

Barriers of Reporting Sexual Violence in Syrian Refugee Camps

by

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Abstract

Barriers in reporting sexual violence have emerged as a common problem for refugee camps hosting women. Approaches to increase reporting among women who have experienced sexual violence have not adequately considered the cultural context and what actions would help or hinder Syrian women from reporting sexual gender-based violence. In a qualitative case study, agencies operating in Vancouver, Canada and Zaatari Camp, Jordan found that Syrian women did not report due to shame, lack of trust in helpers, and a strained legal framework which contributed to non-reporting of sexual violence. With input from agencies helping refugees and a Syrian-Canadian journalist, this study's findings suggest that awareness of sexual violence and its consequences need to be directed towards both men and women, to promote the idea that victims are blameless when they experience sexual violence.

Keywords: gender-based violence, sexual violence, refugees, female refugees, Syria, barriers to reporting, Zaatari refugee camp

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Figure 1: Where do women report sexual violence?

Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
FSCT	Feminist Social Criticism Theory
FPD	Family Protection Department
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
ICTR	International Tribunal for Rwanda
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
SGBV	Sexual Gender-Based Violence
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
SREO	Syria Research and Evaluation Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Populations Fund
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

In March 2011, the Syrian regime headed by Bashar Al-Assad targeted and used extreme violence against pro-democracy demonstrators. This violence escalated until opposition rebels began arming themselves to defend against Assad's regime. Flash-forward to present day, 4,843,344 people have now registered as refugees with the UNHCR (UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response, 2016) and at least 7.6 million people have been displaced inside the country (WILPF, 2016, p. 20). Even before 2011, violence against Syrian women and minorities was inflicted by the Assad regime, which supported discriminatory practices against women and ignored sexual gender-based violence (SGBV) issues (United Nations, 2014; SREO, 2015, p. 19). This discrimination was embedded in Syria's legal system pre-conflict where "rapists could escape punishment if they marry their victims" and "excluding spousal rape as a punishable offence under the legal definition of rape" (United Nations, 2014, p. 5). With the deterioration of control by the Assad regime, other non-state actors have stepped into the vacuum and proceeded to perpetrate barbaric violence throughout the areas under their control. One of these groups, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), has committed brutal atrocities against women and girls, abducting women and girls to become sex slaves, selling them at slave markets, and/or killing women and girls who resist rape and sexual assault (Akbar & Tomlinson, 2015). With the violence soaring, many women, men, and children sought refuge in neighbouring states, including Zaatari camp, Jordan. The SGBV against Syrian women affected by the conflict has been described as a "prominent and disturbing feature" in the Syrian conflict (WILPF, 2016, p. 7). In addition to a high incidence of sexual violence, there are also barriers to women seeking to report these crimes to the government authority of the refugee camp, to the UNHCR, or to non-governmental organizations working in the camp. These barriers serve to prevent women from reporting SGBV, promoting need for a more effective and coordinated response to the problem

of sexual violence among refugees by camp management that includes government and inter-agency participation. The female refugee experience is fraught with sexual violence whether it is perpetrated by family members, acquaintances, strangers, or agency workers (Mwangi, 2012; Ferris, 2007). This appears to be the case among Syrian refugees whether they flee to Jordan, Lebanon, or Turkey.

Zaatari camp in Jordan and Shatila camp in Lebanon are analyzed later in this study to identify differences and similarities in the respective camps in terms of the reporting mechanisms available. A survey was also carried out with agencies working in Canada and agencies that are currently operating in Zaatari. This is to provide a glimpse of the issues encountered at the camp level through frontline workers. This will be revisited to see how camp policies match with agency objectives and if practice follows policy. This research reviews the definition of gender based sexual violence, explores existing literature on sexual violence in refugee camps, analyzes camp policies at Zaatari including a comparative policy analysis between Shatila and Zaatari, and provides an analysis of primary data collected from service agencies assisting refugees including with issues of GBV, and also includes an interview with an expert on Syrian culture.

With the Syrian conflict reaching an unprecedented pace of suffering and loss of life and the ongoing movements of displaced persons, the sexual violence women are exposed to in their journey to safety is often continued in the refugee camp. These camps are continually challenged in meeting the assistance needs of the population affected by the conflict in Syria. The lack of effective reporting mechanisms is hindering progress in addressing GBV, and the specific barriers need to be understood to better address and stop further violence against women.

Problem Statement

Evidence suggests that the levels of sexual violence against women living in refugee camps is strikingly high and yet the numbers of reported sexual violence cases are comparably low (Olsen & Scharffscher, 2004; Wirtz et al., 2013). This research seeks to explore the factors that contribute to the low rate of reporting by drawing from the experience of frontline workers who have witnessed the struggles of refugee women who have experienced SGBV. In Syrian refugee camps, women face a variety of barriers to reporting sexual violence including denial of access to reporting structures, lack of reporting mechanisms, and being unaware of resources available to them (Olsen & Scharffscher, 2004; Mwangi, 2012; Ferris, 2007; UN Women, 2013). In a study conducted by UN Women (2013) on SGBV in Jordan, “an alarming 83% of respondents did not know of any services available in their community for survivors” of gender-based violence (p. 31). The research will also demonstrate the discrepancies between NGO policy and practice at the ground level.

Purpose of Research

Violence against women is a common phenomenon in refugee camps. In Jordanian refugee camps, 41% of Syrian women and girls “report rarely, or never, leaving their shelter” because of a sense of insecurity and fear of harassment (SGBV Protection Sub-Working Group, 2014a). In 2013, the United Nations aided 38,000 victims of Syrian gender-based violence, providing psychological support and first aid (Miles, 2014). It is suggested that this number only represents a small portion of women who report the crime (Miles, 2014). Therefore, the purpose of this research is to identify these factors and their causes, and to provide findings that may be used to improve the likelihood that reporting will occur. Documenting experiences of

stakeholders who are familiar with conditions and barriers of reporting in camps provide further illumination on women's experiences with how policy actually plays out on the ground.

Guiding Questions

Research Question

1. What are the barriers for Syrian women between the ages of 19 and 65 in reporting sexual violence within refugee camps?

Supporting Questions

1. What factors influence/inhibit the decision to report sexual violence within refugee camps?
2. What encourages women to report sexual violence within refugee camps?

Theoretical Framework: Feminist Social Criticism Theory

Guiding questions were based in Third World Feminism and Feminist Social Criticism Theory (FSCT), which were used as foundational theories to this research. This theory considered the cultural dimensions of Syrian refugee women's experiences and how an understanding of these can be used to promote reporting in refugee camps. Derived from Third World feminism, FSCT posits that deliberation about socially oppressive roles allows for alternative viewpoints. This allows for the expansion of socially constructed roles and values. Third World feminism was a response to a so-called Western feminism, which critics felt focused on oppressions unique to Western women and did not necessarily reflect the problems facing Third World women (Mohanty, 1991). Third World feminists

advocate scrutinizing and challenging existing values, practices, and norms based neither on the roles that societies have identified for women, nor on the roles that societies have

identified for men, but rather based on an ongoing opposition to harmful inequalities in women's lives be they a function of sex or other categorization. (Ackerly, 2000, p. 57)

Herr (2014) also highlights major differences in Third World feminism and Western feminism, where the former wished to make gradual changes in society and work with male counterparts to achieve equality and the latter attempts to radically restructure social hierarchies caused by gender inequality (p. 5). It is this perspective in particular that makes Third World feminism a relevant lens by which to consider the inequalities facing Syrian refugee women and their vulnerability to violence, and what kind of policy may be most effective in reducing SGBV.

FSCT also espouses a similar stance. Ackerly (2000) highlighted the need for a theory in which "all forms of oppression and coercion" can be challenged and redefined (p. 14). In an example from Bangladesh, Tangail and Kustia women were encouraged to hold discussions about the lived experience of the women in their communities with regards to gender inequality and intimate partner violence. After this discussion on why men would hit their wives, the women concluded that there were no justifications for this action (p. 2). As a result, women's groups began going to the houses of members who were being abused and asked their partners to stop beating them, resulting in a change of social perception, where domestic violence had been seen as a private issue (p. 2), and it was not being made a community issue. In another counter to gender inequality, another group performed a similar demonstration "to get a member's husband to allow their daughter to continue school even though he was ready to arrange her marriage" (p. 2). In the course of this activism, the women "recognized that their collective action caused the husbands' public embarrassment and brought public attention to their views on domestic violence" (p. 2). This allowed the voices of the marginalized to be heard and also created a secure environment for discussion. In these examples, FSCT encouraged deliberation between women and their criticism of the injustices brought upon them: "By promoting inquiry,

deliberation, and institutional change in an otherwise coercive and oppressive environment, critics may promote social change that is more informed, collective, and uncoerced” (p. 5).

FSCT and Third World feminism are frameworks applicable to Syrian refugees because they can serve as a force of social change with regards to Syrian norms that play a role in gender inequity. Typically, Syrian women are open to speak about feminist issues with other women rather than with men, including men who are family members (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 19, 2016). These discussions between women allow the sharing of stories about inequality and promote deliberation within groups leading to actions that initiate social change. By doing so, this approach accounts for Syrian culture in determining strategies to combat harmful gender roles that may contribute to SGBV. By addressing these gender inequalities through principles found in FSCT and Third World feminism, harmful norms concerning SGBV against Syrian refugees can be challenged to create informed dialogue and lasting change.

The Definition of Sexual Gender Based Violence (SGBV)

Before citing the definition of sexual gender based violence in this research, background information is required to provide context to the evolution of violence against women in refugee camps. Throughout the history of conflict, sexual gender based violence has been prevalent in conflict and war, often a silent and ignored characteristic of conflict, yet one that is devastatingly harmful to communities during and after the cessation of hostilities. The definition of SGBV has changed over the years, as it was acknowledged that sexual violence could involve more than penetration or rape. Early Western legal definitions in the 1990s included only three elements as evidence that sexual violence occurred: “vaginal penetration, use of force, and the absence of consent” (Spohn & Horney, 1992). The term SGBV distinguishes from sexual violence in

general in that it highlights that women and girls are subjected to a disproportionate amount of violence and sexual harassment, and often in specific ways and patterns as a result of their gender. There are also social determined reasons for this related to the status of women in their societies. This gender-specific definition is essential to understanding the role of gender socialization and harmful social norms.

The World Health Organization defined sexual violence as “acts that range from verbal harassment to forced penetration, and an array of types of coercion from social pressure and intimidation to physical force” (Garcia-Moreno, Guedes, & Knerr, 2012, p. 1). Tribunals have also attempted to define sexualized violence, especially during the International Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). In defining the term for the Tribunal, the Trial Chamber defined sexual violence as an act of a sexual nature that was coercive and also included acts “which do not involve penetration or even physical contact” (Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu, 1998, para. 688; Prosecutor v. Alfred Musema, 2000, para. 965).

The 1994 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women included the gender dimension of violence, specifically acknowledging that women are targeted for SGBV and are disproportionately affected by such acts: “violence against women is any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (*Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*, 1994). The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) defined SGBV as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty” (as cited in Gaggioli, 2014, p. 509).

Often SGBV has been tied to social norms and patriarchal society that encourages women's chastity and values virginity and modesty above the mental, emotional, and physical wellbeing of women. Pavlish and Ho (2009) highlighted these causes and acknowledged that "women and adolescent girls are most often the targeted groups due to their subordinate status in almost all cultures and societies" (p. 144). This subordination and dominance of women in the political and personal sphere limits the effectiveness of policies, responses to sexual violence, and "institutional views of what constitutes 'true' violence" (Kaladelfos & Featherstone, 2014, p. 234).

The research defines sexual gender based violence as an act or acts that are perpetrated against an unconsenting person through verbal, physical, emotional, or psychological harm that is perpetuated based on direct or indirect social norms and values. It is acknowledged that men and boys are also sometimes subjected to these acts; however, women and girls are disproportionately subjected to such treatment due to their subordinate role within family, community and society. The definition of sexual gender based violence applied in this study remains broad in an attempt to capture the extraordinary acts of sexual violence that are perpetrated by different means and by different actors.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The literature review is intended to provide a background on the incidence of SGBV in refugee camps. This review included studies of refugee camps in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Kenya, and Liberia. The review also included consulting studies concerning Jordanian and Syrian attitudes towards violence against women. These studies outline cultural issues that can prevent women from reporting SGBV in refugee camps. The second part of the review considers

country-specific laws applicable to Zaatari, Jordan and Shatila, Lebanon, to compare and contrast different practices with regards to SGBV of countries that host Syrian refugees. The findings of the literature review provide a foundation to analyze primary data of this study in highlighting common patterns found in other refugee camps.

Sexual Violence: A Common Experience in Female Refugeeism

SGBV is an inherently traumatic experience for its victims, and in conflict environments SGBV protections that were weak pre-conflict are further deteriorated or eroded altogether. The female refugee experience differs from males' experiences in that in addition to facing general insecurity, women and girls also face the heightened threat of sexual violence. As the Women's Refugee Commission (2016) describes, this is a common fear among female refugees who are collectively "overwhelmed by the violence and risks of violence they encounter nearly everywhere they go" (p. 4). These camps are not safe spaces, but yet another place of struggle even if the refugee is removed from the "conflict theatre" (Aubone & Hernandez, 2013, p. 30). According to Mwangi (2012), the idea that these camps are a safe place for women is implausible (p. 24). In camps in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, it was found "that sexual violence was widespread, it was also perpetrated by aid workers, peacekeepers, and community leaders" (Ferris, 2007, p. 585). In the study of the Kenyan refugee camp, Kakuma, Mwangi (2012) found that sexual violence and SGBV were not typically single traumatic events, but rather, "a common part of refugee life" (p. 29), involving "the loss of control over the body, sexuality and the core of self" (as cited in Mwangi, 2012, p. 29).

Stigmatization and shaming of SGBV survivors in patriarchal cultures is further amplified in refugee camps. In Kakuma Camp, Kenya, this "stigma attached to rape has resulted in a low level of reporting" (Mwangi, 2012, p. 27). This can be traced back to the treatment of

women in the pre-conflict society. In non-egalitarian societies where women are forced into passive and submissive gender binaries in the community or are treated with discrimination in the public and private spheres, they are more likely to be subjected to SGBV in refugee camps (Aubone and Hernandez, 2013, p. 29). Socialization of the genders continue to emphasize differences of power and ability between men and women, and construct harmful power dynamics leading to the oppression of women and girls at all levels in society. Aubone and Hernandez (2013) point to the pre-conflict treatment of women in a society as “strong indicators of the likelihood of rape in war, whether examining them as passive members of society to be protected, or active, empowered members of society to be treated as equals” (p. 29). Even after fleeing conflict and seeking refuge in a camp, those social norms that may have traditionally protected women from violence continue to decline causing an increased risk for intimate partner violence and violence from within the community (Ferris, 2007, p. 584). The social stigma associated with sexual violence, and the fact that so often perpetrators are related and/or known to the victim, further complicates the reporting process.

While there are power dynamics between female refugees and others in the camp that pose hindrances to reporting, there is also a similar difficulty at the policy level. Hierarchies between national and international staffing have also created a power dynamic that renders refugee women even more vulnerable: “international staff of an organization tends to be perceived as having higher status and more power. In both UN agencies and international NGOs, decisions about programs and staffing are usually made by the expatriate staff in a given country” (Ferris, 2007, p. 587). This leads to programming from the top-down, a method that is disconnected with locals and frontline workers in refugee camps. There were also cases where camp workers were implicated in perpetrating SGBV against refugees and were often protected from consequence upon discovery of the crimes. In 2002, UNHCR and Save the Children UK

released a report on “Sexual Violence and Exploitation: The Experience of Refugee Children in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone,” in an attempt to explore the extent and causes of sexual violence against children. Their research found widespread and frequent exploitation against children and women perpetrated by agency workers. The report also found that workers operating in the refugee camp suffered no personal or professional consequences for their actions and “no staff member of an agency lost his or her job for exploiting children” (p. Ferris, 2007, p. 585). This systemic impunity left the international community stunned at the abuse carried out by those who were charged with protecting the vulnerable. When survivors attempted to report these violations against agency staff, they were met with opposition. In some cases, refugees sent written complaints to other agency staff members but the information was retained (UNHCR & Save the Children UK, 2002, p. 6). Other accounts demonstrated that it was nearly impossible to report SGBV confidentially or safely (p. 5). An adolescent from the report stated that survivors were punished if an allegation was brought against an NGO worker: “If you report one NGO worker you will not only be in trouble with that person, but with the other staff also” (p. 5). A refugee mother living in a Guinean refugee camp stated during an interview that she would not reveal the name of the perpetrator or report the violation: “If I tell you the name of the NGO worker I have to have sex with, he will get fired, and then how will I feed my child and myself?” (UNHCR & Save the Children UK, 2002, p. 44). The UNHCR and Save the Children UK (2002) cited that poverty, insufficient food rations, improper aid management, and pressure from family were frequent causes of sexual exploitation within refugee camps.

Refugee camps often rely on reactive measures in dealing with allegations of SGBV. In areas where women are stigmatized for coming forward, this can serve as a barrier in reporting, as it relies exclusively on victims taking the individual initiative to report, in the absence of support frameworks. In general, the services that are provided “are passive systems that rely on

survivor-initiated reporting and service-seeking” (Wirtz, et al. 2013, p. 2). This causes difficulty in finding a safe space for women to report violations while they are in transit or when they arrive at the refugee camp. Ferris (2007) found that even when women were fleeing from the threat of violence or had experienced violence, they were consistently exposed to risks of sexual violence en route to refugee camp (p. 584). These instances of corruption within the aid sector are another barrier in reporting SGBV.

Aubone and Hernandez (2013) recommended proactively addressing SGBV, while considering the needs of women and improving their security within the refugee camp. Examples of this include gender-sensitive designs for camps, often involving the separation of the sexes and creating distance between potential perpetrators and vulnerable populations. In Dadaab camp, Kenya Aubone and Hernandez (2013) contended that modifications of commonly visited areas could be used to prevent SGBV. These methods were called non-confrontational, as they were intended to adjust the daily routines of residents in the camp (Aubone & Hernandez, 2013, p. 31). Despite these recommendations, they were found to only have a mild impact on reduction of SGBV incidence (p. 24), as the incidence of sexual violation mostly increased and decreased based on the population size of the camp (p. 37).

Reactive efforts to SGBV were also researched in Addis Ababa and Jijiga district of Ethiopia. Focus groups and interviews from this study found that “barriers to reporting included perceived and experienced stigma in health settings and in the wider community, lack of awareness of services, and inability to protect children while mothers sought services” (Wirtz, 2013, p. 1). As a result, recommendations included use of a screening tool for SGBV survivors. This tool would allow a skilled service provider to “confidentially identify an individual who has experienced one or more types of GBV and link the individual to comprehensive services that

are available in these settings” (p. 2). This screening tool is under development and no further details were provided on how the screening process analyzed indicators of SGBV.

Attitudes of violence against women may also affect reporting. In the 2013 quantitative study measuring attitudes of Jordanians towards violence against women, Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013) argued that current culture in Jordan “accepts the use of violence with women as a kind of discipline” (p. 193). Through a sample of 2,216 female and male respondents from 12 Governorates in Jordan, findings indicated there “was a significant acceptance of violence against women” (p. 198). The majority of respondents believed that intervention from officials on behalf of a victim would cause a “bad reputation” to the family or lead to divorce (p. 199). This type of interference in matters concerning women “is unacceptable and rejected by the society” (p. 199). Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013) asserted acceptance and causes of violence were due to the “hierarchy society that is dominant in the Jordanian culture” (p. 199). Women were also implicated in perpetuating these values and justified violence against women (p. 193). However, Al-Matalka and Hussainat (2013) noted this could be due in fact to women denying the seriousness of the abuse to avoid shame and stigmatization (p. 199). The significance of this study is tied to barriers of reporting, which is demonstrated in the cultural norms of Jordanian society that continues to affect Syrian women in or outside of refugee camps. The negative connotations associated with seeking help are perceived as giving a bad reputation to women and may lead to silence about sexual violence. Unsurprisingly, these cultural norms and values were also found in Syria.

Research completed by the Syria Research and Evaluation Organization (SREO) (2015) measured attitudes towards SGBV survivors and perpetrators. In interviewing 60 Syrian refugees living in southern Turkey, respondents discussed conditions of SGBV pre-2011 and how the general community responded to victims. Some respondents believed that SGBV was limited in

pre-conflict Syria, but these incidences were most likely hidden and became “more widespread and exposed during the crisis” (p. 17). Common SGBV experiences included “SGBV committed by the Syrian government, verbal harassment, rape, marital rape, and honour killings, domestic violence” (p. 20). Acts and prevalence of SGBV also varied in Syria depending on the area and level of urbanization (p. 17). A respondent noted that SGBV was limited in Kurdish areas protected by the Kurdish Democratic Union Party, as women in these regions were “respected the same as men” (p. 20). After the Syrian crisis continued throughout the years, SGBV became so common that eventually “it became something normal” (p. 23). The community was also a determining factor in women reporting SGBV. Respondents unanimously agreed upon the importance of community support for SGBV survivors, yet they contended that “the community would not only fail to support survivors, but would actively shame, attack, and isolate them, sometimes to the point of death by suicide or honour killing (p. 27). This continued as a theme in SREO’s (2015) research, as women did not seek psychological support because they were fearful of being identified as an SGBV survivor and implicated in a scandal (p. 43). Attitudes about justice for SGBV survivors were also discussed with participants, with many agreeing that perpetrators should go to court if possible. If this alternative was unavailable, the offence should be documented and tried in an international court later (p. 45). The pre- and post-conflict attitudes about SGBV involving women are still present and continue when they cross into other refugee camps, where these cultural norms are reinforced by similar outlooks on SGBV.

Summary of Main Themes in Literature

A review of the literature concerning SGBV in refugee camps located in West Africa, and harmful cultural norms in Syria and Jordan, shows that SGBV remains a common experience of women residing in camps. Aid dependency and exploitation continue as concerns stemming from vulnerability to SGBV, especially when reporting SGBV committed by agency

or aid workers (Ferris, 2007; UNHCR & Save the Children UK, 2002). Measures in reporting SGBV have mostly been reactive in nature and continue encouraging the idea that SGBV is a private, family issue. The striking similarities in attitudes towards violence against women found in studies in Syria and Jordan demonstrate the values that are later carried into Jordanian-hosted refugee camps. The stigmatization and shaming of survivors remains a common trend throughout the literature, as do harmful practices that are continued by each generation, highlighting the socially determined and culturally sanctioned nature of SGBV.

Zaatari Camp: Contextual Background

The general camp culture in Zaatari is one of anxiety and uncertainty, as many families are unable to travel back into Syria to learn of the fate of relatives and perceive that they have no power over their future (Jabbar & Zaza, 2014, p. 1508). Zaatari is located in the Mafraq Governorate of Jordan, south of Syria. It opened July 28, 2012 to accommodate the mass exodus of Syrian refugees fleeing violence. The majority of these refugees originated from the mid-southern governorates in Syria (Dalal, 2015, p. 267). Due to the lack of progress in ending the Syrian conflict, urbanization of the camp has resulted (Dalal, 2015). Part of this urbanization is credited to the fundraising work of the camp coordinator for Zaatari, the UNHCR. As there is difficulty in providing funding beyond emergency phases, the UNHCR attempts to teach self-reliance (Dalal, 2015, p. 265). In doing so, makeshift markets and businesses have been established by refugees and “relied on an already existing societal system of values – a system that consolidates solidarity and commitment towards communal values” (p. 272). While this particular camp of 79,133 refugees (UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response, 2016) has been viewed as a safe haven, violence is still found within the camp. In a survey conducted by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) (2014), in the month of June 2014, 160

incidences of violence against women were reported to the IRC in Zaatari (p. 17). It was also estimated that only 1 in 10 women who have experienced violence report it (p. 17). This demonstrates an astounding amount of gender-based violence occurring with impunity.

Process of Reporting Sexual Violence in Zaatari

The current reporting policies of Zaatari are guided by the *Inter-agency Emergency Standard Operating Procedures for Prevention of and Response to Gender-Based Violence and Child Protection in Jordan* or standard operating procedures (SOPs). This document was completed in collaboration with 40 ministries, institutions, and organizations that deal with SGBV protection in Jordan. When sexual violence is perpetrated against a woman, these SOPs are to be followed by NGOs referring SGBV cases. There are three courses of action that a woman can take in reporting:

1. Report the offence to an NGO.
2. Report the offence to the UNHCR.
3. Report the offence to the Family Protection Department (FPD) in Jordan. (SOP Task Force, 2013, p. 55)

In the first case, after the NGO is informed of the violation, consent should be received by the survivor to refer the case through the UNHCR when possible (SOP Task Force, 2013, p. 55). In the second option, the UNHCR will refer the case to the FPD. In the third option, the FPD will refer the case to a public prosecutor and will inform the UNHCR of the crime (p. 55). All these options are dependent on survivor-initiated contact with one of these agencies. After the public prosecutor reviews the case and a decision is reached on proceeding with charges, the survivor statement can be used in court and the survivor may have to testify (p. 44). Through the IRC, survivors of SGBV can access counselling and health care services confidentially (IRC, 2014, p.

18). In addition, the follow-up response to any SGBV perpetrated by UN personnel is to be “carried out in accordance with national laws” (SOP Task Force, 2013 p. 46).

Jordanian Law

Refugees in Jordan are subject to Jordanian law. Under these laws, government employees are required to report misdemeanours and felonies, including acts of SGBV and they have to inform the survivor of this obligation; however, non-medical staff are not required to report incidences of SGBV (SOP Task Force, 2013, p. 28).

The marriage laws of Jordan also blatantly disregard the rights of children, especially the rights of the girl child. Current law in Jordan does not prohibit child marriages and this may enable SGBV against girls, who are raped in a context of early marriage. Further, forced marriages are also prevalent and these forms of marriage also enable SGBV within the marriage. Under Jordanian law, marriages of girls 15 years of age and older are allowed with parental permission (Child Protection Sub-Working Group, 2014, p. 12). This provision under Jordanian Penal Code Article 308 also allowed “exemption from investigation and prosecution for persons accused of sexual assault who agree to marry their victims for at least five years” (Human Rights Watch, 2015; Sadek, 2016). This same law also applied to girls aged 15 to 18. While the Jordanian Ministerial Committee repealed a portion of this article in law, it still requires parliamentary approval (Sadek, 2016). However, the disturbing element of the repeal is that it only applied to women 18 years and older, leaving girls aged 15 to 18 in danger of being compelled to marry their rapists (Husseini, 2016). Jordanian Justice Minister Bassam Talhouni justified this discrimination against young girls and claimed Article 308 was to “protect the victim, especially since it is consensual and she willingly accepted to get married” (Hussenini,

2016). However, as demonstrated in practice, young girls are forced to marry against their will to their accused rapist.

Severe opposition to Article 308 occurred in 2012, after a 14-year-old girl was kidnapped from the city of Zarqa, Jordan; a 19-year-old man raped this young girl for three consecutive days in a tent he set up at the edge of Zarqa (AFP Amman, 2012). The man was arrested for this crime, but he later agreed to marry the 14-year-old and all charges were dropped (AFP Amman, 2012). The controversy continued when Jordan's first female coroner, Israa Tawalbeh, believed that Article 308 served to protect girls from stigma and prevented them from being the victim of honour killings: "Actual rape cases are rare in our society. Sometimes, girls under 18 lose their virginity force their families to accept marriage to their boyfriends. The law categorizes this as rape" (AFP Amman, 2012). These regressive and ignorant attitudes towards women's rights in Jordan extend towards Syrian women living in refugee camps, as they fall under the authority of Jordanian law. The case of the 14-year-old is a stark reminder of how justice is lost to discriminatory law, especially when young women are forced to relive trauma by being coerced into a permanent relationship with their rapist. Despite this, Jordanian aid agencies have created campaigns to bring awareness of these injustices and call for change.

The Amani ("My Safety") Campaign

The Amani campaign was initiated by the United Nations, which focused on child protection and SGBV in Jordan's refugee camps. The *Amani Campaign Implementation Guide* is used by organizations involved in the inter-agency initiative to target the lack knowledge about services available to SGBV and child abuse survivors (SGBV Protection Sub-Working Group, 2014b, p. 7). Amani was created in response to SGBV in Jordanian refugee camps to "display commitment towards putting an end to gender-based violence and build on the ongoing inter-

agency child protection” (p. 7). Messages from Amani were formulated with “consultations with women, girls, boys, and men from refugee and host communities, and service providers” (p. 7). Some of the main messages included preventing violence, response and support options for SGBV survivors, prevention of early marriage, and reminders that humanitarian aid is free. Activities for delivering messages include “awareness raising sessions, performances by children and youth, puppet shows, debates on article 308 of the Jordanian Penal Code, short movies, and discussion” (United Nations Jordan, 2014). The main structure of activities included one-to-one conversations, community dialogues, events, community storytelling, and social media, where key messages would be distributed (SGBV Protection Sub-Working Group, 2014b). Similar to principles found in Feminist Social Criticism Theory, the Amani campaign utilized social change communication “which entails a process of dialogue to change behaviours broadly, reduce harmful social and cultural practices and negative coping strategies caused or exacerbated by displacement” (SGBV Protection Sub-Working Group, 2014b, p. 12). The campaign attempted to reduce barriers of reporting SGBV by distributing contact information for various agencies that provide counselling support or program referrals. While the program has not had any formal evaluation, this type of approach could combat the lack of awareness about reporting systems and is an integral component in educating women and urging them to come forward.

Other Camps Hosting Syrian Refugees: Shatila, Lebanon

Shatila camp located in Beirut, Lebanon was initially founded to house Palestinian refugees in 1949. The camp was built for a capacity of 3,000 refugees; however, it continued to inflate with insecurity after the Syrian conflict in 2011. The exact population is unknown, but has been estimated at between 22,000 (Fisher, 2015) and 44,000 (Mackenzie, 2016). According to the UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response (2016), there are an estimated 1,033,513 refugees

registered in Lebanon, with 52% being women. The camp has often been characterized as overcrowded and poverty-stricken. Mackenzie (2016) describes the camp:

Today, the only running water in the camp is salty and unsuitable for drinking; bundles of tangled electricity wires hang overhead in the streets, with several people electrocuted every year . . . There is no greenery in the camp and one of the only open spaces is a dirt yard outside the Children and Youth Centre. (Mackenzie, 2016)

Besides the poor physical condition of the camp, the camp is also within an environment where SGBV is largely able to occur with impunity. Similar to norms in Syria and Jordan, violence against women in Lebanon is viewed as taboo and as an issue to be kept within the family (Ouyang, 2013, p. 2165). As a result, protection from SGBV is lacking. Refugees are also barred from holding certain jobs in Lebanon, effectively restricting them to live in Shatila and not have the means to move elsewhere for a better quality of life. On the issue of nationality rights in Lebanon, UNICEF (2011) states, “refugees are denied access to public social services, have limited access to public health and educational facilities and are not allowed to work in several professions” (p. 2).

Refugees’ access to information on how to report sexual violence is also limited in Lebanon. SGBV is extremely common in Shatila, as girls “are told it’s inappropriate for them to voice anything publicly or to scream, even when they’re in danger” (Tenuta, 2015). The literature on the refugee situation in Lebanon suggests that reporting violence to Lebanese authorities is a convoluted process and taxing for a woman seeking to pursue charges against her assailant. Women who experience intimate partner violence are also left in limbo, as there are no specific laws against domestic violence or spousal rape (UNICEF, 2011, p. 2). In July 2011, a law was drafted through the Lebanese Cabinet that would criminalize domestic violence and rape within marriage. Despite the long and arduous process pushing this law through the Cabinet,

religious clerics in Lebanon opposed the law. One cleric said that “Muslims in Lebanon refuse a draft law that violates the Sharia provisions derived from the Quran and the Hadith, which protect and safeguard women and families in our society” (Aziz, 2013). There is also difficulty in enforcement of law, as “different religious communities in Lebanon have their own personal status laws” relating to marriage, divorce, and inheritance (UNICEF, 2011, p. 1). This demonstrates the difficulty women face in accessing the legal system, and how this contributes to an environment that fails to protect the security and rights of refugee women in Lebanon.

Comparison of Zaatari Camp vs. Shatila Camp Policy

Jordanian and Lebanese law are often derived from elements of Sharia law or Islamic teachings, which serve the interest of fundamentalist religious clerics who seek to prevent the passing of any civil law that would criminalize domestic violence, forced marriage, and child marriage. Both Jordan and Lebanon have an extensive history of hosting large numbers of refugees, having hosted significant numbers of Palestinian refugees in the past. Yet neither has any special protections or initiatives in place to safeguard refugee women from sexual violence, despite it being a prevalent problem. In addition, domestic law in both countries is not conducive to offering women sufficient legal protections of their rights to be safe from sexual violence and to pursue justice when they do experience sexual violence. Jordan has discriminatory marriage laws that allow for underage and forced marriage, while Lebanon has no law against domestic violence against a spouse.

One difference between Jordan and Lebanon is with regard to local perspectives towards refugees. Syrian refugees in Lebanon are subject to discrimination, neglect, and miserable living conditions. Palestinians already living in Shatila and surrounding areas were segregated from society, leading the Lebanese government to oppose any refugee presence

beyond the camps (Dionigi, 2014, p. 22). In addition, Lebanon has not signed the 1951 Convention of Refugees and does not have a legal definition of refugee rights (p. 23). This creates a restrictive environment for refugees, further exacerbated by a government that is reluctant to provide services to refugees or SGBV survivors. On the other hand, the Jordanian Government has attempted to integrate Syrian refugees into their workforce, in exchange for Jordan's increased inclusion in European markets (Patchett, 2016). These differences demonstrate the effect that the host government can have on the treatment of refugees within their country, and those refugees' prospects for improving their living conditions and access to services. The experience of Jordan also shows that host countries can be responsive to pressures or incentives that can compel them to do better for refugees. Such incentives could also be used to compel host governments to provide refugee women with greater opportunities and security in these increasingly urbanized centres.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Research Methods

Between June 2016 to August 2016, data collection was completed through a qualitative research study. This study used a case study methodology to review and analyze primary data that was collected from frontline workers and others with direct experience in refugee camps, and also reviewed current camp policies and practices relevant to the topic, in the camps. A survey was used to gather information and experiences from respondents who were located in different countries and time zones and could not easily be interviewed. The survey also allowed for respondents to modify their responses before submitting. The survey's questionnaire contained 17 open-ended questions. Approximately 50 agencies were contacted to complete the survey, and of these, 12 submitted completed surveys.

Triangulation of data was used, with data drawn from three different sources:

- General literature on SGBV in refugee camps, information on the policy and practices of Zaatari, Jordan, and information on other camps used by Syrian refugees, including Shatila, Lebanon.
- Data collection from frontline workers that reflected experiences of working with refugees both inside and outside the camp environment.
- Expert analysis to comment on the barriers faced by Syrian women, specifically with regards to the cultural context.

Surveys were used as a qualitative tool to ensure sufficient data was collected among participants and to allow flexibility of participants that were unable to devote time to completing an in-person or online interview. The second data set in the methodology included a review of existing policies in Zaatari and in Shatila to outline what processes were in place for reporting SGBV. These camps were chosen by the researcher as two distinct geographical areas to determine the similarities and differences in reporting sexual violence and how government law and NGO policy interacted. An online interview was also conducted with A. Al-Tayyar in discussing how Syrian culture can help or hinder SGBV initiatives in Zaatari.

Data Collection Procedures

The ethical review for this research project was accepted June 2016 from the Royal Roads University Office of Research. Following that, the US-based platform SurveyMonkey (Select Version) was used to collect responses from participants. Questions within this survey were formulated with the theoretical framework of Feminist Social Criticism Theory (FSCT) and were derived from the concept that gradual changes in social norms and culture within refugee camps that could counteract gender inequality. Data within SurveyMonkey was stored on a US

server and was subject to the *Patriot Act* and was listed in the informed consent for acceptance by participants. Invitations to participate were sent out through the researcher's university email address and included a link to take part in the study. The informed consent for the project was either attached as a PDF file or listed in the body of the invitation email. Participants were encouraged to ask any questions about the informed consent or about the study itself. At the beginning of the survey, a disclaimer was used that read: *By completing this survey, you have agreed to the informed consent attached with the survey link.* One participant was interviewed online as an expert on Syrian cultural values to find how such values might affect reporting practices. This participant signed an informed consent agreeing that his name would be used in this thesis.

Data Analysis

After survey data had been exported from SurveyMonkey in a spreadsheet format, it was uploaded to NVivo software for coding. Participant responses were analyzed for emerging themes or topics based on questions asked in the survey. Once main themes emerged, participant responses were reviewed again and coded to their respective themes. NVivo also assisted the researcher in finding quotable material for the findings.

Agency Criteria and Selection

Agencies were selected for their credibility and history in working with refugees. For agencies operating in Canada, participant selections were guided by recommendations from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) who offer a listing of providers for immigrant and refugee assistance to Syrian refugees. IRCC was selected as a source because agencies listed on their website are federally funded and are to adhere to a code of conduct to receive funding. Service providers would require experience with female Syrian refugees

originating from Zaatari camp in Jordan to provide consistency in restricting information about camp management and barriers of reporting sexual violence to originate from the same area.

Zaatari was selected based on its proximity to Syria, its high population of Syrian refugees, and its history as an urbanized camp. Further, participants were also sourced from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) directory of agencies operating in Zaatari camp.

Snowball sampling was used to contact participants. Often once agencies were contacted, they would redirect the initial survey to a colleague who worked in Zaatari or had experience with refugees from Zaatari.

Limitations

The study had several limitations. The initial design of this research proposed a data set drawn from interviews with female Syrian refugees, with questions on the topic of the barriers they faced in reporting sexual violence. Ultimately, it was determined by the University that refugees could not be interviewed for this project due to the caution required to interview SGBV survivors on a sensitive and potentially traumatic topic. This resulted in a twofold limitation: direct accounts from survivors would not inform the findings, as well as the risk of denying survivors the chance to share their experiences, which could be perceived as silencing their voices, and limiting their agency to speak in lieu of others speaking for them.

Another limitation was the use of open-ended survey responses instead of in-person open-ended interviews. This research method was selected due to time constraints in arranging for interviews with participants in different time zones and the labour required in transcription of large amounts of audio-recorded data. Respondents were also busy during data collection and had very limited time to complete or schedule extended interviews. The survey design allowed for respondents to complete questions at their convenience and revise their responses before

submission. Despite this limitation, data received from the survey responses were relevant and applicable to the research questions.

Finally, another limitation is that findings collected were only relevant to Zaatari camp and perhaps to other camps in Jordan, but cannot necessarily be generalized, as only there were only 12 respondents. For Jordanian participants, there were some who had limited time due to the data collection process occurring over Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr, which caused delay in confirming responses and non-responses.

CHAPTER 4 – FINDINGS

After data had been coded, distinct themes emerged from the surveys. The most prevalent theme was the importance of education and awareness building, which was referenced 21 times by different participants who represented agencies that operate in Canada or in Zaatari. The education theme was followed by the theme of trust, which was noted nine times within the participant group. Other themes included opinions on the general reporting system, services provided, shame, fear, and general social barriers that women face. A chart showing the main barriers is provided in this section. Participants included staff of settlement agencies, counsellors, sponsorship organizations, and representatives of organizations that have worked or are currently working in Jordan with Syrian refugees.

The General Process of Reporting

In the course of the survey, participants detailed the process for reporting SGBV, as either a primary witness or as having heard of the experience from refugees. In these instances, multiple participants described how authority figures assisted in non-sentencing of suspected SGBV perpetrators. The label of SGBV or related labels would also often be removed from the claim and labelled more generally as “violence.” One respondent describes this practice:

Within the course of my employment, I met a number of victims of sexual violence and abuse cases, where victims refuse to share what happened with any agency, and most of those went unreported. Some of these cases were reported, but as violence cases rather than sexual violence. Many other cases will face intervention from a key person who holds authority status to assist the perpetrator in not getting sentenced. (Participant #6)

Participant #4 also echoed similar experiences with regards to the perpetrator escaping punishment because the survivor was unsure or afraid of sharing their traumatic experience. This would be counteracted by instilling self-confidence in the survivor to promote trust and sharing. By reframing the crime as a community issue, it could promote reporting of SGBV crimes and reduce the traditional notion that SGBV is a private, individual issue instead of a harmful and common occurrence within the refugee camp of concern and relevance to the entire community:

Talking to these victims, I try to focus on the feeling of self-confidence, and that there is a crime and must be dealt with firmly, as well as improve our role as individuals and as a community to get rid of the traditional view of the concept of shame and honour, because when we don't report such a crime, we help the perpetrator to commit other similar crimes. (Participant #4)

As reporting SGBV in Zaatari is largely dependent on the survivor, women only received assistance if they were willing to share their experience and thus risk stigmatization within the community. Participant #11 asserted that effectiveness of reporting "all depends on the affected individuals and how much they are willing to share. When they do, professional help is there through an existing counselling and referral system" (Participant #11). In speaking on the reporting structure that is implemented in refugee camps, Participant #8 described it as weak, with other participants describing it as ineffective (Participant #4) and having very little structure (Participant #1). Participant #6 elaborated on the reasoning for why reporting structures were

considered to be powerless institutions for survivors: “Very weak and ineffective system in place as there are many unreported cases. And those few reported cases did not have a follow-up, and were not treated in a way that will give the victims their rights” (Participant #6). Agency follow-up systems were also discussed in the survey, where the Family Protection Department (FPD) in Jordan was excluded as a contact. Instead, survivors of SGBV were referred to an INGO that had a program centred on sexual violence. This agency would track the progress through this follow up system in collaboration with the INGO (Participant #1).

Participants were also asked where survivors were likely to report violence.¹ In a quantitative question, 63.64% of participants believed that survivors would approach a non-profit or NGO about the occurrence of sexual violence. This was followed by 45.45% of respondents that believed that survivors would report to a UN agency. Only one participant (9.09%) believed that survivors would report to the local police. Other respondents answered that women would not report or that they would tell a community leader about violence.

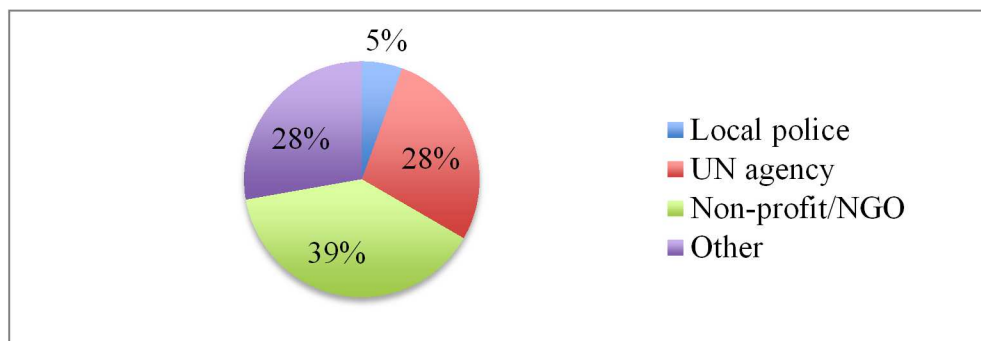


Figure 1: Where do women report sexual violence?

Barriers of reporting

There were three distinct barriers identified that prevented women from reporting SGBV. These included lack of trust in the reporting process or agency, fear of retaliation, and stigma and

¹ One participant chose not to respond to this question

blame from the community. The idea that women's honour and dignity is derived from their virginity or chasteness is reflected in the comments of agency representatives, including those operating in refugee camps and those that have settled refugees in Canada.

While the United Nations and various other agencies have tried to define SGBV, an internationally accepted definition is lacking and this can be manipulated by host countries (Participant #4). International aid investment and support granted to host countries in a time of crisis, especially countries like Jordan and Turkey where "government officials are involved in these crimes, and are protected by their own governments," should include a requirement that the host country accept an internationally accepted standard definition of SGBV and that the host government face consequences when policies and procedures relating to the standard definition are not used (Participant #4).

The deficit of trust in institutions was frequently cited as a barrier to reporting SGBV. The void of trust was attributed to a range of reasons, including as a result of a refugee's limited relationship with agency and service providers, and therefore lack of assurance that they would respond with the victim's best interests in mind. Concerns of confidentiality in the reporting process were also problematic, as fear of retaliation by government figures within the course of the reporting process. Participant #4 discussed the reality of reporting within the Jordanian system, and how corruption in the government had created an environment for organized sex trade and the forced marriages of girls: "where Jordanians are employed, there is a fear [from refugees] of retaliation as the system in Jordan is corrupt, and some officials are involved in organized sex trade business in the refugee camp . . . [they] find young refugee girls for older wealthy Saudi men" (Participant #4).

Six participants noted that trust was a pivotal requirement to ensuring women were comfortable sharing their SGBV experiences. Four of the participants asserted that this trust had

to be built over time with the community and given the sensitivities surrounding the topic, Syrian women preferred to engage with other trusted females when discussing their experiences (Participant #1). Participant #9 also emphasized that multiple sessions would be required in order to ensure that survivors are comfortable disclosing incidences of SGBV: “Women and other sexual violence survivors need to have many sessions before being able to disclose sexual violence. There should be relations of trust and continuous support, not just a one-time meeting” (Participant #9).

Even employment of Syrian refugees from within the Zaatari camp as interpreters for SGBV cases can undermine the trust the survivor has in the assisting agency. If survivors are aware that locals may be involved in the reporting process, they may choose not to report because of the risk that someone in the community could disclose their experience to others in the camp:

Most of the staff employed by the UNHCR sub-divisions are either locals living in the camp, or Jordanian. In the case of a Syrian employee presence (most of the times as interpreter), fear of sharing the story outside the organization serves as a barrier in reporting. (Participant #4)

The participant further detailed this issue, stating that stigma and blame could come back to the survivor and their family if this confidentiality is broken.

For barriers relating to stigma and fear, several participants noted that women avoided telling others within the camp due to fear of reprisals, shame, or stigma from the community. One participant found that a fear of “being killed by the brother or father to ‘protect the honour’ even if she is a victim” was a social barrier to reporting and these concepts of “shame and honour are attributed to women only” (Participant #8). In some examples, the response from the

survivor's family could start a tribal or familial feud by killing the perpetrator of an act of SGBV:

If a woman talks about someone raping her in the refugee camp, and the individual is identified, depending on their cultural orientation, there is a very high chance that the husband, brother, father, or uncle of the victim will kill that individual to save their honour. That killing will start years of revenge between both families/tribes. To save blood, many women choose not to talk about it. (Participant #4)

Participant #4 also elaborated on how faith and religion can affect a woman's decision of whether to report. Placing an intense value on a woman's "purity" also complicates reporting, as women fail to disclose violence because of the high risk to their family's honour. Participant #3 stated that this shame and fear were obstacles and would not allow women to disclose SGBV easily to a program or agency.

Only one participant discussed the outcome of the reporting process, which included cases of rape. Participant #6 described how cases involving SGBV were reduced to physical crimes, while other cases were neglected:

I personally registered about 120 Syrian families, were there were 2 cases of sexual violence (rape), and 2 were reported as physical violence. In the first 2 cases (rape), one of them was reported and followed up where the perpetrator was sentenced, where the second case was neglected for reasons related to where the perpetrator was located, and where the refugee was. (Participant #6)

First, this demonstrated that prosecutors redefined SGBV as simple assault, blocking survivors seeking justice, and second, some cases could not be tried due to geographical locations of the survivor and the perpetrator.

Counters to Barriers

Education and Awareness Raising

Education and awareness raising were the most common themes drawn from participant responses. In asking whether refugees were aware of services provided to respond to SGBV, Participant #11 believed that there was a gap in this area. Refugees required education and awareness on the different supports available in the camp (Participant #11). It was also acknowledged that poverty, illiteracy or limited literacy among many refugees affected their awareness levels of these programs, rendering them more vulnerable than others with reading comprehension (Participant #8). There is also a need for better awareness among INGOs and NGOs operating in the camps on the prevalence of SGBV and what prevents women from reporting incidents, so that these agencies can do more to create a safe environment for survivors, as well as deter further SGBV. Participant #7, a Canadian refugee coordinator for sponsorship, recommended that the Canadian Red Cross' *Ten Steps to Creating Safe Environments* should be implemented within refugee camps to establish a welcoming space for SGBV survivors. Another issue was the way women learned about the process of reporting SGBV:

Women and young girls may learn about the process from each other, but this stays in a small circle of females in order to prevent the news of the sexual violence and rape of the victim who might have learned about the process becoming public to other refugees.

(Participant #6)

The initial admittance of refugees into the camp was also a lost opportunity to disseminate information about SGBV programs and available reporting mechanisms, as arriving refugees may be overwhelmed with information. At the same time, providing this information upon arrival as a matter of protocol, and could help allay suspicion regarding why someone is aware of

the reporting mechanisms. Participant #4, in working with refugees, learned about the chaotic process upon entry into Zaatari:

Refugees in camps are given forms and asked many questions when first admitted to the camp. Under that chaotic scene, pressure, emotional disability, and grief, refugees don't necessary process and understand the content of orientations given by camp officials.

This includes orientation on reporting sexual violence or printed materials relating to that.

To refugees, their needs are greater than listening or reading literature. (Participant #4)

The information acquired at the entrance of the refugee camp is later lost among the other worries and difficulties that camp life poses to migrants and vulnerable populations (Participant #4). This participant implied the need for a dissemination system to redistribute this information after the family has been relatively settled in the refugee camp.

Trust Building

The trust component in addressing SGBV was cited as an area of concern for numerous participants. Through the data collected, some believed that adequate time was not given to building relationships with SGBV survivors that resulted in trust, and therefore was ineffective at encouraging more women to come forward to report violence. Participant #11 asserted the importance of raising awareness about SGBV programs, as well as “opening up and sharing experiences” of refugee women. One participant identified that agencies invested little in creating trust relationships, yet this required a continuous effort on the part of agencies to encourage reporting: “Women and other sexual violence survivors need to have many sessions before being able to disclose sexual violence. There should be relations of trust and continuous support, not just a one-time meeting” (Participant #9).

While trust was a component, the gender of agency representatives also served as a barrier to women. Participant #1 contended that Syrian refugee women typically preferred to

speak with other women in protection programs and were willing to open up more once that trust relationship was established. Direct outreach was also cited as an area for improvement within the refugee camp, as it currently requires victims to self-identify. Participant #4 stated that a structure based on reporting rather than outreach was ineffective:

Acts of sexual violence are not common topics of discussion in refugee camps, and victims don't necessarily have the courage and support network to go out and seek help. There is need for an outreach approach where female outreach workers go out in the camp and talk to women, raise awareness, build bridges between their agencies and refugees, and build trust relationships where a victim feels safe to approach that worker and report a violence act. (Participant #4)

Expert Analysis of Syrian Culture and Effect on Reporting

Ahmad Al-Tayyar, a Syrian-Canadian journalist who has travelled to Syrian refugee camps, interviewed refugees and has written extensively on human rights violations in Syria and the Syrian conflict. His experience supports many of the findings described above. A. Al-Tayyar stated that low volumes of reporting are attributed to a fear of embarrassment on behalf of women, stemming from a male-dominated culture (personal communication, August 20, 2016). A. Al-Tayyar was aware of a case in pre-conflict Syria where a woman was raped. This woman was later murdered by her father and brother in an effort to protect the family's honour (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016). This story illustrates how the attitudes and behaviours of male relatives would influence a woman who is considering reporting SGBV. The incidence of honour killings in response to the rape of a female family member is a powerful deterrence to women, who could reasonably fear for their lives if they disclose a rape.

Male attitudes regarding SGBV vary depending on which part of Syria they are from, as rural areas were more likely to hold harmful fundamentalist values and blame the victim (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016). The issue of sexual violence is also viewed as scandalous in Syria rather than as a crime where the victim deserves justice. Due to the centrality of the family unit in Syrian society, a victim's experience of SGBV impacts family reputation, and thus a victim will hide an experience of SGBV to protect family honour. Of importance is that religious leaders have been known to reinforce these harmful ideas (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016). The position of the family's reputation in society is placed squarely on the shoulders of women (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016).

The level of education of male relatives also has an impact on the perception of SGBV as a crime and on the notion of consent in sexual relations (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016). A. Al-Tayyar elaborated that women may discuss experiences of SGBV and sensitive issues with a small group of female relatives. For instance, such a group might include the SGBV survivor, her mother and sister. However, if this group expands, the survivor then begins to fear that the story will become known to the community, putting her physical safety and the family's reputation at risk (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016). For creating successful educational campaigns in the refugee camps, A. Al-Tayyar believed that campaigns must be delivered at the societal level, targeting both men and women (personal communication, August 20, 2016). Campaigns that appeal only to women would have little effect, given the role men play in perpetrating SGBV. The main messaging should focus on community responsibility: "when you report SGBV, you are helping someone else down the line" (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016). This messaging was also used in the Amani Campaign, an educational movement addressing how to protect children, women,

and adults from violence. Amani had a similar message on the community's responsibility in reducing violence: "Let's work together to make our communities safer. Everyone has a role to play in keeping girls, boys, women and men safe" (SGBV Protection Sub-Working Group, 2014b, p. 5).

A. Al-Tayyar's intimate knowledge of Syrian culture is supported by numerous reports of SGBV in pre- and post-conflict Syria (United Nations, 2014; SREO, 2015, p. 19). Honour killings and forced marriages existed in pre-conflict Syria, where discriminatory laws allow for offenders to receive reduced sentences (United Nations, 2014, p. 34). This was proven in 2009, when the Syrian Penal Code relating to honour killings was abolished after the judiciary "waived punishment for a man who killed a female member in the case provoked by illegitimate sex acts" (p. 34). While abolished in law, these attitudes towards women are continued in the Syrian conflict and may explain why women face a disproportionate amount of sexual violence while living in refugee camps. Five participants also agreed with A. Al-Tayyar that shame and stigma were contributing factors to non-reporting of SGBV. Studies assessing attitudes of violence against women also corroborate this claim that women are fearful of coming forward because of the risk of shame from the community (SREO, 2015; Al-Matalka and Hussainat, 2013). In fact, use of violence against women is a common theme in Syria and Jordan. A. Al-Tayyar also inadvertently described the principles of Feminist Social Criticism Theory in suggesting that SGBV campaigns required participation from both men and women to discuss harmful social norms. Otherwise, education initiatives targeting only women would be a short-term solution and provide no real benefits (A. Al-Tayyar, personal communication, August 20, 2016).

CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION

Contribution of Jordanian Law to Barriers of Reporting

The findings from participants highlighted gaps in the policy in the host countries of Jordan and Lebanon, where legislation protecting women and girls from violence is weak. Jordan's laws on SGBV fail to adequately criminalize or prevent gender-based violence, forced marriage, and early marriage, by using language that would permit child sex assault within the context of marriage. The findings also highlighted examples of how INGO policies work out at a practical level. As it stands, the process is largely driven by a survivor deciding to report; there is little overt outreach to encourage reporting. This also includes a distinct lack of oversight from the Jordanian Government to ensure that SGBV cases are followed through to bring justice to the survivor, and little attention paid to protecting female refugees from SGBV.

In essence, the current mechanisms in place are limited and unresponsive to the gender inequality rooted in experiences pre- and post-conflict, persisting at so-called "safe havens." Systems are not structured to reach out to women, and the systems are largely blind to the risks women face for coming forward. While many agencies do advocate for the rights of survivors, reporting still carries risks of revealing a woman's experience of SGBV to her community or her family. This risk is exemplified by the fact that SGBV cases in Jordan could be rendered public or private based on a judge's discretion. If the judge wishes to deter a survivor from reporting against a perpetrator, the judge has the option to rule the SGBV case as a public hearing.

The practices of the Jordanian Government invite the risk of stigma and harassment for the survivor. The survivor-initiated system is also a concern in that it inevitably allows innumerable cases to slip through unreported. Women's restricted mobility also limits use of reporting structures, where women may be afraid or unable to leave their homes without a male

companion. Ultimately the reward of reporting and the likelihood of achieving justice pale in comparison to the risk involved with reporting, where women must self-identify, particularly when the survivor may have little confidence in the outcome of the reporting process.

Aid personnel working in the camps have access to resources and knowledge about vulnerabilities within the camp reporting structure, and thus those who are perpetrators of SGBV may be confident they can go unpunished, whether they are local or non-local workers. Indeed, the lack of the rule of law enables perpetrators to evade detection and prosecution. As mentioned in the Jordanian law literature review, non-medical staff do not have an obligation to report SGBV. If staff were obliged or at least encouraged through policy to report signs of abuse, this could facilitate inquiry that may help women who experienced or are experiencing SGBV and need support initiated through direct outreach. At the minimum, these women would be made aware of the option of reporting, and the steps involved, and they may be more likely to report if that is then followed up with the development of a trusting relationship. Non-medical staff reporting these incidences to the FPD or the UNHCR removes the follow-up that could potentially encourage a survivor to report through ongoing confidential contact with the survivor. Obligation to report must, however, be weighed against the risk that women would be deterred from coming to staff over a fear of being identified as an SGBV victim without consent.

Trust in Service Providers

Among participants, trust was a key requirement for increasing reporting from female refugees. The limited opportunity for rapport building with women is a hindrance, and one-time meetings are not entirely effective in establishing sufficient trust with a SGBV survivor to convince her to report. As noted by participants within the study, the employment of other Syrian refugees living in Zaatari as interpreters could prevent women from reporting. Although

employing refugees is good practice in terms of both economic support to refugees and ensuring there are local staff with relevant language and cultural skills, agencies should give careful consideration to how to staff programs that are focused on response and/or prevention of SGBV. This caution extends to outreach with refugee women who may be survivors of SGBV. Staffing arrangements should give precedence to concerns around confidentiality and local networks, in contexts where women fear information about their case being shared in their community.

A. Al-Tayyar also pointed out that Syrian women preferred small groups within which to share their experiences. Coupled with outreach by female agency workers, this approach that will provide a contact when a woman wishes to speak out about violence. The data collected suggest that the notions of shame and honour are central cultural preoccupations that have powerful influences over women's bodily integrity, and fear of bringing dishonour or shame to themselves and/or their families are powerful deterrents to reporting SGBV. Behaviour change, communications and outreach activities seeking to address SGBV must speak to the pre-eminence of these cultural values and how they work to shape perceptions of sexual violence. A key message must be focused on the meaning and importance of consent in sexual relations, the need to support and defend victims of SGBV rather than shaming them, and placing responsibility and blame on perpetrators instead of victims.

Education and Awareness Raising

Reframing the issue of SGBV as a community problem rather than as an individual, private problem shift stigma away from women and shift responsibility onto the community to assist in protecting women and girls from violence. Education and raising awareness was the most referenced theme emerging from the surveys, as such campaigns allowed for discourse on the taboo topic of SGBV. Communications, behaviour change and awareness raising activities

are opportunities to address both root causes and the enabling environment of SGBV. As with FSCT, driving out these misconceptions about SGBV could serve to reframe it as a community issue. As Al-Tayyar stated, this awareness should be directed towards both men and women. Without this, SGBV will continue to be misunderstood by male members of the family. There should also be consensus among the Jordanian Government, the UNHCR, and other agencies that messaging should encourage reporting as a means of harm reduction, rights protection, and justice.

Changing the narrative is going to take a tremendous amount of advocacy and campaigning effort, but this shift needs to occur. As reported by one respondent, refugees are inundated with materials when they first arrive, and may not be able to process all the information they receive at that time, and information on SGBV handed out at that time risks being ignored. While the UNHCR has developed other methods of communication with camp residents through cellphone and social media, distinct attention needs to be focused on distributing information about SGBV on a regular basis, and doing continuous outreach with different segments: youth, men, and women.

Community-Based Dialogue

It is also integral to allow time and effort to foster relationships within the camp community. As many camps become more urbanized, a community-minded approach that allows for ongoing dialogue with women in different forms will allow women space to discuss their needs, and ultimately, experiences with SGBV. These sessions include discussing issues with other women exclusively. SGBV survivors have remained silent due to a variety of social and legal factors. A Third World feminist perspective could be used in the development of approaches intended to give a voice to women refugees by promoting curiosity, deliberation, and

changes within the Zaatari camp that would be “inclusive of the perspectives of those marginalized by their silence” (Herr, 2000, p. 23). Applicable practice drawn from the Third World feminist perspective is illustrated in a campaign headed by women in Deir El Balah refugee camp in Gaza. A group of 10 women launched an initiative for improved street lighting in their camp community to increase safety and security (UNRWA, 2016). One of the women who participated in this campaign acknowledged the challenges of making their voice heard within the community: “the first challenge we faced is that people said no one would support us or listen to us, especially because we are women” (UNRWA, 2016). However, these women continued to campaign for change, by promoting a discussion within their community on improving street lighting. The women were empowered by their work and “many of their husbands who were opposed to the idea at first now also actively participate in the initiative and provide support” (UNRWA, 2016). This is a small example of how female deliberation can be applied in practice with SGBV discussion and shifting attitudes on harmful gender norms.

Focusing on reducing the voicelessness and marginalization of Syrian women can establish an avenue for provision of services for survivors. The current approaches used in Zaatari are characterized by a lack of available information on the processes for reporting, and fail to halt the perpetuation of myths surrounding SGBV. Syrian women are extremely reluctant to approach “authority” figures like representatives of the UN or NGOs unless they know someone they trust who they can go to personally. If that connection is not present, neither will be the willingness to open up about SGBV, and ultimately, to report it.

Summary

Significant gaps remain in reporting protection for women, hindered by Jordanian law. While campaigns like Amani try to offset these harms, regressive laws imposed on Syrian

women contribute to perpetuate harmful practices to women's wellbeing. Article 308 from the Jordanian Penal Code exacerbates conditions that enable SGBV against young girls, who are raped and forced to marry their abuser for at least three years. The findings drawn from participant surveys, from A. Al-Tayyar, and from existing literature suggested that Syrian women required trust relationships to be in place to encourage reporting of acts of SGBV. This need is rooted in cultural-based fear around the consequences to individuals and their families of reporting. A. Al-Tayyar asserted that these types of trust relationships should be comprised of small groups so women feel safe sharing their stories and traumatic experiences. Without these types of relationships, shame and fear remain deterrents to reporting. As found by this study, education has the greatest potential to be the biggest driver of change to shift these gender norms and allow for the erosion of the stigma surrounding SGBV. Initiatives focused in this area need to be directed towards men and women to improve equity in gender relations. Combining education with community-based dialogue creates discussion on SGBV and in doing so, allows female empowerment, while including males in this advocacy. This is a cornerstone of Feminist Social Criticism Theory where lasting changes are not forced by agencies or government bodies, but through gradual changes brought about by discussion.

Recommendations

The discussion of findings and the literature review uncovered immense challenges to reporting SGBV in refugee camps. The recommendations that follow are proposed in response to these findings and are suggested with the intent of fostering change within refugee camps that would better protect women from SGBV and give them a greater chance of achieving justice.

Apply International Legal Standards on SGBV in Refugee Host Countries

As mentioned, weaknesses in Jordanian laws fail to adequately protect women and girls from SGBV. While Jordan has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), countries like Lebanon have chosen otherwise. Refugee hosts should be pressured to uphold the principles in CEDAW for refugees and for their own citizens. Jordan's current approach to SGBV should be reformed to protect SGBV victims and allow all actions in court to be private. Limiting the judge's discretion in these cases eliminates the chance for abuse of power or deterring a woman from following through with pursuing prosecution of the perpetrator.

Develop Direct Outreach Routines

Cultural restrictions and taboos, the prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder, mobility restrictions, and lack of trust in camp institutions play major roles in preventing women from reporting sexual violence in refugee camps. To overcome these barriers, employing non-Jordanian and non-Syrian female outreach workers in the camp will enhance communications, build trusting relationships, and create safe spaces. However, outreach workers who are trained in counselling SGBV trauma should discuss and share information about services related to SGBV within the scope of general outreach work. This type of direct outreach serves to promote trust, by establishing informal connections with women rather than only approaching them when there is a problem. It would allow refugees to access an advocate in cases of domestic violence, spousal rape, or other forms of SGBV.

Frequent Orientation and Workshops

Due to the mental and physical conditions in which many refugees first enter a camp, they may not retain information distributed to them upon arrival. Information should be delivered frequently and repeatedly to increase awareness of camp services and procedures. These

orientations would include the dissemination of clear and concise information on SGBV, its causes and consequences, and on reporting processes accessible in camps. This should be combined with the dissemination of other mandatory information to camp residents such as information about food distribution, so that women are not singled out for being given or taking SGBV information resources. Information on SGBV for camp residents also needs to provide the simplified legal information, and clearly define the various options for reporting and pursuing justice, and the risks and rewards of each. Also, INGOs and NGOs operating in Zaatari should undertake direct outreach addressing the shame and stigma of SGBV, and convey that camp authorities and assistance agencies are observant and concerned with women's wellbeing and their protection from SGBV. Agencies can also identify ways to improve access to services for women who face mobility and cultural restrictions, such as providing transportation to a community centre. Such actions will create opportunities for reporting that go beyond relying solely on survivor-initiated approaches.

Education and Community Sessions

An educational campaign aimed at reframing the issue of SGBV as an issue of community concern will serve the purpose of raising awareness. Programs like the Amani campaign have potential to rework conceptions of SGBV while providing information about camp reporting procedures and should be well-funded by the UNCHR and its partners. Dissemination methods of information are often sent through mobile phones in Zaatari. Refugees frequently used cellphones to keep in touch with relatives or friends in Syria, often checking their phones regularly for news (UNHCR Innovation, 2015). As a result, the UNHCR has distributed information through text, including "brief updates about camp news, such as security issues following a riot or information on when a broken service will be repaired" (UNHCR Innovation, 2015). If this system could be utilized to send out briefings and information on

SGBV, it could reach a massive audience that traditional methods have been unable to achieve. However, this information sent by SMS cannot be the sole delivery of information, as “refugees tend to trust information told to them in person more than a text message or post” (UNHCR Innovation, 2015). Therefore, community meetings are required to build trust with the refugee population. As Zaatari becomes more of an urbanized settlement than a traditional, temporary refugee camp, creating community outreach mechanisms would enable Syrian women to share their stories confidentially within a closed group, in order to ultimately take actions that challenge harmful attitudes towards SGBV and end the impunity of perpetrators.

Reporting Requirements

The UNHCR should publish systematic and quarterly public reports on SGBV incidence in camps, so that increases or decreases in the incidence of SGBV can be tracked over time. Report findings should be used to identify areas where SGBV is concentrated and focus resources there, such as enhanced security, outreach, and awareness raising activities.

Addressing SGBV Education in Basic Education Curriculum

As demonstrated through the Amani Campaign, efforts are already underway to educate children, women, and men on violence in the refugee community. Refugee crises can last for years or even decades, and the length of time that people will reside in camps is unpredictable. Therefore, taking a long-term proactive approach can include addressing SGBV within the primary years can explain the community responsibility for violence, including detailed messages to be provided by agencies. This proactively teaches inclusion of human rights and gender equity in education, with a violence prevention focus that defines SGBV and articulates its consequences from a rights perspective. If these campaigns are initiated formally within the school system in Zaatari, they can serve as sites where information is disseminated to girls and

young women on services relevant to SGBV reporting and assistance such as counselling or medical care.

Conclusion

Sexual gender-based violence continues to characterize the refugee experience. Common perceptions surrounding SGBV in Syrian and Jordanian culture are regressive towards women, which is exemplified in cultural practices like compelling rape victims to marry their rapists, placing blame on the victim, and making women's bodies the symbols of family honour. Since many Syrian refugees have migrated to Jordan to escape violence, these attitudes continue in their host countries. Barriers to reporting are derived from cultural interpretation of SGBV as a scandal rather than a criminal matter. These misconceptions in Jordan and within refugee camps need to be changed through open discussion and awareness-raising with NGOs and government bodies. Feminist Social Criticism Theory assertions about community-based dialogue could allow Syrians to come to an understanding of the harms of SGBV, instead of forcing these views upon a culture that has rejected such sentiments in the past. Laws that allow SGBV crimes to occur will further entrench harmful attitudes and practices, leading to a society that places women and girls in harm's way. These crimes not only affect women, but change the way that women raise their daughters and sons – affecting an entire generation of people already devastated by war and conflict. This is why focusing on dismantling reporting barriers and challenging cultural norms that perpetuate shame and stigma around sexual violence should be a priority issue in responding to the refugee crisis and should be part of efforts to improve the quality of life in refugee camps – and ultimately refugees' prospects for integrating back into a post-conflict society when they return home.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Survey Guide

1. What is your geographic location?
2. How are you involved with Syrian refugees?
3. If applicable: What refugee camp(s) do you currently work in and/or which camps have you worked with in the past?
4. What, if any, services have you been involved in providing Syrian refugees who have experienced sexual violence?
5. To what extent is there a reporting structure in place for women who experience sexual violence in a camp?
6. To your knowledge, to what extent is sexual violence occurring in the camps you worked in? Please describe the characteristics or patterns of the occurrence of sexual violence in the environments you are familiar with.
7. If applicable: What services or programs, if any, exist to support survivors of sexual violence in refugee camps?
8. Where do survivors who live in refugee camps report sexual violence?
 - a. Local police
 - b. UN agency
 - c. Non-profit/non-governmental organization
 - d. Other (please specify)
9. Did you perceive any barriers facing female refugees in reporting sexual violence within the camp?
10. To what extent are vulnerable populations informed of options for reporting violence?
11. In what ways do survivors of sexual violence typically learn of the reporting process within the camps?
12. In your experience, to what extent is the reporting structure(s) effective?
13. In your experience, are there changes you would recommend to improve the reporting structure?
14. Have refugees ever shared their personal experience with you, in reporting or trying to report sexual violence within the refugee camp? If yes, please elaborate on their experience.
15. Was there a means of reporting the violation anonymously?
16. What would have made it easier to report what happened?
17. Do you have any recommendations on how to make it easier for survivors living in a refugee camp to report sexual violence?

Appendix B – Informed Consent

INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY ON BARRIERS OF REPORTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN REFUGEE CAMPS

You have been invited to take part in this research on the barriers preventing women from reporting sexual violence. My name is Emma MacTavish and I am a graduate student at Royal Roads University.

Name of Principle Investigator: Emma MacTavish

Name of Project: Barriers in reporting sexual violence in Syrian refugee camps.

Purpose of the research

Violence against women is a common phenomenon in refugee camps. People who run the camps often have difficulty in providing a mechanism and place for women to report this violence. This study is intended to identify these factors in order to formulate recommendations based on the research findings that may contribute to removing barriers to reporting sexual violence within a refugee camp. To this end, I want to know about your experience relative to this topic and how you view the process of reporting so that my research can better encourage effective reporting practices and make these communities safer for women and girls.

Type of Research Intervention

This research will involve a survey and will take approximately 30 to 60 minutes to complete.

Participant Selection

You have been invited for this survey because of your knowledge with the reporting system. Additionally, this research will be looking specifically at your experience and knowledge of reporting practices of sexual violence.

Voluntary Participation

This research is completely voluntary. If you choose not to participate, you will not be punished or penalized by your organization as your participation status will not be disclosed with your employer. It is your choice to participate. If you change your mind later, we can communicate online to discuss any questions or concerns you have about the process.

Procedures

If you accept to participate in this research, you will be asked to complete an in-depth survey on sexual trauma and provision of related services. If you do not wish to answer a question, let me know, and you can skip that question and move on to the next.. The response will be confidential and will not be accessed by anyone other than myself and the research committee (this team consists of the thesis supervisor and a thesis committee member).

Duration

This research will take place over 60 days in total.

Data Storage

While this research is based in Canada, the data collected is hosted on a U.S. server and is therefore subject to the *Patriot Act*.

Risks

Participants may face consequences in sharing views that may depart from their agency or employer's interest. As a result, these interviews will be discreet and the contents of the interview will be reviewed with the participant to ensure that information contained cannot be traced back to their individual contribution. This is why anonymity of participants is used in order to prevent this occurrence.

Benefits

There will be no direct benefit for you by participating in this research, but it is likely that this research can ultimately contribute to helping other women who have experienced similar treatment within a refugee camp, and/or who are at risk of such treatment. We hope that we can use our research findings to reshape policies such that they will better protect women and girls residing in refugee camps.

Reimbursements

By participating in this study, you will not receive any type of compensation or allowance.

Confidentiality

Your information will not be shared unless with the Academic Supervisor or the Thesis Committee Member for this project. The information that we collect as part of this research is kept private and will be stored with your participant number. Your name will not be published within the research.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to, and choosing not to participate will not produce any consequences. You may stop your participation at any time before the data are compiled. The knowledge that we gain from your survey will be integrated into a research paper. After this point, your participant information and identity will be impossible to extract. You will also be sent a summary of results.

Who to Contact

If you wish to contact me later, my email is [email address]. This proposal has been reviewed and approved by the Ethical Review Panel at Royal Roads University, which is a committee that ensures research participants are protected from harm. If you wish to confirm this study or have questions, please contact the Academic Supervisor for this research Dr. Lauryn Oates at [email address]. This research project has received clearance from the RRU Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Ethical Review Office.

By completing the survey, you have understood and agreed to the conditions of the informed consent.