

## **GEN-MIGRA:**

Gender, mobilities and migration during and post COVID-19 pandemic - vulnerability, resilience and renewal

# The COVID-19 crisis and the war in Ukraine: gender-based violence experienced by migrant women in Poland

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### Introduction

Though COVID-19 did not cause violence per se, the measures applied during the pandemic lockdowns increased the risk for domestic violence (DV) by trapping aggressors and victims in one closed space (Women's Aid, 2020). This situation was exacerbated by the fact that women were also cut off from support services and other networks, leaving them in a more vulnerable situation.

In the European Union, about 50 women die every week as a result of domestic violence. Though Poland reports among the lowest number of incidents, many incidents are not being reported as DV is still a taboo topic in society, and there is also a lack of well-established and efficient procedures to protect victims of gender violence, especially when it comes to migrant women. According to Kantar's (2019, p. 7) report 'domestic violence is largely a hidden phenomenon, and many people who experience it do not seek help'. This topic is under-researched, but the real problem lies with data, that is not provided by Poland due to differences in legal and social definitions of violence. This results in rather inaccurate and missing data on violence against migrant women.

This briefing analyses the general situation of domestic violence in Poland, its extent and impact in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine. It examines the extent to which migrant women and girls faced sexual and physical violence, their vulnerabilities and access to assistance mechanisms. The briefing also explores the effect of political debates on the withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention against violence against women and the newly introduced ban on abortion in 2021; both events have exacerbated the vulnerable position of migrant women exposed to violence (Voice Amplified, 2022).

# Support systems in place for women who experience violence

Violence in Poland and data gaps

There is currently an absence of reliable. complete and accurate data sets on the groups which experience violence in Poland. Existing statistical data represent only a fraction of the real number of DV cases, due to the difference between the total crimes committed and those defined by court, but also due to different collection methods of data on victims of violence by police and the prosecutor's office (Durda et al. 2022). In Poland, 'violence in the family' (przemoc w rodzinie) concerns only current family members tied by blood or marriage; thus former family members or those who are not in formal family relations are excluded from the data collected. This leads to the under-recording and under-reporting of a number of GBV cases. Economic violence has not been covered by the law regulations in Poland (Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich, 2021). Above all, violence remains a tabu, undisclosed topic, where the actual figure is likely high and the scale difficult to estimate (Kantar Polska, 2019).

According to the Kantar Polska Report (2019), about 57% of Polish people faced violence at least once in their lives, while 28% faced violence several times. About 19% of Poles faced some type of violence many times during their lifetime, and 10% at least once. These numbers suggest that violence is a widespread phenomenon in Poland, although rarely reported. The same source reports that 40% of respondents experienced psychological violence more than once, 13% faced economic violence, and 23% became victims of physical violence. While 5% reported experiences of sexual violence, the authors of the report considered these numbers to be lower than reality. While 40% of respondents said they accepted partner violence due to the fear of losing their income, 31% of victims of physical violence and 24% of victims of psychological violence sought help. Among those who were subjected to sexual violence, only 11% said they sought help, often due to a

lack of social awareness of what sexual violence is and that it should be reported. Between 2012 to 2018, the rate of women who experienced violence in Poland increased from 65% to 74% (lbid). One explanation for the increase is a social stigma that traps victims in their shame or conviction of the inevitability of their fate that prevents them from seeking help. Victims of violence refrain from reporting due to their psychological and economic dependence on the perpetrator, low self-esteem and a twisted understanding of what is acceptable in a family situation (Kantar Polska, 2019). These statistics show that domestic violence remains a rather shameful matter in Poland, accompanied by disregard and disbelief in relation to victims of violence and victims' lack of faith in the judicial system (Amnesty International, 2020a).

Research demonstrates that those who experienced violence in their childhood are at a higher risk of becoming victims of violence in their adult life. They are also facing humiliation and insult more frequently, their economic freedom is restricted, and more control is likely to be imposed from partners through checking correspondence or email (Krzaklewska et al., 2016). Though DV is illegal in Poland and punishable by up to 5 years of imprisonment, most of those found guilty receive suspended sentences (United States Department of State, 2021,) and perpetrators also know that the police are reluctant to intervene in DV incidents.

When it comes to sexual violence, even though emergency contraception is to be provided in cases of rape in Poland, the implementation of the law varies. Victims of sexual rape have limited access to medication due to social stigma, legal constraints and the use of the 'conscience clause' by doctors who can refuse to provide help. Unlike in most countries in Europe, emergency contraception requires a prescription in Poland. In addition, the country lacks a comprehensive network of rape crisis and sexual violence centers offering medical care, high quality forensic examination and psychological support by trained professionals (Voice Amplified, 2022).

Migrant women and GBV

Migrant women, women with disabilities and elderly women are among the groups identified as the most vulnerable to violence, given the limited access to well-developed protection mechanisms in Poland (Rzecznik Praw Obywatelskich, 2021). Violence tends to occur more often in families where women and men have been exposed to violence in their childhood and is also exacerbated by factors such as loss of employment, divorce, and mental health problems (Kantar Polska, 2019; Krzaklewska et al., 2016).

The system of support and assistance for abused women in Poland had been limited before the war in Ukraine, but in the case of migrant women, it hardly existed at all (Klaus, 2020). The Polish police are reluctant to formally record reports of violence from migrant women based on old-fashioned beliefs that violence is part of migrants' cultural and patriarchal society. Shelters for women who face violence are not prepared to host foreign women because of language or cultural barriers. Migrant women thus lack social support networks when they experience violence (Klaus, 2020). Furthermore, the Polish government has removed almost all prescribed contraceptives from the list of subsidized medicines, making them less affordable to those in a precarious financial situation or in rural areas (United States Department of State, 2021).

Apart from the challenges that migrant women face in the same ways as Polish-born women, the Ukraine war and the COVID-19 pandemic have added new dimensions of gendered violence. Firstly, migrant women in employment work often based on temporary agreements or without a legal contract and are thus more vulnerable to losing employment, which can lead to family tensions and conflicts. Secondly, due to witnessing or experiencing violence during the war in Ukraine, migrant women from Ukraine may go through the process of normalization of violence as a way to avoid conflicts. This experience can also lead to psychological consequences, such as depression and PTSD

(Klaus, 2014b). Being a victim of violence may also mean women could enact violence on their children (Cope et al., 2021). Families who experienced violence in Ukraine may bring some of this legacy with them, meaning the war in Ukraine has created a new wave of migrant women and girls in Poland who may be escaping violence at home. Among the newly arrived women are also those Ukrainian women who faced violence in Ukraine from Russian soldiers who invaded their country.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine have thus brought the issues of sexual and physical violence to the top of the agenda. This does not mean that economic and psychological violence are now less widespread; rather it indicates a shift of focus, especially in the media. Sexual violence is more discussed than before, due also to the strict abortion laws and the lack of efficient emergency protection mechanisms.

# The impact of COVID-19 on violence against women

According to the Blue Card records initiated in Poland for victims of DV, there were 92.529 victims in 2020 and a much lower total of 71,631 in 2022 (Statystyka Policja, 2022). For the first months of the pandemic, the Centre for Women's Rights received about half of the usual number of phone calls in relation to DV. During the same period, the psychological services at the Institute of Psychology of Life in Poland confirmed that they received twice as many calls than their usual number, with many calls made outside the working hours, i.e. early in the morning or late at night (Korolczuk, 2020). The Foundation Dajemy Dzieciom Siłę also reported in March 2020 a record number of calls to their hotline from children who experienced violence. Moreover, violence cases involving children occurred more during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic. According to a survey conducted between March and June 2020, 27% of children surveyed stated that they had experienced at least one of the 12 forms of violence included in the survey, while one in ten said they experienced violence from an adult in their family (Fundacja Dajemy Dzieciom Siłę, 2020). The main barrier to reaching the hotlines

was the violent partners' presence at home due to pandemic-related restrictions. Thus, although more calls were recorded by the hotlines, fewer cases were actually registered. Among the factors that affected this situation the following can be mentioned: increasingly difficult access to services that could provide assistance, forced co-habitation with a perpetrator, less social control over violence and frustration caused by isolation. During the pandemic, access to courts and prosecution was also more challenging.

One of the two main related reasons that can cause an increase in violence for migrant women are economic difficulties and forced migration. Facing financial difficulties, uncertainty of the future, and being deprived of family and friends' support often lead to raised tensions. If women lose employment, there is also poverty and a lack of viable accommodation options. Being forced to move to another country is already a stress factor, which can combine with other stress factors that may lead to aggression. Working below one's qualifications in lower paid jobs or even without documentation may lead to aggression due to the limited ability to cope with problems (Klaus, 2014b). Many migrant women became carers trapped by lockdowns at home, some also working, and were put in a situation where the fear of losing their job could potentially force them to live with violence and harassment. Afraid to lose their employment during the COVID-19 pandemic, many domestic workers were forced to stay in a violent environment rather than deprive their dependents of financial resources.

In most cases, if migrant women in Poland leave a partner or an employer, they may also lose their residence permit and the right to remain in the country. Those migrant women who do not work and those who work in jobs with lower salaries usually cannot afford to move to different housing, due to a lack of financial resources. As very few migrant women are registered for social support due to their limited rights, institutions of social assistance are very limited in the help they can offer (Klaus, 2014a). However, the role of NGOs in preventing DV and assisting victims should not be underestimated, as they are often the only agencies providing services for migrant

women. Among campaigns that targeted GBV, the initiative of Krystyna Paszko supported by Center of Women's Rights included a fictional online cosmetics shops named 'Rumianki i bratki' ('Chamomiles and Pansies'), which provided contacts to psychologists and lawyers for victims of violence under the disguise of shopping (Czarnecka, 2020). Another campaign was dedicated to children as victims of DV, led by Foundation Dajemy Dzieciom Siłę; it was carried out under the slogan: 'Quarantine does not isolate from violence!'.

An important development took place in Poland in 2020, to provide victims of violence with better protection. The police were granted the right to issue an immediate order against a DV perpetrator, ordering them to leave a jointly occupied apartment and the neighbourhood and ban them from approaching the victim (Ustawa z dnia 30 kwietnia 2020 r....). This Act aims to protect the victim of violence through separation from the perpetrator for at least 14 days, which can then be extended based on the decision of the court. The pandemic has, however, created a context in which existing measures were insufficient and NGOs became more effective than law enforcement authorities. This means that clear communication between the two sectors remains of immense importance. Lockdowns during the pandemic made direct contact with victims of violence impossible. whilst phone-based medical consultations were insufficient (Bek et al., 2021). Of no less importance was the continuous psychological support that should be provided on a free basis during and after the eviction and arrest of a perpetrator. The availability of shelters during the pandemic was another problematic area, as many were closed due to health restrictions (Bek et al., 2021). As a result of DV, especially during the first year of the pandemic when lockdowns were in place, the percentage of women who were murdered in 2020 reached 49% of all homicides, in comparison to 2019, where women were 41% of all homicide cases. In 2021, every second a murder was committed as a result of family clashes, a murder victim was a woman (Durda et al., 2022). This information is likely to be only partial, given the available state-level data, and

the actual numbers remain unknown, especially in relation to migrant women (Ibid).

# The Ukraine war since 2022 and its impact on GBV

As mentioned by Voice Amplified (2022), at a time when 90% of forced migrants who crossed the border between Ukraine and Poland were women with children and elderly, gendersensitive violence prevention and risk mitigation measures were missing. Furthermore, much promised funding for services targeting violence against women and girls (VAWG) has failed to materialize. According to a report by Human Rights Watch (2022) on Poland, protection measures and government regulations in matters of abuse, especially abuse against women and girls, are inconsistent.

In the first few months after the breakout of the war, with thousands of Ukrainian women and children crossing the Polish border every day, clear security measures to identify, prevent, or respond to GBV (including trafficking, sexual exploitation, and rape) were missing. The existing state-level mechanisms of GBV prevention and mitigation were already poor before the Russian aggression in Ukraine, which meant that the war exacerbated an already poor setup. The domestic political situation was also dominated by nationalist organizations, which openly campaign against women's rights, leaving NGOs relying on limited funding and capacity to adequately address the needs of GBV victims (Voice Amplified, 2022). Ukrainian migrant women who arrived after the war had limited options of support when involved in GBV situations.

### War rape and abortion

It is important to mention that many cases of Ukrainian women who have faced sexual assault from Russian soldiers were reported, though overall numbers are unknown. Only in the first two weeks of April 2022, the Office of Ukraine's ombudsman for human rights, Lyudmyla Denisova, said there were over 400 reports of rape committed by Russian soldiers (Wamsley, 2022). While many of those who experienced

rape seek assistance abroad, with Poland being the first country of entry for many, the country lacks the full range of support required by victims of such violence. Victims of violence are in need of emergency treatment and psychological support, services that before the Ukraine war were available in Ukraine but have been discontinued or heavily impacted since the war.

Abortion law in Poland, in theory, allows for abortion in cases of rape; however, this has been termed a 'dead law' as it does not provide a victim a genuine opportunity to have an abortion given the constraints and barriers facing victims (Adams, 2022; Łukaszewicz, 2022). As noted by 'Women Help Women', though legally allowed, abortion is almost never performed (Shoaib and Zitser, 2022). Obtaining a certificate from the prosecutor that confirms that rape occurred in the case of Ukrainian women who fled from war is not possible, and thus, abortion in Poland is problematic. Although changes to the Special Act for the Assistance to Ukrainians who flee war were proposed to this effect, they were not adopted. An exceptional initiative of local authorities. NGOs and volunteers from Ukraine enabled one hospital in Warsaw to provide treatment to 380 women, of whom 120 were raped by Russian soldiers (Gazeta Wyborcza, 2022).

Rape and exploitation in Poland

After the border crossing, the risk of rape does not disappear, as potential perpetrators are aware of the vulnerability of women escaping war and can target them for sexual crimes. According to Abortions without Borders, around 50 pregnant women reached them in Poland for abortion care after rape in one year (Voice Amplified, 2022). Cases where Polish hosts welcomed Ukrainian women and girls into their homes and then sexually assaulted them were reported in the Polish media, while perpetrators were often released from court (Łukaszewicz, 2022). There are also those who want to exploit women by identifying vulnerable young girls, preferably without children, and then selling them to brothels. Cases of fake taxi drivers who drove young passengers to brothels and forced them into the sex industry were reported by

NGO activists (Łukaszewicz, 2022). Poland is also a high risk country in terms of sex trafficking of victims to other parts of Europe.

Women and girls who are refugees are also at risk of violence from male landlords who have registered to act as hosts. Renting an apartment as a woman alone or with children leaves women in a risky situation, especially as many may lack a support network. Owners were reported to ask women to do cleaning jobs, cook or look after other family members in the household as an unpaid job in return for shelter, although registered hosts receive 40 PLN (about 9 euros) per day from the state for hosting a Ukrainian person. Hosting women has also been reported to lead to situations where hosts ask refugee women for sexual favours. Several such cases have been reported in the Polish media. In one case, a victim who wanted to give her testimony to the police was denied this and sent to a psychiatric hospital, whereas the perpetrator has not been brought to justice (Dobiegala, 2023). The raping of girls and women in hostels has also been reported, although victims are often ashamed and convinced not to report the incident to the authorities for fears of stigma and that the family will lose their accommodation (Данилюк, 2022). The lack of sustainable, safe and affordable shelters and housing continues to be a significant risk related to trafficking and GBV in Poland.

Sex work targeting migrant women

Months after the start of the war in Ukraine, job advertisements targeting young Ukrainian women started to appear on social media in Poland. The high pay and flexibility that was promised in advertisements was, in most cases, replaced with forcing women into sexual exploitation and pornography. As reported by the Guardian, the interest in pornography involving Ukrainian girls and women increased almost immediately, based on search engine traffic reports. While Spain showed a 600% increase in searches for 'Ukrainian porn', there was a 200% increase in searches for a 'Ukrainian escort' in the UK, while Poland also showed a 130% rise in searches for Ukrainian women online. This interest creates a significant incentive for traffickers to recruit more

Ukrainian refugees into pornography (Taylor, 2023).

To conclude the evidence for this section, very few organizations in Poland that deal with violence provide assistance to the most urgent cases of sexual and physical violence. Women experiencing economic or psychological violence are left with no access to assistance. There has been a significant increase since the war in Ukraine in cases of women facing violence in Ukraine who are trying to access support through organizations supporting victims in Poland. Cases of violence often have transnational features, as those experiencing violence in Ukraine may also prefer to flee abroad in order to save themselves and their families.

# Barriers to seeking assistance in GBV cases

Among 146 countries evaluated for the global gender gap index, Poland was placed 77th in 2022 (World Economic Forum, 2022). As reported by Cope et al. (2021), Ukrainian migrant women face significant barriers to seeking help in cases of DV in Poland. Though affected by cultural expectations of a patriarchal culture and the precariousness of their migration in most cases triggered by the war, Ukrainian migrant women are trapped between the traditional roles of being ideal mothers, the guardians of language and identity and the more emancipated roles, where women are self-fulfilled and independent (Cope et al., 2021). They are often faced with stigma when it comes to reporting violence to authorities.

For migrant women, bureaucratic procedures that need to be followed to report violence or abuse are usually a huge barrier. Women may struggle to report incidents if they lack sufficient language skills or a helper who could take care of their child/ren to allow them to approach the authorities. As reported by NGOs, police usually tell victims 'to be patient' and return to their perpetrators. Therefore, victims of violence are often discouraged from making a formal report. When the perpetrator is also foreign-born, the chances of filing a complaint are even lower.

The lack of professional preparedness of law enforcement agencies often discourages women from reporting cases of violence. Reporting the incident requires women to recount the violence often in a foreign language and re-live the trauma in front of policemen who are not trained to provide assistance and may, in certain cases, joke about their situation, given cultural stereotypes of masculinity and violence (Данилюк, 2022).

Another significant barrier is the current lag in the processing of reported cases, where so-called Blue Card procedure raises more questions than answers. Very few perpetrators usually face punishment. This leads to a situation where violent crimes against women are, to a certain extent, more tolerated by society. No punishment means that violence will inevitably take place again and seen as acceptable. For war refugees who flee to Poland, reporting an incident is usually a situation 'where they should choose between economic protection and own dignity' (Данилюк, 2022). As reiterated by a Slovak journalist, offering shelter in return for sex is quite widespread (lbid) and rarely prosecuted.

Another barrier for women who are victims of GBV is to access medical care after an act of violence. As Poland has the lowest number of medical practitioners in Europe, getting an appointment as a victim of violence is rather challenging. In cases of physical or sexual violence, it is important to be examined within 24 hours, which is rarely available. The absence of special medical procedures leaves victims of violence unprotected and without medical proof of what happened. As a result, this leads to the lower number of cases than can be proven in court and prosecuted.

Migrant women who have an unwanted pregnancy lack access to services of pregnancy termination, which was available for some in Ukraine. The prohibition of abortions in Poland has now led to abortion tourism (Podorozhnya, 2021), where women order medication online from other countries or often travel abroad for terminations. In Poland, an individual who helps with purchasing medications leading to abortion may be subject to imprisonment. Emergency

contraception cannot be purchased without a prescription from a doctor, which can be secured in 2-3 weeks at the earliest.

Therefore, the system in Poland is designed to limit abortions or even forbid them, with church representatives participating in the process of convincing women to keep unwanted pregnancies (Данилюк, 2022).

To conclude, there are significant barriers facing migrant women who experience violence. An important barrier is the cost of emergency contraception, which is not covered under national health insurance, so migrant women need to cover the cost themselves. State services tackling GBV are weak, whereas protocols for clinical management of rape do not exist and are not widely disseminated and followed. The provision of shelters and safe housing is limited and mostly provided by civil society organizations with limited funding. Finally, law enforcement actors do not have adequate GBV training, and few organisations are assisting refugees prioritizing support for Polish-born women due to limited funding streams (UNHCR, 2022).

# Recent state responses to GBV in Poland

Poland has ratified the provisions of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) on the 27th of April 2015; this entered into force on the 1st of August the same year. Five years later, Poland submitted its first report to the Group of Experts on Action against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO). While initially signing the Istanbul Convention, Poland submitted four reservations and two interpretive declarations. One of the declarations stated that the Convention would be implemented 'in accordance with the principles and the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland'. This vague reservation stemmed from heated ongoing political debates in the country, given resistance from the main political parties in power. Shortly after, in July 2020, Zbigniew Ziobro, the Minister of Justice of Poland, announced the country's withdrawal from the Convention, arguing that it contains

'elements of an ideological nature, which we consider harmful'. Critics claimed the Convention violates parents' rights by requiring schools to teach children gender 'ideology' that is against Polish family traditions (Schaart, 2020). This declaration triggered massive women's protests across Poland against the withdrawal and a total of 33 organizations signed a letter addressed to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, stating their strong disapproval of Poland's withdrawal from the Convention (Raducha, 2020).

Subsequent to these events, the Prime Minister initiated a Petition to the Constitutional Court, to review the compatibility of the Istanbul Convention. The government further proposed a draft law on changing the binding scope of the Convention. As demonstrated by the attempt to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention. political powers and populist reasons likely lie behind Poland's unwillingness to adhere to its international human rights obligations (Kapelanska-Pregowska, 2021). However, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2021, Sejm (the lower house of Poland's bicameral parliament) passed a law amending and withdrawing some of the Polish objections to the Istanbul Convention (Ustawa z dnia 20 stycznia 2021 r....). Nevertheless, the COVID-19 pandemic showed that violence against women is a highly politicized topic and given the ongoing political rhetoric, the Polish government has fallen short of providing a comprehensive response to GBV, which has led to a roll-back on women's rights (UN Women, 2022).

After the ratification of the Istanbul Declaration, Amnesty International (2020b) published a report on its implementation in Poland, stating that economic violence was not mentioned as a form of DV in the Polish legislation and was not included into the National Programme for Preventing Domestic Violence 2014-2020. Given women in Poland often earn less than men and perform unpaid domestic work and caring responsibilities, it made sense to call out this omission. Similarly, the definition of rape in the Polish legislation centers on the victim's opposition or resistance to the attack, thus switching the focus from the victims' absence of

consent to their physical resistance. Resistance is not always possible in rape, as it can cause more aggression or lead to worse consequences (Amnesty International, 2020b). The lack of compliance with the Istanbul Convention in relation to key legal terms related to violence in Polish legislation leads thus to a different interpretation of the law and less protection of violence victims. As an example, in the case of a 19-year-old Ukrainian girl who was raped by a host in Wroclaw, the judge re-classified the crime due to victim's limited resistance during the rape, leading to a smaller punishment for the perpetrator (Нестеренко, 2022).

Though being still a signatory member of the Istanbul Convention, Poland lacks the full implementation of the Convention, with further legislative changes needed. A report by Kantar Polska, ordered by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, was not hidden from the public, later published by Gazeta Wyborcza (Kantar Polska, 2019). This report revealed that the scale of DV in Poland is far greater than official statistics show and more work needs to be done to tackle this significant social problem.

On 9 March 2023, the newly elected president of Poland, Andrzej Duda, signed an amendment to existing laws on the protection of victims of domestic violence (Ustawa z dnia 9 marca 2023 r....). These changes were initially proposed by the Family and Social Policy Ministry and supported by all parties, with the exception of the farright party, Konfederacja. The measures extend protection for victims of DV, which now includes economic violence and cyberviolence. The concept of 'family violence' was replaced with a broader term of 'domestic violence', while minors were also defined as victims of violence when they witness it. The amendment also foresees psychological and therapeutic programmes as additional actions that can be recommended for perpetrators of DV. The aim of these measures is to stop perpetrators from continuing the cycle of violence and develop better selfcontrol and non-violent conflict management skills. Those perpetrators who refuse to join rehabilitation programmes may face fines or even imprisonment. Perpetrators can also face seizure of firearms, ammunition and gun permits. The

so-called Blue Card procedure, which foresees cooperation between service providers in order to prevent violence, was amended with a ninemonth observation period of perpetrators.

### Conclusion

The COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent war in Ukraine have made migrant women and girls even more vulnerable to violence. Greater responsibilities in the context of multi-layered crises place an even bigger burden on the shoulders of migrant women. Many migrant women in Poland are currently sole caretakers, bearing full responsibility for themselves and their vulnerable dependents. This puts them at a higher risk that can be easily exploited by perpetrators due to the hidden and stigmatised nature of violence in Polish society, the vague legal definitions of domestic violence and rape, police distrust of victims and the small number of GBV cases that make it to court trials.

Post-pandemic and in the context of a continuing war in Ukraine and changing political landscapes in Poland and Central Europe, many of the pressing issues highlighted here remain, given the compounding economic and social pressures facing migrant women and girls. Furthermore, since the height of the pandemic, the pressures faced by services and survivors have only been exacerbated by cuts to service funding and changing policy priorities in the context of an ongoing war in Ukraine.

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