



Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department Of Social Work

**SYRIAN MARRIED REFUGEE WOMEN EXPERIENCE WITH  
INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND THEIR STRATEGIES  
DEALING WITH IT**

Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN

Ph. D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2022



SYRIAN MARRIED REFUGEE WOMEN EXPERIENCE WITH  
INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND THEIR STRATEGIES  
DEALING WITH IT

Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN

Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department of Social Work

Ph. D. Dissertation

Ankara, 2022

## ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN has on the date of 01.06.2022 successfully passed the defense examination and approves her Ph.D. Thesis titled "Syrian Married Refugee Women Experience with Intimate Partner Violence and their Strategies Dealing With it".



Doç. Dr. Fulya AKGÜL GÖK (Jury President)



Prof. Dr. Özlem CANKURTARAN (Main Adviser)



Doç. Dr. İlknur YÜKSEL-KAPTANOĞLU



Doç. Dr. Gonca POLAT



Doç. Dr. Ahu SUMBAS

I agree that the signatures above belong to the faculty members listed.

Prof. Dr. Uğur ÖMÜRGÖNÜLŞEN

Graduate School Director

## YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI


Enstitü tarafından onaylanan lisansüstü tezimin/raporumun tamamını veya herhangi bir kısmını, basılı (kağıt) ve elektronik formatta arşivleme ve aşağıda verilen koşullarda kullanıma açma iznini Hacettepe Üniversitesine verdiğimi bildiririm. Bu izinle Üniversiteye verilen kullanım hakları dışındaki tüm fikri mülkiyet haklarım bende kalacak, tezimin tamamının ya da bir bölümünün gelecekteki çalışmalarda (makale, kitap, lisans ve patent vb.) kullanım hakları bana ait olacaktır.

Tezin kendi orijinal çalışmam olduğunu, başkalarının haklarını ihlal etmediğimi ve tezimin tek yetkili sahibi olduğumu beyan ve taahhüt ederim. Tezimde yer alan telif hakkı bulunan ve sahiplerinden yazılı izin alınarak kullanılması zorunlu metinlerin yazılı izin alınarak kullandığımı ve istenildiğinde suretlerini Üniversiteye teslim etmeyi taahhüt ederim.

Yükseköğretim Kurulu tarafından yayınlanan *“Lisansüstü Tezlerin Elektronik Ortamda Toplanması, Düzenlenmesi ve Erişime Açılmasına İlişkin Yönerge”* kapsamında tezim aşağıda belirtilen koşullar haricince YÖK Ulusal Tez Merkezi / H.Ü. Kütüphaneleri Açık Erişim Sisteminde erişime açılır.

- Enstitü / Fakülte yönetim kurulu kararı ile tezimin erişime açılması mezuniyet tarihimden itibaren 2 yıl ertelenmiştir. <sup>(1)</sup>
- Enstitü / Fakülte yönetim kurulunun gerekçeli kararı ile tezimin erişime açılması mezuniyet tarihimden itibaren ... ay ertelenmiştir. <sup>(2)</sup>
- Tezimle ilgili gizlilik kararı verilmiştir. <sup>(3)</sup>

01 /06/2022

  
Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN

## ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, **Prof.Dr. Özlem CANKURTARAN** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığımı beyan ederim.



Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Özlem Cankuratan, without her close supervision and high support this work wouldn't be possible. For her patience, motivation, enthusiasm, immense knowledge, and endless support, words cannot be enough. Thank you very much indeed Hocam!

My thanks and appreciation are extended to the scientific committee members; Doç. Dr. İlknur Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu and Doç. Dr. Gonca Polat for their encouragement, insightful comments, and input.

My sincere thanks also go to the members of the examination board; Doç. Dr. Fulya Akgül Gök and Doç. Dr. Ahu Sumbas for their valuable comments and challenging questions.

Thanks to the Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) for providing me with a scholarship that brought me to Turkey and facilitated my admission to Hacettepe University.

Many thanks to the research community; the Syrian women in Ankara who volunteered to participate in this study and shared their experiences. Their generosity with time and stories was a key factor in the success of my research. I also thank Fatin for facilitating my contact with this community and introducing me to them.

In Khartoum, I really appreciate the endless support that I received from my teachers and fellow colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at the University of Khartoum. This is to all of them but I mention Prof. Dr. Muzoul Assal, my friends and colleagues Hisham Bilal, and Abdullah Onur.

In Ankara, the Graduate School of Social Sciences, and the Department of Social Work in Hacettepe University, thanks to everyone there; my professors, fellow colleagues, admin staff, and workers.

I also want to extend my thanks to Mr. Cavit Kalanyuva for his unlimited support and patience in accepting my continuous absence from work to fulfill my academic tasks.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, my father Khalil, my mother Hawa, and my wonderful brothers and sisters especially my brother Mutasim. For their constant encouragement and endless love, I have nothing to pay back but love.



## ABSTRACT

Khalil M. HASSAN, Mawahib. *Syrian Married Refugee Women Experience with Intimate Partner Violence and Their Strategies Dealing with it*. PhD Dissertation. Ankara, 2022.

This thesis examines Syrian refugee women's experiences with intimate partner violence (IPV) and their strategies dealing with intimate partner violence. Intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence against women in the world. It incurs social and economic costs and increases the risk of miscarriage and death in women.

To investigate Syrian refugee women's experience with intimate partner violence, this thesis relies on qualitative research methods, such as in-depth semi-structured interviews with 20 Syrian refugee married women in Ankara, and adopts a feminist approach in the process of data collection. The data were analyzed using the MAXQDA program. The thesis focuses on the experience of Syrian refugee women with intimate partner violence and their strategies to deal with it during 3 periods: the pre-war period, wartime and internal displacement, and the asylum period in Turkey.

The findings show that the Syrian patriarchal traditions and customs are the driving force behind the intimate partner violence against Syrian refugee women. The results show that women experienced different forms of intimate partner violence during the three periods: before the war, during wartime and internal displacement, and the asylum in Turkey time. Also, the findings indicate that Syrian refugee women use a variety of strategies to deal with the violence by their husbands. These strategies can be grouped into women's resources strategies (placating strategy, safety planning strategies, resistance strategies, Strategies to control negative feelings associated with violence) and external resource strategies (formal and informal resources). The findings indicate that the placating strategies are the most used among Syrian refugee women while the formal strategies, such as health care, women's social and psychological help centers, courts, and police were the least used.

Keywords: Intimate Partner Violence, Syrian Women, Refugees, Dealing strategies with IPV, Patriarchal, Gender.

## ÖZET

Khalil M. HASSAN, Mawahib. *Suriyeli Evli Sığınmacı Kadınların Yakın Partner Şiddeti Deneyimleri ve Buna Karşı Geliştirdikleri Stratejiler*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2022.

Bu araştırma , Suriyeli sığınmacı kadınların yakın partner şiddetle ilgili deneyimlerini ve stratejilerini incelemektedir. Yakın partner şiddeti, dünyada kadına yönelik şiddetin en yaygın biçimi olup sosyal ve ekonomik maliyetlere neden olmakta ve kadınlarda düşük yapma ve ölüm riskini artırmaktadır.

Yöntem, bu araştırma Suriyeli sığınmacı kadınların yakın partner şiddeti deneyimlerini araştırmak için Ankara'da 20 Suriyeli sığınmacı evli kadınla derinlemesine yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler şeklinde olmak üzere nitel araştırma yöntemlerine dayanmakta ve veri toplama sürecinde feminist bir yaklaşımı benimsemektedir. Veriler MAXQDA programı kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Suriyeli sığınmacı kadınların yakın partner şiddeti maruz kaldıkları 3 dönemdeki deneyimlerine odaklanmaktadır: savaş öncesi dönem, savaş zamanı ve ülke içinde yer değişme ve Türkiye'deki sığınma dönemi.

Bulgular, Suriyeli sığınmacı kadınlara yönelik yakın partner şiddetin arkasındaki itici gücün Suriye'deki ataerkil gelenek ve görenekler olduğunu göstermektedir. Sonuçlar, kadınların üç dönem boyunca farklı şekillerde yakın partner şiddeti yaşadıklarını göstermektedir: savaş öncesi, savaş zamanı ve ülke içinde yer değişme ve Türkiye'deki sığınma dönemi. Ayrıca bulgular, Suriyeli sığınmacı kadınların eşlerinin uyguladıkları şiddetle başa çıkmak için çeşitli stratejiler geliştirdiklerini göstermektedir. Bu stratejiler, kadınların kaynak stratejileri (sakinleştirme stratejisi, güvenlik planlama stratejileri, direniş stratejileri, şiddetle bağlantılı olumsuz duyguları kontrol etme stratejileri) ve dış kaynak stratejileri (resmi ve gayri resmi kaynaklar) olarak gruplandırılabilir. Bulgular, Suriyeli mülteci kadınlar arasında sakinleştirme stratejilerinin daha çok, sağlık hizmetleri, kadınlara yönelik sosyal ve psikolojik yardım merkezleri, mahkemeler ve polis gibi resmi stratejilerin ise en az kullanıldığına işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yakın Partner Şiddet, Suriyeli Kadınlar, Sığınmacılar, Baş Etme Stratejiler, Ataerkil, Toplumsal Cinsiyet.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ETİK BEYAN.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENT .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ÖZET.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>ABBREVIATION .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>TABLES.....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>FIGURES.....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1.2. OBJECTIVES .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.3. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>2.1. FORMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE .....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1.1. Physical Violence .....	10
2.1.2. Sexual Violence .....	11
2.1.3. Psychological Violence.....	11
<b>2.2. EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE BY AN INTIMATE PARTNER ON WOMEN</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2.3. STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE .....</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>2.4. PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE BY AN INTIMATE PARTNER.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.5. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>2.6. UNDERSTANDING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>2.7. GENDER AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE.....</b>	<b>35</b>
2.7.1. Definition of Gender .....	35
2.7.2. Changing Gender Roles during Conflict and Their Relationship to Increased Intimate Partner Violence.....	38
<b>2.8. THEORIES EXPLAINING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE.....</b>	<b>40</b>
2.8.1. Feminist Theory .....	40
2.8.1.1. The Radical Feminist Socio-Cultural Theory .....	42

2.8.1.2. Postmodern Feminist Theory .....	42
2.8.1.3. Intersectional Feminism .....	43
2.8.2. Feminist Social Work .....	43
<b>2.9. SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE</b> .....	<b>47</b>
<b>2.10. SYRIAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY GENDER, ETHNIC GROUPS, AGE, AND MARITAL STATUS</b> .....	<b>50</b>
<b>2.11. THE CONDITIONS OF WOMEN IN SYRIA BEFORE THE WAR</b> .....	<b>52</b>
2.11.1. The Position of Women in the Personal Affairs Law and the Syrian Criminal Law .....	52
2.11.2. Syrian Women's Participation in Political Life .....	56
<b>CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>3.1. RESEARCH METHOD</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>3.2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND FEMINIST RESEARCH</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>3.3. THE TOPIC OF THE STUDY</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>3.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCESS</b> .....	<b>65</b>
<b>3.5. RESPONDENTS</b> .....	<b>67</b>
3.5.1. The Characteristics of the Respondents .....	68
<b>3.6. CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS</b> .....	<b>71</b>
3.6.1. Building Trust between the Researcher and the Respondent .....	71
3.6.2. Introducing the Topic of Research and its Ethical Aspects .....	72
3.6.3. Asking Questions .....	73
3.6.4. Ending the Interview .....	75
<b>3.7. DATA ANALYSIS</b> .....	<b>77</b>
3.7.1. Data Analysis Stages .....	79
3.7.1.1. Familiarizing Yourself with Your Data .....	80
3.7.1.2. Generating Initial Codes .....	81
3.7.1.3. Searching for Themes .....	82
3.7.1.4. Reviewing Themes .....	82
3.7.1.5. Defining and Naming Themes .....	82
3.7.1.6. Producing the Report .....	83
<b>3.8. THE ETHICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH</b> .....	<b>83</b>
<b>3.9. THE REFLECTION OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC ON THE LIFE OF THE RESEARCHER</b> .....	<b>87</b>
<b>3.10. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE STUDY</b> .....	<b>87</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4. DATA ANALYSIS</b> .....	<b>89</b>
<b>4.1. SOCIAL FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE A CONDUCTIVE ENVIRONMENT TO INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE</b> .....	<b>89</b>
4.1.1. Marriage and Engagement Customs .....	90
4.1.2. Early Marriage .....	95
4.1.3. The Custom of Verifying the Girl's Virginity on the First Night of Marriage .....	97
4.1.4. Living With the Husband's Extended Family .....	103

4.1.4.1. Lack of Privacy, Interference by the Husband's Family in the Woman's Marital life, and Incitement to Violence Against the Wife.....	106
4.1.4.2. Doing Housework and Serving Family Members.....	108
4.1.4.3. Physical and Psychological Violence and the Violent Behavior of the In-Laws	109
<b>4.2. FORMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE DURING PRE-POST WAR AND BEING A REFUGEE IN TURKEY.....</b>	<b>116</b>
4.2.1. Forms of Intimate Partner Violence during the pre-war period.....	116
4.2.1.1. Sexual Violence .....	117
4.2.1.2. Physical Violence.....	121
4.2.1.3. Psychological Violence and Controlling Behavior .....	125
4.2.1.4. Economic Violence .....	129
4.2.2. Forms of Intimate Partner Violence After the Beginning of the War and During the Displacement.....	129
4.2.3. Forms of Intimate Partner Violence after Being Refugees in Turkey .....	130
<b>4.3. STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH AN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE .....</b>	<b>136</b>
4.3.1. Strategies that Depend on Women's Resources.....	137
4.3.1.1. Placating Strategies .....	137
4.3.1.2. Safety Planning Strategies .....	145
4.3.1.3. Resistance Strategies.....	147
4.3.1.4. Strategies to Control Negative Feelings Associated with Violence.....	150
4.3.2. Strategies that Depend on External Resources (support).....	152
4.3.2.1. Strategies that Depend on Informal Resources .....	152
4.3.2.2. Strategies that depend on official sources of support.....	156
4.3.2.2.1 Societal Factors .....	157
4.3.2.2.2 Factors Related to the Nature of Violence .....	159
4.3.2.2.3 Factors Related to Women's Perceptions of Services Provided to Survivors of Violence in Turkey.....	160
4.3.2.2.4 Factors Related to Women's Perceptions .....	161
4.3.2.2.5 Factors related to Immigration and Asylum Conditions .....	161
<b>4.4. FACTORS AFFECTING THE CHOICE OF STRATEGIES .....</b>	<b>162</b>
4.4.1. Age.....	162
4.4.2. The Nature of Violence.....	163
4.4.3. Previous Experiences with Violence .....	163
4.4.4. Asylum to Turkey and Changing the Use of Strategies.....	164
4.4.5. The Presence of Children and their Role in Women's Confrontation of Violence.....	165
<b>4.5. PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN ABOUT GENDER ROLES .....</b>	<b>165</b>
4.5.1. Why Do Women Tolerate Intimate Partner Violence .....	172
4.5.1.1. Watching Violence Between Parents .....	173
4.5.1.2. Socialization Based on Gender Inequality .....	175
4.5.1.3. The Form of Violence That Women are Subjected to .....	175
4.5.1.4. Women's Lack of Knowledge of Their Rights and Lack of Different Marital Experiences .....	175

<b>4.6. SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN’S PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS VIOLENCE: DEFINITION OF AN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO STOP THE VIOLENCE.....</b>	<b>177</b>
4.6.1. Women’s Definitions of Intimate Partner Violence and Evaluation of The Relationship with Their Husbands .....	177
4.6.2. Women’s Recommendations to Prevent or Stop the Intimate Partner Violence.....	182
4.6.2.1. Recommendations for Using Strategies to Deal with Violence.....	182
4.6.2.2. Benefit from the Services of the Legal and Social System in the Country.....	184
4.6.2.3. Recommendations to Change the Criminal Justice System and The Social System of The State .....	184
4.6.2.4. Recommendations to end Violence and Leave the Abusive Relationship.....	185
<b>CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>5.1. CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>FIGURE 5.6. SYRIAN REFUGEES WOMEN PERCEPTION TOWARD IPV .</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>5.2. THE STUDY RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>	<b>212</b>
5.2.1. Recommendations for Stakeholders and Policy Makers .....	213
5.2.1.1. Civil Society Organizations Working With Syrian Refugees.....	213
5.2.1.2. Social Work Institutions and Social Workers .....	216
5.2.2. Recommendations for the Academic Community.....	220
5.2.3. Recommendations Directed Directly to Assisting Women .....	220
<b>5.3. RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION.....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>222</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1: ORIGINALITY REPORT .....</b>	<b>231</b>
<b>APPENDIX 2: ETHICS BOARD PERMISSION.....</b>	<b>232</b>
<b>APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW .....</b>	<b>233</b>
<b>APPENDIX 4: VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION FORM .....</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>APPENDIX 5: IDENTIFICATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS .....</b>	<b>238</b>

**ABBREVIATION**

<b>IPV:</b>	Intimate Partner Violence
<b>WHO:</b>	World Health Organization
<b>CDC:</b>	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
<b>CEDAW:</b>	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
<b>ESCWA:</b>	Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
<b>UNFPA:</b>	The United Nations Population Fund
<b>UNHCR:</b>	The UN Refugee Agency
<b>UNICEF:</b>	The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
<b>UNIFEM:</b>	United Nations Development Fund for Women

**TABLES**

Table 2.1 Distribution of Syrian Population by Age and Gender .....	50
Table 2.2 Distribution of Individuals (15 years and over) by Marital Status and Gender of Syrian Households .....	51
Table 2.3 Distribution of Syrian Women (15-49) who are married or previously married by age group and Educational Background.....	51
Tablet 3.1 The Demographics of the Respondents .....	69



**FIGURES**

Figure 5.1 Women’s Experiences with IPV during Period of Pre-war .....	188
Figure 5.2. Women’s Experiences with IPV during Period of Post-War .....	188
Figure 5.3. Women’s Experiences with IPV after Asylum to Turkey .....	189
Figure 5.4. Strategies for Dealing with an Intimate Partner Violence .....	189
Figure 5.5. Perception of Women About Gender Role .....	190
Figure 5.6. Syrian Refugees Women Perception toward IPV .....	190

## INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis in 2011, the number of Syrian refugees became the highest in the world. By the beginning of 2015, about 13.5 million Syrians were in need of humanitarian assistance, of which about 6.6 million were displaced and some 4.2 million were in hard-to-reach areas. The total number of people who have fled the country is 4.6 million and this number is on the rise. There are 5 million women of childbearing age, of whom about 430,000 are pregnant women (UNFPA, 2016). An estimated 13.4 million Syrians have fled their homes since the outbreak of the civil war in March 2011. Now, in the eleven years of the war, approximately 1.5 million Syrians were registered by UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, 3.6 million Syrians were registered by the Government of Turkey (UNHCR, 2021). Meanwhile, about one million have requested asylum in Europe (Freedman, 2016). There are increasing numbers of women and children amongst the refugees (Alsaba and Kapilashrami, 2016). According to the UNHCR (2021), 13.4 million people in Syria are in need of humanitarian assistance. In the World Report of Human Rights Watch, 2021, it was mentioned that 9.3 million of the Syrians suffer from food insecurity, and more than 80% live below the poverty line. 6.7 million of the Syrians are internally displaced in Syria (Human Right Watch, 2021, p. 639). In addition to the 6.6 million Syrians living in neighboring countries, Syrian refugees are likely to flee to neighboring countries that are closest in terms of location to Syria, such as Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Iraq and other countries. Turkey is considered the most welcoming country for Syrian refugees as a result of the "open door" policy followed with Syrian refugees. According to the statistics of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior and the General Directorate of Migration on 07.04.2022, the number of Syrian refugees living under the umbrella of "Temporary Protection" is 3,761,26, Istanbul comes first in terms of the number of Syrian refugees living in it: 540,618, the number of refugees living in Ankara is 100.651 (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2022). The percentage of women and children among the refugees is 70.7%. (Refugees Association, 2022)

When people are forced to flee their countries, due to lack of safety for political, religious, or ethnic reasons, the international community becomes responsible for protecting them from exposure to violence. Therefore, the international community is urged to have laws and agreements that guarantee the appropriate treatment of refugees and the protection of human rights. As a result, the process of developing a set of laws, conventions, and guidelines for refugee protection began at the beginning of the twentieth century. In July 1951, the United Nations General Assembly approved the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which was subsequently amended by the 1967 protocol. The protocol removed the time and place limits included in the 1951 Convention, which did not allow the request for asylum as a result of events that occurred before January 1, 1951. The Convention defines what is meant by “refugee” and his rights. These include the right to freedom of belief, movement from one place to another, the right to education, the right to obtain travel documents, and the right to work. The agreement also defines the obligations of the country towards the host country. Under the Refugee Convention, countries hosting refugees must protect them and ensure the enjoyment of their basic rights. The convention also obliges states not to force refugees to return to their countries or countries where their lives are at risk.

If we look at the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey, between the years 2011 to 2014, Syrian refugees were seen as “guests” or “recipients of assistance” as a result of the situation this reinforced the hierarchical relationship between refugees and helpers (Özden, Ramadan, 2019). In October 2014, the “Temporary Protection” regulation, Article 91, within the Law on Foreigners and International Protection was signed. According to the regulation, Syrian refugees are dealt with under the name "conditional refugee", a term that was entered for the first time in that list besides the term "refugee". This term was introduced in keeping with Turkey's reservations to accept only refugees who came from Europe as "refugees". The regulation did not specify the period for temporary protection, but it limited the provision of services to the “conditional refugee” within the limits of possibility (Erdogan, 2014). Under temporary protection, Syrian refugees are entitled to health, education, social assistance, psychological support services, and access to the labor market. Women who are subjected to gender-based violence, including sexual violence, torture, physical, and psychological violence,

have the right to apply to women's protection shelters and benefit from the services provided. Despite the rights included in the "Temporary Protection Regulation" for Syrian refugees, some of them face difficulties in obtaining these services. This was pointed out by Özden and Ramadan (2019) that complicated bureaucratic procedures created difficulties for Syrian women in accessing education, health, and employment services provided to them (Özden and Ramadan 2019, p. 35-38).

During wartime, everyone is affected by a different type of violence but women are the most vulnerable to any form of violence (Holt, 2013), due to a lack of social protection and lack of safe access to services. There is widespread recognition that gender-based violence against women and girls increases during the conflict, including domestic violence, sexual violence and sexual exploitation, and child marriage (UNFPA, 2016). Women face violence both outside and inside their homes as societal order breaks down (El-Jack, 2003). A growing body of literature has highlighted the link between women's exposure to violence by armed groups and their experiences with domestic violence in their own homes perpetrated by an intimate partner, spouse, or other direct family members (Usta et al, 2016). Reports from the Human Rights Watch noted increased levels of domestic violence during the second Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza (Human Rights Watch, 2006), and extensive domestic violence against refugee women in Tanzania (Human Rights Watch, 2000) and Nepal (Human Rights Watch, 2003). The war in Sri Lanka was linked to the increase in intimate partner violence against women (Guruge et al, 2017). Violence by an intimate partner has increased among Syrian refugees, with 1 in 8 of the refugees being subjected to violence by their husbands (Freedman, 2016; A-Modallal, 2012; WHO, 2017). There are many forms of intimate partner violence as emotional violence in the forms of insulting, underestimation, physical violence in the forms of beating, economic violence e.g. limited access to financial resources (Essaid et al, 2015), and sexual violence as women are forced to have sex and other forms of sexual oppression (WHO, 2002).

Intimate partner violence is not a new phenomenon in Syrian society, Buts the proportion of violence that women were exposed to is increased during the war (UNFPA, 2016). Syrian society is one of the Middle East societies where the phenomenon is prevalent in a high proportion. The study of Boy (2008), which was an

evaluative study for 59 complete reviews of past and present research on intimate partner violence in the Middle East and North Africa found that spousal abuse is pervasive and widely accepted. Women who exposed to intimate partner violence are of all ages and are more likely to be rural and less educated, for example, national data from Egypt and Jordan indicates that almost 9 in 10 ever-married women accept at least one reason for wife-beating (Boy, 2008). Therefore major concern regarding intimate partner violence in the Middle East and North Africa region is the attitude of men and women regarding intimate partner violence. Almost women and men in this region justify wife-beating and hold women partially responsible for the abuse they suffer. Cultural codes, religious practices, and economic and political conditions come to prove that violence has long been accepted as something that happens to women. And in the other hand in societies with a patriarchal power structure, women are often not able to protect themselves from intimate partner violence.

## **CHAPTER 1.**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Intimate partner violence is one of the forms of violence against women that causes health and social problems in a woman's life. Intimate partner violence is a form of social control created in the social context by hierarchical systems of power and oppression within the race, gender, and sexual orientation. Each system may operate independently or can intertwine, creating an IPV intersectional. Thus, the dynamics of each system may exacerbate the consequences of a system (Bograd M, 1999). Global estimates published by WHO (2018), indicate that about 1 in 3 (35%) of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. Worldwide, almost one-third (30%) of women who have been in a relationship report that they have experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner in their lifetime. Globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by a male intimate partner. In the WHO multi-country study, 19–51% of women who had ever been physically abused by their partners had left home for at least one night, and 8–21% had left two to five-time (Claudia García-Moreno et al, 2005). In general, women are much more likely than men to be murdered by their partners or ex-partners. For example, the (2009/2010) British Crime Survey found that 54 percent of female homicide victims aged 16 or over had been killed by their partner, ex-partner, or lover, while this was the case for only 5 percent of male victims (Laing et al, 2013). Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a serious social problem affecting the health, mental health, and welfare of women (Theresa et al, 2013). There are many definitions of violence by an intimate partner. All these definitions agree on one point: that violent behavior harms the partner physically, sexually, and emotionally. Intimate partners include (partner or ex-partner, boyfriends or girlfriends, dating partners, or sexual partners). IPV can occur between heterosexual or same-sex couples and does not require sexual intimacy (CDC,2015). In this study

intimate partner violence refer to any violent behavior from husband to wife among Syrian refugee women.

The intimate partner of the general phenomena spread in most countries of the world to varying degrees, but in the Middle East, the issue of IPV has become a serious problem due to its high reported prevalence rates (Al-Modallal 2015). Syria is one of those countries in which violence rates toward women are spread by an intimate partner. The violence rates specifically increased after the outbreak of the war in 2011 (Freedman, 2016 ; A-Modallal, 2012 ; WHO, 2017, Charles & Denman, 2013; Anani, 2013 ; Masri et al, 2013). Women are subjected to violence from all members of society, but it becomes more difficult when a woman is subjected to violence by her intimate partner. Out of women reporting regular victimization of physical abuse in Aleppo-Syria, nearly 92% reported being physically victimized by their husband, currently married women were almost three times more likely to be abused compared with the unmarried ones (Maziak and Asfar, 2003).

Intimate partner violence is not a new phenomenon in Syrian society since the society is based on the patriarchal system. In 2006, a survey was conducted by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in cooperation with the Syrian Commission For Family Affairs and Population, According to the study One of three women was exposed to violence within their family, 10-25% of women in Syria were exposed to physical violence by their husband (Zaman Alwsl Net, 2010). Some social factors have contributed to the perpetuation of violence against women so that it has become socially acceptable. The first of these factors is the system of social values which recognizes the inferiority of women or that women are human beings who need to be cared for and protected. What is more dangerous is the lack of recognition by society of the existence of violence by the intimate partner. Women also tend to hide violence from their partner as it is considered a domestic issue and should not be discussed with Strangers (Essaid et al, 2015). Most women see violence from their husbands as a natural phenomenon for husbands as a result of their difficult economic conditions. The Lack of education and awareness of their rights contributes to increased violence against them. Furthermore, women and girls were often reluctant to tell anyone about the violence for fear of being blamed for causing the violence or other consequences such as inciting further violence,

being divorced, and not being able to see their children, among others (Al-Shdayfat and Hatamleh, 2017). Since women do not prefer to talk about violence or seek help from strangers, they are not always helpless in the face of the abusive behavior of the husband, but rather they develop many strategies to deal with that violence. These strategies, which are used to deal with intimate partner violence, have the main objective, as Wood et al (2019) point out, to reduce the harm caused by violence and also to try to control the situation (Wood et al, 2019). Because women's experiences with violence are not the same and differ according to the intersecting social variables social status, educational level, economic level, gender, this difference is reflected in the use of strategies to deal with intimate partner violence (Goodman et al , 2009 ; Zakar et al, 2012 ; Makongoza and Nduna, 2017; Schaefer et al, 2019). For example, the study by Al-Natour et al (2018) found that Syrian women used various strategies to calm their husbands and protect themselves and their children from intimate partner violence, and the study found that the strategies followed by women are: talking to others, silence for fear of increased violence, using cigarettes, Crying, reading the Qur'an, seeking forgiveness. The results of the study indicated that these methods that women used were more beneficial in controlling violence and the negative feelings associated with it (Al-Natour et al, 2018).

The above-mentioned reasons highlight, the importance to study the experience of Syrian refugee women who are subjected to intimate partner violence and what strategies they use to deal with this violence. The study also focuses on investigating the strategies used by the Syrian women before the war and strategies they developed after asylum in Turkey. In other words, how did the transition to the new society change women's strategies in dealing with intimate partner violence. After briefly discussing the types, prevalence, and causes of IPV, they focused on women's ways of dealing with violence, the importance of this is to provide opportunities for women who are subjected to IPV to tell about the violence and also provide an opportunity to determine their needs and how to help them. This study is based on feminist theories to evaluate the experience of women with intimate partner violence.



## **1.2. OBJECTIVES**

This study aims to examine the experiences of Syrian refugee married women with IPV and investigates the strategies that have been used by Syrian women to stop, escape or prevent IPV in three periods time: pre-post war period and after asylum in Turkey. The aim of the study is expressed with the following questions;

What are the experiences of Syrian refugee women with intimate partner violence pre-post war period?

What are their strategies to deal with intimate partner violence pre-post war?

What are women's attitudes towards intimate partner violence and gender roles?

What are the women's recommendations to prevent stopping and eliminate intimate partner violence?

## **1.3. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

During the war, women are more affected by violence than in normal circumstances. Women in Syria during the war were subjected to many forms of gender-based violence (physical, sexual and psychological violence). Even after fleeing from war, they continue to face gender-based violence by society whether it is violence during their journey to seek asylum or to find a safe place for them, or during their stay in the country of asylum (Essaid et al, 2015). But when a refugee woman is subjected to violence from her intimate partner, it is shocking for her, because she considers her husband to be her only source of safety in the country of asylum. This has psychological and social effects on women. However, despite the negative effects of violence on women, they do not want to be disclosed because of the range of considerations mentioned previously. Therefore, the contribution of the study comes from its effort to investigate Syrian refugee women's experience with IPV and provide them with a safe environment to express their experience with the researcher. Despite the large number of studies about IPV, however, the researcher observed a shortage on the point out strategies to deal with IPV among Syrian refugee women. Therefore, the study is an

attempt to fill the gap in these studies. In addition to that, the study is a theoretical framework from the perspective of feminist theory which considers women's experiences as a start point for research, therefore, the study will give them an opportunity to express their experiences and determine their needs. The study also can be used in future studies to improve the approach to empowering Syrian refugee women to face violence. And it would prepare the new research areas in this field.

## **CHAPTER 2.**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

In this chapter, previous literature about intimate partners will be reviewed with a focus on understanding theories that interpret this phenomenon and used it as a theoretical framework. Also, we will address the status of women in Syria in terms of laws, and the social and economic situation before the beginning of the war. In the end part of this chapter, we will discuss the roles of social work institutions in Turkey regarding women in terms of awareness of violence by an intimate partner and know what programs are submitted to help and protect women who are subjected to violence or are at risk of violence by an intimate partner.

#### **2.1. FORMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

Any behavior that includes physical, psychological, or sexual harm in the context of the marital relationship is referred to as violence by the intimate partner, and if the violation is repeated in the same relationship, this phenomenon is often called "Battering" (World Health Organization, 2002: 89). Intimate partner violence includes several forms. These forms are as follows:

##### **2.1.1. Physical Violence**

The World Health Organization study (2005) divided physical violence based on the degree of physical injury into:

1. Severe Physical Violence: this includes (kicking, hitting that leads to deep wounds, suffocation, burning, threatening, or hitting with a weapon)
2. Moderate Physical Violence (slapping, pulling hair)

### 2.1.2. Sexual Violence

According to the World Health Organization (2005), sexual violence includes the following actions:

- Forcibly sexual relation.
- A woman's acceptance of sex, fearing what her husband might do if she refused.
- A partner forcing his wife to do something that she thinks is offensive to her.

### 2.1.3. Psychological Violence

Psychological violence includes the following:

Humiliation and making a woman feel bad about herself

Belittling women in front of others

Threatening to harm her or any of her relatives

Intentional intimidation (such as yelling at her, smashing things)

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights study (2014), divided violence into four main categories, including:

1. **Controlling Behavior:** this type of psychological violence includes controlling seeing her family and friends, preventing her from visiting her family, insisting on knowing her whereabouts, feeling angry when talking to another man, and constantly accusing the woman of cheating.
2. **Economical Violence:** preventing the partner from working or causing them to give up work, preventing them from making financial decisions related to their home, or preventing them from shopping alone.
3. **Offensive Behavior:** belittling, insulting, and humiliation in public and private places, threatening by violence or harming another person of interest to the woman,

confinement at home and preventing her from leaving, forcing her to watch pornographic materials against her will and making her feel offended.

4. Extortion by Abusing Children: this category includes threats to take their children away and deprivation from them, or threats to harm their children.

Intimate partner violence in its various forms reflects a pattern and not a single incident. These forms range from physical and psychological violence to sexual violence. Slapping is one of the most common physical acts of violence, along with other types such as pushing, pushing hard, and threatening with weapons. These forms of physical violence are usually associated with psychological violence such as insulting the partner or belittling the partner.

## **2.2. EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE BY AN INTIMATE PARTNER ON WOMEN**

Partner violence incurs huge social and economic costs that have many impacts on women and society. It affects women's participation in the labor market and their political and civic activities. This violence also has an impact on the demographic characteristics of society due to high morbidity and mortality rates. Partner violence increases the risk of miscarriage and is a cause of death in women. Intimate partner violence is one of the most common forms of violence against women and an important cause of illness and death. Living in a relationship dominated by violence and tension between partners affects a woman's sense of self-esteem and ability to participate in society. Studies have shown that battered women suffer from a lack of access to information and services about violence and their lack of participation in public life and a lack of emotional support from friends and family. Thus, violence has both health, social and economic effects on women.

The effect of violence sometimes extends to children and society as a whole. According to the World Health Organization study (2005), it was found that there is a relationship between exposure to violence by an intimate partner and mental and physical health, as more than 20% of the women participating in the study reported exposure to physical injuries such as cuts, fractures, bruises, and serious injuries to the eyes and ears as a

result of physical violence by their partners. Most women who had experienced physical or sexual violence, or both, were more likely to have trouble sleeping, walking problems, participating in social activities, experiencing pain, memory loss, dizziness, and increased vaginal secretions during the 4 weeks preceding the study. The study also found that physical violence by a partner affects a woman's reproductive health. Between 23% and 49% of those who were abused reported that they were punched or kicked in the stomach during pregnancy, and these women are more likely to have a miscarriage. The study also found that women who are subjected to sexual violence are the most vulnerable to contracting sexually transmitted diseases. In the same direction, the results of a study by Mosleh et al (2015) in Egypt found that 25% of women experienced physical violence in the form of slapping, kicking in the stomach, or hitting by their husbands during pregnancy repeatedly or permanently. This study showed that these women are three times more likely to experience depression, postpartum depression, and anxiety than women who were not subjected to violence during pregnancy. The study by Karakut et al (2014) showed that 42% of the women participating in the study reported suicidal attempts and 34% reported their regular use of mental health drugs.

For refugee women, violence by an intimate partner constitutes an additional burden to the problems they suffered during the war or during the period of asylum, which is considered a public health issue among refugees. In a study by Feseha et al (2012) with 422 refugee women in Shimelba refugee camp, northern Ethiopia, it was found that 78% of women experienced physical violence from their husbands, at least once throughout their marriage. One in four women was subjected to physical violence that was beating, kicking, throwing something at her, and slapping during the 12 months preceding the study. The study showed that intimate partner violence contributed to the deterioration of women's health. Where 63% of women suffered from difficulty in practicing activities of daily life, 23.5% from pain, and 2.5% from damage to the ear as a result of spanking. The study also found that 30.4% of pregnant women were subjected to physical violence during the 12 months preceding the study. Along the same line, the study of Usta et al (2016), which is a qualitative study with 22 Syrian women, aimed to know the experiences of Syrian refugee women living in Lebanon with domestic violence and gender-based sexual violence by society. In the focus group

interviews that were conducted, women reported that their husbands often release the pressures they are exposed to by hitting or beating them. One of the women admitted that she suffers neck pain due to the beatings she was exposed to by her husband.

The effects of violence are not limited to the woman herself, but it affects children, as it deprives them of the right to live in a safe and stable environment, that is, a normal life, necessary for their development. Exposure to marital violence at home may greatly affect children's behaviors, and thus can be the cause of problems in social relationships, empathy with others, feeling of loneliness, lack of self-confidence, drug abuse, and they fall into other problems such as minors' pregnancy, and offensive or aggressive behavior. Marital violence also pushes children to consider violent communication methods as a tool to impose control. Studies have shown that children who witness violent incidents in the home are more likely to engage in similar behaviors when they grow up or suffer violence themselves.

### **2.3. STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

Intimate partner violence is one of the social problems that affect the lives of women all over the world (WHO, 2005). Several studies have indicated the different types of strategies that women use to deal with intimate partner violence, for example, the study of Goodman et al (2003), which developed a theoretical framework for strategies called "The Intimate Partner Violence Strategies Index", and also the study of Riddell et al (2009), used the index to analyze the results of the study sample of 43 rural Canadian women who had left an abusive relationship with their husbands. And other study is the study of Chadambuka (2020), Sere et al (2021), St. Vil, et al (2017), Mahapatro and Singh (2019). For the Middle East, especially among refugee women, the researcher found two studies, one of that a study by Al-Natour et al (2018), Shdayfat and Hatamleh et al (2017), Among Syrian refugees in Jordan, and a study by Usta et al (2008) study in Lebanon.

Strategies for facing social problems are defined as the cognitive and behavioral efforts of the individual to confront a specific event that constitutes a source of disturbance in the individual's life and affects their lives. Women who are subjected to domestic violence use many strategies to stop, prevent, or flee from violence. Starting with her attempts to argue with her husband/intimate partner, quarreling, seeking help from women's help centers, or contacting the police (Goodman et al, 2003). The choice of women for strategies to confront violence depends on many factors, including those related to the nature of violence or the severity of violence to which women are subjected. As found in the World Health Organization study (2005), women who face severe physical violence are the ones who mostly use strategies for seeking help from family and friends, women's help centers, or the police. While women are exposed to sexual or psychological violence, rarely turn to seek help. Also, among the factors that affect women's use of strategies are the values and social norms of society. We find that in societies that sanctify the family and its social construction, women tend to tolerate violence, and sometimes they come to accept it and perceive it as a normal thing to preserve family unity. In their study Cankurtaran and Albayrak (2019), indicated that throughout their marriage, Syrian women, are subjected to physical, sexual, economic, and psychological violence, but society's values prohibit women from disclosing this to preserve the sanctity of the family. Among the factors that affect the choice of strategies are women's economic and social resources. Women with low incomes or those who depend on their husbands for their income find it difficult to face violence. A woman's social resources are formed in supporting her family and friends in facing violence, and the less they support her, the less she resists violence.

The interpretation and understanding of violence by an intimate partner differ among women according to the societies to which they belong. This difference is reflected in the way violence is dealt with. Among the determinants of these differences are the social, political, and religious systems as well as the status of women in the society. For example, in patriarchal system in which there is inequality in rights and duties between women and men, where women often accept violence by an intimate partner as a natural matter and consider the man's control over them as his natural role in controlling the family, and as such, she must submit to her husband. Women in such societies don't use any strategy to resist violence.



Goodman et al (2003) attempted to classify the strategies women use to deal with intimate partner violence by designing an index named (The intimate partner violence strategies index). According to this index, the strategies are divided into six main categories:

1. Placating Strategies
2. Resistance Strategies
3. Safety Planning Strategies
4. Formal Network Strategies
5. Informal Network Strategies
6. Legal Strategies

Placating strategies: include strategies aimed at calming the behavior of the predator without challenging him and or possibly reinforcing his control. The use of these strategies does not change the balance of power in the relationship. These strategies are used in the private sphere without the need to seek support from outside. These strategies include among others: “Avoid doing anything that might lead to violence from the predator, avoiding confrontations, disagreements, arguing, and not crying during violence” (Goodman et al , 2003, p. 184). Riddell et al (2009) found that women use this strategy to preserve their lives and in order not be exposed to violence and they use this strategy by keeping the house always clean, taking care of their selves and their children, acting with caution and care with their husbands, meeting all their spouses’ needs, and avoid confrontation. However, some of the women participating in the study reported experiencing violence despite using these strategies.

Resistance strategies: This category includes strategies aimed at changing the behavior of the predator and possibly balancing power in the relationship by challenging his sense of control. These strategies are also used in the private sphere without seeking help from outside. These strategies include physical and verbal resistance, the use of a sharp device as a weapon, termination of the relationship, non-compliance with the

orders, leaving home, and sleeping separately (Goodman et al, 2003, p. 184). These strategies have no benefit in stopping or preventing violence, rather they may exacerbate the intensity of violence. The study of Riddell et al (2009) showed that the efforts of women who resisted physical violence, such as hitting their spouses with a cup or threatening them with a sharp object, were not effective, rather they sometimes increase the violence.

**Safety Planning Strategies:** these strategies aim to ensure an increase in resources or options that may prevent violence or prevent potential violence that may occur according to Goodman et al (2003) these strategies includes the following:

- Hide the car or home keys
- Hide money and other valuables
- Draw an escape plan
- Hide or conceal sharp weapons
- Keep important phone numbers in a safe and accessible place for use at risk and in an emergency.

According to Riddell et al (2009), women identified comprehensive safety planning strategies such as storing food, hiding money or opening secret bank accounts, keeping copies of important documents, and even gaining weight to reduce the effect of violence. They stated that these strategies were among the most helpful in dealing with violence. Goodman et al (2003) also indicated the same results.

**Official Network Strategies:** This category includes strategies aimed at increasing resources and options to stop the violence or escape or prevent it by making use of external resources ranging from women's support centers, hospitals, or seeking help from clerics, tribal leaders, and sheiks. These strategies are represented in the following form (Goodman et al, 2003):

- Trying to get help from the clergy
- Trying to get help from her boss or colleagues

- Talking about abuse to a doctor or nurse
- Seek psychological assistance
- Facilitating counseling to the predator
- Resorting to women's shelters
- Talking to someone on a domestic violence program or hotline

Studies have indicated that these strategies are not used by all women, so their use is limited, and this is due to several factors indicated by the study of Riddell et al (2009) and the World Health Organization study (2005). Studies showed that a woman may find it difficult to access these services due to a lack of awareness or fear of not getting sympathy from people in such official institutions. Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies (2015) found that 89% of women in Turkey who have been subjected to physical or sexual violence by their husbands have not sought help from any official agency such as the police, family court, the women's protection houses, helpline 183, violence prevention and control centers, women's organizations, hospital or municipality (Hacettepe University, Institute of population studies 2015, p. 126).

**Informal Network Strategies:** These strategies include family, friends, and neighbors. However, sometimes they might not be unhelpful, because the family may blame the woman for being the trigger for violence by not obeying her husband, not meeting the requirements of the home, or not fully doing her role as a mother. These strategies include:

- Talking to family or friends about what she might do to protect herself and her children
- Stay for a while with friends or family to escape violence
- Make sure there are other people around
- Sending children to family or friends to protect them from violence

**Legal Strategies:** These strategies aim to change the behavior of the predator by making use of an external factor, which is law, and these strategies include:

- Contact the police
- Filing a lawsuit in court
- Seek help from legal professionals

Regarding the usefulness of these strategies, Goodman et al (2003) found that 74.8% of the women who participated in the study received assistance when they called the police and the women reported that this strategy was more beneficial to them. On the contrary, Riddell et al (2009) indicated that this strategy is not feasible and women don't tend to use it. The women who participated in the study stated that when they called the police for help, they blamed them and advised them not to file a complaint again to ensure the stability of the family. The reason behind this is the nature of the social relations in the rural communities, social solidarity, and coherence. Formal relations do not prevail even at the level of governmental institutions and others, or a member of the police may be a relative of the husband, so he advised the wife to withdraw her complaint to save the family stability. Women in rural society are not inclined to talk about their experience of exposure to violence. Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies (2015) found that there are verities between rural and urban areas in terms of sharing the experience of violence with others or seeking help, as it found that women in the countryside spoke less about violence compared to women in urban areas. 44% of women who had experienced violence from their husbands did not speak about it to others, compared with 55% of women in rural areas who did not report violence.

Through the classification developed by Goodman et al. (2003), there is evidence that women exposed to violence, first try to find solutions within their environment without seeking assistance from outside, but when the violence intensifies, women seek help from outside, and always use the informal network of relationships. For example, Hacettepe University Institute of Population studies (2015), found that women do not seek help from outside, especially official institutions until they have exhausted all opportunities of patience and tolerance towards violence.” One of the women who participated in the study is a 56-year-old woman who recently divorced her husband, she explained that she sought help from the Women's Aid Center in the municipality

after 35 years during which she was subjected to constant psychological and physical violence "(Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 204). Seeking help from outside leads to an increase in violence and extension of violence to children. Women who do not seek help from official institutions often turn to their families for help, especially mothers, to seek help.

Some women use completely different strategies than the ones mentioned, which are strategies related to hope for change in the future. Tonsing and Tonsing (2019) found that the hope of change that might take place in the future was the only hope for women who are subjected to violence. This change may happen in the future by providing a good education for their children to build a different and better future. Some women tend to use coping strategies with violence by perceiving it as their destiny and therefore it is inevitable.

According to the World Health Organization (2005), 55% to 95% of women who were subjected to physical violence by their partners did not seek help from official services or individuals in a position of authority such as local leaders in the village. Many barriers prevent women from obtaining help from formal or informal sources. Among these barriers is that man controls woman and she cannot even go out of the house or meet with friends or family. Violent men often keep women isolated from potential sources of help. Women who are subjected to violence by their husbands often tend to hide their experience of violence and avoid seeking medical help fearing escalation of violence against them or fearing of man's ability to use his relations against her or her children. In most of the countries where the domestic violence studies were conducted, the research interview seemed to be the first time that women speak about their experiences with violence from their partners. Also, one of the factors is the limited availability of these services in some countries. There are other issues related to the woman herself, which include: the cost of accessing these services even if they exist, the woman's lack of awareness of the whereabouts of those services, the woman's uncertainty about getting help, the frequency of responses such as "No one will believe me", "They will not be able to help me," feelings self-blame, fear of stigma and social attitudes from service providers or their families. However, the studies made it clear that women were not passive, as they adopted a set of strategies to combat violence such as:

leaving their home for one or more nights, separating from their partner, retaliation, and trying to get help. 19% to 51% of women who have been physically abused by their partners have left at least one night, and women who have left the home usually stay with relatives and, to a lesser extent, with friends or neighbors. These patterns of seeking help appear to be strongly influenced by the intensity of violence women have been subjected to. Women who experienced severe physical violence were more likely to try to get help or talk to someone than women who experienced moderate physical violence (WHO, 2005, p. 86).

Hacettepe University, Institute of population studies (2015) highlighted that women in Turkey who have been subjected to physical or sexual violence by their husbands or men who live with them have developed many methods to confront this violence, such as: fighting back physically, talking about violence with relatives or others, leaving home for at least one night, and seeking help from government institutions (such as courts, police) and civil society organizations. Usta et al (2016), showed that the Syrian refugee women who live in Lebanon do nothing to confront violence, and most of the women tried to accept their status and justify the violence directed at them by their husbands as a direct result of the tension and anxiety they live, due to the harsh conditions of war and asylum. In other words, women remain silent and do not talk about violence and most of them stated that they prefer to remain silent rather than talk about it.

#### **2.4. PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE BY AN INTIMATE PARTNER**

Since violence by an intimate partner is one of the most important social problems that a woman faces in her life and has an effect on the health and social aspects of women, it is necessary to know the prevalence rates of this phenomenon to evaluate it and find appropriate solutions. From the data of 48 population-based social surveys all over the world, it was found that between 15% and 69% of women reported experiencing assault by their intimate partners with beating or physical harm. 3% or less of women in Australia, Canada, and the United States had experienced violence from their partners during the 12 months preceding the study, 38% of newly married women in the Republic of Korea and 52% of Palestinian

women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip reported experiencing violence from their partners. For many of these women, physical violence was not isolated from other forms of violence, but rather represents part of a continuous pattern of abusive behavior against them (WHO, 2002). According to the studies reviewed by the researcher, the prevalence rates of violence by an intimate partner are as follows;

In a World Health Organization study (2005) data were collected from 2,400 women from 10 different countries around the world. According to the results of the study, the percentage of women who have been subjected to physical or sexual violence or both by an intimate partner ranges between 15% and 71% in most countries. Sexual violence is usually accompanied by physical violence. Despite this, women in some countries reported that they only experienced sexual violence. The study also found that partners who practice physical or sexual violence on their wives always tend to have controlling behavior over their wives.

A report by the World Health Organization, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and South African Medical Research Council (2013) on the prevalence of two forms of violence against women: “intimate partner violence” and “non-partner sexual violence”. For the first time, this report presented cumulative, regional, and global rates of the prevalence of these two types of violence. Estimates were taken from population databases from all over the world. In addition to the prevalence rates of violence, the report includes knowledge of the effects that violence has on a woman’s psychological, physical, and reproductive health. The results of the report were as follows:

More than 35% of women in the world have been exposed to physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner or violence by non-partners. Although women are exposed to other forms of violence, this percentage is considered a high percentage compared to other forms. Most of the violence comes from an intimate partner. In various parts of the world, 30% of women who were or are still in an intimate relationship suffered from physical violence with or without sexual violence from that intimate partner. Globally, 7% of women have experienced sexual violence by persons other than an intimate partner. And women who succumb to this type of violence are 2.3 times more likely to be addicted to alcohol, and 2.6 times more

likely to have depression and anxiety. Globally, 38% of women's murders are committed by an intimate partner.

If we look at the prevalence of violence by an intimate partner in the Middle East and North Africa region, the available data on marital violence show that 35.4% of married women in the Middle East and North Africa have been subjected to physical or sexual violence from their husband at some stage of their life. Statistics in Egypt indicate that about 46% of married and previously married women between the ages of 18 and 64 have been exposed to some form of intimate partner violence, 43% of them have experienced emotional violence, 32% of physical violence, and 12% have experienced sexual violence (ESCWA, 2017).

Al-Modallal et al (2014) study were conducted to find out the prevalence of intimate partner violence among refugee women who live in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. The study sample consisted of 300 women who visited health care centers in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. The study sample included married women, divorced women, engaged women, and single women. The study aimed to assess the prevalence of violence by an intimate partner among these women and to determine the demographic factors that protect or expose women to the risk of abuse by an intimate partner. The study focused on five types of violence which are the following: psychological violence and control behavior, economic violence, emotional violence, physical violence, and sexual violence. 78% of the women participating in the study had experienced at least one form of violence from their partner. 73.7% of women experienced at least one of the controlling behaviors and this form of violence was the most common among women. 53% experienced economic violence and 50.3% experienced emotional violence. The percentages for physical violence were 22.7% and sexual violence at 16.7%. The rate of sexual violence appears much less than the rest of the forms, and this might be because of the sensitivity of the topic and women do not easily talk about their experience with sexual violence. This is due to the nature of society, which makes it imperative for women to keep sexual issues, and other issues related to the privacy of the family and husband's secrets, thus making it impossible to disclose them. The study recommended that efforts should be intensified to change the attitudes of both men



and women towards violence by an intimate partner. Because the attitudes of men and women are among the most important factors that contribute to the high rates of violence. The study showed that socio-economic conditions, family traditions, and personal beliefs of women who reside in refugee camps make them more vulnerable. Therefore, state efforts including United Nations partners, non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations, and media efforts to increase public awareness and address the needs of this group are of utmost importance to the society as a whole while at the same time protecting the privacy of those women.

The study of Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies (2015) aimed to know the prevalence rates of forms of violence against women and to know the effect of laws that were applied to combat violence after the study conducted in 2008 on stopping violence. The study was conducted with women between 15-59 years old. Research interviews were conducted with 7,462 women in 12 rural and urban areas in Turkey. The results of the study were as follows: 36% of women in Turkey, meaning that among every 10 women, there are 4 who have experienced physical violence from their husbands or by men who live with them in the same house. 12% of women have experienced sexual violence from their husbands. As for sexual or physical violence, or both, the study found that 38% of married women in Turkey have been subjected to sexual or physical violence throughout their life. 44% of women reported experiencing at least one of the psychological violence behaviors, which were insults, verbal abuse, belittling, threatening or intimidation, and threatening to harm a close relative of the woman. As for economic violence, which included behaviors such as: preventing women from working, causing them to quit work, and not giving them the right to dispose of household financial affairs, the study found that 30% of women in Turkey have experienced at least one of these behaviors.

The study of Kapiga et al (2017) was conducted to find out the prevalence of psychological, physical, sexual, and economic violence during the past 12 months among women who have a permanent partner. Data were collected from 1049 women in Mwanza, Tanzania. 61% of the women participating in the study reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner, 27% reported

experiencing it during the past 12 months, and 39% reported experiencing emotional abuse. Psychological abuse and control over women were the most common among women, with 82% of women reporting experiencing it at least once during their lives and 63% experiencing control during the past 12 months. As for economic violence, 39% of women reported experiencing economic abuse. The study also found that there is a disparity in the prevalence of violence by an intimate partner according to social and demographic characteristics, as the rates of violence are higher among women who are younger and less educated. Violence by an intimate partner is also associated with deteriorating mental and psychological health, for women who have reported exposure to physical or sexual violence are more likely to have a deterioration in mental health.

The study of Mahfuza Islam et al (2014) found the same conclusions regarding the association of violence with demographic characteristics, that the older women are less likely to experience intimate partner violence than younger women. The general assumption is that; as a woman ages, her role as a mother becomes more prominent than her role as a wife, and she attains a certain position at the family and community level, which reduces the potential for violence against her (Kishor, 2004). The study also found that women who got married at an age less than 18 years were more likely to be subjected to violence by an intimate partner compared to those who married after the age of 18 in Bangladesh. This is because, in developing countries around the world, girls who marry in their teens have a lower educational level, lower social status in their husbands' families, and suffer from higher rates of domestic violence (Johnston, 2008).

The study of Gebeyehu and Tadesse Cherie's (2020) was conducted to evaluate the prevalence of intimate partner violence against women and its associated factors in Ethiopia. The data was obtained from the 2016 Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey. More than 30% of women reported exposure to intimate partner violence. 74% of women who were subjected to violence live in rural areas with a low educational level.

If we look at the prevalence of violence by an intimate partner, we will find that violence increased with the onset of the Syrian crisis, and many people were forced

to leave their homes and seek refuge in other countries. Numerous studies suggest that the cause of the increase in violence is the change of power relations between spouses during the periods of migration (Freedman, 2016). It is also believed that violence practiced in public places against men and women exacerbates the problem of spousal violence. High rates of poverty and the accumulation of social burdens, accompanied by feelings of fear and insecurity, are all factors that increase rates of intimate partner violence (ESCWA, 2017). A survey of Iraqi refugees in Syria indicated a possible relationship between financial difficulties and intimate partner violence as well. War also increases the tension in the relationship between spouses by changing gender roles and power dynamics (Usta et al, 2016). A study conducted by the United Nations in 2010 showed that before the war and migration, one in four Syrian women were exposed to gender-based violence by their husbands (Cankurtaran and Albayrak, 2019).

The study of Cankurtaran and Albayrak (2019) was conducted to know the experiences of Syrian women; this includes both living in Syria as a woman before and after the war, during the period of immigration to another country, and their experience of living as women in the country of asylum. Regarding violence by an intimate partner, to which women have been exposed in Turkey, the women explained during the interviews that they had been subjected to physical, psychological, sexual, and economic violence during the period of their marriage. Besides being exposed to violence from their husbands, women reported that they had been subjected to violence by their mothers-in-law. It appears in the form of psychological violence in the constant attempt of the husband's mother to place her son's wife under her control to impose control and domination. The study also found another form of psychological violence that a woman is subjected to from her husband, which is her constant fear of her husband's marriage to a second woman and her fear of facing his threats to divorce her. Women explained that the rates of second marriage among Syrians did not change, even after coming to Turkey. In the case of the second marriage, by the husband, the women have two options: either she accepts the new wife or gets divorced. But women always choose to accept the situation to ensure living with their children. Another form of violence is forcing a woman to have more children, thus preventing her from using contraceptives, and if

she uses them or causes a miscarriage, it may be a reason for her divorce. If the woman refuses to have more children, this will result in another marriage by the husband. Despite the violence that women are subjected to, women are not inclined to talk about their experience of violence with anyone or to seek help. According to the women's testimonies, they tend to hide and not talk about violence with those around them because of the "doctrine of privacy" and this, according to the study, is the reason for the persistence of violence against women in Syria. The study found that women's limited language skills, in Turkish, pose a barrier to seeking help when exposed to violence.

The study of Al-Natour et al (2018) also aimed to describe the life experiences of Syrian refugee women with spousal violence during the war in Syria. A sample of 16 Syrian refugees (married or divorced) was selected. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with them in one of the medical clinics in the refugees' camps in Jordan. The results of the study focused on four main topics as follows:

1. Loss, insecurity, and suffering: the women explained that as a result of the war, they lost everything they owned (their homes, cars, etc.), and even their neighbors, relatives, and some women talked about losing their families. And when they decided to flee the war, the experience of marriage was not good for them, as they were subjected to physical and sexual abuse, including rape, and when they reached the refugee camps in Jordan, they found the conditions very harsh there. Besides losing their families and leaving their homes, they suffered difficult economic conditions and poverty. Along with all this, women explained that their greatest suffering was in their exposure to verbal, physical, and sexual violence from their husbands. This caused changes in their relationships with their husbands and sons, thus they began to live in isolation, far from family and relatives. Their husbands increasingly controlled them, compared to when they were in Syria. According to the testimony of some of the women participating in the study, their husbands told them phrases such as; "You cannot visit your sister all the time". The women explained the changes in the behavior of their husbands, who became nervous and violent all the time.

2. Shame and humiliation: the women described their feelings of violence as a consequence of shame, humiliation, and helplessness. The women made it clear that they stood helpless and faced this violence only with silence. Women described feelings of emotional devastation when their husbands scream in their faces and when they are physically abused while their children are there. One of the women wished to die because of the humiliation, insult, and beating of her husband.

3. Justifying and enduring marital violence: the women participating in the study stated that they did not want to leave their husbands or ask for a divorce from them and chose to endure violence and continue the relationship with the husband. The justifications for tolerance were divided into three: the need for social support in the refugee community, the constant hope that her husband would return to the kind person he was before the war, and for the sake of the children. Some women emphasized that even if the violence increased, they would not leave their husbands

4. Ways of coping with martial violence: women reported using different strategies to cope with the violence they were constantly experiencing from their husbands. Among these strategies include; the attempt to calm the husband and do everything he is asking for, avoid unnecessary arguments when discussing a topic, remain silent, read, fast, recite the Qur'an, and pray. Women have made it clear that the use of such strategies contributed to the reduction of violence. They used other strategies in the forms of self-abuse or directing self-harm, such as hitting their head against the wall and screaming, some women may try to defuse feelings of anger from violence by beating their children, and some other women spoke of violence with family and friends, but due to the negative re-action they have received they decided not to talk about violence to anyone and to be patient.

Through the above-mentioned figures on the prevalence of violence by an intimate partner, we can understand that domestic violence is one of the biggest social problems today, whether in terms of its prevalence or its health and social consequences for women. Thus, understanding the intergenerational transmission of violence and aggression is very important to break the cycle that led to this major social problem.

## **2.5. INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

Children who witness violence directed by their father towards their mother create a stereotype about violence, and they keep this image until they grow up and marry, and they become abusive husbands to their wives. For example, Hamilton (1989) explained that children who watch their mother's experience violence are expected to become perpetrators of violence against their wives in the future. In the same direction, the study of Ehrensaft et al, (2003) concluded that children who witnessed violence in the family between their parents were more likely to become abusive partners when they grow up.

Due to the theoretical importance of intergenerational transmission of violence in understanding and explaining the causes of violence, it has received great attention among studies that have been interested in investigating children's aggression. These studies highlighted violence as a socially learned behavior. Among the most important theoretical trends used in explaining the intergenerational transmission of violence is the social learning theory of Bandura (1971). According to the social learning theory, most individual behavior patterns are acquired through observing and simulating the behavior of others. The theory assumes that people learn violence in the same way that they learn other patterns of behavior. This learning process begins with the family, either through witnessing violence between parents, or some parents encouraging their children to behave violently with others in some situations and requesting them not to be victims of violence. Thus, the child sees that the only way for his father to solve his problems with his wife or neighbors is through violence, so they imitate that, and continue to imitate him in solving all problems in life. And when they grow up and get married, they use violence as the only solution to a problem with their wives.

Within the framework of the investigation into the intergenerational transmission of violence, we find many studies that have focused on the relationship between children witnessing violence and the likelihood that they will practice violence in their intimate relationships in the future. These studies include:

Black et al (2013) study examined the effect of witnessing violence between parents at home, in early teens on exposure to psychological and physical violence in their intimate relationships. The study was conducted on a sample of 223 male and female students of different ethnicities at the University of California. The study assumed that witnessing violence between parents, during childhood, is related to experiences of violence by an intimate partner during adolescence or the onset of adulthood. The study also aimed to find out the effects of witnessing violence between parents on them. The study found that 58.3% of the respondents witnessed psychological violence between their parents, and 69.7% of those who witnessed violence between their parents suffered from psychological violence by an intimate partner. 17.5% witnessed physical violence between their parents and 27 suffered from physical violence in an intimate relationship. These numbers indicate the relationship between witnessing violence in the home during childhood and exposure to it in old age.

The results of Black et al (2013) study, are similar to Kalmmus (1984) regarding the characteristics of violence and the intergenerational transmission where the study supported the idea that the family is the main social institution for raising children, and that witnessing violence between parents is likely to play a role in the use and reception of violence in intimate relationships arising between adults. Another study that came out with the same conclusion is the study of Matud, and Abella (2003), which was conducted with 187 abused women living in the Canary Islands. The results of the study indicated that there is a relationship between growing up in a family surrounded by marital violence, and engaging in a violent marital relationship. Males and females are affected differently by their experiences of childhood violence. Men who experienced abuse in their childhood and witnessed parental violence commit more severe spousal violence than those males who only witnessed domestic violence or those without a history of domestic violence. Women who witnessed domestic violence and were victims of childhood abuse are more likely to have depressive symptoms compared to those without a history of domestic violence.

Mahfuza Islam et al (2014) study in Bangladesh and collected data from the Demographic and Health Survey in Bangladesh in 2007. The results of the study found that there is a relationship between inter-parental physical violence and violence by an intimate partner. A quarter of women in Bangladesh had the experience of witnessing physical violence between parents and suffered from violence by an intimate partner. And these women who witnessed physical violence between their parents are more exposed to moderate and severe physical and sexual violence by an intimate partner compared with women who did not witness physical violence between parents. The study of Sandra et al (2000) indicated the possibility of the relationship between exposure to violence in childhood and being a victim of abuse during marriage.

Parents are the primary ones responsible for the socialization process of children. Thus, families in which domestic violence is prevalent are primarily responsible for the violence that their future sons may practice against their wives because children form stereotypes. In addition to that, cultural and social factors help in the emergence of violence. An example of this is the culture of the patriarchal society where male children are supported from childhood and motivated to succeed and possess the sources of strength. As for the females, they have low expectations from society for educational attainment and economic success, and they are taught tolerance of inequality.

## **2.6. UNDERSTANDING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM**

The patriarchy is a concept that has two components: a structure in which men have more power and privileges, and an ideology that legitimizes this concept. Some theorists have also explained that the concept of patriarchy can be further divided into two forms: the "social" and "family" patriarchy (Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019, p. 162) were the first refers to the domination of men over society as a whole, while the second refers to the domination within the family. If a man violates his wife, whether by beating, insulting, belittling, or in any form of violence, then this is considered interpersonal violence, but when a third of women in the world are exposed to



violence by their intimate partner, this is considered structural violence deeply rooted in the culture of the society in which these women live. To understand the phenomenon of violence by an intimate partner, it is necessary to look at it in a structural framework and to understand the nature of a society whose culture allows the promotion of violence. This society is a patriarchal society in which the man plays the role of dominant and the woman role of his subordinate, and in this society which the stereotypical roles of women and men are predetermined and based on these roles the position of women in society is determined.

Women in these societies are always in the second class and take secondary roles in society. As for the man, he is the owner of the power and authority in this society, which allows him to practice violence against women. In patriarchal societies, one of the basic duties of a woman at home is to take care of household affairs such as cleaning, washing, cooking, caring for children, and showing obedience and respect to her husband, so if the husband feels that the woman fails in one of these aspects or not obeying him, his reaction is physical violence. A woman who is exposed to physical violence as a result of her failure to fulfill her duties at home thinks that she deserves this violence (Haj- Yahia,1993). An example of this is given by the Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (2018) the results of this study found that 9% of the women participating in the study believe that women deserve physical violence in the following cases: lack of obedience to the husband, insufficient attention to children or housework, response to the husband's protests, going out without the husband's permission, asking the man if he has any relationship with other women, and refusing to have sexual intercourse with the husband. The same results applied to 7% of the Syrian women participating in the study who believed that a man has the right to beat his wife in the cases mentioned above (Institute of Population Studies, 2018). World Health Organization (2005) found the same results; women believe that they deserve physical violence in situations such as neglecting housework, refusing to have sex, disobedience to the husband, and betrayal. 68% of the women who participated in the study indicated that women deserve violence by husbands in the cases mentioned above. In the same line, in Zimbabwe, the results of the national survey of women of childbearing age in the age group 15-59 showed that 53% of participating women justify husbands

beating their wives if the children were neglected, had a quarrel with their husbands, went out without his permission, refused to have sex with their husband (Hindin, 2003). Sometimes beating a wife for the sake of discipline or chastity is culturally and religiously perceived as just, because the wife is considered the property of the man and he has the right to act with her as he wants (World Health Organization, 2002: 95).

There are eight main dimensions indicated by Haj-Yahia (2005) that must be taken into account to explain how the structure of a male society generates violence against women within marriage and how this society hinders the provision of assistance to battered women. These dimensions are as follows:

1. Protecting man's authority
2. Compulsive masculinity
3. Discrimination against women and economic restrictions on them
4. Women bear the burden of raising children
5. The negative attitude towards divorce
6. Traditional beliefs about the roles of women as wives and mothers
7. A woman's negative self-image
8. Patriarchal orientation in the legal and health care systems

If we look at these dimensions in detail, we find that the male society prevailing beliefs that; men are superior and have the capabilities to innovate. Therefore makes men are always in higher social positions than women and thus these positions allow them to control society. Therefore, we find all the sub-systems in this society working to protect their power and control. Accordingly, issues of domestic violence in these societies are neglected, which is why we find that the women's support services are very weak and almost completely non-existent in some countries. Patriarchy is preserved and productive through social upbringing. Through it, the

idea is established that the man is the one who controls the family or is the head of the family and everyone must follow and obey him (Haj-Yahia, 2005). Socialization of boys from an early age intends to consolidate the idea of a man who is supposed to be strong and courageous and that he has the first place in the house compared to his sisters. A natural result of this is that children begin to develop feelings of hostility and humiliation for women and girls from an early age, which results when they grow up and get married. They impose their power and control over their wives through violence.

If we look at the condition of women in the patriarchal society we find that women have become economically dependent on the man and look at him as the only provider for the woman and without him, she may not be able to live, so she is forced to endure violence from her husband and continue this violent relationship because she believes that her children are in need of the father support. Likewise, her role as a mother requires her to sacrifice for the sake of her children living in the family atmosphere. Also, the perception of a divorced woman in those societies is a disgrace to her and insulting to her family. All of these make women in a position to accept violence or perceive it as normal.

Tonsing and Tonsing (2019) study, found that the effect of the patriarchal system on violence against the wife is shaped by the fact that patriarchal beliefs create power imbalances that may lead to continued violence. Likewise, men who believe in traditional beliefs about gender roles and who meet cultural expectations of a man's roles in the family are the most likely to use violence against their wives. As for women, most of the time they remain silent about the violence and do not seek aid from outside, because it may increase the intensity of the violence. One of the respondents in the research mentioned: *"Sometimes I just keep silent, because if I talk back he will get angrier and beat me"*. Even women who asked for help from their families, their families responded by advising them to be patient to maintain their marriage and family, and that the wife's duty obey her husband. One of the respondents in the study indicated that she was 'advised' by a family member to 'try and live together with your husband... be nice to your husband and your in-laws...'

and was told that such ‘problems’ are a normal part of marriage (Tonsing and Tonsing2019, p. 165).

The patriarchal ideology has a great role in the abuse of the wife by her husband, as it judges the woman to play the role of the mother in the house and she must meet the needs and expectations of others. The man must impose control and domination over the family. A definition of the ideal or good wife is defined as the one who obeys her husband. Religious beliefs are used to legitimize this idea and ensure that the woman complies with it. The stereotype of both men and women is defined as ‘gender’, and we will now describe it in an attempt to understand the role this concept plays in intimate partner violence.

## **2.7. GENDER AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

### **2.7.1. Definition of Gender**

Gender is the socially defined roles, behaviors, activities, and characteristics that a society considers appropriate for women or men. Gender is constructed through socialization, and it differs from one society to another according to customs, traditions, values, standards, trends, level of gender equality, justice, and equal opportunities, and it can be changed and modified. Gender differs from sex, which refers to the set of biological and physiological characteristics of the male and the female. According to the World Health Organization, sex shows the biological difference (chromosomes and hormones) that characterizes the male by fertilization, and the female by the presence of the uterus, the consequent pregnancy and childbirth, and of course the difference in the external form of the genital organs.

The World Health Organization defines gender as:

"Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men, such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed".

The Istanbul Agreement defined it as:

“Referring to the socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and specializations that a certain society considers appropriate for women and men”

Gender roles have nothing to do with biological differences. As it is determined by the community through learning, as it changes over time and in place, and varies widely within one culture and from one culture to another. Based on this social structure of gender, tasks and responsibilities are also distributed, and access to resources and control over them, including expectations and personal characteristics that a society considers appropriate for men and women. This also determines the capabilities and behavior related to men and women referring to the measures of masculinity and femininity. Simone de Beauvoir says: “*A woman is not born as a woman, but rather become a woman*” (Buz, 2009,p. 55). Humans are socially constructed according to a set of expectations and gender roles, which not only create and maintain the difference between women and men but also tend to assign unequal values and privileges to men and women. Historically, cultural traditions and binary belief systems have given the supreme status to masculinity and have developed various hierarchical gender systems that legitimize male authority and control over females and other subordinates. These were then presented as "natural order", rooted in our biology, or divine will. Such systems intersect with those created around race, class, ethnicity, gender, disabilities, and other aspects of identity in complex ways to enhance and sustain inequality.

The concept of gender appeared for the first time in the seventies when the feminist researcher Anne Oakley addressed it in her famous book *Sex, Gender, and Society* (1972), where she provided a detailed explanation of the necessity and importance of differentiating between the concepts “sex” and “gender” in light of interpretations stemming from researching the origins and mechanisms that shape both concepts of human sexuality and the concept of gender. Gender, as we mentioned, is learned through the socialization of children. From the time when children are born, mothers and fathers begin to treat boys and girls in different ways, from buying clothes of different colors and toys for boys and girls. Thus, characteristics are defined for them, for example, the girl is indoctrinated to become shy, emotional, endurance and patient while the boy is instructed to become courageous, strong, controlling, and

independent on the bases of these characteristics. The roles are defined for each of them, where the girl has to take care of the household affairs of cleaning and helping her mother in cooking, while boys are taught to work outside the house and when the signs of puberty appear in both the boy and girl, the girl must cover her body and she should not stay outside the house alone late at night. As for the boy, the appearance of signs of puberty in him is a source of pride that he has become a man. This creates an image that there are differences in rights and duties between men and women, and as a result, social, economic, and political inequality between men and women in society results in violence against women.

Gender is considered a component of social relations based on expected differences according to gender. Therefore, it is an “innovative way to denote power relations” between women and men (Scott, 1986). Hence, power relations between women and men become the basic perspective or paradigm in the concept of gender-based on its ability to interpret social facts specific to women, such as inferiority or discrimination and inequality in the distribution of roles, authority, decision making, and other problems and obstacles to the advancement of the status of women and the achievement of equality between them and men in various fields. As a result of gender inequality, gender-based violence directed against women become in existence. What women (more than men) are exposed to in all stages of their lives is a phenomenon deeply rooted in the authoritarian relations based on gender, in sexual life and the formation of self-identity, as well as in the structure of social institutions (for example, family and school).

Since the imbalance in power appears even in the structure of social institutions such as the family, violence by an intimate partner occurs as a result of the imbalance of social roles. The social classification of women and roles imposed on them by the society makes women accept violence or perceive it as is the natural role of a man as the father of the family, and even sometimes some women see that they deserve violence from their husbands as a result of neglecting their duties and roles as a mother in the home. So social expectations of gender roles affect the woman’s definition of violence and her attitude towards it.

Therefore, violence by an intimate partner does not occur as a result of the husband's alcohol abuse or suffering from psychological and mental illnesses, but rather as a result of social inequality between males and females. If we want to eliminate abuse and violence against women, we must bear in mind that gender is the dominant context for all types of violence against women. A woman's risk of experiencing violence depends on factors at the relationship level as well as community and society levels. Male domination of women, unequal norms and stereotypes based on gender, low socioeconomic status of women (lack of employment and education opportunities), as well as the absence of comprehensive national legislation and policies that criminalize violence are all factors that increase women's vulnerability to violence. The aforementioned factors are interlinked, and reports show that conflicts increase the risk of women being exposed to various forms of violence in public and private life.

### **2.7.2. Changing Gender Roles during Conflict and Their Relationship to Increased Intimate Partner Violence**

Unlike normal circumstances, in times of conflicts and wars, change occurs in the social and economic structure of society. This is reflected in the structure of the family itself, where a change occurs in the stereotypical roles of the gender. In some cases, women are working to redefine cultural and social perceptions around them and their boundaries in society. For the first time, women may have the possibility to work outside the home, provide for their families, and make decisions, be responsible for their families, organize themselves with other women and come out into the public domain, which is usually the domain that is monopolized by men. This change may not always be in favor of the woman, as it may increase her exposure to violence from her husband, who expresses the feeling of frustration and the inability to act with violence against her.

In the global report “The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in the Middle East and North Africa (2017)” the respondents explained that disputes increase within the family in light of armed conflicts because of the tension resulting from the atmosphere of war is reflected in the family and the relations between its

members, especially the relationship between a man and his wife. Often the men who take part in the war turn what they see as violence abroad into violence against their wives and children or one of the women in the family.

Many research indicated that war is not the only cause of the increase in violence against the wife, rather financial pressures as a result of the man losing his job also play an important role in the violence against the wife, as the husband feels nervous about his inability to provide for his wife and children. Likewise, gender roles change when the woman becomes the provider to the family, and the man feels his loss of dignity and prestige, and his failure to play the role entrusted to him socially. This increases tension and makes him feel weak and lose control over the family and the result is physical and psychological violence.

Human Rights Watch (2003) field research conducted in Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Mali, and Angola indicates that the new economic responsibilities and greater general presence of women resulting from conflict may involve a limited shift in gender roles that leads to some degree of violence in the post-war period (Luna & others, 2017).

The situation resulting from asylum also adds a new burden to the problems that women face. For example, Syrian women who were displaced to neighboring countries (Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey) faced various problems and difficult conditions related to their legal status, work permits, work opportunities, education, medical care, and difficult psychological and social situations that changed their roles. In addition, they are exposed to a range of human rights violations, whether in camps or urban areas, and exposure to gender-based violence, forced marriage, and a marked increase in violence by an intimate partner compared to the pre-war period.

Studies that focused on knowing the conditions of Syrian refugee women in Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan found that women faced new situations that affected the roles they used to play in Syria before the war. In Jordan, the gender dynamics of Syrian women have changed, especially those who live in the large camps in Jordan (Zaatari camp and Azraq camp) they were more involved in providing for their



families, working outside the house (tent), and interfering in some important family decisions. The same was the case in Turkey and Lebanon (Habib, 2018).

## **2.8. THEORIES EXPLAINING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

### **2.8.1. Feminist Theory**

Feminism means every theoretical or scientific effort aimed at reviewing, questioning or criticizing, and modifying the prevailing system in the social structure that places the man in the center, and the woman or another second gender in a lower position. The woman's experiences and traits are underestimated only because she is a female (Husso, 2008).

The first wave of feminism began from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. This orientation focused on obtaining legal equality, specifically obtaining the right to vote. This orientation also focused on issues such as child labor, prostitution, and improving the lives of poor urban women (Kemp & Brandwein, 2010, p. 343).

The second wave was in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s (Kemp and Brandwein, 2010). This wave called for the emancipation of women and access to legal and social equality. This prompt called for the importance of recognizing the role of women in society. The second wave of feminism was related to the demand for civil rights and equality between men and women in society. During this period, the concept of gender appeared for the first time to denote the social and cultural equality of women and men in society. The main slogan of this wave was “personal is political”. This poetry identified inequalities (Husso, 2008). This was called the radical wave, and the main issues in this period were the establishment of women's rights in the constitution through equal rights amendments and issues related to reproductive rights, gender, and domestic violence (Enge, 2013).

The third wave started in mid-1995. The third wave sought to challenge the definitions of feminism that arose from the ideas of the second wave. This wave argues that women's lives are intersecting, indicating that race, class, religion, and gender are all

important when discussing women's issues (Ohio Humanities, 2018). The third wave aimed at allowing women to choose what they want apart from the concept of gender. In addition, the third wave addressed issues such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) rights and family policies. The third wave urged the development of feminist theory and policies regarding women. It was also concerned with the idea of dividing people into “we and they” because it is the main cause of inequality. Rebecca Walker (1995), described the difficulties women face when they are forced to think into categories that divide people into who they are and when they are forced to live under certain identities such as women (Charlotte et al, 2005). The third wave was characterized by local and national activism in areas such as violence against women, trafficking, body surgery, self-mutilation, and pornography in the media.

Since the beginning of the feminist movement in 1971, feminist theory played an important role in explaining gender-based violence. Despite the criticism directed at feminist theory in the handling of gender issues, the feminist model has provided many scientific interventions and reviews of gender-based violence. Intimate partner violence is one of the most important violence issues that women specifically face and that affect different aspects of their lives.

Feminist theory focuses on the fact that men's violence against women in intimate relationships is a natural consequence of men's oppression of women in the light of patriarchal societies whose culture allows men to dominate women, and thus women are always the victims of violence (Walker, 1979). But the feminist theory also did not neglect the violence that a woman is subjected to by the woman herself, as it defined domestic violence as an abuse of power by one of the parties to the relationship, and in most cases the man is responsible. However, recently there has been an acknowledgment of violence in relations between gays and lesbians, and some studies indicate that women are subjected to violence from officials of the same gender.

According to the feminist model, men's violence against women in an intimate relationship is a result of the social history of patriarchal society, which is characterized by an imbalance in power relationships and this keeps women in the role of subordination to the man, allowing him to control them, and the matter may

reach physical, sexual, psychological, or economic violence. The feminist model challenges all interpretations that suggest that violence is an individual issue and must be dealt with in the private context. The feminist theory begins in its interpretation and treatment of domestic violence from its basic principle that “the personal is political.” It considers that violence by the partner is not a private family issue, but rather a societal problem that must be addressed through the overall framework of society. This is done by establishing programs and services to help battered women, and by engaging the justice system to hold perpetrators of violence accountable. In the context of dealing with the issue of violence by the partner, feminist theory believes in the power of women and their ability to overcome the difficulties they face, and their effectiveness. Therefore, it strives to empower women and help them determine their destinies. Feminist theory has many theoretical trends that adopted the interpretation of intimate partner, among them:

#### **2.8.1.1. The Radical Feminist Socio-Cultural Theory**

This theoretical trend of feminism focuses on the oppression of women in society on the basis that they are women. This occurs in patriarchal societies in which men control all sources of power and control society (Burrell and Flood, 2019 ; McClennen, 2010). This theoretical trend perceives that intimate partner violence occurs in a social system in which women and children are less powerful than men, rendering them vulnerable to violent abuse (McClennen, 2010). This ideological trend works to address intimate partner violence through changes in the structure of the society, as well as treating those who commit violence as perpetrators and being accountable within the criminal justice system, and the involvement of specialists such as psychologists and mental health specialists and social workers to work with victims of the intimate partner violence.

#### **2.8.1.2. Postmodern Feminist Theory**

Postmodern feminism focuses on the social construction of masculinity and femininity in a social group or culture and how it contributes to gender violence.

They also highlight the dominant role discourses play in the sociocultural meanings given to gender and violence, and the way people interpret and respond to violence. This trend believes that the interpretation of violence by the partner should not depend only on force, but rather, other intertwined factors cause violence and make women continue to stay in violent relationships. Focusing solely on interpreting violence based on power and inequality always makes victims vulnerable to blame such as low self-esteem, dependency, and masochism (McClennen, 2010, p. 126).

### **2.8.1.3. Intersectional Feminism**

Intersectional feminism seeks to achieve social justice by explaining the processes carried out by individuals and groups in various oppressed social situations, such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, disability, status, and religion. These differences lead to unfair access to resources, which in turn leads to societal inequality and social injustice (Kelly, 2011). This ideological trend of feminism believes that intimate partner violence is nothing but a very single form of oppression and social control and that life occurs at the intersection of systems of power, for example, race, class, gender, and sexual orientation and oppression. The occurrence of violence by an intimate partner cannot be explained simply by a single demographic difference, so therapeutic approaches also need to expand to address the complexity of the problem. The responsibility for solving this violence problem rests on all individuals in different professions to find reasonable solutions to this violence.

### **2.8.2. Feminist Social Work**

Feminist social work is part of the feminist ideological perspective that emerged in 1971. Social work was not concerned at the beginning with women's issues in society. It did not play an effective role when the feminist movements appeared in the first and second waves.

Quam and Austin (1984) study, conducted a review of eight social work journals between 1970 and 1981 to find out the extent of social work coverage of women's issues and feminist issues at that time. They concluded that the literature on social work

was not as responsive to feminist issues as was expected. In 1970, 4% of the total number of articles (223) were related to women's issues. By 1976, the percentage of articles on women had risen to 11%, although in that year two magazines published special issues on women. By 1981, the percentage of all articles related to women had decreased to 6%. The articles published on women were limited to the following topics: (1) Women as social workers and managers of social work (2) History and biography (3) Women as faculty members or students in social work (4) Sexism in the profession (5) Effects of Emancipation of Women and Feminism (6) and Women as Agents. Two-thirds of the articles were about women as clients. It is worth noting that the articles that were about the effects of women's liberation and feminism were so few that their percentage was not mentioned (Karen Sue, 1993).

Feminist social work appeared in the practice of social work in the early eighties when social workers began to help women who suffer from injustice and persecution in society. These works were first established by listening to their untold stories and knowing their individual experiences and attitudes as well as knowing their social conditions. Social workers have linked the problems that women face in society to their social status and the roles they play as women. The aim of helping women was to improve their social life and find structural solutions to end the suffering of women in society. For the values of women's thought to be consistent with the values of social work such as social justice, dignity, and personality, feminist thought was introduced into the practice of social work. Lena Dominelli defines feminist social work as "A form of social work practice that takes women's experience of the world as the starting point of its analysis and by focusing on the links between a woman's position in society and her predicament, responds to her specific needs creates egalitarian relations in 'client' worker interactions and addresses structural inequalities" (Dominelli, 2002, p. 7).

Feminist social work aims to address women's issues in society through the status of women and the elimination of structural inequality between the sexes. Feminist social work practice is concerned with addressing all issues that affect women in different forms, such as sexual violence, equality in education and employment, reproductive and sexual health, pensions and retirement benefits, poverty and income preservation, and access to mental health. The practice of feminist social work helps find solutions that

rely on an integrated and comprehensive approach to the problems of racism and discrimination based on gender. That is, feminist social work is redefining individual problems as social problems.

The feminist perspective in social work is concerned with the well-being of women and establishing relations based on social equality between the genders. It also encourages women to view private problems as public issues. Involving women in teamwork that improves their social and economic conditions; Helping women overcome isolation and "acquired helplessness" and creating alternative forms of practices that respond to women's needs to achieve these goals, feminists have argued for: the complementarity of theory and practice; Promote equal social relations among women; Appreciating women's responsibilities at home and recognizing their impact on women's ability to engage in paid work; Awareness of the power relations between gender; and recognition of women's ability to make their own decisions. So, feminists highlight the interconnected nature of public and private spheres. Despite the great diversity of feminist intellectual trends, we find that they all stem from basic principles in the treatment of gender issues, and these principles are as follows:

1. The Personal is Political
2. The gender perspective of women's issues
3. Inclusiveness and diversity
4. Reframe the concepts of power
5. Appreciating the differences. This means looking at the experience of women as having different oppressive experiences than men and these differences must be taken at all levels of practice.
6. Challenging Separations; Feminism suggests that life is characterized by dualities such as male/female, white/black, and true/false, and so it is these dualities that open the door to social problems. Therefore, feminist social work tends to have a comprehensive view of these dualities.

The feminist perspective of social work depends on the assumption that clients' problems are not within the psyche of the (female) client, but within the social structure, which is considered patriarchal and oppressive to women. This approach is based on the belief that, in a patriarchal culture, men have advantages that hinder equality for women. Therefore, the goal of this perspective is to create an equal society for men and women. Feminist social workers relate women's personal experiences to; the expected gender role norms, oppressive social structures, and discriminatory practices. Feminist social workers use the slogan "personal is political" to articulate the idea that an individual's unique experience can only be understood by referring to the political, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which it occurred (Collins, 1986). In addition to this, the feminist trend of social work assumes that the main cause of social problems is social discrimination based on age, gender, class, color, and racism, which is the cause of social oppression to which some groups in society are exposed, and to eliminate this oppression, structural changes must be made in the socialization of people and basic social institutions. Likewise, the inequality between men and women in opportunities, resources, and capabilities is what increases the oppression of women in society, and this is reflected in the level of women's relationships in the home.

The practice of feminist social work is based on the political and social analysis of the feminist movement, and it is a practical approach to feminist ideas. At the level of practice, social workers work to apply the principle of "personal is political" to all levels of professional intervention (micro, mezzo, and macro) and the empowerment approach is adopted to encourage clients to make decisions related to their lives. Additionally, feminist social workers offer clients all available options, with an emphasis on those that go beyond gender norms. For example, "When working with a family that is struggling with lack of work and funding, the feminist social worker may suggest that the father stays at home with the children while the mother focuses on finding a job" (Enge, 2013). While still respecting the client's self-determination, the social worker will present "gender-neutral" perspectives as alternatives to the client's case to help her better understand all of her options. Awareness-raising networks, self-help, and therapy groups are often used in conjunction with civil society organizations to help change policies that can eliminate prejudice against women. Social workers also work to provide basic social resources for women such as housing, education, and

employment opportunities, and provide legal and financial assistance to women victims of violence. Social workers also work to change programs and policies that are sexist so that women are not exposed to it anymore.

## **2.9. SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE AND INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

Women are considered to be the focus of the professional practice of social work, considering that women are the starting point for analyzing problems and beliefs. It is important to create awareness of the diversity of women's experiences and take them as the focus of attention in treating women's issues. Social work uncovers the social environments that prevent women from disclosing their experiences with domestic violence, so it encourages women to talk about their experiences and not view them as their problem. Feminist social work starts discussing domestic violence with four main goals, namely:

1. Ending the parental system
2. Empowering women
3. Application of the principle of The Personal is Political
4. Women's awareness of gender equality issues

If we look at these goals in detail, we find that feminists have argued that the patriarchal system allows men to control and rule the family, and it is this dominant position that creates the environment for domestic violence, and it does not stop there. Rather, this patriarchal structure allows feminists to argue that this structure is the main cause of violence. Domesticating women instead of men, and blaming her as a victim of violence can make her feel guilty and this may have negative effects on women and make them vulnerable to mental health diseases such as depression. Rathbone et al (1991) emphasized the negative effect of a patriarchal society that allows women to be exploited. They explained that in this type of society it is often assumed that the primary role of women is to provide care for children or the elderly at home, and yet it is an unpaid work, which makes women dependent on men in meeting their basic needs, and



thus women remain oppressed by men (Enge, 2013). Therefore, social workers work to integrate feminist theory into their practices to understand the culture of the male community and meet the needs of women. For example, the social worker creates a discussion group for some women who have been subjected to domestic violence, and this group allows women to share their experiences and compare them with other women, raise awareness of the persecution they face, and support the idea that the violence to which she was subjected by her husband is not an individual problem but a structural problem that is established in the society. It also provides an opportunity for the collective expression of individual experiences and problems to enable them to take control of their lives individually and as a group and realize their power. The collective action groups, as defined by Butler and Wintram (1991) is aimed to break down barriers that prevent women from sharing their experiences, create friendships between women, discussing and carrying out activities, as well as develop their capabilities, increase their self-awareness, help them understand and appreciate themselves, and provide strategies and solutions as a process to reduce the problems that they suffer from (Tunç, 2016).

Regarding women's empowerment, empowerment is one of the most important interventions in social work, especially for the oppressed groups in society. Empowerment can only be understood through an understanding of power and how power works in society and its repercussions on others. The concept of empowerment is derived from the traditional definitions of "power", "oppression," and "control of others". According to Teater (2010), the primary goal of empowerment is to eliminate or relieve customer pressure and create equal opportunities. This perspective focuses on strengthening individuals, enhancing their self-esteem and increasing the degree of social participation, combating their feelings of helplessness, and increasing their ability to control their own lives. Empowerment of women consists of more than one component: their right to make decisions; their access to opportunities and resources themselves as the central authority responsible for their own lives, in the home, and in making private decisions. The social worker works to empower women who have been subjected to violence by taking advantage of their strengths, assessing their sense of "self-efficacy" and harnessing them to confront the violence they are exposed to from their intimate partner (Tuner and Maschi, 2014). It also works to increase women's awareness of the persecution they are subjected to by society on the basis that they are

women and link their situation with domestic violence. The social isolation of women in "Women's Shelters" and their removal from the environment of violence is also a key point in protecting them from violence and empowering them at the same time. The social worker also works on strengthening the social network of women's social relations, linking them to the available services, and making appropriate professional interventions to increase their self-confidence and increase their belief in the possibility of change. The economic empowerment of women is considered the most important step in combating violence, so the social worker works to provide material support to women who are exposed to violence or to find a way to provide them with a source of income. As a mother, the roles imposed on her by society. For example, when the woman becomes responsible for providing care and services at home to her children and her husband, and as a result of these roles, women remain in low ranks in society, which increases their oppression and the control of men over them. From the traditional roles entrusted to her, and to be freed from her traditional roles, she must first be freed from economic dependence on men. To educate women about gender equality issues, the social worker works on culture analysis, gender role analysis, and power analysis (Tunç, 2016). These techniques help the social worker to know the awareness and level of discrimination directed against them by society, and thus it can raise women's awareness of the social environment that caused their persecution, and this is an important step in facing violence because some women see that the violence they are exposed to by their husbands falls under the natural role of men in the home.

To apply the principle of The Personal is Political, the social worker works to understand and analyze the environment that produced violence and works to educate women that the violence they are exposed to is a secretion of the repressive structure of the society's system. It is not individual, but societal. This is done at the micro-level. At the mezzo level, it works with groups and activists concerned with women's rights and civil society organizations to intensify efforts to educate and empower women, as well as to urge the state to adopt domestic violence legislation. As for the macro level, the social worker participates in changing society's policy, especially social welfare policy. The social worker works with the judicial authorities in the society to include the issue of domestic violence within the framework of the criminal justice system.

Feminist social workers advocate the need to work with individuals, groups, societies, and all levels of practice (micro-mezzo-macro) to reach social change, social justice, and human rights with gender equality. Feminist social workers are working hard to urge the state to adopt legislation and laws in matters of violence against women, including domestic violence, and their inclusion in the criminal system.

### **2.10. SYRIAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY GENDER, ETHNIC GROUPS, AGE, AND MARITAL STATUS**

The war in Syria prompted changes in the Syrian population structure and some demographic variables (Al-Gash, 2019). In 2010, the Syrian population reached about 20.619 million (Syria-Central Bureau of statistics, 2010). It was expected that the Syrian population would be around 25 million in 2017, but because of the war, the Syrian population in Syria was estimated to be 21.08 million (Al-Gash, 2019). This disagreement in the Syrian population figures is because of migration and refuge that resulted from the war in Syria in 2011. In the following, the Syrian population distribution will be addressed according to these groups: ethnic groups, age, and marital status.

Regarding the ethnic groups, there is difficulty in reaching official estimates of the Syrian population ethnic groups. Though a national census is conducted in every 10 years in Syria, the ethnic or religious makeup of the population is not revealed to the public (Masarat, 2017). However, according to the New York, Columbia University, Gulf 2000 Project project, the statistics show that 48% of the Syrian Population are Sunni Muslims, 17% Alawites, 10.6% Kurdish, 9.2% Levantines, and 7% others (Izday, 2008).

Regarding the age the following table described distribution of Syrian population by age and gender.

**Table 2.1 Distribution of Syrian Population by Age and Gender**

Age group	Total		Females		Males	
	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count
<15	37.1	46175	36.8	22425	37.3	23749
15-64	58.9	73375	59.4	36169	58.4	37206
65+	4.1	5063	3.8	2294	4.3	2769
Total	100	124614	100	60888	100	63725

(Source: Syrian Family Health Survey 2009)

The statistics concerning the age group distribution of the Syrian population come from the Syria Family Health Survey 2009 conducted by the Syrian bureau of statistics. According to the results, 37.3% of the population below 15 years old are males while 37.1% are females. About 58.4% of the population aged between 15-64 years old are males while females are 58.9. In this age group, women are more than males compared to the previous age group. For the age group 65 and above, women make up 4.1% and males 4.3% (Syria-Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009). Table No. shows the Syrian population distribution by age group.

As for marital status the following tables table 2 and table 3 described distribution of individuals according to their marital status.

**Table 2.2 Distribution of Individuals (15 years and over) by Marital Status and Gender of Syrian Households**

Marital status	Total %	Females %	Males %
Single	38.4	33.4	43.3
Married	57.6	59.6	55.7
Widowed	3.4	6.1	0.8
Divorced	0.5	0.8	0.2
Total	100	100	100
	78439	38463	39976

(Source: Syrian Family Health Survey 2009)

Table 2 shows the distribution of Syrian women who are married or previously married aged 15-65 by marital status. About 57.6 of the Syrian women were married in 2009.

**Table 2.3 Distribution of Syrian Women (15-49) who are married or previously married by age group and Educational Background**

Background characteristic		Count	%
Age group	15-19	747	4.3
	20-24	2365	13.5
	25-29	3493	19.9
	30-34	3226	18.4
	35-39	3054	17.4
	40-44	2756	15.7
	45-49	1924	11
Marital Status	Married currently	17013	96.9
	Widowed	309	1.8
	Divorced	244	1.4
Educational Background	Without degree	3781	21.5
	Basic education	10169	57.9
	Secondary	1713	9.8
	Intermediate institute	1203	6.8
	University and above	699	4

Source: Syrian Central Bureau of Statistics

As for marital status the following tables table 2 and table 3 described distribution of individuals according to their marital status.

## **2.11. THE CONDITIONS OF WOMEN IN SYRIA BEFORE THE WAR**

### **2.11.1. The Position of Women in the Personal Affairs Law and the Syrian Criminal Law**

The Personal Affairs Law plays an important and influential role in defining social relations, as it determines the type and form of the relationship between family members, defines the rights and duties of each of its members, and defines options for marriage, divorce, childcare, and financial matters, whether resulting from divorce, inheritance or will. On the other hand, it is the Personal affairs Law that exposes the position of women in the social hierarchy and the gross violations of the human rights principles related to them.

The Syrian Personal affairs Law was issued by Legislative Decree No. 59 dated 7/9/1953 and the law was amended in 1975 and then in 2004 (Hawija, 2019). This law applies to Muslims, whether they are Sunnis or Shiites, and according to it, religious courts are entrusted with ruling over issues of family and inheritance.

Within the framework of the Personal Affairs Law, the legal age of marriage is set at 17 years for a girl and 18 for a boy (Articles 16 and 17). However, the judge has the right to approve the marriage of a girl from 13 years by requiring the consent of her guardian (Article 18). It is not permissible for a Muslim woman to marry without a guardian, which is often the father or another close friend 'mahram' (Article 21). Marriage also requires the signature of the guardian and two witnesses, who must be male. Any marriage that takes place without the consent of the guardian can be dissolved (Article 27). As for the marriage of a girl to a non-Muslim man, Article (48) paragraph (2) stipulates:

The marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim is invalid, while there are no restrictions on a man in this regard, he is entitled to marry whomever he wants. A man is allowed to have multiple wives, and the wife's initial consent is not required. If a man wants to marry a second wife, he must only prove his financial ability and come up with a legal justification for that (Article 17). The wife is considered disobedient if she works outside the home without her husband's permission, and alimony is waived in this case (Article 73). The disobedient are defined in Article (75).

About divorce, a man has the right to unilaterally divorce his wife, provided he informs the authorities of this decision. The woman has the right to file a divorce case if she proves harm (such as differences between them and lack of affinity), and the woman has the right to divorce her husband on the condition that she gives up her alimony and the dowry (Article 112, 113). After a divorce, a woman retains custody of the children until the girls reach the age of 13 and the boys reach the age of 15, but she loses this right if she remarries (Article 138).

As for freedom of movement, the law compels the wife to travel with her husband unless otherwise stipulated in the marriage contract (Article 70). A married woman cannot leave the country accompanied by her children without the consent of their

father (Article 148). This is for Muslims, but for other religions, every Christian sect has the right to resort to a law of its own in the area of personal affairs (Article 308). In 2006, the Personal affairs Law for Catholics was adopted that includes provisions that give equality to women in the area of inheritance and abolish guardianship during the marriage, provided that the guardianship is returned to the father if the woman divorces (FIDH, 2012, p. 59-60).

If we look at the status of women in the Syrian Criminal Law No: (148) of 1949, the Syrian Penal Code came in its entirety specifying crimes and penalties in general. As it punishes crimes of assaulting persons. Many amendments have been made to the law to accommodate the changes in society. But that it did not do justice to women's issues and did not consider equality between them and men. On the contrary, some articles of the law protect the perpetrators of crimes against women. For example, violence against women is not considered a crime, especially in the context of marriage. There is no text in the law criminalizing domestic violence, the law does not include a definition of rape within marriage and the crime of rape is recognized only in cases of non-marriage (Article 489) and the perpetrator is punished under this article with imprisonment and hard labor for at least 15 years (Musa, 2017). The perpetrator of rape can escape punishment if he marries the victim (FIDH, 2012, p. 61). Honor crimes are punishable by imprisonment from five to seven years (Article 448), provided that honor provides a mitigating element of the penalty (Article 192, motive of honor). A man is completely exempt from punishment in the event of murder or harming his wife or sister who has been proven as a perpetrator of the crime of adultery or sexual intercourse with a man, this is justified under the pretext that the man (the murderer) committed his crime under intense pressure and emotion, without premeditation and surveillance, and this excuse does not apply to the woman (Article 548). A woman is punished by imprisonment for two years if she commits adultery. As for the man, there is no article in the law for him to be punished in the case of adultery, unless the crime occurred inside the family home, in such a case the punishment is to be imprisoned for one year (Article 239,242) (FIDH, 2012, p. 61). Articles (523) and (524) prohibit the use of contraception (Musa, 2017).

It can be seen that justification of domestic violence against women is clear in these laws, starting with the personal affairs law giving a man control over his wife and she

cannot work or travel outside the country without his consent, in addition to that the criminal law does not recognize rape in a marital relationship and there is no article criminalizing violence committed by the husband hence the law's justification of honor killings and making it less than the penalty for the accused as in Article (192) of the Penal Code.

The absence of deterrent penalties for perpetrators of violence against women makes crimes of domestic violence against women increase every day, especially in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Such laws are justified under the pretext that they are taken from Islamic law, and women are forced to accept all forms of violence against them under the pretext of the Islamic religion. Such laws make the home the most dangerous place in her life. It is clear from these laws that they serve the culture of a patriarchal society, which, as mentioned previously, intends to place women always under the control and authority of men, and these laws are an obstacle to achieving economic and social development and women's empowerment.

As for the status of Syrian women concerning international conventions and treaties, Syria was among the 48 countries that voted in favor of adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the United Nations General Assembly session that was held on December 10, 1948, and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, by Legislative Decree No. 333 of September 26, 2002, after women's demands for many years to sign it. Despite Syria's ratification of it, it has reservations about basic articles, including Article (2), which obliges state parties to embody the principle of equality between men and women in their national constitutions and legislation. Article (9), paragraph (2) in the convention, contradicts the nationality law in Syria, which prevents Syrian women from granting nationality to their children. In addition to the reservation on some articles of the convention, the government did not take the necessary measures to publish the convention, integrate it into the media and school curricula, and carefully monitor its use in national courts. The Syrian government has not ratified the Optional Protocol to the Convention, as it is a necessary tool to activate and implement the Convention, and the government has not implemented the convention, which included combating all forms of individual and



collective violations of women's rights and combating any violence or discrimination against them in all areas of political, social, economic and cultural life.

Therefore, it can be referred to that Syrian women suffer from discrimination against them. On the contrary, they have suffered and are still suffering from all forms of gender-based violence. Although the Syrian constitution issued on February 15 of 2012 affirmed Article (23) removing restrictions and granting women their rights, and it stipulated (The state provides women with all opportunities that allow them to fully and effectively participate in political, economic, social, and cultural life and works to remove restrictions that prevent their development and participation in building the society). However, the status of women is still governed until now by religious and legislative concepts, and reservations to CEDAW have not been canceled.

### **2.11.2. Syrian Women's Participation in Political Life**

The participation of women in political life is one of the most important elements of democracy in a country, and the degree of growth of any society is measured by its ability to integrate women into public life and their participation in the cultural product. Achieving comprehensive development depends on the extent to which women have equal opportunities with men in administrative work, manufacturing positions, and political decisions. However, the issue of women's participation in political life and decision-making is still a matter of controversy among many, especially in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, which, despite what it has witnessed in the recent period of revolutions and conflicts that have changed many equations and pushed women to play new roles, but this has not been reflected in their participation in bodies. In emerging politics, some of which deliberately used women as a "cosmetic" to improve their image in front of the institutions of the international community, while others adopted an extremist approach by intentionally marginalizing women and not recognizing their role in the first place.

If we look at the status of Syrian women in political life before the outbreak of the war, then Syrian women won the right to vote in 1949 and the right to run for elections in 1953, in 1975 women were allowed to practice law, and in 1976 a woman was

appointed for the first time in the government as minister of culture, and in 2006 the first woman was appointed vice president. In the year 2010, the percentage of women's presence in the executive authority increased to 7% compared to 2005, when they participated by 5%. (Syrian Commission for Family Affairs and Population, 2016). In the 2011 government of 33 members, 3 women are the vice president, the state minister for environmental affairs, and the minister of tourism. As for the representation of women in parliament and local councils, there is no legal minimum limit for the representation of women in the People's Assembly, which is the only parliamentary chamber in Syria. During the 2003 legislative elections, 30 women, or 12%, were elected. In 2007, there were 1004 women out of 9770 candidates, and 31 women won seats or 12.4%. In local councils, 319 women were elected, or 3.2%. As for judges, the representation of women is very weak, as the first woman was appointed to the position of the public prosecutor in 1998, and in 2010 women represented 13% of judges and prosecutors, especially in Damascus (FIDH, 2012, p. 57-59). The participation of women in political life in Syria did not reach the minimum of 30%. The participation of Syrian women in political life is very weak, and in 2007 the CEDAW Committee expressed its concern about the weak representation of women in politics, government, and parliament (FIDH, 2012).

According to Syrian political feminism the weak representation of Syrian women in political life, the negative role played by the Syrian conflicting parties in not observing gender equality in political representation. Another activist stated that, over the decades, women's participation in Syria has been only cosmetic, and women are not allowed to make decisions (Syrian Women for Democracy, 2019). However, despite the political restrictions on women, the Syrian woman had a prominent role in the popular uprising in the country and was keen to be an influential partner in areas that serve the goals of the revolution and contribute to achieving the Syrians' demands, so they became involved in the opposition political bodies and tried to obtain a role in decision-making. With the trend towards giving priority to the "political solution", the need to strengthen and activate the female presence increased, so women's groups began to increase, taking advantage of international and European pressures that focused on the need to increase female representation. These entities have faced many challenges and obstacles and have achieved many successes, the most important of which was the consolidation of

the female presence in all aspects of the Syrian political work, and the participation in drawing up the future of Syria, which was especially evident in the participation in the negotiation process that was held in Geneva in 2014, and the women demanded participation to reach the rate of 30%.

So, women in Syria obtained many rights, which came in harmony with the Syrian Constitution of 1973, and the cause of women achieved progress that included decision-making positions in the political, economic, social, cultural, health, education, work, and comprehensive development. So, women in Syria obtained many rights, which came in harmony with the Syrian constitution of 1973. Thus, the issue of women in Syria made progress in decision-making positions, whether economic, social, or political. However, there are still some social and cultural obstacles represented in social and administrative norms and practices. We find the lack of good application of some fair laws for women leads to impeding their progress and full equality with men in rights and duties, and this affects directly or indirectly their participation in public work. While, in women's case, it is impossible to separate the private from the public and this constitutes legal duplication.

## **CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. RESEARCH METHOD**

The study starts with the research question: What are the ways and methods that women follow to deal with the violence they are exposed to from their husbands? To answer this question and obtain abundant and in-depth information, the researcher relies on the qualitative research method. And since the study is theoretically based on feminist theory, the research has benefited from the feminist approach in the process of data collection. In the following, we will clarify what is qualitative research and feminist research.

### **3.2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND FEMINIST RESEARCH**

Feminist scholars have observed that science reflects the social values and fears of dominant societal groups. As such, social science research projects have often ignored women and issues of concern to women, or created differences between men and women, girls and boys. Moreover, social research is biased and gives more attention to the life experiences of one group. As a result of this male bias, women's lives and experiences have not been sufficiently considered through the traditional scientific lens, and to address these problems, feminist scholars have proposed a variety of strategies, ranging from (relatively) minor modifications of the traditional scientific method to major paradigm shifts regarding how building the research, and its methods as a minimum, in a way that ensures no bias towards one sex (Campbell and Wasco, 2000). Therefore, we find that over the past two decades, feminist researchers have developed alternative epistemologies to guide research and formulate a new vision for the process of conducting research. In this way, the feminist approach contributed to changing the traditional view of issues related to the family as family-related issues that cannot be transferred to the public sphere. (Grand, 1993; Bultler and Scott, 1992), and as a result, we find a noticeable increase in research, that deals with family issues- especially among women. The main feature of feminist research is that it is political because it deals with the issues of people whose voices are marginalized or oppressed by the social

system. There are four specific features of the feminist research process as follows: Expanding methodologies to include both quantitative and qualitative methods, connecting women or in other words bringing women together to discuss their lives, reducing the hierarchical relationship between the researcher and respondents, building trust between them and facilitating the process of disclosing their experiences and recognizing and reflecting upon the emotionality of women's lives (Campbell and Wasco, 2000: 783). What distinguishes feminist research and makes it unique is not that it is done by women, or deals with women's issues (Gray et al, 2015) but, feminist research is primarily for women and about women (Hesse and Leavy, 2007). Feminist research is also distinguished by addressing cases of deliberate discrimination against women even at the family level (and an example of that violence between partners), which in turn leads to negative consequences for women (Adams, 2016).

The main objective of feminist research is to identify how multiple forms of oppression affect women's lives and to enable women to tell their stories by providing an appropriate research environment and portraying women's lives and experiences in a way that ensures the legitimization of women's voice as a source of knowledge (Campbell and Wasco, 2000). Feminist research also seeks to change and improve how women understand and shape their lives accordingly (Gray et al, 2015). As well as aiming to liberate women and other marginalized groups in society, feminist research seeks to respect understand and empower women (Kaur Sangeeta, 2019). Based on this, there are three main principles of feminist research, and they can be considered guiding principles for researchers: (1) Understanding women's experiences (2) Improving women's lives to arrive at approaches to change women's lives (3) equalizing power.

To apply these principles, the researcher adopted the qualitative methodology, to reach an understanding of women's experiences and to know in-depth information about their ways of dealing with intimate partner violence. As qualitative research is concerned with studying people in their natural environments and trying to understand how they live and reach an understanding of their behavior. In this regard, Max Weber points out that understanding the behavior of individuals and groups requires the researcher to understand the respondents' vision, values, and attitudes, that they adopt meaning that there are multiple aspects to understanding the human phenomenon's, that can't be

understood through quantitative research, while we can qualitative research from merging with the phenomenon under study and coexisting with it to reach an in-depth understanding of it (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). The practice of qualitative research is a reflexive (critical) practice that is subject to development and modification during work. And it ends in producing knowledge that is governed by cultural considerations and intertwined with theoretical ideas through a continuous interaction between theory and research methods on the one hand, and between the researcher and respondents on the other.

Qualitative data collection methods such as the in-depth interview help to delve into the woman's experience and obtain as much research data as possible. This feature of qualitative feminist research is consistent with the basic social work principle, which is "Person-in-Environment" The feminist researcher does not only seek to know the experience of women, but the feminist perspective in research includes messages that help empower and increase women's awareness (Gray et al , 2015) and here the language is important in the research process because of what it includes of messages for women empowerment. Feminist practice in research requires that the researcher starts from the "margin to the center" while removing the traditional boundaries that constitute knowledge building and the boundaries that limit people to their knowledge (Gray et al, 2015).

### **3.3. THE TOPIC OF THE STUDY**

In 2017, the researcher was trained within the project namely: Project for Strengthening Access to Sexual and Reproductive Health, and Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Services for Syrian and Other Refugees through Women and Girl Safe Spaces (WGSS)/Women and Girl Safe Spaces at the Ulubey Center Sağlık Ocağı/Altındağı/Ankara as a social worker for 6 months. This training was part of the curriculum for postgraduate students at the Hacettepe University Social Work Department during the training period, the researcher established a feminist group work for Syrian refugees women, and the main objective of this group was to educate refugee women about issues of violence against women, gender-based violence, the laws related to refugee and the laws that specialize in women, children, and family issues. The goal

was to provide women with information about institutions and centers that can be sought for help.

The researcher also allocated part of the lecture time to teaching women the Turkish language, as one of the mechanisms that the researcher used to empower Syrian refugee women because it is known that learning the language of the host country contributes greatly to refugee women's awareness of their rights. It makes it easier for women to seek help in the event of violence, and language is also a mechanism for women's economic empowerment. Learning the language of the host country for refugee women is not limited to the dimensions related to empowerment only but is considered an effective means for the integration of refugee women into the new society because lack of integration leads to women feeling social isolation which in turn opens the door to other social problems. Here it is worth mentioning the UNHCR's plan Refugee Affairs 2018 concerning the permanent solutions plan for Syrian refugees in the hosting countries. Turkey is considered one of the most hosting countries for Syrian refugees. These solutions included voluntary return, resettlement in a third country, and integration into the local community of the host country. Learning the Turkish language is one of the important mechanisms for integration into the local community in the situation of Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2018).

The feminist group work which was established by the researcher consisted of 15 women and issues that were dealt with within that training including gender equality, gender, violence against women, early marriage, gender-based violence, sexual violence, harmful habits in society ... etc. During the period of the researcher presenting the lectures, it became clear to her that women were not aware of violence against women, women's rights, and gender-related issues. These lectures were not only for raising awareness but as an opportunity for them to share their own experiences, especially with the gender-based violence that they were exposed to. During that time, refugee women were sharing their experiences with violence because the researcher's mother tongue is Arabic and her social background is from a society that shares many characteristics with the Syrian society, as well as the women's sense of the researcher's participation in them having the same social experience of immigration to Turkey and the difficulties they faced, as immigrant women. All of this contributed to sowing the

first seeds to create an environment that would make them feel safe to disclose their own experiences and share them with the rest of the group. This encouraged some of them to talk about the violence they were subjected to which contributed to breaking the silence between them and looking at their experiences not as a personal experiences but rather as a reality that other women are exposed to.

Through the experiences mentioned by the women participating in the feminist group work, the researcher was eager to delve into more about the experiences of Syrian refugee women, violence against women, and gender-based violence. In addition, the academic supervisor of the researcher was working at the same time to collect data for her book "From Syria to Turkey: Being a Woman". Moreover, the researcher's previous background on violence against women in the societies of the Middle East and Africa has contributed through her academic upbringing and socialization in a society that can be considered a patriarchal society and her personal experiences with domestic violence, and discrimination based on Gender. However, despite all this, the researcher did not initially specify the issue that she wants to focus on in her research to obtain a Ph.D. degree.

The feminist group continued in the first period of the course, which was three months, but in the second half of the training period, the number of women participating in that group increased, forcing the researcher to divide the group into two subgroups. The benefit that she gained from it with other women in the neighborhood, and after each discussion session with the group members, the researcher's passion for knowing the experiences of Syrian women with domestic violence increased until the moment came when the idea of research on intimate partner violence (the husband) was born. In the following, we will tell the story that prompted the researcher to choose the research topic.

One day, while the researcher was in the center (Ulubey Sağlık Ocağı), one of the women participating in the feminist group came and told the researcher about the case of one of her neighbors, who had been suffering from bleeding for several days, and her husband did not allow her to go to the hospital because most of the doctors are men which prompted her to follow some local methods to stop the bleeding but this didn't work. The researcher asked that woman to tell her neighbors that there is a female



gynecologist in the center, and she can come to the center and ask for help. Indeed, that woman went and brought her, who was accompanied by her mother-in-law, and they were interviewed by the gynecologist who was of Iraqi nationality during the examination of the case. The doctor asked her about the beginning of the symptoms and the woman stated that she had been suffering from this bleeding for ten days but her husband refused to go to the hospital on the pretext that the doctors were men. After the examination by the doctor, the doctor saw the need to expedite the transfer of that woman to the hospital because she was in a state of miscarriage and the case is danger. But here was the surprise when the researcher told the mother-in-law, who was waiting outside that her daughter-in-law should be taken to the hospital, and the mother-in-law replied that they could not go without obtaining the consent of the husband which prompted the researcher to say to her: "Call your son and take his permission." At first, she said that, that her son was at work and could not contact him at the moment, but after insistence by the social worker and psychological specialist at the center, and the doctor, the woman called her son, who met her by shouting and annoyed, because they came out the house without his permission. Meanwhile, the patient, who was fully prepared to go to the hospital, hesitated and said, "I do not want to go to the hospital and I do not feel any symptoms of illness." Here, the social worker intervened in the center and called an ambulance. When the ambulance arrived, the husband's mother refused to go to the hospital, and said, "If we go to the hospital, my son will come and break the house over our brain." But because the situation was an emergency, and requires urgent medical intervention, they did not pay attention to what the husband's mother says the woman was taken to the hospital.

This incident represented the crucial point in the researcher's decision to choose the subject of the study, and from here the researcher's story began with the issue of violence by the intimate partner. In the year 2018, after the end of the specified period for the academic courses, all students should move to the second stage of the requirements for obtaining a doctorate from the Department of Social Work, Hacettepe University, which is the stage of passing the competency exam and submitting the research plan.

The study of issues such as violence by the intimate partner is classified among the sensitive topics in the study, and its sensitivity stems from the fact that it has potential costs for the researcher and respondents (Mendis, 2009), so the researcher had to consider that sensitivity at the stage of data collection, and the researcher made efforts to not exposing her or the respondents to any negative results as a result of their participation in the study.

### **3.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCESS**

In the period before the beginning of the fieldwork and after the researcher was briefed on the previous studies and the theoretical heritage of the subject, she had an idea of the issues related to the subject of the study, and that helped her to develop questions for interviews and then those questions presented to the scientific committee of the research which consists from the supervisor and two members of the committee, and after discussing the questions, they suggested to the researcher to conduct an exploratory study, and indeed it was carried out in June 2019 and consisted of three in-depth interviews with Syrian refugee women in Ankara.

Subsequently, it was submitted to the Scientific Research Ethics Committee of Hacettepe University in November 2020 to obtain approval to conduct interviews. Indeed, approval was obtained on 26.01.2021. Thus, the second stage of the research had to begin, which is data collection from the respondents, According to the plan established in coordination between the researcher and the research supervisor, the data will be collected through a semi-structured interview with Syrian refugee women who frequent to obtain services and assistance from the "ALEMDAĞ GÖÇMEN SAĞLIĞI MERKEZİ MIGRANTS HEALTH CENTER", knowing that this center works within the same project through which the researcher conducted a field training period as a social worker in 2017. But the plan did not go as it was intended. The researcher contacted the above center, but it was not approved to conduct interviews with Syrian refugees. The reason for disapproval was that due to the Covid19 pandemic, all the activities of those centers were transferred to virtual platforms, and inquiries were transferred through the phone. Refugee women are not received in this center except in emergency cases.

The researcher contacted three other centers interested in providing psychological and social support services to refugees and migrants in Turkey, but their response was similar to that of the previous center. At that time the researcher felt disappointed due to these responses.

One of those centers suggested to the researcher the possibility of coming to the center and doing the interviews through the center's phone. The researcher tried that but she faced several difficulties, represented in Husbands not allowing their wives to talk on the phone with a stranger for a long time, and the respondents feeling afraid because the husband might call at any moment and at this time she may not find enough justification for her phone to be busy with another call. Some of them refused from the beginning to talk on the phone due to the presence of their husband at home. One of the respondents was prevented by her husband's mother from speaking on the phone. The researcher concluded from all this that it is impossible to conduct interviews over the phone due to the sensitive nature of the information to be known from the respondents and the researcher concluded that the best way to communicate with the respondents is through a face-to-face meeting.

The researcher's attempts continued to reach the respondents and this situation continued for two months. And each time the researcher tried a new attempt failed. During this period the number of cases of corona infection reached its peak, and there was a curfew, which cast a shadow over the researcher's movements about doing the fieldwork.

At the beginning of the third month, the researcher obtained the approval to conduct the interviews and thought about the possibility of benefiting from her social network in conducting interviews by going to the respondents' homes but she hesitated at first due to the covid-19 pandemic, knowing that the neighborhoods inhabited by Syrian refugees in Ankara are overcrowded, which increases regarding the possibility of contracting Covid-19, the researcher contacted the research supervisor and told her about her desire to go to the neighborhoods inhabited by Syrian refugees to conduct interviews and the supervisor approved but reminded her the importance of not expose herself to risk. There was no other option than to go to the respondents' homes with caution and adherence to the measures to prevent Covid-19 which is to maintain social distance and

wear a mask so that neither the researcher nor the respondent would be exposed to the risk of infection with the virus.

The researcher immediately contacted one of the women, who were participating in the feminist group work that the researcher established in 2017 during her training period as a social worker. The woman welcomed the researcher and expressed her full readiness to provide her assistance and the researcher considered this woman as a “local informant-Key informant” here, it should be noted that the researcher did not tell the local informant the real title of the research, but rather told her the unreal name, which is “The Social and Health Experiences of Syrian Refugee Women in Ankara.” Not disclosing the real name of the study was among one of the guidelines set by the World Health Organization in a guide: "Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic violence against women". There is a paragraph in this guide that stipulates the use of specific addresses for other people close to the respondent to ensure the safety of the respondent so it can be said that the research relates to the woman’s life experiences, health aspects, or social relations because if the people close to the respondent become aware of the title of the research that may result in the subject being exposed to violence or pressure (WHO, 2002. p.12).

### **3.5. RESPONDENTS**

The study sample was formed through the snowball method, after reaching the first respondent- with the help of the local informant- and after the end of the interview with her, the researcher asked her to tell the researcher if there are other women with the same characteristics required for the study, and thus the study sample was formed from 20 Syrian refugee women, and the study respondents were chosen Of the three neighborhoods in Ankara are Ulubey, under / Altındağı; Baraj/ kuzey Ankara; İncirli/ Keçirön. The reason for the researcher’s choice of the snowball sampling method is due to the sensitivity of the subject, sensitive topics such as (violence by intimate partners, human trafficking, gender minorities such as homosexuals and others, terrorism ... etc.) and because it is difficult to obtain the required samples directly, so the samples are collected through Rolling snowball, which is based on the idea that the first respondent

will lead you to the second respondent, and the second respondent will lead you to the third, and so on.

### **3.5.1. The Characteristics of the Respondents**

To answer the main questions of the study and in order to reach the study respondents, it was necessary to specify the characteristics of the respondents so that the researcher can access the respondents required for research, and the characteristics that were determined for the respondents can be limited to three main points as follows: 1. A Syrian refugee woman, 2. Married, 3. She lives in Ankara. In the following, we will present in detail the demographic characteristics of the respondents in the study:

**Tablet 3.1 The Demographics of the Respondents**

Name	Age	Age of Marriage	Number of Children	Education Status	Women's Work Experience	City of Residence	Age of Husband	Education Status of the Husband
SA1 Noura	41	14	6	Illiterate	None	Aleppo	52	Illiterate
SB2Najma	50	14	4	Secondary school	None	Aleppo	62	Illiterate
SC3 Shams	30	14	5	Secondary school	None	Aleppo	45	Primary school
SD4 Gammar	25	18	3	Secondary school	None	Idlip	47	Primary school
SE5 Zahra	36	28	3	Primary school	None	Aleppo	51	Primary school
SF6 Warda	32	17	4	Primary school	None	Aleppo	45	Primary school
SG7 Rahig	31	24	2	Secondary school	None	Aleppo	47	Primary school
SH8 Nasim	40	20	4	Primary school	Tailor	Aleppo	50	Primary school
SI9 Nasma	24	17	2	Primary school	None	Aleppo	33	Illiterate
SJ10 Matar	33	22	3	Primary school	None	Aleppo	40	Illiterate
SK11 Riah	60	16	10	Illiterate	None	Aleppo	69	Illiterate
SL12 Sahab	43	15	4	Primary school	None	Aleppo	53	Illiterate
SM13 Ghayma	22	16	4	Primary school	None	Aleppo	35	Primary school
SN14 Wahaj	24	16	3	Primary school	Hairdresser	Aleppo	33	Secondary school
SO15 Zilal	32	14	6	Primary school	None	Aleppo	42	Illiterate
SS16 Tajuj	33	13	5	Secondary school	None	Aleppo	47	Primary school
ST17 Anhar	57	17	6	Primary school	None	Aleppo	66	Primary school
SP18 Shummue	28	13	4	Primary school	None	Aleppo	32	Secondary school
SQ19 Anwar	31	13	5	Primary school	None	Aleppo	40	Secondary school
SR20	33	24	1	p.hD	Teacher	Aleppo	38	University graduate

If we look at the demographic characteristics of the respondents, we find that all the respondents are from the city of Aleppo except for one from the city of Idlib, and the period they spent in Turkey ranged between three to ten years, and their ages ranged between 22 and 60, and the researcher noted that there is a large age gap between husbands and wives which ranged between 4 to 14 years. As for the level of education, we find that most of the respondents in the study completed their education until the end of the primary stage, and only a few of them completed their studies to the secondary stage, and there were two illiterate respondents and only one of the respondents has completed her education to the doctoral level.

If we compare the educational level of women with that of their husbands, we find that most of the husbands are uneducated, and even the educated have not completed the primary stage, and according to field information, for women, the low educational level is because the society in Syria, does not give importance to women's education and limits their roles in society to having and raising children. So this has become part of the society's customs that the family sends the girl to school until she reaches the sixth level, because at this stage the girl can write and read, and she is forced to leave school and wait for applicants to marry her. Likewise, the age corresponding to this stage is the age at which a girl reaches puberty, so they see her marriage as a ward off danger and to preserve it so as not to bring shame to the family. A report by Mohamed, (2010) to DW channel, explained the reasons girls drop out of school in Syrian society to traditions and customs and religious beliefs system, for instance, "Some fathers believe that it is not permissible to send a female to school so that the male does not see her, given that she is" a focus for provoking pleasures and desires, which makes the one who looks at it commit sins, and take bad deeds when looking at it" (Mohammed, 2010).

The low level of education was associated with marriage at an early age, as the study found that 7 of the respondents got married between the ages of 13 to 14 years, 6 got married at the ages of 15 to 17 years, and the rest of the respondents got married at the age of 18 and after 18, and here it is worth noting that the Personal Status Law in Syria allows the marriage of a girl from the age of 13 and a boy from the age of 15, meaning there are no legal obstacles to the marriage of a girl under the age of 18, as is the case in

Turkey. The number of children of the respondents ranged from 1 to 10. It is noted that older women have more children. We notice that the number of children is related to early marriage and the age of the respondent. Here it is worth mentioning that according to the first report on the Syrian population in 2008, that the prevailing fertility in Syria was a high fertility pattern and that is more than 4 births for a woman. This high fertility pattern is prevalent in Daraa, Dier alzour, Aloppe, and Idlib (Syrian Family institution, 2008).

As for their experiences with work, only three of the respondents have experiences with work, one of them worked as a seamstress in Syria but left work after resorting to Turkey, and one works as a hairdresser from home because her husband did not allow her to work outside, and the latter works as a Turkish language teacher in a secondary school, and the researcher noticed that these professions, sewing, and hairdressing can be done from home and do not involve mixing with males, which shows the dominance of husbands even over the nature of professions that can be done as women work.

### **3.6. CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS**

To conduct the interview, the researcher took pre-appointments commensurate with the preferred time and place of the respondents and told them that the interview might take between 40 to 90 minutes. At any moment-and here it must be mentioned that the researcher told the respondents that they needed to be alone in a room during the interview to ensure the flow of information in a safe atmosphere.

The interview was divided into four main stages, and it should be noted here that those stages were divided only to facilitate the researcher in managing the interview time and there was no clear separation during the interview between each stage and the next stage.

#### **3.6.1. Building Trust between the Researcher and the Respondent**

At this stage, the researcher used the skills of the social worker in conducting a professional interview, the most important skills which are trust, empathy, respect, and



honesty. Which helps the respondent to express his\her feelings, and own experiences. The researcher adopted various mechanisms to build confidence, such as seeking to create a sense of equality between her and the respondents in line with the guidelines for conducting the feminist interview, which was mentioned previously. In addition to that, the researcher introduced herself with emphasize the fact that she came from a similar socio-cultural background as well as allowing them to express what they had about the researcher, which sometimes included personal information, and the researcher did not hesitate to answer them. some respondents presented coffee to the researcher, and the researcher did not hesitate to take it, which paved the way for spreading an atmosphere of friendliness in the place of the interview. This stage took between 5 to 15 minutes. Here it must be mentioned that this stage was very important in preparing the respondents to share their experiences with the researcher without hesitation, and previous studies indicated that this less formal starting stage is very important in establishing trust and familiarity with the respondents, because this time is the most appropriate time to create the environment file that in which respondents feel comfortable sharing personal information, having gained the impression that their stories are valuable (Mendis, 2009).

### **3.6.2. Introducing the Topic of Research and its Ethical Aspects**

After the researcher felt that the respondent was reassured and ready for the beginning of the interview, the researcher at this stage informed the respondents about the topic of the research, where the researcher initially clarified her interest in women's issues and the research topic was defined in a simple language without engaging in scientific terms, and the researcher gradually clarified the basic ideas of the research topic While avoiding the use of words such as violence, abuse to avoid affecting the answers of the respondents, it should be noted that this stage is related to the previous one because part of the confidence-building process is to clarify the topic of the research. After all, this is closely related to their consent to voluntary participation in the research, after introducing the topic, the researcher moved to clarify the ethical aspects related to the research in a simplified language in line with the level of perception of the respondents. She also has the right to refrain from answering some questions, if she does not want to

answer. In addition, the researcher made it clear to them that the information generated from the interview will be used only for scientific research, and she will use nicknames in the research, will not use their real names, and that the interview will be audio-recorded after their consent. The researcher had to explain to the respondents that participating in this research does not entail any financial returns, and it was necessary to do so because through the experience of the respondents as refugees they had an idea that anyone who contacts them to obtain information will result in financial returns in the future, and the researcher shared her contact information and promised them to share with them the results of the study and that they can contact her at any time and ask for help. At the end of this stage, the researcher took the verbal and written consent from the respondents to declare their acceptance to participate in the study.

### **3.6.3. Asking Questions**

Because the type of interview, is an in-depth semi-structured interview, the nature of the questions in this type of interview are open questions, and the researcher does not commit to the same sequence of questions in the form, but rather the interview takes an informal character. The interview took the form of a mutual dialogue between her and the respondents. The researcher began gradually to ask questions to the respondents based on the specified periods (pre-war period, the beginning of the war, and internal displacement, a period after being asylum in Turkey) to know the experiences of women with intimate partner violence. The topics of the interview questions were as follows:

1. Demographic data.
2. Women's experiences with intimate partner violence (pre-post war and internal displacement and after being asylum in Turkey).
3. Strategies those women have used to deal with intimate partner violence.
4. Women's perceptions of gender roles.
5. Defining women of intimate partner violence and their recommendations to stop violence or forms of assistance that can be provided to women who are subjected to intimate partner violence.

In asking questions, the researcher avoided using scientific language or terms that could affect the way the respondents interact with her, and they were in many cases asking the researcher for her opinion on some matters, and she avoided answering some questions, so as not to affect the way they answered. The researcher used some words such as “You are not the only one who has experienced this matter”, “I’ve heard of this before”, and “My sister has gone through the same experience as you”, These kinds of words make women feel that they are not the only ones, who are subjected to violence from the husband, and as previous studies indicated (Gray et al, 2015 ; Mendis, 2009 ; Campbell and Wasco, 2000,) that most women who are exposed to violence blame themselves and cause them to be exposed to violence and feel stigmatized, so they do not want to disclose their experiences with violence. In this stage the researcher has shared her own experience about the violence to get rid of the fears that the respondents have in sharing their experiences with the researcher, is because as Cotterill and Letherby, (1993) indicated that sharing personal experiences contributes to destroying the power relationship between the researcher and the respondent. The researcher also avoided using terms such as “violence” or “abuse” and “rape” and this is its reference from that, as we mentioned earlier, the researcher used the World Health Organization’s guide for domestic violence research, where paragraph (B) states to avoid using these terms so that the respondents do not feel embarrassed (WHO, 2002, p. 15th). Therefore, the researcher avoided these words in addition to asking about the actions included in each form of violence instead of asking about the form of violence itself. For example, when asking about physical violence and sexual violence, the researcher asked about them in the following way:

During your married life, do you remember that your husband once pulled your hair, slapped you, hit you with something sharp, or did something that caused you negative physical consequences?.

During your married life, did you ever feel that your husband asked you to sleep with him, even though you had no desire for that? Did you ever feel that he asked you to do something during the relationship between you and him and you felt uncomfortable doing so?

To ask about experiences with intimate partner violence, the researcher made use of the questionnaire of study WHO Multi-country study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against women (2005), by using the same introduction that was used in the questionnaire to ask women about intimate partner violence, as follows:

When two people get married or live together, they usually share both the good and the bad moment, I would now like to ask you some questions about your married life, and how your husband treats you. If anyone interrupts us, I will change the subject of the conversation, and I would like again to assure you that your answers are going to be top secret, and you don't have to answer that you don't want to, so can I continue (WHO, 2005, p.148)

In this stage, the researcher employed good listening skills, and that has helped in gathering in-depth information.

#### **3.6.4. Ending the Interview**

At this stage, the respondents were thanked for the time allotted for the interview, and the researcher explained to them the importance of the information shared with the researcher, and that this information not only helps in the research but might be employed by further studies to help other women who went through the same experience of the respondents. One of the most important ethics of feminist qualitative research is to empower the respondents by playing the role of the mediator in providing the respondents with information about the sources of services. Therefore, at this stage of the research, the researcher provided the respondents with emergency numbers and the numbers of the institutes they could contact in case they were exposed to violence or in the event of a request for any social, psychological, or health assistance, the agencies are: Ambulance 112, Police 115, 183 Social Service Hotline for Women and Children, SGDD an organization (Association for solidarity with asylum seekers and migrants) 03122126013, Helpline for Women Survivors of Domestic Violence 02126569696, Refugee Information and Support Center 03123380200.

At the end of the interview, the researcher asked the respondents about their impression of the interview and their feelings about sharing their experience with the researcher,

and the majority of the respondents answered, that although the researcher is the first stranger for them to share their experiences with violence, they felt relieved during the interview because, they did not see any behavior of arrogance from the researcher, which made them feel that she is not only a person who wants to obtain information but that she is a personal friend to them and that dealing with her will not cause them any expected harm. Hence, it can be said that the use of feminist qualitative research principles such as reducing hierarchy, providing information and resources, and communicating warmth and respect led to the interview being a positive experience for Syrian refugee women and useful in creating new ways of interpreting their experiences and identifying their needs. Here, it should be noted that previous studies, such as Campbel and Wasco, 2000; Mendis, 2009 ; Campbel et al, 2010 ; Gray et al, 2015, found the same benefits mentioned above as a result of applying the principles of qualitative feminist research.

The study empowers the feelings of the respondents and that they have a point of view on some matters and that someone listened to them with interest and mercy without judging them. Even though one of the respondents with whom the interview lasted for 4 hours divided over two days stated to the researcher the following:

"Yesterday, after you left, I did not expect you to come and listen to my problems. For the first time, I found someone to talk to, without getting bored of listening to me about these long stories. Seriously, I express to you all my thanks and appreciation to you, because you gave me the feeling that there is someone interested to know my problems" (SQ19, Anwar, 31 Y Aleppo-).

As for the time taken for each interview, we find that the interview time for most respondents took between 40 and 120 minutes, but some interviews lasted for more than 240 minutes, which forced the researcher to divide the interview into two consecutive days. One of the respondents (SP18 Shumue) was unable to complete the interview, due to the arrival of her husband, who prevented her from completing the interview with the researcher.

### 3.7. DATA ANALYSIS

Since the researcher grew up in a patriarchal society (Sudan), throughout her life she has witnessed and lived with domestic violence within her community, friends, neighbors, and relatives. Even within her family, the relationship of her father with her mother, and the relationships of her married sisters with their husbands. The researcher herself was subjected to gender discrimination in her family, as the final decision in her family was in the hands of men. The researcher's voluntary work with centers for psychological and social support services for refugee women also made her witness more than facts about domestic violence. These personal and professional experiences helped the researcher to reach a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the collected data. Adding personal and professional expertise to the research which Glaser (1978) called "Theoretical Sensitivity". The concept of theoretical sensitivity means an in-depth understanding of data and the ability to identify important aspects of the data and assign meanings to it. Theoretical sensitivity varies from one researcher to another, according to the degree of review of previous literature on the subject of the study (research, theories, documents, reports.....etc.), and the difference in the personal and professional experiences of the researchers. The previous literature and the subjective and professional experiences of researchers are among the most important sources of theoretical sensitivity. The data analysis process is also an additional source of theoretical sensitivity. Because at this stage the researcher interacts with the data by asking questions, writing notes, and comparing the data with the previous literature. Thus, the researcher develops a mini theoretical framework on the concepts and the relationships among them. This entire means, in short, that theoretical sensitivity refers to the ability to give meanings to data, in-depth and comprehensive understanding of data, clarity of vision, and ability to distinguish between topics related to the subject of study and others (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). And (also in feminist research, the researcher's addition to her personal experience is considered an addition to the research, but at the same time the researcher adopted the approach of objectivity and bias in each stage of the data analysis. since the feminist research is not only directed at women but from the women as well, the experiences of women were relied on as the main source of research information. That is, the researcher looked at the experiences of

Syrian refugee women with intimate partner violence, not only from her point of view but from the point of view of women. The beginning of the analysis of women's experiences was from the inside, which in turn enhances feminist research (Harding, 2004), and from a feminist standpoint theorists, point out that the cognitive and political advantages of starting research from within women's lived experiences are not limited to providing a more accurate description of their lives only, but also provides a description of life and social relations the politics in which the lives of these women overlap (Harding, 2004).

To analyze the data, the researcher tried to take advantage of the programs that appeared in the recent period to help researchers in analyzing qualitative information because the prevailing tradition was that analysis programs were linked to quantitative research only, but many qualitative analysis programs were developed.

The MAXQDA program is one of the most widely used programs (Gizzi and Rädiker, 2021), and therefore the researcher used it to analyze fieldwork data. To use this program, the researcher had to learn how to use the program, knowing that the researcher did not use any of the qualitative analysis programs before, only her experience was limited to the SPSS program, to analyze quantitative data, and during this period the researcher began to search for sources through which it could be to learn the program, she started watching some educational videos on YouTube about the program, and she also read many articles, visited the official website of the MAXQDA program and read the usage guide, but the information obtained by the researcher was not enough to start using the program. Therefore, the researcher had to take a training course, and thus began to search on the internet, about the institutes that provide education on this, and here it must be mentioned that that period coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic, and all educational activities became virtual platforms and through the internet search, the researcher found a group on the telegram program concerned concerning qualitative research, there the researcher published a message that she is in the process of analyzing qualitative data and would like to use the MAXQDA program, and she wants the group members to help her in knowing the entities or individuals who provide training courses on this. Indeed, one of the members referred to it to another member, who is a lecturer at King Saud University in Saudi Arabia and is

currently in the process of obtaining a Ph.D. from Monash University, Department of Media and Communication in Australia, and for his concern about qualitative research has established an academic institute for intensive courses about qualitative research its name is” Training Together for Intensive Courses” which provide a virtual platform in everything related to qualitative research and grounded theory. The researcher contacted the trainer, who welcomed, and sent her a link to register for a training course about the program, but the researcher asked the trainer to give her an idea about whether it is possible to hold an intensive training course on a one-to-one basis so that the researcher can benefit effectively, and the trainer agreed to provide Intensive lessons but drew her attention to the fact that the material value of this intensive course is higher than the group course. The researcher agreed to hold the intensive sessions due to her sense of the benefits that can be reaped through the intensive courses compared to the collective ones. Indeed, the first of November was determined as the beginning of the training, and it was agreed to hold the course in two days during the week, taking into account the time differences between the Australian city of Sydney and Turkish Ankara. After the beginning of the training period, the trainer suggested that the researcher buy the program because the free version available is of limited use. Indeed, the researcher purchased a version of the program (MAXQDA-2020) at 99 Euros at a reduced price for students, with a validity of two years. After each theoretical lecture, the researcher would apply a practical application to the previously prepared texts. The training period lasted for 4 months, and at the end of the training period, the researcher found herself through what she was doing in the practical application of the interview texts by completing the first and second stages of the analysis.

### **3.7.1. Data Analysis Stages**

For the data analysis step the researcher has used the model of( Braun and Clarke (2006) for thematic analysis that consisted of six main stages linked to each other. The researcher moved between those stages forward and backward, meaning I was moving between those stages until I reached the last stage, and I would repeat each stage several times because coding data does not come from the first time only, it rather needs



deletion and addition, for the researcher to extract the main topics of the research, and this is exactly what I did. In the following, we will present the stages in detail:

### **3.7.1.1. Familiarizing Yourself with Your Data**

At this stage, Braun and Clarke (2006), recommend, that the researcher gets used to the data, especially those who did not collect the data themselves. For the researcher, since I was the one who collected the data, this stage for me was to re-listen to what happened during the interview, and I was doing that at the end of the day After returning from fieldwork, I listened to each recording, and its goal was not only to hear the women's stories in order to consolidate them, but I was doing an evaluation of my performance during the interview and taking notes on this evaluation to benefit from them when conducting subsequent interviews. After completing all the interviews, the transcription of data was converted into texts written in Arabic. Here, it should be noted that the texts were written according to the women's dialect and with the same words, they referred to. The researcher avoided the negative aspects that may involve inserting her language into expressing the respondents' testimonies, which may affect the meaning. After writing the texts, the researcher reviewed them more than once, to ensure that all the information received was transferred. In the interview, from audio information to written information, the recording time of the majority of interviews ranged between 90 to 240 minutes, and all interviews were recorded, while keeping additional notes on the respondents' reactions during the interview and the observation notes that the researcher took during the interview. These notes were used by the researcher in the information analysis stage. Here it should be noted that the researcher did not use any program to convert audio texts into written texts, but rather used the traditional method that is based on listening for the audio recording and converting the audio into a written text, and this required a lot of time due to the speed of the respondents' speech, which made the researcher repeat the listening More than once to ensure the codification of all information. Although this method took a lot of time and effort from the researcher, it helped the researcher a lot in the analysis stage by establishing the respondents' stories in the researcher's mind and bringing them up to all the details of the interview, including the reactions, feelings, and emotions that the respondents had while talking

about their experiences, this contributed In giving a deep dimension to the analysis of those responses and their use in interpreting the information, and this is what in-depth interviews require. After completing the writing of the texts, the researcher reviewed the written text to discover the errors that were received during the conversion. Converting the audio interviews to texts that, the researcher did not do after the end of all the interviews, but started after the first interview, where the researcher listened to the recording to evaluate her performance during the interview to correct mistakes in the subsequent interviews. Which were not planned before, these developments were like new topics and the researcher wrote them down with the so-called theoretical notes in this way, the researcher was developing her performance for the interview, which increased the abundance and depth of information. After completing this stage, the researcher must move to the stage of converting that information into data that can be used to serve the objectives of the study. The interview texts were converted into a word file for each interview separately; the number of files was 20 files, and each file constituted the text of the interview. These files were uploaded to the MAXQDA program to allow the researcher to start encoding the data.

#### **3.7.1.2. Generating Initial Codes**

At this stage, the researcher read the text of each interview more than once to form a general idea. The text of the interviews was read line by line and each line or paragraph of the text was given a code or (Conceptual label) based on the characteristics of that line. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) mentioned, data analysis is one of the most detailed and most returning methods and allows the researcher to make comparisons between data easily (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Putting conceptual names for the codes helped the researcher in writing theoretical memos (Theoretical Memos). This stage resulted in each interview between 100-185 codes. The code names have been changed more than once; the codes at this stage are 2500 codes.

### **3.7.1.3. Searching for Themes**

After encoding all the data, it was necessary to search for common characteristics between them and collect them from each other, and put them in certain categories. Indeed, the researcher linked codes that bear the same characteristics and are repeated with each other in codes in 29 main themes. In other words, the codes were categorized into small groups that have their characteristics and conceptual limits. Here, it should be noted that the classifications of categories were not randomly or arbitrarily placed, but were systematically based on the characteristics that it carries, and here the researcher did not reach those 29 categories from the first time but rather included the process of repetition and removal more than once based on what the characteristics of each theme require. This stage had a major role in merging and it helps the researcher in merging the data and reducing its size.

### **3.7.1.4. Reviewing Themes**

This stage is the stage of rearranging the topics again using a coding model that includes all of the situations, framework, strategies, and results of action and interaction. In other words, the data was segmented and put into categories, each with its common properties and dimensions. Here, under each main topic, several sub-topics appeared. What distinguishes the analysis using the MAXQDA program is that it allows placing sub-topics under the main topic and hierarchically organizes them. Maps can be used, which makes it easier for the researcher to look at the content of each main topic. Here, all topics were limited to five main topics, each topic containing sub-topics.

### **3.7.1.5. Defining and Naming Themes**

Each theme was given a name indicating its characteristics, and this name that was given was related to the objectives and research questions. The themes are as follows,

1. Factors that create an environment of violence by an intimate partner
2. Forms of violence by an intimate partner before and after the war and asylum in Turkey

3. Strategies for dealing with intimate partner violence
4. Women's attitudes towards gender roles
5. Women's attitudes towards intimate partner violence and recommendations on ways to prevent stop and end intimate partner violence

#### **3.7.1.6. Producing the Report**

At this stage, the content of the codes was analyzed and a detailed explanation was developed based on theoretical foundations for the topics that the researcher extracted from the data collected from the respondents. Here, the program helped the researcher a lot in taking the appropriate quotes to support the analysis.

The stage of data analysis was one of the most exciting stages in conducting the research, as it made the researcher feel that she has a scenario for a group of stories, and these scattered stories must be arranged in one content that the reader can benefit from for the research. From what was previously mentioned about the stages that the researcher followed in the analysis, the analysis process in qualitative research requires more knowledge, flexibility, and the ability of the researcher to extract meanings and ideas from the data that are related to answering the study's questions. To data characterized by seriousness and scientific, it is a supreme committee consisting of many members whose main task is to follow up and evaluate research, especially the extent to which research adheres to the ethical guidelines specified by the committee before.

### **3.8. THE ETHICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH**

The ethical framework of research is represented in many principles and guidelines that the researcher must abide by. These principles and guidelines revolve around many issues related to the researcher and the respondents and the subject or the institution within which this research is conducted. Commitment to these frameworks and guidelines, given that research that does not adhere to ethical aspects, is considered unethical research and loses its practical and theoretical value. In the following, we will

explain this framework through two levels. The first level is the institutional framework within which the research is conducted, and the second level is related to the relevant ethical aspects of the qualitative research and how to conduct it.

About the first level, this study is institutionally a study within the Graduate School of Social Sciences And presented to obtaining a Ph.D. degree from the Department of Social Work, University of Hacettepe, and one of the requirements for conducting academic research at the university is that the research is consistent with the ethical guidelines that were set by ethics boards and commissions, It is a committee consisting of many members whose main task is to follow up and evaluate research, especially the extent to which research adheres to the ethical guidelines set by the committee before. The ethical committee has identified many ethical principles that included: The topic of the research must be related to the academic field, the study should be genuine as has not been studied before, and the research takes into account the rights, freedom, and human dignity, that the research does not cause any harm to the people participating in the study, inform the respondents of all the potential risks of participating in the study, give the respondents all the information related to the research, and then their participation is associated with their knowledge of topic research and the researcher must obtain the consent of the respondent orally and in writing, taking into account the research aspects of social responsibility, taking into account impartiality, relying on language that takes into account the non-use of expressions with discriminatory dimensions . The researcher took these ethical aspects into account in the various stages of the research, and accordingly, the researcher, along with the research supervisor, applied for permission to obtain approval from the ethical committee to conduct fieldwork in November 2019 and the approval was obtained in January 2020.

The second level is related to qualitative feminist research in social work. The researcher relied on two main sources as ethical guidelines in conducting the research. The first source is The World Health Organization's Guide to Domestic Violence Research 2002, which contains eight guidelines related to the safety of the interviewee and researcher, and the design of a methodology in line with the ethics of research, protecting the trust is important for the respondents and the quality of information, the efficiency of the researcher and data collectors, designing actions to reduce the damages

that may be incurred by the respondents from the research, providing support to the respondents in various ways, ensuring the confidentiality and preservation of information, taking into account the questions of violence, and the focus has been on aspects related to the safety of the respondent's Confidentiality and building trust between the researcher and the respondent during the fieldwork period. As for the rest of the guidelines, they were taken into account in the other stages of the research. As for the second source, it is through reviewing previous studies that the researcher found that there are five ethical guidelines for conducting qualitative research which is: (1) that research ethics is an integral part of research work and every stage of the research process; (2) empowering study respondents, especially those who belong to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups; (3) informed consent; (4) no harm to study respondents; And (5) the academic competence of the researcher to do the research (Peled and Leichtentritt, 2002). Based on that, the researcher tried, as much as possible, to adhere to those ethical guidelines, through the application of the ethical guidelines mentioned in each of the World Health Organization's guides to domestic violence research, and the ethical principles specified by the Research Ethics Committee.

About empowering the respondents in the research, the researcher removed the hierarchy in her relationship with the respondents and used the opportunity of their participation in the research for their personal and social empowerment. This is because the feminist research revolves around taking the woman's position and her point of view as a basis for starting, as it assesses and prioritizes the voices and experiences of women's life. The study, and that all the details of their experiences, even if they consider them unimportant, are important to the researcher, and that allocating part of their time to share their experiences with the researcher indicates the extent of their self-respect and the strength of their personalities, only (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002) that conveying the feeling to the respondents that they are contributors Important and effective in research that would empower women. The researcher did not limit her empowerment to the researchers on this dimension only but also went beyond linking the respondents to the sources of services and the bodies that assist. Through the researcher, two of the respondents received in-kind support provided by the benefactors of "foodstuffs" in the month of Ramadan 2021, another aspect of empowerment mechanisms. What the researcher followed was to help the respondents to expand job

opportunities for the respondents who had experience with work. For example, the researcher helped SN14, who works as a hairdresser, by creating an Instagram page to display what she was doing. The researcher shared the title of the page with her social network, which contributed to increasing the number of women who request the service from them.

The researcher worked to connect the respondents to the sources of services. For instance, since the beginning of the war in Syria SJ10's daughter experienced constant fear after a shell hit their home. The fear continued even after when they sought refuge in Turkey and she suffered from urinary incontinence. The researcher contacted Association for Solidarity with Asylum-Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), arranged an appointment with a psychiatrist, and asked the mother to take her daughter. In another case, one of the respondents shared the researcher's phone number with one of her friends whose brother was a drug addict. The researcher assisted and connected them to the anti-drug helpline number 191. In addition to extending help to the respondents, the researcher invited SQ19 to her home to have coffee together. This encouraged the researcher to develop informal relationships with the respondents and made the respondent feel valuable, and that her IPV experience is not a shame but rather an experience that could be beneficial to other women. The contact between the researcher and the respondents continued beyond the interviews and the researcher became a reference for consultation for the respondents.

The researcher also made every effort to ensure that the respondents would not be exposed to danger, or cause harm to them. In a room in which only the researcher and the respondent are present, some interviews permeate some circumstances represented by the entry of a person into the room, which causes the interview to be interrupted. Also, in order not to jeopardize the respondents and maintain confidentiality, the researcher used nicknames. She asked each respondent to choose a nickname for herself, and this is part of the ethics of feminist research, which states that the respondents should be given the same weight of power and that the researcher does not appear as (All of Knowledge), but rather it is a democratic process that gives everyone equal value, and it is a participatory and cooperative process in order to create scientific knowledge (Gray et al , 2015, p. 759).

### **3.9. THE REFLECTION OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC ON THE LIFE OF THE RESEARCHER**

I grow up in a patriarchal society and throughout my life, I have seen the occurrence of domestic violence as an outsider, but when I started the study fieldwork I discovered that the abusive husband's behaviors are not like what I imagined as an outsider, and that helped me to develop a deeper understanding of the issue. And I came across bad psychological impacts by stories of respondents with IPV, which even has affected my sleeping for example during conducting interview period I had not slept well. Respondents' experience with IPV had made me believe about all married women have experience with IPV, that is made me rethink more and more about marriage. Although this negative reflects, there are many positive things obtained from this study which are: this research has been a good chance for me to practice what I have learned, through this research I developed many skills in data collection, and I have read many studies which have helped me to understand the topic across different cultures. Also, this topic has helped me a lot to protect me from gender-based violence from men in the workplace and on social networks because when men know that I am writing a thesis about domestic violence I feel afraid of me and they become careful in dealing with me.

### **3.10. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE STUDY**

1. The covid-19 epidemic, which began at the end of 2019 and coincided with the beginning of the fieldwork, cast a shadow over many of the difficulties mentioned earlier.
2. Sensitivity of the topic to be studied since after reviewing the previous studies, the researcher found that the study of issues such as violence by an intimate partner is classified among the sensitive topics in the study, and its sensitivity stems from the fact that it has costs possible for the researcher and respondents (Lee, 1993; Lee and Renzetti, 1993), so the researcher had to take this sensitivity into account, and this caused some difficulties represented in the fact that during some interviews she was forced to change the course of the discussion due to the arrival of another person from the respondent's side. This caused an extension of the interview time, and this



negatively affected the course of the interview, which, as we mentioned, was in the form of a dialogue and a chat between the researcher and the respondent, meaning the interruption of the rope of ideas, which leads to rebuilding the sequence of ideas again.

3. The neighborhoods in which the respondents live are neighborhoods that are characterized by geographical distance, as the researcher used to take about an hour to an hour and a half to reach those neighborhoods, and she took into account that she finished the interview early to avoid the husband returning from work because most husbands work hours until the hour between 17:30-18:30 In addition to the dangers arising from the researcher's presence in those areas for late hours, as they are neighborhoods characterized by some security difficulties.

## **CHAPTER 4.**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, we will present the themes that the study concluded based on the objective analysis, and we will present an objective analysis of the experiences of Syrian refugee women with intimate partner violence. This analysis is based on a feminist theoretical framework as well as the women's experience will be placed within the overall framework and linked to the culture of a patriarchal system, such as (Gender inequality, subordination of a woman to a man, authority, and power). In addition to that, these women's experiences with intimate partner violence will be analyzed in the framework of war and asylum, because of their indirect role in increasing the incidence of intimate partner violence.

During the analysis of data, there are 5 main themes emerged as follows:

1. Social Factors that encourage a conducive environment of intimate partner violence.
2. Forms of intimate partner violence pre-post war period and after asylum period in Turkey.
3. Strategies used to deal with intimate partner violence.
4. Perceptions of women towards gender roles.
5. The perceptions of women towards violence and recommendations on ways to prevent, stop intimate partner violence, and help other women who were subjected to IPV.

#### **4.1. SOCIAL FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE A CONDUCTIVE ENVIRONMENT TO INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

Through the objective analyses of data, it became clear that there are many social conditions related to the culture of the society that provides an environment conducive to IPV these were produced by the society in the form of customs and tradition and become social norms obligated to all. These customs and traditions are very affected by the ideology of patriarchal society which is based on gender inequality. These factors are:

1. Marriage and engagement customs
2. Early marriage
3. The Custom of verifying the girl's virginity on the first night of marriage
4. Living with husband's extended family.

In the following, we will explain in detail the factors that drive IPV:

Customs and traditions in Syria played a major role in women's exposure to IPV. The social structure of a patriarchal system, which always places women in a lower position than men, is reflected in the family. In the home, the man is dominant, and the children and wife are subject to his authority. The woman performs the roles of raising children and household tasks, and she must obey her husband and comply with his orders. These factors created an environment for the occurrence of intimate partner violence. Furthermore, women began to believe that exposure to IPV from their husbands is part of their husbands' role in the family. Among the most important customs and traditions that contributed to the increase in IPV

#### **4.1.1. Marriage and Engagement Customs**

The previous studies indicated that the Syrian society is patriarchal (Haj-yahya,2002; Al-Shdayfat, 2017, Mac Tavish,2016 ). Therefore all customs and traditions are linked to the patriarchal culture specifically traditions and customs related to family kinship and social relationships. For example, the girls in Syria are married before 18 years (UNICEF, 2017; Bartels et al, 2017). The Syrian society links marriage with customs and traditions, and despite the developments that have taken place in the Syrian society, it still maintains the customs and traditions concerning marriage like the way the girl is chosen for marriage.

In the current study, the respondents reported traditions and customs in Syria; girls are married at a young age. Once the girl reaches puberty, her family decides to marry her off. The girl is chosen for marriage in two ways: The first way is chosen marriage with a first-degree relative (cousin) and the second way is chosen by the husband's mother.

The marriage contract (the book writing, as the local community, calls it) is done by a legal officer who has legal authority from the Personal Status Court. The authorized person is the Imam of the neighborhood mosque. The marriage contract is signed by the relatives of the husband and the husband as witnesses as for the wife, she does not attend, she is represented by her father or whoever represents her from among the men in the family, and the two parties sign the marriage contract. The marriage contract includes the dowry specified between the two families. All of the respondents had married according to tradition and customs in Syrian society. Two of them married Turkish men after fleeing to Turkey. One of them was married to a previously married man, and they got to know the groom through a mediator. The marriage was not registered in the court, but they got married at the authorized official (Maazoon-unofficial marriage ceremony). Two of the respondents, SP18 SR20, married in a non-traditional marriage, and the common denominator between them is that this marriage was their second marriage. SP18 Shummue married her second marriage out of love. SR20 Ahlam met her husband at her place of work and the period of acquaintance between them lasted for two years and she married an official marriage in court.

Concerning the first way to betrothal to girls is that: first-degree relatives, it is one of the most common forms of marriage among the respondents. Sometimes the girl is engaged since was a child to the son of her uncle or aunt, and she is not allowed to marry another person, so she is brought up since her childhood, provided that her cousin will marry her when she grows up. If a cousin wants to get married, he thinks first of his cousins and chooses one of them. There are popular sayings mentioned by women that justify a girl's marriage to her cousin, "Your cousin is your priority" The girl is forced to marry her cousin. A study by Cankurtaran and Albyrak (2019) found the same result that cousins have priority in marrying girls. (Cankurtaran and Albayrak, 2019, p. 27). The marriage to first-degree relatives causes the transmission of genetic diseases. One of the women mentioned that due to repeated marriages within the family, there are genetic diseases in the family.

As SC3 Shams mentioned,

*I got married at the age of 14. My family chose my husband. We do not marry outside the family. This thing created hereditary diseases. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

The researcher noted that in the case of marriage to first-degree relatives, the period between the girl's request for marriage and the marriage itself is very short, as it may last for only a month. This does not allow the woman the opportunity to get to know the husband, or she does not see him until the day of marriage.

The respondents mentioned as follows,

*My marriage was traditional. My cousin proposed to me when I was the age of 13. I got married at the age of 14. I refused my cousin because I did not know him, but my father gave him a word, and it is not right for me to break my father's word. Also, our customs say that, when a girl reaches adulthood, she must get married, she cannot go to school (SB2 Najma, 50 Y, Aleppo).*

*My husband is my cousin. I wanted to study. It is our custom that if a fiancé comes, the girl must marry, especially if the fiancé is a relative of the parents. I got married when I was 16 years old. One of our habits is that; if your cousin wanted you, you must marry him. I was in the ninth grade and preparing for the ninth-grade exams, but my father told me that I will not go to school anymore. I was a child, accustomed to school, and my friends were educated. I was in a situation where I had to get married. I did not object to my father because this is our custom and it is not right to say no to your father or disobey his order. But this thing is all wrong. I agreed because my father wanted him. And because it was like raping, I hated my husband from the first night of marriage and I hated marriage. The first day I saw my husband was the day of the wedding. I was very scared. My husband was older than me by one year. He worked as a tailor and studied at the same time, he was in the tenth grade and I was in the ninth. (SP18Shummue, 28 Y, Aleppo)*

Some of the respondents were engaged to their cousins at a time they do not even know the meaning of engagement, marriage, or the other gender. For instance, some of the respondents got engaged younger than 10 years old. When a young girl is engaged at such an age that deprives her to practice her childhood. The respondents who get engaged before reaching 10 years mentioned their experiences as follows,

*My husband is my cousin. My aunt engaged me when I was 5 years old, to her son. When I told my parents, they told me that I should leave school, but I refused and told them I want to complete my studies, ... but my parents forced me and told me that according to our customs, a girl must marry, a study is not important, and they cut all my notebooks and books and threw them in the trash. Then I left school and stayed at home and got married. I got married only two months after I reached the age of puberty. I didn't know what is marriage? (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo).*

*My husband is the son of my aunt, my uncle died and we went to the mourning house my uncle. My aunt saw me and liked me; I was 9 years old at that time. I got engaged when I was 9 years old. My fiancé used to come home and play with my brothers and sit with my father. I was a child and I didn't know how to do anything. He was 19 years old. We have the custom in Syria that if a girl comes to her fiancé to visit them, she wears clothes and does makeup, and so on. But I was wearing my pajama at home, and my hair was messy. Because of this engagement, I did not have a childhood. My aunt used to come to us and say to me that you must comb your hair; you must take care of yourself. You should not meet your fiancé in the house wearing pajamas. (SQ19 Anwar,33 Y, Aleppo)*

The age difference is not considered a barrier for a female to marry her cousin. Once the female reaches puberty age, her family might force her to marry one of her cousins. This plays a great role in the occurrence of intimate partner violence.

*I got married when I was 16 years old. My husband is my cousin. When I married my husband, his age was 25 years old. My uncle told my father that he wanted to marry his son to one of his daughters. My father chose me because I was the oldest of my sisters. I did not see the son of my uncle and I did not know him, because we were in the village and they were in the city. After marriage, I lived with my mother-in-law and it was the most difficult days of my life. (SK11 Riyah, 60 Y Aleppo).*

The custom of marrying relatives continued among Syrian refugees even after they came to Turkey. This affirms the commitment of the Syrian refugees to their customs and traditions, especially those related to family and marriage. for instance, SM12 Gahyma mentioned that she married her cousin after seeking asylum in Turkey as she stated below.

*I got married after we came to Turkey. My husband is my cousin. My aunt (my mother-in-law) came to Kayseri to visit her sister. She came to us for a visit, and she saw me and liked me. She came after a while and told my mother that she wanted to marry me to her son, my father and my mother agreed, and then they asked me and I said I agree. I did not agree, but because my family agreed, I agreed and told them that they can do what they want. I did not know what marriage is. (SM13Ghayma, 22, Aleppo)*

Similarly, another respondent mentioned that she had two daughters, aged 11 and 12 years old and their father betrothed them to their cousins and now, they are waiting for them until they reach the age of puberty to be married off as she mentioned below.

*I have two daughters, one 12 and the second 11 years old. My husband's family called their father and said that we want to marry your daughters to my children. They called their father and he agreed without taking my daughters' opinion or my*

*opinion, and I wanted my daughters to complete their education, but we, the Syrian women, do not have a word for anything, my husband beat me when I said no. I want my daughters to complete school. Now, I hope that my daughters will not get married, and I hope that a decision will come from Erdogan that the girls who refuse to leave school will take them by force from the house. (SC3Shams, 30 Y, Al Aleppo)*

The second way to betrothal to girls is that: the husband's mother goes and wanders around the houses of the neighborhood or distant relatives and looks for her son a bride based on the standard of beauty, family lineage, and the girl's morals. Often the mother of the groom goes to the midwife in the neighborhood, and she is fully acquainted with the girls of the neighborhood and those of them of marriageable age. The groom's mother goes with the midwife to the neighborhood houses and chooses a girl for her son. The first visit is by the groom's mother or sister to see the girl, and see if she is suitable or not. After the first visit, the mother of the bride tells her father, and if he agrees, the second visit of the groom's family will be accompanied by the bride to see his future wife. In most cases, the groom agrees to the choice of his mother. Then date for the betrothal is set. After the engagement, the bride's family is given a short time that does not exceed 6 months to prepare the bride, after which the marriage is concluded and the marriage ceremony is completed. Some of the women mentioned that they did not see their husbands until the day of their marriage, and some of them mentioned that the groom used to visit them in their family homes and talk to each other, to get to know each other. Some women have completed the marriage ceremony only 15 days after the engagement of the girl, which does not allow them to get to know the groom or see him. Some women did not see their husbands until the day of marriage. Some women mentioned that they married after only one month of puberty. A girl who reaches twenty years old and does not get married is subjected to harassment from society, and it becomes her family's concern to marry her to anyone. One of the respondents stated that she reached the age of 28 and did not marry, so her father married her off to the husband of her deceased aunt.

The respondents stressed mentioning that they were getting married in this way, which made them feel as if they were a commodity in the hands of their families who wanted to get rid of them. They were deprived of their childhood and assumed responsibilities

greater than their age. The respondents stressed stating that they did not know anything about marriage. Two respondents mentioned as follows,

*I have been married for 20 years. My husband is from our neighbors in Aleppo. My husband is not one of our relatives. His aunt saw me; she was living with us in the neighborhood and nominated me for him. He came and asked my family, and then my family took my opinion, I agreed to it, so they agreed, and we got married (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo).*

*I got married when I was 17 years old. We have a custom in Syria that the woman who wants to find a wife for her son, should go to the houses of the neighborhood; house by house and looks for a bride. My husband's mother, who is one of my relatives, came to our house to look for a bride and saw me, and the rest of my sisters, so she chose me for her son, and my mother and father agreed, so I agreed to marry him. In Syria, we consider the consent of the parents, more important than the consent of the girl herself, and if the parents agree, it is not right for the girl to object. We have a custom in Syria that a girl studies for the sixth grade and then leaves the house and waits for marriage. I got married in 2007 (SF6 Warda 32 Y, Aleppo).*

#### **4.1.2. Early Marriage**

Early marriage is defined by UNICEF as “formal marriage or informal union before the age of 18” (UNICEF, 2017). Marriage of girls under the age of 18 is one of the traditional practices prevalent in Syria, and society justifies these practices by the presence of cultural and religious motives, and even the law in Syria supports these practices, as we find in the Personal Status Law in Syria. girls and boys marry at the age of 15, but the law was amended in 2009 to make the age of marriage for boys 18 and girls 17 years, with some exceptions that allow marriage for boys from 15 years and girls from 13 years, and this shows the extent to which the laws in Syria contribute to the chances of women being exposed to IPV. The early marriage of girls comes as a natural result of the patriarchal culture with a discriminatory content between men and women, which is based on the distribution of roles and the division of work between women and men, with the woman’s only task in life being the birth of children, housework and husband service. Therefore, we find that as soon as the girl reaches puberty, the family thinks of marrying her off to carry out her tasks of having children and doing household chores, and also that families have another goal in marrying off girls as soon as they reach puberty. Having sex outside of marriage and these two things are considered forbidden according to the customs and traditions of the society in Syria.



The present study found that as soon as the girl reaches puberty, she is forced to leave school and is married off to her first fiancé to achieve the principle of “The Sutra ” Through objective analysis of the data, it became clear that most of the respondents got married between the ages of 13 and 17, and most of them were forced to marry, and they did not have the opportunity to choose whom they wanted to marry, and thus the family had laid the first building block for violence by the intimate partner.

Although the phenomenon of girls’ marriage at young ages, was widespread before the beginning of the war in Syria in 2011, many studies and reports indicated the role played by the war and the resulting humanitarian conditions of asylum, refugee exodus, and deteriorating economic conditions in increasing the phenomenon of early marriage among Syrian refugees. In the report of the Syrian Center for Legal Studies and Research (2018), the percentage of girls’ marriages before the war was 7%, with the beginning of the war in 2011 and the increase in violence and armed conflict, and the displacement of families to refugee camps on the borders with neighboring countries, families took girls’ marriage as a mechanism to adapt to the situation” and the percentage doubled in 2012, reaching 15%, but in 2015 the percentage reached more than 30% and most of these marriages were observed in the gatherings of displaced persons and refugee camps (Syrian Center for Legal Studies and Research,2018). The study of Öztürk et al (2021) indicated that poverty and earnings financial income, that families earn from marrying their girls, in addition to the families’ belief that marriage is a means of protection from security problems, “honor” protection, and problems of accessing education, covering up the sexual assaults that girls are subjected to, all of these reasons combined have led to an increase in the phenomenon of early marriage among Syrians refugees in Turkey. The study also indicated that there is another goal for the marriage of Syrian refugee girls at young ages, which is that; the goal is to increase the population, to compensate for the human losses associated with the war in Syria. In the same direction, the study of Bartels et al, 2017 in Lebanon, and the study of Sieverding et al (2020) in Jordan found that poverty, fears of girls being subjected to exploitation, sexual violence, and the lack of educational opportunities, these reasons represented the main motives for Syrian refugee families in both Lebanon and Jordan to marry off their girls of ages under the age of 18 years.

The current study found that two of the respondents got married after the beginning of the war, especially after internal displacement and asylum in Turkey for the same previous reasons, and they mentioned the following:

*We went from Idlib to a faraway village, because there was war, clashes, and explosions. We fled. Our village belonged to the Free Army, and the school I was studying in the regime area. We found it difficult to reach the school and sometimes there were explosions in the school I was in the school, so my father decided that I leave the school and sit at home. During that period, the living conditions became difficult and the families' conditions were very difficult. I was in the spirit of working on olive farms with my mother and father at the time. My husband's mother saw me and they asked for my hand from my father. I was not thinking of getting married. I wanted to study, and complete my education until the university. But my father agreed and gave them a word, and we got married after that, and I came to Turkey with my husband (SD4 Grammar, 25 Y, Idlib).*

*When the events started, and there were a lot of beatings, slanders, and kidnappings of some girls in Syria, my father did not allow me to go to school. And he asked me to marry; I got married when I was 16 years old. I studied for the sixth grade (SM13 Ghayma, 22 Y, Aleppo).*

Syrian refugees, even in the country of asylum, marry their daughters at a young age despite the existence of laws that determine the age of marriage. In the case of Turkey, the respondents mentioned that girls are married off at the age of 18, and the marriage is not registered in court until the girl reaches the age of 18. Or the girl is registered at an older age when the identity card is issued for her. One of the respondents mentioned that her son married a girl at the age of 16. But he was imprisoned because the girl got pregnant at the age of 16, and when she went to the hospital, she was told about her real age, and the husband was imprisoned. He was not released until the court was convinced that the marriage was with the consent of the girl. Now the respondent is afraid of repeating the same thing, as her daughter-in-law is pregnant for the second time and has not reached the age of 18 years.

#### **4.1.3. The Custom of Verifying the Girl's Virginity on the First Night of Marriage**

Intimate partner violence starts from the first night of marriage, because of the society's customs related to making sure that the girl does not have sexual intercourse before marriage. In other words, making sure of her virginity. The local community calls this

custom "The white sheet" which means after the sex of the first night of marriage, blood is supposed to fall on the bed's white sheet. The man presents the sheet to his family and the girl's family, as a sign of her virginity. The respondents reported that this habit is done as follows:

After the marriage ceremony is completed and the bride moves to her husband's house, her mother goes with her, and then she is taken to her room. The mothers of both the husband and wife wait outside the bride's room until the sexual process between the spouses takes place. Then the man comes out of the room with the sheet in his hand, with blood spots or dots on it, and the mother of the bride takes the sheet and shows it to those in the house from the groom and the bride's family, then they begin to "rejoice" and "ululate" and congratulate the mother of the bride on the good behavior of her daughter.

If the girl refuses her husband to approach her, because of her fear of him or her fear of the sexual process, in this case, she is subjected to coercion in the relationship by the husband or beating and the use of force to complete the sexual relationship. If the husband does not feel the rupture of the hymen and the blood oozing on the sheet, this situation will be a disaster for the girl and her family, so that the reputation of the whole family is stigmatized by society, and the girl is divorced on the same night of marriage and her mother may be beaten by her husband because she did not improve her upbringing and if the girl has other sisters, none of them will be married.

Due to the cultural and symbolic importance of this custom, all families are keen that their daughter's reputation is not stigmatized, and this by presenting the white sheet with blood points on it to the husband's family and the rest of the attendees from the family, relatives, and neighbors, to confirm the family's honor. Also, this custom has another cultural significance, which is the man's proof of his sexual abilities in completing the sexual process from the first night of marriage, and this constitutes a symbol of masculinity and pride in society.

Regarding the respondents' experiences with this habit, some of them mentioned that they were beaten or threatened by their husbands on the first night of their marriage. Most of the respondents mentioned that their husbands used force to complete the

sexual process on the first night of marriage. Some of the respondents indicated that being forced into the relationship made them feel that they were a commodity that had been purchased and wanted to make sure of its quality and because of the force of the relationship from the first night of marriage, feelings of hatred for the husband was formed.

The following respondents reported:

*On the first night of my marriage, I didn't know anything about sexual intercourse, I didn't know that something should happen between a man and a woman, to make sure of her honor. The important thing is the first night after the wedding; I went to my mother-in-law's house. We entered the room, my husband and me. I didn't expect him to be like this. I remember the first night I cried and said to my husband, "Leave me." he was very angry with me and said, "Do you want people to talk about me, and say that I am not a man?" Because we have habits that something must happen from the first night and his mother was looking at us outside to be reassured. He said, "You want to blacken my face in front of my mother". I remember this as if happened to me five minutes ago." (SS16 Tajuj, 33Y, Aleppo).*

*After the wedding, we went to my mother-in-law's house. At first, my husband came flexibly and told me that, it must happen because people are waiting outside, and if this did not happen, they will think that I am neither good nor honorable. As a result, he took me by force and threw me on the bed, his face turned red and his eyes enlarged and he said if you open your mouth, I will hit you. I was afraid of him and allowed him to come close to me and something happened between us that I did not want, but for the people waiting outside, I did this. At that time every half an hour his mother knocked on the door and asked, her son "why has nothing happened. Maybe she is not a virgin, I thought that this is a little girl who still doesn't know anything. And now she is not a virgin. I regret that I gave her to you (SP18 Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo).*

Due to the customs of verifying the girl's virginity on the first night of marriage, some of the respondents were exposed to negative health effects, including bleeding, vaginismus and fainting, and deep injuries in the vaginal area. The two respondents reported their experiences as follows:

*On the first night of marriage, I was very scared. My husband was insisting that there should be a sexual relationship between us, but because of my fear, my whole body started trembling, after my husband left me. I understood that I was tired and that he left and nothing happened. The next day, his mother came to us and asked my husband, and he told her that nothing happened, and at that moment, they said that something is going wrong. The matter was not normal. We continued like this until the third day and nothing happened. I had a case called Vaginismus after that, my husband started to change. He started to get angry with me, how*

*something happened, and he became a lot intolerant and screaming, why and so, and he started telling his parents that nothing happened between us. I was I trying to press myself that something would happen between us to get rid of this story, but nothing happened between us. I was married for 6 months and until I divorced my husband, nothing happened between us. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

*On the first day of my marriage, I did not know what marriage is and what should happen between husband and wife. when my husband entered the room and started to approach me, at this moment I was scared, and then I had bleeding and they took me to a doctor in the neighborhood and he said to my family: "This is normal because of fear. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

Some of the respondents mentioned that this process was not completed on the first night of marriage because their husbands seemed to understand the issue and did not force the women into sexual intercourse on the first night of marriage. But the mother of the husband and the mother of the wife intervene in this case and put pressure on the spouses to complete the sexual process as soon as possible so that the reputation of the wife is not subjected to stigmatization by society. The husband's mother advises her son to show his strength in completing this sexual process and not to wait for many days until the wife agrees to this. An example of this is what Gammar mentioned that her husband expressed an understanding of the necessity of not rushing to complete the sexual process, but the sexual process was completed as a result of pressure from both her mother and mother, and she mentioned the following:

*On the first night of marriage, I was afraid of my husband, because I did not know him, and I would not consent to him approaching me and touching me, according to the customs in Syria, the mother of the girl goes with her to her new house, so my mother went to my husband's relatives. Their house is very close to our house. She asked whether anything happened or not, and she was saying that something must happen because people started talking about me. I spent a whole week without letting my husband get close to me. Sometimes my husband was nervous and yelled at me, but when he saw me crying, he would leave me. I was keeping pace with my husband, and I said that I know that the sexual relationship between us must happen, but I couldn't at that moment. There were moments in which I hated myself and hated marriage, and at one time, I told my husband; why I did not like him, so he had to wait for a little while for something would happen, that will be accepted between me and him. I was crying a lot to keep my husband away, and when he saw my tears he couldn't bear it and left me. On the seventh day, my mother and his mother put a lot of pressure on him that he had to do something to give them the sheet with blood in it, as evidence of my honor; I agreed, and had our first sexual relationship after seven days. (SD4 Gammar 25 Y, Idlib)*

The mother of the husband and the mother of the girl contribute greatly to the woman's exposure to sexual violence on the first night of marriage, as they advise the spouses to complete the relationship and prove the girl's virginity so that the family's reputation is not exposed to shame and stigmatization from society. Because failure to prove the girl's virginity may be a reason for her and her mother's divorce. And if she has other sisters of marriageable age, no one will come to marry them, thus ensuring virginity is one of the most important things in marriage in Syria.

Some women mentioned that their families have abandoned the habit of forcing the girl into marriage and her mother and the groom's mother wait for them until the first sexual relationship takes place. After the marriage and the bride's going to her husband's house, the mother of the bride comes on the second day of the marriage and asks her daughter whether the relationship took place or not. Likewise, the husband's mother asks her son about the occurrence of the relationship and whether the girl is a virgin or not. Some of the respondents indicated that in the past, the mother of the bride had to go with her and wait outside the room until the relationship took place and the husband left. But with the changes that have taken place in society, this custom has taken on another form, which is that the mother of the bride comes on the second day of the marriage in the early morning and asks her daughter whether the relationship occurred or not so that family should not be stigmatized by society.

The respondents also mentioned that, If the sexual relationship does not occur within a maximum period of 10 days, then the whole family intervenes and the girl is taken to the neighborhood midwife or the hospital. One of the respondents did not have a relationship with her husband for 6 months, but she reported that she was subjected to violence from her husband, her father-in-law, and her mother-in-law. This was the reason for her divorce after 6 months of marriage. She stated the following:

*After a week of marriage, nothing happened between us, my family and my mother intervened in the matter, and the issue became that this must happen. I was very upset with myself and started to become depressed. And I was talking to myself. I felt that my life was exposed to people. This is a very private matter. Why does his family interfere in such a topic? I felt worthless. I was telling my husband: Don't tell your family about the, while this thing is supposed to be private. It is forbidden for you to speak. But he wouldn't hear my words. I was living in a house alone, but my husband's family came every morning to know whether something happened between us or not. In the first period, my husband was angry, and I was afraid of*

*what he would respond to. I felt that I had made a mistake. I had to shut up and I had to solve the problem, but then I felt that my husband's family and my mother-in-law were against me, and even my husband was against me This is in the first period, the first months. We have to go again and search for another sheik on the basis that our souls should rest, and on the basis that the jinn came out, but nothing happened between me and my husband. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

The habit of confirming honor continued even after seeking refuge in Turkey. One of the women got married in Turkey and after completing the marriage ceremony and the husband and wife moved to their room. Both the husband's mother and the wife's mother waited outside the room until the husband completed the sexual relationship, with his wife and then presented the white sheet with its drops of blood to both his mother and the mother-in-law to assure them of the woman's virginity.

As Ghyama mentioned,

*On the first night of marriage, I did not feel that my husband was a stranger to me because we were engaged four months ago. I got to know him, and he usually came to our house and talked to me. After getting married, my mother and sister came to us from Kayseri to Ankara, and they stayed with me for some days. I was a little scared of my husband, and from the first night of marriage something happened between us, but my husband was affectionate to me. (SM13 Ghayma, 22 Aleppo)*

Based on the foregoing, it can be stated that the norms and customs in the patriarchal system, can lead to the legitimization of sexual violence in the marital relationship by the man, and the hidden acceptance of this sexual violence by women as part of their daily life and their marital relations. Also, it turns out that the issue of virginity in Syrian society is not only linked to the breaking of virginity in the first sexual process between the husband and wife, but the matter extends to include the "honor" of the family and the tribe, according to the society's belief that drops of blood from the woman in the first sexual process, between her and the husband, are evidence of the presence of the virginity, and the lack of sex before marriage. But society ignores an important point that women in Syria are exposed to the risk of sexual assault from different groups in society, and even that some women are subjected to sexual assaults within the extended family by relatives, but as a result of the association of sexual issues with honor and shame for the family, women do not disclose their exposure to such attacks. Also, during the war period in Syria, many women were subjected to

sexual assaults, harassment, and rape by multiple parties, such as armed groups, being raped in prisons (AL-Aleukl,2021). As well as being subjected to sexual assault by service providers, and during the migration journey, both before in search of safer areas (Freedman,2016). Society overlooks all those factors that contribute to the breaking of the virginity for women and insists on complying with customs and traditions such as the “white sheet”, and this increases the plight of women and creates an environment for her to be exposed to violence from the husband from the first night of marriage.

#### **4.1.4. Living With the Husband's Extended Family**

The extended family is a social structure consisting of three generations, fathers/grandparents/grandchildren, between whom there is a blood bond on the part of the father or mother, or it is a group of nuclear families linked by a blood bond that shares the same dwelling. This social structure is prevalent in the societies of developing countries and minority societies in which individuals feel the spirit of collective belonging and organize themselves in the form of large groups whose members depend on each other. As Bester et al (2015) pointed out, The extended family is a model for collective cultures in which all family members are interdependent and share family responsibilities, including raising children (Bester and Van-Rooyen, 2015). Culture plays a major role in building standards for each individual’s role (Georgas, 2004). Within the extended family, roles are determined based on the social status of the individual within the extended family.

In Syria, the dominant family pattern is the extended family from the father’s side, and it consists of three generations or sometimes more. All family members are subject to the authority of the father or the brother in the absence of the father. That is, the family is patriarchal, in which everyone is subject to the authority of men. Extended families in Syria are characterized by the preservation of customs and traditions, and there is great pressure on children and grandchildren to comply with the customs and traditions in society. As for the social structure of the extended family in Syria, we find that men are at the top of the social pyramid, followed by older women and their daughters, and then at the bottom of the pyramid are the wives and children of the sons. Each family member has to play roles based on his position in the family pyramid. Men should work



outside the home and provide for the family's material needs. As for women, they raise children and do housework. The lower social status of the daughters-in-law makes them subject to the control of all family members, with men giving the older women (the mother-in-law) authority over the daughters-in-law. As indicated by Krause et al, (2007) “the daughter-in-law occupies a lower position within the husband's family and is responsible for serving the members of the household. She is subjected to violence not only from the husband but also from the husband's parents” (Krause et al, 2016, p.3166). Family members who are in a higher position than the daughter-in-law expect her to perform service roles and to show them obedience. The inconsistency in those expectations leads to conflicts that end in violence against her from family members and the husband himself.

The husband's extended family plays an important role in the woman's married life, and it may have a positive and negative role in a woman's married life. The positive role is to help the newly married woman adapt to live with the extended family and adapt to married life, or the family's contribution to resolving marital disputes between spouses and intervention to stop violence by the husband. The negative role of the husband is in interfering in the privacy of the married woman and not leaving her personal space in dealing with her husband and her children, controlling the mother of the husband, inciting the mother of the husband and his sisters the husband and creating problems with the woman, expecting family members from the woman to obey and comply with their orders. Previous studies showed that married women who share the same house with the husband's family are more exposed to violence from the intimate partner and violence from the husband's family. For example, in a study by Clark et al (2010) in Jordan on the role of the extended family in women's risk of violence from an intimate partner, the results of the mixed (quantitative, qualitative) study factors that increase the risk of women being exposed to violence from an intimate partner, including living with the husband's family, and interference of the family in the married life of women. 26% of women have been subjected to physical and psychological violence and control from their husbands' families. In the focus group interviews, women stated that they were subjected to violence more than the mother-in-law was mentioned at 30%, followed by the sister-in-law at 27%, the brother-in-law at 17%, and the father-in-law at 9% (Clark et al, 2010). Azam Ali et al (2018) study on the influences of the extended family on

both sides of the husband and wife in marital disputes and intimate partner violence among Pakistanis, the study conducted 41 individual interviews with Pakistani men and women in Pakistan and the United Kingdom to find out their views on the subject. The study concluded that joint housing with the husband's extended family has a significant role in marital conflicts and violence by the intimate partner against the wife. This is because the wife lacks privacy and personal space, and the husband's mother and sisters interfere in the affairs of the woman and frequently submit complaints to the husband, which leads to violence by the intimate partner. Also, the wife's expectations about the duties of the husband towards the extended family lead to the occurrence of intimate partner violence. The study also found that sometimes the husband's family has a positive role in helping the woman to adapt to the extended family situation (Azam et al, 2018). This is about the husband's family. In India, in a study conducted in urban and rural areas in northern India, it was found that housing in the extended family of the husband's family makes the woman subject to psychological and physical violence from her mother-in-law. The study found a significant difference in the views of both men and women about the daughter-in-law's exposure to violence from her mother-in-law. There is tolerance on the part of male society members of psychological violence, and they see that reprimanding and yelling at the daughter-in-law is the responsibility of the mother-in-law, to correct the mistakes of her daughter-in-law and teach her the responsibilities of married life. Unlike the following women, they believed that the mother-in-law had no right to abuse her husband and her son, and she had no right to interfere in her privacy. Both men and women agreed that it is not permissible for the mother-in-law to hit the daughter-in-law in any case. They differed about the duties of the daughter-in-law in the home, as the men believed that she should perform all the duties on her own, but the women saw the necessity of dividing the duties half by half between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. The opinions of the respondents in the study varied about the choices that can be taken from a woman who is frequently exposed to physical and psychological violence from her mother-in-law; some of them believed that the daughter-in-law should be patient and bear and not talk about being subjected to violence from her mother-in-law, in order not to expose the family's reputation to shame and scandal. The spouses must move to live in a separate house from the husband's family, or they can move to live with the wife's family. However,

this option included discussions from the respondents about that if the husband himself abuses the woman and does not accept her to move to live in another house, the financial situation of the husband, the girl's family may not bear the move of their daughter to live with them (Ragavan and Lyengar, 2017). Another study in Mumbai, India on violence by in-laws against women during pregnancy and after childbirth. The study pointed out that violence by in-laws is common in Mumbai. During pregnancy and after childbirth, women are exposed to physical and non-physical violence from the husband's family. Non-physical violence includes forced labor, denial of food, and attempts to prevent access to health care. In addition, women are exposed to physical and sexual violence from their husbands during pregnancy. This violence negatively affects the health of women and children (Raj et al, 2011).

In the current study, through the analysis of the data, three main themes emerged under this heading:

1. Lack of privacy, interference by the husband's family in the woman's marital life, and incitement to violence against the wife.
2. Doing all the household duties in the family of the husband's family and serving the family members.
3. In-law physical and psychological violence (the husband's parents, the husband's brothers and sisters).

#### **4.1.4.1. Lack of Privacy, Interference by the Husband's Family in the Woman's Marital life, and Incitement to Violence Against the Wife**

According to the Syrian traditions, when a son gets married, a room is allocated to him in his family's house to live in with his wife. The husband shares with his father the cost of living, or if the father is dead or does not work, the son becomes the financial provider for the extended family and his small or nuclear family. Within the extended family's home, there may be several nuclear families, according to the number of male children, so they share the cost of living with the brothers. The geographical space allocated to the woman in the husband's family's home is only one room that is shared

with the rest of the family the kitchen, the living room, and the bathrooms. This is from the geographical point of view, but from the other social and economic aspects, she does not have any specificity. All financial matters and decisions related to them are in the hands of the husband and his mother. A woman cannot spend more time with her husband alone in the room because the husband's family does not allow this, and finds it a big shame if she is with her husband when the family members are outside sitting with each other. As one of the respondents mentioned, "If I sat with my husband or woke up late and came out of my room, they would burn me with words"

One of the bad results of living with the husband's family is the lack of privacy. Women cannot spend time with their husbands. The husband's family interferes in the marital affairs of the woman. Living within the extended family has made them always under the control and supervision of the husband's father and his family, who feel that they have the right to control the woman and that her duties are to fulfill their requests and the right to raise them if they do not obey them. Women also feel non-privacy and lack of independence in their marital life and that they were obliged to obey all family members. If this did not happen, the woman would be exposed to violence from her husband or her mother-in-law.

As Ahlam, S11 Riyah and SR20 Ahlam mentioned in following:

*When we got married, there was no sexual relationship between me and my husband. After a week, his family intervened in the matter and started talking about me and insulting me. They used to tell me that I am not a girl, refusing to let my husband do something with me. And they insisted that something should happen between us. I was very upset with myself and started to become depressed. I was talking to myself, why did I throw myself into this situation? I felt that my life was exposed to people. This is a very private matter. Why is his family interfering in such a topic? I felt worthless. I said to my husband: Don't tell your family about the visionary, while this thing is supposed to be private. It is forbidden for you to speak. But he didn't hear what I said. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

*I lived a lot of injustice in the house of my husband's family. But if your husband is with you, there is no one to wrong you. My husband was not on my side, and I had no regard for him. My husband's family was making fun of me. My life with my husband was exposed to them, so they interfere with anything about me, and my family wouldn't stand by my side. My weapon was crying and silent, and there was no sense in my life. My family knew, but they did not stand by my side at all. Sometimes I was thinking of divorce or leaving the house, but I thought of my children and people will tell me that I left them. I appeared in front of people that I*

*was happy, but I was always sad from the inside and I felt that I was helpless as much as I remember that my husband did not stand with me against this injustice.*  
**(SK11 Riah , 60 Y, Aleppo)**

#### **4.1.4.2. Doing Housework and Serving Family Members**

The social position of the daughter-in-law within the extended family of the husband's family determines the roles that must be performed based on her position. The daughter-in-law is responsible for household duties and serving family members. The daughter-in-law or "The Kenia" becomes responsible for washing dishes, washing clothes, preparing food, cleaning the house, preparing tea, and coffee for the members of the house when they ask her to do so and honoring the guests. In some families, the number of married sons is more than one, and the husband has unmarried sisters in this case, the woman shares these duties with them. The role of the mother-in-law is to distribute tasks to them and supervise and monitor their work. Also, one of the roles of the mother-in-law is to go to the market and buy the house's needs of food, and the needs of her sons' wives and daughters. The daughter-in-law does not have a role in decisions related to the home, especially about family financial matters and the purchase of supplies. Even the food to be prepared is determined by the mother-in-law. Some mothers-in-law do not allow the daughter-in-law to prepare food. Her role is limited to being with the mother-in-law while preparing the food and helping her. The duties of the daughter-in-law begin from the second day of her marriage. The bride has to get up early and prepare breakfast for the family. The women who were late in bringing breakfast are the ones who were subjected to insults from their mother-in-law because their mothers did not raise them well and teach them the customs and traditions of society. In some families, the daughter-in-law does not start her duties at home from the second day of her marriage. She is hosted for a period ranging from 3 days to 7 days. During that period, the husband's mother or sisters provide services. After completing the hospitality period, she begins her duties at home. Women share tasks with other daughters-in-law or sisters-in-law. Some women mentioned that they were the daughter-in-law or the first "Kenia" in the husband's family's house, and thus they performed all the duties of the house on their own, and they found it difficult to do so. And because most of the women got married at a young age, they mentioned that they were unable to

do all the duties due to their young age and their physical inability to do all the housework for the big family.

The following respondents reported:

*From the second day of my marriage, I had to go down and help my mother-in-law in cleaning the house. On the first night, there was a dispute between us because I did not know how to clean and she did not like my job, and she started yelling at me, "Why do you not know how to clean?". (SP18 Shumue , 28 Y, Aleppo)*

*My mother-in-law in the house is responsible for anything in the house, me and my mother-in-law, and my sister-in-law; had to clean, cook and wash. What she wanted, she was complaining to my husband and he always told her to be patient with her until she learned how to work the house. Sometimes he would get angry at me and yell at me in front of his mother to please her. (SH8 Nasim,40 Y, Aleppo)*

*When I first got married, I lived with my mother-in-law at home, but it was one of the worst days of my life because my mother-in-law is a tyrannical, domineering woman with her daughters. I and my predecessors were responsible for the house, but I was the one who took more responsibility for cleaning the laundry and helping her with the cooking. She wouldn't allow us to cook, since we don't know how to make food, she cooks and I help her in the kitchen. Because they are older than me at home and are stronger. All the decisions of the house are in the hands of my mother-in-law, and I did not feel my privacy. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

If the mother-in-law complains to her son about the wife's failure in domestic duties, the result will be that the wife is exposed to physical violence from the intimate partner. As for SI9 Nasma is mentioned below.

*My mother-in-law was responsible for the house, my husband was at work, and my mother-in-law went to the market and brought home supplies. We did not go outside except in case of going to visit my family and my husband would take me. And once I complained to my husband and he hit me, he said, "I don't know how to clean the house, I need to learn. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.1.4.3. Physical and Psychological Violence and the Violent Behavior of the In-Laws**

As we mentioned earlier, marriage is based on the parents' desire, and the mother chooses the suitable girl for her son to marry. This opens the way for the mother-in-law to interfere in the life of the woman after marriage, and according to the mother-in-law's

point of view, she is helping the woman to adapt to the new married life on her. Culturally, customs and traditions dictate that married women live with their extended families. Socially, if we look at the social structure within the extended family, we find that men are at the top of this structure, followed by the older women, who are often the mother-in-law in the third place, the wives of the sons, who have the lowest degree in the social structure of the family after them only the children. Men are in control of all decisions in the home, and men give older women the task of supervising and controlling daughters-in-law and unmarried daughters. Conflict occurs between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law.

Living with the husband's family put the women under the control of the husband's family and exposed them to violence from them. The most violence they were subjected to from the husband's family is violence from the husband's mother or the mother-in-law who imposes her and controls all their behavior. And the matter does not stop with the mother-in-law being controlled by her. Rather, they have been subjected to physical, psychological, and economic violence. The mother-in-law also causes disputes between the woman and her husband. The respondents stated that all their problems with their husbands and their exposure to violence were due to the mothers of their husbands who incite their children against their wives and submit complaints to them about their failure to perform their domestic duties or their lack of respect and obedience to them. In this case, the husband supports his mother, whom he considers to be right in all cases, and exposes his wife to violence, and in some cases, it even leads to the expulsion of his wife from the house. Some women mentioned that they were subjected to violence from their husbands in front of their family because the husband wants to prove to them his control and control over his wife or as the respondents mentioned he wants to prove his manhood. In the patriarchal system, masculinity is associated with violence, femininity with obedience, and weakness. Controlling the wife and beating her in front of the family makes the man a greater position in front of his mother. As the feminist perspective has pointed out in many cases, violence is synonymous with power. Failure to use force or threat can be seen as a sign of weakness (Cehpuka, 2013). Most of the respondents were subjected to physical violence by members of the husband's extended family, especially from the mother-in-law. The respondents mentioned their exposure to physical violence from the mother-in-law in many cases namely: failure to complete

household duties as desired by the mother-in-law, failure to serve family members, women's interference in the affairs of the husband's family, non-compliance with the orders of the mother-in-law, the woman's refusal of the sexual relationship with her husband, the mother-in-law's suspicions that the daughter-in-law is cheating on her son the woman telling her family that she has been subjected to violence, or anyone else. Some women were subjected to physical violence from their husband's mother-in-law during pregnancy which caused them to bleed frequently injuring the fetus.

One of the women mentioned that her mother-in-law not only beat her, but also kicked her out of the house, and her husband could not do anything about it. she mentioned as follows:

*My mother-in-law didn't like anything about me. For example, she would say, "Make the so-and-so." I used to say to her, "I don't know how to do it." I told her, "You can teach me," she says, "go outside the house." When my husband came, he would go and say to his mother, why do you treat her like this, she would sometimes also expel my husband from me. I was talking to the imam of the mosque he said, my daughter, why don't you go to your family, once I went to my father and told him, he blamed me and he said you must be patient and do the thing that your mother-in-law wants. Therefore, I did not tell my father anything because he would not help me and he would not stand beside me. I missed the month of Ramadan as long as I sat with her with a single whistle. I was walking and eating in the mosque in front of the mosque. The Imam said, "Go to your family." I would have moments when I could not get out of this life, leave this thing I am in and go to an unknown place. Once my mother-in-law chased me out of the house, I walked the streets until I got lost from the house. Then I got into a taxi and came home. Sometimes I had moments when I said I would go and complain to the police, but we have in Syria the police who will not stand in my class and surely they will tell me I am mistaken. (SP18 Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo)*

In addition to physical violence, the respondents were subjected to psychological violence, controlling behavior, and economic violence from their mother-in-law. The respondents mentioned that they were constantly insulted and their families by the mother-in-law, and this made them feel that they had no value. They mentioned that the husband's mother was controlling all their actions and interfering in all their marital affairs. For example, she interferes in the sexual relationship between a woman and her husband, interferes in financial matters between spouses, determines the dates for them to visit their families, determines for them the form of clothes that they must wear at home, and determines the people they can visit and talk to, determines the number of children and pregnancy, determines the amounts of money which they can request from



their husbands. Some women mentioned that the mother-in-law had expelled their families from their home when they visited them. The mother-in-law's interference in all matters of the women's married life made them feel that they were in prison and their actions were always under the watchful eye of the mother-in-law. Some women described their mother-in-law as a jailer. SQ19 Anwar and SS16 Tajuj reported her experience with mother-in-law violence as follows:

*On the day of my marriage, on the day of the wedding, my mother-in-law expelled my mother from my house. She came to my house to see my bedroom. I had an old room. My mother asked why you didn't bring my daughter a new room. My mother-in-law kicked her out of the house. I wouldn't know this thing. On the second day of marriage, we have customs in Syria that the mother comes to her daughter in the morning and brings breakfast with her. I woke up in the morning and I missed my mother. I asked them why Mama didn't come, they didn't tell me the truth, they told me she just didn't come and put the blame on her. After marriage, I spent 9 months without seeing my mother, and I did not know anything about her. My husband and mother-in-law prevented me from going to her, not even talking to her, and they prevented her from coming home to me. They were taking revenge on her because my mother refused our marriage. Mama, on my wedding day, saw my destiny in front of her. She said, "I wish you would not go to your husband's house. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

*I used to go to my family every 15 days. My mother-in-law was the one who determined my visits, and when I can visit my family. My husband could not say anything to her. Once t doing something wrong and My mother-in-law was angry with me she came and locked me in the nursery. I spent a whole day from morning to evening, imprisoned in the room without eating or drinking. To open the door for me, I used to say, I want to go to the bathroom or to drink water from the bathroom pipe. My mother-in-law made me see all kinds of torture. She was a completely non-natural woman. (SS16 Tajuj, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

Mother-in-law practices controlling behavior toward the wife of her son. Each of SP18 Shumue and SF6 Warda pointed out that their mothers-in-law determine the type of clothes they wear, and their visits, and practice economic violence on them by depriving them of their husband's money to meet their needs.

*I did not have the privacy of eating alone, even if I wanted my money I should request my mother-in-law, or if I wanted anything, I had to ask her for it, for It is forbidden to go to the grocer. It is forbidden to buy anything without my mother-in-law's permission. She focused on me in particular. On the second day of the wedding, my family came and blessed me. My mother-in-law commented on the way I dress. She told me, "What happens to you, why do you do make-up, why do you wear like this?" My mother-in-law forbade me to do this thing after I got dressed and did make-up. She exclaimed; what is this? wash the make-up and*

*change these clothes and wear normal clothes. At this moment, I was shocked because she came to me. She told me this in front of my husband, and he did nothing. He said, "Listen to my mother's words." In our customs, this is considered an insult to the bride, who does not wear sweet clothes and does makeup. (SP18 Shumue , 28 Y, Aleppo)*

*At home, I couldn't rest, even the clothes I should wear as my mother-in-law decided for me. I will be wearing a headscarf because my brothers-in-law are at home, and wearing the usual clothes, when I am in my room at night, I was supposed to hear her aggressive words, and I could not object. On one occasion, my mother-in-law asked me for a request, and I did not fulfill her request. When my husband came from work and learned what had happened, he expelled me from the house and took me to my family's house, and told my mother that she did not raise me well, and did not teach me about customs, traditions, and respect for the mother of the husband. My mother slapped me in the face in front of my husband as well as my father hit me and my mother because she did not raise me to respect the mother-in-law. I sat at my family's house for three days, and then my father took me back to my husband's house and warned me that the same thing would happen again. I felt great injustice, and from her, I knew that I had no support in this life that would stand by me in front of the tyranny of my husband's mother, and I felt humiliated in front of her, her daughters, and my predecessors, since that situation I started not to tell my family about anything that happens between me and my husband, because I know exactly what their reaction will be. And I decided to be patient with this injustice. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

Another form of the mother-in-law's interference in a woman's married life is the interference in the sexual relationship between husband and wife. Sometimes the woman has no desire to have a sexual relationship with her husband. If the woman refuses, the husband tells his mother, who in turn forces her into this relationship, either by beating or threatening that she will marry her son to another wife, or threatening them to tell their families about that. Or sometimes some women are accused by the mother-in-law that the woman is in a relationship with another man, so she refuses to have a sexual relationship. As SA1 Noura mentioned in the following:

*I was in Syria responsible for the whole house. Washing and cooking food, and sometimes I was pregnant, and at the same time being a maid working the house, and my mother-in-law would not have mercy on me. When the night comes, I must sleep with my husband. If I did not sleep with him, my mother-in-law creates problems for me and starts talking to me, and accuses me of betraying her son. (SA1 Nour, 41 Y, Aleppo)*

The researcher asked some of the respondents (SA1, SB2, ST17, SK11), who had daughters-in-law, why do they think that the daughter-in-law should serve all the members of the house and do all the household duties?

The 4 respondents answered that according to society's customs, a son marries to bring a girl to help his mother with household chores and that it is originally the woman must work inside the home and not work outside and bring money. The girl who wants to get married must prepare herself for that. One of them stated that when she got married, she was responsible for all family members and her mother-in-law did not do anything, and now her daughters-in-law have to do so. She also taught her daughters the necessity of respecting the husband's family, fulfilling their requests, and fulfilling their duties towards them to the fullest extent, so that others would not talk that she fell short in raising them on customs and traditions. However, they mentioned that because they were subjected to physical violence from their mothers-in-law, they do not expose their daughters-in-law to physical violence. Rather, they advise and guide them on how to perform household duties and how to deal with the husband. However, one of the respondents coded as SM13 Ghayma is the daughter -in law to SK11 Riah she stated that she feels a lack of privacy in her life because of the interference of her mother-in-law in everything in her life. This means that they are not aware that what they are doing is violence against the daughter-in-law, but rather they see that it is part of their duties as protectors in guiding and advising the wives of the sons.

The Mothers-in-law mentioned as following:

*Always for those who have disagreements between my sons and their wives, I stand in the line of my son's wives, but after her husband walks in spirit and speaks with her, she is supposed to be patient with her husband, and if she sees her upset, she remains silent. What is mentioned in the Qur'an? "Men are the leaders of Women". All marital problems are caused by women. I will give you an example, for example, if the man was angry and beat his son. At that moment, I am not supposed to argue with him. After he calms down, I come to talk to him flexibly and tell him it is not right to hit our children and harden them as our parents are cruel to us. The woman is the one who takes care of her home and her husband. If her husband is hard on her, she should be patient and be satisfied with her share of the world. The woman is supposed to respect her man, and shouldn't raise her voice toward him, but the man is also supposed to respect her, because of this I deal with my in-laws in a good way. If one of my daughters complains about her husband, I tell her that she is not right, they don't want to tell me about their problems. A woman should not become stubborn with a man; a woman who comes out of the face of her husband is an infidel. My advice to girls who will marry is that there must be an*

*understanding between them. Now, my in-laws love me a lot. I stand by their side a lot. I say to my sons that you must treat your wife with humanity. You do not want anyone to insult your feelings, so do not insult your wife's feelings and you must respect her. For example, last week my daughter-in-law wanted to go to Mersin to visit her sister, but my son refused her. The girl kept crying and felt sad, and I came to talk to my son and told him that it is not right for him to deprive her of seeing her family. (SK11 Riyah, 60 Y, Aleppo)*

*I now advise my sons to deal with their women in a good way, but I advise the wives of my sons to listen to what their husbands say. I have two in-laws with me at home. The first time they came to me, they were young and did not know how to do anything. I used to say to them: You have got married, and marital life is different. You must take care of your husbands and your homes. I mean, what happens when he comes from work and finds food is not ready. You must not leave anything missing from the housework for your husband to rejoice in you and say, indeed, I married a woman. I always tell them that if she loves her husband, she will provide for him and his needs as much as she takes and gives. Eating, cleaning clothes, and cleaning children are the requests of the husband, if the woman provides them for him, it will not become a problem. One of them felt stubborn, for example, by saying, "My daughter... it is not right to appear on the balcony hanging the laundry without wearing a veil. You do not hear my words." And every time you work like this I get nervous about it, then you apologize to me. I tell her not to do the wrong thing so she doesn't need to apologize!. (SB2 Najma, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

Another aspect of violence as a result of living with the husband's family is that the woman is exposed to physical violence and psychological violence from the rest of the family members, who feel that they have the right to control her and interfere in her affairs. She must obey them and comply with their orders. Women were subjected to insults from the husband's family, beatings, slaps, and interference in marital affairs. They are also a reason for the woman to be subjected to violence from her husband at times. The respondents mentioned as following:

*Once the son of my father-in-law interfered in a misunderstanding between me and his mother. His wife told him that I insulted his mother. He hit me, I told my family, my family came and my father, wanted me to get divorced from my husband, I was pregnant with my first son, and there became hatred between the two families and after that, I did not tell my family anything. My family did not come to see me for 4 years. And did not sit with my family-in-law. I accepted this position, but I complained to my husband who sometimes quarreled with them... Once the daughter of my mother-in-law hit me. My husband came and hit his sister, and also hit me. (SS16 Tajuj, 33 y, Aleppo)*

*Even his family hit me, I was brought young to this house, and I had a daughter of my father-in-law. My mother-in-law hit me. The important thing is that I was severely treated. (SL12 Sahab, 43 y, Aleppo)*

*When the war began, my husband's brothers came to live with us; I was in the house and found problems between us starting at home with the wife of my husband's brother. My husband's sometimes times hit me before his family. His brother and his wife were in a single room because they were newly married and they saw everything. (SC3Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

Based on the above, it can be stated that most of the respondents moved to live with the extended family of the husband after marriage. Sharing the same house with the husband's relatives made the extended family of the husband's parents play negative roles in the lives of married women. But the husband's family's intervention in the life of his wife has not only been associated with sharing the same dwelling because even the following women resist in a separate house and far from the pair reminded to interfere with protection, especially in their marital life SJ10, ST21. Only three SG7 patterns, SE5 were not exposed to any intervention of the husband's family in their marital lives. On the contrary, SG7, and SQ19 supported the people of the pair and helped them face violence.

## **4.2. FORMS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE DURING PRE-POST WAR AND BEING A REFUGEE IN TURKEY**

### **4.2.1. Forms of Intimate Partner Violence during the pre-war period**

During this period customs and traditions in Syria have played a major role in women's exposure to violence. The social structure of a patriarchal system, which always places women in a lower position than men, is reflected in the family, in which the man is dominant, and the children and wife are subject to his authority. The woman performs the roles of raising children and household tasks, and she must obey her husband and comply with his orders. These factors created an environment for the occurrence of IPV. Also, women began to believe that exposure to violence from their husbands is normal. The forms of IPV during that period were as follows,

#### 4.2.1.1. Sexual Violence

The researcher noticed that women avoid talking about their experiences with sexual violence, especially they avoid using the term “sexual relationship” and instead use phrases that have the same meaning as the sexual relationship such as “this thing” or “something happened between us” and “when we are sleeping together”. Although the researcher avoided using words, that could influence women's answers, such as rape, and sexual violence, the respondents hesitated to answer questions related to sexual violence, and their answers included references to sexual relations. This indicates the effect of socialization within the patriarchal system, which prevents women from talking about sexual matters and considers them taboo. The same thing Doud's (2021) study found is that Syrian women do not disclose their experiences of sexual violence and feel uncomfortable when asked about sexual relations with their husbands, and even when they talk about that violence they use short phrases to indicate it. This can be attributed to the fact that in the process of socialization in Syrian society, talking about sexual issues, especially for women, is considered taboo, and therefore most of those interviewed preferred to use parallel terms.

Sexual violence takes different forms. Through objective analysis of the data, it became clear that the most violent acts of sexual violence are forced sexual relations or what is called according to the World Health Organization (WHO) "marital rape". Two respondents, SB2 Najma and SK11 Riyah stated that throughout their married life they did not enter into a real sexual relationship with their husbands rather, they felt compelled each time to have a sexual relationship because of the refusal of sexual relations may be a cause of increased IPV. The respondents mentioned the following:

*He forced me to enter into a relationship with him, and if I refused one day, he would punish me the next day, and he would not bring us the necessities of the house. Throughout my marriage, I never slept with my husband out of Joy or even desire. I was sleeping with him because I was afraid of him, and no problems should happen or he may wrongly think, that I cheat on him, and I sleep with another man. He wakes up in the morning and creates a problem with me and with the children. (SB2 Najma, 52 Y, Aleppo)*

*All the time, my husband had forced me, and I felt like, I was doing this thing just for him, I had no desire for him. Because I was afraid of him and hated him, his*

*mother, and the whole family. I have no sincere feelings towards him. I was not safe with him, nor did I feel that he is my husband. (SP18, 28 Y, Aleppo)*

The mechanism of forcing a sexual relationship differs from one husband to another. While some of them use (physical violence) to compel wife others use methods such as threatening to marry another woman or having sex outside of marriage, accusing the woman of having a sexual relationship with another man, and threatening her by informing her family, and some of them also punish the woman economically by depriving her of her household needs such as food. For the reasons mentioned the woman finds herself forced to the sexual requests of her husband to avoid the occurrence or increase of IPV. The women mentioned their experiences of being forced into sexual relations as follows:

*He wants to sleep with me every day, sometimes I feel upset with him and, don't want to sleep with him, but he forces me, and I do not refuse because I do not want problems between us. In the first years of marriage, if he wanted to sleep with me, he says sweet words and becomes affectionate. But after we are for how many years together, he came without introduction and took what he wanted. I hope that once my husband will deal with me romantically like what we see in the cinema. (SO15 Zilal, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

*Sometimes I don't want to sleep with him, and I agree to sleep against my will because I do not want a big problem between us. I do not want to make problems for no reason; he shouts and gets angry at me. And says, "Why did I marry you? Is it not because of this?" After that, I did not object. And I also, think that the woman has no right to refuse to sleep with her husband for no reason. This is forbidden in the Islamic religion. (SN14 Wahaj, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

Another way of forcing the woman is associated with the culture of the society and its religion, they believe marriage aims to help men to avoid informal sexual relations and the basic role in maternal life for women is to fulfill the sexual needs of the husband regardless her desire and the community punishes woman which who refuses. Besides that the society believe according to the Islamic religion a woman which refuses sexual relation with her husband, God will punish her and the researcher noticed that these beliefs were reflected in respondents, for instance, some of the respondents mentioned that the woman has no right to refuse sexual relation with her husband without a specific reason, such as monthly period, being sick. And the respondents used the word "taboo or forbidden" more than one time to emphasize that fact. As SD 4 Gamar mentioned,

*If the woman is sick, she can refuse, but for no reason, it is not right for her even in the honorable hadith by saying that it is forbidden for a woman to refuse her husband's request for sexual relation, and if she refuses, the angels curse her till the morning if her husband sleeps while he is angry with her. (SD4 GAMAR, 25 Y, Idlib)*

Another mechanism for forcing the woman is the pressure by the mother-in-law which is represented in the husband waving his mother's information, in case the woman refuses to engage in sexual relations which in turn may expose the wife to physical and psychological violence. Forcing is done by the pressures of the mother-in-law. SM13 Ghayma mentioned her experiences with that as follows:

*My husband is not satisfied if I refused to sleep with him; he gets upset with me a lot. If he wants, I have to agree. He doesn't give me a chance to refuse. If I refuse in the morning he makes problems for no reason, and sometimes he forces me to sleep with him several times just so that there is no big problem between us, or he tells my mother-in-law that I refuse to sleep with him, and if my mother-in-law knew about this. She will make a problem, and I respect her as my mother and I don't like her to get upset with me. (SM13 Ghayma, 22 Y, Aleppo)*

The respondents were asked about their views on forcing the wife, to have sexual relations and their opinion on the wife's refusal to have sexual relations with the husband and their answer as following:

Most of the respondents believe that the woman does not have the right to refuse her husband's request to enter into a sexual relationship without any reason preventing that. And if she refuses without any reason the man has the right to compel her and this is due to the cultural and religious factors that were previously mentioned. Some respondents indicated that the husband has no right, in any case, the husband does not have the right to force the wife to have sexual relations, since the sexual relationship is consensual and accepted between the two parties. They mentioned as following:

*A sexual relationship is supposed to be consensual between the two parties. My husband does not force me if I want him on one of the nights, and the husband does not have the right to force his wife to have a sexual relationship with her. (SE5Zahra, 36 Y, Aleppo)*

*It is her right and imposed on the man who estimated her position. For example, yesterday, I told my husband, I am tired, I do not want, he left me. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*



Sexual violence accompanies physical violence, which is the use of excessive force and beatings, and this leaves health effects on the woman's body, represented by bleeding and vaginal infections. The respondents mentioned the following,

*My husband is very violent. If I oppose him, he will hit me, so I do not refuse at all. And I sleep with him so that he wouldn't beat me or hurt me, because once I had bleeding, I became afraid. (SC3, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

*In the first days of my marriage, I was in a lot of pain. Sometimes I was crying out of pain when my mother-in-law heard me, she said to him, "deal with her kindly this is a child". Because I cried a lot from the intensity of the pain. He sometimes treats me with tenderness, when he sees me hurtled a lot I start crying. Sometimes he leaves me, and sometimes he gets angry at me, hits me, and takes what he wants from me. (SS16, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

On the other hand, the researcher noted that the older women did not like to go into the details of their experiences with sexual violence. This indicates that older women are more careful with the traditions that forbid talking about sexual matters. For example, when the researcher asked SK 11 Riyah about the sexual relation and her reaction was being silent for a while and was hesitant to respond, after a while, she answered with the following,

*He didn't ask me at all if I wanted or not. My husband was forcing me to do anything; there was nothing to do with my desire or consent. "The respondent was silent for a moment"... She said to the researcher, but, "You know, my daughter, these topics are not allowed to talk about, keep the cover such matters. (SK11, 60 Y, Aleppo)*

A small group of the respondents indicated that their husbands do not force them to have sexual relations, which reflect a different pattern, from the patterns that were mentioned previously, but their number is not large.

One form of sexual violence is forcing women to engage in some sexual acts that may be considered humiliating for them. As SA1 Noura mentioned in the following:

*I once got upset with him. I slept for three days in the salon on the third day. He came and threatened me. If you didn't come to sleep with me, I would go to bring a woman from the street. But in general, he does not force me to enter into a relationship with him, but my brother beats his wife when she refuses to let him do not proper things. I do not tell my stories to anyone, not my friends, not my family, or my parents. Sometimes my husband asks me to go to watch porn movies and do the same as actors do, and he forces me to do things that I don't like, but I do them*

*so that he does not get angry. Many times he makes me watch videos on the phone, and I did not like to watch them, but he told me to watch so that I can learn.*  
**(SA1Nour, 41Y, Aleppo)**

Based on the above, it can be said that coercion is one of the most forms of violence, and has mechanisms, some of which are related to the husband and some are related to the culture of society, and the mechanisms are the use of excessive force or physical violence, the threat to marry another woman, the establishment of a sexual relationship outside marriage, economic violence, telling mother-in-law, which in turn, press the wife. As for the mechanisms related to the culture of society, they are customs and traditions in society and the teachings of Islam.

The respondents developed various methods to deal with sexual violence by the intimate partner, which are pretending to be ill, sleeping in a separate place from the husband, not paying attention to appearance, sleeping in dirty and smelly clothes, praying during the night, and they found that these methods are useful in preventing sexual violence.

#### **4.2.1.2. Physical Violence**

Most of the respondents mentioned that they were exposed to physical violence from their husbands when they were in Syria, and some of them mentioned that they were exposed to more physical violence in the first years of marriage. All respondents agreed that the husband's family played a role in their exposure to physical violence especially since the husband often beats his wife in front of his family to prove his manhood to them as indicated by the women. The difference in expectations of a husband's duties towards his family is a reason for the woman's exposure to physical violence from her husband. The researcher noticed that physical violence was more when the respondents were in Syria. The reason for this is due to the culture of the society in Syria which legitimizes physical violence by the husband and considers it one of the means used by the man or the head of the family to control his family members also another reason for physical violence is The difficult financial conditions that coincided with the conditions of the war in addition to housing with the husband's family and the accompanying lack

of privacy and the interference of the husband's family especially the mother-in-law in everything related to the wife.

Through the objective analysis many acts that the respondents were subjected to and fall within the physical violence and varied from beating, pushing, punching, pulling hair, beating using a sharp machine such as a knife, slapping in the face, which results in the wife feeling that she has no value and an insult to dignity. The lack of self-esteem and one of the points that the respondents indicated is that they do not find any support from their families in the event they are exposed to physical violence. Rather the family is satisfied with providing advice to them not to do actions that may cause physical violence and that they must maintain the continuity of the family no matter what the cost is as mentioned by each of the SL12 Sahab and SB2 Najma.

*Once we got into a big fight because I told him that his brother's wife enchanted me by going to the sheik. I argued with him and he hit me with the palm of a bush and pushed me with a fist and told me to go outside my house. I first went to my father-in-law and they stood by my side, and my uncle came and told him what was not right to hit his wife. I spent three days not talking to him, then he came and he apologized to me and promised me that this situation would not happen again, and I also apologized to him, because I cried to him. I accepted his apology and he accepted my apology. (SL12 Sahab, 43 Y, Aleppo)*

*My husband is very difficult to deal with. When he tells me something that I have to do at length. In the first month of our marriage, he hits me the small and great objects. He hits me with anything in front of him, as long as he does get angry with me; Seriously, I felt that I didn't have any value. That's why I try as much as possible to avoid problems so that he doesn't hit me. During the war, the problems between us were due to financial matters. I asked my husband for expenses or money. He always told me that we have debts and he does not have money. He and his brothers all work the same job and the pennies are in the hands of one. I say they have all the money shared with his brothers. My man, when he hit me for the first time, I walked to my mother, I told her, and she said to me, "You have to endure, and this is your husband." From that day on, I decided that I would not tell anyone. My husband hit me with anything he could see in front of him several times. I once went to my father, my father returned me to my husband by force. And in order not to hit me when I see him angry, I try to hide anything that he can hit me with. (SB2 Najma, 50 Y, Aleppo)*

The reason for physical violence may be the wife's failure to perform some domestic tasks, such as what some of the respondents mentioned in the following:

*In the first years of my marriage, he used to beat me a lot. My husband loves to eat a lot. If he comes from work and finds that there is no food, he strikes me, yelling at me and telling me why he had married me. One time he hit me and broke my phone. After the war, we fled to other areas. He told me to erase our wedding pictures from the phone because he was afraid that the phone would be stolen or lost and my pictures would be spread. He insults, saying to me "you want photos spread like prostitutes on the Internet, the memory of the phone came out, it was broken, and the phone was broken, nothing was left in it. At that time, I was overwhelmed and started crying, and the most upsetting thing for me was that I was not able to go to my family because they are in one area and we are in another area. (SN14, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

*My husband used to hit me and treat me badly. Once in Ramadan, he beat me a lot because I didn't wake up to prepare the suhoor, and I told him that I am pregnant and tired. Why are you not doing suhoor for yourself? He told me that he is bored of this situation, why did I marry you? To sleep?. (SM13, 22 Y, Aleppo)*

Some of the respondents mentioned that the physical violence also may be happened due to the husband's suspicions of his wife's betrayal, as in the case of SR20 Ahlam, and SQ19 Anwar.

*My husband once hit me. He was searching for my laptop and saw pictures with my friends at the university. He saw a photo with one of my friends at the university. He said who is this and why did you keep the photo? I told him the first thing you don't have the right to search for my laptop. Secondly, this is a normal friend and I didn't trample the picture. He started screaming at me and told me "Get out of the salon, where I am, don't sit with me." On the same day, I went to my family, and I spent two weeks with them. Then he came and apologized to me and I came back with him. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

Also, SQ19 Anwar stated that,

*Once I wanted to send a message to one of my husband's friends to ask where he is. The letter went awkwardly to my husband he came and to see what happened. he came like a maddened man to me and said, what is between you and (X), he was hitting me. My children started crying and catching his legs. They told him not to hit Mama. He also hit them with me. I was with my sister at this time. My sister's husband came to calm him. My husband was rude and he started to fight with my sister's husband. So that the problem would not grow, I told them, that we should go and solve our problem outside the house. The important thing was to take me by car. I told him if he doubted me, divorce me, but do not hit me. He hit my head on the car and strangled me by my neck and hit me. I told him: I do not betray you. I told him if I wanted to cheat on you, nothing would stop me. Then I got the power to push him, and he fell to the ground, after that he came with a knife to kill me, I hit the knife with my hands and I fell to the ground. The important thing is that the one who shocked me outgrew this and started crying, and then he brought me home to my sister's house. And told me again, there is no going back to your house, I will rent you a house close to your sister. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

As we mentioned previously physical violence includes many different ways some of the respondents indicated that they were subjected to physical violence by their husbands through the use of different equipment in beating (belts, phone chargers, and glass water cups) to intimidate women not to repeat the act that led to the husband's anger. As SO15 one mentioned,

*My husband's mind is difficult, and I have endured a lot, and he always says, if you don't like me, leave my soul and go to your family. Sometimes I can't bear it, I explode in him and scream at him, but all I do is the problem is getting bigger between us, even once he hit me for no reason. He came again and hit me palm in the face and came down and hit me. I am not arguing with him when he gets angry because he beats me up. (SO15 Zilal, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

Some husbands attempt to kill their wives by using sharp tools, such as a knife or hot water. In this case, the researcher noticed the intervention of the woman's family, to stop the violence against her and so that they could help her in requesting a divorce from her husband, as in the case of SQ19, who divorced her husband after repeated attempts by him to subject her to severe physical violence.

Even during pregnancy, respondents were subjected to physical violence. One of them mentioned that the frequent beatings she was subjected to physical violence during pregnancy led to apportion.

There is a group of respondents who indicated that they were not subjected to physical violence, but that they were subjected to verbal abuse from their husbands, as mentioned in SB2, SH8, and SI9. They mentioned that their husbands do not beat them physically.

The physical violence leaves physical effects on women, although the majority of respondents reported minor injuries such; as cuts, bruises, abrasions, cuts, and punctures, the body as a result of physical violence, the three respondents reported severe injuries such as bleeding, abortion, and lost consciousness because of a physical violent incident. For example, SQ19 Anwar has been miscarried 2 times because exposed to physical during pregnancy.

*I married as a small child. Then I got pregnant when I was 15 years and miscarried and the second time I got pregnant when I was 17 years, but I also miscarried because my husband beat me all the time. Also, because my back was too small to bear a child .my husband hits me in front of his family, and they do not intervene to stop this violence. He used to hit me a lot. This dimple in my face is because that hit me once a box, on my face, and then it became like a dimple, I never told anyone other than you, the secret of this dimple (SQ19Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo).*

Also, Shumue reported the same thing,

*I gave birth by cesarean section because the entire pregnancy was bleeding and beating from my mother-in-law, and because I was a child, my bones were small and could not bear a natural birth. I gave birth by Caesarean section. I was 16 years old, and during pregnancy, I was very emotionally drained. (SP18Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo).*

#### 4.2.1.3. Psychological Violence and Controlling Behavior

The WHO multi-country study (2005) identified the actions included in psychological violence as threatening, belittling the partner and making him feel low on himself, intimidating on purposes such as screaming and smashing things in front of the partner, threatening to harm a person or person of interest to the partner. Psychological violence by the intimate partner leaves the woman with more negative psychological effects than other types of violence. It may lead to post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety that can lead a woman to contemplate suicide.

The current study found that the respondents were exposed to acts of psychological violence to a large extent when they were in Syria. The reason for this is due to the patriarchal system culture that puts women in second place in the family and allows men to insult and humiliate them. One of the most common acts of psychological violence that women have been subjected to is humiliation and making women feel less self-respect.

Acts of psychological violence that the respondents were subjected to insulting in front of others, screaming and smashing things in front of them, verbal insults that reduce their value, threatening to marry another person or divorce, and threat to harm someone of the wife's relatives, dealing in a way that feelings of love and respect are not

disclosed, and not taking their opinion regarding the affairs of their children, and domestic matters, making women always feel inferior, which lowers their self-esteem, humiliation, and insults in front of their children.

SS16 Tajuj mentioned that her husband used to insult her in front of her mother-in-law and sister-in-law

*My husband is very nervous, for example, if he asks for tea and he did not get it quickly, he becomes, angry with me, if he is sleeping, and his son screams and wakes him up from sleep, he gets angry at me and screams at me in front of his family, I felt a great insult when he mocked me in front of my mother-in-law and his sisters. They are pleased when he shouts at me and curses me in front of them. (SS16 Tajuj, 33, Aleppo)*

Humiliation in front of others is one of the most common forms that the respondents referred to in terms of the psychological damage they caused by making them. Feel that they have no value in life and have no presence at home. As SC3 Shams and SB2 Najma mentioned,

*My husband was humiliating me in front of his family, to show that he is a man and he always threatened me with divorce and that he could marry another woman if I did not hear his words. He is originally nervous and he behaves that way in front of his family, because he was always lived in problems between his father and mother. (SB2 Najma, 50 Y, Aleppo)*

*The woman in the house has the feeling that she has no value in life and her life has no meaning in the house, she is like the chair or any inanimate thing in the house. She does not have any decisions in the house. Everything is in the hands of her husband, and she is like his maid. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

Another form of psychological violence is the threat of divorce or marriage to another woman which causes the wife to live in complex psychological conditions- such as feeling constant fear or anxiety because of the possibility of a man marrying another woman or divorce and the resulting social stigma on the part of members of society, another form is the requesting of giving a male child.

SL12 Sahab stated the as following:

*When I first got married, I did not get pregnant for a long time. I gave child after four years and she was a girl. My husband's family used to tell me that I cannot be pregnant, and my mother-in-law used to say "I wanted my son to marry again. We*

*want a boy to support my son's back. I was always afraid that he would marry. I tried all ways to get pregnant. I tried the treatment of the Sheiks and the treatment of hospitals, and the issue was not fixed. I used to tell my husband several times to let me go and get married, but he was telling me that he does not want to get married. After we moved to Turkey, we went to the hospital and took treatments, and then I had two boys. (SL12 Sahab, 43 Y, and Aleppo)*

Regarding Controlling behavior the idea of the wife controlling the husband stems from the norms and traditions of the patriarchal system that put women in second social status and accordingly they have to obey the husband's orders the controlling idea has another cultural meaning that is a woman always require protection from a male, therefore they use to prevent her from going To the public places in which society portrays as dangerous places for women. Therefore society maintains keeping women in the domestic sphere to protect them. This applies perfectly to society in Syria.

The current study found that the controlling behavior has different forms, namely:

1. Closing the door of the house to prevent women from going out

The controlling behavior of husbands is not limited to preventing wives to go outside the house or visit their families but some husbands use the controlling behavior to punish their wives and lock their wives in the house and deprive them of necessities needs. SP18 Shumue mentioned,

*When I was pregnant, I spent 9 months of my pregnancy alone in the house. my husband came out and locked the street door from the outside with the key. when I am hungry I use to inform my neighbor to call my husband to bring food I cannot go to my family because the door is closed. My husband came to me once a week to get me to eat. As much as I was psychologically upset, I used to make arrangements that I had a Jinni at home with me. I used to stay for ten days without electricity in the house. The neighbors used to give me food and give me candles, and so on. (SP18 Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo)*

2. prevent going to parents' home: the common controlling behavior amongst husbands is preventing their wives to visit their family or determining the visit time. The researcher noted that the family of the wife does not intervene in this situation and they consider it as a husband's right to control and manage his family (his wife and children). For example, SQ19 Anwar reported,



*After marriage, I spent 9 months without seeing my mother, and I did not know anything about her. My husband and mother-in-law prevented me from going to her or even talking to her. They were taking revenge on her because my mother refused our marriage. Not even my mother came to me. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

3. Prohibition of leaving the house without the consent of the husband and the woman does not go out on her own, there must be an accompanying person. In Syrian society, culture does not allow unmarried and newly married women to leave the house without the accompaniment of their husbands, brothers, mothers-in-law, or one of the older women. As SC3 Shams mentioned:

*When we were in Syria, my husband was angry with me for no reason. He always underestimated me in front of people to a great extent, especially when his family was present. He tries to show them, that he is a man who is showing me and orders me, for example, to go and make tea or such, so that it appears that he is a man in front of them and prevents me from going outside without his permission. Once a week, I was allowed to walk to visit my family, and he always threatened to divorce me or marry someone else. But after we came to Turkey, the situation changed and he became a little better. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

4. Prevention of education and access to health care: some of the respondents mentioned that they would like to continue their education after marriage but their husbands did not allow them. Others stated that their husbands do not allow them to visit the clinic and seek health care especially if the doctor is a man. For example, SC3 Shams mentioned,

*From the time I came to my husband's home, I took responsibility for my brother-in-law, who is younger than me in age. I was the only daughter-in-law in the house. There are always differences between me and my husband. At first, I thought of studying. I wanted to complete a study, but if he saw my notebooks and pens, he would throw them in the trash and tell me that you are at home and work only at home. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

5. Checking the phone or preventing the wife from having a mobile phone and determining the people who can talk to them: the respondents frequently mentioned this type of controlling behavior but the researcher noted that some respondents have no problem with that because it hints at that their husbands love them and are jealous. For example, SP18 Shumue mentioned,

*My husband used to make insult me a lot. He didn't stand by my side; he rather belittles me in front of people. He wouldn't allow me to go anywhere, even visit my family, even if I wanted to go to them. I did not have a phone because he prevented me. When I went to my family's house, I felt that I was their guest because my husband and mother did not allow me to move freely in my family's house. All these things are from the head of my mother-in-law. Sometimes If the door of the house is knocked on, my mother-in-law and my husband do not find it impossible for me to open it, not even to ask who is in the door. I was not allowed to meet anyone while my guests came to my house, I felt that I was in prison with two jailers in the morning my mother-in-law, and in the evening my husband. (SP18 Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.2.1.4. Economic Violence**

The study found that the most common form of economic violence when respondents were in Syria was financial deprivation and failure to meet material needs. Since most of the respondents lived with their husband's extended family all of the family's material needs were shared.

In this regard, the respondents mention the following,

*He is responsible for the house expenses, and he brings me all the household necessities. It is rare for me to go to the market and buy something without his consent. I mean, I have no money, all the money is with my husband and his mother. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

*In Syria, I was not responsible for the expenses of the house, he was responsible for pocketing anything I wanted. Sometimes I would have been allowed to go to the market, but I had to have someone as big as my mother or mother-in-law. Financial matters in Syria and Turkey are in the hands of my husband. He only provides me with household necessities. Sometimes I asked for my money to buy special items, sometimes he gave it to me, and sometimes I refused because I didn't think it was necessary to buy them. (SJ10 Matar, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.2.2. Forms of Intimate Partner Violence After the Beginning of the War and During the Displacement**

Women and children are the most negatively affected group during the period of wars and internal conflicts. As a result of the lack of security and social protection and incidents of gender-based violence against women are increasing. As Heise (1988) mentioned in the environmental model developed and Usta and Singh (2015) in their

theoretical framework violence against women during war appears on four levels: the structural level, the social level, the relationship level, and the individual level (Heise, 1998 ; Usta and Singh, 2015).

The current study found, that the respondents were affected by the war at all levels. At the structural level, the impact was evident in the displacement of women with their children and husbands to safer areas inside Syria or border areas, and the poverty associated with insecurity and loss of income sources led to an increase in IPV. The social level includes asylum and changing societal norms. On the level of relationships, women have lost the social security networks represented by family, relatives, and friends. On the individual level, the death of a relative during the war, witnessing the armed conflict, and injuries during the war affected the psychological and mental health of women and their children.

The respondents mentioned as following:

*There were a lot of explosions in Aleppo, even our house was bombed. We left Aleppo and went to Bab al-Salama camp. We stayed there for 7 months, but living in the camp is difficult. There were no bathrooms nearby. At that time, my husband became nervous all day. He yells at me and the children. I became afraid to talk to him so that he might beat me or the children. I was silent all the time. I prayed to God a lot to save us from the camp life. (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y Aleppo)*

*My husband and I had problems when we moved to the camp and he became unemployed, his economic situation became very difficult. Once the tent storm came, it fell over us, and the mud and the rain flooded the tent. My husband was tired of this situation, he became cruel to me. Everything about the situation in the camp was upsetting, he came with anger. Sometimes I get angry and say why do you let your anger out on me, and I keep me crying and sometimes keep silent because I know he is upset and I can do nothing to change the situation. (SI9Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.2.3. Forms of Intimate Partner Violence after Being Refugees in Turkey**

After the start of the war in 2011, most Syrians were forced to flee from Syria to neighboring countries in search of safety. Turkey is one of the most welcoming countries for Syrians, due to its spatial proximity to Syria and the open-door policy that the Turkish government followed at the beginning of the war between 2011 to 2014. A study found that during this period the forms of intimate partner violence have been

changed as well as the women's perceptions about violence and strategies they used to deal with IPV. In the following we will explain the experience of women with IPV after asylum in Turkey:

The first change that the respondents indicated after asylum is living in a separate house away from the husband's extended family which had a major role in changing the violent behavior of their husbands towards them. All the respondents who got married when they were in Syria lived with their husband's extended family in the same house. After the outbreak of war in Syria and asylum in Turkey in search of safety the shape of the family changed from the extended family to the nuclear family. All the respondents mentioned that after asylum in Turkey they lived in separate houses from the husband's extended family either because the husband's extended family did not seek refuge in Turkey or because they sought refuge in Turkey but they live in another city. Respondents reported that they feel great freedom in a housing separated from the husband's extended family that they are not supervised by the mother-in-law and there is no one to interfere in the affairs of their married life. One of the respondents mentioned that she discovered her husband's affectionate personality after living in a separate home away from the husband's family. This is what the study by Ali et al (2018), indicated the spouses spending more time with each other develops understanding between them and increases feelings of love and attention. However, the respondents mentioned that when they were in Syria they did not spend time with their husbands except for a few hours most of the time they were busy with the duties and services of the husband's family

The respondents mentioned their experiences with living in a separate house away from the husband's family as follows,

*When I was in Syria, my marriage was full of problems because of my mother-in-law, I first came to Turkey, I lived in a house of my own, my life changed, I became free and no one controlled me. I now feel very, very comfortable, because I live in a house for myself and there is no supervision from anyone. (SA1Noura, 41 Y, Aleppo)*

*After I came to Turkey and lived in a house for myself, I became stronger, and if I went back in time and came back to live with my mother-in-law, it is impossible to repeat with her the same life of injustice that I was living through, I would not be silent about the injustice. Because, after I came to Turkey, I knew that women have*

*rights like their husbands, I was in the process of attending lectures at the center and I also saw how the Turkish men treat their wives with respect. My life in Turkey is much better than in Syria because I am alone and my husband's family is not with me. Even my husband changed the way he dealt with me after we came to Turkey. What happened the day he hit me when we were in Syria, he beat me because my mother-in-law wanted that. Sometimes when I remember the life I used to live, I feel surprised that I endured it. In Syria sometimes I regretted my marriage because I was young and did not know anything in life. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo).*

The effect of living in a separate house in Turkey from the husband's extended family make change even in the controlling behaviors of husbands, respondent mentioned they are Feeling not offended by the husband in contrast that the husband shows feelings of love and emotions to his wife, and the wife feeling more freedom in dealing with the husband, not being exposed to physical violence. As SI9 Nasma stated as following:

*In Syria, my marital life was not sweet. It became sweet in Turkey because I live in a home for myself and with a greater sense of freedom, and my husband began to show me feelings of love. In Syria, he treated me harshly to prove to his family that he controlled me. In Syria, I felt that sometimes my mother-in-law interfered in any small and big thing in my life and I had to obey her, even if she was mistaken. But after I came to Turkey, I felt free and calm at home by myself as much as I solve my problems with him using my method. (SI9Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

The second change is related to forms of intimate partner violence. The first change of intimate partner violence is a change in controlling behavior, most respondents mentioned that after they moved to live in Turkey their husbands' interaction with them changed for the better especially concerning controlling behavior and economic violence. The woman in Syria could not go to the market alone a man should go with her or with the presence of her mother-in-law but after they came to Turkey the situation changed according to the traditions of the new society. The respondents mentioned that they feel more freedom than they used to in Syria for example, they can visit neighbors and go out shopping on their own, but nothing has changed. As SE5 Zahra mentioned,

*My husband in the first days of our marriage had a lot of control over me, but after we moved to Turkey, the situation changed and I felt more freedom. (SE5 Zahra, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

The third change in intimate partner violence is changing in economic violence. A study found the change in gender roles after asylum in Turkey contributed to reducing economic violence as some of them became responsible for bringing household needs, and women can go alone to the market to buy their needs and the needs of their children. The reason for this is due to the nature of men's work in Turkey. The work is far from home and with long work hours, the husband cannot go out during the working hours to go to the market and buy the needs of the house, so he delegates this task to women which made some of them feel that they have an extra burden in addition to carrying out household duties.

SH8 Nasim reported as following,

*In Syria, my husband and mother-in-law were responsible for the household necessities. They went to the market and bought our necessities for me and my predecessors. My mother-in-law is deciding the recipe we are supposed to do, and she is the one who goes to the market and brings home supplies. My husband would not allow me to go out on my own. If I wanted something from the market, my mother-in-law would bring me, or if he would bring me sanitary napkins, my mother-in-law would bring them to us. But after we came to Turkey, the situation changed and I started to go to the market and buy physical supplies because my husband became paralyzed in bed. My life here in Turkey has become the responsibility of the whole house in my head. I go to the market and I get the supplies. I am not happy with this situation because these are the responsibilities of the man. Also, my husband does not like that woman, gets out of the house a lot, for example, if I find work outside the house, I will not be allowed. (SH87 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

Although most of the respondents mentioned the change that occurred in the controlling behavior of their husbands and that they feel more freedom compared to when they were in Syria, the researcher noticed that this freedom is subject to restrictions imposed by their husbands. For example, they cannot leave the house without the approval of their husbands. In this regard, respondents stated that the wife has no right to leave the house without the approval of her husband.

The respondents mentioned as following,

*My life in Turkey has changed from what I was in Syria. I have more freedom. I go out several times to visit the neighbors without saying a word. When he comes to speak, if a nearby place is near our home, but if it is far away and I have to take the bus, I must take his permission a day before. Here I go to visit my family alone, but I take permission from him and I don't stay with them for a long time- for an*

*hour, two or three. Because my family lives with me in the same neighborhood here in Syria, they were far from me, so my husband allows me to stay with them for a day or two. In Syria, my husband wanted to prove that he is a man in front of his mother and his sisters. He made insults at me, got angry at me, and shouted at me in front of them a lot. But, after we came to Turkey, changed completely, he became different and I did not become nervous. ( SJ10 Matar, 33Y, Aleppo)*

*After we came to Turkey, he became ill, I started to go to the market, but to other places, I would not be allowed much. My husband, now, does not hear and did three heart operations. I am responsible for anything at home. I go alone to the market. We receive municipal aid; my name is registered there with my husband. We cannot move without a motor car. (SL12 Sahab, 43 Y, Aleppo)*

Although the changing of gender roles has a positive impact on decreasing the violence, however, this change has a negative impact on some respondents, for instance, some of them have mentioned as following:

*My husband is very jealous. I do not like if the door is knocked on, to open the door and expose to men without a cover on my face. But sometimes I have to meet men, for example, when people from the municipality come to distribute coal; I have to talk to them because I have my name registered with them. But what I do not go down to meet them I must go down to one of the sons. Also, my husband does not like the woman leaving the house a lot. And I see what the woman is not supposed to leave the house without permission and her husband, even if she wants to visit her family, for example, I have my brother here in Turkey, from the time I came to Turkey I only once visited him because my husband does not allow me to go to him. (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

On the other hand, the study found that one form of economic violence did not change which is the prohibition women of from working outside the home. As SL12 Sahab and SI9 Nasma mentioned,

*I feel that my husband wants me to live my whole life under his mercy, and he gives me the money so that he can humiliate me more. After we came to Turkey once, a group of people asked me to come and work for them for a day in cleaning and they would give me good money. My husband refused me to go to work. He said the women who work in the homes are not good and he told me, "Don't bring me a scandal of another job." In Syria, I would not even go to the market everything is in his pocket, but after we moved to Turkey and he became ill, I started to go to the market, but otherwise, I am not allowed a lot. (SL12 Sahab, 43 Y, Aleppo)*

*My husband doesn't like a woman to go to the market. If I find a job, I will not be allowed to work outside the home. He is against the idea that I work outside the house and have my own money. He is responsible for all financial decisions in the house. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

With regard to sexual and physical violence, the respondents mentioned that these two forms have not changed. The respondents report as following,

*My husband, during the seven years of marriage, hit me only once. The reason was that we wanted to leave our home and live with his brother. This was after we came to Turkey. He hit me with his fist. I was very upset and spent a week not talking to him. I talked with my sisters and they told me it is not right to hit you and they tried to help me a little, and they told me it is better to live in your own home, and I honestly do not want to repeat the same experience of my father-in-law's house. When he saw that I was very annoyed, he gave up the idea of leaving the house. I was angry for a week, he would come from work, give me food and go to my room to sleep alone, then he came and apologized to me and said to me, OK, we will leave the house, and then I accepted the excuse. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

*My husband did not change at all, nor will he change. He is always the same. I feel that he is my share in this world. Sometimes when he gets angry a lot, he hits me with the thing that was in his hands, for example, two days ago, he hurt me a lot and he was holding a water bottle in his hand and he threw it at me. When he is angry, I keep silent. He does not respond to any word. (SO15Zilal, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

*The first time we came to Turkey, our conditions were difficult and my husband was nervous if the food needed a little salt, he gets angry with me and beat me, and I do not like to talk to anyone because no one can help me. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo).*

The researcher noticed that some women tolerate physical violence and justify it because of the difficult economic conditions they live in, for example, SJ10 Matar mentioned,

*In Turkey, the difficult economic conditions affected my husband, the children and I suffered from this. When a man is financially annoyed, he has no place to lead to his anger other than his wife and children. Therefore, when he is angry, I take my children to my mother's house, where we spend an hour and two hours and come back again. I try so that I don't get into more trouble, so I don't talk to him and he doesn't ask me to ask for money or something. (SJ10 Matar, 33Y, Aleppo)*

The fourth change is raising women's awareness of violence against women and knowing their rights. This is through lectures that are presented by the psychological and social support centers for refugee women and municipalities and women's organizations. For example SS16 Tajuj mentioned ,

*Before I understood life, I thought that it was normal for a man to hit his wife and control her and that a woman should be patient and satisfied with her husband and not tell anyone, so she can go to paradise. And because I was also seeing my father*



*beating my mother, I was thinking about it as normal. But after I came to Turkey, my life was completely different. The reason for my awareness in Turkey is that I used to go to the club and attend lectures on women's rights and see how the Turkish men treat their wives and that here in Turkey there is no difference between women and men, they are equal in everything. . And my idea has changed a lot. I learned here in Turkey that a woman is not supposed to be silent about her husband's bad behavior. My sister complained against her husband to the police. They said if you did not deal with her well, we would take her from you for 6 months to another place, after which he was afraid and would not hit her. And I learned that I would not keep arguing with my husband about what we should do, for example, why do you extend your hand to me, why do you prevent me from doing so? This is what I mean. I learned that I should not remain silent about my right. Now I am strong because my children have grown up, and the society here in Turkey is stronger. (SS16 Taju, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.3. STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH AN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

The term strategies for dealing with problems that cause harm to the individual refer to an individual's attempt to manage a problem through a continuous change of cognitive and behavioral efforts (Chadambuk, 2020). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) divided the strategies of individuals dealing with the problem into two main parts (A): Strategies that focus on the problem such as violence by an intimate partner (B): Strategies that focus on feelings (Problem-focused and emotion-focused) (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Each of these strategies has its own goals and methods for dealing with situations that cause stress for the individual. While problem-focused strategies aim to manage the problem through time management search for solutions and obtain social support to prevent the problem from happening again (McLeod, 2015), feeling-focused strategies aim to regulate the distress associated with the problem (Goodman et al, 2003). As for strategies for dealing with intimate partner violence, it refers to the confrontational and resistance positions that women adopt in an attempt to reduce and control the damages resulting from violence.

In the current study, the strategies are divided into two main categories, Strategies that depend on women's resources and strategies that depend on external resources (support) which is either formal or informal support.

### **4.3.1. Strategies that Depend on Women's Resources**

Bejenaru (2011) indicated that women who have been subject to violence use strategies that depend on personal resources to protect themselves and their children from violence and to keep the issue of violence within the family. The current study found, that in Syrian society, intimate partner violence is considered one of the family matters that should not be disclosed or talked about with strangers as respondents mentioned "Family secrets should not be disclosed abroad". The society also blames the woman who is subjected to violence from her husband. The failure of a woman in her domestic duties and her failure to fulfill the ideal role of a wife and motherhood is considered a sufficient reason for her to be subjected to violence from her husband. Therefore, women resort to using personal methods without involving others. The thematic analysis of data represents two strategies under this theme divided according to the purpose of use, the first one is strategies aimed at controlling violence such as: (placating, safety planning, and resistance), and the second is strategies aimed to reduce negative feelings resulting from violence.

#### **4.3.1.1. Placating Strategies**

These strategies are among the most effective strategies used by the respondents in stopping violence and preventing the recurrence of violence. Women use placating strategies to prevent violence from occurring or exacerbating it. The woman begins using this strategy in the pre-violence stage when she feels that the husband is tense and that violence may begin at any moment. Contrary to the study by Riddell et al (2009) the current study found that the placating strategy is highly effective in helping women prevent violence, increase its intensity and stop it in some cases. The respondents indicated that they used this strategy for all forms of violence and mentioned that they have taken many actions to calm the husband, such as: joking, leaving the house clean, increasing interest in the husband, and pampering him with the things he loves, doing everything that pleases the husband, preparing the food that the husband loves and such. In the following, we will detail the actions taken by the respondents to calm the husband.

For example, here we find that SD4 Gamar uses the method of joking and not taking issues seriously with her husband when she feels her husband's tension. Even in the case of physical violence, she used to use the same method, in addition to crying during the violence, in order not to increase the severity of the physical violence. And she became convinced that any violence from her husband even physical violence is not a serious matter, but she considers it a joke from her husband with her, and she mentioned that this method is effective in managing disputes with her husband and an effective method in preventing the occurrence of violence. She stated the following:

*If my husband gets upset and nervous, he can break anything in front of him, and when I see him angry, I turn the topic around for joking and laughter, so that it doesn't become a big problem. When happens a problem between us and I feel that it will change into a serious issue I use to turn the matter around and laugh. I mean, solving my problems with my husband by joking and telling a joke and not being nervous. I always try to break the barrier of the problem and, I do not like my sons to cause problems between me and their father because it affects them and their psyches. (SD4 Gamar, 25 Y, Aleppo)*

One of the most common actions that respondents do to calm the husband is to show obedience and respect for him. The respondents mentioned that they show their obedience to their husbands by obeying his commands and using some words such as "OK" and "You command my cousin " which denotes obedience and makes the man feel that he is the leader (chief) in the house and all the members of the house are subject to his authority. For example SH8 Nasim reported:

*When there is a problem between me and my husband, I do all that he wants. Sometimes my husband is sitting and requests, for example, water, I give him a glass of water and say to him: You just order. If I want to go to the market, I ask him, if he refuses I do what he wants. I agree with my husband on anything, he says. The woman has rights, and the husband has rights. The husband must respect his wife, and the woman must also respect him. Also, the woman is required not to leave the house without permission from her husband, even if she wants to visit her family, for example, I have my brother here in Turkey, whom I visited Turkey only once because my husband does not allow me to go to him. (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

Also among the actions in which women show their obedience to the husband is to please the husband not to argue with him and not to do anything that might anger the husband or increase his nervousness. The researcher noticed that the respondents repeated the word obedience more than once to confirm that the cause of violence

against the wife is her disobedience to her husband. Here the effect of the stereotyped image defined by the patriarchal society shows the wife as subservient to the man/husband and she must obey him.

The respondents mentioned as following,

*When my husband is angry, I remain silent and do not argue with him, and so that he should not be angry with me, I do everything he wants me to do and say you are ordering me, my cousin. I am not allowed to do anything without his permission, so I do not hide anything from my husband, even sometimes if I had to. Once I went to my neighbor without his permission. When he came from work, I told him that I went to my neighbors and he trusted me a lot. In my opinion, the woman is supposed to take permission from her husband, if she wants to do anything, especially if she wants to go outside the house because married life is not like life before marriage. (SE5 Zahra, 36 Y, Aleppo)*

*I always kept silent and did not argue with him. But sometimes he made me very nervous to argue with him, and I lose my energy, then I fell silent, and we remained upset with each other for a time, then he comes with a present in his hands and he apologizes to me. I avoid problems between me and my husband by showing him that I obey and respect him. (SI9 Nasma, 24Y, Aleppo)*

In the study by Goodman et al (2003) it found that among the actions that women do to calm the husband is to do whatever the husband wants as 63.5% of the respondents in the study mentioned that they do everything the husband wants and it was an effective way for them to stop violence and prevent its occurrence. In the current study, it found that some women satisfy their husbands by accepting the husband's requests, even if it is against the women's wishes they accept their husbands' requests only because they aim to stop violence and prevent it from happening in any way. For example, SS16 Tajuj mentioned that she had reached the point of intolerance of violence from her husband's family and her husband to the extent that she agreed to her husband's desire to have a sexual relationship with another woman in her home, provided that he fulfills her request to live in a separate house from the husband's family. She mentioned as following:

*The second time, when I told my husband, "I can't afford to live with your family," he told me, "I don't have money to rent a house, but one of the women, with whom I have sexual intercourses, will help me to find you a house for rent, and she will help me with rent money, But on the condition that she comes to this house once a week, I agreed because I wanted to get rid of the injustice of my mother-in-law on me. When he comes with that woman I used to go to my family once a week or to*

*my sister or my neighbor and stay with them during the day. I did not tell my family about this. I agreed that because I want to live comfortably far from my in-law's house. And I was comfortable. (SS16 Tajuj, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

Satisfying the husband with whatever he wants does not always aim to prevent the occurrence of violence or prevent its intensification as some respondents appease their husbands for fear of divorce. Which is one of the things that can disgrace the woman or her family in the Syrian society and divorced women can be punished with social isolation, so they are keen to manage and calm differences so that the matter does not reach a divorce. In Al Ajlan's (2021) study of divorce and domestic violence among Syrian refugee women in Germany, the results found that when a woman divorces in Syria community members view her as a user and unhelpful thing friends and relatives stay away from her and the matter does not stop there rather the divorce negatively affects the chances of marriage for the rest of her sisters. This principle of shame in Syria makes the woman stay with her husband even if she does not love him and bear all forms of violence because any behavior other than that can lead to divorce which society views as a disgrace and shameful for both the woman and her family. (AL Ajlan, 2021).

As some respondents reported:

*I do anything that my husband asks me to do, without any objection. I first came to Turkey. I found a job in a sewing workshop I wanted to work in it He refused. If I love a job, and my husband does not like it, I will not do it, because he might divorce me as my husband always threatens me with divorce. He tells me: if you want to live happily, always obey me. I do his request without objection. My husband was married before me, and there was a problem between him and his wife, he divorced her, because she had a long tongue and she wears casual wear without a veil, and she does not hear his words, for this reason, he divorced her. When I first got married, I was responsible for his daughter. I love my husband because he sometimes pleases me. Even my family, if he did not permit me to go to them, I will not go to them. I loved my husband and I am always with him. I would not do anything without his permission, for example, a day before my sister came from Bursa. She called me to take his permission to go with her and he refused. I kept crying but did not go to her. (SAINoura, 41 Y, Aleppo)*

*I do all the things my husband wants me to, and I fulfill all my husband's requests and obey him in everything, and my tongue is not long on him, because, he can beat me or divorce me, or go and marry another one. (SN14 Wahaj, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

Also, among the actions that women do to calm the husband are; leaving the house clean, preparing the food that the husband loves, and paying more attention to the children, paying more attention to the husband. As SQ19 Anwar mentioned,

*In order not to be hit, I was trying to protect myself by doing anything he wanted, trying to clean, wash and cook in a good way, but with that, I was making mistakes, and he beat me for them. Once I wrote on the paper, for this reason, he hit me, so that I remember that I would never do this thing again. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

Respondents use this method to avoid preventing the occurrence of violence. But both SL12Sahab and SK11 Riah mentioned that this method is not useful in all cases. Despite their attempts to calm their husbands to avoid violence, violence sometimes occurs.

They mentioned as following,

*I avoided problems with my husband, and that by leaving the house clean and the cooking was ready and I obeyed my husband, but with that But despite that, my husband beat me sometimes and belittled me a lot in front of my mother-in-law. (SK11 Riah, 60 Y, Aleppo)*

*Because of the problems that occurred between us I was doing everything, my sister used to say that (..) treat her husband as a groom. I cared about more interest in the affairs of the house, myself and him, and listened to his words and did not argue with him. I do not hide anything from my husband that is impossible to see without his permission or do something he does not agree to but this did not affect anything in my husband's violent behavior towards me. (SL12 Sahab, 43Y, Aleppo)*

In all patriarchal systems, the woman who argues with her husband has blamed society members. In Syria, the culture of society justifies this blame with the values of society and the values of the Islamic religion which they believe impose on the woman not to argue with the husband and not to speak with him in a sharp tone of voice. The researcher experienced this in the context of her community in Sudan where mothers recommend their daughters to get married and assure them of the necessity of not arguing with the husband to preserve the continuity of her marriage and not to bring shame to their mother, that she did not raise her properly.

The current study found that the placating strategy includes an important element which is not arguing with the husband this is one of the most common methods among

women and the woman does not argue with her husband as part of showing obedience and respect for him and to prevent an increase in violence. Respondents have developed many ways to show that obedience and not argue with the husband. Most of the respondents prefer silence rather than arguing with their husbands so that violence does not increase and problems develop between them. The study also found They mentioned the following:

*It is better- if my husband is angry- not to respond, because every time I argue with him, the problem is getting bigger and bigger. I don't like problems between us. At first, I was threatened that I would go to my family, but he says "if you went, you would not back to me again". Therefore, even by joking, I do not say this. I am convinced that no matter what problems there are, I will not leave my children and go to my family. I avoid conflicts with my husband by doing the thing he wants me to do, but sometimes I do things that bother him. For example, if I went to the neighbor and did not tell him, a big problem happened. I mean, I can't-for example- get out of the house, and not tell him or not take his permission. (SM13 Ghayma, 22Y, Aleppo)*

Among the actions that women take within the placating strategies which aim to prevent the occurrence of violence or increase its intensity is to ignore the abusive behavior of the husband. And Another action to calm the husband is to do not talk about the violence that the woman faced with any person.

Some respondents mentioned as following:

*My mother came to us for a visit, and he- before that - prevented me from seeing her. After my mother left us, I was sitting in the room thinking that things had gone back to normal, and I was happy to see my mother. He hit me with a belt and tried to hit me with a knife, but my mother-in-law intervened and stopped him from me. He hit me until my face became blue, and all of my features disappeared. The next day in the afternoon, my mother called me by telephone. My husband is malicious. And she asked me how you are? I said well. (SQ19 (Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

*Sometimes I used to complain about my husband to his uncle, but my husband – When knows about this- gets angry and hits me, so I do not talk to anyone other than my sisters. (SS16 Tajuj, 33Y, Aleppo)*

There is another method used by both SF6 Warda, SC3 Shams, and SM13 Ghayma, which is the method of crying during the violence to affect the husband's feelings and stop the violence. They stated that this method is useful, especially in the case of physical violence.

*When my husband hits me, I don't talk to anyone, and I don't resist him. I sit and cry because his heart will be tender and he would not hit me. If I argue with him, when he hits me, or if I raised my voice, he will tell me that he will marry another woman and bring her to my home. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

*In order not to increase the problem between me and my husband, I would not argue with him and try to soften his heart by crying, especially when he hits me, when he sees me crying a lot, he stops beating me. Therefore, every time I cried to ease the beating on me. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

*I cry a lot. My husband- when he sees me crying- keeps silent. My husband is very affectionate, when he sees my tears, he becomes weak, and he always tells me that you are an orphan, and thus he will not treat me harshly. (SM13 Ghayma, 22Y, Aleppo)*

Also among the placating strategies is that which avoids raising issues that could lead to violence. The following respondents mentioned:

*Sometimes I asked for money, to buy special items, sometimes he gives it to me, and sometimes he refuses because he does not think it was necessary to buy them. I will convince myself that it is not necessary. My husband does not like women who work outside the house, so I never thought of working outside the house, because I know what would be approved by me. (SJ10 Matar, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

*My husband also broke my mind a lot, and many times he humiliated me in front of my sons. This made me feel great sadness, I cried a lot and because the same thing happens too much, I would not open a topic with him in front of my sons or mother-in-law, so that he would not fail me in front of them. (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

*To avoid problems, I do not ask him for money or anything, but I decided to manage my affairs, with any money, however little. I generally do things my husband wants, and I never stood against him. He expelled me from the house when we were in Syria, but I did not go outside the house. (SL12 Sahab, 43Y, Aleppo)*

One of the methods that respondents have developed in dealing with violence is to do anything they want but without the knowledge of the husband. For example, SS16 Tajuj was stealing money from her husband, in case he refused to give her money, and that to meet her needs and the needs of the children. Also, SI9 Nasma use to do anything she wants, but without the knowledge her husband. She stated as follows,

*My husband does not like men to see me. I am not allowed- for example- to go out to the balcony without wearing a veil, and I am not allowed to open the window curtain, as this exposes to the neighbors. When he is at work, I open the curtain for the sun to enter the house, but if he is there, he will not allow me. I feel a lot of*



*interference in my privacy. He searches my phone, and read the messages between me and my sisters. He sees who is calling me, and whom I call, even though he knows that on my phone, I only talk with my brothers and sisters. My husband loves children, but currently, I can't carry them because my daughter is too young. But I am not allowed to use contraceptives. It is possible that after weaning my daughter, I will take contraceptives and use them by inserting them without speaking, in the many things I do without my husband's permission. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo).*

Some women try to calm the husband down by persuading him and insisting on what they want and they consider this a useful method, especially in the case of controlling behavior such as preventing the wife from visiting family or friends.

For example, SI9 Nasma mentioned the following:

*Sometimes my husband is stubborn, and he has a style that convinces me, for example, if he wants to buy something and I don't want to, I talk about it every day until he gets angry and leaves it. But in some times, stubbornness does not give a result. For example, these days, my neighbor's sister came from Gaziantep to visit her family. I told him, "Let me go with her, she will be with me on the road. I want to visit my sister in Gaziantep." He said that there are many cases of Corona, and he is afraid of infection and injury. The important thing for him was to convince me not to go. My husband: when I come out, I go to the nearby neighbors and do not protest, but if the place is far away and I need to take a bus, I am only allowed with his permission and after his approval, and for the most part, I am not allowed. But I remained insistent and insisted to the extent that he agrees. I always go about my business using the method of much talking. (SI9 Nasma, 24Y, Aleppo)*

SO15 Zilal mentioned that in addition to talking to her husband when he is calm, she tries to persuade him to let him go to a psychiatrist, but this method was not helpful.

*My husband- when he is angry I can't speak to him. But when he is comfortable, I used to talk to him and I ask my husband "Why do you treat me harshly?" I tried to change my husband by talking a lot to him; I try to touch his heart. I am here in Turkey alone; I do not have my mother, not my sisters, why does my husband treat me like this? I also tried to advise him to let me go to a psychologist, but he says that I am not sick or crazy, why should I go to a psychologist? (SO15 Zilal, 32Y, Aleppo)*

The study also found that the respondents also use placating strategies to deal with violence from the husband's extended family, by doing many actions, such as not arguing with the mother-in-law or the husband's family, being silent, and not talking about their exposure to violence with anyone, fulfilling all the requests of the mother-in-law, avoiding appearing in front of the mother-in-law, leaving the house clean to please the mother-in-law, selling their property and renting a house away from the husband's

family, endurance for the sake of the children. Endurance for the sake of the children is one of the most common reasons that women refer to because the woman is afraid that she will be deprived of her children if she divorces her husband. This was indicated in the study by Krause et al (2016) that women who have children are more likely to bear violence because they do not have more social options to leave the abusive relationship. (Krause et al, 2016).

The respondents mentioned as following,

*After I had two sons and, and I grew up, I knew how to deal with my mother-in-law and her daughters. I had to deal differently with my husband and his sisters, I did what they wanted me to do. (SS16, 33 Y, and Aleppo)*

*I was not at all stubborn to do the thing she wanted, because if I were stubborn, my husband would know what he would do. Once my mother-in-law, and I quarreled with each other. She said that my children entered her room and now it is dirty, and she shouted and yelled at me, and I also raised my voice to her. Then she went and apologized and kissed her hand. Because she told my husband that I had raised my voice to her, his mother might hit me she is a red line for me. (ST17,57 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.3.1.2. Safety Planning Strategies**

The study found that these strategies are used by women before the occurrence of violence especially physical violence because through previous experiences with physical violence women have developed a thought about the tools that the husband uses in the case of physical violence so they hide those tools. The respondents mentioned that the husbands use anything in front of them to beat them, so this strategy aims to reduce the severity of physical violence.

The respondents mentioned as following:

*To protect me from beatings, I used to hide anything he could hit me with -in front of his eyes- and do anything I wanted to so that he wouldn't hit me. (SQ19 Anwar, 31, Aleppo)*

*"My husband hits me with anything, he could see in front of him, so he wouldn't hit me -when I see angry, I hide anything he can hit me with. (SC3 Najma, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

Safety planning also includes Another action in which some women used the strategy of not appearing in front of the husband and hiding from him when they feel that the husband is angry and violence may start at any moment. This strategy is more useful in the case of physical violence, as this method helps the woman protect herself and her children from physical violence.

As Anwar and Tajuj mentioned:

*I went through the period of giving birth, and one day I asked him: "where do you go every day, why do you come at midnight? I said to him, I will leave the house and go. He said: Try, leave the house and you will see, what I will be worth in you. I told him on the phone a lot... I was here; I knew that he would come back. I went to my neighbor and told her, "Come, take my sons, let them be with you when I come and take them from you." I was friendly with my neighbor because my husband will hit them with me. I always knew my husband when he was angry that he would beat us in away which leads me to hide my children. (SQ19 Anwar, 31, Aleppo)*

*I was protecting myself so that my husband wouldn't beat me. I would lock myself up in the room and sleep early on until my husband is calmed, from his nervousness. I don't try to appear to him when he is angry. And because I do not want him to make insult me, in front of his family, I didn't complain about this, and I didn't ask him for anything in front of my children and when I see my husband angry we used to go to hide behind the door. I would not go to the neighbors, but I would hide myself and my children from him, because if I got out of the house, he would tell me, "Don't come back again". I had something to bear, but I was not expelled from the house and to be away from my children. My husband was very arrogant, but my father was more difficult than my husband. He beats my mother severely. My husband was a little bit less oppressive than my father." My father used to beat my mother and was cruel to her a lot. When I compare my husband to my father, I say to myself that my husband is a little easier than my father. The great injustice was with my father. (SS16 Tajuj, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

In the same direction as the strategy of not appearing in front of the husband, when he is nervous, some respondents used the strategy of leaving the house for a short period and staying with neighbors or family until the husband calms down. The researcher noticed that the respondents started using this strategy after asylum in Turkey, because when they were in Syria, the society's traditions did not allow the woman to leave her husband's house on her own, so the husband or one of his family members must be present at her side.

As SJ10 Matar mentioned,

*Sometimes the difficult economic conditions affect him, and he hits me and the children because when the man is financially upset, he has nowhere to lead to his anger other than his family and childbirth, so when he is angry and hostile, I take my children and go to my mother, he spends an hour and comes back again. I try so that I don't get more beaten, so I don't talk to him and he doesn't ask me to ask for money or something. (SJ10 Matar, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

#### 4.3.1.3. Resistance Strategies

Women's resistance to intimate partner violence may be physical through quarrels with the husband, verbally through arguing with him during the violence, or the failure to meet his orders. The study found that the respondents developed resistance strategies with the increase in the intensity of violence, especially physical violence so that women find no other way to stop violence against them except by using physical resistance. While women use physical resistance during physical violence they use verbal resistance when tension begins between them and the woman feels that the husband may start physical violence at any moment. These strategies aim to prevent the husband from continuing violence and include many actions, including arguing with the husband during the violence, threatening to leave the home, leaving the home and ending the relationship with the husband, not obeying the husband's words, and developing a plan to escape from the house. Also, these strategies aim to prevent the husband from continuing violence or ending the relationship either by divorce as in the case of SR20 Ahlam and SP18 Shumue. The researcher noticed that this type of strategy was not used by most of the respondents; only 3 of the respondents used resistance strategies and divorced from their husbands. The rest of the respondents justified their non-use of resistance strategies as it might be a reason for divorce and depriving them of their children.

SP18 Shumue and SR20 Ahalam divorced their husbands after using the verbal resistance strategy, and not obeying the words of the husband or his family They mentioned the following:

*When my daughter was born, my mother-in-law said, "We must do an examination, because I doubt that this girl is not my son's daughter." How is not your son's daughter? I live with you in the same house; my room is next to your room. Then she said that I must do tests to prove that this girl is from my husband, and it*

*became a big problem between us and my husband too, he said that he doubted me, that I did not get pregnant by him. When I got out of the hospital, I went to my family's house. This was the first time that I made it to my family's house. I told my family about anything that happened between us, and my family blamed me. Why would I not come and tell them about what happened? I spent 3 months in my family's house and said to my family that I don't want to go back to my husband. I want to divorce him at first. My father did not agree, but then he agreed. (SP18 Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo)*

*The moment I got divorced, the two families met and wanted to see solutions. I told them that I did everything for him. What else can I do? I exploded in them. I yelled at my husband and told him that he is not a man. My uncle collapsed and took me to a house, and then we complained to the police because I wanted to get divorced and he didn't seem to divorce me. When I went to the police, we made a report that my husband beats me, but there was no result because we have the police are always on the side of men. After many days, my uncle went to my husband's family and threatened my husband, and ordered him to divorce me. My husband's family was afraid and my husband came to us and said, OK, I will divorce, but we will not give her anything. My mother and uncle were insisted that I take my rights from them because I left the house and did not take any of my things. . But I wanted to get rid of this nightmare, and I gave up all the rights, I agreed and told them: just give me the divorce paper. I got divorced from him and took my divorce paper and came to Turkey with my friend. She was going to a summer school in 2015. Throughout the period in which I lived with my husband, I did not know anything about him he sleeps all day and shouts at me in the evening. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

SR20 Ahlam, before she decided to end the relationship with her husband, she used resistance strategies. She mentioned that she was arguing with her husband and broke up. She used the argument and frightens the husband by destroying things in front of him to scare him from repeating the violence. She indicated that they were effective strategies in preventing the occurrence and recurrence of violence. She mentioned as following,

*My husband once hit me. He was searching on my laptop and saw photos with my friends at the university. He saw a photo with one of my friends at the university. He said who is this and why did you keep the photo? You told me the first thing you don't have the right to search for my laptop. Secondly, this is a normal friend and I didn't trample the photo. He started screaming at me. I went to the salon, then he came and he told me to get out of the salon, the places I am in and said do not sit with me. I told him that I would not go out if he wanted to go, then he came and pulled me outside the salon and hit me, then I went to the kitchen and broke all the kitchen utensils, then he came to the kitchen and hit me again. On the same day, I went to my family, and I spent two weeks with them. Then he came and apologized to me and I came back with him. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo).*

As for SQ19 Anwar, she resisted her husband by leaving the house and staying with her family several times, and she mentioned that every time she left and came back again, her husband would deal with her better for a limited period of no more than a month and return to the behavior of violence against her. The last time she left the house, she decided to end the relationship, and she had to leave her four children to her husband, and she took refuge in Turkey and got married again to a Turkish man. Anwar used the resistance strategy by leaving the house to the husband from the first year of marriage, with the help of her mother and her sister. She stated that the first attempt was with the help of her mother and sister, and the last attempt to leave the house, which was her attempt to seek refuge in Jordan with her children, but the laws did not deter them from crossing the Jordanian border, and she was forced to return to Syria, after which she decided to leave her children and seek refuge in Turkey with her sister.

SP18 Shumue and SQ19 Anwar used the same resistance strategy with the second husband. SQ19 Anwar mentioned that the strategy is useful in stopping the violence

*Only twenty days after we returned from Bursa, I divorced him because I found out that he was cheating me. He was saying a lot. "I wanted to marry another one because you don't have children". I was thinking about the clitoris. He wants to marry. This story is after four years of our marriage. My husband told me if I want to get married, go get married, I will leave you. He got up and mocked me and underestimated me and the Syrian women and said to me, "You Syrian women are all illegal girls." All the time, he belittles me and God knows why your son-in-law left you. My brother and they said that my sister is divorced, but my husband refused. My brother-in-law refused and hit the ground. After 8 months, I returned to my husband because my mother passed away, and her will before she died was that I return to Murad, the important thing was that I went back to him and life became sweet between us. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

SP18 Shumue indicated that the physical violence increased on her when she argued with her second husband. She mentioned as following,

*I was in distress with my predecessor. I told him, "I don't want to go to them." Then we argued and he hit me with a palm in the face. I took my children and went down the street. I was going to complain to the police. That day, my family entered me and said to me, "If you go and complain, they will lock him up and return to Syria." Then I retreated and I did not complain about it. (SP18 Shumue, 28Y, Aleppo)*

#### 4.3.1.4. Strategies to Control Negative Feelings Associated with Violence

The other type of strategies that depend on women's resources is strategies aimed to reduce negative feelings resulting from violence and reduce the pressures of violence on women. Also, these strategies aim to maintain a healthy sense of self and reduce negative stress responses, such as embarrassment, fear, anxiety, depression, agitation, and frustration, and they are reduced or eliminated by the individual in various ways of adaptation (McLeod, 2015). In the study of Al-Natour et al (2018), it was found that Syrian refugee women in Jordan use many methods such as prayer, reading the Qur'an, crying, smoking cigarettes, and asking for forgiveness to reduce feelings of sadness and pain, resulting from their husbands' abuse of them. In the same direction as Al-Natour's (2018) study.

The current study found that the respondents have developed the same methods to relieve negative pressures of violence on them after they reached the stage of inability to control intimate partner violence. One of the most common methods mentioned by the respondents is writing a daily diary and crying. Looking at previous studies, we find that crying has many benefits on the mental health of the individual, for example, the study by Millings et al (2016) found that crying helps to feel relaxed, helps to sleep well, and contributes to overcoming problems and can be used to gain the sympathy of others as well (Milling et al, 2016). As for writing a daily diary, the previous study found that the style of diary writing contributes greatly to reducing stress and symptoms of depression (Cheng et al 2015). The following respondents reported:

SB2 Najma mentioned that she uses the style of writing memoirs and crying to reveal feelings of repression, and considered that the style of writing is useful in relieving stress. She stated that she cries when exposed to any situation that causes her harm, and the researcher noticed that when conducting the interview, she had to stop the interview more than once when she was starting to tell her experience with violence, especially when she started talking that her husband divorced her because she had violated his orders. She mentioned as following,

*When there was a problem between us and I was very annoyed by writing anything that bothered me, I used to feel the pen and paper, hearing my concerns and being very relaxed when I wrote. (SB2 Najma, 50 Y, Aleppo)*

SI9 Nasma mentioned that crying is very beneficial for her, and it removes the negative energy generated from feelings of sadness and pain through crying, due to oppression the word oppression here indicates the extent of the pain that she is experiencing due to violence. She mentioned as following:

*I do not like to talk about my problems with my husband to anyone; I only talk to my sister when I am upset with him. Because if I told my neighbors or my friends, the problem may increase. They may come and take what I said to him because I complained to them. I only cry. (SI9 Nasma, 24Y, Aleppo)*

SQ19 Anwar mentioned that she does not use the writing diary only to relieve stress, but to prevent violence from happening again by writing the situations that led to her being subjected to physical violence from her husband so that she does not repeat them. In addition to writing, Anwar has developed other methods such as talking to herself in the mirror and smoking cigarettes. Even when conducting the interview, the researcher noticed that whenever Anwar talks about a situation of her husband's physical and psychological abuse of her, she smokes a cigarette. This indicates that cigarettes give her a sedative feeling of pain. She mentioned as following,

*I used to talk to the mirrors, and she was the only one who understood me. I write in the notebook. I smoke a lot of cigarettes. The cigarette was my only friend. I feel that it listens to me and hears my problems and helps me a lot. I would like to smoke a lot of cigarettes. Once I wrote on the paper for this reason he hit me so that I remember that I would never do this thing again. (SQ19 Anwar, 31, Aleppo)*

As for SP18 Shammue, she mentioned that writing a diary was a reason for her to be subjected to physical violence from her mother-in-law because she believed that she was having an affair with another man and was writing love letters to him. She mentioned the following:

*I had a diary with me once my mother-in-law found this notebook. I started talking my father-in-law that I have a notebook, in which I write letters, but God knows who to write for. On this day, I remember my mother-in-law beating me when I felt that I was going to die. He would not have said anything to her. My mother-in-law is a university graduate. She studied law, but she is ignorant of the understanding of her brain. (SP18 Shumue, 28 Y, Aleppo)*



SE5 Zahraa uses the method of reading the Quran and feels a sense of peace in it. She even signed up for a Qur'an memorization course, which she attends once a week. To forget the painful situations, she mentioned that she uses the sleep method, which helps her a lot in relieving stress. As well as talking with friends. She mentioned as following,

*When disputes arise between me and my husband, I do not like to tell my family or friends. I have one neighbor and I tell her about anything that annoys me. And always for those who have differences between us in the spirit of falling asleep and the feeling of sleep, relieves me a lot and makes me forget. I tried to go to centers that support women and see a psychologist, but my husband does not agree. I went to a Quran course and felt that my psychological condition had improved a little. Sometimes I tell my friends and my neighbor and I feel better about myself. (SE5 Zahra, 36 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.3.2. Strategies that Depend on External Resources (support)**

These types of strategies involve formal and informal support. In the following, we will explain in detail both the formal and informal resources that women use in order to control intimate partner violence.

##### **4.3.2.1. Strategies that Depend on Informal Resources**

These strategies depend on the social network of women, which includes the family, the extended family of the husband, friends, neighbors, and so on. This category of women resorts to in an attempt to obtain support, especially from the family. As SF6 Warda mentioned in the following,

*My husband is rough without feelings; he does not show me any feelings of love, especially in front of others. I sometimes go to my family and stay with them for a month and then come and reconcile with him. When I went to my family's house my father used to talk to my husband and try to understand the problem and seek to solve it with him. (SF6 Warda, 32Y, Aleppo)*

However, most of the respondents mentioned that they did not receive the required support from the family but were only advised on the necessity of patience and the husband's tolerance for the continuation of the marriage and the preservation of the family entity.

As SC3 Shams mentioned in the following,

*When my husband hit me for the first time, I went to my mother, I told her, and she said to me, "You have to endure, and this is your husband." From that day on, I decided that I would not tell anyone. (Crying) When I am upset about something, I would tell my brother-in-law who is close to me in age. (SC3Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

The respondents also mentioned they were accused and blamed for being subjected to violence either for failing to fulfill their duties or not obeying their husbands.

As SD Gamar mentioned,

*I tried to tell my family about my problems with my husband, but they did not stand by my side, they stood by the side of my husband. For example, one time we were eating and my husband asked me to give him bread; I refused, so he broke the whole tray, beat me up, and screamed at me. This situation happened in front of the children. He called my father and told him what happened. My father said that I was wrong. I was very upset and felt that I was weak and that I have no support. I was not able to tell my husband that he is wrong, and I felt also wrong. I am not supposed to act with him like this, and I am not supposed to be stubborn with him. (SD4 Gamar, 25 Y, Idlib)*

Some of the respondents described their situation in this situation as "without support", "weak" and "with a broken wing". Parents are helpless to a woman who is subjected to violence, she is convinced that violence is a natural thing and a natural reaction of a man toward a wife who does not fulfill her duties and does not obey her husband.

The following respondents reported:

*Once I hit my daughter in front of my husband, then my husband kicked me out of the house, and took me to my mother, she hit me with a stick in my face and told me, that it is not right for me to hit my daughter in front of my husband, so I came back with my husband, after that, I did not tell my mother about the problems between me and my husband. I felt weak and broken. (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

*When a problem occurs between me and my husband, I go to my family, this happened twice. I go to my family when there is a problem between me and my husband. Once, my brother-in-law insulted me and my family and he told me I am not allowed to hit my son, and he expelled me from the house. When my husband came he too cursed me and shouted at me, and took me to my family's house and I stayed with them for 3 months. But then my family became unable to bear me and blamed me. I felt like I am alone nobody stands with me and I am weak. I did not go there again. When a problem occurred between me and my husband, I kept*

*silent, so that the problem does not start and he beats me again. (SB2 Najma, 50 Y, Aleppo)*

Although the extended family of women does not help them in the case of physical or psychological violence, two respondents mentioned that their families support them financially in case of economic violence.

They mentioned the following

*Financial matters in the house are the responsibility of my husband. All the expenses of the house are in his hands. If I asked for the expenses, he does not give me what I want, so I talk to my mother, and she brings me the things I need. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

*The woman has rights and so does the husband. The husband must respect his wife, and the woman must also respect him. If he is employed, the expenses of the house are on him, and if she is employed, the expenses will be on her. (SH8 Nasim, 40 Y, Aleppo)*

Some respondents asked for help from the husband's extended family or a relative of the husband's family. Women always prefer to seek help from older men who are relatives of the husband's family because older men are entrusted with resolving family disputes and their decisions or solutions are binding on the husband. They mentioned that they have the support required of older men who are the husband's relatives.

For example SST tajuj and SQ19 Anwar mentioned,

*My husband used to hit me - mostly by his fist. He beat me and my children together and I was silent because I do not want him to expel me outside the house. He would expel me a lot outside the house, but I wouldn't go out. Once I was forced to go out, but I did not go to my family, I went to his uncle's house and his uncle stood by my side and said to him I forbid you to hit this girl, she is an orphan, do not treat her like this. Sometimes I used to complain about my husband to his uncle, but my husband when hears my plea, escalates the problems with me more, so I don't talk to anyone other than my sisters after I got out of my father-in-law's house and came back to them. But with my husband, I never argued. (SS16 Tajuj, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

*After 9 months of our marriage. My mother insisted that she should see me. My mother went to my uncle-the brother of my mother-in-law-, and said to him, "I want to see my daughter." My uncle asked my husband why this is so, why do you treat her this hard way. It became a problem between my husband and my uncle. My uncle took me to my mother. The meeting interview was very sad, and I told them that I am not happy. I told my uncle about everything. My uncle took me back to my husband so that he did not want to destroy my house. And he said to me, I*

*will solve your problems, but he did nothing. After I went back to my husband, he came back again and deprived me of my mother. I spent 6 months without seeing her. Then my mother went to my cousin and said to him, "Let me see my daughter." My cousin came home with my mother. My husband came from work and saw my mother at home. I was very happy that things go O.K... Then, out of joy, I told them, "Let's go for a walk, the weather is nice. (SQ19 Anwar, 31Y, Aleppo)*

As for the mothers-in-law, the respondents indicated that they played a negative role and did not provide them with assistance. On the contrary, they blamed them.

As for SC3 Shams mentioned in the following,

*In Syria, I used to tell his stepmother but she did not do anything. Once I wanted to go to my family. My father took me back to my husband by force. (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

The researcher noted that women married to Turkish men resort to asking for help from the husband's family and do not ask for help from their families and they mentioned providing them with assistance in stopping the violence. The reason for their request for help from the husband's family directly without referring to her family may be due to the absence of their family with them in Turkey, or even in the case of a difficult communication between the family and the husband due to their lack of knowledge of the Turkish language.

The respondents mentioned the following,

*Only once did my husband beat me, and at that time I went and complained to his mother, and she stood by my side, and she said to him, Shame on you for hitting your wife, which is not true. Then he did not beat me during our marriage. (SG7 Rahig, 31Y, Aleppo)*

*Once he put me on the bed and wanted to pull out my eyes, I called his older brother and he solved the problem between us. My husband in front of his family respects me a lot, but when we are alone, we have many problems. Even when I got divorced from my husband, I went back to him because his mother died, and before she died, she recommended that I should go back to my husband. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

The previous studies indicate that the women who subject to intimate partner violence have been seeking help from religious leaders in the neighborhood, village, or city in which the women live and they help them. But the current study found that the

religious leaders play negative roles as SP18 Shumue indicated that she asked for help more than once from the Imam of the mosque in the neighborhood, but he did not provide her with any help but rather gave her advice on the necessity of respecting her husband and mother-in-law. She mentioned in following,

*I was talking to the Imam of the mosque, and he said to me", my daughter, why don't you go to your family and tell them about what happened to you?" But I did not want to go to my family, because they did not want them to know that the problems I had, and I was upset because this was my choice. Once I went to my father and told him, he blamed me and he said you must be patient, and do the thing that your mother-in-law wants. Therefore, I did not tell my father anything, because he would not help me and he would not stand beside me. All month of Ramadan, I did not sit with my husband. I ate inside the mosque, or sometimes in front of the mosque. (SP18, Shumue, 28Y, Aleppo)*

Some women prefer not to talk about violence by their intimate partner with anyone for fear of the consequences that could occur if the husband become aware of that. The most important thing is the increase in violence against them as well as their frustration and their feeling that no one can help them. So they prefer silence and use strategies to reduce the pressures of violence, as we will discuss in detail later.

#### **4.3.2.2. Strategies that depend on official sources of support**

These include seeking help from psychologists and social workers, applying to support centers for women subjected to violence, calling the violence hotline, filing a complaint in court, and going to the police for help. Previous studies found that women, who live in patriarchal societies in developing countries, do not report domestic violence to the police or authorities (Al-Shdayfat and Hatamleh, 2017). Women in general and Arab women, in particular, do not like outside interference in family problems (Abu-Ras, 2003 ; Aswad and Gary, 1996). This is because in the culture of Arab societies, domestic violence is considered a family issue and thus, it must be kept within the family (Al-Natour, 2019). Alsaba and Kapilashrami (2016) indicated that; reporting IPV in a patriarchal society is regarded as some sort of treachery to the family values. women hide the incidence of intimate partner violence and this reduces their chances of seeking help from official authorities (Abu-Ras, 2003). Cankurtaran and Albayrak,

(2019) also found that Syrian women do not talk about domestic violence with anyone, and tend to hide it to maintain their family solitude. MacTavish's study (2016) identified three obstacles that prevent Syrian refugee women in Za'atari camp-Jordan from reporting incidents of sexual violence. The obstacles are; lack of confidence in the reporting authorities, Fear of revenge and retaliation, and social stigma or the feeling of self-pity and shame. Al-Shdayfat and Hatamleh, (2017) also found that five main reasons prevent women from reporting intimate partner violence to health care providers. These reasons are acceptance of violence, lack of social support, lack of trust in health care providers, fear of the consequences of reporting, and lack of empowerment of women.

The current study found that all respondents did not use this type of strategy except SR20. This is because, according to customs and traditions, violence is a family matter and strangers should not interfere in it. The society also stigmatizes the woman who complains about her husband to the formal authorities especially the police or court of law. All problems between husband and wife are only resolved within the family framework. All the respondents told the researcher that she was the first stranger they spoke to about their experience of intimate partner violence. The thematic analysis shows that 5 factors make women disinclined to use these strategies. These factors are:

1. Societal factors
2. Factors related to the nature of violence
3. Factors related to women's perceptions
4. Factors related to the services provided
5. Factors related to immigration and asylum conditions

#### **4.3.2.2.1 Societal Factors**

Societal factors are that the patriarchal system considers violence by an intimate partner as a family issue and must be resolved within the family framework and any talk about it outside that framework is considered a violation of the family's privacy because the

family is sacred in those societies and confirms its sanctity from some religious texts and any violation of that sanctity may lead to punishment, which is social stigma and social isolation. This general framework is reflected in women's ideas about intimate partner violence and they believe that it is not desirable for family secrets to be disclosed and to expose the husband's shortcomings outside the family domain. Society motivates women who keep them in the family matters and do not disclose them by giving them titles such as the ideal wife/ideal mother and such like that.

Anwar mentioned the following:

*I do not like marital problems, to be talked about with neighbors or friends, they should be resolved within the family framework, because these are family secrets, but -in my opinion- the first to ask for help is the family, but if she does not find help, then she can ask for it from outside. If necessary, you can go to the police. But it is better to solve the problem with the help of her family or the husband's family. (SQ19Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

Society's values greatly affect women's views towards violence and how to deal with it. The respondents had strict attitudes about women who file a complaint against their husbands to the legal authorities. Even two of the respondents, SM13 Ghayma and SJ10 Matar, mentioned the phrase "I am against" to confirm the strictness of their stance on this matter. The respondents described women who file a complaint against their husbands with terms such as "not polite," and "not of good origin." These words indicate a lack of respect for the values and traditions of society and this matter may lead women who file complaints against their husbands to the legal authorities to social isolation. Also, one of the reasons for taking strict stances against women who file a complaint against their husbands to the legal authorities is that this matter may lead to the disorganization of the family because the inevitable result of a woman who complains about her husband is divorce and deprivation of children.

The respondents report as following,

*It is not permissible for a woman to talk about her problems with strangers, whether they are centers, or to complain to the police. Because in our Islamic religion, one must keep the family's secrets. Also, it is not permissible to reveal marital secrets to strangers, a woman can complain to her family to her husband's family, but she is not allowed to talk to strangers because this opens the door to family ruin. (SE5 Zahra, 36 Y, and Aleppo)*

*There are women, especially in Turkey, who complain to the police. I am against this thing. No matter what happens, you must be patient because this is your fate, especially if you have children, you can get a divorce. This thing affects the psyche of the children. I did never try to go, nor to the police or a psychological counselor, I am happy with my life, with my husband because I do what my husband wants, because I do not like problems. I don't like a woman to talk to strangers about her problems with her husband, for example, one of the neighbors, might not like you, and when you tell her, she may destroy your home. The mother and the sister do not destroy your home, because the secrets of the house are not supposed to go outside. You can talk to psychologists because they keep confidentiality. (SJ10 Matar, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.3.2.2.2 Factors Related to the Nature of Violence**

Women's fear of increased violence or divorce and the attendant dire social consequences are among the reasons why they do not resort to using the strategies of the official network of relations. Likewise, women's lack of knowledge of the sources of services and the isolation of their husbands from the sources of official services are among the reasons that hinder women from seeking official assistance.

They mentioned the following:

*I only do things that he loves. I never tried to tell my problems with my husband to anyone, and I did not try to go to centers that help women, because I don't know them at all and my husband does not allow me. Women should protect their homes and their children. (SA1 Noura, 41 Y, Aleppo)*

*I never asked for support from any center, because I did not leave the house, and did not try to ask for help because there could be a bigger problem, because my cousin in Ankara complained about her husband because he beats her and the center stood with her, but he divorced her. That's why I'm afraid that he will divorce me and take my children away from me. I do not talk to anyone because no one can help me. All people see me as happy, but I am in another atmosphere and do not talk, because if I tell, the entire world, will blame me (SC3 Shams, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

Some respondents stated that the researcher is the first stranger they discussed their IPV experience with. As SL12 Sahab and SQ19 Anwar mentioned in the following.

*I don't go to women's support centers, for the first time in my life I talk about my husband with a stranger, is with you because you only want information for research. (SL12 Sahab, 43Y, Aleppo)*



*I don't know who to complain about and who will hear me. I would love for someone to hear me. Today I am happy because you listened to me with patience, for example, my friends do not hear me much, but because you have a goal to listen, so I told you anything in my heart. I do not know the centers that one can go to if she is subjected to violence from her man. (SQ19 Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.3.2.2.3 Factors Related to Women's Perceptions of Services Provided to Survivors of Violence in Turkey**

There is a lack of confidence by the respondents in the services provided by official bodies, such as support centers for women subjected to violence. As SE5 Zahra and SF6 Warda mentioned in the following,

*In Turkey, there are many centers to help women, inciting women against their husbands and telling them if there is a problem between you and their husbands, call the police, but this thing is a big mistake because if the children knew that their mother complained about their father, this affects the psychological state, it is better instead of the police talking to someone Old man, Imam of the mosque or Sheikh Al-Hara. (SE5 Zahra, 36 Y, Aleppo)*

*I have ever tried to talk about my problems with my husband with psychological support centers because I do not like disclosing marital secrets to strangers. Today you are the first stranger I tell about my life because you gave me safety. I do not like to go to psychological support centers because they tell a woman that if you are subjected to violence from her husband, she should complain to the police. This is a big mistake because it can be a cause of ruining the house and depriving children of their mothers. After all, we have customs in Syria that if one divorces her husband, the children will be taken from her. Therefore, I prefer solving marital problems between husband and wife, and if they cannot talk to family and relatives. (SF6 Warda, 32Y, Aleppo)*

Some women do not trust centers that support women and talk to social and psychological specialists about violence because their personal experiences have led to a lack of confidence in the centers and service providers.

As SJ10 Matar mentioned in following,

*Once upon a time, a psychological counselor wanted to destroy my neighbor's family. Her husband used to beat her a lot. She went to the counselor and they told her that "you have the right to do anything without your husband. Do whatever you want with him, and you can complain to the police and we can come to take you with the children and protect you for 8 months," and my neighbor was convinced. She came and told me, and then I told her that; it is a wrong and forbidden method to deprive your husband of his children and for this reason, your family will be destroyed. My neighbor kept going to this psychological counselor. I*

*and the rest of the neighbors advised her a lot, and she gave up the idea. ( SJ10 Matar, 33 years old, Aleppo)*

Some of the respondents do not know who to talk to and nor did they know the locations of the supporting authorities that provide services to women who are subjected to intimate partner violence.

As for SL12 Sahab mentioned in following,

*I don't go to women's support centers, for the first time in my life I talk about my husband with a stranger, is with you because you only want information for research. (SL12 Sahab, 43Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.3.2.2.4 Factors Related to Women's Perceptions**

Some women think that they do not need to seek help from outside; they feel that they are strong enough and can solve their problems on their own. Some of them view violence as a normal thing, and that their marital life is free from violence, so there is no need to seek help from outside. Some women feel that no one will listen to them and that they will be blamed. Some women have reached a stage of despair, so they think that no one can help them. Some of them believe that seeking help from strangers, especially from support centers for women, who are subjected to violence, contributes to the disorganization of the family.

#### **4.3.2.2.5 Factors related to Immigration and Asylum Conditions**

Some women reported that they do not want to seek help from the official authorities, because they fear not receiving assistance, as they are refugees, and feel racism towards them. They also mentioned that their situation here in Turkey is not permanent and that the husband's complaint may cause him to be imprisoned and returned to Syria. Thus, they may lose their breadwinner.

*The first time I arrived in Turkey, I was very annoyed, because I left everything behind, and come to a country, which is not mine. I don't like to talk about my problems with my husband outside my country, because the Turkish people don't like us, and they won't give me anything if I ask for help. I decided that if I complained, they would lock him up or they could send him back to Syria, then what would I do?. (SO15 Zilal, 32 years old, Aleppo)*

*I saw many of my neighbors when I went to the hospital, they could not find someone who help them, because they don't know how to speak Turkish. So I never thought to go one day to one of the centers here and talk about my problems with my husband. Because I know they won't give me anything because I'm a refugee. These centers do not know our customs and traditions; they do not know how to help us. (SI9 Nasma, 24 years old, Aleppo)*

#### **4.4. FACTORS AFFECTING THE CHOICE OF STRATEGIES**

Many factors influence women's choice of strategies in dealing with intimate partner violence, as Goodman et al (2003) study, indicated that many studies that dealt with the strategies that women follow, to manage intimate partner violence and found that the nature of violence, women's economic status, mental health, and social support for women are among the most important factors that affect women's choice of the specific strategy to deal with intimate partner violence. In another study in Zimbabwe, it was found that social norms affected the method of dealing with violence. Most of the respondents in the study did not resort to seeking help from outside, whether from family, friends, or professional bodies, but rather adapted to self-resources such as prayer and acceptance of abuse and such (Chadambuka, 2020).

The current study found that the factors that affect women's choice of strategies in dealing with violence are: age, nature of violence, and here it agrees with the study of Goodman et al (2003), previous experiences with violence, presence of children, asylum and changing social environment. In the following, we will detail how these factors contribute to the selection of strategies.

##### **4.4.1. Age**

Strategies develop through age and years of marriage, regarding the age effect, the study found that the respondents who got married between the ages of 13 to 14, mentioned that in the early years of marriage they failed to manage differences with the husband, so those problems were developing and reaching they began to manage conflicts more and developed strategies for dealing with violence. As for years of marriage, The

strategies evolve according to years of marriage, so the strategies used by women in the first years of marriage differ from the strategies they use now, as Ghayma mentioned the following:

*In the first years of my marriage, I did not know how to deal with my husband. He used to have a lot of problems and he beat me and mocked me in front of others, but after I grew up after sixty years of marriage- I knew how to deal with him, for example, to prevent him from hitting me: I started to leave anything as it seems, and also to make me angry and humiliate me in front of my mother-in-law, and my sister-in-law. If I felt that something would happen and lead to a problem, that would be irritating to me, I would take myself away and sit in my room, then he would come into the room and insult me, but for me, it is better to insult me, when I am alone, and not in front of others because This is a sense of humiliation and devaluation. I became tolerant of the treatment of my husband. Sometimes my husband comes from work annoyed, I do not ask him. Now, I know little about life. I got married when I was very young. Now, we understand each other. (SM13 Ghayma, 22 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.4.2. The Nature of Violence**

As violence increases women develop more strategies to protect themselves, and at the same time strategies to preserve family building and children. For instance, the strategy used for sexual violence it is different from that strategy used with physical violence and it same goes for other forms of violence.

#### **4.4.3. Previous Experiences with Violence**

Previous experiences of violence have a major role in choosing a woman for a resistance strategy. For example, Anwar, Previous experiences of violence with her first husband made her gain more experience in dealing with violence. Anwar reported that in Syria she used placating strategies and safety planning to protect herself and her children from physical violence. When she married for the second time and married a Turkish man, she began to use resistance strategies such as arguing with the husband during the violence, threatening to leave the house, and physical resistance to the husband's violence.

*My life now compared to that in Syria is a thousand times better. My husband sometimes gets nervous and tries to hit me, but this does not happen now with my new husband, I have changed a lot and become stronger, no one can control me or plot against me. If he wants to hit me, I put my hand on him before he can give it; I*

*learned a lesson from this life. Once, he attacked me in front of his older brother. He grabbed me by the neck, wanting to suffocate me. He kicked me with my feet. Once again, he hit me with a phone charger, and it hit me in the face. I hit him with the same charger. And once I caught it and stuck it with caution and strangled him by the neck and hit him, he was afraid of me. Many times beat him because he is a disbeliever, I say to him, "Stop this, and do not insult religion." He became afraid of me (the respondent smiled and laughed). My age is now older, I am stronger, and I cry to my husband by arguing and conflicting with him. I became very nervous and I don't have much in mind when arguing with him, and when I feel that he is going to hit me and I lock myself in the room to protect myself. I am very happy with myself that I have become strong. (SQ19Anwar, 31 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.4.4. Asylum to Turkey and Changing the Use of Strategies**

After women sought refuge in Turkey, the social environment represented in social norms and values changed, in addition to the absence of the husband's family and the woman's lack of feeling under supervision, which affected their dealing with violence, as SO15 Zilal and SI9 Nasma mentioned. In addition, the presence of a network of neighbors and friends in women's relationships, contributed to changing the use of strategies that depend on the network of social relations, because when they were in Syria, the network of social relations was limited only to the extended family of the husband and wife. Likewise, husbands allow women to go out alone, and help women relieve the stress of violence by getting out of the house and taking long walks or sitting in parks, Warda said. Asylum in Turkey has also contributed to changing strategies through women's participation in awareness programs on women's rights directed at refugee women in Turkey. These programs have led to an increase in women's awareness of their rights and they are threatening their husbands by submitting complaints to the competent authorities and obtaining assistance regarding violence, as in the case of SP18 Shumue.

The respondents mentioned as following,

*When we were in Syria, I would not argue with him because many times my aunt (mother-in-law) was there. I was afraid of her, that I would argue in front of her with him because he could beat me in front of her. But after I came to Turkey, I felt free and calm in my home and I solve problems with him using my method. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo).*

*Once we came to Turkey, there was a big disagreement between me and my husband. I got out of the house and went for a walk and sat in a garden in another*

*place, and he didn't know where I went. He was very afraid of me. He called my brother and came out with him. They started searching for me in the end; they found me in the garden. Then I threatened my husband every time that I would leave the house. This is the method by which my husband fears that he will not be angry with me again. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.4.5. The Presence of Children and their Role in Women's Confrontation of Violence**

The presence of children could serve as protection for women against intimate partner violence because children intervene in the event of violence to protect their mother and support her financially in the event of economic violence as well.

*Always with my husband, I felt that I had no value and that I was less than I should be because he was different from me. He loved to see how he was despotic, as much as I could do nothing without his permission, even after I grew up, he wouldn't change until he died. After having children, I felt that I was stronger, especially after they grew up supporting me and talking to their father." You don't have to deal with our mother like that, and they also gave me money, so I didn't need my husband for anything. (SK11 Riah, 60 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.5. PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN ABOUT GENDER ROLES**

The concept of "gender role attitudes" refers to the views held by individuals about the roles of men and women in society. When people take the view of the traditional division of labor between men and women, with the man playing the role of the breadwinner and the woman the role of the housewife, this group of people is classified as having traditional attitudes towards gender. If they do not agree with such a traditional division of labor, and instead want a more equitable division of labor, they are considered to have modern gender role attitudes or gender equality (Horst, 2014). In this section, the current study aimed to find out which of the attitudes women adopt, as well as to understand the impact of their attitudes on understanding violence by an intimate partner and dealing with it as normal or not, and what are the conditions in which they justify the abuse of the wife.

The findings of the study were that 19 out of 20 respondents held the traditional view of gender roles. They mentioned that the duties of women are to take care of the children, attend to the requests of the husband, show obedience to him, and carry out household chores such as rinsing pots, washing clothes, preparing food, and serving it to the family members. As for the roles of men, they are defined as working outside the home and meeting the material needs of the children and the wife. SR20 Ahlam has adopted the modern attitudes of gender roles, i.e. gender equality, and the reason for this can be traced back to the effect of the educational level. Ahlam urged the necessity of sharing between men and women in all duties inside and outside the home. She stated the following

*There is no such thing as the roles of women and men. Life in the home is supposed to be shared between the two. In Syria, the class that is most exposed to violence is the women who get married, when they are young, so the woman is not aware, that she is subject to the mercy of her husband, she has no basis for being subjected to the most beating and humiliation. The first thing in Syria is the man. His mother, from the first night of marriage, advises him to pour out the package before deciding, and it does not appear to her that he is weak and that he loves her, and so forth. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo)*

The women who adopt the traditional attitude of gender roles presented a description of two types of married women, "the ideal, successful wife and the failed wife". According to respondents, the ideal successful wife, is the one who performs all her duties towards her children and husband and towards the house, without negligence, and is obedient to her husband. however, the failed wife falls short in her domestic duties. As SM13 Ghayma, SJ10 Matar, and SA1 Noura indicated that this failed woman should not marry. This strict point of view shows the extent to which women adhere to the stereotyped image of gender roles defined by society for women and do not tolerate shortcomings in them.

Here a question comes to mind: What are the factors that affected women's adoption of the traditional view on dividing roles between men and women within the family?

To answer that question, we must first look at the cultural and social background and its impact on the respondents' adoption of the traditional position on gender roles. All respondents have raised in a patriarchal society, in which women are determined to play secondary roles in society related to procreation, child care, and domestic affairs, and

the woman is subordinate to the man and she must always show obedience and obey orders. The stereotype of the roles of both men and women is built since childhood through socialization as we explained in the second chapter in detail. All respondents except SR20 Ahlam were forced to drop out of school in the early school stages, to prepare them for marriage. During that period, the girl does all the housework under the supervision of her mother, and it is necessary to teach the girl to carry out her duties to the fullest extent, otherwise, she will bring shame to her mother if she gets married and fails in the responsibilities of marriage. Thus, the stereotyped image of women's roles is entrenched in their minds and becomes a constant postulate and guide for how to perform their roles after marriage. This explains to us the criteria that the respondents followed in classifying wives into a "failed wife" and a "successful ideal wife". The patriarchal society is also keen on its members to submit to stereotypes of the roles of men and women, and any deviation from that constitutes a violation of the values of the intelligent society. Individuals in such cases are punished with social stigma, isolation, and violence, as in the case of violence by an intimate partner. Therefore, the researcher noticed the repetition of the phrase "A great shameful in our society" and "The man can't do housework" during the objective analysis many times in an attempt by the respondents to emphasize the need to comply with the values and customs in society and considered that the failure of women in their duties is a sufficient justification for the man's physical abuse of her. For example, Najma and Noura Ghayma emphasize their insistence on roles and their traditional view of women's roles in the home. The two respondents used the phrases "Impossible" and "Big flaw" to express the inability of men to do household chores such as washing, preparing food, and such. Their use of these phrases results from their firm belief in the stereotyped images defined by society, as well as their compliance with the values and traditions of the patriarchal system which is based on a system of motivation and punishment for individuals concerning compliance with customs and traditions.

Ghayma considered that the woman's failure to perform her is a sufficient justification for physical violence against her.

*The duties of the woman are to take care of the house and the children, and the husband works outside and collects money. It is not right for the man to work in the house cleaning or washing clothes. It is impossible to let my husband do it because*



*it is a major shame in our customs. A woman whose tongue is long and who is not interested in her home deserves to be beaten by her husband, just as her husband does. And a woman who cannot bear the work of the house and the responsibility of the children it is better not to marry, she goes astray with her family, it is easier because if she gets married and falls short in her duty, this is a failure in her life in my opinion. (SM13 Ghayma, 22 Y, Aleppo)*

However, Najma believes that a husband has no right to beat his wife. The reason for this could be due to her being subjected to repeated physical violence from her husband.

*The duty of a woman at home is to fulfill the demands of her husband and children and to serve the guests. A man cannot help his wife at home, because this is not the job of a man unless the woman is sick. He can help, but it is impossible to sweep or wash dishes, a big defect in Syria. There is no right for a man to hit his wife; he is supposed to talk to her only. The man beats his wife because he is convinced that he is a man and he is supposed to control her, humiliate her and insult her. (SC3Najma, 30 Y, Aleppo)*

Concerning the conditions in which the wife's physical abuse is justified, previous studies indicate that there is a close link between educational level, economic status, living in urban or rural areas, and justification of physical abuse of the wife.

A study by The WHO (2005), conducted in ten countries around the world, included an interview of 24000, as well as a social survey of Syrian refugees in Turkey (2018) by the Institute of Population Studies at Hacettepe University for a number: 1,826 households and 2,216 Syrian women in the age group were interviewed between the ages of 15-49, most women mentioned some situations in which they justify the husband beating his wife, for example, neglecting the duties of the home, not obeying him, not caring for the children and leaving the house without the husband's permission. The study by the World Health Organization indicated that women in rural and traditional areas are the most tolerant of physical and sexual violence against the wife and consider violence normal.

Also in the study, Leah et al (2016) used Chi-Square and Multiple Logistic to analyze data from the 2008 Nigeria Demographic Health Survey, which included 3,385 women and 15,486 men. The results of the study concluded that there is a correlation between the low educational level, the economic level, and gender in justifying physical intimate partner violence against women.

The findings of the current study agree with the studies mentioned above, but the study added another factor that contributes to justifying the physical abuse of the wife, which is that the adoption of traditional attitudes towards gender roles affects and contributes to the justification of physical violence by the intimate partner. Where the results of the study found that, 12 out of 19 women who adopted the traditional attitudes towards gender role, they tolerance wife-beating in case of woman failure in her domestic duties and her disobedience to the husband is a major reason to justify the physical abuse of her. As for the rest, they are 7 respondents who believed that he does not have the right to physically abuse the wife in any case, but three of them are SQ19 Anwar, SH8 Nasim an4, and SO15 Zilal. Although they mentioned that the husband does not have the right to beat his wife, they indicated only two cases in which a man can physically abuse his wife. It is “betrayal” and “stubbornness and controversy.” This inconsistency in attitudes reflects the extent to which the stereotyped image of their gender roles is firmly established.

The respondents mentioned the following:

*A woman's duty at home is to teach her children, and this is the most important thing. Cleanliness, washing, and cooking are necessary. My husband sometimes helps me with the housework, but I do not like him to help me because this is my duty and I am not supposed to be short, because my husband comes and helps me. He has no right in any case, but if a woman cheats on her husband, he beats her. (SO15, Zilal, 32Y, Aleppo)*

*In Syria, we have a woman who has to clean her house and take care of her children, and her husband, when he comes from work, is supposed to meet his food, and his bathroom ready. We have the disadvantage of the man who works at home. For a woman who falls short in her duty, the husband has the right to marry another woman. The husband does not have the right to hit his wife. I am against beating. Because the woman has rights and so does the husband. The husband must respect his wife, and the woman must also respect him. (ST17,55 Y, Aleppo)*

In addition to neglecting home duties, the respondents mentioned other cases in which they consider wife-beating to be justified are, such as refusal to have sexual relations with the husband outside of the days of the monthly period, disobedience to the husband, frequent arguments with the husband, leaving the house without the husband’s permission, doing things that the husband does not like, disobeying the mother-in-law and the husband’s sisters and arguing with them. The respondents expressed their views as follows.

SA1 Noura does not find any justification for the wife not to perform her duties, even if her health conditions do not allow the fulfillment of her duty, and she mentioned that any shortcoming leads to allowing the man to physical violence against her, in addition to that, she considers that the refusal of the sexual relationship with the husband is a justification for psychological and physical violence by the intimate partner. She believes that a woman's rejection of her husband leads to sexual practices outside marriage, and these relationships are forbidden in Islamic religion, and the woman takes the man's punishment instead. Also, the stubborn wife who does things that, the husband does not like and who argues with her husband in her opinion deserves to be beaten and divorced. She cited the experience of her husband with his wife, who divorced his wife for that reason. Noura also added that asking for help from the legal and official authorities is a reason to justify the physical abuse of the wife.

*The man works outside the house and brings the financial needs, and the woman is responsible for the things in the house, even if she is pregnant or tired. It is not the responsibility of the woman. The fault of the man washing or cleaning the woman is that she is supposed to fall short in her duty, no matter what her circumstances.*  
(SA1 Noura,41, Aleppo)

Respondents SN14 Wahaj and SK11 Riah SL12 Sahab believe that the woman is the cause of the husband's physical abuse. They believe that the women who argue with their husbands and do not show obedience and respect for them deserve physical violence. They also believe that women who do not use placating strategies with the husband, that is, argue with the husband during the violence, and do not do the things that the husband prefers, deserve physical violence from their husbands. SL12 Sahab and SK11 Riyah indicated their religious belief about the issue of husband obedience. SK11 Riyah emphasized that obedience to the husband is a necessary matter that all women must learn before marriage, because it is a religious duty. SK11 Riyah she emphasized her believe by referring to some text from Holy Qur'an, and any type of women behavior against what has mentioned above considered blasphemy in the Islamic religion. On the other hand, she stressed the need for a man to respect his wife as well. For SN14 Wahaj indicated that a woman who can divorce her husband if she uses placating strategies is still subjected to physical violence.

The respondents mentioned as following,

*All the problems in the house are the cause of the woman. for example, when her husband hits his son; I am not supposed to argue with him at that time. If her husband is difficult with her, she must know how to deal with it, and she must also be patient and be satisfied with her loss and her share of the world. I always advise my daughters- in law. For example, when my sons and their wives disagree with each other, I always stand on the side of my son's wives. But after her husband walks out, I speak together, she is supposed to be patient with her husband, and if she sees him upset, she stays silent. when he comes from the outside, upset, about his job she should not respond to him. she does not argue with him because “men are the guardians of women?” This is what is mentioned in Surat -Nisa in the Qur'an. The woman is supposed to respect her husband, and her tongue should not be over him, but the man is also supposed to respect her. (SK11 Riah,60 Y, Aleppo)*

*The duties of a woman are to cook, clean, to take care of the children. The duties of a husband are to work outside and to pay the money to children and wife It is not good that the man works at home unless the woman is sick. Likewise, a woman must obey her husband, because disobedience husband is not permitted by God. (SL12 Sahab, 22 Y, Aleppo)*

Respondents,SE5 Zahra and SF6 Warda believe that the husband has the right to beat his wife, to discipline her and that the woman must obey the husband and carry out her duties or else she will be subjected to physical violence. SF6 Warda stated that the husband has the right to marry another woman if the woman is stubborn and does not perform her duties. They mentioned as following,

*In Syria, the woman's duties are domestic work. We do not have the traditions of the woman looking abroad to work or go to the market. This is the responsibility of the man. The woman takes care of children, hygiene, cooking, and such. She has no right to fall short in these duties and she must obey her husband if she fails in any of these duties, she deserves beating from her husband for her upbringing. Some women, their men had to beat them because their tongue is long or she argues with them and they are not obedient. As for the husband, he has to work outside and save money for the house. It is not our custom that the man does the housework, but my husband sometimes helps me in the kitchen work. (SE5 Zahra, 36 Y, and Aleppo)*

*The duties of a woman at home are cleanliness, cooking, and taking care of the house, children, and the husband, even if she is working outside. She is not supposed to fall short in these duties. Because negligence in it opens the door to beating the woman, the husband has the right to raise his wife in the manner that he sees true. A man has the right to marry another woman if his wife is stubborn a lot with him. (SF6 Warda,32 Y, Aleppo)*

SB2 Najma and SJ10 Matar mentioned that arguing with the husband and not using placating strategies with the husband and doing whatever the husband wants is justified

in the husband's use of physical violence. Najma added that women's actions contrary to the Islamic religion justify physical violence by an intimate partner.

*A woman's duties are to obey her husband and respect him, if she is disobedient and does not listen to his words and is not working the house and, if she does things contrary to religion, for example, if she does not wear a veil or wear un-Islamic clothing, this deserves a beating. I passed my brother's wife seeing her as she deserves to be beaten by her husband because she argues with him and does not use the method of persuasion with him. The man is like a child- with the benefit of the method of persuasion. I am now giving my advice to my daughters and my daughter-in-law, that she loves her husband by providing for his needs as much as she takes by giving food, clean clothes, and clean children. These are the requests of the husband, if the woman provides this for him, there will be no problem. If a woman does not care about the affairs of the house, she deserves to be divorced. (SB2 Najma, 50Y, Aleppo)*

The rest of the women think that the husband has no right in any case to beat his wife, and they pointed out the necessity of the husband using a method other than physical violence in resolving disputes between him and his wife. For example, SD Gamar and SR20 mentioned as follows,

*The man is responsible for the expenses, and the woman is responsible for the house being clean, cooking, and taking care of the children. It is not right for him to hit his wife, or in any case. (SD4 Gamar, 25Y, Aleppo).*

*There is no Qur'an and no law that allows a husband to hit his wife, humiliate her, or insult her women who are subjected to violence. (SR20 Ahlam, 33 Y, Aleppo).*

#### **4.5.1. Why Do Women Tolerate Intimate Partner Violence**

This tolerance appeared in the women's assessment of their relations with their husbands, and when they were asked about the conditions in which the husband has the right to abuse his wife.

To answer this question the study found, that due to the women's frequent exposure to violence, have come to see that violence is a natural thing, and the husband has the right to treat his wife in this way because he is a man especially the controlling behavior, for example, not leaves the house without the husband's permission. For a woman, to leave the house without the permission of her husband. All the women interviewed even the SR 20 Ahlam, a working woman, and a Ph.D. student believe that the woman has no

right to leave the house without her husband's permission. All of this can be traced back to the socialization within the patriarchal society, which dictates that women obey the man and that she is subordinate to him and that he has the right to control her. Besides socialization within the patriarchal society religious beliefs also affect women's view of violence. Most of the respondents believe that obedience to the husband is a religious duty, and patience with the husband's harm can be a reason for the woman to enter Paradise. For example, in the case of sexual violence, respondents mentioned that a woman refuses sexual relations with her husband without a legitimate excuse (the monthly period), which is cursed by God. Domestic violence in Syria does not start only when the woman gets married, nor does it start as a result of her living with her mother-in-law. Also, violence begins from childhood as a result of the customs of the Syrian patriarchal society. Since childhood, society defines the girl in the form of games and sets limits for behavior. For example, girls refrain from playing some games associated with boys and prevents from playing outside the home when the girl reaches puberty, she is not allowed to leave the house and is forced to leave school when she reaches the sixth grade. When a woman marries, this pattern of violence continues with her, but this time from her husband or her husband's family. In short, women live all their lives in this cycle of violence and cannot get out of it because society does not allow that. Of all the interviews I gave, only one of the women broke this cycle of violence and came to Turkey to study for a master's degree. This summarizes for us that a woman can leave this circle if she is educated and if she finds sufficient support from her family, society, and laws.

The study divided the factors that lead to women's tolerance of violence into four main factors and separately addressed them in the next sections.

#### **4.5.1.1. Watching Violence Between Parents**

There is a hypothesis indicate that those who witness violence between parents and exposure to violence in childhood and adolescence are, more exposed to violence than their husbands in the future and more tolerant of violence. In the study of Matud, Marrero, and Abella (2003) in the Canary Islands, it was found that women who witnessed violence between parents, and who were exposed to it before marriage are

more tolerant of violence from an intimate partner. The same result was found by a study in Nigeria that there is a positive relationship between witnessing violence between parents, and tolerance of intimate partner violence in the future (Mahfuza Islam et al, 2014). In Bangladesh, based on the results of the 2007 national survey, 25% of married women in the age group between 15 and 59 years, who witnessed physical violence between parents during childhood and adolescence, were the ones who were subjected to severe and moderate physical violence by their husbands after marriage. (Mahfuza Islam et al, 2014).

In the current study, it was found that most of the respondents had witnessed violence between their parents before marriage, which constituted a reason for their tolerance of violence from their husbands.

For example, SF6 Warda mentioned,

*In my family's house, before I got married, I was not allowed to leave the house at all, because the customs in Syrian society are like this. Likewise, after I got married, nothing changed, and I was not allowed to leave the house alone, even visits to my family were set for me once a week. My husband takes me in the morning and brings me back in the evening. These decisions are made by my mother-in-law. My husband did not have a word in the house. My mother-in-law is the one who is in control and the matter is in the house. For example, once my mother-in-law asked me for a request, and I did not fulfill her request. When my husband came from work and learned what happened, he kicked me out of the house, took me to my family's house, and told my mother that she did not raise me well and did not teach me the customs and traditions and respect the mother of the husband. My mother slapped me in the face in front of my husband, as well as my father hit me and my mother hit me because she did not raise me to respect her mother-in-law. I sat at my family's house for three days, and then my father took me back to my husband's house and warned me that the same thing would happen again. (SF6 Warda, 32Y, Aleppo)*

Some women are aware that, children witnessing violence affect them in the future and they become violent husbands.

*I feel that my husband is nervous and smokes a lot of cigarettes. Every time he gets upset, he comes and gets upset with me, for example, The last problem between us was two weeks ago, he came from work and was upset by his son, who got angry with me for no reason and said that did not educate my son. I said this is wrong, I say don't insult me in front of my son, because if he sees you like this, he will do the same when he gets married, he will treat his wife the same way. I spent two weeks not talking to him at all, and then he came and asked me to forgive, and apologized to me until I was satisfied. (SO15 Zilal, 32Y, Aleppo)*

#### 4.5.1.2. Socialization Based on Gender Inequality

All the respondents were brought up in Syria and in the shadow of a family in which men are dominant and have power, and this has affected their dealing with violence by an intimate partner, considering that it is a normal thing. Although all the respondents grew up in an environment in which inequality between men and women was common, Najma stated that in their nuclear family, her father and mother were concerned with gender equality, and there was no difference in their family in dealing with both men and women. This affected her dealing with violence from the intimate partner, as she mentioned that the husband is not allowed to hit his wife, and the wife who is exposed to this should leave that abusive relationship.

SB2 Najma mentioned the following,

*My husband wouldn't beat me, my father advised that the woman who is exposed to violence, shouldn't stay with her husband who beats her, for a minute, because beating is not a humane treatment, so my father advised us: if you were beaten by your husbands you should come and complain to me. My parents say that the girl is equal to the boy. (SB2 Najma, 50Y, Aleppo)*

#### 4.5.1.3. The Form of Violence That Women are Subjected to

The study found that the respondents do not consider psychological and sexual violence in the form of acts of forced sexual intercourse as violence. And Through the definitions they gave of violence, we find that they view only physical violence as violence.

#### 4.5.1.4. Women's Lack of Knowledge of Their Rights and Lack of Different Marital Experiences

Most of the respondents are not fully aware of women's rights. This thing has the idea that the abusive behavior they are subjected to is the normal situation for any woman, whether she is married or not. Tolerance of violence by an intimate partner is due to the lack of access to previous experiences, this became clear in the experiences of some respondents whose ideas about marital life changed after resorting to Turkey and acquainted with marital experiences in the host community. For example SS16 Tajuj



stated that after she came to Turkey her awareness of violence against women improved. Thereafter, she recognized that her husband's abusive behaviors against her are not normal as she thought when she was in Syria. Rather, it is violence against her and she must deal with it by seeking assistance from the official institutions, such as the Police.

*After I left Syria for Turkey, my life changed a thousand degrees from the height of ignorance to the height of awareness. I mean, I used to see women in Syria all being beaten by their men and all of them had no value to their husbands. After I come to Turkey, I used to go to the refugee help center and attend lectures on women's rights and see how the Turkish men deal with their wives and that here in Turkey there is no difference between women and men in equality in all. And I knew that in Turkey, the woman could go and complain about her husband if he hit her, and the police would stand with her. And my thinking has changed a lot. Before I became aware, I thought that it was normal for a man to hit his wife and control her and that a woman must be patient and cover up for her husband and not tell anyone to enter heaven. I learned here in Turkey that a woman is not supposed to be silent about her husband's harm. My sister in Bursa complained to her husband and the police. They said if you don't deal with her well, we will take her from you for 6 months to another place, after which he was afraid and he would not hit her. And I learned that I would not keep arguing with my husband about what they should do, for example, why do you extend your hand to me, why do you prevent me from doing so? This is what I mean. I learned that I was silent about my right. (SS16 Tajuj,33Y, Aleppo)*

In the same line SR20 Ahlam After seeking refuge in Turkey felt that she is strong and that she has more freedom at her disposal unlike in Syria where she was subjected to more pressure by society. Even at the beginning of the war and when she went to Egypt she did not feel that she free or strong woman.

*After coming to Turkey, I formed my personality in Turkey and became strong. Here, all the laws are on the side of women. In Turkey, there is freedom for women, and the greatest pressure from society in Syria and Egypt, I was repressed and oppressed by the injustice of society. (SR20 Ahlam, 33Y, Aleppo)*

SP18 mentioned that when she became aware of women's rights, her views changed toward her husband's abusive behaviors. And she developed new strategies to deal with it.

*When I came to Turkey, I went to the clinic. I attended a meeting with Miss Tuğça. I knew that I had rights. I came during the day, and I was happy. I said I am here in Turkey. I have rights. Then my husband prevented me from going to attend these meetings. But O.K., I was originally oriented from one lecture, and I understood all*

*my rights. I knew the injustice that has been wronged in my life, which made me strong. When we were in Syria he beat me a lot. After we came to Turkey he hit me once there was a problem and he hit me. I was going to complain to the police about this person. Today, I felt that the beating was a little less. Because I know that here in Turkey, women have rights, and I know that I can go and complain about them. In Syria, he beat me, and I knew I had no right. (SP18 Shumue, 28Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.6. SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS VIOLENCE: DEFINITION OF AN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO STOP THE VIOLENCE**

Based on the standpoint theory, the researcher aimed in this section of the research to define violence from the point of view of women, about violence, and to provide them with the opportunity to identify the services they need to stop or prevent intimate partner violence. To achieve the goal of that section in the research, the respondents were asked about their definition of violence and how they evaluate their relationships with their husbands? The aim of knowing the woman's evaluation of her marital relationship was to know the extent of her awareness of all forms of violence by the intimate partner. The women were also asked about what recommendations they give to women who are subjected to violence and what services should be provided to stop wife abuse.

##### **4.6.1. Women's Definitions of Intimate Partner Violence and Evaluation of The Relationship with Their Husbands**

In their definition of violence, the respondents indicated two forms of violence there are, physical violence represented by beating, and psychological violence represented by insulting and belittling a woman's situation in front of others, and they used beating and insult as two actions linked to each other and giving priority to beating over insulting. This indicates that physical violence accompanies other types of violence. The respondents did not refer to other types of violence such as economic violence and sexual violence but rather focused only on psychological and physical violence. The same finding was found in the Nadir study (2016), which found the reason the respondents in the study did not mention other types of violence in the culture of

society. The study agrees with the interpretation provided by Nadir (2016) that society considers talking about sexual relations taboo and that the woman's fulfillment of her husband's sexual desires is a "compulsory job" for her in marriage (Nadir, 2016, p.76). In confirmation of this, SL12 Sahab mentioned in her definition of sexual violence the phrase "to take his need from her by force," The use of the possessive pronoun in the word "his need" confirms that women believe that they are the property of the man and that one of their most important marital duties is to satisfy the husband's sexual desires. Here it should be noted that the respondents went beyond the definition of violence and mentioned some reasons they believe to be the cause of violence in the marital relationship, such as the difficult economic conditions, the wife's failure in her domestic duties, the wife failure to obey the husband, the husband's witnessing of violence between his parents and some men like to impose control over women, which leads to intimate partner violence.

In addition to asking the women about their perception of violence, this section of the interview also includes another question about the respondents' evaluation of their marital life and their relationship with their husbands. The extent of their evaluation of their relationship with their husbands, the answers of 13 of the respondents stated that their relationships are not violent and they tried to justify the abusive behavior of the husband in some cases as a result of the marital pressures they are going through or in the case of the wife's disobedience to him or her shortcoming in her domestic duties. Many factors affected women's assessment of their experiences with their husbands as non-violent, and these factors were previously mentioned in detail in the section related to women's tolerance of intimate partner violence. As for the rest of the 6 respondents, they indicated that their husbands' relations with them are violent.

The respondents' definitions of violence and their evaluation of their marital relations are as follows:

SE5 Zehra and SF6 Warda define intimate partner violence as beating and devaluation of the woman and an attempt of the man to showcase his control over the woman.

*violence, such as physical violence beating or psychological violence; putting pressure on her and telling her about her shortcomings in front of his family of her, and humiliation. These are causes of violence. But if a woman is concerned about*

*her home, her children, and her husband, she can't be subjected to violence from her husband. (SE5Zahra, 36 Y, Aleppo)*

*Violence means beating. In Syria, many married women are beaten by their husbands, for the simplest things, and in some cases, they beat them for no reason. Only the husband wants to relieve the pressure he lives with at once, and there are other reasons, the first of which is the lack of respect for the husband's mother. And the failure of women in the duties of the house and children. In Syria, I was not happy, but in Turkey, I am happy with my married life because my husband became more affectionate with me, but in Syria it was hell. (SF6 Warda, 32Y, Aleppo)*

SC3 Shams mentioned that when she hears the word “violence” she becomes very upset. This shows the extent of violence that she is exposed to by her husband.

*Violence..... When I hear this word I feel upset. violence against the wife is severe beatings, insults, or devaluation in front of others. The causes of violence differ some men who like to impose their control over women, as well as women who are a reason for being subjected to violence because they are stubborn and have a long tongue. I am happy with my married life and consider it a life in which harmony is free from violence I love my husband very much and relate to him as a child's attachment to his mother. (SC3 Shams, 31Y, Aleppo)*

SI9 Nasma mentioned other forms of violence other than beating. She pointed out the deprivation of freedom. The researcher noted that the main form of intimate partner violence that she is exposed to by her husband is controlling behavior. Therefore, she mentioned this in her definition. SL 12 Sahab agrees with SI9 Nasma and also mentioned controlling behavior in the definition of violence.

*Violence is beating, deprivation of freedom, and early marriage. If a woman is beaten by her husband, she has the right to ask for help from her family, and his family, or women's support centers, but no matter what she is entitled to, she should not complain to the police. A woman must obey her husband, and she must not be stubborn with her husband. I am happy with life with my husband, we have minor problems, and this is a normal thing for marital life. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

*Violence is preventing a woman from going to her family and taking their needs from her by force. I am happy with my married life. You know the man sometimes be cruel, but in general, I am happy with my husband and comfortable and my life is sweet with him. It is the first time in my life that I talk to a stranger about my married life. I was afraid at first, but after I spoke, I was relieved. (SL12Sahab, 43 Y, Aleppo)*

SD4 Gamar and SH8 Nasim agree that man's feeling that he is more powerful than the woman makes him control her and expose her to violence.

*Violence against women means beating. Because the man thinks that he is the stronger and powerful and that everyone in the family must obey him, or it could be that he was subjected to pressure in his family's home, meaning there was violence between his mother and father. I saw violence between my mother and father, but I always said I do not want to see violence between me and their father. So, I always try not to let my children attend to the violence between me and their father because it affects them negatively. I am happy with my married life. I felt relieved. Thank you for allowing me to talk to you. (SD4 Gamar, 25Y, Aleppo)*

*Violence is beating, humiliation. There are men who like to see their self as controlling men and like to impose their personalities on their women. These are the ones who expose their wives to violence. My husband and I, praise be to God, are hidden, and we live our lives happily together. (SH8 Nasim, 40Y, Aleppo)*

The rest of the respondents agree that the primary trait of intimate partner violence is beating.

*Violence is beating, humiliation and insult. My family does not like that the woman is insulted and humiliated by her husband. My father was very affectionate with my mother and with us, especially us girls. My husband is hard-minded, but he is kind and affectionate with us, and I love him a lot. (SO15 Zilal, 32Y, Aleppo)*

*Because I do not study, I do not know what violence means, but violence is beating. I am very happy in my life with my husband because he loves me very much and is affectionate with me and fulfills all my requests. Provide me with anything at home. There are times when we have differences, but this is normal in life. (SM13 Ghayma, 22 Y, Aleppo)*

However, SJ10 Matar and SA1 Noura indicated in their definition of intimate partner violence that the woman incites the violence for many reasons including disobeying her husband, arguing with him, and not performing home duties.

*Violence is beating. In Syria, women are subjected to violence in the form of beating, because their tongue is long. Men like to control their wives, and this is true because he is a man and she is a woman. The woman is not supposed to stubbornly resist her husband, because stubbornness burns violence. (SJ10 Matar, 33Y, Aleppo)*

*Violence is beating. some men whose nature is violence, but their women divorce them. A woman who is subjected to violence, she is the cause of this violence , men like a cat If you deal with him well salvation, you will not scribble. If a woman takes care of her husband and hits her, this is not acceptable, but if she fails in her duty towards him, she will be the reason to violence . My husband , he doesn't hit*

*me, but he insulted me a lot. I love my husband very much, and he is also kind and affectionate if you come to his whim and do everything as he wants. And I'm not doing anything that might annoy me. (SA1 Noura, 41Y, Aleppo)*

As mentioned above, 6 of the respondents evaluated their husbands' behavior towards them as violent, which indicates that they are aware that their husbands' abusive behavior towards them is violence against women. The reason for their awareness of violence can be attributed to the severity of the violence they were subjected to, their asylum in Turkey, and their educational level. Concerning the severity of violence, women described their experiences of violence by their husbands with words such as “injustice,” “humiliation,” “authoritarianism,” and “arrogance.” All these words indicate persecution. As we explained in the second chapter, the radical feminist perspective explains intimate partner violence as oppression resulting from an imbalance of power between men and women in patriarchal societies. As for the asylum in Turkey, it was an effect of women watching different marital experiences and their participation in awareness programs for women's rights targeting refugee women in Ankara. These awareness programs played a major role in educating women about their rights, and this awareness was reflected in the assessment of their husbands' behavior toward them as violence against women, as in the case of SS16 Tajuj. The educational level is considered a key factor in empowering women and their knowledge of their rights, and the effect of the educational level was reflected in the case of SR20Ahlam

They mentioned as following,

*When I hear the word violence, it comes to mind, that beating and violence by the husband is injustice. I married when was I a child. I did not know myself. I did not know myself until after I came to Turkey and knew my rights, and I felt as if I had been reborn. I was subjected to violence from my husband and his family When I was in Syria, I was not happy with my life. There were moments when I wish I could die easier than my life. Now I hope with all my heart that my husband does not come from Syria. But even if he comes it is impossible to let him oppress me and dominate me like here in Turkey the law is on my side. I will live with my sons and me and be comfortable with others. Our lives are organized and doers of good. They don't limit themselves with all this furniture. I didn't buy it, and there is no need for all of the doers of good. May God be pleased with them? Today I felt at ease after I spoke to you, I felt at ease because you listened to me with all patience and let me say no. (SS16 Tajuj, 33Y, Aleppo)*

*Violence is beating and humiliation. Women in Syria are subjected to violence in the following forms: The first thing in Syria from the first night of marriage mother-in-law advises her son that he should not treat his wife kindly and should not show his love for her, because if he does this, he will appear in front of his wife that he is weak and she will not obey him. As for my marital experience, my first marriage was all violence from my husband's family, especially his father, and from my husband also in some cases, and I got divorced for this reason. But now I am understanding with my husband and happy with him, even if there are problems, we can solve them together. My relationship with my current husband I can tell you is completely free from violence. (SR20Ahlam, 33Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.6.2. Women's Recommendations to Prevent or Stop the Intimate Partner Violence**

As we mentioned in the third chapter, feminist research considers understanding women's issues from the women's view as the starting point for starting research and finding solutions to their issues. Because the researcher believes in that principle, the last section of the interview was devoted to asking women about their recommendations to stop violence, and what services should be provided to women who are subjected to violence to benefit from them to make recommendations for stakeholders in society, to develop social policies to confront the issue of violence by the intimate partner. In our review of the previous literature, we found in Kelebek's (2016) study, that the respondents indicated many recommendations that focused in essence on the man as the main perpetrator of violence. The recommendations included increasing criminal penalties for violent men, and not reducing penalties. The punishment must include training courses aimed at changing violent behavior.

In the current study, women did not focus only on punishments for violent men, but also made recommendations for the need to change the social justice system and the social system, and recommendations for women to increase the use of strategies to deal with violence because they believe that they play a major role in stopping or preventing intimate partner violence. The respondents' recommendations are as follows.

##### **4.6.2.1. Recommendations for Using Strategies to Deal with Violence**

This category of recommendations aims to control the husband's violent behavior, without compromising the family structure. In other words, the wife's endeavors to

address the husband's violent behavior by using her resources and continuing her relationship with the abusive husband to maintain family cohesion. Two of the respondents are: SM13 Ghayma and SH8 Nasim, stated that a woman can leave the abusive relationship in the case of severe physical violence, that leads to injuries such as fractures, and if she cannot bear to harm her husband, but they prefer the option of not leaving the marital relationship, only one if it is no longer. A large group of respondents in this category of recommendations believe that outsiders should not intervene to address the husband's violent behavior, which leads to compromising the family's privacy and may lead to family disorganization. These recommendations included advice for women who are exposed to violence using the placating strategy, such as obedience to the husband, fulfilling his requests, not neglecting domestic duties, caring for children, and increasing attention to the husband. It also included tips for using the informal networking strategy, such as asking for help from the husband's family, asking for help from her family, and talking with friends or neighbors to relieve the stress of violence. Among the advice given by women in this category, is the need for a woman to be patient with her husband's violent behavior, for the sake of the children and to maintain the continuity of the family. Religious belief is that a woman's patience with her husband's abuse may be a reason for her to enter Paradise. Here, the influence of religious beliefs on women's understanding of violence appears. Religion and religious affiliation provide an important framework for women in addressing their experiences of intimate partner violence, through religious texts and traditions that are transmitted to women through education, or through consultations with clerics who do not play a neutral role in cases of intimate partner violence. Most of the clergymen play a negative role in helping women who expose intimate partner violence by just urging women to the necessity of obedience and patience, and they quote some religious texts as evidence for this. The woman takes these religious teachings and directives and uses them as a resource to support her in obtaining safety and as a strategy for accepting the behavior of the abusive husband.

The respondents report as following,

*Women can be helped by making them aware of how to deal with a husband, in peaceful ways and not with violence. As well as raising women's awareness of their rights, but without sabotaging their homes. (SJ10Matar, 33Y, Aleppo)*



*In my opinion, a woman who wants to protect herself from husband violence, must obey her husband and not argue with him. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

*Women who are subjected to violence, if their husbands are naturally like this, it is impossible to change, so they must be patient with their husbands because if a new problem is launched, they cannot know how to solve it. (SI9 Nasma, 24 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.6.2.2. Benefit from the Services of the Legal and Social System in the Country**

This category included advice for women who are subjected to violence, to seek help from legal authorities such as the court, and the police, which are recommendations that aim to benefit women from the services of the legal and social system in the country. Psychologists and social workers, religious or tribal leaders, apply to protection homes. It is noticeable here that the category of respondents who made this type of recommendation is very few they are only 4 of the respondents, and this can be attributed to their different characteristics from the rest of the respondents, represented. One of them is educated, the other is married to a Turkish man, and the remaining two were subjected to great violence.

The respondents report as following,

*A woman who is subject to violence should go to her family. If they don't help her, she goes to her husband's family, If they don't help her, she goes to organizations supporting women. If she does not find any solution, she should go to court and get divorced. But in Syria, women do not do this because there is no one to help. (SR20Ahlam, 33Y, Aleppo)*

*A woman who is subjected to violence from her husband can go and apply to protection houses. I previously advised one of my friends to go there to protect her from violence. A woman, if her husband beats her first tells her family that if she does not find help, she goes to an old person in the family or neighborhood, and if she does not find the required help, in this case, she has the right to go to the police station. (SG7 Rahig, 31Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.6.2.3. Recommendations to Change the Criminal Justice System and The Social System of The State**

These included recommendations to include violence against wives in the criminal justice system, increase the punishment of perpetrators, enact laws to prevent early

marriage, establish women's shelters for women who are subjected to intimate partner violence, and increase awareness programs about violence against women and women's rights. Because some women are not allowed by their husbands to leave the house and seek outside help, women in this category are urged to design programs for psychological and social support services for women that include visits to women's homes. Also among the recommendations is the necessity of financial support for refugee families, because economic conditions play a role in exposing women to violence from their husbands.

The respondents mentioned as following,

*In Syria, awareness of women's rights must be changed in the Personal Status Law, to protect women more, so that the husband knows if he extends his hand to her once he will be imprisoned, there must be organizations to protect women subjected to violence, such as women's shelters in Turkey. A woman must be aware of her rights, and a woman who sees violence between her mother and father will get used to this and see her husband's violence as a normal thing. Our society in Syria is a great pressure factor on women in the issue of violence. Women must bear anything. Violence is not the solution to the solution in soft speech and good style. For Turkey, the number of organizations that assist refugee women exposed to violence must be increased, and women must be made aware of the locations of these organizations and centers so that women can easily access them. There must be laws that help them, support them, and protect them. But the bond is what organizations and laws are. The first bond is that her family must stand by her side. Syrian women bear violence from their husbands because they have no support, neither from their families, from the state, nor society. And she is afraid of society's words about her if she gets divorced. Her parents always tell her not to divorce, you must bear with people what they will say to her. Sometimes she stays silent because she is afraid of the deprivation of their children. (SR20 Ahlam, 33Y, Aleppo).*

*To stop violence against women, it is necessary to be in organizations that support women psychologically once in a while as a result of poverty and economic pressures, so we are forced to help them financially to improve their lives. (SD4 Gamar,25Y, Aleppo)*

*Husbands who beat their wives a lot, and without reason, must be punished with imprisonment. People interested in women's issues like you must come to her house to help her. (SF6 Warda, 32 Y, Aleppo)*

#### **4.6.2.4. Recommendations to end Violence and Leave the Abusive Relationship**

This category includes much advice for women who are subjected to severe physical violence from their husbands to leave the abusive relationship and divorce the husband.

The researcher noticed that women ignored other forms of violence and considered that only physical violence might be a sufficient reason for a woman to leave the abusive relationship.

The respondents mentioned as following,

*Exposure to violence differs from one woman to another. First, the cause must be known, and then help can be provided. But for violence not to occur, there must be an understanding between the wife and the wife. And if the husband beats his wife, she is supposed to divorce him. Because if the husband hits his wife, this degrades her, and then the woman begins to despise her husband. Wife beating negatively affects the psyche of the children, so I am totally against wife-beating. My father was very nervous, and he used to beat my mother, and he was very, very hard on her, and he was cruel to us, too. (SE5 Zahra, 36 Y, Aleppo)*

*"Women who are subjected to beatings must go to the police and complain to the police, ask for help, divorce and leave their husbands because there is no Qur'an and there is no law that allows the husband to beat, humiliate, or insult his wife. If you beat her and make her every day, you must go and complain about him. (SR20 Ahlam, 33Y, Aleppo)*

## **CHAPTER 5.**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1. CONCLUSIONS**

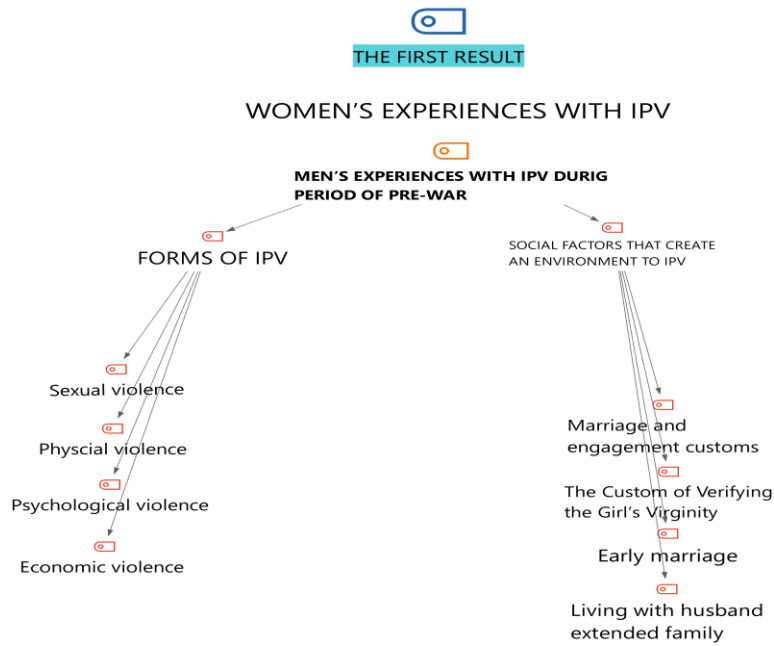
This study is a feminist social work-study that aimed to identify the experiences of Syrian refugee women who were exposed to violence by their intimate partners, and the most important strategies that they have developed to deal with that violence. The study tried to answer the main questions below and the answers to these main questions represent the conclusions of the study.

1. What are women's experiences with intimate partner violence, pre-post the war in Syria and during the period of displacement and asylum in Turkey?
2. What strategies did women use to deal with intimate partner violence?
3. What are women's perceptions of gender roles?
4. What are women's perceptions towards intimate partner violence and their recommendations to stop or prevent intimate partner violence?

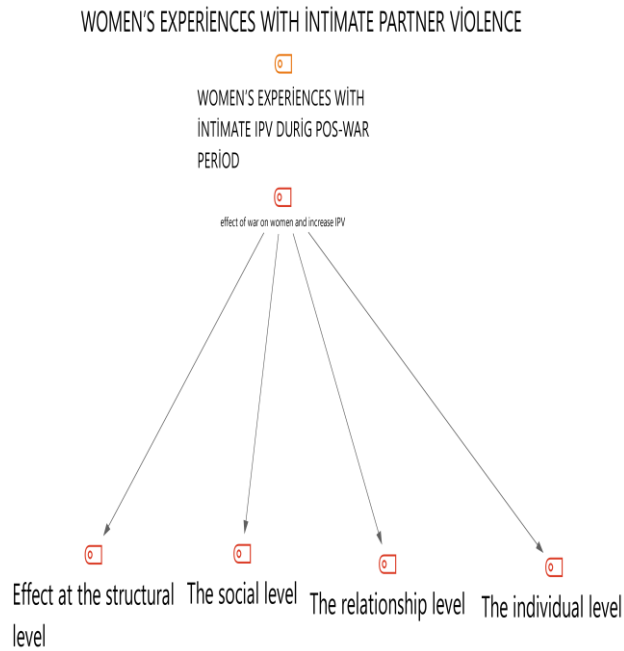
The study attempted to formulate recommendations in two aspects, academic and practical. For the academic aspect, the recommendations are for future research. For the practical aspect, the recommendations are for social workers and stakeholders in Turkey to develop social policies to help Syrian refugee women in Turkey, who are exposed to intimate partner violence.

A map of the findings of the study was drawn using the MAXQDA as shown in the pages that follow.

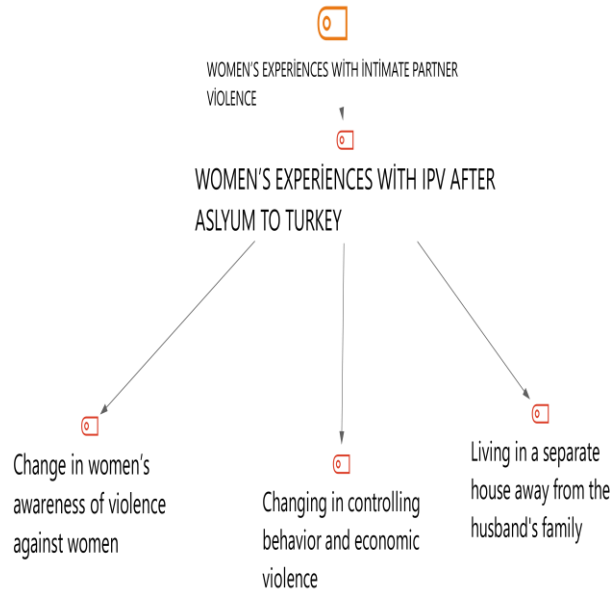
**Figure 5.1 Women’s Experiences with IPV during Period of Pre-war**



**Figure 5.2. Women’s Experiences with IPV during Period of Post-War**



**Figure 5.3. Women’s Experiences with IPV after Asylum to Turkey**



**Figure 5.4. Strategies for Dealing with an Intimate Partner Violence**

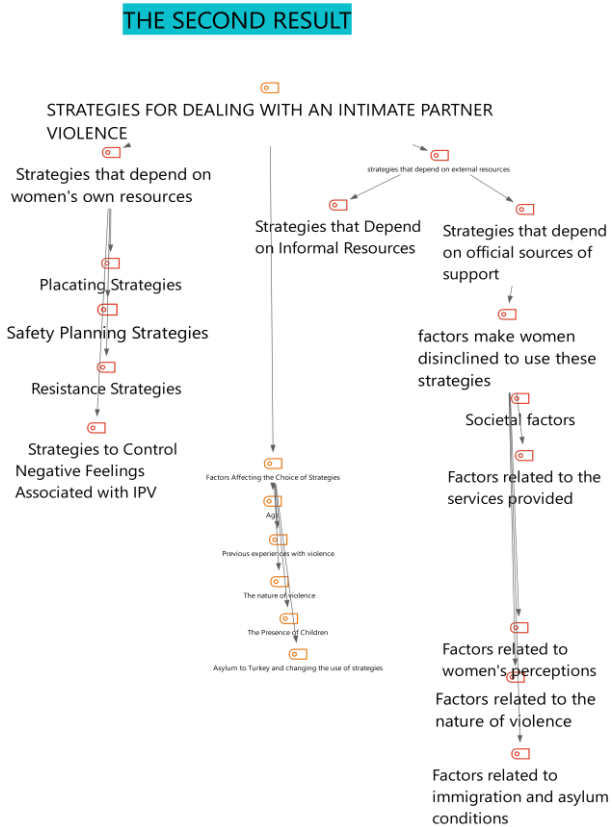


Figure 5.5. Perception of Women About Gender Role

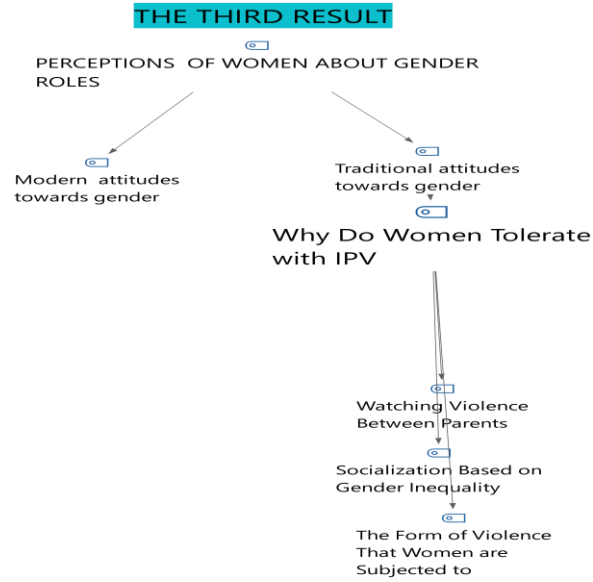
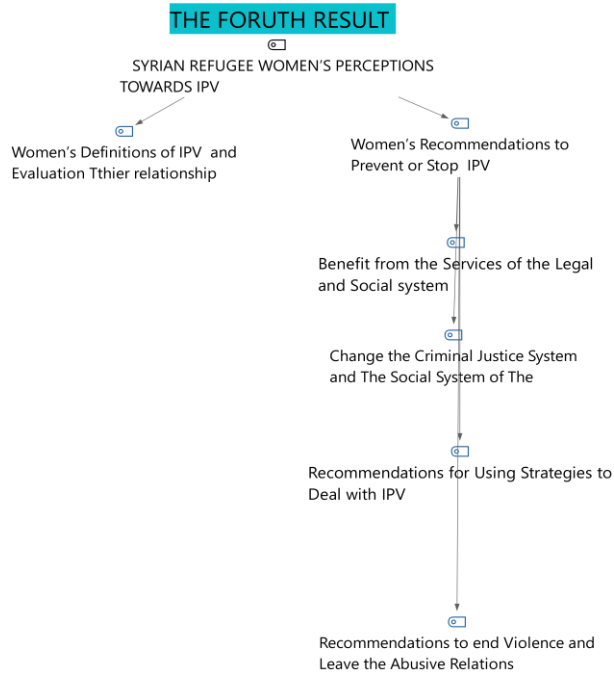


Figure 5.6. Syrian Refugees Women Perception toward IPV



In the following, we will present the findings of the study based on the answers to the main questions of the research.

The answer to the first question is: During the thematic analyses the researcher noticed that in the Syrian society there are many cultural factors contributed to providing an environment for IPV, and it is known that patriarchal societies and Syria is one of them, make women subject to the authority of men, the society produces customs and traditions that justify this control. The current study found they are three traditions and customs in Syrian society that responsible for the occurrence of IPV these are: early marriage, ensuring the virginity of the girl or the "white sheet", living with the extended family of the husband's family, had a direct role in women's exposure to violence by the intimate partner.

Regarding early marriage, 7 of the respondents in the study got married between the ages of 13-14 years, and 7 others got married between the ages of 15-17 years, only 6 of the respondents in the study got married at the ages of more than 18 years. Marriage of women at young ages is due to the culture of the society in Syria, which believes that a girl should marry as soon as she reaches puberty, because according to the society's belief in Syria that women's primary role in society is procreation and raising children, therefore, she must marry at a young age to perform this role entrusted to her, and thus society does not give importance to any other role that a woman can play and does not give importance to education that would prepare women to do other work. The lack of education in advanced stages of study is linked to the idea of early marriage, as the study reiterated that all the respondents, except for one, completed their education to the primary or secondary stage, i.e. between the sixth and ninth grades, and left or were forced to leave school to marry, and as a result, they were deprived of one of the most basic rights for women. Women have the right to education. In addition to the association of early marriage with depriving women of their most basic rights. Early marriage also leads to an increased risk of women being exposed to IPV. Previous studies confirmed this hypothesis, for example, Kimdan's (2016) study, which analyzed data for a social survey in 34 countries around the world. It found that physical and sexual violence by the intimate partner was greater among women who married in



childhood 29% compared to women who came 20% of women who married at the age of 20-25 years. There are many studies and reports; (Akmatove et al, 2008; UNICEF, 2005; UNICEF, 2014; WHO, 2005; Raj et al, 2010) whose findings are consistent with the fact that IPV, is greater among women who married in childhood, i.e. under 18 years. The current study was in the same direction as those previous studies, where it found that women were exposed to intimate partner violence in the first period of marriage more than in the other periods, knowing that this category of respondents was the one who got married under the age of 18, because the respondents were young and they were unable to assume the responsibilities of marriage, childbearing and raising children, and this is contrary to the expectations of the man. The difference in expectations led to their exposure to physical and psychological violence, as well as a result of their young age and lack of sufficient awareness of sexual matters, they were subjected to sexual violence by their intimate partner. About early marriage in pre-post war, the study found that despite the fact that the phenomenon existed before the beginning of the war in Syria, now that the war and the resulting lack of security and stability, poverty, displacement, and asylum, led to the marriage of girls at young ages two of the respondents who got married after beginning in childhood, and the reason for their marriage was fear of their families, that they can be subjected to kidnappings or rape, in other words, to gender-based violence, as well as due to the economic conditions and poverty that families became suffering from when the war broke out.

The second, custom in Syrian society created an environment for IPV is verifying the virginity of the girl or “ The White Sheet”, as stated by the respondents, is a popular term used by society for the process, which is related to making sure that the girl did not have sex before marriage, hence the presence of the hymen, which indicates this. This custom takes place on the first night of the marriage in the presence of older women - one of the husband’s family- and the wife’s family, who bring a white piece of cloth called the “white sheet” and spread it on the couple’s bed, and then they wait outside the couple’s room, and in the meantime, the husband is required to complete the sexual process as soon as possible, and blood points must come down on that white sheet, then the husband comes out of the room and presents that sheet with blood points on it, to the women present who receive it with ululations and congratulations to the mother of the

bride, they congratulate her on the good education of her daughter because the blood points- according to their belief- come out as a result of the degeneration of the hymen, hence the name of this custom as the white sheet. It is noted here that the husband's family, the wife, and the husband himself focus on the blood droplets, that fall on that white piece of cloth, regardless of the reason for this blood flow, which is sometimes a result of women's exposure to sexual violence. The culture of the society ignores the painful conditions that women feel as a result of this process. Some of the respondents described their feelings on the first night of their marriage, "as if they were treated as commodities purchased from the market and whose quality is to be verified." It should be noted here that ensuring a girl's virginity, is not only linked to making sure that she does not engage in sex before marriage but rather has other social dimensions related to shame and family honor, as the Abu Ras's (2007) study found that women in patriarchal societies are seen as a source of shame for themselves and their family, which can bring to the family in several ways, including sex before marriage, flirting. As a result of that process, the study found that the respondents were subjected to sexual violence represented in force to complete the sexual process and the use of force by the husband, which leaves negative health effects on the woman's body such as bleeding, injuries in the vaginal area, and some of them were injured by Vaginismus, which is called fainting. Sexual violence is accompanied on the first night of marriage as a result of this habit, physical violence and psychological violence are represented in the woman's feeling of worthlessness and that its importance is reduced to the "hymen," which society does not consider without value. So woman feels as if she is a good buy from the market and parents want to make sure that this good has value." Even though Syrians took refuge in Turkey and lived in a new society, whose customs and traditions differ from the society of origin, they tried to preserve their old customs and traditions. Therefore, the practice of verifying the virginity of the girl continued. The study found that two of the respondents married in the period after the asylum in Turkey and their families practiced the same habit. So, it becomes clear to us that, we see how male domination over women is reproduced through portraying the ideas of domination and submission in the form of customs and traditions that allow interference in all women's affairs, including her body, which is not considered her property but is used as a societal standard for measuring honor for the woman herself, her family and the social group to

which she belongs. The sanctity of a woman's virginity under the shadow of outdated customs and traditions by the patriarchal and backward system leads to the woman's lack of self-reliance and she is prepared from the first night of marriage to fully submit to the domination of men, and this certainly leads to placing the first building block of violence by the intimate partner, and up to the end, it is up to the woman to consider violence against her by the husband as a natural matter, because it is done through these types of habits, that set a stereotyped image of the husband that makes him in a position of control, and thus the woman accepts violence against her, as a natural thing within that stereotypical image of the husband

The third custom of the Syrian society, which contributed to women's exposure to violence from the intimate partner, is living with the husband's extended family. Extended families are one of the most prevalent patterns in Middle Eastern societies, especially in rural areas. The study found that according to the society's custom, male children are not allowed to live outside the extended family framework for them, and the aim is the desire of the fathers to protect their children and grandchildren, as well as the economic conditions, that contribute to the parent's inability to provide housing for their married children outside the family framework. Living with the husband's extended family directly contributed to being exposed to violence from the husband's side on the one hand, and the extended family's brothers, sisters, father, and daughter on the other hand. This type of violence that women are subjected to by members of the husband's family is one of the topics that produced itself during the interviews, where the researcher found that the greatest violence, according to the testimonies of the respondents who were exposed to, when they were in Syria, is violence by the husband's family, and even most of the respondents agreed in describing what they were subjected to violence from the husband's family as a "great injustice" and that living with the extended family was a "prison" for them. These phrases indicate the extent to which the respondents were subjected to persecution in the new social environment because they are "women" and because of the "lower social status", in the extended family of the husband, this lower status made the respondents subject to the control of all family members, male and female, and this lower status entailed performing some social roles, including providing services to all family members, and

they had to show obedience and respect to any individual within that extended family. Here, the interpretation put forward by intersectional feminism appears that women's oppression does not arise out of a vacuum, but rather based on factors (such as race, social class or social status, religion, national origin, disability, educational level, and sexual orientation), that combine to form a unique experience of oppression for each woman according to the positions of marginalization or privilege she occupies.

The extended family hierarchy include, at the top of the hierarchy are the father-in-law and male sons Followed by the mother-in-law and daughters, then at the bottom of the pyramid, we find the daughter-in-law. The study found that all respondents were subjected to physical, psychological, controlling, sexual, and economic violence by the husband's extended family, two main factors played a major role in women's exposure to violence from the husband's extended family namely :

1. Lack of privacy, interference by the husband's family in the married woman's life, and incitement to violence against the wife
2. Obligating the daughter-in-law to perform all the domestic duties in the family of the husband's family and to serve the family members.

Women were not helpless in the face of this violence by the husband's family, and they developed many strategies that helped them prevent or avoid violence, and the most important strategies that women and strategies followed are: not arguing with the mother-in-law or other members of the husband's family, silence and not talking about their exposure to violence with anyone, fulfilling all the requests of the mother-in-law, avoiding appearing in front of the mother-in-law, leaving the house clean to please the mother-in-law, selling their property and renting a house away from the husband's family, silence and enduring violence for the sake of the children, because anything to the contrary may lead to the divorce of the woman and thus depriving her of her children

The study found that asylum in Turkey played a major role in preventing women from being subjected to violence by the husband's family because most of the respondents fled to Turkey with only their children and husbands, and there is no longer the presence of the extended family of the husband in Turkey, this gave them a great opportunity to transform the family from an extended family to a nuclear one. Asylum to Turkey Living in a nuclear family, not only contributed to stopping violence by the husband's family but also contributed to the non-occurrence of IPV repeatedly, as was the case in Syria. This shows us the main role played by the extended family in the occurrence of IPV.

On the other hand, the study found that female respondents married to Turkish men were not exposed to violence from the husband's extended family. The husband's extended family plays a positive role if women are subjected to violence by their husbands, where the husband's parents blame him, reprimand him and preach to him not to abuse his wife again.

Living with extended family does not exist only in Syria. By reviewing the previous literature, we found that most societies in developing countries in which individual income levels are low, and the family is based on cohesion and interdependence among its members, are spread by extended families. Unlike the developed countries, which have a nuclear family. Most studies have found that the roles of the husband's family are always negative (Ali et al, 2018). The daughter-in-law's social position in the home determines the roles to be played.

During the pre-war period, the findings of the study concluded that women were subjected to all forms of IPV. During this period violence has occurred due to the basis of the structure of the patriarchal society. Gender inequality is the position of women always in a lower social position in which women play the role of subordinate to men. In addition to that, the stereotyped image by society about women's roles played a major role in women's exposure to IPV, as based on that stereotyped, society produces expectations about the roles of women in marital life The difference in expectations or the failure of women to meet the requirements of that stereotyped opens the door to IPV.

After the beginning of the war in 2011, the study found that, the breakdown of the economic and social system contributed to the continue of IPV and that most of the Syrians were forced to abandon their homes, which were destroyed due to the bombing, and they had no solution but to move to the safer areas inside Syria, which had basic services due to a large number of displaced people. The displacement journey has gone through many difficulties that have had negative consequences for women in different dimensions, and gender-based violence was one of the most important of these dimensions. As is well known, in the period of wars and human conflicts, women and children are among the groups that are most negatively affected by the results of those wars. The feminist intersectionality theory indicated that gender-based violence is only the result of an intersection between women as a center and the horizontal variables represented in the conditions of war, displacement, asylum, and so on. It is accompanied by economic and social consequences that directly affect women. As we presented in the second and fourth chapters many studies, all of which confirm that the rates of gender-based violence, especially violence by an intimate partner, increased after the beginning of the war in Syria in 2011, for several reasons that were mentioned in detail in the second chapter. In the same direction as those studies, the current study found that most of the respondents migrated with their nuclear families to refugee camps on the Turkish border. The conditions accompanying the displacement represented the difficulty of accessing basic services, overcrowding in refugee camps, poverty and food insecurity, and the husband's inability to meet the material needs of the wife and children. All these circumstances combined increased the husbands' nervousness, and they used their wives as an outlet for the pressures and frustrations they were experiencing. But this is not a sufficient reason for women to be subjected to violence. Rather, as the radical feminist sociocultural theory has pointed out: violence by the intimate partner, occurs in a social system in which women and children are less powerful than men, making them vulnerable to abuse and oppression by men, they possess all sources of power and strength, and because women's lower status than men, they bring down their internal frustrations.

During the Asylum Period in Turkey, the study found that many changes occurred in the lives of Syrian refugee women. This change had a significant positive role in reducing the intensity of IPV. Among the most important of these changes are:

changing the shape of the family from an extended family to a nuclear family, as well as changes in some features of the social environment, for instance, the study found that, the movement of Syrian refugees to Turkey resulted in their interaction with the cultural environment of the Turkish host society, which does not impose social restrictions on women like the Syrian society, women are now able to leave the house on their own and form a community of new friends, and they are no longer obligated to cover their faces while going out. However, although the respondents indicated that they feel more freedom in Turkey, the researcher noted that this freedom is limited, as women cannot do any work, or make a decision regarding her without her husband's permission.

The other change is the change in gender roles, as a result of the war, some husbands were exposed to injuries that led to physical disabilities that prevented them from working or even leaving the house. In this case, the woman finds herself facing new responsibilities other than her familiar traditional roles, and these new responsibilities were represented in women going out shopping, going to centers providing material assistance for refugees, the representation of family members in government departments, but this new situation did not look at respondents point of view as a positive situation, and saw that these roles are the roles of men, and even that this situation contributed to IPV, where the man reflects the frustrations he lives in the form of abusive behavior towards his wife, but from the point of view of women, this new situation did not meet the requirements of the stereotyped they are accustomed to in the roles of women, which confirms the depth and effectiveness of women's socialization in a patriarchal society. The patriarchal society contributes to the occurrence of violence within the framework of marriage, as Haj-Yahia (2005) , mentioned which limited its contribution to eight main dimensions, one of which was the woman's negative self-image.

Asylum to Turkey also played an important role in the awareness of some respondents about violence against women and their knowledge of their rights, and this is through lectures that are presented by the psychological and social support centers for refugees, and municipalities, In addition to that, being asylum in Turkey has helped them to gain a new experience about marital life by the observation of how is the marital life between Turkish partner and others, this created a form of awareness for them that the husband's

abusive behavior is not the normal situation as they thought when they were in Syria, and despite the women's awareness that the abusive behavior they are exposed to by the husband, but in the event, they are exposed to violence by an intimate partner, they do not seek help from official sources of support for several reasons that will be addressed later.

The change in the forms of violence by the intimate partner after resorting to Turkey: As in the previous investigations, we tracked the forms of violence by the intimate partner from the pre-war period through the period of displacement and then resorting to Turkey. The level of the four forms of violence that we discussed previously, for example, sexual violence continued at the same pace, and the respondents did not indicate any significant change except that the family's turned into a nuclear family and the absence of the mother-in-law's authority, which was sharing with them living in one place, and it was used by the husband as a mechanism of mechanisms Pressure to force a woman to have sexual intercourse. But if we look at the controlling behavior on the part of the husband, it is one of the most changing forms, as the man allows the wife to leave the house and go to neighbors and friends and allow them to participate in religious courses (for example, courses for memorizing the Qur'an), and the conditions of the husband's work throughout the day It does not allow him to perform some tasks such as going to the market, for example, so the wife is allowed to do that task instead of him. As for the husband's control over the way the woman wears and monitors the phone, we find that there has been no change in it, and even some respondents justify the husband's continued control as a translation from the husband's feelings of love and jealousy for them. As for physical violence, all the respondents indicated that physical violence did not occur in the same manner as it was in Syria, but three of the respondents mentioned the continuation of physical abuse by the husband and no change occurred. The same result was reached by the report of the UN women, 2020 report, which Determine the reasons for the continuation of physical violence among Syrian refugees in Turkey in the prevailing values and norms among Syrian refugees that justify the husband beating his wife, the fundamental religious discourse, the absence of a haven for Syrian women, especially since most of the women fled to Turkey with their nuclear families, which led to the absence of family and relatives, The deteriorating economic situation of Syrian refugee women and their complete



dependence on their husbands, the lack of knowledge of Turkish laws, which contributes to the failure of women to seek help when they are subjected to physical abuse from their husbands. Regarding economic violence, the study found that the change in gender roles made the wife participate with the husband in the financial decisions related to the family and that there were two respondents whose husbands allowed them to work, but from inside the house, where they worked as hairdressers.

The study also found that intimate partner violence affects several aspects of a woman's life including physical (severe injuries, abortion, miscarriage). Psychological (feeling of worthlessness and lack of self-respect, feeling sad as a result of their low status, suicide attempt).

The answer to the second question is: The results of the study divided the strategies that women used to deal with intimate partner violence into two main parts, and this division was made based on the resources available to women, namely:

I. Strategies that depend on women's resources and that focus on two main aspects: violence itself and negative feelings associated with exposure to violence.

II. Strategies that depend on non-self-resources depend on external support, which is either formal or informal support

Strategies that depend on women's resources: According to the findings of the study, this category of strategies is the most used by women, as it does not require disclosure of violence to anyone, and this is because disclosure of violence is one of the things that affect the "family privacy", as found in the study of Cankurtaran and Albayrak, (2019). Moreover, these strategies depend mainly on the capabilities of women, in which women benefit from all the resources available at home, and there is no need to depend on anyone else or rely on external sources. The aim of this first category of strategies is focused on two aspects: managing and controlling violence, which is represented by placating strategies, safety planning, and resistance, while the other aspect is controlling the negative feelings that violence leaves on women such as crying, writing a daily diary, cigarettes. In the following, we will show how each of these strategies works, when it uses, and the benefits that derive from it.

Concerning placating strategies, the study found; that it is one of the most widely used strategies by women, and this comes from the benefits that women derive from using this strategy. And also one of the reasons that made the strategy of placating one of the most widely used strategies is because it is closely related to the values and ideals of the patriarchal society in Syria, which is based on the socialization of women as being subject to the authority of men, they must always show obedience and respect to the man, who is like a father or a brother during the pre-marriage period, and the idea of submission and obedience is transmitted to the husband after marriage. Among the most important of these behaviors are not arguing with the husband, pleasing the husband with whatever he wants, and carrying out household duties towards the husband, children, and the husband's extended family to the fullest. It is worth noting here that the use of the placating strategy is not related to a specific situation by the husband, from whom the woman may understand that the husband is tense, and that violence may occur at any moment. Women use this strategy with all forms of violence without exception. In the context of appeasement, there are many behaviors that women have adopted, which are: pleasing the husband with everything he wants, paying extra attention to him and the children, using some words which denotes obedience and makes the man feel that he is the leader (chief) in the house, and all the members of the house are subject to his authority, not to argue with the husband or use words that may make him feel that the woman has higher authority and power than him, and to execute the husband's requests regardless of whether these requests are in line with the wishes of the woman or not, avoid talking with the husband about things that could anger him and may lead to violence, ignoring the abusive behavior of the husband, concealing the violence and not disclosing it to anyone, and all of these behaviors are not intended to prevent or stop violence, but there is another reason for women to engage in these behaviors, and this reason is the role played by the stereotyped image of the wife in the patriarchal society, as any deviation from that stereotype may lead to negative consequences of different dimensions, not only for the woman, but for her family and children as well. One of the most important consequences that women avoid is divorce, which brings stigma to women in society. The strategy of placating is applied to all forms of violence. For example, in the case of sexual violence, the woman does not reject her husband's request to enter into sexual relations but rather performs some

actions such as the association with the disease to limit or reduce his desires, but in the case of the husband's request from the wife an act, which the woman considers as insulting, or makes her feel unworthy, so she does not show it but does what he asks of her so that violence does not develop. In the case of physical violence, the woman influences the husband's emotions by crying and does not argue with him during physical violence. In the case of economic violence, placating in this type is through two methods. The first method is to sacrifice her material needs to placate the situation, and the economic violence does not develop, rather than another form of violence. The second method is to show the first method outwardly, but it performs behaviors such as stealing money from the husband to meet her needs. As for the controlling behavior, when the husband asks the wife not to do something, she only shows him to obey his command, and in the absence of him, she does what she wants, and the most important of these behaviors in this regard is lying to the husband.

As for Safety Planning Strategy, The main objective of this type of strategy is for women to protect themselves, from expected violence by reducing its intensity or contributing to preventing its occurrence. This strategy is not used by women to protect themselves only, but also to protect their children from violence expected from their husbands. This strategy begins at a stage before violence occurs when it begins, in tension between spouses, and women feel that violence may occur at any moment. Through previous experiences with violence, women gain experience in knowing the conditions and circumstances that lead to violence and plan for their safety and the safety of their children accordingly. This type of strategy is more useful in the case of physical violence, as it plays a major role in reducing the severity of physical violence because women within this strategy do many actions, such as: hiding the tools that the husband can use for physical violence, not appearing in front of the husband, when he is tense and from violence, which may start at any moment. Leaving the house for a short period until the husband calms down. It should be noted here that this behavior did not begin to be used by women until after asylum in Turkey, because when they were in Syria, society's customs did not allow women to leave the house alone, and also women had not a network of social relations- such as neighbors and friends, as is the case now in Turkey. Among the actions that fall within this strategy is; the woman's attempt to talk to the husband when he is not nervous about his abusive behavior towards her and

trying to advise him not to repeat these behaviors and one of the respondents asked her husband to seek psychological help from specialists because she believes that her husband's abusive behaviors are based on psychological factors. Concerning the benefits of using this strategy, the respondents indicated that; it is more useful in the case of physical violence, because the woman hides all sharp tools from the eyes of the husband, thus reducing the severity of violence and its negative effects on the woman's body, and in the case of sexual violence, this strategy is applied as follows: When a woman feels a man's desire to have a sexual relationship with her without her desire, she does some actions such as praying, reading the Qur'an, and not paying attention to her appearance. Thus, the woman protects herself from sexual violence, as for other forms of violence; the study found that these strategies are not feasible, so they are not used.

Regarding resistance strategy, this type of strategy is a challenge to the man's oppressive authority. This strategy is not used until after women feel that all attempts to calm the husband or try to prevent violence from occurring have failed, and there is no other choice for the woman but to challenge the husband, and the woman is fully aware of the results that may come from that challenge. Resistance takes two main forms, either verbal resistance (through arguing with the husband, not obeying his orders, and using statements that challenge him), or physical resistance (through physical quarrels with the husband, using any instrument to hit the husband), in addition to that there are other behaviors that, women aim to challenge the husband, including leaving the house for a while, ending the abusive relationship with the husband, and escaping to a place that the husband does not know. Here, it should be noted that this strategy was very limited in use among the respondents, because it may contribute to an increase in violence against women, and because it also challenges the stereotypical image of women by society, and therefore women do not resort to it for fear of societal consequences such as social isolation as a result. Only three of the respondents used this strategy, and the use of this strategy led to the divorce, which led to one of them being deprived of seeing her daughter. The study found that women who used this strategy were more severely exposed to violence compared to others, which made them more resistant to it. Some women, after fleeing to Turkey and increasing their awareness of

violence, started using resistance strategies by threatening their husbands to file a complaint with the police if they were subjected to violence.

Another type of strategy depends on own women's resources that are strategies to control negative feelings associated with violence, This type of strategy is used in the post-violence phase, where at that moment negative feelings are generated due to the lack of support, whether formal or informal, the woman finds herself alone in the face of these negative feelings, and therefore she unloads those feelings by using many actions such as Crying, writing diaries, talking to herself, the current study found that the respondents have developed the same methods, to relieve negative pressures of violence on them after they reached the stage of inability to control the intimate partner violence. Among the most common methods mentioned by the respondents are writing and crying, reading the Qur'an, and avoiding negative feelings through sleep. The respondents pointed out the benefits that they derive from using this type of strategy and mentioned that it contributed to relieving pressure on them, and here it should be noted that this type of strategy is used with all forms of violence without exception.

Strategies That Depended on External Sources of Support, They are the strategies in which women rely on any support from outside that can be used to stop, reduce or prevent violence, and these types of strategies in which women expand the circle of control over violence or the negative feelings accompanying it by providing an opportunity for other people to intervene in relieving tension between spouses, the matter leads to the prevention of reducing the recurrence of violence or stopping it in some cases. This type is divided into two parts, which are informal sources and official sources.

The informal sources of support, include the support that women receive from the family, relatives, neighbors, friends, the extended family of the husband's parents, and religious leaders. Informal sources are used more than official, one of the most frequent sources that women resorted to is the family, but they mentioned that they did not receive the required support. On the contrary, the family blames the women and some of them were subjected to physical violence from their fathers, and this resulted in women not trusting their families, which led them to remain silent and not ask for help from their families. The second source after the family in the ranking is asking for help from

relatives, especially the older men in the family, and women indicated that they were getting the required support, and women resorted to relatives when the family failed to provide the support required. Some of the respondents mentioned that they were receiving support from the husband's extended family, and the researcher noted that women married to Turkish men were more fortunate in obtaining assistance from the husband's extended family, as for neighbors and friends, the study found that women did not resort to this type of sources until after resorting to the reason for this is that when they were in Syria, as we explained earlier, the social conditions were not suitable for forming a network of social relations with neighbors or friends. The strategies they follow in dealing with violence when conducting interviews with some of the respondents is that they preferred the interview in the homes of their neighbor or their friends because they were afraid that the husband would come at any moment, which would cause violence to women. With regard to religious and tribal leaders, some mentioned, that women asked for help from them, but they did not get any help from them except for advising the necessity of obeying and respecting the husband, and being patient with the husband's abuse, on the pretext that patience on husband's abuse is one of the important factors that may lead a woman to heaven.

As for the Strategies that depend on official sources these include (psychological and social workers, centers for providing psychological and social support for women, hospitals, police, courts ... etc.). This type of strategy was used by only one of the respondents, The study divided the barriers that prevent women from requesting official assistance into five main categories, each of which contains many factors: Societal factors, which are represented in (the values of society that link issues of domestic violence with the privacy of the family and that talking about it with strangers is a violation of that privacy, stigma and shame accompanying ,asking for help from official bodies, negative consequences for women from society such as social isolation) Factors related to the nature of violence (women's fear of negative consequences such as divorce and deprivation of children if they request help from an official body, the possibility of increased violence, husbands isolating their wives from sources of service provision Women's economic dependence on their husbands), factors related to women's perceptions (belief that their lives are free from violence and that what abusive behavior occurs by the husband is normal, belief That the interference of strangers in

family problems leads to the disintegration of the family, despair and the feeling that no one can help them), factors related to the services provided (women's mistrust of service providers, the belief that the quality of services provided contributes to a major role in the disintegration of community values and the sanctity of the family Women's lack of knowledge of places to provide assistance to women subjected to violence), factors related to asylum conditions (lack of knowledge of the laws in Turkey, lack of knowledge of the Turkish language, feeling of racism by members of Turkish society, fear that the husband's complaint may lead to his imprisonment and return to Syria Thus, they lose the breadwinner for them), and with regard to the factors associated with the conditions of asylum in Turkey, we find that previous studies such as Simich et al (2004), which found that migrants and refugees faced many barriers such as lack of language ability and lack of access to informational support, this led to the lack of refugees trust their service providers, choosing instead to turn to other sources of help such as friends, well-established refugees, relatives, or religious associations they believe are most effective in meeting his or her needs informatics. Similarly, Peisker and Tilbury (2003) notes that refugees from Yugoslavia and Africa who resettled in Australia find solutions that go beyond government assistance using their capabilities and rely on their families, community of origin, and other informal social networks. So, it can be concluded from this that the Syrian refugees in Turkey, like the rest of the refugees in other countries, are not tempted to seek help from the official authorities and try as much as possible to solve their problems or obtain information using their informal network.

Factors That Influence the Choice of Strategies, Women develop different strategies to deal with violence based on several variables related to the social conditions of women who are exposed to intimate partner violence, and these factors would provide favorable conditions for the birth of a new strategy. , Previous experiences with violence, the nature of violence, the presence of children, asylum in Turkey, and changing the social environment. Concerning age, the results of the study found that women who married under the age of 18 failed in the first years of their marriage to control violence and the negative feelings associated with it. But after being older and staying with the husband for a while, as a result of that they developed a strategy to deal with the abusive behaviors of their husbands. Also, older women were more fortunate in developing

more strategies, and from here we can conclude that the length of the marriage period and the woman's old age play a major role in increasing women's ability to form and develop new strategies. Also among the factors related to influencing the choice of strategies are those related to women's previous experiences with violence that made women experience in dealing with intimate partner violence, for example, the violence that women were subjected to in the past, which was linked to the development of a new strategy that shows them the effectiveness of that strategy. Is it possible to use them in new violent events or not, also previous experiences push women to move in using strategies In the forms of violence that women are exposed to, a diversity of strategies appears. The strategies that are used in sexual violence, for example, differ from the strategies that are used in other forms, such as physical, psychological, and economic violence. In other words, the specific strategy is chosen based on the type of violence to which the woman is subjected. Therefore, the more violence the woman faces, the more strategies she develops to protect herself and her children. One of the factors that influence the choice of strategies is the presence of children, as women take into account their children when choosing a specific strategy. Most of the respondents were more likely to use placating strategies instead of resistance and official assistance strategies, for example, to maintain the continuity of the marital relationship and not be deprived of seeing their children because they believed that the use of resistance and requested assistance from an official resource may lead to divorce, which in turn may lead to deprivation of children and the family disorganization. As for the factors related to asylum and changing the social environment, when women were in Syria, social values and customs played a role in their adoption of specific strategies. The conditions of asylum and migration and the emergence of some new social values prompted them to develop strategies that they were not able to use before asylum in Turkey, such as Strategies related to the network of relations. Informal social activities (friends and neighbors) also, asylum in Turkey contributed to raising some women's awareness of violence and resulted in the use of new strategies, for example threatening the husband to file a complaint against him to the legal authorities (police and courts). In addition, asylum in Turkey provided an opportunity for women to get out of the house and participate in social and educational activities that women employed in managing violence and controlling the negative feelings associated with it. For example,



respondents' participation in Quran courses, These courses formed a network of social relations, from which women later benefited in forming a new social group that shares the same concerns with women and benefits from each other in developing strategies to deal with violence.

The answer to the third question: the concept of the gender role is considered one of the central concepts in the field of gender studies, and we have defined it in the previous chapter. What concerns us in this study is to drop that concept at the level of the respondents to clarify their perceptions of it. In general, gender role attitudes are classified into modern and traditional attitudes (see Chapter 4 p.184), the study found that only one of the respondents (referred to by the code SR20 Ahlam) adopted the modern attitude on gender roles between men and women, and this is due to the social upbringing of that respondent, as she mentioned that she grew up in a family in which the principle of gender equality is dealt with. In addition to that, the educational level, after asylum in Turkey, she continued her academic life by studying for master's and doctoral degrees, and worked as a translator in a social worker center in Ankara-Turkey, in addition to her work as a volunteer within the awareness-raising programs for Syrian refugee women about violence against women, in addition to her experience in her first marriage with violence by the intimate partner, which formed her desire to help women who went through the same experience, all of these circumstances can be considered as a reason for her adoption of this point of view. As for the rest of the respondents, it was very clear the influence of the beliefs and values of the patriarchal society, so they adopted the traditional view of dividing roles between men and women. Having children and taking care of household affairs. At the level of the respondents, it was not just about adopting the traditional viewpoints of dividing roles between men and women, but they produced a binary classification for married women based on the extent to which women perform the roles assigned to them by society, and this reflects the extent to which respondents comply with the values of the patriarchal society. The classification presented by the respondents is "ideal wife" and "failed wife", according to the respondents' belief that the ideal wife is the one who takes care of her children, takes care of the affairs of the house, cares for the husband, and shows obedience and respect for the husband, and this type of women finds welcome and appreciation by the majority community members, and thus may not be exposed to violence from her

husband. But the study found that despite their performance in these roles, they were exposed to various types of violence from their intimate partner, and this contradiction confirms the main argument of the feminist movement about the structure of the patriarchal system and its practices are the basis for creating an environment for the emergence of issues such as violence by the intimate partner.

The other type, which is the opposite of the first type, is the failed wife, who does not perform her social roles in the required manner. Even the respondents used the phrase “dereliction” in carrying out duties, and this phrase indicates that there is something a person must do, but he did not do, which may result in punishment. Thus, the idea of the respondents about this type of wife, was that they deserve the social punishment represented by divorce, the marriage of a man to another woman, and the respondents put this type of woman in a lower position and are considered disgraceful, and some respondents adopted a stricter position about this failed wife, that she must not marry, because she does not fulfil marital duties.

This classification was not limited only to duties but went beyond the stage of women’s exposure to violence and the strategies that she follows to deal with it. The woman who uses strategies; such as resistance, and official support strategies, these fall under the classification of the failed wife, because she cannot control violence in a way that makes her in a position of obedience and respect for the man. Respect for the privacy and sanctity of the family, unlike the ideal wife, who deals with violence from her husband, in a way that ensures the continuity of marriage and maintains the cohesion of the family.

This classification presented by women, also shows that women are affected by the beliefs of the Islamic religion, as it is known that in every society, there are social beliefs and religious beliefs. It is better, as they mentioned social approval and described the wife as socially ideal, it is also described as a religious ideal because, this adheres to the teachings of Islam- that urge women to obey their husbands-, and this obedience results in describing them as religiously committed, and that their afterlife will be better than women who do not commit to obeying their husbands, those texts of religious knowledge are interpreted and disseminated among different women, through the different sources of religious knowledge that they resort to obtaining that

knowledge, and as a mechanism for applying that knowledge and teachings is their interaction with their husbands.

Adopting this traditional view resulted in women justifying the husband's use of violence against his wife. For example, in the case of physical violence, they justified that the husband had the right to hit his wife in cases such as: not preparing food, not paying attention to the cleanliness of the house, not caring for children, leaving the house without permission from the husband, doing anything without the husband's consent, arguing with the husband and not showing obedience and respect, and they believe that the husband's beating of his wife is a natural behavior for a man in the context of disciplining the wife, as well as in the case of sexual violence, the woman's refusal to have a sexual relationship with her husband is undesirable and the husband has the right. In that case, the use of violence against his wife, as for other forms of violence, such as psychological violence, the respondents did not provide a justification for a man to insult his wife or to underestimate her value. Here, the study agrees with the studies conducted in the Middle East (Haj-Yahia, 2002a ; Btoush and Haj-Yahia, 2008 in Jordan ; Haj-Yahia, 2016 ; Dhaher et al, 2010 in Palestine and even Arab immigrant women in America Abu Dhabi Ras, 2007), which concluded that women in those societies tend to justify the husband's abusive behaviour towards his wife, and attributed the reason to the impact of the patriarchal system's ideology on women's beliefs.

The respondents' justification of the husband's abusive behaviour towards his wife was linked to the idea of tolerance of violence and dealing with it as a natural matter, but the question is why women tolerate that violence. It is based on social inequality, witnessing violence between parents or women being subjected to violence before marrying one of the men in the family, the nature of violence that women are subjected to, women's lack of awareness of the idea of violence against women and their lack of knowledge of different experiences.

The answer to the fourth question: about women's evaluation of their relationship with their husbands, the study found that only six of the respondents were aware that the

abusive behaviors they were exposed to from their husbands constitute violence, and they described their experiences with their husbands' abusive behavior with words such as "injustice" "humiliation" "authoritarianism" and "arrogance". These words all indicate persecution. This confirms to us the idea presented by feminist radicalism that violence is the violence of an intimate partner as oppression resulting from an imbalance of power between men and women in patriarchal societies. The study found that the reason for the awareness of these women, unlike the other respondents, that what they are exposed to from their husbands as violence is due to the severity of the violence they were subjected to, asylum in Turkey, and participating in awareness programs about violence against women, the educational level as in the case of SR20.

Concerning the recommendations made by women to stop or prevent violence, the study divided the recommendations into four main categories: Recommendations Related to Using dealing strategies with intimate partner violence, This category included the recommendation to using the placating strategy such as; obedience to the husband, meeting his requests, not neglecting domestic duties, caring for children and increasing attention to the husband, It also included using the informal relationship network strategy, such as asking for help from the husband's family, asking for help from the family, talking with friends or neighbors to relieve the pressures of violence, and among the advice given by women in this category is the need for women to be patient with their husband's violent behavior to children and maintaining the continuity of the family. Recommendations Related to Benefiting From the Services of The Legal and Social System This category included the following recommendations, informing official authorities such as the police or the court, seeking help from psychological and social workers, and religious leaders, and applying to protection homes. Recommendations related to the necessity of the inclusion of violence against the wife in the criminal justice system this category included the following,

Increasing the penalty for perpetrators, age, and whines to prevent early marriage, establishing shelters for women, and increasing awareness programs about violence against women and women's rights. Because some women are not allowed by their husbands to leave the house and seek outside help, women in this category are urged to design programs for psychological and social support services for women that include

visits to women's homes, also this category included recommendations about the necessity of financial support for refugee families because economic conditions play a role in exposing women to violence from their husbands. Recommendations to end the abusive relationship with the husband this category included many advances for women who are subjected to violence, especially physical violence, to leave the abusive relationship and divorce from the husband, and her family must be a primary supporter of her in that otherwise she will not be able to divorce from the husband. The researcher noticed that women ignored other forms of violence and considered that only physical violence might be a sufficient reason for a woman to leave the abusive relationship.

## **5.2. THE STUDY RECOMMENDATIONS**

This research is qualitative feminist research within the framework of social work, meaning that the foundations of the research are based on the principle of qualitative research in social work and feminist research, and one of the most important foundations that have been followed in studying the issue of violence by an intimate partner is the principle of personal is political, meaning that The personal experiences of women cannot be limited only to personal experiences related to the personality of women only, but rather they must be studied within the overall framework with its various dimensions, including the political dimension (Harding, 2004). Based on the recommendations made by the respondents and referred to in detail in the fourth and fifth chapters and the findings of the study, and also based on what was presented by stand point theory to take women's lived experiences as a starting point for scientific research, and these experiences provide a starting point for the emergence of new critical questions and these questions constitute rich materials for research and policy reform, which ultimately leads to social change (Harding, 1993), The researcher has developed ideas about recommendations that different institute can benefit from in the future in addressing the issue of intimate partner violence and providing the necessary protection for women who are subjected to violence from their husbands and developing programs with a preventive dimension for women likely to be exposed to IPV. The recommendations made by the study are of interest to both stakeholders and policy makers in Turkey. Although the legal situation of Syrian refugees is considered

under the umbrella of temporary protection by the Turkish government, the current indicators indicate that the period of their stay in Turkey will be prolonged and therefore this should be taken into account and deal with their issues. With long-term plans, because of that the study recommendation focused on policy makers and stakeholder in Turkey rather than Syria. The study also tried to provide recommendations to the academic community, to take advantage of those proposals in helping women with their different characteristics to provide a social and political environment that is resistant to violence.

### **5.2.1. Recommendations for Stakeholders and Policy Makers**

Stakeholders and policy makers are civil society organizations working in the field of providing services to refugees, social work institutions, governmental institutions related to issues of immigration and asylum, social welfare institutions (health, education, women's shelter), the legislative authority, the judiciary and those working with them (the prosecution and the police and prisons).

#### **5.2.1.1. Civil Society Organizations Working With Syrian Refugees**

Civil society organizations carry out many programs with different dimensions in health, education, security and protection, social integration of refugees, and awareness.

In health care provision, work should be done to increase the volume of health services provided to Syrian refugee women concerning reproductive health, and family planning programs, in addition to this, health activities can be carried out such as treatment week, mobile clinic, home visits, training health mediators, and all these programs should be inside the neighborhoods inhabited by Syrian refugees.

Concerning education, they should focus on educating Syrian refugee women because of the link between education and awareness, which contributes to increasing their awareness of their problems and thus making them able to design mechanisms and strategies for prevention. This could be for illiterate refugee women through literacy programs for women. As for girls, educational programs must be intensified and

encouraged to continue their education, and these organizations should work to reduce the factors that cause school dropouts so that they do not reproduce the experiences of their mothers. Holding Turkish language courses for free, and that they are regularly, taking into account the appropriate time for women and the geographical dimension as well.

Concerning security and protection, in this aspect, forms of cooperation between civil society organizations and government agencies, must be increased because this is a participatory matter and civil society organizations cannot do it alone, so it is necessary to seek the assistance of the government agencies working in the field of security and protection, as mentioned by Adıgüzel, (2019) study "There is no integrated system for women who have been sexually assaulted in Turkey, where relevant organizations can work in cooperation where health, security, justice, and social services systems are isolated from each other. This may lead to a violation of women's human rights, not meeting their needs and deepening their problem." (Adıgüzel, 2019 p. 262).

As for the social integration of refugees, it is a big step in helping women who are subjected to violence, because integration includes many forms (learning the culture and language of the host country, knowing the laws, creating social relations with members of the host community, breaking the barrier of feeling persecuted and inferior), for example learning the culture and language of the country The host contributes to learning about other experiences, which in turn leads to an increase in women's awareness by comparing their experiences with the experiences of others, and thus a new awareness may be formed. Also, getting to know the culture of the host community contributes to the abandonment of some customs from the community of origin and the emergence of new customs and traditions that are in line with the culture of the new community, and this, in turn, reduces the incidence of violence by the intimate partner, which as the results of the study found that the customs and traditions of the Syrian community played a major role in increasing Women subjected to violence by an intimate partner. Through and also social integration contributes to changing the behavior of women about seeking help from official authorities in the event of exposure to intimate partner violence. Within the framework of facilitating integration, it is possible to establish communication links between Turkish and Syrian women to share

their experiences, through which Syrian refugee women may be helped to break the barrier of feeling inferior and persecution.

Regarding awareness, they must increase awareness campaigns for Syrian refugees on issues of gender, gender equality, violence against women, and gender-based violence. To design these programs, the cultural and social framework of refugees in its material and non-material forms (such as language, customs, traditions, etc.) must be taken into account. In order to bring about a change in society, it is necessary to work on using what the society knows to convey what it does not know, i.e. moving from the known to the unknown. Likewise, the design of these programs must take into account the geographical dimension, because through the interviews it became clear that husbands do not allow their wives to leave the house unless the destination is a place located within the neighborhood. These programs can also be carried out through intermediaries because through interviews with the respondents, it was found that women have programs for social communication by gathering from time to time in someone's house, drinking tea and coffee, exchanging what is going on in their lives and trying to benefit from each other, so the study suggests that the benefiting from such gatherings in providing awareness programs. This can be done by training women mediators from every neighborhood so that they regularly participate in these social communication programs and transfer what they have gained from experience to their counterparts. Also, establishing feminist groups because, In practice, feminist researchers have noted that group settings help individuals find language for talking about existing, not "created," issues (Campbell and Wascco,2000), these groups should be established to discuss issues and encourage Syrian women to play a proactive role in identifying their areas of need and problems, and consideration must be given to diversifying the target groups, in particular, rather than being limited to the same women's groups. Removing the prevailing mistrust towards the programs offered by these organizations. It is also possible to hold regular meetings with agencies and projects directed at women and to benefit from those joint efforts in the awareness of women with their issues and rights.



### 5.2.1.2. Social Work Institutions and Social Workers

The recommendations take two sides, one related to the institutions of social work, and one related to the individuals working in those institutions.

About social work institutions,

- I. social work institutions should effectively deliver psychological and social support services to Syrian refugee women.
- II. Design economic empowerment programs for Syrian refugee women because their economic empowerment achieves some economic independence from the husband and thus contributes to reducing the severity of the factors that were contributed to increasing the IPV.
- III. Establish programs to help women by disclosing their needs and benefiting from that in designing programs to assist survivors of intimate partner violence based on those needs, it is also necessary to encourage women, to talk about the violence they are exposed to by making them aware that violence by an intimate partner is not a family issue they should seek help from specialists and make them aware of the institutes to which they can apply in case they are exposed to violence.
- IV. Prepare annual reports on the conditions of Syrian refugee women, especially concerning IPV, these reports can be used to evaluate the performance of these institutions, and development, and increase the effectiveness of programming.
- V. Providing a hotline for violence against women, which is intended for refugees, bearing in mind that communication is available in Arabic and Turkish.
- VI. Increase awareness programs about forms of IPV, because, through the interviews, the researcher noted that women define only two forms of violence, physical and psychological, but although many women have their experiences with economic violence, sexual violence, and controlling behavior, their definitions of violence it did not include these forms, which means that they view these forms as the natural situation and as one of the roles of the man in the family, therefore the study recommends that social work institutions make use of all available sources (media, educational means,

women's groups for social communication, mediators, religious leaders, etc.) to educate women about other forms of IPV. Since the husband is the main perpetrator of violence by the intimate partner, the awareness programs should not be directed only to women, but also to men, through conducting awareness programs for husbands in coordination with the authorities in which they work by conducting lectures and activities that explain to them the negative effects of violence on the wife and children and educating them about the gender roles and gender equality that it is necessary not to mistreat their wives, given that such abuse has legal consequences that may reach the point of imprisonment.

As for the aspect of workers in those institutions,

- I. The workers in social work institutions should be fluent in Arabic.
- II. Social workers should be in a state of continuous follow-up to cases of survivors of intimate partner violence, and they must be provided with relevant knowledge of how to deal with those survivors.
- III. Social workers must be sufficiently qualified to learn about the latest technologies used to provide assistance to women and be aware of the sources of services provided to refugees and benefit from that in playing the role of mediator, as well as they must be able to convey the voices of women to the competent authorities or stakeholders.

Governmental institutions related to issues of immigration and asylum,

- I. There should be coordination between them, and other agencies working in the field of providing support and services to Syrian refugee women survivors of intimate partner violence.
- II. Encouraging researchers by funding research and research projects related to issues of violence against women among Syrian refugees and benefiting from the results of those studies in increasing the effectiveness of programs directed at Syrian refugee women.

III. Facilitating the refugees' access to official documents proving their status, because, through these documents, it is possible to obtain health, social and educational services...etc. Expanding social integration plans and seeking to increase their effectiveness.

Social welfare institutions (health, education, accommodation, women's shelter),

I. Regarding health, the programs offered by these institutions must be characterized by integration, that is, taking the issue of violence in all its dimensions there should be a special unit only to provide services to refugees, especially in hospitals where language and cultural differences constitute an obstacle to women seeking help from hospitals, and also concerning health, hospital workers should be trained on the health effects of violence on women and how to deal with women who have been exposed to IPV, facilitating the access of women, who have been subjected to violence to the medical report, which helps them to start judicial procedures to prevent violence.

II. As for accommodation, the findings of the study found that one of the most important factors that contribute to the increase in violence by the intimate partner is the husband's extended family sharing the same house. Therefore, the study recommends the need to provide financial support to those who are about to marry the Syrian refugees, so that they can get used to this support to live in a separate house from the extended family of the husband.

III. Regarding education, it is necessary to work on surveying to know the educational levels of the refugees and how to address them, in addition to finding mechanisms to address the issues of school dropouts in coordination with the relevant authorities. Also, the inclusion of gender equality in educational curricula ensures the upbringing of children on gender equality because it is a major cause of violence against women.

IV. As for women's shelters, it is necessary to shed light on clarifying the idea of women's shelters for Syrian refugees and facilitating their access to services, in addition to training workers in women's shelters on the cultural difference and their consideration of that differences in dealing with women.

V. The legislative authority, the judiciary, and the bodies working with it (the prosecution, the police, and prisons). Activating the laws that punish domestic violence, can only be achieved through, the recognition of domestic violence issues in the criminal justice system, and the abolition of all justifications that reduce punishment for perpetrators of violent crimes. The Turkish government should ratification on the international convention about violence against women, here it should be noted that the withdrawal of Turkey from the Istanbul Convention on Domestic Violence has negative consequences for Syrian refugee women because the agreement strengthens the legal status of Syrian refugee women in Turkey instead of their status, which is considered under the “Temporary Protection Law” as temporary, which will have a negative impact on women’s access to refugee status. As Kivilcim (2016 ) mentioned that “Placing Syrian refugees under the temporary protection list and the Law of Foreigners and International Protection, which cause legal violence to Syrian refugees. This legislation keeps them in the temporary protection regime and prevents them from obtaining international protection” The legislative authority, when enacting laws related to violence against women, must take into account reports, research, and academic work that deal with these issues.

VI. As for the judiciary, it is necessary to aware the judges to know the health, psychological and social consequences of IPV on women, that it helps to carry out their tasks more effectively and to make them fully aware of the cultural differences between the refugees and the local population.

VII. The results of the study found that early marriage is one of the biggest problems that Syrian refugee women face, and is considered the first seed Of IPV. Therefore, the study recommends legislative bodies create mechanisms for continuous follow-up of cases of child marriage under the age of 18, noting that families resort to religious marriage contracts in the case of girls under 18 years and, marriage is not officially registered until after the girl reaches the legal age. The competent authorities should also cooperate in activities and programs that contribute to detecting early marriage cases and activating penalties for those who participate in the marriage of girls under the legal age specified in Turkey, which is 18 years.

### **5.2.2. Recommendations for the Academic Community**

I. Recommendations for social work curriculum; Designing curriculum that take into account the situation of refugees in Turkey, training social work students on the professional practice of social work with refugees, making field visits for students to centers that provide psychological and social support services to refugees, and through these programs linking the theoretical side to the practical side, training social work students on the method of conducting domestic violence research and how to benefit from women's experiences and make it a starting point for providing assistance based on the point of view of women who are subjected to violence.

II. Recommendations for Future Studies in Social Work; Most studies of violence by an intimate partner focus on the causes, types, and effects of violence. The current study recommends expanding the horizon of studies to include strategies followed by women, who are exposed to intimate partner violence. These strategies can be used to develop a curriculum for professional intervention based on women's needs, allocating research projects long-term dealing with the issue of violence for long periods, to know the trends of violence during a period. The curriculum of those researches should be based on the basic principles of feminist research because the current study found that the application of those principles had positive results on the respondents in the study and on conducting the interview and the data collected from the respondents.

### **5.2.3. Recommendations Directed Directly to Assisting Women**

These are the recommendations that include programs and activities for both women and their husbands: Through the findings of the study, it became clear that women deal with their husbands' violence as a natural behavior of husbands. The study clarified the factors that lead to women's normalization of the idea of violence, and from here it was necessary to develop recommendations related to changing women's view of intimate partner violence because of the awareness that what they are exposed to from violence. It is not a normal behavior the first step in professional intervention is to help them, and since the behavior is a translation of awareness, changing the behavior involves two processes that go along with each other, the first process is to change ideas, Here, it is

possible to work on changing refugee women's and their husbands' ideas of violence through many mechanisms that work in the field of awareness. The second process, which is the result of the first process, is translating that change in awareness into a change in behavior. This requires providing mechanisms to support behaviors that help reduce violence. Customs and traditions are one of the main sources of women's attitudes about violence and gender roles. Therefore, to change their views, it is necessary to work on changing customs and traditions. It is known that changing customs and traditions requires integrated programs and long-term plans. Therefore, cooperation between the relevant authorities must be shown. To design these programs, and since the target group is the refugees, this requires cooperation between the (UNHCR) High Commissioner for Refugees and the host country. Recommendations concerning changing behaviors, it is necessary to work on developing multiple mechanisms that are in line with the reality of the multiplicity of forms of violence, for example, physical violence requires a bilateral action that motivates women through different mechanisms to resist it (for example, designing an application that can be downloaded to mobile phones to report exposure to violence) and with the same idea other forms of violence. Translating women's experiences with violence by an intimate partner in the form of dramas with the inclusion of solutions mechanisms and seeking to disseminate them among women and relevant authorities

### **5.3. RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION**

The strengths of the research became from its based on the principle of feminist qualitative research which considered that, the women's life experience as a start point for research. The contribution of this study it provides in-depth data about women's experience with IPV and the strategies used to deal with IPV. And the results and recommendations of this study can be used in the future to help women who have been exposed to IPV.

## REFERENCES

- Açıklık, S. (2009). Kadına Yönelik Şiddetle Mücadelede Kadın Sığınma evi Önlemi:Türkiye Örneği, M.A Thesis, Ankara University, Department of women Studies.
- Adıgüzel, İ. (2019). Tecavüze Maruz Bırakılan Kadınların Tecavüz Sonrası Yaşam Deneyimleri, Ph.D., Hacettepe University, Department of Social work, Ankara, Turkey.
- Albyrak, H. (2019). Feminist Sosyal Çalışma Perspektifiyle Çocuğun Uyuşturucu Madde Bağımlılığında Hakim Annelik İdeolojisine Karşı Annelik Pratiği Anlatıları, Ph.D, Hacettepe University, Department of Social work, Ankara, Turkey.
- AL Ajlan, A. (2021). Divorce and Domestic Violence among Syrian Refugees in Germany, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520985488>
- Alking, A. (2019). Child Marriage Practices in the Syrian Refugee Camps, M.A Thesis, Uppsala University( Sweden), ProQuest Dissertations Publishing 2019, 28230686.
- Al-Modallal, H., Abu Zayed, S., Abujilban,S., Shehab,T., Atoum, T. (2015). Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence Among Women Visiting Health Care Centers in Palestine Refugee Camps in Jordan, *Health Care for Women International*, 36:2, 137-148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07399332.2014.948626>
- AL-Aleukl, W. (2021). Victims of sexual violence in Syria between stigma and lack of accountability, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (In Arabic), (Access on February 2022 ). <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/83858>
- Al-Modallal, H. (2012). Patterns Of Coping With Partner Violence: Experiences Of Refugee Women in Jordan, *Public Health Nursing* Vol. 29 No. 5, pp. 403–411. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1525-1446.2012.01018.x>
- Al-Natour A., Mohammed, S., Morris, J. (2019). Marital Violence During War Conflict: The Lived Experience of Syrian, *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, Vol.30(1) 32–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659618783842>
- Alsaba, K., Kapilashrami, A. (2016). Understanding Women’s Experience of Violence and the Political Economy of Gender in Conflict: The Case of Syria, *Reproductive Health Matters*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rhm.2016.05.002>
- Al-Shdayfat, N., Hatamleh, R. (2017). Syrian Refugee Women’s Reasons for Not Reporting Violence: An Exploratory Study, *International Journal of Nursing Education*, 9(4): 96, DOI:10.5958/0974-9357.2017.00103.9
- Alston, M., Bowles, W. (1998). *Research for Social Workers: An Introduction to Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003117094>
- APA (American Psychiatric Association). (2013). *DSM-5™ Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* American Psychological Association (5. bs.). Washington: APA.
- APA, (American Psychiatric Association). (2013a). *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (6. bs.). Washington: APA.

- Azam, A Parveen, A., O’Cathain, A., (2018). Influences of Extended Family on Intimate Partner Violence: Perceptions of Pakistanis in Pakistan and the United Kingdom, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 36(9-10) 3965–3993, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0886260518785378>
- Baltacı, A. (2008). Nitel Araştırmalarda Örnekleme Yöntemleri ve Örnek Hacmi Sorunsalı Üzerine Kavramsal Bir İnceleme. *BEÜ SBE Derg.*,7(1), 231-274.
- Bartels, Susan et al. (2017). Making sense of child, early and forced marriage among Syrian refugee girls: a mixed methods study in Lebanon, *BMJ Glob Health* doi:10.1136/ bmjgh-2017-000509
- BBC (2019). Wedding Bed Sheets: Ancient Marriage Traditions Still Haunt the Modern Woman <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/art-and-culture-48640922> ( Access on July 2021)
- Bejenaru, A. (2011). Battered Women: Victims or Survivors?, *Social Change Review* 9(1):41-66, DOI:10.1515/scr-2016-0016
- Bester, S., Van-Rooyen, M. (2015). Emotional Development, Effects of Parenting and Family Structure on, *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (Second Edition), Eslevier Ltd publisher.
- Black, D., Sussman, S., Unger, J. (2013). A Further Look at the Intergenerational Transmission of Violence: Witnessing Interparental Violence in Emerging Adulthood, *JInterpers Violence* 2010; 25 june(6).
- Bowker, Lee H. 1983. *Beating wife beating*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Boy, A. Kulczycki, A. (2008). *What We Know About İntimate Partner Violence in the Middle East and North Africa, violence against women volume .*
- Braun, Virginia. and Clarke, Victoria. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). 77-101.
- Brodus, M., Sallie. (2008). *İntimate partner violence in Kenya*, PhD, Howard University, Department of Africa studies.
- Burrell, R., Flood, Michael. (2019). Which Feminism? Dilemmas in Pro-feminist Men’s Praxis to End Violence Against Women, *Global Social Welfare* (2019) 6:231–244. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s40609-018-00136-x>
- Buz, S. (2009). Feminist Sosyal Hizmet Uygulaması, *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet Cilt* 20, 53-65, Nisan 2009.
- Campbell, Rebecca, et al. (2010). “What Has It Been Like for You to Talk With Me Today?”: The Impact of Participating in Interview Research on Rape Survivors, *Violence Against Women* 16(1) 60–83, DOI: 10.1177/1077801209353576, <http://vaw.sagepub.com>.
- Campbell, R., Wasco, S.(2000). Feminist approaches to social science: epistemological and methodological tenets, *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2000. DOI: 10.1023/A:1005159716099



- Cankurtaran, Ö., Albyrak, H. (2019). From Syria to Turkey: being a woman, Hacettepe University Research and Implementation Center on Women's Issues, Turkey, Ankara.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), (2015). Intimate Partner Violence Surveillance: Uniform Definitions and Recommended Data Elements, Version 2.0, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention National Center for Injury Prevention and Control Atlanta, Georgia.
- Center for Legal Studies and Research, (2018). Factors affecting Syrian Female Minors' Arranged Marriages as a Wide-spread Phenomenon, <https://sl-center.org/language/en/archives/613> ( Accessed 7 February 2022).
- Chadambuka, Cyndirela. (2020). Coping Strategies Adopted by Women Who Experienced Intimate Partner Violence in the Context of Social Norms in Rural Areas in Zimbabwe, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 1–25, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520943734>
- Cheng, Sheung-Tak. et al. (2015). Improving mental health in health care practitioners: Randomized controlled trial of a gratitude intervention, *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, 83(1), 177- 186.
- Cherri, Zeinab., Guesta JG. Et al. (2017). Early marriage and barriers to contraception among Syrian refugee women in Lebanon:A Qualitative Study, *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 2017(14) 836.
- Clark, C.J., Silverman, J G., Shahroui, M., et al (2010). The role of the extended family in women's risk of intimate partner violence in Jordan, *Social Science & Medicine* 70 (2010) 144-151.
- Collins, B. (1986). Defining feminist social work, Oxford University Press, *Social Work*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (May–June 1986), pp. 214-219.
- Corbin, J. , Strauss, A. (2015). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, Fourth Edition, Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cotterill, P . Letherby, G. (1993) 'Weaving Stories: Personal Auto/biographies in feminist research. *Sociology* Vol. 27, No. 1 (February 1993), pp. 67-79 (13 pages) Published by: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Davis, L. (1987). Battered Women: The Transformation of a Social Problem, *Social Work*, Volume 32, Issue 4, July-August 1987, Pages 306–311, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/32.4.306>
- Dominelli, L. (2002). *Feminist Social Work Theory and Practice*, PALGRAVE Publish.
- World Health Organization. (2005). WHO Multi-Country Study on Women's Health And Domestic Violence Against Women Report : initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses, World Health Organization, Geneva.
- World Health Organization .(2001). *Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations For Research On Domestic Violence Against Women*, world health organization Geneva. <https://www.who.int/gender/violence/womenfirtseng.pdf>.

- World Health Organization( WHO), (2017). Violence Against Women Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Against Women, fact sheet, <http://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>.
- Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) (2017). Status of Arab Women Report 2017 Violence against Women: What is At Stake, Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), United Nations House, Riad El Solh Square, P.O. Box: 11-8575, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Ehrensaft, M., Cohen, P., Brown, P. (2003). Intergenerational Transmission of Partner Violence: a 20-year prospective study. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 71, 741–753.
- El Feki, S., Heilman, B., Barker, G., Eds. (2017). *Understanding Masculinities: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) – Middle East and North Africa*. Cairo and Washington, D.C: UN Women and Prom undo-US.
- El-Jack, A. (2003). *Gender And Armed Conflict: Overview Report* , (BRIDGE /Institute of Development Studies). Brighton, UK: University of Sussex.
- Elnakib, S. et al. (2021). Drivers and consequences of child marriage in a context of protracted displacement: a qualitative study among Syrian refugees in Egypt, *BMC Public Health* (2021) 21:674.
- Emily, M. , David, H., Mary A. (2008). Coping with intimate partner violence: Battered women's use and perceived helpfulness of emotion-focused coping strategies, *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma*, 17:1, 23-41.
- Enge, B., Jacqueline, A. (2013). *Social Workers' Feminist Perspectives: Implications for Practice*, Master Thesis, St. Catherine University and the University of St. Thomas, School of Social Work.
- Feseha, G., Abeba, M., G. (2012). Intimate partner physical violence among women in Shimelba refugee camp, northern Ethiopia, *BMC Public Health* 2012.
- Freedman, J. (2016). Sexual and gender-based violence against refugee women: a hidden aspect of the refugee “crisis”, *Reproductive Health Matters*, 24:18-26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rhm.2016.05.003>
- Gabriel. E. (2015). *Domestic violence and its effects on women*, PhD in social work, Mahatma Gandhi University.
- Gebeyehu, A., Tadesse, C., (2020). Prevalence of intimate partner violence against women and associated factors in Ethiopia, *BMC Women Health* 2020; 20: 22.
- Glaser, G., Strauss, A. (1967). *the discovery of grounded theory strategies for qualitative research*, Aldine Publishing, Chicago.
- Gondolf, E., Fisher, E. (1988). *Battered women as survivors: An alternative to treating learned helplessness*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

- Goodman, L, et al.. (2003). The Intimate Partner Violence Strategies Index: Development and Application, *Violence Against Women* 2003,9 163–186  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1077801202239004>.
- Gračanin, A. (2014). Is crying a self-soothing behavior?, US National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health, Published online 2014 May 28. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00502 , (Accessed 28 October 2021 ).
- Gray, M., et al . (2015). Doctoral research from a feminist perspective: Acknowledging, advancing and aligning women’s experience, *Qualitative Social Work* 2015, Vol. 14(6) 758–775.
- Habib, N. (2018). Gender Role Changes and their Impacts on Syrian Women Refugees in Berlin in Light of the Syrian Crisis, WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Berlin (2018).
- Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. (2015). Türkiye’de kadına yönelik aile şiddet araştırması,  
<http://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1/135/ekutuphane3.5.1.1.1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. (2019). Türkiye Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması, Ankara, Türkiye. [http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/tnsa2018/rapor/TNSA2018\\_ana\\_Rapor.pdf](http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/tnsa2018/rapor/TNSA2018_ana_Rapor.pdf)
- Haj-Yahia, M. (2005). On the Characteristics of Patriarchal Societies, Gender Inequality, and Wife Abuse: The Case of Palestinian Society, *Adalah’s Newsletter*, Volume 20, November 2005.
- Hamilton, L. (1989). Variables associated with child maltreatment and implications for prevention and treatment, *Child abuse and neglect: theory, research and practice*, Pardeck, JT (Ed.), New York: Gordon Breach Science Publishers.
- Hawija, S. (2019). Syrian Personal affairs Law between reality and ambition, *Syrian Lawyers*.  
<http://www.syrianlegalforum.net/publications/view/83> (Access on May 2019) .
- Heise, L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. *Violence Against Women*, 4, 262-290.
- Hindin, M. (2003). Understanding women’s attitudes towards wife beating iZimbabwe, *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 2003, 81 (7).
- Horst, M. (2014). Gender Role Attitudes. Available at : [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5\\_1135](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_1135) (Accessed 11 October, 2021).
- Husso, İ. (2008). *Gender: Social and Cultural Dimensions*, Dar Al Sharq, Amman.
- International Federation of Human Rights (FİDH) (2012). *Women and the Arab Spring: taking their place?*. <https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/femmesarabangbassdef>
- Johnston, H. , Naved ,R. (2008). Spousal violence in Bangladesh: a call for a public-health response. *Journal Health Population Nutrition* 2008; 26: 366\_77.

- Kalmuss, D. (1984). The intergenerational transmission of marital aggression. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 1984;46(1):11–19.
- Kandemirci, D.,Y. K, (2014). Kadına Yönelik Aile İçi Şiddetle Baş Etme: Çok boyutlu birinceleme,Türk Psikoloji Yazıları, 17 (33), 1-12.
- Kapiga, S., Harvey, S., Muhammad, A. (2017). Prevalence of intimate partner violence and abuse and associated factors among women enrolled into a cluster randomized trial in North western Tanzania. *BMC Public Health* 17, 190 (2017).
- Smith, D., Whiting, J. (2014). Impact of Intimate Partner Violence on Women’s Mental Health, *Journal of Family Violence* octobar 2014.
- Kelebek, G. (2016). Aile İçi Şiddete Maruz Kalarak Boşanmış Kadınların Yaşam Deneyimleri, M.A thesis, Hacettepe Institute of Social Science, Department of Social Work.
- Kelly, U. (2011). Theories of Intimate Partner Violence: From Blaming the Victim to Acting Against Injustice Intersectionality as an Analytic Framework, *Advances in Nursing Science* Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. E29–E51.
- Kishor,Sunita., Johnson, Kiersten. (2004). Profiling domestic violence a multicounty study. Calverton, MD: ORC Macro; 2004. <https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/od31/od31.pdf>
- Knous, W., et al (2012). Parental intimate partner violence, parenting practices, and adolescent peer bullying: a prospective study, *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 21(5),754-766.
- Krause, K. H. , Robert, G. H., Vander, K. et al.(2016). Why Do Women Justify Violence Against Wives More Often Than Do Men in Vietnam?, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 2016, Vol 31(19)3150–3173.DOI: 10.1177/0886260515584343 [jiv.sagepub.com](http://jiv.sagepub.com).
- Lazarus, Richard. S., Folkman, Susan. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. Springer publishing company, Inc., New York.
- Luna, K., Haar, G., Hilhorst, D. (2017). Changing Gender Role: Women’s Livelihoods, Conflict and Post-conflict Security in Nepal, *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 4(2)175-195.
- Mahfuza I, et al. (2014) The intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence in Bangladesh, *Global Health Action*, 7:1, 23591, DOI: 10.3402/gha.v7.23591.
- Matud,M., Pilar, Marerro., Abella,.M. (2003). Intergenerational transmission of domestic violence, *Psicologia Conductual*.11.25-40.
- McClennen, J. (2010). *Social Work and Family Violence: theories, Assessment, and Intervention*, Springer Publishing Company, 2010.
- McLeod, S. (2015).Stress management, *Simply Psychology* <https://www.simplypsychology.org/stress-management.html> (Accessed 27 October 2021).

- Mendis, K. (2009). Collecting Data from Mothers who have Experienced Childhood Family Violence with the use of a Feminist Methodology, *Qualitative Social Work*, Vol. 8(3): 377–390 , DOI:10.1177/1473325009337846
- Messing, J. et al (2015). The State of Intimate Partner Violence Intervention: Progress and Continuing Challenges, *Social Work*, Volume 60, Issue 4, October 2015, Pages 305–313, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/swv027>
- Millings, A., et al. (2016). Holding Back the Tears: Individual Differences in Adult Crying Proneness Reflect Attachment Orientation and Attitudes to Crying, *US National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health*, Published online 2016 Jul 6. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01003 (Accessed 28 October 2021 ).
- Mohamed , A. (2010). School dropouts in Syria - a phenomenon exacerbated by poverty, customs and the absence of law enforcement, <https://p.dw.com/p/M7FH> (Accessed on March 2022)
- Mourtada, R. Schlecht, J .Delog, J . (2017). A qualitative study exploring child marriage practices among Syrian conflict-affected populations in Lebanon, *Conflict and Health* volume 11, Article number: 27 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-017-0131-z>
- Mülteciler Derneği. (2020). Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Sayısı Eylül 2020, <https://multeciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/>
- Musa, D. (2016). Syrian Penal Code and Women,Rising for freedom 17 octobar2016 <https://www.freedomraise.net>
- Nadır, U. (2016). Şiddetin mağdurları ve tanıkları olarak kadınların aile içi şiddet deneyimleri, PhD, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Hizmet Bölümü.
- Nobel Women's Initiative. (2016). Women Refugees at Risk in Europe. <http://nobelwomensinitiative.org/2016/03/newreport-women-refugees-at-risk-in-europe/>. 2016.
- Oakley A (1981) Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms? In: Roberts H (ed.) *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 30-61
- Ohio Humanities (2018). Betty Friedan: The Three Waves of Feminism, By Ohio Humanities • April 27, 2018. <http://www.ohiohumanities.org/betty-friedan-the-three-waves-of-feminism/>
- Okenwa-E, Leah. L, Stephen., Jansson. B. (2016). Attitudes Toward Physical Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in Nigeria, *SAGE publisher*, October 1, 2016 p. 1- 10, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016667993>
- Özden, Ş. and Ramadan, O.(2019). SuriyelikadınlarınTürkiye’de yaşama bakışları: Haklar, toplumsal ilişkiler ve sivil toplum, *Badael,İstanbul,Türkiye*.
- Ragavan, M., Iyengar, K. (2017). Violence Perpetrated by Mothers-in-Law in Northern India: Perceived Frequency, Acceptability, and Options for Survivors, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 2020, Vol. 35(17-18) 3308–3330.

- Raj, A., et al (2011). Abuse from In-Laws during Pregnancy and Post-Partum: Qualitative and Quantitative Findings from Low-income Mothers of Infants in Mumbai, India, *Matern Child Health J* (2011) 15:700–712, DOI 10.1007/s10995-010-0651-2
- Refugee Women, *Journal of Trans cultural Nursing* 2019, Vol. 30(1) 32–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043659618783842>
- Refugees Association, (2022). Number of Syrians in Turkey January 2022, <https://multeciler.org.tr/eng/number-of-syrians-in-turkey/> (Access on 17 April 2022)
- Riddell, T., Marilyn, FG., Beverly, L (2009), Strategies used by rural women to stop, avoid, or escape from intimate partner violence, *Health Care For Women International*, 30:1-2, 134-159 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07399330802523774>
- Ross, S. (2008). Introduction to feminist theory: curriculum for undergraduate social work students, master thesis, California State University, Department of Social Work.
- Sandra, S., Karen, R., Kimberly, M., Amy, B., Kirsten, L., Russell, C. (2000). The Intergenerational Transmission of Spouse Abuse: A Meta-Analysis, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 62. 640-654
- Save The Children. (2014). Too Young To Wed: The growing problem of child marriage among Syrian girls in Jordan, Save the Children, London,UK.
- Scott, J. (1986). *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, Oxford University Press on behalf of the American Historical Association.
- Sieverding, M., Krafft, C., Berri, N., Keo, C. (2020). Persistence and Change in Marriage Practices among Syrian Refugees in Jordan, *Studies in Family Planning* 51 (3).
- Skeggs, B . (1995) *Feminist Cultural Theory: Process and Production*. Manchester: Manchester St Leonards: Allen & Unwin.
- Strauss, A. Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Syrian Commission for Family Affairs and Population (2016). *Actions taken in the field of the advancement of women in the Syrian Arab Republic*.
- Syrian Women for Democracy (2019). *Syrian women's participation in political life*.
- The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) (2014). *Violence against Women: an EU-wide survey*, <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2014/violence-against-women-eu-wide-survey-main-results-report>
- Tiltnes, Å. , Zhang, H., Pedersen, J. (2019). The living conditions of Syrian refugees in Jordan: Results from the 2017-2018 survey of Syrian refugees inside and outside camps, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/67914.pdf>

- Tonsing, J., Tonsing, K. (2019). Understanding the Role of Patriarchal Ideology in Intimate Partner Violence among South Asian women in Hong Kong, *International social work* vol.62(1) 161-171,2019.
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2017). Child Marriage in the Middle East and North Africa Executive Summary, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Middle East and North Africa Regional Office in collaboration with the International Center for Research on Women (IRCW), 2017.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2018), Durable Solutions Update for Syrian Refugees - June/July 2018. <https://www.unhcr.org/ar/5b9f47344> (Accessed on March 2022 )
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). (2016). More than Number: Regional overview: Responding to Gender Based Violence in the Syria Crisis, United Nations Population Fund. <https://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/more-numbers-regional-overview-responding-gender-based-violence-syrian>
- Usta et al .(2008). Women, War, and Violence: Surviving the Experience, *Journal of Women Health*, <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2007.0602>.
- Usta, J. Singh, N. (2015). Domestic Violence against Women in War and Armed Conflicts. In M. Taylor, J. Pooley, & R. S. Taylor (Eds.), *Overcoming domestic violence creating a dialogue around vulnerable populations* (pp. 205-244). Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers.
- Usta, j., Reese, A., Farver, J. (2016). Violence against displaced Syrian women in Lebanon, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 1-13.
- Walker, L. (1979). *The battered woman*, New York: Harper & Row.
- World Health organization (WHO) (1997). Violence against Women; A priority health issue, WHO Women's Health and Development. Geneva. [https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/63553/WHO\\_FRH\\_WHD\\_97.8.pdf](https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/63553/WHO_FRH_WHD_97.8.pdf)
- World Health organization (WHO) (1999). World Report on Violence and Health. Geneva. [https://www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/violence/world\\_report/en/full\\_en.pdf?ua=1](https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/full_en.pdf?ua=1)
- Yiğit, T. (2015). *Feminist Sosyal Hizmet Yaklaşımı Bağlamında Ataerkil İdeoloji ve Erken Evlilikler*, PhD, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Hizmet Bölümü.
- Zaman Awsl.(2010). A Third of Syrian Women are Subjected to Domestic Violence, search for 'masculine culture', Article in Arabic, <https://www.zamanawsl.net/news/article/16576> (Access on Septmeber 2018).



HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
Ph.D. DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
SOCIAL WORK DEPARTMENT

Date: 20/07/2022

Thesis Title : Syrian Married Refugee Women Experience with Intimate Partner Violence and their Strategies Dealing with it. According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 20/07/2022 for the total of 273 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 7 %.

Filtering options applied:

- Approval and Declaration sections excluded
- Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
- Quotes excluded
- Quotes included
- Match size up to 5 words excluded

I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

  
Date and Signature 20.07.2022

Name Surname: Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN

Student No: N15146608

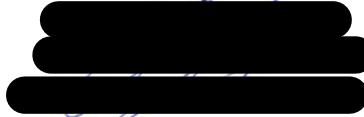
Department: Social Work

Program: Social Work

Status:  Ph.D.  Combined MA/ Ph.D.

**ADVISOR APPROVAL**

APPROVED.



Prof.Dr. Özlem CANKURTARAN





HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ  
DOKTORA TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ  
SOSYAL HİZMET ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 20/07/2022

Tez Başlığı : Syrian Married Refugee Women Experience with Intimate Partner Violence and their Strategies Dealing with it. Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 273 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 20/07/2022 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 7 'tür.

Uygulanan filtrelemeler:

- 1-  Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
- 2-  Kaynakça hariç
- 3-  Alıntılar hariç
- 4-  Alıntılar dâhil
- 5-  5 kelimedenden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

Tarih ve imza 20.07.2022

**Adı Soyadı:** Mawahib Khalil M. HASSAN  
**Öğrenci No:** N15146608  
**Anabilim Dalı:** Sosyal Hizmet  
**Programı:** Sosyal Hizmet  
**Statüsü:**  Doktora  Bütünleşik Dr.

**DANIŞMAN ONAYI**

UYGUNDUR.

Prof.Dr. Özlem CANKURTARAN



T.C.  
HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ  
Rektörlük

Tarih: 04/02/2021

Sayı: E-35853172-300-00001430755



0001430755

Sayı : E-35853172-300-00001430755  
Konu : Mawahib Khalil Mohammed Hassan Hk. (Etik Komisyon İzni)

4.02.2021

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi : 11.01.2021 tarihli ve E-12908312-300-00001396874 sayılı yazımız.

Enstitünüz Sosyal Hizmet Anabilim Dalı Doktora Programı öğrencilerinden **Mawahib Khalil Mohammed Hassan**'ın **Prof. Dr. Özlem CANKURTARAN** danışmanlığında hazırladığı "**Aile İçi Şiddete Maruz Kalan Evli Suriyeli Sığınmacı Kadınların Şiddet Deneyimleri**" başlıklı tez çalışması, Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun **26 Ocak 2021** tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda incelenmiş olup, etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini saygılarımla rica ederim.

Prof. Dr. Vural GÖKMEN  
Rektör Yardımcısı

Bu belge güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

Belge Doğrulama Kodu: 875E7663-9614-43FE-97CB-771904D55918

Belge Doğrulama Adresi: <https://www.turkiye.gov.tr/hu-ebys>

Adres: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Rektörlük 06100 Sıhhiye-Ankara

Bilgi için: Duygu Didem İLERİ

E-posta: yazimd@hacettepe.edu.tr İnternet Adresi: www.hacettepe.edu.tr Elektronik

Memur

Ağ: www.hacettepe.edu.tr

Telefon: 0 (312) 305 3001-3002 Faks: 0 (312) 311 9992

Telefon: .

Kep: hacettepeuniversitesi@hs01.kep.tr



### **APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW**

#### **PART 1: BACKGROUND DATA**

1. Gender
2. From which city did you come from Syria?
3. When did you migrate to Turkey?
4. Did you learn the Turkish language or not?
5. Tell me about your family, number of your siblings, the level of education of your parents?
6. Do you have relatives in Turkey, particularly in Ankara?

#### **PART 2: EXPERIENCE OF ASYLUM TO TURKEY**

7. Tell me about your migration to Turkey; how did you make the decision, who made the decision you or your husband, with who did you come to Turkey, and what happened during your migration to Turkey?

#### **PART 3: MARRIAGE EXPERIENCE**

8. Tell me about your marriage? When did you get married? How did you meet your husband? How many years have you been married?
9. How old were you when you got married? How old were you when you gave birth to your first child?
10. When you were in Syria, did you live in a separate house or with your husband's family?
11. Now, do you live in a separate house or with your husband's family?

#### **PART 4: EXPERIENCE OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

When two people got married or live together, they usually share the good and bad moments. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your marriage life

and how your husband treats you. If someone interrupts us, I will change the topic of discussion. I would like to reaffirm to you that your answers will be confidential and you do not have to answer if you do not like it. Can I continue.

12. Tell me about your husband (his work, level of education, age, and his age when you got married)?
13. During your marriage life when you were in Syria and after your asylum in Turkey, do you remember that your husband beat you, slap you, pull your hair, or hit you with something that hurt you physically or caused wounds, etc.? When did this happen? Does this happen regularly or from time to time? Why? What do you do to protect yourself? And what do you do to prevent this happen again? Who do you ask for help in this situation?
14. During your marriage when you were in Syria and after your asylum in Turkey, were you forced to have sexual intercourse by your husband? Did he force you to do something that you feel devalues you? Or he forced you to have sex with him against your will? What do you do when this happens?
15. Do you think that woman have the right to refuse to has sex with her husband if she does not want it?
16. During your marriage life when you were in Syria and after your asylum in Turkey, do you feel that your husband treats you in a undesirable way to make you feel disrespected, despised, or devalued in front of others?
17. During your marriage life when you were in Syria and after your asylum in Turkey, do you feel that your husband controls your movements, such as working without his permission, not allowing you to leave the house, etc.?
18. Do you believe that woman should take permission from her husband when leaving the house? What should the husband do when she does not do?
19. During your marriage life when you were in Syria and after asylum in Turkey, did you husband prevent you to work outside the house?
20. Who is responsible the financial aspects of your family? Tell me your experience when you were in Syria and after asylum in Turkey?
21. When you were in Syria or after asylum in Turkey, did it happen that your husband prevented you from looking for a job or made you leave a job?

22. Tell me about the relationship between your parents? Did it happen you that saw your father abuse your mother physically either by beating, slapping, or disrespecting her? Tell me about this?

23. Tell me about your marriage life experience after your asylum in Turkey?

#### **PART 5: STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

When a woman and her husband fight, the woman always seeks to find solutions to the problem or prevents the problem to happen again. Now, I would like you to tell you experience in detail.

24. When you and your husband fight, how do you protect yourself? Or how do prevent the event happen again? Does what you do have effect in preventing the event happen again? Tell me about your experience in this when you were in Syria and after asylum in Turkey?

25. Who do you usually ask for help? And do you get what you want when you do not ask for help? Why? Tell me your experience in this when you were in Syria and asylum in Turkey?

26. Do you know centers that provide services for women in Ankara?

27. Tell me in case you contacted the police and you made a complaint about you husband?

Tell me your experience in this when you were in Syria and after your asylum in Turkey?

28. Do you talk to your family or your friends about your experience with your husband? If not, why? Tell me your experience in this when you were in Syria and after your asylum in Turkey?

#### **PART 6: ATTITUDE TOWARDS GENDER ROLES AND AN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

29. In your opinion, what is violence?

30. In your opinion, why husbands practice violence on their wives?

31. How are the Syrian women subjected to violence by their husbands?

32. In your opinion, does the husband has the right to beat his wife?

33. In your opinion, in what situations the husband is entitled to beat his wife?

34. In your opinion, what are the roles of man and woman in the house?

**PART 7 : RECOMMENDATION TO STOP, ELIMINATE AN INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

35. In your opinion, what should women do to prevent violence against them by their husbands?
36. If you were the one who help women who were subjected to intimate partner violence what would you do for them?
37. In your opinion, how the violence against women by their husbands can be stopped?
38. Do you feel content about your marriage life when you were in Syria and after asylum in Turkey?
39. Today, how do you feel after you talked to me about your marriage experience?

#### **APPENDIX 4: VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION FORM**

Hello, my name is Mawahib Khalil Mohamed. I am a PhD student at Hacettepe University Department of Sociology. I am conducting research on the experiences of women who were exposed to violence by their husbands. The primary purpose of the research is to know what women do when they are exposed to violence by their husbands and who they ask for help. Also, the research aims to explore women's strengths to make use of it in the future to help women deal with violence. The research gives women an opportunity to explore their experiences and find a professional intervention to help them.

Your participation is voluntary and your real name would not be used in the research. Instead, nicknames would be used. You can stop the interview at any moment you feel to do it. Also, you are entitled not to answer a specific question. I would like to tell that neither your friends nor your neighbors do not know the topic. You are the only one who knows the interview questions. The interview will take about 40 to 90 minutes and will take place the time and place you specify. I will record the interview because I will find it difficult to take notes as you speak. You can ask to stop the recording whenever you feel to do it. If someone interrupts us during the interview, I will change the topic to avoid uneasiness. The data that I collected from you will not be shared with other party and only be used for the research. I would like to repeat that the participation in this research is completely voluntary and you can withdraw at any stage of the research. Also, upon your participation there will not be financial returns or aids. Finally, your participation in the research will not expose you to any risk.

Upon the end of the research, I will share the results of the research with you. I will leave my E-mail and telephone number for you and you can contact me whenever you want.

I looked at the text above and the researcher read it to me in a clear way and I understood it very well. I hereby give my consent to participate in the research.

Name of Participant:

Name of Interviewer: Mawahib Hassan

Date:

Email: [REDACTED]

Signature:

Telefon: [REDACTED]

## APPENDIX 5: IDENTIFICATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

In the following, we will briefly present the story of each of the respondents in the study; the names mentioned are nicknames to preserve the privacy of the respondents.

### SA 1 Noura

She is 41 years old, from Aleppo, she never went to school, so she does not know how to write or read. Her father passed away when she was young, her mother decided to marry her and her siblings as soon as they reached puberty to ease the economic pressures. She got married at the age of 14 after she reached puberty. She married a traditional marriage to one of her relatives. The period between engagement and marriage did not last long, it lasted only 15 days, and she only saw her husband on the night of the marriage. The age difference between her and her husband is 11 years. Shortly after marriage, she became pregnant with her first child, and when she gave birth to him, she was 15 years old. She has four married daughters and two male sons, one of whom is married and lives with her in the same house, while the second is unmarried. Her husband does not work and now suffers from a physical disability because of the war. Her sons are the ones who work and meet the family's material needs.

As for her experience with intimate partner violence, we find that she was subjected to more violence from her mother-in-law when they were in Syria, where she shared the same house with them, but after asylum in Turkey the situation changed and there was no violence by the mother-in-law due to her living in a separate house from them. When they were in Syria, all the violence she was subjected to from her husband, she says, was because of her mother-in-law, so that on one occasion her husband divorced her because of her mother-in-law, and she returned to him again. She was subjected to all forms of violence from her husband, except for physical violence. SA1 Noura believes that violence by the husband occurs because of the woman herself, and she cited her husband's experience with his first wife, who was beaten by him because she was disobedient to him and argued with him, and as a result, he divorced her and deprived her of seeing her daughter.

SA1 Noura says that she has benefited from her husband's experience with his first wife and has developed methods such as showing obedience, fulfilling domestic duties, and performing them to the fullest so that she is not exposed to violence from her husband. In her definition of violence, she defined beating and rape. She did not refer to other forms of violence, and this



affected her evaluation of her relationship with her husband, which she considers to be free of violence.

### **SB 2 Najma**

She is 50 years old, from the eastern countryside of Aleppo, she studied until the ninth grade and was forced to marry her cousin at the age of 14, who was 25 years old at the time, and he was working in the construction field as a "construction worker". She has 4 children, two males, and two females, all married, and one of her son's lives with her in the same house. Her husband does not live with them at the moment, because he married another woman and lives with her in the Turkish city of Mersin. Her children work and they are the ones who meet the material needs of the family. When they were in Syria, she lived with the extended family of the husband's family, which led to her being subjected to physical and psychological violence from all members of the husband's extended family, and most of the violence was from the mother-in-law. As for violence by the intimate partner, she was more exposed to sexual violence, to the extent that she mentioned throughout her married life, that she did not have a sexual relationship with her husband without her consent, in addition to her mentioning that her husband controls her whole life and she is not even allowed to visit her family, which made her describe her life with her husband as imprisonment." At the beginning of the years of her marriage, she used placating strategies with her husband, but due to the lack of change in her husband's abusive behavior, she resorted to using resistance strategies that increased her husband's violence against her, and that violence continued after resorting to Turkey, where her husband married another woman and now lives with her in another city.

### **SC 3 Shams**

She is 30 years old, from Aleppo. She studied until the seventh grade. She has three sons, two daughters, aged 12 and 11, and a 3-year-old son. She married her cousin at the age of 14, and during this period, she was married only 3 months after puberty, and that marriage did not take place through her choice, but rather she was forced to do so. The period between the engagement and marriage only lasted for a month, meaning that she did not get to know her husband sufficiently before marriage. She was subjected to sexual violence on the first night of the marriage, which caused her to bleed, forcing her family to take her to the hospital. She was subjected to all forms of violence from her husband, especially physical and psychological violence, which made her feel that she has no value in life and has no decisions regarding herself or her children. Her husband does not give her the right to make any decision related to the family. She stated that he wants to marry off her two daughters who did not reach puberty

and her husband forced her daughters to drop out of school and sit at home to help their mother. She mentioned that although in Turkey there is a legal age for marriage, her husband will marry her daughters to their cousins through religious marriage, this matter caused her great psychological pressure, which led to her being subjected to physical violence and threats of divorce and deprivation of children from her husband because she refused to marry off her daughters. She wished for the following: "Now, I hope that my daughters will not get married, and I hope that the president of Turkey (Erdogan) will decide that the girls who are not at school will take them by force from the house." She uses placating strategies and safety planning to deal with her husband's violence, but she indicated that there is no feasibility in using these strategies, and her husband's abusive behavior continues, but she mentioned the benefits she derives from using strategies to control negative feelings associated with violence such as crying, writing contributes greatly to relieving the pressures she lives because of violence. She defined violence as insulting in front of others, which indicates the negative impact of psychological violence on her.

#### **SD 4 Gamar**

She is 25 years old, married at 18 years old; she has three children aged between 6 months and 3 years. From Idlib, she studied until secondary school, but because of the war, she was forced to leave school due to the bombings that were taking place in the vicinity of the school and the kidnappings of girls. After leaving school, she worked with her parents on olive farms due to the difficult economic conditions that the family was going through. Her mother-in-law hastened to propose to her parents, and she immediately decided to marry, because she wanted to get rid of the life of violence, that she was living because of her father, who used to abuse her mother and abuse them as well, especially in the post-war period, and he lost his job and they lost their home, which was slandered. Her father's abusive behaviors against her and her mother increased. She wanted to get married, in order to start a new life free from violence. The period between engagement and marriage lasted for a year, which allowed her to get to know her husband more. She used to talk to him now and then on the phone due to his presence in Turkey, and she was talking to him about the suffering she experiences in her family because of her father and he promised her to change her life for the better, but after marriage and from the first night she was subjected to sexual violence, which accompanied psychological violence (shouting at her), which made her feel insulted and that no change will happen to her, and the same suffering she was going through before marrying. A month after the marriage, she moved with her husband to Turkey and lived in a separate house from the husband's family, unlike the situation in Syria. After that, she became pregnant with her first son, and even during

pregnancy; she was subjected to physical violence from her husband, which negatively affected her health and the health of the fetus after birth. In addition to physical violence, she was subjected to sexual violence on an ongoing basis, as well as psychological violence and controlling behavior that did not change even after resorting to Turkey, where she is not allowed to meet any person or go out to the neighbors. She has this interview, but if her husband calls, she will have to stop the interview and ask the researcher to leave the house, and the researcher agreed to that, in compliance with the ethical aspects of the research. As for the strategies that she uses to deal with her husband, she uses the joking method to relieve the husband's tension. Whenever she feels that her husband is tense and violence will start, she jokes with him and cares for him so that violence does not start. She also uses placating strategies and asks for help from the network of informal relationships (the family). She adopted the traditional view on gender roles and believes that the cause of violence is the woman's neglect of domestic duties and her lack of interest in her husband and children. She defined violence as beating, and to stop violence, women must abide by the husband's obedience. The state must also provide financial assistance to husbands, because poverty increases psychological pressure on the husband, and this leads to violence against the wife and children

#### **SE 5 Zhara**

She is 36 years old; she studied up to the sixth grade and left school to help her mother with the housework. She got married at the age of 28 to the husband of her maternal aunt who died and left 3 children who needed care. Her story about her maternal aunt's marriage is the reason, as she mentioned, that she reached the age of 28, and no one came to ask her for marriage, and according to the customs in Syria, a girl who reaches the age of 20 and does not marry, is married off to any man from the family who is married, or married but his wife is dead or divorced, because the chances of her marrying an unmarried young man are weak, due to her old age. Her father suggested to her maternal aunt's husband that he marry her to him and he agreed to that, and since her first marriage, she took responsibility for his three sons. And because she is responsible for raising her husband's children, she says that he appreciates this and takes into account his behavior in dealing with her. One of the most violent forms she is exposed to is controlling behavior, but after taking refuge in Turkey, the situation changed slightly, as she was now able to leave the house and form a network of social relations with her neighbors. She uses informal networking strategies by talking to her neighbors and her friends. She does not see any justification for violence or beating and humiliation in front of others, and she does not find any justification for a man to beat his wife. Beating is unwelcome behavior on

the part of the husband, and she mentioned if she became subjected to physical violence from her husband, immediately she will request a divorce from her husband and leave the house.

### **SF 6 Warda**

She is 32 years old, she studied up to the sixth grade and was forced to drop out of school to get married, she is from Aleppo, she has three children, and the eldest is 11 years old. Her marriage was a traditional marriage to one of her relatives. She got married in 2007. After the marriage, she moved to live with the husband's extended family, where she was subjected to psychological violence, controlling behavior, and physical violence from her husband's mother, she described her mother-in-law as "Arrogant and domineering," referring to the extent of the pressure she was under. Her mother-in-law was interfering in all her affairs, for example, specifying the type of clothes she was required to wear, setting the dates of her visits to her family, and even in her sexual relationship with her husband. She did not feel any specialty. Her husband used his mother as a tool to press her into entering with him into a sexual relationship. As for violence by her husband, she was subjected to all forms of violence from her husband when they were in Syria, and she attributed the reason for that to her residence with the husband's extended family and the interference of her mother-in-law in her affairs and her husband's incitement against her. She was subjected to physical violence from her father and mother, because she requested help from them, as they believe that it is not permissible for a woman to disclose her problems with her husband to any group, including her parents, and that her failure to fulfill her duties and her disobedience to her husband is a cause of violence against her. After she was exposed to that violence from her parents, she decided not to ask for help from anyone who has experienced violence and started using safety and placating planning strategies and alleviating negative feelings associated with violence. After resorting to Turkey, the family's shape turned into a nuclear family, and the husband's extended family was not able to resort to Turkey, which helped to accommodate them in a separate house with her children and husband. She stated that her life had changed for the better and that her husband's violence was much less than what was the situation in Syria. She mentioned, "My life has changed 180 degrees in Turkey and I discovered my loving husband's personality." The asylum in Turkey also contributed to raising her awareness about women's issues and women's rights, through the lectures she participated in at the centers for providing psychological and social support to refugees in Ankara, as well as informing her about new marital experiences in the host community, which contributed to evaluating her experience and mentioned if she returns to Syria and lives with the husband's extended family, she will not allow her mother-in-law to control her as it was before. She believes that the neglect of women's domestic duties is the

main cause of violence, so the woman should pay attention to carrying out her duties and promise to argue with her husband and show obedience to him. She defined violence as beating.

### **SG 7 Rahig**

She is 31 years old, she studied for the ninth grade, she has two daughters aged between 4 and 6 years, she got married after asylum to Turkey eight years ago to a married Turkish man she met through one of her father's friends and, he has 6 children he was divorced from his wife after marriage, she moved to live with her husband's children in Gaziantep Turkey. Her marriage was officially registered in the court; she mentioned that although her marriage is officially registered in the court, her husband does not want her to have more children, despite her desire to do so. The controlling behavior, where her husband identifies her with the people she is supposed to talk to, prevents her from visiting her family because they are in Ankara, and when she was interviewed, she came to visit her mother, whom she had not seen for 4 years because her husband prevented her from traveling alone to another city, and to allow her to visit her mother. She asked for help from her husband's family, his mother and father, who intervened to allow her to visit her mother. She uses an informal network strategy to deal with husband violence such as; seeking help from the husband's family, and the benefits that she gains from this strategy, which is used in stopping and avoiding the occurrence of violence, as well as using safety planning and placating strategies. She believes that, the duties of a woman are to do domestic duties, and any shortcoming that would allow the husband to expose her to physical violence, she defined violence as beating and insulting in front of others and recommended the need to educate women about their rights and that women who are subjected to severe physical violence should apply to women shelter.

### **SH 8 Nasim**

She is 41 years old, from Aleppo. She studied for the sixth grade. She married one of her relatives at the age of 20. She has three sons, aged between 5 and 17 years. She married her 17-year-old daughter last year due to the difficult economic conditions that the family is going through. Her husband does not work and suffers from a physical disability, because he was bombed during the war. Her 15-year-old son works in a car maintenance workshop, and he is the one who meets the family's financial needs, in addition to the financial support of the charitable organizations that came to her because of her husband's disability and her 5-year-old son who suffers from brain atrophy. When they were in Syria, the violence she was subjected to was physical and psychological, and she believed that her mother-in-law was a major reason for her exposure to violence and that sometimes her husband abused her in front of family

members, to prove to them that he was in control of her. In addition to violence from her husband, she was subjected to violence by her husband's family, and she felt a lack of privacy in her life because she shared the same house with them. After resorting to Turkey, she moved to live in a separate house, but her husband's abusive behaviors continued and even increased, due to his disability and inability to move, which led to a change in gender roles and her leaving the house to apply for aid and buy home needs. She uses the placating strategy by showing obedience and respect to her husband, by doing many actions. She defines violence as beating and insulting, and she recommends that women obey their husbands in order not to be subjected to violence.

### **S I 9 Nasma**

She is 24 years old, from Aleppo, she studied for the sixth grade, she got married at the age of 17, to an acquaintance of her family, as his mother was looking for him for a bride and the choice fell on her, and she agreed to marry him without being forced by her family because she wanted to marry and get rid of the life of violence that was in her family. Before marriage, she was subjected to violence inside her family, by not allowing her to leave the house on her own and forcing her to wear the abaya and the face-covering from leaving the house. She was forced to leave school. After marriage, she moved to live with her husband's family, and the violence was due to living with her husband's family, and her mother-in-law interfered in her life and did not quickly adapt to the new system of life. And she was exposed to physical and controlling behavior by her husband. Through sexual violence, he always forces her to have a relationship with him and she agrees to avoid the increase in violence. So she deals with violence with silence and not arguing with her husband. After the beginning of the war, she mentioned that her husband's abusive behavior increased on her, and that was because of moving to live in the camp and the harsh living conditions there, which led to her husband's increasing nervousness towards her and her being subjected to physical violence from him in some cases. After resorting to Turkey: she lived in a separate house and there was a slight change in her husband's abusive behavior, especially the physical abuse. The controlling behavior of her husband, continues, as no man is allowed to see her, and for this reason, she was prevented from going to the Red Crescent and learning the Turkish language. She is not allowed to work or go to a remote place without her permission. Only she can go to the neighbors who are close to her. She deals with this control by doing things that her husband knows when he is at work. She uses placating strategies with her husband, and after resorting to Turkey, she began to use the strategy of resistance by arguing with her husband. When she was in Syria, she could not argue with him because of living with the husband's extended family and her fear of being subjected

to violence from her mother-in-law in the event of an argument with him. She also uses strategies such as crying to influence him and feels that they are useful in stopping the violence. She does not use strategies that rely on external sources of support, because she believes that violence is a family issue in which others should not interfere. She defined violence as beating, controlling opinion, and early marriage, and advised women to be patient, to bear the husband's violence, and to sacrifice for the sake of the children for the family to continue and not be exposed to disintegration.

### **SJ 10 Matar**

She is 33 years old, from Aleppo; she studied for the sixth grade and was forced to leave school to help her mother with domestic affairs. She married one of her relatives at the age of 22. She has three sons, the eldest of whom is 11 years old. After marriage, she did not live with the extended family of the husband in the same house, but despite this, she felt that her life was being controlled by her mother-in-law, but she was not directly exposed to violence. In Syria, she was exposed to more violence, and the customs of society contributed to that. Her husband did not allow her to leave the house except with him or his mother, and she had to wear a black abaya and cover her face completely. Psychological and controlling behavior, after the beginning of the war, her husband became nervous and resented him and his children, but after resorting to Turkey: she feels that she has more freedom to go to the neighbors alone and she can go out without covering her face, but her husband still controls her and limits her visits to her family and does not allow her, she has not to go to a far place, and because of the economic conditions, he became nervous about her and her children. She uses the placating strategy and does not like to talk about violence with strangers, and believes that talking about violence with strangers outside family members leads to divorce, which leads to family disorganization. She believes that the services provided to help women who are subjected to violence in Turkey lead to family disorganization and the homeless of children.

### **SK 11 Riah**

She is 60 years old from Aleppo, illiterate does not know how to read or write, she has 10 children, 4 females and 6 males, all of them are married, and 3 of her male sons live with her in the same house. Her husband died before the start of the war in Syria. She came to Turkey with her children 8 years ago, her marriage was traditional to her cousin at the age of 16, and after marriage, she moved to live with her husband's extended family, and there she was subjected to physical, psychological, and controlling behavior from her husband's mother, which made her describe her life as "tragic" because of the violence of her husband's mother, and her failure to

receive help in the case. She was asked by her family, as she was subjected more than once to physical violence from her father because she requested help from them. As for the violence that she was subjected to from her husband, she was more exposed to psychological violence in the form of insult, devaluation of her value, ostracism, and insults in front of others, and the researcher noted her avoidance to talk about her experience with sexual violence, as she avoided answering the researcher's questions on more than once about sexual violence, which made the researcher understand that talking about it causes her embarrassment, and therefore, the researcher did not insist on her to disclose her experience with sexual violence. She used to deal with her husband's violence and that of her mother-in-law through placating strategies. She also tended to use strategies to reduce the negative feelings associated with violence. She also mentioned that after her children grew up, they became a source of protection for her from not being exposed to violence.

Due to her old age, it was very clear the impact of the beliefs of the Islamic religion on her point of view about gender roles and their definition of violence. Otherwise, it is considered contrary to religious values, and she always advises her daughters and daughters-in-law, to obey the husband so that they are not subjected to violence.

### **SL 12 Sahab**

She is 43 years old and from Aleppo; she studied up to the third grade. She got married at the age of 16, to one of the people who live with them in the neighborhood. She was forced to get married by her father, and no one cared whether she agreed to that marriage or not. She did not meet her husband until the first night of the marriage, and she mentioned that she did not know what happens between married couples, and she was subjected to sexual violence on the first night of marriage due to the customs of the community, "White sheet" When she was in Syria, she used to live with the extended family of the husband, and she was subjected to violence because of her husband's sisters who incite her husband against her, and her husband always underestimated her in front of them, and this made her feel humiliated. Her husband's family- especially her husband's mother- was in a state of the constant threat to her that if she did not have children, she would marry her son to another woman. This failure to have children made her feel stigmatized by members of society, which led her to the point where she asked her husband to marry another woman in the hope of reducing the pressure on her, but he did not marry, and after several attempts, she gave birth to her first child and she was a girl, which caused her to be subjected to another psychological pressure because she did not give birth to a male child, because society gives value to the first-born, to be male, unlike the female, this made her feel inferior, after the beginning of the war, they were forced to flee to refugee camps,



and the harsh conditions in the camp had an impact on her husband's behavior, which became more abusive to her, especially as he was injured during the war and became unable to move, which led to a change in qualitative roles in the home, after the asylum in Turkey her attempt to have a male son continued, and she actually gave birth to two male children, and thus she had one daughter, her life, after resorting to Turkey at the age of 16, and two male sons, aged between 8 months to two years. One of the most common forms of violence she is subjected to is controlling behavior and she justified it with her husband's fear and jealousy of her. She uses placating strategies and informal network relationships to deal with violence. She defines violence as preventing a woman from going to her family, and this shows the depth of her husband's controlling behavior that prevents her even from visiting her people who live with her in the same city (Ankara), and she also defined violence as being forced into sexual relations and recommended that to help women who are subjected to violence, men must be made aware by different actors such as family, local leaders, clergymen.

### **SM 13 Ghayma**

She is 22 years old, from Aleppo, she studied for the sixth grade and left school after the beginning of the war, as a result of the insecurity in the area in which they lived. She married her cousin after resorting to Turkey at the age of 16, and her father's goal in marrying her off was to relieve the economic pressures they were going through, because of asylum. And because the legal age for marriage in Turkey is 18 years, she married in a religious marriage, and to officially register the marriage in the court, her age was recorded in the official document at the age of 18, after marriage, she lived with her mother-in-law, who interfered a lot in her affairs, even in the sexual relationship with her husband, She was subjected to physical and psychological violence from her husband, and even during pregnancy, she was subjected to physical violence from her husband, which led to her bleeding. In the first years of her marriage, she was arguing with her husband a lot, so she was subjected to more violence from him. After she grew old and gave birth to her children, she learned how to deal with her husband by pleasing him with whatever he wanted and not arguing with him. Her husband does not allow her to leave the house except with him or his mother.

The researcher noted that although the respondent got married in Turkey, her husband controls her more, unlike the other women who mentioned that their husbands no longer control them as they used to in Syria, and they leave the house on their own. She defined violence as beating and considers the neglect of the woman in the duties of the house, the main reason for a woman being beaten, and she believes this as a justification for beating the wife.

### **SN 14 Wahaj**

She is 24 years old, she studied up to the ninth grade, and she got married when she was 16 years old, her father forced her to leave school because of the war, and they married her off because of economic conditions. She has three sons, and two daughters and their ages range from one to five years. Her husband used to beat her because; she did not do the homework as her mother-in-law wanted. She was talking to her mother about violence, but she only advised her to be patient and bear the husband. She lost her two brothers in the war and the war caused her shock. She became afraid of the sounds of flying after he sought refuge in Turkey. She also lived with her mother-in-law, but as she became older and she knew how to deal with her husband and take care of home affairs. And do not argue with him, but sometimes he underestimates her in front of his mother if she does not prepare food for him before he reaches home. In Turkey, she started working as a hairdresser to help her husband and gives the financial return to him, because she believes that financial matters in the home are the responsibility of the man. She does not like to talk about violence to strangers, because she believes that violence may increase, and may be a reason for her divorce and the family disorganization. She avoids problems with her husband by obeying him and meeting all his advice. Women should not oppose their husbands and fulfill all their requests so that they do not succumb to violence.

### **SO 15 Zilal**

She is 32 years old, from Aleppo, she studied for the sixth grade, and she got married when she was 14, she left school because of the war, and she had no desire for education. Her husband controls her greatly when they were in Syria. He does not allow her to leave the house or go to her family. She visits her family once every six months, accompanied by his mother; he belittles her in front of others. When they were in Syria, she lived with the extended family of her husband. She did not expose to violence from her in-laws specially her mother-in-law. Because she was behaving exactly according to what her mother-in-law wanted, but her mother-in-law did not support her when her husband abused her, and even her family helped her and did not like to talk to them because they might divorce her from her husband and she did not want to divorce. She tried to talk with her husband to change his abusive behavior, but he did not change. After resorting to Turkey, her husband's abusive behavior did not change. He still controls her and does not allow her to leave the house. Rather, his nervousness increased because of the economic conditions. After advancing in age, she began to deal with him according to what he wanted, she did anything to please him, she avoided him when he was angry, she did not argue with him, and she obeyed him, but despite that he mistreated her, she

did not like the interference of strangers in the family affairs and believes that issues such as violence are family secrets and should not be disclosed because this could lead to family disorganization.

### **SS 16 Tajuj**

She is 33 years old from Aleppo, she studied up to the seventh grade, she was married off by force by her father, and he beat her because she wanted to continue school. She got married, when she was 13 years old while her husband was 27 years old. Her father treated them very harshly. After a month of marriage, she got pregnant at that time, she was in such a psychological situation that she was trying to kill herself and the fetus in her womb, and she thought many times about killing her husband. And her husband's family thought that she had gone crazy, and was taken to one of the religious sheiks for treatment, and there she was subjected to physical violence from this therapist, on the pretext of treatment, and to get the jinn out of her. She was subjected to physical and psychological violence from her mother-in-law and her husband during pregnancy. After the birth of her first child, she moved to live in a separate house from her husband's family, and there she felt that she was living freely. She allowed her husband to have sexual relations with other women and thus, he was not at home for a long time, and the violence against her and her children was less. During the first years of her marriage, she did not know how to deal with her husband, but after she grew up, she did not argue with him and fulfilled all his requests, thus reducing the violence against her. She resorted to Turkey with her children only, due to her husband's imprisonment in Syria, and after his release from prison, he married another woman and now lives with her. In Syria, she registered 2 of her children in a religious school, who are given a monthly grant and housing, benefiting from the grant provided to her children, in addition to the material assistance she receives from organizations and philanthropists. Resorting to Turkey contributed to changing her ideas about violence through awareness lectures in which she participated. She also worked for a while as a social mediator for one of the centers that provide psychological and social support to refugee women.

### **ST 17 Anhar**

She is 56 years old and has 6 children, 3 females and 3 males, all of them are married and her male children live with her in the same house. She is illiterate and does not know how to read or write. She married her cousin at the age of 17 and lived with the extended family of her husband. She was exposed to all forms of violence from her husband and stated that her mother-in-law was playing a positive role in stopping the violence against her. She used placating

strategies in dealing with her husband's violence was useful in reducing violence and preventing its occurrence, her husband died while they were in Syria. She believes that it is not permissible for any reason to beat the wife and that the husband should find other solutions to correct his wife's behavior, and she defined violence as beating, and she recommends women obey the husband and his family members, especially the mother-in-law.

### **SP 18 Shumue**

She is 28 years old, from Aleppo, she studied for the ninth grade, she has three sons, two daughters, aged between one and ten years, she married twice, her first husband was her cousin, her father forced her to marry him, and she was subjected to physical violence from her father, because of her desire to continue in school and her unwillingness to marry. She married her first husband when she was 17 years old. She was subjected to physical violence from the first night of her marriage by her husband because she refused a sexual relationship with him, and her mother-in-law accused her of not being a virgin, so she refuses to approach her. She was subjected to all forms of violence from her mother-in-law who beat her and kicked her out of the house, and even when her husband intervened to protect her, she also kicked him out of the house. When she goes to her family, they do not support her, but rather they tell her to be patient and bear her husband and mother-in-law for the continuation of the marital relationship. She described her experience of living with her mother-in-law as a "big prison." In addition to the violence of her mother-in-law, she was exposed to all forms of violence from her husband, the most common of which was economic violence and controlling behavior. She was divorced from her husband after the birth of her first daughter because her husband and his mother accused her that she did not get pregnant from her husband and that they were going to examine her to prove the lineage of the child, and here her family intervened and helped her in the divorce from her husband. Then she did not see her daughter until she died at the age of ten, and she only knew of her daughter's death from one of her acquaintances who told her that her daughter had passed away. In the interview with her, she stated that she feels that she is in a state of permanent depression because; she was deprived of her daughter. She tried to seek psychological help from a psychiatrist, but her husband prevented her from going to the hospital.

After she got divorced from her first husband, she married for the second time to a married man, and this time she chose her husband, who was living with them in the same neighborhood. Because of the violence that ended with her divorce and deprivation of her daughter, she remarried in an attempt to compensate for the violence she had experienced with a new marriage free of violence, but it did not happen as she expected and she is exposed to all forms

of violence from her husband, his first wife, and his children because she shares the same house with them. She has a son and a daughter from her second husband, and she believes that their economic conditions have become more difficult after resorting to Turkey, and the physical violence has increased more than it was in Syria. Whenever she asks her husband to meet her needs and the material needs of her children, she is beaten by him. She mentioned a small change in the controlling behavior after resorting to Turkey because she was able to form a community of neighbors and friends relations, even when interviewing her, the interview was conducted with her at the house of a friend who went through the same experience of marriage. She shares with this friend all her experiences and helps each other in alleviating negative feelings of violence, as well as strategies most helpful in dealing with violence. The researcher could not complete the interview with her, because her husband came back from work and called her and asked her to come home and the researcher allowed her to leave so that she would not be a reason for her to be exposed to violence.

### **SQ 19 Anwar**

She is 31 years old, from Aleppo, she studied for the fifth grade, she got married twice, the first time when she was in Syria at the age of 13, to her cousin and she was forced into marriage by her father, and at that time he was serving a sentence in prison, which she had not seen since she was 8 years old, her father died in prison, her mother divorced him, because of the violence she was subjected to and the reason for his entry into prison in a drug case. She has four sons, who are now living in Syria with their father. After resorting to Turkey, she married a married Turkish man, and her marriage to him was religious, that was not registered in court. She has one son from her Turkish husband and is pregnant again, but her husband does not want that pregnancy and forces her to have an abortion, but she does not want that. As for her experience with violence in her first marriage, she was subjected to violence from her husband's family, her mother-in-law, and her sister-in-law, in the form of ostracism, insults, and beatings. She was also subjected to all forms of violence from her husband. She was subjected to physical violence from the first night of marriage. After her marriage, her husband deprived her of seeing her family for a whole year, not knowing anything about them. For physical violence in various forms, her husband tried twice to kill her with a knife, and on one occasion he tried to pour hot water on her, as a result of the severe violence that her husband subjected to her, she twice tried to commit suicide, once by drowning in the sea, and once by throwing herself from the balcony of the house. After the beginning of the war in Syria, she tried to escape to her mother in Jordan with the children, but her attempts were unsuccessful. In the end, she tried to escape with her children to Turkey, but she could not leave them to their father, and she resorted to Turkey.

After being in refuge in Turkey, she met her Turkish husband through one of their acquaintances. She stated that she agreed to marry a Turkish man because by watching Turkish series she saw how Turkish husbands treat their wives, she expected her life to be full of love and romance, as in operas, and even during the engagement period, her husband promised her that. But after the marriage, there was no significant change in her life. The first violence she was subjected to was when she discovered that her husband was married, and had children and could not register the marriage in court, in addition to a clarification to her that she did not want to have children. After 8 months of marriage, she learned that her husband was looking for a new Syrian bride, and as a result, she divorced him with the help of her brother, but she returned to him again after the death of his mother, who advised her son to continue his married life with her, after which she became pregnant and gave birth to a male son, and after 3 years she became pregnant again, but now he is pressuring her by all means to abort the fetus. After a while of the interview, the researcher called her to check on her condition and told her that she had not aborted the fetus and that she was about to give birth after a month. In her first marriage, she used placating strategies, safety planning, and informal networking. As for her second marriage, she used more physical and verbal resistance strategies and mentioned the benefits that she derives from them. She defined violence as beating and insult and recommends that men who abuse their wives be punished with imprisonment.

### **SR 20 Ahlam**

She is 33 years old, from Aleppo, a doctoral student, in the Turkish literature department. She works as a Turkish language teacher in a private secondary school. She got married twice, the first time to an Egyptian husband after the beginning of the war and asylum in Egypt. The second husband is Turkish. She has one daughter who is one year old. Her marriage to the Egyptian husband lasted for only 6 months, and she was divorced from him by the court in Egypt with the help of her family because of the violence she was subjected to from him and his family. She has been with him for 6 months and the sexual relationship between her and her husband did not occur. Her husband's family accused her of not being a virgin girl, i.e. missing the hymen, so she does not allow her husband to approach her and complete the sexual process. Her husband's family requested medical and psychological help for her and also resorted to treatment through religious sheiks, but that did not work. The last attempt was through a surgical operation for her to open the vagina, and there she was sexually assaulted by the treating doctor, which led to an increase in her fear of the sexual process, after which she divorced her husband and sought refuge in Turkey to complete her master's studies, she met her Turkish husband when she was working as a translator in a social work center in Ankara, and he

works as a social worker. Her life with the Turkish husband is free from any form of violence, unlike the Egyptian husband, from whom she was constantly subjected to physical and psychological violence.