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Complex survivors:
adolescent boys and the humanitarian response to the Rohingya refugee crisis

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Shane Harrison

ORCID: 0000-0001-9123-6120

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Melbourne School of Population and Global Health

Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences

University of Melbourne

Abstract

In humanitarian emergencies, such as a natural disaster or armed conflict, adolescents are at increased risk of encountering violence and abuse. Empirical research has found that in emergencies adolescent boys face greater exposure to child protection concerns in these settings due to their gender, age, (dis)ability, sexuality, and other social factors. However, there is limited academic understanding of how humanitarian organisations and their staff are responding to these instances of harm. In this study, I investigated how humanitarian actors are responding to the protection needs of adolescent boys in emergencies through a critical ethnographic case study of the humanitarian response to the Rohingya refugee crisis in south-eastern Bangladesh. This thesis and its analysis are based on six and a half months of participant observation that I conducted while working for a child protection organisation in the Rohingya response, 39 interviews and 10 focus group discussions that I held with humanitarian staff working across the Rohingya crisis, and 16 interviews with international humanitarian staff with experience working in humanitarian responses to other recent emergencies.

Through analysis informed by intersectional theory, I found that adolescent boys are subject to multiple forms of harm due to the co-constitutive relationship between gender, age, refugee status, poverty, and other forms of social location in humanitarian emergencies. However, humanitarian actors often do not account for this dynamic in their mainstream interventions or specifically target adolescent boys through dedicated programming. Furthermore, I found that adolescents boys as survivors of sexual abuse were emblematic of this oversight, with limited accounting for their complex needs. This study contributes to literature directing critical academic attention to humanitarianism and its intervention practices. Through the application of intersectionality as a theoretical lens, I attend to the dynamic nature of risk and protection in the lives of adolescent boys and how the frameworks that structure humanitarian interventions create artificial delineations around particular social categories to determine who is, and who is not, at risk of harm. Consequently, in this thesis, I show how a humanitarian intervention based on a moral imperative to relieve suffering may paradoxically contribute to the very harm it seeks to alleviate within specific subsets of crisis-affected populations.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

- the thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy except where indicated in the preface;
- due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used; and
- the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Shane Harrison

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This thesis has been a decade in the making. It is thus incredibly difficult to thank the innumerable individuals who have contributed to its construction over this long expanse of time, but I will try. The PhD itself has been a life-changing process. It has not only furthered my self-development but has also meant that I have been fortunate enough to meet many beautiful people working to save lives and alleviate suffering in some of the farthest reaches of the world. This was an absolute privilege.

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Acronyms

CP	Child Protection
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
FD-7	Foreign Donations - 7
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
INGO	International Non-Government Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISCG	Inter Sector Coordination Group
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NGOAB	Non-Government Organisation Affairs Bureau
NNGO	National Non-Government Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USD	United States Dollars

Chapter 1.

Introduction

His eyes returned to the ground as soon as he shook my hand. Our catching of each other's eyes had been but a momentary exchange before his head cast its way back towards the orange dirt at our feet. In that brief period, I had searched his face for signs of what was circulating behind those deep brown hues, but it was impossible to discern. As he ambled into the dark shelter behind him, leaning against his father to stay upright, a wave of sadness overwhelmed me. His mother and two younger siblings stood in the doorway of the neighbouring shelter watching on as he, their 15 year old brother and son with physical and intellectual impairments, entered the space with his father. He was closely followed by two child protection caseworkers, their brown vests emblazoned with the logo of a Swiss child protection organisation operating in one of the largest refugee crises in the world. The one remaining caseworker and I stayed outside as the entrance to the shelter closed. In whispered discussions in an alley nearby she conveyed to me that adolescents with disabilities represent a significant portion of their caseload and that they face great difficulties supporting them, with the humanitarian response having limited facilities for these vulnerable children.

It was January 2019, and I was accompanying the case management team of Terre des hommes in my role as Gender Technical Adviser in their response to the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladesh. In the year and a half prior, over one million Rohingya had been displaced by armed conflict in Rakhine State in Myanmar into Cox's Bazar district in south-eastern Bangladesh. This adolescent boy with disabilities was just one of 631,495 people residing in the Kutupalong-Balukhali Expansion Site, the largest refugee camp in Cox's Bazar and the location of an immense international humanitarian effort attempting to meet the overwhelming needs of the refugee population. After a short while, the caseworkers emerged and we moved on to the local health post, navigating the maze of walkways that dissected the array of bamboo and tarpaulin shelters. As one of the casework team arranged for an appointment for the boy with a local doctor, the casework team leader and I stood outside and gazed down the embankment that surrounded the building. Around us, the camp bustled with the sound of activity. Turning to me, the team leader expressed how few services there were for children with disabilities and how adolescent boys had little access to humanitarian support. I saw what appeared to be resignation in his shoulders as he expressed that this health appointment was all that they could do.

This account is a recollection of an emotionally charged point in my life and a critical time in the fieldwork that underpins this thesis. This adolescent boy was just one among thousands displaced in what is commonly referred to as the Rohingya refugee crisis, but his situation aligns with millions of

adolescent boys surviving in complex humanitarian emergencies the world over. This thesis is about the position of adolescent boys in emergency settings, such as disasters or conflict-induced population displacements, and the extent to which humanitarian agencies are protecting them from harm. It is about the shifting dynamic of protection and harm that permeates the lives of adolescent boys in crisis settings, and the interplay of social factors that affects their exposure to risk and access to assistance. Through a nuanced approach to conceptualising social identity and the practice of transnational humanitarianism, in this thesis I set out to trouble and expand current knowledge on adolescent boys as a subgroup of crisis-affected populations. The fundamental aim of this study is to identify ways to improve protection for adolescent boys in humanitarian operations. To this end, my thesis is about humanitarianism and its practical implications for the 'disremembered subjects' of a crisis response (Foreman 2013, p.316; May 2015, p.53). It is about what happens when subgroups are missing from our humanitarian discourse on harm and suffering, when humanitarian action may not truly account for the intricacies of our social environment, and what can then transpire in the praxis of protection.

My thesis on this topic is almost a decade in the making. I originally came to this study from a deeply felt empathy for adult male survivors of conflict-related sexual violence based on a longform newspaper article I had read at the urging of a friend (Storr 2011). At the time, this article had then set me on a course of literary exploration, and I had voraciously consumed the postmodern feminist and queer theory often employed to conceptualise these acts in the academic canon. Completely unexpectedly, this endeavour shifted the lens through which I viewed the world, and I began to interrogate my social history through a feminist theoretical lens. Not long after, I then joined the international cadre of development workers supporting interventions that attempt to move our social spaces towards equality in gender relations, having found myself deeply motivated to shift norms around masculinity to prevent violence against women and sexual violence against men. In the years since, I have worked on women's empowerment programs in Indonesia, engaging men in maternal and newborn child health in Timor-Leste, identifying gaps in humanitarian interventions on gender equality in Myanmar, and integrating gender into international development planning, among others. As a consequence of this personal history, in this thesis I not only emphasise social justice for those harmed in humanitarian crises, but also practical interventions to address the wellbeing of affected populations.

In the main, my thesis is located at the nexus of critical social theory and the practice of gender in humanitarian action. Throughout this study I assess the practical implications of, and unintended consequences that may arise from, humanitarian interventions that address gender inequalities and gender-related harm in emergencies. I do this through attending to the position of adolescent boys as a subgroup of concern within gender in humanitarian action, primarily with respect to the Rohingya refugee crisis. To place this thesis into context, each chapter opens with a vignette from my fieldwork and time working for Terre des hommes in the Rohingya refugee crisis response. These vignettes not only give character to my thesis, but also raise questions about how we approach gender and protection

in humanitarian action, the forms of social marginalisation and discrimination that concern adolescent boys, and humanitarian interventions that respond to child protection issues. Fundamentally, this thesis is written from my perspective as a humanitarian practitioner and gender specialist still professionally engaged in the field under study. As such, when I present critiques of humanitarian action, I attempt to incorporate consideration for the difficult realities that humanitarians often face in their endeavour to save lives and alleviate suffering. This thesis is thus not only a critical treatise on transnational humanitarianism but also the material outcome of my personal desire to improve gender interventions in humanitarian emergencies and humanitarian protection for those living on the margins.

In this chapter I introduce the context for the study, as well as its scope and significance. In the first section of this chapter, I proceed to describe the problem this research attempts to address, outlining the scope of enquiry and its significance within scholarly attention to humanitarian action. Then, in the second section, I situate my thesis within the research literature, placing it within the waves of ethnographic research on humanitarianism that have emerged since the early 1990s. Furthermore, I also discuss the place of my thesis within the context of recent empirical work on child protection in emergencies, violence against adolescents in humanitarian settings, and the critical social theory of intersectionality. Then, in section three and four, I describe the case study of the Rohingya refugee crisis and its humanitarian operating environment, respectively. The latter is important to my thesis. I have purposefully chosen to foreground the humanitarian operating conditions within the first chapter to emphasise how practicality, relevance, and operational concerns should be incorporated and interwoven within academic analysis of humanitarian action. Lastly, this chapter finishes with an outline of the chapters that comprise this thesis and the argument that runs throughout.

How are humanitarians responding to adolescent boys in emergencies?

In humanitarian emergencies, research has shown that children are at heightened risk of experiencing harm (Stark & Landis 2016). In these circumstances, many forms of violence escalate and breakdowns in community structures and social norms can lead to a loss of overall protection for children (Hyder & Veigh 2007; Rubenstein & Stark 2017). Adolescents, defined as children aged 9-19 (The Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action (ACPHA) 2019), often face a broad spectrum of protection issues in emergencies. These range from specific forms of emergency-induced violence, through to stark material deprivation and malnutrition. While there has been recent academic interest in adolescent girls as a group who are often subject to harm (for example, Falb et al. 2016; Noble et al. 2017; Sommer, Muñoz-Laboy, et al. 2018; Stark, Seff & Reis 2020), there does not appear to be an equivalent research interest in adolescent boys. However, emerging evidence suggests that adolescent boys may be disproportionately exposed to certain direct impacts of a crisis. This may include detention by security forces, death from explosive remnants of war, abduction into armed groups, and targeted killings (Dardagan & Salama 2013; Rugema et al. 2013; United Nations Children's Fund

(UNICEF) 2013). In addition, adolescent boys are often subject to the innumerable indirect impacts of a crisis, including child labour and family violence, among other examples (Catani et al. 2009; Küppers & Ruhmann 2016; International Labour Organization (ILO) 2016; O'Leary et al. 2018).

In the last three decades, there has been a rapid expansion in the depth and breadth of transnational action taken by humanitarian actors[1] to alleviate human suffering. Indeed, one could argue the world is now infused with humanitarian sentiment, as what was once an extraordinary humanist response to exceptional circumstances has become the pedestrian (Agamben 1998; Fassin 2011). A recent mapping of non-government organisations that receive funding to assist crisis-affected populations estimated that in 2017, for example, more than half a million humanitarian staff were implementing some 27.3 billion United States Dollars in humanitarian relief (ALNAP 2018). Today, it is easy to see the omnipresence of humanitarianism, from the representatives of humanitarian agencies collecting money on the sidewalk, through to the ubiquitous television images of medical professionals providing emergency care to victims of conflict and terrorism. Despite this, the scale of the current humanitarian system still pales in comparison to the number of people in need. In 2017, approximately 201.5 million people in 134 countries were classified as requiring humanitarian assistance (ALNAP 2018). Given this imbalance between recognised human suffering and the capacity of the humanitarian architecture, this raises questions with respect to how humanitarian sentiment and its operational resources are apportioned. For adolescent boys, does contemporary humanitarian action account for their susceptibility to harm in emergency settings and respond to their specific needs in practice?

In this study, I set out to understand how humanitarian actors respond to the protection needs of adolescent boys through a critical ethnographic case study of the Rohingya refugee crisis response in south-eastern Bangladesh. Through the position of adolescent boys in this highly salient instance of transnational humanitarian action, I specifically interrogate the operationalisation of gender in humanitarian action and its implications for the protection of this subgroup of crisis-affected populations. Although prior to the August 2017 displacement a range of atrocities were perpetrated against adolescent boys by the Myanmar security forces and other Rakhine civilians, in this thesis, I focus on the humanitarian response to the crisis itself and the actions taken by international and multilateral humanitarian actors in the aftermath of their displacement. The aim of this study was to identify ways to improve humanitarian protections for adolescent boys in emergencies. I set out to achieve this through an approach oriented by social justice and critical theory. As part of this

[1] I define humanitarian actors as local, national, and international non-government organisations engaged in humanitarian action, including United Nations (UN) agencies, the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, host government agencies and authorities, and donor governments and agencies (ALNAP 2018). While humanitarian assistance can (and often is) delivered by local governments and security forces, I concentrate on international and multilateral non-government organisations in this study because of their mandate to provide aid to crisis-affected populations, often in the absence of local government capacity and state welfare (ALNAP 2018; Barnett & Weiss 2008; Calhoun 2008; Barnett 2011).

endeavour, my thesis includes a focus on child sexual abuse[2] perpetrated against adolescent boys in emergencies, interrogating how humanitarian actors are responding to this grievous form of harm.

The last decade has seen greater recognition within the academic literature on the prevalence and impact of child sexual abuse perpetrated against boys. Epidemiological analysis of violence against children, for instance, has revealed that the prevalence of sexual abuse against boys across different countries and cultural contexts is far greater than had previously been assumed. A recent meta-analysis of 55 empirical studies from 24 countries suggested that 3-17% of boys are sexually abused before the age of 18 (Barth et al. 2013; Stoltenborgh et al. 2011). Recent epidemiological studies of violence against children have indicated that there is even higher prevalence in certain locations, such as Haiti, Kenya, and the Philippines (Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) 2016; Sumner et al. 2016). Within the academic literature on child protection in emergencies, however, there has been an absence of analytical attention to adolescent boys' exposure to sexual harm. While there has been increased theoretical and empirical work on conflict-related sexual violence against adult males, this academic engagement has tended to omit consideration for sexual abuse perpetrated against boys, most notably that which is perpetrated within an emergency but outside of conflict. Based on empirical recognition that sexual abuse of boys is prevalent the world over, in this thesis I turn towards emergency contexts to examine whether adolescent boys as survivors[3] of sexual abuse have entered the humanitarian discourse on sexual harm or are recognised in humanitarian intervention practices that target child recovery and wellbeing.

To address these complex analytical questions, in this study I employed a critical ethnographic research design. This systematic and embedded approach to studying groups of people facilitated my active engagement in the complex processes of humanitarian operations as well as the discourses and practices of the modern humanitarian system. As such, in this thesis, I build on the groundswell of activity in the

[2] Much of the recent literature tends to employ the term 'sexual violence' or 'sexual and gender-based violence' to refer to this type of harm in humanitarian settings. However, I purposefully use the term 'child sexual abuse'. According to the World Health Organization, child sexual abuse refers to "the involvement of a child or an adolescent in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend and is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child or adolescent is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violates the laws or social taboos of society. Children can be sexually abused by both adults and other children who are – by virtue of their age or stage of development – in a position of responsibility or trust or power over the victim. It includes incest which involves abuse by a family member or close relative. Sexual abuse involves the intent to gratify or satisfy the needs of the perpetrator or another third party including that of seeking power over the child" (World Health Organization (WHO) 2017, p.vii). I prefer this term/definition for the emphasis it places on a child's inability to give consent, lack of comprehension of the abuse, developmental stage, and the dimensions of trust and power involved. For adolescent boys, I believe that it is important to remember that they are still children, with all the physiological and cognitive implications this entails.

[3] Throughout this thesis I prefer to use the term 'survivor' to refer to boys who have experienced sexual abuse. This is based on empirical research that has shown women who have been raped associate the term 'victim' with perceptions of weakness, powerlessness, and vulnerability, whereas the term 'survivor' is associated with strength and recovery (Hockett & Saucier 2015). These labels not only carry particular connotations, but can also impact on the identity and outcomes for those who have experienced rape (Hockett & Saucier 2015). Although these simplistic labels do not convey the full extent of an individual's identity or experience, I choose to employ the term 'survivor' for its association with strength, positivity, and resilience.

anthropology of humanitarianism and promote critical engagement with how gender and other forms of social categorisation are employed in humanitarian action. To date, there has been robust anthropologic engagement with humanitarianism as a powerful force of government and politics of life, but less focus on the practice of gender in emergencies. This study explores the assumptions, gaps, and omissions of this form of humanitarian practice and builds on current theoretical engagement with humanitarianism by applying the feminist theoretical framework of intersectionality. Intersectionality conceptualises how multiple social categories (such as gender, age, race, class, etc.) intersect at the level of the individual, and posits that social categories are mutually constitutive and are inextricably linked to broader systems of oppression (Bowleg 2012). From an intersectional standpoint, this thesis contributes to critical studies of humanitarianism and extends intersectionality from its roots in Black feminist scholarship into studies of humanitarian praxis.

In the main, intersectionality has been used to surface the multiple forms of marginalisation and oppression that specific groups of people in our population experience. In the case of my thesis, I engage intersectionality as a political and social justice-oriented framework to recognise that adolescent boys are a group that often experience multiple and intertwining forms of marginalisation in emergencies, while simultaneously having access to certain forms of agency, power, and control. This theoretical approach helps to identify gaps in the current conduct of humanitarian actors in emergency settings with respect to adolescent boys as a socially and discursively constructed category of persons, and epistemological gaps in the conceptual frameworks that guide humanitarian interventions. In doing so, I draw attention to adolescents (both girls and boys) as persons deserving of greater attention and recognition within humanitarian operations. The main outcome I intend to contribute to through the production of this thesis is improved recognition within the academic literature of the complex social location and position of adolescent boys in emergencies. I envision that such a shift may lead to transnational humanitarian interventions designed to protect them from harm and a nuanced discourse that starts to depict them as complex social actors with the potential to improve their communities.

While these intentions are by necessity broad in remit, my study is limited in its scope. I am solely concerned with humanitarian action in emergencies and do not address post-conflict and post-disaster reconstruction, development settings, or domestic humanitarianism, despite the blurred distinctions between these states. With respect to gender, I conceptualise it as a "system of social meaning that holds the masculine to be different from the feminine" and associates this differentiation with bodily sex (Halley 2006, p.24). Feminist and queer literature has deconstructed and problematised the notion that these constructs are immutable (Butler 2004, 2010), and drawn attention to the inherent variability in sex characteristics and gender identity and gender expression (Andolie 2019; Thorne et al. 2019; Vincent 2020). However, in the humanitarian literature that I draw from and seek to contribute to, humanitarian standards (in a binary manner) define gender as the "socially constructed differences between females and males, and the relationships between and among them" (Inter-Agency Standing

Committee (IASC) 2018a, p.380). In line with international standards, I define a child as aged 0-18 and an adolescent as aged 9-19 years old (ACPHA 2019, p.299).[4] Consistent with public health literature, I conceptualise adolescence as a transitional phase between childhood and adulthood that encompasses a period of rapid physical, psychological, and social development (Blum et al. 2014). This means that I recognise adolescents' increasing capacities and agency as they move through this life stage, while also noting that UN agencies and humanitarian organisations frame this period in alignment with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (perceiving all persons under 18 as children). The empirical data in this thesis is largely derived from my engagement with the staff of humanitarian organisations mandated to protect and support children's welfare (child protection actors). Further information is derived from humanitarians implementing initiatives targeting gender equality (gender workers) and staff from humanitarian organisations responding to gender-based violence against women and girls (gender-based violence actors). I do not engage with all the different sectors of a humanitarian response. I chose not to address the position of adolescent boys in sectors such as health, water, sanitation, or shelter, but instead focus on child protection and gender in humanitarian action for their importance in responding to age and gender as critical factors in an adolescent boy's exposure to risk and protection from harm.

Research intersections

This study intersects with three main fields of academic research. It is primarily located in the burgeoning field of anthropological scholarship on humanitarianism, but is also related to empirical attention to child protection in emergencies and the feminist theory of intersectionality. In this thesis, I extend intersectional theory to address adolescent boys as analytical subjects and to conceptualise humanitarian settings as contested sites of power and risk, as well as distinct practices of humanitarian representation and applied knowledge. This study augments an emergent field of literature that applies intersectionality as a research methodology and empirical research on socially marginalised adolescent boys. These crossover points are concisely discussed below.

Anthropology of humanitarianism

Drawing boundaries around humanitarianism as a concept is difficult. While humanitarianism can refer to an "ethos of helping others on the basis of our shared humanity" (Christie 2015, p.38), it is also recognised as an ideology, a set of principles, a framework for emergency relief, as well as "a cluster of sentiments, a set of laws, a moral imperative to intervene, and a form of government" (Ticktin 2014,

[4] This has shifted from prior definitions. The 2019 version of the Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action's *Minimum standards for child protection in humanitarian action* extends adolescence down to 9 years of age (which it terms pre-adolescence) from its previous minimum of 10. For consistency with the child protection focus of this thesis, I employ the 2019 definition as it remains the current benchmark for child protection interventions in humanitarian settings. Adolescence is still defined in other sectors (and previous humanitarian child protection standards) as encompassing children aged 10-19, with this further divided into younger adolescents aged 10-14 and older adolescents aged 15-19 (WHO 2018).

p.74). In the main, classical humanitarianism is associated with the depoliticised and impartial provision of emergency relief to a population (Barnett 2005; Fox 2001; Weiss 1999). In this form, humanitarian action is defined by its urgency, life-saving imperative, and embedded moral sentiment (Fassin 2011). The origins of humanitarianism can be traced to specific policy reforms that took place in the 18th century and to the establishment of the Red Cross movement (Barnett 2011; Calhoun 2008; Haskell 1985). However, humanitarianism as a system for the delivery of emergency assistance has seen its greatest expansions since the late 1980s and the end of the Cold War, coinciding with what international relations theorists have described as the emergence of 'the new humanitarianism' (Weiss 1999). New humanitarianism is characterised by the institutionalisation of humanitarian action and the purposeful intervention by humanitarian actors in areas such as human rights, economic development, the promotion of democracy, and even peacebuilding (Barnett 2005; Fox 2001; Weiss 1999).[5]

As a set of intervention practices, humanitarianism occurs through a complex structure referred to as the 'humanitarian system'. This comprises a "network of inter-connected institutional and operational entities that receive funds, directly or indirectly from public donors and private sources, to enhance, support or substitute for in-country responses in the provision of humanitarian assistance and protection to a population in crisis" (ALNAP 2018, p.32). As the humanitarian system has formalised and expanded, anthropological scholarship on humanitarianism has flourished in parallel (Minn 2007; Ticktin 2014). Miriam Ticktin describes the engagement by anthropologists with humanitarianism as on a relatively defined trajectory: starting from tacit support, before progressing through to critical engagement, and now cautious examination of "its complexities, limits, and boundaries" (2014, p.283). Much anthropology of humanitarianism is theoretically based on philosopher Hannah Arendt's work on life (1998) and statelessness (2017), and Giorgio Agamben's (1998) theory of 'bare life'. Arendt and Agamben theorise how an absence of the State in humanitarian settings leads to certain spatial and political arrangements that govern human life (Agamben 1998). Anthropologists have also furthered this argument using Michel Foucault's concept of 'biopower' (technologies of power exercised over life itself) (Guilhot 2012; Scott-Smith 2015). The work of Didier Fassin (2007, 2011) has been particularly important to this field. Fassin attends to the valuations inherent to humanitarianism, noting how it reproduces or neglects certain people or social causes through a distinct politics of life.

[5] Humanitarian action is guided by four key principles: humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) 2012). Originally developed by the International Committee of the Red Cross, these principles are enshrined in two United Nations General Assembly resolutions and represent the framework for the delivery of humanitarian assistance (Davies 2012; UNOCHA 2012). Historically, the principle of neutrality has been critical to the International Committee of the Red Cross' operating mandate, with the organisation not participating in hostilities or political controversies between warring parties. While the principle of impartiality would imply that humanitarian organisations could speak publicly about atrocities they witness in emergency settings in an impartial manner, neutrality means that they must abstain from the politics of a crisis. This can be perceived to facilitate silence by humanitarian organisations on human rights abuses (Fox 2001). It has been argued that the new humanitarians (or "political humanitarians" (Weiss 1999, p.2)) are humanitarians that believe in recognising and speaking out about human rights violations. They are depicted as seeing humanitarian action as a tool for promoting peace, international humanitarian law, and social justice (Fox 2001).

In this manner, anthropological scholarship has tended to analyse humanitarianism as it is reproduced and enacted in emergencies through the lenses of politics, morality, humanism, sovereignty, and government (Fassin 2011; Pandolfi 2008; Stellmach 2016; Ticktin 2011a). However, more recent work has begun to attend to the overlap of humanitarianism with the politics of difference found in feminist, critical-race, and anti-colonial scholarship. While there has been academic attention to the history of humanitarianism and humanitarian sentiment (Barnett 2011; Davies 2012; Davey, Borton & Foley 2013; Davey & Scriven 2015), there has been comparatively less attention to how humanitarian interventions and their epistemological frameworks are embedded in gendered and racialised histories (Ticktin 2014). In this thesis, I convene these fields: the critical anthropology of humanitarianism and critical study of social difference. In reference to Fassin's (2011) conceptualisation of a humanitarian 'politics of life' and Ticktin's (2011a) conceptualisation of humanitarian 'regimes of care', I address the complexities and unintended consequences of gender in humanitarian action, focusing on how it may affect the protection of a specific subgroup of crisis-affected populations. This builds on a long history of anthropological engagement with gender relations in refugee settings (Palmer 1982; Callaway 1985; Harrell-Bond 1986; Bulcha 1988; Daley 1991), and recent theorisation of gender interventions by humanitarian actors as a form of transnational feminist governance (Olivius 2014a; Kunz 2020).

This thesis also parallels development studies scholarship on gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment initiatives. Indeed, some of the earliest forms of academic engagement with the practice of gender in humanitarian action can be found in development studies journals. In these papers, feminist academics drew attention to the heightened vulnerability of women and girls in disasters, the importance of women in rebuilding communities, and the value of women's carework in a crisis (for example, Begum 1993; Myers 1994; Walker 1994). More recent analysis has tended to direct attention towards the role of gender in 'fragile' and post-disaster contexts (Hoare, Smyth & Sweetman 2012; Lafrenière, Sweetman & Thylin 2019; Sweetman & Rowlands 2016), but has mostly not extended critical attention to the technologies, tools, and practices of gender in humanitarian action. In this thesis, I purposefully engage with the practice of gender in humanitarian action within an ongoing emergency. This study is thus perhaps more aligned with ethnographies of humanitarian practice rather than international development or disaster scholarship. Ethnographies of practice are studies that "make visible the range of humanitarian assistance and the logic of institutional actors across sites of emergency" (Abramowitz & Panter-Brick 2015a, p.2). However, most ethnographies of humanitarian practice to date have focused on medical, legal, and nutritional interventions, with the sectors of child protection and gender in humanitarian action remaining largely unaddressed.

Child protection in emergencies

In addition to the anthropology of humanitarianism, I place this thesis in conversation with a growing body of empirical research on adolescents in emergencies (for example, Meyer et al. 2020, 2019; Newnham et al. 2020; Sommer, Munoz-Laboy, et al. 2018), and evaluations of humanitarian

interventions that purposefully target adolescents as a vulnerable group (for example, Glass et al. 2020; Hermosilla et al. 2019; Janowski et al. 2020). I do not, however, ascertain the first-hand perspectives of adolescent boys or evaluate child protection initiatives. Rather, I critically assess the position of adolescent boys as a subgroup within child protection practice and the humanitarian operating environment. Child protection scholars have long promoted social ecological models for conceptualising violence against children in emergencies (for example, Triplehorn & Chen 2006). Based on Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1977) iconic model of human development, they conceptualise risk and protection as nested within the multiple layers of a child's social environment, including among their family, peers, school, and broader community (Bennouna et al. 2018; Betancourt et al. 2013; Boothby, Strang & Wessels 2006; Rubenstein & Stark 2017). In this thesis I complement this work by analysing how an adolescent boy's social identity and social ecology interact to affect his exposure to harm, as well as influence his ability to access and benefit from formal humanitarian support.

There has been significant academic analysis of the specific circumstances for adolescents during conflict and when displaced. Indeed, scholarship on child protection in humanitarian action has explored the reintegration of former child soldiers (Betancourt et al. 2008), child labour and exploitation (Küppers & Ruhmann 2016), experiences of family violence (Catani et al. 2009), and occurrences of war-related trauma (Neugebauer et al. 2009), to name just a few examples. As with all research fields, however, gaps in knowledge still remain. Even though there has been increased attention by humanitarian actors over the last decade to improve services for child survivors of sexual abuse (for example, International Rescue Committee (IRC) 2011; IRC 2012), for example, there does not appear to have been a commensurate increase in academic research on the sexual abuse of adolescents in emergencies. There is a small but robust body of qualitative and quantitative evidence on the impact of sexual harm experienced by adolescent girls in such settings and dedicated interventions to protect them (Noble et al. 2017; Stark, Seff & Reis 2020). However, there has not been (to my knowledge) any dedicated research on interventions that target adolescent boys as survivors of child sexual abuse. Moreover, while there has been some research attention to humanitarian service availability for adult males affected by sexual violence in conflict and displacement (Chynoweth, Freccero & Touquet 2017; Freccero et al. 2017; Brun 2017; Chynoweth et al. 2020), there has been less attention paid to the response by child protection actors to the sexual abuse of adolescent boys in humanitarian emergencies.

In the academic fields of child protection in emergencies and international relations, recent papers have leveraged the concept of a 'continuum' to describe the temporal nature of violence in humanitarian settings (for example, Krause 2015; Stark, Seff & Reis 2020). Sexual violence (a broad category for different forms of sexual harm) within this framework is recognised as taking place not only during a crisis, but also during flight from conflict and in encampment (Krause 2015). In the case of sexual abuse perpetrated against adolescent boys, this approach frames sexual harm as one in a series of instances of

violence that can extend across time and occur in different forms of geographic space. The concept of a continuum is also useful for conceptualising the different forms of harm that may occur, allowing one to recognise how sexual harm may vary in both type and severity (Khattab & Henri Myrttinen 2017). Despite this, analytical attention to sexual violence against males in humanitarian settings has tended to focus on incidents that have taken place during the crisis itself and on sexual torture, rather than at other points of the temporal continuum and forms of sexual violence. This thesis deviates from this literature to focus on sexual abuse post-displacement. Furthermore, throughout this thesis I approach sexual abuse from a child protection standpoint, recognising it as a form of harm that frequently occurs in interaction with other child protection concerns and vulnerabilities at a critical developmental stage in an adolescent boy's life course.

Intersectionality

To theoretically frame adolescent boys and their social and material position within a humanitarian emergency, in this thesis I apply the feminist theoretical framework of intersectionality. As such, I place this thesis in conversation with three decades worth of intersectional scholarship on subgroups of persons excluded from dominant social discourses. Intersectionality as a theoretical framework refers to "the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities" (Collins 2015, p.2). From an intersectional interpretive position, our social identities (such as gender or race) are not deemed separable or able to be placed in hierarchy to other identities. Rather, our identities are treated as interlaced and mutually constitutive. The salience of an identity within a particular context is seen as dependent on those contextual conditions, and the power and privilege associated with a social identity is not perceived to be preordained or an automatic attribute (Collins 2014; Crenshaw 2012). For this study, an intersectional interpretive position allows for analytical attention to how an adolescent boy may experience power due to his gender and age in certain contexts, while also recognising that he may be exposed to risk, discrimination, and oppression based on these same identities and their interaction with other social factors. By accounting for the dual sided nature of an adolescent boy's 'social location' (where he is positioned in his constellation of intersecting social categories and identities), intersectionality incorporates complexity into analysis of how humanitarian actors are responding to adolescent boys in their social and material environment.

Intersectionality as a concept is embedded in a long tradition of Black feminist scholarship on discrimination and difference (Brash & Phoenix 2004). In its contemporary parlance, however, intersectionality has travelled across interdisciplinary academic domains as a theoretical framework, analytical tool, and research methodology (McCall 2005; Carbado et al. 2013). In this thesis, I facilitate further disciplinary travel of the term, extending intersectionality into critical ethnographic studies of humanitarian practice. In this case, I employ intersectionality as a standpoint for analysing the social location of adolescent boys in emergencies and its influence on risk, harm, and protection, in their

broader social ecology (Cho, Crenshaw & Mccall 2013; Lykke 2011). Despite increased academic attention to the scholarship of difference within critical studies of humanitarianism, there has not yet been substantive application of intersectional theory within this academic field. When gender (as one form of social location) has been included in critical engagement with humanitarianism, scholars have tended to employ a combination of feminist theory and Foucauldian theories of governmentality. These studies have considered the transnational transfer and implementation of feminist norms, rather than interrogating the place of gender in relationship to other forms of social identity in contemporary humanitarianism (for example, Olivius 2014b, 2016; Kunz 2020).[6]

Lastly, I also place this thesis in dialogue with intersectional scholarship on men and masculinities (for example, Bilge 2009; Hearn 2016; Morrow et al. 2020; Sun et al. 2018) and adolescent boys (for example, Nelson, Stahl & Wallace 2015; Rogers, Scott & Way 2014; Shade et al. 2011). In the latter case, a small number of intersectional studies have drawn attention to the significant variability in the identities of adolescent males, the importance of understanding differences within groups of adolescents, and the interrelationship between masculinity and other developing identities during this important stage of life (Nelson, Stahl & Wallace 2015; Shade et al. 2011). Although I did not collect data on the first-hand experiences of adolescent boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis (see Chapter 4), this thesis parallels these studies in its application of an intersectional analytic to the concerns reported by adolescent boys to the humanitarian staff participating in this study. Rather than paying individual attention to social identities as reported by adolescent males themselves, I employ intersectionality to further recognition of the protection concerns that adolescent boys may be exposed to on account of their specific social location and social ecology (Browne et al. 2019; Brun 2000, 2017; Youssef 2020). In the next section I turn to the context of the Rohingya refugee crisis, describing the mass exodus of August 2017 before then detailing the operating environment for one of the most significant humanitarian responses in recent history.

The Rohingya refugee crisis context

On the 25th of August 2017, the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army[7] launched attacks against 30 police outposts and an army base in the north of Rakhine state, the western-most state in the country of

[6] In contrast, intersectionality is seeing increased attention within development studies. In the field of gender and development, intersectionality is often positioned by scholars as a necessary tool to further gender equality within international development practice (for example, Clements & Sweetman 2020). In application, however, intersectionality appears to often be used synonymously with 'diversity' to make visible differences among women. It also tends to be integrated into a framework that privileges gender as the dominant organising principle of social life and primary arbiter of power and privilege (Hunting & Hankivsky 2020). In this form, intersectionality is being used in a way that runs counter to the core tenets of intersectionality (see Chapter 2).

[7] The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army is a Rohingya militant group that emerged in 2012, and is also known as Harakah al-Yaqin (Faith Movement) (ICG 2018). The group was established by a committee of 20 leaders headquartered in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. In December 2016, there were also approximately 20 Rohingya from Saudi Arabia leading operations in Rakhine state, with these members having received training in Pakistan and

Myanmar (Fullerton et al. 2018; International Crisis Group (ICG) 2017). The attack led to the deaths of 14 members of the Myanmar security forces, one government official, and 371 Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army militia (ICG 2017). This was the apex of an escalation in Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army activity, one that had seen raids on police, the construction of improvised explosive devices, and the targeted killing of community members associated with government authorities (BBC News 2016; ICG 2017). The response from the Myanmar military was swift and severe, with sweeping 'clearance operations' launched across northern Rakhine state against the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army and villages of ethnic Rohingya. Employing ground and aerial assaults, Rohingya were systematically rounded up, shot, burnt to death, subject to mass rape and sexual assault, thrown into rivers or fires, and had their water supplies poisoned and homes destroyed (Fullerton et al. 2018). In response, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya fled their villages on foot as helicopters targeted them from the air, and Myanmar naval vessels attempted to sink boats filled with Rohingya crossing the Naf river towards the relative safety of neighbouring Bangladesh (Fullerton et al. 2018).

This military operation was the culmination of decades of state-sponsored violence against the Rohingya population and the latest in a series of instances of forced displacement over the last five decades. In 1978, over 200,000 Rohingya fled mass killing and rape perpetrated by the Myanmar military to Bangladesh. After being involuntarily repatriated to Myanmar in the late 1970s (Human Rights Watch (HRW) 1996; Long 2013), 250,000 Rohingya were again displaced to Bangladesh in 1991. Human rights monitoring from the early 1990s reports a repressive environment in Rakhine state, with Rohingya being subject to rape, torture, summary killings, destruction of property and mosques, forced labour, and religious persecution (Amnesty International 1992; United States Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services 2001). From 1993 to 1997, approximately 230,000 displaced Rohingya were again forcibly repatriated from Bangladesh to Myanmar, with some 22,000 Rohingya remaining behind in the refugee camps of Cox's Bazar well into the early 2000s (Grundy-Warr & Wong 1997; HRW 2000; Long 2013). In 2012, hundreds of thousands of Rohingya were again displaced within Rakhine state after systematic attacks by ethnic Rakhine on Rohingya villages (HRW 2013). In the years since, repression perpetrated by the Myanmar security forces and ethnic Rakhine has increased, with reports of curfews, travel restrictions, religious persecution, destruction of mosques, land confiscation, restrictions on the number of children Rohingya can birth, mass detentions, abductions and disappearances, degrading acts, sexual violence against women and girls, and extensive government surveillance (Brown 2016; Fullerton et al. 2018).

Afghanistan (ICG 2016). While hundreds of Rohingya men joined the group from the camps in Bangladesh, in 2016-17 the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army was mostly comprised of Muslim villagers who had been given basic training and organised into village-level cells in Rakhine state (ICG 2016). The Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army is the latest in a long history of Rohingya insurgency against the Myanmar Government in Rakhine, due to the Myanmar Government's continued violent repression of the Rohingya people (ICG 2016).

Figure 1: The Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh in 1992. Photograph by Liba Taylor (2020).

This continued discrimination and repression of the Rohingya population is reported to be based on the contested nature of their native ancestry in Myanmar. As an ethnic group, the Rohingya are a Muslim minority who have historically resided in the northern-most region of Rakhine state. They practice a Sufi-inflected form of Sunni Islam and speak a Bengali dialect similar to the language spoken in the Chittagong region of Bangladesh (Amnesty International 2004). Rohingya political leaders claim they are a distinct ethnic group descendant from the first Muslims who occupied northern Arakan (now Rakhine state) from the ninth century (Alam 2019; HRW 1996). The Myanmar Government argues the Rohingya are ethnic Bengalis who migrated to Myanmar to become agricultural workers during the British colonial period (Mahmood et al. 2017). Since regaining independence from Britain in 1948, the ruling governments of Myanmar have enacted waves of legal and policy reforms designed to marginalise the Rohingya. Most significantly, this includes the 1982 citizenship law reform drafted shortly after the Rohingya repatriation of the late 1970s. This limited their access to citizenship and denied their access to basic civil and political rights (HRW 1996). Myanmar's approach to the Rohingya population is perhaps best summarised through their Minister for Foreign Affairs' press release of 21 February 1992. In this document, the Minister characterises the 1991 displacement as the result of government enforcement of immigration policy, rather than violence and discrimination.

> In actual fact, although there are 135 national races living in Myanmar today, the so-called Rohingya people is not one of them. Historically, there has never been a 'Rohingya' race in Myanmar...Since the First Anglo-Myanmar War in 1824, people of Muslim faith from the adjacent country illegally entered Myanmar Naing-Ngan, particularly Rakhine State. Being illegal immigrants, they do not hold any immigration papers like the other nationals of the country. In the present case, the number of people who dare not submit themselves to the routine scrutiny of national registration cards by immigration officials fled to the neighbouring

> country. It is not a unique experience for such occurrences regularly took place when immigration checks are executed. It should be categorically stated that there is no persecution whatever based on religious ground (quoted in Amnesty International 1992, p.3).

When the Myanmar military launched its 'clearance operations' of August 2017, Bangladesh was responding to monsoon induced floods in 31 of its northern districts (Needs Assessment Working Group 2017). Torrential rain and flooding had damaged and destroyed over 700,000 homes in Bangladesh, displacing hundreds of thousands of people into community centres and causing widespread damage to infrastructure (Needs Assessment Working Group 2017; Humanitarian Coordination Task Team 2017). Despite possessing an immense cadre of non-government organisations[8] and a national coordination system purposefully built for emergency response, Bangladesh's humanitarian structures had traditionally centred on natural disasters (such as Bangladesh's recurrent floods) and were not prepared for the coming refugee crisis (Groupe URDE & ALNAP 2018). On account of prior instances of Rohingya displacement, there was already a small humanitarian presence in Cox's Bazar. The refugee camps continued to house Rohingya who had been displaced in the early 1990s but had not been repatriated, as well as additional entrants from smaller waves of displacement that had been sporadically occurring since the early 2000s. However, the Bangladesh government had imposed restrictions on the delivery of humanitarian services in the Rohingya refugee camps in a bid to disincentivise cross-border flows of Rohingya. This meant that few humanitarians were operating in Cox's Bazar at the time and there was limited established capacity to support the impending refugee flows (Groupe URDE & ALNAP 2018; UNICEF 2018).

As thousands of Rohingya began crossing the border in late August, the Bangladeshi military directed the fatigued population to pre-existing camps and informal settlements (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNOHCHR) 2017; World Food Programme (WFP) 2017). These new arrivals joined the 276,207 Rohingya already residing in registered refugee camps, makeshift settlements, and among the host community (Akhter & Kusakabe 2014; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2016). The following weeks saw a rapid expansion in displaced Rohingya, with 123,600 new arrivals in the first week and 370,000 by the end of the second (Inter Sector Coordination Group (ISCG) 2017a, ISCG 2017b). At the end of September 2017 these numbers had swelled to 507,000, with the new entrants primarily settling adjacent to the Kutupalong and Balukhali registered camps and within villages located in the Ukhia and Teknaf sub-districts of Cox's Bazar (ISCG 2017c). Cox's Bazar is a predominantly rural district with some of the poorest measures of developmental outcomes in Bangladesh (ACAPS 2020). The sudden onset of the crisis and the scale of displacement resulted in the overcrowding of the refugee camps, rapid clearance of adjacent

[8] Figures from 2011 show that Bangladesh's International Non-Government Organisation Forum includes a total of 72 international non-government organisations, operating through 500 national (Bangladeshi) partner organisations (United Nations Development Programme 2011).

woodland,[9] increased population density, higher prices in local markets, and significant livelihood pressures on the host community's already limited resources (ACAPS 2020; ISCG 2017d).

Figure 2: Kutupalong-Balukhali Expansion Site in January 2019.

I took this photo after returning from a Terre des hommes adolescent friendly space. It shows the concentration of shelters in the camps and how they stretch to the horizon. In the middle of the photograph is the main road running through this camp and a local market.

By February of the following year, the population of new arrivals had reached 671,000, spread across ten camps and settlements. The large scale of displacement combined with government restrictions on land allocations forced the agglomeration of the registered camps into what became known as the Kutupalong-Balukhali Expansion Site (Figure 3), one of the largest and most densely populated refugee camps in the world (ISCG 2018a). Early rapid assessments and situation reports detail the immense need displayed by the Rohingya population. Initial estimates required the construction of 60,000 shelters, access to 15,000 latrines, provision of 4.5 million litres of safe water per day, and 1.5 million kilograms of rice per month (ISCG 2017e). By March 2018, the number of new arrivals meant these estimates had expanded to 16 million litres of water per day, 12,200 metric tonnes of food per month, 50,000 latrines, and enough cooking fuel for 180,000 families (ISCG 2018a). Only two-thirds of the population were able to bring clothes with them and those few households that held valuable assets had seen these depleted to purchase safe passage, shelter materials, or to supplement food shortfalls (CARE Bangladesh 2017; WFP 2017). In two camp locations, humanitarian assessments placed child malnutrition at rates exceeding emergency thresholds, and found approximately 80% of households contained members suffering from diseases and 35-40% of children were suffering from diarrhoea

[9] Often forgotten are the impacts of population displacement on the environment. The diverse forest eco-system that existed in Cox's Bazar prior to August 2017 was cleared at an estimated rate of three to five football fields per day (UNEP 2018).

(WFP 2017). The situation that humanitarian actors thus entered in August 2017 was one of immense need and suffering, with limited local humanitarian capacity and difficult operating conditions.

The humanitarian response to the Rohingya refugee crisis

When the Rohingya population began crossing the border into Cox's Bazar in August 2017, the frontline responders were mostly local faith-based organisations, mosques, government administrators, and the military. These actors were complemented by a skeletal local humanitarian system comprised of representatives from 6 United Nations (UN) agencies, 2 International Non-Government Organisations (INGOs), 6 National Non-Government Organisations (NNGOs), and the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement (Groupe URDE & ALNAP 2018; ISCG 2017e; Schenkenberg, Thomas & Bobin 2018; UNOHCHR 2017). By the end of October 2017, this structure had grown to 89 organisations, including 10 UN agencies, 21 INGOs, 38 NNGOs and the Red Cross Movement (ISCG 2017f). As humanitarian actors scrambled to match the speed and scale of the influx, local humanitarian organisations from Cox's Bazar district quickly reached their operational limits. UN agencies then began contracting INGOs to implement emergency programming, with these organisations then subcontracting to NNGOs from other parts of Bangladesh: some with experience responding to natural disasters and some with no emergency experience at all (Australian Humanitarian Partnership (AHP) 2019; Proaction Consulting 2019). Evaluations of the early response efforts indicate that these national organisations struggled to adapt to the characteristics of an emergency response, including the short-term project cycles, multitude of donors and reporting requirements, unrealistic deliverables, and high levels of staff turnover (ISCG 2018a; Schenkenberg, Thomas & Bobin 2018).

The expansion of the humanitarian response to the crisis was subject to additional difficulties due to the abrasiveness of national government regulation. Bangladesh's 2016 *Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Act*[10] requires INGOs to register with the NGO Affairs Bureau (NGOAB) to work in Bangladesh, and to submit each project for approval when the project sources funding from outside the country (UNICEF 2018). The foreign donations authorisation process (known as FD-7) had a significant impact on the response overall. The level of detail required per FD-7 application, combined with the number of projects that required approvals in order to meet the immense needs of the Rohingya population, created a backlog at the NGOAB (ISCG 2017g; UNICEF 2018). Further administrative impediments were then encountered by way of additional project approvals required by local government and refugee camp administrators. Combined, these caused significant delays to project implementation and forced humanitarian actors to find alternative sources of funding. The process also negatively impacted staff morale and caused rushed construction once government

[10] The *Foreign Donations (Voluntary Activities) Regulation Act* of 2016 introduced tighter controls on financing and enhanced processes for the registration of NGOs (Bowden 2018). Its introduction was criticised by human rights organisations for bringing about stricter oversight of Bangladeshi civil society (HRW 2016).

approvals were secured (AHP 2019; Proaction Consulting 2019).[11] This situation was described to me by a program manager for an international child protection organisation operating in the crisis:

> It was down to the detail of telling you, for example, if I presented an FD-7 where I would say I would buy 10 pens for 70 cents, if I bought pens for 75 cents then they would be blocked when I was going to deliver them in the field. So, the procedure was very difficult and towards the end it became so strict that it was very difficult to implement (CXB5, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar).

The FD-7 process appeared to have a disproportionate impact on humanitarian organisations that specialised in refugee protection as compared to other sectors of the response. International humanitarian organisations with protection and refugee response mandates, such as International Rescue Committee, Norwegian Refugee Council, and Danish Refugee Council, did not have a pre-existing operational presence in Bangladesh and encountered great difficulty in gaining government registration and project authorisations (United Nations Children's Fund 2018). For child protection actors, the United Nations Children's Fund's (UNICEF) required that its partner organisations contribute a small percentage of funding from outside sources (known as a 'matched funding requirement'). This meant that UNICEF's partners were forced to go through the FD-7 process even when funding derived from UN agencies is typically exempt from the FD-7 approval process (UNICEF 2018). The situation for humanitarian organisations working on gender-based violence was similar, with the Bangladesh Government hindering the entrance of organisations with expertise in gender-based violence and limiting the expansion of national organisations already operating in the crisis preventing them from delivering gender-based violence services (ISCG 2018b).

The protection response to the crisis was further weakened through visa restrictions for international humanitarian staff. Working visas were limited to UN funded positions, with humanitarian staff working for INGOs having to enter the country using tourist visas or by obtaining a 'visa on arrival' at the airport (Sullivan 2018). This meant INGO staff had to engage in the expensive and disruptive process of frequently leaving Bangladesh on 'visa runs' to neighbouring countries. The lack of clarity around potential visa pathways, as well as instances where humanitarians were deported, led to INGOs resorting to unorthodox methods to mobilise staff. Commonly known among humanitarians working in the response was that the Bangladesh High Commission in Nairobi (Kenya) was (inexplicably) granting work visas for humanitarians. Consequently, INGOs couriered passports en-masse to Nairobi and humanitarians would visit Kenya before their deployment or during leave. Working permissions were important. Government passes to access the refugee camps were dependent on an individual possessing a valid working visa. Without an appropriate visa pathway, INGO staff worked across the

[11] From April 2018 to September 2018, for example, international child protection organisation Plan International spent just 7.3% of its allocated budget, with implementation delays mainly attributed to the FD-7 authorisation process (Debert, Baroi & Sarkar 2019).

camps at risk of detention and deportation. Further complicating matters was the national Bangladeshi election of December 2018. During this time, the Bangladesh Government imposed restrictions on telecommunications and increased immigration enforcement. At the air-border, officials screened for potential humanitarians, issuing them a visa on arrival valid for only a few days or deporting them before they could enter.

An idiosyncrasy of the Rohingya refugee crisis response was its humanitarian coordination framework. Bangladesh's 2013 *National Strategy on Myanmar Refugees and Undocumented Myanmar Nationals in Bangladesh* named the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as the lead agency for inter-agency coordination of (unregistered) Rohingya refugees.[12] In October 2016, IOM established the Inter Sector Coordination Group as an ad-hoc coordination mechanism based on the cluster system: an internationally agreed coordination framework designed for response to natural disasters and internally displaced persons. In a standard refugee response, the international framework for refugee protection places the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in charge of coordination and this occurs under their Refugee Coordination Model (UNHCR 2020a). For the August 2017 influx, the Bangladesh Government elected to maintain the existing Inter Sector Coordination Group structure to avoid duplication of coordination mechanisms and ensure alignment with its national humanitarian coordination platform (Groupe URDE & ALNAP 2018; UNICEF 2017a). This resulted in a hybrid approach between a traditional refugee response and the cluster system, the division of camp management responsibilities between IOM and UNHCR (Figure 4), and the politicisation of humanitarian coordination and funding (Groupe URDE & ALNAP 2018). According to one research participant, UNHCR wanted "to control the response. They would love it to be a traditional setup in a traditional refugee response…but that's just not the system that's been approved by the Government of Bangladesh" (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar).

Further challenges came in the form of overlapping humanitarian coordination mechanisms, a proliferation of meetings and working groups, high turnover of international and national staff, and insufficient experience among the humanitarian coordinators (Debert, Baroi & Sarkar 2019). The entrance of new organisations into the response with poor knowledge of the operating context and limited engagement with humanitarian coordination structures also resulted in duplication and competition between services in certain locations (Buchanan-Smith & Islam 2018; Groupe URDE & ALNAP 2018). The humanitarian operating environment for the Rohingya refugee crisis was thus incredibly complex. For humanitarian organisations, it required careful navigation of government restrictions and donor requirements to establish and then implement humanitarian activities. For

[12] The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was only responsible for inter-agency coordination for Rohingya with official refugee status. The only registered refugees were Rohingya who arrived in the early 1990s and resided in the Kutupalong Registered Camp and Balukhali Registered Camp. In 2016, registered Rohingya refugees comprised just 33,207 out of a total of 276,207 Rohingya in Bangladesh (UNHCR 2016). The vast majority of Rohingya that lived in Cox's Bazar prior to the August 2017 influx, as well as the new arrivals, were therefore not the responsibility of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

humanitarian staff, they had to endure multiple layers of personal stress, long working hours, and significant logistical difficulties in their efforts to reduce suffering in the Rohingya population. While it is impossible to fully convey the complexity, difficulty, and physical and emotional toll of the operating environment, I have attempted to do so to place the narrative of this thesis into context. I firmly believe that critical engagement with a humanitarian response needs to begin from the operational realities and constraints under which humanitarians operate. Without this consideration any attempt to identify courses for action to improve humanitarian action risks sounding hollow and unmoored from the praxis and pragmatism that by necessity characterises emergency responses.

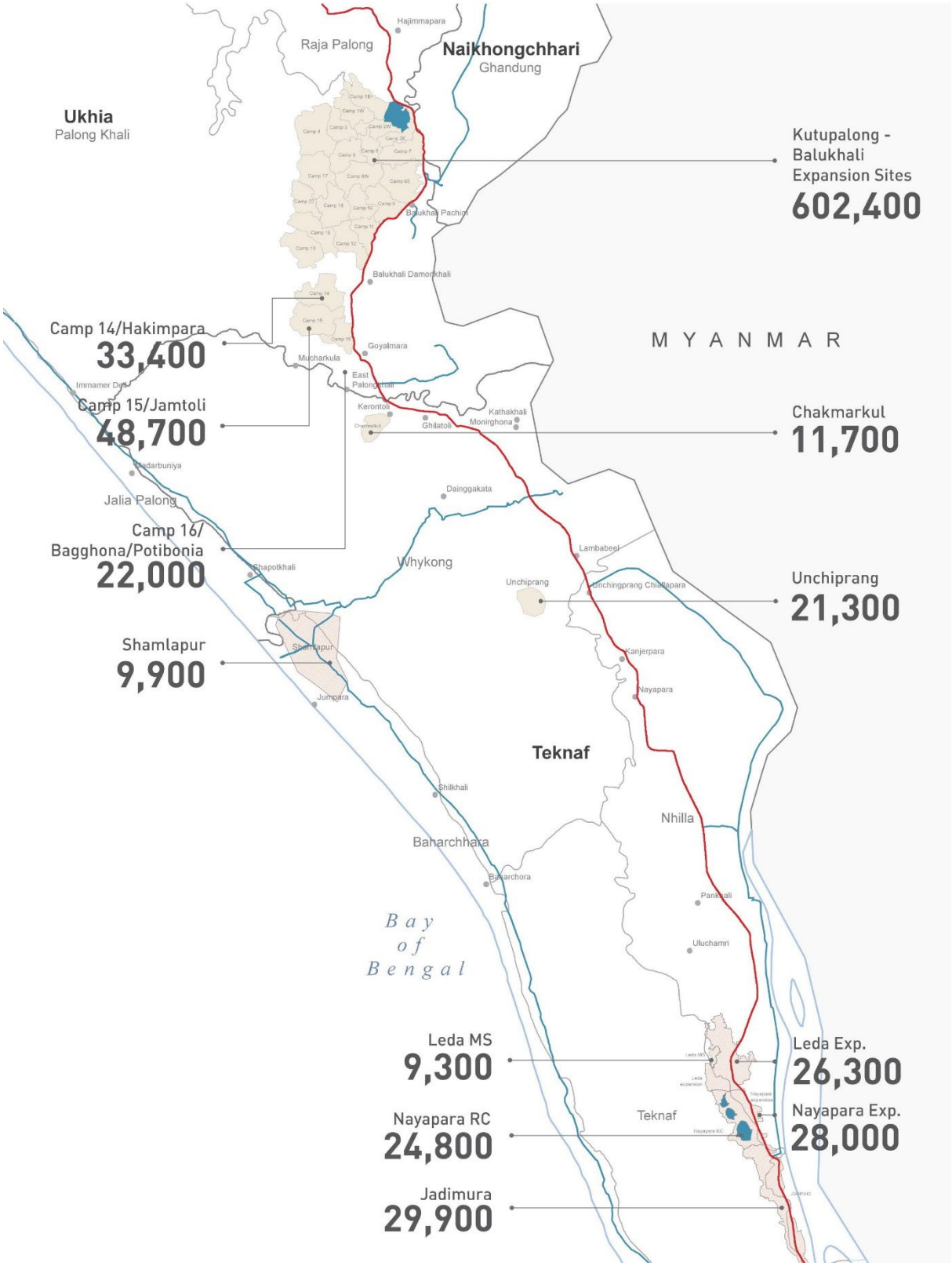


Figure 3: Map of the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh as of 25 February 2018.

This shows the Rohingya population for each cluster of camps in Cox's Bazar. The Kutupalong-Balukhali Expansion Site is 37km by road from Cox's Bazar city, where the humanitarian response is managed, with this trip often taking 2 hours by car (ISCG 2018a).

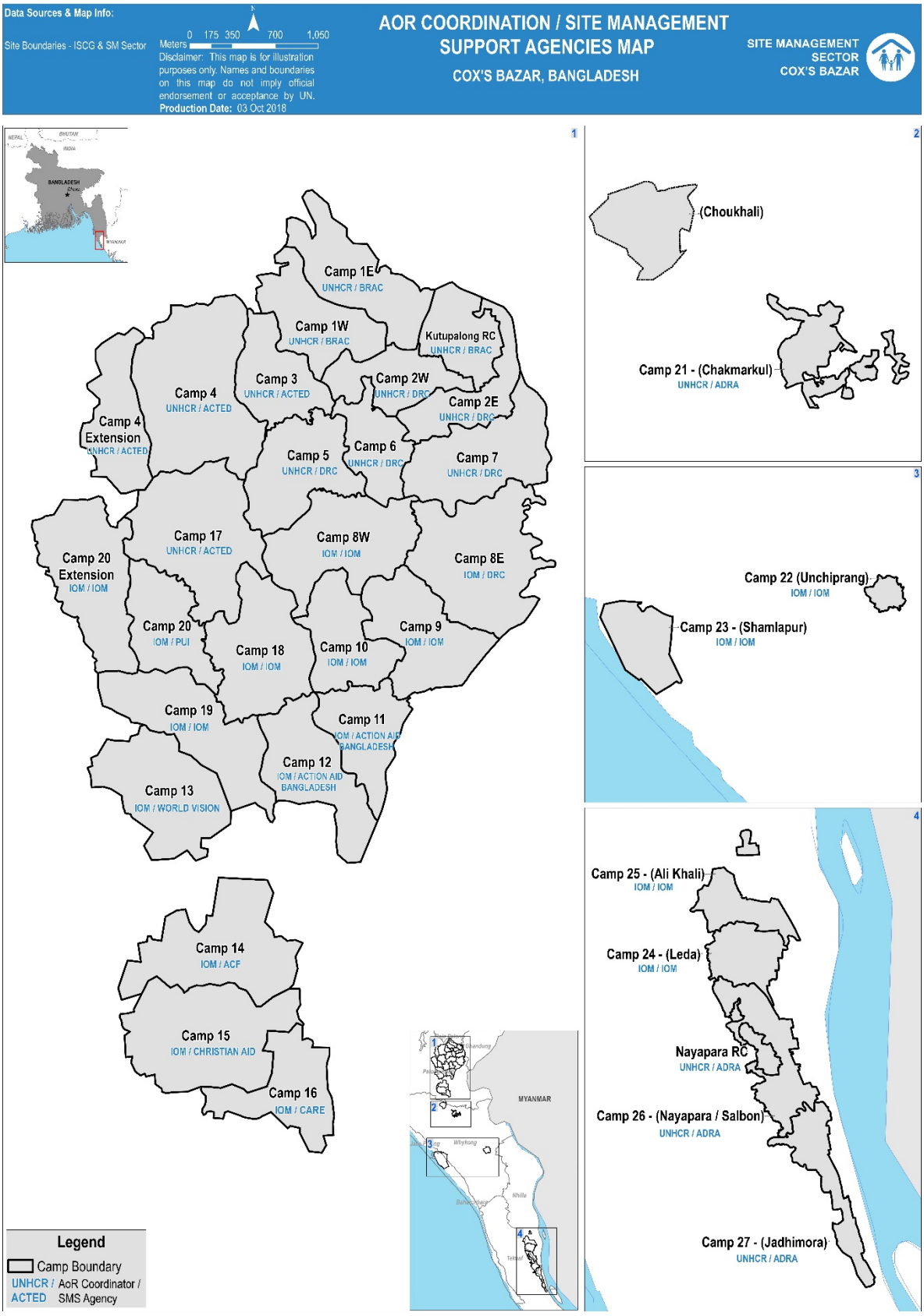


Figure 4: Map of the Rohingya refugee camps and their administrative divisions.

This shows the political divisions of camp governance. Underneath each camp's name is the management agency for that camp, either IOM or UNHCR on the left, and an NGO on the right (Site Management Sector Cox's Bazar 2018).

Overview of the chapters

This thesis is divided into eight chapters, each of which is structured to contribute to the argument that runs throughout. In the main, I posit that in the Rohingya refugee crisis humanitarian actors did not account for adolescent boys and how their complex social location interacts with their social ecology to produce a dynamic environment of risk and harm. I argue that adolescent boys as complex and intersectional social actors are not purposefully targeted in child protection interventions and are often completely absent from the discourse and practice of gender in humanitarian action. In this thesis, I find that this oversight is particularly acute with respect to adolescent boys who experience child sexual abuse. As such, there is limited awareness among humanitarian actors of the social location of adolescent boys and their risk of experiencing sexual harm, or humanitarian support for adolescent boy survivors. Lastly, I argue that the marginalisation of adolescent boys within humanitarian action is an extension of a transnational humanitarian politics of life that renders only certain bodies visible in its moral discourse on suffering, and a hegemonic form of humanitarian knowledge and intervention practice that does not attend to the complex nature of social location when addressing the specific, vulnerable subgroups that comprise crisis-affected populations.

In this introductory chapter, I have set the scene for this thesis, describing how it is placed in the contemporary anthropology of humanitarianism, empirical work on child protection in humanitarian action, and the theory of intersectionality. I also presented the aim, scope, and significance for this work, and the Rohingya refugee crisis context. Importantly, I foregrounded the operating conditions for the crisis and emphasised the importance of centralising these operational realities in any academic critique of humanitarian action. In Chapter 2, *Gender and humanitarianism*, I then proceed to locate this research within the academic literature on humanitarianism. I introduce 'gender humanitarianism' as a field of study, and 'gender in humanitarian action' as its practice in disasters and displacement. In Chapter 2, I posit that there is an absence of critical interrogation of how gender is applied in humanitarian interventions and that gender humanitarianism establishes a hierarchy of social location that privileges gender in its analysis of humanitarian environments. Furthermore, in this chapter, I argue that complex patterns of social location are often not accounted for in this framework and that the manner in which adolescent boys are framed does not include their full social position.

In Chapter 3, *Adolescent boys and humanitarian emergencies*, I describe the research literature on adolescent boys in humanitarian settings: describing their dynamic environment of risk, harm, protection, and privilege. In this chapter I contend that in humanitarian emergencies, adolescent boys are complex intersectional actors and that there is limited attention to this lived complexity in the academic literature on child protection in emergencies or empirical attention to sexual harm in humanitarian settings. Chapter 4, *Research method*, then describes the research approach that I employed in this study. This chapter not only describes fieldwork methods, but also my positionality as a humanitarian and gender specialist working in the crisis, as well as the limitations of this study.

The next three chapters then present the main findings of my thesis. In Chapter 5, *The protection and harm of adolescent boys*, I apply the intersectional framing of Chapter 3 to analyse the position of adolescent boys in Rohingya refugee crisis. This chapter describes the dialectic between protection and harm that adolescent boys may face in a crisis setting and the role of social location and social ecology in shaping their experiences of marginalisation and privilege. In Chapter 6, *Adolescent boys and gender humanitarianism*, I describe gender humanitarianism as it was performed in the Rohingya refugee crisis and the position of adolescent boys within this. This chapter argues that adolescent boys do not often feature in gender humanitarianism, despite the importance of gender in their experiences of harm. In Chapter 7, *Adolescent boys as survivors of sexual abuse*, I then outline instances where adolescent boys have been reported to have experienced child sexual abuse in the Rohingya refugee crisis and how humanitarian actors responded to this. In this chapter, I argue that the response to boy survivors was limited and that this is emblematic of an intervention framework that does not fully account for social location and the complexity of sexual harm experienced by crisis-affected populations.

Finally, in Chapter 8, I discuss the findings of my thesis in reference to the academic literature. This chapter revisits adolescent boys in the Rohingya crisis, their complex social location, and their multifaceted social ecology. It reinforces the importance of recognising adolescent boys as intersectional actors that are harmed in humanitarian emergencies based on a dynamic and constantly shifting framework of protection and harm. This chapter brings forward how adolescent boys 'age out' of humanitarian protection and that the sexual abuse of adolescent boys is common to humanitarian crises. Throughout this thesis I endeavour to place my analysis is in conversation with the operational practices of humanitarian action. As such, Chapter 8 also recommends courses for action based on the data contained in this thesis across the domains of humanitarian discourse, policy, and research. This thesis aims to improve contemporary humanitarian action by fostering more complex accounts of adolescent boys in emergencies while balancing the difficult interplay between action and constraint that characterises large-scale emergency responses. I hope this thesis makes this contribution over the following seven chapters and that future humanitarian responses continue to improve their protection and assistance for adolescent boys in situations of disaster and displacement.

Chapter 2.

Gender and humanitarianism

From beneath my feet a tapestry of colour shone upwards. Once barren and hidden by characterless meeting room furniture, the floor was now covered in vibrant mats and flowers. The contrast was distinct. Where the walls proffered images of humanitarian logistics, the floor created a welcoming space for the guests who were soon to come. This was the culmination of weeks of planning, a half-day event bringing together female Bangladeshi staff to discuss how working in the humanitarian response to one of the largest refugee crises in the world had impacted gender relations in their lives. Entitled 'Hear Me Too', the event drew on the narrative of the global #metoo movement[13] that was addressing sexual harm perpetrated against women and girls, to create a temporary safe space for women working in the response. The event offered a chance for female humanitarians to have their voices heard on a diverse range of topics, and for us as humanitarians to jointly identify gender and protection concerns to improve women's safety and security. As one of the event organisers, I stood outside the room registering guests before its commencement and then disappeared as the session began, entrusting my colleagues with its facilitation and respecting it as a women-only space.

This initiative came at a time of heightened insecurity for female humanitarian staff. In addition to sexual harassment perpetrated by the male refugee population and male humanitarian colleagues, female humanitarians were subject to increased insecurity in the Bangladeshi communities neighbouring the refugee camps. Protests and blockades of humanitarian vehicles by host community members demanding greater employment within the humanitarian response were occurring, and violence associated with the upcoming government elections had created an additional edge of insecurity. As political rallies began to take place in Cox's Bazar, different modes of communication were shut down by the national government and humanitarian organisations began suspending their operations. This climate of insecurity for female humanitarians was what my colleagues and I sought to respond to through this initiative. It was one of the few activities taken within the Rohingya refugee crisis that was concerned with the wellbeing of female staff, and as my colleagues and I gathered later that day to debrief about the session, they conveyed the thankfulness of the participants for the opportunity they had been given to voice their concerns and everyday pressures.

[13] The hashtag #MeToo was created by African American women's rights activist Tarana Burke in 2006 to encourage solidarity between survivors of sexual violence (Harris 2018). The hashtag gained significant traction on social media platform Twitter in October 2017 when actress Alyssa Milano used it in response to allegations of sexual violence perpetrated by American film producer Harvey Weinstein. Through social media, women (and men) then responded by sharing their stories of sexual victimisation using the hashtag, with this creating a space to call out sexual misconduct and misogyny (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller 2018; Palmer et al. 2021).

This initiative is one example of work conducted to addresses gender inequalities within crisis-affected populations and among humanitarian actors in a humanitarian response. In this instance, our initiative targeted the discriminatory norms and different forms of violence that permeated the lives of female humanitarian staff. Although small in stature, Hear Me Too's very existence is the result of decades of feminist activism and a growing recognition among humanitarian actors that gender as a form of social identity and categorisation affects all facets of a humanitarian emergency. In this chapter, I provide an overview of gender in the modern humanitarian system, contextualising the initiatives undertaken by humanitarian actors in the Rohingya crisis response to promote gender equality, as well as historicising my role as a specialist that integrates gender into humanitarian operations. To do so, I sketch the historical emergence of concern for refugee women among humanitarian organisations and the subsequent integration of gender into humanitarian policy and emergency responses. In this chapter, I argue that there has been little academic reflection on how gender is operationalised at the field level or attention to the epistemological basis of gender in humanitarian action. Furthermore, I posit that there has been insufficient interrogation of how the operationalisation of gender in humanitarian action may positively or negatively influence the protection of different subgroups of crisis-affected populations.

To support this analysis, in this chapter I establish new conceptual boundaries around 'gender humanitarianism' as a field of scholarship. I define gender humanitarianism as the field of gender mainstreaming practices and gender equality programming undertaken to save lives and alleviate suffering through the promotion of gender equality in humanitarian assistance, protection, and advocacy responses to natural and human-made disasters. Through this chapter, I argue that academic scholars of humanitarianism have not accounted for the ways in which the discursive practices and knowledge frameworks that underpin gender humanitarianism may influence humanitarian practice in negative or unintended ways. I ask where adolescent boys are positioned in the field of gender humanitarianism and how its technical approach to gender equality influences the protection and assistance of precarious lives. Structurally, this chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, I describe the rise of concern for gender equality in humanitarian action and the mechanisms through which gender is operationalised in crisis settings. In the second section, I establish gender humanitarianism as a field, critically interrogate its literature, and trace the knowledge frameworks that underpin gender humanitarianism as a praxis. In the third section, I delve into the theoretical concept of intersectionality and return to the subject of adolescent boys, noting the points of overlap and interplay between gender humanitarianism and intersectional theory with respect to adolescent boys.

A short history of gender in humanitarian action

Although gender has always been present in emergencies as a form of social organisation and mediator of power and privilege, the integration of gender as an interpretive framework into humanitarian operations has only taken place in recent decades. Fundamentally, the rationale for integrating concern

for gender into humanitarian action is predicated on evidence that shows there are existing gender inequalities in populations before they are impacted by a crisis, that crises have different impacts on different parts of the population due (in part) to gendered roles and responsibilities, and that harm caused by gender inequalities is exacerbated in emergencies (IASC 2018a; Dietrich Ortega et al. 2020). Although men and boys are also differently impacted by crises due to gender norms[14], academic and humanitarian attention to gender in emergencies has tended to focus on the disproportionate impact of crises on women and girls (for example, IASC 2017). This concern is based on accumulated evidence that demonstrates, for example, the significant constraints they face in accessing safe sexual and reproductive health and other services (Kerner et al. 2012; Desrosiers et al. 2020), the difficulties they encounter making their preferences heard in male-dominated community leadership and decision-making structures (Hirsch-Holland 2020; Masboungi & Paik 2016), and the heightened incidence of sexual and gender-based violence perpetrated against them in emergencies (Stark, Seff & Reis 2020).

As a technical practice of a humanitarian response, 'gender in humanitarian action' employs a 'twin-track' approach. This includes embedding concern for how subgroups of a population are differently affected by a crisis in all the areas of a humanitarian response and across the humanitarian program cycle[15] (known as 'gender mainstreaming'), and implementing targeted activities to respond to evidence of disadvantage, discrimination, and needs based on gender roles and norms (known as 'targeted action') (IASC 2018a). Contemporary interventions on gender in humanitarian action are based on the Inter-Agency Standing Committee guidelines, known as *The gender handbook for humanitarian action* (2018a), and context specific pieces of rapid research on how gender affects the distribution of resources and agency in a population, known as a gender analysis or gender assessment (Quay 2019). Although there are many different frameworks for conducting gender analysis, in the main, these studies examine the roles, relationships, resources, and constraints, that women and men hold relative to each other in a specific humanitarian context (IASC 2006a). Conduct of gender analysis is often the important first step that is taken to integrate gender into the humanitarian program cycle and ensure appropriate aid targeting. In practice, however, evaluations have found that gender

[14] Social norms are "rules of action shared by people in a given society or group; they define what is considered normal and acceptable behaviour for members of that group" (Cislaghi & Heise 2020, p.409). Gender norms are a type of social norm that relates to gender differences. Gender norms can be defined as "the accepted attributes, characteristics, roles, and rules of behaviour for women and men at a particular point in time by a specific society or community" (UNICEF 2017d, p.4).

[15] The humanitarian program cycle is a framework for the delivery of aid to meet the needs of crisis-affected people. It consists of a set of tools to assist humanitarian actors through improved preparation, prioritisation, steering, and monitoring of a collective humanitarian response. It influences the programming and resource allocations of all humanitarian actors and consists of six sequential elements and two enablers. These six key elements are: emergency response and preparedness, needs assessment and analysis, strategic response planning, implementation and monitoring, resource mobilisation, and operational peer review and evaluation. The two enablers are coordination and information management. These combine into a single process that runs through the cycle of inter-agency coordination and response (IASC 2015b).

analyses may fail to prompt humanitarian interventions to purposefully address gender inequalities in crisis-affected populations (Mazurana et al. 2011; Mazurana & Proctor 2015).

There are significant differences between humanitarian actors when evaluated on the extent to which they address gender inequalities. Indeed, humanitarian interventions are often graded on a 'gender equity continuum', from those that perpetuate gender inequalities through to programs that address the root causes of gender inequalities (Figure 5). In recent years there has been a shift in strategic direction by some humanitarian actors towards the latter end of this continuum, with crises viewed as an opportune time to shift gender norms in affected populations to mitigate gender-based violence and discrimination (Oxfam Canada 2019). Evidence on violence perpetrated by men and boys against women and girls indicates that these are learned behaviours derived from socialisation processes that are based on a foundation of gender inequitable attitudes and violent constructions of masculinity (Fulu et al. 2013; Ricardo, Eads & Barker 2011). Gender transformative humanitarian action is thus finding contemporary favour for its efforts to address the root causes of violence and discrimination against women and girls by questioning and challenging these gender norms and gendered power dynamics (United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), UNICEF & UN Women 2019). Where gender responsive interventions may seek to improve women's engagement in water programming or meet their sexual and reproductive needs, gender transformative interventions expand socially acceptable gender roles for women, girls, men, and boys in their communities (Dietrich Ortega et al. 2020).[16]

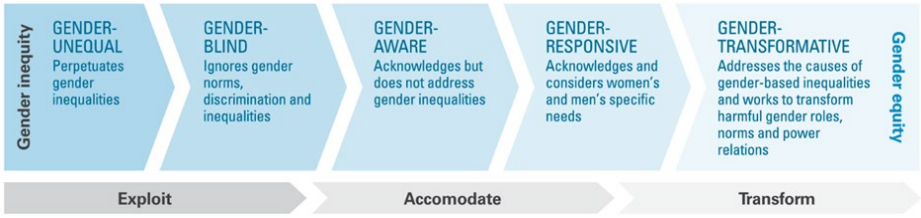


Figure 5: The gender equity continuum.
This is often used by humanitarian actors to grade programs according to the level they address gender inequalities. While there are many different versions of this model used by different humanitarian actors, the model in this figure from the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund, and UN Women (2019) is adapted from a public health model by Pederson, Greaves, and Poole (2015).

The growing momentum within the humanitarian sector to integrate gender into humanitarian operations and address gender inequality is only a recent development. Concern for gender-based discrimination and disadvantage first emerged in international development in the 1970s (see Boserup 1970). However, it was not until the 1990s that concern for the gender differentiated impact of humanitarian crises materialised in emergency operations (Freedman 2010; Hyndman 1998). Prior to

[16] This also contrasts with a tendency among international development and humanitarian actors to instrumentally employ (and thus reinforce) gender normative roles for women and girls or men and boys to achieve a desired program outcome (for example, Carter, Dietrich & Minor 2017).

this, academic scholarship on humanitarianism suggests that gender issues were largely absent from emergency responses and that humanitarian activities that specifically targeted women failed to account for how a crisis may impact them differently and their gender-specific needs and constraints (Callaway 1985; Freedman 2010; Hyndman 1998). While the limited evidence base on humanitarian action during this period means that it is difficult to understand how humanitarian actors were factoring in gender-based inequalities within their response planning and operations, ethnographic accounts of humanitarian responses from the 1980s suggest that targeted action towards women and girls conducted at this time was organised by men, co-opted by male community members, and that mainstream humanitarian aid was channelled through a male head of household: reinforcing men's control over resource allocation and decision-making (Callaway 1985; Harrell-Bond 1986).

The first winds of change towards more gender responsive humanitarian policy came to form in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Growing public concern for violence and discrimination perpetrated against refugee women led to increased recognition among humanitarian actors of their vulnerable position in crisis settings, with subsequent waves of humanitarian policy reform then focusing on their protection and assistance (Dijkhorst & Vonhof 2005; Freedman 2010; Hyndman 1998). Key indicators of this shift can be seen in the genealogy of humanitarian policy at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. While the specific needs and experiences of refugee women had been recognised in the United Nations' second (1980) and third (1985) world conferences on women (Holloway, Stavropoulou & Daigle 2019), it wasn't until much later that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees appointed a senior coordinator for refugee women[17] (1989), released their first policy on refugee women (1990), published guidelines on the protection of refugee women (1991), and conducted their first assessment of refugee women's reproductive health needs (1994) (Buscher 2010). The culmination of this momentum was seen at the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing. The conference's Platform for Action outlined the importance of assistance for refugee and internally displaced women, and issued strong commitments by United Nations agencies to address gender inequality. Importantly, the platform also established strategies to promote gender equality through humanitarian interventions, paving the way for the gender responsive humanitarian reforms of the late 1990s (Hyndman 1998; O'Gorman & Clifton-Everest 2009; Pietilä & Vickers 1996; True 2003).

As the humanitarian system evolved and professionalised in the 1990s with the development of centralised emergency relief funding, international coordination structures, technical manuals and operating guidelines, and minimum standards (Dyke & Waldman 2004; United Nations General Assembly 1991; UNOCHA 2012), support structures for gender in humanitarian action also began to emerge. The main technical strategy for addressing gender in humanitarian action is the practice of

[17] Accounts from the first senior coordinator for refugee women suggest an initial hesitance within the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to incorporate women and gender equality. Reportedly, this was due to institutionalised belief that the universalism of refugee policies and practices was sufficient and discrete efforts for refugee women were unnecessary (Baines 2004).

gender mainstreaming (United Nations Economic and Social Council 1997), with a number of different structures having been developed over the last three decades to support this praxis. These initiatives mostly arose during two distinct reform periods in the international humanitarian system known as the Humanitarian Reform Agenda (2005-2011) and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC)[18] Transformative Agenda (2011-current) (Borton 2014; Dyke & Waldman 2004; UNOCHA 2005). The collaborative work of international humanitarian actors during these periods resulted in a series of initiatives designed to advance gender responsive practices within humanitarian operations. Most notably, these include the development of inter-agency policy statements on gender in humanitarian action (IASC 1999, IASC 2008, IASC 2017), the creation of a pool of gender advisers able to be deployed rapidly to crisis settings (Lambert & Foster 2017), the development of a handbook on integrating gender across a response (IASC 2018a), and the establishment of minimum standards for gender mainstreaming in humanitarian settings (Gender Practitioner Collaborative 2017). A common feature of contemporary humanitarian responses is the use of self-graded scoring system for projects against defined benchmarks. Known as a 'gender marker', this tool is used to ensure all projects address gender equality or provide justification for its absence (IASC 2011, IASC 2018b).

This international collaboration on the integration of concern for gender equality within humanitarian action has been complemented by an array of initiatives conducted by individual humanitarian organisations. Since the early 1990s, humanitarian organisations have developed training manuals on gender training and gender leadership (Clifton 1999; Oxfam International 2017), guidance on integrating gender into specific sectors such as water and sanitation or child protection (Save the Children 2014; UNICEF 2017b), and tools for assessing shifts in gendered roles and needs within crisis-affected populations (Quay 2019). This volume of technical guidance would seem to indicate that the historical inattention by humanitarian actors to gender-based discrimination in emergency settings has reversed. However, 20 years of feminist scholarship on refugee women suggests that this is not the case. In their analysis of humanitarian interventions in Sri Lanka, for example, Hyndman and Alwis (2003) suggest that humanitarian actors have tended to simply add women into existing programs rather than account for the dynamic nature of gender norms in emergencies. In their analysis of gender marker implementation in humanitarian responses, Foran, Swaine, and Burns (2012) found that humanitarian actors may have limited technical capacity in integrating gender concerns (I refer to this as conducting 'gender work'), that humanitarian staff may view the conduct of gender work as equivalent to addressing women and girl's specific needs, and that being responsive to gender concerns may be perceived by staff as a distraction from the normal flow of humanitarian action.

[18] The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) brings together the executive heads of 18 United Nations and non-United Nations agencies to coordinate humanitarian policies, priorities, and efforts on crisis response (IASC 2019).

Evidence from evaluations of humanitarian action appears to reinforce these criticisms. Evaluations from the late 1990s and early 2000s suggest that the initial years of gender mainstreaming initiatives in humanitarian responses were largely inadequate, with gender reportedly not prioritised in humanitarian interventions and efforts to integrate gender not perceived by humanitarian actors as successful (IASC 2006b; Stoddard et al. 2007). These evaluations also found that there was limited demonstrated understanding among humanitarian actors of how to operationalise gender in humanitarian operations (IASC 2006b; Stoddard et al. 2007). Evaluations conducted from 2010 onwards have surfaced similar issues. These suggest that while the deployment of gender advisers to emergencies through a system of pooled experts (known as 'GenCap') has improved understanding of gender in humanitarian action in the crises they were deployed to (Binder & Martin Witte 2008; Steets & Meier 2011; Progida & Ressler 2019), humanitarian organisations have not provided sufficient additional resources for gender work. The networks of humanitarian staff established in emergency responses to support gender mainstreaming have also reportedly shown little effect. As I also experienced in the Rohingya crisis, improving gender skills and knowledge through training humanitarian staff has proven difficult and is often weakened through staff turnover and poor institutional consolidation (Binder & Martin Witte 2008; Freedman 2010; Lambert & Foster 2017; Thomas & Beck 2010; Stoddard et al. 2007).

In the main, gender in humanitarian action as an analytical approach and technical practice in emergency response work appears to be poorly delineated. While a plenitude of policies and structures have been established by humanitarian actors to support gender mainstreaming and targeted action initiatives, the practice is still weak in many contexts (Binder & Martin Witte 2008; Freedman 2010; Lambert & Foster 2017; Thomas & Beck 2010; Stoddard et al. 2007). This is perhaps best demonstrated with respect to the dedicated humanitarian staff that implement gender in humanitarian action ('gender workers'). These advisers, consultants, specialists, and focal points[19], champion attention to gender in emergency responses and provide guidance on the conduct of gender in humanitarian action. Evaluations of gender work, however, suggest that there is often poor understanding of gender and its operationalisation in the humanitarian community. Further issues include a lack of accountability and responsibility for gender work in responses, an absence of strategic direction on gender work at the field level, and that programming dedicated to addressing gender often remains marginal to contemporary humanitarian action. These concerns are further undermined through the weakness of humanitarian networks that support gender work and the capacity of humanitarian staff. Even though gender training is often a significant component of gender work, these same evaluations indicate that the training of humanitarian staff on gender in humanitarian action is not creating differences in staff attitudes and behaviours (Binder & Martin Witte 2008; Progida & Ressler 2019).

[19] A 'gender focal point' is a person who is appointed to support gender mainstreaming practices by advocating, advising, reporting, training, and disseminating information on gender. This is not a dedicated position and is often a defined percentage of a staff member's normal workload. Gender focal points are not necessarily content specialists and may not have prior experience with gender mainstreaming.

As it stands today, there is no defined gender in humanitarian action system. Rather, gender in humanitarian action is based on a loose collection of tools, policies, standards, guidance, and practitioners, working across humanitarian organisations with the stated aim of reducing gender inequality and empowering women and girls within humanitarian emergencies. Critically analysing and engaging with the conduct, epistemology, knowledge, and practices of gender in humanitarian action thus requires the provisional construction of a field of practice. This field of practice brings these factors together and allows for the establishment of a conceptual framework for understanding the history, knowledge, people, and practices that define the field. There is only a small pool of critical academic literature on gender in humanitarian action (as opposed to international development), which means that even though there have been evaluations of gender mainstreaming initiatives instigated by humanitarian actors, there has been little academic reflection or engagement with how gender is operationalised at its technical and conceptual levels. In the absence of this analysis, scholars of humanitarianism have not yet substantively accounted for how the discourse and hegemonic knowledge embedded in gender work may influence humanitarian programming: affecting the distribution of protection and assistance efforts delivered by humanitarian actors to crisis-affected populations. In the next section, I establish gender in humanitarian action as a defined field of practice - 'gender humanitarianism' - and begin to interrogate the place of adolescent boys within its conceptual framework for understanding gender in emergencies.

'Gender humanitarianism' as a field of practice

In the first chapter, I placed my thesis in conversation with anthropological scholarship on the moral politics and complexities of humanitarian action (Agamben 1998; Fassin 2011; Ticktin 2011b). Despite the robust nature of this critical anthropology of transnational and domestic humanitarianism, there is less scholarship that attends to the operationalisation of gender in humanitarian field operations and its underlying logic. The history of emergency medicine and its relationship to humanitarianism ostensibly stretches back to the very foundations of modern humanitarian action (Davey, Borton & Foley 2013). This has subsequently led to the development of a dedicated field of academic literature on 'medical humanitarianism' (see Abramowitz & Panter-Brick 2015b). However, there is no such equivalent for gender in humanitarian action. Indeed, if one were to trace the contours of a literary field of 'gender humanitarianism' it would consist of the anthropology of women in emergencies, empirical studies of women and their relationship to humanitarian aid, and humanitarian reports on the practice of gender work in emergencies. Consequently, the landscape of academic attention to gender in humanitarian action does not appear to reflect the political salience of gender equality in the modern humanitarian system or the mass of anthropological inquiry into humanitarianism more broadly. It is also important to recognise that with recent humanitarian reportage of gaps and deficiencies in attention to gender in humanitarian responses, this would seem to indicate that there is a need to establish gender humanitarianism as a dedicated field within the anthropology of humanitarianism.

In the main, academic interrogation of the conduct of gender work in humanitarian responses to emergencies has centred on refugee and disaster-affected women. Indeed, the first stirrings of anthropological writing on gender in humanitarian action began in the early 1980s, with the research of Ingrid Palmer on gender roles and relations among Sudanese refugees and the failures of humanitarian assistance to reach refugee women (Palmer 1982). Closely following Ingrid Palmer, Helen Callaway's 1985 paper on refugees in the Tendelti camp of western Sudan described how the implementation of humanitarian assistance was male-centric, and that as a consequence, it had detrimental impacts on women's interests (Callaway 1985). Callaway (1985) foreshadows the later emergence of gender mainstreaming within humanitarian responses by suggesting the importance of incorporating gender analysis into every aspect of refugee assistance. Importantly, she also suggests the implementation of gender transformative humanitarian action, positing that women in refugee camps could be mobilised to shift gendered power relations and create new patterns of social life. These early analyses were soon followed by Barbara Harrell-Bond's pioneering ethnographic work investigating humanitarian assistance in the Yei river district in southern Sudan in the early 1980s. Noting the gendered shifts in relations and household dynamics resulting from displacement, Harrell-Bond highlighted how "problems for women worsen and programmes of assistance fail, precisely because policy-makers and field officers are gender blind" (Harrell-Bond 1986, p.282).

Early ethnographic attention to gender roles and relations in humanitarian interventions can also be found in the work of Mekuria Bulcha and Patricia Daley. In his ethnographically informed research with refugees in eastern and central regions of Sudan in 1981-1982, Bulcha described how refugee women were more socially isolated than other refugees, faced greater pressure to comply with acculturation, and were often forced into the role of household head when displaced. Indeed, Bulcha states that "the conditions of exile are more threatening and insecure for women than for men" (Bulcha 1988, p.282). In Patricia Daley's research on Burundian refugees in Tanzania she detailed how gender was a critical factor in determining the social position of women in displacement. Daley noted that humanitarian donor organisations and state administrators adopted 'traditional' Burundian patriarchal attitudes regarding women, perceiving them as passive and dependent on their husbands. She argues that this then negatively impacted humanitarian assistance for single women and female headed households (Daley 1991). Daley's paper is significant in the history of gender humanitarianism. It is one of few papers that demonstrates how the ideologies and attitudes of humanitarian actors are embedded in gendered histories and discourses, and that these logics may then affect the provision of humanitarian assistance for subgroups of crisis-affected populations. Before I move onto describing similar scholarship within other academic disciplines, it is important to recognise that across this early work, recognition of the importance of gender relations in humanitarian responses first emerged from gendered analysis of women's marginalisation and oppression in refugee settings.

In parallel with this anthropology of women in emergencies, a similar form of engagement with gender in humanitarian action is seen in the literature on women in disasters. In 1982, JPW Rivers stated that "sex differences in morbidity are not simply the result of the way that gender dictates environment, but will also result from the way it dictates choices during the disaster" (Rivers 1982, p.257). Rivers draws attention to how gender norms around caregiving may hinder a woman's ability to self-rescue, and that discriminatory choices around household food allocations devalue women and girls and affect their nutrition. Contrary to the ethnographic work of Harrell-Bond and her colleagues, early disaster scholarship appears to take a medicalised approach, focusing on sex-related differences in mortality rates, survival rates, nutrition, and mental health. Integration of broader gender analysis in disasters research seems to properly emerge in the 1990s (Gaillard, Gorman-Murray & Fordham 2017). Key publications that reflect this shift include Simms' (1990) paper on women's vulnerability and resilience in the Bhopal gas disaster in India, Bedri and Osama's (1992) work on the effect of desertification on women in the Savannah belt of Sudan, and Begum's (1993) description of women's experiences of a cyclone in Bangladesh. In 1994, Mary Myers published one of the first articles on the practice of gender in disaster response work, describing how gender was not deemed important for disaster responders and that there was little consideration for the needs or priorities of women (Myers 1994).

Historically, gender humanitarianism has therefore tended to conceptually centre on the subordinate position of adult women in humanitarian contexts. However, during the early 1990s, feminist practitioners of international development were increasingly transitioning towards a focus on the relational nature of gendered norms, process, and social structures (Razavi & Miller 1995). Despite this shift, many feminist scholars have argued that in international development practice the translation of feminist concepts diluted the socially transformative aspects of the term 'gender' (Milward, Mukhopadhyay & Wong 2015; Warren 2007). Rather than referring to gender as an ongoing discursive and relational construct (Bacchi & Eveline 2010), in international development 'gender' has tended to be conflated with 'women' (Chant & Gutmann 2000). This conflation of terms has been criticised by development scholars for entrenching essentialisms and assumptions about women, failing to include men and boys as gendered entities, and for marginalising discussions about queer, transgender, and other identities (Chant & Gutmann 2000; Harcourt 2016; Zalewski 2010).[20] In the literature on humanitarianism, Hyndman and Alwis (2003) argued almost two decades ago that gender in humanitarian action is often reduced by humanitarian actors to a focus on women's welfare and that there is a need for a feminist analytic that incorporates multiple bases of power and identity. More recently, Delphine Brun (2017) has argued that gender responsive humanitarian programming is often

[20] Personally, I have seen this reflected in my work in Timor-Leste and Bangladesh, with development workers and communities alike frequently confusing 'gender' with 'women'. This means that women are categorised as 'the gender'. It also perpetuates a discourse that the roles, behaviours, and norms of men, boys, intersex, and transgender persons are not influenced by gendered processes. This also then excludes gender from discussions of how men and boys, for example, experience aging, disability, trauma, or the multitude of other aspects of their lives where gender norms play a significant role in their experiences.

conflated with the addressing the needs of women and girls, and that this perception can affect whether or not the needs and vulnerabilities of men and boys are addressed in an emergency.

Critical scholarship on the practices of gender humanitarianism has not yet emerged as a substantial body of academic work. Even though there appears to be heightened attention in the academy to emergencies and population displacements as research sites (Cronin-Furman & Lake 2018), scholarship on gender in humanitarian action has tended to build on early feminist scholarship on women in emergencies and women's relationship to humanitarian assistance. More recent examples of this work on 'women in humanitarian action' include papers on the relationship between refugeeism and women's empowerment (Krause 2014; Ritchie 2018), the history of humanitarian policy on refugee women (Buscher 2010; Freedman 2010), women and their relationship to humanitarian assistance in settings of protracted displacement (Ajayi 2020), the role of local women's organisations in delivering humanitarian aid (Al-Abdeh & Patel 2019), and the experiences of women working as humanitarian responders (Houldey 2019). Outside of this, academic attention to gender humanitarianism has tended to report on advances in gender mainstreaming practices. Examples include Foran, Swaine and Burn's (2012) paper on the gender marker, Carter, Dietrich and Minor's (2017) paper on gender mainstreaming in water and sanitation projects, and Quay's (2019) paper on a rapid gender assessment tool. In both respects, these forms of engagement surface gaps and prescribe solutions that may increase the effectiveness of current responses. There is much less academic engagement that problematises the landscape of gender humanitarianism itself, its epistemology and knowledge frameworks, or its relationship to the government of populations and human life.

In his 1981 article on international relations theory, Robert Cox delineates between 'problem-solving theory' and 'critical theory' approaches to engaging with the social world. According to Cox (1981), problem-solving theory takes the world as static, identifying and addressing sources of trouble. Critical theory, on the other hand, problematises the current state of order. It addresses power discrepancies, integrates social context, and historicises the issue under study. Ryerson Christie (2015) argues that the majority of academic attention to humanitarianism has taken a problem-solving approach and that this has neglected the advancement of structural change to humanitarian action. Critical theorising on humanitarianism has tended to employ the work of Hannah Arendt (1998, 2017), Michel Foucault (1978, 2009), and Giorgio Agamben (1998). Of these, Michel Foucault's (1978) concept of 'biopower' has been used extensively for its analytical prowess at conceptualising the political status of life itself (Redfield & Bornstein 2011). In Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1978), he describes biopower as the techniques of power present at every level in society, utilised by institutions for subjugating bodies and controlling populations. Foucault divides biopower into two techniques: 'anatamo-politics', or the individual discipline of the body, and 'biopolitics', interventions and controls targeting populations. Of these techniques, biopolitics has been used by scholars of humanitarianism to conceptualise the government of displaced populations, particularly by Agamben (1998) and his theory of 'bare-life'.

Building on the philosophical work of Foucault and Arendt, Giorgio Agamben in his book *Homo Sacer* (1998) conceptualises bare-life as life without political attributes. Agamben argues that modern sovereignty and government is principally concerned with defining who is included and excluded from its political territory. Critical readings of humanitarianism often attend to humanitarianism as a form of transnational humanitarian sovereignty over the 'bare-life' of disaster affected populations, and depict its local manifestations as a form of government. Perhaps most representative of this approach is Didier Fassin's conceptual work on humanitarianism as government over "precarious lives" (2011, p.4). Fassin (2011) argues that humanitarianism occurs in a contemporary politics of moral sentiment, one which has reconfigured the way we have come to interpret and act on our social world. Different from Foucault's biopolitics and its emphasis on technologies of power, Fassin (2007, 2011) examines the 'politics of life' that result in differentiated meanings and values ascribed to human lives through humanitarian decision-making. Similar to inquiry that likens humanitarian intervention to medicalised practices of triage[21] (de Waal 2010; Redfield 2008), Fassin posits that humanitarian reason and its government pay more attention to the biological, bare-lives of a population than the biographical life of the individual. However, he stops short of examining the social categories (such as gender or age) employed by humanitarian actors to discern who is included in their form of "mobile sovereignty" (Pandolfi 2008, p.173) over life itself.

Closer to the work of my thesis is Miriam Ticktin's ethnographic treatise on moral economies of compassion and 'regimes of care' (Ticktin 2011a). Aligning with much contemporary anthropology of humanitarianism and its focus on the politicisation of moral sentiment in times of crisis, Ticktin narrows in on how a set of regulated humanitarian discourses and practices grounded in a moral imperative to relieve suffering are enacted by a diverse set of humanitarian actors. Ticktin notes that the primary subject of humanitarianism is the suffering biological body and that a particular form of politics determines which body is deemed morally legitimate and worthy of care. Where Agamben talks of bare-life reduced and stripped of its political qualities, Ticktin argues that "the suffering body is always produced by and part of social and historical contexts" (Ticktin 2011a, p.15). She notes that the body "is always mediated by the gendered and racialised narratives that allow certain people and bodies to be identified as morally legitimate, as worthy of being saved" (Ticktin 2011a, p.19). Ticktin's ethnographic work on the movement to end violence against women brings in gendered analysis of the narratives, images, and histories that convey moral legitimacy on the suffering person within humanitarian frameworks. However, while she alludes to narrative practices and discourses that construct victimhood through cultural signifiers - or what she calls "languages of the good" (Ticktin

[21] The practice of triage is a medical process for sorting clinical presentations that originated in mass casualty and warfare situations (Robertson-Steel 2006). In essence, triage is a dispassionate system of prioritisation based on the facts of the suffering presented (Redfield 2008). It may represent "either a sorting that emphasises survival (prioritising those who have a chance to live) or one that emphasises severity of need (prioritising those who need more immediate attention)" (Redfield 2008, p.205).

2011a, p.4) - she does not extend this form of analysis to the way these narratives may influence intervention practices in contemporary gender in humanitarian action.

Critical anthropological scholarship that attends to gender humanitarianism consists of a limited body of work that extends readings of humanitarianism as a transnational form of government. Rather than biopower and bare-life, these papers tend to lean on Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' (a neologism combining 'governmental rationality'), defined as "a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government" (Gordon 1991, p.3). In a Foucauldian sense, government consists of rational efforts to "influence or guide the conduct of human beings through acting upon their hopes, desires, circumstances, or environment" (Inda 2005, p.1). A notable example of this form of critical engagement with gender humanitarianism is Rahel Kunz's (2020) analysis of post-conflict gender mainstreaming practices in Liberia. Kunz reads gender mainstreaming practices in the post-conflict United Nations Mission in Liberia as a form of feminist knowledge production that governs populations. Placing her paper in dialogue with literature on 'governance feminism', Kunz employs governmentality to recognise how feminist knowledge may act as a technology to govern conduct (Prügl 2011). From this standpoint, Kunz reads gender workers as informing local populations on correct behaviours and gender mainstreaming initiatives as 'civilising' practices. Kunz questions transnational feminist knowledge transfers to targeted populations and encourages analytical engagement with what happens outside of a post-conflict gender mainstreaming intervention.

From a similar standpoint, Lewis Turner (2018) in his doctoral thesis applies critical feminist theory to analyse how Syrian men living in Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan are read and governed by humanitarian actors operating in the Syrian refugee crisis. Turner argues that humanitarian actors read crisis-affected populations through their own gendered and racialised frameworks, rather than those of the population they are serving. Of relevance for gender humanitarianism as a field of inquiry is Turner's description of how humanitarian actors targeted Syrian men through initiatives to prevent gender-based violence against women and girls. In his thesis, Turner describes a disjuncture between local understandings of gender-based violence and the international norms that underpin humanitarian action. Furthermore, he notes that humanitarians tend to engage Syrian men without contextual understanding of their practices of masculinity, practices of violence, or men's gender-based needs. Turner argues that "men appear before humanitarians as objects to reform, not people in need of help" (Turner 2018, p.168). While his thesis is not dedicated to analysis of gender humanitarianism, his analysis of gender-based violence interventions demonstrates how targeted action to address gender norms may be conducted by gender-based violence actors in emergencies, and how transnational feminist governance interacts with different subgroups of crisis-affected populations.

Ethnographic attention to the praxis of gender humanitarianism can be found in Katarzyna Grabska's (2011) account of gender mainstreaming in Kakuma refugee camp. While other theorists have explored the nature of the refugee camp as a gendered space (Hyndman 1998), Grabska questions the

assumptions about gender that are integrated into humanitarian programmes and how local populations experience gender interventions. Grabska describes how gender programming was experienced by refugees as women's empowerment and as a 'civilising project'. While Grabska neither refers to humanitarianism as a politics of life nor government, she describes a situation where transnational feminist practices are enacted upon a population under conditions of humanitarian sovereignty, with this then having corresponding effects on distributions of power, agency, and decision-making within the target population. She notes how gender humanitarianism as an emancipatory and political practice may have unintended consequences in its implementation, causing the discursive essentialisation of women as victims and failing to construct a nuanced account of social difference, power, and gender relations within the refugee community. In comparable work by Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2010), the author describes in her study of Algerian refugee camps how the discourse of gender humanitarianism may have paradoxical effects on the target population. Her analysis shows that gender mainstreaming practices can perpetrate exclusion and marginalisation (even within the broad category of women and girls) through the prioritisation of certain groups within a population.

Critical academic engagement with gender humanitarianism is also found in Krystalli, Hawkins, and Wilson's (2018) analysis of the way gender influences the lives and journeys of refugees migrating through Greece, Jordan, Turkey, and Denmark. Applying Foucault's concept of governmentality and extending Miriam Ticktin's work on 'regimes of care' (Ticktin 2011a), the authors draw attention to moral economies and gendered hierarchies of assistance in humanitarian action. They note that gender acts as a critical variable in humanitarian actors' perceptions of who is deserving of assistance, with "masculinities and femininities influenc[ing] perceptions of who is vulnerable, who is a threat, and who is in need of protection" (Krystalli, Hawkins & Wilson 2018, p.S19). This paper explores narratives of who does and does not fit within the established frameworks for humanitarian assistance and shows how essentialised notions of feminised vulnerability and masculinised violence present in humanitarian action. The authors also demonstrate how these essentialisms privilege some forms of violence and suffering over others in humanitarian action and describe how humanitarianism as a social project that intends to alleviate suffering may lead to the marginalisation of certain segments of crisis-affected populations. Krystalli and colleagues purposefully engage with gender as a concept and form of social location that plays a role in humanitarian notions of vulnerability, as well as the role of vulnerability in aid targeting. However, they do not engage with or criticise the way gender humanitarianism is implemented through mainstreaming, targeted action, or gender work practices.

In contrast, Elisabeth Olivius in her 2014 doctoral thesis on gender work in the refugee camps of Thailand and Bangladesh is an academic forerunner in critical engagement with gender humanitarianism. Employing a feminist governmentality theoretical framework, Olivius narrows in on "the effects that are generated by different ways of constructing, interpreting and applying gender equality norms in specific institutional and geographic contexts within the international refugee

regime"(Olivius 2014b, pp.43–44). She notes that gender equality norms are deployed by humanitarian actors as tools for managing displaced populations and are used as a way of normalising and 'modernising' societies undergoing dramatic upheaval (Olivius 2014b). Through analytical attention to gender in humanitarian action as a practice of modern humanitarian interventions, Olivius draws attention to the subject positions that are created by humanitarian representations of gender equality. Aligning with the work of Kunz, Turner, and Grabska, Olivius demonstrates how gender equality may be materialised as a form of humanitarian government and as a civilising project deployed in 'traditional' communities to reconstruct societies in the long term. My thesis complements her work through its attendance to the omissions and unintended consequences of gender-based humanitarian discourses of care and protection. In addition, it attends to how the protection needs of adolescent boys as subjects of gender humanitarianism may be affected by the discourses, values, knowledges, and logics that infuse gender in humanitarian action.

A separate but related body of anthropology that inadvertently engages with the humanitarian practice of gender humanitarianism are studies of men and their interactions with humanitarian programming. Key examples of this form of work include Simon Turner's (1999) ethnographic fieldwork with young men in Lukole Refugee Camp in North Western Tanzania and James Schechter's (2004) ethnographic work with young unaccompanied Sudanese men in Kakuma refugee camp in northern Kenya. Simon Turner's research with young male Burundian Hutu refugees contains description of the continued domination of men in the decision-making structures of the refugee camp despite shifts in gender relations caused by displacement and humanitarian work to improve gender equality and provide opportunities for women and girls. In James Schechter's research he investigates the position of male youth in gender interventions, analysing young Sudanese men's participation in gender equality programming. Schechter describes the renegotiation of gender relations among young men, narrating their involvement in debates and community-theatre programs designed to encourage reflection on women's rights. In line with Lewis Turner's attention to the divide between transnational humanitarian frameworks and local understanding of gender relations, Schechter discusses these young Sudanese men's developing masculinities as "the product of a dialectic between institutional and "local" gender discourses" (Schechter 2004, p.249). However, the authors of both papers do not focus on the practices of gender humanitarianism and how its intervention frameworks may influence the inclusion/exclusion of certain subjects from humanitarian protection.

Across these diverse forms of critical engagement with gender humanitarianism there are common threads and patterns. Perhaps because critical theorists commonly use Foucault and Agamben to analyse contemporary humanitarianism, scholars that interrogate gender as a form of humanitarian conduct in the anthropology of humanitarianism (and related empirical studies) often depict gender humanitarianism as a governing and civilising process. In critically interrogating the practice of gender humanitarianism and its implications for crisis-affected populations, academics have demonstrated how

gender may act as a transnational/transcultural form of feminist knowledge applied at the population and individual level to people living in states of precarity and humanitarian administration. Critical theorists have also drawn attention to how gender as a form of applied transnational feminist knowledge may direct how humanitarian resources are allocated and prioritised, thus contributing to and reinforcing 'hierarchies of suffering' in humanitarian action. These scholars have also established that the conduct of humanitarian action is embedded in discourses that exhibit gender binaries and essentialisms. This builds on feminist criticism of the common discursive representation of refugee women as weak and helpless (Enloe 1990; Malkki 1996; Carpenter 2003; Baines 2004; Johnson 2011). Even though the academic literature on gender humanitarianism has engaged with forms of social location other than gender and how these factors may interact with gender in humanitarian action, there has been limited extension of intersectional theory into critical studies of gender humanitarianism. Intersectionality as a theory and methodology appears to have rarely been purposefully used to conceptualise the subjects of humanitarianism and their complex social locations.

Gender humanitarianism and intersectional theory

In spite of its prominence in contemporary feminist scholarship, intersectionality has seen limited usage in critical writing on humanitarian action. For the purpose of this thesis, I define intersectionality as "the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities" (Collins 2015, p.2). As a term, 'intersectionality' is widely attributed to African American legal scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw and her University of Chicago Legal Forum address of 1989. Crenshaw drew attention to how thinking about subordination and social difference along a single categorical axis (such as gender or race) distorts the multidimensionality of Black women's experiences of disadvantage and discrimination (Crenshaw 1989; Hancock 2016). This argument was based on a long history of Black feminist thought and political activism on race and gender justice (Brash & Phoenix 2004). Indeed, Crenshaw's address paralleled similar academic work on the multiple marginalisation experienced by Black women, including Barbara King's concept of 'multiple jeopardy' and Patricia Hill Collins concept of 'interlocking systems of oppression' (King 1988; Collins 2014). In the decades since Crenshaw's address, intersectionality has come to form a burgeoning field of interdisciplinary study and has facilitated analytical attention to gender, race, and other axes of power across political and academic domains (Cho, Crenshaw & Mccall 2013).

Intersectionality is a purposefully flexible concept with no dominant definition or rigid conceptual boundary (Cho, Crenshaw & Mccall 2013). However, as a concept, it tends to revolve around several common tenets (Hankivsky 2014). Intersectionality tends to advocate that employing single and discrete categories of difference (such as gender, race, or class) for analysing marginalisation is too limited and that social categories should be viewed as mutually constitutive, multidimensional, and

interdependent. This interdependence means that the primacy or salience of one category (such as gender or age) in the life of an individual cannot be predetermined, categories cannot be added together or ranked (by assuming, for example, that gender is more important than race or age), and the power of relationships between and across categories will change over time and place (Bilge 2009; Bowleg 2012; Hankivsky 2014). Intersectionality also deconstructs the idea that there are clear divisions between oppressors and the oppressed, as the multiplicity of social locations one occupies means oppression can be experienced or perpetrated simultaneously. Intersectional analysis scrutinises power within systems and structures, endeavours to build alliances between marginalised groups, and encourages reflexivity on one's own positionality and social location. Due to its origins in Black feminist activism, intersectionality is not just an analytical tool, but rather a "justice oriented approach to be taken up for social analysis and critique, for political strategizing and organizing, for generating new ideas, and for excavating suppressed ones, all with an eye toward disrupting dominance and challenging systematic inequality" (May 2015, p.228).

Intersectionality is a term that is starting to emerge in humanitarian reports, standards, and guidance. Often, this is with the aim of improving aid targeting and analysis of vulnerability in crisis-affected populations. In this respect, the humanitarian sector aligns with fields as diverse as public health and education (Bowleg 2021; Harris & Patton 2019), as practitioners grapple with translating intersectional theory into methodology and practice. In the current landscape of humanitarian reports, references to intersectionality are often introduced through the framework of 'humanitarian inclusion'. This refers to a human rights based approach that endeavours to ensure "all people who may be at risk of being excluded have equal access to basic services and a voice in the development and implementation of those services" (Sphere Association 2019, p.10). Humanitarian actors have tended to position intersectionality as an analytical lens within 'humanitarian inclusion', supporting efforts to reach those most affected by an emergency and ensure their participation in the planning and implementation of a humanitarian response (for example, Barbelet & Wake 2020; Bhardwaj 2018; Searle, Flint & Munyeki 2016). In this case, intersectionality is positioned as countering the tendency of humanitarian responses to rely on static categories of social difference that allocate vulnerability within a population (such as women, female headed household, or people with a disability). These categories determine humanitarian targeting based on preconstructed groupings rather than contextual variables in the humanitarian intervention environment (Barbelet & Wake 2020; Young & Maxwell 2009).

In humanitarian action on gender equality, there has been limited engagement with intersectionality as a theory or technical practice. Where intersectionality is mentioned in humanitarian policy or guidance it is commonly used as a synonym for diversity. This can be seen in the gender in humanitarian action handbook and its references to gender and 'intersecting factors' (IASC 2018a), UN Women's description of intersectionality with respect to women and girls (UN Women 2020), and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's reference to "gender (and other forms of intersectionality)" in their

gender accountability framework (UN Women 2019, p.14). Intersectional theory challenges the hierarchical ranking of social categories and forms of oppression. The way intersectionality has been applied in gender humanitarianism, however, appears to mobilise the term as a popular academic 'buzzword' (Davis 2008), as an umbrella term for describing forms of social location other than gender, and as an analytical approach that addresses how gender interacts with other forms of identity. In the latter case, intersectionality is then forced into functioning in a paradoxical role. Rather than starting from a standpoint of complex contextual analysis of social difference, gender is privileged as the primary form of social location that determines power, agency, and resourcing. It is against gender that other forms of identity are then benchmarked. This runs counter to the tenets of intersectionality and appears to simply continue existing humanitarian policy frameworks that integrate concern for age, gender, and 'diversity' (for example, Danish Refugee Council 2020; UNHCR 2020b; Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) 2020).

Empirical research on humanitarianism is increasingly employing intersectionality as an interpretive framework. Emerging over the past decade, intersectionality is mainly employed in this case to analyse the implications of crises for specific subgroups of women. For example, in their paper on Moro women in the Philippines, Sifris and Tanyag (2021) examine internally displaced Moro women's unique experiences of harm due to their gender, ethnicity, religion, and class. In their study of Syrian refugee women in Jordan, Almakhamreh, Asfour and Hutchinson (2020) apply intersectional theory to analyse how women's identities shape their experiences and vulnerabilities. In this instance, the authors use intersectionality to examine how gender interacts with other forms of social location. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Scolese and colleagues (2020) apply intersectionality to examine the impact of age and disability status on violence against women in the home. This paper is one of the few that analyses social structures, and in this instance, employs intersectionality to analyse the interaction between disability types and intimate partner violence outcomes. In each of these papers, intersectionality as a term is injected into conventional gender analysis to address diversity among displaced women and girls. This mirrors early intersectional scholarship that focused on particularly marginalised social groups (McCall 2005), and aligns with recent efforts to integrate intersectional theory into studies of gender and development (Cadesky, Baillie Smith & Thomas 2019; Houldey 2019; Lafrenière, Sweetman & Thylin 2019; Smith 2019; Thylin & Duarte 2019).

To my knowledge, an intersectional standpoint has not yet been applied to analysing adolescent boys in humanitarian emergencies. Critical social scholarship from non-emergency settings has only recently begun to engage with the perspectives of adolescent boys and their lived experience of multiple forms of overlapping and compounding marginalisation. Notable examples include writing on the perspectives of Black boys in the African diaspora in Bermuda (Jethwani 2015), immigrant adolescent boys' negotiated masculine identities in American high schools (Qin & Li 2020), the transition into adulthood for young men with Duchenne muscular dystrophy (Gibson et al. 2014), and adolescent

incarcerated males and their relationship to fatherhood (Shade et al. 2011). In this study, I employ intersectionality as an analytical framework within the anthropology of humanitarianism to conceptualise adolescent boys and their interlocking forms of marginalisation and privilege in a humanitarian crisis. This approach applies critical theory to surface these diverse and shifting experiences, and to understand how the frameworks humanitarian actors apply to conceptualise subgroups of crisis-affected populations may have implications for humanitarian action (May 2015).

The inherent complexity of the concept of intersectionality and the proliferation of its use across disciplines meant that I carefully considered whether using an alternative theoretical framework may be more appropriate. I did not want to contribute to the dilution of intersectionality as a powerful analytical concept and tool for social justice. Recent scholarship has expressed concern around intersectionality becoming depoliticised, its genealogy being distorted and reframed, and race and women of colour being slowly decentred from intersectional analyses (Bilge 2013). Given the dominance of feminist standpoints in critical theorising on gender in emergencies, I considered this as the main alternative. A feminist theoretical approach would align my thesis with the feminist epistemology of gender in humanitarian action, my personal affinity for viewing gender as a dominant organising principle of social life, and the common framing of conflict-related sexual violence against men as an extension of men's violence over women (Baaz 2018). However, this would entail analytically moulding the complex lived experience of an adolescent boy to the bounds of hegemonic feminist knowledge on gendered harm. In the case of sexual abuse, this would mean framing male subjects of sexual harm through a lens that can be uncomfortable with them as subjects (Baaz & Stern 2013; Baaz 2018). While my thesis is informed by feminist practice (as is intersectional scholarship), a singular feminist interpretive position may risk foregrounding gender and hierarchising social difference. This could inadvertently erase the politics of age, race, refugee status, ability and other forms of inequality in my analytical attention to adolescent boys' experiences of harm (May 2015).

This same logic extends to other critical theories if I were to use them unilaterally to understand adolescent boys and gender humanitarianism (for example, 'postcolonial masculinities'[22]). Employing any single interpretive position (such as one focused on gender, age, class, displacement, or dis/ability) would impede understanding of how social location patterns in the lives of adolescent boys, how it interacts with their social ecology, and how it may influence a humanitarian response. Intersectionality provides space for understanding that adolescent boys may be privileged on account of their gender within certain social or material spaces but also that they may be marginalised due to the interaction of age, disability, class, ethnolinguistic group, and other axes of power. This thesis attempts to maintain a clear tether to the social politics of Black feminists through purposefully employing intersectionality as

[22] Postcolonial theory refers to a set of theories that address "the texts, cultures, and politics arising out of Third World contexts after their hard won independence from colonial rule" (Stankovsky 2007, p.493). Scholarly texts that address postcolonial masculinities attend to understanding and theorising the vast landscape of masculinities produced, experienced, and represented in relationship to colonisation (Stankovsky 2007).

a tool for critique and disruption, rather than as an approach to mapping diversity. In doing so, I position my thesis as a form of what May (2015) calls "resistance knowledge": knowledge that challenges conventional logics and modes of knowing with the intent to further social justice.

Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to describe and critique the current state of gender integration into humanitarian responses to emergencies. Through narrating a concise history of gender in humanitarian action I noted the emergence of concern for the marginalisation of women and girls in humanitarian aid, and the iterative development of guidance, tools, and structures for integrating gender into the humanitarian system. However, through analysis of humanitarian evaluations, I also drew attention to how gender mainstreaming and targeted action initiatives have faced difficulties in implementation. Gender in humanitarian action is fundamentally a loose collection of practices implemented to address gender inequalities in crisis-affected populations. To date, there has been limited critical analysis by academics or practitioners with its application by gender workers or its function within the broader humanitarian system. To support my critique of this body of practices and knowledge, I depicted a provisional field of scholarship I have called 'gender humanitarianism'. Throughout this chapter I have described how the academic literature on gender humanitarianism and the operationalisation of gender in emergencies tends to centre on adult women in humanitarian action and the development of new gender mainstreaming tools and structures to improve humanitarian inclusion.

Critical academic work on gender humanitarianism conducted over the past two decades has focused on how gender may act as a transcultural feminist mode of governance but has not critiqued the knowledge frameworks that underpin gender humanitarianism, the implementation of these frameworks by gender workers, and how gender humanitarianism influences and affects humanitarian protection and assistance. Importantly, academic criticism of gender humanitarianism has not applied intersectional theory to understand the marginalisation of subgroups of crisis-affected populations or substantively addressed how forms of social difference other than gender may affect humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, there has been little application of intersectional thought to understand how gender as conceptual framework for theorising crises may unintentionally cause certain gaps and omissions as a by-product of its assumptions. In response, in this thesis I apply an intersectional interpretive position to understand the location of adolescent boys in gender humanitarianism. I ask what the consequences may be when the frameworks humanitarians use to interpret a group of persons do not account for heterogeneity and complexity in the lived experience of the people they serve.

Chapter 3.

Adolescent boys and humanitarian emergencies

Four curious eyes peered out from the back of the tin shelter as the Terre des hommes child protection caseworkers and I entered from the street. It was the end of the working day and we sought rest away from the strength of the Bangladeshi sun. Two adolescent boys aged 10 and 12 gazed on inquisitively as we collapsed into the plastic chairs scattered around their small teashop: our exhaustion clearly visible after a day of home visits in the dusty terrain of the Kutupalong-Balukhali Extension Site refugee camp. Hustling past the empty plastic chairs and other patrons the boys came to our table with tea, cautiously passing the hot beverage over our shoulders to the centre of the table. As they served, I glanced around the shelter and down the street, noticing the number of adolescent boys scattered along the street's perimeter. Adolescent boys were sitting and talking with older youth by the side of the road, selling goods behind market stalls, clustering around a mobile ice-cream vendor, and bringing tea to older men in similar teashops. Indeed, these two boys were just a few of the 63,000 adolescent boys working and moving about the refugee camps, carrying gas canisters and aid distributions, selling items along roads and alleys, and playing football in the dusty fields.

Bringing my gaze back to my immediate surroundings, I watched as the boys shrank back into the darkness at the rear of the shelter, their actions watched continuously by the adult male storekeepers. Thinking back to the adolescent boys and girls we had visited that day as clients of our casework services, I wondered how these two adolescent boys were being treated, what risks they were exposed to in the teashop, and about the safety of their home environment. In the coordination forums for humanitarian organisations working on gender and child protection we had discussed adolescent girls and the barriers they faced to accessing humanitarian services due to gender norms, but it had come to my attention that we had not discussed or comprehensively addressed the risks that may be prevalent in the social environments of adolescent boys. Sitting there and sipping my tea, my eyes rose to inspect the walls of the shelter having noticed a small white sticker plastered in the middle. Emblazoned with the logo of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees it advertised the number for a phone hotline in English should the potential caller have a protection concern. I silently wondered to myself how an adolescent boy would be able to read this sticker or access a phone to place such a call.

At the commencement of my doctoral studies, my concern for the violence experienced by adolescent boys in emergencies emerged from accounts of their abuse contained in humanitarian reports, as well as the apparent gap in academic research on these issues. During my fieldwork, it was moments such as the one recounted in this vignette that brought this concern into the material world. These instances of interaction and observation prompted reflection on my positionality within the humanitarian response,

on my exchanges with adolescent boys, on the history of violence and rights violations these boys had endured, and the likely consequences for their life opportunities were the crisis to continue. In this chapter, I describe the literature that led me to the subject of this thesis and place this study in conversation with growing academic concern for the vulnerability of adolescents in emergencies. Through a narrative overview of the literature on child protection in emergencies, I outline current knowledge on child protection concerns affecting adolescent boys in emergencies, and child sexual abuse as a particular form of harm that boys are at risk of experiencing in a crisis that has historically been paid less attention. I also review the academic literature on child protection interventions in humanitarian settings and describe how the academy has critically engaged with these practices.

Structurally, this chapter is divided into three main sections that address each of these different facets. In the first section, I outline empirical research on adolescents in emergency settings. For adolescent boys, I raise how child protection concerns - such as child labour and physical violence - may be perpetrated against them in these contexts and how there is limited recognition within the literature of how an adolescent boy's social location may affect their exposure to risk and harm. This section argues that when the literature on child protection in emergencies does engage with social location, it primarily occurs through analytical frameworks that reduce their experiences into simplified and neat categories that omit complexity. In the second section I then address child sexual abuse against adolescent boys in emergencies. In this section, I describe the perpetration of sexual abuse against boys, empirical evidence of the prevalence of sexual abuse of boys in emergency settings, and how this form of violence is affected by an adolescent's social location. Lastly, in section three, I provide an overview of current evidence on how humanitarian actors attempt to protect adolescent boys in emergencies. Throughout this chapter, I establish that adolescent boys should be recognised for their complex social position, weakened protection environment[23], and shifting social ecology in displacement. I also argue that there is an absence of knowledge on adolescent boys in emergencies and that this lacuna results in limited attention to adolescent boys as survivors of child sexual abuse in humanitarian contexts.

Child protection and adolescent boys in emergencies

Armed conflict, political violence, and other such disasters, are presumed to increase children's exposure to violence (Stark & Landis 2016). In these circumstances, children face both the direct effects of an emergency and the indirect effects that arise from declining social and material conditions (Miller & Jordans 2016). The direct impact of an emergency on children may include physical and psychological harm from conflict, earthquakes, or flooding, to name just a few examples. The indirect

[23] I conceptualise a child's 'protection environment' as the constellation of factors across the levels of a child's social ecology that protect them from risk and harm. This may include their caregivers, family network, religious and community leaders, civil society organisations and other institutions. It is important to recognise that these same individuals can perpetrate harm against children and that their ability to protect a child is dependent on context and shifts over time and place.

impacts may include malnutrition, neglect, exposure to infectious diseases, poor sanitation and hygiene, abduction, trafficking and exploitation, and disruption of education. Humanitarian emergencies not only cause and exacerbate these harmful conditions at the population level, but they also frequently cause increased violence within a child's household (Catani 2010). Faced with this, children in humanitarian settings are often forced to cope without their normal protective factors, as their parents may have been killed or maimed, they may have become separated from other caregivers, their schools may have been occupied by armed groups, and their opportunities for play may be diminished (Miller & Jordans 2016). Humanitarian emergencies thus negatively affect children across multiple levels of their social ecology, causing broad-based impacts on their physical and psychological wellbeing.

Confirming the assertions contained in the academic literature and humanitarian reports on child protection in emergencies is difficult. A lack of standardised tools for measuring violence against children, limitations to local capacity to undertake population-based surveys, and low reporting rates by research participants, means that robust data is difficult to come by (Rubenstein & Stark 2017). The evidence that does exist indicates that in crisis settings children are exposed to numerous forms of violence. In qualitative interviews conducted with 68 war-affected Rwandan orphans aged 13-23 years, for example, 88.2% had been a victim of an attack or looting, 17.6% had been injured with a weapon, 73.5% had witnessed a person being beaten or tortured, and 57.4% reported having witnessed a massacre (Schaal & Elbert 2006). For children living in southern Darfur, qualitative interviews with 331 children aged 6-17 living in camps for internally displaced persons revealed that 94.6% of participants had experienced home invasion, 90.9% had witnessed shootings, 75.6% had witnessed torture, 23.9% had lost one or both parents, and 21.5% had been forced to kill or hurt their family (Morgos, Worden & Gupta 2007). Often lost in discussions of violence against children is the cumulative nature of these experiences, with children exposed to multiple and overlapping forms of violence within a crisis, during migration, and then in displacement.

In general, the academic literature on child protection in emergencies has tended to foreground the direct impacts of a crisis rather than the indirect, secondary effects. In recent years this has started to shift, with increased scholarship on family violence (Catani et al. 2008) and sexual violence (Stark et al. 2017a) after conflict and in displacement. Researchers have also turned their attention to the impact of children being forced to live in overcrowded conditions and venture into unsafe locations to acquire resources (Ortiz-Echevarria et al. 2017), engaging in transactional sex (Freccero et al. 2017), having their primary and secondary education disrupted (Burde et al. 2017), and entering into the workforce, including in some of the worst forms of child labour (O'Leary et al. 2018). These overlapping concerns have been shown to have measurable impacts on a child's psychological wellbeing. The prevalence and severity of psychological symptoms depends on the child and their context, however common symptoms displayed by children in crisis include anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicidality, and somatic problems (Miller & Jordans 2016). There is evidence to suggest these psychological impacts

may abate over time, but the recovery path for each child is highly individual (Karam et al. 2014; Rugema et al. 2013; Schaal & Elbert 2006). Indeed, a child's family environment, as well as material deprivation and other daily stressors, are powerful mediators of a child's psychosocial recovery and the likelihood that trauma may translate into enduring symptoms (Miller & Jordans 2016).

Even though all children are assumed to be vulnerable in an emergency, they are not a homogenous group. For example, children with disabilities are often more at risk of experiencing violence, as well as being more socially isolated and facing greater levels of institutionalisation compared to children without disabilities (WRC 2008; UNICEF 2017c). It is also important to note that not all disabilities have the same experiences. A meta-analysis of research on violence against children with disabilities indicated that children with psychosocial and intellectual disabilities may be at greater risk (Jones et al. 2012). In humanitarian emergencies, children may also become separated from their caregivers. These children have been found to experience higher levels of food insecurity, greater exposure to forced labour and forced sex, and higher rates of sexual and reproductive health problems (Stark et al. 2016). Other groups who may be more vulnerable include former child soldiers (Betancourt et al. 2008; Brownell & Praetorius 2017; Ertl et al. 2014), children who live and work on the street (Sweis 2017), children who are human immunodeficiency virus positive (Machel 2001; Sam-Agudu, Folayan & Haire 2020; Spiegel 2004), and children living in child headed households (Hepburn, Williamson & Wolfram 2004). These are not siloed experiences. Multiple social and material factors compound and interact to affect a child's exposure to violence, their level of material deprivation, and their individual psychological resilience and recovery. This reinforces the importance of recognising how these factors intersect to shape the lives of children and adolescents in crisis settings.

Adolescents in emergencies

Adolescence is a critical period of rapid physical and psychological change. During this time, boys and girls alike may leave school, become sexually active, marry, begin work, experience physical and sexual harm, as well as start to form attitudes and behaviours around gender and sexuality (Kågesten et al. 2016; Kato-Wallace et al. 2016; Schlecht et al. 2017). For this thesis, I define adolescence as a time period that includes children aged 9-19 years, with this broad category further divided into pre-adolescence (9-10 years), early adolescence (10-14 years), middle adolescence (15-17 years) and older adolescence (17-19 years), based on physical and cognitive developmental differences across these stages (ACPHA 2019).[24] The literature on child protection in emergencies indicates that adolescents are differently impacted by crises compared to younger children. Indeed, recent empirical research indicates that they may be more likely to be killed or wounded (including by explosive remnants of war) (Dimitry 2012; Rieder & Choonara 2012; UNICEF 2013), be forcibly recruited into armed

[24] As stated in the first chapter, for this thesis I conceptualise adolescence as a transitional phase between childhood and adulthood. However, in alignment with the practice of child protection in humanitarian action and national child protection legislation, I also frequently refer to them according to their legal status as children (with the exception of persons aged 18 and 19 years old).

groups or abducted (Brownell & Praetorius 2017; UNICEF 2013), and become unaccompanied or separated (Stark et al. 2016). In the academic literature on war-trauma, adolescents have been found to demonstrate greater levels of trauma, exposure to multiple traumatic events, and difficulty psychologically recovering, when compared to younger children (Murthy 2007; UNICEF 2011).

In humanitarian reports and humanitarian assessments on child protection in emergencies, adolescent girls are increasingly recognised by humanitarian organisations as a particularly vulnerable group (for example, CARE USA 2020; Goulds 2020; Plan International 2013; Robles, Katz & Rastogi 2014; UNFPA 2016). Similarly, a number of recent academic publications have started to surface the particular risks and vulnerabilities adolescent girls are exposed to in emergency settings, predominantly due to the interaction of their gender and age with circumstances of conflict and displacement (for example, Falb et al. 2016; Noble et al. 2017; Sommer, Muñoz-Laboy, et al. 2018; Stark, Seff & Reis 2020). This increased analytical attention is for good reason. Empirical research on child protection in emergencies suggests that gender-based violence against adolescent girls increases in crisis settings, with adolescent girls facing heightened exposure to physical and sexual violence, early and forced marriage, intimate partner violence, and unsafe abortion (Noble et al. 2017; Stark, Seff & Reis 2020). Faced with these risks an adolescent girl's caregivers may restrict her mobility and independence, and in the process, hinder her access to her peers, extended family members, schooling, and humanitarian support services (El-Masri, Harvey & Garwood 2013; Mourtada, Schlecht & Dejong 2017).

These issues affecting adolescent girls are of even greater concern when one considers how other forms of social location interact with gender and age to produce adverse outcomes. Although still small in volume, the academic literature on child protection in emergencies has recognised how risk profiles may shift for adolescent girls with disabilities, girls that are separated and unaccompanied, those who are married or widowed, girls who come from ethnic or religious minorities, girls associated with armed groups, girls who have experienced sexual violence or trafficking, or for girls living in areas not controlled by governments, among numerous possible variables (Global Programme to End Child Marriage 2021; Pearce, Paik & Robles 2016; Presler-Marshall, Jones & Odeh 2020). However, in both the academic literature and in humanitarian reports, there has not been equivalent attention given to protection concerns affecting adolescent boys. Empirical research on adolescent boys in humanitarian settings has primarily charted the gender-differentiated impact of conflict, as well as their demonstrated levels of psychological harm and other mental health impacts (Chávez et al. 2018; McMullen et al. 2012; Mels et al. 2009, 2010). As a consequence, there appears to have been a relative neglect in analytical attention to adolescent boys and their unique lived experience of harm in emergencies.

Adolescent boys in humanitarian settings

Even though boys and girls have been found to be exposed to similar levels of conflict-related events (Brajša-Žganec 2005; Mollica et al. 1997; Neugebauer et al. 2009; Panter-Brick et al. 2009), there is emerging evidence that shows adolescent boys may be more exposed to certain specific effects

compared to girls and younger children. For example, the greater freedoms that are often afforded to boys means that they are at greater risk of death and disability from explosive remnants of war, shelling, and selective arms fire (Dardagan & Salama 2013; UNICEF 2013). This same freedom also means that in some contexts adolescent boys are more likely to become unaccompanied in their flight from a crisis or become separated from their caregivers (Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Working Group Jordan 2013). In reports from recent conflicts, adolescent boys have also been documented to be highly vulnerable to abduction by armed groups, forced recruitment, and detention by authorities and security forces (UNSC 2018; United Nations General Assembly Security Council (UNGASC) 2017). There are also accounts of adolescent boys being trafficked across countries for use as combatants in armed conflict, being forcibly recruited for use as suicide bombers, and being detained and subject to torture (UNGASC 2017). Despite this, adolescent boys are often not assumed to be a group commonly vulnerable to harm in humanitarian policy, assessments, or reports (Brun 2017).

It is important to recognise these direct impacts of humanitarian emergencies on adolescent boys. However, in this thesis, I focus on the indirect and secondary impacts that transpire after a crisis. In this respect, the occurrence of material deprivation in displacement means that adolescent boys may be forced to work to contribute to household income (Catani et al. 2009; Küppers & Ruhmann 2016; ILO 2016; O'Leary et al. 2018). The types of work adolescent boys are involved in are frequently physically demanding or hazardous. Humanitarian assessments and academic research indicates that this may include, for example, street and shop vending, work in restaurants and workshops, as well as in carpentry, baking, construction, food processing, manufacturing, mining, and industrial cleaning (Brun 2017; ILO 2016; Küppers & Ruhmann 2016; O'Leary et al. 2018; UNICEF 2013). These forms of labour may also have detrimental impacts on an adolescent's long term development, with physical strain, repetitive movement, and workplace injuries potentially causing stunting, deformities, and disabilities (ACPHA 2017). The pressure adolescent boys face to contribute to the household economy may be even more acute for boys living in more vulnerable households, such as when the caregiver has a disability or the household head is a woman or child (for example, CARE Jordan 2013). Contrary to any assumption that work may be unequivocally positive for adolescent boys, qualitative research indicates they often encounter physical and verbal abuse on their way to work, endure poor working conditions and low pay in their workplaces, and experience feelings of shame, humiliation, and low self-worth (Brun 2017; Evans, Forte & Fraser 2013; Mercy Corps 2014; Youssef 2020). Labour participation also lowers school enrolment rates and educational outcomes as boys fail to enrol, dropout of school, or their absence accumulates and overall performance declines (Presler-Marshall 2018).

Humanitarian reports indicate physical violence may also be a common experience for adolescent boys in emergencies. Although schooling may be sought out by adolescent boys and is often cast as a protective factor by humanitarian organisations (Ahmad, Hussain & Shaheen 2020; ACPHA 2020; Evans, Forte & Fraser 2013), there is evidence that adolescent boys may be subject to high levels of

bullying by their host community peers when going to school (Janowski et al. 2020). As previously discussed, increased levels of family violence and intimate partner violence in humanitarian settings mean that an adolescent boy's household may also be a site of violence. There is even some evidence to suggest that adolescent boys may experience slightly more childhood physical abuse compared to adolescent girls and younger children (Catani et al. 2009; WHO 2014). In an epidemiological survey of violence against children conducted with 287 school-attending children aged 7-15 in Afghanistan, boys reported experiencing significantly more family violence events and suffering more injuries that required medical attention (Catani et al. 2009). For adolescent boys, these risks to bodily integrity compound with the security threats that are common to humanitarian environments, including risk of abduction and kidnapping, arbitrary arrest and detention, and forced recruitment into armed groups (Evans, Forte & Fraser 2013; Plan International 2018; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (WCRWC) 2000, 2005).[25]

Empirical research is continuing to illuminate the forms of risk and harm that affect adolescent boys in emergencies, but knowledge gaps still remain. For a start, there is limited measurement of child neglect in humanitarian settings for both adolescents and younger children (Seddighi et al. 2019; Stark & Landis 2016). Threats to adolescent boys outside of violence are also poorly understood in academic research, including their experiences of child marriage, sexual and reproductive health concerns, and other health-related behaviours, such as substance abuse and smoking (Gastón, Misunas & Cappa 2019; Misunas, Gastón & Cappa 2019; Presler-Marshall 2018). Furthermore, there is limited use of critical theory in analysing child protection in emergencies and application of intersectional theory is rare. The use of critical theory with respect to adolescent boys is more seen in empirical work on young men and masculinities in displacement settings. Notable papers that take this approach have addressed: the impact of internal displacement on young Muslim men expelled by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka in the early 1990s (Brun 2000); the changing gender roles for Chechen men living in a refugee camp in the Czech republic in 2004 (Szczepanikova 2005); the impact on masculine identity of flight and refugeehood for young refugee men living in urban areas in Nairobi in 2006 and 2007 (Jaji 2009); and, the impact of war and displacement on Somali men living in Kenya in 2014 (El-Bushra & Gardner 2016). However, papers in this field tend not to attend to adolescents and instead focus on gender and masculinities in men's experiences of conflict, displacement, and encampment.

Humanitarian reports produced over the last five years have started to recognise the importance of analysing social location when they include adolescent boys in their data collection and analysis. Examples include Khattab and Myrttinen's (2017) report for International Alert on Syrian men and boys living in Lebanon and Jordan, CARE International's paper on refugee men and boys in Greece (Brun 2017), and Chynoweth's papers for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and

[25] It is also important to recognise that although adolescent boys may be vulnerable to these different forms of physical and psychological harm, boys may also act as perpetrators against their male and female peers as bullies, siblings, gang members, or intimate partners.

Women's Refugee Commission on sexual abuse of men and boys in Lebanon, Jordan, Italy, the Mediterranean migration route, Bangladesh, and Kenya (Chynoweth 2018, 2019a, 2019b; UNHCR 2017). In Myrttinen and Khatab's paper, *Most of the men want to leave* (2017), they apply gender as a theoretical framework to analyse qualitative data on what drives young Syrians to join armed groups in Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon. They report that adolescent boys are experiencing economic pressures, with adult responsibilities being forced onto them under the expectation they will provide for their family. Aligning with the academic literature on child protection, adolescent boys reported violence and discrimination as a pervasive experience of displacement, that this is highly traumatising, and that they feel rejected and marginalised by local communities. Myrttinen and Khattab (2017) note that gender assumptions and essentialisms mean that young men are seen by governments and humanitarian service providers as being low priority and potentially dangerous. They argue that this is obfuscating the vulnerabilities of adolescent boys and that this has harmful implications for boys and their families.

In similar work conducted by Delphine Brun for CARE International (2017), she reports on qualitative research she conducted with unaccompanied refugee adolescent boys aged 13-17 and young men in Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, and Greece. Brun found that unaccompanied adolescent boys face restrictions on their mobility in displacement due to military checkpoints, harassment by security forces, and detention by government authorities. She notes that adolescent boys face significant economic pressure to find employment and send remittances to their family, but that the separation and multiple stressful events they experience at this crucial developmental stage translate into post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, loss of self-esteem, and other negative impacts on their wellbeing. Importantly, Brun draws attention to the way gender and age interact with humanitarian services to affect an unaccompanied adolescent boy's protection environment over time. At the age of 18, adolescent boys become particularly vulnerable as they are no longer able to access the housing provided for unaccompanied minors by Greek civil society organisations. With limited shelter available for adult males, they are then forced into sleeping on the street and can become subject to forced sex work, drug and substance abuse, and engagement in criminal activities. Brun also raises an important point that is more adequately addressed in the literature on masculinities rather than child protection: for unaccompanied adolescent boys their displacement may cause a sense of loss of gender identity and self-esteem as they may perceive that they have failed to provide for or protect their family.

These recent humanitarian reports have identified critical areas for the protection of adolescent boys, ranging from the impact of child labour through to potential deterioration in access to humanitarian services as boys move through adolescence to early adulthood. They have also started to surface the role of gender, age, refugee status, ethnicity, and other forms of social location in an adolescent boy's exposure to risk or his protection from harm. Although these reports do not connect their assessments to critical academic readings of transnational humanitarianism, their empirical data reinforces critical theorisation of humanitarianism as a form of politics that determines who is worthy of being saved and

how vulnerability is constructed and attached to certain categories of persons in humanitarian action (Brun 2017; Krystalli, Hawkins & Wilson 2018; Sözer 2019; Turner 2019a). From a critical theory standpoint, adolescent boys become representative subjects for the unintended consequences of a moral politics of humanitarianism entrenched in defined narratives about gender, age, race, and other forms of social location that then affects humanitarian relief (Fassin 2011; Ticktin 2011a, 2011b). In the next section I turn to the case of sexual abuse of adolescent boys in emergencies, discussing it as an egregious protection concern inextricable from dominant humanitarian narratives of sexual harm.

Adolescent boys and child sexual abuse

Sexual abuse of boys is neither rare nor an anomaly. Meta-analysis of empirical studies on the global prevalence of child sexual abuse suggest that 3-17% of boys are sexually abused before the age of 18 (Barth et al. 2013; Stoltenborgh et al. 2011). Figures differ significantly, however, depending on the context and methodology of each study. In recently conducted nationally representative multistage cluster surveys of violence against children, 23.1% of boys in Haiti, 14.8% of boys in Kenya, and 5.6% of boys in Cambodia, reported experiencing any form of sexual violence (Sumner et al. 2016). In the Philippines, their national epidemiological baseline study on violence against children reported that of its 1979 male participants, 24.7% of boys had experienced sexual violence (CWC 2016). Distinct from prevalence data, most data on patterns of sexual abuse perpetrated against adolescent boys is derived from studies in 'western' contexts, rather than low and middle-income countries. However, this evidence suggests that most abuse perpetrated against boys takes place against pre-pubescent and adolescent males, that perpetrators are often male non-family members known to the survivor, and that perpetrators often self-identify as heterosexual (Dube et al. 2005; Finkelhor 1994; Ogloff et al. 2012; Peck 2015; Valente 2005).

Less recognised in the academic literature is the central role of gender in a boy's risk of experiencing sexual abuse. Gender norms and constructions of masculinity, for example, typically afford boys greater autonomy and less oversight than girls and younger children. Evidence suggests that boys are therefore more likely to be abused when they are out of their own homes, such as in an offender's home, in schools or institutional settings, or in a public place (Cashmore & Shackel 2014; De Sas Kropiwnicki Gruber, Tuggey & Jones 2018; Frederick 2010). Adolescent boys may also be more likely to be abused by their peers, experience violence during the abuse, or be abused by more than one perpetrator. For survivors abused by a male perpetrator, boys may experience feelings of guilt, shame, and confusion around their sexual orientation. This may also inhibit the survivor seeking help due to a fear of being labelled gay (Cashmore & Shackel 2014; Foster, Boyd & O'Leary 2012). Hegemonic norms of masculinity that promote stoicism, resilience, virility, and heterosexuality, may also translate into boys being less likely to recognise violence perpetrated by females as abusive. When abuse does occur, boys may be more reticent to disclose the abuse and take longer to do so (Cashmore & Shackel 2014; Miller

et al. 2018). There is evidence to suggest that boys may also have less supportive family structures, that their stories of abuse may not be believed, and that they may not be able to access professional support that is sensitive to the needs of male survivors (Cashmore & Shackel 2014; De Sas Kropiwnicki Gruber, Tuggey & Jones 2018).

It is important to recognise that the vulnerability of adolescent boys to sexual abuse (as with women and girls) is highly situational and contextual. Risk of experiencing sexual abuse escalates for boys who are maltreated or run away from home, live and work on the streets, are living in poverty, are in conflict with the law, have spent time in a hospital or institutional setting, are indigenous, are same-sex attracted or identify as transgender (Crome 2006; Friedman et al. 2011; Garofalo et al. 2006; Mitra, Mouradian & Diamond 2011; Raffaelli et al. 1993). In a meta-analysis of school-based studies comparing the likelihood of childhood abuse among sexual minorities as compared to non-sexual minorities, adolescent boys identifying as gay or bisexual were estimated to be 4.5-5.2 times more likely to experience sexual abuse than heterosexual boys (Friedman et al. 2011). There is also evidence suggesting that street-involved boys may be particularly at risk. In a survey conducted with 193 street-boys in Brazil, 16.1% of the sample had exchanged sex for money (Raffaelli et al. 1993). And in interviews with street-involved boys in the Philippines, 33 out of the 51 boys (65%) disclosed experiencing some form of sexual abuse on the streets or in their communities (Davis & Miles 2015).

This suggests that when analysing occurrence of child sexual abuse against adolescent boys it is important to foreground the social ecological context of the abuse and its interplay with an adolescent boy's social location. Applying an intersectional theoretical framework allows one to understand how an adolescent boy's vulnerability to harm is not necessarily based on bodily-sex alone, and that sexual orientation, gender identity, street-involvement, social class, education, legal status, refugee status, and other forms of social location should be accounted for in analytical attention to these forms of violence. Analytical frameworks that hinge solely on gender analysis and its epistemology of male-female subordination risk treating boy's bodies as continuous sites of power and privilege, or in the case of sexual abuse, theorising these violent transgressions of their bodily integrity as feminised and homosexualised extensions of female subjugation.[26] An intersectional approach recognises the immense heterogeneity present in adolescent boys as a subgroup of crisis-affected populations. It allows humanitarian actors to account for boys' experiences of discrimination in humanitarian crises and

[26] Feminist scholars have for a long time conceptualised sexual violence in conflict as a form of patriarchal dominance and control that serves to maintain women's subordination in the social order (Skjelsbaek 2001). In Inger Skjelsbaek's (2001) paper on sexual violence in conflict, she describes how male-male sexual violence can be similarly theorised as a process where the sex and identity of the male victim is feminised. This theoretical understanding of sexual violence against men as a gendering process and strategic form of feminisation - and by extension 'homosexualisation' (Sivakumaran 2007) – is now common to academic writing on male-male sexual violence in conflict settings (Schulz 2018; Solangon & Patel 2012; Zalewski et al. 2018). Philip Schulz (2018) criticises this approach for its basis in a static understanding of violence. He emphasises how gendered processes compound over time through the many forms of gendered and sexualised harm that survivors experience.

recognise their vulnerability to child sexual abuse through the complex interplay between their social location and material environment.

Sexual abuse of adolescent boys in humanitarian settings

There is limited quantitative data on the sexual abuse of adolescent boys in the academic literature on child protection in emergencies. While there has been some quantitative work on sexual abuse of adolescent girls (Stark et al. 2017b; Stark, Seff & Reis 2020), quantitative data on adolescent boys is mainly found in the literature on child psychology and children's experiences of war-trauma. In these cases, measurement of child sexual abuse of boys shows significant rates of victimisation. In a quantitative survey of 1051 adolescent secondary-school students from 13 different schools in the conflict-affected Democratic Republic of the Congo, 10.5% of girls and 9% of boys reported having been sexually abused in their lifetime (Mels et al. 2009). Similarly, in a survey of 149 adolescents aged 12-18 years old in three locations in Afghanistan, boys and girls reported similar levels of sexual abuse at 14.1% of all respondents (O'Leary et al. 2018). These studies, as well as further quantitative work in Afghanistan (Catani et al. 2009), Darfur (Morgos, Worden & Gupta 2007), and Lebanon (Usta & Farver 2010), indicate that sexual abuse of boys is a form of violence that is present in conflict and crisis-affected settings.[27] Indeed, these figures alone would suggest that sexual abuse against adolescent boys is a risk that humanitarian actors should recognise and address in humanitarian action.

As described in the previous section, an adolescent boy's social location and social ecology may affect his risk of experiencing sexual abuse. The extent to which this applies to crisis-affected populations, however, has not been substantively explored in the academic literature or in humanitarian reports. The greater levels of direct conflict exposure that adolescent boys experience, for example, may mean they are more likely to acquire a disability or functional impairment (Humanitarian Needs Assessment Programme for Syria 2019). Evidence from non-conflict areas indicates that boys with disabilities may be at risk of experiencing sexual abuse (The African Child Policy Forum 2010), but there has been relatively little attention in academic and humanitarian publications on the intersection of conflict, disability, gender, and sexual harm against adolescent boys. Similarly, although recent empirical work has derived qualitative accounts of displaced adolescent boys being forced to engage in child labour and then being sexually exploited in workplaces (UNHCR 2017), there has been limited analytical attention paid to the nexus of adolescence, child labour, and sexual exploitation. Furthermore, boys' traversal through public spaces to look for work, commute to work, or as a component of their work (for example, street vending or transactional sex) may also place them at risk of sexual abuse. This is due to their increased contact with adult men in public spaces, as well as their frequent detention and

[27] There is even less research on sexual abuse of boys in disasters (as with girls). However, a recent population-based survey conducted in the wake of an earthquake in Haiti suggested that the quake may have contributed to the high levels of sexual abuse of boys that the researchers recorded (Sumner et al. 2016).

interaction with security forces and armed groups. However, there has been little research conducted to date that has examined this situation.

Another factor that is little discussed in the academic literature on child protection in emergencies is the relationship between mobility and risk of exposure to sexual abuse. In humanitarian emergencies, adolescent boys may be prompted to enter into labour markets and emigrate in search of employment due to livelihood pressures, in particular, if they are members of vulnerable households (Ridsdel 2014). In addition, adolescent boys may deliberately separate themselves from their families or emigrate due to the presence of family violence within their homes (among other factors) (Catani et al. 2009; Saile et al. 2014). When adolescent boys emigrate, this may hinder their access to protection and support while exposing them to a new environment and the risk this entails. Recent academic work on children's psychosocial resilience in humanitarian settings has applied the conceptual framework of 'ecological resilience' for understanding the "assets and processes at all social ecological levels associated with good developmental outcomes after exposure to situations of armed conflict" (Tol et al. 2013, p.293). In this thesis, I apply this framework together with social ecological models of violence against children (see Chapter 1) to understand an adolescent's social environment as a dynamic process of risk, protection, and resilience promoting factors (Purgato et al. 2020; Tol et al. 2013). Through this framework one can understand how an adolescent boy's risk environment may continuously change as he moves through public space or even within a private household. In the case of emigration or flight from a crisis, this framework allows us to understand how an adolescent boy's social location and risk factors for sexual abuse constantly shift during transit, detention, and encampment (Chynoweth 2019a).

It is important to recognise the variability in an adolescent boy's vulnerability to sexual abuse. The salience of each aspect of an adolescent boy's social location and its influence on risk exposure is contextually dependent, changing over time and location. Adolescent boys are inevitably located in a shifting risk environment, one that moves dynamically due to external factors outside of their control, their interaction with and affect on social and material environment, or even their emigration to a different physical location. An empirical example of this dialectic is found in recent academic work on the sexual exploitation of unaccompanied refugee adolescent boys in Greece (Chynoweth, Freccero & Touquet 2017; Freccero et al. 2017; Krystalli, Hawkins & Wilson 2018). In these papers, the authors found that unaccompanied and separated boys may be forced to engage in transactional sex to survive due to the confluence of poverty, gender identity, and other forms of social location. While these papers apply a multifaceted form of analysis and recognise the importance of social location in a boy's exposure to sexual exploitation and abuse, this is not always the case. In several other journal articles on the same phenomenon, the authors describe the boys as 'unaccompanied children' and decentre gender, age, and other forms of social location from their analysis (see, for example, Digidiki & Bhabha 2018; Buchanan & Kallinikaki 2020; Mishra et al. 2020). As with gender humanitarianism, viewing this

form of sexual harm without regard to boys' social location neglects the gendered and sexualised ways (among other factors) this harm is facilitated, perpetrated, and experienced.

There is limited research work that has considered the full range of factors that may influence an adolescent boy's exposure to child sexual abuse in emergency settings. That which is most relevant for this thesis is found in recent qualitative research conducted by independent consultant Sarah Chynoweth for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Women's Refugee Commission. Her research details (in harrowing accounts) sexual violence perpetrated against adolescent boys across multiple humanitarian contexts, including the Syrian refugee crisis (UNHCR 2017), the Rohingya refugee crisis (Chynoweth 2018), the central Mediterranean migration route from North Africa into Italy (Chynoweth 2019a), and among Congolese, Somali and South Sudanese refugees displaced to Kenya (Chynoweth 2019b). In her paper on the Syrian refugee crisis, for example, Chynoweth describes how adolescent boys' greater engagement with public space, poor sexual and reproductive health knowledge, and limited recognition of their own vulnerabilities, facilitated their exposure to violence. Perpetrators were identified as older boys and men, with the abuse conducted in empty/incomplete buildings, schools, the peripheries of refugee camps, or the residence of the perpetrator or victim. Boys were lured to these spaces with the promise of food or money, or in a particularly gendered approach, by showing them pornography (UNHCR 2017).

In Chynoweth's research on the Rohingya refugee crisis (2018), adolescent Rohingya boys were found to have experienced conflict-related sexual violence prior to their displacement into Bangladesh and sexual abuse in the refugee camps. In the refugee camps, perpetrators were predominantly older Rohingya men and boys, male Rohingya community leaders, and male members of the Bangladeshi host community.[28] As with the Syrian crisis, perpetrators took advantage of adolescent boys' unfettered access to public space, with instances where pornographic materials were then used to coerce boys into settings where they could be abused. The interaction between marginalisation and sexual abuse can also be observed in Chynoweth's (2019a) work on unaccompanied boys migrating through North Africa to Italy. Adolescent boys migrating through Algeria, Mauritania, and Libya reported multiple experiences of sexual abuse. In Libya, adolescent boys were reportedly at greater risk of sexual violence than younger children. Accounts include adolescent boys being raped and being forced to rape others, as well as instances of sexual torture, lethal sexual violence, and videotaping of their abuse to extort money from their families. Reinforcing the importance of focusing on the nexus between economic pressures, migration, and sexual abuse against adolescent boys, Chynoweth reported that boys who were unable to afford the transit costs along their migration route were then subject to sexual abuse in the context of forced labour, interactions with security forces, and immigration detention.

[28] There were also cases involving the sexual abuse of adolescent boys by older adolescent girls. These reports align with recently published research on the sexual coercion of adolescent boys by older women and girls in non-emergency settings (Miller et al. 2018).

Sarah Chynoweth's research represents one of the few humanitarian reports that address the social location of adolescent boys when analysing or assessing their exposure to harm. This form of analysis does not appear to the same extent in the academic literature on child protection in emergencies or gender humanitarianism. The data in these reports reveals a complex matrix of intersecting factors that affect the exposure of adolescent boys to sexual harm, but the reports themselves do not explicitly employ an intersectional theoretical framework for analysing adolescent boys in emergencies.[29] As stated earlier in this chapter, social location plays a critical role in an adolescent boy's exposure to sexual harm. An intersectional interpretive position expands our understanding of social identities and social categories, as well as the ways these factors may influence child sexual abuse in emergencies. Applying such a framework could further the study of adolescent boys as subjects of humanitarian crises and contribute to a more complex account of their social location and its relationship to abuse. Indeed, the nexus between social ecological models and intersectionality may hold great promise for encapsulating the continuum of violence that adolescent boys are exposed to and the shifting salience of power, agency, and marginalisation in their social lives.

In the first two sections of this chapter, I sought to convey the different forms of harm that adolescent boys may experience in emergencies and the importance of social location to their risk exposure. In this section, I have focused on child sexual abuse perpetrated against adolescent boys as one specific form of harm from among this array. By addressing child sexual abuse in this manner, I am choosing to purposefully frame child sexual abuse as a separate and distinct 'phenomenon of harm' that differs from other child protection concerns. This bracketing of child sexual abuse allows for closer inspection of how different forms of social location interplay and intertwine in this specific case to facilitate or hinder an adolescent boy's experience of violence. The importance of drawing attention to this protection issue as compared to other child protection concerns seems apparent. There is mounting evidence that sexual abuse against adolescent boys is prevalent in humanitarian emergencies, but it largely does not feature in the contemporary politics of humanitarian care and compassion. Furthermore, there are questions that remain on many different facets of this child protection concern that have not yet been answered. There is a need for better understanding of how adolescent boys experience sexual abuse, what role cumulative disadvantage and marginalisation play in its occurrence, how different subgroups of boys are exposed to sexual abuse, and importantly, how humanitarian actors are responding to cases when they arise in humanitarian emergencies.

The practice of protecting boys in emergency settings

The principal response by humanitarian actors to the protection of adolescent boys in emergencies comes in the form of child protection in humanitarian action. Comprising "all efforts to prevent and

[29] In Chynoweth's reports on the Syrian refugee crisis (UNHCR 2017) and Rohingya refugee crisis (Chynoweth 2018) she includes intersectionality within her recommendations, positing that humanitarian actors could employ an intersectional approach to facilitate identifying men and boys with increased vulnerability to sexual violence.

respond to abuse, neglect, exploitation, and violence against children in the aftermath of a disaster" (UNICEF 2015, p.3), child protection in humanitarian action involves activities conducted by child protection organisations and other humanitarian actors designed to improve children's safety (Child Protection Working Group 2015). At the field level, these activities are coordinated by a group of humanitarian actors that come together in a forum known as the Child Protection Sub-Sector. At the global level, coordination and technical guidance on child protection in humanitarian action is derived from the Child Protection Working Group within the Global Protection Cluster, and its Minimum Standards on Child Protection in Humanitarian Action (ACPHA 2019). In the initial phases of an emergency response, child protection concerns are often identified through the use of rapid pieces of data collection known as child protection assessments, or through assessments that take into account other factors affecting crisis-affected populations (Ager et al. 2011; ACPHA 2019). Humanitarian actors employ a diverse range of strategies to protect children, including case management, the establishment of child friendly and adolescent friendly spaces, the delivery of life-skills and resilience building activities, alternative care for unaccompanied or orphaned children, and family tracing and reunification (ACPHA 2019).

In theory, child protection actors respond to the protection needs of adolescent boys as a subgroup of children. However, the academic literature on child protection in emergencies does not tend to focus on adolescent boys, meaning it is difficult to disaggregate whether there are differences in care and attention to their protection concerns as compared to other children. The academic literature on child protection in emergencies has frequently raised the issue that adolescents may be overlooked by humanitarian actors in emergency responses (Cahill et al. 2010; Chávez et al. 2018; Evans, Forte & Fraser 2013; WRC 2012). However, the extent to which this extends to adolescent boys is unclear. Insight into the efficacy of current interventions for adolescent boys could also be derived from the academic publication of evaluations of child protection interventions in emergencies, but there is limited evaluation data available in this form (Pundir et al. 2020). The data that do exist primarily evaluate the impact of psychosocial interventions for adolescent girls and boys (including dedicated 'child friendly spaces'), but does not address the social ecology or social location of adolescent boys (see, for example, Betancourt et al. 2013; Bolton et al. 2007; Hermosilla et al. 2019; Metzler et al. 2019; Panter-Brick et al. 2018). The academic literature thus does not provide sufficient information on the extent to which child protection actors are addressing the specific forms of harm that compound in the lives of displaced adolescent boys, or more broadly, whether adolescent boys are recognised by humanitarian actors as a vulnerable subgroup of crisis-affected populations.

These limitations within the academic literature are mirrored in humanitarian reports. This means that information on how adolescent boys interact with services provided by humanitarian actors is more often found in isolated paragraphs across a diverse range of humanitarian assessments, tools, guidance, and other such publications. In the main, these indicate that adolescent boys have access to mainstream

child protection services but there is a lack of dedicated programming that addresses their specific needs (for example, Brun 2017). The most notable example of this deficit comes from accounts of shelter provision for adolescent boys in humanitarian settings. Qualitative data describes a lack of protective shelter or community-based protection for adolescent boys in Italy, Kenya, Lebanon, Jordan, Bangladesh, and Greece (Brun 2017; Chynoweth 2018, 2019a, 2019b; Mishra et al. 2020; UNHCR 2017). These reports also indicate this gap is particularly acute for adolescent boys with a disability and those of diverse sexual orientations, gender identities and expressions, and sex characteristics. Although these papers demonstrate that there may be inadequate programming for adolescent boys in certain contexts, gaps in programming and research on this subgroup mean that this situation is yet to be comprehensively documented or analysed in the academic literature or in humanitarian reports.

Perhaps the most apt demonstration of this deficit in knowledge is found in our understanding of how humanitarians respond to the sexual abuse of adolescent boys. In an emergency, care for child survivors of sexual abuse is the joint responsibility of humanitarian actors working in the child protection and gender-based violence sectors of a humanitarian response (IRC 2012). While academic research and advocacy has raised child sexual abuse as a concern in conflict and disaster settings (Aubert & Holder 2013; Hyder & Veigh 2007), it is only recently that there has been sustained attention by humanitarian actors to child survivors as individuals with greater care and support needs. Indeed, the last decade has seen a review of practices for caring for child survivors in emergencies (IRC 2011), the creation of guidelines for caring for child survivors of sexual abuse (IRC 2012), and the establishment of a global 'community of practice' to improve humanitarian support for child survivors (Child Protection Area of Responsibility 2021). Despite this growth in attention within the humanitarian system, there has not been an equivalent critical attention within the academic literature to the humanitarian practice of responding to child survivors. The only information on how humanitarians are responding to sexual abuse against adolescent boys comes from Chynoweth's (2018, 2019b, 2019a; 2020) qualitative accounts. These depict a situation where adolescent boys, in principle, have access to mainstream child protection services, but there are no dedicated services that address their protection needs or conduct targeted programming based on their specific social location.

Conclusion

This chapter has contended that adolescent boys face a number of compounding protection concerns in humanitarian emergencies. In the main, I have argued that social location and social ecology influence an adolescent boy's protection and resilience, exposure to risk, and experiences of physical and sexual harm. I have argued that adolescent boys should be recognised as complex intersectional actors in humanitarian emergencies, and that analytical attention should be directed toward the interrelationship and interaction between their different forms of social location, their broader social ecology, and their material environment. For more vulnerable subgroups of adolescent boys - such as

boys with physical or psychological impairments or those living with elderly or absent caregivers - this chapter also raised how there is less recognition of their vulnerabilities and their multilayered lived experience of emergencies. Furthermore, I focused on child sexual abuse against adolescent boys as a form of harm that is facilitated by social location, noting that there is limited attention in the literature to how humanitarian actors are responding to this particularly egregious violation of human rights.

Humanitarian interventions are based on a politics of human life embedded in historical, gendered, and racialised forms of knowledge, as well as defined narratives of vulnerability and compassion. Although humanitarian responses are often framed in terms of an amorphous body of suffering outside of time, geography, and politics, humanitarian compassion can change to fit new contexts, new histories, and indeed, new narratives of vulnerability (Ticktin 2011a). The academic literature and humanitarian reports on child protection in emergencies have not yet substantially revealed this vulnerability with respect to adolescent boys, including how child protection concerns compound in the lives of adolescent boys and how these forms of harm are influenced by social location. This extends to the sexual abuse of adolescent boys, as our contemporary humanitarian discourse of care and protection often still fails to recognise adolescent boys as subjects of sexual abuse and how social location infuses this harmful experience. The current situation is thus one in which there is insufficient attention to adolescent boys across multiple knowledge communities, and limited formal understanding as to whether humanitarian actors are meeting their acute protection and assistance needs. The question then remains: how are humanitarian actors responding to the multitude of child protection concerns affecting adolescent boys in emergencies at this very moment?

We, as humanitarian practitioners and as a knowledge community, currently do not understand the extent to which humanitarian actors are assessing and responding to adolescent boys' protection concerns. We do not understand the compounding nature of marginalisation in the lives of adolescent boys, the full extent of discrimination in these contexts of displacement and violence, the dynamic and shifting nature of their matrix of identities, and the appropriate form of intervention to meet their needs. For adolescent boys who experience child sexual abuse in humanitarian settings, we still have little understanding of the contours of this experience and the way the international humanitarian system engages with and supports boy survivors. These knowledge limitations hamper service provision and influence the way concerns for gender and other forms of social location are operationalised in emergencies to prevent and respond to sexual abuse: a form of violence that appears to be particularly embedded in gendered signals, performances, and practices. In the next chapter, I describe the research methods I employed in this study, as I have endeavoured to uncover how humanitarian actors are responding to the protection needs of adolescent boys in the case of the Rohingya refugee crisis in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh.

Chapter 4.

Research method

I shifted about in my red plastic seat, gazing nervously out the large windows that protected me from the unknown environment beyond. The waiting room in Dhaka's domestic airport was packed with hundreds of Bangladeshis taking flights to places I had never heard of before, and the chatter of airplane arrivals and departures emanated from speakers in the corners of the room. To my left stretched a banner advertising an aquarium in the city of Cox's Bazar, Radiant Fish World. Following the call for my flight, I stood and lined up to enter the small plane that was waiting to take me to this same city, the hub of the Rohingya refugee crisis response and the centre of one of the largest humanitarian emergencies. In the queue, families with small children, newly-weds, and elderly Bangladeshis buzzed with anticipation. Where humanitarian staff were preparing themselves to enter long hours of coordination and planning meetings, locals were destined for Cox's Bazar's promise of beachside relaxation and aquarium based encounters, as home to one of the longest sea beaches in the world. Indeed, the first inkling that history was playing out came upon our arrival in Cox's Bazar airport some two hours later. Where Bangladeshi tourists entered vans boasting the names of their hotels for the week, expatriate humanitarians registered with the local authorities and opened doors to four-wheel drives plastered with the corporatised logos of international humanitarian agencies.

This was the beginning of my fieldwork, and with the rainy season at its tail end Cox's Bazar was blanketed in a hot sun that beat down over its landscape. Having registered and found Terre des hommes' white van, I busied myself studying the streets of Cox's Bazar with intent, marvelling at the chaos of vehicles, people, and animals, as we commuted to the office. In line with other humanitarian agencies, Terre des hommes' Cox's Bazar operation consisted of an assortment of rooms in a hotel normally occupied by Bangladeshi leisure-seekers. As I made my way up to the appropriate floor, travellers were making their way down, in search of a swim or a poolside drink. At this point I was nervous. In my previous roles in international development, my gender specialist profession had been treated with scepticism. However, I need not have worried, with my Terre des hommes colleagues enveloping me into the fold from the moment I entered the office that day. Those first weeks were characterised by a frantic effort to get up to speed, by the high demand within the office for technical support and training on gender issues, and a constant process of learning about how a humanitarian response worked. Throughout this time, I constantly recognised how working in the response provided a richness of data and experience that built colour and life into my research.

In the previous three chapters, I addressed the state of the literature on gender humanitarianism and adolescent boys in emergencies, describing empirical attention to adolescent boys' protection needs and

the gaps that remain in the research domains of child protection in emergencies and gender humanitarianism. In this chapter I turn to the approach I used in this study, detailing the foundation upon which the data of the following three chapters is constructed. Structurally, this chapter is divided into five sections. In the first, I describe my research approach, research design, and theoretical framework. In the second, I outline the research questions that directed data collection, and in the third, describe the data collection across the research phases. In the fourth, I place myself within my research and discuss my positionality in terms of professional occupation and social location. Lastly, in the fifth section, I discuss the limitations of this study and how addressing these may augment future research. In line with the vignette that opened this chapter, I argue that an ethnographic research design was indispensable for ascertaining information during a humanitarian emergency. I posit that my insider status provided a distinct vantage-point that provided access to perspectives that might have otherwise been obscured, and that this experience of delivering humanitarian aid provides a qualitative richness that differentiates this study from other research.

Research approach

Early in the year 2011, I read a long-form news article entitled 'The rape of men' by William Storr (2011). At the time, this harrowing description of debilitating acts of sexual violence committed against men from the Democratic Republic of the Congo took an emotional toll on me like no other piece of prose before. Written with great attention to the perspectives of male survivors, the article engendered a deep sense of empathy and outrage within me that influenced the trajectory of my life and prompted this doctoral research project. The visceral nature of the empathy I felt was further reinforced in 2017, during the South-South Institute on Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys conference in Christchurch, New Zealand. The conference included an array of speakers engaged with the issue of sexual abuse of men and boys. Male survivors stood at the front of the large conference room telling heartfelt stories of their strength and recovery, while clinicians and other professionals outlined their successes and failures supporting male survivors across a diverse range of social and geographic locations. The testimonies of survivors and their struggles with recovery reached deep into my heart. At the opening of the Bristlecone Project on the first night of the conference (an exhibition of photographic portraits and intimate storytelling about the sexual abuse of men) I soon had to leave the venue, being unable to bear the weight of emotion and sense of injustice at their victimisation.

The approach I took to conducting this study, as well as the writing of this thesis, was primarily driven by this sense of empathy. However, this approach was also complemented by critical reflection and realisations from my professional occupation as a gender specialist working on international development projects. On this basis, I have acquired an appreciation for development organisations and humanitarian actors as complex agents, for the ways in which certain concepts and theories are embedded into development and humanitarian programming, for the logistical intricacies of delivering

assistance in a development setting, and the social and cultural complexity one encounters when trying to 'do good'. Theoretically, my doctoral thesis aligns with contemporary ethnographies of development that have surfaced how development interventions require an interpretive community and strategically mobilise a cast of supporting actors through coherent narratives and problem definitions (Mosse 2005). Much like the anthropology of humanitarianism and its attention to humanitarianism as a form of government over life itself, the anthropology of development has critiqued development projects as authoritarian governance mechanisms and has argued that development actors are engaged in a process of creating order and unity in their intervention environments (Mosse 2005). In my thesis, this translates into an analytical standpoint that addresses the composition and epistemology of humanitarian practice, one that attends to the unintended consequences that may arise from the enactment of specific knowledge frameworks and logics.

For this research project, I employed a qualitative research strategy and applied an interpretive position steeped in critical theory. Although quantitative measurement has found favour among humanitarian actors for assessing and responding to the needs of crisis-affected populations, a quantitative research strategy would not have been able to provide the multilayered and contextual data necessary to attain a deep understanding of how humanitarian organisations and their staff are conceptualising, interpreting, and responding to adolescent boys. A critical theory interpretive position runs throughout the components of this study and its analytical framework, with intersectionality the associated theoretical framework that I chose to structure my research and inform decisions about design, data collection, and interpretation. This intersectional standpoint embeds an interest in disrupting conventional understanding of our social reality and provides the opportunity to recognise that all knowledge is situated and that there is a certain power in hegemonic understandings of our social lives (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009; Creswell 2007; Madison 2020; Thomas 1993). Methodologically, I employ a critical ethnographic research design and find myself in alignment with Kincheloe & McLaren (2003) and Madison (2020) in their argument that critical theory finds its method, performance, and action in the conduct of critical ethnography.

In its broadest sense, an ethnography is "a descriptive study of a group of people" (Angrosino 2007, p.97). However, the term 'ethnography' has historically referred to both a research product ('an ethnography') and a research process or fieldwork method ('ethnographic research') (Campbell & Lassiter 2015). In this thesis, I employ the term in its latter form and define ethnography as a "systematic approach to learning about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions, and other settings" (LeCompte & Schensul 2010, ch.1). Frequently employed by anthropologists and sociologists (Atkinson et al. 2007), ethnographies describe and interpret "the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, and language of a culture sharing group" (Creswell 2007, p.68). Historically, ethnography has been strongly associated with 'participant observation' - a data collection method that involves the researcher participating in and observing the community under study – and

has been described as an artful process about engaging with and negotiating human relationships (Campbell & Lassiter 2015, p.4). As a research design, ethnography is strongest when the issue being investigated is complex, embedded in multiple layers, its variables and facets are unknown, or where the researcher intends to describe a process or system (LeCompte & Schensul 2010).

It is for these strengths that I considered ethnography to be appropriate for investigating the multitude of actors, sectors, and layers endemic to a humanitarian response. However, where my study differs is in its use of a critical ethnography research design. Critical ethnography is an ethnographic style or discourse that represents and analyses social life to address social marginalisation and engender change (Thomas 1993). Where conventional ethnographers describe and interpret the lives of others to surface the complex meanings embedded in cultural communities (Geertz 1973; Campbell & Lassiter 2015), critical ethnographers use their position to contribute to social justice goals, resist dominant influences on particular social groups, and bring forth hidden social structures of power and control (Madison 2020; Thomas 1993). In many ways, critical ethnography is similar to participatory action research, as it questions the nature of knowledge, aims to improve social equality, and analyses structural causes of oppression and marginalisation (Baum, MacDougall & Smith 2006). Indeed, there is growing discussion of the complementarity of these two methods (Hemment 2007; Eisenhart 2019). However, participatory action research actively includes participants in the development of the research question, the data collection and analysis, and in any actions taken to implement the research findings. In contrast, the critical ethnographer often does not include actively include participants in shaping the research process itself or the writing of the ethnography, instead using their ethnographic position to speak on behalf of their research subjects and advocate for change (Eisenhart 2019; Madison 2020).

In this study, I combine a case study approach with my use of critical ethnography. A 'case study' commonly refers to the investigation of a specific phenomenon within the bounds of a particular setting or context over time. Case studies often use highly detailed data collection activities and multiple different points of information (Bryman 2012; Creswell 2007; Yin 2018). This study is what Creswell (2007) calls a 'single-instrument case study' in that it focuses on an issue or concern first, with the bounded case then chosen to illustrate this issue. In this instance, the issue is how humanitarian actors are responding to the protection needs of adolescent boys in emergencies, with the case of the Rohingya refugee crisis response then chosen to illustrate this concern. I chose the Rohingya refugee crisis because it was a prototypical instance of an international humanitarian response to a refugee crisis, because of its high visibility and salience within the international humanitarian system, and because (at that time) there was no evidence of sexual abuse against adolescent boys in the refugee camps despite the high likelihood that this form of sexual harm was occurring. This seemed like a conspicuous absence from the humanitarian operation and its discourse.

In her 2007 paper, *When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition*, intersectional theorist Ange Marie Hancock (2007) describes three separate approaches to the study of social difference: unitary,

multiple, and intersectional. Hancock defines unitary approaches as those that examine only one category of difference, whereas multiple approaches examine several categories simultaneously and understand them as being in predetermined relationships to one another. For intersectional approaches, Hancock notes how the relationship between categories of difference is left an open question and understood as a dynamic interaction between an individual and their social and institutional environment. In alignment with the intersectional interpretive position that informed the development of this study, throughout this thesis and its associated analytics I take an intersectional approach to the study of difference, promoting intersectionality as a research approach, analytical tool, and content specialisation (Hancock 2007). In their introduction to the academic journal *Signs'* special issue on intersectionality, Cho, Crenshaw and McCall divide the field of intersectionality into three forms of engagement: the application of an intersectional framework or investigation of intersectional dynamics; discursive debates about the scope of intersectionality, and; political interventions that apply an intersectional lens (Cho, Crenshaw & Mccall 2013). I position this thesis within the first and last of these forms, deploying intersectionality to analyse adolescent boys as a complex subgroup of crisis-affected populations and utilising critical ethnography to advance an emancipatory research agenda.

Research questions

The principal research question that guided this research project was: how do humanitarian actors respond to the protection needs of adolescent boys in emergencies? For the case of the Rohingya refugee crisis I then focused this broad question on: what is the humanitarian response to adolescents in the Rohingya refugee crisis; how do humanitarian actors assess and response to the protection needs of adolescent boys; how do child protection actors respond specifically to cases of sexual abuse; and what is the capacity of child protection actors to support boy survivors of sexual abuse?

Data collection

In the conduct of this study, I employed multiple data collection methods to address the stated research questions. The purpose of this was to increase the validity of the collected data, mitigate reporting bias, triangulate self-reported data, integrate the data into context, and attain greater depth of understanding of the humanitarian response across its different levels (Guest, Namey & Mitchell 2013). In addition, the use of multiple methods increased the potential for collecting data about the different forms of action taken by humanitarian actors on the broad range of protection issues that adolescent boys may experience in emergency settings. Importantly, this also helped to facilitate data gathering on child sexual abuse, as this form of violence often goes unreported (Frederick 2010; Ricardo & Barker 2008; WHO 2007). This study was granted ethics approval by the Melbourne School of Population and Global Health Human Ethics Advisory Group and the Research Office of the University of Melbourne Health Sciences Human Ethics Sub-Committee (application 1852314.1). To ensure compliance with

local ethics standards, in Bangladesh I was supervised by Dr Sabina Faiz Rashid, the Dean of the James P Grant School of Public Health at BRAC University, Dhaka.

In total, the empirical foundation of this thesis is comprised of six and a half months of participant observation, 39 semi-structured qualitative interviews with 35 humanitarian staff, 12 informal interviews with humanitarian staff, and 10 focus group discussions with a total of 52 child protection caseworkers from four different child protection organisations operating in the Rohingya refugee crisis response. I conducted these data collection activities across three research phases. The first phase took place from 1 to 21 September 2018 in Geneva (Switzerland), with the second phase taking place shortly after, from 5 October 2018 to 12 April 2019 in Cox's Bazar (Bangladesh). I conducted the third phase when I returned to Cox's Bazar from 4 October 2019 to 17 October 2019. A summary of these data collection methods is found in Table 1 and further details are provided in the following sections.

Table 1: Research participants by location and method.

Location	***Method***	***Number of participants***		***Number of participants***		***Participants***	***Topics***
		Male	***Female***	***CP***	***GBV***		
Geneva	In-depth interview	2	14	11	5	International child protection (CP) and gender-based violence (GBV) program managers and policy makers.	- Violence against adolescents - Child protection responses - Risks for adolescent boys - Care for children who experience sexual abuse - Sexual abuse of boys - Barriers to disclosure for boys - Help-seeking by boys
Cox's Bazar	In-depth interview	8	15	15	8	CP and GBV coordinators, program managers, and caseworkers	- Assessments - Child protection issues - Quality of implementation - Child survivors - Responses to child survivors - Sexual abuse of boys
	Informal interview	2	10	8	4	CP and GBV coordinators, program managers, caseworkers, psychosocial support officers	- Child survivors - Adolescent boys - Coordination
	Focus group	26	26	52	0	Child protection caseworkers from four different non-	- Casework in the crisis - Adolescent boys' protection needs - Discussion of case study on boy survivors of sexual abuse (the type of violence, how to

						government organisations	support the boy, different impacts on a boy)

Participants and sampling framework

The research participants for this study were drawn from two geographic locations, Geneva and Cox's Bazar. I identified these participants through an approach that combined stakeholder and criterion sampling. Stakeholder sampling involves identifying major stakeholders in a program or service, while criterion sampling involves searching for cases or individuals who meet certain criteria (Palys 2012). The sampling criteria that guided my data collection activities are outlined in Table 2. However, these criteria did shift as patterns began to emerge during my fieldwork.[30] The vast structure of the humanitarian response meant that I had to restrict the sampling frame across multiple levels, from the type of humanitarian staff to the geographic location. As the child protection sector often holds responsibility for protecting adolescents in emergencies, I focused my participant observation and interviews on child protection organisations and their staff. I derived additional information on child sexual abuse from interviews with humanitarian staff working in the gender-based violence sector, due to their content specialisation in sexual violence. While there has been recent attention to the role of national humanitarian organisations, refugee diaspora organisations, and women-led civil society organisations in humanitarian action (Al-Abdeh & Patel 2019; Olliff 2018; UN Women 2020), in this study I focus on international humanitarian actors for their pivotal role in shaping transnational policies, programs, and populations, through both gender in humanitarian action and child protection.

Table 2: Sampling frame.

Frame	***Context***	***Criterion***	***Justification***
Case	Geographic location	Geneva	Many humanitarian organisations are based in Geneva, and it is a centre for policy, research, and training on humanitarian action.
		Cox's Bazar	The focus of the humanitarian response to the Rohingya refugee crisis. A highly salient case of a humanitarian response to an acute emergency.

[30] For example, in the initial sampling framework that I had proposed before commencing my fieldwork I had included the sexual and reproductive health sector. This was based on recent research on sexual violence against men and boys that tended to address male survivors from a health perspective (for example, Chynoweth, Freccero & Touquet 2017), and because some humanitarian staff that I had spoken to suggested health facilities as potential entrance points for boy survivors seeking humanitarian assistance. During the second phase of research, I realised that it was not possible to cover three areas of a humanitarian response within the time I had available. As the child protection sector was mandated to protect adolescents and the gender-based violence sector had shared responsibility for responding to child survivors of sexual abuse, I decided not to include the sexual and reproductive health sector in my study and prioritise these two sectors instead.

	Humanitarian sector	Child protection	Care and protection of minors in an emergency falls within the mandate of the Child Protection Area of Responsibility in a humanitarian response.
		Gender-based violence	Response to child survivors of sexual abuse (both girls and boys) is the joint responsibility of child protection and gender-based violence actors in an emergency setting.
	Humanitarian organisation	International and multilateral non-governmental organisations	These organisations operate in multiple humanitarian crises around the world, work within and help define the humanitarian system, and manage the delivery of local humanitarian action. They are intermediaries between local responses and global structures.
Participants	Humanitarian staff	Policy	Policy staff set and define the international policy that guides humanitarian responses to protection. Mostly located in Geneva and other locations in the 'west'.
		Program management	Program management staff work with policy practitioners and donors to define and manage humanitarian action. Located in the field managing the crisis response, most often, but not always, expatriates.
		Service delivery	Service delivery staff provide services to the beneficiaries. They have the closest knowledge of the people receiving services and local context. They may be expatriates or locally engaged staff and may include professions such as caseworkers or psychosocial support officers.

Participant observation

As a critical ethnography, participant observation formed an integral component of my data collection. Formally defined, observation is the "systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, interactions, and artifacts in the social setting" (Marshall & Rossman 2016, p.278). Similarly, participant observation is "the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities"(Kawulich 2005, sec.2). In the main, participant observation is the starting point for ethnographic fieldwork and entails the researcher carefully navigating these dually held roles of participant and observer in the field (Marshall & Rossman 2016). For this study, I conducted participant observation in the Rohingya refugee crisis response during the second research phase, from 5 October 2018 to 12 April 2019, and the third research phase, from 4 October 2019 to 17 October 2019. Facilitating this participation was my

employment as Gender Technical Adviser for Swiss child protection organisation Terre des hommes in their Rohingya refugee crisis operation during this time. Terre des hommes was one of the largest child protection organisations working in the response and was directly providing services to address the wellbeing of Rohingya children. These included child protection case management services, child friendly and adolescent friendly spaces, a primary healthcare centre, several outpatient therapeutic centres for child malnutrition, water and sanitation projects, and other such initiatives.

As Gender Technical Adviser my role centred on providing support to Terre des hommes and their staff to mainstream gender within their emergency response work. Prior to starting work in the crisis response, Terre des hommes had requested that I develop tools, training materials, and technical guidance to assist their staff to incorporate gender concerns into their work with Rohingya children. In practice, I represented Terre des hommes at inter-agency coordination meetings on gender in humanitarian action, child protection, and gender-based violence. In addition, I trained Terre des hommes staff on gender and gender-based violence concepts, developed tools that assessed our programs against minimum standards for gender mainstreaming in emergencies, and worked with program managers to improve child protection assessments and targeted action for women and girls. During the third research phase, from September to October 2019, I was contracted by Terre des hommes to develop a training package for child protection and gender-based violence staff on the sexual abuse of boys. I then trained child protection and gender-based violence caseworkers from different humanitarian organisations working in the response using this package and delivered presentations to different humanitarian coordination forums on the preliminary results of this study.

As an ethnographer employed by an international humanitarian organisation operating in the Rohingya crisis response, I operated as what Adler and Adler (1987) describe as a 'complete-member-researcher': relating to my research subjects as equals and closely approximating the stance of those under consideration. Due to my prior history working in international development, I took what Riemer (1977) refers to as an 'opportunistic stance', studying a sector in which I was already a member and turning what seemed familiar into an object of investigation. The benefits of this were tangible. For one, my employment within the response conveyed legitimacy to other humanitarians, with this facilitating my entry into spaces of inter-agency coordination, child protection programming, strategic planning, and staff training. At several points during my fieldwork, I recognised that without this insider status I would have been unable to access important information or build the relationships with humanitarian staff that later enabled interviews and focus group discussions. Indeed, with humanitarian staff working under high pressure and up to 16 hours a day, their willingness to be interviewed or to organise their caseworkers to participate in a focus group discussion depended on our individual rapport. Additional factors that I believe helped facilitate data collection included the visibility of my contributions to inter-agency coordination, the practical orientation of my research, and the perception

by my research participants that as a humanitarian my critical analysis would include appropriate consideration of the difficult realities of the humanitarian operating environment.

Attaining information by observing the vast, complex, and multilayered humanitarian landscape of the Rohingya refugee crisis meant that I had to identify in advance certain spaces and places for observation. Conceptually, I divided these spaces into three tiers: coordination, service delivery, and humanitarian training. The coordination tier included observation of meetings and other locations where humanitarian interventions were being planned and coordinated between humanitarian organisations. I chose this space for its insight into how gender humanitarianism and child protection in humanitarian action is discussed and negotiated between agencies. During the second phase of data collection, for example, I participated in the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group, the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector, and the Child Protection Sub-Sector.[31] Due to the importance of maintaining the privacy of these coordination mechanisms and the confidentiality of the inputs of humanitarian staff attending the meetings, I chose not to conduct formal observation. Rather, the data contained in this thesis is based on my personal reflections as a gender worker supporting these forms of inter-agency coordination and negotiation. In addition, conducting formal observation of these spaces while also participating in these fora would have proven difficult, both to contribute to the discussions and to collect substantive ethnographic information on what was transpiring in the room.

The service tier involved observation of places where humanitarian services were being delivered in the Rohingya refugee camps. In practice, my observations focused on 2 weeks of direct observation of Terre des hommes' child protection services. This included 4 days with psychosocial support officers from Terre des hommes in adolescent clubs and child friendly spaces, 2 days with child protection caseworkers on home visits, and 1 day spent in different health and nutrition centres. My ability to conduct further observation of humanitarian services was constrained by the limits on my time and government restrictions that prevented my lawful access to the camps prior to January 2019, halfway through the second phase of my research.[32] The training tier included observation of training courses delivered by different humanitarian actors to the staff of child protection and gender-based violence organisations working in the response. This included two days observing training on gender-based

[31] The Child Protection Sub-Sector and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sectors are coordination structures that bring together humanitarian agencies to respond to child protection and gender-based violence concerns in an emergency response, respectively. In the Rohingya refugee crisis, the Child Protection Sub-Sector was led by the United Nations Children's Fund, while the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector was led by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. These forums operated within the Protection Sector, which was led by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNICEF 2021; UNFPA 2021). The Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group was created to provide inter-sector and inter-agency support and coordination on gender equality issues in humanitarian action within the response (UN Women 2021). The Working Group was led in the Rohingya refugee crisis response by UN Women and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee GenCap Adviser.

[32] For further information on the visa situation for expatriate humanitarian staff working for international non-government organisations in the Rohingya refugee crisis response see Chapter 1. In my case, it was not until January 2019 that I received a working visa tied to a Terre des hommes project. This visa then meant I was able to acquire a government issued 'camp pass' that allowed for visiting or working in the Rohingya refugee camps.

violence for health program managers conducted by Médecins du Monde in November 2018, and an inter-agency training on caring for child survivors of sexual abuse that was held in March 2019. Additional reflections come from training I developed and implemented on gender in humanitarian action for Terre des hommes staff in April 2019, and from training on the topic of sexual abuse of boys that I delivered to child protection and gender-based violence caseworkers in October 2019.

Interviews

Interviews are a critical component of ethnographic fieldwork. For this study, I used a combination of semi-structured interviews and informal interviews, recognising "the reality of fieldwork is that we interview in order to find out what we do not and cannot know otherwise, to locate the knowledge people carry in their heads, their notions, the beliefs and values driving their actions" (Hockey & Forsey 2012, p.71). From September 2018 to October 2019, I conducted 39 formal semi-structured interviews and 12 informal interviews with humanitarian workers from Geneva and Cox's Bazar. In the first phase of data collection, I conducted 16 interviews with participants in Geneva, with half of these taking place in person and half through Skype. Of the 16 research participants, the majority were female (88%) and were nationals of 'western' countries. The participants were living and working for humanitarian organisations based in Geneva or had worked in Geneva and were now based internationally. Participants were mostly recruited through a direct email approach using their publicly available contact information. I also recruited participants from a professional course I participated in on sexual violence in emergencies held at the Geneva-based Centre for Education and Research in Humanitarian Action in September 2018. The purpose of attending this course was not for recruitment, but to improve my knowledge in preparation for deployment to Bangladesh. However, other course participants expressed interest in my research and wanted to contribute.

In the second phase of data collection, I conducted 23 formal interviews and 12 informal interviews from the date of my arrival in Cox's Bazar on 5 October 2018 through to my departure on 12 April 2019. I scheduled these interviews using a staged approach. During the first six weeks, from October until early December, I set up meetings with humanitarian staff I identified as having expertise on gender mainstreaming to gain their advice on addressing gender within Terre des hommes' operations. The rapport I built during these initial meetings then provided an opening to discuss my doctoral research and an opportunity to screen for their potential interest to act as a research participant or ethnographic informant[33]. In early December, I started asking for formal consent from humanitarians I had identified as potential ethnographic informants, and then began conducting interviews with humanitarian staff from late December 2018 to March 2019. My interview participants were mostly women, with this appearing to reflect the demographic composition of the management layers of the

[33] In ethnographic research, an informant is someone living in the culture or site under study. They are often well connected and can act as a source of information for the ethnographer on their particular cultural community. Informants are able to articulate what is going on within the research site and why this is occuring (Atkinson et al. 2007; Carspecken 1996; Spradley 1979).

child protection and gender-based violence sectors. However, this is an anecdotal reflection, based on my observation of the composition of Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector meetings. The formal interviews that I conducted were semi-structured and lasted from 45 to 90 minutes. They were held at a time convenient for the participant and in a private location.

Interview participants were provided with a plain language statement explaining the nature of the research and their rights as a participant. They were also provided with a written consent form and a sheet of available services and guidance should they experience emotional distress. No material or financial incentives were provided to encourage their participation in the research. All semi-structured interviews were conducted in English, with this the working language of the Rohingya crisis response (and many other humanitarian responses). Interviews were audio-recorded and then later transcribed for analysis. At the beginning of each interview, I explained the background of the study and its purpose, why they were selected, and why I believed their perspective was important to my research. In addition, I outlined what would happen with the information, that they had a right to stop the interview at any time, and how their confidentiality and anonymity would be protected. Reflecting my unease with focusing on harm against adolescent boys in an emergency where women and girls were highly marginalised (see Chapter 8), I also pre-emptively discussed my pro-feminist positionality and assured participants that by asking about their experiences in relation to the protection of adolescent boys I was not seeking to take attention away from the needs of women and girls.

The content of each interview depended on the participant's role in the humanitarian response and their expertise. In general, I often started by ascertaining information on child protection issues affecting adolescents in humanitarian emergencies, how humanitarian actors are addressing adolescents as a vulnerable group within the humanitarian system, and what operational barriers may inhibit humanitarian support for adolescent girls and boys. For the specific concern of child sexual abuse, I asked about humanitarian programming for child survivors, whether the respondent had encountered instances of sexual abuse of adolescent boys, and what barriers may exist to adolescent boy survivors seeking help from humanitarian organisations and their staff. These same topics guided the informal, ethnographic interviews that I conducted throughout my fieldwork. I only conducted informal interviews with ethnographic informants when I had already negotiated informed consent prior to the discussion. In contrast to formal interviews, which followed a topic guide and were scheduled, informal interviews more closely resembled private conversations. These ended up taking place in variety of locations, including the stairwells of office-buildings, at cafés and restaurants overlooking the Cox's Bazar sea-front, in white vans moving about the city, in transit to the refugee camps with colleagues from Terre des hommes, in immigration queues at the airport, or walking along the street as I debriefed with other humanitarian staff after coordination meetings.

I audio-recorded all semi-structured interviews and then later transcribed these recordings for analysis. Informal interviews, on the other hand, I hurriedly noted down in a small notebook after the

interaction and then fleshed out with more detail in the privacy of my apartment at the end of the working day. In truth, conducting these informal interviews was often highly confronting. They involved careful navigation of friendship, collegiality, and informant relationships, oftentimes with people that I cared for. Always, I reflected on each interaction after the fact, analysing and interrogating the language and approach I had used to understand whether I had turned hard-won rapport into an instrumental form of research capital. The discomfort I felt also translated into self-doubt on my position as a 'true' ethnographer. I often questioned whether I was conducting an ethnography, whether my fieldnotes were sufficiently descriptive, and what the implications would be if my final product was not deeply ethnographic. This conflicted sentiment is reflected in this thesis through my employment of participatory observation as another (not the primary) mode of data collection and how my written expression shies away from a traditional ethnography and its long-held convention of "thick description" (Geertz 1973, p.6). To counter these feelings of unease, I often asked my ethnographic informants to participate in semi-structured interviews, with these interactions then formalising the research relationship. For my participant observation and interview data, I analysed the transcripts, notes, and fieldnotes inductively, using qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti to support the process. The themes I identified through this analysis form the basis of the chapters in the remaining half of this thesis.

Focus groups

Irreflective of their importance to this research project, focus group discussions were not a data collection method I had planned on using. Initially, I had thought to conduct individual interviews with Bangladeshi staff working across different humanitarian organisations on how humanitarian services are delivered. However, not long after starting my fieldwork, I perceived that the power I was afforded as a white male expatriate who was (mistakenly) referred to by my colleagues as an 'expert in gender-based violence' would infuse data collected through individual interviews. In addition, based on my interactions with female national humanitarian staff working for Terre des hommes during training sessions on gender, I surmised they may be hesitant to participate in individual interviews and that participation may cause rumours to surface about their sexuality/promiscuity. Alternatively, focus groups provided the opportunity to create a safe space to discuss sensitive issues like sexual abuse. They also facilitated a greater volume of data collection in the limited time I had available, created new insights through the dynamics of intragroup group interactions, and allowed for the use of activities and participatory exercises rather than a strict topic guide (Creswell 2007; Schensul et al. 1999).

From 7 March 2019 to 21 March 2019, I conducted 10 focus groups with child protection caseworkers from four different child protection organisations operating in the Rohingya refugee crisis response. I limited the participants to child protection caseworkers due to the time constraints of my fieldwork and the information I had derived from interviews with humanitarian staff that indicated child protection organisations were the main actors in the humanitarian system with responsibility for supporting

adolescent boys. The focus group participants comprised 26 male and 26 female caseworkers divided into groups ranging from a minimum of three to a maximum of seven persons. These small group sizes meant the discussions were intimate and participants were able to have more time to discuss their reflections. Each discussion was held in a private room in the Cox's Bazar office of the participating organisation. The research questions and activities were delivered in English, with translation provided by a female consultant from the international humanitarian organisation Translators without Borders. Recruitment was conducted through a direct email approach to the child protection program manager for each agency I identified as being an important child protection organisation working in the crisis response. The initial approach included information on the nature of the research, ethics and the format of the group discussion, as well as copies of the plain language statement and consent form.

At the beginning of the focus group, participants were provided with the plain language statement, asked to sign a consent form, and provided information on support services should they experience distress during the discussion. The focus groups began with an explanation of the research, why they had been selected, their rights as participants, that the focus group would be audio recorded, their right to withdraw at any time, and how their identity and confidentiality would be protected. The format of the focus group was divided into two main activities. In the first, participants were divided into two groups and handed a large piece of paper with a picture of a Rohingya boy in the middle as a visual aid (Figure 6). The groups were then asked to discuss and write down protection issues they had seen affecting adolescent boys in the camps. In the second activity, the caseworkers were provided with a two-part scenario and questions to complete as a large group (see Appendix 1). The scenario described a situation where a caseworker had been referred an adolescent boy who had been displaying negative changes in his behaviour. Participants were asked to identify and discuss the harm the boy may have experienced based on signals within the text. In the second part of the scenario, the boy discloses that he had experienced sexual abuse, with participants then asked to discuss how they would support the boy and what differences there may be in supporting a boy survivor. The purpose of this activity was to understand the capacity of the caseworkers to identify signs of sexual abuse among boys, their understanding of supporting boy survivors, and their awareness of boys' experiences of sexual abuse.

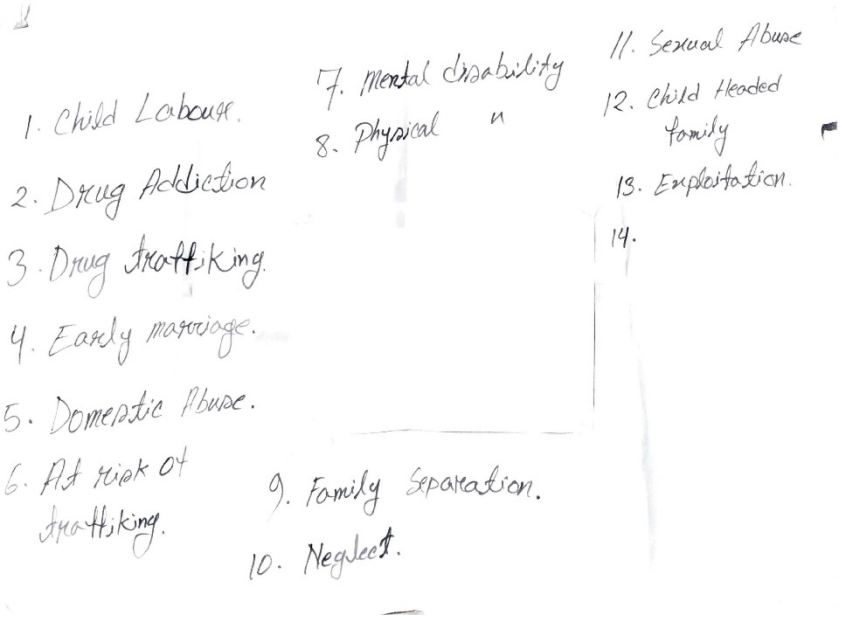


Figure 6: First activity of the focus group discussions.
This is a large piece of paper where the caseworkers have listed the child protection concerns they have seen affecting adolescent boys in the Rohingya crisis. This was completed by three child protection caseworkers before they then joined the other members of the focus group to discuss their answers as a collective. The picture of the Rohingya boy has been removed to protect his privacy.

Positionality

Before presenting the results of my research it is important that I provide an accurate depiction of the values embedded in my analysis (Carspecken 1996), or what Margaret LeCompte calls "the bias in the biography" (LeCompte 1987, p.44). In contrast to schools of thought that may consider ethnography an objective empirical exercise (Angrosino 2007), critical ethnographers deliberately foreground their political position as an additional means of creating awareness and engendering social change (Thomas 1993). The genesis of this thesis was a drive to improve humanitarian support for child survivors of sexual abuse, based on an empathy I had derived from engagement with the field of conflict-related sexual violence against men and boys (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 4). When I was formulating the research design, I had envisioned that providing practical recommendations to improve upon existing practices would necessitate having an in-depth understanding of humanitarian operations and their complex landscape from within. It is for this reason I approached Terre des hommes to partner on this research project and was then offered the opportunity to work for them in their Rohingya crisis operations. From its very beginnings, the support Terre des hommes has provided to this study has been immense, and I feel incredibly privileged to have been able to collaborate with them in the delivery of their humanitarian operations and this research project.

When I entered the 'field' in 2018, I was already invested in the idea that humanitarianism was, on balance, a good thing. Prior to beginning my doctoral studies, I had worked for international non-government organisations, national non-government organisations, private contractors, and the

Australian Government, in roles that sought to advance gender equality in the Asia-Pacific region. I still remember the visceral outrage I felt at receiving reports of intimate partner violence against women in Indonesia, the positivity I saw in men providing childcare for their young boys and girls in Indonesia and Timor-Leste, and the passion and enthusiasm for feminist activism in the women-leaders of local non-government organisations in Timor-Leste. While I had a deep appreciation for academic criticism of development based on my own witnessing of its failings, my desire to 'do good' outpaced any reflexivity I displayed on my role in the broader transnational governance of precarious lives. For this thesis, my professional occupation within the response may imply to others a lesser inclination to criticise Terre des hommes as an organisation, the child protection response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, or humanitarianism as an enterprise. It is in this study, however, that I came to learn that humanitarians are some of the strongest critics of humanitarianism itself (I am no exception) and that this reflexivity often prompted humanitarians to participate in my research (in my case, to conduct this doctoral project) out of a desire to improve humanitarian effectiveness and right its ills.

In approaching this doctoral thesis, the lens through which I interpreted the world was interwoven with feminist theory and development praxis. In the main, my role as a gender officer/specialist in development interventions had involved efforts to mainstream concern for women and girls within development programming. It was feminist and queer theory that had brought me to this point and I identified as 'pro-feminist': seeking to apply feminist perspectives in my work, work in alliance with women's organisations, and endeavour to be accountable to women in my efforts to support feminist outcomes (Burrell & Flood 2019). As such, an important point is the immense sense of trepidation I have continuously felt about addressing the issue of sexual abuse against boys. This thesis materialises at a point in time where international discourse on sexual violence against men is highly polarised (Dolan 2014, 2016; Ward 2016). Recent years have seen pushback against feminist academics and feminist practitioners working on male survivors, with this seen as detracting from women and girls as the more numerous survivors of sexual violence across most humanitarian contexts (personal communication 19.09.2017). Fears of my work being construed as antifeminist, my felt sense of deference and commitment to feminist theory, and critical reflexivity on my place as a white cis-gender heterosexual male working on gender equality flowed through this study as a result of this discourse.

The practical implication of this was that in my written and spoken introductions, recruitment approaches, interviews, and professional work, I centred my role as a gender worker and its focus on the empowerment of women and girls. At Terre des hommes, activities and tools I designed and implemented were targeted towards the political emancipation of women and girls, consciousness raising among men, and improving gender sensitivity in humanitarian aid targeting. Indeed, the pervasiveness of sexual harassment and violence against my female colleagues, systematic neglect of menstrual hygiene for female staff and beneficiaries, and the high incidence of sexual abuse of women and girls in the refugee camps only reinforced my sense of outrage and centred women and girls in my

approach to gender work. Consequently, there is a serious contradiction running throughout this thesis. As a gender specialist with demonstrated commitment to gender in humanitarian action, I gained access to humanitarian spaces, built trust and rapport with colleagues, and gained experiential knowledge of the practice of gender in emergencies. However, by conducting this form of gender work, I furthered a standpoint that privileged gender as the dominant mode of social organisation, tended to disregard adolescent boys as gendered beings, and applied a hierarchical and additive approach to social location. Indeed, through my professional role I supported the very interpretive framework my research has sought to deconstruct.

It is at this point that I must acknowledge my own matrix of social identity, recognising its implicit and explicit influence on the construction of knowledge within this thesis. I am a white, non-indigenous, upper-middle class, Australian, cis-gender, heterosexual male. I have no functional or intellectual impairments and am the product of a significant amount of postgraduate level studies in the Australian education system. As such, I am an incredibly privileged individual. It is feminist and queer theory that helped me to recognise this privilege, and masculinity theory that revealed the patriarchal masculine norms that I both chafed against and bargained with as I constructed my identity and sense of self during adolescence and youth. I have experienced the violence, dominance, and hierarchies that characterise boyhood in my social and cultural context. The one marker that has complicated my sense of self is that for more than a decade I have been consistently 'read' by others as gay. While this has involved instances of ridicule and violence, my experience is not comparable to persons of diverse sexual orientations, gender identities and expressions, and sex characteristics. It has, however, provided insight into the difficulty in negotiating social spaces when transgressing gender norms and the overt/subtle policing of our behaviours. Intersectionality has proven to be a strong tool for recognising the matrix of power, privilege, and difference in my social positioning. It is for this additional reason I saw intersectionality as important to the construction of my thesis.

Limitations

There are limitations to this work. For one, although this thesis employs an intersectional theoretical framework, I was unable to collect directly from adolescent boys. To do so would have posed serious challenges in a context of poverty, child trauma, and displacement. Even the most sensitive approach would have potentially resulted in re-traumatisation or other adverse consequences for adolescent boys as research participants, in a setting where the availability of support services is limited (Cronin-Furman & Lake 2018). This is a point I have continually struggled with: that this research has been conducted about the harm befalling a group of boys without their involvement or any communication of the results to them. However, the research design and research questions were purposefully constructed to focus on the delivery of the humanitarian response itself and the relative inclusion of adolescent boys within this, rather the individual experiences of adolescent boys themselves. A further limitation to this

study is that it is limited to a single case. Funding and time constraints meant that it was not feasible to extend data collection to multiple settings. Consequently, I broadened my analysis beyond the Rohingya refugee crisis by including the perspectives of humanitarian staff with experience in other humanitarian emergencies, in particular, through the interviews I conducted in Geneva.

Conducting this research while working in the Rohingya refugee crisis was incredibly time consuming. Competing demands on my time meant that it was not possible to be everywhere at once. I was unable to conduct observation of how humanitarian programs are managed at an organisational level, as these spaces and their entrenched discourses are located within each individual humanitarian organisation and their vast array of services and delivery locations. Based on my experience communicating the research results to humanitarian staff working in the Rohingya crisis, from their perspective, a key limitation to this research is the lack of quantitative data collection methods. There is an evident prioritisation of indicators, quantification, and linear models, in international development and humanitarian practice. This was directly observable in the coordination and planning meetings that I attended, and in the humanitarian assessments that informed humanitarian aid targeting in the crisis response. Future research on this topic would benefit from a mixed-methods approach, as this may assist to build a more complex picture of humanitarian operations and would potentially have greater perceived validity across the many different sectors that comprise the modern humanitarian system.

Conclusion

The beginning of this chapter opened with a vignette from the start of my fieldwork in the Rohingya refugee crisis. I employed this vignette to centre my dual position as a researcher and humanitarian in the context for this study. Although I closed this chapter with critical reflection on my position as a professional gender worker engaged in a process of deconstructing gender work, in the main, this chapter described the research approach and methods that I employed to address how humanitarian actors are responding to the protection needs of adolescent boys in emergencies. I argued that an ethnographic approach was appropriate for collecting data across the multiple layers of an ongoing emergency, and additionally, that my critical theory position and intersectional analytical framework found its enactment in my employ of critical ethnography. Throughout this chapter, I sought to emphasise how my position as a humanitarian implementing gender in humanitarian action facilitated access to important spaces for observation, as well as enabled the construction of research participant and ethnographic informant relationships. However, this also came with a cost. As much as thesis endeavours to establish adolescent boys as intersectional actors, my professional work has replicated gendered essentialisms and assumptions based on unitary approaches to the study of social difference.

In the next three chapters I present the results of my empirical research. In Chapter 5, I describe the position of adolescent boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis response, surfacing their exposure to harm and the state of their social ecology. I argue that adolescent boys should be viewed as intersectional

actors and that gender is a critical part of their social location. Then, in Chapter 6, I outline the state of gender in humanitarian action within the Rohingya crisis response. In this respect, I analyse the position of adolescent boys within the humanitarian frameworks of the Rohingya refugee crisis, noting their discursive construction within certain spaces for gender discussion and the limited critical attention to their intersectional social location. Lastly, in Chapter 7, I describe the humanitarian response to sexual abuse against adolescent boys. There, I argue that the insufficient attention to boy survivors is emblematic of an approach to gender in humanitarian action that neglects the complexity of social location and its relationship to sexual harm in emergencies. In the main, I contend that the moral discourse and intervention practices of gender humanitarianism reflect specific choices regarding which forms of suffering are deemed worthy of addressing, and that only certain bodies are deemed morally legitimate within the gender frameworks that guide and determine humanitarian action.

Chapter 5.

The protection and harm of adolescent boys

I bowed my head and narrowed my shoulders as I entered the narrow alley. Following the Terre des hommes child protection caseworker along the path between the camp shelters, I heard the noises of the neighbourhood reverberate and hushed tones of women and children emanate from the thatch walls on either side. As the path veered around the corner of one shelter, the caseworker beckoned me into our client's household. Inside I saw a single room bamboo shelter with tarpaulin walls and a divider down the middle. In the different corners and crevices of the shelter, the buckets and blankets characteristic of humanitarian distributions were stored, the colourful logos of humanitarian agencies contrasting with the muted colours of the shelter itself. In the middle of the room an elderly woman sat on the floor, her body dividing the space as a curtain draped behind her. Outside of the shelter doorway a growing number of children started to gather, curious at our presence. The male child protection caseworker and I sat at the perimeter of the first room and the female caseworker placed herself in the middle of the colourful woven mat in the centre, awaiting the arrival of her client. A small girl of about 6 years old soon entered from outside. Taking a seat near the female caseworker she stared down at the floor, seemingly shy at the attention directed her way and the cluster of onlookers from her community peering through the entrance.

In a hushed voice, the male caseworker explained to me that this little girl had lost both her parents in the conflict in Myanmar and was now in the care of her grandmother and siblings. As the female caseworker gently conversed with her to assess how she was, the girl kept her eyes down and started pulling her things out of a bright blue backpack she had received that morning from the United Nations Children's Fund learning centre. As the assessment continued and the girl started to describe her living situation to the female caseworker, the male caseworker quietly translated her responses to me. The girl described how although her favoured caregiver was her grandmother who was watching on closely, her primary caregiver was her brother aged 17. As the caseworker mentioned this, I started to reflect on the many boys I had seen moving about the camps acting as caregivers for younger siblings, carrying small children, or accompanying family members on their way to humanitarian services. In this case, the absence of the girl's parents had meant that her brother had become a prominent caregiver and had taken on adult responsibilities within the household. His ability to move through male-dominated public spaces had meant he had become responsible for his siblings outside of the home, in a small way running counter to gender norms allocating women and girls caregiving roles for young children, while also adhering to his assumed future role as head of household and its associated patriarchal responsibility for family and community leadership.

To begin this chapter, I recount this as an instance where adolescent boys may play a significant positive role in their households and communities. Although this thesis and much of the literature on child protection in emergencies focuses on the harm that adolescents may incur in crisis-affected communities, adolescent boys may also act as change makers, as guardians, and as makers and shapers of their societies. This vignette is also representative of another narrative thread that runs throughout this chapter. Humanitarian emergencies often prompt shifts to an adolescent boy's roles and responsibilities, with this based on the interaction of gender norms and other social factors with their social ecology and material environment. In this vignette, responsibility for the protection of children in the household devolved to this girl's brother. His ability to move freely through public space due to his age and gender identity was in this case particularly important with the elevated risk the camp environment entailed. In this chapter, I attend to this shifting and mutable experience for adolescent boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis. In particular, I focus on the duality of protection and harm in their lives and the role of social location in this dialectic. I argue that if we substantively consider the multitude of ways in which adolescent boys are socially located within the humanitarian environment, this means we must recognise the situation of constant flux between protection and harm in their social ecology.

To convey this argument, I have divided this chapter into two main sections. In the first section, I describe three typologies of violence that were reported in the empirical data collected for this study, including community violence, income-related violence, and life-stage vulnerabilities. Through these typologies, I argue that the different forms of harm adolescent boys are exposed to are cumulative, overlapping, and intimately linked to their social location. A key component to this argument is that adolescent boys are frequently made vulnerable because of their gender identity and how gender interacts with and promotes risk in their social environment. In the second section, I describe three categories of adolescent boys that humanitarian actors reported were at greater risk of experiencing child protection concerns. These include unaccompanied and separated adolescent boys, adolescent boys living in vulnerable households, and adolescent boys with a disability. I close this chapter by discussing protection and harm in the lives of adolescent boys from an intersectional interpretive position. I emphasise that in humanitarian frameworks, discourse, and intervention practices, adolescent boys should be recognised as complex and intersectional social actors with specific needs and protection concerns.

Protection concerns affecting adolescent Rohingya boys

The protection concerns that adolescent Rohingya boys face in the camps of south-eastern Bangladesh represent just one part of a continuum of violence and discrimination in their lives. Their prior experience of conflict-related violence and state-based oppression is related to and intertwines with the continuing incidence of violence they experience in displacement. Although in this thesis I do not attend to their experiences prior to displacement, it is important to view the different forms of harm

that I describe in this section against this context of enduring marginalisation experienced throughout Rohingya boys' lives. At the singular point in time and geographic context in which my study was conducted, my research participants raised a range of protection concerns that affect adolescent boys. This section divides and describes these concerns through three typologies: community violence, income-related violence, and life-stage vulnerabilities. I will discuss these in turn below.

Community violence

For the purpose of this thesis, I define community violence as physical and psychological violence perpetrated by family members, peers, religious leaders, and other community members. I derived this typology of violence from the patterns of abuse described by humanitarian staff in their accounts of the lives of adolescent Rohingya boys. Family violence, for one, is known to escalate in emergency settings as violence, material deprivation, economic pressure, and post-traumatic stress coalesce to increase violence against children (Catani 2010; Saile et al. 2014). A number of program managers for humanitarian agencies in the Rohingya crisis response reported significant levels of family violence in the displaced population, and that adolescent boys who had been subject to this had sought care from their agencies: "there's a lot of domestic violence at home, that's increased since coming here. Whether that is from relatives or uncles. There's an increase in domestic violence against boys as well" (CXB4, Gender-Based Violence Program Manager, Cox's Bazar). In addition, child protection caseworkers repeatedly identified that caregivers may fight with and physically or emotionally harm adolescent boys in their care. A child protection caseworker described how physical abuse is common to households in the camps, stating that caseworkers "often see them quarrelling with each other…the caregiver is always trying to beat them" (FGD4, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

In addition to physical violence, adolescent boys were also reported to have been exposed to numerous other forms of harm in their households and extended family. Emotional abuse was identified by several child protection caseworkers as being perpetrated by caregivers, with this including pressure placed upon adolescent boys to financially support their family or marry another community member (see this section, 'income-related violence' and 'life-stage vulnerabilities'), and the perpetration of emotional abuse against boys with disabilities (see next section, 'boys with disabilities'). There were also several cases reported by child protection staff of adolescent boys leaving home to escape instances of direct harm, as well as a broader environment of family violence. A caseworker recounted that caregivers "pressuring the [adolescent boy] child is common, and sometimes when they [the adolescent boy] can't take the pressure they run away from their home" (FGD5, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). Child neglect was also raised as a concern by humanitarian staff, with incidents reported in the context of family violence, substance abuse, and material deprivation. Most frequently, neglect was reported to occur in cases where unaccompanied or separated boys were living with another family in a caregiving arrangement: "children were not treated well in families because they were without

their parents, sometimes living with their uncles or aunts" (CXB13, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar).

A lesser-known form of harm that was reported by child protection caseworkers was the physical restraint of children by their caregivers using chains and locks. These specific instances (described by local child protection staff as 'shackling') were raised in two focus group discussions by child protection workers from different humanitarian organisations, and by one child protection program manager. A child protection caseworker described how when she was walking through the camps, she noticed a pre-adolescent boy of about age 9 chained to a house on the side of the street and that he was not able to move very far. She recounted how when she went into the child's house she noticed "that the boys' parents were reciting a religious book. The father said that he is not reciting the Quran and that is why [he is chained up], he also does not go to the *maktab* and *madrasa* enough" (FGD9, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).[34] In another case, a 12 year old boy was chained to his house by his caregivers as he had become addicted to the methamphetamine *yaba* and was being used to smuggle drugs through the camps. The caseworker who was supporting the boy recounted how he was referred to her after having been physically beaten by members of his community. She noted that he "was interested to rescue himself from these activities [taking drugs] but he's a child and he's 12 years old and he can't resist" (FGD9, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

The instances of community violence I have cited so far have largely occurred within the household or were perpetrated by extended family or neighbours. However, humanitarian staff and adolescent Rohingya boys have also reported the perpetration of violence against children by local religious instructors (REACH 2019a). Caseworkers, teaching staff, and temporary learning centre instructors claim that adolescent boys have experienced physical and emotional abuse from religious instructors if they were seen to be attending learning centres provided by humanitarian organisations, or if this attendance was perceived to be comprising their religious studies. Indeed, a child protection program manager for an international non-government organisation noted that "some children will openly tell you, I couldn't come [to the child friendly space] because I was beaten" (CXB09, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar). This was of particular concern during monsoon season when child protection actors distributed bracelets to assist with the reunification of lost children with their families. Religious leaders perceived this as an attempt at religious conversion and were reported to have beaten the children who wore them. Additional incidence of harm outside of an adolescent boy's family unit tend to revolve around adolescent boys being physically harmed by neighbours, community members, and host community members when moving through public space to play, attend humanitarian services, or fulfill their chores and other household responsibilities.

[34] A *madrasa* is school where people go to learn about the religion of Islam (Cambridge University Press 2020). The literal meaning of *maktab* is school. Within Islamic religious education it is understood as pre-school for religious education (Riaz 2008, p.154).

This finding, that adolescent boys frequently encounter the risk of physical harm when moving about the Rohingya refugee camps or in the Bangladeshi host community, aligns with empirical data contained in humanitarian assessments conducted in the Rohingya response. These assessments indicate that forests, markets, and distribution points, are not safe spaces for Rohingya adolescents. Boys have been reported to be exposed to physical and emotional harm in marketplaces by other Rohingya community members. At distribution points they are reported to experience violence, extortion, and even confiscation of their ration cards by Rohingya volunteers working for humanitarian agencies (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019; Toma et al. 2018). When local markets do not have sufficient stock, adolescent boys may then attend markets outside of the refugee camp boundaries. There, they report being beaten, sexually harassed, robbed, and targeted for trafficking (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). Of all locations, forests are most frequently mentioned by children as dangerous. To procure firewood for cooking may entail a 2 to 3 hour round trip to forests on host community lands. Boys report being beaten by the host community, being forced to pay fines for firewood collection, and being sexually abused (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). The dangers of the forest extend to disappearance. In an assessment conducted in November 2017, in all 23 of the focus groups conducted by Oxfam, participants reported that some children had never returned (Oxfam 2017). Boys are perceived by the Rohingya community as at the higher risk of disappearance, and dead children have been discovered on forest lands (ACAPS 2019a; Oxfam 2017).

It is important to recognise that adolescent boys are not just harmed by violence that is purposefully directed towards them, but also by the presence of intimate partner violence against their mothers within their home. Research from non-emergency settings suggests that intimate partner violence has psychological impacts upon children and may increase the risk of delinquency, dating violence, and substance use or abuse (Graham-bermann & Levendosky 2011; Slep & O'Leary 2005). Although this study did not focus on intimate partner violence and I did not address this topic with my participants, humanitarian staff raised it in their interviews as a broader protection issue: "there's a lot of violations at home, domestic violence" (CXB14, Child Protection Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). Humanitarian assessments conducted in the Rohingya crisis (and in Rakhine state (IRC 2016)) suggest that intimate partner violence is perceived by the Rohingya community as a normal part of household life, but also that there has been an increase in violence against women post-displacement (Akhter & Kusakabe 2014; Arif Al Mamun et al. 2018; Toma et al. 2018). Participants in these assessments attributed this to lack of economic opportunity for males, crowded living conditions, and the general impunity for interpersonal harm committed in the camp environment (Akhter & Kusakabe 2014; Arif Al Mamun et al. 2018; Toma et al. 2018). While there is no prevalence data available on intimate partner violence in the refugee camps, humanitarian case data on gender-based violence against Rohingya women and girls indicates that, of cases reported to humanitarian organisations in the first quarter of 2019, 74% of incidents were perpetrated by intimate partners (Gender-Based Violence Information Management System 2019).

It is also important to recognise that adolescent boys do not only experience violence but may also perpetrate violence within their communities. In a quantitative survey of 2,059 adolescent Rohingya girls and boys and their caregivers conducted between May and October 2019 in the refugee camps and host community, 53% of adolescents reported having experienced peer violence (Guglielmi et al. 2019). According to adolescent boys, local gangs physically assault them, kill people from other blocks, and kidnap children for ransom (Guglielmi et al. 2019). Adolescent boys also harass adolescent girls, particularly when girls are lining up for washrooms or moving about the camps (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). Participants in this study often referred to sexual harassment against adolescent girls through its local euphemism of 'eve-teasing'. They drew attention to how adolescent boys are often outside of their home in groups: "sometimes they're making bad comments to the women or girls when they're moving on the road. They're disturbing women and girls, even female [humanitarian] workers who are going to the camp, they're facing some teasing from the boys" (CXB17, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar).

The empirical data from this study indicates that there is a broad spectrum of violence occuring within the lives of adolescent Rohingya boys. When analysing these instances, however, it is important to recognise how this exposure is the by-product of a dialectic process between protection and harm facilitated by their social location. In public spaces, adolescent boys are directly exposed to physical and emotional violence perpetrated by other males in their community, as well as males from the Bangladeshi host community. Their access to this space is facilitated by their gender, which affords them agency and freedom of movement in this cultural context, and their age, which allocates them less parental oversight, more household responsibilities, and lesser access to humanitarian support than when they were younger. Family violence and neglect also act as push factors into public spaces as they seek to escape abuse: facilitating their exposure to risk. It is thus important to recognise how macro-level social norms interact with community-level distributions of power and household-level relationships to affect an adolescent boy's social location and protective environment. An intersectional interpretive position recognises that although their gender may afford them certain privileges, the interaction of gender, age, poverty, and ethnicity (among other factors) facilitates an adolescent boy's contact with male-dominated social environments and the harm they contain. Indeed, it is the interaction of social location and social ecology that produces a context where an adolescent boy may simultaneously experience greater agency and diminished access to safety.

Income-related violence

The second typology, income-related violence, I define as violence adolescent boys experience because of pressure to generate income, either for themselves, their family, or their household. In the data collection for this study, it was common for humanitarian staff to describe instances where adolescent boys were exposed to violence because of actions they had undertaken to increase their household's earning capacity. The main forms of income-related violence that affected adolescent Rohingya boys

included child labour, trafficking and abduction, drug trafficking, substance abuse, and crime. Of these, the most prominent form in my participants' accounts was child labour. Child protection staff reported numerous cases of child labour - including some of the most hazardous forms - and that it was mostly affecting adolescent boys. A child protection coordinator linked this to shifts in household dynamics post-displacement, noting that "many of them are taking responsibility for the family. They have to work and look for money to take care of the family" (CXB14, Child Protection Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). The program manager for a child protection organisation described adolescent boys as shouldering the "economic burden of their families" (CXB9, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar), while a caseworker observed that the main issue his team was addressing was child labour and that some caregivers "depend so much on their boy" to provide for the household (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). This pressure was perceived by child protection staff to be even more acute for boys living in vulnerable households (see the next section in this chapter).

Aside from this pressure to provide for their households, further drivers of child labour for adolescent boys were reported to include a desire to be able to afford to greater dietary diversity and a lack of access to education and age-appropriate activities. The forms of work adolescent Rohingya boys have been observed to engage in are primarily low skilled and take place outside of the home. Child protection caseworkers mentioned boys working in teashops, working as assistants on public transport, collecting rubbish, harvesting crops, working in hotels, working as a day labourers on construction projects, selling fruit, selling ice-cream or cigarettes in the market, and carrying construction materials, food distributions, and liquified natural gas canisters. Child protection staff facilitating activities at the adolescent clubs mentioned that there are significant drops in attendance by adolescent boys on days where distributions of humanitarian aid were occuring. Although humanitarian operating procedures prevent children collecting distributions, caseworkers reported that adults will collect relief item before then passing it to children for transport through the camps, often in return for small amounts of money. Adolescent boys have also been found working for humanitarian services. In these cases, adolescent boys have been found principally engaged in construction work conducted by private contractors for the water and shelter sectors. Although child protection organisations have endeavoured to prevent this from occurring, caseworkers have found that adolescent boys procure fake identification so they can gain access to paid employment for the humanitarian response, as it is one of the few available forms of work in the camps.

Although this issue is rarely raised by humanitarian staff, a significant child protection concern in the Rohingya crisis is the voluntary and involuntary movement of adolescents in search of employment. In focus group discussions, caseworkers noted that Rohingya children have been found working in the shops and hotels of different towns within a two-hour radius of the camps. Child protection caseworkers spoke of identifying Rohingya children working in these towns by approaching the children directly: "we have seen many children who come to Cox's Bazar town and who are working

in shops. I ask them 'what is the name of your *majhi*?' Then without any thinking they say 'my *majhi's* name is'" (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).[35] This movement outside of the camp boundaries is frequently facilitated by traffickers, with trafficking and abduction of children raised as a core child protection issue since the beginning of the crisis (CODEC et al. 2017; Severijnen & Ridwan Steinbock 2018). Human trafficking was present in Cox's Bazar district prior to the August 2017 refugee crisis, with communities around the town of Teknaf (Figure 3) known to assist traffickers to move people within Bangladesh and abroad to Malaysia to supplement their income as fisher-people, farmers, and traders (Hasan 2019).

Humanitarian assessments and documentary journalists have reported that adolescent Rohingya girls have been trafficked for exploitation in Bangladesh's commercial sex industry, lured by the promise of jobs as domestic workers in Cox's Bazar and the capital Dhaka (Al Jazeera 2018; BBC News 2018; Krehm & Shahan 2019). For adolescent boys, research participants in this study indicated they are trafficked for labour exploitation in the host community and that this also included instances of commercial sexual exploitation. The manager of a child protection assessment that collected data from adolescent Rohingya described how younger adolescent boys reported that "they're so afraid to go to market areas, public places where many people are" because of the presence of traffickers in public spaces and reports that traffickers work in collaboration with Rohingya leaders and camp authorities (CXB3, Child Protection Assessment Lead, Cox's Bazar). The trafficking of adolescent boys is reflective of the economic pressures upon them to provide for their households and the limited availability of employment within the camp boundaries. Indeed, child protection caseworkers participating in this study noted that for their cases of adolescent boys who had been subject to trafficking, this was often done with the promise of access to employment and education. The following story recounted by a child protection caseworker depicts such a case:

> One of my cases is a 14 year old boy who was taken by the host community. A host community member made a contract with the Rohingya family that the child would be kept in his house to look after his crops and he would give the child education. The caregiver was convinced and the child went to live in his house. But after 2 months, when the caregiver went to retrieve the child, the man who had taken the child into his home said the child is missing. The child was missing for a long time. When [the boy] returned he shared with us what had happened to him. The child was trafficked by another person, and after one month, he got a chance to escape from where he was kept in a dark house. He didn't know where he was, but after escaping he just kept running. When he got tired, he started crying and a shopkeeper asked him 'why you are crying?' Then the child explained his story to the

[35] A *majhi* is a Rohingya community leader who is appointed by the Bangladesh authorities in the Rohingya refugee camps. There are *majhis* allocated for each geographic subdivision of the refugee camps and they are tasked with settling minor disputes. *Majhis* are not traditional leaders or elders, and unlike established community leaders, are not necessarily respected community members (Protection Sector Working Group 2018).

> shopkeeper and the shopkeeper allowed the child to stay in his house. The child remembered the mobile number of his home and then he gave the mobile number to the shopkeeper and the shopkeeper contacted the caregiver (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

Additional protection concerns mentioned by child protection caseworkers included abduction, kidnapping, and drug trafficking. Child protection organisations have reported multiple instances of children who have disappeared and have never been found, and children themselves report fears of being kidnapped by the host community and held for ransom (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). With great concern in his voice, a caseworker in one focus group discussion recounted how he had been referred a case of a 10 year old boy who had disappeared: "he was lost 2 months ago from his family, he used to sell cigarettes and then one day he didn't come home…his family is worried about him…I followed up this case several times but I couldn't get any information about him" (FGD6, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). Closely tied to the human trafficking network is drug trafficking in Cox's Bazar district.[36] Predominantly consisting of the methamphetamine *yaba*, drug traffickers move their supply from the 'Golden Triangle' of Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand, through Cox's Bazar to the rest of Bangladesh (ACAPS 2019a; Advisory Commission on Rakhine State 2017; Lintner & Black 2009). Drug trafficking in and around the Rohingya refugee camps is reported to be widespread (ACAPS 2019a), and several humanitarian staff mentioned how younger adolescent boys were involved in drug trafficking. Child protection caseworkers identified familial neglect and idleness as the main drivers for boys' participation in drug trafficking, with traffickers reported to use children because they are less likely to be searched at checkpoints (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019).

The mobility boys are afforded throughout the camps may heighten their exposure to drug traffickers and adults using substances, therefore increasing the likelihood they will engage in trafficking practices, consume drugs, or face physical abuse by drug users. This does not, however, exclude exposure at home. Child protection staff reported instances of parents intentionally using their children for drug trafficking. In an interview with a child protection project manager, she described finding alternative care arrangements for a boy and girl who were being used by their mother for such purposes. A child protection caseworker also described working with the adolescent children of a father who had sold household rations to purchase drugs and had forced his children to sell drugs in the camps. Child protection caseworkers participating in half of my focus groups reported that young adolescent boys aged 10-12 were becoming addicted to *yaba*. These research participants emphasised that drug smuggling was a gateway to addiction, with these young boys then taught how to or forced to consume *yaba*. A caseworker described how she had seen drug trafficking by young Rohingya boys first-hand during her commute from the refugee camps to Cox's Bazar town:

[36] Drug smuggling syndicates have been reported as expanding the capacity of people smuggling and human trafficking networks in the region (Hasan 2019).

> One time, I took a bus and saw that two 10 to 12 year old boys were also on the bus. They said to the driver that they didn't want to go far and if he was able to help them cross the police checkpoint then they would pay. I saw that they had two packets. When they arrived at the checkpoint, the driver said they were the helpers of the bus, and the police never checked the children, so they passed. After they passed the checkpoint I asked the driver 'why did you do it?' He said that they are smuggling drugs, and that he did it for the money (FGD5, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

Child protection caseworkers also reported having found evidence of drug use during home visits and flagged that there were cases where boys who had fled family violence at home had then become addicted: "an 11 to 12 year old boy was neglected by his family. His parents were quarrelling with each other, but he didn't like this and that's why he engaged with a smuggler who trafficked *yaba*" (FGD7, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). Drug addiction was also linked by child protection caseworkers with crime, with young boys reportedly stealing small valuable items to fund drug consumption. A child protection program manager described the case of an 11 year old boy with severe substance abuse issues who had been caught stealing and had been physically beaten by community members. Originally separated from his parents in the August 2017 influx, when caseworkers reunited him with his father, the boy reportedly sat there immobilised, weeping, and with a deadened facial expression. The same child was later taken to a rehabilitation centre after repeatedly and purposefully hitting his head on the floor and having disappeared from home many times (CXB26, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar). Caseworkers recounted two other instances of young adolescent boys taken to rehabilitation centres to facilitate recovery from substance abuse issues.

In describing this typology of violence as related to income, I am suggesting that the intersection of material deprivation and other forms of social location underpin instances of child labour, child trafficking, drug trafficking, and substance abuse. However, in many of the accounts provided by humanitarian staff, gender as a form of social organisation that allocates 'breadwinning' responsibilities to men (and by extension, adolescent boys) is perceived to act as the primary driver of the risk contained in each of these environments. As with community violence, if we analyse gender in isolation from other forms of social location this narrows the analysis too far. Although adolescent boys are forced into child labour due to gender norms, economic status may determine the level of pressure, ethnicity and refugee status may mediate their access to labour markets, and developmental stage may affect their position and pay within the workforce. Indeed, it is difficult to even analyse social location without understanding the composition of an adolescent boy's household, as well as how he interacts with his community and its embedded socio-cultural norms. With income-related violence also encapsulating trafficking and labour migration, this typology draws attention to the function of mobility in the protection and harm of adolescent boys. The analysis of mobility highlights how an

adolescent boy's social and protective environment shifts through displacement, but also that there are further shifts as boys continue to move through different social and geographic locations over time.

Life-stage vulnerabilities

This study looked specifically at the risk and harm adolescent boys face in the Rohingya crisis. From the data that I collected, however, there were risks that were more closely related to significant points in their physiological, psychological, and social development. For this thesis, I categorise these aspects as life-stage vulnerabilities, with this typology referring to different forms of harm that adolescent boys are exposed to due to their age and developmental stage in their life course. In the Rohingya refugee crisis context, a key life-stage vulnerability was child marriage.[37] The marriage of adolescent boys was reported in all the focus groups I conducted for this research project, with caseworkers claiming that caregivers and community leaders preferred child marriage and that they interpreted it as a tradition or cultural practice of the Rohingya community. Humanitarian assessments that were conducted during my fieldwork report that child marriage mainly affects adolescent Rohingya girls (ACAPS 2019b; Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018). However, in the interviews and focus group discussions I conducted for this study, participants stressed that adolescent boys were also affected by child marriage: "[child marriage] is huge in the camp. It's not only the girls, the boys also. We have many child marriage cases who are boys. It obviously affects their life, their psychosocial development" (CXB23, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar).

Child protection caseworkers mentioned that adolescent boys who were marrying underage were often aged 14-16 years old, and that this was a "protection concern that is increasing day by day in the camps" (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). The drivers for child marriage for adolescent boys appear to be largely instrumental. Child protection caseworkers who were working with boys affected by child marriage commented that boys may be forced into marriage to reduce their caregivers' household responsibilities. This occurs due to the transfer of responsibility onto the boy as he establishes his own family unit. Further gains to an adolescent boys' family or household from child marriage include the payment of dowry by the bride's family, and potential access to additional food rations through the addition of another member to the household. As with adolescent girls, child protection staff reported that child marriage is seen by the Rohingya community as a protective factor for adolescent boys as it forces responsibility onto boys who are not working, and that they also perceive it as preventing boys from engaging in negative coping mechanisms, such as substance abuse or crime. This dynamic was described by a caseworker in one of the focus group discussions:

> The caregivers say that if their child, if their adolescent boy gets married, that takes responsibility off their family members. Because the adolescent boy is not taking any

[37] Child marriage, also known as early or forced marriage, is a "formal or informal union where one or both parties are under the age of 18. All child marriage is considered forced as children are not able to give full consent to marriage" (ACPHA 2019, p.303).

> responsibility, they are going around playing and some activities, and they're involved in some drug activities. That's why the family members say that they're trying to convince him to get married, because if he gets married he will take some responsibility (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

According to humanitarian assessments and recent academic research, adolescent girls are perceived by the Rohingya community to be eligible for marriage when beginning menstruation or appearing mature, with many girls married between 12-16 years of age (Ainul et al. 2018; Arif Al Mamun et al. 2018; IRC 2016; Melnikas et al. 2020). Although child protection staff claimed that adolescent boys can be married when they begin puberty or appear tall enough, there has not yet been any dedicated research on child marriage for boys in the Rohingya crisis, and there is less formal understanding of their lived experience of child marriage and its potential detrimental impacts as compared to girls.

Limited access to schooling is an additional concern that may increase pressure on adolescent boys to marry. In one focus group discussion, child protection caseworkers emphasised that education was a significant protective factor for boys and that its absence in the Rohingya refugee camps underpinned adolescent boys' exposure to trafficking, child marriage, and the other child protection concerns that they raised. Access to Bangladesh's formal education system and certification for Rohingya girls and boys has until recently been prohibited by the Government of Bangladesh (Education Sector & Child Protection Sub-Sector 2017; ISCG 2018a).[38] Rohingya children have been dependent on humanitarian actors for education services since 2015, with Bangladeshi and Rohingya teachers providing primary-level education to children up to age 14 in a mix of English and Burmese in over 3000 learning centres across the camps (Education Sector & Child Protection Sub-Sector 2017; REACH 2019a). However, humanitarian assessments show that attendance at learning facilities is highest between the ages of 5-10, before then rapidly dropping for both girls and boys during adolescence (REACH 2019a). For adolescent boys, caregivers report that the main barrier to their attendance is that the content is not age-appropriate (Cox's Bazar Education Sector 2018; REACH 2019a).

According to a recent education assessment conducted by humanitarian organisation REACH, only 13 of the 428 learning facilities that they assessed in the Rohingya camps offered services for adolescents age 15 and over (REACH 2019a). As a consequence, a recent inter-agency assessment covering multiple humanitarian sectors indicated that for adolescents aged 12-14, 32% of girls and 54% of boys attend a learning facility four days a week, with this dropping to 2% and 13% respectively for adolescents aged 15-18 years (ISCG 2019a). Adolescents progressively age-out of educational opportunities in the camp environment, with one child protection caseworker conveying the despair that adolescent boys had expressed to him about their inability to progress their schooling: "I've met

[38] This very recently changed. The Government of Bangladesh approved the roll-out of the Myanmar curriculum in 2020 for grades 6 to 9 for Rohingya children. This is still delivered through humanitarian education services and not the formal Bangladeshi education system (Al Jazeera 2020).

some boys who have brought their books from Myanmar. They didn't keep their clothes, but they kept their books. They are really depressed with this, and they have no access to education" (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). This same caseworker described how adolescent boys had expressed to him that they have nothing to do in the camps, and he highlighted how a growing adolescent population and learning centres that taught only to primary levels (and for only a few days a week) meant that this issue was critical to adolescent wellbeing. He was not alone in this sentiment.

In my field visits to Terre des hommes facilities, the staff often expressed how adolescent boys desired access to further learning and were asking for schooling within child and adolescent friendly spaces. Reinforcing this, in an interview with a protection officer who had conducted assessments on adolescent wellbeing in the camps, he commented that when one talks to adolescent Rohingya aged 12-17 years old "they are really kind of obsessed, their main grievance is education is not available for them" (CXB11, Protection Officer, Cox's Bazar). It is important to recognise that compared to younger children who often have access to primary-level education and adults who may have already had access to educational or vocational training prior to displacement, adolescents bear the weight of educational disruption in the aftermath of a crisis. In the case of the Rohingya crisis, schooling for Rohingya in Rakhine state has experienced long periods of disruption due to ongoing conflict and enrolment rates were already in decline for post-primary levels (REACH 2015). In Cox's Bazar, adolescents are forced to absorb this deficit in the face of heightened economic pressure to provide for their households, thus increasing their susceptibility to labour exploitation, trafficking, and drug smuggling. Humanitarian staff noted that the promise of education may be used by traffickers as a lure, with one caseworker recounting how a boy he had worked with was offered schooling if he went with a trafficker to Chittagong, a city some 6.5 hours by road from the refugee camps.

A further concern for adolescents in emergencies is sexual and reproductive health, with adolescence a critical developmental stage that comes with risk of sexual coercion, early marriage, sexually transmitted infections, and early pregnancy and parenthood (Kågesten et al. 2017; Schlecht et al. 2017). Even though I did not focus on sexual and reproductive health issues in this study, research participants mentioned that adolescent boys may have access to pornography on mobile phones and that this was having a negative impact on adolescent girls: "there was quite a lot of exposure to pornography in the camps. You would see them being exposed to what is not very age-appropriate content, at a very young age. They would often show that content to young girls and want to act it out" (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). Child protection caseworkers also raised several times the issue of love-relationships between adolescent girls and boys and the familial conflict and distress that this may incur in a socio-cultural environment where marriage is arranged. In one case, an adolescent boy was reported to have attempted suicide after his parents disallowed him from marrying the girl of his choice. In other cases, adolescent boys and girls would run away from home or leave the refugee camp entirely to pursue their relationship. Regardless, these issues reinforce how

adolescence is an important period where gender identity, sexuality, peer relationships, and normative responsibilities are iteratively negotiated in a protective environment that is continuously shifting.

So far, I have focused on typologies of harm in the lives of adolescent boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis. However, interviews that I conducted with humanitarian staff on other emergency contexts indicated that these typologies may extend to other humanitarian crises. For community violence, humanitarians suggested that adolescent boys are frequently exposed to physical violence and that they see heightened interpersonal violence within crisis-affected families. Aligning with the Rohingya crisis, in the interviews that I conducted in Geneva, participants identified that sociocultural norms often allocated adolescent boys economic responsibility for their households, and that the physical spaces they occupy in displacement settings (such as the streets or in workplaces) expose them to violence outside of the home and a different matrix of risks compared to other community members. For income-related violence, child labour and trafficking were raised as concerns, with one participant recounting how trafficking in the Philippines was also associated with the promise of educational opportunities for children. Key differentiators between the Rohingya crisis and other contexts, however, relate to the prominence of forced recruitment into armed groups and to violence perpetrated by the State in the accounts of my research participants. Humanitarian staff described how in contexts such as Afghanistan, the Philippines, Nigeria, South Sudan, Uganda, and Yemen, adolescent boys were the most affected by forced recruitment and are frequently harmed through contact with security forces, border patrol guards, and explosive remnants of war. In an interview with a staff member from an international child protection organisation, she described how forced recruitment may be linked to an adolescent boy's gender and age-related responsibilities for the economic welfare of their households:

> We had a massive campaign on demobilisation of child soldiers. The most affected were boys. That was the most vulnerable group for recruitment. There was no recruitment of girls. We did a study on why and a lot of it is related to economic issues. So it's not like they really want to get into the army, it was more the issue of supporting the family (GVA10, Child Protection Officer, Geneva).

Across the typologies of protection concerns that I have described in this chapter, there appears to be a direct link between an individual's exposure to harm and their social location and broader social ecology. For community violence, social location facilitates a boy's access to public space and the privilege that this may entail, while also limiting their protective environment and exposing them to a vast number of risks in a bidirectional dialectic. For income-related violence, gender norms assign them income-attainment responsibilities normally attributed to adults, but do so in the context of a caregiver's depleted income-generation capacity and poor asset holdings. It is not immediately clear, however, to what extent this translates into risk or protection issues, as the social ecology of an adolescent boy is contextually dependent and will shift as he moves about the camp environment or is trafficked in search of opportunity. For life-stage vulnerabilities, gender and age may act as variables

that place pressure on boys to marry early, but gender also delays marriage when compared to adolescent girls. An adolescent boy's developmental stage, social class, and numerous other variables thus interact with gender in ways that may facilitate or inhibit the child protection concerns that they are continuously exposed to in humanitarian emergencies. This intersectional interpretation accounts for nuance in the dual sides of risk and protection. It notes that both aspects are facilitated or mitigated by social location and social ecology, that social factors are embedded in historical processes, and that they will change over time. In the next section I turn to adolescent boys with heightened vulnerabilities in the Rohingya crisis, addressing their unique set of protection circumstances.

Adolescent Rohingya boys with heightened vulnerabilities

At the beginning of this thesis, I opened with a vignette that recounted an interaction between myself and an adolescent Rohingya boy with an intellectual disability. That fleeting moment has remained in my memory since the conclusion of my fieldwork, and I deliberately wrote this account into my thesis as a signifier of the diverse vulnerabilities that adolescent boys may display or experience in emergency settings. All adolescent boys are not at equal risk of experiencing harm. This section suggests that adolescent boys who are separated from their caregivers, those who are household heads or belong to particularly vulnerable households, and those with disabilities, may be at increased risk. In this section I describe these different subgroups of adolescent boys and the importance of how social identity, material environment, and social ecology interact in their lives. Importantly, in this section, I raise the importance of conceptualising adolescent boys not as an essentialised and homogenous category of persons, but rather as intersectional actors within a shifting environment of risk and protection.

Unaccompanied and separated boys

In humanitarian emergencies children can become separated from their caregivers. Without this protection, research suggests that children can be at increased risk of food insecurity and malnutrition, physical violence and abuse, sexual and reproductive health concerns, and exploitation for labour or sex (Stark et al. 2016). By definition, unaccompanied children are children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives, and are not under the care for someone who is legally responsible for their welfare (Inter-Agency Working Group on Unaccompanied and Separated Children (IAWGUASC) 2016). Similarly, a separated child is one who has been separated from both parents or their legal caregiver, but not necessarily from their relatives or other adult family members (IAWGUASC 2016). Across the discussions I held with child protection staff, participants often perceived unaccompanied and separated adolescent boys who were living in family-based care arrangements[39] to be at greater risk of neglect, maltreatment, exploitation, and other forms of harm. Indeed, caseworkers emphasised how for unaccompanied and separated children "there are many risk

[39] Family-based care is "a type of alternative care provided for children that involves the child living with a family other than their biological parents. This may include foster care, kinship care, and supported child headed households" (IAWGUASC 2013, p.11).

factors" (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). In the main, unaccompanied and separated boys were reported to face greater risk of child marriage and child labour. Caseworkers recounted how a female caregiver had arranged for the marriage of an adolescent boy under her care to reduce her responsibilities, and how a 16 year old boy living alone with his 13 year old sister was coerced into another home with the residents intending to force his marriage to their daughter.

Unaccompanied and separated children have been a significant issue in the Rohingya refugee crisis. Situation reports from August 2017 suggest the influx was characterised by large numbers of children separated from their parents or primary caregivers while fleeing to Bangladesh (ISCG 2019b; Education Sector & Child Protection Sub-Sector 2017). This primary separation was then augmented by secondary separation once in Bangladesh, with children having been kidnapped from their families, separated from their parents or caregivers in the camps, or having become lost in the dark and unable to find their way home (Severijnen & Ridwan Steinbock 2018). The reports provided by my research participants that indicate unaccompanied and separated boys may be at greater risk of harm compared to children living with their primary caregivers aligns with accounts attained from adolescent Rohingya themselves. In a participatory child protection assessment conducted in December 2018, adolescent Rohingya girls and boys noted that unaccompanied and separated children living in family-based care arrangements were at more risk of encountering child protection concerns (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). In particular, they drew attention to how adolescent girls and boys living in family-based care were forced to do more work than the biological children of the household, with parents viewing this to be a fair exchange for the care being provided (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). Unaccompanied and separated children themselves have also stated that they often do not receive sufficient psychosocial care, food, clothing, and support from their caregivers (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019).

Adolescent boys in vulnerable households

From the empirical data collected for this study, my analysis suggests that there are three main types of households that can increase an adolescent boy's vulnerability. These include child headed households, households who have elderly, ill or disabled caregivers, and female headed households. Of these, female headed households are often identified by the Rohingya community and humanitarian organisations as most at risk (ACAPS 2019a). In a humanitarian assessment conducted by the Assessment Capacity Project in 2019, Rohingya men and women participating in 12 focus group discussions ranked female headed households as having the hardest time meeting their needs (ACAPS 2019a). Female headed households are relatively widespread in the camps, with population-based data collected in September 2019 showing that of a total of 211,383 Rohingya families across the Cox's Bazar camps, 33,607 (15.89%) are female headed households (UNHCR 2019). Restrictive gender norms mean that Rohingya women face significant barriers to income generation and ensuring the wellbeing of their household, including limitations on women's employment, the burden of childcare responsibilities, the need to collect distributed relief items during working hours, and the pervasive threat of sexual

harassment when moving in public spaces (ACAPS 2019a). Women's work is further problematised by their lower literacy levels, as well as violent backlash by members of the Rohingya community against women engaging in paid work (ISCG 2019c).

Gender roles within the Rohingya community tend to allocate men responsibility for income generation (Ripoll 2017). In the case of female headed households, it is common for adolescent boys within the household to become responsible for income-generation in these male-dominated labour markets and public spaces. In this study, there were widespread reports of younger adolescent and older adolescent boys living in female headed households having to enter the workforce to support their families. In this way, socioreligious restrictions on women's rights have direct impacts on the protection of adolescent boys by forcing their entry into the labour market and its risks of exploitation, trafficking, and abuse. This impact was captured in an account by a child protection program manager. He described how an adolescent boy aged 14 had approached him and asked for work. After the project manager asked the boy why he wanted a job, the boy replied "I came here with my mum, but my mum can't access a job. She can't get a job and I can't get a job and life is hard for us. So I have to get out there and find something to do" (CXB9, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar). This quote reflects how important it is to understand that gender norms that restrict women's agency not only negatively impact women themselves, but also that they have flow on effects for their children's protective environment and the risk of harm for adolescent boys in their care.

A similar escalation in risk for adolescent boys is present in households with caregivers who are elderly, ill, or have a disability. Population-level data indicates that as at 30 September 2019 there were 4,709 households of older persons who had children, 2.2% out of a total 211,383 Rohingya households in Cox's Bazar (UNHCR 2019). In these households, children and adolescents are often responsible for obtaining resources and have to work to support themselves and their families (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019). The inability of adult caregivers to provide income and material support for their children is thus a key driver for adolescent boys to collect firewood, visit markets, or carry distributions, placing them in spaces where they are subject to physical and emotional abuse. This situation was recounted by a child protection caseworker when describing her interaction with the elderly caregiver of an adolescent boy she was working with who had lost both his parents in the conflict in Myanmar and was now living under the care of his grandmother:

> There was an orphaned boy who was being looked after by his grandmother, the grandmother had no husband, only the child. The boy went to the forest to collect firewood. When I asked the boy's grandmother why she allows him to go to the forest, why doesn't she support him to go to school, the grandmother said 'I have no one, if he doesn't bring wood for me, how will I get food to survive, that's why I allow him to go to the forest' (FGD1, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

There were few accounts of the vulnerability of child headed households in the Rohingya crisis, either from my participants or in data collected through humanitarian assessments. Child headed households are households where "a child or children assume the primary day-to-day responsibility for running the household, and providing and caring for those within it" (ACPHA 2019, p.302). While the term 'child headed household' is frequently used when there is no adult living at home, the term also overlaps with children who head households with vulnerable caregivers. There is little information on child headed households in the Rohingya response, and they are not mentioned in the humanitarian response plans[40] that were produced during my fieldwork (ISCG 2018a, ISCG 2019d). Although a recent review of child-focused data from the Rohingya crisis identifies child headed households as particularly vulnerable (ACAPS 2019b), there is no further information contained in the document. Similarly, in an assessment conducted by the Assessment Capacity Project wherein participants were asked to rank different types of households based upon their relative vulnerability, child headed households were not provided as an option for participants to evaluate (ACAPS 2019a). Child protection caseworkers in this study, however, identified cases of adolescent boys heading families, with this then prompting them to enter the labour force to support their younger siblings. The following two accounts depict this situation and its close relationship to income-related violence:

> I've got two or three cases [of child headed households]. [In one of these cases] the boy is 16 years old and he does the household activities. He is an unaccompanied child and he takes care of his younger sister and protects his younger brother. He cooks food and does the washing of clothes, carrying water, all the different types of work are done by him, because he is unaccompanied. If it is one child we can try to foster care, but if it is six children.... It's too difficult because of his younger brother and sister, they are not able to live separately without him (FGD6, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

> This boy is working in Cox's Bazar to maintain his sisters. He has two sisters, and they're in the camp. He is working in Cox's Bazar to earn some money because he said that it is not enough, what they have received from the World Food Programme, only rice and pulses is not enough for us. So they need other food also, that's why they need money. There's no available work in the camp (FGD10, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

Boys with disabilities

In addition to unaccompanied and separated boys and boys in vulnerable households, caseworkers also drew attention to adolescents with disabilities as at risk of harm and facing limited availability of humanitarian support. In the main, adolescent boys with disabilities were raised in the context of discussions regarding service limitations rather than direct instances of physical violence or emotional

[40] Humanitarian response plans articulate the vision for how humanitarian actors plan to jointly respond to an affected population's needs, informing the strategic objectives that direct the different sectors of a response (UNOCHA 2020). They form a core component of the humanitarian program cycle, and in the Rohingya refugee crisis, were known as Joint Response Plans (see ISCG 2017e, ISCG 2018a, ISCG 2019d).

abuse. I was able to observe and hear the impact of this during home visits where I accompanied Terre des hommes child protection caseworkers as they visited their cases of children with disabilities. In these settings, caregivers often expressed their discontent at the services they had accessed and the inability of humanitarian service providers to support their children. In one formal interview, however, a child protection program manager recounted a case where an adolescent boy with learning difficulties had been chained to the floor of his home and had also had items thrown at him in public at the urging of local religious leaders, ostensibly with the purpose of motivating him to improve his learning. A child protection caseworker recounted how "if a child suffers from a disability all the family members neglect the child, call them bad names, and other children don't want to mingle with them" (FGD1, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar).

The different needs and vulnerabilities of Rohingya children with disabilities appears to be largely recognised by the Rohingya community. In a December 2017 humanitarian assessment, more than half of 185 caregivers, teachers, and community leaders identified children with disabilities as experiencing more suffering compared to other children (Cox's Bazar Education Sector 2018). However, there is no clear data on adolescent Rohingya boys living with disabilities or the harm they are at risk of experiencing. Population-based data from the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees suggests that as at 30 September 2019, 8,549 of 211,383 Rohingya families (4%) have a person with a disability (UNHCR 2019).[41] Estimates from a household survey conducted by REACH in May 2019, however, suggest that 14% of Rohingya households in the camps have at least one individual with a disability (REACH 2019b). This same survey estimated that 5% of Rohingya refugees older than 5 years of age have a disability, including 2% of children aged 5-11 and 1% of children aged 12-17 (REACH 2019b). Despite these figures and insistence by child protection caseworkers on the deficit of support for adolescents with disabilities, there is limited mention of them in humanitarian strategies, situation reports, or advocacy publications on Rohingya children. Indeed, the Assessment Capacity Project notes in its review of data collected in the Rohingya crisis on children that limited data on "children and youth with disabilities means that their specific needs are going unmet" (ACAPS 2019b, p.2). Consequently, there is a need for improved understanding of physical and psychological harm that adolescent boys with disabilities are exposed to and how this may differ from other children.

Across the three subgroups of adolescent boys described in this section, the intersection of social location and social ecology plays a critical role in their risk exposure. Family structure, gender norms, and material deprivation may force unaccompanied and separated adolescent boys into situations of early marriage or into streets, public places, and situations of trafficking in order to provide for their household. For boys living in female headed households, gender, age, class, refugee status, and numerous other social factors mean that they may also find themselves in a situation of heightened

[41] In the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees survey, respondents were asked to report household members with a disability without mentioning the type or domain of impairment. This tends to lead to lower estimates of the number of people with a disability within a given population.

responsibility while still being exposed to the vulnerabilities attached to their developmental stage. In the main, this same dynamic was reported by humanitarian staff for other emergency contexts. Adolescent boys living in family-based care arrangements in Burundi and Somalia, for example, were noted to face higher levels of exploitation, physical violence, and sexual violence. However, the most common case reported by my research participants was how the loss or disablement of a caregiver would then impact upon adolescent children in the household. Frequently, this was associated with gender roles and the devolvement of breadwinning responsibilities to adolescent boys. This link between gender norms, developmental stage, and protection was summarised by a protection officer who worked for a multilateral non-government organisation:

> I would say one of the biggest issues is the expectation from them as boys themselves, because they are the future men. There are different expectations for boys than girls. They need to be strong, they need to work, they need to earn money, and they need to take care of their families. If the father is not present, if he died or disappeared, or is somewhere fighting even, then by default all those roles are given to the adolescent boy in the family. It's indeed, when you think about it, it's a very hard job. The expectations from adolescent boys are very serious. And, in the end, they are just children still (GVA12, Protection Officer, Geneva).

Conclusion

In this chapter I described different forms of harm that humanitarian staff reported were affecting adolescent Rohingya boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis and drew attention to subgroups of adolescent Rohingya boys who are uniquely affected by their set of circumstances. The three typologies of child protection concerns that I constructed for this thesis – community violence, income-related violence, and life-stage vulnerabilities - are reflective of the interaction between an adolescent boy's social location and social ecology in a dynamic dialectic that may provide safety but oftentimes facilitates their exposure to harm. Throughout this chapter the empirical data often indicated that gender forms an important component of an adolescent boy's social location that grants certain privileges, such as access to public space and labour markets, while its interaction and intersection with social class, refugee status, and other factors facilitates their exposure to risk of physical, verbal, and sexual abuse. As the participants in my study did not mention boys who are of diverse sexual orientations, gender identity and expressions, or sex characteristics, unfortunately their specific experiences of harm were not explored. For the different subgroups of adolescent boys with heightened vulnerabilities, social location appears to combine with household composition, physical and intellectual impairments, and separation from caregivers, to demonstrate how additional layers of marginality compound and shape the lives of adolescent boys in humanitarian emergencies.

This data from the Rohingya crisis context was confirmed in accounts of child protection concerns that adolescent boys are exposed to in humanitarian emergencies the world over. Participants from international non-government and multilateral organisations often emphasised how in contexts such as Afghanistan, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Yemen, shifting roles for adolescent boys and the forced attribution of adult male responsibilities to them then facilitated their exposure to forced recruitment, hazardous child labour, detention by security actors, child trafficking, and other dangerous child protection concerns. This data from the Rohingya crisis and other emergency contexts conveys how important it is not to view adolescent boys as a homogeneous entity that benefits from patriarchal privilege, but rather as a diverse body of individuals that humanitarian actors bind together through artificial delineations based on age and gender. Through the application of an intersectional theoretical framework, one can understand how adolescent boys have specific needs and are socially located at a complex point of marginality and power. In the next chapter I turn to adolescent boys as subjects of humanitarian action in the Rohingya crisis, conveying how gender work was conducted by humanitarian actors, where adolescent boys were positioned within this approach, and what the humanitarian response was to their complex social location and specific needs.

Chapter 6.

Adolescent boys and gender humanitarianism

We sat around a rectangular assembly of tables, the room illuminated by artificial light and decorated with images of humanitarian staff standing proudly with their eyes facing the camera, their clothing emblazoned with UN branding. I sat on the left-hand side of the room, quietly taking in the proceedings of the fortnightly meeting of the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group, a group that brought together humanitarians working on gender equality from national and international humanitarian agencies. At the front of the room, a representative from UN Women led the meeting, with the content centring on the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign that was going to be taking place from 25 November 2018 to 10 December 2018. Throughout the meeting, discussions revolved around coordinating the different activities that each organisation was conducting in the refugee camps during this period to spread messages on preventing violence against women and girls. It was at this meeting that I first heard mention of adolescent boys in discussions on gender in the crisis response. When listing their planned activities, the meeting participants often highlighted to the group their efforts to 'engage boys'. These included short talks with adolescent boys to discuss violence against women and girls, public speaking competitions on women's safety and health, and mixed discussions with adolescent girls on achieving their hopes and dreams.

After the meeting attendees had described their planned activities, the Working Group coordinator proceeded to emphasise how activities that were designed to engage men and boys in efforts to prevent violence against women and girls were the most suggested type of intervention for the 16 Days campaign. On hearing this I felt cautiously optimistic that adolescent boys were being proactively included within the approach that humanitarian organisations were taking to addressing gender norms and gender inequalities within the refugee crisis. With great trepidation I decided to break my silence and asked for clarification from the room on what was meant when a humanitarian organisation referred to their activities as an initiative that engaged boys on gender concerns. The response provided by the coordinator and other participants was that these were sessions that were often designed to 'sensitise' boys to the issues facing Rohingya women and girls. For the entirety of my fieldwork, this was the sole time in which adolescent boys were mentioned in inter-agency coordination on gender. Adolescent boys were not raised in the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group, the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector, or in gendered discussions within the Child Protection Working Group.

In the previous chapter, I described forms of harm affecting adolescent boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis and posited that gender was an important aspect of their social location that influenced their exposure to risk and protection from abusive practices. Furthermore, I emphasised how adolescent

boys often experience multiple overlapping forms of marginalisation, and that these represent just the most recent instances in a long history of social exclusion and related state-based persecution. In this chapter, I proceed to describe how gender and other forms of social location were operationalised by humanitarian actors within the Rohingya refugee crisis through the technical practice of gender humanitarianism. Drawing mainly upon data that I collected by participating in the response as Gender Technical Adviser for Terre des hommes, as well as interviews with humanitarian staff, I analyse adolescent boys as subjects of gender in humanitarian action and the impact of these practices on humanitarian interventions for adolescent boys. The narrative that runs throughout this chapter centres on how the interpretive frameworks through which humanitarians assess a crisis may create significant omissions in the provision of emergency relief and may fail to account for the complex dynamics of social location and social ecology among vulnerable subgroups of crisis-affected populations.

Structurally, I have divided this chapter into three sections. In the first section, I recount how gender in humanitarian action was implemented in the Rohingya refugee crisis from my vantage-point as one of the limited number of humanitarians with the dedicated responsibility of mainstreaming gender within the response. Then, in the second section, I address adolescent boys as subjects of gender in humanitarian action, analysing their status and position within its discourse. Lastly, in section three, I describe how national and international child protection organisations attempted to protect adolescent boys in the refugee camps of Cox's Bazar. I chose to focus on child protection actors as they have a clear mandate for protecting adolescent boys from harm and responding to violence perpetrated against them. Fundamentally, I argue that gender humanitarianism in the Rohingya crisis was guided by a framework that prioritised gender as the primary and overriding form of social location, and that this approach marginalised other social identities from its analysis. While a framework that positions gender as of foremost importance in the spectrum of social locations may be appropriate and proportionate to the context (and to gender in humanitarian action) it also comes with an opportunity cost. I argue that omitting a complex analysis of social location can translate into humanitarian interventions that do not sufficiently account for the heterogeneity of crisis-affected populations, including within groups of adolescent boys themselves, and the breadth of factors that shape inequality, risk, and marginalisation.

Gender humanitarianism and the Rohingya refugee crisis

From the beginning of the Rohingya refugee crisis, the impact of gender norms and gender inequalities on the needs of the displaced Rohingya population has been recognised by humanitarian organisations as a concern. Perhaps the best demonstration of this was the level of discursive attention paid to the specific vulnerabilities of adolescent girls by the many different humanitarians that I spoke to during my fieldwork. During discussions on gender in the Rohingya crisis response, adolescent girls were often raised by staff working on child protection and gender-based violence as a particularly vulnerable subgroup of the Rohingya population due to the impact of gender norms on their mobility,

agency, and experiences of violence. In the focus group discussions that I conducted with child protection caseworkers, participants mentioned how upon reaching early adolescence, girls face restrictions on their movement outside of their households, sexual harassment when moving through public space, sexual harassment and assault when using latrines, forced marriage to older boys and young men, and forced withdrawal from attending child friendly spaces and other humanitarian support services. Child marriage formed a significant proportion of the child protection caseload for all child protection organisations, with there accounts of adolescent girls forced into marriage by their family and relatives from approximately the age of 10.

However, it was not just early and forced marriage that was of concern. Further issues for adolescent Rohingya girls that were linked to child marriage included family violence perpetrated against them by their in-laws after marriage, intimate partner violence from their husbands, early pregnancy and marital rape, and trafficking to Malaysia for marriage to Rohingya men living there. The confluence of these forms of harm are demonstrated in the following account provided by a child protection caseworker, where she describes assisting an unaccompanied girl who was forced into marriage at the age of 12:

> The child was a girl, only 12 years old, early marriage was the challenge. Because the girl has no one, she was unaccompanied and has no relatives, the *majhi* arranged the marriage of this girl. Because the girl was a member of the adolescent club, she did not come after her marriage. As she was not coming to the club, then [the child protection team] went to her house. They found out that she got married and they also went to her husband's house and found that she was tortured by her husband's family. She was tortured in such a way that she couldn't speak. They [the family] beat her to bring money from her father's house, but the girl did not have any parents. The girl was so traumatised that she did not want to speak anymore. Her parents-in-law did not allow [the child protection team] to speak with her, and the girl was also afraid because she is a young child (FGD3, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar)

These reports of significant harm perpetrated against adolescent Rohingya girls are reflected in humanitarian assessments. In focus group discussions and interviews conducted by humanitarian organisations, adolescent Rohingya girls describe being exposed to extreme levels of violence prior to displacement, including witnessing the death and torture of their family, the burning and destruction of their homes, and physical and sexual violence in Myanmar and during flight to Bangladesh (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018). In the refugee camps, adolescent girls report restrictions on their movement and confinement to their shelter, a lack of appropriate clothing, fear of violence and abduction, a high risk of getting lost, increased volumes of carework, lack of public lighting and safety, feelings of shame when using sanitation facilities, and insufficient women only spaces (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018; Oxfam GB 2018; Toma et al. 2018). Even with their already restricted mobility, Rohingya caregivers and the broader community confine adolescent girls' movements further during menstruation due to

cultural taboos that depict women as unclean during this time (Oxfam GB 2018). These impositions are often underpinned by gendered cultural and religious beliefs that prevent women from being seen by men other than their husbands outside of the home (known as *purdah*), and gendered divisions of community, household, and economic labour (Akhter & Kusakabe 2014). In the refugee camp environment, Rohingya women and girls are also often not located close to relatives and former neighbours from their villages in Myanmar, with the upholding of *purdah* then entailing restricted mobility and agency due to the unfamiliarity of men in their surroundings (Holloway & Fan 2018).

These restrictive social and material conditions are further compounded by long queues to use sanitation facilities that are not segregated by sex and frequent instances of sexual harassment in public places. As a result, women and girls report eating and drinking less to avoid using the latrine, defecating in their shelters, and attending latrines in the evening and therefore incurring greater risk of injury or rape (CODEC et al. 2017; Holloway & Fan 2018; Oxfam GB 2018). Gender norms in the Rohingya community primarily allocate girls caregiving responsibilities for younger siblings, as well as other forms of domestic work. This caregiving burden limits girls' opportunities to continue their education or engage in recreation and play. Further barriers to girls' education include discouragement by caregivers for cultural reasons, limited learning facilities for adolescents in general, restrictions on adolescent girls' movement, early marriage and pregnancy, and a lack of sex-segregated education facilities (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018). The ability of women and girls to contribute to their community and acquire information is also highly mediated, with the leadership of community decision-making, camp authorities, and mosques, comprised almost entirely of adult men. Humanitarian assessments indicate that Rohingya women were involved in some income-generating activities in Rakhine state (WFP 2017). However, in the camps, women and girls are often prohibited from working, are only entitled to make decisions about household matters, and face physical and emotional harm if they disobey their husbands (Arif Al Mamun et al. 2018; Toma et al. 2018). While humanitarian assessments have revealed these gendered discrepancies, the best evidence comes from adolescent Rohingya girls themselves. Drawings by adolescent Rohingya girls in Figure 7 depict gendered divisions of opportunity and agency in both the refugee camps and in Rakhine state.

Figure 7: Adolescent Rohingya girls' drawings for International Women's Day 2019.

In the first picture, the artist depicts herself being confined to the home while her brother goes to school, receiving lesser portions of food at the dinner table compared to her brother, and her brother being allowed to play football outside with his friends while she remains inside. In the second picture, the drawing at the top depicts the girl's dreams of education, the bottom left drawing depicts this girl's desire to become a doctor, and in the middle drawing, the artist depicts her hair being pulled by a boy. These were drawn by adolescent girls attending child friendly spaces for a drawing competition that asked them to depict their hopes and dreams. According to a child protection officer from one organisation, when the girls were asked to draw to this theme, they responded that they have no dreams because when they are aged 13–15 their parents will marry them off, so what dream could they possibly have.

The starting point for how gender was operationalised in the Rohingya crisis by humanitarian organisations and their staff was thus based on vast disparities in safety and agency within the Rohingya population, due to discriminatory gender norms that tend to favour Rohingya men and boys over Rohingya women and girls. In the main, inter-agency humanitarian initiatives conducted from this standpoint attempted to rectify these gendered social inequalities by seeking to address the marginalised position of adult Rohingya women within their community. This approach was most apparent in the main forum for the conduct of gender in humanitarian action within the Rohingya crisis response: the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group (hereafter 'Working Group'). Established in October 2017, the Working Group is the main space where humanitarian staff coordinate between different agencies on the conduct of gender in humanitarian action and attempt to engender coordination, advocacy, assessment, and information sharing on the topic of gender equality (Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group 2020). During my fieldwork, I attended Working Group meetings held between October 2018 and January 2019.[42] The purpose of my attendance was to understand the state of gender mainstreaming in the Rohingya crisis response, collaborate with other gender workers, and to attain technical advice on conducting gender work within Terre des hommes' child protection operations.

Working Group meetings that were held during this period were mostly focused on inter-agency coordination of activities for the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence campaign from 25 November to 10 December 2018, and International Women's Day on 8 March 2019. There were additional initiatives that were put forward by the Working Group leadership and attendees to train staff on gender in humanitarian action, establish a working group on women's leadership, produce briefing notes on gender in the Rohingya crisis, and respond to threats against Rohingya women volunteering for humanitarian agencies and female humanitarian staff.[43] However, across the response, there was limited resourcing to address gender concerns and a noticeable absence of gender expertise. From October 2018 to April 2019, there were only (to my knowledge) three other gender specialists employed within the Rohingya crisis. Working Group attendees were predominantly persons acting as 'focal points' for gender within their organisations: non-specialist staff members allocated the additional responsibility of mainstreaming gender within their program or organisation. Even then, only two of the 12 different sectors of the response had nominated focal points to the Working Group in 2018.[44]

[42] Attending more Working Group meetings was made difficult because I was attending the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector meeting, Child Protection Sub-Sector meeting, and was also facing a significant workload in my work for Terre des hommes.

[43] During my fieldwork there were frequent reports of Rohingya women who were volunteering for humanitarian services being subject to violence, harassment, and abuse. During a Child Protection Sub-Sector meeting in early February 2019, 7 different organisations in 12 camps reported instances of violence against Rohingya women volunteers, including visits by masked men to the homes of the volunteers at night threatening to kill them if they continued to go to work.

[44] As discussed in Chapter 1, the Rohingya crisis response coordination framework was based on a hybridised model that combined a traditional refugee response with what is known as the cluster system or cluster approach. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee developed the 'cluster approach' in 2005 to organise humanitarian actors

This was not abnormal. A protection officer reflected to me that humanitarian gender workers are rare and that the gender-based violence sector is often responsible for gender mainstreaming.[45] This was confirmed by humanitarian staff with experience working in other emergencies and by my personal experience working on gender in the humanitarian response in Myanmar.

The limited humanitarian resources dedicated to gender work, meant that training humanitarian staff on gender in humanitarian action was by necessity a core component of gender humanitarianism in the Rohingya crisis. However, at the interagency level, the Working Group conducted only one gender training on *The gender handbook for humanitarian action* (IASC 2018a) during my six months of working in the response. The fact that there were few gender specialists working within the response meant that training for humanitarian staff was more often a component of training on other aspects of humanitarian action rather than a systematic, wide-scale approach to upskilling humanitarians on gender in humanitarian action. For example, gender was often included as a theoretical concept in training on gender-based violence for health personnel or in inductions for new staff working for child protection organisations. Best practice examples of gender in humanitarian action training came from Médecins du Monde, who conducted weekly training sessions on gender, and Oxfam, who ran regular small-group sessions for its staff that encouraged critical reflection on gendered beliefs and practices. According to my informants, initiatives such as these were often instigated based on the personal initiative of specific individuals or at the behest of the donor organisations funding an agency's activities. As such, gender in humanitarian action did not appear to be systematically addressed as a priority for training and capacity building across the response.

Emergency responses often require humanitarian actors to prioritise how resources are directed to meet the needs of the most vulnerable. Given the significance of gendered disparities within the Rohingya population and its impact on women and girls, it follows that the praxis and intervention logic of gender humanitarianism prioritises gender over other forms of social location to assess the needs of the population and their specific vulnerabilities. It also follows then that the discourse contained in the inter-agency humanitarian planning documents reflects this standpoint. Humanitarian planning

into different 'clusters' based on the major areas of a humanitarian response. For each cluster, one United Nations agency was designated as the lead agency. At the global level, clusters would convene humanitarian actors to strengthen the humanitarian system in that area. In emergency settings, humanitarian actors would convene in clusters to coordinate their response and share information, conduct planning, source funding, and execute joint activities (Steets et al. 2010). At the country level, humanitarian action is coordinated through a Humanitarian Country Team chaired by the United Nations Resident Coordinator and the heads of United Nations agencies, and an inter-cluster coordination group that brings together the cluster leads (IASC 2015c). Due to the hybrid coordination model in the Rohingya crisis, the different areas of the response were referred to as 'sectors', in line with the UNHCR Refugee Coordination Model. The 12 sectors included Protection (including Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence), Food Security, Education, Site Management and Site Development, Health, Nutrition, Water Sanitation and Hygiene, Shelter and Non-Food Items, Communication with Communities, Emergency Telecommunications, Logistics, and Coordination.

[45] It was a rare exception when, in the middle of 2019, a dedicated facility and staff for gender mainstreaming was created within the Inter-Sector Coordination group in the Rohingya crisis response. Known as the 'Gender Hub', it was tasked with providing sector-level support for gender mainstreaming across the response.

documents from the onset of the August 2017 influx indicate that Rohingya women and girls were recognised early-on as being more vulnerable to harm. The 2017 preliminary response plan includes specific mention of women, particularly as survivors of violence (ISCG 2017e), and the 2018 response plan front-loads the vulnerability of women and girls when it identifies protection needs in the Rohingya community (ISCG 2018a). Further attention can be seen in humanitarian assessments on protection and assistance concerns for Rohingya women and girls, violence perpetrated against women and girls in Myanmar, and in briefings, commitments, and situational reports (ISCG 2017h; UN Women 2018). This alludes to a gendered discourse within the humanitarian response that emphasises how Rohingya women and girls are disproportionately vulnerable and suggests that this framing may extend to determining how humanitarian actors assess gender norms and power relations within resource prioritisation efforts.

At the start of this thesis I conceptualised gender humanitarianism as a field of academic inquiry focused on the practice of gender mainstreaming and gender equality programming in a humanitarian response. I posited that gender humanitarianism consists not only of the practice of gender in humanitarian action, but also that it embodies a specific and hegemonic form of knowledge and logic about crisis-affected populations. It is incredibly difficult to analyse the entirety of discourse on gender humanitarianism across the innumerable layers of the crisis in order to completely understand the different forms of gendered knowledge, logic, and performance that infused the response. However, during my fieldwork I observed that gender as a critical form of social location was largely not systematically addressed or prioritised across the multitude of sectors and different actors working in the crisis. Rather, women and girls as an all-encompassing group were identified as highly vulnerable within humanitarian planning and targeted action. The immediacy of need for Rohingya women and girls meant that gender workers and inter-agency initiatives alike prioritised and elevated the very real vulnerabilities of Rohingya women and girls. This follows as a natural consequence of the discriminatory impacts of gendered divisions within the Rohingya community, the gender-dominant lens through which gender workers view crisis-affected populations, and the need to prioritise humanitarian resources. For gender humanitarianism, this translates into a gender-first framework for addressing crisis-affected populations that marginalises other forms of social location from its analysis. In the next section, I proceed to describe how this approach then relates to adolescent boys.

Adolescent boys and the operationalisation of gender

In the opening vignette for this chapter, I described how in humanitarian coordination forums and humanitarian activities that target gender equality adolescent boys were seldom mentioned outside of efforts to prevent violence against women and girls. However, before attempting to identify the place of adolescent boys within the gender frameworks that were operating in the Rohingya crisis response, it is important to also interrogate how humanitarian actors incorporated two other critical variables

relevant to their social location: age and developmental stage. From the interviews and focus group discussions I conducted with humanitarian staff in Cox's Bazar, it became apparent that in the initial stages of the response to the August 2017 influx, adolescent boys and girls had not been prioritised as an age group. Indeed, a program manager from an international child protection organisation observed that initiatives targeting adolescents were "always the thing that came after" (CXB12, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar). Another program manager mentioned how camp authorities and the Rohingya community had mentioned to humanitarian agencies that adolescents needed to be prioritised: "they're asking to the agencies why they are not thinking about adolescents especially. [The camp authorities are saying] you can do something at least, you can take the initiative, you can make a program to help them" (CXB9, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar)

Humanitarian planning documents from the first two years of the crisis appear to validate these claims. In an international response to a humanitarian crisis, humanitarian response plans are created to articulate a vision for how the multitude of humanitarian actors plan to jointly respond to a population's needs. These planning documents then inform the strategic objectives that direct the different sectors of the response (UNOCHA 2020). My review of the preliminary and joint response plans for the Rohingya crisis from 2017-2019 suggests that, in their priorities and objectives, adolescents largely did not feature as a population of concern (ISCG 2017e, ISCG 2017f, ISCG 2018a, ISCG 2019d). In the 2017 preliminary response plan, adolescent girls are only identified as potential targets for awareness raising activities on gender-based violence, support through women friendly spaces, and supplemental nutrition and deworming (ISCG 2017e). In the first substantive joint response plan that was developed in late 2017, adolescents are included in sections within the document that analyse the needs displayed by the Rohingya population. However, in this case, the analysis mostly outlines education and life-skills activities for adolescents and the additional vulnerabilities faced by adolescent girls, rather than detailing a systematic response to their specific needs (ISCG 2017f).

The contributions of my research participants regarding other emergency contexts largely align with the analysis of those working in the Rohingya crisis. Indeed, international humanitarian staff confirmed that adolescents are an age group that "falls through the cracks in general" (GVA2, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Geneva). Reportedly, a common issue is that humanitarian agencies and their staff do not sufficiently disaggregate for age differences within the broader category of children, and that the historical focus of child-oriented programming has been on younger children rather than adolescents. A senior child protection adviser noted that adolescents have not "received the level of attention and the level of response with the specifically targeted interventions that younger children and adults have received, they fall in between the two" (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International). Drawing attention to the history of humanitarian policy, another child protection adviser commented that it had taken decades for child protection practitioners to "fight for the fact that child protection and education are lifesaving needs and should be prioritised in emergencies", and as a consequence, "we

have not sufficiently been able to bring further nuance to that work and highlight the specific issues facing adolescents" (GLO1, Child Protection Adviser, International).

These limitations to humanitarian recognition are also visible in humanitarian needs assessments conducted in the Rohingya response during my fieldwork. Needs assessments are short pieces of qualitative and quantitative research conducted by humanitarian actors on the different forms and the severity of need in the affected population. They are used by humanitarian actors to facilitate decision-making on the prioritisation of resources, assist with justification of response decisions, and enable appeals for funding (ACAPS 2014; Darcy & Hofmann 2003; Gerdin et al. 2014). In my review of 172 publicly available humanitarian assessments conducted in the Rohingya crisis from August 2017 to February 2020, only 13 included specific information about adolescents (ISCG 2019e). Several of these assessments that did address the position of adolescents did not actually use methods which included adolescents themselves in the data collection activities, or when they were included, adolescents were not asked about concerns that were specific to their age group (see Appendix 2). This generalised approach and its limitations for adolescent inclusion were summarised by a protection officer working for a multilateral humanitarian organisation. She described how they were included, "but it's more looking at the general aspects of living in the camp as opposed to ok, now these are my adolescents, what can I do for them. They are not zeroing in on them, on what you want to do for them. It's more like including them in terms of some of the general intervention aspects that we have within the camp so at least they can have a say" (CXB6, Protection Officer, Cox's Bazar)

In the main, humanitarian assessments conducted in the first three months of the response included very few adolescents in their data collection exercises (CARE Bangladesh 2017; CODEC et al. 2017; World Vision International 2017). However, this shifted over time as the response progressed, with the first significant assessment of children's needs occurring in December 2017 (Severijnen & Ridwan Steinbock 2018) and the first adolescent (girls) assessment conducted by Plan International in March 2018 (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018). Further pivotal assessments include safety audits (Toma et al. 2018) and participatory assessments (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019) on child protection led by Save the Children in July and December 2018.[46] In its analysis of the use of assessments in the Rohingya refugee crisis, the Assessment Capacity Project argues that "to understand the specific needs of women, girls, elderly, disabled people, and minorities, these groups need to be specifically targeted by assessment activities, and the data collection, sampling, and analysis processes need to be designed around disaggregating differences accordingly" (ACAPS 2019c, p.11). It follows that an effective response to

[46] I have not included in this review assessments that are not publicly available. From my discussions with other humanitarian staff, I know that International Rescue Committee, Terre des hommes, Danish Church Aid, and Voluntary Service Overseas, also conducted adolescent assessments. These were mostly conducted to inform internal programming decisions, were not made publicly available, and were not openly circulated between the different humanitarian agencies working in the response.

the protection needs of adolescents depends upon understanding and conceptualising adolescents as a population at risk in the first instance, and then recognising their distinct and complex vulnerabilities.

From my interviews with humanitarian staff, it appears that there was a major shift in the inclusion of adolescents within the Rohingya response throughout the year 2018. Participants conveyed how concern emerged among humanitarian actors about the proliferation of negative coping mechanisms in the adolescent population, and about disparities in adolescents' access to support services compared to younger children. A child protection coordinator described how in 2018, for humanitarian agencies "the concern [for adolescents was] coming up higher and higher" and that "the triggering point was when you realise, you understand that there [are] huge changes in the behaviours of children, particularly adolescents, where there [are] no opportunities given for them" (CXB14, Child Protection Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). Humanitarian assessments had already signalled that adolescent girls may be exposed to early marriage, trafficking, and exploitation (CARE Bangladesh 2017), but it was in 2018 that adolescents became a focus. This shift is most visible in the 2019 Joint Response Plan, developed in late 2018. Where earlier plans focused on reducing morbidity and mortality in the broader Rohingya population, the 2019 plan recognised the specific vulnerabilities of adolescents and youth. The objectives and activities expanded to include a multitude of activities directed towards adolescents, and the plan itself recognised that "youth have specific needs and face more protection risks than other age-groups as they often do not benefit from targeted programmes and have inadequate access to education or employment opportunities leading to idleness in the camps" (ISCG 2019d, p.29).

Adolescence is a crucial life-stage where gender, age, and developmental stage interact to produce risks and vulnerabilities. However, it appears these facets of social location were not sufficiently incorporated in the initial stages of the humanitarian response. Where these categorisations do materialise, though, is in the shifts in humanitarian attention to adolescent girls. As the humanitarian response to the crisis progressed and humanitarian actors paid greater attention to adolescents as an age group, they began to recognise and incorporate the precarious position of adolescent girls into planning and programming initiatives. As previously mentioned, early response planning recognised the specific needs of adolescent girls with respect to nutrition and access to safe spaces (see ISCG 2017e), and early assessments discussed adolescent girls' household responsibilities, limited movement throughout the camps, infrequent ability to bathe, and lack of access to education, among other child protection concerns (see Severijnen & Ridwan Steinbock 2018). However, these planning initiatives appear to come from a child protection standpoint and do not incorporate gender analysis into their discussions of empirical data. Where one would expect to see analysis of gender and age is in the Rohingya refugee response gender analysis (see Toma et al. 2018). In the main, however, this report tends to describe sex-based differences in access to resources, agency, and responsibilities for adolescents rather than analysing their unique sets of experiences and power relations based on the confluence of gender, age, and other forms of social location.

Where the incorporation of gender and age within the response properly materialises is in a dedicated assessment on adolescent girls conducted in early 2018 (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018). In this case, the authors take an adolescent-centric and intersectional approach, noting in their conclusion that in the case of the Rohingya crisis "the unique vulnerabilities of adolescent girls and their ability to affect change is often overlooked" (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018, p.34). A similar form of recognition is also seen in documents produced by the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group. Of the five briefing notes published by the Working Group, two of these included adolescents girls in their analysis and recognise adolescence as a time when they "start forming their identity and understanding of their role in the family and community through the influence of gender" (Inter Sector Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group 2017, p.1). In addition, a core component of the 16 Days campaign in 2018 was centred on preventing violence against girls, and for International Women's Day, the Working Group organised an exhibition of artwork made by adolescent Rohingya girls (Figure 7). It thus appears that gender humanitarianism within the Rohingya refugee crisis began to gradually incorporate analytical attention to gender, age, and developmental stage through recognition of discrimination against adolescent Rohingya girls. Consequently, this implies that analysis of this form of interaction centres on this one subgroup of the Rohingya population, but also that it is possible to expand humanitarian recognition of specific vulnerabilities through concerted efforts to broaden and deepen gender humanitarianism.

Recognition of adolescent girls as subjects within the practice of gender in humanitarian action also translated into my own gender work within Terre des hommes. Personally, as I became more aware of the severe risks faced by adolescent girls through anecdotal accounts by humanitarian staff, empirical data from child protection agencies, and child protection and other humanitarian assessments, this solidified my pro-feminist and women's empowerment approach to gender mainstreaming within the organisation. In the training package that I designed for Terre des hommes staff on gender in humanitarian action in March 2019, I consciously directed the content toward the relative disadvantaged faced by girls in humanitarian emergencies.[47] In the activities I conducted within the training session, I reinforced this standpoint within group based reflection on the trainees' own gendered biases and stereotypes. Participants discussed the subservient position of women and girls in their communities, and for female participants, they often voluntarily described to their peers the difficult journey they had taken through different aspects of their education, career, and relationships. While I cannot attest to the experiences of other organisations, my work within Terre des hommes was based on a conceptual framework that professed gender as the main form of oppression in emergencies and incorporated age and developmental stage when discussing adolescent girls.

[47] I also did include examples of the impact of gender on men and boys in disasters and displacement. This included an activity where participants analysed the disaster-related vulnerabilities of a young gay man and an elderly man. It was also included in content on intersectionality and gender-based violence. However, the training was purposefully oriented towards women and girls.

As a consequence of this approach, my practical application of gender in humanitarian action reinforced understanding among humanitarian staff that women and girls are the main subjects of gender-based discrimination, and the primary targets of gender in humanitarian action initiatives. During my fieldwork, a similar form of analytical attention to adolescent boys within the practices of gender humanitarianism, either by myself or other humanitarian staff, was not something I observed. Child protection staff mentioned that adolescents were neglected in general and that adolescent boys were paid little attention and not prioritised by humanitarian organisations. At the coordination level, meeting records kept by the Gender in Humanitarian Action Working Group suggest that adolescent boys were mentioned only twice. In both instances, this was to address the issue of adolescent boys dropping out of school to engage in child labour. Similarly, in the Working Group's gender brief on adolescents, boys are mostly mentioned with respect to child labour and their potential to use drugs and alcohol or to exhibit aggressive behaviour. In the latter case, this reinforces dominant gender essentialisms that link adolescent boys to masculinity and outward displays of risk-taking and violence. Where adolescent boys were present was in discussions and activities designed to prevent violence against women and girls. The most notable example of this was the array of activities conducted for the 16 Days campaign. The implications of this are twofold: 1) adolescents boys tend to figure in gender humanitarianism in relation to the gendered position of women and girls, and 2) the way in which adolescent boys are 'gendered' is as holders of privilege and as (potential) perpetrators of violence.

This same approach to framing adolescent boys appears to hold across other emergency responses. In the main, participants reported that adolescent boys are largely not recognised by humanitarian actors in emergency responses, and that in working group meetings and within international humanitarian organisations there had been little discussion about adolescent boys. Indeed, a child protection adviser commented that "there is no distinct conversation about them" (GVA1, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). A protection officer linked this to humanitarian understanding of vulnerability in emergencies, noting that "in a very classical vulnerable groups list adolescent boys would not be on the list, because the list would be women and girls, persons with disabilities, single headed household etc" (GVA12, Protection Officer, Geneva). From my participants' accounts, where adolescent boys do appear to come to the fore in humanitarian responses is where they are inadvertently the most at risk of context-specific forms of harm. This may include, for example, where there are large numbers of unaccompanied children, children in conflict with the law, or children forcibly recruited into armed groups. In these cases, adolescent boys are recognised by humanitarian actors from a child protection standpoint, not accounting for a gendered perspective of their vulnerabilities but rather recognising them as vulnerable "because they are children" (GVA10, Child Protection Officer, Geneva).

Adolescent boys are problematic subjects of harm within the frameworks that guide humanitarian interventions. A child protection coordinator for a multilateral child protection organisation, for example, noted that humanitarian actors "assume they're better integrated and less exposed" to harm

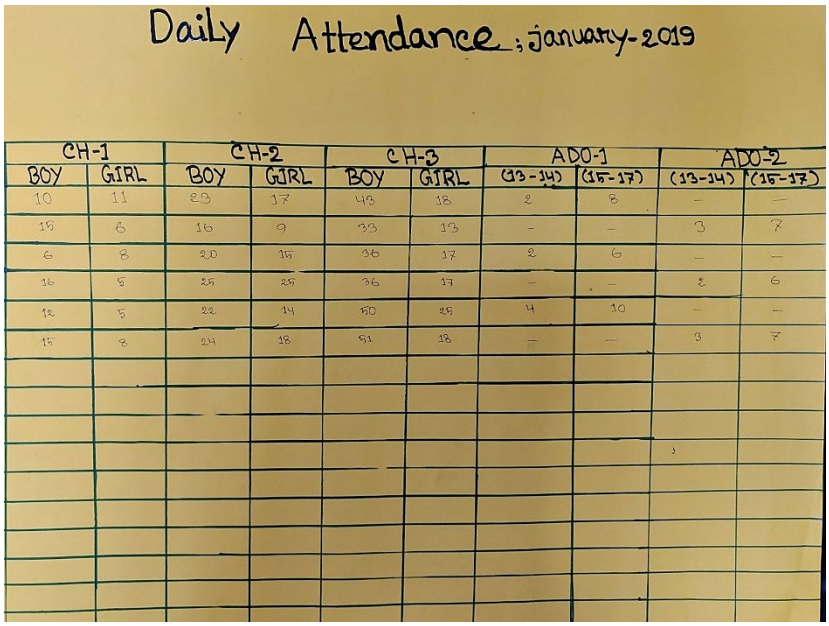
than others in the affected population (GVA4, Child Protection Coordinator, Geneva). Furthermore, a number of humanitarian staff drew attention to how problematic adolescent boys are as 'proper' subjects of a humanitarian crisis, recognising that "they can be both victims and perpetrators" (GVA10, Child Protection Officer, Geneva). Participants raised how adolescent boys can often be framed by humanitarian actors from the latter perspective, not as children or change agents but as potential perpetrators of violence and threats to their communities. For example, a gender-based violence officer noted that "in my experience they are perceived to be troublemakers" and that the fact that "they are all victims of trauma…that part often gets forgotten" (GVA13, Gender-Based Violence Officer, Geneva). As it stands, the empirical data from this study indicates that adolescent boys are largely invisible in humanitarian prioritisation, and when they are recognised, it is for their status as potential risks to themselves or as threats to others. It thus appears that adolescent boys are not recognised by humanitarian actors as a group with specific needs based on their social location, or for the complex manner in which these factors interact to expose them to risk or protect them from harm.

This is a significant gap. Limited analytical attention to the way gender, age, developmental stage, class, ethnicity, disability, and other social factors interact to produce a dynamic of protection and harm in the lives of adolescent boys may impact the way humanitarian action is conducted with respect to this population. To reiterate, adolescent boys were largely absent from the theoretical and practical frameworks for gender humanitarianism in the Rohingya crisis response. When age and developmental stage were addressed in the crisis, adolescent girls were foregrounded by humanitarian actors due to their widespread experience of gender-based discrimination. In international responses, humanitarian staff reported that adolescent boys are often not discussed, or conversely, are perceived to be perpetrators of violence and unrest. In both the international context and the Rohingya crisis, adolescent boys appear to be largely absent from narratives on gender in humanitarian action and there is little accounting for how gender interacts with other parts of their social identity to affect their lived experience in humanitarian emergencies. In the previous chapter, I showed that gender was a critical part of the matrix of social location for adolescent boys that affects their exposure to risk and harm. Constructing adolescent boys as homogenous 'de-gendered' subjects means that humanitarian actors may fail to account for their intersectional social location and respond accordingly to their needs.

Protection responses for adolescent boys

In the previous section, I described how in the initial stages of the humanitarian response to the Rohingya refugee crisis adolescents were not substantively included in assessments and response planning. This gap in attention also materialised in humanitarian programming itself. In the initial stages of the response, child protection actors acted through a standard package of child protection in emergencies services, primarily the construction of child friendly spaces and establishment of case management services for children facing severe risks. Child friendly spaces provided a safe location for

children to engage in recreation activities, but their attendees were often younger children. While dedicated 2-3 hour sessions for adolescents were established within child friendly spaces in late 2017 (known as 'adolescent clubs'), adolescent girls and boys were often reluctant to attend as they perceived the physical space as for younger children and not appropriate for their age group (Figure 8).[48] Aligning with the growing concern displayed by humanitarian actors for the negative coping mechanisms displayed in the adolescent population, multiple organisations then began to establish purpose-built adolescent friendly spaces and girl friendly spaces, the earliest example of which was reported to emerge in early 2018.


Daily Attendance ; January-2019

CH-1		CH-2		CH-3		ADO-1		ADO-2	
BOY	GIRL	BOY	GIRL	BOY	GIRL	(13-14)	(15-17)	(13-14)	(15-17)
10	11	29	17	43	18	2	8	–	–
19	6	16	9	33	13	–	–	3	7
6	8	20	15	36	17	2	6	–	–
16	5	25	25	36	17	–	–	2	6
12	5	22	14	30	25	4	10	–	–
15	8	24	18	51	18	–	–	3	7

Figure 8: Attendance records for a Terre des hommes' child friendly space.

These records show the significant difference between the number of adolescent boys (ADO-1) and adolescent girls (ADO-2) attending this child friendly space compared to younger children (CH-1; CH-2; CH-3). Each row represents a different date, with these records from January 2019.

Adolescent friendly spaces and girl friendly spaces offer a combination of structured and unstructured activities for children. Many child protection organisations developed training curricula for adolescents on specific life-skills, in-lieu of formal education. However, many adolescent clubs and spaces were reported to be missing structured activities, dedicated psychosocial support for children, or case management services. Furthermore, during my fieldwork, adolescent club facilitators and child protection program managers often commented that adolescents were bored of life-skills activities now that it was a year and a half into the response, and conveyed that adolescents often had less access to humanitarian facilities compared to younger children. For child protection case management, the vast scale of the influx and significant numbers of unaccompanied and separated children meant they had to

[48] Child friendly spaces were also supplemented by mobile psychosocial support teams who would conduct sessions in homes in the Rohingya community. The purpose of the mobile sessions was to facilitate access to play and psychosocial support for children who were not able to make it to a static service.

prioritise tracing of children's families, reunification of children with their relatives, or the placement of children into alternative care arrangements. While adolescents comprise a significant proportion of unaccompanied and separated children, in this case, adolescents only become beneficiaries of case management services when they were able to meet certain vulnerability criteria or have already befallen harm. These deficits in the response were described by a gender-based violence officer[49] working for a large multilateral humanitarian organisation in the crisis:

> It's kind of a bit ironic. You have something like 400 different child friendly spaces, but all of them have a different range of services, so there's no consistency and the majority of which don't have case management or don't have structured curriculums. Whether we're talking about life-skills, curriculums for caregivers, early childhood development or otherwise. So you have a lot of coverage but not a lot of services in a very strange way (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar).

Humanitarian assessments confirm that humanitarian engagement with the adolescent Rohingya population was relatively low. In January 2019, child protection actors were operating a total of 157 adolescent friendly spaces and 13 girl friendly spaces across the Rohingya refugee camps (Child Protection Sub-Sector 2019). In a July 2018 multisectoral assessment conducted across 3,165 households in the 33 refugee sites, only 2% of adolescent boys aged 15-17 and 1% of girls aged 15-17 reported attending child, adolescent, or girl friendly spaces. By January 2019 this had only marginally improved to 9% of boys and 4% of girls (REACH 2019c). These attendance patterns align with the attendance rates of adolescent girls and boys at education facilities (see Chapter 5), indicating that as children develop they progressively age out of humanitarian services and activities targeted to their age group. There were significant efforts by humanitarian actors throughout my fieldwork to reach adolescents. Indeed, during my fieldwork, Terre des hommes conducted an adolescent assessment to ascertain what activities and training they would prefer within adolescent clubs and adolescent friendly spaces (Figure 9), and specialist child protection staff developed an adolescent life-skills curricula based on their responses. Across the broader response, there was also a visible shift in humanitarian rhetoric to recognise them as a vulnerable group (in particular, adolescent girls). Despite this, my research

[49] A similar situation was also seen in the gender-based violence sector. Although adolescent girls could access women friendly spaces, they were reported by my research participants to have lesser access to long-term structured programming and protection services compared to adult women. Empirical data also indicates that attendance of women friendly spaces by adolescent girls was relatively low compared to adult women (REACH 2019c). A protection officer working specifically on gender-based violence described how at the start of the crisis the sector "just took them in with everyone else" and that they "never considered that group [adolescent girls] as a vulnerable group" (CXB6, Protection Officer, Cox's Bazar). During my time participating in the inter-agency Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector meetings, adolescent girls were rarely mentioned during the proceedings.

participants continuously reiterated in their interviews that adolescents were being overlooked and that targeted programming for them remained a significant gap.

Figure 9: Adolescent girls and boys playing in a Terre des hommes' adolescent club in January 2019.

Coinciding with growing concern for adolescents within the response, a Youth Working Group was established in the middle of 2018 within the education sector. Jointly facilitated by Plan International and the United Nations Population Fund, the group endeavoured to support activities on adolescents and youth across the Rohingya crisis. Since inception, the group has conducted a secondary data review of adolescent and youth focused assessments (defined as aged 15-24), mapped adolescent and youth orientated programming across the response, and published a roadmap for improving Rohingya adolescent and youth capabilities and capacities (Cox's Bazar Youth Working Group 2019). The mapping activities conducted by the Youth Working Group are particularly valuable in their confirmation of my research participants' observations: that adolescent programming was a gap in the Rohingya crisis. These documents also indicate that even though there were (limited) activities for adolescents, these have tended to centre around basic life-skills, semi-structured play and recreational activities, and elementary literacy and numeracy (Youth Working Group 2019a, 2019b). In 2019, child protection actors attempted to resolve this deficit through the implementation of adolescent-specific programming, including the Champions of Change curriculum delivered by Plan International, and the Supporting Adolescents and their Families in Emergencies, Social-Emotional Learning, and Girl Shine curricula delivered by International Rescue Committee. However, at the time, these programs had limited reach and most adolescents only had access to life-skills training, awareness sessions, small-scale vocational training, and recreational activities (Youth Working Group 2019b).

According to international humanitarian staff, this approach aligns with emergency responses from other contexts. Child protection organisations have reportedly prioritised the implementation of child friendly spaces in emergencies, with one participant noting that this is "the trajectory that the whole

child protection movement in emergencies has gone down" (GVA11, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). Several research participants indicated that child friendly spaces are not able to cater for adolescents as an age group, and that the activities that are conducted within their walls often do not cater to the age or gender of the participants. A child protection adviser for an international organisation posited that: "in terms of a population wide response, some organisations say 'oh yes we have psychosocial support activities or we have safe space programming and that's how we are engaging them'. But I actually find that if you go to the field and sit in one of those spaces, you'll find that adolescents are not showing up there. You may get a couple here and there, but it's not really adapted for that population specifically" (GLO3, Child Protection Adviser, International). Indeed, a gender-based violence staff member with experience working in child protection raised her concern that humanitarian organisations see child friendly spaces as "the one size fits all answer to any child protection-related problem, and while they are definitely good…the space is the beginning, the starting point" (GVA13, Gender-Based Violence Officer, Geneva).

In the main, international research participants reiterated the same concerns as humanitarian staff working in the Rohingya crisis, noting that most of the time "it's an age group that is not included in [humanitarian] projects" (GVA6, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). International staff posited that they had seen recent shifts towards addressing adolescents in emergency responses. However, they also noted that they had observed this in contexts where the main protection issues the humanitarian system was facing happened to disproportionately affect adolescents. Several participants commented that there had been past programmatic efforts to prevent harm against adolescents, but funding reductions had then shifted the humanitarian system towards child friendly spaces and generalised psychosocial support. A number of staff were also critical of current attempts to respond to adolescents and what they perceived as a failure to program appropriately: "I think it's our fault with our programming, we don't program right, we don't ask them what they would like in terms of programming, we just set up these one-size fit all things in the same, that we do in every context and assume that they will come" (GVA13, Gender-Based Violence Officer, Geneva). Importantly, participants also emphasised that protecting adolescents was about providing activities that stimulated their interests, responding to their gender and age specific concerns, and recognising that they may require tailored support from staff that had the skills and experience needed to understand their challenges during this life-stage.

At the start of this thesis, I mentioned that the main concern of this study was understanding how humanitarian actors responded to the protection needs of adolescent boys in the Rohingya crisis. The empirical data derived from accounts by humanitarian staff working in the crisis indicate that the main response was local adaptations of generalised child protection in emergencies activities, including case management support for children at risk and life-skills, resilience building, and recreational activities delivered in adolescent clubs and adolescent friendly spaces by child protection organisations. Although there was dedicated adolescent programming that emerged during the second year of the response,

these programs were implemented by few humanitarian organisations and their scale and reach appeared to be quite limited. Consequently, there was a significant gap in humanitarian support that was appropriate for the gender, age, and developmental stage of adolescent girls and boys during the Rohingya crisis. In the previous chapter, I identified multiple overlapping forms of harm that adolescent Rohingya boys were exposed to in their displacement to Cox's Bazar. In the next section of this chapter, I turn to describing the situation of humanitarian support specifically dedicated to adolescent boys, analysing how humanitarian actors attempted to protect adolescent boys from these forms of violence and respond to instances that were of concern.

Before continuing onto the next section, however, I think it is important to recognise that even though my research participants often emphasised during their interviews the ways in which adolescents were not prioritised within the crisis, analysing prioritisation within the Rohingya response must be treated with caution. I would argue that the status and position of adolescents as an age group within humanitarian targeting and vulnerability criteria should not be treated as de-prioritisation, as this implies that humanitarians purposefully chose to direct resources away from adolescents as a vulnerable group. Rather, I posit that humanitarian actors engaged in a process that involved the purposeful prioritisation of other at-risk groups that fell within a generalised lens of vulnerability as applied to crisis-affected populations. It is also important to recall that decisions about humanitarian resourcing are being made at a time where there has been a mass influx of vulnerable and traumatized people, with humanitarian actors then attempting to alleviate this suffering amid government restrictions on humanitarian operations, limited capacity in refugee protection in south-eastern Bangladesh, short-term humanitarian funding cycles, and high levels of staff turnover. My perception from within the response was that there was an immense dedication shown by humanitarians working in the crisis to support the population as best they could in the face of overwhelming need and difficult operational circumstances.

Humanitarian programming that targets adolescent boys

A number of humanitarians working in the Rohingya crisis response commented that adolescent boys had limited access to facilities, recreation, or structured humanitarian activities appropriate for their gender and age. In informal and formal interviews alike, child protection staff posited that humanitarian programming that targeted adolescent boys largely did not exist and that engaging boys through existing adolescent clubs and life-skills activities was difficult. Even though adolescent clubs and life-skills activities could be run for adolescent girls in girl friendly spaces, these same activities had to be run for adolescent boys in child friendly spaces if there was no adolescent friendly space available. Consequently, child protection staff conveyed that this led to much lower attendance rates by adolescent boys, as they perceived that these spaces catered for younger children. The high mobility of adolescent boys in public also appeared to facilitate a general perception among humanitarian actors that adolescent boys are easier to access and engage when compared to adolescent girls and their movement restrictions. However, child protection actors noted that adolescent boys are often unable to

attend activities or other support services due to work commitments, caregiving responsibilities, the distance and difficulty involved in attending a space, or their own engagement in negative coping mechanisms. As a result, adolescent boys have less formal contact with humanitarian services, making it more difficult to identify and respond to their protection concerns in the first place.[50]

The only dedicated program that targeted adolescent boys I was able to identify during my fieldwork was the Champions of Change program delivered by child protection organisation Plan International. This was later confirmed by the service mapping conducted by the inter-agency Youth Working Group in February 2019 and December 2019 (Youth Working Group 2019a, 2019b). Champions of Change is an international program that emerged out of Plan International's Because I am a Girl Global Girls Innovation programme in 2015 (Plan International 2015). Initially piloted in Honduras, El Salvadaro, Guatemala, Dominican Republic and Germany, the program aims to build the capacity of adolescent male youth to become agents of change for gender equality and girls rights in their communities (Plan International 2015). In its Rohingya crisis adaptation, the program attempts to create attitudinal and behavioural change among adolescent boys aged 10-19 years on gender equality, life-skills, sexual and reproductive health. It also endeavours to raise awareness on key protection issues in their communities, including trafficking and substance abuse (BISR Consultants Limited 2019).

At the time of my fieldwork the program was still in its infancy. The program manager for Plan International was just beginning to adapt the international curricula and had begun recruiting local staff. In its first instance, the program was run from March to September 2019 and targeted 8,540 adolescent boys aged 10-19 years old in camps and refugee hosting communities surrounding the women friendly spaces established by the United Nations Population Fund. Evaluation of the program conducted in August 2019 suggested that it had achieved changes in self-reported risk-taking behaviour as well as knowledge on gender-based violence, sexual and reproductive health rights, and protection issues (BISR Consultants Limited 2019).[51] The program's indicators did include child protection concerns and the course subject matter suggested that there was an impetus built into the program to address adolescent boys' issues. However, with the catchment area being centred around women friendly spaces and the focus of the course being on gender-based violence, this suggests the program is embedded in a single-axis gender framework designed around the vulnerability of adolescent girls to

[50] Further troubling the ability of humanitarian organisations to respond to the protection concerns of adolescents are inconsistencies in data collection. In activities conducted in adolescent clubs or adolescent friendly spaces the number of persons attending is counted, while information on an individual's frequency and duration of attendance is not tracked. The numbers are "actually not helpful, because it does not say each individual child does he or she spend 1 hour per week in this adolescent club, is it 1 hour per day, is it the same child or different, so in real life it's peanuts" (CXB11, Protection Officer, Cox's Bazar). Additional difficulties come from having different definitions of adolescent age-brackets for data reporting. Population-level data collected in the response employs the age bracket of 12-17, pushing younger adolescents together with young children and older adolescents with adults. Age brackets used in other humanitarian sectors include 6-14 and 15-17 for education, 12-17 for gender-based violence, and 13-17 for adolescent clubs/friendly spaces in child protection.

[51] The consistency and high degree of self-reported positive change in the evaluation may suggest that the evaluation results are skewed by a bias among the evaluation participants to report the socially desirable answer (social desirability bias) (Althubaiti 2016).

harm. This framework seems to align with dominant narratives in contemporary gender equality literature that emphasise 'starting young' by working with adolescent boys to shift gender norms (International Center for Research on Women 2018). Given the evidence of violence against women and girls present in the Rohingya community, it is necessary for humanitarian actors to address adolescent boy's attitudes and perceptions on gender to prevent them from potentially causing harm to the women and girls in their lives. However, this means that the only program that engages with adolescent boys' needs in the crisis targets protection outcomes for women and girls.

This absence of programming that endeavours to purposefully address the wellbeing of adolescent Rohingya boys appears to be mirrored in other humanitarian emergencies. Humanitarian staff working for international and multilateral agencies reported that the sector is largely not implementing dedicated activities for adolescent boys: "I think we're underestimating and therefore under-programming for adolescent boys and the violence that they're exposed to" (GVA4, Child Protection Coordinator, Geneva). Moreover, a child protection staff member raised how "there hasn't been an intentional response and reach to address their specific needs" (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International). Although research participants affirmed that adolescents as a whole were missed in general, they also argued that as well as not being purposefully addressed by humanitarian actors, adolescent boys were not accessing humanitarian services and were more difficult to reach compared to other age groups. This situation was summarized by a child protection adviser:

> I mean [adolescent boys are] not engaged in responses. So I mean from that perspective I don't hear a lot of humanitarian actors talking about them as a target population. In fact I've been in responses where people have said you know six months into the response, 'shoot we haven't been engaging this group and now they're problematic, because they weren't getting assistance and now they're causing trouble in the camp and they're doing x y z and now we need to think about a response for them.' So it's typically an afterthought that we're thinking about how to engage or support this population (GLO3, Child Protection Adviser, International).

These staff repeated similar concerns to actors working in the Rohingya crisis, noting that because adolescent boys are out working, in markets, sitting under trees, going to school, and playing football, it gives the illusion humanitarian actors should find it easier to engage with them. However, as previously mentioned, without dedicated activities and specific targeting adolescent boys are unlikely to attend humanitarian services. The reasons behind this lack of targeting were often not clarified by my research participants. A research participant working for an international child protection organisation, however, reported that in an internal assessment their child protection staff said that they were uncomfortable working with adolescents, and that even as child protection actors they felt like they did not have sufficient expertise or confidence. The only programs dedicated towards adolescent boys mentioned by international staff were reported to be ad-hoc efforts and initiatives targeted at context-specific forms of violence, such as demobilization of child soldiers and prevention of

recruitment into armed groups. This seems to indicate that in these contexts it is not adolescent boys as an age group that are being targeted, but the form of harm. As such, adolescent boys appear to become benefactors of targeted humanitarian interventions as an incidental consequence of the way gender, age, and other factors direct this form of harm towards their social location in relation to their current social ecology, rather than through conscious recognition of their complex needs and vulnerabilities.

In Chapter 5 I raised the numerous overlapping and intersecting protection concerns that adolescent Rohingya boys are exposed to in the refugee crisis and drew attention to how these are tied to their social location and social ecology. I emphasised how gender was a critical part of their matrix of identities and their protection concerns, affecting their exposure to child labour, trafficking, substance abuse, child marriage, and other related and pervasive forms of harm. While adolescence, a time when boys are still forming ideas about masculinity and sexuality, is a critical period for working with boys to prevent violence against women and girls, the inclusion of adolescent boys in humanitarian programming solely from this perspective is of concern. Including adolescent boys only in this manner misses the heterogeneity of adolescent boys' life experiences and minimises the constant presence of threat and their continuously shifting (in)ability to protect themselves from violence, exploitation, and abuse. It also assumes that gendered privilege based on their nascent and maturing masculine identity is equivalent to that of an adult male, and not mediated by other social factors. Furthermore, targeting boys based only on specific protection issues masks the social location of boys and how gender, age, and other social factors interact to cause their exposure to these forms of violence. It also means that adolescent boys are only included in humanitarian responses when they reach a sufficient stage of vulnerability. Indeed, this section has shown that the humanitarian response to adolescent boys in emergencies is limited, and that without dedicated engagement with adolescent boys, humanitarian actors will not be able to identify or respond to their protection needs in crisis-affected communities.

Conclusion

To date, critical theorists have critiqued humanitarian interventions and their gendered notions of vulnerability. However, in the main, these arguments have tended to disrupt humanitarian assumptions of female vulnerability and helplessness, rather than how gender and other forms of social location interact to expose adolescent boys to harm and affect humanitarian support for their specific needs and concerns (see Chapter 2). In this chapter, I described how gender humanitarianism in the Rohingya refugee crisis response focused on the vulnerability of Rohingya women and girls, and that this was the approach that was then embedded and operationalised within inter-agency humanitarian response planning and intervention. The gendered divisions of roles, responsibilities, agency, and voice within the Rohingya community and its impact on the health and wellbeing of Rohingya women and girls, meant that their social position, protection, and assistance needs were crucial issues that needed to be addressed by humanitarian actors. However, this approach to gender humanitarianism led to

unintended consequences, most notably that other forms of social location and their interaction with gender were largely lost from the interpretive frameworks applied by humanitarian actors. In combination with the omission of concern for adolescents as an age group, this appears to have led to insufficient humanitarian concern for the way gender, age, developmental stage, class, refugee status, and other forms of social location interact with the social ecology of an individual to produce risk and protection in different social and spatial contexts.

From an intersectional theory standpoint, adolescent boys can be recognised for their complex social location, their shifting social and material ecology, and the way states of protection and harm are in constant flux within their lives. As humanitarian actors, taking an intersectional approach means we can then recognise how single-axis analytical frameworks of gender (or by extension, age or disability) may obscure the violence, exploitation, and abuse adolescent boys may experience in certain social spaces while simultaneously accentuating the privilege they wield in others. In the last section of this chapter, I argued that humanitarian actors have largely not targeted adolescent boys through dedicated initiatives tailored to their social location and life circumstance. Where adolescent boys do appear to be engaged is in small-scale programs that address them through their propensity to cause violence, rather than attending to their gender and age-related needs that are exacerbated in the exceptional circumstances of a humanitarian crisis. This appears to indicate that within gender humanitarianism as it was applied in the Rohingya crisis response, the functional role of gender within the lives of adolescent boys is only recognised in relation to protecting women and girls. This marginalises the central role of gender in their social location and social ecology, does not account for how gender co-constructs and mediates other aspects of their social identity, and implies that adolescent boys are a homogenous social category with constant access to gendered power and control

In the next chapter I turn to the specific case of child sexual abuse of adolescent boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis. Conceptualising this form of violence as a distinct phenomenon of harm, I explore sexual abuse of adolescent boys as an event that runs counter to the hegemonic narratives of gender humanitarianism that seem to convey adolescent boys' unwavering access to gendered power but does not account for how forms of gendered power and violence are acted upon them. Through Chapter 7, I endeavour to answer how humanitarian actors responded to this severe form of harm in the Rohingya refugee crisis and describe the capacity of child protection actors to protect and assist adolescent boy survivors of child sexual abuse more broadly.

Chapter 7.

Adolescent boys as survivors of sexual abuse

It was just before 2pm on Monday the 28th of January 2019, three months into my time working in the Rohingya crisis response and almost one and a half years since the August 2017 influx. Together with two of my Terre des hommes colleagues, we had just walked through the streets of Cox's Bazar to the United Nations Children's Fund's field office. Featuring tall metal gates painted in an irradiant blue, the entrance stood in stark contrast to the live chicken vendors, small traders, and free-range street cows we had passed on our way there. Entering through a metal door that mirrored that of a prison, I signed in at security and walked down a foliage lined pathway towards the meeting rooms located at the rear of the complex. Pushing through the clear glass doors, my colleagues and I entered a large meeting room located on the left of the building. Normally home to Child Protection Sub-Sector meetings and other inter-agency convenings of child protection staff, today, the room housed a smaller but historic assembly of humanitarian staff working on child protection and gender-based violence.

As the attendees slowly filed in and took their seats in a dispersed pattern around the conference tables I counted 22 meeting participants. Most of the attendees began chatting with familiarity to those around them, as they recognised colleagues from the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector or the numerous other meetings they had likely attended so far that week. The small number of attendees and the relative quiet in the room belied the significance of the event. This was the first meeting between the Child Protection Sub-Sector and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector on the topic of child survivors of sexual abuse. I had taken a seat towards the back of the room, next to a friend, and was cautiously studying the other participants to understand which organisation they were from and what their role was within the meeting. Before too long I caught the eye of a woman a few seats away who I recognised, and we chatted briefly before the meeting began. Seeking to confirm the preliminary impressions I had formed during my data collection on how child survivors were addressed within the response, I asked her with genuine concern if this was really the first time the two sub-sectors had met to address the issue. Hunching over the meeting table and leaning across the room as if to hide her voice from the other attendees, she confirmed my question unequivocally: "yes, it's terrible isn't it".

Throughout this thesis I have sought to establish that adolescent boys are intersectional actors who are exposed to harm based on a dynamic interaction between their social location and social ecology in emergency settings. I have also argued that the interpretive frameworks embedded in current approaches to gender humanitarianism do not account for this complexity and that humanitarian responses appear not to have addressed adolescent boys through dedicated initiatives that recognise their complex needs and shifting life circumstances. Empirical data on child protection in emergencies

indicates that sexual abuse of boys is present in humanitarian settings, and that different facets of an adolescent boy's social location affect the risk of sexual abuse, the context for its perpetration, and how boys process the physical and emotional trauma. In this chapter, I address the sexual abuse of adolescent boys in the Rohingya crisis through the lens of intersectionality. By accounting for instances of sexual abuse perpetrated against adolescent boys in this context, I employ the Rohingya refugee crisis as a case study to reinforce how sexual abuse of adolescent boys is a phenomenon that can and does take place in humanitarian emergencies. Within this chapter, I analyse how child protection organisations and their staff responded to sexual abuse in the crisis and look specifically at understanding how this materialised for adolescent boy survivors.

To address these aims, I have divided this chapter into four sections that focus on different aspects of this analysis. The first section opens by describing instances of sexual abuse perpetrated against adolescent boys in the Rohingya crisis, including where cases took place, the characteristics of the perpetrators, and how these instances align with accounts from other humanitarian crises. In the second section, I then proceed to outline the humanitarian response to child survivors in the Rohingya crisis, illustrating how child protection organisations and their staff - as well as the gender-based violence sector - approached care for adolescent survivors of sexual abuse. The third section then narrows in on support for adolescent boys, narrating how humanitarian actors responded to child sexual abuse in this context and the parallels with international responses to other emergencies. Lastly, in section four, I describe the perceptions of child protection caseworkers on adolescent boys as survivors of sexual abuse in the Rohingya response. In the main, I argue that there is limited support provided for child survivors of sexual abuse in humanitarian emergencies. For adolescent boys, I posit that humanitarian actors appear not to recognise that adolescent boys are made vulnerable to sexual abuse due to the confluence of social location and social ecology and may hold a reductive perspective on sexual harm.

Sexual abuse of adolescent Rohingya boys

There are no public figures on the incidence of child sexual abuse from the first two years of the Rohingya response. However, in my discussions with child protection staff they often emphasised how prevalent it was in the refugee camps. An ethnographic informant working on child protection commented that most of her organisation's caseload was child survivors, and recounted how her team had found a 16 year old girl with learning difficulties left on the side of a road with her clothes torn off and syphilis. Another humanitarian working on gender-based violence noted that "it was very shocking. We had had some really horrific information coming out of specific camps. It was even worse because it wasn't coming from protection actors, it was coming from health actors saying they're seeing children present with sexually transmitted infections and sexually transmitted diseases as young as four, and that it's increased by 130% in the last month" (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). During my fieldwork, however, the issue of child survivors was rarely

raised in inter-agency coordination, humanitarian planning, or informal discussions. For adolescent boy survivors, there was not a single time when it was mentioned during my participant observation, with cases only coming to light when I directed specific questions to my research participants.

Despite this, humanitarian staff consistently knew of cases of adolescent boys who had been sexually abused that they themselves, or a colleague, had worked on. Indeed, a program manager in the gender-based violence sector noted that when they had supported boys, "primarily, the types of caseloads we saw were sexual violence. It was young boys or adolescent boys who had experienced being raped" (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). From the accounts of child protection caseworkers in the focus groups for this study, the ages of the victims were reported to range from 8-18 years, with most cases that were mentioned falling in the younger adolescent age range of 10-14. The accounts given in the focus groups included: a 10 year old boy raped by a 40 year old Bangladeshi male when collecting firewood; a 15 year old boy being groomed[52] and later sexually abused by an older Rohingya male non-relative in the refugee camps; a 9 year old boy sexually abused in the forest when collecting firewood by a Bangladeshi male; a 12 year old boy sexually abused by a young Rohingya woman; a 13 year old boy sexually abused by multiple male Rohingya community leaders next to the refugee camp administration facilities; and there was mention of younger adolescent boys being married or engaging in 'extra-marital affairs' with much older Rohingya women.

These field level accounts were confirmed by humanitarian staff working in program management and coordination. A gender-based violence program manager mentioned that when they had supported boy survivors, the older adolescent males had tended to experience conflict-related sexual violence in Myanmar or during flight to Bangladesh, whereas the younger adolescent males had experienced sexual abuse in the camps. In the camp setting, accounts were mostly rape perpetrated by older men and leaders in the Rohingya community against younger adolescent boys: "some boys are sexually abused by the elders. The boy is going with his mother for a shelter kit. The mother is inside the office, and at that time the people catch him and do these things" (FGD9, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). However, there was also one reported case of a 14 year old boy who was forced to marry a 30 year old woman, aligning with claims of 'affairs' and forced marriage. There were reports of boys being sexually abused in public places, as well as perpetration by members of the Bangladeshi host community and Rohingya community members not known to the victim. However, one provider emphasised that she had received reports of numerous cases of sexual abuse from different locations across the camps, and that these had mostly taken place within the boy's own household:

> The public spaces were where we would hear quite a bit, but then as well in the homes. I mean some of the information we received, you know your neighbours would hear something

[52] A precise, consensus definition of grooming has yet to be identified in the academic literature (Craven, Brown & Gilchrist 2006). Generally, grooming refers to "the process by which a child is befriended by a would-be abuser in an attempt to gain the child's confidence and trust, enabling them to get the child to acquiesce to abusive activity" (Gillespie 2002, p.411).

> going on next door, there would be screams, they could hear the violence taking place, but they wouldn't intervene. A lot of it was taking place in the homes, a lot of it was being done by relatives (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar).

Although these accounts are small in number, these cases confirm Sarah Chynoweth's (2018) research on sexual violence against men and boys in the Rohingya refugee crisis for the Women's Refugee Commission. In Chynoweth's report, her participants recounted that sexual abuse that had taken place against boys in the refugee camps was mostly rape and sexual assault committed by men and older male youth from the Rohingya and host community. Other perpetrators were noted to include adolescent girls, a doctor, and security staff (Chynoweth 2018). In the accounts from my study, adolescent boys were also reported to have been targeted for sexual exploitation and trafficking, but I collected little information about this phenomenon. In a safety audit conducted by Save the Children with 207 children and adolescents (106 boys and 101 girls), however, 15% of respondents reported that they had heard of or they themselves had experienced sexual exploitation, with the majority of these reports coming from boys (Toma et al. 2018). Research participants also identified cases of adolescent Rohingya boys that were sexually abused by the *imam* of a religious education institution (*madrasa*) in the refugee camps prior to the August 2017 influx. These boys were identified by health workers when they were treating them for physical injuries sustained during the abuse. This, combined with evidence of boys being sexually abused in workplaces, religious education institutions, and when living and working in the streets in Bangladesh (Frederick 2010), suggests it may have been occurring in the camps prior to the latest influx and that this is the continuation of long-present form of harm.

The main barrier to adolescent boys reporting their abuse to humanitarian agencies according to my research participants was community stigma and victim-blaming attitudes. For example, according to one caseworker, a colleague that had been working with a boy survivor who had been abused had told her that the Rohingya community had said "obviously the boy has done something wrong. He is just blaming them. Maybe he was a naughty boy and that's why he is saying these things" (FGD8, Child Protection Caseworker, Cox's Bazar). However, the limited amount of data on this topic and number of cases reported to humanitarian agencies means that further information is needed to confirm whether this is the case. When cases were identified by humanitarian actors these were reported by Rohingya volunteers who were working for humanitarian agencies, by camp-based health providers, or the survivor's caregiver. There was little information provided by participants on the impact of the abuse on boys. In the case of a 12 year old boy sexually abused by an older woman, the caseworker described how the boy did not stay at home, was not emotionally stable, and was angry at everyone. The caseworker reported that when taking him to the medical clinic he ran away multiple times and was avoiding women and girls because he had been abused by an older woman. Caseworkers also described how a 9 year old boy who was sexually assaulted in the forest did not understand what had happened and initially did not want to his caseworker talk about the event.

In interviews that I conducted with humanitarian staff working across other emergency contexts, most reported knowledge of instances of sexual abuse of boys in crises. Indeed, a representative of a large international child protection organisation reported that in each context where they provide services "there are always cases of boys" (GLO1, Child Protection Adviser, International). However, several staff members claimed that there was limited knowledge about the sexual abuse of adolescent boys in emergencies, that there was great variability in contextual understanding as to its occurrence, and that the empirical weight of current evidence is insufficient: "honestly, we don't have enough information to know in which contexts or whether this is kind of common in all contexts. There are some contexts where that is mentioned more and we know that it's a practice, it's still very invisible but we do know that it's happening, and other contexts where we don't hear much about it all. From my perspective it doesn't mean it doesn't exist, but I just don't know" (GLO3, Child Protection Adviser, International). Several participants who knew of cases of sexual abuse of boys linked these instances with the contextual elements of the boys' social ecology that facilitated the risk. In the main, adolescent boys were reported to be exposed to this abuse in public places, including in workplaces, when living and working on the streets, as unaccompanied and separated boys on the move, in detention centres as a component of torture, in schools and religious institutions, and in internally displaced persons camps,

Of the accounts provided by my research participants, the most common emergency responses in which they reported instances were Afghanistan, Greece, and Iraq. Several participants who had worked in Afghanistan mentioned cases of adolescent boys who were sexually abused when working in the street, and also the context specific practice of Bacha Bazi[53]. However, these same participants also mentioned that in their opinion there was little interest demonstrated by humanitarian agencies to address the issue: "this was another thing we kept trying to raise, whether we were talking to the gender-based violence or protection sectors, and it was consistently deprioritised and really the conversations were not constructive" (CXB22, Gender-Based Violence Program Coordinator, Cox's Bazar). Greece was a context in which many humanitarians who had worked there had been exposed to the sexual exploitation of unaccompanied adolescent boys: "the vast majority of the unaccompanied children are adolescent boys, 15 and above. The vast majority were engaged in commercial sexual exploitation, they were being sexually abused, very openly in the streets and squares in Athens. Whether it was to buy food, they were living on the streets and that was what they were doing (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International).

[53] 'Bacha bazi' is a practice found in Afghanistan and Pakistan whereby young boys aged 10-18 are sold to wealthy individuals or families (Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) 2014; de Lind van Wijngaarden & Rani 2011). As well as acting as bodyguards, servants, or conducting other work, these boys are forced to wear female clothing and dance for men before being sexually abused individually or by large groups of men (AIHRC 2014). Most of the boys come from poor families (AIHRC 2014). In Afghanistan, the practice is reported to have originated from when the commanders of armed groups sexually abused the boys that they used as bodyguards, who they referred to as 'Bacha Berish' or 'boy without a beard' (AIHRC 2014).

In an interview that I conducted with a specialist on child survivors in emergencies, she noted that the context where she had heard of many cases of boys was in Iraq: "I know for Iraq they always talk about boys, I hear about boy survivors in Iraq" (GVA1, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). Indeed, it was from Iraq that two of the more troubling cases were reported by one of my participants. In the first case, an internally displaced persons camp in northern Iraq was divided into two areas, one was designated for men and the other for women and families. However, when men arrived at the camp with children, the girl child would be placed with a family inside the main camp while the boy child would stay with his father in the segregated space for adult males. In these circumstances, "it was something that happened several times, where there were men with their own children staying with them and the boy was abused by other men in this specific area" (GVA6, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). In the second, a child protection worker noticed a group of adolescent boys who were working in graveyard and smoking, drinking alcohol, and using bad language. After investigating their situation, the staff came to understand that "at least one kid was everyday abused by someone from the militia. They were coming to the graveyard, picking him, putting him in a car, and then abusing him and putting him back in the graveyard" (GVA6, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva).

These two cases draw attention to how, in the first instance, there was limited recognition of the vulnerability of boys to sexual abuse in male-dominated settings, and in the second, how outward displays of negative behaviours can be coping mechanisms for boys in the face of continuous, horrendous abuse. Additional cases mentioned by my research participants ranged in context and social ecological circumstance, including the sexual assault of adolescent boys by other boys in Ecuador, sexual harassment of boys in Nigeria, sexual abuse of boys in boarding schools in Yemen, sexual exploitation of boys from Syria and sub-Saharan Africa in workplaces in Egypt and Jordan, and conflict-related sexual violence against boys in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan. Although these accounts do not provide substantive quantitative evidence of prevalence, they provide an indication that humanitarian actors are encountering cases of sexual abuse of adolescent boys as a component of contemporary emergency response work. Furthermore, they also align with child protection data that indicates that the risk of exposure to sexual abuse for boys is closely related to their social location and material context, and that risk escalates for boys when they enter specific public and private spaces (see Chapter 3). Given this set of circumstances, in the next section I turn to how humanitarian actors are responding to this egregious child protection issue, both in the Rohingya crisis response and in other emergency contexts.

Responding to adolescent survivors of sexual abuse

In a humanitarian response to child sexual abuse, care and support for adolescent survivors is a joint responsibility of the Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sectors. In the case of the Rohingya crisis, many of my research participants described a response to adolescent survivors that had

limited technical capacity and was low in quality. For the gender-based violence sector, support was principally provided for adolescent girls through women and girl friendly spaces.[54] At the time of the August 2017 influx there were just three providers of gender-based violence services and three safe spaces that had been purposefully established for Rohingya women and girls. Consequently, there was little pre-established capacity in the district to absorb the displaced Rohingya population and the scale of violence that had been perpetrated against them. As hundreds of thousands of Rohingya began to cross the border from August 2017, the gender-based violence sector attempted to rapidly expand, and local women's empowerment organisations began to engage in gender-based violence service provision. As a result, women friendly spaces were established without protection services for women and girls, and case management was delivered by organisations with no previous experience in gender-based violence casework and without the appropriate staffing and support structures.[55] This approach had negative impacts on the Rohingya population, as described by a gender-based violence specialist when recounting her arrival to work in the Rohingya crisis:

> When I first went in, I had never seen so many child friendly spaces and women friendly spaces without protection response services. They were just operating with recreational activities, no structured programming. And then when they did attempt to do case management, it was done in such a harmful way (CXB2, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Cox's Bazar).

The baseline level of technical capacity among humanitarian organisations in the gender-based violence sector for supporting adolescent girl (or boy) survivors was therefore low at the time of the influx. Audits of gender-based violence services conducted by research participants who worked for the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector revealed that male caseworkers had been working in women-only spaces, case management was being conducted in public and breaching minimum standards on confidentiality, staff demonstrated limited understanding on consent and in some cases refused to support cases of intimate partner violence, and there was even signage on some women friendly spaces outwardly proclaiming that they were 'gender-based violence centres': thus inviting stigma for survivors who sought help. For adolescent girls, research participants described cases where gender-based violence service providers refused to assist them, referring the girl from service provider to service provider. This situation was described sardonically by a gender-based violence officer: "Yes you can come and play, yes you can come and do knitting and sewing, but we're not going to deal with

[54] Women friendly spaces are "safe and non-stigmatizing locations where women may conduct a variety of activities, such as breastfeed their children, learn about nutrition and discuss issues related to well-being (e.g. women's rights, sexual and reproductive health, gender-based violence, etc.). Ideally, these spaces also include counselling services (which may incorporate counselling for gender-based violence survivors) to help women cope with their situation and prepare them for eventual return to their communities. Women friendly spaces may also be a venue for livelihoods activities" (IASC 2015a).

[55] Further support was available through clinical management of rape services provided by health providers RTMI and Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF). MSF had the longest standing gender-based violence program in the area, with one of their clinics having been operating in the refugee camps for almost 10 years in 2017.

your case, we're not going to deal with the fact that you're being raped by your uncle. So they were turned from another place and to another place" (CXB20, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Cox's Bazar). Even after being trained on working with child survivors of sexual abuse, my research participants noted that these same organisations and their caseworkers still refused to take cases of adolescent girls.

This deficit in support for adolescent girls was also reflected at the inter-agency coordination level for the gender-based violence response. As Gender Technical Adviser for Terre des hommes, I attended Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector meetings regularly from October 2018 to April 2019. During this time, there was little mention of adolescent girls. In my fieldnotes written during the Sub-Sector's planning for activities conducted under the 2019 Joint Response Plan I wrote "what was also striking about the meeting was how little age was talked about…When we were going through the [2018] work plan the only reference to child survivors was a joint training which was conducted. But in every action, in the criteria for selecting people to review the [joint response plan] projects and in the [review] form, there was no attention paid to the fact there may be survivors who are not adult women" (fieldnotes 12.11.2018). When I asked my research participants whether this lesser attention to adolescent girls was common within the Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector in the Rohingya crisis, a gender-based violence specialist confirmed that within the Sub-Sector there was no specific focus on girls. Indeed, another gender-based violence officer argued that "there's no focus on more vulnerable persons and different ages" (CXB2, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Cox's Bazar) and recounted her amazement at the limited attention adolescent girls when she began working in the crisis:

> So I went into the first [gender-based violence] sub-sector meeting in January, and having come out of an adolescent girl focused program, adolescents were really on my mind. I popped in there and I kind of had a little look at the referral pathways that were on hand and I went in and I said 'you know I just have a quick question, I've just arrived but I've had a look at the referral pathways and I couldn't see any age indication, so who is responding to adolescent girls?' Usually when you have a referral pathway it says the gender and age of who they're targeting or who can access those services, if it's a women friendly space then it might say girls. Nothing. Then they said to me, 'yeh we don't really have any entry points for adolescent girls', this is what was said by a UN agency, 'because this is an emergency and adolescent girls is a theme of gender-based violence which we'll discuss during the stabilisation period' (CXB2, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Cox's Bazar).

The child protection sector faced similar challenges. At the beginning of the Rohingya refugee crisis, there were few local or international organisations with technical capacity in conducting child protection in emergencies activities who were already operating in Bangladesh.[56] After the August

[56] Even Terre des hommes, who had been operating largely as an international development organisation in Bangladesh since 1974, had hardly any in-country experience in responding to child protection in emergencies.

2017 influx, the child protection sector saw many organisations begin child protection programming with little prior experience in child protection in emergencies. Mirroring the experience of the gender-based violence sector, there was a similar proliferation of child friendly spaces without integrated protection services, structured programming, appropriately trained staff, or a focus on child survivors. The latter point, however, is for good reason. Child protection actors were overwhelmed with the number of children in need and caseworkers were reported to be each handling caseloads of up to 300 children each, with most of these cases classified as medium and high risk.[57] In the initial stages of the response, no child protection organisation had the capacity to provide appropriate support for child survivors of sexual abuse, and one organisation was allocated the responsibility based on their relative capacity to provide child-focused mental health and psychosocial support. However, child protection caseworkers interviewed for this study reported that they did not refer children to this organisation as they perceived their case support to be of low quality. In response, Save the Children elected to become the de-facto organisation for child survivors. However, a gender-based violence specialist described how after this decision other organisations then began "dumping" cases of child survivors onto them (CXB20, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Cox's Bazar).

Emblematic of the gap in support for child survivors in the Rohingya refugee crisis was the degree of inter-agency coordination between the child protection and gender-based violence sectors. Although humanitarian staff noted that there was good collaboration and case consultation within humanitarian organisations that provided both child protection and gender-based violence services, they observed that there was limited inter-agency coordination. As I recounted in the vignette that opened this chapter, the first meeting on child survivors between the two sub-sectors was held in January 2019, some one and a half years into the response. This meeting occurred at a time when child protection actors had recognised that child survivors were making up a greater proportion of their caseload. However, during the meeting, lack of clear responsibility between the two sectors for child and adolescent survivors emerged as a major impediment to individual case support. Indeed, the main activity that was conducted during the meeting was a camp-by-camp allocation of responsibility for child survivors to a child protection or a gender-based violence organisation. As the coordinators discussed with the attending agencies their relative capacity to support a case for each geographic location and allocated responsibilities, it soon became apparent to me that the default position was that child protection actors were responsible for child survivors, and that the gender-based violence sector would fill gaps when needed. From my perspective, this caused tension in the meeting between the two sectors, as the rhetoric of gender-based violence actors indicated that they would take girl survivors of sexual abuse, but ultimately the case responsibility belonged with child protection.

[57] In the international guidelines on child protection in humanitarian action, the agreed global standard is a ratio of 25 cases per caseworker (ACPHA 2019).

Discrepancies in case responsibility for adolescent survivors was also reflected in the accounts of humanitarian staff working in other emergency responses. In the main, they indicated that responsibility for adolescent survivors is murky and depends on the actors present in the response and their relative experience. Several child protection staff reported that with cases of sexual abuse, they "normally refer to another organisation that is a specialist and expert on gender-based violence, because that's really something where people are supposed to be trained" (GVA6, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). However, another research participant commented that "the responsibilities for dealing with adolescent survivors dealing with gender-based violence haven't been very clear. Up until there is a case, no one has thought through is it going to be the child protection or the gender-based violence unit who is going to deal with a case, or should we do it jointly, or are there parts where it can be beneficial to have both units working together" (GVA13, Gender-Based Violence Officer, Geneva). While participants noted that there was a baseline inattention and lack of services for child survivors in emergencies, adolescent survivors were regarded as being of greater concern because the child protection sector tends to take responsibility for younger children while the gender-based violence sector predominantly addresses adults. This situation was described by a child protection adviser:

> We had a case of rape where the child had to be placed out of the family. The only place that child could go to was a shelter that was designed for women, so it was not at all designed for girls for example, and this is what we see a lot, there are separate referral pathways for children and for adults in many settings. The gender-based violence sector will look at the adult survivors and the child protection sector will look at child survivors, but when it is an adolescent girl for example, or an adolescent boy, there's a lot of confusion around what approach we should use, who is responsible (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International).

Case responsibility for adolescent survivors between the two sectors was described by one respondent as "the golden question" in contemporary humanitarian policy (GLO1, Child Protection Adviser, International). The importance of clear responsibilities was emphasised by a specialist in child survivors of sexual abuse who noted that although both sectors can handle cases "you want to avoid duplication of services. You also want to ensure that when there's a survivor you can provide services, meaning that nobody fall under cracks, every reported case is being dealt with. This is where coordination really matters" (GVA1, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). From my participants' accounts it was apparent that in spite of pervasive confusion around responsibilities, the level of coordination between the two sectors is contextually dependent. While some participants reported limited inter-agency coordination in their experiences, others highlighted the response to the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon as a case of best-practice, with the two sectors in this instance working together to construct joint operating procedures on child survivors. Regardless, many of my participants consistently emphasised the importance of both sectors working together to improve support for adolescent survivors. In this case, humanitarian responses to child sexual abuse are a co-coconstructed and negotiated outcome between

the two sectors. As such, responses are affected and influenced by the confluence of their respective interpretive frameworks, epistemologies, and heuristic understandings of sexul harm.

Interventions for adolescent boy survivors

In humanitarian emergencies, adolescent boys who experience sexual abuse often have limited entrance-points or pathways to humanitarian support services, mirroring the experience of women and girls (De Sas Kropiwnicki Gruber, Tuggey & Jones 2018). Indeed, according to humanitarian staff working in the Rohingya refugee crisis, there were few opportunities for adolescent boys to approach service providers for support and services were generally not established to accommodate for their needs. As discussed in Chapter 6, the main humanitarian response to the protection needs of adolescent Rohingya boys was child protection case management, as well as recreational and life-skills activities delivered in adolescent clubs and child friendly spaces. For adolescent boy survivors, the principal response was case management services provided by child protection caseworkers with child protection organisations taking responsibility for their care and protection. However, as discussed in the previous section, during the initial stages of the Rohingya refugee crisis response child protection actors were unequipped to support adolescent survivors, were facing significant caseloads of unaccompanied and separated children, and there was limited accounting for their needs on inter-agency referral pathways. This dilemma was described by a gender-based violence specialist working for a protection organisation: "so the question goes where did they go? Because a number of child protection actors weren't doing child survivors of sexual violence. So a lot of them were seen by health services, but then no follow-up was provided" (CXB20, Gender-Based Violence Specialist, Cox's Bazar).

In my interviews with international humanitarian staff, one participant suggested health services as an entrance-point where boys may be more likely to be able to seek help in emergencies. This was confirmed by a child protection specialist in the Rohingya crisis, who proposed that health services and adolescent groups would be potential entrance-points for adolescent boys to access humanitarian support. However, in practice, the functional role that health services provided to adolescent boys was mixed. While adolescent boys were reported to have been seen by health providers, this often just involved treatment of physical symptoms, with no follow-up child protection or case management services. If boys are presenting to health services to seek support for the physical impacts of sexual abuse but are being turned away or are not being referred to case management services, this may suggest that there are greater numbers of adolescent boy survivors than are reflected in the health records of primary care facilities or in the case records of child protection organisations. During my observation of Terre des hommes' health posts in the refugee camps, however, the waiting rooms were filled with women and young children, thus presenting an environment that is perhaps less inviting to an adolescent boy. Also troubling were multiple reports of boy survivors being turned away from health services or denied clinical support for victims of sexual violence, with health workers believing

boys do not need clinical management of rape. This situation was described by the program manager for a case management team that had worked with a boy who had experienced sexual abuse:

> So we took a survivor after being sexually abused for clinical management of rape, but they denied that it's for boys, there's no need to do it for a boy as what will happen to him is nothing. For the girls they do clinical management of rape to prevent sexually transmitted infections or to prevent pregnancy or something else. No need for the boys [they said], they denied to do it (CXB23, Child Protection Program Manager, Cox's Bazar).

Although women friendly spaces are not overtly positioned as a support service for boy survivors, gender-based violence officers themselves recounted several instances where adolescent boys had proactively sought help from these services. According to one research participant, older adolescent boys who had experienced conflict-related sexual violence in Myanmar showed up at women friendly spaces seeking help: "they knew we were providing some kind of service for gender-based violence survivors somehow. Our staff didn't know what to do in the first time it happened. Well it is a women only space, but they could meet in the site management office, where there are some small office spaces that can be private counselling rooms" (CXB4, Gender-Based Violence Program Manager, Cox's Bazar). The fundamental principles of gender-based violence service provision in humanitarian emergencies understand service provision for survivors of sexual abuse as non-discriminatory, and gender-based violence caseworkers are to be trained to receive cases regardless of the gender, age, or sexual orientation of the victim (IASC 2015a). However, with women friendly spaces the main modality for gender-based violence services within the Rohingya refugee camps, this means that the primary interface for addressing different forms of sexual violence is not designed for boys: "the services are not set out for them. When you have a service point for women and girls, that's not really made for boys to go and get services from there" (CXB14, Child Protection Coordinator, Cox's Bazar).

Compounding this issue is that the main way adolescent boys are provided information on sexual abuse is through programs to prevent violence against women and girls.[58] As discussed, the one long-term structured program that specifically targets adolescent boys is Plan International's Champions of Change program. This is the only regular interface between adolescent boys and service providers where they may be inclined to disclose incidence of their own abuse. In my discussions with Plan International staff, it appeared that there had been little consideration during the design of the program as to whether adolescent boys who experienced child sexual abuse or conflict-related sexual violence may seek help through their contact with Plan's child protection staff. In sum, the humanitarian response to adolescent boys who experience sexual abuse in the Rohingya crisis during my fieldwork appeared to be largely ad-hoc. There were few entrance-points where boys may be able to build

[58] The exception to this was a program run by Legal Action Worldwide that trained a small group of Male Survivor Advocates to act as outreach workers on sexual violence against men within the camps (IOM & UNFPA 2020). It is unclear, however, the extent to which this information was transmitted to younger boys and adolescents as there is no detailed publicly available information on the program or its outcomes.

rapport with humanitarian staff, such as gender and age specific structured programming, neither was there substantial consideration by humanitarian actors of sexual abuse of boys as a specific phenomenon of harm that can transpire in emergencies and must be accounted for in care responses.[59] This absence of adolescent boys from another aspect of protection practice continues the observations of the previous chapter. In this respect, however, adolescent boys are not properly recognised and incorporated as subjects of child sexual abuse and other forms of sexualised harm in the discourse or knowledge frameworks of humanitarian actors. As one child protection coordinator observed: "It's very tricky. The general perception in this context is its only girls experiencing sexual violence" (CXB14, Child Protection Coordinator, Cox's Bazar).

These divisions of humanitarian responsibility and levels of service availability for adolescent boys appear to be reflected in responses to other emergencies. Before turning to discuss services for boy survivors, a key question preceding service utilisation surrounds which humanitarian actors are responsible for adolescent boy survivors of sexual violence in emergencies. According to my research participants, responsibility varies from emergency response to emergency response. Indeed, one child protection practitioner noted that in Iraq it varies even by geographic subdivision. Regardless, it was apparent from their accounts that adolescent boys as subjects of sexual abuse are polemic and complex subjects in the realms of humanitarian responsibility. Although child protection actors may often take responsibility for their care, they were noted to lack training and adequate capacity on working on cases of sexual abuse. Conversely, while gender-based violence staff were trained on working with survivors they were reportedly opposed to working with boys, as it was outside of their normal scope of work, boy survivors could not be supported within women friendly spaces, and staff did not feel comfortable working with boy survivors. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, sexual exploitation and abuse of unaccompanied adolescent boys was highly prevalent in Greece, with one staff member raising how case responsibility became a critical issue that affected service availability in this context:

> In Greece [sexual abuse of boys] was rampant. There were a lot of discussions between child protection and gender-based violence about the fact we needed to respond to this. There are adolescent boys that are coming up asking for help, and the gender-based violence field didn't feel comfortable responding to them. They couldn't come to the women's safe space, which is often where [gender-based violence organisations] do their case management, so where are they going? Child protection didn't feel that they necessarily had the skills, especially since there were 16 to 17 year old boys. That was a prime example of where we really didn't respond appropriately to the needs that we were seeing on the ground, or not in a timely

[59] The Inter Sector Coordination Group's 2018 Joint Response Plan for the Rohingya refugee crisis includes in its protection needs analysis recognition that boys may be exposed to sexual abuse, noting that "although there are only a very limited number of reported cases of male survivors of [gender-based violence], there is indication that boy children and adolescents have been exposed to risks of [gender-based violence]" (ISCG 2018a, p.56). In the main, however, this does not appear to have translated into substantive action for boy survivors or focused incorporation into prevention work or care responses by humanitarian actors.

> manner. Since then, a lot more has been put into place, but when it was at the height of the response in 2015/16 there was just nothing in place (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International).

This dynamic interplay between the two service approaches to working with adolescent boy survivors was also reflected in other contexts. In Europe, where there have been large numbers of unaccompanied and separated adolescent boys who have been subjected to sexual abuse when on the move, "if they were children typically a child protection actor would end up stepping in, but it was very clear that their confidence and their technical capacity to do so was questionable. For gender-based violence actors in that context, they took a big step back and said that they couldn't work on those cases, and that it would compromise a lot of their programming for women and girls" (GLO3, Child Protection Adviser, International). Indeed, from their experiences of different contexts, it was apparent from the accounts of humanitarian staff that responsibility for boy survivors is a negotiated outcome of discussions between the two sectors. In Egypt, the gender-based violence sector took responsibility because child protection actors were overburdened. In Palestine, the gender-based violence sector handled cases, but in constant consultation with child protection actors. And in the Philippines and Ecuador, cases were referred to and handled by local government social workers and security actors. Divisions of responsibility have even caused significant issues within humanitarian organisations, with a child protection adviser describing the troublesome conversations that had occurred between the child protection and gender-based violence areas within her own agency:

> We pushed and said we need to respond to these kids in some way, if gender-based violence refuses child protection will take it on. It was then that the discussion started 'well gender-based violence shouldn't be refusing these' and that's where a lot of the discussion started happening. In the meantime, at the field level, a lot of the response was coming from child protection, despite the fact that I don't think necessarily our caseworkers were properly trained to respond adequately. They did what they could with what they had (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International).

As a result, when there have been cases of sexual abuse against boys, humanitarian responses have been largely unable to provide gender and age-appropriate care and "the humanitarian community [has] really grappled with how to address those cases" (GLO3, Child Protection Adviser, International). In interviews with international humanitarian staff, many indicated that services oriented towards sexual violence are purposefully designed to facilitate the care and protection of adult women, that services are often not well equipped to deal with children, and that services for boys are either not available or are highly limited. A gender-based violence officer attributed this to "lack of funding and lack of capacity of organisations and staff in dealing with that specific target group" (GVA13, Gender-Based Violence Officer, Geneva). Several participants mentioned that the main available service for boy survivors was primary healthcare. However, in the case of internally displaced persons in Iraq, a child

protection adviser noted that survivors would often be required to leave the camp to be transported to health facilities, which immediately identified them to their community, attaching stigma and shame. A number of participants also raised that in the emergency responses they had worked in there was little in the way of dedicated programmning, specialised services, or mental healthcare for boys. However, this was also complicated by gender norms around help-seeking, with one participant noting that for boy survivors: "they would often agree to medical support, but when I'd offer them referral for psychosocial support they would straight out say no, because they would feel they don't need that, they can deal with it themselves" (GVA13, Gender-Based Violence Officer, Geneva).

Promising approaches that have resulted in adolescent boy survivors seeking help included sessions on trauma and violence conducted by social workers with Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone, and a drop-in community services centre in northeast Nigeria. In the latter case, the organisation had established a community centre and noticed that "were actually a lot of boys as part of the caseload, which was very unusual for the area. What we realised is that this way of working really allowed boys to come forward with the abuse that they'd experienced during the time they spent with the armed forces. So there's a lot of children returning from the armed forces, and also those not necessarily involved with the armed forces but who have survived attacks on their communities. [The service] was not intentionally set up for boys, but we realised this is a really good way for survivors to come forward, including many boys" (GLO1, Child Protection Adviser, International). Similarly, in Lebanon, humanitarian workers mentioned that the use of community centres for delivery of services made it more accessible for boys, and that cases were managed by trained and respected community volunteers, psychologists were available for the caregivers of boys who had been abused, livelihood and income generating activities were available to refer boys to, and there was a strong physical and mental health system available.

While this section has mainly described how the humanitarian response to adolescent boys who experience sexual abuse is often minimal, both in the Rohingya context and in other humanitarian settings, at this point it is important to mention that services for women and girls are also weak and underfunded. As mentioned in Chapter 6, adolescent Rohingya girls are subject to a broad spectrum of gender-based violence in displacement, including rape, trafficking for sexual exploitation, restrictions on their movement, forced marriage, and pervasive sexual harassment. Indeed, most cases of child sexual abuse reported to Terre des hommes as one of the major child protection organisations operating in the Rohingya crisis were perpetrated against girls. This situation for girls does not negate the responsibility of humanitarian actors to provide support for boy survivors of sexual abuse. Regardless of the social location of the survivor and their subject position within humanitarian frameworks for understanding sexual harm, survivors should be able to access services. An intersectional standpoint recognises that adolescent boys (as well as adolescent girls) are a broad and heterogenous social category that includes both perpetrators of sexual harm and survivors of sexual abuse. Taking an intersectional approach to conceptualising sexual harm may lead to greater

accounting for how sexual abuse may occur in the lives of adolescent boys, and how social location and social ecology facilitate protection from and risk of this egregious child protection issue.

Caseworker perspectives on adolescent boy survivors

At the first inter-agency meeting on child survivors in the Rohingya refugee crisis, one of the key outcomes was a joint decision by child protection and gender-based violence actors to initiate monthly training on caring for child survivors of sexual abuse for gender-based violence and child protection caseworkers. In March 2019, I formally observed the first of these training courses as part of my data collection.[60] At the beginning of the first session, I scanned the outline of the course content for any material on boys as survivors of sexual abuse and identified that there was a dedicated session on the topic scheduled for that afternoon. However, when the session commenced, I soon realised that it was comprised of a single PowerPoint slide. The facilitators verbally conveyed three main points to the attendees: that most victims of sexual abuse are girls, but it also happens to boys; that sexual abuse does not cause homosexuality, and; that boys may be hesitant to discuss their feelings and seek help. Although over the following four days of training caseworkers were required to participate in role play activities where boys were used as examples of survivors, the ways in which gender, age, and other forms of social location affected their experiences of abuse were little explored or explained. My perception of the training content was that boy survivors were incorporated in a way that emphasised their status as children, rather than accounting for the multitude of social factors that affect their exposure to abuse and their psychical and psychological processing of this form of harm.

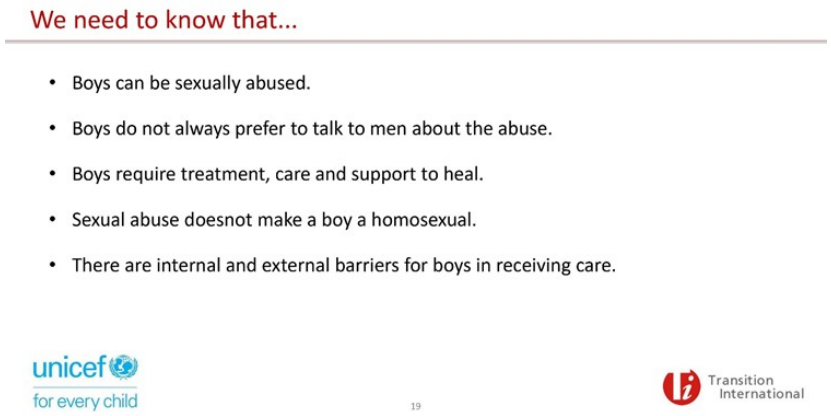


Figure 10: Caring for child survivors training slide March 2019. This was the only information slide on sexual abuse of boys.

[60] A 9 day training session was conducted by consulting firm Transitions International in September 2018 at the request of the Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sectors. The intention was that attendees of this training would then go on to train the caseworkers in their own agencies, known as a 'training of trainers'. There was only one organisation I was able to identify that rolled out this additional internal training.

In the same month of my fieldwork, I conducted 10 focus groups with 52 child protection caseworkers from four organisations in the Rohingya crisis response. The aim of the focus groups was to better understand their capacity to support and respond to adolescent boy survivors of sexual abuse. Participants were given a two-part case study whereupon they first had to identify the form of abuse based on behavioural clues in a fictional scenario involving a young adolescent boy, before then in the second half describing how they would support him once it had been revealed he had experienced sexual abuse (see Appendix 1). Lastly, I prompted discussion among the participants on how sexual abuse may be different for a boy as compared to other survivors. Most child protection caseworkers demonstrated limited ability to identify signs of sexual abuse for boys within the scenario they were provided. Less than half of the participants of the focus groups perceived sexual abuse as the likely form of trauma that the boy had experienced, with many instead centring their appraisal on signs the boy may be experiencing mental ill health and suggested he was lonely, frustrated, going through puberty, liked a girl, or was traumatised by something that had happened to him in Myanmar. Other reasons suggested for his signs of distress tended to revolve around assumptions based on cultural ideas about masculinity, for example, that he had been fighting with others, was involved in terrorist training, or had perpetrated sexual violence.

For the groups that did identify signs of sexual abuse within the scenario, the caseworkers tended to progressively work through the signs that were apparent from the text and conducted an (audible) process of elimination to conclude that the boy had been sexually abused. In one of the focus groups, the participants argued that it had to be a case of sexual abuse, because in cases of child sexual abuse disclosure by a survivor is often inhibited by feelings of shame, fear, and guilt. In providing answers on how the caseworkers felt they should respond to the case the participants often provided a list of top-level priorities. The conversation frequently began with 'medical, psychosocial support, psychological first aid' and then confusion about what came first. While these answers are consistent with the training the participants had been provided, 2 of the 10 groups provided more comprehensive responses, including having a non-judgemental attitude, not pressuring him to speak, reminding the boy he is not responsible for the abuse, establishing a relationship with the child, finding him a safe place to live, establishing a safety plan with the caregiver and neighbours, calming the child down, working with the best interests of the child, and going through informed consent with the child and their caregiver.

When the focus group discussions progressed to identifying how sexual abuse may differently impact a boy survivor, this often prompted looks of confusion and periods of silence from the participants as they pondered the question. Perhaps reflecting their familiarity with girl survivors, the discussion often began with what girls may experience but boys are not subject to. These factors included the risk to a girl's marriage prospects, the chance they could get pregnant, the harmful impact on a girl's reputation, the vulnerability of girls to further abuse, and that girls are calmer for the staff to work with. For boys, caseworkers thought that he would be annoyed, that he will want to take revenge, that it would not

affect his marriage prospects or be a significant problem for his future, that it would not harm his reputation, that he would be teased, and in some cases they believed that there was no need for medical treatment. There was also the suggestion by one group that he was sexually abused because he was not aware of the risk, so having now been abused, they inferred that it would be unlikely to occur again as he would take precautions. From these responses, it appeared that although a portion of the child protection caseworkers could identify specific markers indicating that a boy may have been abused, they had limited familiarity with adolescent boys and the implications of sexual harm. As such, this implies that the humanitarian staff most likely to be working with adolescent boy survivors have limited understanding of their vulnerability or how social location affects boys' risk and protection.

To address this concern, in October 2019 I returned to Cox's Bazar under contract from Terre des hommes to present the preliminary findings of my research to different humanitarian organisations and to run two training sessions about the sexual abuse of boys for caseworkers. Aside from ad-hoc training on adult male survivors of sexual violence provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the brief content of the interagency training on caring for child survivors, humanitarians working in the crisis had not received training on boys as survivors of sexual abuse. It follows that across the response there was limited knowledge on sexual abuse of boys as a phenomenon. Indeed, in a gender-based violence training session I observed in November 2018, senior health professionals asked me directly which of the different forms of gender-based violence that were being discussed could affect men and boys. For the child protection and gender-based violence caseworkers I trained, answers from the pre-test I administered showed that most caseworkers thought that boys were not as affected by sexual abuse as girls, that perpetrators are likely gay, and that boys who are abused will abuse others. Training participants also seemed to believe that boys would become angry and seek revenge against the perpetrator. Approximately half conveyed that the survivor was not to blame for the abuse and most thought boy survivors were entitled to support, but there was a genuine perception that boys were partly responsible, should take greater care, and be able to defend themselves.

In sum, this indicates that some child protection and gender-based violence caseworkers may perceive adolescent boys as possessing a high degree of agency within their assault, that there would be limited impact on their life or physical wellbeing, that their victimisation was mostly due to a lack of awareness or their own carelessness, and that as a consequence, they will be angry and seek revenge. Oftentimes, caseworkers within the training sessions and focus groups perceived a lack of impact on an adolescent boy survivor's marriage prospects, and saw this as a marker to demonstrate the lesser impact of sexual abuse on boys. These perceptions mirror research from non-emergency contexts suggesting sexual abuse of boys is often seen as less consequential as they are not considered to have virginity, honour, or marriage at stake (De Sas Kropiwnicki Gruber, Tuggey & Jones 2018). As a result of limited attention to boy survivors and adolescent boys in general, child protection and gender-based violence caseworkers appear to apply their own gendered socialisation and understanding of sexual abuse with

no counter-narrative. If humanitarian responses to sexual abuse in emergencies are embedded in knowledge frameworks that hinge on gender or age-first analyses that do not address the diversity of survivors, then humanitarian actors will fail to recognise and protect survivors in all their diverse forms.

When considering perspectives by child protection staff on adolescent boy survivors in humanitarian interventions, it is important to recognise the operational setting for child protection in humanitarian action. In the Rohingya crisis and other humanitarian emergency responses, the child protection sector needs to first be established and then brought to scale. In my interviews with international humanitarian staff, my research participants noted that the local staff they employed were frequently not social workers and were often chosen for their ability to speak the language and their soft skills. Several research participants mentioned how the immediacy of need in the crisis-affected population and short project timelines meant that even if local staff received seven days of training this was positive: "because frankly, we don't have the time to sit down and do two weeks' worth of training" (GLO3, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva). In the main, local child protection staff receive a series of one-off trainings on specific topics, such as case management or alternative care. While best-practice indicates that they then should receive continued supervision and coaching, a child protection adviser noted that often child protection organisations lack sufficient funding to adequately staff their middle-management layer, which then negatively impacts upon supervision and coaching practices. In her account of establishing a case management team in Iraq, a child protection adviser described this baseline situation:

> It was really complicated because for my team in child protection…80% of the team members were engineers. They all came from different backgrounds and had no clue of child protection when they started. In Tekrete, the city was just liberated from ISIS so it was really difficult to find staff. So you had to deal with the staff you could find on the ground and there's no social work diploma. So that is the main challenge, to train staff who don't even know what child protection is (GVA6, Child Protection Adviser, Geneva).

Therefore, there are significant operational barriers that impede substantive training on caring for adolescent and child survivors of sexual abuse. International humanitarian staff raised that they had seen little specific training on working with adolescents as an age group or investment in training on child survivors. Aligning with my observations from the Rohingya refugee crisis, one child protection adviser noted that child survivor training tools do not adequately distinguish between boys and girls, and despite this deficit, there is an inbuilt assumption that staff trained using these tools would know how to work with both sexes. These assumptions contradict what my research participants (and I) observed, with several commenting that caseworkers are often less comfortable working with adolescents and boys, and that because of the low case numbers of boy survivors staff had limited understanding of their circumstances. It thus appears that the situation for adolescent boy survivors is one in which: 1) they are often not recognised as potential victims of sexual harm; 2) the role of their

social location and social ecology is not broadly understood within humanitarian action; and 3) humanitarian training and response work is highly constrained by operational and political barriers. To close this section, I present a quote from a senior child protection coordinator. In his interview he links the literature from earlier in this thesis to the field realities conveyed in this study, arguing that if humanitarian actors do not account for adolescent boy survivors a significant gap will remain in child protection:

> If we know that children who are recruited, or children who are detention, or children who are separated might be more likely to be subject to sexual abuse, then how do we provide comprehensive services without that recognition of the likelihood that this also is happening to boys? What we end up with is case management that can only deal with parts of the cases, or couldn't potentially deal with cases in a comprehensive way. We find some separated children or we find some kids in detention or we find some kids who've been recruited and we deal with the family tracing and we deal with some education and maybe we do some livelihoods for the family, but we're unable actually to deal potentially with sexual abuse (GVA3, Child Protection Coordinator, Geneva).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that in one of the largest refugee responses in recent history, there was limited recognition of adolescents as survivors of sexual abuse and restricted technical capacity within the child protection and gender-based violence sectors on caring for child survivors. Throughout, I have described how the main humanitarian organisations tasked with caring for child and adolescent survivors of sexual abuse were organisations with little experience in providing protection in emergencies, and that overall, the response may have neglected to recognise and act for adolescents as a particularly vulnerable group. The cases of sexual abuse that emerged in the interviews and focus groups that I conducted demonstrated that adolescent boys had been sexually abused after they had been displaced into the refugee camps of Cox's Bazar, and that the experience of these boy survivors aligns with the widespread sexual violence that has been perpetrated against Rohingya women and girls. As my study was not able to canvas all instances of child sexual abuse perpetrated against boys, I am unable to identify and describe patterns within the data. However, the commonality of these instances within the accounts of child protection and gender-based violence staff working in the crisis stands in contrast to their absence from humanitarian discourse on sexual harm.

So far, my thesis has conveyed that the main humanitarian response to adolescent boy survivors of sexual abuse in the Rohingya crisis was child protection casework and, often inadvertently, primary healthcare or gender-based violence support. Aside from casework, there were few services available that provided gender and age-appropriate care for these vulnerable children. Even then, child protection actors had limited understanding of sexual abuse of boys and how to support their complex

needs. As the basis of the humanitarian response to adolescent boy survivors came from child protection actors and their own interpretive frameworks, it also appears that boy survivors are principally addressed based on their age and developmental stage rather than accounting for other forms of social location in their dynamic exposure to risk and harm. As it stands, adolescent boys appear to be perceived by humanitarian actors as less vulnerable, while failing to recognise the full extent of how social factors that grant boys certain privileges interact with other forms of social location to facilitate their exposure to abuse. Indeed, sexual abuse of adolescent boys is an emblematic case where gender in humanitarian action may neglect the importance of gender in an adolescent boy's life course and its omnipresence in sexual harm. This chapter represents the final in my three empirical chapters. In the next chapter, I turn to bringing together the data that I collected in this study with that from the academic literature. Finally, I close this thesis with further discussion on my positionality and recommended courses for action.

Chapter 8.

Discussion and conclusion

There is a full silence in the room. Standing nervously at the front with my hands clasped behind my back, the projector casts 'thank you' in bold white lettering against the black slide. Shifting slightly in my shoes, I await the inevitable questions and feedback on my presentation to 40 colleagues from the Child Protection Sub-Sector. It was October 2019 and I had returned to Cox's Bazar to present the preliminary results of my research and to train child protection and gender-based violence staff on sexual abuse of boys. This presentation felt like the final adjudication by my humanitarian colleagues on the validity of two and a half years of research planning and data collection. One by one, my child protection colleagues spoke-up to confirm the findings from my research and restate the pressing need to address the protection concerns of adolescent Rohingya boys. One participant raised the numerous cases of boy survivors that their male caseworkers were currently holding, and another discussed the failure of humanitarian actors to address adolescent boys who were being forced into marriage. This positive reception continued over the remaining two weeks of my deployment, as humanitarian colleagues continuously approached me to raise child protection issues that they had witnessed affecting adolescent boys, their concern about the limited services adolescent boys had access to, and to draw my attention to cases of sexual abuse of boys they themselves had supported in the course of their work.

On my last day in Cox's Bazar I sat in the Terre des hommes office, frantically trying to finish the handover notes I was writing for Terre des hommes' management. Not 10 minutes before I was supposed to leave, a child protection caseworker approached the room. After beckoning him to enter and sit down, he began to tell me the story of a recent case where a Rohingya mother had approached him with concern over fighting between adolescent boys in the camps. She had said to him that her son does not go to the adolescent club because he doesn't learn anything there, and she linked this instance of violence to boys having nothing to do in the camp environment. The caseworker conveyed that the limited availability of activities for adolescent boys was becoming a significant problem. I asked him what he said to the mother, he replied that he 'raised awareness' by telling her than even friends fight. As I departed the office building and boarded the small plane to Dhaka later that day, I reflected on this interaction and how it justified the topic of my thesis. Images flooded into my head of the adolescent boys I had seen collecting rubbish and begging for money in Cox's Bazar, the boys with physical and intellectual disabilities in the camps, and the boys engaging in learning and play despite innumerable camp restrictions. As I looked out the plane window and Cox's Bazar slowly disappeared from view, I silently hoped that my study might contribute to improving the lives of adolescent boys and moving the humanitarian system towards substantive action.

In this thesis, I analysed how humanitarian actors respond to the protection needs of adolescent boys in emergencies through a critical ethnographic case study of the Rohingya refugee crisis in south-eastern Bangladesh. In the main, I aimed to contribute to improving humanitarian interventions for adolescent boys living in similar circumstances, particularly those who have experienced child sexual abuse. This study was originally motivated out of a deeply felt empathy for boy survivors and an emerging empirical landscape that has begun to capture how adolescent boys are exposed to a vast array of child protection concerns in humanitarian emergencies. In the first chapter, I positioned this thesis and its subject matter within three main areas of academic literature: the anthropology of humanitarianism, child protection in emergencies, and intersectional theory. Building on recent ethnographic attention to the practice of medical humanitarianism, I described this thesis as an ethnography of the practice of gender in humanitarian action. In this manner, I positioned my study as an exploration of the complexities, omissions, and unintended consequences of gender as a humanitarian project, and the position of adolescent boys within this. In addition, the first chapter described the Rohingya refugee crisis and emphasised the importance of understanding the humanitarian operating environment when engaging in critique of an ongoing crisis response. I closed the first chapter by outlining the argument interwoven throughout my thesis: that adolescent boys are intersectional social actors and that the influence of their social location and social ecology on their experiences of harm is poorly accounted for by humanitarian actors, particularly in the case of child sexual abuse.

In the second chapter, I continued on this trajectory and positioned this study within academic literature on the conduct of addressing gender inequality in crisis-affected populations. To do so, I established conceptual boundaries around a field of academic inquiry I denoted as 'gender humanitarianism', encompassing research attention to intervention practices that promote gender equality in humanitarian action. In that chapter, I illustrated that the system for applying gender equality in humanitarian action is poorly defined and that there has been limited critical attention to current practices. I also established that within this field of inquiry, intersectionality has mostly not been applied as a form of robust critical social theory, and furthermore, that both the position of adolescent boys within its conceptual framework and the influence of gender in humanitarian action on crisis responses have not been questioned. In the third chapter, I mapped the literature on child protection concerns affecting adolescent boys and described a dynamic dialectic of protection and harm. This chapter noted that adolescent boys are affected by a spectrum of protection issues that compound and shape their daily lives in emergency settings, and that different aspects of their social identity and social position influence their exposure to risk and their ability to benefit from protection. I closed Chapter 3 by describing how adolescent boys have limited access to gender and age-appropriate humanitarian programming, and that there is minimal information on the ways in which adolescent boys are engaging with or disengaging from humanitarian assistance.

In the fourth chapter, I then proceeded to describe the research design I chose for this study and argued that critical ethnography was an appropriate research method. This was predominantly due to its strength in investigating complex problems embedded in multiple layers. Over the following three chapters, I then presented my analysis of the empirical data I gathered throughout my research phases. In the fifth chapter, I identified three typologies of protection concerns that adolescent Rohingya boys are exposed to in the refugee camps of Cox's Bazar. Through these typologies, I argued that different aspects of an adolescent boy's social location and social ecology affect their exposure to harm and mediate their ability to benefit from protection. In this chapter, I established that gender was a critical variable in their matrix of social location and that it interacted with other social and material factors to affect their engagement in child labour, trafficking, substance abuse, and numerous other forms of harm. In the sixth chapter, I then described gender humanitarianism as it was performed in the Rohingya crisis and its influence on the protection outcomes for adolescent Rohingya boys. Then, in the seventh chapter, I explored the humanitarian response to adolescent boy survivors of sexual abuse. Specifically, I noted the absence of the issue from humanitarian discourse on sexual harm, despite the presence of cases.

In this, the final chapter, I conclude this thesis by discussing my empirical data with respect to the academic literature and assess the implication of this research for the anthropology of humanitarianism, child protection in emergencies, and gender humanitarianism. Structurally, this chapter is divided into five sections. The first section positions my findings with respect to established knowledge on child protection in emergencies, showing how an intersectional analysis of adolescent boys could strengthen the literature on child protection, expand our understanding of their risk environment, and augment understanding of child sexual abuse in such settings. The second section presents this thesis' contribution to gender humanitarianism and the anthropology of humanitarianism, showing how an intersectional standpoint can surface the unintended exclusions in gender humanitarianism as an emancipatory project and prompt greater attention to nuance and complexity. The third section explores unresolved dualities and tensions between my position as a gender worker and critical researcher who operates within the field of gender humanitarianism. The last two sections then present recommendations based on the findings of the empirical chapters and conclude the thesis, respectively.

The social location of adolescent boys

At the commencement of this thesis, I placed this study in reference to the critical social field of intersectionality. I described how studies of intersectionality can be divided into three main bodies of work, including the application of intersectionality as an interpretive or investigatory framework, discursive debates about the scope of intersectionality, and political interventions that apply an intersectional lens (Cho, Crenshaw & Mccall 2013). To reiterate, I place this study within two of these forms, both deploying intersectionality as a framework for investigation and as a disruptive form of

political intervention. This section continues in this manner, applying an intersectional theoretical framework to link the empirical findings of this thesis with academic literature on child protection in emergencies. I begin by describing the dynamic relationship between social location and harm for adolescent boys in emergencies, before then turning to analyse the phenomenon of child sexual abuse against adolescent boys in humanitarian settings.

The dynamic dialectic of protection and harm

The academic literature on child protection in emergencies has identified a multitude of protection concerns that affect adolescent boys in humanitarian settings (see Brun 2017; Evans, Forte & Fraser 2013; Mercy Corps 2014; Presler-Marshall 2018; Youssef 2020). While this work recognises the importance of certain key aspects of their social location (such as age and developmental stage), there does not appear to be a movement towards recognising the interdependent nature of their different social positions and its corresponding influence on an individual's exposure to risk or experiences of harm. The academic literature on child protection may surface different sets of protection issues but often fails to extricate adolescent boys and the specificities of their position from broader analysis of children. Interdisciplinary work that should address adolescent boys, such as critical work on masculinities or conflict-related sexual violence in emergencies, also rarely includes them in their analysis. Against this landscape, in this study, I sought to establish adolescent boys as an at-risk subcategory of crisis-affected populations. I directed analytical attention to the complex and dynamic nature of their social position in humanitarian crises and the impact of this upon their protection. In doing so, I sought to contest the subsuming of adolescent boys within broader analytical categories and the reductionisms that characterise the subject of adolescent boys in humanitarian discourse.

The empirical results of this study indicate that in the Rohingya refugee crisis adolescent boys were exposed to a vast range of child protection concerns. These included escalations in family violence within their homes, engagement in child labour in the host community, and severe substance abuse issues, to name but a few examples. Furthermore, my analysis showed that their exposure to risk may be closely linked to the presence or absence of a caregiver, the level of household dependence on their income-generating capacities, and their ability to navigate the patriarchal socio-cultural camp environment. These findings closely align to recent empirical work on adolescent refugees in situations of protracted displacement[61]. These studies have drawn attention to gaps in child protection knowledge on adolescents in emergencies and have conceptualised the constellation of violence this age group is exposed to within social ecological models (see Bermudez et al. 2018; Rubenstein & Stark 2017). Social ecological approaches have surfaced the importance of familial relationships and structural conditions in an adolescent's risk environment. This study extends this work through its centring of

[61] Protracted displacement is formally defined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as being displaced for "5 years or more after their initial displacement, without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions" (UNHCR 2009).

critical attention on the social position of an adolescent within a humanitarian emergency and how this dynamically interacts with the tiers of an adolescent's social ecology over time and place.

Where there is a divergence between this study and the broader literature on child protection in emergencies is in the level of emphasis I place on the relational nature of social location and child protection. Throughout this work, I have consistently drawn attention to how an adolescent boy may be marginalised through the presence of a disability, the composition of his household, his financial position, his separation from his caregivers, his sexual orientation and gender identity, or his level of literacy, among innumerable other points of social location. In this thesis, I found that among these, gender was an important factor that intersected and overlapped with other forms of social location to affect the presence or absence or risk in an adolescent boy's environment. Indeed, gender norms determined a boy's access to public space, level of oversight by caregivers, and economic responsibilities. It is important, however, to understand that gender should not necessarily be viewed as the primary form of social location or be extricated from its dynamic relationship with other social categories. I suggest that it is important to recognise the full complexity of an adolescent boy's social location and the way this affects their exposure to risk and protection from harm in a dynamic, bidirectional dialectic that constantly shifts over time and in different material and social environments.

This approach understands gender as a form of social location that affords adolescent boys certain privileges, but also recognises that gender may interact with other social factors to create a risk of harm. An adolescent boy's ability to engage in paid work, for example, may facilitate their access to income, greater self-agency, and opportunities for self-development. It may also expose them to the theft of their wages and other crime, daily interactions with security forces on their way to their workplace, sexual abuse in order to be paid their wages, and exposure to illicit substances through their contact with drug-taking adult males in the workforce. This means that in gendered analysis of humanitarian contexts, a nuanced analytic would move beyond the automatic attribution of privilege based on gender identity and would depict exposure to violence and harm as a process influenced by innumerable variables. This approach recognises that an adolescent boy's access to privilege is always facilitated or mediated by their social location. It also historicises an adolescent boy's social location and social ecology, acknowledging that these are long-standing processes that are continuously impacted by changes in their environment. In conceptualising an adolescent boy's protective environment, this approach recognises that poverty, ethnicity, age, developmental stage, disability, class, and other factors exacerbate, mediate, or nullify different forms of protection in a dynamic and continuous dialectic.

To view adolescent boys in this manner entails recognising the heterogeneity among adolescent boys as a subcategory of crisis-affected populations and the dynamic nature of their social ecology of protection and harm. It also means understanding that any single protection issue facing an adolescent boy is just one in a matrix of protection concerns that exist concurrently, and that this is placed within a long history of trauma that may have characterised the individual's life course. From an intersectional

standpoint, it is important to understand this history and positionality within an adolescent boy's social environment. In the case of the Rohingya crisis, this brings in decades of oppression sponsored by the Myanmar state, militarised and displaced masculinities, and socio-religious constructions of ethnic identity. To recognise this complex and historicised interplay extends the literature on child protection in emergencies and aligns with recent academic scholarship on 'marginalised masculinities' among adolescent boys. These employ intersectional theory to explore the shifting dynamics of power in adolescent boys' experiences of marginalisation, the consequences of adolescent boys being positioned in feminised spaces, and the implications for their exclusion from mainstream social and economic protections (Bereswill & Neuber 2011; Hällgren, Dunkels & Frånberg 2015; Watson 2018).

Ageing out of protection

From this study I found that in the initial stages of the humanitarian response to the Rohingya refugee crisis, humanitarian actors did not define adolescents as a highly vulnerable group until negative coping mechanisms were recognised within the adolescent population. For adolescent boys, my research suggests that child protection actors implemented broad-based interventions for children but lacked dedicated long-term structured programming that engaged with adolescent boys' concerns or leveraged them as potential agents of change within their communities. These findings align with the academic literature on child protection in emergencies that suggests adolescents may be overlooked in humanitarian responses (Cahill et al. 2010; Chávez et al. 2018; Evans, Forte & Fraser 2013; WRC 2012). This study extends this work through its narrowing of focus on the relative inclusion/exclusion of adolescent boys from humanitarian action. It is difficult to place this study in conversation with existing academic work on these aspects, as there has been a historical inattention to adolescent boys as a group in the literature on child protection in emergencies. This has subsequently translated into limited empirical work on the social location of adolescent boys in emergencies, their protection concerns during crises and displacement, and their involvement with humanitarian services. This makes it difficult to benchmark this study against academic (or even humanitarian) writing on the subject.

As noted in the previous section, this study draws its closest academic parallels to recent empirical research on violence against children in humanitarian settings that have employed social ecological models to understand the dynamics of violence (Rubenstein & Stark 2017). These models conceptualise transactions between risk and protective factors at different levels of a child's social ecology, including among their family, their peers, their school, and the wider community (Betancourt et al. 2013). This study employs a similar approach as it understands adolescent boys in humanitarian settings as subjects of continuous, dynamic transactions between risk, protection, and harm. It also further builds on this work through its employ of intersectionality to incorporate a more complex understanding of an adolescent boy's social location within a social ecological model. This study foregrounds how an adolescent boy's social location may shift over time and place, that this has an impact on his protective environment, and that he faces a constant dialectic between protection and

harm intimately related to his social position. It is important to recognise that this dynamic extends to external protections in their environment. Social location affects an adolescent boy's access to safe physical locations (such as a purpose-built safe space), as well as his ability to benefit from a household with protective and respectful caregivers, environment of community-based protection mechanisms, and access to formal humanitarian services.

If this view conceptualising adolescent boys as persons occupying many intersecting social locations were incorporated into the interpretive frameworks that guide the humanitarian system, this would mean humanitarian actors should attend to these factors in the design and delivery of formal humanitarian services. At the present time, however, this study suggests that the confluence of gender and age are significant forms of social identity and categorisation that mediate an adolescent boy's ability to access humanitarian protection, even when services exist. The empirical data from Chapter 6 indicates that as boys age into adolescence they withdraw from child friendly spaces, temporary learning centres, and other humanitarian activities. Humanitarian assessments and research participants from this study suggested that this was because of a lack of age-appropriate activities, as well as conflict with gender norms that increasingly place the weight of economic and household responsibilities onto boys as they physically and cognitively develop in situations of displacement, poverty, and household disruption. This suggests a phenomenon whereby adolescence not only comes with a forced increase in the allocation of adult male responsibilities onto adolescent boys and an associated shift in exposure to risk, but that it also creates a liminal marker where adolescent boys proceed to 'age out' of humanitarian protection.

As with the role of gender in an adolescent boy's social location, it is important that in recognising the power of age and developmental stage to affect a boy's access to formal humanitarian protection we must also be cautious not to assume age alone is the dominant factor. Other vectors of social location co-construct this dynamic, particularly in the case of humanitarian emergencies and significant societal disruption. Poverty, for instance, may create an impetus for adolescent boys to enter labour markets in the first place and withdraw from humanitarian services. Boys living in alternative care arrangements with non-natal caregivers may face disproportionate pressure to compensate for their presence in ways that undermine their ability to engage with service providers. Furthermore, a boy's apparent age and gender may preclude him from engaging with certain humanitarian services that serve majority adult men and women or influence his degree of reticence to seek help in the first place. This suggests that augmenting protection for adolescent boys in emergencies must involve greater understanding of the dynamics of protection and harm at their particular social location, and how this position changes over time, in different physical and social spaces, and in other geographic locations. We must also attend to how the design of humanitarian programs may facilitate or inhibit their access/utilisation of humanitarian protection within the context of their broader protection environment.

Assuming the presence of child sexual abuse

Empirical research on violence against children has increasingly shown that sexual abuse of boys is common in a wide variety of different cultural and social contexts (CWC 2016; Artz et al. 2018). Furthermore, academic research conducted over the last three decades has begun to understand that boys may be at risk of sexual abuse based on certain socio-environmental factors or commonalities (see Crome 2006; Foster, Boyd & O'Leary 2012; Friedman et al. 2011; Garofalo et al. 2006; Mitra, Mouradian & Diamond 2011; Raffaelli et al. 1993). In this study I sought to fill an evident gap, whereby the research literature on child protection in emergencies had identified the presence of these same factors in humanitarian settings but had not extended analytical attention to the specific dynamics and characteristics of child sexual abuse against adolescent boys in these contexts. From this study's empirical research, research participants identified several instances of sexual abuse that had taken place against adolescent boys aged 10-14 in the Rohingya refugee crisis. These incidents were more often perpetrated by older Rohingya men and Bangladeshi men from the host community, with some cases of younger adolescent boys being abused by older adolescent girls and adult women. Adolescent boys aged 15-19 were reported to have been exposed to conflict-related sexual violence prior to their displacement to Bangladesh, more commonly than sexual abuse post-displacement.

At the start of this study, I originally approached conceptualising child sexual abuse as a separate, distinct, and particularly egregious phenomenon of harm (see Chapter 1). Aligning with the literature on conflict-related sexual violence against men, this method understood child sexual abuse as an injurious event that is easily separable from other child protection concerns. My research suggests that child sexual abuse should certainly be treated as a form of harm with potentially devastating physical, psychological, and social consequences specific to the individual, and that it is also important to view it as a complex form of interpersonal violence that can be assumed to be present in all contexts and is preceded, superseded, and compounded with other child protection issues. This study was initially prompted by the gap I saw in the academic literature and humanitarian assessments, whereby empirical research had identified the presence of risk factors for the sexual abuse of adolescent boys in emergency settings but had paid little attention to adolescent boys as survivors of sexual abuse in these contexts. This study confirmed that these same risk factors were present in the Rohingya refugee crisis and that there were cases of adolescent boys who had been subject to sexual abuse. This aligns with and confirms data that has emerged from qualitative assessments conducted by humanitarian actors earlier in the crisis response (Abualsameed 2018; Chynoweth 2018; Toma et al. 2018).

The seemingly wide presence of adolescent boy survivors in humanitarian emergencies suggests that, as sites of compounding risk factors for sexual abuse, humanitarian actors should account for and assume that sexual abuse of boys may take place in these contexts. Although it is important to separate out the specific effects of sexual abuse, it is also important to recognise that sexual abuse is an additional form of violence in the spectrum of child protection issues that adolescent boys are often exposed to, even

from before a crisis has begun. As with social location, an adolescent Rohingya boy's sexual victimisation compounds with their historical experiences of violence and contemporary experiences of community violence, income-related violence, and life-stage related vulnerabilities. This study indicates that in the Rohingya refugee crisis, the humanitarian response to adolescent boy survivors of sexual abuse was not strategically planned for and was little understood as a phenomenon of harm. Improving protection for adolescent boys from sexual abuse may depend on improved humanitarian recognition of the continuous nature of harm in the daily lives of adolescent boys, greater humanitarian understanding of how different factors increase the risk of sexual abuse for boys in certain social and material spaces, and shifts in the humanitarian narrative on sexual harm toward a format that assumes the presence of sexual abuse perpetrated against adolescent boys regardless of the context.

The paradox of gender humanitarianism

In this thesis I have drawn conceptual boundaries around academic literature on gender humanitarianism. To reiterate, I define gender humanitarianism as the field of gender mainstreaming practices and gender equality programming undertaken to save lives and alleviate suffering through the promotion of gender equality in humanitarian assistance, protection, and advocacy responses to natural and human-made disasters. In the second chapter, I noted that although the literature on gender humanitarianism has not tended to critically engage with the practice of gender in humanitarian action, there is an emerging body of work that recognises the gaps and inconsistencies in how gender practices are conducted in humanitarian operations. I established from the outset that my thesis was in conversation with this form of academic engagement. The empirical chapters of this study have shown that in the Rohingya crisis response there were limited resources directed towards the praxis of gender among humanitarian actors. Even though gendered sociocultural norms in the Rohingya population were identified early in the crisis as influencing the way humanitarian assistance should be delivered, gender in humanitarian action work was limited in scale and its approach appeared to centralise a form of vulnerability that was directly and automatically attributed to Rohingya women and girls.

This approach aligns with the tendency of the literature on gender humanitarianism to come from a 'women in humanitarian action' framework (see Chapter 2), and the gender essentialisms that are often entrenched in humanitarian interventions that can frame refugee women as weak and passive. Consequently, there was little recognition in the Rohingya crisis of adolescent boys as vulnerable persons or that gender was a form of social location that could place them at risk of harm. This finding closely aligns with Lewis Turner's (2018) research on the gendered lives of Syrian refugee men in Jordan and their subjectivity within humanitarian care regimes. In Turner's work, he draws attention to the gendered and racialised ways in which Syrian men were cast by humanitarian actors as agential and independent, where women were seen as 'uncontroversial' subjects of humanitarian care (Turner 2018, 2019b). This thesis differs from Turner's research by looking at adolescent Rohingya boys

displaced to Cox's Bazar as children at a specific nexus of child protection and gender-based programming. My analysis suggests that adolescent boys are only 'gendered' in humanitarian action insofar as it pertains to programs designed to prevent gender-based violence perpetrated by boys against girls. Even in the case of adolescent boy survivors, humanitarian staff were not trained to recognise the importance of gender and its interaction with other forms of social location in an adolescent boy's risk of sexual abuse or their physical, psychological, and social experiences of sexual harm.

In recent years, it has been argued that humanitarianism is facing a "crisis of confidence" resulting from heightened criticism of its operationalisation (Christie 2015, p.38). Of the academic domains that have taken to revealing dysfunction within the modern humanitarian system, anthropologists have become some of the most prominent critics, revealing the hidden structures of power and control that pervade the humanitarian-beneficiary relationship (Ticktin 2014). In this critical ethnography, I have argued that the operationalisation of gender humanitarianism occurs within the bounds of an established epistemology and hegemonic form of knowledge on gender and harm in crisis-affected populations. Furthermore, I established that the conceptual frameworks that steer gender humanitarianism are tethered to certain frames that structure what (or who) is included and excluded from its "grid of intelligibility" (Hyndman 1998, p.250; Kunz 2020, p.64). From an intersectional standpoint, I surfaced how adolescent boys are omitted from these frameworks. I posited that this may have implications for the way humanitarian protection is delivered and unintended consequences for adolescent boys and other segments of the population. The tethering of the frameworks that determine humanitarian assistance to essentialist notions of risk and harm creates artificial points of delineation that articulate boundaries around who and who is not at risk, and therefore, who should and should not be incorporated within humanitarian interventions. This situation is visible in the case of adolescent boys who are at risk of, or experience, sexual abuse. In the main, they do not feature in the 'grid of intelligibility' for gender humanitarianism or the broader humanitarian discourse on sexual harm.

Gender humanitarianism thus has an ability to arbitrate humanitarian allocation of vulnerability and attention to segments of a population, acting as another form of power over life itself. Dider Fassin (2011) argues that the life-saving ethos of humanitarianism results in a particular distribution of risk and value over life, with humanitarians determining which lives to save or cause to advocate for in what has been deemed a 'tragic choice' (Calabresi & Bobbit 1978; Fassin 2011). In this thesis, I have centralised this form of power within the construct of gender humanitarianism, noting how through discursive and non-discursive practices it introduces certain populations and forms of abuse as subjects of humanitarian concern: what Michel Foucault refers to as 'problematisation' (Foucault 1994, pp.669–70; Fassin 2011, p.266). Indeed, gender humanitarianism appears to represent what Miriam Ticktin (2011a) calls a 'regime of care', as it defines, constructs, and allocates aspects of moral legitimacy within humanitarian intervention frameworks. Considering gender humanitarianism from an intersectional standpoint allows one to understand how discursive boundary drawing inevitably creates a paradoxical

situation in which this emancipatory social project can unintentionally facilitate harm (May 2015). By interrogating this situation through adolescent boys as subjects of violence in emergencies, this thesis aligns with recent calls for analytical attention to the sites exterior to gender intervention practices and the technologies of government interior to gender humanitarianism (Kunz 2020; Olivius 2014b).

At a more empirical level, my thesis is further differentiated from recent analytical work on gender in humanitarian action through its linkages between the protection of Rohingya women and adolescent Rohingya boys. Indeed, a key finding of my study is that the sociocultural norms that inhibit women's safe access to public space and income-generating opportunities may have negative impacts on adolescent boys residing in their households. In these circumstances, there may be increased pressure for adolescent boys to move through public space to access goods and services for their family and to engage in work. This increases their exposure to the potential harm these environments contain. The dynamic between gendered restrictions on women's agency and the protection of adolescent boys becomes particularly acute for displaced female headed households in highly patriarchal sociocultural environments. In this way, the emancipatory potential of humanitarian work on gender norms has flow on effects for the protection of adolescent boys: aligning the interests of gender workers and child protection actors. These findings parallel literature that has drawn attention to the importance of relationships between caregivers and their children in humanitarian settings for protection outcomes (Bennouna et al. 2018; Betancourt T.S. 2008; Betancourt et al. 2012; Dubow et al. 2012; Fayyad et al. 2017), and long-standing calls within the gender and development literature to recentralise focus on gendered power, the relational nature of gender, and structural gender inequalities within developmental interventions (Chant & Sweetman 2012; Eerdewijk 2016; Mukhopadhyay 2004).

Unresolved dualities

In this thesis I have sought to apply an intersectional interpretive position to the field of gender humanitarianism. Yet, there is an inherent contradiction between intersectionality as a theory and the practical implementation of contemporary gender humanitarianism (for example, Hunting & Hankivsky 2020). During the period of my doctoral candidature this contradiction mainly materialised with respect to two aspects of intersectionality: its 'matrix orientation' and its emancipatory politics. To begin with the former, intersectionality "highlights how lived identities, structural systems, sites of marginalisation, forms of power, and modes of resistance 'intersect' in dynamic, shifting ways" (May 2015, p.21). Intersectionality conceptualises different social identities as a dynamic interlocking matrix and attempts to conceptually map the "full architecture of inequality" across social identities, inequalities, and hierarchies (Crenshaw 2012; May 2015, p.28). This matrix orientation augments feminist theory by not treating social categories as independent and static bodies that do not interact with other forms of social marginalisation, and it does not purport to privilege one form of identity over others (May 2015). This contrasts with gender humanitarianism, where gender is often prioritised

as the dominant organising feature of social life, where gender is frequently placed in a position of hierarchy and prominence compared to other forms of social location, and where the salience of gender in social structures and institutions is assumed to be static and homogenous (Hancock 2007).

I restate these concepts to draw attention to the contradiction that is inherent to my dual position as critical ethnographer and gender specialist. Indeed, while seeking to disrupt hegemonic forms of gender knowledge through critical social theory, the way I continue to practice gender in humanitarian action materialises and furthers these same forms of knowledge within humanitarian responses. It was even my privileging of gender and a hierarchical approach to social categorisation that was the progenitor of this thesis itself. I had observed in the literature on conflict-related sexual violence against men that feminist theory was often the theoretical point of departure, with much early academic analysis placing male-directed sexual violence within feminist theoretical frameworks of universal female subordination without further integration of other sites of power, control, or marginalisation. In this case, rape and sexual violence was depicted as a normative by-product of a uniform social architecture that inherently valued the masculine and suppressed, oppressed and devalued the feminine (Skjelsbaek 2001). I came to this research project having spent the years immediately prior working for international development organisations on gender equality and women's empowerment, and also after having written a thesis on conflict-related sexual violence against adult men from this same feminist standpoint. The genesis of my doctoral thesis and profession were thus intimately tied to feminist theory and a gender-first practice that was absent of nuanced consideration for social location. Indeed, this coloured the way my research was constructed and conducted from the very beginning.

Where this internal tension found its external conduct was during the data collection for this study. In my interviews with humanitarians, I often prefaced each interview by acknowledging the significant numbers of women and girls who experience sexual abuse and sought to pay homage to the women who had fought to bring sexual violence onto the humanitarian agenda.[62] I followed a similar process when presenting the preliminary research findings to the humanitarian sectors and training staff on sexual abuse of boys in Cox's Bazar in October 2019, as well as in a written report I produced for Terre des hommes based on the findings of this study. There is thus an inherent tension between how I endeavour to draw attention to the need for greater nuance in humanitarian responses to harm, while also simultaneously speaking a gender-first discourse of patriarchal subordination and oppression. Although the analysis contained in this thesis comes from an intersectional standpoint and employs a matrix orientation, it ends up 'bargaining' with feminist theory as the dominant framework for gender humanitarianism at different points of discursive contest. However, it is also at these locations that

[62] This was noticed by one of my interview participants, who linked the way I presented my research with fear that addressing men and boys as survivors of sexual abuse would detract from women and girls: "It's interesting the way you also presented your research, there is a fear by targeting, doing targeted outreach with adolescent boys and young men, that somehow this takes away from the services and the role for women and girls." (GLO2, Child Protection Adviser, International)

intersectionality's emancipatory strength in troubling normative understanding of social marginalisation and deepening feminist analysis of gender power becomes most apparent and more valuable.

Intersectionality is not simply a descriptive tool. Intersectionality "takes a stand against inequality and harm and overtly aims for social transformation and meaningful change" (May 2015, p.29). However, bringing intersectionality into gender humanitarianism means applying intersectionality to a technical practice that is embedded in its own historically and politically constituted discourse. Presenting this research in deference to a gender-first stance then does not trouble the hegemon. Indeed, it risks slippage toward a gender-first/single-axis framework that conceptualises social layers by stacking them upon one-another to convey additional forms of risk and complexity in the lives of crisis-affected populations. In this thesis, my analytical approach has faced a consistent undercurrent that has tended to drag it towards a gender-first form of analysis, with additional forms of social location in this instance then layered underneath.[63] Indeed, the central subject of my thesis has been 'adolescent boys': a term that foregrounds the importance of gender and age. Practically, this has functioned to establish gender and age as stable and homogenising 'master categories' to which I have 'anchored' my data collection and analysis. While I have left the salience of other forms of social location in the lives of adolescent boys an open question, this void is in constant dialectic against gender and age as stable master categories, and gender as the dominant form of social organisation in gender humanitarianism. This dilemma aligns with similar questions that have arisen from within feminist research where empiricists and theorists have endeavoured to determine the relative weight and status of gender as a structural and hierarchical category in its interplay with other analytical categories (Bereswill & Neuber 2011).

Gender humanitarianism is based on feminist theory. To critically engage with gender humanitarianism and its feminist epistemology means (cautiously) questioning its coherence, drawing attention to the paradox of harm potentially being created by an emancipatory project, and bringing forward instances where gender humanitarianism may itself retreat into gender essentialism. That gender humanitarianism may unconsciously facilitate harm towards adolescent boys as a group of persons where constructions of masculinity are an integral part of their identity, then risks this critical perspective being associated with an antifeminist discourse. It may also be seen as implying that the pervasive nature of protection concerns affecting women and girls are, from this perspective, somehow rendered invalid or of less importance. There have been points in time where I have met with resistance to discussing adolescent boys out of a perception that it detracts from or invalidates established knowledge about displaced women and girls. In turn, this has meant that the political nature of my thesis and its findings have been inhibited by external pushback and my own self-censorship. In describing and presenting this

[63] My personal reflection on the tension between these two approaches aligns with recent critique by Hunting and Hankivsky (2020) on the integration of intersectionality into gender mainstreaming practices. The authors describe how recent trends towards integrating intersectionality into gender mainstreaming have taken an additive approach that sees intersectionality as an addition to gender, with the authors noting that this is inherently contradictory to an intersectional framework. They call this the 'bend and stretch' gender mainstreaming strategy.

work, I have found myself downplaying its significance out of a fear of being cast as antifeminist: a label incongruent with my value system. This may have lessened the emancipatory potential of my work as I have found myself contesting the dominant logics of gender humanitarianism with great hesitancy. This same dynamic may inhibit any broader movement towards more complex analysis of displaced communities and improvements in formal humanitarian protection for adolescent boys.

Personally, this tension was nowhere more apparent than in the final week of my fieldwork in April 2019. The preceding month had been a flurry of research activity as I endeavoured to wrap-up my data collection. Even though my research participants had conveyed in great earnest their concern for adolescent boys' protection issues, it was the social position of Bangladeshi and Rohingya women and girls that prompted my empathy. In the training sessions I had conducted on gender in humanitarian action, female humanitarian staff told me of their frequent exposure to sexual harassment. In drawings from Terre des hommes' child friendly spaces, adolescent Rohingya girls had depicted sadness and their unequal treatment (Figure 7). In my conversations with other child protection organisations, they had described and emphasised the widespread sexual abuse of girls. Indeed, my greatest professional contributions to the response were made while working with project managers to account for the needs of girls, advocating for adolescent girls in inter-agency coordination structures, creating safe spaces for female humanitarians to support their peers, negotiating access to safe spaces for our female staff, and improving water and sanitation design for women and girls. When I left Cox's Bazar the first time, I felt a deep sense of sadness at the work I had been unable to finish and the harm that had befallen the women around me. Gender as a dominant principle of social life was incredibly salient at the time, and the connection I felt to my original impetus to work professionally on improving gender equality was visceral. It was with those thoughts that I had initially departed 'the field' and that have carried throughout my thesis, as I have sought to iteratively augment my feminist positionality through intersectional theory, methodology, and practice.

Courses for action

This study aimed to identify ways to improve the international humanitarian response to the protection of adolescent boys in emergencies. This practical orientation was embedded from the very beginning due to my personal interest in the complex interplay between the optimum course of action and what is realistic given operational and resource constraints in an international humanitarian response. I perceive that there is often a significant divorce between the arguments of the academic literature and what is implementable 'on the ground' by humanitarian organisations and their staff. In this study I have attempted to bridge this gap through my dual positionality as a gender practitioner and critical researcher. This orientation guided my choice of a critical ethnographic approach, and the choice of an intersectional theoretical framework. Both these aspects critique the existing social order, imagine possibilities for reordering our normative understanding of social reality, and seek to engender shifts in

policy and intervention. This section presents possible courses for action for improving the protection of adolescent boys in emergencies. Rather than putting forth practical recommendations (Appendix 3), this section suggests concise actions targeted at humanitarian discourse, policy, and research.

Discourse

It is critical that in the discourse of humanitarian actors, adolescent boys are recognised for their complex social location and the dynamic ways in which protection and harm are inscribed on their daily lives. This involves refining the simplistic gender binaries that pervade gender humanitarianism. The current approach to gender humanitarianism includes essentialisms that automatically ascribe agency, independence, and safety to adolescent boys, regardless of whether they are displaced, have a physical or intellectual disability, are from a marginalised ethnicity, practice a non-dominant form of religion, have no access to statehood, or any number of other social variables that place them in positions of precarity. In the academic and humanitarian discourse on sexual violence against males there also needs to be a decoupling of boys from adult men. This joining of groups based on their male bodily sex neglects the complexity and specificity of an adolescent boy's vulnerability. Muddying the two has practical consequences for the support of boy survivors by sidelining child protection as the field of humanitarian praxis responsible for the care and support of child survivors of sexual abuse.

Policy

Humanitarian interventions for instances of gender-based violence are based on the premise that gender-based violence is occurring in every emergency setting. There is a growing body of data showing that adolescent boys are exposed to sexual abuse in emergencies, and that a similar assumption about the experience of boys should be integrated within humanitarian policy. This study showed that the case of the Rohingya crisis aligns with this empirical work and that cases of sexual abuse of Rohingya boys are emerging despite significant barriers to adolescent boys seeking humanitarian support. Recognising that sexual abuse of boys is common to humanitarian emergencies would then entail child protection actors taking appropriate preparations prior to humanitarian missions, the conduct of dedicated training for child protection staff on sexual abuse of boys, and structured long-term child protection programming that engages with adolescent boys using gender and age-appropriate activities. There also needs to be a coordinated approach towards building a body of knowledge on adolescent boys as survivors of sexual abuse in humanitarian emergencies, the establishment of technical standards for work conducted by humanitarian staff with adolescent boys, and the creation of alliances with development practitioners who are increasingly recognising and responding to the prevalence of sexual exploitation and abuse against boys in their own intervention environments (see, for example De Sas Kropiwnicki Gruber, Tuggey & Jones 2018; ECPAT International 2021; Josenhans et al. 2019; UNICEF 2020).

Research

This was an exploratory study conducted in an ongoing humanitarian emergency. It extends the literature on humanitarianism (both academic and 'grey') regarding a topic that is ill-explored in contemporary research. The findings contained in my thesis, however, are limited in their scope. There is significant potential for deepening and broadening research on adolescent boys in displacement settings and on gender humanitarianism. Even though justification for directing attention to the care and protection of boy survivors of sexual abuse should not be based on the quantity of cases, the limited attention that is paid to boys as survivors of sexual abuse is often tied to its (assumed) low rate of prevalence. Leaving aside the argument that adolescent boys are deserving of care and support regardless of how many survivors there may be in each context, recent epidemiological research on the prevalence of violence against children has countered this narrative through its surfacing of significant prevalence of sexual abuse against boys in post-conflict and development contexts. Further population-based studies thus have the potential to create a justification for shifts in conceptualising and programming for sexual abuse. This is critical in a modern humanitarian environment where numbers are often used to direct resourcing and targeting decisions.

A key deficit of this study was its inability to engage adolescent boys in participatory research on their social identities, social positioning, and lived marginality. Keeping with an intersectional and feminist tradition, future research should engage with adolescent boys as agents of change within their lives and communities, as well as exploring in greater depth their key protection concerns. This study surfaced several protection issues for adolescent boys in humanitarian emergencies that need further investigation. These include the growing prevalence of access to pornography through mobile phones and its effect on their gender identity and sexuality, the implications of forced marriage for personal identity and social status, the risks linked to boys' engagement in patriarchal public spaces, the place of sexual abuse within a long narrative of state-sponsored and community-perpetrated harm, the dynamics of family violence against boys as they age, the physical and psychological impact of economic responsibility upon adolescent boys, and boys' interactions with trafficking, drug and substance abuse, and criminal activity in displacement settings. Boys of diverse sexual orientation, gender identities and expressions, and sex characteristics, as well as boys with disabilities, those living in vulnerable households with ill or absent caregivers, boys purposefully or inadvertently separated from their families, and other vulnerable subcategories, also deserve in-depth assessments. This would not only render visible to humanitarians the precarity and risk in their environment, but it would also bring to light the resilience they exhibit and the positive contributions they make to their own communities.

In this thesis I established conceptual brackets around an imagined academic field of research on 'gender humanitarianism'. While gender in humanitarian action as a part of humanitarian praxis is slowly scaling up across emergency settings, gender humanitarianism as a field of academic enquiry should evolve in parallel. Further academic research is needed that critically engages with the praxis of

gender work in emergency settings, including gender mainstreaming in humanitarian response planning, the complexities of gender mainstreaming in child protection organisations, the relationship (and confusion) between gender and gender-based violence technical capacity in humanitarian responses, the integration of gender into monitoring and evaluation activities, rapid humanitarian assessments and their level to which they incorporate gender analysis, and the place of adult men in contemporary gender work, among other concerns. Dedicated research work on these topics would further the analysis contained in this study and start to define the contours of an epistemology, ontology, and praxis of gender in humanitarian action in contemporary humanitarian interventions.

Conclusion

Eight years ago, when I first thought of starting doctoral level research into gender and humanitarian emergencies, I began my descent into feminist and queer theory through the work of feminist legal scholar Janet Halley. In the beginning of her seminal book, *Split decisions*, Halley states that "theory produces reality not only by making it visible, moreover, but by shifting the available terms for consciousness, desire, and thus interest" (Halley 2006, p.4). This thesis has been one such exercise. Throughout, I have endeavoured to shift the available terms of knowledge and consciousness to increase interest in a subgroup of persons at a particularly perilous point of social location in humanitarian emergencies. I have sought to do so by applying an intersectional theoretical framework to make visible the complexity of the lived experience of adolescent boys in crisis settings, and the dynamic dialectic of protection and harm that governs their lives in displacement.

From the beginning, the aim of this study was to identify ways to improve humanitarian responses to the protection of adolescent boys in emergency settings. I sought to do so by not only identifying the array of different forms of risk and harm they are exposed to, but also by surfacing the assumptions and oversights within humanitarian operations that hinder their access to protection. It is here that intersectionality became critical as an analytical tool for "its invitation to intervene in historical memory and to unlearn prevailing social imaginaries: it directs our attention to alternative worldviews and focuses attention on 'disremembered subjects'" (Foreman 2013, p.316; May 2015, p.53). This study set provisional analytical boundaries around 'adolescent boys', as both a category of persons and group of 'disremembered subjects'. I sought to investigate and then materialise their dynamic matrix of social location in humanitarian emergencies through the case study of the Rohingya refugee crisis. As has been stated throughout this thesis, I found that adolescent boys were exposed to significant harm due to their social location, and that an adolescent boy's social location interacts with their social and material ecology to affect their protection environment. In the humanitarian imaginary, however, adolescent boys largely do not feature as substantive subjects and certainly would not be a significant feature in any historical account of past humanitarian interventions.

Adolescent boys are intersectional actors and gender is an integral part of their matrix of privilege and oppression. Better humanitarian responses to adolescent boys require a more nuanced approach to programming for social identity in emergencies, including within the field of gender humanitarianism and its connections to child protection, gender-based violence, general protection, and the other core sectors of a humanitarian response. Gender in humanitarian action as a praxis of crisis response work does not yet appear to be at this point. Theoretical and practical constraints mean that gender humanitarianism is mired in single-axis frameworks and additive approaches. Humanitarian interventions appear to be influenced by these hegemonic forms of knowledge on gender, with this governing the assumptions that direct prioritisation and assistance. Technical shifts in humanitarian practice through improved guidance, tools, and training may improve humanitarian effectiveness, but while writing this thesis I have realised that building better assistance for those at the margins takes recognition and awareness. Doing this through gender humanitarianism means heeding Janet Halley's call to try to "see other arrangements of m and f and other kinds of power" (2006, p.8), and troubling hegemonic forms of knowing through what Kimberlé Crenshaw calls "insurgent knowledge" (2012, p.224). It is my fervent hope that this thesis will generate further research and writing of this sort.

In the final stages of writing this doctoral thesis I worked as a gender consultant for an international humanitarian organisation implementing protection activities in Myanmar. Part of this entailed conducting interviews with humanitarian staff working in Myanmar to understand the extent the organisation was addressing gender concerns within its programming, and to ascertain the types of protection concerns affecting women, girls, men, and boys, in their operational locations. While the project focused on the relative subordination of women and girls, humanitarian actors consistently drew my attention to the marginalisation of adolescents from humanitarian protection, the exposure of adolescent boys to protection concerns based on different aspects of their social location, and key gaps in programming for adolescent boys. In one interview, the participant noted that adolescent Rohingya boys in their care had been subjected to sexual abuse within Rakhine state: mirroring the experiences of Rohingya boys over the border. Indeed, child labour, death and injury from explosive war remnants, forced recruitment into armed groups, sexual exploitation, and child trafficking, is affecting adolescent boys in Myanmar and humanitarian settings the world over. Whether or not the humanitarian system recognises this does not alter the fact that hundreds of thousands of crisis-affected adolescent boys will on a daily basis experience risk, fear, and harm, during a critical point in their life-stage. To continue with the status quo is thus to turn a blind eye to suffering: running counter to the humanitarian ethos and the moral imperative upon which the modern humanitarian system is founded.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Focus group discussion scenario for caseworkers

Part 1

You are a child protection caseworker for an international NGO working in the Rohingya crisis response. One day, you receive an internal referral from the psychosocial support officer working in your organisation's adolescent club. The form says that the psychosocial support (PSS) officer has some concerns about the boy, so you call the referring officer to ask him about the case.

The PSS officer says the boy's behaviour has recently changed. Before he was outgoing and friendly with everyone. But recently he has become sometimes shy and withdrawn, and at other times he becomes angry at everyone. After playing and talking with the boy for many weeks, the boy started to trust the officer and told him once that he has been waking up in the middle of the night and having nightmares.

The officer thinks that the boy needs some counselling services and that he might still be traumatised from losing his friends and family in Myanmar. But the main reason the PSS officer has referred the boy for case management is that he has noticed that the boy often has bruising around his wrists and cuts on his legs. He thinks this might just be from playing football and running around the camp, but last week he saw blood on the boy's shorts and he is concerned about the boy's safety.

Questions

- What are your thoughts on what might have happened to this boy?
- What are your reasons for this?

Part 2

You send a volunteer to collect the boy from his shelter and bring him to the counselling room at your child friendly space (CFS). You make sure your volunteer doesn't know the reason why she is collecting the boy and is not wearing any visibility. When the boy arrives at the CFS he is nervous, but the PSS officer is also there and he calms down at the sight of him.

When you start the consultation, he is shifting about in his seat and looks uncomfortable. At first he doesn't understand why he is there and is angry about being taken from his home when he could be out playing football. After a while of trying to talk to him, you ask him about how safe he is feeling. With his eyes looking down he responds that he is fine. But you sense that he is not completely telling the truth.

You consult with him as often as you can for the next month. At the most recent consultation he seems more withdrawn than the times before. You go to hand him a bottle of water and he suddenly moves his whole body back against the wall. You try to get the boy to talk to you but he gives you short answers and doesn't say much. The boy then goes off and talks to the PSS officer, where he tells him "last night a man gave me a pain in my backside that I will never forget".

Questions

- What would you do? How would you respond?
- What do you think you need to consider when working with an adolescent boy who has experienced sexual abuse?

Appendix 2: Humanitarian assessments of adolescent Rohingya

I reviewed all humanitarian assessments conducted from August 2017 to February 2020 in the Rohingya refugee crisis that were included in the Inter-Sector Coordination group's assessment registry (ISCG 2019e) to identify which assessments had included adolescents. From this mapping, I then classified each assessment that included adolescents according to how they were included, resulting in the construction of four overarching analytical categories: nominal inclusion, inclusion, consultation, and participation. I defined 'nominal inclusion' as when adolescents are included in an assessment through discussion of their circumstances by caregivers or community leaders. 'Inclusion' referred to instances where data was collected from adolescents themselves, but the focus of the assessment may not be on their specific needs. An assessment was 'consultative' if data was collected from adolescents and it was related to their specific concerns, while 'participation' referred to assessments that employed participatory research approaches with adolescent girls and boys. This mapping and its grading of participation levels can be found below in Table 3.

Table 3: Humanitarian assessments on adolescents in the Rohingya response, August 2017 to February 2020.

Organisation	***Research type***	***Data collection***	***Method used with adolescents***	***Number of adolescent participants***	***Participation level***
CARE Bangladesh (CARE Bangladesh 2017)	Rapid Gender Analysis	15-17 September 2017	– Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	– 1 adolescent girls' group (number of persons not mentioned)	Consultation
CODEC, Save the Children, TAI, UNCHR (CODEC et al. 2017)	Rapid Protection Assessment	9-11 October 2017	– FGDs	– 4 adolescent girls' groups (42 persons) – 1 adolescent boys' group (10 persons)	Consultation
World Vision International (WVI 2017)	Gender Sensitive Programme Accountability Assessment	6-7 November 2017	– FGDs	– 17 girls and 8 boys (age unknown)	Inclusion
Save the Children, Plan International, World Vision International (Severijnen & Ridwan Steinbock 2018)	Children's Consultation	2-5 December 2017	– Body mapping (age 11-14) – FGDs (age 15-17) – Dot voting (age 11-14, 15-17) – Risk mapping (11-14, 15-17) – Message to aid organisations (11-14, 15-17) –	– 3 adolescent girls' groups age 11-14 – 3 adolescent boys' groups age 11-14 – 2 adolescent girls' groups (married) age 15-17 – 2 adolescent girls' groups (unmarried) age 15-17 – 4 adolescent boys' groups age 15-17	Participation

Education Sector, Child Protection Sub-Sector (Education Sector & Child Protection Sub-Sector 2017)	Education and Child Protection in Emergencies Joint Rapid Needs Assessment	4-6 December 2017	– Key Informant Interviews (caregivers, community representatives, religious leaders, school informants)	– None	Nominal
Education Sector (Cox's Bazar Education Sector 2018)	Education Needs Assessment	12-28 February 2018	– Community Group Discussions (age 12-18)	– 12 adolescent girls' groups (8-12 persons per group) – 12 adolescent boys' groups (8-12 persons per group)	Consultation
IOM, UNHCR, Solidaretes International, Plan International, Oxfam, Nonviolent Peacefore, Norwegian Church Aid (Protection Working Group 2018)	Protection Needs and Trends Assessment	19-25 March 2018	– FGDs	– 51% of female participants were adolescents or youth age 14-24 – 36% of male participants were adolescents or youth age 14-24 – No participant numbers were given	Inclusion
Plan International, Monash Gender Peace and Security research centre (Gordon, Lee-Koo & Jay 2018)	Mixed methods research	March – April 2018	– Survey – FGDs – Key Informant Interview	– Survey of 149 girls age 10-14 and 151 girls age 15-19 – 3 adolescent girls' groups age 10-14 – 3 adolescent girls' groups age 15-19 – 1 adolescent boy group age 10-14 – 1 adolescent boy group age 15-19 – 8 Key information interviews adolescent girls age 10-14 – 8 Key informant interviews adolescent girls age 15-19	Consultation
Save the Children (Toma et al. 2018)	Safety Audit & Adolescent Needs Assessment	mid-2018	– Participatory safety audit – Survey	– Safety audit 106 boys and 101 girls (age breakdown not provided) – Adolescent needs assessment 160 boys and 256 girls (age breakdown not provided)	Participation

Population Council, UNFPA (Ainul et al. 2018)	Qualitative research on marriage and sexual and reproductive health	July-August 2018	– Interviews	– 12 married and 12 unmarried Rohingya girls age 14-24 years – 12 married and 12 unmarried Rohingya boys age 14-24 years	Consultation
Save the Children, Danish Red Cross, Plan International, UNHCR, World Concern (Byrne, Gunta & Murray 2019)	Child Protection Assessment	10-11 December 2018	– Puppet Walk – H-Assessment – Risk Assessment – FGDs	– 66 girls age 13-17 – 68 boys age 13-17	Participation
REACH (REACH 2019a)	Education Needs Assessment	3 February- 7 April 2019	– Survey (caregivers) – Assessment of learning centres – Survey (teachers and instructors) – FGDs (caregivers and teachers/instructors)	– None	Nominal
Innovations for Poverty Action, Yale University, GAGE Consortium (Guglielmi et al. 2019)	Mixed methods research on adolescent capabilities	May-October 2019	– Survey – Interviews – FGDs	– Survey 933 adolescent Rohingya girls and boys and their caregivers – Interviews and group discussions with 112 Rohingya adolescent girls, boys and their community	Consultation

Appendix 3: Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on my thesis and were produced for Terre des hommes in late 2019. The recommendations are divided into two sections. The first section describes direct actions that can be undertaken in the Rohingya crisis, while the second section outlines broader actions that could be taken by humanitarian actors in the areas of policy and program development. In the Terre des hommes report, I suggested that these initiatives should be led by child protection actors and built into the Child Protection Sub-Sector's humanitarian response planning. The relevance of these initiatives may have shifted, however, since much time has passed since the end of my fieldwork.

For the Rohingya response

Identify context-appropriate actions that could mitigate risk of sexual abuse of boys

Sexual abuse of boys can occur in the forests, streets, workplaces, or religious and educational institutions. These are public spaces where other people are present. Further research needs to be conducted by child protection actors to understand what risk mitigation measures would work for adolescent Rohingya boys to reduce their risk of experiencing sexual abuse. This may include encouraging boys to go to the forest in groups, encouraging greater oversight by parents, or building relationships with religious institutions to allow for visits by child protection caseworkers.

Develop structured, meaningful, long-term programming for adolescent boys

Structured programming provides a sense of purpose and protection for adolescents. Programs like these would allow child protection actors to build rapport with boys to facilitate help-seeking, as well as empowering participants to support the development of their community. This could occur through two tracks: general structured programming in child protection spaces, and targeted issues-based programming. Issues could include child labour, child trafficking, or drugs and crime. There is an opportunity to address these through vocational training, skills training, and other forms of education and personal development that are valued by adolescent boys. The content should be instrumental for boys and address the challenges they are navigating in displacement.

Conduct outreach work with boys, caregivers, and humanitarians on adolescent boys' protection issues

Adolescents have limited contact with formal services. Community volunteers can be trained to conduct dedicated outreach to boys in the spaces they already occupy, including in fields, workplaces, the streets, teashops, markets, and other locations. This provides an additional entrance-point for boys experiencing harm. Community volunteers can also work with caregivers to help them identify signs of abuse, and with humanitarian field staff to educate them on the challenges that adolescent boys are facing in the community.

Develop and distribute information to boys and their caregivers on the changing roles of adolescents in displacement

Adolescent boys and girls have gone through a tumultuous period during a critical life-stage. Additional support could come through information materials developed with adolescent Rohingya boys that discuss their changing role in society and additional pressures. This would need to be conveyed in their language of literacy and based on their religion and culture. This could be distributed through direct outreach, community radio, recordings, or booklets. It could also be integrated into sports or arts programs, helping link boys into services and encourage help-seeking behaviours.

Conduct a rapid assessment on the help-seeking behaviours of Rohingya boys

We have a very limited understanding of boys' help-seeking behaviours, particularly for more serious protection issues. It is also important to engage with caregivers to understand how they perceive boys' vulnerabilities, and when parents may decide to seek help from formal child protection services. A rapid assessment could be rolled out by the Child Protection Sub-Sector but must be mindful to include boys who do not attend safe spaces. Gender-based violence actors could be involved by including boys participating in their prevention work in the data collection. Ideally, this would involve an approach to data collection that emphasise the voices and perspectives of the boys themselves.

Map and augment appropriate entrance-points for adolescent boy survivors

The main entrance-points for boy survivors in the Rohingya response included women friendly spaces, which are not oriented towards boys, and health services, which in some instances have been harmful to survivors and have not provided follow-up. Mapping potential entrance-points for boys and establishing an action plan to augment these could help facilitate help-seeking. This could, for example, include specialised training for health providers on sexual abuse of boys, or broadening communication materials on sexual violence to include boys.

Assess and revise the referral pathway for adolescent girl and boy survivors

Organisations on the referral pathway have in some instances not been providing services for adolescent girls and boys. There are cases of gender-based violence actors having turned away girls, legal services having brokered mediations between the perpetrator and the victim, and child protection actors with limited training on caring for child survivors. The different points on the referral pathway need to be assessed against humanitarian standards on caring for child survivors. The Child Protection and Gender-Based Violence Sub-Sector could conduct randomised joint audits of service providers on the referral pathway against criteria that measure their capacity to work with adolescent girl and boy survivors.

Establish adolescent survivor centred services

This research indicated that most services are not suitable for dealing with child or adolescent survivors of sexual abuse. There is a need for good quality and accessible services for adolescent boys. Due to the limited capacity of child protection, health, and gender-based violence actors, this should be

complemented by capacity building of all agencies on the gendered protection needs of adolescent boys and their exposure to sexual abuse.

Establish regular meetings on child survivors between the Gender-Based Violence and Child Protection Sub-Sectors

There is limited cross-fertilisation between the Gender-Based Violence and Child Protection Sub-Sectors in the Rohingya response. Gender-based violence is focused on adult women as their primary beneficiaries, while child protection supports children in general. Child survivors, and particularly adolescents, fall between the two. Child survivors are a joint child protection and gender-based violence responsibility, with regular communication and collaboration needed at the inter-agency level to ensure a high-quality response. This could occur bimonthly and would focus on strategic planning rather than individual case consultation.

For international policy and program responses

Establish clarity on humanitarian responsibility for children who experience child sexual abuse

There is confusion over the sharing of responsibility between child protection and gender-based violence service providers in emergency settings. This lack of clarity leads to gaps in programming. Based on the experience of the Rohingya crisis, child protection actors are taking responsibility for adolescent boys, but as the primary providers of services for sexual violence in camp environments, gender-based violence workers also need training and capacity building on survivor-centred approaches to adolescent boys.

Assume that sexual abuse of boys is happening in humanitarian settings

As is the case with women and girls, humanitarian actors need to assume that sexual violence against boys has occurred in conflict and that child sexual abuse is happening in displacement. Established evidence shows that there are significant barriers to boys reporting their abuse. When population-based screening of traumatic experiences among children has been conducted there are numerous cases of sexual abuse of boys that have transpired but have not been accounted for in humanitarian planning. The problem is that this requires a shift in our conceptualisation of sexual abuse to pay attention to survivors who are less numerous, while maintaining and augmenting our programming for (the more numerous) women and girl survivors.

Distinguish between the experiences of adult men versus boys in writing on sexual violence/abuse of males

In most writing on conflict-related sexual violence (where literature on sexual violence against males in humanitarian settings is predominantly situated), authors tend to use the term 'men and boys' while solely writing on the experiences of adult men. The lived experience of sexual abuse for younger boys, younger adolescent boys, and older adolescent boys differs compared to an adult man. Humanitarian organisations, advocates, and authors should be more careful to distinguish who they are referring to, and if including boys, be prepared to address the full complexity of their social location.

Increased funding for child and adolescent survivors in emergencies

There needs to be greater attention to caring for child survivors in humanitarian emergencies. Donor governments and organisations have a significant power to influence the direction of attention through funding requirements. This should not only be oriented towards capacity building on caring for child survivors, but also support dedicated structured programming for adolescent girls and boys in emergency settings.

Definitions and key terms

Adolescent	A person aged 9 to 19 years old. Adolescence can be further divided into: pre-adolescence (9–10), early adolescence (10–14), middle adolescence (15–17), and late adolescence (18–19) (ACPHA 2019).
Assessment	The process of establishing the impact of a crisis on a society, including needs, risks, capacities and solutions (ACPHA 2019).
Caregiver	An individual, community, or institution (including the State) with clear responsibility (by custom or by law) for the wellbeing of a child. It most often refers to a person with whom the child lives and who provides daily care to the child (ACPHA 2019).
Caseworker	The main worker who maintains responsibility for a child's care from case identification to case closure in a case management approach. Other social service practitioners or other professionals may take on a caseworker role as well (ACPHA 2019).
Case management	An approach in child protection practice that addresses the needs of an individual child and their family in an appropriate, systematic, and timely manner, through direct support and/or referrals (ACPHA 2019).
Child	A person below the age of 18 years (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 1990).
Child exploitation	When an individual in a position of power and/or trust takes or attempts to take advantage of a child for their own personal benefit, advantage, gratification, or profit. This benefit may take different forms: physical, sexual, financial, material, social, military, or political (ACPHA 2019).
Child friendly space	Safe spaces where communities (and humanitarian actors) create nurturing environments in which children can access free and structured play, recreation, leisure, and learning activities (ACPHA 2019).

Child headed household	Households where a child or children assume the primary day-to-day responsibility for running the household, providing and caring for those within it (ACPHA 2019).
Child labour	Work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of a child, in violation of international law and national legislation. It either deprives children of schooling or requires them to assume the dual burden of schooling and work (ACPHA 2019).
Child marriage	A formal or informal union where one or both parties are under the age of 18. All child marriage is considered forced, as children are not able to give full consent to marriage (ACPHA 2019).
Child protection in emergencies	All efforts to prevent and respond to abuse, neglect, exploitation, and violence against children in the aftermath of a disaster (UNICEF 2015)
Child sexual abuse	The involvement of a child or an adolescent in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend and is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child or adolescent is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violates the laws or social taboos of society. Children can be sexually abused by both adults and other children who are – by virtue of their age or stage of development – in a position of responsibility or trust or power over the victim. It includes incest which involves abuse by a family member or close relative. Sexual abuse involves the intent to gratify or satisfy the needs of the perpetrator or another third party including that of seeking power over the child (WHO 2017).
Child survivor of sexual abuse	A person under the age of 18 who has experienced an act of sexual abuse (IRC 2012). 'Survivor' is often the preferred term rather than 'victim' because of its connotations of strength and recovery (Hockett & Saucier 2015).
Critical ethnography	An ethnographic style or discourse that represents and analyses social life to address social marginalisation and engender change (Thomas 1993). Critical ethnographers use their position to contribute to social justice goals, resist dominant influences on particular social groups, and bring

	forth hidden social structures of power and control (Madison 2020; Thomas 1993).
Emergency	A sudden and usually unforeseen event that calls for immediate measures to minimise its adverse consequences (ReliefWeb Project 2008)
Ethnography	A systematic approach to learning about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions, and other settings (LeCompte & Schensul 2010).
Female headed household	Households in which women are the primary providers for their families. Most commonly because of the physical absence of men due to migration, death, divorce, or abandonment (Buvinic & Guota 1997).
Gender	Defined by humanitarian actors as the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys. Gender is commonly held to differ from sex which is defined at birth based on biological anatomy (ACPHA 2019). This clear conceptual bifurcation between sex and gender has been troubled in feminist and queer literature, with scholars questioning the supposedly fixed and immutable nature of sex, the culturally defined aspects of gender, and how these definitions act as a "regulatory operation of power" that normalise binary systems of gender (Butler 2004, p.43). It is important to recognise the long history of identities that fall outside of the gender binary (and "heterosexual matrix" (Butler 2010, p.208)) of men/masculine women/feminine (Vincent 2020), with there a broad spectrum of individuals that identify as genderqueer, non-binary, transgender, as well as culturally-specific terms such as *hijra* or *waria* (Humanitarian Advisory Group 2018; Thorne et al. 2019).
Gender focal point	A gender focal point is a person who is appointed to support gender mainstreaming practices by advocating, advising, reporting, training, and disseminating information on gender. This is not a dedicated position and is often a defined percentage of a staff member's normal workload. Gender focal points are not necessarily content specialists and may not have prior experience with gender mainstreaming.

Gender humanitarianism	The field of gender mainstreaming practices and gender equality programming undertaken to save lives and alleviate suffering through the promotion of gender equality in humanitarian assistance, protection, and advocacy responses to natural and human-made disasters.
Gender mainstreaming	The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (United Nations Economic and Social Council 1997).
Gender norms	The accepted attributes, characteristics, roles, and rules of behaviour for women and men at a particular point in time by a specific society or community. They are the standards and expectations to which gender identity generally conforms, within a range that defines a particular society, culture and community at that point in time. Gender norms are ideas about how women and men should be and act (United Nations Children's Fund 2017d).
Gender responsive humanitarian action	Humanitarian action that acknowledges and considers women's and men's specific needs in its approach to planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
Gender transformative humanitarian action	Humanitarian action that actively examines, questions and changes rigid gender norms and imbalances of power that advantage boys and men over girls and women. It aspires to tackle the root causes of gender inequality and reshape unequal power relations. It moves beyond individual self-improvement among girls and women towards redressing the power dynamics and structures that serve to reinforce gendered inequalities (UNFPA, UNICEF & UN Women 2019).

Gender worker	A member of humanitarian staff with formal responsibility for implementing gender mainstreaming activities within a humanitarian response. This may include gender specialists, gender advisers, gender-focal points, or gender-focused consultants.
Grooming	The process by which a child is befriended by a would-be abuser in an attempt to gain the child's confidence and trust, enabling them to get the child to acquiesce to abusive activity (Gillespie 2002).
Host community	The country of asylum and the local, regional and national governmental, social, and economic structures within which refugees live. Urban refugees live within host communities with or without legal status and recognition by the host community. In the context of refugee camps, the host community may encompass the camp, or may simply neighbour the camp but have interaction with, or otherwise be impacted by, the refugees or internally displaced persons residing in the camp (UNHCR 2011).
Humanitarian action	The objectives of humanitarian action are to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity during and in the aftermath of man-made crises and disasters, as well as to prevent and strengthen preparedness for the occurrence of such situations. Humanitarian action has two inextricably linked dimensions: protecting people and providing assistance (Sphere Association 2019).
Humanitarian actors	Local, national, and international non-government organisations engaged in humanitarian action, including United Nations agencies, the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, host government agencies and authorities, and donor governments and agencies (ALNAP 2018).
Humanitarian program cycle	A framework for the delivery of aid to meet the needs of crisis-affected people. It consists of a set of tools to assist humanitarian actors through improved preparation, prioritisation, steering, and monitoring of a response. It consists of six sequential elements and two enablers. These six key elements are: emergency response and preparedness; needs assessment and analysis; strategic response planning; implementation and monitoring; resource mobilisation, and; operational peer review and

	evaluation. The two enablers are: coordination, and; information management. These combine into a single process that runs through the cycle of inter-agency coordination and response (IASC 2015b).
Humanitarian response	One dimension of humanitarian action. It focuses on the provision of emergency services and public assistance during or immediately after a disaster in order to save lives, reduce health impacts, ensure public safety, maintain human dignity and meet the basic subsistence needs of the people affected (Sphere Association 2019).
Humanitarian system	A network of inter-connected institutional and operational entities that receive funds, directly or indirectly from public donors and private sources, to enhance, support or substitute for in-country responses in the provision of humanitarian assistance and protection to a population in crisis (ALNAP 2018).
Imam	A leader in the Islamic religion (Cambridge University Press 2020)
Intersectionality	The insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities (Collins 2015, p.2).
Inter-Agency Standing Committee	A formal committee for humanitarian actors that brings together the executive heads of 18 United Nations and non-United Nations agencies to coordinate humanitarian policies, priorities, and efforts on crisis response (IASC 2019).
Madrasa	A school where people go to learn about the religion of Islam (Cambridge University Press 2020)
Majhi	Rohingya community leaders appointed by the Bangladesh Government in the Rohingya refugee camps. They are tasked with settling minor disputes, are not traditional leaders or elders, and are not necessarily respected community members (Protection Sector Working Group 2018).

Maktab	A pre-school for Islamic religious education (Riaz 2008).
Protection	All activities aimed at ensuring the full and equal respect for the rights of all individuals, regardless of age, gender, ethnic, social, religious or other background. It goes beyond the immediate life-saving activities that are often the focus during an emergency. Protection is in accordance with the letter and spirit of the relevant bodies of law, namely human rights law, international humanitarian law and refugee law (Sphere Association 2019).
Protection environment	The factors across the levels of a child's social ecology that protect them from risk and harm. This may include their caregivers, family network, religious and community leaders, civil society organisations and other institutions. It is important to recognise that these same individuals can perpetrate harm against children, and that their ability to protect a child is dependent on context and shifts over time and place.
Protracted displacement	The situation of being displaced for 5 years or more after an initial displacement, without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions (UNHCR 2009).
Psychosocial	The interaction between social aspects (such as interpersonal relationships, social connections, social norms, social roles, community life and religious life) and psychological aspects (such as emotions, thoughts, behaviours, knowledge and coping strategies) that contribute to overall wellbeing (ACPHA 2019).
Referral	The process of directing a child or family to another service provider because the assistance required is beyond the expertise or scope of work of the current service provider (ACPHA 2019).
Separated child	Children separated from both parents or from their previous legal or customary primary caregiver, but not necessarily from other relatives. These may, therefore, include children accompanied by other adult family members (ACPHA 2019).

Sexual violence	Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work (WHO 2007)
Social ecological model	A theoretical model that helps to identify complex environmental and personal factors that influence an individual (Golden & Earp 2012). The framework differs depending on the academic discipline. Triplehorn and Chen's (2006) model for children in humanitarian settings suggests four nested levels: children and their peers; families; community, religious institutions, civil society, and education; and national and international non-government and multilateral agencies.
Social location	An individual's position within their constellation of overlapping and intersecting social categories and identities. For example, their gender, age, race, social class, dis/ability, religion, immigration status, etc.
Social norms	Rules of action shared by people in a society or group. They define what is considered normal and acceptable behaviour for members of that group (Cislaghi & Heise 2020).
Targeted action	Interventions that respond to the disadvantage, discrimination, or the particular needs of women, girls, boys or men (IASC 2018a).
Trafficking	The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2004)

Unaccompanied child	Children who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so (ACPHA 2019).
Women friendly space	Safe and non-stigmatizing locations where women may conduct a variety of activities, such as breastfeed their children, learn about nutrition and discuss issues related to wellbeing. Ideally, these spaces also include counselling services (which may incorporate counselling for gender-based violence survivors) to help women cope with their situation and prepare them for eventual return to their communities. Women friendly spaces may also be a venue for livelihoods activities (IASC 2015a).

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