what kinds of corporal punishment are used at school, including government schools and religious schools.

A Note on Bullying and Disability

Discussion groups in Kachin State also mentioned some of the barriers and vulnerabilities that persons with disabilities could face in their communities. Specifically, two girls' groups from a Kachin host community and IDP camp mentioned the topic of disability, both of which ranked it among the top three reasons for school bullying against girls. Although these were isolated discussions, disability as a driver of school bullying was also referenced alongside physical appearance and beauty, specifically "being ugly by birth/because of injuries".

Along with physical appearance, disability linked to power was referenced by boys and girls groups in Kachin. One host community girls' group, for example, mentioned that a girl with a disability may be mocked or bullied because others know that she will be unable to respond. Furthermore, one boys' group specifically linked disability to barriers in seeking help and disclosure in the Drivers Pathways activity. This was the only group to link disability to this topic through the activities in Kachin State. The isolated Drivers Pathway from this group, which looked into the multiple drivers behind why a girl and victim of violence may choose not to seek help or disclose, is as follows:

Drivers Pathway: Help-seeking and disclosure for individuals with disabilities – Combined boys' and girls' perspective in Kachin



A Note on School-Related Gender-Based Violence (SRGBV)

This chapter focused on several key findings that emerged that highlighted, school-related gender-based violence is a norm. Gender is not just about differences between boys and girls but is a conceptual lens for examining intersecting structural power inequalities, as well as a way of understanding how these are constituted and perpetuated in homes, classrooms and communities. Gender is a particularly important concept for looking at both violence in childhood and the impacts on learning where gender norms are learned in everyday interactions, and where normative deviations are controlled through exclusion and often violence as well as the hidden, implicit practices, which reproduce inequality and injustice. (Parkes et al., 2015; Humphreys et al., 2008). SRGBV can be defined as acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around schools, perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes, and enforced by unequal power dynamics (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). Much of what young people described as driving violence was related to either gender or discrimination based on ethnicity. And even when other causes such as ethnicity were at the heart of the perceived reasons for school violence and bullying, often the *type of violence used* is based on gender-based violence (e.g. boys discriminating and sexually harassing other boys due to ethnicity or other reasons but treating them as inferior through sexual harassment, e.g. treating them like girls).

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5 ADOLESCENT INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE, CHILD MARRIAGE, AND HELP-SEEKING BEHAVIOURS

Violence between intimate partners, whether they are 'dating' such as boyfriend/girlfriend or married is an area of violence that adolescents may experience. Because the violence often happens in the home and may be hidden from parents and other adults and is often deeply rooted in gendered norms of expected behaviour in relationships, it can be difficult to understand both the reasons for why the violence happens and also the barriers to seeking help. The consultation activities focused specifically on these two areas: young people's perceptions of 1) the root causes of intimate partner violence, defined as emotional, physical, sexual or financial violence between partners in intimate relationships and 2) the barriers to help-seeking, specifically for girls who experience violence in their relationships.

Existing Secondary Data on Adolescent Intimate Partner Violence and Help-Seeking Behaviours[4]:

Existing nationally representative data from the Demographic Health Survey (2015/16) highlights that many adolescents in Myanmar are in intimate relationships. Approximately 1 in every 7 girls and 1 in every 17 boys has been in an intimate partnership that included having sex at some point before they were 18 years old.

DHS collects data on violent experiences among girls and women aged 15-49 years. From this data we see that *intimate partner violence is frequent in these adolescent relationships* with 15% of 15 to 19 year-old girls having experienced physical violence by their partner since age 15. Of these, 10% have experienced it often or sometime in the past 12 months.

Adolescents who are married as children also experience the highest levels of controlling behaviours from their spouses. The DHS measured 'marital control' behaviours, defined as the percentage of women whose current husband (if currently married) or most recent husband (if formerly married) demonstrates at least one of the following controlling behaviours: is jealous or angry if she talks to other men, accuses her of being unfaithful, does not permit her to meet her female friends, tries to limit her contact with her family, and insists on knowing where she is at all times. Most marital control behaviours are more common
in the youngest age group: 10% of women age 15-19 report that their husbands demonstrate three or more marital control behaviours, as compared with 6% of women age 40-49. The most common forms were insisting on knowing where she was at all times (14.9%) and not permitting her to meet female friends (11.6%).

Adolescents also hold more negative gender norm beliefs around intimate partner violence than adults. Participants were asked if they agreed if wife beating was justified in the following instances: when the wife burns the food, argues with him (the husband), goes out without telling him, neglects the children or refuses to have sexual intercourse with him. More adolescents also held negative gender norm beliefs around intimate partner violence with 64% of all adolescents agreeing with at least one statement condoning the use of intimate partner violence compared to 52% of adults.

[4] For details on these findings, please see the accompanying data brief: Fry, D.. Data Brief: Adolescent Intimate Partner Violence and Help-Seeking Behaviours in Myanmar. Yangon: UNICEF, 2018.

Adolescents do tell someone such as a family member about the violence they experience in their relationships but they are less likely to seek professional help than adults. For those that had experienced violence, 50.2% of girls (1 in every 2 girls) aged 15-19 years told someone about the violence they experienced but also reported not seeking professional help (higher than all other age groups) for said violence.

5.1 U-Report Data

In addition to the nationally representative data, a series of polls were sent out to young adult U-reporters about their perceptions and beliefs around gender norms and adolescent intimate partner violence.

A total of 5,174 participants ages 18 to 24 years old filled out the questions on gender norms (3,140 girls and 1,976 boys, and 58 participants with unspecified gender from 15 regions in the country) and the *findings show that perceptions of the acceptance of controlling behaviours came up frequently among young people,* echoing the findings from the DHS data that adolescent girls experience a larger amount of controlling behaviours in their relationships. Both boys and girls reported higher agreement with the statements that it is ok for a teenage boy to not allow their wife/girlfriend to meet their male friends (37.3% of boys agreed with this compared to 30.6% of girls). Whereas, the controlling behaviour is less acceptable when a girl does it with 30% of girls and 29.9% of boys agreeing with the statement that it is right for a teenage girl to not allow her husband/boyfriend to meet her female friends.

Monitoring of their partners was identified as socially acceptable behaviour to be done by boys and girls with monitoring movements done by about 1 in 5 young people and monitoring social media by approximately 1 in 3 young people. Over a quarter of boys polled (26.7%) and over 1 in 5 girls (21.2%) agreed with the statement that it is right for a teenage boy to insist on knowing where their girlfriend is at all times. Similarly, when asked if it was right for teenage girls to insist on knowing where her husband or boyfriend is at all times, 26.7% of boys and 24.4% of girls agreed with this statement. *Similar to monitoring physical movements, monitoring online movements and interactions was perceived to be acceptable behaviour* regardless of whether it was done by a teenage boy to his girlfriend/wife (where 30.4% of girls and 34.4% of boys agreed) or by a teenage girl to her boyfriend/husband (with 34.1% of girls and 30.8% of boys agreeing).

When asking about financial control and control over decision-making within married adolescent relationships, the majority of the girls believe that friends and parents do not agree that their husband should be in control of assets and decision-making, however, data emerged around reference networks that negate these beliefs. *For girls, more than half believe that parents and friends will disagree with them if they disobeyed their husband or boyfriend.* This sanction or negative repercussion for not following the social norm (in this instance to obey your husband and boyfriend) only existed for girls.

For boys, more than half believe that parents (50.2%) and friends (52%) will have no reaction if they disobeyed their wife or girlfriend, meaning there is no sanction for boys controlling their behaviours in their relationships with girls. This highlights that while there is a belief in gender equality around decision-making and control of assets, in reality there are groups of people important to adolescents who would disapprove of the girl, if she disobeyed her husband and that these gender norms are one-sided—*they only apply to girls.*

This social norm around who has control in the relationship over the other person's behaviour is important for understanding repercussions (such as violence) when a girl breaks this norm, with parents serving as the main reference network for how a young wife should behave in a marriage with her husband.

5.2 Round Robin Data: Listing and Ranking

Taking this data to the focus groups in Rakhine and Kachin, young people were asked what they thought were the root causes of intimate partner violence among adolescents. The following table shows their top three consolidated rankings in each State among IDP and host community respondents separately.

To reiterate the listing and ranking methods, each State had four focus groups—two with IDP and two with host community[5] young people. Within each site, two focus groups were held with 10 young people each (20 boys and 20 girls each from each site) for in-depth qualitative discussions on the causes *from young people's perspectives* of adolescent intimate partner violence. Each group was asked to rank their top three causes and these were tallied across the two groups to come up with a consolidated ranking as presented in the tables below.

Northern Rakhine and Central Rakhine Host Communities—Boys and Girls Groups Top Three Ranked Causes of Intimate Partner Violence

Northern Rakhine Boys Groups – Host Community	Northern Rakhine Girls Group – Host Community	Central Rakhine Boys Groups – Host Community	Central Rakhine Girls Groups – Host Community
1. Stress from financial crisis	1. Gender inequality (no women's rights)	1. Being jealous with love	1. The boy does not want to lose the girl he really loves ; he loves her so much
2. Strong wishes for sex (looking at 18+ films)	2. Partners lack of mutual understanding of each other	2. Controlling behaviours/ wanting to control	2. He wants her to care, does not want her to love another one
3. No mutual understanding	3. Financial difficulties	3. Being asked for presents/ money	3. No mutual respect

Boys – Host Community

Kachin Boys Groups – Host Community	Kachin Girls Groups – Host Community
1. Jealousy	1. Because of falling deeply in love
2. Because of not being faithful	2. Because of jealousy
3. Pretending to love	3. Because of not understanding each other

We can see across the six host community groups that the main reason in Central Rakhine and Kachin for both boys and girls listed for what causes intimate partner violence in relationships, was falling too deeply in love. *Common across all the activities in the focus groups, equating love with violence was a central theme particularly for young people from host communities in Kachin and Central Rakhine.* For Northern Rakhine host communities, unlike the other States, we see stressors such as lack of employment opportunities as being the top reason for violence within relationships. Within the host communities in each state, both boys and girls had similar top three causes for intimate partner violence suggesting a shared understanding across genders which is a positive finding for prevention programming in host communities.

[5] To reiterate, each State (Central Rakhine, Northern Rakhine and Kachin) had a mix of both IDP and non-IDP participant sites (called either host communities or in the case of Northern Rakhine, both Rakhine and Muslim villages that are not IDP camps).

Boys – IDP Camps

Kachin Boys Groups – IDP Camps	Kachin Girls Groups—IDP Camps	Central Rakhine Boys Groups – IDP Camps	Central Rakhine Girls Groups – IDP Camps
1. Egocentric (want to dominate) and be a playboy	1. Jealousy (love so much)	1. Inhibitions of speaking (saying no)	1. Sexual abuses/ desire to have sex with a girl
2 Breaking promises (both agree to get married – but then girl marries someone else – the boy will still interfere	2. Breaking promises (being unfaithful)	2. Girls asking for presents and only then will they come to dating place	2. Jealousy
3. Jealousy	3. Not fulfilling the partner's desire	3. Forced marriages for money	3. Discrimination having disrespect for girls

In the two IDP camp settings in Central Rakhine and Kachin State, we start to see some divergent findings especially among Central Rakhine IDP groups. These groups started to identify sexual and gender-based violence as a top cause of intimate partner violence that is from the boy's perspective that the girls have inhibitions of 'saying no' and from the girl's perspective that boys have strong sexual desires that then lead to violence when a girl does not want to have sex. In fact, nearly every cause stated by both boys and girls is related to gender-based violence or the unequal power between boys and girls leading to violence within their relationships.

Muslim Boy and Girls Groups Consolidated Top Three Ranked Causes of Intimate Partner Violence

Northern Rakhine Muslim Boys Groups	Northern Rakhine Muslim Girls Groups
1. Because of misunderstanding women	1. Beating women because of no dowry
2. Stress Because of lack of jobs, fighting (war), travel restriction, and less opportunity to higher education.	2. Gender inequality (male is always the priority and has the power)
3. Drug Use	3. Cheating

In Northern Rakhine, separate groups were held with Muslim boys and girls. An analysis of their responses highlighted similarities for boys between groups from both Northern Rakhine host communities and Muslim communities. The commonalities include stressors such as lack of jobs, fighting, travel restrictions and less opportunities for higher education as triggers that lead to violence in relationships. Commonly for boys and girls of all ethnicities in Northern Rakhine was mentioned a lack of mutual understanding between the genders. This is also a theme we see in some girl's groups (specifically Central Rakhine and Kachin). Drug use also was among the top three ranked causes by all the Muslim boy participants. While this was also mentioned in other groups, it was not prioritised in the top three.

Unlike any other group, the Muslim girls' groups overwhelmingly identified lack of dowry as a reason for physical violence within adolescent relationships. Interestingly, girls from both Rakhine and Muslim communities in Northern Rakhine mentioned gender inequality and the power men have over women as one of the main reasons for intimate partner violence among adolescents.

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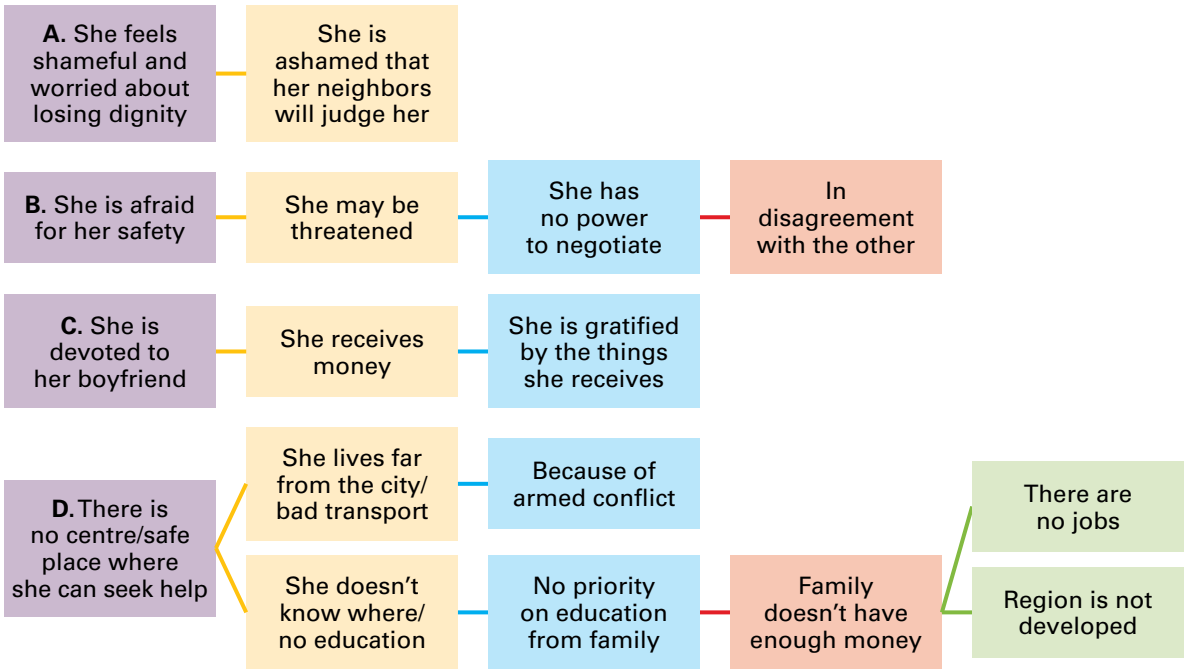
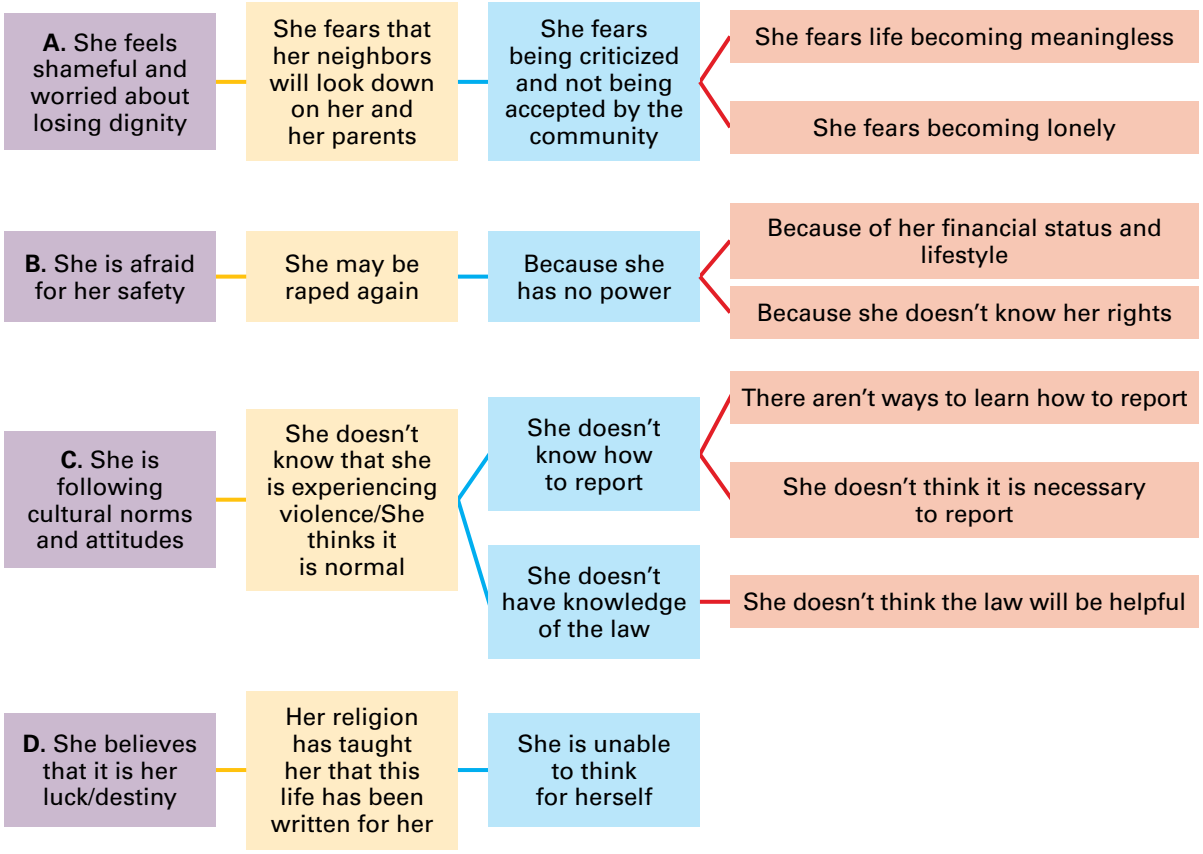
Drivers Pathways

The drivers' pathways expanded on the key themes specifically related to adolescent help-seeking when violence was experienced A consolidated drivers pathway is below:

Drivers Pathways: Help-seeking and disclosure for intimate partner violence– Combined boys' perspective from Kachin and Rakhine



Drivers Pathways: Help-seeking and disclosure for intimate partner violence – Combined girls' perspective from Kachin and Rakhine



From the nationally representative Demographic Health Survey that we examined at the beginning of this chapter, we know that many adolescents who experience intimate partner violence do tell someone, most often a family member or friend but very few seek professional help, the lowest among any age group of women. The qualitative data explored, *from young people's perspectives,* what they thought was driving this lack of seeking help. Several key themes emerged. From the boys' perspective, they thought that girls who experience violence in their relationships didn't seek help because of the stigma of having experienced violence, as well as fear for her safety and because there is no safe place to report. Also, importantly from the boys' perspectives, they mentioned that a girl might not seek help because she is grateful for the financial and physical things she gets from her boyfriend. This may create a belief among boys that violence can go unpunished if material things are involved.

Additional themes emerged from the girls' perspectives. Similar with the boys' perspective, girls also mentioned the shame and stigma of having experienced violence as a barrier to help-seeking alongside being fearful of her safety if she does report. Uniquely, girls also mentioned what they called 'cultural norms and attitudes', citing specifically that a girl may not know that what she is experiencing is indeed violent behaviour, nor the existing laws in place surrounding intimate partner violence. They also mentioned that even if she was aware of such laws, the laws themselves would not be helpful to her. Girls also mentioned that her religious beliefs reinforce the concept that the violence they are experiencing in their relationships are their given luck or destiny, because their lives have already been written for them. These are significant normative barriers to help-seeking that programming should seek to address specifically among girls.

Vignettes

The Kachin groups focused specifically on an intimate partner violence short story or vignette to try and further examine beliefs around behaviours related to intimate partner violence. The short story the group explored was:

> Mai Mai lives in [Location] and she is 17 years old and is in a relationship with Aung Aung. Aung Aung is very jealous about who Mai Mai sees and tries to control what she does and whom she sees. In the last couple of months Aung Aung has been getting angry and hitting Mai Mai. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Mai Mai and Aung Aung.

An analysis of participant responses to the Adolescent IPV vignette above highlighted two primary common themes consistent across all groups in both IDP and host community settings, namely, jealousy and attention seeking imparted onto girls by boys in their romantic partnership; and the expectation for girls to fulfil the typically feminine role of being communicative as a solution to the abusive relationship. Across both IDP and host camp settings, the primary reference group that imparts expectations on the primary characters of the vignette was the other individual in the relationship, i.e. one person in the relationship holds expectations of their partner and vice versa.

Firstly, the consistent theme of jealousy was characterized with attention seeking behaviors linked to restricted social networks for the female partner. Specifically, the feelings linked to jealousy that drive the abusive behaviors ranged in levels of intensity, including wishing to be the sole recipient of affection among its mildest forms, to not wanting her to be happy with friends and limiting interactions, at its most severe.

Secondly, the solutions proposed by participants for the vignette characters to alleviate the abusive relationship were primarily focused on the female partner being communicative. Communication was also a common solution in all vignettes and was primarily linked with other female characters. In the case of this vignette, the communicative role was brought up by both boy and girl discussion groups but was suggested more often and in greater detail by boys. This solution in its lowest polarity included changes in the victim's behavior and "lowering her pride" and expectation for reconciliation and forgiveness.

Lastly, while expectation reference groups were consistent between IDP and host community settings, community networks and family units played different roles according to participant responses from IDP camps. Specifically, external reference groups in IDP community settings

were sources of awareness intervention and justice with mention of friends, family, and neighbors leading in corrective actions in response to the abuser. These actions also varied in intensity including communicative "awareness" approaches to "caning" and family/sibling revenge.

Childhood Marriage:

Vignettes:

> Ni Ni lives in [community name] and she is 15 years old and is a student in secondary school. Ni Ni has two younger sisters and two younger brothers and Ni Ni parents have a lot of debt so they decide to arrange Ni Ni to get married to a man in the community who is rich in order to solve the debt. Ni Ni doesn't want to get married but she wants to go school. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Ni Ni.

The following vignette was adapted by the Northern Rakhine teams to reflect more local circumstances as follows:

> Ni Ni is 14 years old and learning in Grade-8. She has one elder brother and one younger sister. Her parents are too poor and owe money to others and have engaged her to be married to the son of a rich person.

An analysis of participant responses to the Child Marriage vignette with discussion groups in Northern and Central Rakhine highlighted common reference groups the female character as well as similar risks and outcomes that she could face according to the perceptions of both boy and girl groups from both Muslim and Rakhine communities. Furthermore, the victim's potential options, according to these groups, also contributed to the common roles that girls play as communicators in order to mitigate and respond to violations upon her freedoms and rights to safety. The primary reference group for the female character, according to these groups, are both her parents and the debtor to whom they must pay.

All groups from both Central and Northern Rakhine cited life threatening outcomes as a result of her childhood marriage, including health risks related to pregnancy at a young age, physical abuse, and even kidnapping if it was not decided that she follow through with the arranged marriage.

According to these groups, both the expectations imparted upon the female character, as well as her options to avoid this situation fall within typical sets of gender roles, namely to be communicative and a caregiver to her family.

Responses from the discussion groups regarding this communicative role included explaining to parents her wishes and aspirations to continue school. This communicative role also shifts to *bargaining* with her family, the debtor, and even the suitor himself to allow her to finish school. It is important to note that this bargaining, according to the discussion groups, often still ended in following through with the arranged marriage, the only difference being that she would be allowed to finish her schooling first. Other groups also mentioned dropping out of school altogether in order to find a job to support the family financially instead.

Along with this role, the majority of discussion groups also referenced the pressures of caregiving that she is expected to shoulder in being a "model sister", namely to support the financial welfare of her family unit and the futures of her younger siblings, who may have the option to complete their schooling if she sacrifices her own. Furthermore, participants also referenced public shame and family honour that she and her parents could face if they are unable to settle the debt.

Although child marriage was not explicitly programmed into the activities in Kachin State, discussions about migration and employment were closely linked to child marriage as a potential outcome for girls. During these discussions in Kachin the themes detailed above including communicative roles and the expectation to provide as a caregiver to the family were also highlighted. The only difference between these locations on this matter is that the bargaining role was mentioned solely in Northern and Central Rakhine State.

6 MIGRATION

Myanmar has undergone rapid changes in the past decade. Now considered to be an 'emerging economy', a number of gradual political and economic reforms since 2011 promoted economic growth and opened the doors to the long-isolated country. This has led to more opportunities for youth employment and also youth migration.

Migration in its many forms impacts adolescents
and their families in different ways and can play an important role that contributes to adolescent's experiences of both protection from and vulnerability to violence (Maternowska, Potts, Fry & Casey, 2018). Adolescents may migrate on their own or with adults such as parents/caregivers and may also migrate with family members but then become separated during the process of moving. Migration may occur for reasons such as opportunities for employment, in order to attend school or further educational opportunities; to live with relatives or in other households; as well as to potentially escape from violence and conflict at home, school or in the community or, situations of neglect.

Migration may be a structural driver of violence against children especially when it interplays with weak institutional and legal child protection frameworks
that may not adequately protect children who are on the move (Maternowska, Potts, Fry & Casey, 2018). Myanmar has experienced both significant conflict and natural disasters that have caused migratory movements both internally within Myanmar and externally to other countries in the region. Migration takes different forms depending on the situation. For example, each of the ongoing conflicts, such as those in Rakhine, Shan and Kachin States and along the Southeast region of Myanmar, are all characterised by different migratory patterns for adolescents.

6.1 Existing National Data on Adolescent Migration

The Ministry of Labour, Immigration and Population conducted the census in 2014, the first census in the country for 30 years. It aimed to gather demographic, social and economic information about the population. Census enumeration areas were mapped with the aim of counting everyone in Myanmar on the night of the 29th March 2014 (with the exception of some parts of northern Rakhine State and some areas of Kachin state and one township in Kayin State). The census data is very important for understanding national demographics, however, certain limitations exist with its use for fully understanding migration. First, because of sampling methodology, certain heavy conflict areas such as Northern Rakhine were not able to be included. Secondly, irregular and/or clandestine movement may not be fully captured. As a result, this may underestimate current migratory patterns of adolescents.

The Census provides crucial contextual data to explore the experiences of adolescents in Myanmar, specifically data on children involved in work and migration. From this data, we find that *nearly 1 in every 5 young people (ages 15-24) in Myanmar have migrated from their place of birth with very little difference between boys and girls.* Young people from urban areas are more likely to move between States/Regions than young people from rural areas.

Also, according to Census data, *older adolescents (ages 15-19 years old) are more likely to migrate for employment opportunities.* Very few young people said they migrated because of conflict (<1% across age groups and genders). However, it should be noted that the census had limited sampling in conflict areas and this may be underrepresented in the data. Migrating because of marriage was also uncommon, though higher among adolescent girls. One in 10 females aged 15-19 years moved for marriage compared to less than 3% of males the same age.

Also, the Census data shows that *more young migrants come from the highest wealth quintile and they are the ones most likely to migrate, often internationally, for employment.* Young people in lower wealth quintiles appear less likely to migrate for employment, which is different to other countries in the region where migration typically affects those in lower wealth quintiles who migrate to earn money to send back to their families.

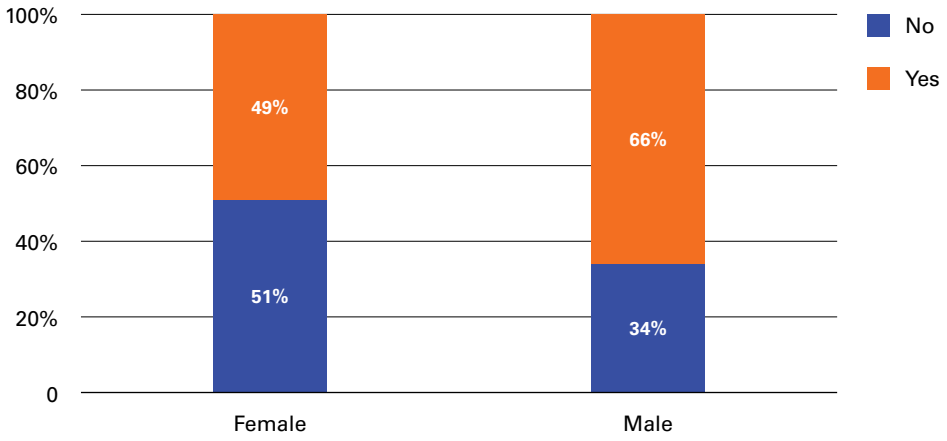
6.2 U-Report Data

For the U-Report migration polls, only young people in Rakhine and Kachin were polled because of a desire to directly inform adolescent programming around migration and employment in those locations.

A total of 225 (F 124, M 101) respondents ages 18 to 24 filled out the U-report polls related to migration and employment specifically from Kachin and Rakhine States.

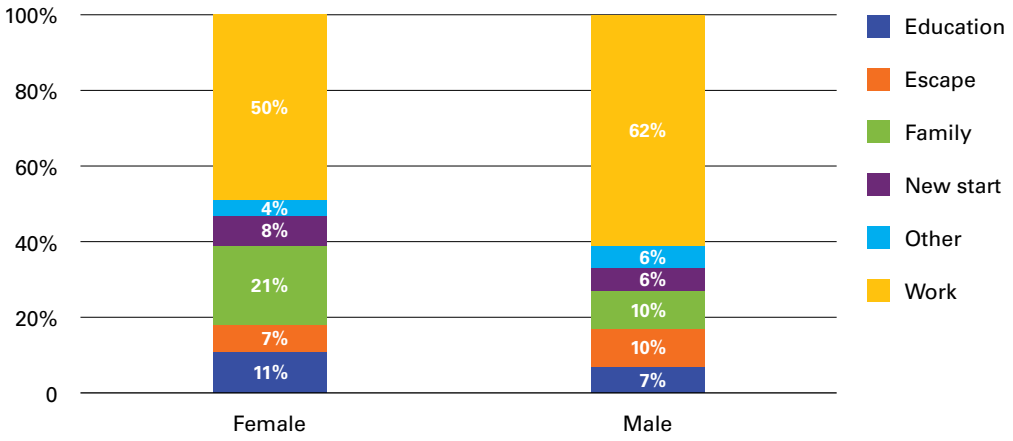
The findings reiterate the main findings from Census data. In both Kachin and Rakhine, adolescence is characterised by migration, both of the young person themselves but also friends moving to and out of the state.

Do you have friends who are not originally from your community and have moved to your area in the past 5 years?



Out of 203 participants (F114, M 89) who answered this question the majority of male participants (66%) have friends who are not originally from their community and have moved in within the past 5 years; more female participants (51%) do not. When asked about the gender of their friends, both boys and girls suggested that boys represent approximately 70-75% of their migrating friends. This suggests there may be some potential gender patterns in movements, which should be explored with future quantitative studies.

Why do you think adolescents aged 15 to 24 years old would move from one state to another?



When asked why young people migrate internally, from both regions there is also an expectation that adolescents aged 15–24 would migrate within and outside the state for work, reiterating the findings from the Census data. Out of 203 young people who answered this question (F 114, M 89), the most common answer given the question why they think adolescents aged 15-24 years old would move from one state to another was due to work (50%F, 62%M); the second most prevalent reason was family (21%F, 10%M).

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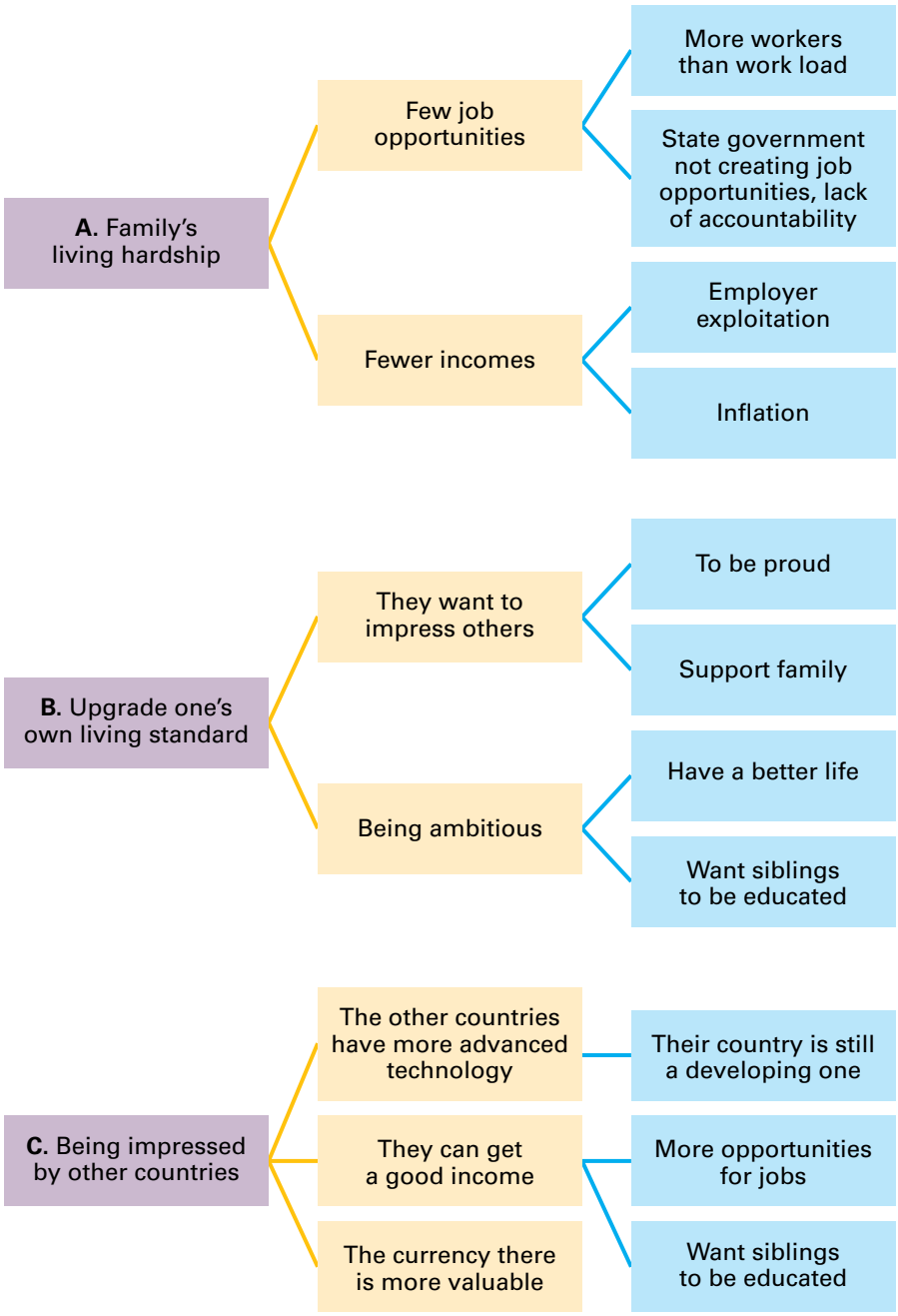
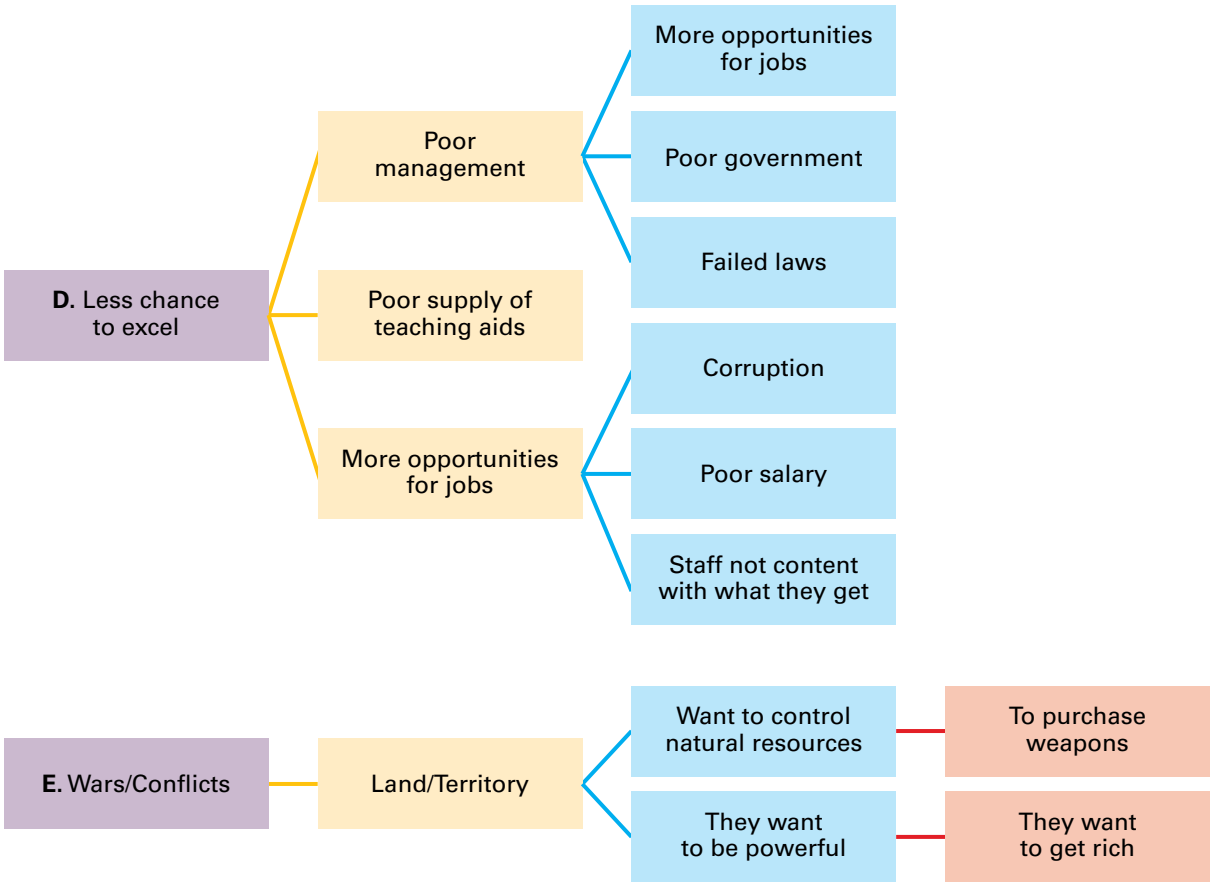
6.3 Round Robin Data

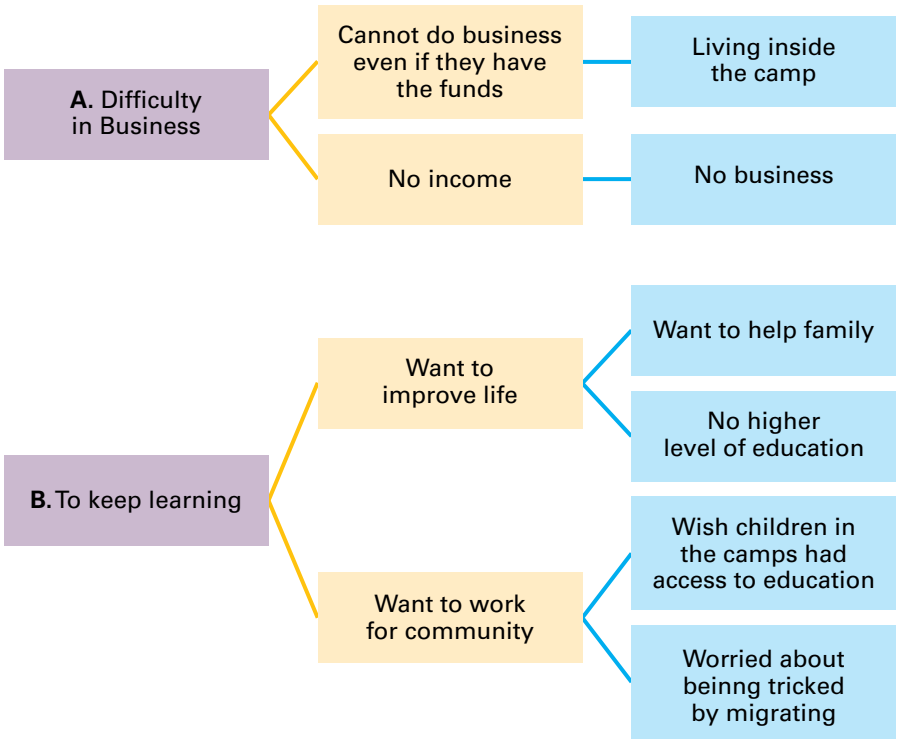
Both boy's and girl's groups from both IDP and host communities gave a detailed socio-ecological analysis of why adolescents migrate as presented in the consolidated drivers pathway below. There was little difference between boy's and girl's drivers pathways so they are consolidated below:

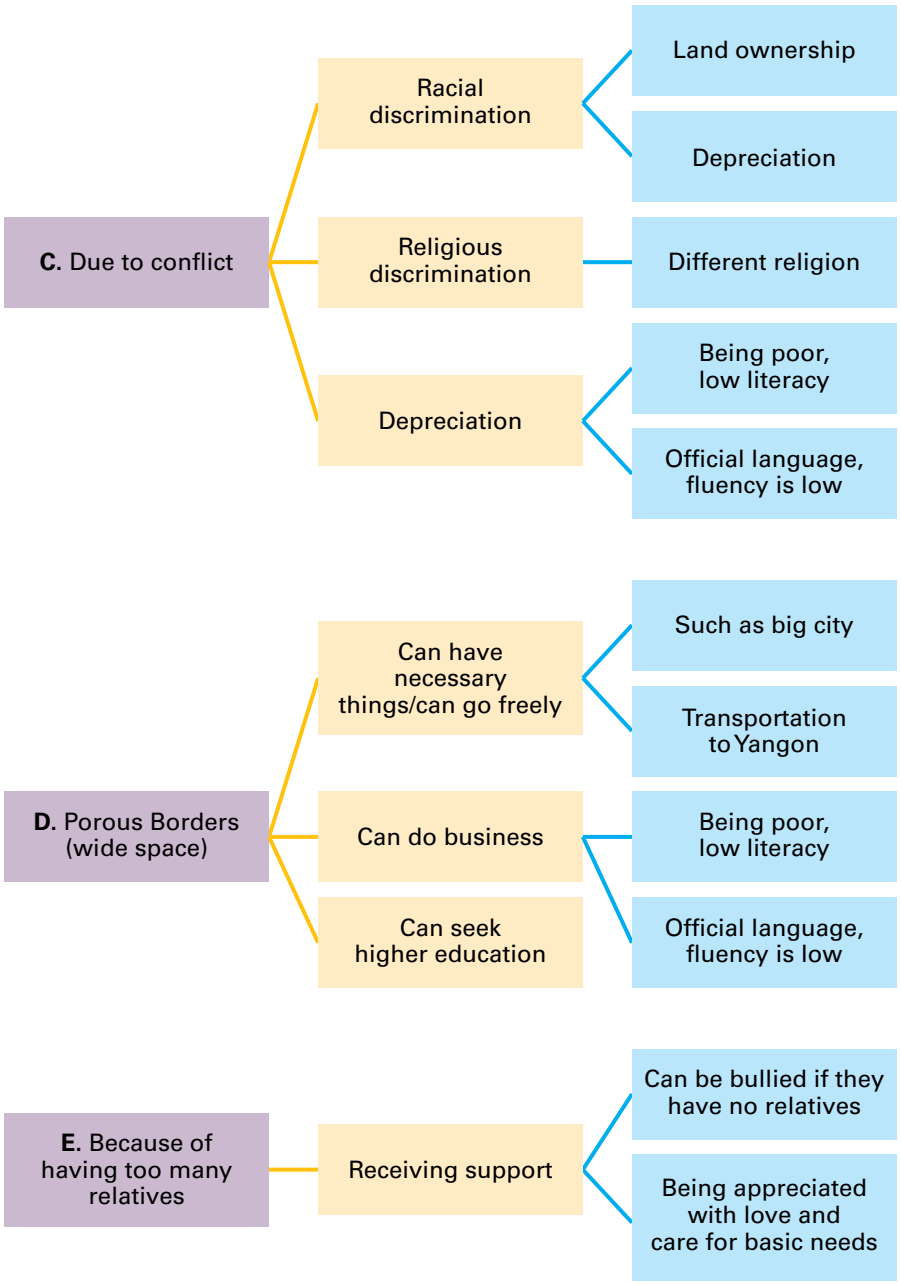
Consolidated Migration Drivers Pathways—Host Communities





Consolidated Migration Pathways—IDP Groups:





Both IDP and host community young people identified the desire to upgrade one's living standard through education and job opportunities as a key driver for adolescent migration. These groups also identified difficulties in business, due to a variety of reasons ranging from employer exploitation and inflation in host communities, to restrictions on business in IDP camps, as drivers for adolescent migration. Both groups also mentioned war or conflict as an impetus for young people to migrate.

Some important differences emerged between host community and IDP adolescents. For host community adolescents they mentioned looking to other countries and seeing higher incomes, more valued money and more advanced technology as an incentive to migrate. IDP young people migration, as they mentioned 'wide spaces', the ability to 'go freely', and the draw to migrate to urban centres and cities. IDP young people also discussed at length the racial and religious discrimination that has led to the conflicts that then lead to migration. Lastly, IDP young people also mentioned that having many relatives was a protective and incentive for migration as they are more likely to be supported in some way.

6.4 Vignettes

The short story or vignette used in Kachin State around employment and migration was as follows:

> Kaw Kaw lives in [rural community name] and she is 17 years old. Her parents are ill and cannot work. There is little money and little food for the family. Her friend tells her that she can get a job if she moves to [external location name]. She decides to move to the city on her own so she can send money back to her family. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Kaw Kaw.

These vignettes were then adapted by the Central and Northern Rakhine teams to reflect more local circumstances as follows:

> Zar Zar lives in [rural community name] and she is 17 years old. Her father passed away and her mother is ill and cannot work. There is little money and little food for the family. Her friend tells her that she can get a job if she moves abroad on her own so she can send money back to her family. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Zar Zar.

An analysis of participant responses to the Migration and Employment vignette highlighted that this practice is an issue that affects both boys and girls with strong ties to early marriage. During this particular activity across all sites, discussion groups provided many community anecdotes of individuals who were forced or persuaded to migrate for economic reasons. In Kachin it was observed that all victims described in community anecdotes were girls, while in Central and Northern Rakhine, stories of both boys and girls who had experienced migration were shared.

One shared theme bridging across both Kachin and Rakhine states includes the pressure placed on the female character who is expected to provide financial support for her parents and younger siblings. Reinforcing this expectation, participants described that her friends could add to this pressure by expecting her to share money and contacts of financial opportunities abroad. In Kachin, an added expectation of the female character's migration was to marry, particularly to a wealthy partner.

This particular vignette also saw negative outcomes and risks for the family unit including community judgement and family suffering, the majority of which were drawn from girl participant groups. Compounding these pressures, participants also mentioned that she would be regarded as a bad daughter by her family and community if she did not follow through with her expectation to migrate.

Another common theme across Kachin and Rakhine were the shared risks that the character could face in her situation. In this regard, participants referenced serious health concerns, becoming a sex worker, and falling victim to human trafficking as a risk of migration. In Rakhine State participants referenced very specifically the risk of being tricked by brokers and cheated by agents who would steal money or lie about the work opportunity being arranged abroad. This was also reflected in some of the community anecdotes shared by discussion groups in this region.

Apart from these similarities, analysis from these discussion groups reflected different approaches of ameliorating the current situation. In Kachin, many groups referenced seeking other employment options closer to home and community support, as well as some references of awareness raising for the female character and the community on the risks of migration. In Rakhine however, the solutions discussed by participants were primarily research-focused (i.e. she should research where she is going according to what is being said in the arrangement; learn the culture of the host country; memorize hotline support numbers and learn about support resources and embassies).

Similar to the increased community network and family unit roles previously mentioned (see vignette no. 1) group participants from IDP camps in Kachin State articulated in greater depth the roles that neighbours and families should play in support of the victim and preventing this practice including setting up local job opportunities, loans, and community awareness.

Listing & Ranking
Timeline
Adolescent IPV
"Think equal, Build Smart, Innovate for change"

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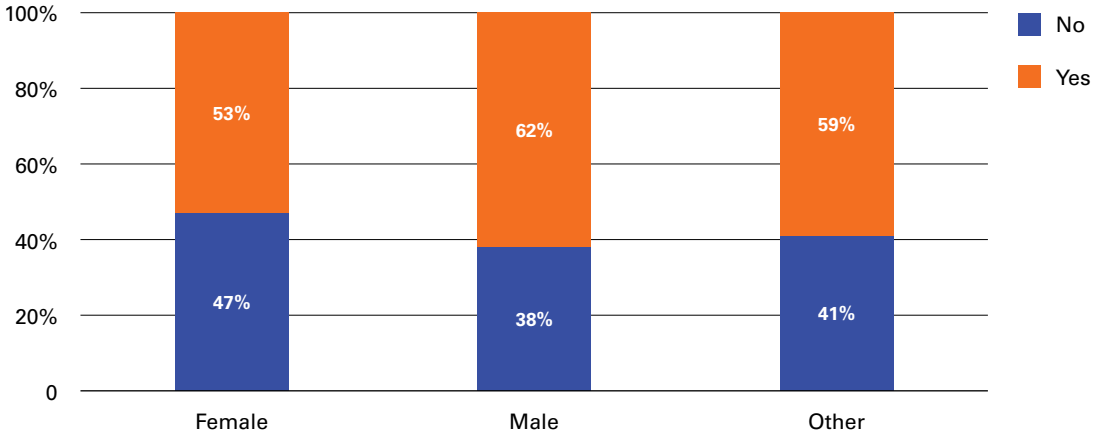
7 SUBSTANCE ABUSE

Substance abuse was a topical theme identified by the programme team as an area that anecdotally was seen as a big problem among adolescents within the study sites. *Substance abuse is also an area where there is no nationally representative data for adolescents in terms of prevalence.* The Global School-Based Health Survey does include questions on substance abuse but Myanmar did not include these questions in their two rounds of data collection.

7.1 U-Report Data

The U-Report polls, which are not nationally representative but are of a large sample size of young people across the country, asked if young people knew someone who takes drugs and from the 4,160 respondents (F 2,382 M 1,728 O 50) to this poll, the majority of respondents, both female and male said they did know someone (n=2,304).

Do you know anyone who uses drugs?

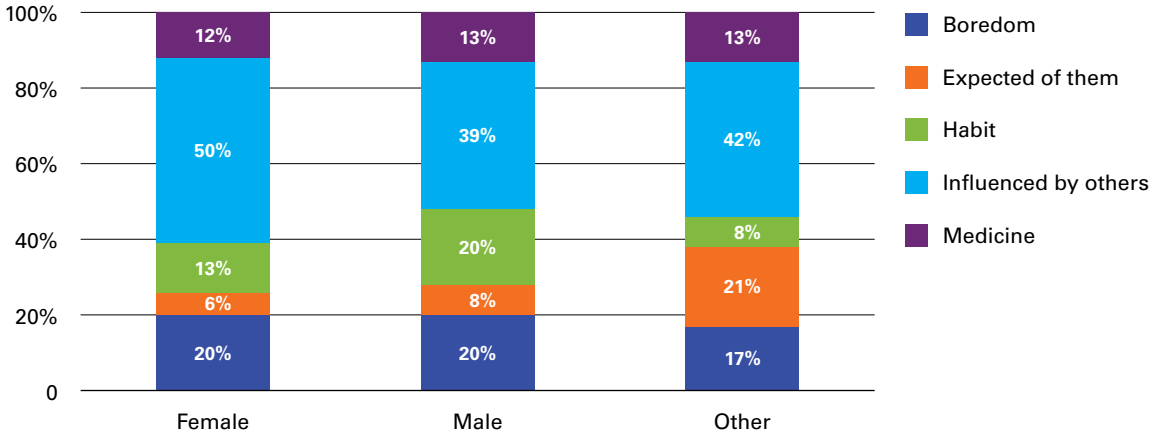


A slightly smaller percentage *(42% of girls, 50% of boys and 57% of young people who didn't identify in gender binary categories) of young people said that drug use was common amongst their friends.* That represents approximately 1 in every 2 young people and considering that the U-Report respondents are likely to be more 'engaged' youth, we can hypothesize that this may even be an underestimate of the true prevalence.

Both boys and girls also responded that drugs were both available and affordable to adolescents in their communities.

When U-reporters were asked why they thought people used drugs they answered as follows:

Why do you think people in your community take drugs?



When asked what they thought cause drug use, a combination of boredom and being influenced by others accounted for approximately 50-70% of the reasons, according to young people. Habit is also listed and recognised as both a cause but also a consequence of drug use.
When the analyses are broken down by geographic regions, the regional hotspots for greater percentages of young people saying that drug use is both common and common among their friends are Chin, Kachin, Shan, and Tanintharyi states.

When looking at gender, the majority of respondents from all genders and regions, except Chin and Kachin, believe that it is less common for girls to take drugs than boys. This is reflected across all the data that shows slightly lower percentages of girls report both knowing someone who takes drugs and having friends who take drugs.

Consistent with previous findings that determine the strongest reference network, the majority of respondents from all genders and regions had indicated that they would speak to their friend if they were worried that someone was taking drugs. While similar to the issue of adolescent intimate partner violence, many girls would also disclose to their mothers when worried about someone's potential drug use.

7.2 Round Robin Data

In this consultation, young people were presented with vignettes about drug use to identify what the expectations and beliefs are among different actors. Each site developed a slightly different short story or vignette that they thought was a useful starting point to talk about drug use in their areas. In Kachin the vignette was as follows:

> Naw Naw lives in [community name]. He is 15 years old and has started hanging out with a group of older boys who offer him alcohol and drugs. He does not want them to make fun of him so he agrees. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Naw Naw.

The following vignettes was adapted by the Central Rakhine teams to reflect more local circumstances as follows:

> Mi Mi is 13 years old and attending Grade 8. One day, she is told by her friend that drugs are available in the shop in the community because they saw their guy friends using the drugs. Her friend is encouraging her to try out the drugs. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Mi Mi.

The following vignettes was adapted by the Northern Rakhine teams to reflect more local circumstances as follows:

> Kyaw Kyaw is 14 yrs and attending in Grade-8. His friends encourage him to smoke. When [girl's name], who is Kyaw Kyaw friend sees the conversation about smoking between Kyaw Kyaw and his friends, it is complained to Kyaw Kyaw parents. Now we are going to talk through some hypothetical situations for Kyaw Kyaw.

An analysis of participant responses to the Substance Abuse vignette showed that both male and female characters in the Kachin and Rakhine vignettes faced similar risks including becoming addicted, being isolated from others, and leading a ruined life. Participants in Central Rakhine also mentioned that the female character may be victim to sexual abuse and sex trafficking.

During this particular activity in Kachin and Rakhine, discussion groups provided many community anecdotes of drug use among young people. In Kachin it was observed that all victims described in community anecdotes were boys, while in Central Rakhine, stories of both boys and girls using drugs were shared. Both boys' and girls's groups in Rakhine State referenced very specifically the use of WY pills, also commonly known as Yaba, a stimulant made of caffeine and methamphetamines by both girls and boys.

The primary reference groups discussed across all participants included parents, community members, local authorities. For the female victim in the Rakhine vignette, her peers were also specifically mentioned, particularly regarding her intervention.

The primary difference that divides the responses from Kachin and Rakhine state lies in the corrective intervention discussed in support of the victim.

In Kachin, the intervention in response to the male character's drug use was primarily his relocation and/or religious intervention. With less frequency, job opportunities and skills trainings were also referenced as solutions. Relocation specifically included military service, institutionalization and rehab, or relocation to a new area. Religious intervention as a proposed solution was referenced specifically as an opportunity for positive engagement with peers and community leaders and to realign with the morals of the community. Prayer, was also a common reference of intervention for the victim of drug abuse across all groups. Regarding relocation, the new area was sometimes linked to family members and job opportunities, but was otherwise unspecified.

Similar to the male character, interventions for the female character from the Rakhine vignette included informing and seeking other community resources such as teachers, community leaders and police. In contrast however both boys and girls groups from Rakhine state referenced specifically the role that the girl's friends can play in shifting her focus away from drug use which included peer consultation, activities, spending time together, and going to movies.

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RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

These consultations are a crucial component of ensuring current programming is actually addressing the drivers of violence affecting adolescents. Through a strategic and thorough process informed by data, several key areas were explored, particularly the aspects important for behaviour change programming. Through these consultations, young people highlighted social norms of being shamed in front of friends and specific emotional abuse/controlling behaviours as being a key driver of intimate partner violence and bullying. Discrimination came up substantially in the social norms data, as both a driver of coercive controlling behaviour between partners but also peers (e.g. bullying). And there is now substantive evidence that substance abuse is a key concern among adolescents and an area ripe for prevention programming.

The findings document learning on social norms and behaviour change that can inform how programme content and its implementation can and should be adapted in context-sensitive, complex situations found in humanitarian settings.

Responses from these groups across all activities not only identified underlying trends that link behaviours, practices and expectations to the drivers behind violence against children, but also the programming interventions and potential entry points to mitigate and respond to them. The following programmatic suggestions are not meant to be taken as stand-alone interventions to be applied in one region, but rather as elements of a design that should be included or strengthened with the partnership and collective input shared among the development community, including local CSO / CBOs, government stakeholders, service providers, community leaders, parents, and most importantly youth themselves:

No.	Thematic Programming Area	Target Groups	Intervention Specified	Evidence–based Issue Targeted
1.	Gender Transformative Child and Adolescent Programming	Children	**Mental health and psychosocial support / empathy building with children**	Bullying and early gender-based harassment between young students at school
		Adolescents	**Peer-to-peer dialogue on healthy intimate relationships, communication, gender roles, and solidarity**	Peer bullying at school, violence in relationships and community
		Adolescents	**Regional specific vocational and job skills training**	Unsafe job environment (i.e. migration, trafficking, mines)
		Adolescents Boys	**Positive masculinity development with boys and role-models**	Violent behaviours relationships; Risk behaviours
		Adolescents	**Drug awareness prevention linked to productive alternatives**	Drug use among school-aged boys and girls

No.	Thematic Programming Area	Target Groups	Intervention Specified	Evidence–based Issue Targeted
2.	Parent/Guardian Intervention	Parents / Guardians	**Adolescent Parenting Curriculum**	Family / community shame is a barrier to disclosure and help seeking for girls
		Parents / Guardians & Adolescents	**Intergenerational Dialogue**	
3.	School-Based Violence and Bullying Intervention	Teachers of children and adolescents / students	**Active by-stander intervention trainings**	Discriminatory behaviours sourced from both teachers and students; Gender-based discrimination cited as early as 6-7 years old at school
		Teachers of children and adolescents / students	**Gender-based bullying prevention, including primary schools**	
		Teachers	**Collaboration with government on positive discipline focused training programs and identifying effective teaching approaches**	
4.	Community Support Strengthening	Health / protection service providers	**Youth friendly, counseling, service provision, protection response networks, and reporting platforms**	Mixed community / household solutions to drug use, i.e. relocation, military, etc.
		Religious Leaders		Perception that survivors of violence are "destined" to be victims
		Private sector / vocational schools / entrepreneurs	**Private sector collaboration to identify and develop employment opportunities and vocation training**	Risk of unsafe jobs (i.e. migration, child marriage, trafficking, drug use)

1. Gender Transformative Child and Adolescent Programming

By nature, these discussions highlighted many barriers and drivers of violence that adolescents face and that should require focused adjustments to programming interventions that aim to work directly with them. In general, most boys' groups and girls' groups held misunderstandings and differing expectations of each other. For example, boys' and girls' groups were able to make assumptions of each other in the age and gender timeline, and listing and ranking activities, but often were unable to dig under the surface and to the underlying concerns and opinions specific to the other sex group. Furthermore, gender-based violence in intimate partner relationships and among peers at school are common issues that they face today. In response, it is recommended to design peer-to-peer programming that specifically targets adolescents and the unique challenges that they face. Specifically, such programming should include regular dialogue on positive intimate relationships, communication skills, and an ability to both identify and resist gender roles that negatively affect themselves and their male and female classmates and peers. In order to facilitate create engaging discussion spaces it is also recommended to maximize programming outreach by linking these topics to modern tech/social media platforms for peer-to-peer support and social influencing across a broad spectrum of age groups, stakeholders, and regions.

Secondly, migration for employment reasons was very often linked to serious risks including child marriage, trafficking, drug-use, and being manipulated by agents that are dishonest about work opportunities that are set up in other locations. In response, it is suggested to invest in comprehensive livelihoods programming, and the development of alternative productive employment options for survivors of gender-based violence that support the economic empowerment of youth by providing them with employable skills, awareness to mitigate employment risks, and knowledge of resources available for their protection.

Regarding drug-use, analysis of the discussions on this topic show us that this is an issue that directly affects school-aged girls and boys. It is therefore suggested to ensure that drug awareness programming is not limiting its intervention by focusing solely on boys.

Lastly, the consultations pointed out that many of these unhealthy behaviours begin at an early age, including experimenting with drugs and alcohol and gender-based harassment at school. As these behaviours and social norms are learned at an early age, programing should also seek to engage with children through mental health and psychosocial support to build healthy social norms, empathy, and coping mechanisms. Such activities could be leveraged through existing resources including ECD centres and child-friendly spaces.

2. Parent / Guardian Interventions

Through our discussions, concerns for family and community shame was a common trend linked particularly to girls in relation to disclosure and help-seeking, and providing financial support to the household (see discussions on migration). This highlights the key role that family and community units, particularly parents and guardians, play in response to the livelihood development of their children. In response, it is suggested to invest in programming that also brings parents into many of the discussions designed into adolescent programming, particularly to develop positive parenting and communication practices. Moreover, targeted intergenerational dialogue could be a useful addition to such programming where both adolescents and parents could hear and learn about each other's concerns, needs, and collective support. Intergenerational dialogue should not be limited between parents/guardians and their adolescent children, especially in a post conflict environment where family units can be split apart, but should also incorporate community resources and leaders who can provide safe dialogue and spaces for adolescents.

3. School-Based Violence and Bullying Interventions

Groups discussions through the age and gender timeline activity highlighted examples of school-related gender-based bullying, and *learning to cat-call* beginning as early as 6-7 years old around the age when children begin public schooling. With this in mind, it should be noted that intervention aimed at reducing gender-based violence should not only be focused on targeted adolescents, but rather address bullying and other forms of school-related gender-based violence through age-appropriate means with younger students as well.

Secondly, many discussion groups cited discrimination (i.e. according to ethnicity, intelligence, social standing, and gender) from teachers themselves. These behaviours were also linked to corporal punishment, continued bullying and discrimination from other students, and cited as a reason behind the misbehaviour and lack of interest in schooling among students. In response it is suggested that teacher training programming reinforce foundational teaching practices such as positive reinforcement, positive discipline, classroom management techniques, and awareness on the negative effects of corporal punishment in the classroom.

Thirdly, as the social norms for bystander intervention varied across groups, more concentrated social norms programming should be done in schools to address school-related gender-based violence and appropriate bystander and other interventions.

4. Community Support Strengthening

When discussing drug-use through the vignette activity in Kachin state, the response from community and family to the male user in the story was linked to relocation, particularly to rehabilitation, another area, or to the military. In comparison, the vignette discussion in Rakhine State with a female user highlighted the intervention of external support and increased socialisation with friends. Furthermore, discussions from Kachin State very often mentioned the role that church can play in intervening with this behaviour, both with church leaders directly, community prayer, and youth groups. With this in mind it is suggested to explore further entry points for strengthening positive rehabilitation and service provision with health service providers and religious institutions, particularly in Kachin State. Religious beliefs rooted in destiny and *living life with the hand one has been dealt* was also referenced during discussions about survivors who have suffered from violent behaviours. This point also highlights the potential connection that programming could make with religious leaders to demystify drivers of violence and play a stronger role in the reference support network for young people in their communities.

Lastly, as linked to the livelihood programming suggestion above, it is also recommended that this design is met with targeted community level interventions to strengthen partnerships and networks among the private sector community, government stakeholders, and local vocational training centres to provide job opportunities for young people. For a relevant and informed program design, comprehensive market assessments that link to youth interest should be implemented in collaboration across INGOs, CSOs, and government stakeholders. In doing so this programming could prevent some of the potential risks that young people face when migrating for employment reasons, including child marriage, trafficking, and drug-use.

The consultation findings are intended to help practitioners and policymakers and advance their awareness to support investments on prevention programmes to reduce the prevalence of violence against children informed by the INSPIRE framework. The INSPIRE package is our current best understanding of 'what works' for the field, or interventions that are proven or highly likely to prevent VAC developed by 10 agencies[6] (WHO et al., 2016). INSPIRE's seven recommended strategies include: Implementation and enforcement of laws; Norms and values; Safe environments; Parent and caregiver support; Income and economic strengthening; Response and support services; and Education and life skills. INSPIRE's seven evidence-base strategies, in addition to its focus on multi-sectoral engagement and strong measurement, is the current standard of practice globally and this consultation contains evidence to help inform each of these seven strategies in a Myanmar context.

[6] Agencies including the World Health Organization (WHO), Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children (GP EVAC, Co-Applicant), Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), Together for Girls (TfG), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank

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