

TEACHER REPORTING OF VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN AND WOMEN



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The publication was prepared by the Caucasus Research Resource Centers, Georgia (CRRC Georgia) within the framework of the UN Women project “Teachers Taking Stance on Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Georgia” generously funded by the Government of Denmark.

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ISBN 978-9941-8-1823-3

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UN WOMEN

Georgia, Tbilisi, 2019



**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF DENMARK**



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ACRONYMS

BIT	Behavioural Insights Team
BMC	BioMed Central (part of Springer Nature)
CPRP	Child Protection Referral Procedures
CRRC	Caucasus Research Resource Centers
DV	Domestic Violence
EDV	Exposure to Domestic Violence
FG	Focus Group
GEOSTAT	National Statistics Office of Georgia
KII	Key Informant Interviews
MoESCS	Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Georgia
MoIDPOTLHSA	Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Reporting Mechanism
OROEI	The Office of Resource Officers of Educational Institutions of Georgia
SRO	School Resource Officer
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
VAC	Violence Against Children
WB	World Bank

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CHAPTER 1: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1.1 Executive Summary

In 2016 and 2017, the Parliament of Georgia amended legislation on domestic violence (DV) reporting to require school professionals to report suspected violence against children. Since then, teacher reporting of violence against children has been on the rise, according to data from the Office of Resource Officers of Educational Institutions (OROEI). Despite the rise in reporting, the data also show that many schools have never reported an instance of violence, implying that there is a problem of underreporting. This matters as teachers are the public sector actors that work most closely with children. In this regard, they can be classified as bystanders, i.e. individuals who are witness to or aware of, but not necessarily intervening in cases of DV. Studies of bystanders suggest that the more bystanders to an incident there are, the less likely any individual is to intervene (Darley and Latané 1968). Thus, on the one hand, teachers are potentially critical actors in identifying DV, given their close relations with students, but on the other hand, they may also be subject to bystander effects which depress reporting. As such, behavioral interventions that aim to counter bystander effects may be effective in encouraging teacher reporting.

With this goal in mind and to understand how teacher reporting of DV could be encouraged, in 2019, UN Women, with the generous support of the Government of Denmark and in partnership with CRRC Georgia, conducted the “Study on Behavioral Causes Acting as Barriers among Teachers to Intervention/Reporting on Violence against Women and Domestic Violence” in Georgia.

The study seeks to understand how teacher reporting of DV could be encouraged, with analysis structured around the following research questions:

- What are the social norms and attitudes among teachers in terms of reporting violence against women and children?
- What are teachers aware of and not aware of in terms of policy around reporting?
- What are teachers aware of and not aware of in terms of child abuse and its signs?
- What are the social norms and attitudes among teachers in terms of violence against women and children?
- How do the above vary between different social, demographic, economic, and professional groupings?
- Are any of the above variables associated with a greater or lesser willingness to report violence against women and children?
- Can behaviorally informed interventions such as social norming and information provision encourage reporting?

The study used a mixed methods approach, including a survey and survey experiment, key informant interviews, and focus groups. It followed a structured logic of inquiry, beginning with a literature review, followed by the creation of a pre-analysis plan prior to carrying out data analysis. After carrying out data collection and analysis, the study’s preliminary findings were presented to an inter-disciplinary working group made up of a wide variety of stakeholders in and out of government. The meeting was used to validate and expand upon the findings of the study.

The study makes use of a behavioral science framework to approach the research questions. Specifically, the research was based on a three-part model of bystander reporting, including awareness of DV policy, knowledge of signs of DV, and social norms and attitudes surrounding DV and DV reporting.

To explore whether information provision, social norming,¹ or the combination of both could be effective in encouraging DV reporting, the organization carried out a three-armed survey experiment. Experiments are considered the gold standard in science, and yield the opportunity to understand cause and effect in the same way that medical trials test the effectiveness of new drugs: through randomizing an intervention to different groups, who in turn are on average similar due to the randomization process.

The data and analysis presented in the report lead to a number of conclusions and recommendations, falling into eight broad categories: increasing coordination between actors; communications campaigns for schools; working with principals; training for teachers; prevention; creating an enabling environment for reporting; improving and expanding services and service awareness; and improving administrative data collection and analysis. Summaries of findings are presented below, with detailed analysis presented in the Conclusions and Recommendations section of this document.

¹ Social norming is the process of highlighting differences in perceptions of what people do and what people think others do. The concept originally stems from work on preventing university students from dangerous

1.2 Recommendations

1.2.1 Increasing coordination between actors

RECOMENDATIONS

1.1 MoESCS establish an inter-agency unit to improve, systematize, and monitor domestic violence reporting related to educational institutions.

1.2 Resource centers are used to coordinate between the MoESCS and schools on these issues as they do for other issues.

The study found that there are barriers to reporting beyond the scope of the mandate of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport (MoESCS), which require interagency cooperation. Qualitative data indicates that different stakeholders' work on the issue is often fragmented, with a lack of communication and coordination between actors. This fragmentation results in the absence of regular and integrated services for victims of DV. For example, psychologists sometimes start work with children before social workers start work with families. As a result, the interventions of both are inhibited. Similarly, social workers do not get feedback from the OROEI psychologists working with their clients. Thus, it is recommended that:

1.1. MoESCS establish an inter-agency unit to improve, systematize, and monitor domestic violence reporting related to educational institutions.

Besides coordination at the national level, ensuring coordination between schools and national level actors in the Ministry is important for the success of any policy. Resource centers already play a coordination role between MoESCS and schools and are

drinking, wherein students were informed of the differences between what most students thought other students were drinking and what they actually were consuming. For more on the subject, see Perkins 2003.

thus ideally placed to coordinate on this policy issue as well. Hence, it is recommended that:

1.2. *Resource centers are used to coordinate between the MoESCS and schools on these issues as they do for other issues.*

1.2.2 Communication campaigns for schools

RECOMENDATIONS

2.1 MoESCS systematically expresses its strong support for combatting domestic violence through high-level officials mentioning the importance of this topic in their public speeches and through resource centers conveying the same message to teachers.

2.2 Resource centers are used to disseminate information regarding DV and DV reporting, and are enabled to support teachers and principals in reporting domestic violence.

2.3 Communications campaigns targeting teachers use social norming messages to encourage reporting.

2.4 Communications campaigns surrounding this issue are based on data-informed targeting strategies that put forward audience appropriate messaging.

2.5 The internet is used for communications campaigns.

2.6 Reporting success stories are regularly communicated to a wide audience.

2.7 Messages to teachers highlight the potential losses associated with domestic violence.

In addition to creating a unit responsible for policy coordination, communicating the importance of reporting DV is critical to ensuring policy implementation. In this regard, regular signaling that DV is highly important to the MoESCS could encourage teachers to report. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.1 *MoESCS systematically expresses its strong support for combatting domestic violence through high-level officials mentioning the importance of this topic in their public speeches and through resource centers conveying the same message to teachers.*

Given resource centers' close relationships with and coordinating function between the Ministry and schools, they are an ideal institution to communicate the importance of DV reporting to schools and principals. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.2 *Resource centers are used to disseminate information regarding DV and DV reporting, and are enabled to support teachers and principals in reporting domestic violence.*

The experiment carried out within the study found no significant effects from the different information treatments, with one exception: teachers that were interested in participating in training were ten percentage points more likely to provide their contact information so that someone could contact them and provide the training if they received the social norming message.

At the same time, the social norming message, on average, did not lead to any adverse impacts on teachers' attitudes towards reporting. Taken together, these facts suggest that social norming could encourage reporting. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.3 *Communications campaigns targeting teachers use social norming messages to encourage reporting.*

Despite strong potential for the social norming message, the data paints a complex picture of the impact of different messages on different groups. For example, men responded to the information provision message on some outcome measures, while women did not. Teachers in schools with more positive climates responded to messages in entirely different ways to teachers in schools with relatively negative climates. This suggests that there is a need for careful planning of communications efforts, and where resources allow for messages to be targeted towards specific audiences. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.4 Communications campaigns surrounding this issue are based on data-informed targeting strategies that put forward audience appropriate messaging.

The study suggests that teachers that use the internet on a regular basis appear more inclined towards reporting. They have a greater belief in their own ability to report DV and admit avoiding a report less often than those that do not use the internet. Hence, communications efforts aimed at increasing teacher reporting online may be effective if the goal is to work with the group of teachers already inclined towards reporting DV. Based on these findings in tangent to the relatively low costs of online communications compared with other mediums, it is recommended that:

2.5 The internet is used for communications campaigns.

When considering reporting, focus groups suggest that negative outcomes that can result come to mind for teachers. In this regard, loss aversion – the idea that individuals prioritize loss avoidance over possible gains – is an important concept. Without the belief that a report will do significantly more good than harm, teachers are unlikely to report. Hence, there is a need for teachers to have a (well-founded) belief that reporting will help the victims of DV. Communicating success stories has the potential to do this. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.6 Reporting success stories are regularly communicated to a wide audience.

The idea of loss aversion also has significant potential to be used to encourage teacher reporting. This may be achieved through highlighting the irreparable harm that can be caused through a lack of intervention in cases of DV. Therefore, it is recommended that:

2.7 Messages to teachers highlight the potential losses associated with domestic violence.

1.2.3 Working with principals

RECOMENDATIONS

3.1 Principals be the primary target group for trainings focused on domestic violence reporting.

3.2 MoESCS provide non-monetary incentives (e.g. praise from high level officials) for principals to create an enabling environment for reporting domestic violence.

The data clearly show school climate is associated with a variety of outcomes of interest. Teachers in better schools with better climates were significantly more likely to report that they would be willing to report DV and had more positive attitudes towards reporting.

The difference between teachers in good climates and bad was not only statistically significant, but also substantively large—school climate’s effect size on teacher self-efficacy in reporting was 16 times larger than the impact of training. In general, school climate is believed to be closely linked with school leadership i.e. the principal. Aside from their clear importance, there are significantly fewer teachers than principals, making any intervention with them likely to be less costly than an intervention aimed at teachers. Based on these findings, it is recommended that:

3.1. Principals be the primary target group for trainings focused on domestic violence reporting.

A large number of interventions besides training could also be effective. The qualitative data suggests that some principals are afraid of the reputational damage that reporting may cause for their schools and discourage teachers from reporting DV to SROs.

In this regard, numerous low-cost interventions could support changes in principals’ attitudes, such as a phone call or letter from a high-ranking official praising a principal for reporting or encouraging a principal whose school has never made a report to make them. Hence, it is recommended that:

3.2. MoESCS provide non-monetary incentives (e.g. praise from high level officials) for principals to create an enabling environment for reporting domestic violence.

1.2.4 Training for teachers

RECOMENDATIONS

4.1 MoESCS develop a training module covering all relevant aspects of DV.

4.2 MoESCS ensures that teachers in Georgia receive training based on this module, in coordination with different actors as appropriate.

4.3 Training efforts are piloted and evaluated to examine impact in a rigorous manner.

4.4 Online and printed materials be developed for teachers that clearly and simply lay out the reporting system within schools, with materials incorporated into training.

4.5 A schematic representation of the reporting process outlining each stage of reporting with short and clear descriptions be provided to teachers as part of training.

4.6 Teachers be informed about the harm of all forms of domestic violence on children.

4.7 Trainings explain what constitutes a well-grounded suspicion based on which teachers are obliged to report irrespective of direct evidence. Teachers should be informed that even if they cannot prove that violence has taken place, they will not be punished if they act in line with rules and regulations.

4.8 Trainings for teachers use simulation methods to support teachers in gaining self-efficacy.

When it comes to training for teachers, the data indicate that there are different sets of training that service providers implement. However, no individual training is comprehensive, and no one systematically monitors or evaluates the effectiveness of trainings.

4.1. MoESCS develop a training module covering all relevant aspects of DV.

4.2. *MoESCS ensures that teachers in Georgia receive training based on this module, in coordination with different actors as appropriate.*

4.3. *Training efforts are piloted and evaluated to examine impact in a rigorous manner.*

The data further shows that although teachers know they need to report, they do not necessarily understand the mechanisms for reporting. Key informant interviews suggest that Child Protection Referral Procedures (CPRP) have not been adopted throughout applicable institutions, and it remains unclear whether these procedures have been specifically adapted to the school environment from the generalized procedures set out in CPRP. Through developing specific, clear, accessible, and simple instructions, the reporting procedures are more likely to be used. Hence, it is recommended that:

4.4. *Online and printed materials be developed for teachers that clearly and simply lay out the reporting system within schools, with materials incorporated into training.*

4.5. *A schematic representation of the reporting process outlining each stage of reporting with short and clear descriptions be provided to teachers as part of training.*

On the one hand, the quantitative data collected within the project suggests that a large majority of teachers recognize different types of child abuse as child abuse and most also recognize many signs of child abuse. On the other hand, the qualitative data collected within the project suggest that teachers usually only consider sexual abuse and repeated and “heavy” physical violence as requiring a report. This discrepancy in turn suggests a need to inform teachers that “light” abuse often precedes “heavy” abuse. Hence, it is recommended that:

4.6. *Teachers be informed about the harm of all forms of domestic violence on children.*

The data also suggest that teachers are concerned that they may make a false report and face potential legal repercussions if they make a report that turns out to be unfounded. Indeed, two thirds of teachers reported that this issue would be a concern when reporting. This suggests a clear need to inform teachers about what constitutes a well-grounded suspicion and to assure them they will not face legal repercussions if the report is found not to be accurate. Hence, it is recommended that:

4.7. *Trainings explain what constitutes a well-grounded suspicion based on which teachers are obliged to report irrespective of direct evidence. Teachers should be informed that even if they cannot prove that violence has taken place, they will not be punished if they act in line with rules and regulations.*

The data also shows a clear link between teacher self-efficacy – an individual’s belief in their personal capacity for action – and reporting behavior. Teachers that have higher self-efficacy are four times more likely to have ever reported DV. Based on this finding, it is recommended that:

4.8. *Trainings for teachers use simulation methods to support teachers in gaining self-efficacy.*

1.2.5 Prevention

RECOMENDATION

5.1. MoESCS develops violence prevention modules within the national curriculum and textbooks.

5.2. Parents are offered trainings on positive parenting either within or outside the school by relevant governmental and non-governmental actors.

5.3. Ensure that university programs in subjects in which future teachers are often enrolled cover DV related topics.

5.4. Consider incorporating questions on teachers' attitudes towards reporting domestic violence in the interview criteria for new teachers and principals.

5.5. Interventions aimed at reporting (and preventing) domestic violence should focus on rural areas of Georgia and areas with high levels of emigration.

Although prevention is beyond the scope of this report to a certain degree, the above recommendations should be considered with the ultimate goal in mind of eliminating rather than only effectively responding to DV.

In this regard, key informants noted that the national curriculum lacks materials on DV, which could support prevention. Based on this finding, it is recommended that:

5.1. *MoESCS develops violence prevention modules within the national curriculum and textbooks.*

The inter-disciplinary working group also raised the issue of parent education, arguing that parent education is required for progress on DV. Based on the working groups' observation, it is recommended that:

5.2. *Parents are offered trainings on positive parenting either within or outside the school by relevant governmental and non-governmental actors.*

The working group also highlighted that focusing on future generations of teachers is important for prevention. Based on this suggestion, it is recommended that the MoESCS:

5.3. *Ensure that university programs in subjects in which future teachers are often enrolled cover DV related topics.*

5.4. *Consider incorporating questions on teachers' attitudes towards reporting domestic violence in the interview criteria for new teachers and principals.*

The data collected within the project suggest that teacher reporting in rural areas appears to be lower than in urban areas, and families containing migrants may be at higher risk of DV. Given these findings, it is recommended that:

5.5. *Interventions aimed at reporting (and preventing) domestic violence should focus on rural areas of Georgia and areas with high levels of emigration.*

1.2.6 Creating an enabling environment for reporting

KEY FINDING

The state needs to work towards improving the DV response system in parallel to expanding efforts aimed at encouraging teachers to report.

RECOMENDATIONS

- 6.1. Ensure the confidentiality of those who report.
- 6.2. Police officers countrywide should be provided with more and improved training on the identification and response to DV with a focus on the importance of responding to relatively "light" cases.
- 6.3. Provide support to all police officers through enabling them to engage social workers and/or psychologists in all cases dealing with DV components. This is particularly important when it comes to interviewing children.
- 6.4. SSA and OROEI hire more social workers and psychologists and provide in-depth training on working with victims of domestic violence.
- 6.5. Decrease the bureaucratic burden of reporting to the extent possible, and provide reporters with a flexible timeline during which they can appear at police stations.
- 6.6. A hotline should be made available, that can provide consultations for teachers on signs of DV and advice on reporting. The current hotline (116 006) could be used for this purpose.

One of the key findings of this study is that among the largest barriers to reporting is teachers' fears that a report will do more harm than good. The lack of perceived institutional effectiveness drives this. Uncertainty over whether official responses would help victims was one of the three most commonly cited barriers on the survey for hesitance in reporting. This concern appears to be well founded based on qualitative data, in which teachers, SROs, and key informants recounted stories they had experienced or heard of wherein official responses led to victims being worse off than they had been prior to the report. Resulting from the lack of institutional ineffectiveness, a cycle of mistrust exists between responsible parties along the reporting chain. Teachers distrust SROs, police and social workers. SROs think teachers hide abuse from them, have trouble getting police to respond to DV reports, and think principals discourage teachers from reporting. Social workers are seen as ineffectual. The lack of trust between actors is likely depressing reporting.

Official responses to reports are not only a problem for the victims of violence, but also for those that report. One of the most commonly cited barriers to reporting on the survey was teachers' fear they would face violence if they reported. In focus groups, they also expressed concern for the well-being of their family and children in they reported.

At the basis of this concern is the lack of confidentiality in reporting. Aside from confidentiality, the bureaucratic burden on individuals that report also discourages reporting.

Institutions aside, the economic consequences of reporting for the abused, stemming from their economic dependence on the abuser, also discourages reporting. This primarily stems from the abused's economic dependence on the abuser. Teachers report they can directly see the consequences for the family of losing an income when their students come to school.

Putting the above findings in a behavioral science framework recalls the above-noted concept of loss aversion. Behavioral science has consistently found that people avoid losses twice as vigorously as they work towards receiving equivalent gains. Applying this idea to the present context, for teachers to report, they need to be certain that victims of DV are more likely than not to benefit as a result of reporting.

The above leads to the main finding of the study:

The state needs to work towards improving the DV response system in parallel to expanding efforts aimed at encouraging teachers to report.

The study's findings also lead to a number of recommendations in support of the above finding.

Underlying teachers concern about facing violence in response to making a report is the lack of confidentiality within the reporting system. Through guaranteeing confidentiality within the reporting system, teacher fears in this regard are likely to weaken. Hence, it is recommended that all actors along the reporting chain:

6.1. Ensure the confidentiality of those who report;

The above findings also suggest that for reporting to be more widespread, teachers need to have a well-founded belief that reporting will do more good than not reporting. This requires an improvement in the institutional responses to reporting. Although the MIA has improved its practices surrounding DV in recent years, the study suggests there is still room for further improvement. In addition, the police require support in responding to this from social workers, particularly in interviewing children. Based on these findings, it is recommended that:

6.2. Police officers countrywide should be provided with more and improved training on the identification and response to DV with a focus on the importance of responding to relatively "light" cases.

6.3. *Provide support to all police officers through enabling them to engage social workers and/or psychologists in all cases dealing with DV components. This is particularly important when it comes to interviewing children.*

While social workers are often seen as ineffectual, much of this perception stems from the fact that they lack human resources. For instance, the SSA only has one psychologist per region in the country, and these psychologists have broad mandates and are not specifically focused on DV. For social workers and psychologists to be more effective in their work, they need more human resources. Hence, it is recommended that:

6.4. *SSA and OROEI hire more social workers and psychologists and provide in-depth training on working with victims of domestic violence.*

Although certain legal paperwork is mandatory, teachers that have reported DV noted the bureaucratic burden of reporting when discussing their decisions. The fact that teachers need to go to the police station for paperwork leads to them either missing work or going outside of work hours. In this regard, it is recommended to:

6.5. *Decrease the bureaucratic burden of reporting to the extent possible, and provide reporters with a flexible timeline during which they can appear at police stations.*

Aside from improving institutional responses, support for teachers who are in doubt about whether and how to report a DV case is important. While resource centers are one option for consultations (see recommendation 1.2), resource centers also have close relationships with principals, presenting a confidentiality risk. Hence, a hotline that can consult teachers on the signs and reporting procedures of DV could help increase teacher reporting of DV. In this regard, it is recommended that:

6.6. *A hotline should be made available, that can provide consultations for teachers on signs of DV and advice on reporting. The current hotline (116 006) could be used for this purpose.*

1.2.7 Improving and expanding services and awareness of them

RECOMENDATIONS

7.1. Services aim to provide for survivors' immediate economic needs.

7.2. Services should work towards survivors' economic empowerment in the medium term.

7.3. The timely, countrywide availability of psychological support services (including psychotherapy and consultations with psychiatrists) to all survivors of DV.

7.4. Services that state and non-state actors provide to survivors of DV are mapped in terms of their geographical distribution, mandate, target groups, and resources.

7.5. Service maps are distributed to schools and through them to teacher, students, and parents. These materials should also be used in teacher training.

For institutional responses to DV to be effective, support services for survivors should be expanded and promoted. The study suggests that while a number of services are available, many informed actors are unaware of them. This is particularly acute with regard to economic rehabilitation. As discussed in the previous section, teachers see the economic impact of an abuser going to prison on the situation of their students' families. If teachers were to see the state providing immediate support to survivors of DV, this could support teacher reporting. If support further empowered women economically, this would further encourage reporting through removing teachers' concerns about the economic impact of a report on the abused. This type of service could take numerous forms, from a

conditional cash transfer to support for purchasing textbooks, or access to vocational education and training. No matter the form of support provided it is recommended that:

7.1. Services aim to provide for survivors' immediate economic needs.

7.2. Services should work towards survivors' economic empowerment in the medium term.

Teachers, SROs, and key informants indicated that there is a lack of and delayed access to psychological support services. As discussed above, there are highly limited human resources in responsible agencies for provision of psychological support, especially when it comes to psychiatrists and psychotherapists. In this regard, it is recommended to ensure:

7.3. The timely, countrywide availability of psychological support services (including psychotherapy and consultations with psychiatrists) to all survivors of DV.

The lack of awareness of services that currently exist also discourages reporting, based on key informant interviews. Based on conversations in the working group, it appears that there is no general overview of services available in simple schematic form. Therefore, it is recommended that:

7.4. Services that state and non-state actors provide to survivors of DV are mapped in terms of their geographical distribution, mandate, target groups, and resources.

7.5. Service maps are distributed to schools and through them to teacher, students, and parents. These materials should also be used in teacher training.

1.2.8 Improving administrative data collection and analysis

RECOMENDATIONS

8.1. The MIA and SSA work with the OROEI to improve their data collection and management practices.

8.2. The data be analyzed with a view to informing policy.

Although OROEI collects data in a generally appropriate manner, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and SSA's data collection practices prevent the full use of data to target interventions and improve policy. Good administrative data has numerous potential uses, from enabling monitoring to the development of algorithms that identify when a school is likely under-reporting DV. Hence, it is recommended that:

8.1. The MIA and SSA work with the OROEI to improve their data collection and management practices.

8.2. The data be analyzed with a view to informing policy.

CHAPTER 2: INTRODUCTION

2.1 Introduction

Georgia faces challenges with domestic violence (DV) and its reporting, although progress has been made in recent years. In 2016² and 2017³, the government instituted rule changes that required school resource officers (SROs) or designated reporting officers⁴ as well as teachers to report suspected DV. Failure to report is considered an administrative offense.⁵ While, actors familiar with the policy's functioning report that SROs are reporting effectively, data maintained by different agencies suggest that teachers are underreporting, as a large number of schools have never made a report of DV. This is an important issue, as teachers' proximity to students and families provides greater opportunity for identifying cases than SROs. This study analyses the role of teachers as bystanders.⁶ The behavioral science literature has found that bystanders are often reluctant to intervene in cases of DV. However, some behaviorally focused interventions have been able to encourage bystander intervention.

With this goal in mind and to understand how teacher reporting of DV could be encouraged, in 2019, UN Women, with the generous support of the Government of Denmark and in partnership with CRRG Georgia, conducted the "Study on Behavioral Causes Acting as Barriers among Teachers to Intervention/Reporting on Violence against Women and Domestic Violence" in Georgia.

The study seeks to understand how teacher reporting of DV could be encouraged, with analysis structured around the following research questions:

- What are the social norms and attitudes among teachers in terms of reporting violence against women and children?
- What are teachers aware of and not aware of in terms of policy around reporting?
- What are teachers aware of and not aware of in terms of child abuse and its signs?
- What are the social norms and attitudes among teachers in terms of violence against women and children?

² Law on Child Protection Referral Procedures. Article 5. Available at: <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/3394478?publication=0>

³ Law on Ending Violence against Women and Domestic Violence Article 9. Available at: <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/26422?publication=14>

⁴ School Resource Officers (SRO) function as security guards within schools in Georgia. More information on SROs is available from <http://mandatori.gov.ge/page/struqtura>. In some schools, there are no school resource officers. In these cases, the school is required to designate an individual responsible for reporting.

⁵ Law of Georgia on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Protection and Support of Victims of Domestic Violence. Article 14. Available at: <https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/view/26422?publication=14>

⁶ In the present context, bystanders are individuals that are present at an event, occurrence, or otherwise witness to the event or occurrence though not directly engaged in it. In behavioral science, the bystander effect generally refers to people's reluctance to intervene in situations as the number of bystanders increases. Within the present report, the term refers to individuals in communities that are aware of (including witness to) incidences of domestic violence. For the original paper on the concept, see Darley and Latané 1968.

- How do the above vary between different social, demographic, economic, and professional groups?
- Are any of the above variables associated with a greater or lesser willingness to report violence against women and children?
- Can behaviorally informed interventions such as social norming and information provision encourage reporting?

To answer the above research questions, CRRC Georgia implemented a mixed methods study using a structured logic of inquiry. The study began with a literature review, upon which data collection and analysis was designed.

The study makes use qualitative data, gathered through key informant interviews and focus groups. The study also utilized a survey representative of public school teachers in Georgia. Within the survey, a three-armed experiment testing the extent to which knowledge of legislation, social norming, and a combination of both was effective in increasing teacher reporting. Following the development of data collection tools, a pre-analysis plan was constructed, following best practice. The survey had an achieved sample size of 1,494 teachers and has an average margin of error of 4.6%. The data collected is representative of the public school teacher population in Georgia, and was conducted in Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani languages. The study's fieldwork took place between May and June, 2019. Following data collection, data analysis took place in line with the pre-analysis plan. After analysis,

preliminary findings were presented to an inter-disciplinary working group made up of a wide variety of stakeholders in and out of government. The meeting was used to validate and expand upon the findings of the study.

The study makes use of a behavioral science framework to approach the research questions. Behavioral science is the study of human behavior. In the present case, the study was informed by the behavioral science literature's work on bystanders in the context of DV reporting. Specifically, the research was based on a three-part model of bystander reporting, including awareness of DV policy, knowledge of signs of DV, and social norms and attitudes surrounding DV and its reporting. To explore whether information provision or social norming⁷ would be effective in encouraging reporting, the organization carried out a three-armed survey experiment. Experiments are considered the gold standard in science, and provide the opportunity to examine cause and effect in the same way that medical trials test the effectiveness of new drugs: through randomizing an intervention to different groups, who in turn are on average similar due to the randomization process.

This report proceeds as follows. In the next section, policy background and previous research is provided. Thereafter, the study methodology is presented, following which, the study's findings are described. The report ends with conclusions and recommendations. The quantitative data for the study and questionnaire is available at caucasusbarometer.org.

⁷ Social norming is the process of highlighting differences in perceptions of what people do and what people think others do. The concept originally stems from work on preventing university students from dangerous

drinking, wherein students were informed of the differences between what most students thought other students were drinking and what they actually were consuming. For more on the subject, see Perkins 2003.

CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND

Policy in Georgia on DV and violence against women has progressed since 2006 when DV was first introduced into legislation. In 2016, DV reporting in schools was specifically included into policy through Article 5 of the Law on Child Protection Referral Procedures,⁸ and in 2017 through Article 9 of the Law on Ending Violence against Women and Domestic Violence.⁹ While the policy has been included in legislation and teachers were informed of their new responsibilities, the data on reporting shows that a large share of schools (see next chapter) have never reported a case of DV. This suggests that fewer teachers are reporting than likely should be. The behavioral science literature has explored the issue of under-reporting extensively, including a 2018 study of Georgian Facebook users (BIT 2018). This section provides background on the issue and the policy space in Georgia as relates DV, examining efforts to increase reporting behavior; and situating the study's research questions in the literature.

3.1 Violence against women and domestic violence in Georgia

DV remains a serious problem in Georgia. A 2018 UN Women and GEOSTAT study on domestic violence in Georgia¹⁰ found that 14% of women aged 15-64 had experienced at least one instance of physical, sexual, or emotional violence by a partner (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018). Furthermore, most cases of violence were part of a pattern of continued abuse, rather than one-off incidents.

Attitudes towards DV remain adverse. In the study previously cited, around a quarter of women (22%) and a third of men (31%) reported that wife-beating is justified under some circumstances. Half of men (50%) and a third of women (33%) also reported that violence between partners is a private matter and that outsiders should not intervene. While national surveys suggest that cultural acceptance of intimate partner violence has been decreasing, many abusive behaviors are still considered normal, especially behaviors related to husbands' "right" to control their wives' decisions (BIT 2018).

These attitudes are present in a broader context in which social norms and attitudes run counter to those supporting gender equality. For instance, two thirds of women (66%) and three quarters of men (78%) report that a woman's primary role is in the home (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018). In the same study, around half the public reported that if a woman does not fight back "you cannot call it rape".

Children experiencing, as well as witnessing, violence in the home is also a major issue. Among women who reported incidents of physical intimate partner violence, nearly two-thirds reported that their children were present during several such incidents. Furthermore, among the women surveyed, 14% had experienced some form of child abuse themselves (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018). Growing up in a household affected by DV can have substantial implications for children: children of abused women were slightly more likely to have

⁸ See: <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/3394478?publication=0>

⁹ See: <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/26422?publication=14>

¹⁰ The study was funded by the European Union. See at: <http://georgia.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/03/the-national-study-on-violence-against-women-in-georgia>

failed a grade, dropped out of school, or experienced emotional or behavioral problems. In qualitative interviews, participants reported that children were more likely to miss school because of violent incidents, and that they were more likely to have problems with studying and memory (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018).

Although DV is relatively common, surveys suggest that reporting incidents of violence or seeking help are not. In the 2018 UN Women and GEOSTAT study, 74% of women who had experienced partner violence had never reported an incident to any agency or support service. This is despite the growing awareness of DV legislation, which increased between 2009 and 2017 (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018), with two thirds of women (67%) and three quarters of men (74%) aware of DV laws. In a 2010 study, 28% of women who had experienced violence reported that they did not talk to anyone, including family and friends, about their husband's behavior and that 38% of women said they had not received help to stop their husband's behavior (Chitashvili et al. 2010). Of those who did talk about their experiences, most spoke to close family and friends. Reporting to any kind of formal institution was rare.

When asked why they did not seek help, women most often reported fear of stigma or shame (25%), followed by fear of further consequences or violence (17%) (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018). Moreover, in the 2010 study, most women reported that they "were embarrassed / ashamed / would not be believed", "would be blamed", or "would give the family a bad name" (Chitashvili et al. 2010). While strong psychological and cultural barriers to accessing support exist, the UN Women/GEOSTAT study found that a minority of women did seek help, but mostly in cases where violence had become so extreme that it could no longer be endured (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018).

3.2 Violence against women and domestic violence referral mechanisms

Georgia developed the first national referral mechanism (NRM) on DV in 2009. However some studies indicated a lack of clarity of the roles of stakeholders and the mechanism's requirements for referral (WB 2017). A new draft version of the NRM more precisely identifies the names and roles of national stakeholders, both inside and outside government. Among other professionals, teachers and school resource officers are required to report DV. The obligation of confidentiality associated with certain professions (e.g. doctors, lawyers) does not apply to when providing competent authorities with information about possible violence against women and/or DV if there is a danger of recurrence of violence.

Since DV, whether directly perpetrated against a child or not, manifests itself in the behavior of students in various ways, school professionals are well positioned to identify and prevent DV. As such, the existing child protection referral mechanism holds school professionals (in both public and private schools) responsible for identifying violence against children and responding adequately.

In 2010, three ministries signed an order (MoIDPOTLHSA, MoESCS, and MIA) to support protection of children from all forms of violence within and outside the family setting through establishing a coordinated referral system. The Child Protection Referral Procedures (CPRP) were updated in 2016, and hold local self-governance bodies, along with the ministries and other state agencies, responsible for referral procedures related to violence against children. All institutions and professionals dealing with children and/or their families (including schools) are responsible for reporting to the Social Services Agency (SSA) and/or the police if they suspect DV or violence against a child.

According to the CPRP, all institutions involved in the referral procedures are expected to elaborate internal guidelines for managing cases. However such internal guidelines apparently do not exist in most institutions listed in the CPRP (KII interviews).

School administrations are responsible for the identification, analysis, and further referral of violence against children cases to the SSA and police (depending on the case). In addition, they can call an SSA and Public Defender's Office hotline. School resource officers, who are present in some schools,¹¹ are also responsible for monitoring children's behavior to prevent violence among children and ensure school safety. However, they do not have a mandate to work with the families of children outside the school setting.

Even though CPRP clearly states detailed responsibilities for each institution involved in these procedures, a recent UNICEF study showed that school professionals (teachers and school resource officers) are not fully aware of their responsibilities—46 % of all school professionals stated that the violence would have to be severe and habitual for it to be reported (UNICEF 2013). Moreover, the study showed that there is a strong belief that a family's affairs are internal and should not be interfered with by others. This suggests that school professionals do not fully comprehend their responsibilities under the referral procedures (UNICEF 2013).

3.3 Behaviorally informed efforts to increase reporting of DV

Behavioral science presents insights into barriers to reporting which may be leveraged to improve practices. Almeida et al. (2016), suggest that three immediate conditions need to hold for an intervention to influence someone towards a behavior: (1) attitude: holding a positive opinion of the behavior, (2) norms: believing that the behavior is socially acceptable, and (3) self-efficacy: believing that one is actually able to perform that behavior (Almeida et al. 2016). Almeida further argues that culture, societal attitudes, and media exposure can influence all of the above, and that: (4) non-behavioral factors such as one's skills, knowledge, and environmental conditions can also influence whether one's intention translates into a behavior.

Almeida et al. (2016) highlight key points where a bystander's decision to intervene or report a suspected case of DV might break down. They might (1) hold a negative attitude towards reporting, due to cultural tolerance of violence against women or a belief that these are private matters in which outsiders should not intervene. They might (2) feel that others will disapprove of them interfering in other's private lives or feel that taking action is someone else's responsibility. They might (3) feel threatened or be daunted by the hassle of reporting. Finally, they might (4) lack information on what constitutes a reportable case or available mechanisms to take action, or lack the skills to sufficiently assess a case (Almeida et al. 2016).

¹¹ In those schools where there is no school resource officer, a designated person in the school (a teacher or

school administrator) is responsible for fulfilling these duties.

In addition, other behavioral biases, such as a preference for the status quo and inertia and procrastination towards taking action can prevent people from acting. The study's authors also highlight that loss aversion – whereby fear of negative consequences can be more salient in individual decision-making than the promise of rewards – could be useful for framing encouragements to report DV e.g. by focusing on the consequences for a child or for the community of a failure to act (Almeida et al. 2016).

In line with the framework provided in Almeida et al. (2016), evidence from other contexts suggests that social norm constraints on reporting on DV, such as the fear of being seen as a gossip, can also pose a major barrier (Green, Wilke, and Cooper 2018). Given tight social connections in Georgia, the fear of social approbation likely serves as a similar mechanism discouraging teachers from reporting on DV. Indeed, a Behavioral Insights evaluation of a series of targeted Facebook ads with varying messages about how to support those experiencing DV finds that the most effective version both addressed social norms (highlighting that the majority of Georgians do not believe that abuse is a private matter) and offered ways of providing emotional support to survivors (BIT 2018). This suggests that emphasizing social norms can play a meaningful role in increasing reporting behavior.

Bystanders are receiving increasing attention within the policy and academic worlds as potentially key actors in preventing DV. For example, Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante (2007) evaluate a sexual violence prevention program within a U.S. university and find improvements in knowledge and attitudes related to sexual violence. The fundamental problem with working towards bystander focused interventions, however, is the bystander effect which means that as more bystanders are present, the less likely are any of them to take action due to the 'diffusion of responsibility' (Darley and Latané 1968). However, Fisher et. al. (2011) suggest a number of interventions can weaken bystander

effects. For instance, if a situation is perceived as dangerous, effects are attenuated. They also decline when the perpetrator is present and when the costs of intervention are physical. A 2018 study (Green, Wilke, and Cooper 2018) further suggests bystander effects can be decreased through changing social expectations. While there have been numerous studies on the above noted subjects, including behavioral mechanisms aimed at increasing reporting of bystanders, an overarching finding is that most have not been successful and that interventions aimed at men are particularly difficult (Fulu and Kerr-Wilson 2015).

Evidence on other reporting behaviors in other contexts suggests that the severity of a crime is a major factor in the decision to report, but that the salience of motivating factors may vary based on context. Buckley et al. (2016) examine determinants of reporting crimes to the police in Russia and find that crime severity is a key factor. However, in the Russian context, appeals to civic duty were largely unassociated with propensity to report a crime. In contrast, Feldman and Lobel (2010) conclude that in the U.S., policy initiatives to encourage reporting of "inherently offensive misconduct" must appeal to the informant's sense of duty. In a survey experiment in Russia and Georgia, McCarthy et al. (2015) again find that reporting crimes to the police is influenced by the nature of the crime, but not by government instruments to encourage reporting. However, they note that a guarantee of anonymity to bystanders who report crimes was strongly associated with an increased likelihood to report (McCarthy et al. 2015). This could have implications for reporting sensitive topics like suspected DV when a bystander fears repercussion.

Teachers and schools are a key institution in identifying and reporting domestic abuse, given their close connections to the community and direct knowledge of children's family situations. Focusing specifically on teachers' decisions to report sus-

pected cases of child abuse and/or DV, a few qualitative studies from other contexts offer some potential lessons. In the U.S., Abrahams et al. (1992) find that although teachers are likely to identify potential victims of abuse, due to their long-term contact with children, and to report these cases to child protective services, most teachers had little education on signs of potential abuse and did not feel confident that they would recognize these signs. Thus, a major barrier to reporting cases of child abuse was a lack of sufficient knowledge on how to detect and report cases (Abrahams et al. 1992). Also in the U.S., Kenny (2001) reports similar findings: when asked to assess legally reportable case vignettes, many teachers failed to report. Among teachers who said that they had suspected but not reported cases of child abuse, one of the most common reasons was fear of making an inaccurate report. These teachers felt that they had not been adequately trained for abuse reporting, and the author concludes that there is a need for more training for teachers which addresses deterrents to reporting and supports identification of signs of abuse (Kenny 2001). These findings hold in Kenny (2004): nearly two-thirds of teachers said they had received no training on child abuse during their pre-service, and few teachers were aware of their school's policies on the subject. Even teachers who had had training were not confident in their ability to detect and report abuse, due to lack of familiarity with the signs and symptoms. Zellman (1992) notes that a history of previous abuse and a higher severity of abuse both increased the predicted likelihood of mandated professionals reporting a suspected case, likely increasing their confidence in their assessment.

In Sweden, Markström and Mürger (2017) survey teachers about their decisions whether to report suspected cases of exposure to DV (EDV)—witnessing violence at home, rather than having it physically inflicted on the child—and find that teachers lack knowledge and practical experience

with this type of problem, noting that EDV is a particularly difficult issue to identify. Numerous other studies (Ferguson and Malouff 2016; Wheatcroft and Walklate 2014; Tuerkheimer 2017) underline the relatively common belief that false accusations are widespread and the fear of making an inaccurate report as a barrier to reporting.

Besides social issues, qualitative data suggests that a lack of knowledge of reporting mechanisms and a lack of institutional support and trust can lead to underreporting. Abrahams et al. (1992) find that other key obstacles to reporting include the fear of legal repercussions for false accusations and the fear of negative consequences of reporting, both to the child and to the parent-teacher relationship. Similarly, Kenny (2004) finds that most teachers did not believe that they would be supported by the school administration if they made a report of abuse. Markström and Mürger (2017) also find a hesitation among Swedish teachers to report cases to Child Protective Services due to lack of confidence in the institution's ability to support the child and family.

In a small qualitative study on clinicians in the U.S., Jones et al. (2008) find that clinicians commonly cited their familiarity with a child's family as a reason for not reporting injuries from suspected child abuse, as well as concern that about negative potential consequences to the child and family from a report. Zellman (1990) finds that the most commonly cited reasons for not reporting a suspected case of child abuse among a range of mandated professionals were, firstly, a perceived lack of sufficient evidence, and secondly, the belief that a report was unlikely to be helpful, suggesting ineffective past responses from the Child Protective Service. In this regard, lack of knowledge of appropriate services and reporting mechanisms may prevent bystanders from taking action. The 2018 Behavioral Insights study found that even though there are services available for survivors of intimate partner violence in Georgia, bystanders often

lacked clarity on what services existed and whom they serve (BIT 2018). This is in a context where awareness of services is rising (UN Women and GEOSTAT 2018). This constellation of facts may suggest that although there is broad awareness in Georgia of services for survivors of DV, the specifics may not yet be well known.

Taken together, these studies suggest that even when teachers are willing and legally obliged to report, teachers' knowledge of abuse signs, confidence in their ability to detect, and knowledge of

appropriate reporting mechanisms may pose a major constraint to doing so. Although these studies take place in a quite different context, the generally low awareness of DV and related policy in Georgia suggests that this may be an issue in this context as well. Furthermore, in addition to increasing knowledge of abuse signs and reporting mechanisms, these studies highlight the need for strong institutional support from schools and confidence in the capacity of agencies to which one would report.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The study uses a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis, including a quantitative survey of teachers; focus groups with teachers and school resource officers; and key informant interviews (KIIs) with a number of stakeholders. Within the quantitative component of the survey, the organization carried out a survey experiment that aimed to test whether different behavioral levers could be used to increase teacher reporting behavior. In this section, the methodology for each data collection and analysis tool is provided.

4.1 Survey data collection

The quantitative data collection process started with the development of a survey questionnaire. The questions were included in the questionnaire following a literature review, specifically considering the three-part behavioral model of reporting described in Almeida et al. 2016. The survey includes questions on the following subjects:

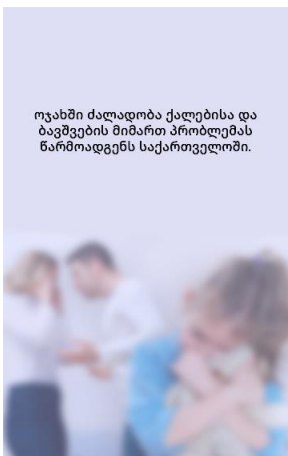
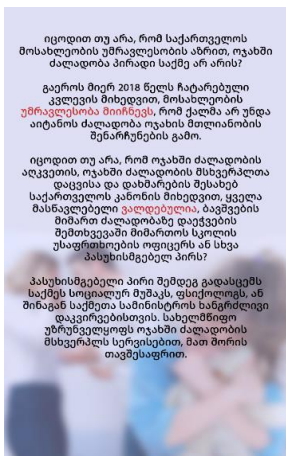
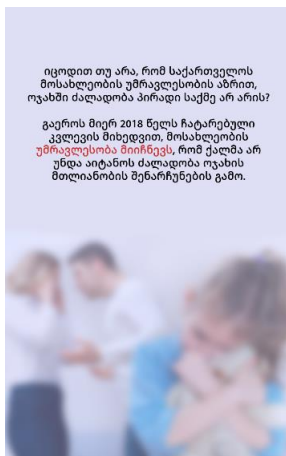
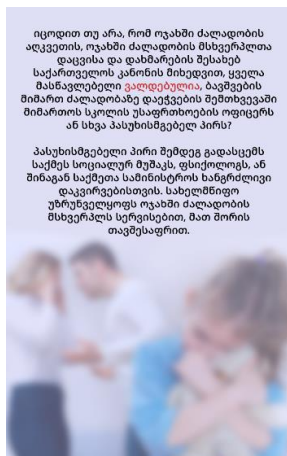
- School climate (27 items, based on Vessels et. al. 1998);
- Self-efficacy in reporting domestic violence scale (11 items based on Banyard et. al. 2005);
- Hesitancy in reporting domestic violence (7 items);
- Social norms and attitudes towards raising children (12 items based on UNICEF 2013);
- Social norms and attitudes towards violence against women (15 items based on UN Women and Geostat 2018);
- Knowledge of and experience with reporting (16 items based on UNICEF 2013);
- Attitudes towards punishing children (11 items based on Strauss et. al. 1998);
- Experience of violence (3 items);

- Attitudes towards reporting domestic violence scale (15 items from Walsh et. al. 2010);
- Social status, professional, economic, and demographic questions.

To obtain a representative sample of teachers, clustering with stratification was used for the survey of teachers. The list of public schools in the country from the Education Management Information System served as the sampling frame, with schools serving as clusters. The sample was stratified by region and settlement type. The achieved sample size for the survey was 1,494. Within sampled schools a census of teachers was attempted. The response rate was 72%. The survey was conducted in Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani languages.

The survey collected two types of data: observational and experimental. The observational data is regular survey data, and provides information on what share of people hold a certain attitude or report having had a particular experience, for example. All of the sets of questions described above (except for the attitudes towards reporting domestic violence scale) were observational.

In contrast, experimental data is used primarily to understand whether individuals' attitudes change in response to a given stimuli. It is generated through randomly assigning individuals participating in a study into control and treatment groups. The control group receives no intervention or a placebo, with the treatment groups testing alternatives to the no intervention scenario. After the administration of the treatment, these groups can then be compared to the control group, and any difference between the groups can be attributed to the treatment that a group received.



This survey experiment tested three different interventions to understand whether they would likely change teachers' reporting behavior surrounding DV. The first treatment used the concept of social norming. Social norming is providing information about how most people think or feel to establish a social norm. Studies have shown that people follow the social norms of the society they live in, and when a person is exposed to a social norm they were unaware of, they often change their behavior in response (See BIT 2012). For example, the tax payment rate increases when individuals are informed that the majority of taxpayers pay their taxes on time (Hallsworth et al. 2017).

The second treatment in the study was information about teachers' legal responsibility to report. This was done on the basis that teachers may not be aware of this responsibility. The third treatment combined both of these treatments. The different treatments tested are pictured above (in Georgian language). Translations of the images are provided below.

Treatment 1: Information provision

Did you know, all teachers are required by the Law of Georgia on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Protection and Support of Victims of Domestic Violence to report when they suspect violence against children to school resource officers or another person tasked with this duty if there is no school resource officer?

The person responsible then refers the case to either a social worker, psychologist, or the Ministry of Internal Affairs for further follow up. The state will provide services to victims of domestic violence including shelter.

Treatment 2: Social norming

Did you know, the majority of Georgians think that domestic violence is not a private matter? The vast majority also think that women should not put up with violence to keep their families together according to a United Nations study carried out in 2018.

Treatment 3: Social norming and information provision

Did you know, the majority of Georgians think that domestic violence is not a private matter? The vast majority also think that women should not put up with violence to keep their families together according to a United Nations study carried out in 2018.

In Georgia, all teachers are required by the Law of Georgia on Elimination of Domestic Violence, Protection and Support of Victims of Domestic Violence to report when they suspect violence against children to school resource officers or another person tasked with this duty.

Control

Violence against women and children in Georgia is a problem.

After teachers saw the above facto-graphs, they responded to questions about:

- Their willingness to report domestic violence (15 items);
- Their interest in receiving training on signs of domestic violence and violence against women and children (1 item);
- They were requested to provide personal information on how they could be contacted for training about violence against women and children (name, phone number, and email);
- They were asked if they would sign a pledge committing to prevent domestic violence (Yes or no);
- They were asked to sign the pledge with their first and last name (name).

4.2 Quantitative Data analysis

Prior to data analysis, the organization created a pre-analysis plan, following best practice, with data analysis conducted following the completion of the survey. Data analysis made use of descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics (frequencies and cross tabulations) are used to describe responses from certain groups. Inferential statistics are used for three purposes: First, to test whether differences between different groups are likely attributable to sampling error or not. Second, they are used to adjust estimates for different groups given other characteristics (i.e. to control for other respondent characteristics). Third, they are used to look at whether the treatments described above worked for some groups but not others.

A number of regressions are used in the data analysis below, with the regression used corresponding to the type of outcome of interest (e.g. logistic regression used for binary variables). The regressions

take into account survey design, including clustering, stratification, and weighting. Tests with p-values below 0.05 are reported as differences, while tests with p-values between 0.1 and 0.05 are reported using the words “appear” or “seem” to denote the greater level of uncertainty. This phrasing is used to avoid overburdening the text with p-values.

A number of variables are used in the regression models throughout the text below, unless otherwise noted. These include:

- Age;
- Settlement type (urban or rural);
- Sex (female or male);
- Parental status (parent or not);
- Marital status (married or not);
- Internet use (uses internet weekly or not);
- Years of experience teaching in the school where the interview was conducted;
- Subject taught (natural sciences and math; social studies and humanities; other);
- Homeroom teacher status;
- Education level taught (primary or secondary);
- School climate (simple additive index of school climate questions);
- Experience with training in domestic violence prevention;
- Experience of domestic violence (have experienced or not domestic violence).

After carrying out regression analysis, predicted probabilities or predicted scores are often presented in the text below. Predicted probabilities provide the expected chance that a group will respond in a certain way on the survey or take a given action. Analogously, predicted scores provide an expected score for different groups of people on an index. In addition, marginal effects are presented in the text. Marginal effects can be interpreted as the change in an outcome associated with moving from one category to another or one point to another.

For example, if male teachers are five percentage points less likely to report than female teachers, the marginal effect would be five percentage points.

In the data analysis, the question blocks described above are often compiled into indexes in the text below. Indexes are generally simple additive indexes, with negative statements reverse coded to ensure the consistency of direction of the index. Simple additive indexes were used as an alternative to principal components analysis or factor analysis to ease interpretation.

4.3 Limitations

The data analysis has a number of limitations. First, due to budgetary limitations, the organization carried out fieldwork in 60 schools. Although the achieved sample size is sufficient for the analysis in the present case, it also leads to a relatively large design effect. This is accounted for in the regression analysis as described above. Second, this study attempts to identify potential causal mechanisms using observational data, except when using experimental data. Hence, the non-experimental components of the study are fundamentally correlational. Therefore, appropriate caution should be used when interpreting observational findings of the study as relates cause and effect. Finally, the study focuses on a particularly sensitive topic. As such, responses are subject to social desirability response bias which may result in under-reporting in a number of cases. This study attempted to address this bias by informing teachers that their responses would not be connected to any personal data and through using the self-administered computer assisted interviewing method.

4.4 Qualitative data collection and analysis

The qualitative data collection consisted of a total of ten focus groups and ten key informant interviews. The main aim of the focus groups was to obtain a detailed understanding of the knowledge, views, attitudes, perceptions, experiences, and beliefs of teachers and school resource officers that may affect their behavior in relation to reporting DV cases. In contrast, the main goal of the key informant interviews was to obtain information about the policy environment in Georgia surrounding DV reporting.

The focus group guides were designed taking into account the four component model of ethical decision making (Rest 1994) and aimed to identify specific factors influencing teacher sensitivity, judgment, motivation, and action as relates reporting DV. In this model, the first component, sensitivity, refers to one's ability to recognize a situation that contains a moral issue and realize that one's actions have the potential to harm or benefit other people. The second component, judgment, implies formulating and evaluating possible solutions from the moral/ethical perspective to a moral issue that has a moral justification. The third component, motivation, refers to committing to choose the moral decision representing a moral value over another solution representing a different value. For example, teachers may recognize two solutions to a dilemma – to report or not to report DV. One solution satisfies a desire for comfort through avoiding any trouble that may arise from reporting. The other responds to personal morality. In this situation, the moral motivation is the teacher's intention to choose the value of morality over the value of security. Finally, moral courage (moral action), refers to an individual's behavior and involves courage, determination, and the ability to follow the moral decision.

Considering these four main components of ethical decision-making behavior as well as some factors highlighted in the Almeida et al. (2016) study, the focus groups aimed to provide a detailed understanding of teachers' behavior (and its components) when it comes to reporting DV in the school setting. Consequently, the focus groups results are used to help in identifying some of the factors that affect teachers' ability to recognize, judge, and address DV cases in an ethical way.

The focus groups were conducted in parallel to the survey. The target populations for the focus groups included school resource officers, teachers, and other individuals who are responsible for reporting DV within the schools that do not have school resource officers. Focus groups were conducted in sex segregated groups.

The information received through key informant interviews was used to understand policy mechanisms currently in place, and major challenges and opportunities for improving reporting practice of DV cases by teachers in the view of subject experts.

Key informant interviews were conducted with the major service providers and stakeholders including: State Psychological Service providers; Ministry of Interior Officials; Social Services Agency Officials; the head of the School Resource Officer program; Social Workers; and NGO representatives. The table below summarizes the qualitative data collection activities carried out within the project.

After carrying out focus groups and key informant interviews, the data were transcribed and analyzed using a theory-driven coding system.

FIGURE 1:

Qualitative data collection

Focus group no.	Participants	Settlement type/ Region	No. of participants	Sex of participants
1	Teachers	Capital/Tbilisi	7	Female
2	Teachers	Capital/Tbilisi	9	Male
3	Teachers	Urban/Kutaisi	8	Male
4	Teachers	Urban/Telavi	7	Female
5	Teachers	Rural/Imereti	8	Female
6	Teachers	Rural/Kakheti	6	Male
7	Resource officers	Urban/Kutaisi	8	Mixed
8	Resource officers	Capital/Tbilisi	8	Mixed
9	Teachers acting as resource officers	Rural/Kakheti	8	Mixed

<i>KII no.</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Settlement type/ Region</i>	<i>No. of participants</i>	<i>Sex of participants</i>
1	MIA	Tbilisi	1	Female
2	MoIDPOTLHSA	Tbilisi	1	Female
3	MoESCS	Tbilisi	1	Female
4	Social Worker (MoIDPOTLHSA)	Tbilisi	2	Female
5	UNICEF	Tbilisi	1	Female
6	Public Defender's Office	Tbilisi	1	Female
7	NGO Partnership for Human Rights	Tbilisi	1	Female
8	Teacher with extensive reporting experience	Telavi	1	Female
9	Office of resource officers of educational institutions	Tbilisi	2	Female
10	Public Health Foundation of Georgia	Tbilisi	1	Female

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

This section of the report provides the findings of the study. It starts with a description of reporting behavior using official statistics. It then describes teacher attitudes towards and actual reporting behavior, with a focus on barriers to reporting. Description of social norms and attitudes towards violence against women and children follow, with data on how these are related to reporting behavior and attitudes. The subsequent sub-section provides information about teacher awareness of DV, its signs, related policy and interrelations with reporting behavior and attitudes. The section concludes by describing the results of the experiment described above.

5.1 Registered teacher reports

MAIN FINDINGS

- Violence reporting among teachers is on the rise.
- Teachers in rural areas are twice as likely to be aware of a case of DV in their community as teachers in urban areas, but less likely to report cases of DV.
- There are a significant number of schools that have never reported a case of DV.

In 2019, the Office of Resource Officers of Educational Institutions (OROEI) recorded 400 reports of violence against children in Georgian schools to the Social Services Agency. Although not clearly defined as DV in all cases, given the involvement of social workers, it is reasonable to believe that the data consists in no small part of DV reports.

The data suggest that there has been a relatively sharp increase in reporting over the years, with 151 reports recorded in 2015 and steady increases since. Given that 2019 is not yet finished, the number of reports this year is likely to be much higher than in 2018 which it has already matched.

A number of trends are present in different regions. The data shows that on a per teacher basis reporting is significantly more common in Tbilisi. Otherwise, the data show relatively minor variation in terms of per-teacher reporting. Importantly, even after adjusting for teacher population size, the reporting levels are significantly lower outside Tbilisi.

FIGURE 2: Trends in reporting violence against children in schools, reports per capita by source

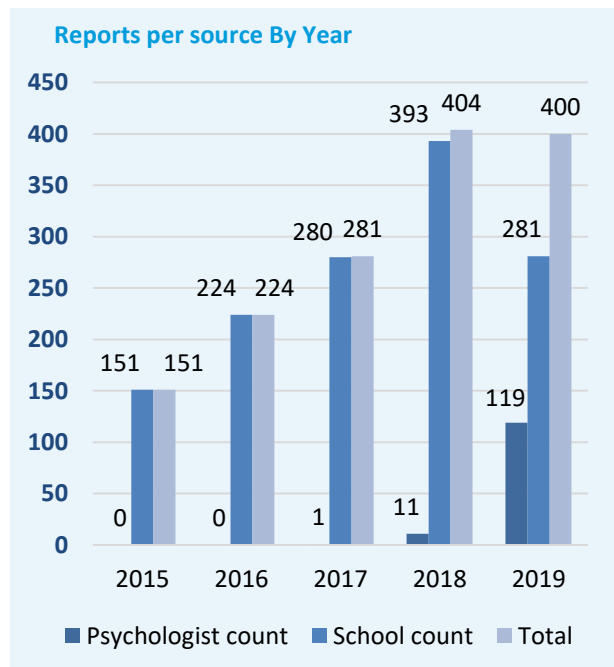
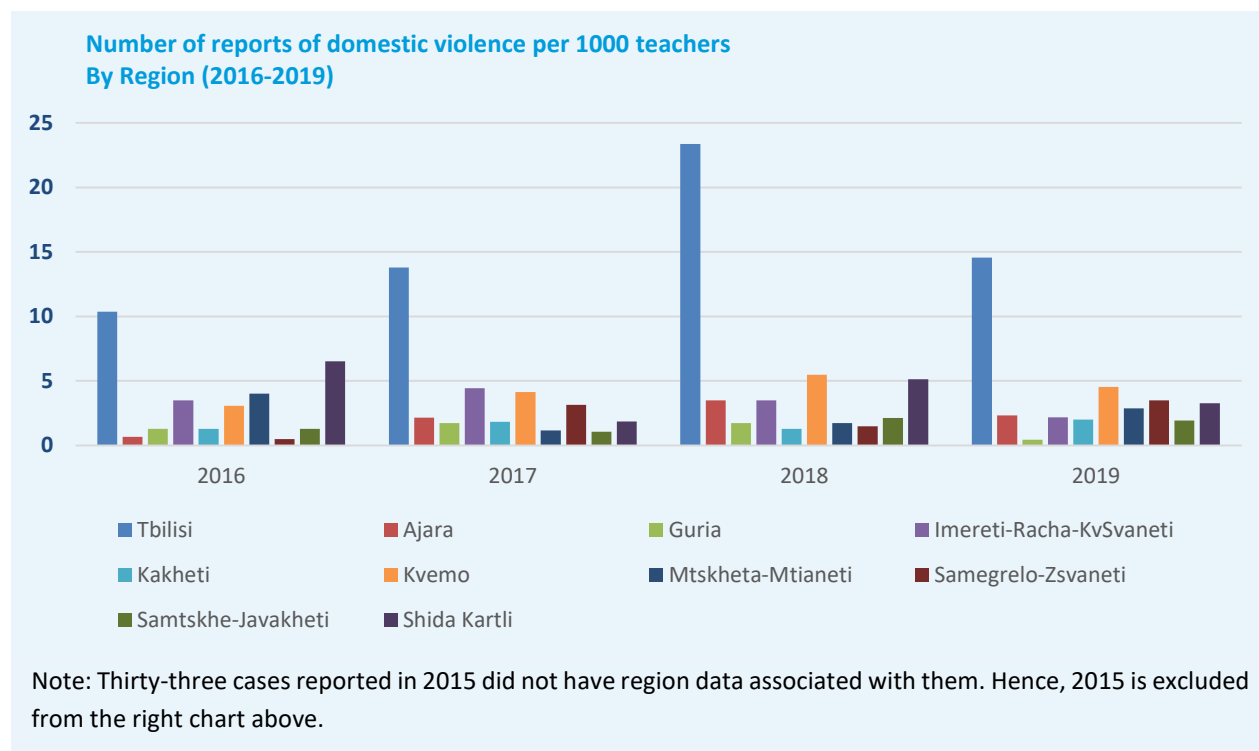


FIGURE 3:
Trends in reporting violence against children in schools, reports per capita by region



This likely suggests under-reporting outside Tbilisi given that there is no specific reason to believe that violence against women and children is less common outside the capital. Indeed, if anything the survey data collected in this project suggest that teachers in rural areas are twice as likely to be aware of a case of DV in their community (19% of teachers) as teachers in urban areas (10% of teachers).

The SSA provided the organization with 546 identifiable records of reports associated with schools. Similarly, to the data OROEI provided, reporting appears to be increasing, with 88 reports in 2015, 55 in 2016, 143 in 2017, and 196 in 2018. Among these, 19% were not associated with a specific school, but rather the source of the report was specified only as “School”. Taken together, the data suggest that there are a significant number of schools that have never reported a case of DV, even under the most favorable assumptions.

Although the above data is informative, and OROEI should be commended for its data collection and management practices, the above does not provide a full picture of the situation around reporting. The MIA is also part of the reporting infrastructure in Georgia and does not keep data that can be broken down by school in a readily accessible format. In a less but still problematic manner, the SSA does not keep precise records on reports. Hence, the above picture is incomplete, and should be interpreted with these issues in mind. Importantly, whether a case of violence is specifically DV is also not recorded within the OROEI data generally.

5.2 Teacher’s self-reported reporting behavior

MAIN FINDINGS

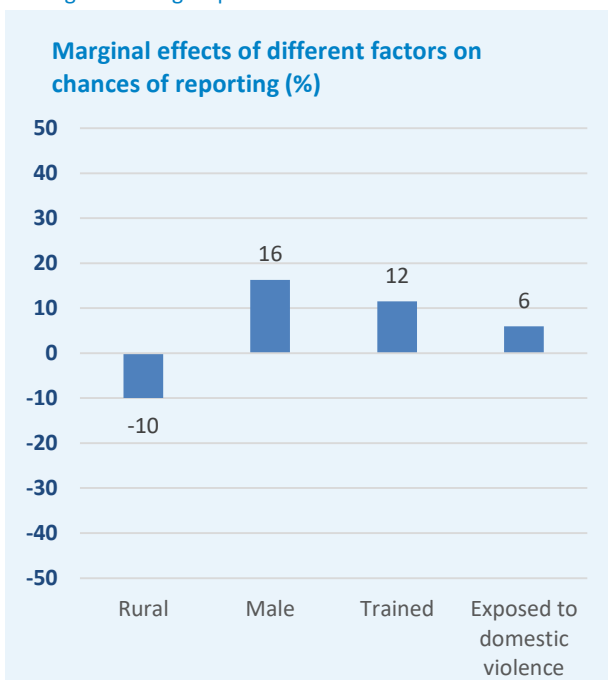
- About one in ten teachers (9%) say they have ever reported DV.
- 87% of teachers reported that they would report a case of DV against a child if they suspected violence.
- 74% of teachers said they would report if they suspected violence against a neighbor.
- About one in nine (12%) report there was a time when they did not report a case of DV, suspected or actually witnessed, to authorities.
- School climate is an important predictor of a teacher’s willingness to report DV.
- Older teachers report they are more willing to report DV.
- Married teachers are less likely to be willing to report DV.
- Survivors of DV are less likely to report that they have avoided reporting DV, but also less willing to report DV.

As the data in the previous section suggests, reporting DV is relatively rare. The survey data collected within the project re-affirm this, with 9% of teachers saying they have reported a case of DV, suspected or actually witnessed, to any authority, ever. Men, individuals that have received training related to DV, and people in urban areas are more likely to have reported. Teachers who are survivors of DV also appear to be slightly more likely to have reported. This runs in contrast to qualitative data that suggests that those who are or were exposed to DV are less likely to report. The difference between qualitative and quantitative data may be explained by the type of exposure to DV. For example, a person who was exposed to DV as a child, but no

longer is may be more inclined to report. Although many explanations are possible, further research is needed to untangle the causal paths through which being a survivor of DV relates to reporting DV.

FIGURE 4:

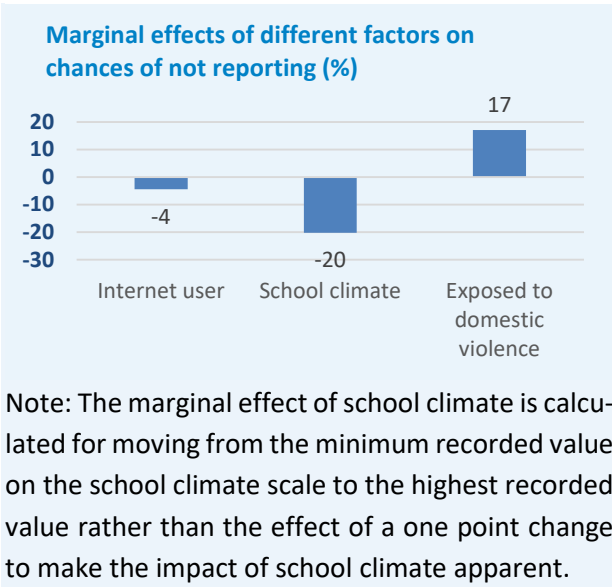
Probability of reporting and not reporting domestic violence among different groups



Note: The chart above presents the marginal effects of statistically significant variables in the model. This is the difference in the probability of reporting versus a comparison category. For example, in the above chart, rural teachers are 10 percentage points less likely to report DV all else equal compared to urban teachers. Similarly, men are 16 percentage points more likely to have reported compared to women, all else equal.

About one in nine (12%) report there was a time when they did **not** report a case of DV, suspected or actually witnessed, to authorities. When it comes to **not reporting**, those who have not experienced DV, internet users, and teachers in schools with perceived better climates say they have avoided reporting less often than survivors of DV, irregular internet users, and teachers in schools with poor climates.

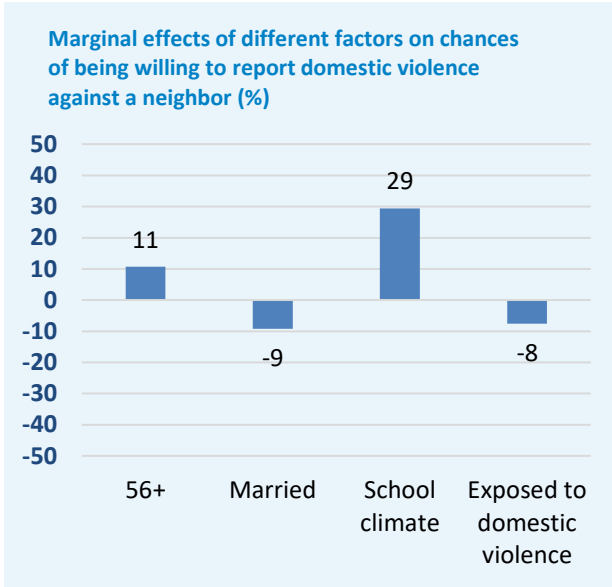
FIGURE 5:
Marginal effects of different factors on chances of not reporting



Note: The marginal effect of school climate is calculated for moving from the minimum recorded value on the school climate scale to the highest recorded value rather than the effect of a one point change to make the impact of school climate apparent.

Despite the relatively low rate of reporting, teachers' intentions to report are relatively high. Even though 9% reported that they had reported DV, 87% reported that they would report a case of DV against a child if they suspected violence. Willingness to report DV against a child was significantly lower among teachers in rural areas and among math and science teachers. Internet users and teachers in schools with better climates are more likely to be willing to report. Teachers that are married appear to be slightly less likely to be willing to report violence against a child, while those that

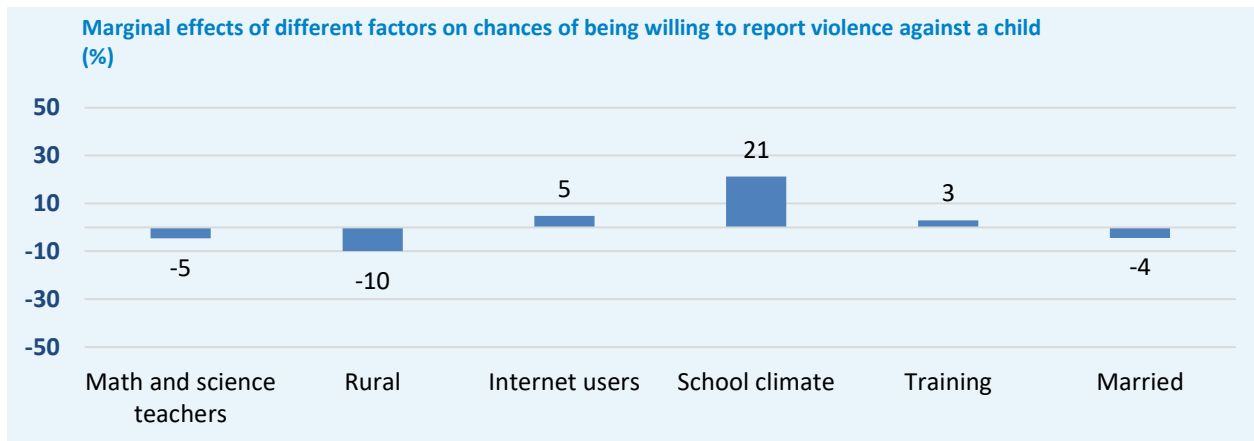
FIGURE 6:
Willingness to report domestic violence among different groups



have received training appear to be slightly more likely to be willing to report.

A smaller but still large share of teachers (74%) said they would report if they suspected violence against a neighbor. Married people and survivors of DV are significantly less likely to say they would report it if they suspected DV against a neighbor. Teachers in schools with better climates are significantly more likely to say they would report violence against a neighbor. Older people (56+) also appear to be more willing to report.

FIGURE 7:
Willingness to report violence against a child by different factors



5.3 Barriers to and self-efficacy in reporting domestic violence

MAIN FINDINGS

- A plurality of teachers (~40%) consider violence in response to reporting, uncertainty over whether abuse is regular, and uncertainty about institutional effectiveness as barriers to reporting.
- Older teachers (56+) perceive more barriers in reporting than younger teachers.
- Teachers place responsibility for reporting with the adult victim of violence.
- Teachers report facing a dilemma. On the one hand, they feel the moral obligation to report, and on the other hand, they fear the consequences of reporting for the victims and themselves.
- Women's economic dependence on the abuser and hence adverse consequences resulting from reporting is perceived as a barrier to reporting.
- The lack of trust between teachers (and school principals) and SROs prevents reporting.
- The lack of awareness of (known) legal protections discourages teachers from reporting.
- Reporting is perceived as time-consuming and inconvenient bureaucratic processes which rarely results in positive outcomes for victims.
- Teachers in schools with better climates reported higher levels of self-efficacy.
- Teacher self-efficacy in reporting is a significant predictor of whether a teacher has reported DV or not, with a 400% increase in a teacher's likelihood of reporting DV.
- A large share of teachers reported colleagues would be concerned with getting in trouble for making the wrong decision about how to report and making a mistake in reporting when nothing was wrong.

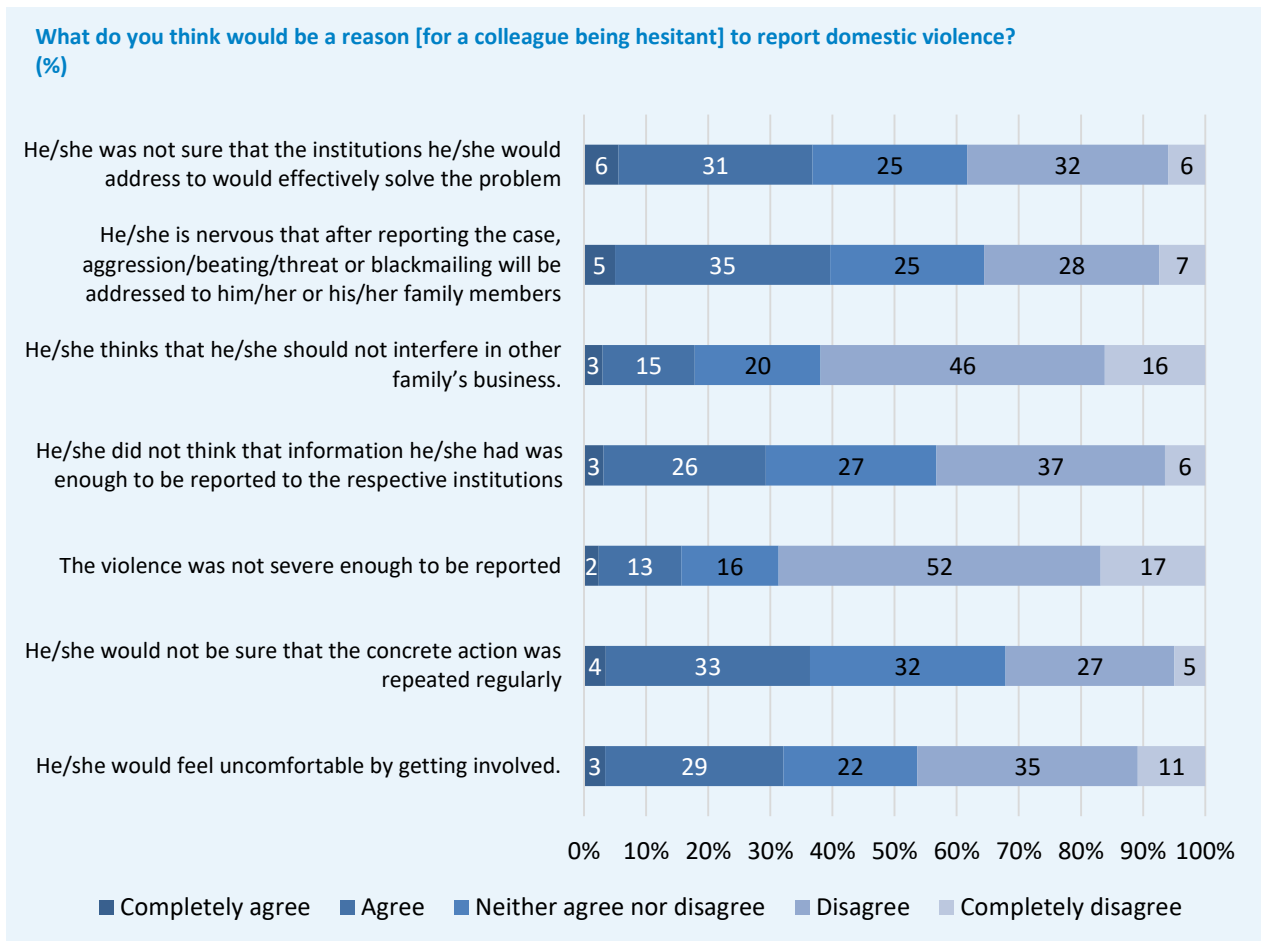
Qualitative data indicates that teachers, who have the obligation to report violence, lack self-efficacy in doing so and need support.

Teachers were asked to imagine a colleague had witnessed or was informed about DV and to think about what issues might lead a colleague not to report. The most frequently mentioned issues were the threat of violence in response to reporting (40% agree), uncertainty of whether the abuse was regular (37% agree), and uncertainty about institutional effectiveness in responding to the issue (37% agree). The least important issues were a lack of severity of the violence (15%) and a desire not to interfere in other people's business (18% agree). The above questions were indexed to understand which groups perceived greater and fewer barriers to intervention. The average score on the index was 12 out of 28. The higher an individual's score on the index, the more barriers to reporting they perceive. Analysis of the index suggests that different groups perceive there to be barriers to varying extents. Older people perceive more barriers than younger people. Regular internet users perceive fewer barriers. Humanities teachers perceive significantly more barriers than other subject matter teachers. Individuals with training related to DV appear to perceive fewer barriers on average, while survivors of DV appear to perceive more barriers.

The qualitative data generally corresponds with the quantitative data. One distinctive point from the qualitative data was that teachers reported that if the child is not the direct victim, the woman abused is the most important actor in the reporting process. As one focus group participant stated, "If [violence] is not directed at a child, victims of violence should decide what to do. They are adults" (Teacher, Female, Kutaisi).

Placing responsibility for reporting with the victim of violence did not stem from a sense of individual responsibility, at least in full. Teachers noted that

FIGURE 8:
Reported barriers to intervention



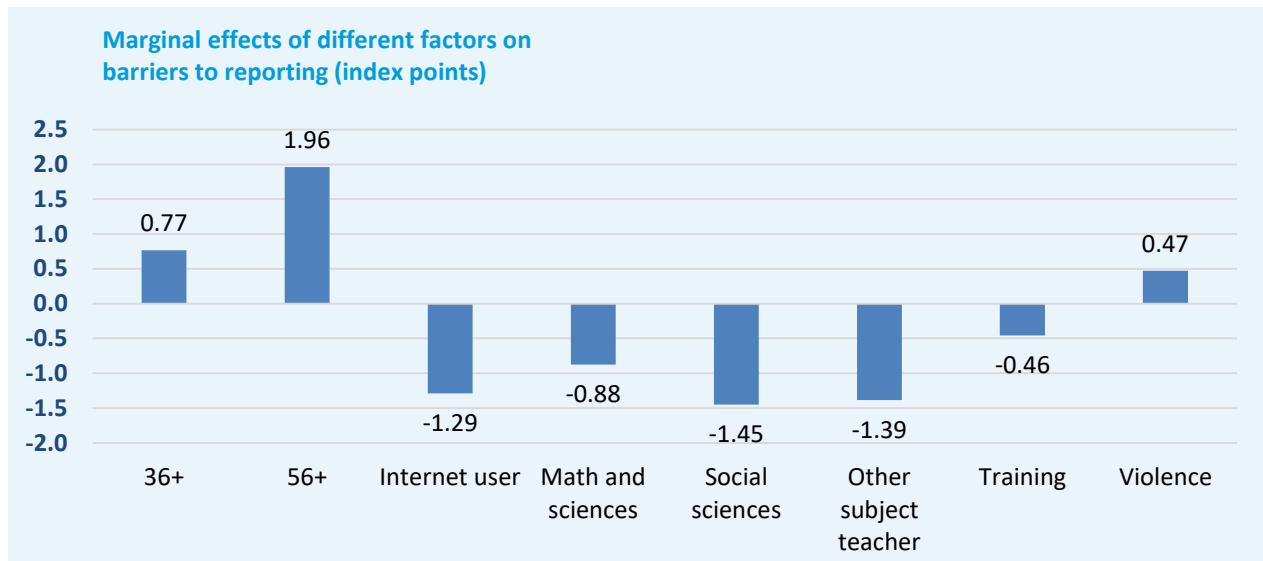
the victim may not tell the police about what is happening if they come to their home and if they do not want the report to happen. Moreover, there is a perception that victims will not make an official statement or will change their official statement after some time has passed.

As one participant stated, “For reporting violence against women you need to have her permission at least and you should expect that she will also confirm that violence. [Without this] reporting does not have any sense” (Teacher, Female, Telavi). This is a well-known problem among legal professionals in Georgia (CRRG Georgia 2019).

The importance of discussing whether to speak with the abused before reporting also stemmed from a fear of adverse consequences for the victim as a result of reporting.

Teachers report facing a dilemma. On the one hand, they feel the moral obligation to report, and on the other hand, they fear the consequences of reporting for the victims and themselves, because they do not believe that responsible institutions (and especially the police) will act in a proper way and will improve the situation for the victim.

FIGURE 9:
Perceived barriers to reporting among different groups



As a teacher stated:

I think about this frequently – which one is better to report or not to report. Considering the last case in Kachreti, reporting sometimes results in such a catastrophic consequence...¹² Those who should solve a problem, on the contrary make it worse... And I was thinking what is better, to speed up such a catastrophe or stay indifferent?

(Teacher, Female, Telavi).

As another teacher stated:

“We think that if we call police the problem will be solved, but as very often happens in our reality, it works the other way around: the problem may get worse... It is better to include social workers, which are not perceived as dangerous by parents”

(Teacher, Male, Tbilisi).

As another participant noted, “We all watch TV and know how many murdered women we have after restrictive orders” (SRO, Male, Tbilisi).

Women’s economic dependence on the abuser and hence adverse consequences resulting from reporting were cited as a particular problem. As one SRO noted, “Everything goes to financial problems in the end. When a wife is financially dependent on her husband she has nowhere to go” (SRO, Female, Kutaisi). When considering reporting, teachers face this dilemma very directly and often believe that the policy mechanisms that punish men in turn hurt the family of the abuser. As a respondent stated, “Teachers do not see protective mechanisms as effective ones. Teachers know best that if the police arrest an abuser, the next day his kid will come to the school hungry. The chain is broken here” (KII).

The adverse consequences of reporting in turn leads teachers towards not reporting. Instead, they

¹² For background, see <https://reginfo.ge/people/item/13554-kachretis-poliziis-tanamshromlebs-moqalaqis-zemashi-adanashauleben>

often attempt to solve the problem through approaching the abuser. As one teacher said, “If we have proven facts, we meet and talk to the parent and say that we have this information and it does not make any sense to hide it from us. The child is a child and you should not violate him/her. We can help you. What kind of support do you need?” (Acting School Reporting Officer, Male, Kakheti).

The lack of perceived institutional effectiveness in responding to reports leads to adverse consequences for the victim. In turn, this contributes to low levels of trust in and between actors responsible for the reporting process, with teachers not trusting school resource officers and school resource officers not trusting police or teachers, principals pressuring teachers not to report and punishing them for doing so, and reporting officers not trusting principals in turn. Similarly, social workers are often distrusted and perceived as ineffectual.

Teachers are often hesitant to approach individuals in schools responsible for reporting DV, because they are often also the school resource officer. As a teacher stated, “I have often heard from teachers that [school resource officers] are here to control us” (KII). SROs think that the school principal is the person primarily responsible for the relationship between resource officers and teachers. The SROs report that when the principals support collaboration, it happens. Without it, it does not. The SROs think that fear of damaging the school’s reputation and upsetting parents that are abusers are the primary sources of principals’ fears about reporting. An SRO talked about cases in which school management punished a teacher for cooperating with an SRO. The SRO stated, “I have heard about a case that those teachers who reported many times were punished by the school management for contacting us and bringing their internal problems out. This was negatively evaluated by the school principal” (SRO, Female, Kutaisi).

At the same time, the school resource officers report a lack of trust in teachers. SROs find it hard to recognize signs of psychological violence in children and require information from teachers. However, they say teachers often hide information from SROs. This is mostly due to the school environment, which condemns teachers’ cooperation with SROs as described above. As an SRO stated, “They hide the truth because they do not want what follows. Often the schools hide it [DV] from us” (SRO, Male, Kutaisi). As another stated, teachers only address them in cases when “facts happen and there are signs that they cannot hide” (SRO, Female, Kutaisi). Aside from the school environment, one explanation for some teachers hiding the violence signs they see on their students lies in their own experience. An SRO stated, “[They ask us] did not your parent beat you when you were a child? What is the big deal with that? Have you not been a child?” (SRO, Female, Kutaisi).

The police’s responses to reports also contribute to a lack of trust. As an SRO stated, “When we call police they say, ‘What happened? Who has not quarreled?’ We even sometimes have to beg them to come to our school” (SRO, Female, Kutaisi). And another stated, “Police require [something that is showy to show up]. They run where there is blood, drugs, or weapons. When they will deal with [domestic violence] in a similar way everything will be fine” (SRO, male, Tbilisi). An SRO reported that sometimes police even try to simplify the situation by advising victims to change their complaints, stating “They [police] advised her [a child who was beaten by her father] not to make the complaint harsh and if she would change her complaint and write it in a ‘more beautiful’ way her daddy would go home in the evening” (SRO, Female, Tbilisi).

Social worker effectiveness is also not evaluated in a positive way. A key informant stated, “I have heard very often from teachers: why should I report? I have reported and SSA did nothing” (KII). Teachers talked about cases when engaging a social

worker did not result in any improvement for kids and for years the problem persisted:

I called a social worker and said that “We have a problem and what should we do? I know officially that the school should let you know about this.” This woman (the social worker) said “No. We can’t work with that family, because the only solution is taking the children from them and the parents are against it.”

(Teacher, Female, Tbilisi).

After this type of experience, teachers become hesitant to even call a social worker, since they see no result from their efforts. The ineffectiveness of social workers can be explained partially by their low numbers and multiple functions. One respondent stated, “There is a huge lack of social workers, and thus talking about quality is hard when they are so limited in human resources” (KII).

Generally, among individuals that reported DV, none remember a story with a positive outcome for either the victim or the person reporting. In turn, people are not only concerned with the lack of institutional effectiveness as relates the safety of the victim, but also their and their family’s well-being. As one focus group participant stated:

There is a very bad mentality and [if you report] they call you a backstabber, because you collaborate with police [...] I want to protect myself since the whole violence will be redirected to me, and they will tell my children that your father called the police. [You] also think that they [the husband and wife] may reconcile tomorrow or the day after tomorrow and everybody will say that you did that [called the police].”

(Teacher, Male, Kakheti).

Underlying the above concern is the reported lack of measures to ensure confidentiality of individuals that report. As an SRO stated:

Guaranteed confidentiality is not in place here. I can call to respective agencies about a very important fact, give them information, but they get my phone number, and they want to know who I am. If I give you information that requires a quick reaction and you go there and see that, why should you explore who called?

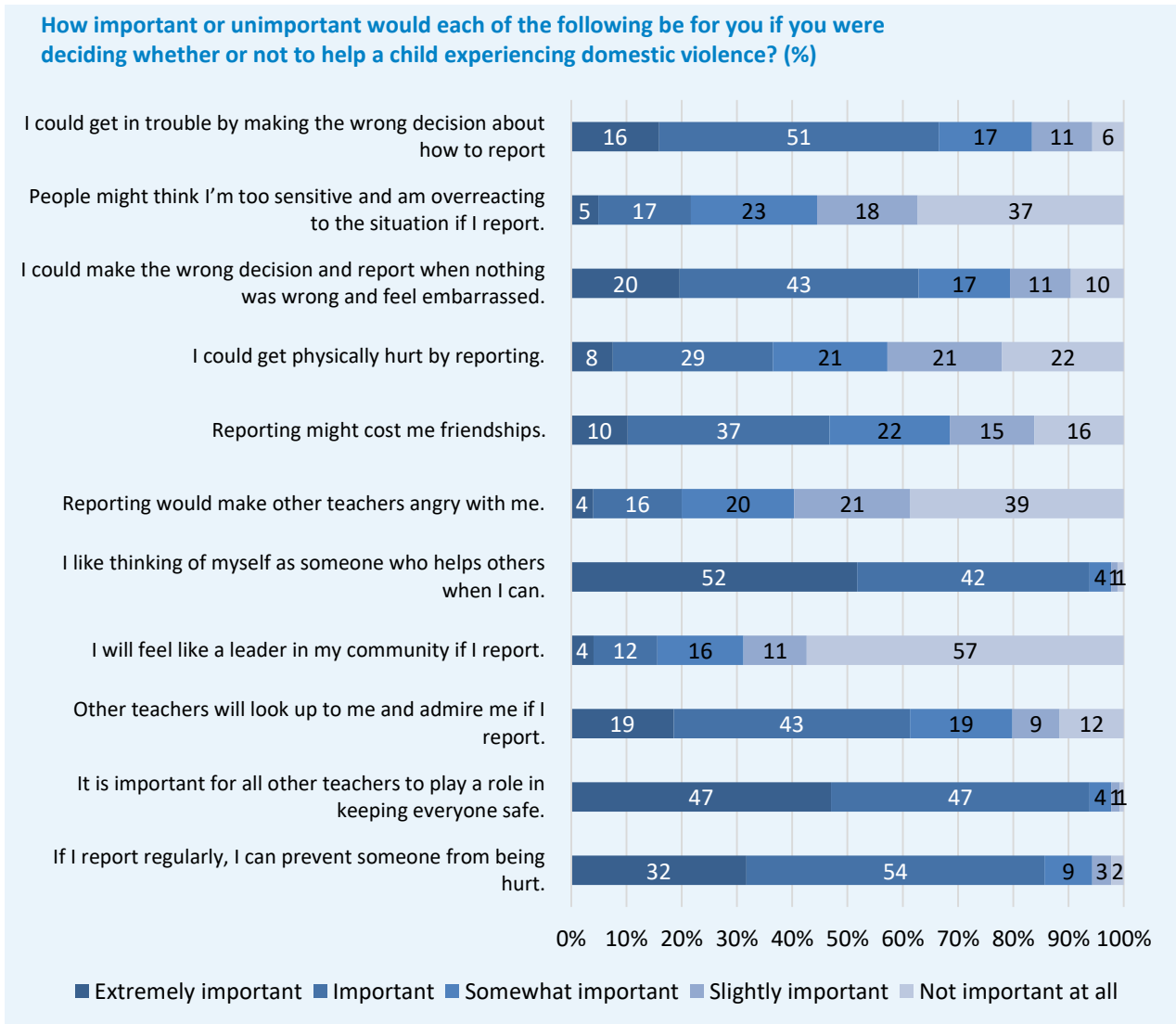
(Teacher acting as SRO, Male, Kakheti).

The lack of awareness of legal protections further discourages teachers from reporting. This is particularly problematic with psychological abuse. As one teacher stated, “You cannot prove it and s/he may appeal against you for the incorrect accusation, and you may have to pay a fine for that” (Teacher, Female, Telavi). Fear of not being able to prove their accusation plays a role in teachers avoiding signing any document, including the referral form (the main thing they need to do when reporting) or a statement to the police. As an SRO stated, “We try to get detailed information, but they [teachers] do not want to be sources of information, because they do not want to indicate their names in any document” (SRO, Female, Tbilisi).

Further discouraging reporting are the time-consuming and inconvenient bureaucratic processes surrounding making a report. As an SRO stated about teachers, “They avoid responsibility. They do not want to go and sit through a long procedure. Everything is chaotic. If you want simply to redirect someone, you need to go and write explanations and wait there until 10 PM” (SRO, Female, Kutaisi).

As a key informant stated, “If I report I have to go to the police station several times, skip my work, and this absence from my work is not considered excusable” (KII).

FIGURE 10:
Self-efficacy in reporting



In the above context, teachers suggested that the options available to them to intervene were a) emotionally and physically supporting the victim; and b) shaming the abuser (in the case of men). This opinion was present in all teacher focus groups. At the same time, in many cases, teachers place responsibility for dealing with DV fully on themselves, while lacking the competences and resources needed for a long-term solution to the problem.

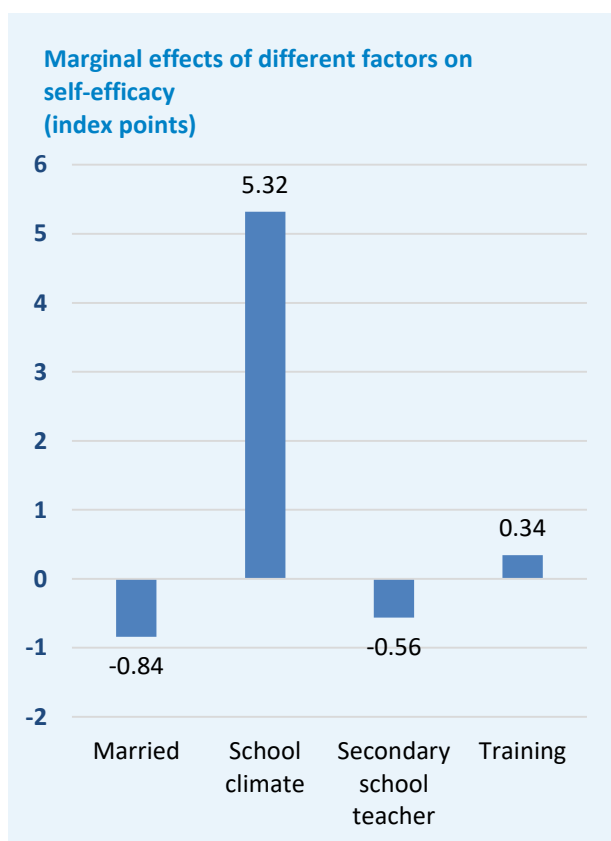
The survey's self-efficacy scale contained questions about barriers to reporting. On the questions re-

lated to barriers, the largest share of teachers reported colleagues would be concerned with getting in trouble for making the wrong decision about how to report and making a mistake in reporting when nothing was wrong, re-affirming the above findings. Relatively few teachers thought that reporting would make other teachers angry with them or that people might think they are too sensitive and overreacting to the situation. When it comes to the questions about self-efficacy that deal with incentives to report, teachers reported that all items

would be important, except for feeling like a leader in the community.

To understand efficacy levels, the above questions were indexed. The average score on the index was 24 out of 44. People in schools with better climates reported higher levels of self-efficacy. Married people reported lower levels of self-efficacy on average. Secondary school teachers appear to have lower levels of efficacy, and people who have undergone training appear to have higher levels of self-efficacy in reporting.

FIGURE 12:
Marginal effects of different factors on self-efficacy

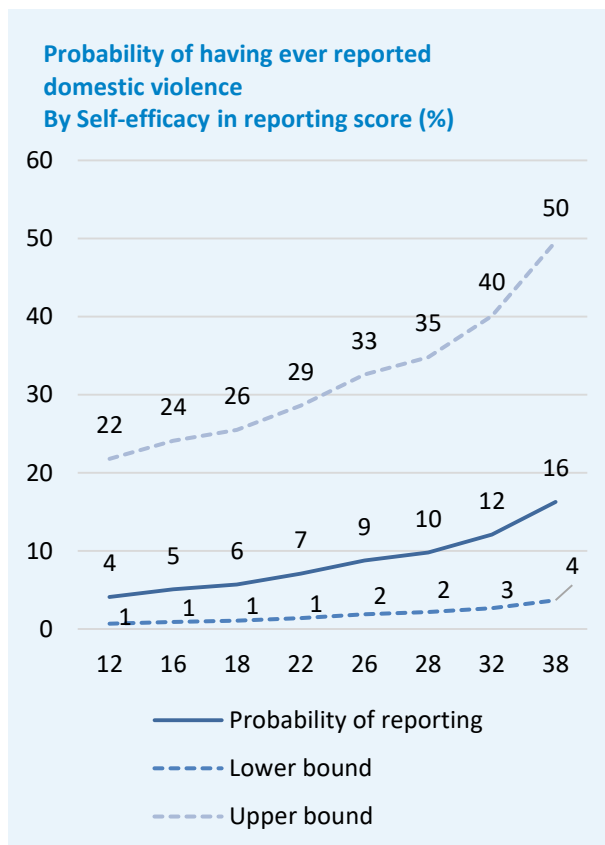


The data also suggest that the higher a teachers' self-efficacy in reporting, the higher their chance of ever having made a report. Teachers with the lowest recorded score on the scale have a 4% chance of having ever reported, compared to teachers with the highest recorded score who have a 16% chance

of ever having reported. This noted, there is no significant relationship between willingness to report

FIGURE 11:
Probability of having ever reported domestic violence By Self-efficacy

violence against a child and the self-efficacy scale.



The lack of self-efficacy among teachers in deciding to report was highlighted in FG discussions and KIIs. With VAC, direct evidence versus suspicion is an important factor in making the decision to report for teachers. School professionals think that one must be sure about the violence before reporting. Most importantly, even when they know the facts, they talk to abusive parents first, thinking that they need confirmation and permission from adult family members of a victimized child before reporting. As one stated, "You may frequently suspect something (violence) or a child tells you about that but the parent might not be honest with us and does not allow us to help her. Reporting such cases based only on

your suspicion is like a crime” (Teacher, Female, Tbilisi). This indicates that teachers, who have the obligation to report violence, lack self-efficacy in doing so and need support.

As one key informant stated, “It seems like they need someone who will discuss a few cases with them, will show them how to [report] and will assure them that they are doing it right and whoever may come and ask, they can always prove that they did exactly what they were obliged to do according to the law” (KII).

The above data suggest that the adverse consequences of reporting discourage it. The lack of perceived institutional effectiveness, lack of confidentiality, women’s economic dependence on men, and bureaucracy associated with reporting all lead to adverse consequences for both victims and those reporting DV. Institutional ineffectiveness and witnessing it in response to reports leads to a circle of distrust between the actors along the reporting line, discouraging teachers from reporting again if they have already, and those who have yet to report from ever doing so.

These issues aside, a positive school climate, something the education literature often ties to principal performance, is generally positively associated with reporting related variables described above. Internet users often report more pro-reporting attitudes than those who use it irregularly or not at all. This suggests that online communications efforts could reach a population that is already inclined towards reporting. Individuals with training related to DV generally have more pro-reporting attitudes and behaviors. This finding is important as it suggests that training could be effective at increasing reporting behavior. However, individuals that have participated in training related to this issue could also have been more likely to report DV prior to receiving training. Hence, this finding should be treated with some caution, and efforts to expand training

efforts should be preceded by rigorously evaluated piloting of the training efforts. Teacher self-efficacy in reporting is a significant predictor of whether a teacher has reported DV or not, with a 400% increase in a teacher’s likelihood of reporting DV when they move from the lowest to highest level of recorded scores on this scale. This in turn suggests that efforts should aim to increase teacher self-efficacy in reporting.

5.4 Social norms and attitudes towards women and their interrelations with reporting

MAIN FINDINGS

- There is a gap between teachers reported attitudes towards DV and their perceptions of what others think.
- A majority of teachers (60%) reported that “a woman’s most important role is to take care of the home”.
- A majority of teachers (71%) disagree with the statement that “Violence between husband and wife is a private matter and others should not intervene”.
- The vast majority of teachers (90%) think that women should not tolerate violence to keep their families together.
- Women, regular internet users and young teachers in schools with better climates report less adverse attitudes related to women’s role in family.
- The less adverse are teachers’ attitudes when it comes to women’s role in family, the more willing they are to report it.

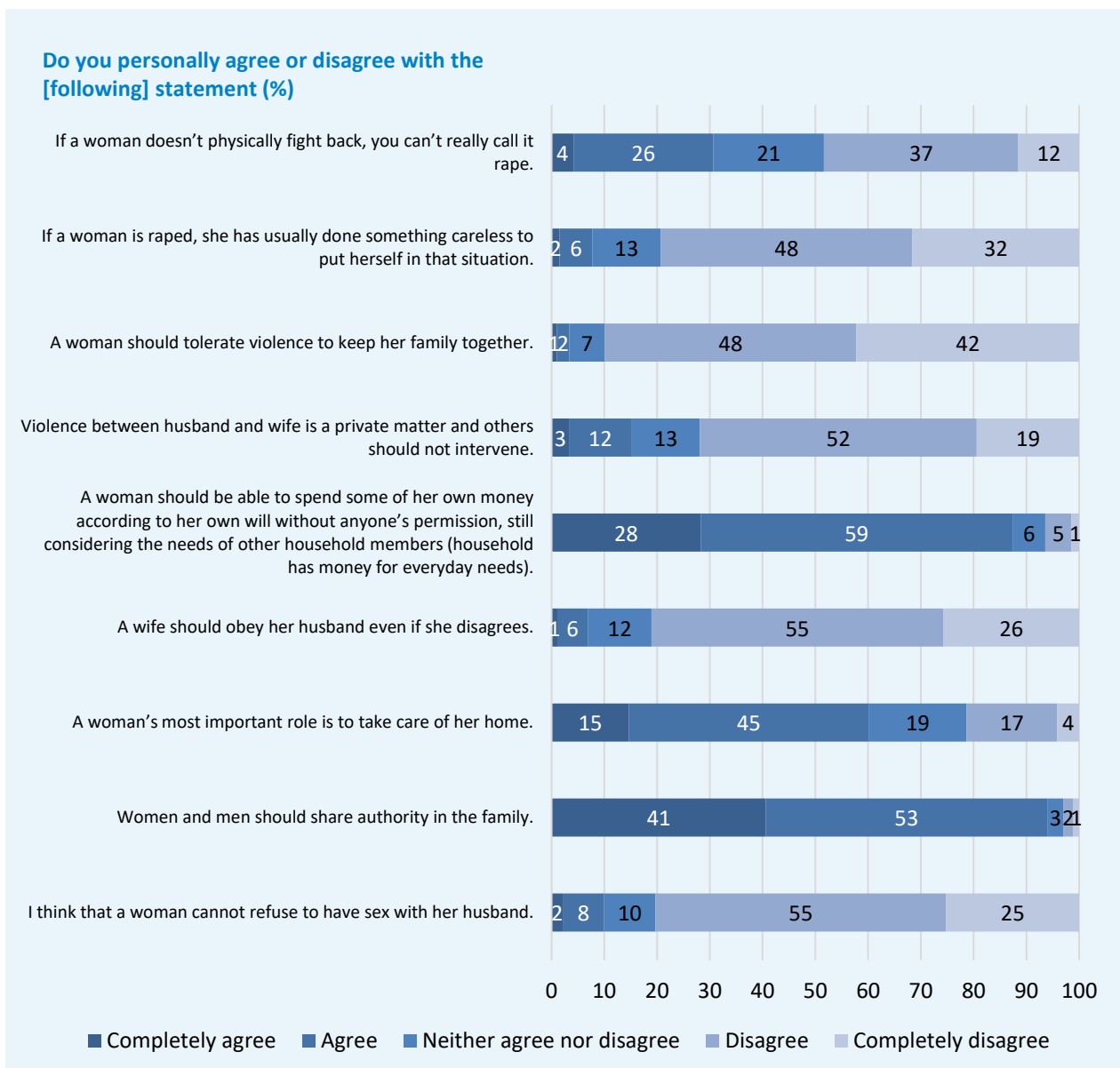
Taking into account social norms and attitudes about violence against women and children is critical to a successful reporting policy. If teachers think that various forms of child abuse are acceptable, then they are unlikely to report the abuse. This section provides data on teacher attitudes and norms

surrounding DV and looks at whether these are associated with reporting attitudes and behavior as discussed in the previous section. Further, it discusses the relationship of social norms and attitudes with the questions used as outcome variables in the experiment, controlling for the experimental treatments. When it comes to patriarchal and adverse attitudes towards women, most teachers report attitudes that are supportive of equality and do not condone violence against women. Still, there

is a sizable share of the teacher population with adverse attitudes. For example, one in three teachers agree with the statement “If a woman doesn’t physically fight back, you can’t really call it rape.” A majority of teachers (60%) also reported that “a woman’s most important role is to take care of the home.”

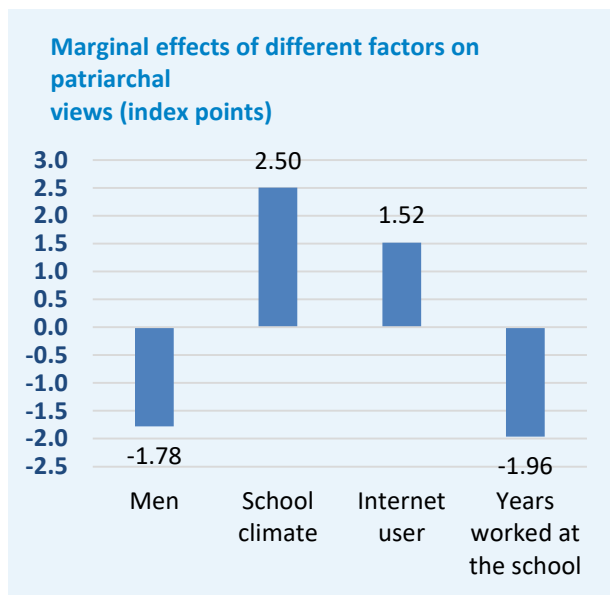
The above questions were indexed to understand which groups have more or less adverse views. On a 36 point scale, the average score on the index was

FIGURE 13:
Social norms around sexual violence and women's roles in the family



25, with low scores corresponding to adverse attitudes and high scores corresponding to non-adverse attitudes. Women and regular internet users had higher scores on this index, while the more years a teacher had worked in a school, the lower was their score. Teachers in schools with better climates also reported higher scores on the index.

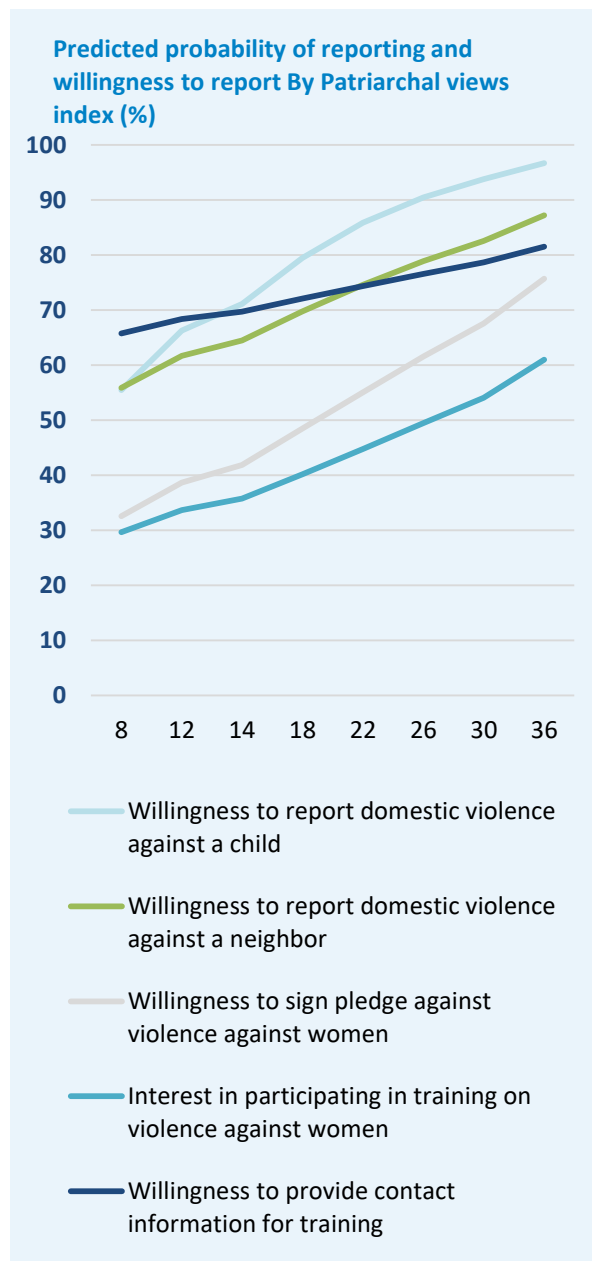
FIGURE 14:
Marginal effects of different factors on attitudes, women’s roles and sexual violence



An individual’s score on the above index is not associated with their chances of having reported DV or signing the pledge against violence with their name. However, it is associated with an individual’s willingness to report violence against a child or neighbor; interest in receiving training on the issue; provision of contact information so that they can participate in training; willingness to sign a pledge against violence against women; and willingness to sign the pledge using their name. If an individual’s score is higher on the index, an individual also generally has a higher reported self-efficacy in reporting, perceives fewer barriers to reporting, and holds

more positive attitudes towards reporting on average.

FIGURE 15:
Self-efficacy’s association with reporting outcomes



5.5 Social norms as barriers to domestic violence reporting

Focus groups also identified a number of social norms that are perceived as barriers to reporting DV. These included the perceived importance of public opinion, shame in admitting to being a victim of DV, a lack of support from those in one's life, and some forms of violence simply being perceived as normal.

According to school professionals, opinion about divorce and the importance of maintaining family are important barriers for women to report violence. As an SRO stated, "Public opinion is the most important in this case. They bear every type of violence because of the fear for what others will say. [They think] I won't ruin my family because others will talk about it" (SRO, Female, Kutaisi).

This finding is particularly important given that most people in Georgia and teachers on the survey report that women should not accept violence to maintain the family (see above). In turn this suggests that people do not accurately perceive the attitudes of those around them. These are the ideal circumstances for social norming based messaging aimed at teachers.

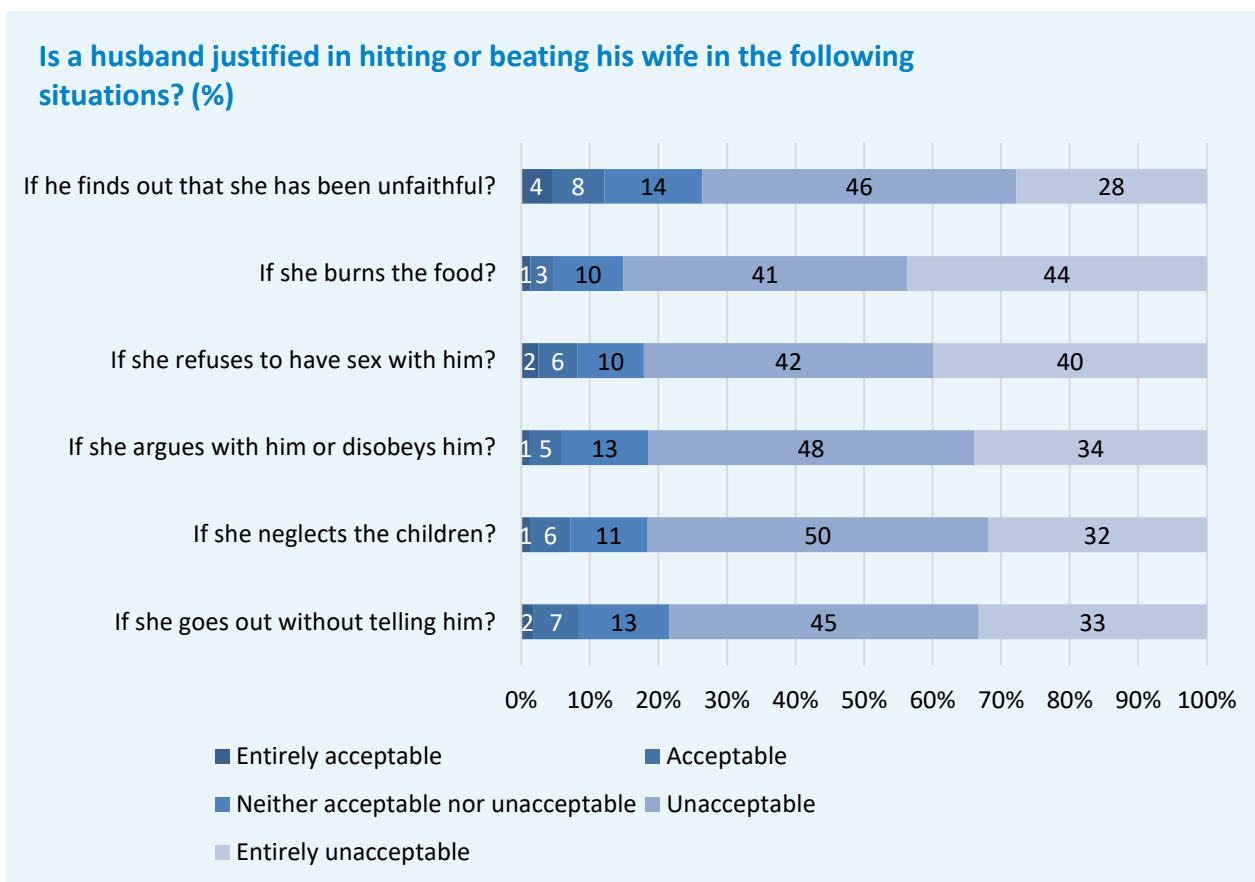
Lack of support from family members and especially parents was also perceived as a barrier for reporting for women who are victims of DV. As an SRO stated, "I have often heard that her mother tells her you must resist. She should feel support from other family members" (SRO, Female, Kutaisi). Moreover, school professionals think that some women do not report, because they think what happens to them is normal. Since bystanders acknowledge and sometimes even share these norms, they also prevent other people from reporting. As a teacher stated:

They are psychologically used to violence and it is acceptable for them. They think my father beat my mother and women should resist everything. This everything is in raising children, traditions, in everything – a women should do everything at home and a husband should not help in that.

(Teacher, Female, Telavi).

For bystanders, such as teachers and SROs, reporting is also perceived as interfering in another's private matters and socially unacceptable. As one teacher stated, "I have never interfered into another's family. [...] I cannot solve that problem (DV) alone" (Teacher, Male, Kakheti). However, the above quantitative data suggests that teachers do not think DV is a private matter and that no one should interfere. Hence, the qualitative data and quantitative data taken together suggest that there is a gap between perceptions of the social norms in society and individuals' understandings of other's attitudes. This is important in that it also suggests a potential path towards using social norming to increase reporting behavior.

FIGURE 16:
Justifiability of husbands beating wives



5.6 Attitudes towards spousal abuse and domestic violence reporting

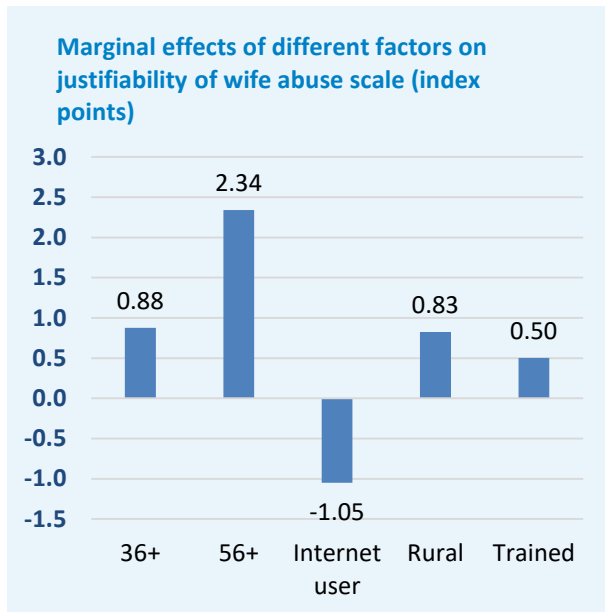
The norms teachers report and their attitudes towards DV are associated with their attitudes towards reporting broadly speaking as well as their behavior when it comes to providing contact information and signing the pledge.

As with attitudes reported on the survey towards women’s roles in the family and sexual violence, people are generally unaccepting of physical violence against women. The survey asked about instances when it was justifiable or not for a husband to hit or beat his wife. The results show that most

teachers generally think it not justified for a husband to beat his wife. Still somewhere between 20% and 25% think it is sometimes justified and sometimes not, justified, or fully justified. Moreover, only between a quarter and a third reported it is entirely unjustified for each of the situations asked about. Indeed, only 14% of teachers reported that a husband is entirely unjustified in hitting or beating his wife in all of the cases asked about.

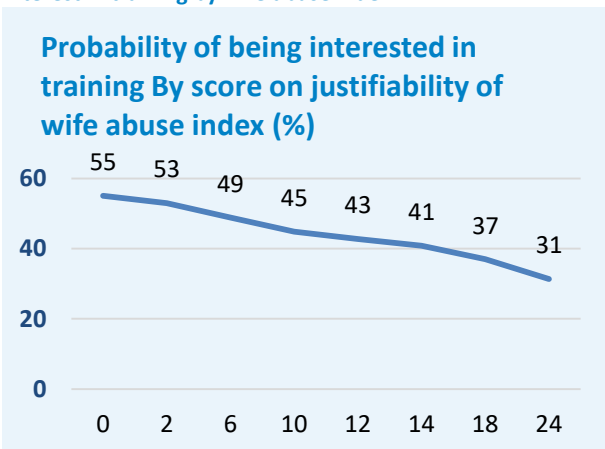
An index on the acceptability of wife beating was created using the above data. The average score on the index was 5.7. Analysis of the index suggests that older teachers and people in rural areas are more permissive of wife abuse. Younger people and regular internet users are less permissive.

FIGURE 18:
Marginal effects of factors on wife abuse index



The justifiability of wife abuse index is not associated with whether or not teachers have reported violence, their willingness to report violence against a child or neighbor, whether or not they signed the pledge and provided contact information for training. It is however associated with interest in training on violence against women, self-efficacy in reporting, perceived number of barriers to reporting, and the attitudes towards reporting index.

FIGURE 17:
Interest in training by wife abuse index



5.7 Attitudes towards punishing children and interrelations with domestic violence reporting

MAIN FINDINGS

- In comparison with attitudes towards violence against women, teachers' attitudes towards violence against children are less permissive.
- Although teacher attitudes towards DV and punishment of children are generally appropriate, qualitative data indicates a lack of depth of understanding and a greater acceptance of psychological violence, and especially verbal violence against children.

In comparison to attitudes towards violence against women, attitudes towards violence against children are less permissive. People were asked about whether it is reasonable or not to punish children in a number of different ways, including abusive and non-abusive ways. Overall, attitudes tend towards non-abusive methods of punishing children.

Although teachers generally reported that most negative forms of punishment were unacceptable on the survey, the qualitative data indicates a greater acceptance of psychological violence, and especially verbal violence against children. As one respondent stated, "Some think that nothing special is happening. So what if there is violence? 'Light' violence is acceptable [to some people]" (KII).

School professionals differentiated between forms of violence which do not require reporting and those that do. Generally, they think that verbal and psychological violence does not require reporting. Even physical violence, if it is not repeated and does not bring serious injuries to a child, is not perceived as requiring a report. A teacher stated, "Every high tone by parents addressed to the kids are violence but we cannot report everything to the agencies." (Teacher, Male, Tbilisi).

Some SROs also share the opinion that it is only physical violence that should be reported and with verbal abuse they do not interfere. Some SROs also think that (light) hitting of a child is not violence.

One stated:

“Every mother hits her child” (SRO, Female, Tbilisi). Another stated, “If I see that a mother hit her child one time, I cannot call this child a victim of violence”

(SRO, Male, Tbilisi).

FIGURE 19:
Attitudes towards punishing children

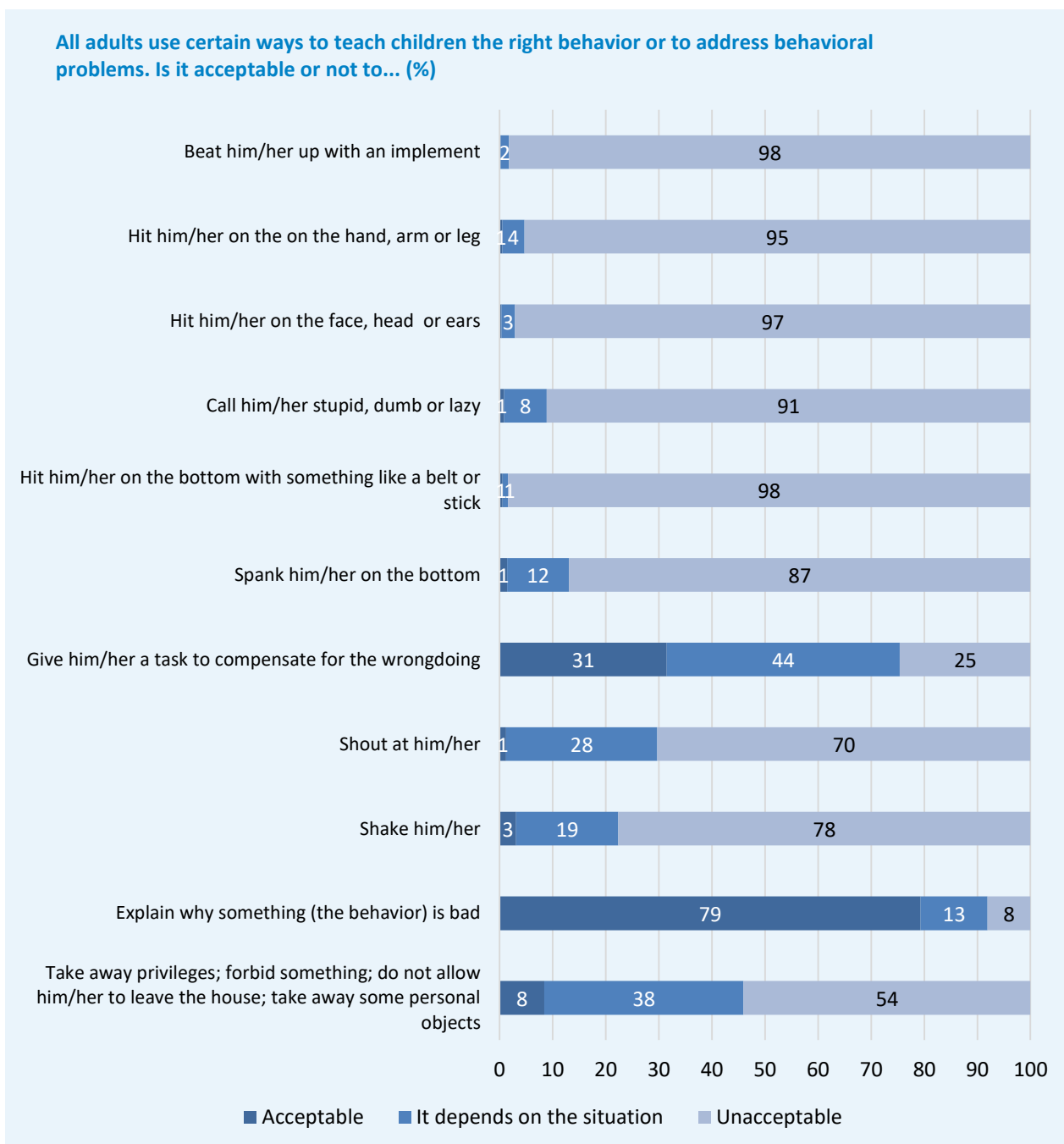
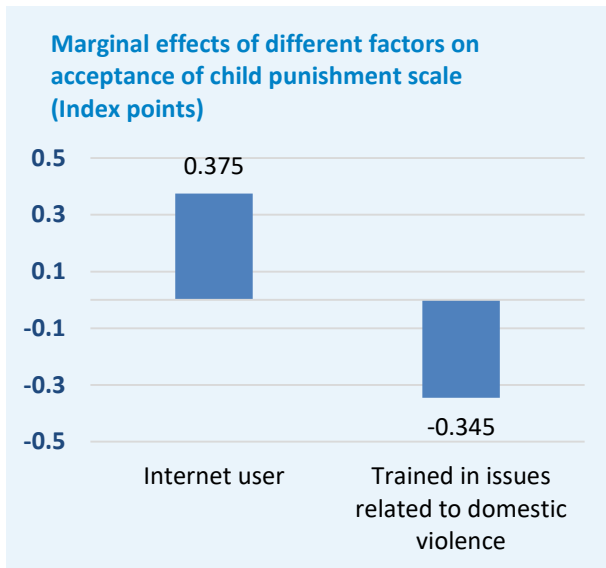


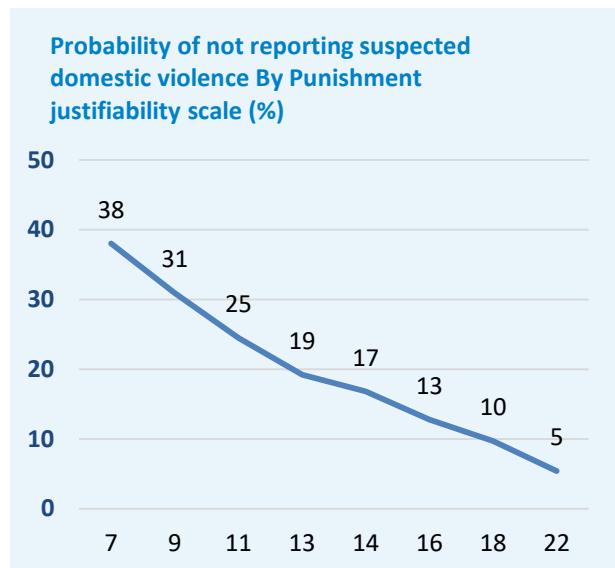
FIGURE 21:
Marginal effects of different factors on acceptance of child punishment



With regard to the above, SROs discussed teachers committing acts of physical and psychological violence in schools and noted this is perceived as a norm among teachers. Teachers also admit this indirectly in FG discussions when they note that their “rights” have become very limited: “We are not allowed to say to the students something loudly” (Teacher, Male, Kakheti). This may explain why teachers that report punishment is more justifiable are also less willing to report, as discussed below.

The above survey questions on justifiability of different forms of punishment was indexed, resulting in a 22-point scale, with a score of 22 representing not accepting any problematic punishment method and accepting all non-problematic punishing methods. The average score was 18. Internet users and teachers in schools with better climates are less accepting of problematic punishment methods, while teachers that have received some training related to DV are slightly more accepting of problematic punishment methods.

FIGURE 20:
Probability of not reporting suspected domestic violence By Punishment justifiability scale



The punishment scale is also related to an individual’s willingness to report child abuse, chance of ever having not reported, whether or not they signed the pledge against violence, whether they signed that pledge with their name, whether they provided their contact information to receive training, their self-efficacy in reporting, the number of barriers they perceive to reporting, and the attitudes towards reporting index.

The above data and analysis shows that teachers generally do not accept violence against women or children, but they are more accepting of violence against women than violence against children. Although they do not accept these forms of abuse generally, they also condone a certain level of “light” physical abuse and forms of psychological abuse. The norms teachers report and their attitudes towards DV are associated with their attitudes towards reporting broadly speaking as well as their behavior when it comes to providing contact information and signing the pledge.

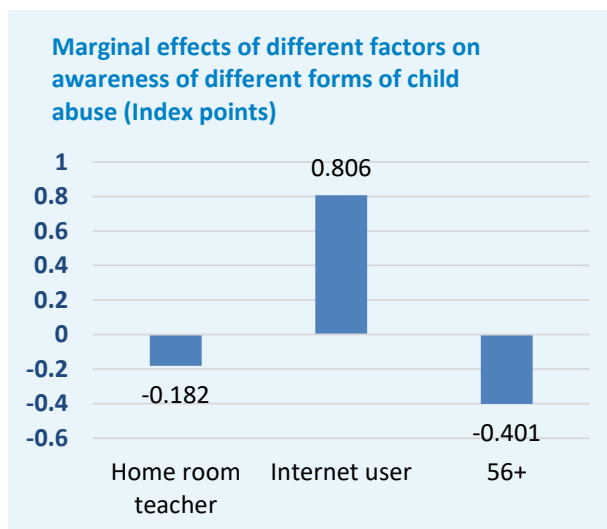
5.8 Awareness of different forms of child abuse

MAIN FINDINGS

- Between 86% and 87% of teachers recognized all the forms of child abuse as such on the survey.
- Although teachers are generally aware of signs and forms of abuse as well as policy, qualitative data suggests a lack of depth of knowledge of these issues.
- Teachers are generally aware of the domestic violence hotline and shelters, but only a minority (37%) are aware of crisis centers.
- Teachers that are aware of more of the available services are also generally more willing to report violence against a child or neighbor, have higher levels of self-efficacy in reporting, and perceive fewer barriers to reporting.
- Over 80% of teachers were aware that they are required to report violence against children.
- The more aware of legislation that teachers are, the more likely they are to be willing to report violence against children or a neighbor.

Just as the attitudes and norms surrounding violence against women and children might work against teacher reporting, awareness of what constitutes DV could also inhibit reporting from taking place. If a teacher is not aware of what child abuse is, then they may not report it. Further, if a teacher is uncertain of the signs of child abuse, they may not be confident in reporting. More fundamentally, if they are not aware of how to report or their responsibility to, this may also prevent reporting. This section examines these assumptions testing for an association between the attitudes and behaviors described in the first section of the report and awareness of what child abuse is; awareness of

FIGURE 22:
Marginal effects of different factors on awareness of different forms of child abuse

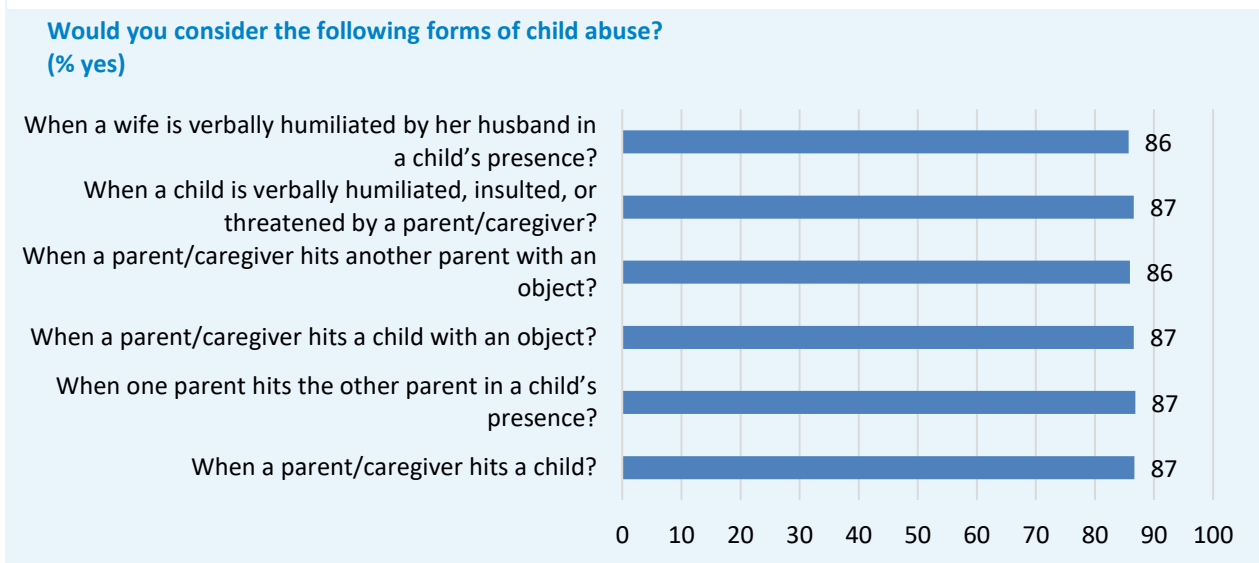


signs of child abuse; and awareness of policy surrounding these issues.

The majority of teachers recognize different forms of child abuse. Between 86% and 87% of teachers recognized all the forms of child abuse as such on the survey. Even though school professionals are well aware about various types and forms of VAC, the qualitative data suggest they differ between acceptable and non-acceptable forms of violence, which is reflected in reported and non-reported cases of VAC. Sexual and (repeated and harsh) physical violence against children are perceived as types of violence that need urgent action. With sexual violence, teachers are confident that they should talk to the principal and SRO or call the police, because this is the only type of VAC that they unconditionally classify as a crime.

A teacher stated, “Sexual violence on children is already a crime, and we all have the right to report this crime” (Teacher, female, Tbilisi). Another said, “I would talk to the school administration and SRO for sure, because with DV, you can talk to the parent, [while] sexual violence crosses the line and nobody will ignore that and reporting is necessary” (Teacher, Female, Telavi). From these quotes, one

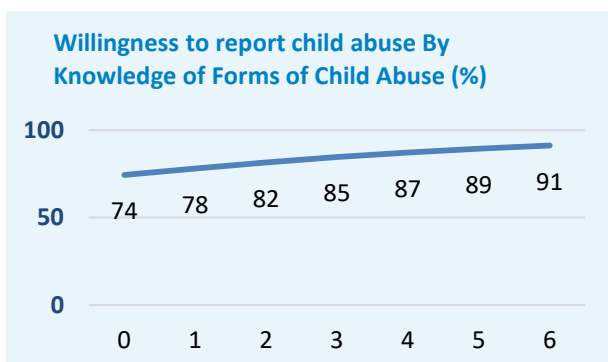
FIGURE 23:
Awareness of forms of child abuse



can note that for the respondent, it is only sexual violence that qualifies as a crime, and the legal and moral obligation to report this crime is most internalized. However, it is still questionable whether teachers are well aware about the diverse forms of sexual violence and its signs.

On average, teachers recognized 5.2 of the 6 forms of abuse as such. Regular internet users recognized forms of abuse more than people who use the internet irregularly. It appears that homeroom teachers and older teachers are slightly less likely to recognize the above noted forms of child abuse as such.

FIGURE 24:
Willingness to report child abuse By Knowledge of forms of child abuse



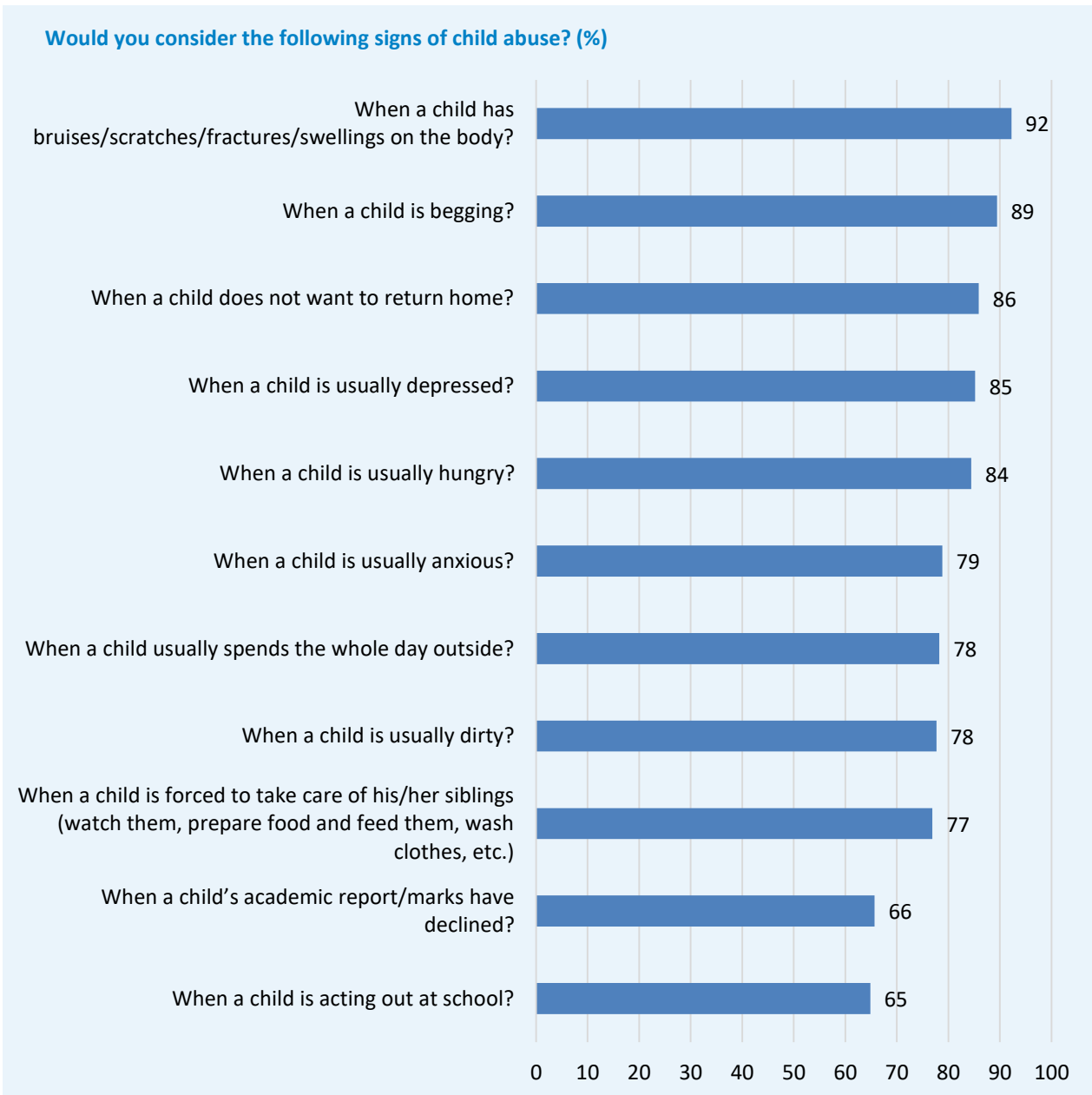
Teachers that recognize more forms of child abuse are more likely to be willing to report child abuse, willing to report if a neighbor was the victim of DV, sign the pledge against violence against women, sign the pledge with their name, and appear to be more likely to be interested in receiving training and to provide their contact information for training. Teachers that recognize more types of violence against children also report fewer barriers to reporting and have more positive attitudes towards reporting.

5.9 Awareness of signs of child abuse

MAIN FINDINGS

- The more aware teachers are of signs and forms of abuse, the more pre-disposed they are to reporting DV.
- Teachers that use the internet on a regular basis and in schools with better climates are more aware of the above signs. Teachers of math and sciences, homeroom teachers, and secondary school teachers are less aware on average.

FIGURE 25:
Awareness of signs of child abuse



Teachers are generally aware of the various signs of child abuse asked about on the survey. However, a significant share appears to be unaware of some signs of child abuse. While teachers were the most aware of bruises, scratches, fractures, and swelling being potential signs of child abuse, they were least aware of children acting out in school being a potential sign of abuse.

The qualitative data provide similar results. According to school professionals, children who are victims of DV often display signs at school that are easy to recognize including aggressive behavior towards others, self-defensive reactions (e.g. trying to protect himself/herself with his/her hands) when the teacher approaches or wants to hug chil-

dren, and crying and fear that they might get punished if they do something in the wrong way. A teacher stated, “It (DV) has a great influence on children. Often they become closed, emotionally unstable, do not contact with other children, do not play with friends, do not have friends at all, express the same aggression towards peers, as they get in their families. This is readable from a child” (Teacher, Female, Tbilisi). Even though teachers could remember many cases when signs of physical and psychological violence against children were visible, none had reported on this basis. Only in those cases when a family member told them about physical violence or they directly witnessed it, did they talk to abusers and try to explain that such methods are not appropriate.

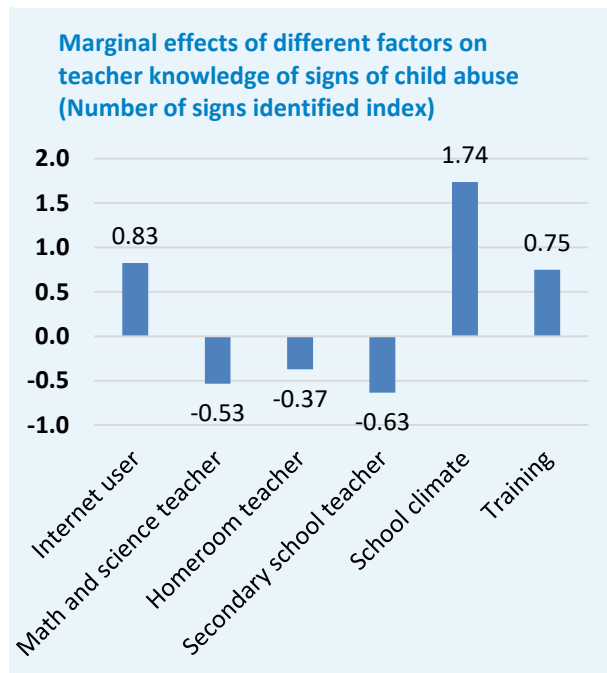
Teachers are relatively sensitive to a child being absent from school for extended periods of time, and they know that this should be reported to the school principal and SRO. SROs report being able to easily recognize obvious signs of physical violence. But in the case of psychological violence, they expect teachers to inform them. This is logical considering the limited amount of time and scope which they have to observe kids at school. An SRO stated:

“We cannot look at the child and say that s/he is victim of psychological violence. If the child’s eye is blue and has something on his face we never leave that without reaction.”

(SRO, Female, Kutaisi).

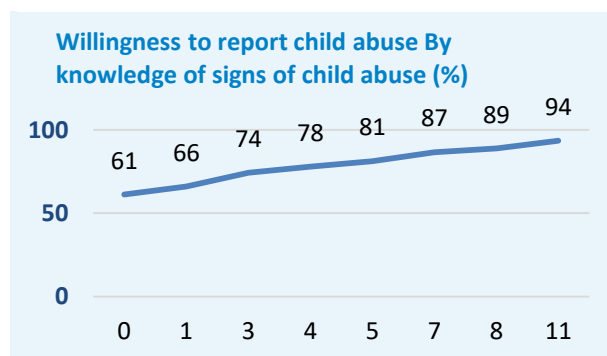
Teachers that use the internet on a regular basis and in schools with better climates are more aware of the above signs. Teachers that have undergone training appear to be more likely to be aware of the above signs of child abuse. Teachers of math and sciences, homeroom teachers, and secondary school teachers are less aware on average.

FIGURE 26: Marginal effects of different factors on teacher knowledge of signs of child abuse



Awareness of signs of child abuse is generally associated with predicted willingness to report violence against children and a neighbor, willingness to sign the pledge, self-efficacy, the number of barriers to reporting a person perceives, and the attitudes towards reporting index. It also appears to be related to interest in training. However, it is not associated with actual reporting behavior.

FIGURE 27: Willingness to report child abuse By Knowledge of signs of child abuse



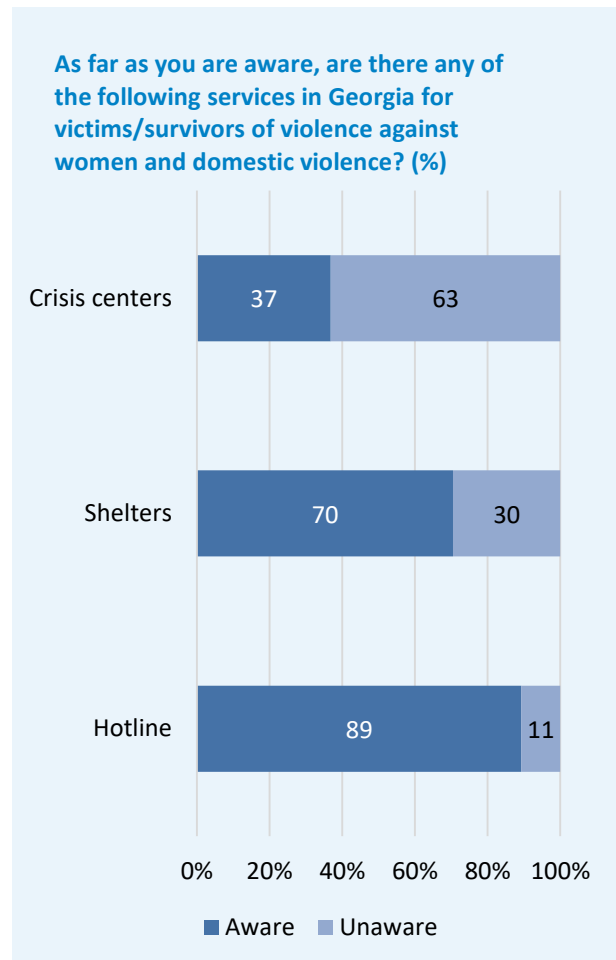
5.10 Awareness of policy

MAIN FINDINGS

- Teachers are generally aware of the hotline and shelters, but only a minority (37%) are aware of the crisis centers.
- Teachers that are aware of more of available services are also generally more willing to report violence against a child or neighbor, have higher levels of self-efficacy in reporting, perceive fewer barriers to reporting.
- Although awareness of services is associated with a greater willingness to report, the quality of services remains a concern for teachers, particularly as relates women’s economic dependence on their abusers.
- Over 80% of teachers were aware that teachers are required to report violence against children;
- The more aware of legislation that teachers are, the more likely they are to be willing to report violence against children or a neighbor.
- Although teachers are generally aware of high level signs and forms of abuse as well as policy, qualitative data suggests a lack of depth of knowledge of these issues.

In terms of service provision, teachers are generally aware of the hotline and shelters, but only a minority (37%) are aware of the crisis centers. On average, teachers reported knowledge of two services. Regular internet users and those that have undergone training are more likely to be aware of the hotline. People in rural areas appear to be more aware of the hotline. Older teachers, women, married people, internet users, social science teachers, and survivors of DV all are more aware of the shelters. Primary school teachers, younger teachers, and teachers without training related to DV are less likely to be aware of the crisis centers.

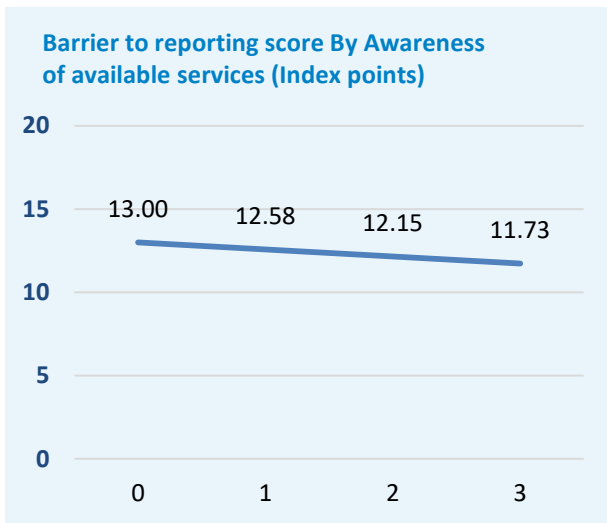
FIGURE 28:
Barriers to reporting By Awareness of available services



Teachers that are aware of more of the available services are also generally more willing to report violence against a child or neighbor, have higher levels of self-efficacy in reporting, perceive fewer barriers to reporting, and appear to be more interested in participating in training.

Although awareness of services is associated with a greater willingness to report, the quality of services remains a concern for teachers, particularly as relates women’s economic dependence on their abusers. As a teacher stated, “They do not feel protected. They know that they may call the police, but

FIGURE 29:
Awareness of different services for survivors



they will still stay in their home or move out temporarily but have to return back in a worse situation” (Teacher, Female, Telavi). KIIs also indicated that this was an issue and that existing shelters for DV victims are temporary and difficult to access (KII). This is despite the fact that the shelters have recently become more accessible, suggesting a lack of awareness of the improved conditions related to shelters.

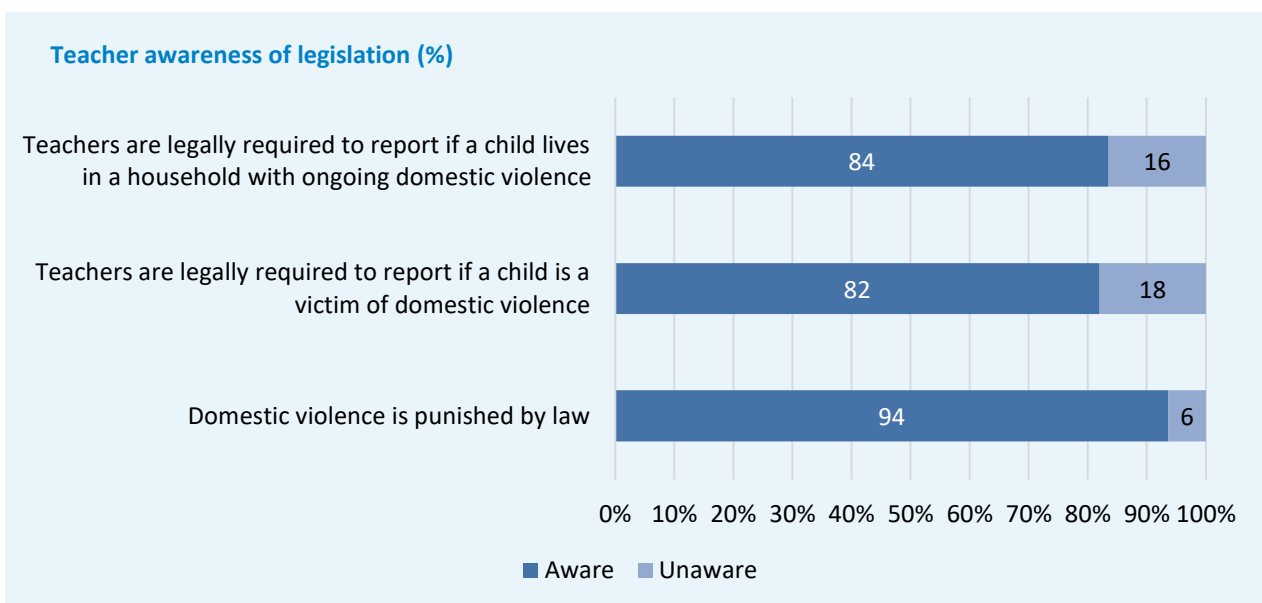
The perceived absence of support services (especially psychological and economic support for victims) makes the laws ineffective for the victims according to some key informants. This lack of financial support services was directly highlighted as a barrier to teacher reporting in the qualitative data. As one respondent stated:

“Abusers are punished according to the law but afterwards the wellbeing of their family on the social side [is harmed], and here, considering the economic situation of the country, we do not have the luxury to help every victim in integration, independent living, etc.”

(KII).

Teachers are generally aware of legislation on DV and DV reporting. The vast majority of teachers are aware of the fact that DV is legally punishable. Over 80% of teachers were aware that teachers are required to report violence against children. Although aware, qualitative data indicates they may not understand how they can report. Homeroom teachers are slightly less likely to be aware of legislation, all

FIGURE 30:
Teacher awareness of legislation



else equal. None of the other factors tested show significant relations.

The more aware of legislation that teachers are, the more likely they are to be willing to report violence against children or a neighbor, to be willing to sign a pledge against violence, to be interested in training, and to provide contact information for that training. They also perceive fewer barriers to reporting and have more positive attitudes towards reporting. They also appear to have greater self-efficacy in reporting.

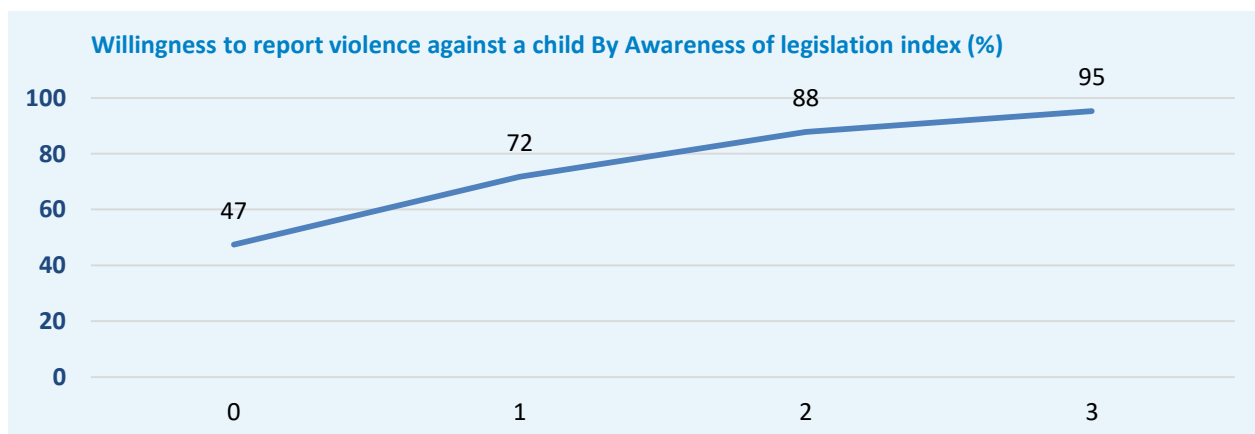
Although teachers often report high levels of awareness of the existence of a variety of policies, the qualitative data suggests the depth of this knowledge is lacking. For instance, school professionals have difficulties in understanding why they need to report DV not directed at the child: “They do not know that they are responsible for reporting not only violence against children but also DV. They do not know that irrespective of whether a kid is a victim or not, they should report anyway. And I tell them that a kid is always a victim in such situations and this is the second report they need to do” (KII). Some teachers, especially in rural areas, who have not heard about referral procedures say that they know that the only thing they need to do in the case of VAC is to talk to the abuser. Even in Tbilisi some

teachers think that if they know that a child is physically abused, they should call an NGO, which indicates a lack of knowledge of the referral procedure.

This lack of knowledge of the policy and procedures can be partially explained by the absence of internal regulations in schools. These should be in place in every institution involved in CPRP, but so far only several institutions have developed such regulations according to key informants. The lack of knowledge of policy can be also explained by the fact that even though teachers have certain and very specific responsibilities related to DV reporting, there is little enforcement of the law requiring them to report. Teachers generally report that they are aware of signs and policies related to this issue, including some services.

But, the qualitative data indicates that their depth of knowledge is weak. The lack of services to support women economically works against reporting. Part of the issue surrounding lack of awareness of policy is the fact that CPRP guidelines have not been fully developed or at least teachers are not aware of them. Awareness of policy, signs of child abuse, and forms of child abuse are all associated with attitudes supportive of reporting violence against children and women. Yet, teachers report that some forms of violence against children are reportable, while others are not.

FIGURE 31:
Willingness to report violence by legislation awareness



5.11 The impact of social norming and information on reporting behavior

Main findings

- The social norming treatment increases teacher willingness to provide their contact information so they can receive training related to DV.
- The impact of the different treatments on average is not statistically significant for outcome measures besides providing contact information for training.
- Despite the lack of treatment effects on most indicators, the treatments affect different groups of teachers in a complex set of ways.
- Men appear to respond to legal information treatments on some outcomes of interest, where women do not.

The study tested whether social norming, information about the legal responsibility to report, and the combination of both norming and legal messages could increase teacher reporting. The chances of the experiment increasing a teacher’s likelihood of reporting was measured against a

number of outcomes including teacher attitudes towards reporting, willingness to enter training, willingness to provide personal information to be contacted for training, and willingness to sign a pledge to prevent violence against women.

The results of the experiment suggest that none of the treatments have a significant impact on teacher attitudes towards reporting. The chart above shows the responses of individuals on the teacher attitudes towards reporting scale. It shows that teachers generally have more positive attitudes towards reporting than negative.

Similarly, the treatments had no effect on whether someone expressed interest in receiving training, was willing to sign the pledge against violence, or actually signed the pledge with their name. The one exception to this general pattern of a lack of statistical significance on the outcomes is with whether people provided their contact information or not so that they could be contacted about training opportunities. This question was only asked to individuals who reported they were interested in training. For this group of people, the social norming treatment increased their provision of contact information by ten percentage points.

FIGURE 32:
Outcomes: By Treatment group

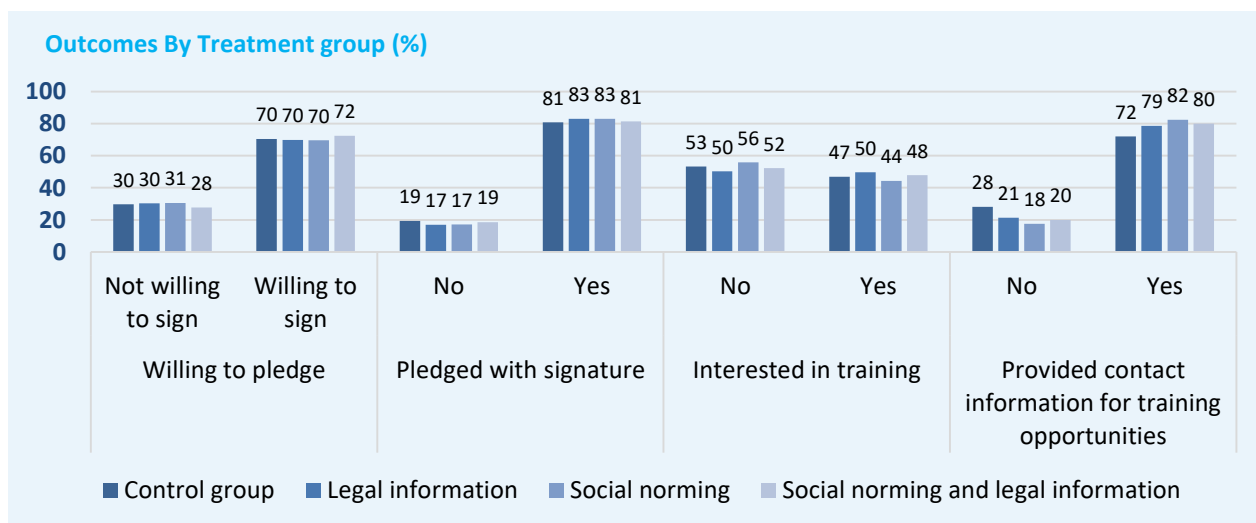
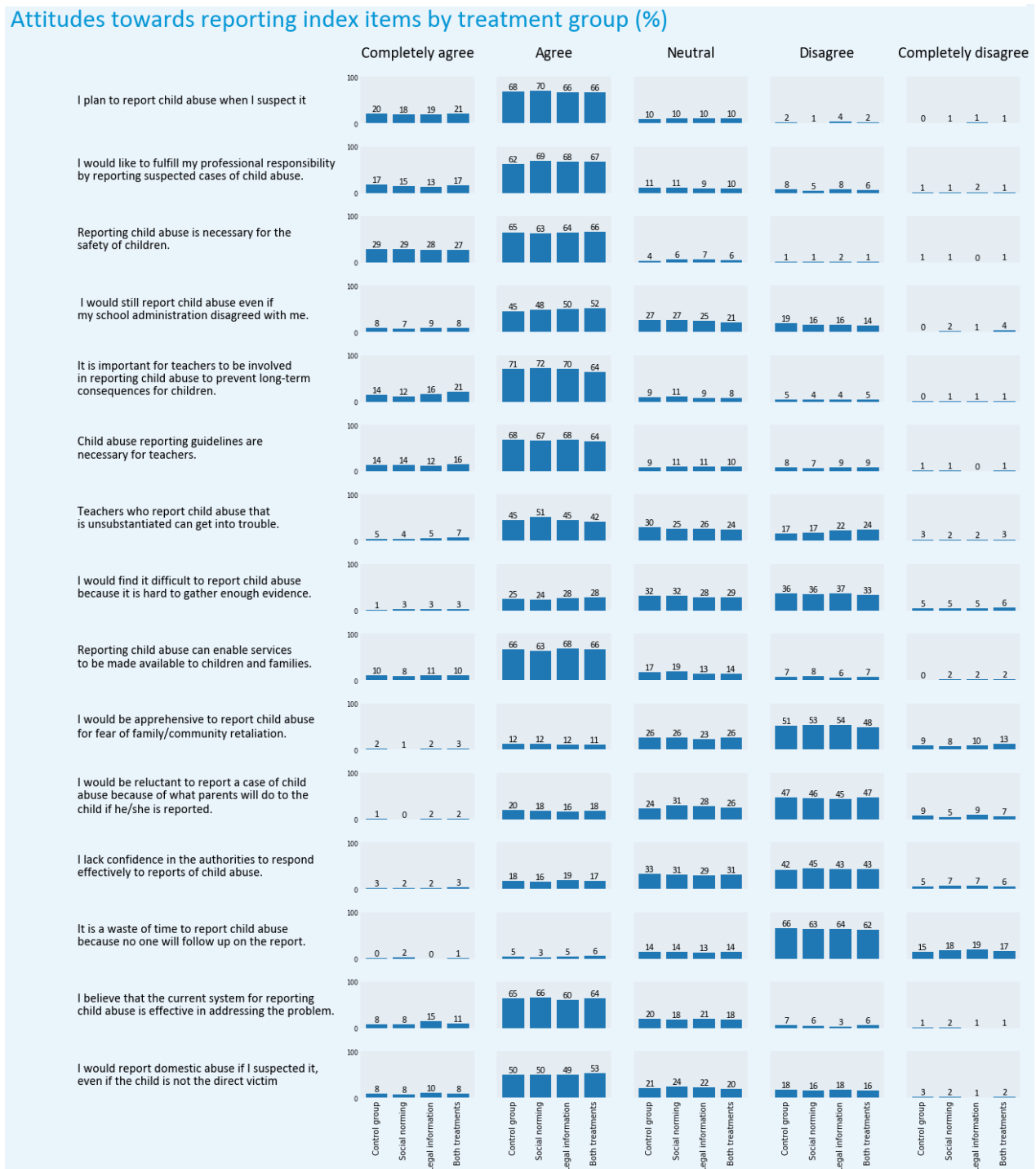


FIGURE 33:
Attitudes towards reporting index: By Treatment group



5.12 Which treatments for which groups?

Tests were run to look at whether any of the treatments had impacts on any of the specific groups considered in this analysis. The results suggest a number of patterns for different groups.

Analysis of the attitudes towards reporting index suggest that the treatments behave differently for homeroom teachers versus non-homeroom teachers; teachers that have training and not; survivors of DV versus those not exposed to DV; and in different settlement types. Homeroom teachers responded negatively to both treatments that contained legal information, while they responded positively to the social norming treatment. Teachers that have already received training responded negatively to the social norming combined with legal information treatment. Survivors of DV also responded negatively to this treatment.

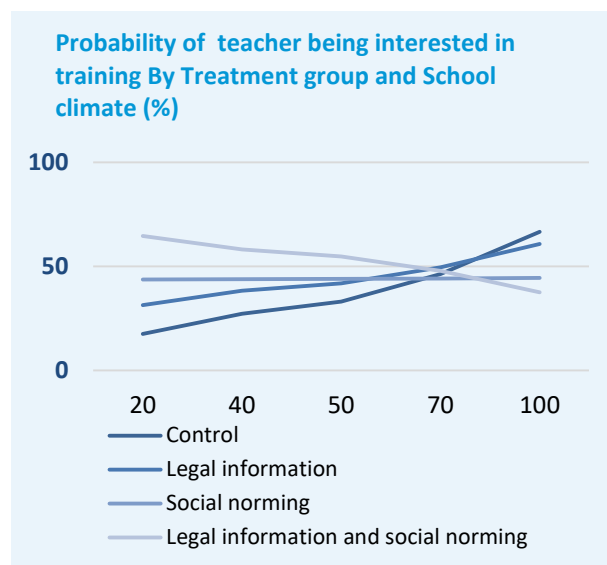
When looking at the interest in training question, a number of the treatments also work differently for different groups. The provision of legal information increases secondary school teachers' interest in participating in training. In schools with better climates, the legal information and social norming treatment leads to a lower level of interest in training, while in schools with worse climates they lead to greater interest in training.

In terms of willingness to sign the pledge, men appear to respond to the treatments with legal information in them, and the effect size appears to be quite large. Further testing¹³ suggests that this effect is likely to be present, but also likely to be

¹³ Type m and type s tests were performed to understand whether the sign and magnitude of effect were likely to be different than estimated. The magnitude test provided an exaggeration ratio of 1.4 and the type s tests suggests the probability that the actual effect is

smaller than the estimate presented on the chart below. The social norming treatment also appears to have a positive impact on the probability that individuals that have received training would sign the pledge. When it comes to signing the pledge with one's name, the probability increases among survivors of DV who saw the legal information treatment.

FIGURE 34:
Probability of teacher being interested in training By Treatment group and School Climate



The data presented in this section lead to a number of conclusions. First and foremost, the social norming treatment on average seems to increase the willingness of individuals who are already inclined toward participating in training about violence against women and children in taking a step towards receiving training. Second, although the treatments on average did not have an effect on most of the outcomes of interest, they did for specific groups of teachers.

negative is 0.000156. These tests taken together suggest that the true effect size is likely smaller than estimated in this study but also still highly likely to be positive.

FIGURE 36:
Treatment effects on agreeing to sign a pledge among men and women

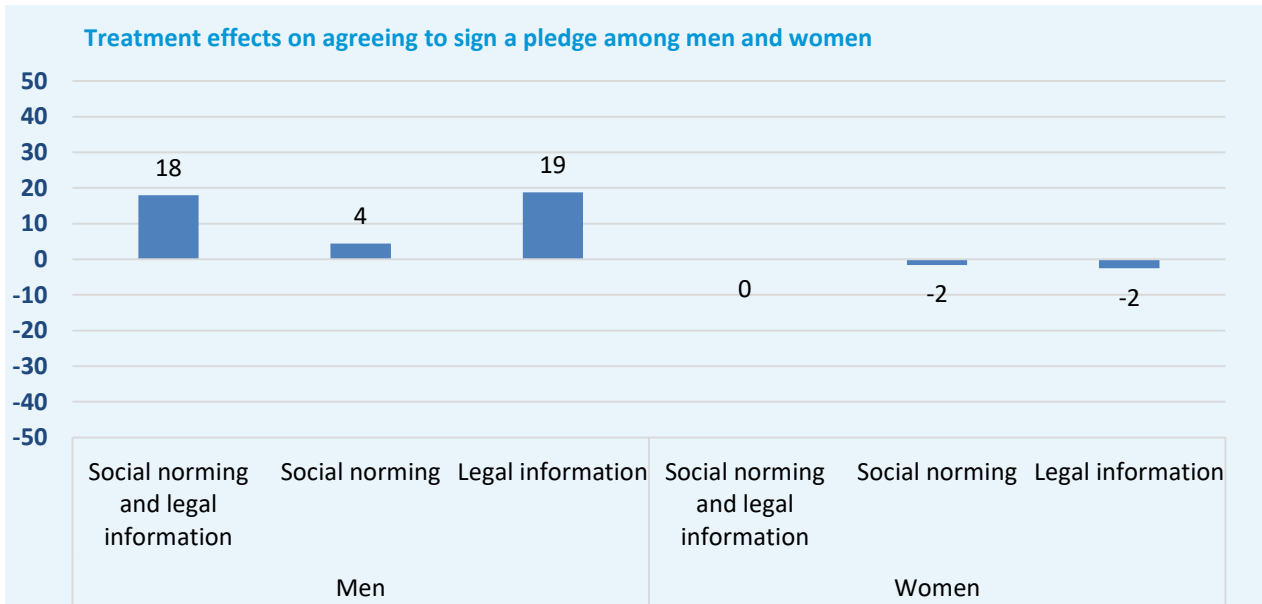
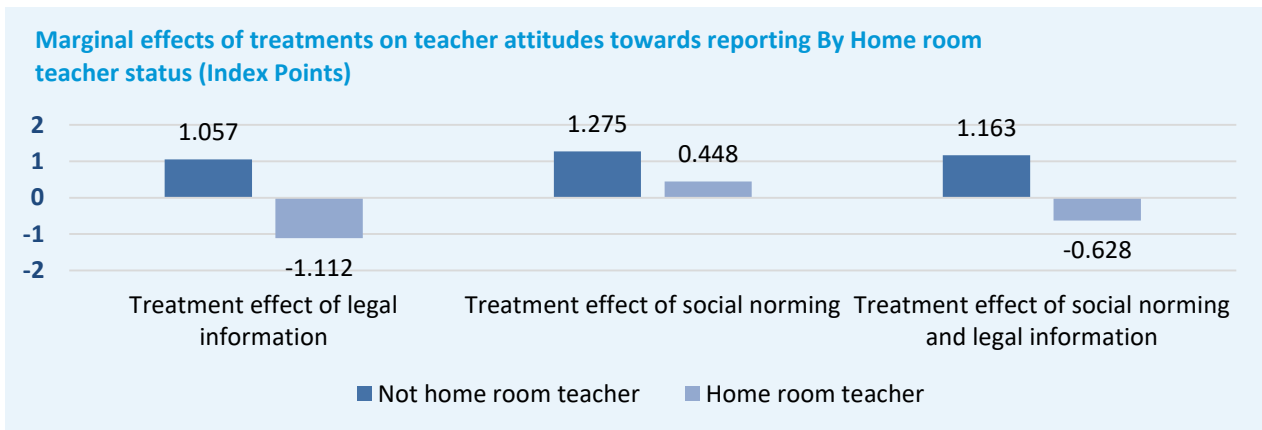


FIGURE 35:
Marginal effects of treatments on attitudes towards reporting by homeroom teacher status



Often treatments had negative impacts on some groups and positive impacts on others. This explains the lack of effect on average. It also calls for

well-targeted communications and programming if these behavioral mechanisms are to be used in encouraging teachers to report DV

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data and analysis presented above lead to a number of conclusions and recommendations. These broadly fall into eight categories: increasing coordination between actors; communications campaigns for schools; working with principals; training for teachers; prevention; creating an enabling environment for reporting; improving and expanding services and service awareness; improving administrative data collection and analysis.

6.1 Increasing coordination between actors

RECOMENDATIONS

1.1 MoESCS establish an inter-agency unit to improve, systematize, and monitor domestic violence reporting related to educational institutions.

1.2 Resource centers are used to coordinate between the MoESCS and schools on these issues as they do for other issues.

The study suggests there are barriers to reporting beyond the scope of the MoESCS's mandate and which require interagency cooperation. Qualitative data indicates that different stakeholders' work on the issue is often fragmented, and there is a lack of communication and coordination between different actors. This results in the absence of regular and integrated services for victims of DV. For example, psychologists some-

times start work with children before social workers start work with families, which inhibits successful intervention. Similarly, social workers at SSA and OROEI are not fully aware of each other's competences. Correspondingly, they do not work in a coordinated manner. SSA social workers do not get feedback from the OROEI psychologist who works with their clients. When police arrest an abuser, it is not tied to the provision of social services and support to survivors. Additionally, different training providers working on the issue do not coordinate, resulting in a lack of a systematic approach to training teachers. To resolve these issues, stakeholders should meet regularly and coordinate activities. This has the potential to enable a more systematic approach to DV related interventions.

Thus it is recommended that:

1.1. MoESCS establishes an inter-agency unit to improve, systematize, and monitor domestic violence reporting as relates educational institutions.

Resource centers are an important link between schools and the Ministry. In this regard, they are well-positioned to play an important role in supporting principals and teachers with reporting.

Thus it is recommended that:

1.2. Resource centers are used to coordinate between MoESCS and schools on these topics as they do for other issues.

6.2 Communication campaigns for schools

RECOMENDATIONS

2.1 MoESCS systematically expresses its strong support for combatting domestic violence through high-level officials mentioning the importance of this topic in their public speeches and through resource centers conveying the same message to teachers.

2.2 Resource centers are used to disseminate information regarding DV and DV reporting, and are enabled to support teachers and principals in reporting domestic violence.

2.3 Communications campaigns targeting teachers use social norming messages to encourage reporting.

2.4 Communications campaigns surrounding this issue are based on data-informed targeting strategies that put forward audience appropriate messaging.

2.5 The internet is used for communications campaigns.

2.6 Reporting success stories are regularly communicated to a wide audience.

2.7 Messages to teachers highlight the potential losses associated with domestic violence.

Aside from creating a responsible body, regular signaling and reminder from the MoESCS could encourage principals and teachers to report. Thus, it is recommended that:

2.1. MoESCS systematically expresses its strong support for combatting domestic violence through high-level officials mentioning the importance of this topic in their public speeches and through resource centers conveying the same message to teachers.

Given resource centers' close link to schools and coordinating role between the Ministry and schools, they are an ideal institution to communi-

cate with teachers and principals on the importance of DV reporting. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.2. Resource centers are used to disseminate information regarding DV and DV reporting, and are enabled to support teachers and principals in reporting domestic violence.

The experiment carried out within this study suggests that on average the information treatments did not have significant effects with one exception: teachers that were interested in training were more willing to provide their contact information for potential training if they saw the social norming message. These facts taken together suggest that on average, a social norming message is unlikely to discourage reporting, and may encourage those already inclined to take concrete steps towards reporting. The qualitative data collected within the study also indicated that there is significant potential for social norming to change reporting behavior in Georgian society more generally. While a large majority of teachers reported that women should not put up with violence to keep their families together, and that DV is not a family matter and people should intervene, qualitative data consistently indicated the opposite. This suggests a mismatch between perceived and actual social norms. Based on this pattern, it is recommended that:

2.3. Any broad-based communications campaigns use social norming messages to encourage reporting.

Although social norming, on average, appears to have positive effects on some groups, an analysis of the impact of the different treatments tested shows a diversity of treatment effects for different groups. For instance, on some indicators of interest, men responded to treatments with legal information in them, while women did not. In

contrast, homeroom teachers responded negatively to treatments with legal information in them, compared with non-homeroom teachers. Teachers in schools with better climates responded in entirely different ways than teachers in schools with poor climates to most of the information treatments.

Given these facts and if resources are available, it is recommended that:

2.4. Communications campaigns surrounding this issue are based on data-informed targeting strategies that put forward audience appropriate messaging.

Although numerous mediums are possible for a communications campaign, the data suggest that teachers that use the internet on a regular basis appear more inclined towards reporting. They have higher self-efficacy scores on average and have less adverse attitudes more generally. This suggests that the internet may be an appropriate medium for carrying out awareness-raising efforts. Hence, it is recommended that:

2.5. The internet is used for communications campaigns.

This recommendation relies on a number of assumptions. First, it assumes that communications campaigns will be aimed at encouraging reporting. Second, it assumes that rather than targeting teachers that are unlikely to report, it is aiming at moving teachers who are already inclined to report past a tipping point where they will start to report. Third, it assumes that in person communications campaigns will not be used. This point is important, because the political communications literature consistently shows that in person communications are more effective than communications through other mediums. Hence, in person communications are likely to be more effective than online campaigns.

Focus groups with teachers and SROs suggest that concerns over potential negative repercussions of reporting act as a significant barrier for undecided teachers. Thus it is recommended that:

2.6. Reporting success stories are regularly communicated to a wide audience.

In this regard, loss aversion is an important concept. In this regard, loss aversion is an important concept to keep in mind. Highlighting that “light” DV can quickly turn into “heavy” abuse may encourage teachers to act before the situation becomes critical. Using loss aversion through highlighting that DV can irreparably harm children and women in the community could be particularly effective. However, message testing would likely be important. In this regard it is recommended that:

2.7. Messages to teachers on reporting highlight the potential losses associated with domestic violence.

6.3 Working with principals

RECOMENDATIONS

3.1 Principals be the primary target group for trainings focused on domestic violence reporting.

3.2 MoESCS provide non-monetary incentives (e.g. praise from high level officials) for principals to create an enabling environment for reporting domestic violence.

In general, the education literature suggests that school climate is closely associated with school leadership i.e. the principal. School climate was consistently associated with a variety of outcomes of interest in the study. Teachers in schools with better climates were more likely to be willing to report and had better attitudes towards reporting. Not only was this relationship consistently present in the data, it also consistently had a substantial effect on attitudes. For in-

stance, teachers that had received training on issues related to violence against women had 0.34 points higher self-efficacy in reporting. In contrast, teachers in schools with the best reported climate scored 5.32 points higher than teachers in schools with the worst climates. That is, school climate's effect size is roughly 16 times larger than training on self-efficacy in reporting.

This suggests that school climate is important for encouraging teachers to report, and that the principal is a critical actor along the reporting chain. The qualitative data collected in this study affirm the conclusion that the role of principals in encouraging reporting is crucial. SROs reported that if the principal supports reporting then it happens, and if not, they do not receive information unless the case is extreme. This leads to the recommendation that efforts at changing reporting behavior start with principals and if trainings are considered, it is recommended that:

3.1 Principals be the primary target group for trainings focused on DV reporting.

Besides the fact that principals are key actors, there are significantly fewer principals compared with teachers. Hence, the cost of a large-scale training program would be significantly lower than if teachers were to be trained.

There are numerous ways in which principals can be helped with creating a positive environment for reporting, from messaging to training. However, the qualitative data suggests that principals are afraid of the reputational damage of reporting for their schools. Changing the norm that reporting DV says something bad about a school is a good place to start. Numerous, generally low-cost, options could support the change of principals' attitudes. For instance, for principals of schools that have high reporting rates, a phone call from a high level official (e.g. a Deputy Minister) congratulating them on having an enabling environment for reporting could encourage them

to continue. Alternatively, letters praising school leadership have the potential to encourage principals to support an enabling environment. Although it should be approached with great care and consideration for the survivors of DV, a larger scale public outreach campaign or (non-monetary) award for reporting could help galvanize a shift in principal attitudes towards DV. In sum, it is recommended that:

3.2 MoESCS provide non-monetary incentives (e.g. praise from high level officials) for principals to create an enabling environment for reporting domestic violence.

6.4 Training for teachers

RECOMENDATIONS

- 4.1 MoESCS develop a training module covering all relevant aspects of DV.
- 4.2 MoESCS ensures that teachers in Georgia receive training based on this module, in coordination with different actors as appropriate.
- 4.3 Training efforts are piloted and evaluated to examine impact in a rigorous manner.
- 4.4 Online and printed materials be developed for teachers that clearly and simply lay out the reporting system within schools, with materials incorporated into training.
- 4.5 A schematic representation of the reporting process outlining each stage of reporting with short and clear descriptions be provided to teachers as part of training.
- 4.6 Teachers be informed about the harm of all forms of domestic violence on children.
- 4.7 Trainings explain what constitutes a well-grounded suspicion based on which teachers are obliged to report irrespective of direct evidence. Teachers should be informed that even if they cannot prove that violence has taken place, they will not be punished if they act in line with rules and regulations.
- 4.8 Trainings for teachers use simulation methods to support teachers in gaining self-efficacy.

Although principals are critical actors in encouraging reporting of DV, teachers are ultimately the actors that are most familiar with the family situation of different children in the school and whether they are likely to be the victims of DV or not, either directly or indirectly. In turn, efforts aimed at encouraging reporting also should be directed towards teachers.

The qualitative data indicate that different training service providers implement trainings in a less than coordinated manner. Multiple stakeholders do a multitude of trainings based on different training modules. One will provide training on prevention of violence against women, while another will provide training on reporting violence against children. No one systematically monitors, evaluates, or coordinates efforts in this field. Thus, it is recommended that:

4.1. MoESCS develops a training module, covering all relevant aspects of DV.

4.2. MoESCS ensures that teachers in Georgia receive training based on this module, in coordination with different actors as appropriate.

4.3. Training efforts are piloted and evaluated to examine impact in a rigorous manner.

The qualitative data suggest that even though teachers know they need to report, they do not necessarily understand the mechanisms for reporting. Key informant interviews indicated that the Child Protection Referral Procedures (CPRP) have not been adopted throughout applicable institutions. MoESCS has developed procedures for schools but it remains unclear as to whether these procedures are more specific than those outlined under the CPRP. Through developing specific procedures for schools and providing clear and simple instructions, the reporting procedures are more likely to be used. Hence, it is recommended that:

4.4. Online and printed materials be provided to teachers that clearly and simply lay out the reporting system within schools, with materials incorporated into training.

4.5. A schematic representation of the reporting process outlining each stage of reporting with short and clear descriptions be provided to teachers as part of training.

The data and analysis above generally suggest that teachers are aware of different forms and signs of child abuse. However, they view “light” forms of abuse as not worth reporting, and think that only sexual violence and repeated and “heavy” violence are sufficiently severe to warrant intervention. In this regard, it is recommended that:

4.6. Teachers be informed about the harm of all forms of domestic violence on children.

The study also showed that teachers are often hesitant to report based only their suspicion when they do not have direct evidence of DV. They are concerned that they may inadvertently make a false report. Some fear legal repercussions as a result of reporting an unconfirmed suspicion of DV. Hence, it is recommended that:

4.7. Trainings explain what constitutes a well-grounded suspicion based on which teachers are obliged to report irrespective of direct evidence. Further, teachers should be informed that even if they cannot prove that violence has taken place, they will not be punished if they act in line with rules and regulations.

The data indicates teacher self-efficacy is strongly and positively associated with reporting behavior. Hence, trainings for teachers should be focused not only on knowledge of procedures, but also encourage the development of self-efficacy in reporting DV. It is recommended that:

4.8. Trainings use simulation methods to support teachers in gaining self-efficacy.

6.5 Prevention

RECOMENDATIONS

5.1. MoESCS develops violence prevention modules within the national curriculum and textbooks.

5.2. Parents are offered trainings on positive parenting either within or outside the school by relevant governmental and non-governmental actors.

5.3. Ensure that university programs in subjects in which future teachers are often enrolled cover DV related topics.

5.4. Consider incorporating questions on teachers' attitudes towards reporting domestic violence in the interview criteria for new teachers and principals.

5.5. Interventions aimed at reporting (and preventing) domestic violence should focus on rural areas of Georgia and areas with high levels of emigration.

Although beyond the scope of this report to a certain extent, the above recommendations should be considered through the broader goal of preventing DV. Policy should aim at the elimination of DV rather than effective response. Key informant interviews indicated the national curriculum lacks materials on DV. If future generations are to be aware of and understand DV, education is a key step. Thus, it is recommended that:

5.1. MoESCS develop violence prevention modules within the national curriculum and textbooks.

With regard to prevention, the working group highlighted that parents require further education on the effects of different types of violence against children, arguing that a realistic approach to preventing DV requires the education of parents. However, simply presenting the negative effects of violence is insufficient without being

provided with better approaches to parenting. Thus, it is recommended that:

5.2. Parents are offered trainings on positive parenting either within or outside the school by relevant governmental and nongovernmental actors.

Changing attitudes and values as well as behavior takes time. In this regard, teachers are unlikely to change their views and actions en masse as the result of any single policy or program. It may however be possible to promote better practices in the future through improving the teacher training system. Hence, it is recommended to:

5.3. Ensure that university programs in subjects which future teachers are often enrolled in cover DV related topics.

Similarly, the working group recommended that special attention could be devoted to the recruitment of new teachers and principals. The working group suggested that incorporating questions into the interview process that look at teachers' attitudes towards reporting, and using responses as part of the selection criteria for new teachers may have a positive impact on practice. Hence, besides subject and teaching related criteria:

5.4. MoESCS could consider incorporating questions on teachers' attitudes towards reporting domestic violence in the interview criteria for new school teachers and principals.

The data on teacher reporting suggests that teachers are less likely to report in rural areas, however there is no particular reason to believe that DV is less common in rural areas. Indeed, teachers in rural areas on the survey were twice as likely as teachers in urban areas to report that they were aware of a case of DV in their community during the last twelve months. This may be a reflection of the higher salience of a single case of DV in tighter-knit rural communities. However,

this finding still suggests that there may even be greater levels of DV in rural communities.

Additionally, a common theme in the qualitative data was that children with mothers who were migrants were commonly victims of DV. These facts taken together lead to the recommendation that:

5.5. *Interventions aimed at reporting (and preventing) domestic violence should focus on rural areas of Georgia and areas with high levels of emigration.*

6.6 Creating an enabling environment for reporting

KEY FINDING

The state needs to work towards improving the DV response system in parallel to expanding efforts aimed at encouraging teachers to report.

RECOMENDATIONS

6.1. Ensure the confidentiality of those who report.

6.2. Police officers countrywide should be provided with more and improved training on the identification and response to DV with a focus on the importance of responding to relatively “light” cases.

6.3. Provide support to all police officers through enabling them to engage social workers and/or psychologists in all cases dealing with DV components. This is particularly important when it comes to interviewing children.

6.4. SSA and OROEI hire more social workers and psychologists and provide in-depth training on working with victims of domestic violence.

6.5. Decrease the bureaucratic burden of reporting to the extent possible, and provide reporters with a flexible timeline during which they can appear at police stations.

6.6. A hotline should be made available, that can provide consultations for teachers on signs of DV and advice on reporting. The current hotline (116 006) could be used for this purpose.

The primary behavior of interest in this study is teacher DV reporting. Few teachers have reported, but the data suggest that reporting is on the rise. A key findings of this study is that one of the largest barriers to reporting is that teachers fear that a report will do more harm than good. This fear stems from a number of systemic issues surrounding reporting of DV in Georgia.

First among teachers’ concerns is the lack of perceived institutional effectiveness in responses to reports of DV. Uncertainty over whether responsible authorities would respond in an adequate manner was one of the three most common barriers to reporting that teachers cited in the survey. This concern is based on experiences where police and social workers respond in a way that leaves the victim worse off than without the report.

As a result of a lack of perceived institutional effectiveness, there is also a lack of trust between the actors in the reporting system. Teachers distrust SROs, police, and social workers. SROs think teachers hide abuse from them, have trouble getting the police to come to schools, and think principals discourage teachers from reporting. Social workers are seen as ineffectual. The lack of trust between actors, stemming from poor institutional performance, is likely to depress reporting.

The situation surrounding responses to reporting is not only a problem for the victims of violence, but also for teachers that report. A lack of confidentiality in the system means that people who report fear for their safety. This fear was again one of the three most commonly cited barriers to reporting in the survey. Confidentiality aside, the bureaucratic burden on individuals that report also discourages reporting.

The economic consequences of reporting for the abused, stemming from their economic dependence on the abuser, also discourages people from reporting. The economic loss associated with an abuser going to prison is something teachers are aware of, as they can see the difficulties that result for families through the situation of their students.

To put the above findings into a behavioral science framework, people are loss averse, meaning they want to avoid losses more than they want to achieve positive outcomes. Applying this principle to DV reporting implies that the potential gains to reporting would need to be significantly larger than the potential losses. Given the above consequences of reporting, this appears unlikely. In this context, teachers concerned with cases of DV feel they have limited options aside from talking to the abuser, and feel that any report needs to be made first with the consent of the victim of the abuse.

The above leads to the main finding of this study:

The state needs to work towards improving the DV response system in parallel to expanding efforts aimed at encouraging teachers to report.

If institutional performance remains a problem, teacher reporting is likely to remain low. Without efforts to address underlying issues with response mechanisms, efforts to promote reporting could see teachers taking action seeing a failed response, and no longer reporting. The demonstration effect for their colleagues in turn would be expected to depress reporting further. Without first improving the reporting and response system, teachers will likely become more reticent to report DV.

The study's conclusions on this issue also suggest a number of often straightforward, though not necessarily easy to implement, reforms to the

processes around reporting. First, it is recommended that authorities should:

6.1. Ensure the confidentiality of those who report.

Through ensuring confidentiality, teachers will be less concerned about the potential repercussions to both them and their family. This could be achieved through a number of mechanisms. An online reporting form could be used to enable anonymity. Alternatively, hotlines can instruct operators to ensure people who are reporting that their phone number will not be recorded unless they want to give authorities their number. Similarly, a reporting box could be placed in a designated location in schools. Numerous other options could be considered.

For individuals to be comfortable in reporting, they need to believe that the victims of DV are significantly more likely than not to be better off as a result. For this to be the case, effective institutional response is critical. Despite the significant progress the MIA has made through establishing a specialized DV unit – the Human Rights Protection Department – the data presented above suggests that more work needs to be done for the police to take DV seriously. At the same time, police require additional support in responding to DV, and particularly the support of social workers and psychologists when interviewing children. To encourage more appropriate police response, it is recommended that:

6.2. Police officers countrywide should be provided with more and improved training on the identification and response to domestic violence with a focus on the importance of responding to relatively “light” cases.

6.3. Provide support to all police officers through enabling them to engage social workers and/or

psychologists in all cases dealing with DV components. This is particularly important when it comes to interviewing children.

Aside from the MIA, the SSA and OROEI are critical actors in the DV reporting system. The system however lacks sufficient numbers of social workers and psychologists to ensure an adequate response. To ensure an adequate response, it is recommended that:

6.4. Hire more social workers and psychologists in both SSA and OROEI and provide in-depth training on working with victims of domestic violence.

SROs and teachers also reported that the process of reporting DV is inconvenient, involving missed work hours among other time-consuming procedures. At the same time, reducing paperwork in relation to legal issues is challenging. Nonetheless, through reducing the bureaucratic burden associated with filing a report, more teachers would likely continue to report after having done so once. Hence, it is recommended that:

6.5. Decrease the bureaucratic burden of reporting to the extent possible, and provide reporters with a flexible timeline during which they can appear at police stations.

Support for teachers who are in doubt about whether and how to report a DV case is important. While resource centers are one option for such consultations (see recommendation 1.2.), their close relationships with school principals present a confidentiality risk, particularly in small communities. Hence, a hotline that can provide consultation for teachers on signs of DV and reporting procedures could further encourage teachers to report. This measure is particularly important for teachers without experience in reporting. Instead of setting up a new hotline, it may be useful to add this service to the already

existing hotline on DV (116-006). Even if a differently branded hotline is desirable, the same staff currently working on the existing hotline could work on both hotlines to save resources. In short, to provide teachers with accessible support and consultations on this topic it is recommended that:

6.6. A hotline should be made available, that can provide consultations for teachers on signs of domestic violence and advice on reporting.

6.7 Improving and expanding services and awareness of them

RECOMENDATIONS

7.1. Services aim to provide for survivors' immediate economic needs.

7.2. Services should work towards survivors' economic empowerment in the medium term.

7.3. The timely, countrywide availability of psychological support services (including psychotherapy and consultations with psychiatrists) to all survivors of DV.

7.4. Services that state and non-state actors provide to survivors of DV are mapped in terms of their geographical distribution, mandate, target groups, and resources.

7.5. Service maps are distributed to schools and through them to teacher, students, and parents. These materials should also be used in teacher training.

Even if a sufficient number of well-trained social workers are in place, they cannot be effective without the ability to refer survivors of DV to a wide variety of support services. The qualitative data shows that there is either a lack of awareness of services or a lack of availability of quality support to victims in a number of spheres.

The first important perceived gap in services is economic rehabilitation of victims of DV. Existing services do relatively little to address teachers' concerns that reporting will do more harm than

good in the economic domain. The underlying cause of this issue is victims' economic dependence on abusers. The abuser being incarcerated and no longer providing income for the family worsens victims' financial situation. There is no simple solution to this issue. However, increased service provision has the potential to dampen the economic harm associated with the loss of household income as resulting from incarceration. Support could take many forms, from a temporary conditional or unconditional cash transfer for victims of DV to enable them to transition, to support for continuing education or textbook provision for children. No matter the specific composition or form of service provision, it is recommended that services provided:

7.1. Aim to provide for the survivors' immediate economic needs.

7.2. Aim to work towards survivors' economic empowerment in the medium term.

Teachers, SROs and key informants indicated that access to psychologists and psychiatrists is often lacking or delayed. Not only is the number of psychologists working in OROEI and SSA insufficient to cope with demand, but their scope of work is also limited. Psychologists offer psychological consultations to child victims of violence but do not provide the therapy which is often needed. Moreover, OROEI psychologists do not work with families, e.g. with the mothers which in most cases also require psychological help. SSA have one psychologist for each region of Georgia, with an extremely wide mandate that includes dealing with a great variety of psychological problems among the general public. Their broad mandate prevents timely access to services. This places the quality of their work in doubt, given the large workload and limited human resources. Moreover, there is a lack of cooperation between social workers and psychologists working with different

members of the same family. In sum, psychological support services are fragmented. To ensure the SSA can become a more effective institution in the process of responding to DV, it is recommended that they are enabled:

7.3. To ensure the timely, countrywide availability of psychological support services (including psychotherapy and consultations with psychiatrists) to all survivors of domestic violence.

The evaluation of existing resources is beyond the scope of this study. However, qualitative work done within the study and further discussion of results with the inter-disciplinary working group suggest there is a need:

7.4. To map services that state and non-state actors provide to survivors of DV in terms of their geographical distribution, mandate, target groups, and resources etc.

7.5. Service maps are distributed to schools and through them to students and parents. These materials should also be used in teacher training.

Undertaking a mapping exercise could be a first step in identifying and filling gaps in services. The results of this study suggest a mapping would support increased teacher reporting, through demonstrating the availability of services. Showing teachers the broad variety of services that are already available may counter perceptions that the consequences of state intervention are on balance negative. Similarly, given the role that teachers assign to the survivors of DV in the reporting process, showing the availability of services to students and their parents also has the potential to encourage reporting. Moreover, it would help to ready the system to deal with increased reports in an effective manner.

6.8 Improving administrative data collection and analysis

RECOMENDATIONS

8.1. The MIA and SSA work with the OROEI to improve their data collection and management practices.

8.2. The data be analyzed with a view to informing policy.

The above conclusions rely on a combination of survey, qualitative, and administrative data. The latter data was provided by the Office of Resource Officers of Educational Institutions, and is maintained in excellent form. In contrast, the SSA's data is less organized and the Ministry of Internal Affairs does not maintain data on this issue that can be linked to schools. This in turn prevents potentially valuable data analysis. For instance, if the SSA and MIA also maintained data in a similar form to the OROEI, then it would be relatively straightforward to identify schools that are likely to be under-reporting violence against children. In turn, corrective actions could be highly targeted. In the absence of this data, however, targeting school level interventions becomes a greater challenge.

Similarly, the data could be used to identify schools that are reporting at higher than expected rates. This information could be used to identify schools and communities in need of greater support. Hence it is recommended that:

8.1. The MIA and SSA work with the Office of Resource Officers of Educational Institutions to improve their data collection and management practices.

8.2. The data be analyzed with a view to informing policy.

One such area that data could help inform policy on is in targeting trainings to those most likely to need them. For instance, in the data OROEI and SSA made available to CRRC Georgia suggest that in the last five years that at most 60% of schools have had a report. Schools that have not reported could be targeted for training and awareness raising efforts.

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