

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



Thinking through SGBV Experience from the Survivors' perspectives: Protection, resilience and Integration

Saime Ozcurumez and Selin Akyuz

IRiS WORKING PAPER SERIES, No. 35/2020

www.birmingham.ac.uk/iris

IRiS Working Paper Series

IRiS Working Paper Series The Institute for Research into Superdiversity (IRiS) Working Paper Series is intended to aid the rapid distribution of work in progress, research findings and special lectures by researchers and associates of the Institute. Papers aim to stimulate discussion among scholars, policymakers and practitioners and will address a range of topics including issues surrounding population dynamics, security, cohesion and integration, identity, global networks, rights and citizenship, diasporic and transnational activities, service delivery, wellbeing, social exclusion and the opportunities which superdiverse societies offer to support economic recovery.

The IRiS WP Series is edited by Professor Nando Sigona at the Institute for Research into Superdiversity, University of Birmingham. We welcome proposals for Working Papers from researchers, policymakers and practitioners; for queries and proposals, please contact: n.sigona@bham.ac.uk. All papers are peer-reviewed before publication.

The opinions expressed in the papers are solely those of the author/s who retain the copyright. They should not be attributed to the project funders or the Institute for Research into Superdiversity, the School of Social Policy or the University of Birmingham.

Papers are distributed free of charge in PDF format via the IRiS website. Hard copies will be occasionally available at IRiS public events.



Institute for Research into Superdiversity
University of Birmingham
Edgbaston
B15 2TT Birmingham UK
www.birmingham.ac.uk/iris



This Working Paper is also part of the **SEREDA Working Paper Series (No.9/2020)**

For more information on SEREDA: <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/sereda>

Abstract

This paper discusses the SGBV survivors' perspectives on their experience in forced migration contexts. Based on the analysis of data from interviews with survivors of SGBV in Turkey, the research identifies the types of violence, the sources of resilience and the integration prospects. The main findings of the paper are threefold. First, the SGBV survivors experience both structural and interpersonal violence throughout the forced migration journey – from country of origin to settlement. Second, SGBV survivors suffer from multiple vulnerabilities and therefore strengthening their resilience needs to be multifaceted including social assistance as well as properly designed comprehensive policy support covering the needs of access to a safe shelter. Third, SGBV survivors' integration prospects remain conditional upon their capacity to overcome their social trauma induced both by the forced migration experience and by the experience of discrimination as well as lack of language skills in the country of settlement. The study concludes by highlighting that prevention and protection efforts need to include the survivors' perspectives in order to develop and implement a comprehensive response that will strengthen SGBV survivor's resilience and increase integration prospects.

Citation

Ozcurumez, S. and Akyuz, S. (2020) Thinking through the SGBV experience from the survivors perspective: Protection, resilience and integration, No. 35/2020, Birmingham: Institute for Research into Superdiversity

Keywords

Integration, protection, resilience, Sexual and gender based violence, SGBV, survivors.

Contents

- 1. Introduction..... 5
 - 1.1 SGBV response context in Turkey 5
- 2. A Note on Research Design and Methodology 10
- 3. The Experience of Violence: Structural and Interpersonal 12
 - 3.1. Structural Violence 12
 - 3.2 Interpersonal Violence 15
- 4. Resilience Building Inhibitors and Enablers 19
 - 4.1. Resilience at Individual Level 20
 - 4.2. Resilience at Institutional Level..... 25
 - 4.3. Resilience Building Inhibitors at Institutional Level 27
- 5. Integration Prospects in a Context of ‘Temporary Protection’ 28
- 6. Concluding Remarks 32
- 7. Works Cited 33

1. Introduction

Our research reveals that there are many practices and policies that service providers offer to prevent SGBV and protect SGBV survivors in forced migration context in Turkey.¹ However, SGBV survivors' perspectives on whether, to what extent and how these efforts may have alleviated their suffering, strengthened their resilience, protected them from further exposure to violence and facilitated their integration prospects remain largely missing. In this working paper, we analyse data from the interviews with survivors of SGBV in Turkey. Our main finding is that the SGBV survivors are subject to a variety of types of violence that has structural and interpersonal sources, which require a pertinent attention to how different individuals perceive, experience and report on their SGBV survival narrative. Second, the SGBV survivors' experience on resilience building efforts at the individual and institutional level reflect that while some interventions serve as enablers some others deliver less than they aim to do so. Third, ultimately efforts to integrate SGBV survivors into the host society have many setbacks due to the multifaceted nature of the challenges that emanate from the types of violence, the variety of perpetrators and the lack of safe locations. The paper begins with a review of the SGBV response context in Turkey and identifies services available for local women and refugee women. The paper continues with a brief note on methodology, the types of violence, the characteristics of resilience building efforts as they are perceived by survivors and the integration markers.

1.1 SGBV response context in Turkey

In 2013, Turkey ratified the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP hereafter), which came into effect in 2014, and provided a single coherent framework for migration and international protection governance.² LFIP has amalgamated a plethora of legislation that governed immigration and international protection to date. Those who come from a 'non-European country of origin' are considered for "conditional refugee status" under LFIP while those with "conditional refugee status" have access to sets of rights and entitlements lesser than that of "refugee status". The "subsidiary protection" status covers persons who would be at "risk of indiscriminate violence" because of war or internal armed conflict in their country of origin. Persons with "subsidiary protection" receive lesser sets of rights and entitlements when compared to those with "refugee status", and they are not entitled to long-term integration in Turkey. A year later, in 2014, Turkey introduced the Regulation on Temporary Protection (TPR hereafter) based on Article 91 of LFIP. The TPR is expected to be compliant

¹ (Ozcurumez and Akyuz, Risks and Prospects in SGBV Prevention, Intervention and Protection: The Service Providers' Perspective in Turkey 2020)

² For a detailed overview of the refugee policy in Turkey see Ozcurumez and Akyuz 2020

with the LFIP. The LFIP and TPR constitute the fundamental legal framework for the service provision, protection and support provided to Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTP hereafter) by public authorities in Turkey.

Turkey's international protection governance has been going through new phases since the ratification of LFIP. As the needs of status holders and undocumented migrants are diverse, not only the institutional and legal structures but also organizational dynamics have been changed to meet the increasing demand and to adjust the capacity of resources in Turkey. As SGBV is one of the most critical part of prevention and protection responses, how SGBV has been addressed in the national context constitutes another part of the organisational puzzle around responses to SGBV experience of forcibly displaced persons.

Turkey signed CEDAW in 1985 which coincided with the efforts of the Turkish feminist movement that designated violence against women as their priority. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women. It defines what constitutes discrimination against women and describes an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. By being a signatory, states commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms including "to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises" and "to incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women."³ CEDAW has been significant for not only setting up the agenda but also targeting patriarchal cultures and traditions harming attainment of gender equality in a given country. Hence, CEDAW incorporated a comprehensive agenda and required responsibilities for stakeholders in their fight against violence, and among these stakeholders the women's movement has played a central role.

The post-1980 feminist movement in Turkey questioned women's political agency by establishing women as autonomous political actors in public and political life as well as through a feminist struggle by pursuing an advocacy campaign asserting that male violence in the domestic realm constitutes a political problem.⁴ "The women's movement in the post-1980 era in Turkey started with grassroots

³ Council of Europe, *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*, available from <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>

⁴ (Ozcurumez and Sayan Cengiz 2011); (Akyuz and Sayan-Cengiz 2016)

activism in the form of small awareness raising groups (...) and emboldened women's solidarity against structural patriarchy deeply rooted in various walks of political and social life."⁵ In 1987, the campaign against the battering of women and the Women's March Against Violence gained recognition among the public in general and a variety of feminist groups in particular as violence and harassment were publicly condemned as constituting structural problems and were recognized as in need of being addressed with policies and practice in the public realm. As a signatory to CEDAW, Turkey's local and national government agencies began to acknowledge that violence against women must be an issue on the agenda. In 1990, the Directorate General for the Status and Problems of Women (KSSGM) was established as a first "national machinery for women" under the Ministry of Labour and Social Security.⁶

The 1990s was a period when the Ministry began to establish shelters and centres which provide counselling to GBV survivors in different cities.⁷ In addition, media campaigns were organized to increase awareness and public stance against domestic violence. Since the 1990s, state and non-governmental actors worked on legal and prosecutorial measures to combat violence against women. One of the main triggers of this activism was the increasing awareness about the tragedy of honour killings. Honour killings⁸ were also on the agenda of feminist groups and NGOs because the severity of the situation had become even more pronounced in the 1990s. Between 1994 and 1996 a total of fifty-three women fell victim to honour killings.⁹ As a consequence of the increased awareness around this issue, efforts to criminalize these acts and bring the perpetrators to justice through legal and institutional mechanisms increased, which was a major shift from the previous approaches of contextualizing these acts in the cultural and traditional settings, and avoiding serious prosecution.¹⁰ As Kogacioglu states "Infanticide for family honour, the legal term for a crime differentiated from manslaughter, draws a sentence of only four to eight years instead of the twenty-four to thirty years for regular manslaughter (Article 453)."¹¹

During the 2000s, Turkey witnessed accelerated efforts and comprehensive legal reforms in the field

⁵ (Akyuz and Sayan-Cengiz 2016)

⁶ (Kucukalioglu Gozdasoglu 2018)

⁷ (Altınay and Arat 2007); (Kucukalioglu Gozdasoglu 2018)

⁸ Honour killings or custom killings are killings of women and girls suspected of sexual involvements seen as "improper" by the community. For more information on this problem, see (Sever 2005); (Sirman 2004); (Sever and Yurdakul 2001)

⁹ (Kogacioglu 2004 118)

¹⁰ (Ibid. 119)

¹¹ (Kogacioglu 2004 123)

of gender-based violence within the Accession Partnership and the Draft Negotiation Framework of the EU accession process especially after 2005. However, to this day, the EU regular reports on Turkey highlight gender-based violence as an area of critical concern. The report notes that in 2018, 440 women died as a consequence of GBV, and only 317 women reported SGBV.¹² Throughout the 2000s, one of the most significant legal amendments which impacted the approach to SGBV was the abolishment of the “head of the family” status in the Civil Code,¹³ which referred only to the male. The recognition of sexual crimes as crimes against the person rather than against public morality with the new Penal Code also occurred in this period. “The Code, which states in its first article that the aim of the law is to ‘protect the rights and freedoms of individuals’ brings progressive definitions and longer prison sentences for [those who commit] sexual crimes; criminalises marital rape; eliminates all references to patriarchal concepts such as chastity, honour, morality, shame or indecent behaviour (...) provisions granting sentence reductions in rape and abduction cases”¹⁴ This significant change was followed by the establishment of the Parliamentary Commission on Prevention of and Measures to Combat Violence against Women and Children, and Custom and Honour Crimes in the Turkish Parliament in 2005.¹⁵ This was followed by a comprehensive National Action Plan for Combatting Violence Against Women 2007-2010 and the introduction of a new set of laws to support those who have survived gender based violence by calling for the establishment of Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centres (ŞÖNİM) to act as shelters.¹⁶ The new Action plan was also prepared in line with the provisions of Istanbul Convention which can be considered as a milestone for Turkey’s agenda on combatting violence against women. The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, as an international treaty, was opened for signature in 2011, and Turkey was the first country to ratify the Convention. As a legally binding instrument, the Convention changed the approach to combat all forms of discrimination and violence against women.

The articles in the Convention widened the definition of “violence”. “Violence against women is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological

¹² European Commission Turkey 2019 Report, available from <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-turkey-report.pdf>

¹³ Civil Code of 1926 included articles that consider women as a subordinate actor in the family. For more, see (Kucukalioglu Gozdasoglu 2018)

¹⁴ (Kucukalioglu Gozdasoglu 2018, 139)

¹⁵ (Agduk 2020)

¹⁶ (Kucukalioglu Gozdasoglu 2018); (Agduk 2020)

or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”¹⁷

Although the Convention, other instruments and new national regulations provided a suitable ground for the implementation of the laws, progress on combatting SGBV was slow. The proliferation of national and international legislations accompanied by an increasing number of organisations encouraged feminist groups to engage in combating violence and to offer a multilateral approach to combat SGBV in Turkey. In addition, bar associations and universities have become significant actors in the advocacy efforts. ŞÖNİMs coordinate the targeted services to SGBV survivors and provide shelters. However, none of these initiatives in the past two decades has resulted in significant improvements in the fight against SGBV, as Turkey ranks 130th out of 153 countries in World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap Index.¹⁸

Opening new shelters has always been a challenge, and the ones that are in operation suffer from problems of sustainability, limited accommodation facilities, and the limited capacity to provide expedited services for helping SGBV survivors.¹⁹ Survivors of SGBV who are forcibly displaced and are in Turkey to seek refuge suffer from additional challenges as for example the hotline (ALO 183) to support survivors of SGBV, which is operated by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, offers very limited services in different languages. This has been mentioned among others as one of the most significant challenges that forced migrants who are survivors of SGBV face.

Men are also survivors of SGBV however neither national nor international organisations account for their needs. One of the main patterns in the literature and responses to SGBV is the lack of a discussion on refugee men and their vulnerabilities throughout forced migration process. SGBV is mainly presented with reference to the female “victim” while the complexity of the processes leading to SGBV as well as its consequences and the range of actors included are rarely discussed. The perception of masculinity as antithetical to victimhood has hindered not only the potential ways of incorporating the experiences of men into the scope of responses to SGBV but also the mechanisms for prevention and

¹⁷ Council of Europe, *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence*, available from <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168008482e>

¹⁸ World Economic Forum, *2020 Gender Gap Report*, available from <https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality/country-top-10s#report-nav>

¹⁹ (Agduk 2020, 141)

protection. In Turkey, ŞÖNİM hosts men since 2013. There is no reliable data or work on the number of men who have been accommodated in these facilities. While some of the service providers in the field of humanitarian aid do acknowledge the SGBV incidents faced by men²⁰ as local survivors or refugee survivors, there are no specific services tailored for the needs of men. In addition, there are also no services available for men who have been abusive. Few organisations have trainings on gender-based violence against women as well as (inclusive) fatherhood, however, there is lack of consistently available and comprehensive responses.²¹

LGBTQ individuals are also survivors of SGBV in Turkey. There are some well-established organisations that have been fighting for discrimination against LGBTQ persons, however, the number of incidents is not decreasing despite intense efforts. For LGBTQ refugees, the situation is more multifaceted as they have been rendered “invisible.” According to a recent study on the problems faced by LGBTQ refugees, these groups “are experiencing the same exposure in Turkey on account of their sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex conditions and/or gender expression in addition to the xenophobia against refugees.”²² This complexity magnifies their vulnerabilities and render the immediate responses more acute.

2. A Note on Research Design and Methodology

For SEREDA research, 38 interviews were conducted with survivors of different ethnic backgrounds and sexual orientations. The interviews were conducted in Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep and Hatay, where hundreds of thousands of Syrians under Temporary Protection²³ live alongside Iraqis, Iranians and Afghanis under International Protection.²⁴ Participants were recruited with the support of a key NGO partner, Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM). The interviewees were selected with close cooperation with the head of local offices in each city by consulting with the therapists and case workers. A very detailed sampling process was pursued so as to not create any secondary trauma for forced migrants while ensuring that the sample is representative. Those who have been going through a process of “healing” either by regularly seeing a therapist or joining empowerment/training classes were contacted and based on their consent to participate in the research, the interviews were held in ASAM offices.

²⁰ (Ozcurumez and Akyuz, 2020)

²¹ (Ibid.)

²² KAOS GL, Turkey’s Challenges with LGBTI Refugees 2019, 7

²³ <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27>

²⁴ <https://en.goc.gov.tr/international-protection17>

Researchers first obtained Ethics Approval from Bilkent University Ethics Committee for the consent forms and topic guide for the questions. After receiving the consent of the interviewee, the interviews were conducted in the language preferred by himself/herself/themselves. The interpreters were recruited through the NGOs who were informed and trained on the content of the questions before the interview as well as relevant confidentiality requirements and were always present during the interview. In some cases, the participants preferred to be interviewed in Turkish but in case they need help, the interpreter remained in the room. The interviews lasted 30 to 120 mins and the data has been anonymised. The interviews were recorded but when the interviewee asked not to be recorded intensive notes were taken by the interviewing researcher. The interviews then were translated to English and the transcripts were coded in Nvivo data analysis software with the coding scheme.

TABLE 1. Respondents by Sexual Orientation, Marital Status, Country Of Origin

Code name	Sexuality	Marital status	Country of origin
T1S	Heterosexual	Divorced	Syria
T2S	Heterosexual	Separated	Syria
T3S	Heterosexual	Married	Syria
T4S	Heterosexual	Divorced	Syria
T5S	Heterosexual	Divorced	Syria
T6S	Heterosexual	Divorced	Syria
T7S	LGBTQI	Single	Syria
T8S	Heterosexual	Separated	Syria
T9S	Heterosexual	Widower	Syria
T10S	Heterosexual	Widower	Syria
T11S	Heterosexual	Married	Syria
T12S	Heterosexual	Married	Afghanistan
T13S	Heterosexual	Married	Iran
T14S	LGBTQI	Single	Syria
T15S	LGBTQI	Single	Syria
T16S	Heterosexual	Divorced	Syria
T17S	Heterosexual	Single	Afghanistan
T18S	Heterosexual	Married	Syria
T19S	Heterosexual	Married	Syria
T20S	Heterosexual	Single	Iran
T21S	Heterosexual	Separated	Afghanistan
T22S	LGBTQI	Single	Iran
T23S	Heterosexual	Married	Iraq
T24S	LGBTQI	Single	Iraq
T25S	Heterosexual	Married	Iraq

Code name	Sexuality	Marital status	Country of origin
T26S	Heterosexual	Married	Afghanistan
T27S	Heterosexual	Married	Afghanistan
T28S	Heterosexual	Divorced	Iran
T29S	Heterosexual	Separated	Afghanistan
T30S	Heterosexual	Separated	Iran
T31S	Heterosexual	Married	Afghanistan
T32S	Heterosexual	Separated	Afghanistan
T33S	Heterosexual	Married	Afghanistan
T34S	Heterosexual	Single	Afghanistan
T35S	Heterosexual	Separated	Afghanistan
T36S	Heterosexual	Married	Iraq
T37S	Heterosexual	Married	Iraq
T38S	LGBTQI	Single	Iran

3. The Experience of Violence: Structural and Interpersonal

In this study, we classify SGBV experience as caused by structural and interpersonal factors throughout the forced migration journey. When identified on the basis of its consequences, structural violence in migration contexts is manifested in the form of “exclusion” from institutions and social spaces.²⁵ By structural violence, we will be analysing legal and institutional settings, poverty, conflict and discrimination. By interpersonal violence, we will be analysing physical, sexual, emotional, verbal abuse and economic hardship.

3.1. Structural Violence

Our studies on the nature of violence in forced migration contexts have suggested that SGBV is intrinsic to the whole forced migration journey—from displacement to resettlement.²⁶ From the perspective of survivors, the experience of violence and the experience of forced migration journeys are also interwoven with each other. Survivors almost resign to the fact that violence has always been in their lives, in their communities and as part of their interpersonal relationships from childhood onwards, and from country of origin to country of settlement. Our findings suggest that all the interviewees have experienced SGBV at one point in their lives, especially during childhood; maltreatment including violent punishment, bullying, youth violence, domestic violence, sexual violence including non-consensual completed or attempted sexual acts and acts of sexual nature not involving contact (such

²⁵ (Rucmann 2016)

²⁶ (Ozcurumez, Akyuz and Bradby 2020)

as voyeurism) and emotional or psychological violence.²⁷ Our analysis of the survivors' narratives of their experiences of violence from the country of origin leads us to infer that for some SGBV survivors violence is a fact of life.

Survivors' description of violence is through narrating a context of violence, which they feel vulnerable within but at the same time feel they are inevitably part of. Their narratives are based on direct observations concerning their experience of the causes and consequences of violence with a sense of banality.

Survivors' perceptions of inevitability of violence in the country of origin has many examples in our data. Survivors note that the prevalence of violence in the country of origin affects everyone personally and collectively from their childhood onwards that they almost internalize it. Unless there is an external intervention to eradicate violence once and for all, they define their own societies as being caught up in this plight:

"...Afghan children do not grow up in a healthy environment and therefore they are accustomed to violence. I have no hopes for Afghanistan. I do not expect any decrease in the violence. But those who grow up abroad might change the culture of Afghanistan." (T21S)

"It is all about violence in my country. The state violence is against everyone especially men. Being a young man is the hardest thing in my country." (T17S)

"Men were also very exposed. This is a culture in Afghanistan when fathers are poor in that culture, they sell their sons at a very young age. They sell their child to the old people of Taliban. They dress those boys in women's clothes, and make them dance....like a girl is dancing. It exists in all Afghan culture...." (T28S)

"There is no protection for women in Iran. In Iran, the viewpoint of men and our government is shaped by gender. Women in Iran cover themselves just to avoid the stares of men." (T13S)

"I was a lawyer there for 30 years. There were some problems with the Iran state. I was arrested, exposed to violence, I got shot and got threatened by the police. Then I had to leave the country because my life was in danger." (T20S)

SGBV survivors point out that by being forcibly displaced and seeking refuge, individuals experience a series of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Amidst the intrinsic violence in the whole context, the decision to flee comes with a major life-threatening experience:

"We have decided to come to Turkey when we realized that conflict was near. The worst part was the time when they launched too many missiles around us. Windows of our house were broken because of the explosion." (T15S)

"For forty years I have experienced the worst. I was traumatized by being imprisoned over and over again." (T18S)

As they begin to escape from conflict and violence, survivors share vivid accounts of how violence is perpetrated throughout forced displacement by various actors.

²⁷ (These types have been identified in accordance with the WHO categorization, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-children>)

“We also bribed Kurdish peshmerga on the border and returned to Iraq. They took all our documents and asked why we went to Turkey. They didn’t let us go to Iraq until my sister and her husband came to get us. They told us “if your sister does not come here, we have to send you to Baghdad”. They made us sign some paper and took us to some room like a prison. They blindfolded us and tortured us. They asked us several questions about Turkey and made us sign a paper after we told them everything. After that they put us in a place with other people and gave us good food even, they had a bath for us. I don’t remember how many days I stayed there.” (T14S)

“I went to Iran [from Afghanistan] and stayed there for a year and four months. The immigration authorities in Iran refused to give me an identity card. They told me that they only renew identity cards of previously arrived refugees but not issue new identity cards for single males. Being a single refugee man is the worst thing in Iran.” (T17S)

Survivors’ perceptions also point out that when they arrive in the country of refuge, they again arrive in a context of structural violence through their first contact with institutions and the society.

“When we went to the UN, they gave us a paper which says, “temporary protection”. They told us to return in three or six months, I don’t remember exactly. We told them we didn’t have any place to stay but they told us that is not our problem.”(T14S)

“We are living in miserable conditions. There is no job. There is no security. I am selling things in the street.” (T19S)

“I don’t have freedom of speech because I am an asylum seeker. (...) I have been called by the police ...but I needed a translator. I asked a translator from Red Umbrella, but they told me to go with a friend who knows Turkish since they could not provide a translator.” (T22S)

“Here, the violence is everywhere, too. There are different faces of violence that every Syrian feels at home, in the streets, at schools, everywhere. It is very hard for me.” (T18S)

SGBV survivors’ experience with respect to how their rights are violated differ. Some share severe accounts of experiencing ‘injustice’ when they try to bring their cases to courts or legal proceedings. While the legal framework of Temporary Protection Regulation allows Syrians under Temporary Protection access to legal support, SGBV survivors’ narratives suggest that the ad hoc implementation leads to major frustration and perceptions of injustice in the country of refuge:

“At least they should put him (son-in-law) in jail so that he cannot beat us. They can provide us a lawyer who can defend us. When I went to the police station, they told me “We are not providing any services to Syrians”.

Our data also suggest that the legal proceedings and encounters during their court cases trigger also traumatic experiences of going through with the divorce when most of the survivors aim to divorce their husbands due to experiences of SGBV or risk of SGBV:

“At the court house the judge said, “You don't have a wedding document, how do I know that he is your husband.” I said, “I have two children, but I had religious marriage in Afghanistan.” “That wedding is invalid, you can leave him,” the judge said. I said, “How am I going to tell UNHCR, I can't go anywhere”; the judge insisted, I sat in front of the door, I cried; “I can't go

unless I get a divorce." But he refused. Then I decided to make a new plan and trick my husband. I said, "If you get divorced, maybe they will think your file is better. Your chance for resettlement would increase as a single man" He believed in me. Then he came to the courthouse and we got divorced." (T28S)

"The first hearing was two and half months later and my husband did not show up. I got scared but the lawyer said if my husband would not come to the next hearing the court will bring him forcefully. He came in the second hearing and fought with the judge. I took back my kids in the third hearing. He pointed at me during the trial and told "I bought this". The judge listened patiently and then burst "What are you buying? Do you buy tomatoes?" and silenced my husband. The judge decided to give me custody of the children at the end." (T16S)

This incident also reveals how interpersonal violence is enduring in different contexts and it interplays with other forms of violence.

3.2 Interpersonal Violence

Based on the experience of SGBV as perceived and presented by the survivors, our findings suggest that experiences of survivors vary among different interpersonal experiences of violence throughout the forced migration journey. The most prevalent experience of violence is physical violence, and almost all survivors share their emotions, the surroundings, and those involved and the physical violence inflicted in detail. We share the analysis of our data by reflecting the voice and the perceptions of the survivors themselves to the extent possible.

Survivors depict physical violence as "harsh beatings", "regular beatings" or sometimes with specific details such as "breaking of teeth", "harsh beating that causes loss of pregnancy", "being burnt with boiling water" beginning from the country of origin:

"I lost four children because of physical violence. He told me that "I bought you. So, you have to do as I say". He was a military commander in Afghanistan and my father could not do or say anything against him. Neither could I." (T21S)

He was beating and torturing me a lot in Afghanistan. He did everything, harassment, verbal violence, everything." (T12S)

The infliction of physical violence is not limited to the survivor herself, however, is inflicted upon to her family members and children.

*"...He used violence on my daughter. Even one time he beat me and broke my teeth." (T10S)
"My husband was beating us... My kids, two girls... One of my boys, he's had a hip dislocation." (T36S)*

"After a while, especially with his brothers' beatings, it was unbearable. I begged for help. My mother took me in and allowed me to stay with them for some time. Then, my husband was taken. I did not feel sorry I must admit, I only felt sad for my daughter." (T9S)

Survivors reported on their traumatic experiences and presented their vulnerabilities by drawing on the severity or the frequency of the experience. Some narrated mental and emotional abuse that they experienced through verbal abuse, which may or may not have escalated to physical violence.

“...They beat me even when I was pregnant. My husband beat me because I was sitting in the same room as his father. He burnt me with hot boiling water because of this.” (T8S)

Survivors also report on emotional or psychological violence and differentiate these experiences from physical violence in terms of its reasons and impact. Some share the sources of violence as embedded in gendered contexts, which for them explains the inevitability in the country of origin and seek to flee from the violence during the journey.

“I have never been exposed to physical violence but there were times that I have been exposed to verbal violence. There is no protection for women in Iran. In Iran, the viewpoint of men and our government shaped by gender. Women in Iran cover themselves just to avoid the stares of men.” (T13S)

As they embark on a journey to escape the violence in the country of origin, survivors’ accounts of their experiences point to the severity of violence during the journey, which is perpetrated by strangers and relatives:

“[On their way from Afghanistan to Turkey] One day the human trafficker called me and told me that my husband was questioning other smugglers that take people to Iraq border. After that, one night the owner of the hostel told me that someone was looking for me. I told him “Please, don’t tell him that we are here”. While I was saying that, my husband’s brother came in and saw me. He slapped me on the face and told me “Do you try to run away? I know what I am going to do to you.” I asked him “What are you going to do?” He told me “I will kill you and take your children back to Afghanistan”. He brought his gun. The owner of the hostel took his gun away and told him to leave for the night and come back the next morning and take me and children back.” (T21S)

“[On their way from Syria to Turkey] They stopped our cars and searched the cars. They asked us where we were going. My husband told them “We are going to God” and they replied, “No. You are going to infidel land, to Turkey”. They took my husband for three hours while we have waited and prayed outside. Thank God we came directly to Ankara afterward, but I wanted to go to Germany. Because after my husband passed away, I have no one to protect me.” (T10S)

In the country of refuge, the perceptions shared by survivors highlight that interpersonal violence has several sources (structural, cultural, agency), and SGBV survivors narrate separate accounts of what effects them the most emotionally and physically, and who chooses to increase their suffering or not to improve the circumstances that cause the suffering. The account below is an explicit example of this experience:

“We were 17 people living in the same house. I was the bride of the house. My husband’s brother’s wife was of Arab origin and never interested in housework. I had to do all the housework because I was their relative.” (T16S)

In this quote, the SGBV survivor narrates her SGBV experience through her description of living in overcrowded housing (structural violence and forced migration), the gendered distribution of household responsibilities and care work as having to perform all tasks due to being ‘the bride of the

house' (cultural), and a complicated perception of ethnicity based discrimination and family member based justification (agency) as constituting the different layers of her experience of violence, which for her is having to work beyond her own physical capacity.

The pattern that emerges throughout many of the interviews is that there is no single perpetrator but many. Anyone (male, female) in any capacity (relative, neighbour, co-worker, landlord, stranger), anywhere (home, in the street, work place) who interacts with the survivor may have perpetrated all sorts of violence at different degrees at any point in time.

"There is a Turkish man who was 14-15 years old. He wanted to abuse an 8 years old Syrian boy sexually. Syrian boy refused and shouted after that and ran away from him. Turkish man hit him." (T1S)

"When I first arrived, I went to my sister's house. I lived there for a while. My brother-in-law was not nice to me. He abused me, he was mean." (T27S)

"...it is my mother in law. She is using violence. She is forcing me to do whatever she wants me to do." (T37S)

"After the divorce, I moved to a place and my landlord always disturbed me. He harmed my psychological health." (T5)

"My landlord implicitly harassed me, he said 'I am not raising your rent. We can go somewhere one night.', and I refused, and to save myself, I moved to another place which was run down." (T28S)

Survivors' descriptions of their experiences of violence frequently suggest that their everyday lives and everyday encounters take place against a background of discrimination. For some survivors, in the last instance, the main reason behind what is happening to them is that they had to flee their home country and were experiencing violence due to their vulnerability as refugees:

"We were walking on the street in the day my son-in-law beat me with my daughter and my two grandchildren. He came on us and beat us and took one of my grandchildren. Shop owners saved me and called an ambulance. He (son-in-law) still threatens me. He told me "I will send you to the place where your late husband went". These things would not happen in Syria..." (T10S)

Survivors' point out that due to their refugee status, they experience layers of violence. For example, they highlight that their complaints about SGBV experience and their claims for justice are dismissed:

"I worked in the café as a dishwasher. I had an assistant chef with me. I went somewhere else, the cook came after me, hugged me right away behind my back, I became very bad, so I went into shock. I told him about the situation. They didn't rape, it's okay" (they said). I got off work. What does that mean, the guy says to me, "If there weren't hidden cameras, I would tell police right ... I said, what does that mean? They said he didn't rape me. Then they said, "Nothing happened". After that I quit work" (T28S)

The survivor narrates her experience of sexual harassment, which to her amounts to violence in terms of the intensity of the experience and the emotional impact. She also describes her frustration with

how her disclosure was dismissed as inadmissible because what she experienced was not ‘rape’. While her experience and its emotional impact were violent enough for her to suffer from and find it necessary to report it, her emotional experience was not acknowledged as worthy of attention, and her account was considered as fictional because ‘nothing happened’. Her remedy for her own situation is to quit work, which exposes her to another layer of vulnerability while she flees the context in which she experiences one.

While most studies focus on the SGBV experiences of women, our findings suggest that LGBTQI survivors of SGBV narrate that violence surrounds them all day, everyday and everywhere. The reasons for this are that they already come from a context of discrimination based on sexual orientation in their country of origin and through their journey, which resulted in being subject to different forms of violence:

“...they wanted to take me because of my sexual orientation. They came to our house.... They asked me why you are this tall? I told them God made me this way. They told me that I need to grow a beard...I was disturbed by how people stare at me on the street. They beat me on the street. (...) In my journey of escape as I was fleeing the country soldiers sexually abused me” (T14S)

Once LGBTQI survivors seek refuge in Turkey, they report on their experiences of stigmatization and violence due to both sexual orientation and ethnicity during their everyday lives, everywhere in the country of refuge which epitomizes the continuum of the vulnerability of refugees as well:

“There was a car and people inside thought that I was a sex worker. They tried to take me in the car. I had a friend with me. They said get in the car but I refused. My face looks like a women’s face. They said we will give you money but I refused, and they pulled me forcefully into the car. They asked me where I am from and I said I am from Syria. Then he kicked me...but I ran away. I screamed and run away.” (T7S)

“I feel disturbed when people stare at me on the street. One time someone pulled a knife and threatened me. My roommates bother me because of my style and clothes. I feel abused when I go to the doctor because I have a man’s name but I wear woman’s clothes.” (T7)

While LGBTQI survivors arrive in the country of refuge to lead lives free of fear, their coping strategy with the interwoven violence is to isolate themselves from the rest of the society completely:

“I lived as a girl until I was 18. Even, I wore a hijab and went to girls-only school. Later I felt uncomfortable. I even don’t leave house anymore. Because if I go outside, when I talk to people, they realize that my voice is like a man’s voice. That is why I don’t go outside anymore.” (T24)^{SEP}
“I am always at home. I am not talking to anyone.” (T15)

Other types of violence such as structural violence “which occurs when rules or policies systematically

discriminate against or degrade specific groups within a community”²⁸ are described as part of the causes of physical violence especially when sharing the experience in the country of origin and especially by those narrated by men who fled war. Our findings suggest that men and their families have been subject to violence for choosing not to fight:

“(terrorist organization) is not interested in women, children or old people. They want men. They kidnap teenagers and force them to be one of them. Force them to kill people. Force them to fight. They also took my sister against my father’s will. They engaged her to an older guy.” (T22)
Our findings suggest that those men who flee war and conflict experience verbal abuse in the country of refuge for not acting as a proper man should have by fighting for his own country, as exemplified by the following accounts:

“They beat you three times a day. At breakfast, lunch and dinner. Violence is normal in prison. Especially, in the first months. They removed my nails. They hung us after tying our hands and arms... I am sorry that I cannot give the details of the torture I had in prison. It is not easy to talk about. But it is also very hard to talk about how people stare at me in Turkey. People are looking at me as if I am a traitor. They think I am not strong enough. But I am not. Should I be strong as a man? No.” (T18S)

“They forced me to join to the army. I did not want to. They beat me. I was afraid of them. They told me you have to fight for your country. But I could not. Then I decided to come to Turkey.” (T19S)

In the country of refuge, men feel the pressure from their homelands of preserving their masculinities through asserting their ‘virility’ and remaining as the provider of the house which signifies multifaceted nature of the interplay between forced migration and SGBV vulnerabilities:

“I am feeling ashamed. Asking for help is unacceptable for a man. This is our culture. (...) There are some people coming to our home and ask something private about our relations at home as a couple. I do not like this. Home is my private place. The people that I do not know cannot ask even they are here for help” (T19S)

A re-reading of the data collected well echoes how known paths of gendered organisation of life are challenged during forced migration. The survivors experience a process which may result in acceptance or inversion but in either cases their surviving strategy is challenged by intersections of factors and various actors including their own agency.

4. Resilience Building Inhibitors and Enablers

²⁸ P. Bernadette, 10.

4.1. Resilience at Individual Level

SGBV survivors constitute a diverse group consisting of people from different religions, social classes, ethnicity, marital status and sexual orientation.

Extreme poverty is common among SGBV survivors; the most challenging resilience inhibitor is to be caught up in a cycle of poverty with very little or no opportunity to break this cycle with individual efforts. The severity of this setback for all SGBV survivors is summarized in the quote below:

“Problems are for poor people because no one helps the poor.” (T23S)

Among the poor SGBV survivors, those who are single (both women and men) and poor share experiences of being subject to discrimination in their everyday lives, for example, when they are seeking housing;

“They didn't let me live in their house because I was a single woman. I rented a house somewhere different. I'm having a hard time paying the rent mostly.” (T35S)

Our findings suggest that solutions for housing are far from meeting the real needs of survivors in a sustainable way. One survivor reports:

“The time I am allowed here (where I live now) is over. I need to find a new place again.” (T8S)

She escapes from abuse, however, she ends up in a fight in the shelter, and she is evicted as a disciplinary action, and ends up sleeping in a park with her child in a suitcase. She first goes to a shelter operated by an NGO, where she witnesses abuse and immediately leaves the place. An NGO places her in a ŞÖNİM soon after she applies to them. However, ŞÖNİM's accommodate residents only for six months so she is sent away from ŞÖNİM at the end of that period. Her story is continuously seeking accommodation for herself and her child, and never being able to feel safe.

While SGBV survivors identified that overcoming the housing challenge enhances resilience, not being able to find adequate housing, their experiences with the local community while they seek housing, as their major challenge and, which is intersected with risk of SGBV or SGBV experience:

“I had my landlord 50-55 years old, he implicitly harassed me. He said I'm not raising your rent, normally it is 200 TL more. I said, "I can't pay that much money, why is the rent so much?" He said, "Then we'll go somewhere one night." Even my landlord... I moved and found a house in a ruined place. I've had such a hard thing in Turkey.” (T28)^[P1]_[SEP]

“I want to talk with Ankara about my situation, I am in a hard condition, the landlord is firing me and I do not know where to go and what to do?” (T5)

In addition to housing, SGBV survivors are further constrained by how husbands and relatives denigrate them on a regular basis:

“My daughter is married for four years and she couldn't get Turkish citizenship because her husband told her “You don't pay for healthcare because you are Syrian, and I will not apply for Turkish citizenship for you.” (T10S)

“My son-in-law has threatened us “You are Syrian, you cannot do anything here”. (T10S)

SGBV survivors also report on being mistreated by public authorities particularly due to their legal status. Those under international protection perceive that they suffer the most when they need to engage with the public authorities:

“I have seen such things in the camp. They brought a document from the Afghan consulate and forced us to sign that paper. If you sign it, you accept to return Afghanistan voluntarily. I didn’t sign that document. They forced 2000-2500 people to sign that paper but 35 people didn’t sign the paper. I told them “who could guarantee my security in Afghanistan?”. After that they forced us to sit on the sun, and when some of us left they beat us. (...) I came here to get information about the identity card. I tried to do it on my own but immigration authorities refused to help me.” (T17S)

“Right now we have to reapply for an extension of our residence permit each year but we are afraid to do so because of our children. Because if we fail to extend, they might send us back to Iraq.” (T23)

“The municipality decided to demolish that house because it was not fit for living. Last winter was very hard on us.” (T26)

“I went to the police station and complained because I was in bad condition. Police told me “You are a refugee. Stop fighting and behave!”. When I insisted the police told me that they will put me in a place far away from my husband and give my daughter to my husband if I don’t withdraw my complaint.” (T8S)

Survivors also report on experiencing discrimination due to their religion, and perceiving further setbacks to their integration to everyday lives in the country of refuge;

“When someone finds out that we are not Muslim they refuse to talk to me. For example, they tell me “Thank God I am Muslim” or “Thank God I am Turkish”. When I tell them, I am neither of them they treat me badly. I am very uncomfortable about this situation.” (T13S)

Some report being discriminated against based on their ethnicity at different parts of the journey:

“They called us Syrian in Iraq and they mistreated us because they accepted us as foreigners. We don’t want to hear that (here).” (T36S)

As a forced migrant from Afghanistan, she experienced the difficulties of being a ‘foreigner’ in Iraq while she shared the same housing facilities with Syrian refugees during their journeys. Reported experiences of discrimination in both transit and settlement countries mark how violence is common throughout the whole journey from displacement to resettlement.

Amidst all the discrimination and the suffering, survivors also note the kindness of individual locals who help them overcome institutional barriers, and in one case a Turkish medical doctor saves the life of an SGBV survivor:

"I got out of the hospital because I did not have an ID. When I first went to the hospital, they refused to do an operation because I did not have any ID. They said that they cannot do this operation. However, there was a very good doctor and she said that she will help, she was wholehearted. So, she talked to the management of the hospital, while management said do not do the operation, she had no ID, but doctor said I will do this operation for her, she has inflammation, so she took my responsibility and did the operation (T1S)^{SEP}"

As noted above, SGBV survivors struggle to report their experience due to the difficulties they experience in forming close relationships, cultural codes that condemn disclosure to strangers and psychological problems that render them hesitant to engage in any interpersonal relationship. However, our findings suggest that those who seek help and share their experiences provide clues as to why they were able to do so, and which types of support contributes to effective response to SGBV. Some survivors note why they refrain from seeking support for their experiences of continuous societal level violence in their country of origin and the persistent neglect toward their claims and pursuant psychological needs while in Turkey:

"I was scared, I did not know what the Turkish people were like. I thought of them as Afghan people, and I felt guilty. That is why I didn't share any of this. I didn't share it with Migration Administration and UNHCR" (T27)

On the other hand what some have experienced is different in Turkey:

"They asked me if I wanted a divorce. I said yes. They said, "Do you have a civil marriage document?" They said you had to set up a document. I said I couldn't set it up. They said, "Can we take care of you?" I said yes. They put me in a shelter." (T35S)

"I feel good since I have learned here in Turkey that women also have rights." (T21S)

One of the main reasons to identify a type of support or the provider of support as accessible and effective is the first impression that the service provider leaves on the SGBV survivor. Some survivors cited their feelings of 'safety' when they arrived in the building of the organization encouraging to confide in the people there. The reasons they quote for continuing to seek support are around the 'trust' that they built through their relationship with the service provider. One pattern of practice that emerges as facilitating support seeking and continuing is having access to a translator of the same gender:

"I did not speak Turkish but here they provided a translator. She was a very nice person. She asked me some questions in a kind way. But still, it took me a very long period to go outside and even come to this organisation. I was afraid of talking to people." (T9S)

"I couldn't share it because the interpreter in the Immigration Administration was a man" (T27)

All survivors noted that it was very difficult for them to open up about their SGBV experience even if

they felt 'safe' in the organization. They open up only after they identified the service provider as truly 'caring' for their conditions:

"As my troubles were growing, I was looking for someone to talk to since I was afraid to tell my family. I could not trust anyone. I was afraid. This organization is the only place that I trust after a long time. They have built a trust bond in me. They know what they are doing." (T20S)
"A social worker in ASAM told me "You can share all your problems with us, you are in a safe place". I shared because I trusted them."(T26)

Our findings suggest that some survivors expressed their relief in sharing their SGBV experience after they arrived in Turkey while they could not talk about it in their country of origin. Such relief was a result of their perception that there are individuals and organizations in Turkey, which really would like to improve their capacity to cope with what they have been through:

"I was not able to talk about the violence I have been facing. But here I can go and talk about the situation. Yes, he used to hit me in Syria, but I could not go to the police and file a complaint. When I came here, I can talk to the psychologist about what I have been through." (T3S)
"I feel safe here. I feel very good here. Because I know that there are rules, and everyone abides those rules. We have security of life here. And they protect women's rights here." (T26S)

"At first, I didn't know anyone, but after coming here, I met a lot of people and made friends... If I had seen or heard of something like this, I could have directed it to places that could help. We learned from Ms. (counsellor) here. She told us how to deal with all kinds of violence when we are exposed to violence." (T11S)

The feeling of safety is enhanced through the perception that there is someone 'present' for them on a regular basis helping them to cope with their situations, which is summarized simply and clearly with the following statement;

"It's good for me to have a psychologist to talk to." (T12S)

The most telling praise about the positive impact of the support they receive is that the survivors have a positive outlook toward the future and improve their self-esteem.

"Here, I can talk about my story and receive support, especially moral support. Now, I have hopes for the future, I can dream good things again. I am dreaming about going to a third country with my children and live there together happily. I am really positive about myself because of the support I am receiving." (T4S)

SGBV survivors who have children report that they endure all kinds of SGBV related hardships to support their children.

"Mothers can withstand violence for their children." (T11S)
"... I always think about the future. I do not think about what happened in my life. I have a daughter and I must be a powerful woman for her." (T1S)
"Being a mother... All my strength stems from my three children." (T21S)

"My children. They make me strong. I endure all these things because of them." (T22S)

"I'm still very strong for my children, and it empowers me very much, and I survive through everything to improve their future for the better." (T27S)

"My children. Taking care of them. No matter what, I want my kids to be okay. That's all I want." (T35S)

Our findings also suggest that almost all survivors identify seeking comfort and strength in their faith as a major source of their resilience:

"I just know God. God helped me. I pray every night. I have been strong for my children. All I want is a good future for them." (T31S)

"I am very sentimental. It hurts when I think about it. After that, I pray. I ask for strength and support from God. I do not have such power right now but when God gives me, I will support those who are in need." (T17S)

"First, from God. Because, I am a human and God created me...God created us like this and we do not harm anyone. For example, when someone slaps me in the face, I don't hit him/her back. I ask for God's help." (T14S)

"I am always thinking about God. God gives me the support I need. When people looked and said to me that you are always laughing, and you are not crying because of your divorce. I said no, I want to be good, I want to continue my life." (T1S)

"I pray five times a day. It is very important to me. God gives me power." (T24S)

Our findings also suggest that some SGBV survivors have developed coping mechanisms of inspiring self-confidence and self-reliance for building resilience;

"My belief in myself. I am an atheist. I have a strong belief in myself and my feelings." (T22S)

"I like animals. They make me feel ok." (T24S)

"We can live life without men, we can protect our children, we have brought our children to the world. They didn't bring us. We need to protect them, give them the best education. Because we brought them into the world, and this is our right." (T28S)

SGBV survivors' narratives also point out their trauma of being uprooted and deep emotions of loneliness. Most survivors expressed their gratitude for having a community in the country of refuge facilitating their sense of strength and capacity to cope with the negative consequences of SGBV experiences.

"...Someone kidnapped my boy, but my neighbour saved him" (T33S)

"I am grateful to our Turkish brothers, I see nothing but brotherhood. Everyone tries to help us, but nothing is in place in our lives. I mean, our situation is not good to start from scratch because we are waiting to resettle somewhere else." (T20S)

"I am really happy about talking my story because I feel relieved after sharing it. At the same time those people are all strangers, they cannot do anything about me. But I cannot talk with my neighbours and friends who actually could help me." (T4S)

“At first, I didn't know anyone, but after coming here, I met a lot of people and made friends... If I had seen or heard of something like this, I could have directed it to places that could help. We learned from Ms. Ayşe here. She told us how to deal with all kinds of violence when we are exposed to violence.” (T11S)

“I started to forget my old painful memories after feeling their unconditional support. I am back to life. Thanks to them, I started a new life and I have great hopes for the future.” (T16S)

“Lots of friends, yes. All the people in the neighbourhood know me. They love me. I just help them, sometimes they call me, and I help them.” (T3S)

4.2. Resilience at Institutional Level

Our findings suggest that many of the interventions that we have identified with our study on service providers' perspectives have been confirmed by the survivors as facilitating resilience.²⁹ Some survivors suggest that empowerment trainings and gender and violence focused seminars have been very helpful for building resilience;

“They taught us self-defence. I really liked this kind of course.” (T8S)

“Education and trainings increase my power. I started to feel relieved after I started coming here on a regular basis.” (T8S)

“...They are telling us we are powerful as women and we have to define yourself apart from being a wife or mother.” (T2S)

“I think training is important. They are very helpful. Before training, I was very afraid of my husband. I was very afraid to talk about what he has done to me with other people before training. After training, I became more powerful and could speak about my situation.” (T2S)

As noted above, SGBV survivors suffer from a major setback in forming close relationships and establishing 'trust' with those around them mainly as a consequence of their SGBV induced trauma experience. Having access to institutions that target their specific needs has clearly been identified as by many survivors as a life-saving intervention. One of the most distinguishing signs of survivors' building of resilience is that they highlight how they have identified with some organizations for overcoming their anxiety as well as enhancing life satisfaction:

“When there is an event organized by the office, I attend. I can say that my life depends on this organization.” (T21S)

Resonating the perspectives of the service providers³⁰ the SGBV survivors report that the interventions by the organizations to extend legal counselling particularly for divorce and for SGBV complaints contributed to their resilience by helping them feel 'powerful':

“Sometimes a lawyer came to the centre and taught us how we can defend ourselves and children by following procedures. This makes us powerful because we learn.” (T4S)

²⁹ (Ozcurumez and Akyuz, Risks and Prospects in SGBV Prevention, Intervention and Protection: The Service Providers' Perspective in Turkey 2020)

³⁰ (Ozcurumez and Akyuz 2020)

"I came here to an association and here they helped me with my divorce. I got divorced eight months ago" (T1)

"At [the organization] they informed me about how to divorce and the process." (T28)

"They found an interpreter and helped me to file a complaint." (T33)

Similar to our findings on the perspectives of the service providers, survivors report that having limited access to housing and/or accommodation is their main challenge. Survivors emphasize that when an institution helps them with finding accommodation or provides accommodation, this intervention contributes to their well-being the most, and they shared many accounts on this need and the critical role that institutions play when they intervene:

"Rent assistance will come for a month, then what will I do," she says. We don't have that much money they say. It should be provided at least six months, a year. At least in 6 months, maybe the woman will try to learn the language, maybe someone will support it." (T28S)

"I told him "if you prefer that woman over your wife of 19 years, I am done". He told me "Here is the door, go to your mother's house". I told him "I found this house; I am paying the rent. You leave this house if you want to get married twice". At that moment, I was relieved because I stood up against him." (T16S)

"It has been almost six months since I came to Turkey. When I first came to Ankara, I stayed in a Women's Shelter because I didn't have a place to stay. Later, with the help of the UN and my friends, I rented a house. Now I am staying in a rental place with my children." (T21S)

"I was talking to my neighbour and complaining about poverty and she told me to come here. I came to this association first to ask help for my rent and ask for money. First, they helped me to pay my rent and later I talked to them about my husband." (T2S)

"After deciding to divorce, they said to me that there is a shelter called SONİM, you can stay if you want. I did not stay there. There was a Turkish woman she helped me, she said to me "you can find the home and I will pay the rent of the home." (T1S)

All SGBV survivors highlight that lack of financial means remains their major setback because none of the interviewees had a regular source of income, and most were in extreme poverty. Therefore, survivors emphasize that interventions that target reduction of poverty are the most effective for building resilience especially if they are sufficient to cover rent expenses:

"ASAM supported us financially and gave us some money." (T26S)

"Turkish Red Crescent give me a monthly stipend. Also, the municipality supports us. Thank god they are supporting us." (T10S)

"I receive financial support from Kızılay (Turkish Red Crescent), 750 lira per month." (T24S)

"There was another woman who left ŞÖNİM. I told her that I have no place to stay. She told me that I can go to the UN or here and ask accommodation help. I came here and they arranged a house for me. One-month ASAM paid my rent, the other month the UN paid my rent and this month I paid my rent thanks to my neighbours who gave me allowances for the Ramadan Aid." (T21S)

Most survivors underline that the most promising intervention that would support their healing processes is the hope to become self-reliant by finding employment:

"Now I am learning to tailor here in this organisation and I hope I will earn my own money soon." (T16S)

“The first thing that comes to my mind is financial support. I always wanted to be strong by myself. I never asked anything from my family. I tried to provide everything to my children. There are too many women living only with their children. If they are provided financially, they could succeed.” (T31S)

Survivors report on the significance of receiving psycho-social counselling as significantly improving their well-being;

“I was relieved when I shared it with the psychologist. ^[P7]It's good for me to have a psychologist to talk to.” (T12) ^[SEP]

“I come here when I have a problem. I feel like they can help me when I have a problem.”(T18)

4.3. Resilience Building Inhibitors at Institutional Level

Our findings suggest that individual resilience strategies may seem to remedy immediate perceived causes of SGBV, and in the long run these strategies are likely to exacerbate the risks that they aim to be protected from.

An SGBV survivor with six children living in poverty decides to save her marriage by giving birth to her seventh child hoping to keep her abusive husband who had been providing for her and her children. However, while the survivor gets pregnant to survive, the husband continues with physical and verbal abuse, and eventually leaves her. By the time she has gathered her strength to divorce, she is poorer with one more child and her children having experienced domestic violence longer.

“My neighbours told me, but I wasn't really convinced because I didn't have proof at first. In the meantime, my husband wanted to have another child. I said I do not want but he said he would get married again. One day this woman invited us for dinner. As soon as when we get there my husband told the mother of his brother's widower that he wants to marry again. We had an argument that night. Later, people told me “just have one more child. Don't let him use this as an excuse”. I stopped taking birth control pills and got pregnant again.” (T16S)

A LGBTQI survivor who flees her country of origin to avoid discrimination develops a strategy of disguising her identity in the country of refuge. To avoid violence, she becomes trapped in a resilience strategy that imprisons her further. The forced migration journey does not end her experience of SGBV but just transforms it in the country of refuge.

“As a woman, you can tell if someone looks at you with sexual means. I have been exposed to their glances as if I was a different species. When I am exposed to these looks, I try to look more masculine because society wants us to look either men or women. (T22S)

A survivor and her children who suffer from recurring physical violence in the hands of a substance abusing husband seeks support in an NGO. The NGO offers her protection through helping her with her divorce and placing her in a shelter. When she is able to escape from the abusive husband and live in a shelter, she contacts her family to seek approval from her own family for her resilience building

efforts advised and supported by the NGO's available interventions. Her family, however, disapproves her actions and she goes into depression. The shelter administration refers her to a psychiatry clinic and separates her from her children. Her mental health deteriorates and she becomes suicidal. Her narrative attests to the possibility that existing protection and prevention interventions may seem to be appropriate for a case. However, when the impact of the interventions is examined, our findings reveal that some interventions may backfire. While certain interventions may seem to be compatible with a set of identifiable consequences of SGBV experience, they may have unintended consequences in some cases. In this case, the NGO sought to remove the survivor from the abusive environment and provide safe accommodation. However, intervention seems to have missed two crucial factors that would sustain her resilience. First, her psychiatric fragility was unnoticed, which made the intervention aiming at protection to become the trigger for her further deterioration of her condition. Second, while her evident material need for safe shelter was met, her invisible psycho-social need for feeling truly safe through her family's approval of her path to recovery.

"After they discharged me from the hospital, I was not able to recover from the depression. I felt bad whenever I thought about my dad (who disowned me). I was not able to sleep until very late at night. After a couple of days...I took pills to end my life, but they saved me again. This time they did not let me out easily. They put me in a clinic. They took my children away from me. I stayed there for 45 days. (T32S)

Our findings reveal a common resilience strategy pursued by survivors, which upon closer examination reveals a major vulnerability that perpetuates the risk for SGBV and further trauma. One survivor's narrative consists of her recurring change of cities and repeated marriages, once in the country of origin and once in Turkey. She describes her story as building resilience for herself and her daughter through adapting to new environments, and finding new partners. However, our analysis suggests that her story is more of being in abusive relationships one after another because she believes that her 'husband will take care of her'. Therefore, her immediate course of action while trying to protect herself has been to seek another man to provide her safety, and not focus on her self-empowerment and sustainable resilience.

"My husband told me I cannot look after both you and your sick kid. After that I left there and took my daughter and my little son and went to Malatya (another city in Southeast). My other daughter was living in Malatya and I lived with my other daughter. After that my second husband called me and asked me to return Gaziantep (another city in Southeast) and I said I won't come if you don't want my daughter to live with us. He said yes. We returned to Gaziantep but same conflict at home started again. After that, me, my daughter and my youngest son decided to come to Ankara." (T4S)

5. Integration Prospects in a Context of 'Temporary Protection'

Turkey's legislation on immigration and international protection outlines only temporary efforts for those under temporary protection and international protection in terms of the processes of integration. In Turkey's forced migration context, the concept of social integration covers the policy practices that aim to seek 'durable solutions' to remedy the immediate needs of those under international protection and under temporary protection.³¹ These practices and policies as a whole, however, may be considered as offering adequate means and markers to be assessed against social integration processes in different countries of settlement. In this section, we analyse our findings on integration markers for SGBV survivors by contextualizing within these parameters.

The legal and institutional framework in Turkey provides access to services and the labour to market in a differentiated way for those under international protection or under temporary protection or waiting re-settlement.³² SGBV survivors report on the impact of their legal status on their integration prospects. For instance, some survivors are highly qualified and used to work in their country of origin as a lawyer, a nurse, a graphic designer, a textile engineer etc., however, they are unemployed or in precarious work conditions in Turkey. Survivors perceive that the experience of being unemployed, or being trapped in precarity, combined with their trauma due to their SGBV experience hinders their integration prospects severely. A survivor, who is awaiting resettlement, who has suffered torture in the country of origin expresses how being unemployed in the country of refuge and being traumatized by SGBV experience in the country of origin weakens oneself to such a degree that forming social connections becomes unthinkable let alone engaging in an integration process:

"I am in a limbo right now. My future is unclear. I cannot do anything with my life....I was a lawyer in my (country)...but I cannot work here...I feel so worthless here...You want to be useful to others, but you cannot be...We cannot plan a future for ourselves" (T20S)

The impact of SGBV induced trauma is multifaceted with consequences that impact all aspects of survivors' lives. As noted in the analysis above, the survivors' mental health and well-being is severely harmed, and they report on feelings of anxiety and fear. When combined with the gendered impact of structural disadvantages, SGBV survivors' personal troubles become their most trying barrier while attempting social integration.

Our findings suggest that survivors share the severe effects of SGBV experience including heightened anxiety and fear impacting their everyday interactions, and hence their social integration prospects.

"I cannot forget what I experienced six-seven years ago. I live with it. I sleep with that memory. Even my child will experience it if I ever get married. No matter how much treatment you

³¹ (Ozcurumez Hoxha and Icduygu 2020)

³² (Ozcurumez and Akyuz 2020)

receive, it will still have an effect. I have lost 10 kilograms, lost my hair, I have psychological problems. Some people empower themselves, but I cannot.” (T20S)

“Sometimes, I forget things. Things have been coming to my mind from the time when I was 4 years old. I wasn't like that, I was very calm.” (T28S)

“I am living in constant fear.” (T23S)

Some SGBV survivors are so consumed by their fear and have suicidal thoughts that that they regret their decision to flee war and seek refuge, and contemplate returning to Syria to die:

“We are afraid of everything. Now, I wish that we stayed in Syria and became a martyr.” (T10S)

The psychological effects of SGBV on survivors lead to extreme feelings of helplessness especially for LGBTQI people:

“Life in Iran was hard but I still managed to live and survive. Turkey is like a swamp for intersex people like me, the more I try to get out of it the more I sink. In Iran the society was patriarchal. In Turkey they are matriarchal.” (T22S)

Our findings, as discussed above, suggest that having a local community that supports SGBV survivors can be identified among the main facilitators of resilience building. However, some survivors share negative experiences concerning their attempts to interact with the local community and to form social bonds which hurt them to the extent that they would refrain from any further engagement with the rest of the society:

“I thought sharing my experiences with my neighbour would help me but I was wrong. I trusted her but she hurt me. She mistreated me. After that, I never shared it with anyone.” (T31S)

However, those who have a positive experience with their local community develop a positive outlook on life in the country refuge which supports social integration:

“Lots of friends, yes. All the people in the neighbourhood know me. They love me. I just help them, sometimes they call me, and I help them.” (T3S)

Resonating our findings from our research on the service providers' perspectives that lack of language skills seriously limit their capacity to engage with local communities, access information that they need for their daily lives, finding jobs or making friends, and hence social integration:

“Language is the most important thing...My Turkish is very bad so it limits my life in every sense.” (T18S)

“I applied to a couple of restaurants but they refused me because I don't know (Turkish) the language.” (T32S)

“I do not know where to go or how to go there. I do not know the language. How can I find other organisations?” (T19S)

“I didn't know Turkish to work and earn some money or had friends to ask help.” (T22S)

"... because without knowing the language, you don't know about where you can work. He says, "What do you do," you say, "I don't know the language." The man says, "You can't even be a tea-maker without speaking language. You can't even be a dishwasher." Because they say bring the plates or something, how can you do without knowing the language?" (T28S)

Lack of language skills disproportionately affects women SGBV survivors' prospects for employment:

"They [women] don't know what to do when they get divorced, like me. I didn't know what to do. Then financial support... "We already give you important financial support, we do not leave you alone". This is really important. None of the women work, they don't know the language. The children are small, where do they leave them; where do they work? At least if there's a women's shelter for their children, you'll just tell the location." (T28S)

Survivors identify the challenge of economic hardship and difficulties in accessing sufficient financial means through social assistance as impeding all of their willingness and resources that they need for engaging in social integration processes:

One organization helped me after they found out that my husband is sick, and we had no job. They gave us almost 4000 Turkish liras. First, they visited the place we live in and then they gave the money. They gave us a debit card from Ziraat Bank." (T33)

"If the man is poor, he has no money, he cannot work, and the woman cannot stand and talks about it, the husband beats her, then we say it is "haram" - sin when she goes out and talks about it. She shouldn't do that because they are poor. But on the other hand, she suffered a different kind of violence, not because they are poor, but for a different situation. " (T11S)

"We need money for living and since only my husband is working it is not easy for us. And when he comes home, he gets angry at me because I am not working." (T25S)

"We had no identity card. We went to UNHCR for registration. We didn't get any financial support." (T36S)

The barriers to integration due to lack of language skills, mental health problems, mixed experiences while forming social connections with the local community are widely represented in our interview data. Different service providers address each or all of these barriers with different interventions, prevention and protection practices³³, and the survivors benefit from most of these services if they are able to access them. Some survivors, however, portray NGOs as effectively helping them form social bridges by merely offering a safe place outside of the home beyond accessing services that they need or financial assistance. The NGO premises transform into a context where survivors can form social connections and social links with the local community as well as SGBV survivors from other countries.

"I haven't found a job in Turkey, but I am always coming to the centre, I am attending the activities in this centre. I made some Iraqi friends in those activities. I don't want to meet and

³³ (Ozcurumez and Akyuz 2020)

become friends with Syrians, I want to have friends from other countries. It makes me feel better.” (T4S)

Despite all odds, curtailing integration prospects to different degrees everywhere, our findings reveal that SGBV survivors within the most disadvantaged groups may have the strength in them to engage in integration processes if they are able to self-empower. A LGBTQI interviewee’s remark provides a powerful narrative on why this is possible. The following remark reveals the capacity of resilience that all interviewees who carry to one degree or other.

“Do not call yourselves ‘poor’ or ‘ignorant’, identify yourselves as ‘powerful’ and ‘fortunate’, and ‘lean in’...That is exactly what I did, I focused on the solution, I asked myself ‘how am I going to get myself out of this situation?’” (T38S)

Our findings suggest that the main inhibitor for integration is the status of remaining within two extreme statuses: either under ‘temporary protection’ or no prospect for accessing ‘international protection.’ For those under temporary protection, the vulnerabilities and insecurities emanating from being an SGBV survivor are magnified even though their legal access to services and social assistance is much more extensive than those under international protection. For those under international protection, or with no legal status, the lack of access to services combined with SGBV experience places them in a most challenging position vis-a-vis social integration prospects. Given the structural limits to integration, our analysis indicates that focusing on the role of SGBV survivor’s own agency in participating in integration processes and their own perspectives on their prospects to integrate is more important than ever.

6. Concluding Remarks

Our research findings indicate that (1) SGBV survivors report on vulnerabilities and insecurities surrounding them all the time and everywhere. The risk of being subjected to and also the experience of SGBV is continuing from displacement to resettlement. The vulnerabilities result from structural (poverty, patriarchy, housing shortages) as well as individual (adversarial interpersonal interactions) disadvantages acquired from the country of origin, throughout the journey and also in the country of destination.

Our data also suggests that (2) the barriers to accessing the variety of services that are available and the much-needed healing processes are multifarious. The services offered are of short-term support for housing, limited cash assistance that do not address the structural issues necessary for longer term healing from the effects of SGBV experience and integration. After being exposed to such barriers, resilience building efforts seem to have been formulated and implemented with a generic template.

Based on the data, it can be argued that (3) the impact of resilience building efforts on the SGBV survivors are neither consistent nor sustainable.

The most effective efforts are those that aim to empower the SGBV survivors to seek their own paths by providing them with the very basics structurally (housing, a basic income) and contributing to their self-reliance through psycho-social support. Missing out on providing one or the other resilience building enablers, or providing one component and the other inconsistently throughout the SGBV survivors' lives, mostly diminishes the intended effect of the planned resilience building practices.

Our findings indicate that (4) one major path to sustaining SGBV survivors' chances for a self-reliant life would be well-designed, well-provided and well-maintained integration enablers. However, resilience building efforts rarely become integration enablers. It is also noted that (5) once the SGBV survivors venture out to the streets, neighbourhoods and daily interactions, there are not any observable streams or enclaves of safety. To the contrary, in Turkey where the local SGBV survivors continue to suffer, the SGBV survivors in forced migration journeys suffer even more.

In lieu of a preliminary conclusion, any efforts to prevent SGBV exposure and risks, to protect SGBV survivors and to promote a society where SGBV is no longer an issue for locals and refugees, research needs to hear the perspectives of the SGBV survivors whose narratives are adorned with stories of protection and safety in response to an environment of vulnerability and insecurity.

7. Works Cited

- Agduk, Meltem. 2020. "The Story of Turkey's Struggle with Violence Against Women/Domestic Violence in the 2000s." In *Business Against Intimate Partner Violence. Accounting, Finance, Sustainability, Governance & Fraud: Theory and Application*, by M. Ararat, 129-148. Springer.
- Akyuz, Selin, and Feyda Sayan-Cengiz. 2016. "'Overcome your anger if you are a man': Silencing women's agency to voice violence against women." *Women's Studies International Forum* 1-10.
- Altınay, Ayşe Gül, and Yeşim Arat. 2007. *TÜRKİYE'DE KADINA YÖNELİK ŞİDDET*. Punto Baskı Çözümleri.
- Council of Europe. 2011. *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence*. <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168008482e>
- European Council. 2019. *Turkey 2019 Report*. <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-turkey-report.pdf>

- Kogacioglu, Dicle. 2004. "The Tradition Effect: Framing Honor Crimes in Turkey." *Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 119-151.
- Kucukalioglu Gozdasoglu, Elif. 2018. "Framing Gender-Based Violence in Turkey." *Les Chaiers du CEDREF* 128-157.
- Ozcurumez, Saime, and Feyda Sayan Cengiz. 2011. "On resilience and response beyond value change: Transformation of women's movement in post-1980 Turkey." *Women's Studies International Forum* 20-30.
- Ozcurumez, Saime, and Selin Akyuz. 2020. *Risks and Prospects in SGBV Prevention, Intervention and Protection: The Service Providers' Perspective in Turkey*. Working Paper, University of Birmingham.
- Ozcurumez, Saime, Julinda Hoxha and Ahmet Icduygu. 2020. "Does social cohesion solve forced migration riddles? Troubled concepts and constrained practices in Turkey." *Migration Studies* 1-20
- Sever, Aysan. 2005. "In the Name of Fathers: Honour Killings and Some Examples from-South-Eastern Turkey." *Atlantis* 129-145.
- Sever, Aysan, and Gokcececek Yurdakul. 2001. "Culture of Honor, Culture of Change: A Feminist Analysis of Honor Killings in Rural Turkey." *Violence Against Women* 964-998.
- Sirman, Nükhet. 2004. "Kinship, Politics and Love: Honour in Post-Colonial Contexts-The Case of Turkey." In *Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges*, by Shahrazad Mojab and Nahla Abdo. Bilgi University Press.
- United Nations. 1979. *The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* .<https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>
- World Economic Forum. 2020. *Global Gender Gap Report*.
<https://www.weforum.org/reports/gender-gap-2020-report-100-years-pay-equality/country-top-10s#report-nav>