



# **Transactional Sex and Health Repercussions in Forced Displacement: A Multi-Country Study**

## **Final Report: Scientific Report**



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## 2. Final Scientific Report

### 2.1 The Initial Problem Statement

The concept of transactional sex (TS) has evolved over time, encompassing various forms of sexual exchange for material or non-material benefits. Extensive literature on TS in the context of HIV prevention focuses mainly on young women in Sub-Saharan Africa, while the emerging body of research in conflict and crises explores TS as a form of sexual exploitation of women, perpetrated by male peacekeeping forces. However, these studies predominantly center on women's experiences and fail to consider the level of agency and health impacts of TS. Additionally, in humanitarian and forced displacement contexts, TS is often conflated with commercial sex work and at times, even with sex trafficking, overlooking the diverse motivations, patterns and implications of TS along the migratory journey.

Our research, to our best knowledge, is the first multi-country multi-disciplinary study to examine the complexities of TS in forced displacement. By including women, men and people of diverse sexual orientation and gender identities, we aim to understand the gendered drivers, patterns as well as health implications of TS, particularly in terms of sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and mental health and shed light on the interplay between vulnerability and agency in these contexts, in Greece, Switzerland and France. The study builds on previous research conducted by the applicant in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey, supported by a grant from IDRC. By bridging the evidence gap, we aim to inform evidence based policymaking, facilitate dialogue, and promote greater awareness among health providers regarding potential cases of TS. Through these efforts, we aim to address barriers to accessing appropriate SRH and MH services and pave the way for more comprehensive and effective interventions in forced displacement settings.

### 2.2 Literature Discussion and Demonstration of Research Gap

The global increase in forced displacement due to conflicts, violence, and natural disasters has resulted in a surge of refugees attempting to reach Europe. In response, European governments have implemented stricter security measures and border controls, pushing refugees to embark on longer and more dangerous journeys. EU policy has prioritized preventing irregular migration and securing borders, overshadowing the establishment of safe and legal pathways for refugees. Consequently, this approach has exacerbated the vulnerabilities and insecurities faced by all refugees, particularly women, who are exposed to higher risks of sexual and gender-based violence, exploitation, and abuse during their pursuit of safety in Europe.

The EU-Turkey Joint Statement, implemented in March 2016, aimed to return refugees arriving on Greek islands to Turkey, although the actual mass returns have yet to be executed due to legal and political challenges. Simultaneously, many EU countries closed their borders, effectively trapping refugees in Greece and preventing their further movement within Europe. This has contributed to extremely precarious conditions in Greece, where overcrowded camps, inadequate housing, limited access to essential services, and prevalent gender-based violence prevail. Reports indicate that transactional sex (TS) is widespread among both women and men in refugee populations, serving as a means of coping with their vulnerable circumstances. Similar situations are observed in France, with insufficient accommodations leading refugees to live on the streets or engage in transactional sex in exchange for housing. In Switzerland, strict border controls have created a population of undocumented refugees and migrants without proper residence status, among whom transactional sex is reported.

Transactional sex in forced displacement is a survival strategy and coping mechanism for refugees enduring hardship and precarious conditions. However, there is a lack of conceptual clarity

regarding TS, and in humanitarian sector, TS is used to refer to various practices with different motivations and meanings. It is at times used to refer to sex work, and other times conflated with sex trafficking. The existing literature on TS in humanitarian and displacement settings fails to acknowledge the multiple forms, origins, and variations of TS along the migratory journey. It is important to recognize that in forced displacement, boundaries between categories can be blurred, and transactional sexual practices can occur in complex contexts where vulnerability and agency coexist.

The scarcity of evidence and the stigma surrounding TS in forced displacement have resulted in a dearth of evidence and lack of guidance for policymakers and service providers on how to respond effectively. Therefore, generating evidence on the gendered causes and patterns of TS in displacement and its implications for sexual and reproductive health and mental health is essential. Such knowledge has the potential to improve engagement of actors and provision of tailored services by NGOs and governments to meet the unique needs of refugees.

### 2.3 Research questions

Our objective was to understand the gendered pattern, drivers and implications of TS in forced displacement, and its health implications across refugees' journey and in a transit or host country. The project focused on three countries: Greece, France and Switzerland. Our research questions were why, when and how refugees across genders engage in TS; and what are the SRH/MH health consequences of refugees involved in TS.

### 2.4. Methodology

#### 2.4.1 Ethics approval

The research team held monthly meetings to review the protocol and develop workplans. The research was utilizing the protocol developed for the research on the topic in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. The Research protocol, instruments and accompanying forms were carefully reviewed by the SNIS research team members to adjust them to the new sites, while maintaining the overall structure to allow comparative analysis across countries. The master protocol including the instruments, training protocols, the Data Management Plan (DMP) and templates obtained approval from Institutional Review Board of IHEID on 2 July 2021 before data collection commenced. The master protocol also obtained approval from the Academic Council of KMOP-Social Action and Innovation Centre on 7 July 2021. Following IRB approval, Research Assistants were recruited, and a training workshop was organized to familiarize everyone with the Master Protocol, Instruments, Ethical considerations, DMP, and feminist principles in research.

#### 2.4.2 Data collection and analysis

Data collection was carried out through participant observation (PO) in the countries. Given that the research was conducted during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, due to varying degree of restrictions in different countries, commencement of data collection was delayed, and the duration of the PO varied across the sites. Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussion. A draft policy analysis for each country was prepared by each country lead. The drafts were consolidated and complemented by a contracted PhD Student in Law, using a feminist and queer lens, and reviewed by the country leads.

Anonymized Data from Greece and Switzerland were transcribed and translated. All files were encrypted and uploaded a secure shared central cloud folder, according to the DMP. The transcripts were further uploaded to Dedoose for coding and analysis. In September 2022, a research consortium meeting was organized with support from Scientific Exchange Grant from Swiss National Science Foundation, which allowed the research members to meet in person for the first

time, review progress, and agree on the next steps. During the meeting, following interactive breakout groups, a master codebook was developed to allow both country-specific analysis and allow pooled and comparative analysis across selected countries or on specific themes.

## 2.5 Results

The term transactional sex was used as an internal working terminology in the research to encompass a wider range of transactional sexual practices that may vary in degree of vulnerability, agency and exploitation, in order to generate a more nuanced understanding of the continuum of transactional sexual practices. Furthermore, while the term ‘refugees’ are used in this report, it used to also encompass asylum seekers, undocumented and other displaced populations.

It is important to underline the qualitative nature of our study and the convenience and snowball sampling methodology employed to capture the diversity and patterns of experiences. While our data points to TS being a frequent survival strategy, and reveals diverse patterns, our data cannot be used to draw any conclusions with respect to prevalence of the practice. It is further not feasible to draw any conclusions about the associations between the practice with a particular gender, nationality or legal status.

### 2.5.1 Greece

Data collected was commenced with nearly four weeks of participants observation, partly in Victoria Square as well as some of the community centers run by partner organizations. Data were further collected through 39 semi-structured in-depth interviews (17 women, 14 men, and 8 queer refugees, of which four gay men, one lesbian, two transmen, and one transwoman), and one Focus Group Discussion with seven women. Given the restrictions and concerns due to COVID-19, it was not feasible to carry out additional FGDs. In addition, 18 key informant interviews were carried out (9 women, 6 men and 3 queer key informants, of which two gay men and one lesbian).

Our findings reveal a variety of practices, with varying patterns, ranging from one-time sexual encounters to longer-term transactional arrangements or relationships. Refugee participants and key informants highlighted how persons across gender identities and sexual orientations and expressions (SOGIE) engage in transactional relations under different circumstances and for a variety of reasons. The findings show some overall patterns, shaped by intersection of age, gender, SOGIE, race and ethnicity, and legal status. The most common type of transactional sex emerging from the interviews in Greece was selling sex to cover basic needs. Examples brought up by refugee participants most commonly referred to women—often single—while there were varying opinions and accounts with regards to men engaging in TS. Gender norms and notions of masculinity may potentially have limited first-hand disclosure of men selling sex in some communities. However, while some refugees believed men do not engage in selling sex, others considered it a common practice among young refugee men. Similarly, key informants had different perceptions about prevalence and disclosure across genders.

Transactional sexual practices among men often took place as same-sex interactions, either by gay identifying men or most commonly between men who identified as straight but engaged in transactional sex with other men. There were also few reports of men engaging in one-off or more long-term sexual relations with Greek women in exchange for money or benefits. Some participants also shared stories of refugee men who engage in sexual relationships with wealthy middle age Greek women, often referred to as “sugar mommies”, in which they benefit from money, housing and meeting other needs. Some of the men participants distinguished these from other forms of transactional sex as they were not perceived to be motivated by acute survival concerns. The relationships of refugee men and host country women were often perceived also as

carrying in addition to many benefits. In all cases, the material comforts and financial security were returned with sexual interactions, despite lack of sexual attraction. Further, participants discussed how engaging in such relationships may be irrelevant to a person's love life, pointing to the strategic use of the relationship and the person's way of existing outside the practice, while maintaining a sense of agency.

Participants also reported longer-term relationships or shorter term encounters in exchange for benefits, protection or support. Both in islands and in Athens, participants discussed how young men facing acute survival issues may have sex with elderly local men in exchange for a warm shower, a bed to sleep in, or just a pack of cigarettes. Similarly, participants from different communities discussed cases of women who engage in intimate relationships for material benefits. Those were often single mothers and women who are undocumented and may be engaging in short or long-term relationships with Greeks or other refugees, while many times they accept a proposition to exchange sex for shelter.

Document-related benefits were mentioned as a motivation for women entering transactional relationships. One young participant described how being alone, homeless and undocumented influenced her decision to enter –what turned out to be an abusive–relationship with another refugee, believing his promises that she could benefit from his legal status.

For single mothers, gaps in support, lack of employment and livelihood opportunities as well as lack of childcare, were identified as potential drivers to enter long-term intimate relationships. A single mother from Afghanistan discussed how she was unable to generate income, despite being a recognized refugee. Notably, such relationships may not be negatively perceived by communities, in contrast with selling sex.

Another commonly reported reason for engaging in transactional sexual practices was the wish for onward migration. For examples, mostly women and refugees with diverse SOGIE were reported engaging in transactional sex in order to arrive to Greece (EU country) or to travel from Greece to other countries. This included engaging in TS to secure sufficient money to be used for the migration journey, or engaging with refugees, smugglers or anyone who could facilitate the journey. Key informants shared insights about women having sex with smugglers during or even prior to the migration journey, framing the interactions as pushing the limits of consent or as cases of exploitation.

People of diverse SOGIE experienced specific concerns and faced additional challenges, which further limited their livelihood options, and resulted in housing precarity, discrimination and rejection, resulting in transactional sex as one of the few survival strategies available to refugees of diverse SOGIE.

It's important to note that many transactional sex practices reported also included elements of exploitation and harm. There were many cases which constituted sexual exploitation and abuse. For example, officials or other persons in positions of power in the asylum system solicited sex in exchange for documents or with promises of facilitating onward migration out of Greece. Instances of SEA were also discussed by some in relation to NGO staff. According to key informants such incidents are often hard to identify or respond to as not all organizations have robust and safe reporting mechanisms in place.

Data from key informants indicated an increase (or at least a change in the identified patterns) in the number of refugees engaging in TS. For instance, some key informants discussed how TS was much more encountered during the lockdown when employment was harder to secure, or they associated the practice with recent policy developments affecting livelihood opportunities. Others

noted cases of minors engaging in TS in the past and how they have been outnumbered by other more profiles, which are more visible now.

Participants across sexual orientations and gender identities commonly discussed pregnancies, STIs and HIV among the main implications of transactional sex -especially for those who have many partners and those who engage in the practice for a prolonged period of time. Several participants noted that condoms are often not used during transactional encounters, increasing SRH-related risks. Women in particular may have less power to negotiate safe sex practices, both when they sell sex to multiple partners and when they find themselves in transactional intimate relationships.

Gender and cultural norms unavoidably influenced our participants' narratives and their perceptions of transactional sexual relations. This was particularly noted in second-hand accounts. TS was often referred to by refugee participants as "prostitution", particularly when it was employed by women. However, other participants did not necessarily perceive transactional sexual encounters for monetary benefits as sex work, but merely as a temporary strategy. Some shared nuanced insights discussing the possible overlap between transactional sex for money, sex work, sexual exploitation, and noted how sexual harassment and GBV might often coexist within transactional sexual practices. Those narratives illuminate the complexity of engaging in similar practices and varying perceptions and conceptualizations of participants. They also point out to the continuum of experiences, which vary across time and space, and subject to constant negotiations. Adopting an intersectionality lens, the report attempted to delve into the refugees' complex realities, which, especially for those who engage in TS, includes navigating power hierarchies, coercions, and violence and negotiating aspects related to agency, pleasure, consent, and privilege. Some of those engaging in sexual activities as a resource—often as reported as a last solution—reported experiences of exploitation, violence, marginalization and stigmatization, and indicated potential severe mental health and sexual and reproductive health implications.

The research findings also reflected the double role that the community can play in the 'control-care nexus', a key empirical contribution by others. A community can be supportive and enhance care mechanisms, but can also exert disciplinary actions and control, especially for women and queer persons. Despite the hardships, the structural challenges and against all odds, refugees are dreaming and formulating their strategies and investing time, energy and resources for a better future. They shared a strong feeling of hope and positivity that things will improve. The "aspirations" perspective of the research aimed to untangle the imagined futures and to better understand the migration trajectories. Despite the processes of othering and exoticization of refugees that the Greek society might fall victim of, refugees' aspirations don't differ from future plans of the locals (e.g., sense of security, peace, calmness, a "normal" life, traveling for pleasure, buy a car or a house, to mention few).

#### *2.4.3. Switzerland*

In Switzerland, several weeks of participants observation was carried out in reception centres ('foyer') and other public places. Data from 33 semi-structured in-depth interviews (15 women, 13 men, and 5 queer refugees, of which two gay men, one transwoman and two non-binary individuals), and two Focus Group Discussion with a total of 19 women. Given the restrictions and concerns due to COVID-19, it was not feasible to carry out additional FGDs. In addition, 14 key informant interviews were carried out (10 women, 3 men and 1 gay man).

Asylum-seekers and refugees face several challenges entering Switzerland, and in their current living situation in Geneva, including housing precarity, limited economic opportunities, and

financial vulnerability. Financial vulnerability was associated with the type of residence permits they held, their need to provide for family/children, need to send money back home, find safe and sanitary accommodation, obtain language skills. Financial vulnerability was also exacerbated by COVID-19 pandemic and related consequences of isolation, the high cost of living in Geneva.

Given these challenges, refugees and asylum-seekers engaged in transactional sex as a strategy to survive. Participants reported transactional sex is commonly practiced in refugee communities by women and men, and people of diverse SOGIE. Only a few interview participants disclosed having engaged in TS themselves, however, several participants reported that TS was a survival strategy used during the migration journey and in Geneva. TS was reported as a strategy to earn a living, compensate income, and/or seek material support in exchange for sexual favors. Participants reported that people of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities engage in TS in Geneva: they suggested heterosexual cis-gendered women were more likely to engage in TS practices and did so to provide support to their families. In contrast, they reported that heterosexual cis-gendered men were least likely to report engaging in TS. They suggested the gendered difference in practices of TS were related to gendered differences in employment opportunities: men have higher chances of finding other kinds of employment.

Our findings from Switzerland mirror findings from research in France and Greece, despite several notable differences. Transactional sex practices were associated with financial instability, exclusions from formal labour markets due to legal restrictions, and the need for necessities. Notable for Switzerland where sex work is legal, participants were aware of the legal sex work environment, though reported requirements associated with this formal part of the economy. Participants reported that refugees, especially women entered and maintained intimate relationships for survival, with the main drivers being financial dependency, lack of support network, language barriers, fear of retaliation, and need to ensure protection and stability for children. Participants argued that women were more likely to engage in intimate relationships for survival because women were more vulnerable to the exigencies of forced displacement. Participants believed that intimate relationships could enhance protection, and that male companionship affords greater social legitimacy. Participants also reported engaging in transactional sex to manage difficulties with asylum applications, inadequate salaries, difficulty to access the job market, and unfavorable legal status, such as F or N residency permits as opposed to the B permit. Transactional sex was therefore seen as a strategy to earn a living or generate additional income by seeking material support in exchange for sex. However, refugees and key informants also reported sexual exploitation and abuse in forced displacement.

Asylum-seekers and refugees participants reported sexual and reproductive health (SRH) implications, mental health concerns, exposure to abuse and physical and psychological violence. Refugees reported unwanted pregnancies sexually transmitted diseases, and concerns about the risk of acquiring HIV because partners/clients tend to not wear condoms during sexual encounters, and mental health challenges. Many participants reported post-traumatic stress from abuses and events they witness during their migration journey. Some reported traumatizing events experienced during TS interactions. Asylum-seekers reported that, due to a lack of official legal status, asylum-seekers were unable to access health services.

Key informants diagnosed inadequacies of mental health services to address the needs of refugees; stressed the crucial and urgent need for comprehensive sexual and reproductive health (SRH) education and open dialogue on consent, boundaries, contraception, protection, and sexual health among refugees in Geneva.



Our findings show that asylum-seekers and refugees engage in transactional sex practices to navigate limited economic opportunities and be able to purchase basic goods and services. While asylum-seekers and refugees are granted rights and protections in Switzerland, they face significant challenges in navigating bureaucratic processes and establishing residence in the country. Our findings suggest asylum-seekers and refugees need significantly more supportive services to navigate asylum application process and establish residence in Switzerland. Asylum-seekers need their applications processed more efficiently. Refugees need more adequate accommodation, increased financial assistance, and better economic opportunities to live in Geneva, one of the most expensive cities in the world.

#### *2.4.1. France*

Data from 24 IDIs and 25 KII were collected. Factors leading to transactional sex (TS) among refugees can be attributed to several key elements in France. Firstly, structural inequalities place refugees in vulnerable situations with limited access to essential services, such as accommodation and economic support. This lack of resources leaves them susceptible to engaging in transactional sex as a means of survival. Secondly, unequal power relations contribute to the subaltern position of forced migrants in comparison to their hosts. The possession of documents and privileges by the hosts, along with the expectation of submission from migrants, creates a dynamic where forced migrants may feel compelled to provide domestic services, including sexual favors, in exchange for assistance and support. Additionally, the economic advantage held by hosts, including access to housing and job opportunities, further exacerbates the power imbalance. Language barriers faced by forced migrants also contribute to their dependency on others, such as hosts or helpers, for communication, information, and support. Moreover, racialized, gendered, and class-based discourses perpetuate stereotypes about forced migrants, sexualizing and devaluing them within French society. These discourses rely on colonial tropes and reinforce negative perceptions of the sexuality of racialized others. Lack of transparency, regulation, and accountability within solidarity movements and volunteer initiatives targeting forced migration can also contribute to the vulnerability of forced migrants. Finally, forced migrants exhibit agency within the constraints of their environment, strategically engaging in sexual-economic exchanges to navigate the unwelcoming system in France. Despite their limited agency, forced migrants find ways to carve out spaces and respond within social structures.

Transactional sex and sexual violence can occur in various contexts involving different actors, including state agents, authorities, international organizations, NGO employees, smugglers, volunteers, and community members. These sexual relations are often driven by imbalanced power dynamics and multiple vulnerabilities, where choices and opportunities are scarce and constrained. Our field research identified several forms of transactional sexual relationships in France, which provide a glimpse into their diverse nature. Firstly, there are transactional relations involving payment for one-off sexual acts, which can take place between multiple partners and in different settings. State housing facilities were reported as locations where individuals engaged in this form of transactional sex to generate income. Some individuals practiced it more discreetly on the streets to avoid stigmatization associated with prostitution. Secondly, transactional sexual relations occur between forced migrants and figures of authority, such as state employees or medical professionals.

These relationships are characterized by professionals exploiting their positions to demand sexual favors from forced migrants. Instances of transactional sex and sexual violence have been documented in reception centers and among members of organizations assisting forced migrants. Thirdly, gratitude transactional sex occurs when forced migrants feel indebted to their helpers,



who have provided temporary housing or other forms of assistance. While they may not feel obligated to engage in sex, they admit to being unable to refuse their helper's advances. This form of transactional sex can be occasional and involves individuals from the same community, including migrants themselves and French helpers. Fourthly, some forced migrants engage in transactional sex to secure housing and food, as they face the threat of eviction or being cut off from assistance by their hosts. This form often exhibits an ultimatum-like nature and is frequently observed among French hosts, with an intergenerational aspect. Lastly, long-term amorous attachments also have transactional elements, encompassing intimacy, affection, and power imbalances. These relationships were documented between racialized forced migrants and their white European language teachers, hosts, social assistants, and volunteers. While not explicitly described as transactional, partners acknowledged the presence of domination and control dynamics alongside intimacy and emotional attachment.

## 2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, our research represents a pioneering effort to shed light on the intricate and diverse nature of transactional sexual practices within forced displacement settings in European countries, building on our past research on the topic in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey. Through our qualitative data, we have gained valuable insights into the individual, social, and structural factors that shape these practices and their impact on health outcomes.

While the nature of qualitative studies prevents us from drawing any conclusions about the prevalence of transactional sex in forced displacement, the abundance of accounts detailing such experiences highlights its significance in this context. Our analysis reveals the complexity of transactional sex, with narratives across genders, ages and ethnic groups indicating that it often occurs in the face of structural factors. Despite economic and political differences between the countries in the current study, namely Greece, France and Switzerland, our research has identified structural factors (extended legal uncertainties, permit applications, housing transitions, employment opportunities) that affect asylum-seekers and refugees and funnel them into economies of transactional sex.

Furthermore, our research underscores the intersectional nature of transactional sexual practices, with experiences shaped by sexism, xenophobia, and homo- and transphobia. These intersecting forms of discrimination compound the challenges faced by individuals engaged in transactional sex, in particular refugees of diverse sexual orientation and gender identities, emphasizing the need to address systemic issues and foster inclusive societies that uphold the rights and dignity of all individuals.

Moving forward, our findings highlight the importance of targeted policy interventions to address the multifaceted issues surrounding transactional sexual practices in forced displacement settings. Specialized services tailored to the unique needs of individuals involved in transactional sex are crucial, along with bottom-up approaches that actively involve communities in the development of effective strategies.

In conclusion, our research calls for comprehensive and multifaceted approaches that combine specialized services, community engagement, and wide-scale awareness to address the structural drivers of transactional sex. By amplifying the voices of those affected and working collaboratively, we can strive towards creating more equitable and compassionate societies that minimize the harms and health implications associated with transactional sexual practices in forced displacement settings.

## 2.7 Outline for Further Exploration (scientific, practical, methodological)

Firstly, there is a need for more in-depth research specifically focusing on the survival strategies employed by refugees with diverse sexual orientations, gender identities, and expressions (SOGIE). It is crucial that members of these communities actively participate in the research process, from design to implementation, ensuring their voices and experiences are central. During our research, we recognized the time and efforts needed to build trusting relationships with the community and further ensure the diversity of experiences with the SOGIE umbrella are better captured.

Additionally, further investigating the perceptions of social service providers, such as social workers, psychologists, and interpreters, both in state-run and NGO settings, regarding transactional sex could further shed light on the extent of acceptance, stereotypes, and judgmental attitudes within the professional field. Understanding these perspectives can inform the development of training programs and support mechanisms to enhance the quality of services provided.

Exploring the role of social media and online platforms in facilitating transactional sex among refugees is another area which merit investigation. Research on the content and usage patterns of these platforms by refugees can provide valuable insights into the emergence of new spaces and technologies and their impact on transactional sexual practices.

Conducting surveys within various clinics and health services to examine the connection between sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and transactional sexual activities would enrich our understanding of the topic. This data would contribute to the design of targeted health interventions that address the specific needs and challenges faced by individuals engaged in transactional sexual practices.

Finally, although the grant has concluded, the research consortium remains committed to continuing the analysis of data, disseminating findings, and engaging in dialogues with policy actors. This ongoing effort is aimed at ensuring that the research has a lasting impact on policy interventions, fostering positive change and addressing the complex challenges associated with transactional sexual practices in forced displacement settings.

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## Overview of data

In-depth interviews	Women	Men	Queer	Gay men	Lesbians	Transwomen	Transmen	NB
<b>France</b>	6	8	(10)*	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Greece</b>	17	14	8	4	1	1	2	0
<b>Switzerland</b>	15	13	5	2	0	1	0	2

\* Demographic information for 10 IDs were not available, however, the leader researcher in France confirmed that data from queer refugees have not been collected.

Focus Group Discussions	#FGD with Women (Nr of women)	# FGD with men (nr of men)	# FGD with Queer * (Nr of queer people)
<b>France</b>	0	0	0
<b>Greece</b>	1 (7)	0	0
<b>Switzerland</b>	2 (19)	0	0

Key Informant Interview	Women	Men	Queer*
<b>France</b>	24*		
<b>Greece</b>	9	6	3 (2 Gay, 1 Lesbian)
<b>Switzerland</b>	10	3	1 (Gay man)

\* Demographic information for all KII were not available.