

MYANMAR

As armed conflicts continued in Myanmar following the February 2021 military takeover, attacks on schools and universities and the military use of educational facilities continued at a high rate during the 2022-2023 reporting period. GCPEA identified over 245 reports of attacks on schools and at least 190 reports of military use.

CONTEXT

Violence and insecurity increased in Myanmar during the reporting period, as both armed and peaceful resistance against the military junta that seized power in February 2021 continued, along with military violence against the resistance.¹ The fragile ceasefire between the Arakan Army and the military broke down in July 2022, resulting in months of heavy fighting in Rakhine state and Chin state, until an informal ceasefire was reached in November 2022.² Fighting between armed resistance groups, including the Arakan Army, as well as other ethnic armed organizations and people's defense forces, and the military, intensified in late 2023, particularly in northern Shan, Rakhine, Kayah and Chin states, and Sagaing region, according to International Crisis Group and the UN.³

Media outlets and The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) reported that the military continued to carry out high levels of violence, sometimes fatal, against civilians.⁴ A number of pro-junta militias also reportedly perpetrated grave human rights violations, as reported by Amnesty International.⁵ As the conflict between the military and armed resistance groups continued, the UN reported that the military was increasingly using fighter jets and helicopter gunships.⁶ The UN also reported that grave violations against children increased in 2022 compared to the previous year, including increases in the number of abductions and children killed and maimed.⁷ At least 150 civilians were killed, including 35 children, in an attack on Pa Zi Gyi village, Sagaing region, on April 11, 2023.⁸

The humanitarian situation deteriorated significantly during the reporting period. The UN reported that 18.6 million people were in need of humanitarian assistance at the end of 2023, including 5.8 million children.⁹ Fighting, which especially affected the northwest and southeast of the country, led the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to increase by over one million during the reporting period, reaching 2.6 million people in December 2023.¹⁰

Following Cyclone Mocha in May 2023, UN estimates indicated that over 1,200 schools had been damaged in Rakhine state and the northwest.¹¹ According to the UN, children with disabilities were heavily impacted by the conflict, in particular their access to education, as school buildings with accessibility features were destroyed.¹²

Some schools run by de facto authorities reopened in June 2022 at the beginning of the school year, while

many remained closed in Kachin, Kayah, and Chin states, and approximately 50 percent of schools in Sagaing region, where conflict was particularly intense, were still closed at the end of September 2022.¹³ According to the UN, while reported enrolment in schools run by the de facto authorities increased in 2022, this did not always indicate attendance, and demand for alternative and non-formal education systems increased.¹⁴ This dual education system continued to put teachers and students in both systems at risk of attack, as attendance could be construed as either support for the military junta, or for the resistance.¹⁵ Nationwide, at least 30 percent of school-age children were not formally enrolled in any learning at the end of 2023.¹⁶

ATTACKS ON SCHOOLS

During the reporting period, GCPEA identified at least 245 attacks on schools nationwide. In comparison, GCPEA identified 200 attacks on schools in 2020 and 2021, most of which occurred after the military takeover in 2021.¹⁷ The majority of the attacks during the current reporting period involved the use of explosive weapons, although some attacks also involved arson and small arms fire.

GCPEA identified over 130 attacks in 2022.¹⁸ The UN verified 78 attacks on schools in 2022, attributed mostly to the military.¹⁹ Since it was unclear how many of these attacks overlapped with reports that GCPEA collected, the UN number was not added to the total number of attacks on schools in this report, to avoid double counting. Examples of incidents identified by GCPEA included:

- On January 6, 2022, an explosive device detonated in front of a high school in Kin Mun Chaung village, Kyaikto township, Mon state, as reported by local media *BNI Online*; reports indicated that three people were injured, but did not specify their status as students or personnel.²⁰
- In late March 2022, an airstrike struck a school in Hpapun township, Kayin state, as reported by Amnesty International, ACLED, and local media *Mizzima*.²¹
- On May 31, 2022, an explosive device detonated at an education office in Naung Cho, Kyaukme district, Shan state, as reported by international media; a female headteacher was reportedly killed and at least six other staff were reportedly injured.²²
- On June 15, 2022, explosive devices detonated at a high school and another school in Mogok city, Mandalay region, as reported by local media *Democratic Voice of Burma*.²³
- On September 16, 2022, at least 11 children were killed when military forces attacked a school within a monastery compound in Let Yet Kone village, Tabayin township, Sagaing region, where at least 200 children were in classes, as reported by the UN and the *BBC*.²⁴
- The UN reported that an airstrike destroyed a primary school in Lu Thaw township, Kayin state, on November 8, 2022.²⁵
- On November 23, 2022, a number of buildings, including a school, were burned in the village of Mon Hla, Khin-U township, Sagaing region, as reported by local and international media.²⁶

The UN verified 117 attacks on schools in 2023.²⁷ Separately, GCPEA collected at least 43 reports of attacks on schools that year.²⁸ Since some of these may have overlapped with the attacks verified by the UN, they were not included in the total number of attacks on schools, to avoid double counting. For example:

- On January 30, 2023, local media *Democratic Voice of Burma* reported that a school was set on fire in Hta Pauk Kone village, Pakokku district, Magway region.²⁹
- On February 15, 2023, an airstrike destroyed a primary school in Pedae Kae village, Dooplaya district, Karen state, as reported by local media *BNI Online*.³⁰
- Between February 16 and 17, 2023, a high school was set on fire in Ka De village, Palaw township, Tanintharyi region, as reported by local research group Southern Monitor.³¹
- The UN reported that, on June 27, 2023, gunfire hit a primary school in Nyaung Kone village, Pale township, Sagaing region, when a military jet dropped bombs and deployed gunfire.³²
- As reported by international media *Radio Free Asia*, on September 7, 2023, an airstrike hit a school dormitory in Hpapun township, Kayin state, killing a teacher and three students.³³
- On September 10, 2023, in Ka Paing village, Yinmarbin township, Sagaing region, a school operated by Civil Disobedience Movement teachers was reportedly shot at, which caused damage to the school, according to *Radio Free Asia*; no students or staff were reported injured or killed.³⁴
- On October 10, 2023, an airstrike destroyed a preschool at Mung Lai Hkyet displaced persons camp near Laiza town, Kachin state, as reported by Amnesty International and *the Associated Press*.³⁵

ATTACKS ON SCHOOL STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER EDUCATION PERSONNEL

In the 2022-2023 reporting period, GCPEA identified 40 reported attacks on school students, teachers, and other education personnel in Myanmar. This represents an increase as compared to the period covered by *Education under Attack 2022*, in which GCPEA identified ten such attacks in 2021 and two in 2020.³⁶ As education in Myanmar became increasingly politicized during the current reporting period, the UN reported that the military arrested teachers and students for teaching at, or attending, schools connected to opposition groups.³⁷ The UN also reported that, as some children needed to pass checkpoints to access schools, attendance decreased amid fears of violence, harassment, and forced recruitment.³⁸ GCPEA also identified reports of teachers being targeted at home, based on whether they work in the school system under the military junta, or alternative opposition-supported schools.

In 2022, GCPEA identified 34 reported attacks on school students and staff.³⁹ Examples of attacks included:

- On July 3, 2022, in Tigyain township, Sagaing region, local media reported that two female teachers were arrested.⁴⁰
- On August 2, 2022, two 12-year-old students were killed, and two older students were injured by gunfire when they were traveling by boat on the way back from middle school in Paletwa township, Chin state, amid a firefight between the Arakan Army and the military, as reported by local media *Network Media Group*.⁴¹
- On October 19, 2022, Buanlung village, Hakha district, Chin state, was attacked with explosives, killing two primary school students who were on the way home from school, and injuring one other child, according to reports from local media.⁴²

GCPEA identified six attacks on teachers in 2023.⁴³ For example:

- The UN reported that, on January 12, 2023, members of anti-military armed groups shot and killed a principal in Nat Mauk township, Magway region.⁴⁴
- On December 13, 2023, the principal of a school in Tongzam, Chin state, received a threatening letter, including a bullet, instructing him to cease classes and close the school, as reported by local media.⁴⁵

MILITARY USE OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

GCPEA collected at least 190 reports of the military occupation of schools or universities during the reporting period; in most cases, schools and universities were used as military bases, although they were also used as fighting positions and interrogation centers. In comparison, during the previous reporting period the UN reported 176 cases of military use in 2021 and verified 30 cases in 2020.⁴⁶ The UN reported that soldiers occupied schools while children were present, potentially endangering their lives, amid concerns that children could be used as human shields.⁴⁷

The UN verified the military use of 115 schools in Myanmar in 2022, mostly by the armed forces or allied militias.⁴⁸ GCPEA identified at least 46 reports of the military use of educational facilities in 2022, as well as 34 incidents of schools or universities that were attacked while being used for military purposes.⁴⁹ Since it was unclear how many of these incidents overlapped with the UN count, they were not added to the number of military use incidents verified by the UN, to avoid double counting. Examples of military use included:

- Local media reported on January 6, 2022, that Kalay Technological University was occupied and used as a position from which to fire artillery shells in Sagaing region; the university was then reportedly attacked by rival forces on March 16, 2022, and on September 19, 2022.⁵⁰ It remains unclear whether the university was occupied throughout this time, or sporadically.
- On January 11, 2022, around 300 people were abducted in Letyetma village, Magway region, and held at a school, as reported by local media *Democratic Voice of Burma*.⁵¹
- On January 30, 2022, a drone attack was carried out on a military checkpoint stationed at Shwebo University, Shwebo township, Sagaing region, reportedly killing and injuring soldiers, according to local media *Democratic Voice of Burma*.⁵²
- On April 4, 2022, a school was allegedly used as a base in Tanja village, Putao city, Kachin state, for at least three days, as reported by the *BBC*.⁵³

In 2023, the UN verified the military use of 82 schools.⁵⁴ Also in 2023, the UN reported that 27 schools were vacated.⁵⁵ Separately, GCPEA collected at least 16 reports of the military use of educational facilities.⁵⁶ Six of these were attacked while being used for military purposes. Since some of these may overlap with the UN count, they were not included in the total number of military use incidents, to avoid double counting. Examples included:

- On February 17, 2023, in Ayadaw town, Monywa district, Sagaing region, around 50 residents were reportedly arrested in Lel Di ward and detained at a school, as reported by local media *Democratic Voice of Burma*.⁵⁷

- On February 20, 2023, an armed clash took place between a number of armed groups and the military, outside a high school in Tha Kyin village, Myingyan district, Mandalay region, where the military was allegedly stationed, as reported by local media *Democratic Voice of Burma*.⁵⁸
- The UN reported, as of December 4, 2023, that the military had occupied schools in Maungdaw township, Rakhine state; as a result, the schools closed, impacting 75 students.⁵⁹

ATTACKS ON HIGHER EDUCATION

GCPEA collected three reports of attacks on higher education infrastructure, students, and personnel during this reporting period. In comparison, during the 2020-2021 reporting period over 20 such attacks were reported.⁶⁰ Authorities planned to reopen universities in May 2022, although many students continued to boycott education under the military junta.⁶¹ Overwhelming demand for alternative higher education was reported in 2022.⁶²

In 2022, GCPEA identified three reports of attacks on higher education.⁶³ For example:

- On April 14, 2022, local media and Scholars at Risk reported that three vehicles from the University of Computer Studies were attacked with explosive devices on the Mandalay-Mattara highway, in Mandalay city and region. The attack affected 43 students and staff, although none were reported injured or killed.⁶⁴
- On November 3, 2022, the Myanmar military fired heavy artillery rounds at Kachin Theological College in Kutkai, Shan state, injuring four students and causing damage to buildings, as reported by Scholars at Risk.⁶⁵

GCPEA did not identify any attacks on higher education in 2023.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Elliott Bynum, "10 Conflicts to Worry About in 2022 - Myanmar Mid-Year Update," ALCED, [no date]. Human Rights Watch, World Report 2023: Events of 2022, (New York: Human Rights Watch, January 2023), Myanmar Chapter.
- 2 Human Rights Watch, World Report 2023: Events of 2022, (New York: Human Rights Watch, January 2023), Myanmar Chapter. UNHCR, "Myanmar Emergency Update (as of 1 February 2023)," February 17, 2023, p. 1.
- 3 Elliott Bynum, "10 Conflicts to Worry About in 2022 - Myanmar Mid-Year Update," ALCED, [no date]. Richard Horsey, "A New Escalation of Armed Conflict in Myanmar," ICG, November 17, 2023. UNICEF, "UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report -- End-of-Year 2023," February 14, 2024, p. 2.
- 4 Elliott Bynum, "10 Conflicts to Worry About in 2022 - Myanmar Mid-Year Update," ALCED, [no date].
- 5 AI, Report 2022/2023: *The state of the world's human rights*, (London, UK: Amnesty International, 2023), p. 266. Elliott Bynum, "10 Conflicts to Worry About in 2022 - Myanmar Mid-Year Update," ALCED, [no date].
- 6 UN Human Rights Council, "Situation of human rights in Myanmar - Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (Advance unedited version)," A/HRC/54/59, September 19, 2023, para. 7.
- 7 UNICEF, "Humanitarian Action for Children 2023 - Myanmar," December 6, 2022, p. 2.
- 8 UN Human Rights Council, "Situation of human rights in Myanmar - Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (Advance unedited version)," A/HRC/54/59, September 19, 2023, para. 12.
- 9 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 35 | 2023 Year in Review," January 12, 2024, p. 1. UNICEF, "UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report No. 10: December 2023," January 10, 2024, p. 1.
- 10 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 35 | 2023 Year in Review," OCHA, January 12, 2024, pp. 1, 3, 6.
- 11 UNICEF, "UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report No. 4: 1 May - 30 June 2023," July 3, 2023, pp. 1-2.
- 12 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023 (January 2023)," January 15, 2023, p. 44.
- 13 UNICEF, "UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report No. 7 for 1 July to 31 August 2022," September 6, 2022, p. 1. UNICEF, "UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report No. 9 for 1 to 31 October 2022," November 2, 2022, p. 2.
- 14 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023 (January 2023)," January 15, 2023, pp. 23-24.
- 15 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023 (January 2023)," January 15, 2023, pp. 23-24, 44.
- 16 "Myanmar Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan 2024 (December 2023)," OCHA, December 18, 2023, p. 12.
- 17 GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2022*, (New York, GCPEA: 2022), Myanmar chapter.
- 18 A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2024_references.pdf.
- 19 UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Children and Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary General," A/77/895-S/2023/363, June 5, 2023, para. 142.
- 20 *Democratic Voice of Burma; Eleven Media Group*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR27725 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). Mizzima, "Spring Revolution Daily News for 7 January 2022," *Mizzima*, January 7, 2022. Development Media Group, "Security checks tightened after explosions in Kyaikto town," *BNI Online*, January 11, 2022.
- 21 *Ministry of Defense - NUG; Myanmar Labour News; Democratic Voice of Burma; Twitter; Karen Information Center News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR32063 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). Mizzima, "Two fighter jets bomb KNU territory," *Mizzima*, March 28, 2022. Amnesty International, "Bullets rained from the sky": War crimes and displacement in eastern Myanmar, (London: Amnesty International, May 2022), p. 23.
- 22 *Radio Free Asia; VOA; Democratic Voice of Burma*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR35099 (data downloaded January 19, 2023). Grant Peck, "Accusations fly after Myanmar bombing kills 1, injures 9," *AP News*, June 1, 2022.
- 23 DVB, "A bomb exploded in 2 schools in Mokot (မိုးကုတ်မြို့, ကစာသင်ကျောင်း ၂ ကျောင်းတွင် ဗုံးပစ်ခတ်မှု)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, June 15, 2022. EMG, "Some schools in Kale City and Mokot City were thrown homemade bombs and explosions occurred (ကလေးမြို့, နှင့် မိုးကုတ်မြို့ ရရှိ စာသင်ကျောင်းအချို့ လက်လှမ်းမီ ဖြင့် ပစ်ခတ်ခံရပုံ ပြောဆိုမှုများ ဖြစ်ပွားခဲ့)," *Eleven Media*, June 18, 2022. *Democratic Voice of Burma*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR35766 (data downloaded January 12, 2023).
- 24 UN, "Myanmar: Guterres strongly condemns army attacks which left 11 children dead," UN News, September 20, 2022. Grant Peck AP, "Witnesses: Myanmar air attack kills 13, including 7 children," AP News, September 20, 2022. Khit Thit Media; VOA; Myanmar Now; Democratic Voice of Burma; Myanmar Labour News; Myanmar Pressphoto Agency; Irrawaddy; Radio Free Asia, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR39447; MMR39746, (data downloaded January 12, 2023). Jonathan Head, "Myanmar: Air strikes have become a deadly new tactic in the civil war," BBC News, January 31, 2023.
- 25 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Update No. 24 | 3 December 2022," OCHA, December 3, 2022, p. 8.
- 26 Mizzima, "Spring Revolution Daily News for 1 December 2022," *Mizzima*, December 1, 2022. RFA Burmese, "Myanmar's Archbishop calls for dialogue after military raid on his home village," *Radio Free Asia*, December 2, 2022.
- 27 Information received from a UN respondent on May 15, 2024.
- 28 A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2024_references.pdf.
- 29 *Democratic Voice of Burma; Ministry of Defense - NUG*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR44934 (data downloaded March 15, 2023). DVB, "Villages in Pakokku were burned by the army. A military council column was attacked in front of Pau and Mesas (ပခုက္ကူ ရှိ ကျေးရွာများအား

စစ်ဘက် ဖိနှိပ်မှု၊ ပါမောက္ခနှင့် ရေကန်တို့တွင် စစ်ဘက်စစ်နာခြင်း တို့ကိစ္စ ကိစ္စရပ်)" *Democratic Voice of Burma*, January 31, 2023.

30 BNI, "Junta continues attacks on civilians in southern Myanmar," *BNI Online*, February 23, 2023.

31 Southern Monitor, "Myanmar: Tanintharyi Region Monthly Situation Update (28 February 2023)," February 28, 2023, p. 15.

32 UN Human Rights Council, "Situation of human rights in Myanmar - Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (Advance unedited version)," A/HRC/54/59, September 19, 2023, paras. 21-23.

33 RFA Burmese, "Junta airstrike damages school in Myanmar's Sagaing region," *Radio Free Asia*, September 12, 2023.

34 RFA Burmese, "Junta airstrike damages school in Myanmar's Sagaing region," *Radio Free Asia*, September 12, 2023.

35 Grant Peck, "Myanmar's military is accused of bombing a displacement camp in a northern state, killing about 30," *AP News*, October 11, 2023.

"Myanmar: 28 civilians killed in military air strike – new investigation and witness testimony," Amnesty International news release, October 13, 2023.

36 GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2022*, (New York, GCPEA: 2022), Myanmar chapter.

37 UN General Assembly, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar - Advance Unedited Version," A/78/527, October 12, 2023, para. 6.

38 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023 (January 2023)," January 15, 2023, p. 44.

39 A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2024_references.pdf.

40 *Myanmar Now*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR36741 (data downloaded January 12, 2023). RFA, "Two teachers teaching NUG curriculum were arrested in Hô Chhôn city (ထီးချိုင့်မြို့ မှာ NUG သင်ပေးနေ စာသင်တဲ့ ဆရာမနှစ်ဦး အဖမ်းခံရ)," *Radio Free Asia*, July 5, 2022.

41 NMG, "Burma Army Attacks Boat, Killing Two Children In Paletwa," *Network Media Group*, August 5, 2022. *Narinjara News*, "Two students killed, three others injured as the carrying boat was shot at in Paletwa," *Narinjara News*, August 3, 2022. *Development Media Group; Eleven Media Group; Narinjara News*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR37991 (data downloaded January 12, 2023).

42 "Number of children forced from homes in Myanmar crosses half million mark – Save the Children," Save the Children News Release, November 1, 2022. HEIN HTOO ZAN, "Three Children Killed By Random Myanmar Junta Shelling," *The Irrawaddy*, October 20, 2022. *Democratic Voice of Burma*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR41206 (data downloaded January 12, 2023).

43 A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2024_references.pdf.

44 UN Human Rights Council, "Situation of human rights in Myanmar - Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (Advance unedited version)," A/HRC/54/59, September 19, 2023, para. 49.

45 EMG, "threatening letter with a bullet to the principal of the school for the closure of the school in Tonzam County," *Eleven Media Group*, December 16, 2023.

46 GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2022*, (New York, GCPEA: 2022), https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2022.pdf (accessed October 3, 2023), Myanmar chapter.

47 OCHA, "Myanmar Humanitarian Needs Overview 2023 (January 2023)," January 15, 2023, p. 30.

48 UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Children and Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary General," A/77/895-S/2023/363, June 5, 2023, para. 143.

49 A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2024_references.pdf.

50 VOA; *Myanmar Now*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR27757 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). Khin Yi Yi Zaw, Nyein Swe, "Battles escalate across Chin State," *Myanmar Now*, January 7, 2022. *Democratic Voice of Burma*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR31784 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). DVB, "The army, which suffered a lot of casualties due to being hit by landmines, burned houses in the village of Kale (မိုင်းဆွဲခရိုင်မြို့နယ် အကျအဆုံးများနေသည့် စစ်ဘက် ကလေးမပြို ကျေးရွာ ဘုန်းအိမ်များကို ဖိနှိပ်မှု)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, March 17, 2022. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Technology University, Kale, September 19, 2022.

51 DVB, "Heavy fighting in Myaing Township Army captures 30 locals as human shields (မပြိုင်မပြို နယ်တွင် တိုက်ပွဲ ပြင်းထန် စစ်ဘက် အသေခံ ၃၀ ခန့်ကို လူသားဒိုင်အိုပရစ် ဖမ်းဆီး)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, January 12, 2022.

52 *Democratic Voice of Burma*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR29303 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). DVB, "A military council checkpoint in front of Shwebo University was attacked by a drone (ရွှေဘိုတက္ကသိုလ်ရှေ့က စစ်ဘက်စစ်ဆေးရေးကိတ် ဒရုန်းဖြင့် တိုက်ခိုက်ခံရ)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, January 31, 2022.

53 BBC, "The KIA said that the movement of military columns in Kachin State has increased (ကချင်ပြည်နယ်တွင် စစ်ဘက် စစ်နာခြင်းတွင် လူသားများ လာတယ်လို့ ကအိအိအေပြော)," *BBC*, April 6, 2022.

54 Information received from a UN respondent on May 15, 2024.

55 Information received from a UN respondent on May 15, 2024.

56 A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, https://protectingeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/eua_2024_references.pdf.

57 *Democratic Voice of Burma*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR45524 (data downloaded March 16, 2023). DVB, "The army killed 2 young men in Kantbalu and Sarto and set fire to the Letti neighborhood (ကန့်ဘလူနှင့် အရတောတွင် စစ်ဘက် လူငယ် ၂ ဦးအားသတ်ဖြတ်ပြီး လယ်စိုက်ကန်ကို ဖိနှိပ်မှု)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, February 18, 2023.

58 *Democratic Voice of Burma*; Ministry of Defense - NUG, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR45648 (data downloaded March 16, 2023). DVB, "A military council unit patrolling in Mynjun Township was attacked (ငါးနွဲ့နွဲ့နွဲ့ နယ်၌ ကင်းလှည့်နေသည့် စစ်ဘက်စစ်တပ် တိုက်ခိုက်ခံရ)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, February 21, 2023.

59 "UNICEF Myanmar Humanitarian Situation Report No. 10: December 2023," UNICEF, January 10, 2024, p. 5.

60 GCPEA, *Education under Attack 2022*, (New York, GCPEA: 2022), Myanmar chapter.

61 NORA, "The Crisis in Education Under Myanmar's Military Rulers," *The Irrawaddy*, February 10, 2023. Francesca Chiu (2021), "Reclaiming the Future: Waiting, Resistance, and Expectations in Myanmar's Post-Coup University Boycotts," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*.

62 Pola Lem, "Myanmar's private universities 'overwhelmed' by student demand," *Times Higher Education*, November 30, 2022.

63 *Radio Free Asia*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR29075 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). RFA, "Twin blasts bring number of bombings to 121 in Yangon since Myanmar coup," *Radio Free Asia*, January 24, 2022. Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, University of Computer Studies, Mandalay, April 14, 2022. DVB, "1 car from Mandalay Computer University on its way to Thingyan Pavilion was bombed (သင့် ကြံ့မာတု ချုပ်သို့ သွားသည့် မနု တလေးကွန်ပျူတာတက္ကသိုလ်မှ ကား ၁ စီး ဖုံးပိတ်ခံရ)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, April 14, 2022. *Democratic Voice of Burma; Eleven Media Group*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR32911 (data downloaded May 5, 2022). Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Kachin Theological College, November 03, 2022. RFA, "KBC condemns Heavy Shooting at Bible College (ကျမ်းစာကောလိပ် လက်ကန်ကြီး ပိတ်ခံရမှု KBC ရှုတ်ချ)," *Radio Free Asia*, November 5, 2022.

64 Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, University of Computer Studies, Mandalay, April 14, 2022. DVB, "1 car from Mandalay Computer University on its way to Thingyan Pavilion was bombed (သင့် ကြံ့မာတု ချုပ်သို့ သွားသည့် မနု တလေးကွန်ပျူတာတက္ကသိုလ်မှ ကား ၁ စီး ဖုံးပိတ်ခံရ)," *Democratic Voice of Burma*, April 14, 2022. *Democratic Voice of Burma; Eleven Media Group*, as cited in ACLED, Event ID MMR32911 (data downloaded May 5, 2022).

65 Scholars at Risk, Academic Freedom Monitor, Kachin Theological College, November 03, 2022.