Prevention of Sexual Violence in Refugee Camps

An Explorative Study

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Abstract

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This study aimed to explore prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece as an entry point to the EU, through an analysis of the perceptions of professionals. The research questions focused on how professionals perceive prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps, through exploring how they describe the issue, how they perceive measures addressing it and primary prevention in particular, and if they perceive any challenges, opportunities, and needs for prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camps.

The research was conducted as an exploratory, qualitative study. Six semi-structured interviews were conducted. The participants were seven professionals who worked in international and national organizations and agencies in Greece with migrants, applicants for international protection, and refugees (MARs) and/or on prevention of sexual violence.

The findings showed that sexual violence in refugee camps is perceived as a problem by the professionals, with many incidents of various forms of sexual violence on a continuum of violence in terms of the contexts it is perpetrated. The results indicated that there are many intersecting power structures including gender inequality, playing out in systems on micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrolevels, that affect the issue and possibilities to work on primary prevention. Existing interventions related to the issue of sexual violence in the context seemed to mainly focus on response in terms of support for victims, and on empowerment activities and safe spaces for women, although such spaces were described to have been reduced and possibilities to meet the needs described as limited. Initiatives for primary prevention of perpetration in the context were very few. Meanwhile, the findings showed a perception among the professionals that they consider it important to work with men to stop violence and that more such work is needed. The findings also indicated that professionals perceive there are several difficulties for working on prevention of sexual violence, including various structural macro-level issues related with policies and political concerns as well as attitudes and beliefs, in Greece and the EU. The results suggested that needs for prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps include improved conditions and security in camps, targeted programming, and coordination. Moreover, for primary prevention, the findings indicated that there is a need to address gender norms and gender inequality. Training and capacity building for staff, and having interpreters who are sensitized to the issue, were found to be important.

No aspect regarding prevention of sexual violence perpetration exists in isolation from others. Interactions between systems on all levels affect the extent of attention and the approach to prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece as an entry point to the EU.

The topic of sexual violence may be sensitive and difficult to speak about for many people, and it may trigger feelings and reflection for you who are reading this regardless of your role or position. As the author of this thesis, I hope that those who are reading this know that you and your experiences matter. I sincerely hope you will find someone you trust to talk to if you wish, whether it is because you want to change you behavior, because you or someone you know have experienced violence, or anything else.

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Acknowledgements

Acronyms

EU	European Union
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
MARs	Migrants, Applicants for international protection, and Refugees
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VAW	Violence Against Women
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
WHO	World Health Organization

1. Introduction

This is an explorative study of prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps.

Interlinked with the scientific reasons for choosing this topic, there are also personal reasons that have formed my interest for the issue. As a researcher conducting a qualitative study, it is important to position oneself (Creswell & Poth, 2018), and that is what I attempt to do in the following by sharing an overview of my background related to the topic of this study. Before starting my university studies, I had the opportunity to visit and learn from a non-governmental organization (NGO) in Bolivia working with children and youth who had been victims of sexual violence. This opened my eyes to the issue, and I was amazed by their work addressing legal, psychological, and social aspects as well as prevention. Some years later, during my studies for obtaining a Swedish Social Worker Degree, right after finishing the undergraduate part of the program, I was accepted into an international exchange program to study for a year at a university in California. There, I had the opportunity to explore courses in Political Science, Public Policy, and International Relations, subjects that have been of great interest to me alongside Social Work. In these classes, particularly one on Political Violence and Conflict Resolution, an interest grew strong for prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse in conflicts and peacekeeping operations. During my time in California I also learned about community resources related to violence in the city where I lived, much thanks to an internship with the university center for prevention and support resources addressing sexual assault and violence. After coming back to Sweden, I started an initiative with my university regarding sexual violence and I took extra university courses across the country on violence, sexuality, trafficking, and social work on the community level. During an internship at the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I had the opportunity to focus on Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy and explore the topic of violence against women (VAW), particularly in Latin America. While interning and working for an international NGO, I gained insight into how an organization may work on emergency response, protection, and development programs. Later, through my profession in Child Protection Services and as a social worker at a high-security women's shelter, I have worked with survivors of violence. I am still learning and hope to keep doing so throughout my professional life. I have had the privilege to be able to specialize on a topic I find important, but in no way do I claim to be an expert, as the field and topic are very complex. The stories of survivors I have met and the experience I have gained through studies and work, along with a general curiosity to address 'the big picture' and underlying causes when it comes to social issues, have all contributed to the choice of research topic. In fact, when applying for this master's program, I envisioned to have the opportunity to explore an aspect of work related to the issue sexual violence in my thesis.

The research project idea has developed and taken new shapes throughout the master's program. From first having the idea to study responses to, and prevention of, sexual violence, then focusing on sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations, the idea continued to change through talking to others, reading, and reflecting on the practical possibilities of carrying out an imagined research plan. Something that particularly caught my interest on the topic of sexual violence and men's violence against women is what I perceive as a gap in attention, focus and resources on preventing the perpetration of these acts. This goes for all contexts I have explored, and to me it became particularly visible during the '#metoo' movement in 2017 (see for example Swedish Gender Equality Agency, 2019). I believe sexual violence studied in any context would bring important additions to the existing knowledge base. When considering various contexts to conduct this research project in, several factors were weighed, including existing research, practical possibilities, and voices from people in the field I spoke with. An

additional aspect was my interest in what organizations offer people regarding sexual violence in potentially difficult structural situations such as being in conflict or post-conflict areas, displaced or on the move. This interest comes to some extent from working with an international NGO on child protection and youth resilience, and from working with refugees and migrants in Sweden, mostly with unaccompanied minors, many of them having arrived through the Eastern Mediterranean Route (Frontex, 2019) under difficult conditions. In the end, for this master's thesis project, sexual violence in refugee camps in an area of entry to the EU was chosen, because I identified a limited knowledge base around the topic, so I find it important to hear the voices of people working for organizations in the field and explore their experiences and perceptions.

Sexual violence is a serious, worldwide human rights and public health problem with negative physical, socio-economic, psychological, sexual and reproductive consequences (De Schrijver, Vander Beken, Krahé, & Keygnaert, 2018). It is a problem affecting families and children in communities globally, making it an important issue to consider and address for policymakers and a range of professionals, including social workers. Sexual violence is perpetrated in all sorts of contexts, such as in intimate relationships and by non-partners in families and communities (World Health Organization [WHO], 2012). Sexual violence is mostly perpetrated by men (WHO, 2017). Women, girls, boys, men and non-binary people all over the world are victims of sexual violence (Sexual Violence Resource Center, 2019; WHO, 2012), including refugees (de Oliveira Araujo et al., 2019). There are estimates that among women worldwide, 35% have experienced physical and/or sexual violence (UN Women, 2019). It is difficult though to measure the prevalence of sexual violence, because statistics often rely on sources of data such as police reports and studies from, for example, non-governmental organizations, and only a small proportion of cases are reported (UN Women, 2019; WHO, 2012). Sexual violence is in many settings taboo and difficult to disclose for many possible reasons such as fear of not being believed or being blamed (WHO, 2012). Lilja et al. (2020) and Withers, Minkin, and Kyle (2019) describe that sexual violence is a topic filled with shame and humiliation, and often the discussion is about placing guilt on the victim rather than on the perpetrator. The prevalence of victims of sexual violence indicates there are also many people perpetrating sexual violence. According to Phakathi (2009), "Prevention is better than cure" (p.328), and that is at the core of this study, with the main interest in prevention measures influencing the choice to commit an act of sexual violence.

In 1993, United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR) adopted a document on Refugee Protection and Sexual Violence, urging States to adopt measures to prevent sexual violence among other things (UNHCR, 1993). Still, a recent prevalence study looking at Migrants, Applicants for international protection, and Refugees (MARs) in Europe concluded sexual violence is highly frequent. The need for development of prevention strategies is high (De Schrijver et al., 2018). In Europe, Greece was the entry point to the EU along the Eastern Mediterranean Route in 2015-2016 for over a million people escaping from war and conflict (Frontex, n.d.-a; Maltezou, Papadimas, & Heritage, 2019).

Migration to Europe is not a new phenomenon. People have been migrating to the continent for thousands of years. The reasons people make their way to Europe include work, studies, family reunification, love, search for a better life, and fleeing from war and violence (King, Black, Collyer, Fielding, & Skeldon, 2010). In the year 2015, the number of asylum applicants in the EU was over 1.3 million (Eurostat, 2020). This can be seen in the light of the three years before that, when the number of asylum applicants in the EU were approximately between 335,000 and 626,000 per year (Eurostat, 2020). In 2016, the numbers were slightly below the previous year, while since 2015, the numbers have declined to between 647,000 and 721,000 per year until the end of 2019 (Eurostat, 2020). The three top countries of origin in 2015 were Syria,

Afghanistan, and Iraq (Eurostat, 2016). Migration and refugee arrivals have been a hot topic in a polarized debate in the EU, particularly since 2015 (de Haas, 2017), with political voices of stricter migration policies gaining increasing space in the public spheres in many European countries. Since 2015, the situation has been referred to as a 'refugee crisis' in many media outlets and public debate. Some, such as de Haas (2017), argue it is in fact not a crisis, and that the percentage of the total EU population being a refugee was slightly higher in the early 1990's compared with the statistics in 2017.

The main points of entry for irregular migration to the EU in recent years were Spain, Italy, and Greece. Many have arrived by crossing the Mediterranean Sea through dangerous journeys from countries in northern Africa to Italy and Spain. Another main route for migration has been through Turkey and Greece by land or sea known as the Eastern Mediterranean Route (Frontex, n.d.-b). This route has been an entry path into Europe for many years, however there was a great increase in number of arrivals in 2015 when 885,000 migrants arrived (Frontex, n.d.-a). Hémono et al. (2018) describe the situation up until 2015 for Syrian refugees who crossed the Mediterranean Sea to Europe: most of them did not intend to stay in Greece, but rather were seeking asylum and family reunification in other EU countries. Back then until 2015, they were generally transferred within three days from islands to the Greek mainland, to then continue on through the Western Balkan transit route. In late 2015, migration policy changed with implementation of screening and registration processes in Greece, while other Balkan countries closed their borders, which contributed to a bottleneck for MARs in Greece (Hémono et al., 2018).

Consequently, in March 2016, the EU and Turkey released a statement to end irregular migration from Turkey to the EU. According to the agreement, all irregular migrants and asylum seekers who come from Turkey to the Greek islands, and whose application for asylum has been denied, will be returned to Turkey. While waiting on the Greek islands for return, irregular migrants may be held in closed reception centers and asylum seekers accommodated in open reception centers. For every Syrian who is returned to Turkey, another Syrian would be resettled to the EU. The EU will pay first three, and then up to another three, billion euros until 2018 for funding to the Facility for Refugees in Turkey. Furthermore, Turkey will, with any necessary measures, prevent new routes for irregular migration from Turkey to the EU. When the irregular crossings have ended or substantially reduced, a scheme for Voluntary Humanitarian Admission Scheme was stated to be activated. Both the EU and Turkey committed to working for improving humanitarian conditions inside Syria. The Statement also included initiatives for lifting visa requirements for Turkish citizens to enter the EU and for upgrading the Customs Union (European Commission, 2016; Perchoc & Corrao, 2019). Following the Statement, the number of MARs arriving to Greece diminished. In the midst of all these circumstances, thousands of people have been stranded on the Greek islands and mainland while waiting for their applications for asylum to be processed (Hémono et al., 2018). Meanwhile, MARs are still arriving and attempting to enter to the EU along the Eastern Mediterranean Route. According to UNHCR (2020), the number of arrivals from January to late June 2020 have been 10,256, with the main countries of origin being Afghanistan and Syria (UNHCR, 2020).

Following the influx of MARs in 2015, an international response was initiated "to support the government and local authorities in providing humanitarian assistance, including medical relief aid." (Hémono et al., 2018, p.2). With coordination and oversight by UNHCR, many national and international NGOs were mobilized to attend to the needs of MARs (Hémono et al., 2018). NGOs have been involved in providing various forms of support, such as providing and distributing food, providing shelter, organizing activities and workshops, offering educational programs, language training, legal support, medical assistance, and psychosocial support. In

2017, with a diminished influx of people and reduced funding from donors and international organizations, many NGOs reduced their activities with MARs in the country, and for example health service provision was transitioned to local health authorities (Hémono et al., 2018, p.2). Moreover, in 2017, the Greek government began taking over full responsibility for the refugee response in the country (UNHCR, 2018). As of June 2020, there are 37 camps in Greece, including both mainland and islands, "which are all managed by the Greek government, with the support of UNHCR" (personal communication, UNHCR Office in Athens, 2020-06-10) and by other organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM, n.d.). Strong criticism has been directed towards Greece for delayed asylum processes and poor conditions in camps (Fotiadis, 2020; Médecins Sans Frontières, 2019; Yaxley, 2018). In the last days of February 2020, Turkey announced they opened the borders to Europe for refugees. It was then reported that the Greek government kept the borders closed while MARs attempted to cross the borders they heard had been opened (Stevis-Gridneff & Gall, 2020). Within a few weeks from these events, the spread of the coronavirus across Europe caused many countries including Greece to go under a strict lockdown for weeks. Human Rights Watch (Cossé, 2020) reported in May that MARs "have been kept in forced quarantine since March in unsanitary and cramped conditions" (para.7).

There are many voices and perspectives that could shed light on the context for MARs, refugee camps, and organizations and agencies in Greece in different ways. In the above, I have attempted to reflect some of these perspectives and events to give an overview of the background in terms of context in which this study about prevention of sexual violence was carried out. Different sources have reported that migrants in camps in Greece are at risk of sexual violence, and have urged to make the centers safe (Costa Riba, 2018; L'Osservatorio, 2018; Muller, 2018; Pouilly, 2018; Refugee Support Aegan, 2019; The Globe Post, 2018; Yaxley, 2018). Considering this background, the context 'refugee camps in Greece as an entry point to the EU' is highly relevant and important to explore in terms of prevention of sexual violence.

There are many academic fields framing the multi-dimensional topic explored in this study, including social work, migration studies, gender studies, human rights, violence against women, international affairs, psychology, and public health. In the literature review for this study, research addressing many issues related with the focus of this study was found. This includes studies on conceptualizations of terms, on prevalence in various settings, primary prevention in contexts such as schools, sexual violence in conflicts, prevention in terms of protection, among others. In literature there seemed to generally be very little focus on perpetrators and on men; it seems like both in academic and non-academic publications, the focus is predominantly on victims and on women and children. The evidence base regarding effective interventions for preventing sexual violence is very limited (De Schrijver et al., 2018; Hossain, Zimmerman, & Watts, 2014; Robbers & Morgan, 2017; Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013; WHO, 2012), even more so in contexts such as refugee camps. Generally, studies focusing on sexual violence in refugee camps seem to be very limited, especially in other disciplines than medical and reproductive health. In the context of MARs and asylum and reception centers in Europe, a very limited number of publications have been found addressing sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), concluding there is an urgent need for integrative prevention strategies (see for example Oliveira, Keygnaert, Oliveira Martins, & Dias, 2018). Moreover, few studies seem to have been conducted which explore primary prevention of sexual violence from the perspective of staff working in the field, whether in a refugee camp context or other contexts. I believe this is an important area to study because experiences and perceptions of those working in organizations are crucial to be aware

of for further work towards successful prevention of sexual violence perpetration. Therefore, I chose to contribute to existing knowledge on this topic.

1.1 Aim, Purpose, and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to explore prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece as an entry point to the EU, through an analysis of the perceptions of professionals. The purpose of this exploratory study is to contribute to knowledge on a problem characterized by a limited knowledge base. The study has a strategic value in aiming to contribute to increased attention to sexual violence perpetration in research as well as general discourse on prevention of sexual violence. This thesis also aims to contribute to the feminist reflection on the topic, taking into account contributions provided by the social-ecological model.

The study departs from a personal interest through which a gap in research was identified. The aim and research questions have been formed during a process beginning several years ago, intensified during the actual research project semester, throughout conversations with people working for different organizations, agencies, and institutes, as well as reading about the topic. The research questions have been re-formulated throughout the course of the research project, which is often part of the process of qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

The main research question posed to reach the aim for this study is: How do professionals perceive prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece, as being an entry point to the EU for MARs?

The sub-questions are:
- How do professionals describe sexual violence in refugee camps?
- How do professionals perceive measures addressing sexual violence in refugee camps?
- How do professionals perceive primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camps?
- If any, what challenges, opportunities and needs do professionals perceive for prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camps?

The overall motivation for this study is to contribute to an understanding of how we can attain a world where no person commits an act of sexual violence. This is an ambitious vision for the world, and I do believe as researchers and social workers we sometimes need to be bold in our visions and ambitions for a better world. I will only be able to bring a small contribution to the overall purpose, and I believe that is the unique aspect with research - many contributions together constitute awareness and knowledge in a field.

This study is conducted in the frame of the Erasmus Mundus master's program in Social Work with Families and Children. The global definition of the social work profession as stated by the International Federation of Social Workers (2014) is:

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing.

This thesis addresses sexual violence, a complex issue affecting individuals, families, and communities across the world. The consequences for the victim and their environment on different levels may be significant and can include trauma, pregnancy, health issues, social

exclusion, stigmatization, shame, and in various ways impact lives and daily interactions. It is an issue of great concern for social work, and social work has an important role to contribute to addressing sexual violence on various levels. The aspect explored herein is primary prevention, which was chosen in the light of a wish to explore possibilities for social change on various levels to reduce perpetration of sexual violence. Social change is one of the core mandates of the social work profession, aiming to address and challenge structural conditions that are contributing to oppression, inequalities, and exploitation. In studying this complex issue of great concern for social work, it has been meaningful to include research and perspectives from other professions and disciplines. As International Federation of Social Workers (2014) states, social work is interdisciplinary, drawing on a wide range of scientific theories and research.

1.2 Core Concepts

There are some key terms important to define for the context of this study: MARs, refugee camps, perpetrators, primary prevention, professionals, and victims. *MARs* is a term encompassing a very heterogenous population, people with various backgrounds, strengths, and resilience. The abbreviation stands for the terms: migrants, asylum seekers/applicants for international protection, and refugees. These terms are defined in the same way as De Schrijver et al. (2018) describe them:

> A migrant is someone who consciously and voluntarily decides to leave his/her country of origin and who could decide to go back without having to fear for their safety. Others who leave their home country do not have that option. Asylum seekers or applicants for international protection flee their home country and are awaiting a decision on their request for international protection. Refugees are those applicants that have received a positive decision regarding their request for international protection. […] Although the focus of this study is mainly on the latter two, the term "migrant" is also included, because a migrant may have been an A or R. (p.2).

MARs may spend time living in a *refugee camp* during part of a longer migration process. USA for UNHCR (n.d.) defines refugee camps as "temporary facilities built to provide immediate protection and assistance to people who have been forced to flee due to conflict, violence or persecution". UNHCR (n.d.) states that they, together with the wider humanitarian community, consider that other arrangements than camps are more favorable, in order to provide possibilities for a 'normal' life for people forced to flee. However, there are instances when no alternatives can be found other than setting up camps. For example, camps are common settings for provision of protection and humanitarian assistance in rural areas, while in urban areas, many refugees live (Jordan, 2013) in other settings such as informal settlements and non-functional public buildings (UNHCR, n.d.). According to Turner (2018), what constitutes a camp can vary a lot; some camps are closed while others are less formal and have more fluid boundaries. He also states that humanitarian actors are increasingly operating in spaces that are not camps, such as the context of Jordan where he conducted field studies, and in other places. Since 2014, according to USA for UNHCR (n.d.), the proportion of refugees globally who live in cities and not in camps have been about 60%. In this thesis, the term 'refugee camps' includes reception centers and places for detention for asylum-seekers. Sometimes the term "refugee sites" is also used. This is used as a broader term than camps, referring to contexts where many MARs live. This may be in an urban area where many MARs stay, or the site where a formal camp is set up - a refugee camp site.

For the purpose of this study, *professionals* are defined as people who have an academic degree and currently work for a local, national, or international organization or agency on issues related

with refugee response and/or violence, in an area of entry for MARs to the EU along the Eastern Mediterranean migration route. 'Professionals' is not a homogenous identity; there are a range of intersecting identities among professionals, such as gender, ethnicity, age, faith, and class, which in various ways affect how they engage in their work (Cowburn & Myers, 2016, p.7).

In this study, the term *primary prevention* refers to "efforts to prevent sexual violence before it occurs" (DeGue et al., 2014, p.347), with a focus on the perpetrator. There is no global, fixed definition of this term, which is a matter further presented in Chapter 2.2.1. The term *perpetrator* refers to a person who harms someone else, regardless of whether their actions have been reported, prosecuted, and convicted (Cowburn & Myers, 2016). Meanwhile, the term *victims* is used to refer to those who someone has perpetrated sexual violence against. In scientific and feminist circles there is ongoing discussion about the use of the terms 'victim' and 'survivor' related with sexual violence experience (Schwark & Bohner, 2019). 'Survivor' emphasizes agency while 'victim' is often associated with passiveness and weakness (Kelly, 1988). Surviving sexual violence has often been interpreted as something that is developed from victimization in a process, however this has been challenged in research pointing to ways targets of violence sought to survive and protect themselves during the act of violence (Jordan, 2013). While considering the ongoing debate, the term victim was chosen for this study to recognize the power imbalance during an act of sexual violence, and where the responsibility for such an act rests: on the perpetrator. Cowburn and Myers (2016) suggest it is important to identify the person that is harmed as a victim, especially as "many offenders deny that there is a victim involved in their actions" (p.6), and this denial may also be adopted by professionals such as social workers (Cowburn & Myers, 2016). Important to note is that this term was not chosen to stigmatize those who have experienced sexual violence or to devalue the strength and resilience (UNHCR, 1995) of those who are survivors of sexual violence.

1.3 Scope of the Study

To the extent of the literature and programs on sexual violence I have been able to go through in the limited span of writing this master's thesis, much of it is focused mainly on victims, women and children, how to protect them and respond to experiences of sexual violence, while not as much on potential perpetrators and on males. Even in the use of language, men or perpetrators seem to not be mentioned even nearly as often as women and children are as victims. Along the arguments of Foucault (2002), the use of language and discourse is important in how we conceptualize a problem and in how we respond to it. This study focuses mainly on primary prevention of perpetration. This means, not on initiatives to protect potential victims such as through enough light out at night or other important, practical aspects. Neither on prevention through strengthening women in knowing their rights or learning self-defense or similarly, nor on responses for those who have been harmed. While these factors are very important and will be addressed to some extent, they are not the main field of concern for this study. I have also chosen not to investigate legal aspects or prosecution of perpetrators. The aim of this study is not to provide a full, comprehensive picture of all work related to sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece, but to explore prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece as an entry point to the EU, through an analysis of the perceptions of professionals.

The scope of the study includes perspectives of professionals working in the field, as the organizations and agencies they work for may be involved in primary prevention efforts. I find the voices of people, what they see and experience working in this multi-layered context, to be important contributions to an increased knowledge on the issue. This study does not attempt to explore the experiences of MARs on sexual violence or primary prevention initiatives. These are very interesting and important perspectives, crucial in policy making and program planning;

however, exploring those aspects are not the focus of this study, since it was assessed not feasible nor ethical to do within the frame for this project.

Another delimitation in the scope is that the study does not explore sexual violence which professionals may be experiencing from colleagues or others they meet in their professional role, and not explore sexual violence that is perpetrated against MARs by professionals or staff. The latter is often referred to with the umbrella term 'sexual exploitation and abuse' (SEA). This is a very important field, however not included in the scope of this study, because it involves further dimensions in terms of response as well as primary prevention such as trainings and procedures within organizations and agencies. It was assessed that I would not be able to explore and give an account for these aspects additionally. The focus of this study is on prevention activities involving persons residing in the setting refugee sites.

One concern in the process of defining the setting was a mindful reflection of not portraying men in refugee camps as more violent in terms of sexual violence than other men (Olivius, 2016). It is important to note that this study does not take a position that men who are migrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees are more violent in terms of sexual violence than other men, nor do I have any intention to portray refugees from any region as more or less sexually violent than people from other regions. The topic 'primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration' would be interesting to study in any community, since sexual violence is perpetrated all over the world, in work places, homes, schools, bars, cities, rural areas, upper class, low income communities, refugee camps, among people in transit and migrating or fleeing from conflict or crisis for a better life. This study contributes to increased knowledge of the setting 'refugee camps' in an area of entry to the EU.

1.4 Reflection on Position as the Researcher

Creswell and Poth (2018) emphasize that reflexivity is important in a qualitative study, in which the researcher is an instrument of data collection. My background surely informs and influences my interpretation of the information in the study. One aspect of my background are the stories of survivors both of violence and of being a refugee that I carry with me. Although I do not imagine them to represent the experiences of all other people, and I do not use them in the analysis of the material for this thesis, they are strong and important in themselves and remind me of the importance of working on this topic. Another aspect of my background is the context where I was raised and have formed most of my professional knowledge and experience, Sweden. That said, I have gained a perspective that helped me to reflect on the context I may previously have taken somewhat for granted; for example from having direct experience from work and studies related to social issues in Bolivia, USA, Austria, Denmark, Norway and Portugal, and learning about many other countries' ways to approach social issues throughout this master's program.

Following this, a point I wish to reflect on is the pre-understanding I have related to sexual violence. Aside from my academic and professional knowledge and experience, I am influenced by the community and political, social and cultural context in which I exist (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The public sphere in Sweden has long had an explicit emphasis on gender equality in all areas of life. The current government was the first in the world to proclaim itself a feminist government (Government Offices of Sweden, n.d.), and men's violence against women has for long been and is increasingly visible on the public agenda. Important to note though, is that this is not to say I believe Sweden is in any way perfect in this regard. My interest in the issue of violence, particularly sexual violence, has brought me into settings with other people interested in the same issue. This goes years back in time, both for settings such as conferences, lectures, and organizations I have attended and interacted with, and for the online community and

advocacy movement regarding this topic, both in Sweden and internationally. Being in these contexts have surely raised my awareness and influenced my ways of thinking about violence and structural issues. Moreover, I acknowledge this experience has influenced my approach for this research project, both in terms of choice of topic with an emphasis on prevention initiatives by organizations, and interpretation of the information. I have experienced that people who are not in such a context, whether from Sweden or other places, may have a different understanding of the issue. While I may unconsciously take for granted that others know about and agree with a similar understanding of the issue, I am aware that is not always the case, and I actively and continuously reflected on this throughout the research process.

I would say the same, to some extent, goes for the of context refugee camps. My previous experience and academic background have shaped my interest and concern for this setting. Considering my pre-understanding, I believe similar to above that it is influenced by the public sphere in Sweden, where I have lived most of my life. Around the year 2015 and thereafter, when many asylum-seekers came to Europe through routes around and across the Mediterranean, Sweden was one of the countries receiving most applicants, in contrast to many other countries (Eurostat, 2016). In my personal experience, most media coverage and the public sphere had a strong focus on human rights and it being the morally right thing to do to help people in need.

I identify as being a woman, and my gender, along with being white, probably influence both how others I have interacted with perceive and treat me, and how I interact with others as well as interpret the material, particularly regarding such a topic as sexual violence. This is not to say that someone who identifies as a man does not find this topic important, or could have had the same research process, or could have a similar interpretation of the material. I think though, that me being a woman with an intersectional feminist approach, has influenced my choice of research topic. My background may also have an influence in interactions with others, depending on what image they carry of Sweden and of Swedes. Just as well, I enter the field with a pre-understanding of the world colored by my background. Being a woman who has had the privilege to study an international master's program, I have had the opportunity to interact with professors, lecturers, field placements, and fellow students from many parts of the world, and been able to get input to this research project plan as well as access to an international network.

1.5 Organization of the Study

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The intent of this Introduction Chapter was to provide a background to the topic, contextualize the study, and introduce the aim and research questions.

Chapter two is the Literature Review, where I give an overview of the explored existing research related to the problem area for this thesis. It begins with an overview of the literature review process followed by an exploration of the knowledge field framing the topic of this study. The chapter presents literature on sexual violence, prevention, and research related with MARs and sexual violence in the European context.

In the following chapter, the theoretical framework for analyzing the results of the collected data is presented. The issue of sexual violence in refugee camps and prevention of the same is a multilayered concern. Therefore, I found a social-ecological model to be meaningful for the analysis in this study. To address structural matters such as gender inequality and racism, an intersectional feminist perspective was also chosen for the analysis. The third component of the theoretical framework for analysis is the concept of a continuum of violence.

Thereafter follows the Methodology Chapter, where the research process and the methods used to gather data with the aim to answer the research questions, are described and discussed. As Silverman (2010) suggests, the chapter is written more in the form of a story where I share the 'natural history' of the research, rather than a strictly formal chapter.

In chapter five, Findings and Analysis, I present the findings from the study along with an analysis. The analysis has been completed through applying previous research in the area and the theoretical framework presented in chapter three. The findings and analysis are organized and presented in the themes and sub-themes that emerged during the process of thematic analysis of the interview transcriptions.

Lastly, conclusions from the study are presented, including recommendations for future research.

2. Literature Review

I chose to conduct a narrative literature review, because the focus of such a review is to gain an initial idea of the area of the topic (Bryman, 2012) and it is a useful choice for interpretative research such as this study. Mendeley was chosen as a tool for managing references. The databases Scopus and Web of Science were chosen for searching literature as these are the most relevant databases. The search terms used were the following including variations of them, in different combinations: sexual violence/offenses/abuse/assault/exploitation, gender-based violence, rape, violence against women, refugees, refugee camps, humanitarian response, social work, staff, prevention, primary prevention, male engagement, men, perpetration, perpetrators.

The two databases were initially searched with limitations to fields related with social work, sociology, and humanities. However, when applying the limitations, few results were found. No publications studying primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camp settings in Europe were encountered. I found it interesting that the results were so limited, and wondered if it could be because there is a lack of studies of the topic in these fields, or rather that there is a lack of programs addressing primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration in general.

I tried various limitations of fields in the databases and discovered that there were more published studies associated with the topic, mainly in the field of medicine related with prevalence and sexual and reproductive health. When data-collection of interviews for this study seemed to become limited due to consequences of COVID-19, I looked into a more extensive literature review in accordance with recommendations from the university, and chose to include existing literature from a wider range of fields than initially intentioned. This is useful, because it contributes to a more comprehensive review of what is published related to the topic. Sexual violence in refugee camps is a complex and intersectional issue related with many fields, such as medicine, social work, law, and migration. In the same way, I believe the issue needs to be addressed by intersectional measures and different fields together. Moreover, social work is an interdisciplinary field, and in the professional social worker role, cooperation with other professions and understanding of other fields are often crucial. Many of the included studies have been published in journals in the health sphere. I chose to include those assessed as relevant based on this study, while I excluded articles on, for example, prevention of sexually transmitted infections. I also chose to include studies that have been conducted in settings related to the context of refugee camps, such as conflicts, emergencies, disasters, and displacement.

In this review, the most recent literature related to the topic has been included with the intention to frame the topic for this study. In addition to the literature found through using the search terms, further material has been found through looking at references and related studies in the databases. I chose to focus on academic publications and not include grey literature, with the exceptions of WHO in the context of defining sexual violence, the European Commission website and a university website to describe a research project, and one UNHCR publication discussed in several of the included articles.

This Literature Review Chapter is organized according to the funnel principle, hereafter starting with sub-chapter 2.1 conceptualizing the issue of sexual violence through definition, gender, research on prevalence, and perpetration, all with an emphasis on contexts such as refugee camps and humanitarian settings. In sub-chapter 2.2, prevention is explored particularly in terms of the aspect primary prevention of perpetration in a global perspective, elements for

successful interventions, and nexus between policy, research, and the field. Finally, research related with the situation for MARs and prevention in Europe is highlighted.

2.1 Sexual Violence

There are different ways of defining sexual violence. WHO defines sexual violence as:

> Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work. (WHO, 2012, p.2)

This definition is an international definition that guides policies and practices, encompassing many aspects of sexual violence. As a starting point for this study, the definition is understood in an inclusive way, meaning the victim and perpetrator in individual cases can be female, male, transgender, any age, and of any legal status in a certain context. Sexual violence is regarded to be one form of abuse, alongside physical, emotional, economic, and psychological abuse (Rollero, 2020; Rollero, Bergagna, & Tartaglia, 2019), and can be put into context through terms such as dating violence, domestic violence, and intimate partner violence.

There is no all-encompassing consensus on the definition of the term 'sexual violence' in publications nor among actors in the field. Different publications and actors describe the same phenomena using different terms or describe different types of sexual violence using the same terminology. There are terms such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual assault, sexual harassment, and sexual violence, that may include different acts hence it is important to be clear about the definitions especially when researching prevalence (De Schrijver et al., 2018) and planning for prevention and response resources. There are also umbrella terms related to sexual violence, such as sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) and conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), particularly used in the context of MARs in country of origin as well as in transit and after arrival in a host country in Europe (De Schrijver et al., 2018; Oswald, 2016). The differences in definition and understanding of the concept is a challenge in terms of research and reporting of sexual violence, as well as for policymaking (De Schrijver et al., 2018). The choice to use the term sexual violence for this thesis was made to emphasize the specific focus of this study. In the following, sexual violence is the term that predominantly is used, however when mentioning specific results of previous research, the terms chosen by those authors are used.

Sexual violence includes rape within relationships and marriage as well as by strangers and acquaintances; the definition also includes sexual harassment (for example at school and work), and sexual abuse of children or people with disabilities (WHO, 2012). Sexual violence is perpetrated in all sorts of contexts and all over the world, as stated in the Introduction. It may be perpetrated in intimate partnerships (IPV), by someone the victim knows, and by strangers (Dahlberg & Krug, 2002). Also professionals and persons in power may be perpetrators of sexual violence (Keygnaert, Vettenburg, & Temmerman, 2012; Oswald, 2016). Victims of sexual violence are children, youth, adults (WHO, 2012) and elderly (Bows, 2018; Eslami et al., 2016). MAR women can experience gender-based violence and sexual abuse throughout the journeys from the home country, at border crossings, in camps and transit, to the destination country in Europe (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2017). Sexual violence in refugee camps does not happen in isolation, it is one form in a broad spectrum of violence (The Lancet, 2014). Life in temporary camps can be dangerous, for example related to unsegregated toilets and washing facilities. According to a study conducted in the context of responses to violence against women in the aftermaths of the big earthquake in Nepal, where many displaced people were living in camps, "the breakdown of civil society and law and order, displacement of family and

community structures, violent and dominant male behaviour, and the bringing together of disparate socio-ethnic groups and castes in camps means perpetrators often abuse with impunity." (Standing, Parker, & Bista, 2016, p.192).

2.1.1 Gender, Feminism, and Sexual Violence

Four umbrella terms that include sexual violence are gender-based violence (GBV), sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), and violence against women (VAW), the latter sometimes also including girls (VAWG). To understand the first two terms, it is important to understand gender. Stone (2007) describes that gender is socially constructed, while the term sex is biological. Gender is socially constructed through norms of what is appropriate for people of a certain sex. People become gendered masculine or feminine through acting on, and internalizing, the norms. Hence, gender is performed through social practice, and behavior of people is regulated by norms of what is masculine and feminine. A feminist perspective acknowledges that there are structural unequal power relationships between genders, with a male bias through patriarchy (Stone, 2007). It is as a result of these normative role expectations and inequality of power structures in a society that gender-based violence occurs (De Schrijver et al., 2018).

The second term mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, violence against women, could be considered a subcategory of gender-based violence. It includes more forms of violence than sexual violence, such as female genital mutilation (De Schrijver et al., 2018). The term 'men's violence against women' explicitly sheds light on structural inequalities and use of violence through internalized norms upholding patriarchy (Fattah & Camellia, 2020), however it can be ascribed different meanings depending on political goals (Holmberg, Enander, & Lindgren, 2015). The use of the term 'men's violence against women' is not to devalue or ignore that also non-binary, men, and boys suffer from sexual violence, and that women perpetrate violence, but to shed light on the issue on a structural level. There is an ongoing debate on choice of terminology regarding violence. There are arguments for reducing the focus on violence against women within gender-based violence, as some argue it contributes to a gap in knowledge about violence against boys and men (De Schrijver et al., 2018), and that the binary approach of seeing men as perpetrators of sexual violence and women as victims ignores the complexity of the issue (Keygnaert & Guieu, 2015). Meanwhile, Keygnaert et al. (2015) found that when males commit violence, it is more likely they engage in sexual violence compared to females, and that females are more likely to experience sexual victimization. I find it noteworthy that Keygnaert et al. (2015), writing in the public health field, do not in my understanding address the structural issues of patriarchy. Neither do they problematize or discuss the issues of disclosure of sexual violence due to existing patriarchal norms that have normalized sexual violence. On the other hand, Fraser (2015) explains how sexual violence is normalized through rape culture and rape myths, supported by gender-based norms. Read-Hamilton and Marsh (2016) argue social norms can be changed, from hiding and maintaining violence, to norms for more equality and non-violence. This is in line with a social work approach by The International Federation of Social Workers (2019), arguing for the need to acknowledge patriarchy as the systemic cause of the serious issue of violence against women, and the need to design public policies and actions aimed against this. Based on a feminist perspective, I agree with this, while also agreeing with De Schrijver et al. (2018) that more research is needed about sexual violence against boys and men. I do not consider these points to be mutually exclusive; rather, I believe both are needed to address sexual violence.

As mentioned above, gender norms and patriarchal structures in society are by many considered to be reasons for sexual violence. There are also other perspectives on reasons for violence, such as a psychological approach that Dutton and Bodnarchuk (2005) argue for in terms of IPV,

with an emphasis on personality disorders as the reason for violence, pathologizing the issue. Furthermore, there are more complex perspectives on violence from sociology, addressing the complexities of humans as well as the social context we live in (Loseke, 2005). In the field of sexual violence in armed conflict, the understanding of the issue has shifted from a hegemonic view of rape as an instrumentalized weapon of war, to an ongoing debate of questioning this idea and rather look at gendered norms and structures in societies as well as military organizations (Veit & Tschörner, 2019). As much of the discourse related with sexual violence in organizations working in settings of humanitarian crisis seem to be framed around the term SGBV, it implies that the understanding of the issue in these contexts are gender norms and inequality. However, there seem to be differences between organizations or parts of organizations. For example, within the UN system of organizations, the security-tasked divisions related more directly with conflict settings have been found to adhere more to weapon-of-war arguments. At the same time, other sub-organizations that have the task to contribute to broad humanitarian and development goals, such as United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), adhere more to norms-based explanations (Veit & Tschörner, 2019).

2.1.2 Research on Sexual Violence Prevalence

The research of prevalence of sexual violence among MARs is limited, based on what was found in this literature review. Some studies have been carried out; however, according to De Schrijver et al. (2018) it is difficult to compare their results partly because the definitions of sexual violence are not the same in all studies. The same issue arises with definitions of the population in different studies. Most studies on sexual violence among MARs have only looked at violence in the country of origin and not considered experiences on the move or after arrival in Europe and the destination country. The existing evidence suggest that among MARs in Europe, experiences of sexual violence is widespread (De Schrijver et al., 2018). A study conducted on SGBV among MARs in Belgium and the Netherlands found that among the participants, approximately 57% had been confronted with experiences of sexual violence, and one in five reported to have been victimized themselves. Of these, 69% were women and 29% men (Keygnaert et al., 2012). A systematic review and meta-analysis from 2014 on sexual violence among female refugees in complex humanitarian emergencies, also found that approximately one in five experienced sexual violence. However, the researchers emphasize that it is most likely an underestimation due to the multiple barriers associated with disclosure (Vu et al., 2014).

There are multiple challenges to conducting research on the prevalence of sexual violence among MARs, related both to the sensitivity of the topic and the population. Some examples are access, ethical issues regarding both their legal status and the topic sexual violence itself, language barriers, guaranteeing safety of participants, and cultural habits of disclosure. All these challenges contribute to a scarcity of research on sexual violence among MARs (De Schrijver et al., 2018).

De Schrijver et al. (2018) argue that it is necessary with a comparison with the general population in order to "identify specific vulnerabilities and consequences of SV related to legal status or migratory history" (p.13). Prevalence studies are indeed important in order to develop appropriate public policies and resources for care and support. I believe, however, that for prevention programs aimed to reduce perpetration of sexual violence, it cannot be considered ethical or justifiable to wait for research results from studies on exact prevalence; such studies are described by researchers to be very difficult to conduct and obtain accurate and comparable data from. Behind every new number that researchers strive to identify to add to statistics, is an individual and their life sphere. Each instance of sexual violence may have long-lasting negative

consequences for the victim as well as their families (Vu et al., 2014) and the wider community in the refugee camp, during transit, and in country of destination. Although it is not known, and may never be, exactly known how widespread sexual violence is due to the difficult nature of studying it in different contexts, the evidence that sexual violence is widespread among MARs as well as the general population suggests there is an ongoing need for primary prevention of perpetration. This is not to neglect or deny the pressing need for prevalence studies. Clearly they are important to understand the problem better and generate knowledge that policymakers can use in their decision-making processes for resources both on prevention and care, regarding transit as well as in the host country (De Schrijver et al., 2018). It is rather to put the prevalence numbers above in perspective; even the probably underestimated numbers that researchers have been able to find of one in five having personally been victimized, are too many, and behind every victim there is one or more perpetrators who may commit these acts again.

2.1.3 Perpetration of Sexual Violence

Considering the challenges to determine prevalence of sexual violence in terms of the mentioned aspects, it is understandably challenging to conduct research on perpetrators and potential perpetrators. Perpetrators of sexual violence are predominantly men. The previously mentioned study on SGBV among MARs in Belgium and the Netherlands found that the perpetrator was reported having been a man in 72.6% of the cases, while in 6% of cases it was reported to be a woman, in 1.5% a transgender assailant, and in 19.6% the gender was not specified. Most victims knew the perpetrator; in 31% it was an intimate partner, a professional 23%, a family member 16%, an acquaintance 15%, and in 12% a stranger. The perpetrator was a national citizen in a third of the cases, in most cases the current or former partner of the victim, and in a fifth it was reported to be a service provider such as security guards, lawyers, and police (Keygnaert et al., 2012). Who we think are the perpetrators of sexual violence, and how we understand the reasons for the violence, is likely to influence approaches for preventive strategies. For example, in the context of sexual violence in armed conflict, many studies have focused on rape as a weapon of war, which have led to assumptions that the main perpetrators of sexual violence are military staff and armed actors (Vu et al., 2014). However, evidence suggests a more complex narrative of who perpetrators are, through findings of "extremely high levels of intimate partner sexual violence" (Kirby, 2015, p.462). In sum, findings from previous studies in different contexts related with MARs suggests that those who are perpetrating sexual violence may be in any position or relation to their victim, and that the majority of perpetrators of sexual violence are men.

Legal measures are considered important to deter perpetration of sexual violence. However, even if there are legal policies and mechanisms in place and sexual violence is reported to the justice system, many cases are not prosecuted (Robbers et al., 2017; Spangaro, Adogu, Zwi, Ranmuthugala, & Davies, 2015). Hence, this approach has limitations in terms of preventing future as well as repeat perpetration of sexual violence (Robbers et al., 2017; Spangaro et al., 2015). In the next section, we will look closer at the concept of prevention.

2.2 Prevention

2.2.1 Primary Prevention

The term 'primary prevention' of sexual violence does not have a global fixed definition. A study of the conceptualization of primary prevention of GBV in a general context, not specifically in refugee camps, concluded that there are overlaps between different levels of prevention and a variety of understandings of the concept among organizations that are

engaging men in preventing GBV. The authors argue there is a need for "more holistic prevention agendas that promote multi-level approaches to combat gender-based violence." (Storer, Casey, Carlson, Edleson, & Tolman, 2016, p.265). One way to define primary prevention is that it refers to efforts aimed to intervene before violence occurs in order to reduce the number of incidents (DeGue et al., 2014; Tappis, Freeman, Glass, & Doocy, 2016), which is the meaning this study departs from with a focus on perpetrators.

Looking at global prevention efforts to end GBV, engaging men has become an increasingly institutionalized part of the work. Strategies focusing on gender transformative approaches are considered promising for "promoting violence preventative attitudes and behaviors among men" (Casey, Carlson, Two Bulls, & Yager, 2018, p.243). A systematic review of primary prevention strategies for sexual violence perpetration, although not looking at humanitarian settings, found only three primary prevention programs that had showed significant impact on sexually violent behavior. Two of these were in school settings (DeGue et al., 2014). Among the programs and evaluations identified, many have been conducted in the setting of schools or college campuses (Claussen, 2019; DeGue et al., 2014). Some other promising programs working with men on masculinity and relationships were identified, but more research is needed to evaluate if they have an impact on sexual violence (DeGue et al., 2014).

Prevention of sexual violence can include different meanings. In literature, prevention of sexual violence is written about in terms of preventing perpetration, preventing re-perpetration, preventing victimization, and preventing consequences which has more to do with care after an act of violence (see for example Tappis, Freeman, Glass, & Doocy, 2016). For instance, in terms of preventing victimization, empowerment and training for people who may be at risk of being victims of sexual violence are suggested. These types of programs could include safe spaces, self-defense, and information about warning signs of violence and available resources (Standing et al., 2016; Yoshihama, Yunomae, Tsuge, Ikeda, & Masai, 2019). However, there is a discussion about problematizing these kinds of activities as they may lead to blaming the victim, rather than placing the responsibility for violence on the perpetrators. It is argued that attention also needs to be focused on men, in terms of challenging attitudes and beliefs of perpetrators and raising awareness of violence against women (Standing et al., 2016; Yoshihama et al., 2019). A study in the context of disaster response in Japan found that there was a focus on measures placing responsibility on women to prevent violence from strangers, while a larger amount of violent acts were committed by someone the victim knew and had in their daily lives. They state that "it is not the responsibility of the victims to prevent their own victimization." (Yoshihama et al., 2019, p.874), which is the point of departure for this study. In the next section, research on prevention of sexual violence in humanitarian settings such as refugee camps will be further explored.

2.2.2 Global Outlook

There seems to be quite a limited extension of peer-reviewed publications on the specific issue of prevention of sexual violence. Several authors claim there is a need for more research on this in the context of MARs in humanitarian settings (Asgary, Emery, & Wong, 2013; Robbers et al., 2017; Tappis et al., 2016).

More extensive research exists, mainly within the health field from different parts of the world, on survivors of sexual violence, GBV in humanitarian settings, and on prevention of consequences such as identifying survivors and on responses. Initiatives on the latter have been researched in the context of emergencies with regards to reproductive health, for example in a study on the Minimum Initial Service Package (MISP) for reproductive health, developed through the Inter-Agency Working Group on Reproductive Health in Crises, to prevent and

manage consequences of sexual violence (Onyango, Hixson, & Mcnally, 2013). The study concludes that a range of actions would contribute to increased effectiveness of the MISP, including continued awareness raising and capacity-building activities. Reasons for mixed success were found to include humanitarian players' lack of awareness of needs, lack of qualified staff in the field, and difficulties related with logistics and poor coordination of services. Protection concerns, such as protection of minors against sexual abuse, have also been explored in research, see for example Filippov, Atabekova, Yastrebov, Belousov, and Lutskovskaya (2017), outlining didactic dimensions for protection of refugee minors, as well as identifying key players and instruments, and highlighting promising practices based on an overview of 40 countries. Studies have been conducted on interventions such as community programs, life skills and safe spaces programs for girls, and caregivers' skills to prevent violence against refugee girls and women (Falb et al., 2016; Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016; Stark, Asghar, et al., 2018). Stark, Asghar, et al. (2018) found, in their study of a life skills and safe spaces intervention for girls in a refugee setting in Ethiopia, that while there were positive indications for secondary outcomes in terms of promotion of healthy transitions to adulthood, there is a need for further research and adaptations in programming to prevent violence in humanitarian contexts. Their study in Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia, Falb et al. (2016) contributes to evidence on how programming for empowerment for adolescent girls with multiple components, including parental involvement. This study could be adapted in humanitarian settings, while also acknowledging that measures need to be adapted to cultural contexts. A study of a pilot phase in internally displaced camps in Somalia and South Sudan of the Communities Care program, developed by UNICEF with one of the aims being to address social norms to prevent violence, suggests that the intervention contributed to improvements on dimensions of social norms in pilot sites (Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016). However, most studies on preventing violence against refugee girls and women do not focus on boys nor address potential perpetrators. I identify this as an important limitation in the research field; several of the studies encountered throughout the literature review process address prevention of violence, but in many cases do not address prevention of perpetration of violence. One publication that I found to emphasize the perspective of perpetration of GBV (although the study itself was conducted with the aim to develop a screening tool for identifying survivors of GBV), was conducted in the context of Colombia (Wirtz et al., 2014).

Studies on topics such as the above-mentioned, related with the issue of concern in this thesis, constitute helpful pieces to gain a better understanding of the field. Awareness of their existence and focus is useful since research on this specific issue is limited. The same goes for studies conducted in other contexts but that may bring contributions to understanding sexual violence in refugee camps. One such example is that several studies were found focusing on sexual violence in armed conflict in various ways, particularly related to the Democratic Republic of Congo, such as prevalence studies (see for example Bartels et al., 2012). Bartels et al. (2012) also mention that for young men who had grown up during the conflict, rape had become a norm. Another example is that previous studies related with sexual violence conducted in contexts such as emergencies, disasters, and refugee camps, concluded that there is a need for programs to include men in order to support the safety of women and prevent sexual violence (see for example Standing et al., 2016; Stark, Seff, et al., 2018), and emphasized the importance to "address the widespread tolerance for high rates of sexual violence in humanitarian settings" (Marsh et al., 2006, p.133).

The focus of VAWG prevention efforts in humanitarian contexts have been, on the one hand, on awareness raising related with health and human rights, and on the other hand, on risk reduction addressing situation-specific circumstances such as creating safer camp environments (Aubone & Hernandez, 2013; Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016). Read-Hamilton and Marsh

(2016) argue that these strategies are essential but that they need to be accompanied by addressing the underlying causes of VAWG, which are present in all sorts of contexts, for sustainable behavioral change and reduction in violence. Both these aspects of approaches to violence against women have become a recognized part of humanitarian action. In policy and practice, there have generally been many developments regarding violence against women in humanitarian contexts, although it is a quite recent and constantly evolving field of practice (Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016). In the humanitarian community, all sectors have a role to play in terms of addressing sexual violence through prevention and response (Marsh et al., 2006). There are different program strategies for primary prevention in the field, by Tappis et al. (2016) summarized in seven types as

> transforming socio-cultural norms, with an emphasis on empowering women and girls; rebuilding family and community structures and support systems; creating conditions to improve accountability systems; designing effective services and facilities; working with formal and traditional legal systems; assessment, monitoring, and documentation of GBV; and engaging men and boys in GBV prevention and response." (p.5).

These programming types stem from recommendations by the global humanitarian community (UNHCR, 2003). Asgary et al. (2013), supported by Tappis et al. (2016), point out that guidelines by agencies such as UNHCR and WHO have not necessarily been evidence-based but rather based on expert opinion, or in the cases they are evidence-based, the studies have been conducted in other settings than humanitarian. The same year, a systematic review was published of 40 studies in 26 countries on evidence to reduce sexual violence in armed conflict and other humanitarian crises. The review concluded that implementation of the initiatives appeared to be limited, and pointed on the need for thorough implementation that build on local capacity (Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). They also found that none of the studies had set out to systematically look at intervention results in terms of incidence of sexual violence; the majority of interventions were aimed for survivors. There is a great need for research of strategies for prevention of GBV in displaced and refugee populations and humanitarian contexts, so that efforts being implemented can be justified to continue or be revised (Asgary et al., 2013; Hossain et al., 2014; Robbers et al., 2017; Stark, Asghar, et al., 2018; Tappis et al., 2016). This is particularly the case for preventive strategies that focus on addressing harmful social norms and gender inequality (Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016). Tappis et al. (2016) called for common standards for evaluation of GBV prevention programming. Such guidelines could in turn generate publicized evaluations, which could contribute to an evidence base of what is effective for prevention of GBV in humanitarian settings. In 2019, a group of researchers published a measure they developed for evaluating impact of GBV prevention programs in terms of "change over time in harmful social norms and personal beliefs that maintain and tolerate sexual violence and other forms of GBV against women and girls in low resource and complex humanitarian settings" (Perrin et al., 2019, p.1).

2.2.3 Elements for Successful Interventions

Some elements presented as important for conducting successful interventions were identified in literature. One of these were trust, which is mentioned in the context of trust between workers and residents to open up for disclosure of experiences of sexual violence (Keygnaert et al., 2015). The importance of trust is also portrayed in the greater picture, between organizations, workers, and residents (Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). Another point recommended is training for service providers on the issue (Robbers et al., 2017), which has also been expressed in terms of staff in healthcare for prevention of consequences during emergencies, alongside increased awareness (Onyango et al., 2013). On the topic of healthcare

staff, gender sensitivities in a given context may be experienced as making it difficult to address GBV (Hémono et al., 2018).

Promising and important strategies to prevent sexual violence include having a comprehensive approach with community engagement for design and delivery, shared problem solving, empowerment and capacity-building of participants (Robbers et al., 2017; Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). All humanitarian agencies in the community service and health sectors should contribute to this (Chynoweth, 2008). Multiple strategies and activities will mutually reinforce and enable each other, in efforts to prevent sexual violence in settings of humanitarian crisis (Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). Targeting underlying causes through education and training, such as addressing harmful gender norms, are suggested to be important (Robbers et al., 2017). Read-Hamilton and Marsh (2016) argue that humanitarian programs have potential to provide an opportunity to promote transformational change with regards to social norms. Although it can be very challenging to implement programming in unstable contexts, they argue "it is possible to use a participatory approach" (p.275). Community-based interventions and a culturally sensitive approach are suggested in several publications (Keygnaert et al., 2012; Robbers et al., 2017; Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). Tailoring such programming, particularly in terms of men's engagement, "in ways that account for men's various social positions, is likely to contribute to effectiveness" (Casey et al., 2018, p.244). Another study found that strategies to involve perpetrators should be formed based on local knowledge and initiatives (Standing et al., 2016). As these examples indicate, a community-based intervention takes into consideration the influence of the local community and social networks on actions of an individual (Gurman et al., 2014; Robbers et al., 2017). Two publications on engaging men in GBV prevention efforts, although not looking particularly on humanitarian settings, state that learning from global efforts, sharing information and collaborating across regions is important for informing both development and evaluation of more community-specific prevention programs (Casey et al., 2018; Storer et al., 2016).

Prevention of sexual violence in humanitarian settings is an issue requiring long-term commitment among governments as well as the humanitarian sector. The position of an organization in the humanitarian field depends on a range of factors, such as its social networks, experience, area of expertise, funding sources and mandate (Veit & Tschörner, 2019). To form appropriate strategies for the local context and maximize the use of limited resources, it is suggested that these actors and local organizations with different positions need to work alongside in addressing the issue and improve inter-agency work (Robbers et al., 2017; Standing et al., 2016).

2.2.4 Nexus of Policy - Research – Field

When it comes to prevention of sexual violence, it is important to consider the priorities of policymakers and stakeholders. Being informed about the consequences and costs of sexual violence for society is important, and research is crucial to provide this information. De Schrijver et al. (2018) point out that in terms of providing health care for MARs, investing in mental health care is often considered only benefitting the individual and is less accepted than, for example, focusing on infectious diseases. Political priorities have an impact on which issues are emphasized in program planning and on funding for programs. One example can be drawn from a context related with refugee camps, namely sexual violence in ongoing conflict. Wachala (2011) argues that women continue to suffer from sexual violence because the international community seems unwilling to enforce international law, perhaps because of lack of political and social will to address the issue.

The prevailing approach and discourse of feminism at the point of policy making is likely to characterize the work. An example, in the light of the UN Security Council and mechanisms against perpetrators of sexual violence in armed conflict, is a risk when deciding to apply universal rules across communities; that sexual violence is seen as something happening in other cultures, other communities, while also denying "the range of responses, crossing social, economic, cultural and political agendas, required to challenge sexual violence" (Heathcote, 2012, p.84). Another perspective on UNHCR guidelines is that, while acknowledging their importance, they tend to position refugees as disconnected from context, and by doing so, in a sense, ignoring the complex factors behind sexual violence. One aspect to consider is that the guidelines focus on sexual violence perpetrated by strangers, while sexual violence by intimate partners is not uncommon in crisis and displacement (Robbers et al., 2017).

Two recent studies focusing on discourses among humanitarian workers about refugee men and masculinities raise points for reflection. One is as a study including policy texts and interviews related to refugee camps in Thailand and Bangladesh (Olivius, 2016). It contributes with an approach to critically consider how refugee men are portrayed in humanitarian aid discourse, as the study found contradictions in how men and masculinities are represented; for example as allies or troublemakers, and that this was related to approaches in development of humanitarian gender programs. Another relevant study is on refugee men, masculinities, and humanitarianism in Za'tari Refugee Camp in Jordan, carried out as fieldwork including participant-observation as well as interviews with humanitarian workers (Turner, 2018). One part of this study addresses engagement of Syrian men and boys in GBV prevention, with the focus primarily on the discourse and positioning of refugee men from Syria related to this topic. Although the purpose here is not to study discourse on masculinity and refugees, these perspectives provide a useful background for reflection because gender norms intersecting with other socially constructed categories are relevant aspects for this study. Turner (2018) problematizes the humanitarian sector's relationship with refugee men in the context of Za'tari refugee camp. The study found that the humanitarian response does not focus much on working with Syrian refugee men, aside from the context of SGBV prevention. Men are not understood as vulnerable and their lives and priorities are not incorporated as priorities in humanitarian work. In relation with SGBV prevention, Turner (2018) argues that Syrian men are considered by external actors to not be sufficiently emotionally open to participate. Moreover, he suggests that humanitarian work and refugee men's role in this are influenced by the prevailing gender regimes in host communities, and poses an interesting question for future research: whether a European host context changes the understanding of Syrian and Muslim refugee men. He states that humanitarian agencies need to adapt and follow policies of host governments, and given this, the contours of the work will change (Turner, 2018).

Looking further at the work of organizations in the humanitarian field, it is interesting to consider what role theory and the academic debate play in intervention activities. De Schrijver, Vander Beken, Krahé, and Keygnaert (2018) state that evidence-based implementation of both prevention and response policies is rare. As has been discussed above, there is not much evidence published yet, particularly in the area of prevention. However, when there are studies published, are they used in the field? Veit and Tschörner (2019) explored this in the context of interventions against sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. They found that many organizations use new academic work in their policy and project documents, however, any substantive practical changes have not followed. This is regarded to be due to incentives for continuity rather than change in interventions in the humanitarian field, especially among the large actors, regardless of their theoretical stance. Following that, Veit and Tschörner (2019) state that interventions in the humanitarian field are investing more in, for example, victim-centered aid than norm transformation, while "preventive approaches that address the

normative root causes of sexual violence remain in the margins of the humanitarian field" (p.460).

2.3 Situation for MARs and Prevention in Europe

The health and well-being of MARs have been a challenge for Europe to take the responsibility to guard, ensure, and aid (De Schrijver et al., 2018; Mason-Jones & Nicholson, 2018). In other words, it may be difficult for MARs to access protection and care in European countries (De Schrijver et al., 2018). Since the large amount of refugee arrivals into the EU in 2015, regulations and national asylum laws have been tightened (Kreichauf, 2018). Among other consequences for MARs, laws and policies have impacted the organization of reception and accommodation. The practices and standards regarding accommodation for MARs differ across EU member states, for example regarding first-reception facilities for new arrivals and second-line reception for those who are in the asylum process, and between countries of transit and destination. In the case of Greece, its role in handling arrivals of MARs have changed after the EU-Turkey Statement. Athens has attracted many refugees that are stranded in Greece, and the societal approaches of short-term assistance for people in transit have shifted due to the need of provision of broader support and accommodation from a more long-term perspective. Because resources have not been enough, state accommodation have been developed on a large scale. Some sites are tent camps, while others have containers with heating and water. According to Kreichauf (2018), "state officials fail to provide basic humanitarian services in all five sites. Volunteers, activists, and local and international NGOs fill the gaps in humanitarian support." (p.7). This context indicates that there are many challenges for all involved and affected - agencies as well as MARs - in these refugee sites.

The needs of MARs in Greece have been found to have changed over time since 2015 in the context of the humanitarian response in Greece. Hémono et al. (2018) found needs have evolved from more acute in terms of health, to other needs including increased risks of GBV and treatment of mental health disorders. This shift is linked to changes in migration policy through the EU-Turkey Statement in March 2016, including border closures and reduced migratory flow. In terms of healthcare, which is a field concerned with sexual violence and particularly its consequences, the provision has shifted from NGOs to the Greek health authorities. There is a need to address the needs in the protracted encampment, as well as the challenges that agencies experience in providing support for MARs in this context (Hémono et al., 2018).

A factor impacting primary prevention strategies and their outcomes is the conceptualizing of what sexual violence is among those involved, on all levels. A recent study (Oliveira, Oliveira Martins, Dias, & Keygnaert, 2019), in the Public Health field, which addresses this drawing on data from the Senperforto project. The Senperforto research project, funded by the European Commission, is a study which several further studies and articles have drawn on for data. The project was carried out between 2008 to 2010 in eight partner countries: Belgium, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain. The aim was "to enhance the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the European Reception and Asylum sector" (International Centre For Reproductive Health Belgium, n.d., para.1). The project developed tools for a comprehensive, hands-on approach to SGBV prevention and response policy for organizations and institutions (European Commission, n.d.). Based on data from this project, Oliveira et al. (2019) found that in European asylum reception centers, professionals and residents described different conceptualizations of SGBV. This means their perceptions of what violence is, and is not, varied. The authors argue that conceptualization is key in primary prevention, and that the discrepancies need to be addressed in aiming for consensus also on community and societal levels, and developing programs and policies in

Europe aligned with the "conceptualization of the target population" (Oliveira et al., 2019, p.10).

Another study in the Health field of SGBV in European asylum reception facilities (Oliveira et al., 2018), also drawing on data from the Senperforto project, explored reported cases of SGBV, causes and preventive strategies through interviews with professionals and residents in seven countries, including Greece. They found that the participants think prevention is possible, and they conclude that there is an urgent need for integrative prevention strategies. Participants described potentially preventable measures for SGBV in terms of: "to improve SGBV prevention and intervention measures; improve accommodation and living conditions; improve staff skills and communication with residents; improve coping strategies (frustration & stress management); improved asylum procedure; improve intercultural awareness; improve communication skills between residents" (Oliveira et al., 2018, p.9). These findings are similar to the ones discussed in the previous sub-chapter regarding prevention. However, in the light of this study, I found that perpetration is expressed in the sense of "risk factors for SGBV victimization and/or perpetration" (p.10) and "protection from being victims and/or perpetrators of SGBV" (p.11), which for the reader could be interpreted as if agency and responsibility is removed from the perpetrator. I also found it interesting to note that neither gender norms nor rape culture were addressed as possible causes of SGBV. Neither was addressing gender norms explicitly mentioned as a component of prevention, although it could possibly have been intended to be inexplicitly included in other overarching concepts. I found that neither Keygnaert et al. (2012), studying SGBV in MARs in Belgium and the Netherlands, address gender norms and rape culture related with SGBV or primary prevention of perpetration. In the light of research discussed in the beginning of this chapter on gender and power structures as reasons for sexual violence and the normalization of it, this becomes particularly interesting for further research and reflection. Not the least in considering what is to be addressed in studies and when laying out strategies for prevention of sexual violence. Generally, in research and grey literature, based on what was found in this study, there seems to be mainly a focus on victimization, while not as much on perpetration. A study in the context Greece states that three prevention approaches have been debated related with sexual exploitation of unaccompanied boys: "high-security shelter, life skills education, and cash transfer programming" (Freccero, Biswas, Whiting, Alrabe, & Seelinger, 2017, p.3). None of these three approaches address prevention of perpetration of exploitation. In the publication, perpetration is not addressed other than in legal terms of prosecution after a violent act has already happened.

The EU has a commitment to gender equality in the field of MARs (Welfens, 2019). However, the mechanisms of this in relation to what is done to protect EU borders in terms of containing mobility towards the EU, becomes particularly interesting in the context of Greece being an entry point to Europe along the Eastern Mediterranean route. An EU fund, the Asylum, Migration and Integration fund, finances various projects to address conditions in places of origin. These projects consider women, children, and youth as their target group, and combine activities related with children, with prevention of sexual and gender-based violence. With this approach, the EU portrays itself as a teacher of gender norms and equality in third countries (Welfens, 2019). At the same time, as Keygnaert and Guieu (2015) put it, the "current paradigm in EU policy-making enforces the notion that sexual violence is an 'outsider' issue, with violence against migrants happening almost exclusively within their countries of origin or on Europe's doorstep, and/or caused by cultural factors" (p.52). Such an approach to the issue of sexual violence potentially impacts prevention strategies. Perhaps this could be linked to what another publication states: that little action has been taken on the EU level to prevent SGBV perpetration by police and security forces (Freedman, 2016).

In the literature review process, I found studies framing the topic of this study, while I could also identify a gap in research in the field of social work, when it comes to sexual violence in refugee camps and related areas. I also found a knowledge gap greater than expected in terms of primary prevention of sexual violence in all settings, an observation supported by several studies (see for example Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). Throughout the literature review, I identified a particularly great need for future research and programs addressing perpetration. Previous research seems to have addressed SGBV broadly and much in the sense of prevention of consequences of sexual assault, and mainly in the health field. In terms of MARs in Europe, existing evidence support the hypothesis that they are vulnerable in terms of risk for sexual violence victimization (De Schrijver et al., 2018). Moreover, there is a limited evidence base regarding effective interventions for preventing sexual violence perpetration. The observations of the existing knowledge field and what is missing helped inform this study. Much of the identified literature is very recent, and things are changing quickly in the field, partly due to migration policies. One of several gaps identified was a focus on primary prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in areas of entry to Europe taking into account a structural power perspective such as dimensions of gender norms, and the perceptions on the issue among professionals working for organizations and agencies in this context.

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of this thesis, which includes a social-ecological model, and an intersectional feminist perspective. A key concept in this work is the concept continuum of violence. An underlying approach in conducting this study is constructionism; an understanding of the social world as something in a constant state of change and revision, created in process between people (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, in line with social constructionism, the study departs from the idea that the definition of an issue is socially created (Yllö, 2005).

3.1 Social-Ecological Model

The social-ecological model chosen for this study is a theory-based framework developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and in further literature by him, as well as adapted by other authors. The theory explaining the model is a development within systems theories, which origins from discourses in fields such as biology and psychology. In short, their focus as applied in social work is on interactions across various social systems, and the role of the systems in contributing to wellbeing for individuals as well as communities (Healy, 2014). The social-ecological theory that explains the model used in this study was developed in the field of child psychology by Bronfenbrenner (1979). Since then, the theory has been applied to several fields and contexts, including social work (Ungar, 2002). During the review of literature for defining the theoretical framework, I came to the understanding that some of the literature which is using a social-ecological model to analyze violence prevention have a slightly different approach to the levels than how Bronfenbrenner (1979) described them. For this study, I depart from Bronfenbrenner's model while applying a social work lens and conceptualizing the macro-level broader by including more recent definitions, as described in the following.

The model builds on an understanding of development over time as shaped by complex interactions between individuals and their environments on different levels (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Through these interactions, development of individuals and environments are shaped over time (De Schrijver et al., 2018). The individual, with their bio-psycho-social characteristics (Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2009), is at the center. The ecological environment in which the individual develops then consists of four systems. Closest to the individual are microsystems, which in turn exists within mesosystems, placed in the exosystem, and all of them are embedded in the macrosystem.

A *microsystem* is the immediate setting in which the individual interacts directly with the environment, and is characterized by the experience of the patterns of activities, roles and interpersonal relations in such a setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Some examples are families, friends, school, and home. A *mesosystem* is a system of microsystems, made up of the interrelations between settings in which the individual participates actively. Whenever the individual moves into a new setting, the mesosystem is formed or extended (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.25). The next level is *exosystem*, which Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains as "one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing that developing person" (p.25). Hence, the micro and meso systems are affected by the community in which they play out, such as on broader organizational and community level (De Schrijver et al., 2018). The *macrosystem* refers to the culture, beliefs and ideology in which the other levels exist (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For the purpose of this study, the concept is ascribed meaning also as described in some recent works by other authors, where the social-ecological

model is applied to violence and prevention. Campbell et al. (2009) define this to include social norms and expectations as well. De Schrijver et al. (2018) describe this fourth level as communities being "influenced by processes taking place at the societal and public policy levels" (p.3). Other aspects of the macrosystem considered relevant are religion, politics, and transnational organizations (Tankink, 2013). An important component of the social-ecological model is that "processes taking place within and between them [the levels] must be viewed as interdependent and analyzed in systems terms" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.41). Changes in one level or system can result in effects in other levels or systems (Campbell et al., 2009). In the transactional processes across the systems there is implicit power, involving factors such as race/ethnicity, and gender (Ungar, 2002), which potentially may contribute to oppressive structures. 'Race' is a complex and discussed term (Giddens & Griffiths, 2007) which has been formed since the 16th century (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). The concept has been used with the purpose to classify humans based on physical characteristics and distinguish between a hierarchy of species. This has changed over time, and the term is now widely considered to be a social construct rather than biological (Demoiny, 2018). That is also the intended meaning of the term when used in this thesis: referring to the social construct of race. Following the above description of the social-ecological model comes hereafter a contextualization of it for this study.

A social-ecological approach is argued to be an important perspective in public health, including in prevention of violence, as it helps to understand the issue based on individual relational, community, and societal factors (Gilligan, Lee, Garg, Blay-Tofey, & Luo, 2016; Oliveira et al., 2019), including the complexity of sexual violence perpetration, consequences and what can be done in terms of prevention (Oliveira et al., 2018). The approach has been used and explored in many studies related with sexual violence. Basile (2015) and Willie and Kershaw (2019) argue for the importance of a social-ecological model for better understanding and addressing violence, which includes individual experience, gender stereotypes, and mass media (Rollero, 2020). Also DeGue et al. (2014) argue for the usefulness and importance of the social-ecological model in sexual violence prevention strategies. They state that the model "conceptualizes violence as a product of multiple, interacting levels of influence […] of the social ecology." (DeGue et al., 2014, p.360; see also DeGue et al., 2012, p.2). Furthermore, they problematize that most prevention strategies have focused on change on the individual level or microsystems such as school programs. The issue is that it is not likely such strategies will result in long-term behavioral change if they are implemented in an environmental context that still support, facilitate, or encourage violent behavior. Therefore, strategies across the levels in the social-ecological model need to be implemented for effective prevention (Basile, 2015; DeGue et al., 2012).

The voices of those working in the context are important; they are there in the field and in the organizations, they can observe needs and strengths, and they are part of the social-ecological systems of MARs. Healy (2014) writes about professional social workers and argues that departing from a systems approach with assessment of various levels, they can "promote systemic understanding and sustainable systemic change" (p.133). In the context studied in this research, staff in organizations and agencies have varying academic and professional backgrounds, some being professional social workers. I would suggest that they, as professionals in this context, regardless of academic background, have the potential to promote systemic, sustainable change. Actually, systems theories and an ecological view suggest that a range of perspectives and intervention methods are needed to approach an issue, as no single theory can take everything into account (DeGue et al., 2014; Healy, 2014).

Although there are many strengths and possibilities with a social-ecological approach, there are some points to consider in applying such a framework in theory as in practice. One that Healy

(2014) presents, from a social work practice perspective, is a concern for a risk of focusing on the interactions between the individual and the environment to an extent that "downplays the individual's capacity and responsibility for change" (p.134). A limitation with the social-ecological model that is applied in this study is that it acknowledges information on a lot of aspects but does not provide guidance in prioritizing between issues to address. For the practical reality of most of these contexts, I would think it is a constant struggle to prioritize time and resources.

3.2 Intersectional Feminist Perspective

In addition to the social-ecological model, an intersectional feminist perspective was chosen for the theoretical framework, to contribute to addressing structural issues involved. In the following, the perspective is further described, building on the introduction of the concepts gender, feminism, and patriarchal structures in chapter 2.1.1.

Feminist theory departs from the idea that relationships and interactions between men and women are influenced by social norms in a society, which are produced by the social constructions of gender (Willie & Kershaw, 2019, p.261). Moreover, a feminist perspective acknowledges the male bias though patriarchy in structurally unequal power relations between genders (Stone, 2007). In patriarchal societies, violence is a tool that men can use to maintain power and control by subordinating women (Yodanis, 2004). There are various feminist political positions and approaches, such as liberal feminism, radical feminism, social feminism, and black feminism (Stone, 2007). In this study, they are not individually further explained; they are mentioned for a wider understanding of feminism and that there are variations between feminist perspectives. Important to note is that this study does not depart from an idea that men are always perpetrators of sexual violence and women always victims; the feminist lens contributes with an understanding of patriarchy, meaning structures in society with male bias. Moreover, the feminist lens contributes with the opportunity for an analysis of gender.

This study departs from an *intersectional* feminist perspective, referring to the acknowledgement of societies containing several systems of domination and oppression which interact with others in addition to gender, such as class (Stone, 2007; Yllö, 2005), age, health status, and whether being a native or a migrant. When looking at strategies for prevention, it is of importance to consider "the intersectional nature of SGBV" (Oliveira et al., 2019, p.2). The term was formulated and developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to address the marginalization of black women in feminist as well as antiracist and antidiscrimination theory and politics (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013). In another publication (Crenshaw, 1991), she explores primarily the intersections between race and gender, but also argues "the concept can and should be expanded by factoring in issues such as class, sexual orientation, age, and color" (p.1245). In this and further works, she applied the term to the context of advocacy regarding violence against women, and how these movements disregarded "vulnerabilities of women of color, particularly those from immigrant and socially disadvantaged communities" (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlinson, 2013, p.304).

The concept spread quickly and has been deployed in a range of disciplines and areas of politics (Lutz, Herrera Vivar, & Supik, 2012). Moreover, the meaning has been broadened to "engage a range of issues, social identities, power dynamics, legal and political systems, and discursive structures" (Carbado et al., 2013, p.304). Just as well, it has been put to practice in a range of ways, and the concept with its complexities and its application are continuously discussed and developed (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Lutz et al., 2012). Returning to the concept itself, intersectionality refers to different systems of domination existing in societies, and these systems intersecting. This means that forms of oppression influence and modify the form gender

oppression takes, such as when gender and racist oppressions intersect (Stone, 2007). Other systems of domination are for example class, sexuality, and immigration status. An intersectionality approach is useful "to look at the different social positioning of women (and men) and to reflect on the different ways in which they participate in the reproduction of these relations" (Lutz et al., 2012, p.8). Lutz et al. (2012) state that due to the diversity and many dimensions of the concept, no single project can do justice to it all at the same time, and I do not intend to claim to do so in this thesis, but rather to apply a few dimensions in addition to gender.

3.3 Continuums of Violence

The study was carried out keeping in mind the concept 'continuum of violence' in several meanings, to shed light on the complexities of violence. Sexual violence is one form of violence in an ongoing, broad range of violence; it does not happen in isolation (The Lancet, 2014). I have chosen to use the concept based on the works of mainly three authors, because I find the ways they conceptualize it to be meaningful together for the focus of this study. All three depart from a perspective of gendered power structures.

In a feminist analysis, Kelly (1988) defines the concept of a continuum of sexual violence to refer to 'more or less' prevalence of forms of sexual violence. This refers to there being forms of sexual violence that "most women experience in their lives and which they are more likely to experience on multiple occasions" (Kelly, 1988, p.76). Importantly, she emphasizes that it is not about a hierarchy of one form being more serious than another; all forms of sexual violence are serious. Furthermore, she refers to it as a continuous series of basic common elements that are underlying different forms of violence; "the abuse, intimidation, coercion, intrusion, threat and force men use to control women" (Kelly, 1988, p.76). Some of the forms of violence that she presents in a continuum of prevalence, drawing on her research in the UK, are threats of violence, sexual harassment, sexual assault, domestic violence, and rape. She argues that categories of sexual violence are not mutually exclusive, rather are they shading into each other. Also Cockburn (2004) writes about a continuum of forms of violence. As presented in the Literature Review, evidence shows that sexual violence is "highly frequent in MARs in Europe" (De Schrijver et al., 2018, p.1). However, there are many challenges in researching this, hence it is also challenging to portray the continuum of forms of sexual violence in this context and throughout life for women in this context. One aspect of the results of the previously mentioned study by Oliveira et al. (2018) in European asylum reception facilities in seven countries, indicates that the forms of sexual violence reported according to the categories presented, ranged from sexual harassment as most common, to sexual abuse and sexual exploitation, to rape, to attempted rape.

The continuum of violence can also be portrayed as a continuum that spans across space (Lilja et al., 2020). For example, Cockburn (2004) describes a continuum of violence in terms of occasions of violence. She conceptualizes this in a general sense of violence in the context of war and peace, including in encampment, through a feminist analysis of gender. Similarly to Cockburn (2004), Krause (2015) conceptualizes a continuum of violence during conflict, flight and encampment, although through a case-study of SGBV in Uganda. Cockburn (2004) states that "we need to observe the functioning of gender as a relation, and a relation of power, that compounds other power dynamics" (p.25). The concept of a gendered continuum of violence according to Cockburn (2004) contains several aspects. One is violence on a scale from the personal and home to the international and in ongoing armed conflict. Moreover, "gender is manifest in the violence that flows through" (p.43) phases of pre-conflict, conflict, peacemaking, and reconstruction. Not only does the gendered continuum of violence run

through phases of events, it also runs through the social, economic, and political spheres. Gendered power dynamics contributes to inequality across all spheres, from abuse of unequal power being a factor in men's violence against women to big economic actors sustaining inequalities as a form of violence. Cockburn (2004) links these spheres in the following: "those who are made to feel of scant value sometimes resort to violence to gain self-respect or power" (p.44). Krause (2015) too found that "the forms of violence do not occur isolated from each other and the different phases, but are dynamically connected through social, political, and economic factors in the surrounding context" (p.16). Furthermore, she describes how in the context of refugee camps, various forms of sexual violence are perpetrated by both known and unknown people, mainly by "male refugees, nationals, and aid staff against mainly female refugees" (p.16), however she states that gender-based violence can also be conducted by female refugees against male refugees. In that sense, she argues that perpetrator structures and forms of violence are complex.

During encampment, gender roles have to be renegotiated due to external factors. Often, people have lived in traditional patriarchal gender relations, with its inherent power imbalances, where men are decision-makers and breadwinners. However, during encampment, this may be challenged, and the traditional masculine roles of men may appear to be lost, which influence the power structures. Krause (2015) argues this may lead to increased violence as "men may feel neglected losing their hegemonic social status" (p.17) and attempt to defend their position.

4. Methodology

The aim of this study is to explore prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps through an analysis of the perceptions of professionals. To reach this aim and answer the research questions, a qualitative research strategy was chosen. It focuses more on words than on numbers and is often described as interpretative (Bryman, 2012). The general topic of sexual violence in refugee camps could surely have been examined through a quantitative strategy, for example, through a survey distributed to organizations. However, in this study the experiences and perceptions of people are central. The motivation of research strategy choice to answer the research questions can be illustrated through a quote from a text about qualitative research: the emphasis of qualitative research is to understand "the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants" (Bryman, 2012, p.380). Moreover, qualitative studies are often researching specific contexts, with the aim of giving a description of processes and characteristics (Repstad, 2007), which corresponds well with the purpose of this study looking at the context 'refugee camps in an entry point to Europe'.

The element of exploring characterized the design of this study process throughout the project, exploring what is practically possible to do related to the topic and current events, and adjust the research plan according to that. Stebbins (2001) suggests the following definition for social science exploration: "a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life" (p.3). This is an exploratory study, conducted about an issue where there are few earlier studies to refer to, with a focus on gaining insight and familiarity with the setting and concern, and for future research.

4.1 Research Method

A qualitative methodology approach offers several methods to choose from, such as focus groups, ethnography including participant observation, and various types of qualitative interviews (Bryman, 2012). Considering the phenomenological stance for this study, focusing on people who have work experience related with the phenomenon of sexual violence in refugee camps, interviews were chosen as the data collection method. The choice was also based on an assessment of which method could be most useful in collecting material that could answer the research questions, as well as what would be practically possible.

In the process of choosing the method for the study, I reflected upon the context in which I was planning to conduct research and the practical circumstances. For example, I was considering participant observation and focus group discussions, since such methods would have offered further dimensions to the study. However, considering the time limitation for this study, I chose to focus on collecting interviews. I have chosen not to use mixed methods for the study, and I do not attempt to research and cover 'the whole picture' of the topic for the study (Silverman, 2010). This is an explorative study, aimed to look at the issue from experiences and perceptions of professionals in organizations and agencies, not to give the full picture of the issue. It surely would have been interesting to attempt to bring more pieces of the puzzle together for a full picture, but that would require a more comprehensive research project than a master's thesis in terms of time and resources.

4.1.1 Interviews

Using interviews as a method in qualitative research implies having open-ended questions asked to small samples (Silverman, 2010). One type of qualitative interview is the semi-structured

interview, which was chosen as the technique for this study because it offers flexibility yet facilitates keeping focus on the same issues throughout all interviews (Bryman, 2012). Through semi-structured interviews, the researcher aims at understanding themes from the perspectives of the informants (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) which is what I aimed to do in this study. Bryman (2012) describes two other types of interviews: structured interviews, and the unstructured interview. The structured interview is more used in quantitative research and quite inflexible as there is a need to standardize the data collection and measure reliability and validity. I did not consider this to be useful in attempting to answer the research questions, because the type of study is looking for rich, detailed answers. The unstructured interview, on the other hand, is typically very open and may just include one question, to then follow the interviewees response in an attempt to gain genuine access to their world views (Bryman, 2012). Having chosen an interview of this kind may have enabled participants to express their perspectives more freely, rather than being guided by questions based on what I had pre-determined as of main interest to the study. However, based on my assessment, an unstructured interview would not be most helpful for this study, as it could generate material that is so complex it would be very difficult to analyze, while there could at the same time be certain topics that would not be explored at all. Moreover, another motivation for this choice was that the interviews were conducted far from the field through videocalls online and via telephone.

In preparation for data collection, a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions was created. The guide initially consisted of a great number of possible questions, organized in themes that had been created based on the research questions. With the experience from the first interviews, the guide was adjusted in terms of a reduction in number of questions and a reformulation of the questions to topics, as can be seen in Appendix 2. Throughout all interviews I chose to include initial questions covering basic information, such as educational background and position in the current organization as well as some information about the organization, as it would be useful for contextualizing the answers in the analysis (Bryman, 2012). Besides the basic information, the questions were then adjusted to each interview as well as the order they were asked. Between the interviews, some questions were the same, while the rest depended on the activities of the organization the participant works for, and what the participant shared during the interviews. Sometimes follow-up questions which were not written in the guide were asked to clarify, follow up, and further explore when a participant talked about aspects found relevant in relation to the research questions.

Within the frame of this study, six semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven professionals working for organizations and agencies that are working in Greece with refugees and/or on violence. The interviews were carried out in March, April, and May 2020. Each interview lasted for between 40 to 80 minutes. All interviews were recorded, with permission from the participants. Some of the interviews were followed up with additional questions, and some by the participant via email sharing written information about the context or issue as offered during the interview.

4.1.2 Conducting Interviews over Internet and Telephone

The interviews were conducted via Skype, Zoom, and telephone. Originally, the plan was that interviews would also be done in person, but due to practical reasons this was not possible (see further under 4.3). From the start of the project, I was open to the option of conducting interviews over platforms such as Skype or Zoom. The main reason for this was that the participants were likely to be spread out geographically, and a study of this scope offers limited time and resources to allow traveling to meet all participants. After adjusting to the external practical challenges during this project timeline, the intention was that all interviews would be

conducted over Skype or Zoom, a tool for online video meetings (Zoom, n.d.), being used for example by universities during the COVID-19 pandemic. One of the participants did not have access to any of these services at the point of the interview, therefore we did the interview over telephone. The other interviews were conducted over Skype or Zoom with video and audio on. In some cases, we turned off the video for parts of the interview, as it disrupted the internet connection.

There are challenges as well as strengths when it comes to not doing face-to-face interviews in qualitative research. In the following I aim to contribute with a reflection to the ongoing methodological discussion on this way of conducting research. Bryman (2012), Iacono, Symonds, and Brown (2016), Mirick and Wladkowski (2019), and Seitz (2016) discuss alternative forms of conducting qualitative interviews than meeting face-to-face. The use of web-based technologies for videocalls have increased over the years as internet usage has increased. The technologies for this kind of communication are developing rapidly, also in the sphere of qualitative interviewing (Mirick & Wladkowski, 2019). There have been studies conducted of differences between in-person interviews and non-face-to-face interviews, and they have not necessarily come to the same conclusions (Bryman, 2012). I believe that considering how fast technology is advancing and more people are getting used to it in their everyday lives, at work as well as in private life, it is important to keep an ongoing reflectiveness and the discussion updated.

A challenge I faced in predominantly one of the interviews was technical issues. That interview was conducted via Skype. The internet connection seemed to work poorly, because the call got disconnected and there were lags and inaudible parts. This was frustrating for me in the role of the researcher, as I wished to offer a comfortable space for speaking as well as having the chance to talk as much as possible in the limited time frame available from the participant side. I can imagine it was frustrating also at the other end of the call. The technical issue affected the data collection as time and words were lost in the interaction. Fortunately, follow-up questions could be asked later in the process. Bryman (2012), Iacono, Symonds, and Brown (2016), Mirick and Wladkowski (2019), and Seitz (2016) all discuss technical challenges, such as the one I experienced. Trying to ensure a good internet connection is crucial, although sometimes this is difficult, and not always possible to control. Moreover, it is important to consider the setting for an interview online as well as it is in-person (Seitz, 2016). For all the interviews I conducted, I planned this beforehand and made sure to have a quiet room with a natural background for the video. Another challenge with online interviews could be lack of expertise with the technology. In the case of the data collection for this study, it did not seem to be an issue. Professionals in organizations and agencies seemed to be used to online meetings in their jobs, particularly so during lockdown because of COVID-19, and they seemed okay with this way of interacting. Some though, were not used to Zoom, and instead preferred Skype.

Another challenge which the above-mentioned authors all highlight, is that body language and non-verbal cues cannot be observed in the same way through phone or video calls as in-person between seeing people, and body language may be important for example to see confusion or discomfort during the interview. In the data collection for this study, the questions were not of a very private sort, as they were related to the work of the participant in their personal professional capacity. Still, of course, emotions may come up and there were probably cues I missed that could have been picked up on face-to-face. As I was transcribing the recorded interviews, a reflection I had is that I, in the role of the researcher, seemed to reassure the participant that I am there and hear what they say through saying 'mmm' and 'aha', perhaps more frequently than I would in an in-person encounter with a seeing person where I can nod and make facial expressions as feedback in an interaction. Seitz (2016) describes a similar situation, related to video lagging. Moreover, Seitz (2016) shares several suggestions of how to

deal with various challenges when conducting interviews over the internet. I agree with her that there is a limitation with regards to a loss of intimacy in online interviews, compared to meeting in person. Face-to-face interviews could have generated more in-depth answers to questions and given opportunity for a different flow of turn-taking between the participant and me. It could also have framed the interviews in a more relaxed way, as one is always 'on stage' during an online call. Reflecting on the interviews, I believe that considering the form they did have of online calls, they were for the most part framed in a somewhat relaxed manner, for example often starting by talking about recent updates of COVID-19 related restrictions. Still, informal moments before and after an interview do not occur in the way they do in face-to-face interviews, which is a limitation for online/telephone interviews.

I believe, just as there are challenges and limitations, there are also opportunities with interviews over the internet, such as having the possibility of a diverse selection of participants within the frame of a study, since people in different locations can be interviewed. One strength is the reduced costs in terms of time and money, and possibly on the environment depending on means of transportation, when not traveling to meet for the interview. Moreover, in the case of this study, physical interviews would not have been possible due to COVID-19, and I am grateful they could be conducted online. Iacono et al. (2016) conclude that interviews over the internet can work well as an alternative tool for qualitative researchers. Bryman (2012) concludes that telephone interviews can be regarded as efficient and that it can generate detailed material, which is also my experience from this research project. While recognizing challenges, I do believe it is possible to conduct meaningful research through online interviews. In the case of this study, I consider the possibilities to interact with participants offered through this technique were significant. Meanwhile, being far from the field and not interacting face-to-face with participants reduced the possibility for anything unexpected during the phase of data collection. During the time spent in Greece for field research, several unexpected encounters with people and organizations occurred, however this field research came to be for a limited period and not for the formal interviews.

Reflecting on possibilities to conduct qualitative research through online tools, I believe this must be assessed in relation to the study, aspect of a topic, and participants it aims to involve. Moreover, technical tools for communicating are constantly in development and I suggest it is important that the research community stay up to date and explore as well as evaluate the possibilities these services offer.

4.2 Participants

The participants in this research project were professionals in international and national organizations and agencies that are working with MARs and/or on prevention of sexual violence, in Greece as an entry point to Europe. Considering the criterion of saturation for research, while also having to consider the time frame for the research project, I was initially willing to get 6-8 participants who could have corresponded to the criteria below. It is important to be able to analyze and work thoroughly on the material collected, hence gather an amount of material that is realistic to analyze within the given timeframe. I received in total eight confirmed formal interviews; however, two were canceled. In the end, there were in total six interviews, one of them was with two participants and the rest with one each.

The criteria for including participants were 1) they work for an international, national, or local organization or agency, 2) they have experience from either prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps, or from working with refugee response related to camps, or from working on prevention of sexual violence, or from working on prevention of violence with MARs, 3) they have such experience and knowledge of the Greek context. These criteria were developed
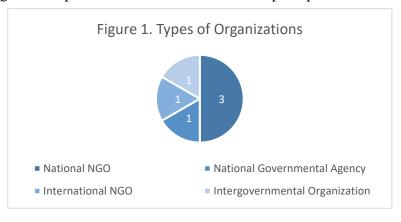
throughout the research process, with the aim to get as much and relevant information as possible. Aside from these criteria, I wished to identify persons with different positions and backgrounds, to hopefully shed light on various perspectives and dimensions of the issue. This goes along with what Repstad (2007) points out; that the informants in a sample should be as different as possible from each other, because that increases the probability to find new relevant material. I chose not to set any geographical limitations for where informants are located at the point of the interview, since it could be possible they are not necessarily located in the same office, camp, or country during the time-frame for interviews.

I conducted a purposive sampling of participants with a sequential approach (Bryman, 2012). Departing from the criteria above, I searched on the internet for organizations and agencies that operate in Greece with refugee response in camp settings and/or prevention of violence. I read about the field and the work carried out by various actors, hoping to identify initiatives on primary prevention and closely related programs, where there may be professionals with experience of such activities. Throughout the course of the research project, I approached 14 international, national, and local organizations with requests for further information and contact with someone who has knowledge or experience on the topic, and further on I asked for interviews with identified professionals. In some cases, there were 'gatekeepers' in the organizations who did not respond or responded with significant delays. Others quickly referred or put me in contact with someone in the organizations working on related topics.

Four of the participants were identified through approaching the organizations they work for by email and telephone calls, as described above. I was addressed to one of the interviewees during my stay in Greece. Two of the interviewees were contacts I got thanks to snowball sampling through one of the other participants. The snowball method means that informants recommend or introduce the researcher to other informants (Bryman, 2012; Repstad, 2007).

The participation of interviewees was grounded in their personal professional capacity. This means they were approached based on their work in professional roles in organizations, with the research focus in data collection being on their perceptions, not those reflecting a specific organization. The professionals' perceptions are shaped by their experiences in various contexts and systems. They exist in systems on all levels, as described in the social-ecological model. They are influenced by these systems in which they existed previously as well as at the time of the interview. This includes for example the organizations where they work and previously worked, various settings in Greece such as their microsystems in personal and professional life, and how they have experienced and perceived various macrolevel issues in Greece and the EU related to their professional field. Hence, there has been a multitude of factors in the background of each participant, related with their professional, social, and cultural contexts, that influenced their experiences and perceptions. In the scope of this study, the aim was not to attempt to gain a comprehensive understanding of all aspects that have influenced their perceptions and what they talked about in the interviews. The study aimed to explore prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps, through analyzing the perceptions of professionals. As explained, this is linked to the organizations in which they work, however the organizations in which professionals work were not included or considered as

Figure 1. Types of Organizations

- National NGO
- National Governmental Agency
- International NGO
- Intergovernmental Organization

'cases' in the study. Still, to contextualize the data, an overview of the types of organizations in which the participants worked are presented in Figure 1. Among the six organizations in which the seven participants worked, three were national NGOs, one was an international NGO, one a national governmental agency, and one was an intergovernmental organization (IGO). Some launched activities in Greece due to the influx of MARs in 2015, while others have been active in the country for long.

To further give an overview of the contexts in which the participants worked, the main focus of the organizations' activities are portrayed in Figure 2 based on a categorization done in the research process, drawing on available information of the organizations on their websites as well as information provided in interviews. The main focus of three of the organizations is refugee response. One of them is a humanitarian organization that assists refugees in many countries. In Greece, the focus has included supporting the government in managing refugee sites, offering non-formal education, and providing protection of rights including legal aid, individual assistance, and safe spaces for women and children. Another of the organizations also assists refugees in many countries globally. In Greece, they have a key role in managing sites countrywide and coordinating various initiatives. The third of the 'refugee response' organizations is involved in health services in some refugee sites in Greece, and runs shelters for unaccompanied minors in urban areas.

Figure 2. Main Focus for Activities among the Organizations

■ Human Rights ■ Gender Equality/Violence ■ Refugee response

Two of the organizations have a main focus on gender equality/violence. One of them is mainly focused on gender equality and implementation of policies on this, as well as combating GBV, in Greece. They are also responsible for a network of counseling services and shelters related to GBV. The other is an organization focusing on various activities related to gender and equality, ranging from conducting research to offer counseling services. They carry out activities in refugee camps and urban areas. One of the organizations has a main focus on human rights, primarily focusing on children's rights and child protection, offering activities for MAR children among other things. Some years ago, they also had child friendly spaces and mother baby areas in a camp setting. The categorization presented in the figure is a simplification of reality, as there are many intersections between these categories and the activities of the organizations. For example, in refugee response, issues of violence and human rights may be significant aspects in the work, as well as addressing or working with MARs may be a big part of the work in organizations focusing on gender equality/violence and human rights.

In two of the organizations where participants worked, they had carried out male engagement activities for primary prevention of SGBV. One of these was an intervention with males and adolescent boys in a refugee camp for six months, where each group met for three or four workshops. The other was a series of workshops with a group of young boys with origins from the same country, living not in refugee camps but in urban areas without a fixed address, for one session per week for six weeks.

The educational backgrounds of the participants were in social work, sociology, psychology, political science, international relations, development studies, political economy, social anthropology, and teaching and education. Most of the participants held a master's degree.

Among the participants, there was one man and six women. Their professional roles were of varying character. Some were working with MARs in daily interactions in various settings, and planning, coordinating, and carrying out programs. Others had positions with overarching responsibility for a unit or similarly, or giving technical guidance, with more emphasis on interactions with other organizations and staff in the field. Around the time of the interviews, the work of some of them was mainly focused on MARs in urban areas. Almost all portrayed personal professional experience from refugee camp contexts. Some of the participants had roles where protection was a core element, while some had roles with emphasis on empowerment or male engagement.

Following the criteria for inclusion as described above, the types of experiences among the professionals regarding the issue 'sexual violence in refugee camps' varied. Some among them expressed they had experience from personally assisting people who have experienced violence in camps and MARs in other settings, while some expressed that they had not. Some had worked specifically on primary prevention of sexual violence with MARs. Others had experience from encountering or working on the issue on a more structural level, such as planning interventions on the issue. The professionals had worked in their respective organization or agency in Greece for a period of one to over 20 years. In some cases, they have held different roles, with one of the participants having entered a new position about a month before the interview.

4.3 Research Process

Prior to the official start of the research project semester and even the master's program, I began working on ideas for what would then become this research project, as described in the Introduction. Throughout the first three semesters of the master's program, I discussed the topic with particularly lecturers, professors, and another student, as well as during field placements. During my most recent field placement in Sweden at a public agency working on issues related with intimate partner violence, I had the opportunity to reflect on the research project with a colleague and professor, and the idea of interviewing people who have worked in refugee camps in Greece came up. I explored the topic further, both by reading and talking to people in the field. I saw these conversations as preparatory measures to define the topic and start the process of the actual research project. During the conversations I took notes and carried a field diary to remember whom I had contacted and talked to. The contacts I took were with former colleagues, friends, and acquaintances in Europe and the USA. The conversations were very meaningful for the project, as they helped in the process of shaping and designing the study. In further attempts to learn more and define the research topic, I also contacted various organizations over email, telephone, and in person, mainly in Sweden, and spoke with people working for those. I also spoke to a professor who is the author of an article I found interesting related to the topic.

Parallel to this, I discussed the topic and research project with fellow students and professors within the master's program, and with my supervisor. From quite early in the process, I was determined to research prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camps, such as initiatives of male engagement in prevention. My interest was both in what was actually done in this regard, the theories behind it, and what the experiences were of those working on these initiatives, including perceptions on what works well and what needs to be improved. Here my pre-understanding of the issue, which is colored by the context I have existed in particularly the past five years both online and offline, had a great influence on my assumptions. I expected there to be several programs in place addressing prevention of sexual violence perpetration and wished to identify professionals with direct experience from working on that. This assumption was also influenced by my pre-thesis research, including readings where prevention of violence is expressed, for example by UNHCR and SIDA, and research on this in some other camps in

the world. However, as described in the Literature Review, I found that most often prevention seems to be discussed in other terms than prevention of the behavior to perpetrate violence. Furthermore, in the process of identifying organizations working on male engagement in prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece, I was surprised to find that the number of projects and programs I could identify were very limited.

Through contacts with organizations, this image was reinforced. This threw me off a bit, as it clashed with my pre-understanding of the world and assumption on which I built the topic, particularly being in the context of Europe and an arena where various actors with funding from different sources are operating. In the process of identifying participants for the study, this image gradually became clearer, although many times throughout the process I doubted my mapping of the sphere of initiatives working on this, wondering if I had somehow missed key actors. In an altering process, I adjusted the research questions as I gained an increased understanding of the field (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Clearly, within the frame of a master's thesis, I do not aspire to have talked to every actor that may somehow have been working on the issue in a country. There may still be actors I have not identified, for example because their online information may be in Greek and there is a language barrier. In the process, I reached out to several actors through information I found online about programs and activities in Greece related to refugees and SGBV. I reached some contacts that seemed to be willing to help through participating themselves or suggesting participants for the study.

4.3.1 Field Research in Greece

Some weeks into the research project, I decided I would primarily focus on the geographical context Greece and try to reach participants for the study with experience from that context, as that is an entry point to the EU where many actual refugee camps exist. Shortly after, I traveled from Lisbon, where the university is located, to Athens in Greece for data collection. I made this decision because I imagined it would be useful to come closer to the field and the organizations I intended to interview. Also, one of the contacts I talked to who has experience from working for an NGO with refugees in Greece, suggested it would be easier to approach people and have them talk about sexual violence, which may be a sensitive topic, being there in person. I chose not to visit refugee camps for the interviews, considering I had understood from people in the field that it can be difficult and a time-consuming process to gain access and permission to enter a camp. Also, the camps are scattered in many places in Greece, making it a challenge with the resources available for this project in terms of limited time and resources. I found that many organizations working in camps in Greece have an office in Athens, therefore I concluded it would be useful to go there to better understand the field and meet professionals, and explore possible opportunities to meet with professionals working in other parts of the country.

The plan was to stay in Greece for 3.5 weeks. However, due to external circumstances, I had to leave two weeks sooner than planned. Although things did not go according to the plan and I had much shorter time in Athens than I had envisioned, I am glad and grateful for the kind and helpful people I met and contacts I made with organizations during the time I spent there. I moved around geographically in Athens during the 1.5 weeks there and got a brief impression of various neighborhoods and the socio-economic situation. Apart from the organizations I approached, I also talked about the topic of this study with hostel staff, flat mates, a walking tour guide, and new friends and acquaintances from different countries. They shared thoughts on the topic and suggestions of organizations working with refugees. In an apartment where I rented a room, I met a British woman who was about to leave Greece after some weeks of volunteering for an organization working with refugees. She spoke to the organization and a

few days later I went there to talk to them and see if they could help me navigate local organizations. I got to assist in preparing a meal and speak to a leader who shared suggestions of some other organizations. As he let me out, he introduced me to a woman from Afghanistan waiting outside with her family for lunch, and he asked her if I could speak to her. This became a conversation that had a great impact on me. We spoke for a good while, she told me about her life in Afghanistan, about the time she had lived with her family in the refugee camp Moria and about the violence there, and about their current situation. Her story really touched me and gave fuel to my dedication for this study on prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps.

Another unexpected encounter took place as I was having dinner in a small restaurant down the street from where I was staying, seemingly off the tourist routes. As I was waiting for my meal, I was approached by and got to talking with a small group of friends, who invited me to their table. They shared suggestions of organizations to approach for the study, and one of them called a friend who works with refugees and gave me the chance to get in touch with that person. This generated a meeting for an informal interview a few days later at the organization's office, and further on a formal interview.

When I left Greece, suddenly and earlier than expected, I had two physical interviews scheduled. I agreed with them both to meet over Skype instead. However, one of them, working on the field with refugees, had an emergency to deal with so the meeting was intended to be rescheduled for the following week. Shortly after, restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic were enforced in Greece and the intended participant was not available. In the following paragraph I elaborate further on conducting research during a global pandemic. After leaving Greece, the rest of the research project was conducted from Sweden via online communication. This was due to travel restrictions following the pandemic, which were enforced within a week after I had left Greece and prolonged for the rest of the period for the study.

In addition to the six formal interviews, I conducted informal interviews with 15 individuals throughout the course of the study, which contributed to an increased understanding of sexual violence in refugee sites and prevention of sexual violence. I spoke to four people who have volunteered in refugee camps in Greece, two researchers, and nine people with experience and knowledge related with the topic from their professional roles in organizations and agencies across Europe and in some cases other parts of the world. Most of these conversations took place over telephone, and a few were online and in person. The information gained in these interviews is of a different character than in the formal interviews, as no interview guide was used, and the focus varied between them. As described in the introductory section of paragraph 4.4, I took notes of these conversations and carried a field diary to keep an overview of the contacts made. In addition to these informal interviews, I also had informal conversations, that provided guidance to the field and the topic. These informal conversations contributed to better understanding of different aspects of the topic and the field, however they were less comprehensive and less focused on the full scope of the research problem than the informal interviews. They took place with 13 individuals, most of them in academia and the rest with experience from working with prevention of violence or having experience from refugee response in Greece.

4.3.2 Conducting an International Research Project During a Global Pandemic and Other Challenges

A challenge that has impacted all the world since early 2020 is the COVID-19 pandemic, although by the beginning of the semester, the pandemic had not yet become a big issue in Europe. A few days before my departure from Lisbon to Athens for field research, the issue was increasing in Europe, and it caused me concern on whether it would be safe and wise to

follow through with the plan to go to Greece. After several consultations for guidance, I decided to follow the plan to travel to Greece, with careful concern for the daily developments across the continent. Shortly after I left Greece, earlier than the original plan, a lockdown was enforced in Athens due to the virus. Since many offices got closed by the lockdown, it was difficult to reach people with whom I originally had contact and plans for interviews. It is understandable people had other priorities and concerns during the lockdown, especially those working with refugee camps considering the big threat that the coronavirus poses to people living in the camps.

Another challenge has been the political situation between Turkey and the EU on the refugee agreement and situation for refugees. The day after my arrival to Athens, Turkey announced they are opening the borders to Europe (Amnesty International, 2020). However, Greece had not opened the borders. According to news reports, many people had made their way to the border on the Turkish side, some were reported to having been transported there by arranged bus trips, in a belief they could enter Europe. However, at the border they were denied entry and according to Amnesty International (2020) security forced fired tear gas. Several of the organizations working with refugees that I have been in touch with, said they had been quite busy managing this situation and therefore had been difficult to reach. In addition to the pandemic and its consequences, as well as the political situation, the research process was impacted and challenged by personal life for several reasons.

I tried to conduct field research in Greece and could also do so to some extent, but during this time several things external to my control happened as described above, which restricted the possibility to continue as planned. The field research enriched the experience and I could collect interviews. However, the field research may have been richer if I could have continued in Greece as planned. I have been aware since the start that this has been an ambitious research project and there have been many points to manage and challenges to consider, not only the ones related with the pandemic, political circumstances, and personal life. In many ways, the topic of this study is a very sensitive one. Sexual violence can be perceived as a sensitive issue, primary prevention approaches may be a sensitive aspect of the issue, and the study is conducted with a focus on refugee camps in a sensitive political climate within Europe, during what turned out to be a sensitive moment in time. This potentially poses various challenges. I do believe though, that just because something is sensitive, it should not be avoided, however it is important to carefully consider the way research is conducted and data is handled (see further in paragraph 4.4). In this sense, I do believe it would be possible to conduct more comprehensive field research on this topic in another time, without the outburst of a global pandemic with enforced lockdowns. I suggest more comprehensive field research would be well-suited for a bigger research project, stretching over more time than one semester in total, with a benefit that it would be less sensitive to sudden changes in the environment.

4.4 Data Analysis and Reflection on Evaluation of Research

In this study I conducted a thematic analysis along how it is described by Braun and Clarke (2006). The analysis began with processing data by transcribing all the interviews verbatim in their full lengths (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this process, the recordings were listened to at least twice in full, with the first time including many repetitions of sequences and a reduced tempo to allow for typing. The texts were also gone through multiple times. The transcriptions were done continuously throughout the research project after each interview (Bryman, 2012). In one of the interviews the recording was interrupted due to an error in the recording device, hence the information from the latter part of that interview was preserved in notes and not in as detailed form as a transcript.

After finishing a transcription of an interview, I read through the transcription to get a better overview of the content and noted ideas that emerged. I entered the six transcriptions into the software NVivo for the process of analysis, and first went through each of the interviews twice to code all interesting features. Then, after having gone through this process for all the transcriptions, I looked at all the codes and the data, and reflected on what potential themes I could identify, with the aim of the study in mind. Thereafter, I gathered codes under each theme in NVivo. I then went through the codes and their content again, to review my interpretation of them, the themes I identified, and their definitions.

The process of analysis then continued through the writing of the Findings and Analysis Chapter. The first step of this phase of the analysis was an altering process of interpretation and refining of themes and subthemes, and of summarizing findings along with inserting extracts from the codes in NVivo. Throughout this process, the analysis was also related back to the research questions. Moreover, in the writing of each theme, previous research and the theoretical framework were applied in the analysis of data, and a limited number of quotes to portray the findings were selected. Grammatical and linguistic errors have been adjusted in the chosen quotes.

In qualitative research, there are various approaches to evaluation of studies. Bryman (2012) mentions that some argue the same measurements as in quantitative research, reliability and validity, should be used in nearly the same way for qualitative research. Other suggest that qualitative research should be evaluated according to alternative criteria, yet others suggest various midway approaches. Here, I will address two concerns for evaluation of research in relation to the study.

Qualitative research differs in many ways from characteristics of quantitative research, for example in aims and measures for requirements and the quality of a study. One such aspect is generalizability, which is an aim in quantitative research, also referred to as external validity. The possibilities to generalize though are problematic for qualitative researchers conducting studies with small samples (Bryman, 2012). This was a qualitative study, carried out in a specific context in a specific time frame, and it was based on the perceptions of seven participants. I believe that conducting this study with a different group of participants may have contributed with other experiences and perceptions, although several perceptions of the situation may also have been similar among other possible participants at the same point in time. Considering the research project conducted, I do not claim the results to be generalizable. That was neither the intention, as the study explored the perceptions of the participating professionals. However, I find the concept "moderatum generalizations" (Bryman, 2012, p.406) useful in relation to this study. Bryman (2012) portrays that some argue that qualitative researchers can generate moderatum generalizations, which are limited but offers an opportunity to see aspects of those studied as instances in a wider context, and to draw comparisons and linkages with other groups and other studies.

Another concern for evaluating research is external reliability, which refers to whether a study can be replicated. The possibility of replication of a study is often regarded as an important quality in natural sciences and quantitative research, while qualitative research is difficult to replicate (Bryman, 2012). In qualitative research, the researcher "is the main instrument of data collection" (Bryman, 2012, p.405). That has been the case also in conducting this study; my observations and what I decided to concentrate on has been influenced by my interest. Moreover, my ways of interacting with the field, asking questions, and my use of language in interviews have probably affected the material. Although I have aimed to carefully give transparent account of the research process, I believe it would be difficult to attempt to replicate the study and expect the same findings, not the least because the context and circumstances

change over time. An underlying approach of this study is interpretivism, which according to Bryman (2012) emphasizes that social scientists grasp the subjective meaning of social action and aim to understand human behavior. This approach challenges the idea of the possibility to replicate the study. Seeing the social world as something in constant change and revision, created in process between people (Bryman, 2012) is another underlying approach of this qualitative study which challenges the idea of replication. The difficulties to replicate qualitative research is one of the critiques of such forms of conducting research.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

The topic of sexual violence can be very sensitive, as described in 4.3.2. Since initiating the idea of the research project, I have made thorough considerations on how I could approach the topic and what would be ethical with regards to being in touch with the field and conducting interviews. To continuously consider ethical issues and concerns is an important part of social research (Bryman, 2012). The IFSW Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles (International Federation of Social Workers, 2018) has been a foundational base in the choice of topic as well as the continued research process. Moreover, ethical principles for research in social sciences by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) have guided ethical considerations. I have also adhered to the ethical guidelines of the Association of Social Workers of Greece (Association of Social Workers of Greece, n.d.), as I could understand them through translation from Greek to English by Google Translate, particularly with regards to paragraph I.E 1-7 which is about studies, research, and evaluation. There may be gaps between ethics in theory and ethics applied in practice. Although ideally aiming to handle all parts of the research process in accordance with procedural ideas of ethics, issues and concerns may come up throughout a research process which cannot be easily handled straight from procedural ideas of ethics, and result in ethical dilemmas for how to reach an ethical practice. Moreover, conflicts between different ethical principles may arise. In this section I will reflect on and discuss ethical dilemmas and different aspects of this research project, including the ethical principles related to harm to participants, invasion of privacy, deception, and informed consent (Bryman, 2012).

An important ethical consideration for this study has been whether there may be harm to participants. Already from the beginning, I made a choice not to aim to conduct research with people who have experienced sexual violence, or perpetrated sexual violence. This choice was made, despite me believing that the perspective of the ones living an experience are crucial and that their voices are important to include in research as well as policy making and programming, with support of WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for researching, documenting and monitoring sexual violence in emergencies (WHO, 2007). Furthermore, I assess that a study of that kind would require a longer time frame than this study allows. Moreover, within the frame of this study, I could not find strategies for providing support and following up on how an interview may affect an individual and as a social worker I do not find it to be ethical to come in for just a short time, ask about traumatic experiences, and then leave (Poulin & Matis, 2019). Interviewing professionals in organizations and agencies is not unproblematic either. Based on the prevalence studies that have been conducted as mentioned in the Literature Review, many people have experienced sexual violence and that may just as well also be a professional. The same goes for perpetrators of sexual violence; a professional working in an organization may have perpetrated sexual violence. After careful consideration on ethics and the intended research focus, I concluded that interviewing professionals about their perceptions of sexual violence in refugee camps can be handled in a way that would be ethically responsible within the frame of this master's thesis project. I believe it is important to reflect on this in a greater perspective though; if I would instead have interviewed people who have lived in the refugee camps, for example men or women, the issue would have been portrayed from a different

perspective. Likewise, I believe the same would apply if I had interviewed volunteers in refugee camps, or solely field staff in camps. In that way, due to the choice of topic for this study, I simultaneously chose to exclude exploring other perspectives.

Another important aspect regarding potential harm to participants is whether there could be a risk that the informants suffer any harm with regards to their careers if their employers or colleagues would know what they have said in the interview. I am aware of this risk and have protected the material by measures to handle the data with confidentiality and anonymized the identities of informants. The two latter are concerned with the ethical principle invasion of privacy (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, another ethical principle is about informed consent (Bryman, 2012) from participants, which have been key in the data collection process. One way has been to take a few minutes at the beginning of the interview to explain the study, their rights and handling of the material, and ask for consent to record. I have also sent out a page via email with information about the study, how their data will be handled, and about their rights (Appendix 1). In most cases it was emailed prior to the interview, and when the practical circumstances did not offer possibility to do so, the document was sent out afterwards. I have then asked the participants to print, sign, and scan it, and email it back to me. However, considering many have been in lockdown due to COVID-19 and not necessarily had access to a printer, we have talked about it in each case and I have expressed the most important is their oral consent, which they have all given. I believe professionals are likely to have more agency to freely say no to participating, than for example a person living in a refugee camp who may feel obligated to participate or have hope for receiving support that I cannot provide, as the power asymmetry likely is different. I have had no intention or desire to deceive participants by representing the work as something else than it actually is (Bryman, 2012).

A main ethical dilemma concerned the organizations and agencies where the participating professionals worked, namely, how to handle information about these in the thesis. The core of the dilemma was whether to indicate the organizations in the thesis or not. In handling this dilemma, ethical principles by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) have guided the choices made. The considerations are further described in the following paragraphs.

There is one particular issue related to of the informed consent: to name the organizations where participants work in the thesis, which I consider raises concern with regards to this dilemma, for two reasons. One reason is that I have not approached the organizations as such with a formal request for consent to interview someone in the name of their organizations and include their organization's name in the thesis as participating. In order to name the organizations, I consider I would have needed to seek permission at multiple levels in the organizations, both by those providing data and individuals in charge, as Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) argue is required. The other reason is the information provided to participants prior to the interviews, and the process of obtaining consent for the interview with regards to naming organizations in the thesis. As explained previously, all participants gave their consent to participate, however this particular part of the consent I find ethically questionable and, in some cases, insufficient, as described in the following. In the form for informed consent, I had not stated explicitly an intention that the names of organizations would be indicated in the thesis. It did say 'representatives of…'; however, it cannot be taken for granted that this is interpreted as that the name of the organization would be conveyed, as the information also indicated anonymity, and neither the interpretation of the extent of this can be taken for granted. Furthermore, not all participants were sent the informed consent prior to the interview, due to practical circumstances. According to Principle 1 (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002), information to participants should include all aspects of the research that could possibly be considered to influence their willingness to participate. Regarding interviews, such information should at the latest be given before the start of interviews (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002). I did say in the beginning of most of the

interviews, when going through the information about the study, that the names of the organizations were going to be stated in the thesis but not the participants' personal names, and they participated with that knowledge. However, this was not the case in all interviews, as I did not consider the option to state the names of the organizations when I spoke to the first participants. Moreover, in hindsight I think that this part of the consent, for those who received the information at the beginning of the interview, is ethically questionable in relation to the ethical principle mentioned because it is information that could be considered to influence their willingness to participate. The participants were not offered a chance to previously reflect on it or if needed ask around for permission to let their organization be named. Several participants stated they do not consent to mentioning their quotes in connection to their organizations, and I perceived some seemed uncomfortable when I said the names of the organizations would be mentioned but in a separate part of the thesis. In hindsight, this could have been explored further in those situations, however the participants had still not been given an opportunity to consider this prior to the interview. They spoke on condition of anonymity, indicated in the informed consent form and in communication prior to the interviews.

According to Principle 6 on confidentiality, reporting of information of individuals shall be done in a way that makes it impossible for the reader to identify individuals, in particular information that may be ethically sensitive. I assess there is a risk that individuals could be identified if the organizations where they work are stated in the thesis. Moreover, if the organizations would be stated in this chapter, there is information presented in the findings that could possibly be linked to some specific organizations by those who are familiar with the field in Greece. This could potentially lead to negative consequences for the individual. Moreover, I consider there is also a risk that organizations or agencies may suffer harm with regards to, for example, funding or collaboration opportunities if they would be identified in the thesis, as the topic has several sensitive dimensions and the research was conducted during a sensitive time, in a sensitive context. An alternative I have considered in the process, as described in the previous paragraph, was to indicate the six organizations in the Methodology Chapter, but not in association with specific quotes. However, the risk that individuals could be identified as participants remains. Furthermore, I consider that even if no one would be identified, naming the organizations in the thesis could create suspicion or diminish trust towards the named organizations in the field, which could potentially result in repercussions in future collaborations or funding for their activities. There are parts of the findings that could be perceived as critical of various instances. After all, the region is not that big and 'it's a small world', so if organizations are named anywhere in this study and someone would not appreciate what they read, that could potentially cause harm to participants or the work that is going on with regards to this issue. I consider it would not have been ethical nor scientifically justifiable to alter the findings or hide parts of the findings, to mitigate risk of harm in favor of naming the organizations. As stated under the Ethical Principle 6 (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002), measures need to be taken to make it difficult to identify individuals or groups of individuals. In the considerations for this dilemma, I have weighed the expected contribution to knowledge that naming the organizations could entail to possible negative consequences for those involved, in accordance with the ethical principles, and considered the risk that individuals could unintentionally be identified. In terms of expected contribution to knowledge, the voices of the participants do not represent the voices of the organizations. Moreover, in the scope of this study, I have come to consider that stating the names of the organizations would not have added a very meaningful contribution to the interpretation of the collected data. The study did not attempt to explore organizations as 'cases', nor the organizational level and organizational matters in which the participants worked. Moreover, I could not have done a meaningful comparative study based on just one or two persons working in each organization. Addressing some attention to this was an idea earlier in the research process, which was the reason that the

term 'representatives of …' was used earlier in the process. This term shifted to 'professionals', who were included in the study in their personal professional capacity in six national and international organizations and agencies operating in Greece in the fields refugee response and/or violence.

In conclusion, even if the consent of the individual representatives is genuine, I think there is a risk associated with the organizations as such, and the fact that there is no formal consent from them. Moreover, some participants did not receive this information prior to the interview, nor during the interview. These concerns with risk for harm to participants and the field, not ensuring anonymity, and in addition the risks entailed to publishing an academic work where organizations are named as participating without a formal consent from the organizations, all contributed to the choice not to name the organizations and agencies where the professionals work. Considering the Ethical Principle 6 (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002), I assess that naming the organizations, under the circumstances of the process, is not of such importance to the contribution of knowledge in this study, that it would be justifiable to risk negative consequences for those involved.

As described, I find it important not to convey any detail that could compromise the anonymity, and therefore in 4.2 the participants were not described in association to descriptions of the organizations where they work. Meanwhile, it is also important to consider the ethical responsibility as a researcher to provide detailed information about the process for data collection. Hence, the types of organizations where the professionals worked and the main focus for activities among the organizations were portrayed above separately, with the purpose to contextualize the data. However, as described previously, the organizations were not included as 'cases' and the aim of the analysis was not to conduct an organizational analysis, but to explore the perceptions of professionals on prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps.

Research ethics may need to be interpreted, applied, and adjusted to the cultural and social context (Swedish Research Council, 2017), which is what I have strived to do in this process. Based on what I perceived from the context of the field along with the sensitivity of multiple factors for this study, and the process of approaching participants, I considered that the organizations need to be anonymized. In the case that someone would be interested in repeating the study, I as the researcher have the details, and information can be requested for scientific purposes.

4.6 Limitations

The main limitation of this study is that most of it has been conducted far from the field. I entered the process of the research project without having much experience, or any deep knowledge, of the field in Greece. I do not have experience regarding the refugee response nor regarding Greek society in general. In addition, I do not understand the alphabet nor language (except for some basic phrases), and faced challenges navigating some websites and material that only seemed to exist in Greek. Although I did use online translation tools, this is a limitation in the sense that there is likely information that would have been useful for the study, that I have not been able to identify due to the language barrier.

The language barrier was also on a few occasions a challenge during the time in Athens for navigating in the context, although most information existed in English and nearly all people that I met with spoke English, with the exception of one cashier in a supermarket. For the data collection, English was used, and no interpreters were involved as the participants spoke English. If I would have spoken Greek, it is possible that the data would have been richer in some of the interviews. As Bryman (2012) portrays, there are arguments that the language must

be learned in order to understand the culture of the context that is to be studied. In the case of this study, language refers to the Greek language as well as the use of the English language in the context of the humanitarian response there, as there may be words and abbreviations that have a special meaning in the context. The latter was brought up by one of the participants in the beginning of an interview, who also encouraged me to ask if there are words that seem unclear. Through my personal experience of working for an international NGO, volunteering for other international NGOs, and focusing on violence against women internationally through an internship, among other experiences, I have some insight in language for such settings as well as the context, although not for the specific context in Greece. In the process of choosing to focus on Greece as the geographical area for this study, I reflected on the choice to conduct research without knowing the local language. While acknowledging there are limitations and challenges, I considered that the ones who would be potential participants in the study most likely have experience from using English in their work, as the main working language or to some lesser extent, and moreover they may not necessarily be Greek. Still, it may have constituted a language barrier in the interviews, depending on the professionals' fluency in English, also considering I am not a native English speaker. I assessed that for this explorative study considering its scope and topic, the study could generate interesting findings even though there is a limitation of not knowing Greek and not knowing the potentially existing jargon among actors in the field of refugee response and violence-related work there.

Coming back to Bryman (2012) as mentioned above, I also find it relevant to reflect on culture. 'Culture' is a complex concept, and in the case of this study with a focus on people working in international settings where organizations and agencies work with MARs, there are several cultures in the context which are interacting and changing over time. As Tinker and Armstrong (2008) discuss, I believe that as a researcher one may be both an insider and outsider "to varying extents in every research setting" (p.58). I consider this to be the case also for me in this study, with an emphasis on 'outsider'. I consider it likely also that the participants considered me to be an outsider, more than an insider. Both being an insider and an outsider may come with benefits and challenges. There is a methodological discussion particularly on how the outsider status can impact interview research, with some arguing that it necessarily has negative impacts while others argue it can have potential benefits (Tinker & Armstron, 2008). A potential benefit in the case of this study is that participants may have felt freer to be open about their perceptions of challenges they perceive and not being judged, than if I would have been more of an insider. A potential limitation is that I probably could have navigated the field differently and asked other questions if I would have been more of an insider. If I would have chosen to do the study in a context more familiar to me such as Sweden, it would have been an advantage in terms of time spent on navigating and understanding systems and the field, and possibly it could have meant easier access to participants. Moreover, there are probably gaps in my understanding of the context as I have not worked or lived in Greece for any extended period of time. During the time I did spend in Greece, I met kind people who have helped in bridging some of these gaps by guiding me to information and helping me understand some things about the systems in Greece. I have kept learning constantly in this process, both about the topic and the research process. Since the beginning of the project, I have had a continuous dialogue with my supervisor and on some occasions also with other professors and fellow students at ISCTE-IUL, which have all been helpful in managing the development of the research project.

Another point related with being far from the field is that I chose to focus on the context of refugee camps, and this is a core concept in the thesis. This while, for various reasons as discussed previously, not being there and not having the possibility to explore these contexts specifically. I did have the intention to complete the data collection in the field in terms of being in Greece and meet in-person with organizations and professionals who were to participate, and

I did what was in my power to make this happen. As described before, I could spend some time in the field, and I have had numerous contacts and conversations with people in the field throughout this study. During the time I spent in Athens, I entered the field even if not an actual camp, and I believe that I in this way gained an insight into the field and greater context. However, the data collection in terms of formal interviews were all conducted from the distance, not face to face, and there are challenges with this as discussed in 4.3.2.

The limitation in terms of studying the topic far from the context have been carefully considered in the methodological choices process as well as reflected on throughout the project. In addition to this main limitation, there are two other factors to consider: that the study is exploring a sensitive topic, in a sensitive moment. As described in the previous paragraphs, the topic explored in this study can be perceived as sensitive in many dimensions: sexual violence, prevention of perpetration, refugee camps, and the political context regarding migration in the EU and along borders. This, in combination with the sensitive moment in terms of political events and a global pandemic, resulted in limitations in terms of access to the field including to participants.

The research was carried out as an initial exploratory study, with awareness of these limitations. What I say in this study is closely related with my experience in the field while exploring this topic. I hope that still, with the limitations in mind, this humble contribution to the limited knowledge field can be of interest.

5. Findings and Analysis

5.1 Violence in Refugee Camps

To frame prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps and understand the issue in context, violence and conditions related with life in refugee camps were explored in the interviews. The findings gathered in this theme reflect the first research question: *How do professionals describe sexual violence in refugee camps?* The findings portray that the professionals consider sexual violence in refugee camps to be a concern, and that there are many incidents of various forms of sexual violence and settings where it occurs. Moreover, general high levels of tension of violence in refugee camps were portrayed. The professionals described several reasons for violence, such as gender inequality and abuse of power, and lack of trust as well as difficulties to communicate due to language barriers. Other main reasons were linked to the context and conditions in camps, and general high pressure on MARs due to these circumstances and delays in asylum procedures. The findings also indicate that racism and xenophobia from local communities and other professionals impact the situation.

5.1.1 Refugee Camps and Conditions for MARs

The main findings in this sub-theme are about asylum policy and processes, and about the situation in camps. The professionals described that shifts in migration policy have severely impacted the situation for MARs, for example as bureaucratic procedures and asylum processes are delayed. Some of the professionals assisting MARs directly expressed how this impacts their possibilities to provide other activities than the basic. The problematic conditions in camps such as overcrowded spaces and difficult standards, were by several expressed as a main issue regarding violence in general and sexual violence, with emphasis on lack of security as affecting women especially.

Within Greece, refugee camps exist in various locations and contexts. One participant addressed the shift in character from Greece being a transit country before the EU-Turkey Statement in 2016, to becoming a country of asylum:

> It turned into a country of asylum, and a country of… limbo, for a lot of people who weren't interested remotely in seeking asylum in Greece, couldn't go back, couldn't go forward. (Participant 3)

This quote reflects the situation for many individuals with their plans and hopes for the future. Several other participants also addressed the changed situation in Greece. Interpreting this through the perspective of the social-ecological model, the situation for MARs is affected by the macrosystem in which they exist when having entered the geographical area Greece as an entry point to the EU. The macrosystem includes the political debate in the EU as a collective and in relation to Turkey, but also in each country and community of the union within a myriad of micro-, meso-, and exosystems, where political ideas are put forward, impacting the EU migration policies. As regulations and national asylum laws have been tightened since 2015, it may be difficult for MARs to access protection and care (De Schrijver et al., 2018; Kreichauf, 2018).

Bureaucratic procedures and how this affects life and length of stays in refugee camps for MARs was a topic that was addressed in almost all of the interviews. Some of the people entering Greece by land through the north of the country may come to Athens and arrive without any papers, or having met a public servant, they conduct their first registration with the asylum

services in Athens. MARs coming to the Greek mainland from the islands have "at least a paper from the police or from the first reception" (Participant 5). Participants shared that there are many gaps making the procedures for asylum and registration for newcomers very delayed, and making MARs stay in islands and in camps for a long time. This was talked about in relation to changes in the asylum law in Greece, and that people may have their asylum interviews scheduled two or three years ahead in time. Furthermore, some participants described that gaps in bureaucracy impact the work for staff in organizations who are supporting MARs, for example, to get a social security number, as each step is time-consuming and results in only allowing staff to do the basic. In the context of supporting someone who got married in another country and wished to divorce and split asylum claims, one participant expressed:

> It's a nightmare to be honest […] asylum service had been very slow and uncooperative around these clients and cases. (Participant 3)

Through the professionals' descriptions, it becomes clear that the various systems on different levels which MARs exist in and organizations operate in, severely impact their lives and the possibilities for professionals to carry out different kinds of activities.

Most of the professionals brought up that there has been a lack of sites as well as space in sites to meet the existing needs for shelter for MARs in Greece, although the Greek government and organizations have tried to accommodate people in other facilities. The standards in camps were described as difficult and problematic with, for example, lack of sanitary facilities. A special concern for the situation for unaccompanied minors, often boys, was brought up by several of the professionals, of whom some worked specifically with this population which may have influenced their concern. By some of the participants, the over-crowded spaces and general pressure on people living there were expressed as a main problem regarding sexual violence in refugee camps. One professional shared:

> Sexual and gender-based violence is absolutely a concern in the sites in Greece. Especially due to the overcrowded substandard living conditions with their complete lack of privacy, and general insecurity in the areas where asylum seekers and refugees live, in the sites and the reception identification centers, both on the mainland and the islands. (Participant 4)

The importance of security and problems with lack of the same was brought up by all of the participants, both related to sexual violence and as a main problem facing MARs in their situation, such as that there are no locks on tents. One participant expressed a need for more prevention and awareness raising, linked to a concern over a lot of harassment in camps, often from single men. Due to this, movement of women is often restricted, because their partners or parents do not allow them to go out, as they perceive the harassment-issue and lack of safety is not really being addressed. Another participant shared their experience from one camp with regards to security and staff:

> In the night many bad things would happen, because no one was there in the night, I mean like the last… I think from the reception left at around eight or ten, I'm not sure, so in the night anything could happen. (Participant 5)

It is clear in the descriptions by the professionals that living conditions and security are major concerns. Their stories illustrate the interdependency between processes in different levels of systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The micro-system of a woman, her family, and the processes going on there, are interdependent of the processes going on in the organization in charge of staff in the camp, and the microsystems of the men harassing them. The descriptions also portray that organizations, from the perspective of MARs, may be part of their microsystems

as well as the mesosystem and exosystem, and directly impact their situation such as in terms of security. Meanwhile, the organizations are affected by the macrosystems, such as in what they can provide. These expressions for need of security can be paralleled to research stating that risk reduction in terms of creating safer camp environments have been a main focus of VAWG efforts in humanitarian contexts (Aubone & Hernandez, 2013; Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016). Although such strategies are essential, it is also argued there has to be a focus on underlying causes of the issue (Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016).

5.1.2 Forms of Violence

The interviews analysis suggests there are various forms of violence and settings where it occurs, indicating there are many dimensions of the issue. The participants' stories indicate general high levels of tension of violence in refugee camps, not only sexual violence, and a normalized culture of violence. Forms of sexual violence that were discussed include harassment, sexual assault, and rape. Sexual violence and GBV were talked about both in the spheres of domestic violence and in public places, and perpetrators were described as having different relations to victims. Several of the professionals described that there is generally a connection between scarcity of resources and violence, interlinked with lack of trust. Other reasons for violence were expressed as language barriers hindering communication and understanding, and gender inequality.

Some participants described stabbings and fights in food lines as common, because people fear they are not going to make it to the front of the line before the food runs out. Moreover, fighting between different groups of people was also described as a characteristic in camps by several of the participants. This was described in terms of lack of trust and a suspicion that others are receiving more services or are favorized by organizations, and fights between groups for power in a site. Lack of trust was also described in terms of those having been harmed by violence not trusting that the Greek system would protect them and their families if they would press charges against the perpetrator. Some of the professionals described a culture of violence in this sense, that becomes normalized in the camp. One reason for these forms of violence was explained to be that people in a densely populated area are not able to communicate with each other because there are "so many languages and so different cultures there" (Participant 3), such as a camp with 900 people where 25 languages were spoken. People cannot talk about issues arising, so things escalate, and there is fear of the unknown.

Some participants brought up bullying between children being a real problem when talking about forms of violence that occur in the sites. Blackmailing, mostly from their own community, and trafficking were each mentioned by one participant from their experiences in the field. Some of the participants mentioned prostitution, which would be interesting for further research to address for further understanding of the situation in the context. One shared their experience from meeting young unaccompanied boys in an urban area:

> They disclosed propositions from older men regarding sex, offering sex… and taking money in return, but… no one ever disclosed that they did it, but they said that they were offered these things. (Participant 5)

This quote leaves many dimensions possible to reflect on, of which one is the 'older men'. In a previous study it was found that approaches to prevention of sexual exploitation of unaccompanied boys in Greece have focused on aspects of protecting and educating boys (Freccero et al., 2017). The study uses concepts on which there is no consensus and that other studies recall the attention to certain definitions of the problems and subjects studied (Mai, 2011). Departing from a feminist perspective, I think the seemingly absence of addressing the

potential perpetrators in primary preventive measures is noteworthy. This can be seen in the light of a previous study suggesting that interventions in the humanitarian field are more focused on support for victims rather than addressing the "normative root causes of sexual violence" (Veit & Tschörner, 2019, p.460).

All participants spoke about sexual violence, SGBV, and/or GBV. They expressed there is harassment, domestic violence, sexual assault, and many incidents of rape. This description was also portrayed in one of the informal interviews, with a woman who had volunteered twice in refugee camps in Greece. These findings are confirmed by previous research finding that experiences of sexual violence is widespread among MARs (De Schrijver et al., 2018), also occurring in intimate relationships (Robbers et al., 2017), and that there is a widespread tolerance for sexual violence in humanitarian settings (Marsh et al., 2006). This can also be understood through a lens of continuums of violence, both in terms of prevalence of sorts of violence that women experience (Kelly, 1988) and a continuum of contexts from private to public where it is perpetrated (Cockburn, 2004).

One participant stated that there are incidents of GBV not only against women, but also there are incidents involving men, children, and LGBTI persons. The same participant also expressed that violence against MARs occur in their journey to Greece and in camp sites. This resembles the findings of Özgür Baklacıoğlu (2017) study; Syrian women experience GBV and sexual abuse all throughout their paths from the war to destination countries in Europe. Moreover, this can be understood as occurring on a 'continuum of violence' across contexts along the path for MARs (Cockburn, 2004; Krause, 2015).

Perpetrators were generally sparsely explicitly addressed by participants during the interviews. One thing the professionals did express in different ways was that a perpetrator of sexual violence can have different relations to their victim, as exemplified in this quote:

> There is a range of perpetrators, including those that are unknown as well as known individuals, or individuals that are not direct acquaintances but that are later recognized by the survivor. (Participant 4)

The same is reflected in the findings of Keygnaert et al. (2012). In most of the interviews, sexual and family violence in the domestic sphere were mentioned, and it was talked about as very common with women experiencing violence from their husbands.

> I think that I would say while domestic violence and family violence is common in all people, in any class, in any situation, we know that it's higher in a population of people on the move, high degrees of stress and limbo in a family […], poverty and uncertainty. (Participant 3)

Several participants talked about the context and high pressure that MARs live under as a main reason for all sorts of violence in the camps, and as a main reason for SGBV. I interpret these descriptions to acknowledge there are complex factors behind sexual violence in the context (Robbers et al., 2017). An example is a description portrayed that people feel sad and useless when they go for a very long time without doing anything. This can be understood through a parallel to Cockburn (2004); that those who are made to feel less worth sometimes may turn to the use of violence to gain self-respect or power. One participant reflected on whether there in addition could be statistics saying that aggressiveness is cultural. With regards to SGBV, several also explained this in terms of gender inequality and abuse of power, which can be understood as a feminist perspective (De Schrijver et al., 2018; Stone, 2007), see further in 5.3.

5.1.3 Local Community Attitudes

A topic that was interestingly brought up by several of the interviewees, was the greater context for refugee sites in Greek communities, more specifically the aspect regarding attitudes among local communities towards MARs. The professionals shared they need to deal with racism and xenophobia from local societies and other professionals. The findings also indicate that among some people, there is an attitude that violence perpetration is not possible to change but rather that it is something to accept among some categories of people.

Attitudes in local communities is an important aspect: applying the social-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to interpret this phenomenon, the systems of people in the local communities are interdependent with systems of the work of organizations, as well as influence the situation for MARs and what happens in refugee site contexts. One participant shared:

> The local community, after a while, in the beginning it is okay, they feel compassion and sorry for these people, but after some years, with many refugees to come again and again, and the procedures to stop and we don't have solutions for this problem and the local community have complaints and it builds fear and all this, this situation is very confused for the two parts, the refugee and the local community. (Participant 7)

The participant portrays how they perceive that attitudes among locals have shifted over time, affected by multiple concerns. Without going further into each of these factors separately, the situation can be understood through considering how individuals in local communities are influenced by the community (exosystem) where they live, as well as management and policies related with asylum procedures and migration. Simultaneously, the community is influenced by individuals' interactions within their microsystems, where perhaps fear and frustration may be articulated and shared, which interplay in mesosystems. A social constructionist perspective, that the social world as well as definitions of problems are socially created and changed in ongoing processes between people (Bryman, 2012; Yllö, 2005), can contribute to understanding the expressed change in local communities.

All of this occurs in the context of a macrosystem, in which various structural power issues play out, such as culture and beliefs, that may cause discrimination against some groups in society such as MARs. In this sense, it is relevant to reflect on how perceptions among local professionals influence the quality of support for MARs, which one participant portrayed:

> If she's willing to make a police report, […] we need to provide her with a translator, because the police don't have any of those and they're very not sensitized to GBV, especially amongst who they see to be likely Muslim population, they'd rather just say, go back to your husband this is how life is for you people, […] this is the kind of approach that they take. (Participant 3)

Looking at this finding from an intersectional perspective of power structures, I suggest it is a clear indication that staff such as the police in the example above, uphold and maintain a power structure where people of a certain religion or belonging to a certain group seen as 'different', are discriminated against through prejudice ideas. Analyzing this through an intersectional feminist perspective (Stone, 2007), there are several systems of oppression interplaying and affecting the situation for the person who has been harmed by violence. Gender and patriarchy play roles here, intersecting with racism, and ideas about a group of people based on religion, in the discrimination of the victim as not having the right to or deserve a live a life without violence. Moreover, the situation is more challenging in the positions of MARs considering potential language barriers and perhaps not being aware of your rights in the context.

The example above also suggests that there may be an attitude that violence perpetration is not possible to change, that it is normal for men of some groups to be violent, and that this is something to accept for some categories of people: those being a woman and being Muslim. A similar picture was portrayed in one of the informal interviews with a woman working for a European-wide organization focusing on VAW. She also suggested that few show an interest in prevention in this context due to cultural sensitivity and wanting to avoid portraying refugee men as perpetrators, as this can be used by political groups in Europe to twist it into saying that refugee men are dangerous and will come here to rape 'our' women. These are two approaches that I interpret mirror the polarized political climate regarding debates about immigration and refugees in Europe (de Haas, 2017).

In an overarching intersectional feminist analysis of these aspects related with local community attitudes portrayed in interviews, several structural, macro-level, unequal power relations in society can be identified. One is that men have power over women, regardless of the background of the man. Another is a divide between 'European' men and the violent 'refugee men' or 'other' men. The findings indicate a perception among professionals that 'out there', it is by some considered normal traits of some categories of men to perpetrate violence, while also denying or ignoring violence perpetrated by those regarded as 'European' men, whatever traits are ascribed to 'European'. Moreover, the professionals' perceptions indicate that in the environments where they work and interact with people, some women are considered as 'other' and accepted to live with violence, while some women need to be saved from other categories of men. As indicated in this analysis of interactions across systems, there is implicit power of for example gender, contributing to oppressive structures (Ungar, 2002).

No actor or individual exists in isolation (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). As Campbell et al. (2009) argue, changes in one level or system of the social-ecological model can result in effects in other levels. One participant stated that in Greece there are initiatives from the state to combat multiple discrimination. The findings indicate that there is discrimination on many levels involved in the issue of sexual violence in refugee camps and prevention thereof. Hence, to reduce discrimination, changes in attitudes and approach would be needed in all levels of systems, and in order to further open up for policy and practice of wider prevention of sexual violence in the context, also other structural issues than gender inequality need to be addressed.

5.2 Measures Addressing Sexual Violence in Refugee Camps

Interventions addressing sexual violence and aspects linked to this in different ways were talked about in all interviews. As the professionals' positions, organizations and projects are oriented to different concerns, such as emergency response and protection, naturally the aspects emphasized in the interviews varied. Primary prevention is further explored in 5.3, while in the following I attempt to contextualize that by addressing the second research question: *How do professionals perceive measures addressing sexual violence in refugee camps?* The findings indicate that much of the focus of professionals regarding measures addressing sexual violence in refugee camps is on the victims of violence, response resources, and activities for women. The findings emphasize the importance of trust in relation to an individual as well as community. Moreover, the professionals perceive several challenges, such as impunity for perpetrators, and that there are structural issues affecting both victims and the professionals in their work. Furthermore, the findings show that professionals collaborate and interact with many other actors, and that they think training on SGBV within organizations is important. Some challenges related with addressing the topic were portrayed. The professionals perceive various challenges related with policies and political concerns, on the EU-level as well as in Greece, affecting the situation and the attention plus approach to SGBV.

5.2.1 Perceptions of Measures

The professionals spoke about different elements of measures addressing sexual violence in refugee camps. Much emphasis was placed on women, victims of violence, and response resources after violence has been perpetrated. Support for those who have experienced violence was expressed as a main concern by some of the participants. Most of the professionals spoke about prevention of SGBV in terms of women's safe spaces or similarly, awareness campaigns, and activities for women's empowerment, while some spoke about primary prevention and male engagement. The findings indicate that professionals perceive that the topic of sexual violence can be difficult for both those who have experienced it and for professionals to talk about, and that the topic is not given adequate attention from organizations and agencies. Building trust was emphasized, and that word travels fast in a camp whether an organization is helpful or not. Moreover, the findings suggest that there are structural challenges for professionals to provide what they perceive is needed for those who experienced violence. The findings also indicate gaps in legal measures in terms of impunity for perpetrators.

An element of the work of several of the organizations have been to support those who disclose experiences of violence. Some of the professionals stated that feelings of shame and embarrassment were some reasons for not disclosing sexual violence, and that often women do not report it officially. Sexual violence is often more difficult to report than other forms of violence.

> […] and about the sexual abuse yes, I believe it's a great taboo. It's very, very difficult for them to disclose it. (Participant 5)

There are multiple barriers for disclosure of sexual violence among refugees (Vu et al., 2014). One such could be trust, particularly in an environment which is foreign and unsafe; the importance of building trust was emphasized by most of the professionals in terms of those who may disclose experiences of sexual violence. The importance of trust is emphasized also in previous research (Keygnaert et al., 2015).

Associated with building trust are also the resources for support after disclosure. Some talked about the challenges and difficulties protecting someone who has been a victim of violence due to lack of places in shelters, and that the process to get a spot in a shelter takes time. This was described by some as even more difficult since COVID-19, as testing for the virus is required and most shelters became very reluctant to take in any newcomers. A couple of the professionals expressed how important it is to be able to offer a victim of SGBV something in the long run in terms of a place to stay and support. One participant shared their perception linked to lack of such resources:

> It's a really, really challenging gap that we're facing. And our staff, the field staff, I think it's one of the highest sources of stress for them, because they want to help, but we're not empowered structurally to help in a really meaningful way. (Participant 3)

Analyzing this situation through the social-ecological model, it is possible to see the connections between different layers and systems, affecting both the victim and the professional in different ways. The structural gaps described seem to put the individual staff in difficult positions, representing an organization and wanting to support, but not having the resources to do so. A related concern was expressed several times by another participant; that the word of what support organizations can and cannot provide travels fast between those living in a camp.

> You have to give her something for the future as well, and if you can't, it's something that won't work, and then it goes from mouth to mouth, that okay, I saw this woman who did this and then she went back to her husband, so why should I choose this. (Participant 5)

The same participant also shared experiences of this in another way: that when the women were familiar with the professionals, they could disclose violence to and had trust in them, this traveled from mouth to mouth to other women who needed help. This sheds light on not only the importance of trust but also how important it is what the organizations do, as the word spreads quickly. Considering the contributions of the social-ecological model also here, it provides a perspective to understand how systems affect other systems and levels in the context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), in ongoing interactions where the social world is continuously constructed and revised (Bryman, 2012).

Some of the participants addressed that there are issues with impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence, related with cases that are not reported as the victim may not feel safe to press charges, and moreover, that trials are pending in cases that are reported. Problems with impunity regarding abuse was found also in a study by Standing et al. (2016) of refugee camp contexts. Due partly to such issues and gaps in terms of legal measures regarding sexual violence, a preventive approach focusing on legal measures to deter perpetration has limitations (Robbers et al., 2017; Jo Spangaro et al., 2015).

In most of the interviews, professionals spoke about prevention of SGBV in terms of women's safe spaces or similarly, awareness campaigns, and activities for women's empowerment. All of them expressed this to be a significant part of prevention, and some said they should exist in every camp, such as this one:

> […] I think that that's one of the most important steps that is built into this system, to work on prevention in terms of like community-based protection, people learning what their rights are, learning to protect themselves, supporting each other, you need a space where that can grow. (Participant 3)

However, several professionals pointed out that such areas now do not exist in many camps; there were more of them between 2016 to 2018, but many of them stopped existing. These spaces where women come together were described as important forums. Within a camp, it is visible who is approaching which organizations, which can make it very difficult for women to approach support resources discretely, and the organization can be targeted for helping a woman, however these spaces were more neutral. According to one shared example, health professionals could support women in how to take care of their babies, and it also gave space for a social worker and psychologist to form a bond with women, and to open up for talking about violence. Read-Hamilton and Marsh (2016) argue such interventions are essential, but that there also needs to be measures addressing underlying causes of VAWG. In previous research, interventions targeting prevention of victimization have been problematized, for example in terms of a risk for victim blaming rather than placing the responsibility with the perpetrator (Yoshihama et al., 2019). I interpret the findings to indicate that the professionals' conceptualizations of prevention and primary prevention of sexual violence varies. This supports the findings of a previous study (Storer et al., 2016), which found there is a variety of understandings of the concept among organizations, and concluded there is a need for holistic, multi-level prevention approaches to stop GBV. Perceptions of primary prevention of perpetration are further addressed in 5.3.

5.2.2 Organizations and Collaboration

The findings gathered show that professionals and the organizations they work for collaborate and interact with other actors both generally regarding refugee camps and specifically on issues related with sexual violence. The findings also indicate that the professionals perceive several challenges related with the Greek government and public sector, but also that there have been developments over the past years. Furthermore, the findings suggest that training for staff and volunteers on SGBV is considered important, and that the issue of sexual violence is talked about although there are challenges.

The professionals shared examples of collaboration and interaction between organizations and agencies, such as staff from different organizations attending seminars and trainings organized by other actors, and staff from different actors organizing weekly sessions for SGBV prevention. Another example is an SGBV working group where state partners, IGOs and NGOs in the field come together. One professional described their collaboration with other actors:

> We have been working with local societies, especially people from municipalities, staff from social centers or from municipalities, and police, staff from the health and all the professionals that are working, social workers, psychologists, that are working in the field. (Participant 6)

This quote illustrates the interplay between systems on meso- and exolevel in the context where MARs exist, and that there are many actors involved. This can be related to Kreichauf (2018) who argues that there are gaps in humanitarian support by the state in Greece, which is filled in by NGOs.

Some participants talked particularly about Greek agencies and their ways of working and collaborating. One participant expressed that between Greek ministries, there is often a disconnect and even attempts to undermine each other between the different ministries as they belong to different parts of coalitions. I suggest the situation described is problematic, for example, taking into account the importance of trust in the greater context, between organization, workers, and residents (Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013). Another participant spoke about development over the past five years or so, of collaboration and organizational procedures in terms of hopeful aspects for working against violence generally in Greece:

> All the organizations and the national authorities and national services and all this, they learned many things. […] Here in Greece we did many things by phone before, or we speak and arrange everything but we don't write anything, there's very little to write, but we give a solution and it's easier for us, and now we learned how to follow procedures, to write reports, to send reports, to collaborate with each other. […] Even the police or some other national service, authorities, that they don't have this culture and philosophy as international organizations, they try and learn, and have a focal person for this issue [SGBV] and they have also done progress. It is very good this, but we have more to do, of course. (Participant 7)

In this quote, the professional reflects on how the ways of working for organizations in Greece, which can be described as exosystems and macrolevel structures, have been influenced by collaborations with international organizations. The professional also brings up how national organizations have developed an increased attention to SGBV. This can be put in relation with what (Chynoweth, 2008; Marsh et al., 2006) argue for the humanitarian community, as this can be described as such a context; that all sectors and agencies have a role to play and should

contribute in addressing sexual violence. Moreover, previous research has emphasized the importance of collaboration and long-term commitment in prevention of sexual violence (Robbers et al., 2017; Standing et al., 2016).

Although it was not a specific topic in the interview guide, some participants brought up training and education initiatives, for example on masculinity, for staff working in camps and with MARs, as a form of prevention activity.

> We want all the staff, the volunteers, to have the capacity to identify and understand if someone have this problem and support them to report or […] to refer to the appropriate services. […] It's a sad issue, but it is easy to have their attention because the last year in Greece we had many rumors and TV news and all this about cases like this. (Participant 7)

A parallel to this could be drawn to a study by Onyango et al. (2013), concluding a need for awareness raising and capacity building among staff in emergencies, in order to prevent and manage consequences of sexual violence. I interpret what is said in the quote to show how the development of many systems on different levels are interacting. The macrosystem in terms of media influenced the opportunities for organizations, exosystems, to reach staff and volunteers in trainings, and this in turn can influence the microsystems of both MARs and staff, and how these microsystems can potentially interact on the mesolevel.

Some of the participants expressed that sexual violence is talked about amongst organizations and professionals, but that there may be some difficulties, for example talking loudly about it in campaigns in local societies, and what these two participants expressed:

> Amongst organizations, it is talked about, however I don't feel that it's adequately covered. (Participant 3)

> I think it's difficult for us as well as aid workers to… to hear these things. And sometimes… it's like we all want to avoid it. Of course it's not done consciously, but unconsciously I think it's something very difficult to handle, that's why it's… difficult for them to disclose it and difficult for us to hear it. (Participant 5)

These quotes I interpret to mirror how concerns in various levels of the social-ecological model potentially affect the issue and how much space it has on the agenda of organizations generally and in interactions with MARs. The last quote can be seen to reflect the person in context; the individuals in microsystems, interacting with exosystems within the macrosphere where sexual violence generally may be a taboo or a very sensitive issue. In the next sub-theme, further perceptions on limited attention to the issue of sexual violence amongst organizations, portrayed in the first quote above, are analyzed.

5.2.3 Perceptions of Policies and Political Concerns

The findings show that the professionals perceive challenges related with the macro-level political systems that their organizations operate within, such as in relation to the situation for MARs as well as in refugee camps, and measures related to sexual violence. The findings also indicate that some of the professionals perceive there are many factors contributing to difficulties for professionals to do a god job. Concerns that were portrayed include migration policy on different levels. Moreover, challenges for Greece in relation to the EU, and challenges within Greece and for Greek society at large, were portrayed to impact the context. The findings also indicate a perception that there has been more focus on SGBV in refugee camps in other countries.

When the topic 'policies' was brought up in the interviews, some shared the titles of specific Greek or international policies, guidelines, conventions, programs, and strategies that their work is guided by in terms of issues related to SGBV. However, the participants mainly shared their thoughts on various policies and political concerns in Greece and Europe, rather than the role of specific policies in their program development. Some professionals mentioned that organizations have not been able to continue with operations they have had ongoing for years in refugee camp sites, due to not being able to secure funding, an aspect that is related with political context. Analyzing this from a social-ecological model perspective helps to understand how interconnected and dependent the organizations are with the macro-contexts in which they operate and receive funding from. It also indicates possible consequences for the individual person, MARs, and professionals within organizations, whether they will be able to continue acting in their microsystems where they connect and where services are provided.

Several of the professionals shared challenges they perceive related with the EU-Turkey Statement. One such factor is that there are geographical restrictions so MARs cannot easily be transferred to the mainland, which leads to problems in the islands. Several of the participants also shared challenges for Greece in relation to the EU, and challenges within Greece and for Greek society at large due to the financial crisis there. Some participants expressed a problem related with there being very little space for discussion in the EU on relocation of MARs to other countries.

> The main challenge for all Greek people is how Europe can help us. I think that the lack of political will from other European countries, especially their leaders […], to help all the countries that are the entry for Europe. […] If you have bad conditions, overcrowded sites, it's a miracle, sometimes, to do your work there. […] We are not a very rich country, we are a country with specific problems, previous years we have had a big economic crisis, and we are trying to do our best, but we need help from others in Europe […] not only financial. We don't want them to give us money and leave us with the refugees to deal with them, no, we can't. We want the sharing of the responsibility for refugees. […] That's very important. (Participant 6)

Another professional expressed that a very big, emerging issue in the context of Greece is that the current government, which has been in power for less than a year, has a very ideologically opposed position towards migration and asylum. The asylum law is under consultation, and the participant described that the humanitarian space is being constrained while also less legal aid will be offered for MARs, which was described as not to be in line with European standards. This was portrayed by a participant, in combination with the focus on home security and migration in the EU instrument that funds the response in Greece, to impact the focus on concerns related with sexual violence and prevention:

> You see something like GBV really falling off the menu, particularly on prevention. Prevention is like one much higher existential level than response, sadly, it shouldn't be, anybody who knows anything about it knows that you need both. (Participant 3)

Participants shared that in the Greek government, refugee issues and gender equality responsibilities are under different ministries. A concern raised in some of the interviews was that there have been issues in the responsible Greek ministry, such as in terms of human resources with difficulties to recruit staff. Participants shared that the Greek government receives funding from the European Commission for carrying out a project to, among other

things, address GBV protection needs for those living in camps. One of the professionals shared their reflection on the situation:

> The most important thing to know about, I think, the situation for GBV in camps, is that the Greek government has been funded to respond to this through the Department of Health. And the Department of Health, is unable to actually adequately respond to gender-based violence properly, so the full menu of services of response are not available, because the staff are not trained, they are not resourced […] So while we all understand very clearly from the actors side […] how essential and lifesaving it is that we have proper GBV response, systemically, this is failed. […] But the problem that we keep coming back to is, it is very difficult to speak up loudly to the European Commission, to the decision makers and say, the Greek government is being funded for something that they're not actually able to deliver on, so this is what I think is the biggest challenge here. (Participant 3)

Considering the content of this quote was voiced by one of the interviewees, there is not enough data to make claims based on it and the situations within agencies may be under ongoing change, but it is a perspective I suggest interesting to shed light on. Some other participants, on the other hand, talked about progress and initiatives made by the Greek authorities in terms of SGBV, particularly in the responsible agency. Both the quote above, and the two former quotes, portray a perception of the situation for organizations operating in the context to be very impacted by the macrosystems of the EU and Greece, as well as other exosystems such as political parties in other countries and governmental departments in Greece. The challenges described do not only affect the organizations as such, but their staff, MARs, and work related to addressing sexual violence. I interpret there is a frustration among professionals related with the structural difficulties they described, linked to not being able to provide, or see that others manage, what is perceived to be needed for the situation for MARs in Greece.

Some of the participants spoke about the approach in Greece to violence and "family problems" (Participant 5), and that actors such as the state may believe they should not enter these issues.

> I think Greece has a very Mediterranean response or approach to family, violence and sexual equality and all of that, where there's just an assumption that someone would have a cousin or their mother or someone to go and seek assistance in, that's the way that family violence works in Greece and in the Greek social fabric, but of course that doesn't work for a 24 year old Afghan woman who knows no one […] So there are a lot of analytical gaps, in a presumption that things should work a certain way for these guys as they do for Greeks. (Participant 3)

The participants portraying this address the context, the macro- and exosystems, impacting the situation for an individual and the measures addressing the issue sexual violence. The findings indicate that in Greece, such measures have to a large extent been dealt with informally, through micro- and mesosystems of an individual, while this does not work the same way for MARs who do not have such networks there.

Another perspective I wish to highlight from the findings, has to do with a perception of a European attitude towards prevention which engages men or boys:

> I feel like there is a lot within the culture of the response in Greece which comes from this perspective of European arrogance, we don't need that, you know, this is a European country, […] but frankly that's bullshit because these camps are international spaces. Let's say European services, values, whatever, are not

predominant, and also all the safeguards and the resources of European way of life are not present either. (Participant 3)

In the quote, the professional addresses the context for primary prevention measures related with sexual violence, and the gaps related with macrosystems in Greece and Europe. The quote corresponds with what Keygnaert and Guieu (2015) portray; that the current paradigm in EU policy-making have an approach to sexual violence of being an 'outsider' issue and being caused by cultural factors, which may impact prevention strategies. Such a perception of seeing sexual violence as something that happens in other cultures and communities has also been described by Heathcote (2012) as a risk of applying universal measures, not taking into account the wide range of measures across social, cultural, economic, and political agendas that are required to deal with sexual violence. These issues can also be linked to the discussion in 5.1.3, reflecting on the issue from an intersectional feminist perspective.

Some professionals shared that in their experience, there has been a lot more focus on SGBV in refugee camps in other countries than in Greece. One participant reflected that this is partly because of an attitude such as the one described in the previous quote, and partly an issue of where the funding for SGBV interventions is going; if it goes to the government or to specialized NGOs. Another participant described that in Greece and Europe, community-based interventions are quite new, but such programs have been successful in other places. In humanitarian contexts globally, development in policy and practice regarding VAWG and GBV have generally progressed recently (Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016; UNHCR, 2003).

5.3 Primary Prevention

The findings gathered in this theme are related with male engagement and looking ahead regarding primary prevention. The theme attempts to answer the questions: *How do professionals perceive primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camps? If any, what challenges, opportunities and needs do professionals perceive for prevention of sexual violence perpetration in refugee camps?*

The findings suggest there are very few initiatives on primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration. Meanwhile, the findings also show a perception among the professionals that it is important to work with men to stop violence, and a need for more of that. Related with primary prevention, participants in all interviews spoke about gender to varying extents. Mostly, it was talked about with a focus on women and services for women as portrayed in 5.2, but also perceptions on men, their experiences in camps, and masculinities were addressed. The findings indicate a perception of men as perpetrators but also victims of sexual violence. Moreover, patriarchy was described as a reason behind SGBV. Two participants had direct experience of male engagement initiatives and shared important elements as well as challenges, including lack of and building trust, having interpreters, and adapting activities to the diversity of participants.

Looking ahead, the findings indicate a perception of many challenges, particularly related with COVID-19. Challenges include a lack of focus on prevention and lack of funding and expertise as well as resources. The findings suggest that needs for prevention include improved conditions and safety in camps, targeted programming, capacity building, and coordination, among other things. Furthermore, the importance of developing programs in partnership with MARs was emphasized.

5.3.1 Perceptions on Men and Their Experiences in Refugee Camps

The findings in this sub-theme suggest an understanding of patriarchy as a reason for sexual violence, and of men as perpetrators but also victims. The findings also suggest that roles and power dynamics in families often change from country of origin to a refugee camp in Greece, with loss of power for men. In camps, the focus of programs was described to be on women and children, while for men there is rarely much offered besides language classes. Some participants spoke about needs of men and reflected on of how to address them. Meanwhile, the findings indicate that women often attend activities, while men were perceived as difficult to motivate.

Participants spoke about patriarchy, masculinity, and gender inequality as concepts relevant when talking about sexual violence. Men were talked about in different ways by the professionals, sometimes in different ways by the same professional. In some instances, men were associated with perpetration, such as in this example when a professional reflected on why some perpetrate sexual violence:

> There is also a perception of women that they are diminished, they're not human beings, a lack of a perception of gender equality, and probably they are using women as objects. (Participant 6)

This quote can be interpreted to mirror a perception of sexual violence as something that generally is perpetrated by men against women, which can be supported by findings in previous research (Keygnaert et al., 2015). This finding also sheds light on sexual violence as an expression for men's power over women through internalized norms (Fattah & Camellia, 2020). Moreover, it can be interpreted to portray how gender norms and rape culture contribute to a normalization of sexual violence (Fraser, 2015).

Meanwhile, several of the professionals addressed that men and boys also are victims of sexual violence, which also can be supported by the findings of Keygnaert et al. (2012), although in the interviews it was less emphasized than violence against women. One participant reflected that even though men are the gender with more power, men face the same and maybe more risks in migration and conflict. This can be put in the light of arguments that more focus should be put to violence against men and boys to reflect the complexity of the issue (De Schrijver et al., 2018; Keygnaert & Guieu, 2015). I find this to be interesting from an intersectional feminist perspective, reflecting on that there are various types of masculinities and power structures based on other factors than gender, contributing to dynamics in interactions between men. From a feminist perspective, men are not necessarily exposed to violence because they are men.

In another interview, gender discrimination and masculinity were extensively talked about, and the professional explained that one of the reasons behind SGBV is patriarchy, as their organization see it.

> We don't believe that only people from Afghanistan or from Iran have gender stereotypes, we also believe that… there is no, you know, home and country of patriarchy, we also believe we have patriarchy in Greece. (Participant 2)

Several professionals addressed that the role of men often changes from the country of origin compared to when staying in refugee camps, along with a change in power dynamics and control over their families. This big change and loss of power was described to make men nervous, anxious, and angry.

> I think that maybe men feel more useless, because in their communities, in their countries, the men have power, they take care of the family, and the woman is

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under his protection… […] And now the men are… the person who do nothing, NGOs have his role, the men's, to protect the family. And maybe the consultation that they [organizations] provide to their women is not for the men's interest… and with all this maybe they feel angry, lonely. (Participant 7)

This reflects the reasoning by Krause (2015), who also suggests that when traditional masculine roles of men appear to be lost, this may lead to increased violence. Furthermore, the professionals shared that in their experience, organizations generally focus on women and children in all kinds of programs. One of them shared that it was clear in their experience that there were planned activities for women and children regularly, while men could not have this, it was not in the priorities. Besides language classes, the only initiative addressing men which the professional had seen in a camp, was a little gym outdoors, intended for men to go and exercise and let out their energy to feel more relaxed.

[…] something that I've heard many times from men, here in Europe they… first they see children, then they see women, and we are the last. So it's something that many men from different ethnicities have said. […] it's very difficult to have like a balance or a good cooperation in the camps or elsewhere, because the men feel neglected here, that their role is not respected. And they feel sometimes that the organizations or the Europeans want to steal their women and their children from them, they want to take their power, to disempower them. So I believe that this is something we should be very attentive not to do. Because if they feel that, like we are enemies, and of course if they're in the camps and they feel anger or if they feel that they are threatened by us, it's something that the children and the women will suffer from. So I think we have to find a balance between how we give attention to women and children, and what attention we give to men as well. (Participant 5)

The same participant, and some of the other professionals, spoke about needs of men and how to address those needs and empower men. An approach highlighted as having potential was to see what men did in their countries and give them opportunity to offer something to the community, with the intention to show them respect and appreciation. I interpret this to be an idea of how to indirectly address issues such as violence, by focusing on creating opportunities for new microsystems for men to engage in, where they can develop and feel useful.

While some participants spoke about lack of organized activities in camps for men, some participants spoke about differences between women and men when it comes to participation in offered activities. It was described how men gather outside in camps and socialize, but women could never do this because everyone sees them. Therefore, arenas such as safe spaces for women are important to make friends, support each other, and pass their time.

[…] women, because they need to have a space, safe and secure space, and many of them attended everything. Workshops, recreational activities, languages. (Participant 7)

Regarding men on the other hand, the same professionals described that many of the men do not have an interest to attend many things, other than language classes they need to attend and which they consider will be very useful for their future in another country.

[…] not easy to motivate this population. Many of them, they need to feel that here, it is only for a while, a phase to stay here, and they deny to attend many things because they say that we are going to somewhere else next, they don't find it necessary to attend this-that-that, because if we go to Sweden or Germany or

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something, we have jobs, we have money […] and they feel… they deny that maybe they will stay here. (Participant 7)

These perceptions of men and activities could be interpreted as that there is a difficulty for many men to find new ways to see themselves and handle their roles, on the path from their country of origin, to Greece, and to what they have hoped for the future; a loss of control over their future. Moreover, there seems to be areas to further develop in terms of how the humanitarian sector interacts with refugee men, and what motivations there are for engaging in activities with men. This is also interesting in the light of what has previously been discussed in terms of local community attitudes towards refugee men, and as Turner (2018) suggests, the influence of prevailing gender regimes in the host community of refugee camps.

5.3.2 Primary Prevention Experiences

According to the findings, there are very few initiatives on primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration. The participants expressed it is important to work with men to prevent violence and a need for more primary prevention. Two professionals had experience from male engagement initiatives. Important elements were described as building trust, creating a space for people to connect, sharing about patriarchy and life in Greece to open up for talking about patriarchy experienced by participants, and having interpreters in the team. Challenges included tensions between participants, the conditions they live under, and lack of trust. The findings also indicate perceptions of a need to adapt activities to diversity of the population.

It seems there are very limited numbers of initiatives on primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration, based on both the professionals' stories in the interviews and on the research done for this study attempting to identify such organizations prior to the interviews.

> Very little. That's really, very limited in Greece. I've seen a lot more of it in other contexts […] from what I see in Greece, I feel like the system is barely funded adequately to work on prevention properly with women, let alone bringing men into that conversation as they should be. So in my mind, in my experience of how humanitarian response should absolutely address everybody on this issue, it's so far behind. (Participant 3)

> I think [Organization X] is from the very few organizations that are working on male engagement with the dimension of SGBV prevention, if I may say I think the only one. (Participant 1)

I interpret these findings to indicate that systemically, on macro- and exolevel, attention to prevention in terms of male engagement is very limited. Meanwhile, several of the professionals spoke about the importance of working with men for raising awareness on the issue, not only speaking with women for empowerment, but to stop violence. This is supported by several studies (Standing et al., 2016; Stark, Asghar, et al., 2018) arguing there is a need to include men to prevent sexual violence. An issue that has contributed to awareness raising not being well developed in Greece, highlighted by one of the professionals, is related with the diversity of people in camps in Greece.

> This goes down to really, really, deep understandings of power and men and women and roles and all of this […] the way that it is often dealt with in Greece is, you just need to tell everybody that they're in Europe now and rights are different, you can't hit your wife and you can't grab a lady, and if you do you go to prison. So there's this kind of very legalistic and simplistic way of addressing rights related to gender and sexual politics and all this kind of stuff, which I don't

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think is terribly effective, when you go into the deepest level of social change. […] you'd be crafting messages and activities and targeting that is talking to men from west Africa, men from east Africa, men from the horn, men from Eritrea, men from Kurdi, different Kurdish communities, different Arabs, who some are very urbane, some are very rural, some are, like very different educational levels. So I think that that also, the diversity of the population that we're dealing with, is also challenging in that way. (Participant 3)

In this quote, several dimensions can be identified, of which one I interpret as emphasized is the need for preventive strategies that comprehensively address gender norms, to reduce violent behavior. Such an approach has been considered promising and important in former research (Casey et al., 2018; Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016; Robbers et al., 2017). Moreover, I interpret the quote as reflecting an intersectional perspective, taking into account various social positions such as gender, ethnicity, and class. Furthermore, a dimension I interpret as clearly emphasized is the need for adaptation of measures to context and those an activity is intended to engage. This can be supported by previous research stating interventions need to be adapted to cultural context (Falb et al., 2016), and suggesting community-based interventions as well as a culturally sensitive approach (Gurman et al., 2014; Keygnaert et al., 2012; Robbers et al., 2017; Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013).

Among the participants, some had professional experience from male engagement activities through their respective organizations.

We also did some activities. I couldn't go there to speak them about prevention of SGBV. I had to break the ice to make an atmosphere to speak about those things. So, we also made some other activities like wood workshop, sewing workshop. You know, the camp was doing something. All men were participating in our activities […] after two months, we started doing some workshops about gender equality, and SGBV, and about citizenship. (Participant 2)

The professional explained an approach to attempt to open up space for speaking about SGBV in the workshops, in an atmosphere where participants may think "you came here to tell us that we beat our women" (Participant 2), by trying to create a mental space for the participants to maybe remember experiences they have lived in their countries, societies, neighborhoods and families. The professional described this was done by starting to share personal experiences and examples from Greece related with SGBV and patriarchy, to then discuss their patriarchy. Reflecting on this, I believe that the professionals departure from an intersectional feminist perspective, addressing how patriarchy and norms have played out in various contexts for those attending the workshops, probably also with influence by factors such as class and ethnicity. A main challenge portrayed by the participant was "to make them feel that I respect all the ethnic groups equally" (Participant 2). Another professional shared the approach behind the initiative they had worked on:

The mindset behind this was that if you work with boys, you will help with SGBV as well, because you will identify the stereotypes they have about women, you will try to help with stereotypes, and just to change them a little and then this will make difference in the future with women as well. (Participant 5)

The scopes of the initiatives in which the professionals had worked were quite different, as well as the settings, however I interpret the perceptions of important aspects expressed by the participants as quite similar. The professionals from both initiatives shared that it was initially difficult to speak about gender and SGBV, particularly when participants were thinking something bad of each other and were very tired, waiting for something that may not happen in

terms of their hopes for the future. The boys and men turned out to be more open than expected. Important components of the process were expressed to be breaking the ice and distrust, building trust, being accessible, and creating a non-judgmental space where people could meet each other. One of the professionals described that most of the participants came to all meetings, and that it became meaningful for them as they felt they became part of a team, and some became friends after the series of workshops. This can be interpreted as the workshops offered opportunities for the participants to develop in a new micro-system which they found meaningful.

Several professionals, not only the those with direct experience from working with men and boys on prevention, expressed there should be more people doing primary prevention. Some participants expressed that it would be good with more male social workers and case workers who can address awareness among men, although another participant expressed that it also went well having women leading such groups. Many of the participants in the study emphasized the importance of the interpreters.

> It was one interpreter who followed all the project, and it was very important as well because we needed one to be the same, and he was part of the team as well. (Participant 5)

The professionals with experience from workshops expressed that these provided a space for men to talk about masculinity, SGBV, gender stereotypes, and an opportunity to talk about the 'space' for discussing actions between patriarchy and the individual. The ambition of these initiatives can be supported by Read-Hamilton and Marsh (2016), arguing social norms can be changed to norms for equality and non-violence, which the findings of their study of an intervention program in camps indicates.

5.3.3 Moving Forward with Primary Prevention of Sexual Violence Perpetration

The findings gathered in this sub-theme relate to perceptions among the professionals of opportunities, challenges, and needs for primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration. The findings show a major impact on the perceptions of possibilities for work related with violence-concerns, by the state of the coronavirus pandemic at the time of the interviews. Optimism was expressed by some of the participants, particularly in relation to the activities of one specific organization in the country. The findings indicate many challenges, such as a missing focus on prevention, lack of funding and expertise, staff not being able to provide something else than the basic, and possible limitations in terms of attitudes and capacity among staff and interpreters. Furthermore, the findings suggest that several things are needed to prevent sexual violence in refugee camps, including improved safety and living conditions in camps, and targeted programming. Moreover, the findings indicate a perception of importance to include MARs in the process of developing programs.

The interviews were conducted during a unique time for Europe and the world, during a pandemic with lockdowns in many countries, including in Greece, and concerns following this came up in almost all interviews. Some of the participating professionals problematized that SGBV is rising during the pandemic and lockdowns. Moreover, some expressed concerns that the pandemics' consequences made SGBV less prioritized, although some new ways of working had been initiated, such as sessions both for staff and for interactions regarding SGBV cases being managed online. Some of the participants mentioned that initiatives focused on refugee women had been stopped due to the virus, and they were trying to find new ways to manage it. Some of the participants also expressed concerns for the unknown regarding the

pandemic and the situation in refugee camps and for MARs ahead in time, and that we will eventually probably return to some new kind of normal.

One question in the interview guide concerned strengths, optimism, and potential for prevention of sexual violence in refugee sites. Some of the professionals expressed optimism related to a specific organization and their activities, and the plans of that organization for expansion of male engagement. Another participant perceived a good sign in a new collaboration during COVID-19, between the public sector in a municipality and an NGO, to address SGBV, which I interpret as a perception that development of interactions between systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) in the context is important to address the issue. However, in half of the interviews, the professionals did not express much optimism or hope, particularly due to consequences of COVID-19.

> If you asked me this question in another time, probably I told you that I would be hopeful to resolve this problem. In this period, I'm not very hopeful […] but I don't want to leave you with the idea that we don't do something for refugee women right now. We are doing, but the problems are bigger than our efforts. […] Previously as well, but nowadays with COVID, it's very difficult. (Participant 6)

In the interviews, a range of challenges and obstacles regarding sexual violence in refugee camps generally, and primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration specifically, were raised. Concerns that were brought up were lack of funding and expertise when it comes to actors in the field. As mentioned previously, an issue was that as staff working with supporting MARs, there are so many challenges in the bureaucratic procedures in Greece that the staff do not feel they have enough space and time to provide something else other than the basic. One professional highlighted that a problem is that there is generally a lack of interpreters, and another expressed a limitation in terms of attitudes and capacity in staff and interpreters:

> We don't have male interpreters that are sensitized regarding these issues, maybe they carry their own perceptions and stereotypes. And of course we as well, as actors, we're not perfect. Sometimes our attitudes may not be the appropriate or maybe we're not open-minded enough. (Participant 5)

Analyzing this from an intersectional feminist perspective, I interpret the finding to indicate that there is a challenge in terms of a need for more awareness of gender norms, intersectional power structures, and sexual violence among professionals who meet MARs through their jobs. Something else that the findings indicate as missing is a focus on prevention:

> […] missing a focus on prevention, a bigger focus on prevention, as a meaningful intervention... I feel like, you know, at the beginning of this response back in 2015, 2016, there were more actors who focused on these sorts of things, and over time this sort of humanitarian response has been reduced in a number of players and the types of things that they focus on, away from what are the traditional elements of humanitarian approach which absolutely have a focus on gender equality, sexual violence, gender-based violence, all this kind of stuff. So… I feel like restoring a little bit of the humanitarian… menu of focus would help, but I don't think there's a lot of appetite for that, because this is so politicized in Europe at the moment. The fact that we're in Europe, changes everything. (Participant 3)

This quote indicates a reflection on macro-level by the participant, comparing the situation in Greece as existing within the macrosystem of Europe to other contexts where humanitarian response is carried out, and that this influences the focus on sexual violence and prevention. This can be related to Welfens (2019), suggesting that the EU focuses on equality and gender

norms in countries of origin for MARs, while in relation to the EU space, much focus of interventions seem to be on protecting EU borders. Yet another dimension to reflect on this is an attitude in EU policy that sexual violence is an 'outside' issue (Keygnaert & Guieu, 2015), which can contribute to explaining the above portrayed importance of the macrolevel context.

A finding which some professionals highlighted was the importance of seeing those living in refugee camps not as beneficiaries but as partners, and to work and develop programs in collaboration, including them in the process. This can be supported by Read-Hamilton and Marsh (2016) who argue that although challenging, it is possible with a participatory approach in programming implementation.

When the professionals got to speak about what they think would be needed to prevent sexual violence in refugee sites, several things were mentioned. Improvement of living conditions, safety in camps, livelihood, targeted programming, funding for these issues, capacity building, quick procedures and referrals with less bureaucracy, and efforts to coordinate and collaborate between states and NGOs. These results are similar to former research findings on SGBV in European asylum reception facilities (Oliveira et al., 2018). Moreover, one participant suggested activities in camps such as sports and music could spread happiness and lower the pressure, and this could contribute to an opportunity to talk in groups about patriarchy and SGBV.

6. Conclusions

The main research question I have strived to answer through this study concerned how professionals perceive prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece, as an entry point to the EU for MARs along the Eastern Mediterranean route. Primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration was an area of particular interest in the study.

The findings show that sexual violence in refugee camps is perceived as a problem by the professionals, with many incidents of various forms of sexual violence on a continuum of violence in terms of the contexts they are perpetrated. The findings also show there are high levels of general tension of violence in camps. Reasons for violence were determined to be the context and conditions in camps, high pressure on MARs, lack of trust, difficulties to communicate due to language barriers, and gender inequality and power abuse. Gender roles and power dynamics were described as changing in families from country of origin to the situation in camps in Greece, where men may perceive they lose power, control, and the role they had before, leading to frustration and anxiousness. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the focus of existing work related to addressing sexual violence is mainly centered on empowerment activities for women and on responses for the victim after violence has occurred; however, such spaces were described to have been reduced and possibilities to meet the needs described as limited. Initiatives for primary prevention of perpetration were very limited, and few male engagement initiatives seem to exist. Meanwhile, the findings show a perception among the professionals that they consider it important to work with men to stop violence and that more such work is needed.

Furthermore, the findings suggest a need to focus on prevention of violence generally in camps, and a need for more attention to SGBV. The results also indicate that there is not a unified conceptualization of prevention and primary prevention among the professionals. Some participants had direct experience from male engagement initiatives and shared important elements, such as building trust, adapting activities to the diversity of the population, and creating a space for people to connect and reflect on their experiences of patriarchy. They also shared challenges, including tensions between participants and the conditions under which they live. The findings also suggest that the professionals perceive there are several difficulties for implementing work on prevention of sexual violence, including various structural issues related to policies and political concerns as well as attitudes and beliefs, in Greece and the EU. The professionals interact and collaborate with many other actors around concerns related to sexual violence. Looking ahead, the findings show that the professionals perceive there are many challenges, particularly related to the coronavirus pandemic, but also that a focus on prevention is missing, as well as lack of funding, expertise, and resources. The needs for prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps that the professionals expressed in the interviews, include improved conditions and safety in camps, targeted programming, and coordination. For primary prevention of sexual violence, the findings indicate a perception among professionals of a need for addressing gender norms and gender inequality. Moreover, training and capacity building for staff were described as important, and that interpreters should be sensitized to the issue. Also, the findings suggest it is important to develop programs in partnership with MARs.

Results demonstrate that interactions between systems on all levels affect the extent of attention and approach to prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps in Greece, from microlevel such as in interactions between professionals and MARs, to macrolevel such as policy in the EU and Greece. The contribution of a social-ecological model lens to analyze the results offered a possibility to better understand and highlight these complex interactions between levels and systems and power structures. Furthermore, it provided a framework to understand that no

aspect regarding prevention of sexual violence perpetration exists in isolation from others. Just as the issue is complex, the results suggest that it needs to be addressed throughout systems on all levels.

The contribution of an intersectional feminist perspective in this study highlighted that there are many intersecting power structures, including gender inequality, racism, and immigration status, that affect the setting of refugee camps in Greece as well as possibilities to work on primary prevention. These intersectional power structures play out in systems on all levels. The feminist perspective contributed to a reflection on gender norms and power structures between genders. For instance, power dynamics may change from country of origin to a refugee camp in Greece and that may lead to frustration among men, but this does not justify violence perpetration to attempt to regain power and control. Moreover, the perspective provided a frame to understand continuums of violence, such as forms of sexual violence and the settings it is perpetrated.

The results suggest that conditions in refugee camps in Greece as an entry point to the EU are difficult in many ways, and that these conditions are some, of several, reasons for sexual violence there. Other reasons are gender norms and patriarchy. Reflecting on this, departing from the theoretical framework, gender inequality can be explained as a reason for sexual violence perpetration in any setting and society. In the context of refugee camps, there are many additional power structures that affect the setting and the individuals, as well as policy affecting work on interventions and services in camps. According to the results, reasons for violence need to be addressed on all levels, including to improve the living conditions for MARs.

I wish to reflect particularly on the macrolevel concerns raised in the findings, which indicate that there are many factors on macrolevel impacting the possibilities for work on prevention and generally for professionals to address the needs they perceive among MARs. Some of these factors have to do with the political context and priorities in the EU, including a lack of openness within the EU to talk about relocation of MARs to other countries, migration policies, and the focus of the response to the influx of MARs since 2015. Moreover, the findings also indicate several issues on macrolevel in Greece, affecting the focus on prevention of sexual violence, such as the aftermaths for Greek society since the financial crisis, more restrictive policies on migration and change to the asylum law, bureaucracy, and delayed processes. Another factor that was expressed to influence how prevention of sexual violence is addressed, was a perception of an approach to such concerns in Greece as being 'family problems' expected to be addressed within the personal sphere, which does not function for MARs who do not have such a sphere in refugee sites in Greece.

Furthermore, the findings raise another macrolevel concern: an idea in Europe (including Greece) that sexual violence is something happening in other communities, other cultures, perpetrated by 'others' and seen as something to accept for some groups of people. As a result of this, according to the findings, the approach in relation to MARs is often quite legalistic, with an attitude that those constructed as 'others' just have to adapt to being in Europe. Meanwhile, local gender hierarchies are not recognized, nor are gender norms and patriarchy within Greece and Europe addressed. Moreover, I interpret the results to suggest that sexual violence and MARs is a sensitive topic in the European sphere due to a polarized political debate, possibly affecting the willingness to address it with a concern that it will reinforce the idea of sexual violence as a foreign problem among 'others'. The findings suggest that there is xenophobia and racism affecting the situation for MARs as well as the conditions to work on prevention of sexual violence. Based on the findings, I find the European context for humanitarian response to be interesting for further research: how the self-image of what Europe is and stands for, and how certain issues may be ascribed to 'others', influence the response in

this setting. Reflecting on the results, they indicate there is a need for the EU as well as the Greek government to look over responsibilities and consider what measures they can take and improve for preventing sexual violence, and by doing so also prevent suffering and consequences for individuals, families, and communities. This includes addressing asylum procedures, and conditions including security in refugee sites.

The chosen theoretical framework contributed to understanding and analyzing the findings. Meanwhile, the study also contributes to the feminist reflection on the topic, taking into account the contributions provided by the social-ecological model. As described in Chapter 5, the findings indicate there is gender inequality affecting women, for example restricting their possibilities to move and interact with others in the camps. The findings support previous research that points to the need to address gender norms to prevent sexual violence in camps (see for example Casey et al., 2018), as well as research pointing to the needs to improve conditions in camps, targeted programming, and capacity building (Oliveira et al., 2018). The findings also expand a reflection on previous research about EU policy in relation to sexual violence as an 'outsider' issue (Keygnaert & Guieu, 2015). The findings of this study suggest that the issue of sexual violence must be addressed across disciplines, supporting findings by Robbers et al. (2017) and Standing et al. (2016). The results confirms previous research which argues that having many strategies to prevent sexual violence in humanitarian crisis, will be mutually reinforcing and further enable activities (Spangaro, Adogu, Ranmuthugala, Powell Davies, et al., 2013).

Departing from a social constructionist perspective and the theoretical framework, I would like to suggest a recommendation. Based on this study, there appears to be a gap both in practice and in literature, when it comes to working with men, as well as addressing men and perpetrators when talking and writing about sexual violence, and prevention thereof. Focus seems to be mainly on victims and women, also in prevention initiatives, which is important, however perpetration is critical to address in aiming to eliminate sexual violence. Therefore, I recommend that throughout all levels, stronger explicit emphasis must be placed on prevention of sexual violence perpetration. This includes research, public debate and policies, donors and interdisciplinary projects in the field addressing the issue with an intersectional approach, each refugee camp and community, and interactions between people in the field. Moreover, I suggest the definition of the issue should take into account the intersectional power structures that impact and enable sexual violence perpetration.

Part of the focus for this exploratory study, in addition to gaining insight and familiarity with the setting and issue, was to gain insights for future research, as described in the Methodology. During the process of the research project, I have found the findings to suggest new questions and areas for further research. Hence, in the following, I indicate recommendations for further research. Generally, I suggest with regards to methodology that it could be useful for future research to be close to the field, such as having an ethnographic approach, as it could offer opportunities to collect richer data. In the literature review for this study, publications in social work related with the topic were very limited. I believe social work can bring important contributions to existing knowledge, which mainly seems to have been produced in the medical and reproductive health fields. I encourage future research in social work to address the issue, as I believe social work could bring meaningful contributions, for example on families and migration, violence in families, and interactions for planning and implementing interventions.

I recommend that further studies could aim to explore experiences of professionals who work with male engagement programs in refugee sites, to contribute to knowledge on various aspects of their efforts. This could include the outreach and development-processes for activities, and further explore what challenges there are and how these could be addressed, to contribute to

knowledge that can guide others. In this sense, as several other studies have argued, there is also a need for evaluation of programs.

Moreover, based on the findings, I recommend that there is a need for further research to investigate the general culture of violence, which was described based on experiences in various camps. Moreover, I suggest that further research could address violence and sexual violence that targets men, who the perpetrators are, and how perpetration of violence in these contexts could be prevented.

Departing from this study, it would be relevant to study how the approach to prevention of sexual violence is influenced by the context of where a camp is located, and the funding structures for such programs. I suggest that for a future research project, an exploration of possible connections between different organizations and their missions, sources of funding, priorities, perceptions, conceptualizations, and possibly also experiences of primary prevention of sexual violence, could bring important contributions to shed light on power structures impacting this.

Furthermore, based on the findings of this study I suggest it would be important that future research investigate the approach to primary prevention of sexual violence in the EU. I recommend this to include aspects of racism and xenophobia. Such studies could contribute to an understanding of how the issue can be approached in the current political climate in the EU, and possibly also problematize the idea that sexual violence is an 'outsider' issue, which in turn could contribute to primary prevention of sexual violence across all communities.

Lastly, I recommend that further research investigate the impact of COVID-19 consequences for interventions addressing sexual violence and violence in general in refugee camps, as this, based on the findings, seems to be a pressing concern affecting the situations for many people.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Informed consent

Informed consent

My name is Maria Martinsson and I am conducting a research project for my master's thesis at ISCTE-IUL in Lisbon. The project is conducted throughout spring semester 2020, as part of the Erasmus Mundus Master's Program in Social Work with Families and Children.

The research project is an explorative study on sexual violence in refugee sites, drawing on interviews with representatives of international and local organizations.

The following is a presentation of how I will use the data collected in the interview.

In order to ensure that the project meets the ethical requirements for good research I will adhere to the following principles:
- Interviewees in the project will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether they will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded.
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.

The interview will be recorded as this makes it easier for me to document what is said during the interview and helps me in the continuing work with the project. I may also take some notes during the interview. In my analysis, some data may be changed so that no interviewee will be recognized. After finishing the project, the data will be destroyed. The data I collect will only be used in this project.

Participating in the study means meeting in person or online for an interview during which I ask you questions about your organization, experience and perceptions of policy and practice regarding sexual violence in refugee sites. The interview is estimated to last for up to one hour. Participation in the research project is voluntary. You have the right to decline answering any questions or terminate the interview without giving an explanation.

You are welcome to contact me or my supervisor if you have any questions:

Student name & e-mail
Maria Martinsson
xxxx_xxxxxxxxxx@iscte-iul.pt

Supervisor name & e-mail
Mara Clemente
xxxx.xxxxxxxx@iscte-iul.pt

Participant: I have been informed about, and understand, what this research project is about and how the collected data will be used. I hereby consent to participating and agree to being interviewed. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

_____   _____
Participant's signature   Date

_____
Participant's name printed

If you would like the finalized study to be sent to you, please write your email address here.

Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview guide

Semi-structured Interview Guide

The participant and organization
1. Name of the organization
2. Educational background/profession
3. Position and responsibilities in the organization
4. Time worked in the organization
5. Information about the organization

Refugees/MAR
6. Experience of the organization regarding working with MARs
7. Main problems for a migrant/asylum-seeker/refugee on their path
8. Activities/programs for men and women in camps

Sexual violence
9. Violence experienced by refugees
10. Sexual violence in refugee camps
11. Talking about sexual violence among people living in refugee camps
12. Talking about sexual violence among staff in organizations, donors, professionals

Primary prevention program - practice of intervention
13. Experience of the organization regarding working on prevention of sexual violence
14. Timeline
15. Context
16. Program/-s implemented
17. Activities in program
18. Persons involved in the program (age, number, who are they)
19. Funding for the program
20. Actors involved in the development of the program
21. Foundation or inspiration for program development

Policies
22. Policies guiding the work of the organization (refugees, sexual violence)
23. Other influences on program planning (frameworks, believes, perspectives, or similar)

Prevention
24. Perceived extent of work on primary prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps
25. Projects or programs working to engage men or boys in prevention in refugee camps
26. Main problem regarding sexual violence in refugee sites
27. What is needed to prevent sexual violence in refugee sites
28. Challenges and obstacles for improving sexual violence prevention in refugee sites
29. Strengths, resources, and potential for prevention of sexual violence in refugee sites

Ending the interview
30. Anything to add that was not asked about or that has not come up in the interview
31. Other organizations, governmental or non-governmental, or initiatives working on primary prevention of sexual violence in refugee camps
32. Contact if any further question arises or for clarifications