



**Research Report on Psycho-Social Processes Women and
Children Gone Through During and After the Curfews in
Silopi and Cizre**

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Contents

Introduction.....	3
SİLOPI REPORT	4
1. The Duration of Women Stayed at Their Home During the Curfew	5
1.1. Neighbourhood of Nuh.....	5
1.2. Neighbourhood of Cudi.....	5
1.3. Neighbourhood of Başak.....	5
1.4. Neighbourhood of Barbaros.....	5
2. Supplying of Primary Needs During the Curfew	5
2.1. Physical Conditions.....	5
2.2. The Conditions to Supply Heating Needs.....	7
2.3. Hygiene Conditions.....	7
2.4. Nutrition Needs.....	7
2.5. Utilizing of Healthcare Services.....	8
3. Curfew and Intensive Armed Clashes / Psychosocial State.....	9
3.1. Statements of the Interviewed Women.....	9
3.2. Statements of the Relatives of the Women Died During the Curfew.....	11
3.3. Children's Experiences During and After the Curfew According to Their Narrations.....	12
4. Conditions of Their Houses After the Curfew According to Women's Narrations.....	13
5. Observations and Statements.....	13
CİZRE REPORT	17
1. The Duration of Women Stayed at Their Home During the Curfew	18
1.1. Neighbourhood of Nur	18
1.2. Neighbourhood of Yafes	18
1.3. Neighbourhood of Sur	18
1.4. Neighbourhood of Cudi.....	18
2. Supplying of Primary Needs at the Aftermath of Forced Migration.....	19
2.1. Physical Conditions.....	19
2.2. The Conditions to Supply Heating Needs.....	19
2.3. Hygiene Conditions.....	20
2.4. Nutrition Needs.....	20
2.5. Utilizing of Healthcare Services.....	20
3. Returning to Houses and Expressions after the Lift of the Curfews.....	21
4. Curfew and Intense Armed Clashes / Psychosocial State.....	26
4.1. Narrations of the Interviewed Women.....	27
5. Children's Experiences During and After the Curfew According to Narrations	30
6. Observations and Statements.....	38

INTRODUCTION

At the periods of armed conflicts and wars women's and children's level of response is different. With the violation of human rights and ruining of living spaces people deprived of accessing basic rights like healthcare, clean water, food and education. Thus different health problems have found at the women and children. The traumas that take years appears as the reflection of reality of everlasting wars.

In this base, between February 19, 2016 and April 18, 2016, with the psychologists, sociologists and social workgroups working for GABB and member municipalities, a research held at the towns Cizre and Silopi of the city Şırnak, to report psychosocial processes of the women and children at the time of curfews and aftermath. Workgroups consist of sociologists, psychologists and the women employees of the participant municipalities. This report is written to show the level of response of women and children and human right abuses.

To collect data that are presented here, field researches made when the curfews partially lifted at the town centers by meeting people face to face and interviews. In this report, participants' names are not included except; Ayşe Buruntekin's, Taybet İnan's, Narin Kızıl's, Cemile Çağırğa's and Hediye Şen's, which died during the curfew and were covered in the media, relatives were covered with the reference to the deceased people's names. The images are provided by the research group.

At the researches held with the children, for the age group 0-14 dialogue established with childrens' parents, for the children above 14 year of age dialogue established concerning the condition of children. The results of the researches regarding children presented in this report after the evaluation of psychologists and experts.

In this report, the statements of women and children translated to English from Kurdish and Turkish. Information about the photographs is written under them.

SİLOPİ REPORT

This Report was written about the processes which has the Women and Children gone through during the 37-day Curfew in Silopi.

This report was prepared by GABB, Silopi Municipality and psychologists, sociologists and employees of Departments of Women Policies in member municipalities of GABB.

Aim: In the town of Silopi of the city of Şırnak a curfew held after the order of Şırnak City Governorate. In this report, we aim to reveal the situation of women and children during and after the curfew, from women's own narrative and observation on children, to determine their needs and establish a road map for further studies and help efforts.

Content: This study includes face to face interviews with women and their narratives on children's general situation in 360 households in the town of Silopi of the city of Şırnak, where they witnessed the intense conflicts during the 37-day-lasting curfew in 4 central neighbourhoods; Nuh, Cudi, Başak and Barbaros.

SUMMARY

The curfew in Silopi town of Şırnak with inhabitants of 100.000 has partially lifted on January 19 2016, between 05:00 to 18:00 by Şırnak Governorship. The curfew had started on 14 December 2015. Our Sample consist of the women lives in Nur, Cudi, Basak and Barbaros district and witnessed the situation during the curfew. Those districts were chosen because the intense conflict took place there.

It was used in a face to face interview method in the survey, and all the data gained during the interviews were recorded. The report was prepared with combine of all data.

It was found that 29 individuals those 6 were women and died during the curfew.

1 The Duration of Women Stayed at Their Houses during the Curfew

1.1. Neighbourhood of Nuh

According to interviews that done with women live in totally in 86 dwellings, the longest period of time some of them stayed at their houses for 36 days and some stayed in for less, the shortest period of time they stayed in doors was 11 days.

1.2. Neighbourhood of Başak

The interviews are done with the women who live in 38 dwellings. The longest period of time some of them stayed at their houses for 27 days and some stayed in for less, the shortest period of time they stayed in doors was 5 days.

1.3. Neighbourhood of Cudi

The interviews are done with the women who live in 40 dwellings. The longest period of time some of them stayed at their houses for 21 days and some stayed in for less, the shortest period of time they stayed in doors was 11 days.

1.4. Neighbourhood of Barbaros

The interviews are done with the women who live in 15 dwellings. The longest period of time some of them stayed at their houses for 22 days and some stayed in for less, the shortest period of time they stayed in doors was 20 days.

2. Supplying of Primary Needs during the Curfew

2.1. Physical Conditions

In face to face interviews with women, it was found that they could only able to stay in their houses for 5 or 6 days and had to shelter in basements or barns to keep themselves safe from the gunfire and bomb attacks hit their houses because of the intense clashes.

The basements and barns they stayed in are observed and photographed. (**Picture 1 and Picture 2**). It is observed that these areas were attempted to be used as a living space in this process, but there was a lack of hygen because previously bovine lived these places before. Nevertheless, the people had to live averagely 15 days together with bovine.



Picture-1



Picture-2

2.2. Conditions of Supplying Heating Needs

Intense clashes and curfew were corresponded to the coldest months of the year, therefore heating need was increased. Basements and barns where people had forced to live for 15 days are not suitable physical conditions for human living, and also these places are not suitable set up to stoves or another way to supply heating needs in terms of the our observations. During this period of time, according to statements of women who were stayed at their houses instead of barns, they could not supply their heating needs because of lack of electricity and outhouse firing materials. According to statements of the women who lived either basements or houses could not supply their heating needs.

2.3. Hygiene Conditions

Not only insufficient of the physical places but also scarcity of water and electricity or no places for toilet needs affected and exacerbated hygiene conditions in order to interviews.

So and so, they supplied toilet needs with paper sheets and newspaper and thrown out it. During the staying in basements which there was not bathing facilities, thus, both women and children had appeared pediculosis according to their statements.

They got high risk under the bombardments to reach water storage and wells which is located in the garden or outhouse. However, water storage and wells were destroyed by artillery bombardments, that is, they could not use these water spring. Therefore, they supplied water needs under the risk through accumulated rainwater and canals on the surface of flowing water in neighbourhoods.

Further, there were disabled women and children among the people who lived at basements and barns, at the same time, there were not conditions to supply disabled care (disposable underpad, clothes etc.) in terms of the interviews.

2.4. Nutrition Needs

Before the declared curfew, almost all houses had pile up food. However, after the 5-6 days they had to leave their houses immediately due to safety reasons, that is, they took shelter in basements. Thus, they could not reach to pile up food due to safety reasons. According to women who lived under the siege in basements; they couldn't nourished because they couldn't reach stocks, many women's milk dried due to hunger and they could not feed to their infants.

2.5. Utilizing the Health Services

In this process elder care, especially elder women, who had -namely heart disease, diabet, blood pressure, cancer and so on as heavy diseases- challenge to reach drugs. During the staying in basements, they could not supply this needs and utilize any medical interventions.

It was detected that disabled and in the meantime elder women who had to live in the basements and barns could not supply with their personal needs. It is also noted that preexisting diseases had exacerbated and there were women who lost their lives due to lack of utilizing the health services in the meantime.

During the researches, pregnant women were encountered and stated that they could not utilize the health service because of this process. Interviews made with 10 pregnant women who lived experience of this process. Some statements are here in below:

Interview - 1: *A woman state that she had in high stress and fear which brought her about premature birth. After the long time of waiting for ambulance, she was transfered another province and she lost her child after the 2 days she gave birth.*

Interview - 2: *Another woman who said that she was pregnant after the 6 years, told that she felt sick and waited a long time for health service during the curfew. When she was taken to hospital she learnt about her pregnancy. However, she could not to return her home until the end of curfew which was first day of it, she tried to go back her home; but she was kept waiting nearly 8 hours by security forces who prevented her to go to toilet at the checking point.*

Interview - 3: *A pregnant woman who had to live in the basement said that despite she had encountered challenges such as extreme fear, sleeplessness and lack of appetite; she could not utilize any health service.*

Interview - 4: *Another woman denoted that intense explosion and gun sounds created immense fear and anxiety which caused turn upside down of her fetus. Despite she had heavy pain; she could not get any health service during the all curfew period.*

It was stated that diseases such as getting cold, pneumonitis, and bronchitis were most common ones among the children who had to live in basements and barns during curfew because of heating problem and starvations. Despite the requesting of health service for treatment of these diseases, nobody could utilize it in this period of time.

There were determined 15 people who were injured through after the explosion particles which go everywhere, bullets and assault in these neighbourhoods during the curfew. Six (6) of them were women.

It was based on statements that 15 people cured in the basements and barns through other people' own means because they had requested health service but forces of state prevented the ambulances to enter the town.

Once again, in terms of statements, patients' states were exacerbated and injuries got infection, even 2 patients still have particles in their body which should be taken off with the help of a medical surgery.

Further, the day of end of curfew, a woman who tried to enter her home where there was explosive material in the garderobe exploded and caused her to lost 3 fingers. And also her husband was injured in the belly.

3. The Curfew and Intense Clashes / Psycho-Social Situation

3.1. Statements of the Interviewed Women

During the curfew women who had experience of siege but they and their member of families were not lost their lives or didn't witness to this state that they felt in relief and thanksgiving because they did not live these things in terms of observations.

On the other hand, it was emphasized by women who had witnessed the lost or injuries of their member of families: *"We lived the heaviest pain which would be ultimate level of living probability for us, thus, basic needs and other factors are not important enoughly."*

Once again, one of the most prevalence concerns among the women was that fear of hurting or losing of their children.

They mentioned that they lost their hope to live and also they did not believe that they would survive during the process they lived in basements.

It caused those women to suffer from an extra trauma due to living in basements and barns at for 15 to 20 days with others (male-female-children-elder and disable people) without privacy to cover their need. Women thought that the battle would never end and they could not leave from there, with losing their hopes.

In addition they stated that they suppressed their emotions because their children were scare during the gunfires and bombardments.

According to 360 women who interviewed, it exposed that before curfew was in place, they sent young women, girls and newly married brides away. During the curfew the women stay in the forbidden discripts that consist of over 50 years old women (%70) and young women and children (% 30).

When it was asked what was the reason of this situation they answered that they were scare of sexual offence such as rape and abuse aganist their daughter and daughter in law and they sent them away to avoid to any sexual attacks. Also they mentioned that sexual attack could occur

similarly in 90's and in Sengal and Kobane in recent years. It was observed that they used this method such as defense mechanism.

The women mentioned that they had high amount of bovine during the ceasefire period; however when they returned their home most of them was dead. Also the surviving become very aggressive and they can not stay in door. Also the women oftenly said that *“to understand what we experience during the curfew it would be enough to asses the bovine situation, we do not understand that how we did not to go mad after all this experiences”*.

Most of women said that they had negatively affected by the injured people and dead bodies lay in the street and they were not able to help those injured people. They would like to go to street and help the injured people but then they would be targeted by JOH and POH snipers belong to government forces.

All of the women participated in the survey mentioned that they have sleeping difficulty after curfew, especially because the armoured vehicles drive pass front of their house, their home are lightened during the night and they are scare of their house would be raided any moment. For all these reason their fear and anxiety during the curfew has been increased after the curfew was lifted.

They mentioned that they do not feel safe even at their home, they can not stay alone. And they become more aggressive and stressful.

The women whose houses raided by JOH and POH forces during the curfew stated that they were insulted through their faith and they were asked *if they pray or if they perform an ablution* in order to humiliate them.

B.N: *I used to put my bed out and watch the stars all night through and sleep outside. But I have not any courage even to open by door.*

It was found with the result of face to face interviews done with the women live in prohibition areas and witnessed the battle, commonly they thought that they would not be able to go back their house, they would not lived as they had lived before and would have to immigrate like Syrian refugees. Therefore they were upset, scare and in pain during the curfew.

Moreover, they mentioned that they still can not get in the room where was gunfired or bombed, they do not want to recall these happenings.

It was interviewed with the children and neighbors of three women died during the curfew.

3.2 Statements of the Relatives of the Women Died During the Curfew

Daughter of Ayse Buruntekin: *We took shelter in our neighbor's basement. However, my mother and I went out to feed our bovines by walking around the backyard. After that when my mother went in front of the door to go to shop to buy milk for my brother, she was targeted by sniper and was shoot. I picked up her body with the help of my sister in law and my father. We had to go back to the basement again because we did not have any opportunity to stay in our home .We made a makeshift stretcher, tied its both sides with rope and put the body on it, then we throw one end of the rope to our neighbor. Afterthat we went back to the basement with their help. We stayed together with my mother's dead body for 6 days. My little brother was knocking on the door of the room where my mother's body was in, he was crying and saying to open door. Since that day, I could not go sleep anymore, and my brother was touching other sleeping women's face to find my mother. After 6 days we were able to send my mother remains to mosque by attaching rope to stretcher. The dead body was taken from there by government forces to be taken Sirnak State Hospital morgue for an autopsy, so then it was taken to cold storage depots in Habur. After that, they buried our mother without our permission. We still do not know if it is my mother in the grave or not. Our initiatives for that have no results and we still couldn't visit her grave.*

The Daughters of Taybet Inan: *We took shelter in our neighbor's basement. My mother noticed that our house was on fire and she went out to check. And she was targeted by snipers. When my uncle heard her voice he jumped out to pull her in. He was shot when he tried to help her, too. We were able to pull him in because he was close to us. But later on he lost his life. We could not stay any longer with his corpse and moved to my sister home where was opposited to our home. Also my father wounded from his arm when he tried to pull my mother's body in. The first day she was shot but she was still alive. We couldn't reach her. If we had reached, we would have saved her. We went out with white flags to reach her body with the knowledge of security forces. But any time we went out we were targeted by the Turkish security forces, the armoured vehicle positioned the down of street started to fire at us or we were being targeted by snipers. We could not help our mother. Our mother dead body lay in the street for 7 days. Dogs and cats gnawed her fingers. After 7 days her corpse was taken. She was brought to Sirnak State Hospital for an autopsy. My brother was waiting in hospital to arrange the funeral but he was told that they would give her body the next day. However, when he went to hospital he was told that her body already was buried. They informed our two relatives but they buried her without our permission.*

The Sister-in-law of Narin Kizil who got heart attack during the curfew: *We, 3 -4 families were staying together. She was afraid of intense sound of bombs and and she said many times that it was stressing her. We called ambulance several times, but they came at night, after long hours she got heart attack. Although ambulance came and was waiting down of the street we could not get out from home because we couldn't take measures for our safety due to the armed conflict. We took her in the ambulance with a great difficulty with wheelbarrow. So then we took her in Batman State Hospital. But it was told that she had already died. If ambulance had come on time and we managed to reach it on time, Narin would be alive now.*

3.3. Children's Experiences During and After the Curfew According to Their Narrations

According to statements of the women, 2 children had heart attack in this process. One of them had blackout during curfew, the other had the same illness after curfew. Both of them were taken to the doctor and found out that they had heart attack and lost their lives.

Another woman stated that she had 2 children who have heart diseases, thus they scared the children will have heart attack during curfew process and also they stated that they had suffered from drugs.

At this period of time, children, who had to live in the basements, had convulsed, nevertheless they could not utilize health service.

At the same time, it was stated that there were 2 hearing impaired children in these shelters; however, they have to remove the hearing aids to prevent children from hearing the bomb sounds.

I...(a woman): The first day of curfew I left house because of my disease, however, my husband and daughter (16) were stayed at home. At the 16th day of curfew house was carried out a raid by JOH and POH forces. During this event my husband refused to leave home, hence, he was battered by these forces and my daughter when tried to protect her father, then she was battered too.

Especially, 23rd and 24th days of the curfew, they were forced to move from the basements where they had lived in by JOH and POH forces. During this replacement, children were suffered from food and also they always scared and cried. Even after the end of curfew when they hear little voice, then they wake up with screams and ask their mothers: “Mam! Does war comeback again?”

-During the process of staying in basements and curfew days, they put cottons into children's ears for preventing them to have an illness caused by the intense explosion sounds.

-It is noted that children's sleep interrupted constantly, they could not sleep without their mothers and can't even go out without their mothers.

-Mothers have told us that the children couldn't go to school during the curfew, however after curfew, children didn't want to go to school this time. Because they had to go to schools in other neighborhoods due to the ones in their neighbourhoods were demolished, but this caused children to be afraid of going to a far-away school. These are mainly the statements for primary school children.

-It was stated that some children who have to go a primary school in other neighbourhoods are reluctant to going to school, particularly alone, therefore, they insisted to go to school with their parents or a relative from family. Again, the women said that the children don't want to stay in there anymore.

In interviews done with the mothers of girls who go to high school, it was stated that the families don't want to send their children to another neighbourhood because the one in their neighbourhood is burnt. As a reason they said they are young girls and there are always armoured vehicles around and they have the fear that they can harm the children.

4. Conditions of Their Houses after the Curfew According to Women's Narrations

After the curfew women, who returning to their houses had emphasized on the following points:

-Our house was gone to rack and ruin.

-Our carpets were treaded on with muddy foots

-Our doors were broken, not even a single glass was left.

-Because of they left our doors opened, animals made our remained supplies unusable.

-Our houses were invaded by army forces that deployed in or roofs of our houses.

-During the soldiers had used our domestic materials during they stayed in our homes, also they madeour belongings unusable, and they pooped on our carpets.

-A long time we were without electricity and water after the returning to our houses, we have now, however there are many houses without them.

5. Observations and Statements

There were no homes without detrimented by explosive items and bullets where were observed, that is, level of destruction can be seen the heaviest destruction of homes where were totally destroyed and they can never use again, the least destruction of homes where were destroyed their all glases and doors; there were on the walls and materials bullet marks.(**Picture-3, 4, 5, 6 and Picture-8**)



Picture-3



Picture-4



Picture-5



Picture-6



Picture-7



Picture-8

- ✓ Women, who stayed at their houses during the curfew, were generally 50 years old or over and young women were generally sent to distance relatives or villages by their families before curfew.
- ✓ According to the statements that, on the one hand, women refused to leave houses; on the other hand they tried to remove young women and generally girls from armed conflict areas. They used this way because of the fact that they have the memory about 1990s in Turkey and recently IS's rape and sexual abuse against the women in Şengal and Kobane.
- ✓ Women had to lived with men in the basements and barns, therefore they had to meet their private needs beside men, and this created post-traumatic (anxiety, shame, dread etc.) states among women, in terms of observations and statements.
- ✓ Women, who left basements due to the announcements of the JOH and POH forces, were assembled in sports hall with humiliation, insulting and abuse by the security forces. Thus, it was observed that women couldn't still get over with these fear and concerns.
- ✓ According to interviews, women and children could not make sense of their psychological reactions during the battle due to they try to survive, however, after the end of curfew their these feelings (sounds of tracked armoured vehicles which were being on the all streets, security forces flashed into the houses and so on.) brought out clearly and they caused them to have an intense stress and fear.
- ✓ Women who were interviewed with often emphasised "*Everything is not expressible.*" and they had been observed with in intense concern and fear in their speeches.
- ✓ At the same time, written humiliation slogans on walls and damaged domestic materials (burning of carpets, stabbed of furniture, broken of plates etc.) which were done by JOH and POH forces makes the process more difficult for healing women's fears and anxieties.
- ✓ Experience of intense-conflict, curfew and subsequent processes were narrated by women, who have tried to help healing process of their children and other members of families, but without of any efforts for themselves.
- ✓ Women, who had narrated their experiences in the course of interviews, had cried and trembled constantly.
- ✓ Women, who had been obliged to leave their homes by JOH and POH forces, had lived different unrest experiences during the living at their relative's homes. Moreover, despite the continous of curfew women took risk to return homes because scarcity of food created feel of embarrassment among the families they stayed with.

- ✓ The health situation of women who suffered from the health problems had worsened as their treatment became more difficult during the curfew process.
- ✓ Women, who could not meet the needs of their children in this of time period, were in an emotional burnout and feeling guilty conscience according to their narrations.
- ✓ Children, who had stayed in basements during curfew, were determined average of 0-12 age.
- ✓ According to our reports, children who could not reach to basic needs had weakness of frame, getting cold and becoming pneumonitis and similiar diseases because of cold season conditions but also healing process was interrupted.
- ✓ Because children couldn't get enough water during the curfew, it was reported by the doctors that children had faced with water loss in their bodies.
- ✓ Afterward of curfew, neighbourhoods where we observed we noted that number of children playing out became fewer and children preferred to play in their garden rather than outside.
- ✓ According to our observations, children, who have fear and panic which stem from armoured vehicles on the every street, escape to their homes when they see these vehicles.
- ✓ It is noted that children's sleep interruptes constantly, they could not sleep without their mothers and often crying in the deepest fear because sound and announces came from armoured moving vehicles and also pointed flash into the houses by security forces.
- ✓ It is reported that 3 schools in these neighbourhoods are completely burnt, and some remained schools were transformed into police stations. This caused reluctancy to go to school due to this situation created a literally negative image in children's minds.
- ✓ Children are reluctant to going to school, particularly alone, therefore, they insist to go to school with their parent or someone from family because they have phobia against study and going to school, according to the women's narrative.
- ✓ The families are also reluctant to send their children to distant schools due to the security concerns.
- ✓ Again, the children who have to go to a distant or different school have problems of orientation, in terms of narratives and observations.
- ✓ Security forces are placed as a "killer, curser, attacker" in the common memory of children and women, according to the narratives and our observations.

CİZRE REPORT

This Report was written about the processes which has the Women and Children gone through during the 79-day Curfew in Cizre.

This report was prepared by GABB, Cizre Municipality and psychologists, sociologists and employees of Departments of Women Policies in member municipalities of GABB.

Aim: To assess the needs and draw a map of services in the direction upon the information and observations attained from the results of the talks carried out with the women and children who have witnessed the curfew and intense clashes occurred in Cizre town as a result of curfew declared by the Governorate of Şırnak Province between 14 December 2015 – 2 March 2016.

Content: Via the Research, it was tried to get the general situation by means of one on one interview made with **765** women and **80** children from **255** houses from the 4 central neighborhoods called Nur, Cudi, Yafes and Sur where the intense clashes occurred during the 79-day Curfew in Cizre District Town of Şırnak Province.

SUMMARY

The curfew which was declared on 14 December 2015 at 23:00 in Cizre district- population of which is 132.857 people in total- by the Governorate of Şırnak was lifted on 2 March 2016 between the hours of 05:00-19:30. As the intense clashes occurred in Nur, Cudi, Yafes and Sur neighborhoods, the target group was the women and children who live there and have witnessed the situation occurred during the curfew within these areas.

In total 765 women and 80 children were interviewed. In our research, the technique of one-on-one interview, the information attained from these interviews was taken under record and turned into this report after all the data were gathered.

According to the information of TÜİK, the children population of Cizre is 70.957 in 2013. After the curfews since the 14 August 2015, the number of the people who had to emigrate from Cizre- thus the number of the children- is not clear. Despite the fact that there is no number related to this, during the interviews it was stated especially since the 19th day of the second curfew declared on 14 December 2015, that many people had to move out of their neighborhoods, many of them moved to other neighborhoods and there were too many children among them.

According to the data stated in the report of the TİHV (Turkey Human Rights Foundation) related to the violation of the right to life, at list 38 children lost their lives between 16 August 2015 and 18 March 2016 in Cizre. The ages of the children who lost their lives were between 35 days old and 18 years old. In addition, it was stated by many people that there might be many children among the unidentified corpses.

1.) Duration of the Women Stayed at Home During the Curfew

1.1. Neighborhood of Nur

It can be said that according to the research we carried out on **75** houses, the shortest and the longest durations are **the first day** on which some left their homes and longest duration till the **34th Day** of the curfew until which the last ones left their homes. In the wake of the curfews, the women living in Nur Neighborhood moved to Cudi Neighborhood, and after that respectively Dicle Neighborhood, Şırnak Centre, Silopi and the villages were the immigration centers for them in seek of shelter.

1.2. Neighborhood of Yafes

According to the interviews we made with women from **100** houses, it was learned that there have been women who had not left their living places from the beginning day of the curfews until the **80th day** of the curfews. However, **24th Day** was the most frequent day till which women stayed in homes. Those living in Yafes Neighborhood changed their places at least 3 times and at most 10 times. While many families started to live inside mosques and basements of incomplete constructions, as the danger level of the safety decreased some of them moved to Ali Bey Neighborhood, Dicle Neighborhood, Silopi, Kızıltepe and Nusaybin. A large number of them emigrated to the villages.

1.3. Neighborhood of Sur

The number of the homes interviewed with is **55** in Sur Neighborhood and, there were some who left homes on the first day, while there were some who stayed in homes until the **37th day**, which was the latest time. The average staying duration of women at homes is detected as **20 days**. A large number of the women living in Sur Neighborhood moved to villages during the curfew. There were some who moved to İstanbul and Mersin to live with their relatives, as well.

1.4. Neighborhood of Cudi

While some of the women from **25** homes stated that they left their homes before the declaration of the curfew, the average stay duration at homes was between **20 to 30 days**. As the intension of the clashes increased, women living in Cudi Neighborhood moved to Dicle Neighborhood, Toplu Konuk and Sanayi Areas, and a big part of them emigrated into the villages.

- In total, women from **255** houses within **4** neighborhoods where there occurred intense clashes were interviewed. The reasons why the women left their homes were life safety at the helm, and problems related with the access to health and basic human needs and non-existence of electricity and water. Despite the fact that every woman's emigration route differed, in general they emigrated to neighborhoods where the level of clashes was low, and after that they emigrated to Centre of Şırnak or to the District Towns where their relatives live, and similarly they immigrated into the villages frequently.
- Average place changing is between 3 to 10 times. According to the interviews made within 4 neighborhoods, every woman moved to another place where she lived/took shelter at least 3 times.

2.) Supplying of Basic Needs at the Aftermath of Forced Migration

2.1. Physical Conditions

Many place changing experiences started after the damage occurred due to the howitzers in neighborhoods where the clashes were intense, led to many families gathering together and immigrate into neighborhoods or villages where the clashes were at a lower rate. During these experiences, people groups between 20 and 40 stayed in the same house or the same basement. Hediye Erden (50), who is the mother of 8 children, was stuck in the same house with her relatives in Yafes Neighborhood. Despite their request for changing their places and despite many negotiations, the law-enforcement officers bombed the house and Hediye Erden lost her life. Those who took Mosques and incomplete basements as shelter at the beginning, tried to reach to the surrounding villages or district towns after the bombardment of these second places, too.

2.2. Conditions of Supplying Heating Needs

The start of electricity cuts restricted the supply of heating besides darkness, as well. People of Cizre tried to make fires at their gardens in order to heating and lightening. However, because the snipers targeted the civilians (Hediye Şen (30), mother of 3 children, lost her life with 8 shoots coming from an armored vehicle in her own garden of her house in Cudi Neighborhood on 16 December 2016) during the curfews, women were left face to face with many illnesses in their shelters (basements, barns, bathrooms of houses etc.) as it was no longer possible for them to supply their heating need on their own. Women, who stated that they could not get anything from their houses, expressed that they tried to heat 10 people with just a single blanket. During this process, heating needs is as significant as sheltering need among the most fundamental needs.

2.3. Hygiene Conditions

Insufficient shelters and cuts on water pipelines affected the hygiene conditions. Toilet needs, not bathing for months, shortages in clothing and not washing the existent clothes caused many diseases appear. As there was no drinking water and bombardments of wells it became impossible to reach water, and people avoided using undamaged wells due to the possibility that they may be contaminated with chemical materials.

2.4. Nutrition Needs

It was detected that women did not undergone any food shortages during stays in their own houses; but, as they had to leave their houses immediately due to safety reasons, they underwent nutritional shortages in places they took as shelter. Many women, who were able to reach food aids stated that they had to consume everything in little amounts as they live as there are too many people they were living together; while, some families expressed that they fed their children with just dry bread for days. Many women's milk dried due to hunger, while many people became targets of snipers as they tried to reach the foods and lost their lives.

2.5. Utilizing the Health Services

It was informed that women could not utilize the health services. Both during their stays in their houses and during place changing processes, it has been impossible for them to reach the health services. Those who were injured with howitzers and snipers were not able to reach to the hospitals despite calling the ambulances, and women stated that they tried to heal the wounded people with their own facilities, and in the meantime it was detected that there were life loses due to slightly injuries as there had been no immediate treatment.

On 22 December 2015 Amine Aşan (70) lost her life due to a heart attack and similarly an 18-year-old woman who was pregnant for 7 months lost her life due to a heart attack and was not able to reach to the hospital.

Again Baby Miray, who was shot by snipers on her face, was not able to reach to the hospital despite they called the ambulance and in spite of the fact that they tried to go out with **white flags**, Baby Miray and her Grandfather were targeted by the snipers and lost their lives. During this, grandmother of Baby Miray was wounded as well, and despite this could not be able to be brought to the hospital.

Kumru Işık, who is 85 years old and became worse due to increasing attacks in Nur Neighborhood on 28 December 2015 lost her life as she could not reach to the hospital.

Güler Yanalak (32), who lived in Nur Neighborhood was 7-month pregnant, and was shot in the belly by the law-enforcement officers of the State called as PÖH. Her relatives waited for ambulance for hours and as no ambulance arrived their relatives tried to bring her to the

hospital with a vehicle. After she was put into the intensive care, the unborn baby and the mother lost their lives.

As the wounded people who had been taken into ambulances started to be taken into custody, people started to treat their wounded ones by themselves, as well. This situation resulted in loss of lives due to internal bleeding etc.

Many of the pregnant women had a miscarriage or faced with the danger of miscarriage. A part of the pregnant women either left the district town to go to Şırnak or surrounding district towns from the first day of and the left ones gave births under their own conditions. It will be enough to express the situation of the pregnant women if we listen to the statement of a women living in Nur Neighborhood, who is as well pregnant:

“We have lived under curfew for 20 days. I was pregnant and I could not go to the hospital despite being ill. My sister-in-law was going to give birth and could not go to the hospital. I helped her to give birth despite the fact that I had no experience. There was no electricity, we moved with the help of the flashes of the mobile phones. As there was no scissors, I cut the navel cord of the baby by a knife. The birth was very difficult. The baby turned red in the face...”

Similarly, blood pressure patients had difficulty to reach to the medicines. Babies and the children could not get the treatment for high fever and common cold. Mothers gave random medicines and syrups at hand with a hope, as there was not any other medication. “***they will either recover or die***”, mothers stated to express they had no other hope.

3. Returning to Houses and Expressions after the Lift of the Curfews

After the 79-day of curfew when the people returned to their houses in Cizre- where there were massacres- they had to live with the reality that a city was turned into a cemetery and wreckage. People neither can sorrow for the destruction of their houses, nor can they learn what happened to their relatives. There are still lost people and corpses in Cizre, still parted limbs of human bodies are among the wreckage. **(Picture-1)**



Picture-1

During interviews we made with women in Nur, Yafes, Cudi and Sur Neighborhoods, they tell return process as follows:

- *“They broke the doors and the windows of our houses; they broke into pieces many of our materials. They left human stools on our beds. We take all our beds out of the house and burnt them”* (Nur Neighborhood) **(Picture-2)**

- *“we constructed a three-floored house with all our savings. I and my children were living in the ground floor and we were planning to hire the upper floors. They totally demolished our building, they demolished the empty floors we constructed. They had used our house. They shot all our households; they stole some of our households. They stayed in my bedroom and scattered around our photos and underclothes. They had killed our cat. I will never leave my house again if they declare another curfew. I take the risk of dying in my house in Cizre after what they had done; they massacred many people in basements!”* (Yafes Neighborhood) **(Picture-3, Picture-4)**

- “We returned after the curfew was lifted. The house is in a wretched situation. There is writing on the walls: ‘we are here, where are you’. There was no electricity and water. Their stools were in the house; they had killed animals, cats and chickens inside the house. They had stolen our households and foodstuff, they had burnt those they could not steal...May God not leave their doings unpunished. These are barbarity; they killed the students who came for us!” (Cudi Neighborhood)(**Picture-5, Picture-6**)

- “If only they occurred no life losses. We consent to stay hungry, we consent that our homes demolished but no life losses. Three of my relatives lost their lives. Village guards had broken into our house. They slaughtered chickens, turkeys on our beds. They bombarded our house. My daughter feels faint repeatedly. They have written on our walls: “we will return back, if you do not keep quiet”. (Sur Neighborhood)



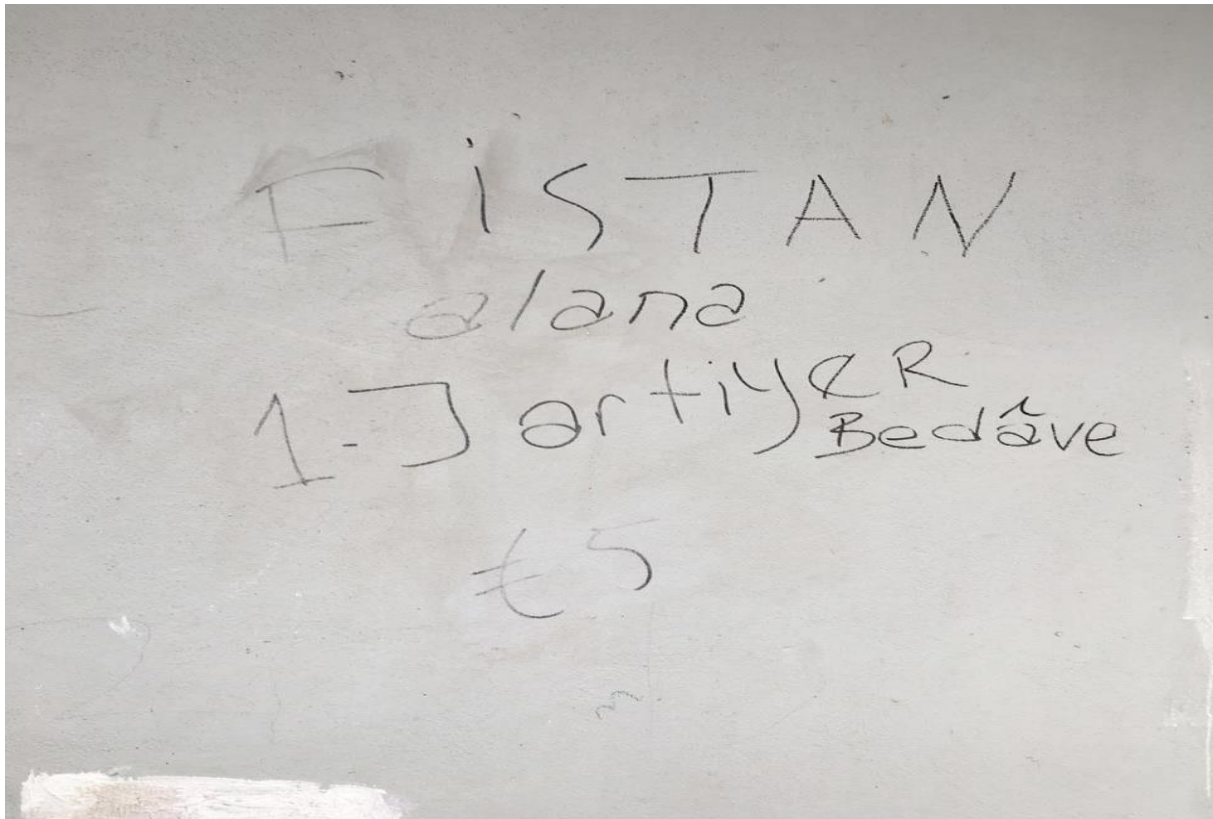
Picture-2



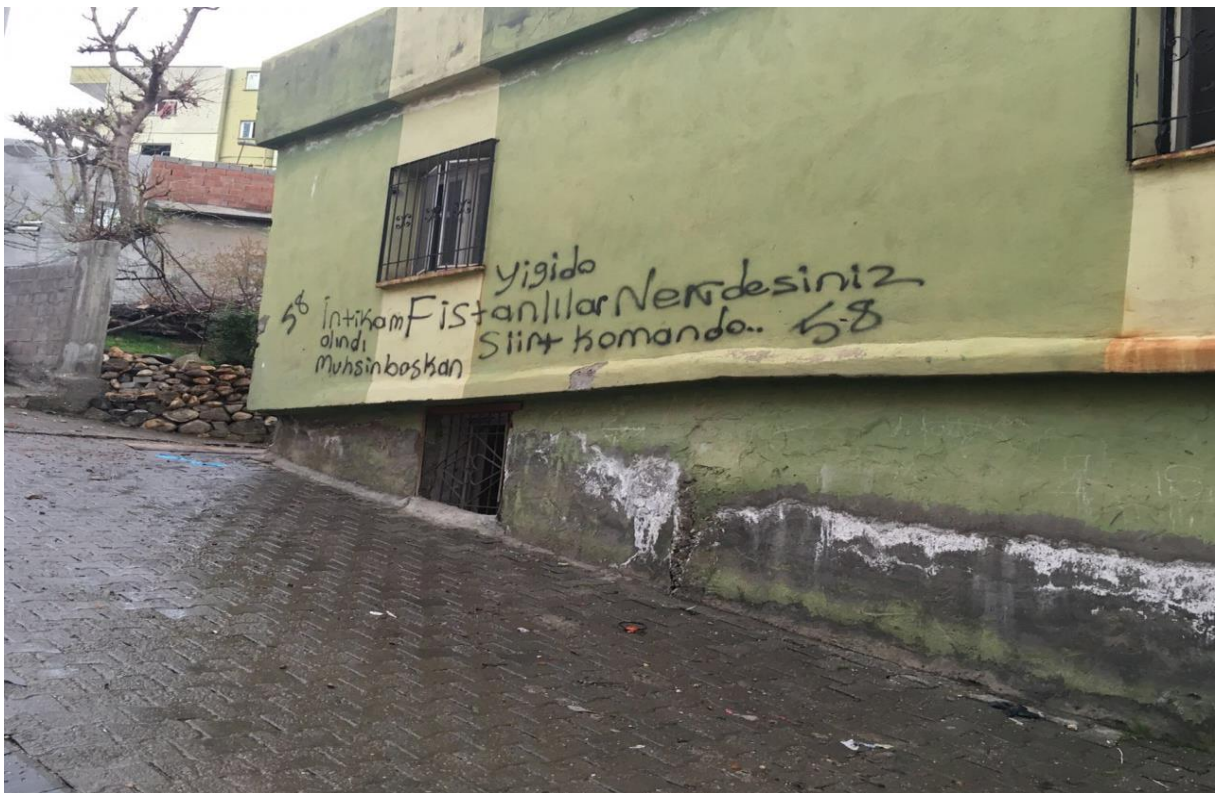
Picture-3



Picture-4



Picture-5: A sample of sexist and racist slogans on the wall: “one garter is free for who gets one *fistan* (traditional woman’s dress)”



Picture-6 Another sample of sexist and racist slogans on the wall: Where are the *fistanlılar* (traditional woman’s clothes)

4. The Curfew and Intense Clashes/Psycho-Social State

According to statements of the women who have witnessed curfew process; they had assembled their all relatives and neighbours so that not leave to their life spaces, however, security forces announced: **“If you do not leave yours homes, then we will accept you as terrorists and shoot you!”** After this threat, they left their houses obligatorily and also their houses were hit by bombs, then they passed central neighbourhoods (Ali Bey and Dicle Neighbourhoods). As above the mentions that despite they settled into relatively low intense areas, in this time these places were hitted by security forces and residents had to leave out of the town. In this respect, this situation shows us alongside of the armed conflict, indeed, there is a migration policy against the Cizre Town. Another evident of this case is both our observations and statements of the residents who left to their sound houses which were founded in the destruction and sacked or stolen their households so that preventing return to town after the curfew was lifted.

Duration of staying at houses is that driving force to removal in terms of women who have great concern and fear about their children, the removal rapidly also increased concerns and fears about to stay alive. Every woman had replaced at least 3 times in Cizre. And all duration of removal, residents had been encountered either death or lived both physical and psychological torture by security forces arbitrarily. This situation has still continued for both children and women. After the curfew, security forces have often visited neighbourhoods, checked arbitrarily GBT (Scanning general information system) and raided houses. Therefore, almost all of the women denoted that every moment of hearing armoured vehicles have created fear and anxiety on us.

When starvation and health problems arised on the removal processes, then women emphasized that, because of congestion in cohousing, they get desperated because majority part of women believe that curfew and armed conflict will never finish. Particularly, during the disease phases of children, women were in desperate straits had tended to look for suitable or low clashes sheltering places in neighbourhoods and villages for their children. Nevertheless it had detrimental impact on the women.

Further, one of the most prevalence fear and concern among the women was being ‘raped’ by security forces in terms of the women narrations because during the curfew, security forces – namely PÖH and JÖH – had made announcements against women body sexist, discriminative, insulting and raping through armoured vehicles. In addition to this, killing a woman in Cizre and servicing her naked dead body images on the social media increased fear of rape among the women. Therefore, women were sent out of Cizre centers or villages by their families.

It is clearly seen that there were intense clashes at 4 neighbourhoods (Nur, Yafes, Cudi and Sur Neighbourhoods) in Cizre where almost all of the houses were destroyed and unusabled via artillering shooting. That is why people of Cizre cannot return to their houses because there were not sound or suitable houses, even not a single room. Almost all of the houses have heavy damaged, especially, as above mentioned in the 4 neighbourhoods’ houses were totally destroyed. Not only in the all these devastations, women of Cizre have tried to arrange,

relatively, less damaged houses and rooms, but also they have struggled against scarcity of electricity and water have prevented to rearrange life and to supply hygiene conditions enoughly.

However, not only less damaged houses' households had been sacked but also on the member of families had been obsessed through sexist and racist slogans on walls. Moreover, it was targeted to degrade the honor of the women and other family members by scattering women's personal or private clothing, especially underwear materials, in every corner of the home. Indeed, all of these have displayed how a power policy was targeted by attacking women in a war. Women emphasized that we had felt to shame and wretched because of these committed acts.

4.1. STATEMENTS OF THE WOMEN INTERVIEWED

A.B: *"I had stayed at my home during the siege for 35 days. Then we moved to Silopi. Children had most influenced by it. I have 2 children. They wake up to their sleeping with screams. My husband had looked for food on the roof of houses. And sometimes he went to buy food with White flag. My sister had premature birth (6,5 months), she was carried to hospital that she will never to return home and she has still stayed hospital. My sister does not recognize to no single one of us. Me and my husband had lived many serious problems which were come to separation point us."*

CD: *"Our psychology was broken among the voice of guns and artilleries. We terrified. Our houses were sacked. There were arisen many diseases. We had insisted to stay in our houses but there was not another option what we could do. It can be seen as apocalypse. There was not humanity, law, religion, moral!"*

E.F: *"We had always watched into window is that funerals were on streets, images of deads were in front of us. They had always announced: 'get out of the houses!' And 'we heard to this neighbourhood's girls were beautiful, hence, we came, where are you?' announced by security forces. My sister-in-law had a miscarriage. I have always passed out and out of breath. We left to houses because of starting scarcity of food and fear of raped. Our house is upside down. Even they had eliminated in home. Written by security forces on our wall: "He commanded, we did." And "This was made to you by God/Allah, not by us." (Picture-7, Picture-8)*

G.H: *"We left our home after the 20th. day of curfew. I sent my children and I had stayed alone. I was scared to stay at home too, hence, I was sleeping with my neighbours. They had demolished houses through artilleries. All of us had torn about. I made water heating on the tube for bath, after the taking bath I had come back to neighbours. Then we had to leave neighbourhood. In this time, I had skulked to home because of getting food. Sometimes we were caught, thus, they arrested my grandkid. Our children cannot still sleep. We will never abandon our values regardless what will happen!"*

I.J: *“We stayed as long as we can. We are not good seriously. They had announced ‘bastards of Armenian’ I was diseased via fear. During the nights was coming tremble to me. My body is scratching steadily. There were not electricity and water. There was not food. It was cold. We could not heat to stove due to scared. We left home. When we came back to home it was down at the heels. They scattered our underwears which were hung up the mirror and others of them were laid on the bed. I burnt all of them. And also, I told other women to do same thing.” (Picture-9)*

K.L: *“After we were hearing any voice, we had thought that it is our turn. There was rumor about using chemical weapons. When my son asked me what happening are. I told him for consoling: “Youngsters and policemen are playing game.”*

Mother of Cemile Çağırğa: *According to interview which was made with mother of Cemile Çağırğa; she was hit by snipers on later afternoon on 6 September in the backyard of their houses. Because of curfew could not take to hospital her that is why she lost her life. “My daughter was holding my hands and she could just said that ‘ouch mam’, bullet was enter from the arm-pit and she died in my hands. I and her aunt washed deceased, we could not bury she 2 days long because of curfew. I had kept her dead body in deep freezer because of preventing to decay corpse, then funeral vehicle was come and my daughter was buried in center of the Şırnak. When she was buried and carried her funeral vehicle, I was not there. Where was my daughter buried? Even we could not extend her condolences. We explained war as a wedding to our children and with every bullets voice is that children say that there are wedding to their mothers. Even playing game style of children changed, they have a single game: Gun. We had stayed under siege for 29 days and when we came back to our houses, pigeons of my son were beheaded and their head were hung up on the glass. There are many lost people currently; families cannot reach to their children. I wish if my house was on fire and all my children had died, I wish students who were coming for us that not burnt in that basements.*



Picture-7



Picture-8



Picture-9

5. Children's Experiences During and After the Curfew According to Observations and Narrations

This chapter includes the determination of both physical and psychological diseases of children in after the curfew of Cizre town (we didn't include images of any children).

There were intense armed conflicts lasted for months in Yafes, Cudi, Sur and Nur Neighbourhoods of Cizre town where the curfews declared for 3 times at different dates. Except of the huge pecuniary pyhsical damages in 4 above mentioned neighbourhoods, it was remained irrecoverable psychological injuries for long time. Our research lasted for six (6) days and we got interviews with eighty (80) children. With the help of the interviews, it provided us to determine general challenges which were lived there. Children, who interviewed, have 4-6 age range and appromaximately had lived for 9 to 37 days the under the siege during the curfew in the Cizre town, where children of a family who came from Rojava (Syrian Kurdistan) had lived approximately 90 days under siege during the curfew.

According to TIHV's (HRFT) Reports of Human Rights Violations on during the curfew in Cizre; 38 children had lost their lives from 16 August 2016 to 18 March 2016 in Cizre. Children whose age range is from 35 days infant to 18 years old were killed. And also according to someone there are many children among unidentified corpses.

After the siege, prohibited four (4) neighbourhoods of the town where there have not remained vital functions. Town got heavy damaged; indeed, main detriment would be on next generation which includes children and women.

In this respect, according to statement of children who explained it in the interviews revealed that affairs and process of curfew and siege how systematically used to and in what dimension affected on the children in terms of psychologically. According to eighty (80) children (children who have unable age to make interviews, instead of them, we had gotten with their parents or relatives) who interviewed with:

THE FACING MOOD OF PSYCHOLOGY

*Bedwetting

*Stuttering

*Lack of Confidence to the Strangers

*Sleeping Disorder

*Hallucination

* Violence Tendency

*Fear

*Repression,A-socialization

*Anxiety

These psychological disorders are the most common among the children.

BEDWETTING: According to interviews conducted children had unintentional bedwetting experiences because of sound of mass artillery shooting and bullets. Some children who did not have experience of bedwetting nevertheless after the siege they had, according to their narrations and their family words.

H: (Statement of his mother) *We live in Cudi Neighbourhood. He is four years old. I was here during the first curfew. He was going to kindergarten. We slept a day at the hammam in Cizre. There were immense sounds of bullets, so I was closing my ears. He wanted his toys. He is afraid of the violent. "He has bedwetting habit during the nightsleep. M.Sait (3) cannot speak when he hears someone is yelling. Children wake up at nightsleep yelling 'They are killing us.' They wake up with yelling and weeping. When they see armoured vehicles they hide in the house." When someone asked me my name, then I just tell them my first name because if I tell them my surname they will kill me. Children greet the policemen to prevent them to kill us.*

S: *He lives in Cudi Neighbourhood. He is 8 years old. He stayed home for 22 days, during the curfew and he does not remember anything. "I saw it was hit, the building across the street, but I do not remember any details" He said. (Note: S left in the middle of interview, thus, his*

brother is Ömer who completed it.) *“My brother has stuttering because of violent sound of bullets during and after the curfew. He does not talk with anybody included us. He has bedwetting at night sleep and also during the daytime he has bedwetting at the moment of the sound of squeaks. After all, he cannot sleep regularly, almost all nights he wakes up with screams and when we ask him about that, what happened, he does not reply.”*

STUTTERING: During the interviews, we had observed that some children had surdomutism and inarticulation problems. When we asked about that both children and their mother “Is there this problem before curfew” given answer of majority of them was that this case came into existence after curfew.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE TO THE STRANGERS: During the field work in four neighbourhoods where we encountered children who, almost all of them, had same approach: They do not speak with us and reply to our questions; they ask us why you are here, without their families do not explain anything. When we insist to get answers then they called their families, relatives or neighbours show that high concern of dimension of the lack of confidence to the strangers because of harmful perception of strangers according to the observations. *Particularly, Cudi Neighbourhood in Cizre, even though we told them: we are coming to the municipalities, they wanted to check our staff ID Card or called their parents before explain something.*

SLEEPING DISORDER: Almost all children have sleeping disorder and afraid to sleep alone. They cannot sleep regularly, wake up with screams and crying because of seeing war scenes according to their mothers’ narrations. Children had nightmares which included victims’ faces, who were killed by security forces, replaced with their parents’ and families members’ faces. According to the narrations of the mothers, many children close their ears when they go to sleep and they wake up in the mid of their sleep by crying.

Y: *he lives Sur Neighbourhood and he is 14 years old. He has 7 siblings. During the curfew he lived 25 days under siege. “Unsafe of our house location brought about to leave there. There were gun voices every moment. We tried to close our ears but it was not being enough. It was like apocalypse. We could not stay at home. When we see armoured vehicles then we escaped to house. I will never forget these experiences until to die. Our houses are destroyed totally by security forces. And we live still in fear of death every moment nevertheless we are still here. I witnessed dead people on these streets that I saw already them in nightmare. I was becoming sorry when our teacher left us because they did not stay with us during the hard days. I do not want to go to school no longer. After all, they will kill me, thus, there will not be anything different whether going to school or not.*

Statement of his mother: He does bedwetting when he hears voice of the bullets. He wakes up with screams and said that war is start out. He cannot sleep alone at home, sleep with us.”

HALLUCINATION: We witnessed during interviews and stories of children to supply enough materials to display there are prevalence auditory hallucination. Despite the fact that the armed conflicts ended, children wanted to break up interviews because they claim that there is coming gun sounds. Nevertheless there were not any gun voices, they insisted upon hearing sounds. It is worth to note that some children believe that sometime strangers come to kill them in the daily life. It is visual hallucination along with their imaginations. They yelled in the house and said that “They are coming to kill us.” as reported by their families.

H: *(The statement of her mother) She lives Yasef Neighbourhood. She is 13 years old. After the first curfew (9 days) they lived their own home. “Before the curfew there was not any problem, that is, life was beautiful and carrying on without challenges. After the curfew we run scared. When she hears bullets voice, then she threw herself on the ground and was crying. Even now when she hears same violent, then she repeats same acts. They fired bullet on us and our houses; we just had hided and scared in this time period. She already cannot sleep alone, she has sleeping disorder. She said that voices are coming out, but actually there is not any violent. Meryem SÜNE (53) was shot down in front of small shop and she was our neighbour many years. We knew each other very well. Children saw her dead body on the street then they got her images in their dreams even they call their mother with her name because of setting up identity between them.*

VIOLENCE TENDENCY: The majority of children, after the curfew, have dramatic increasing to violence tendency in terms of their friendship relations, style of games and intra-familial relations. During the field work in four neighbourhoods where we encountered children who, almost all of them, made guns from plastic pipe and they had played with them war games, actually, imitated armed conflicts which were witnessed by them. Another remarkable fact is that no one single children, who play the war games, accepted to play police and soldier roles in the games. When we ask them what is the behind it, they said that: “As you see, they destroyed our city, even we refuse them to play in our games.” And also when we request playing a sample game for observation then we ask for some to be police; they forsake game in weeping. It was understood through observations into interviews, statements of the families and children: Density of armed conflict bring about more violently behaviours and aggressive acts, try to be alone rather than to share and when someone interfered their solitary their respons mostly aggressive among the children. There are already some slogans on walls and armoured vehicle on streets. Thus, we ask what perception about those to children who gave respons: “We do not want to them here, they destroyed our houses and are moving around here yet. When we see those slogans on the walls we hate them.” and even “we want to kill them when we see these slogan”.

Diy...: *(It is based on his statement, without any asked question.) I live Cudi Neighbourhood. I am 16 years old. During the curfew I had lived under siege for 20 days. War was beside us. We did not have anything. There were not water and electricity. They hit our water tank intentionally; hence, there was scarcity of water. We washed our hair by rainwater. We refined rainwater into my mother headgear for drinking water. We lived six families together*

at one house. There was nothing. Children were crying. It was just like hell. They hit our houses, destroyed and burnt whatever they see as a threat for themselves. I am still afraid now, during the curfew I was silencing which prevented to children weeping, but I could not stand actually. When we decided to leave home, we called to 155 (police) however, they said that “there is a dying possibility for you, do not leave from home”. After the cutting phone in short time, grenade thrower hit our house. After the explosion in Ankara, they surrendered our houses, shoot to air and make noises. I was staying with my mother and I woke up with screams. My mother was crying for hours, we could not calm down to it. I go to school, even there are books on my hands, they (security forces) held me and ask: Where are you going to?. That is whenever they want to kill us they can. They humiliated us, we cannot say anything. Lately, they held me and asked ‘Why do you look us’ then they cursed me. There is nothing left here, everything is arranging in order to them. My siblings wake up and say that ‘close the door, they came!’ with screams. Everything comes from my mental picture unintentionally. They dragged away deaths in front of my eyes. When we come back home, then we threw away all our blankets because they were in bloody. I cannot forget. I do not want to go to school. When I see these slogans on the walls, then I get angry and I am embarrassed. Whatever they committed here is disgusting. My sibling is 4 years old and has bedwetting habit every night after the curfew.

M: *He lives in Nur Neighbourhood. He is 10 years old. “During the curfew we lived under siege. People were burnt in basement. There were our relatives in basement too, questions of whether we will die or survive always in my mind. When come to bullets voices, then I was carrying my siblings to room. I was staying with them to prevent from fear. When armoured vehicles move in our neighbourhood I feel offended due to burn our relatives. I like to play war games much more than everything no longer. I made gun from plastic pipe for myself. I defence myself via it. When our teacher left us, I supposed that there will be never school again. I thought that we are going to die all of us. During the curfew we were scared to police. At one occasion, we had played football; policeman came and wanted to play with us. And I told him “We are Kurdish and you are Turkish, let to play who can win it.”*

FEAR: As we mention above under the subhead of sleeping disorder; great part of the children have scared to sleep, go to sink and communicated with strangers alone. According to observation, children preferred to play in their gardens rather than to outside. And also when armoured vehicles pass on the streets, then children escaped to streets from in houses. During the research in the Yafes Neighbourhood, Eymen who is 2 or 3 years old, she thought the voice that her father caused as a bullet sound and she threw herself on the ground, she closed her ears and cried. After the curfew, armoured vehicles have moved on the streets regularly so that to control people and created fear through reminding rituals. *(During the researches, we had challenges that they checked our ID cards many times. Particularly and interestingly, they had waited in front of houses doors, where we made interviews for research, with face masks, guns and armoured vehicles until to finish our studies.)* Children have been interrogated regularly when they, almost all of them, go to school or spontaneously

on the streets. And if policemen could not direct to them, then children were exposed to psychological or verbal violence.

REPRESSION, A-SOCIALIZATION: One of the most common problems among the majority of children is repression of fear, that is, they cannot display their fears because of environmental factors. During the field work, children who declared that they had not scared to armed conflict, when they saw armoured vehicles, their reactions (*hiding, escape or bedwetting*) show that there is different situations. In addition, there are prevalence case among children who have isolation from society and communicating closely along with introversion.

ANXIETY: Majority of children who interviewed to them have great anxiety about future prospectus. In other words, they believe that there will not ameliorate anything, even everything will be more than worse. Interestingly enough, children think that going to school is redundant because they will be killed in short time. When we asked them what is their 'hope' or 'dream', they, almost all of them, cannot imagine and the ones who can imagine always dream about armed conflicts.

Diseases May Occur Through Unhealthy Infrastructure and Environmental Conditions:

It is based on our observations that Yafes, Sur, Cudi and Nur Neighbourhoods do not have suitable life conditions - especially upperside of the Yasef Neighbourhood - and these neighbourhoods have crucial infrastructure problems. When people came back to their homes -especially in the Cudi Neighbourhood- they had encountered the destruction of their wells in garden. There were animal dead bodies in the majority of the wells.

In addition to this, because of the excessive deaths there is heavy odor in the neighbourhood. Particularly, many people denoted there are human dead bodies under the rubble. Also the bones of the victims have been still pulled from the wreckage of shelters known as 'basements of the atrocity' where people had been burn alive by military forces. Despite of the terrible situation, children have contact directly with these unhygienic conditions. Even some children have gone into 'atrocity basements' and they take out to bones. Moreover, children have played in the sewages, they touched particles of the rubble and they spend great part of their time in this area. Admittedly, without water and electricity children cannot be cleaned which create high risk to catch diseases. Especially, like gastroenteritis, lower respiratory tract infections, measles and malaria diseases may occure high riskly.

Depending on vulnerable environmental conditions which almost all buildings have been heavily damaged and they may collapse at any moment. That is brings about new losing life probably because of the fact that children have used these buildings as playing places. Especially, in the Cudi Neighbourhood, children have often entered into these buildings and

spend long time still playing games. It is also bear in mind that after armed conflict there are excessive munitions in the neighbourhoods because if children encounter these military supplies, there will be disaster. There is social exclusion partially is depend on slogans and military forces approaches, however, it would be more than to now in the future probably.

The Process of the Challenges during the Curfew:

Great part of the children had hidden in the basements during the curfew. According to the interviews, children could not reach to adequately nutrients, drinking water and hygiene conditions. They used to rain water instead of drinking water in terms of their narrations. Majority of children could not see face of sun and take bath. After the curfew according to doctor reports that children, who lived in basements, they had low red blood cell, iron deficiency, developmental disorder depend on lack of nutrient, cough, influenza infection and lack of sunlight brings about becoming sensitive skin as diseases are diagnosed. And children had generally been diagnosed with depression by doctors.

H: *She lives Yafes Neighbourhood. She is 3 years old. During the second curfew she lost her mother who was Hediye ŞEN. (Note: Interview made with her father.) “Her mother killed first days in the second curfew. “When she wakes up and calls her mother at nights, then I drew near my ear lobe which is sucked by she can sleep in that manner. She does not talk with anybody except me. She does not to go to anybody. We told to children that your mother went to far away and she will come back. My elder children have known this state; however, my small children ask me every day ‘what time will our mother come back’, I do not how can give response this question. I have 8, 6 and 3 years old children. My children have started to curse after the losing mother. My daughter does not say anything, is just sitting and crying. Despite they are children, they are angry. Fear exchanges its position with hatred and anger even they escape places where Turkish is speaking, they do not want to stay there. If they have any kind of pain, then they say that ‘policemen’ did it. They shall come and see what happened about these children.*

U: *He lives Yasef Neighbourhood. He is 7 years old. During the all curfew they stayed at Cizre. He lost his father in the armed conflict. (Interview made with his grandfather) “Child was upside down. He has bedwetting and sleeping disorder at nights, even he does not go to toilets alone. He plays war game mostly. He makes bombs from sludge. He rehearses these bombs when passing armoured vehicles. He said that gun voices always come. If he may eat a candy then he wants to go his father gravestone and eat together it. He always desires to stay with father grave. He has missed very much his father. He has less communication with around than before. He is quiet and just said that I will get revenge of my father. He loses previous life experience; it seems erasing his memory. He just remembers his father.*

(Pictures-10 and 11, general photos)



Picture-10



Picture-11

6. OBSERVATIONS AND STATEMENTS

- ✓ Despite the end of curfew officially, people who try to arrange and reorganize their lives are prevented by prohibitive policies of security forces arbitrarily.
- ✓ According to the observations, women who have been remained between feelings of domestic responsibility and family members' security's mission had to postpone their emotions and needs with lack of self-concentration.
- ✓ Trust feelings of people had been damaged due to their societal places where they met their security and defence needs were destroyed. In addition, women, whose homes were sacked by security forces, burn their wares because of a feeling of dirty towards their home and belongings.
- ✓ According to the narration of dwellers, the threat announces of security forces is understood by the inhabitants as: "Whether you are going to die by staying at your homes or you are going to leave your homes and die with famine and conflict".
- ✓ Along with armed conflicts, the sexist and humiliated announces of security forces which are full of threat such as **"If you don't leave yours homes, then we will accept you as terrorists and shoot you!"** have damaged the inhabitants' abilities of understanding and explication in terms of cognitive processes just after they found out their houses as ruins after they came back with the end of curfew.
- ✓ There were no houses without damage by explosive items and bullets. Level of destruction can be seen as the heaviest destruction of houses where they were totally destroyed and they can never be used again, the least destruction of houses where their all glasses and doors were destroyed and there were bullet marks on the walls and materials.
- ✓ Women, who had been obliged by security forces to leave their homes, had lived different unrest experiences during the living at their relative's homes. Moreover, despite the continuous of curfew women took risk to return back homes because scarcity of food created feel of embarrassment among the women.
- ✓ According to interviews, women and children could not make sense of their psychological reactions during the battle due to try to survive, however, after the end of curfew their these feelings (a reaction to sounds of tracked armored vehicles which were existing on the all corner street home, security forces flashed into the houses and so on.) brought about intense stress because of getting awareness clearly.

- ✓ At the same time, written humiliation slogans on walls and damaged domestic materials (burning of carpets, stabbed of furniture, broken of plates etc.) by security forces make it more difficult to heal women's fears and anxieties. Thus, there should be known that these leave deep psychological scars in everywhere will cause women to live the same trauma repeatedly.
- ✓ Experience of intense-conflict, curfew and subsequent processes were narrated by women, who have tried to help healing process of their children and other members of families, but without any efforts for themselves.
- ✓ The health situation of women who suffered from the health problems had worsened as their treatment became more difficult during the curfew process.
- ✓ Women, who had narrated their experiences in the course of interviews, had cried and trembled constantly.
- ✓ Women, who could not meet needs of their children in this of time period, were in an emotional burnout and feeling guilty conscience according to their narrations.
- ✓ Women, who have worried about their children, families, relatives and themselves in order to survive, have high anxiety owing to ambiguity of the conflict process.
- ✓ **“...when my child had high fever and cough, I had only a syrup even though it could not treat my child, however, I gave it for treatment because of believing curative effects, but she would be poisoned by it too...”** According to this explanation that women had the mission of a nurse or a care worker because they couldn't reach medical service in the extraordinary situations.
- ✓ According to our reports, children who could not reach to basic needs had weakness of frame, getting cold and becoming pneumonitis and similiar diseases because of cold season conditions but also healing process was interrupted.
- ✓ Afterward of curfew, neighbourhoods where we observed we noted that number of children playing out became fewer and children preferred to play in their garden rather than outside.
- ✓ According to our observations, children, who have fear and panic which stem from armoured vehicles on the every street, escape to their homes when they see these vehicles.
- ✓ It is noted that children's sleep interruptes constantly, they could not sleep without their mothers and often crying in the deepest fear because sound and announces came from armoured moving vehicles and also pointed flash into the houses by security forces.

- ✓ In the neighborhoods which there were armed conflicts, some schools transformed to military posts, which caused reluctance among children regarding to go to school.
- ✓ Because the schools in these neighbourhoods are burnt, the families are also reluctant to send their children to distant schools due to the security concerns.
- ✓ Children, who have to go to school, are reluctant to do it, particularly alone. Therefore, they insist to go to school with their parents because they have phobia against study and going to school according to the research reports.
- ✓ Security forces are placed as a “killer, curser, attacker” in the common memory of children. Therefore, women and children perceive it as a high risk the encounter with them at any moment of their daily life, and this causes to keep alive and escalate the existing conditions of anxiety and trauma among women and children.