OUR WORLD. VIEWS FROM THE FIELD.

LEBANON OPINION SURVEY AND IN-DEPTH RESEARCH, 2009



Our world is in a mess. It's time to make your move.





REFERENCE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research was undertaken in eight countries that were experiencing or had experienced armed conflict or other situations of armed violence. These were: Afghanistan; Colombia; Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC); Georgia; Haiti; Lebanon; Liberia and the Philippines.¹ The aim was to develop a better understanding of people's needs and expectations, to gather views and opinions, and to give a voice to those who had been adversely affected by armed conflict and other situations of armed violence.

This research was commissioned by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) within the framework of the **Our world. Your move.** campaign. Launched in 2009, the campaign's goal was to draw public attention to the vulnerability and ongoing suffering of people around the world. The intention was to emphasize the importance of humanitarian action and to convince individuals that they had the ability to make a difference and reduce suffering.

2009 was an important year for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, with three significant anniversaries (the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Solferino, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the 60th anniversary of the Geneva Conventions).

In 1999, the ICRC had undertaken a similar survey entitled *People on War*, which served as a basis for comparison and as a means of highlighting trends in opinions 10 years on.

This report encompasses two types of research: an opinion survey and in-depth research.

OPINION SURVEY

The Impact of Armed Conflict

Forms of violence/suffering and their consequences

The majority of people in Lebanon have been affected by the armed conflict there. Those with direct personal experience make up 75% of the population, and most others also report suffering a range of serious hardships. In total, almost everyone (96%) has been affected in some way – either personally or owing to the wider consequences of armed conflict.

Of those with direct personal experience, for a fifth this has been within the past year. Usually people said they had to leave their homes and live elsewhere (55%), they had suffered serious damage to their property (49%) or had lost contact with a close relative (47%).

Lebanese people's fears during times of armed conflict include losing a loved one (57%), losing property (28%), suffering injury (27%), and losing one's livelihood (24%). Fewer people (11%) fear restricted access to basic necessities.

Needs and assistance

In periods of armed conflict, people primarily need 'the basics' – protection (50%), food (45%) and medical treatment (42%). However, they also express the need for 'conflict resolution' (21%) and the need to retain respect and dignity (21%). Which groups or organizations should meet these needs?

Help comes both from within Lebanon's own communities and families/parents, and also the Lebanese Red Cross, and from elsewhere (NGOs and the military).

¹ Respondents in seven of the eight countries were asked about 'armed conflict'. Please note that respondents in Haiti were asked about 'armed violence'.

The ICRC and the UN are mentioned less often. However, the Lebanese Red Cross and the ICRC together provide help to 18% of those surveyed. According to respondents, the two organizations also have an excellent reputation for understanding people's needs.

Obstacles to receiving help

The main barriers to receiving aid are discrimination (30%), corruption (24%), and geographical inaccessibility (29%). But people's own 'pride/dignity' (48%) also prevents them from seeking help.

Fear of being aligned with the 'wrong side' can also be an obstacle. A third (30%) of the people claim not to need help.

Reducing suffering

To 'reduce suffering during armed conflict', people look primarily to the Lebanese Red Cross (74% mention the Lebanese Red Cross either as a primary or secondary assistance provider). The Lebanese Red Cross and the ICRC together are mentioned by 79%.

NGOs are mentioned by 27%. The government is rarely cited as helping to reduce suffering.

The international community

People in Lebanon say that the international community should take direct action in the country and broaden its activities in times of armed conflict.

A third (36%) consider emergency aid important, 27% peacekeepers, and 24% rebuilding infrastructure. Similarly, 30% want leaders charged with crimes to be put on trial by the international community – and 27% are in favour of the international community organizing peace talks. A quarter (22%) want military intervention in order to put an end to armed conflict.

Respondents believe that people living outside the conflict zones (i.e. citizens in other countries) should donate goods (46%) and especially money (66%). They also approve of volunteer work (36%) and putting pressure on legislators (36%).

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Acceptable behaviour

Most people in Lebanon say either that civilians should be spared 'as much as possible' during armed conflict (63%), or that they should be spared entirely (32%).

The majority do not see civilians and combatants as equally acceptable targets (95% in 2009, 97% in 1999).

Without prompting, half (54%) find specific actions such as the killing of civilians/children to be unacceptable.

More people now than in 1999 feel that combatants should not be attacked in towns/villages where civilians could be killed (31% said this was 'OK' in 1999 compared to 20% in 2009), and fewer believe that civilians should be deprived of food/water/medicine (23% said this was 'OK' in 1999 compared to just 5% in 2009). Almost everyone (98%) is now opposed to attacks on religious and historical monuments (compared to 82% in 1999). Likewise for the planting of landmines that endanger civilians (94% are now opposed compared to 69% in 1999).

However, compared to 1999, people are now more willing to accept attacks on civilians who voluntarily help the enemy (by giving food: 46% in 2009 and 22% in 1999 and by transporting ammunition: 62% in 2009 and 37% in 1999).

Health workers, ambulances and the right to health care

Almost everyone (99%) says that health workers and ambulances are not acceptable targets in any circumstances. Most people (84%) feel that health workers should treat wounded civilians from all sides in a conflict – and 98% agree that 'everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care'.

The Geneva Conventions

Most people in Lebanon (69%) have heard of the Geneva Conventions – but views are mixed on their effectiveness in 'limiting the suffering of civilians in war time'.

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

The Impact of Armed Conflict

The people of Lebanon have lived through a series of different armed conflicts over several decades and believe that their situation has been getting worse rather than better, particularly in terms of civilian suffering.

A wide range of views on possible ways to avoid conflict are expressed across the sample of respondents. Some hope for a peaceful solution, but others feel that combatants have a duty to fight for their cause.

The unnecessary involvement of civilians creates a view of the other side as 'not human' and engenders even greater hatred between opposing sides.

Personal experience of armed conflict

Becoming a direct physical victim of bombing or cluster munitions is the main fear people express for themselves and their children. The presence of unexploded cluster munitions in civilian areas is seen as a particularly cruel ongoing effect of armed conflict in Lebanon.

Bereavement, a member of the family missing, becoming displaced and the loss of belongings and livelihood are also commonly expressed as painful consequences of armed conflict.

Civilians' needs

Civilians talk about their main priorities during armed conflict as: shelter, food/water, access to medicines/hygiene, clothing/bedding and money. Employment is seen as the key to providing for all these things, but conflict interrupts and destroyed working lives.

Prioritizing the needs of children and the elderly is seen as paramount.

Civilians caught up in the conflict also have psychological needs that were neglected in the struggle for basic survival.

Humanitarian assistance

Help from family, including extended family, friends and acquaintances (especially those from their place of origin), wealthy individual donors, humanitarian organizations including the ICRC/Lebanese Red Cross, and the government are all seen as playing a part in saving and improving the lives of civilians during and after conflict.

Some respondents say they had not been offered any help at all even though they have suffered severely.

Others recount acts of great courage and generosity on the part of fellow citizens and humanitarian workers. Humanitarian acts have included help in evacuating areas under fire, opening homes to accommodate displaced persons and waiving payment of goods and services.

Respondents claim they would give assistance to a wounded enemy combatant, though none had ever had occasion to do so.

Of more organized sources of humanitarian assistance, the ICRC is, among other organizations, the most commonly mentioned. People value the life-saving health assistance and the provision of necessities very highly. There are also a number of poignant stories of the ICRC re-establishing contact between missing persons and their families.

The lack of provision for long-term reconstruction is commonly felt and frequently the national authorities are considered responsible for this.

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Rules of conflict

There is a widespread view that armed conflict has become less humane in recent years because civilians are more likely to be affected and even directly targeted.

Some first responders acknowledge that the division between combatants and civilians has become blurred, but still feel that this does not excuse the behaviour of the military in recent conflicts.

Right to health care

All believe that everyone should have a right to health care, whether they are civilians or combatants.

All believe that health workers and their vehicles should be protected and left alone to carry out their activities.

Respondents also describe a worrying trend in recent conflicts for health workers to be deliberately targeted.

The Geneva Conventions

Most but not all respondents are familiar with the Geneva Conventions. There is a perception that the Geneva Conventions have been ignored in Lebanon, with civilians and in some cases medical personnel targeted.

Conclusions: priority actions

If armed conflict is inevitable people want better implementation of the rules of conflict so that the impact on civilians is minimal. There is outrage that the impact on civilians is getting worse and part of the problem appears to be the absence of any negative consequences for combatants and countries not respecting international law. Civilians want to see more international condemnation and ideally prosecution in cases where the Geneva Conventions have been contravened. First responders feel even more strongly about this. People want more aid and government assistance for long-term reconstruction, especially in terms of employment.

Fully clearing areas of cluster munitions should also be a priority so that civilians can rebuild lives and livelihoods.

People want a greater focus on the resolution of missing persons to help alleviate the suffering of families who do not know what has happened to their loved ones. Although the assistance of the ICRC and others has been life changing in many cases, there are still too many families who have not been helped and who feel they have no one to turn to.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Solferinos of today

To raise awareness of the impact of armed conflict or other situations of armed violence on civilians, the ICRC decided to launch a vast research programme. This research focused on some of the most troubled places in the world – the Solferinos of today – which are either experiencing situations of armed conflict or armed violence or suffering their aftermath:

- Afghanistan
- Colombia
- Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)
- Georgia
- Haiti
- Lebanon (covered in this report)
- Liberia
- The Philippines

Research

The ICRC commissioned Ipsos, an international research agency, to conduct an opinion survey (statistical, quantitative research) and to design and analyse in-depth (qualitative) research in eight countries.

For the **opinion survey**, a broadly representative sample of the adult general public was interviewed, either in person or by telephone, in each country. Fieldwork was conducted by lpsos and its international partners. The specific sampling methods and any groups/areas excluded are described in the Appendices. The questionnaire was designed to determine whether the respondents had personal experience of armed conflict/violence and, if so, the specific impact it had on them. Questions also explored respondents' views on what conduct was acceptable for combatants, the effectiveness of various groups and organizations in helping to reduce suffering during armed conflict or armed violence, the actions expected of the international community, awareness of the Geneva Conventions, and the role of health workers during armed conflict or armed violence.

The **in-depth research** was conducted through focus groups and one-to-one in-depth interviews in each country. Ipsos designed, analysed and reported on the findings, with ICRC staff conducting the qualitative fieldwork. The discussion guide was designed to complement the opinion survey and to enable the ICRC to deepen its understanding of the values, motivations, fears and aspirations of those who have been direct victims of armed conflict or armed violence. These included people separated from their families, internally displaced persons, first responders and others directly affected by armed conflict or armed violence.

Further details of the coverage and scope of the research in Lebanon are given in the section on 'Research Methodology'. The questionnaire used in the opinion survey (marked-up with overall results) and the discussion guide used in the in-depth research are included in the Appendices.

In 1999, ICRC carried out broadly similar opinion research as part of its *People on War* project. The programme covered some of the countries reported on in 2009 – including Lebanon – and

several of the 1999 questions have therefore been revisited in order to provide trendlines. These are highlighted in the report where applicable.

Background and objectives

The year 2009 had great significance for the ICRC and the entire International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement ('the Movement'), as two major anniversaries in the history of humanitarian work took place:

- The 150th anniversary of the Battle of Solferino. On 24 June 1859, Henry Dunant, a Swiss businessman, happened to witness the aftermath of one of the most brutal battles of the 19th century at Solferino, in what is now northern Italy and the carnage left on the battlefield. The suffering he saw there prompted him to take the first steps towards the creation of the Movement. His book *A Memory of Solferino* led to the founding of the ICRC in 1863. In recognition of his work, Dunant was the joint first recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1901.
- The 60th anniversary of the Geneva Conventions (12 August 1949). The four Geneva Conventions are the cornerstone of international humanitarian law. They protect, respectively, wounded and sick members of armed forces on the battlefield; wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of armed forces at sea; prisoners of war; and civilians in time of war.

To mark these anniversaries, as well as the 90th anniversary of the founding of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Movement launched a campaign – **Our world. Your move.** – to remind everyone of their individual responsibility to relieve human suffering.

The campaign was based on the premise that **Our world** faces unprecedented challenges, from armed conflict and mass displacement to climate change and migration; and it contends that **Your move** reminds us of our collective responsibility to make the world a better place. Like Henry Dunant, we can all make a difference, even through the simplest of gestures.

Throughout 2009, the ICRC undertook various activities to mark these historic milestones by highlighting the ongoing plight of people – particularly the most vulnerable – caught up in armed conflict or armed violence around the world.

Lebanon – research methodology

OPINION SURVEY

A total of 601 people aged 18 and over were interviewed by telephone between February and March 2009, and in the month of May 2009. Random probability sampling was used to ensure that the final sample was broadly representative of the Lebanese population (aged over 18) as a whole. In addition, the results were statistically 'weighted' to correct for any discrepancies between the sample profile and that of the equivalent population.

According to 2009 estimates, Lebanon's population was around 4,000,000. It was somewhat skewed towards younger people (the median age was 29 years old, and those aged 14 or below made up a quarter (26%) of the population). By contrast, those aged 65 or over made up just 7% of the population. Life expectancy was 71 years for men and 76 for women.

On this basis, this survey of people aged over 18 was representative of approximately 2,000,000 people.

Because a sample was interviewed – not the whole population – the results are subject to 'sampling tolerances'. These show how accurately a result from the sample reflects the result that would have been obtained from the whole population had it been interviewed.

Please see the Appendices for details on sampling tolerances.

On the charts, a '*' sign refers to a percentage of less than 0.5%, but greater than zero.

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

The purpose of the research in each country was to understand the deeper values, motivations, fears and aspirations of those who had been direct victims of armed conflict or armed violence. The research was carried out through focus groups and one-to-one in-depth interviews, carried out by ICRC staff. The combination of these qualitative research methods was used to allow both interactive debate and personal narrative to emerge from the conversations.

The sample was organized according to a number of groups who were particularly affected in times of armed conflict or armed violence, namely:

- Internally displaced persons. At the time of writing, it was estimated that more than 26 million people around the globe were displaced within their own countries owing to armed conflict, violence and persecution. The internally displaced make up what has been described as the single largest group of vulnerable people in the world. Internal displacement is one of the most serious consequences of armed conflict; people are forced from their homes and suffer extreme hardship.
- Members of separated families. War, disasters and migration lead to many thousands
 of families being separated. The suffering created by such situations is not always visible
 to others. This global problem is mostly a silent tragedy. Needing to know what happened
 to a loved one is as great a humanitarian need as food, water or shelter. Too many victims
 of armed conflict and armed violence around the world remain without news of missing
 family members.
- First responders. A 'first responder' is most often considered as the first health worker to arrive at the scene of an emergency. However, a first responder is much more it is anyone who provides a helping hand or a shoulder to cry on.

These groups were used to recruit participants in seven of the eight contexts to be able to draw some comparisons on a global level. In Haiti these groups were first responders and victims of violence, including sexual violence.

In addition, a specific group was selected for each country to cover an issue particular to that country. In Lebanon, cluster munitions are a widespread threat, therefore a number of the respondents were **cluster munitions victims**.

It should be noted that:

- All respondents were civilians (i.e. not combatants) and were selected based on the ICRC's on-the-ground knowledge of the areas most affected by the conflict in Lebanon.
- Respondents' comments, in their own words, have been included throughout the in-depth
 research chapters of this report, accompanied by a brief indication of their backgrounds.
 In order to protect identities, the names used in this report have been changed, but other
 facts about individuals are real. Respondents' ages are sometimes omitted when they could
 not be verified, but have generally been provided. These respondents' comments were
 selected by Ipsos and do not reflect the opinions of the ICRC.
- Respondents were often affected in multiple ways by the armed conflict. As such, for example, someone who was invited to share their experiences of being an internally displaced person may also have commented on their experiences of having been a cluster munitions victim.

- Likewise, the division between first responders and other types of civilian is not always easy to define. First responders included: ordinary civilians thrust into giving humanitarian assistance because of the conflict affecting their town, community or family; health workers; and members of humanitarian organizations, including the ICRC. Comments in this report sometimes reflect this range of experiences by individual respondents.
- Interviews were conducted and group discussions moderated by ICRC staff in Lebanon. Although the interviewers were trained in qualitative research, the fact that they were from the ICRC introduced the possibility of bias in what respondents were prepared to share and how they expressed it. However, interviewers were working to an interview guide designed by Ipsos and the analysis was also undertaken by Ipsos.

In Lebanon, four group discussions were carried out, lasting between 90 and 120 minutes each, one with each of the following groups:

- Relatives of missing persons. This group consisted of three women and one man, ranging in age from 33 to 58. They had all recently returned to their homes after a period of displacement. Displacement had taken a range of forms for these respondents, including time spent in ruined buildings, in refugee camps or staying with relatives and friends.
- Members of separated families. This group was made up of five older women aged over 60. They were mothers of missing grown-up children and some had multiple family members missing from as long ago as the Lebanese civil war (1975-90).
- First responders. This group consisted of five men ranging in age from 21 to 35. They had
 all been volunteers for the Lebanese Red Cross Society for a number of years, mostly
 manning ambulances and distributing aid.
- Cluster munitions victims. This group was made up of men ranging in age from 22 to 42. All of these men had lost one or both legs in an explosion and some of them were children at the time this occurred.

In addition, 10 in-depth qualitative interviews were carried out, lasting 45 minutes to one hour each:

- 3 interviews with internally displaced persons, including two men and one woman. One man had been displaced several times during his life and had been unable to return to his original home;
- 3 interviews with missing persons/relatives of missing persons including a released prisoner traced by the ICRC, the mother of a released prisoner and the mother of a prisoner exchanging Red Cross messages with her detained son;
- 1 interview with a health professional working with cluster munitions victims;
- 1 interview with a cluster munitions victim;
- 2 interviews with first responders: one photo-journalist and one school bus driver. Neither were volunteers for humanitarian organizations but had become first responders after they found themselves at the scene of an emergency.

Report structure

An Executive Summary with the key findings is followed by the main body of the report, covering each broad subject area in turn. The results of the opinion survey among the general public are reported on first, followed by the findings of the in-depth research among victims of armed conflict/armed violence.

The Appendices contain the sample profile and full questionnaire used in the opinion survey, marked-up with the overall country results (including the 1999 trend comparisons where applicable) and the discussion guide used in the in-depth research.

Please note that no country comparisons are made in this report. These can be found in the separate Summary Report covering all eight countries.

Lebanon in context

At the time of writing, Lebanon had suffered from years of war and was one of the most complex countries in the Middle East region. In the previous three decades, long-lasting and destructive armed conflicts – notably the outbreak of civil war in 1975, the Israeli invasion of 1982, the July 2006 war, the 2007 Nahr el-Bared conflict and the armed violence that occurred in May 2008 – had shaken the country.

The civil war that began in 1975 and ended in 1991 resulted in more than 100,000 deaths, hundred of thousands people left wounded or handicapped, and thousands of disappearances.

The violent and diverse character of warfare in Lebanon reflected the wide range of combatants, which included regular armies, guerrilla forces and militias. Tactics included air bombardment, tank battles, block-by-block urban assault, truck bombings and a constant series of assassinations. In addition, a large number of people were taken hostage by various factions; some had been released, but the fate of thousands of others remained unknown.

The assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri led to huge rallies in Beirut, triggering the government's downfall and Syria's military pull-out in 2005.

2006 saw a resurgence of hostilities between Hezbollah and the state of Israel, with a 34-day military offensive and a blockade. Around 1,200 Lebanese, most of them civilians, were killed, more than 3,000 were wounded, and damage to civilian infrastructure was extensive.

As at 2009, cluster bombs had killed more than 20 and wounded around 200 people since the end of the fighting. International peacekeepers were drafted in to help police a UN-brokered ceasefire. Less than a year later, another conflict erupted in the north of the country, close to the town of Tripoli. Fighting took place in the Palestinian camp of Nahr el-Bared, where the Lebanese Army fought an Islamist group named Fatah al-Islam. Around 400 people died (including more than 160 soldiers), some 500 were wounded, more than 30,000 were displaced and the camp suffered extensive damage as a result of the three months of fighting.

The Lebanese, gripped by the political tensions paralysing the country, again suffered in May 2008 when armed violence erupted in several parts of the country.

The ICRC in Lebanon

At the time of writing, the ICRC had been present in Lebanon since 1967, providing assistance and protection to civilians affected by armed conflict, in close cooperation with the Lebanese Red Cross Society and the Palestine Red Crescent Society. Over the previous 42 years, the ICRC had assisted families separated by war, prisoners and internally displaced people, and it had served as a neutral intermediary in exchanges of combatants and mortal remains. In addition, it had reminded the various parties involved in the conflict of their obligations under international humanitarian law. Likewise, the ICRC had actively disseminated international humanitarian law among armed groups and civil society.

In 2009 in Lebanon, the ICRC was focusing on visiting detainees, restoring family links and helping preserve or restore acceptable living conditions for civilians, the sick and the wounded. The ICRC sought to provide protection by ensuring respect for international humanitarian law. It endeavoured to minimize the dangers to which people were exposed, to prevent or put a stop to violations committed against them, and to make their voices heard.

As from February 2007, the ICRC was authorized by the Lebanese authorities to visit detainees in the country in order to monitor their living conditions, the manner in which they were being treated and respect for their basic rights.

Efforts to restore contact between family members focused on:

- enabling people in Lebanon to maintain contact with family members in Israel or the occupied Palestinian territories through Red Cross messages;
- repatriating Lebanese nationals released from prison in Israel, or living in that country, but who wished to return home;
- supporting Lebanese or Palestinian families who wanted to repatriate the remains of relatives who had died in Israel;
- offering technical support to the Lebanese authorities in resolving the issue of people missing in connection with the civil war and its aftermath; extending support to committees of families of the missing.

The ICRC paid particular attention to people who determined the fate of victims of armed conflict or who could facilitate ICRC action, such as: the armed forces, security and police forces, other weapon bearers; decision-makers and opinion leaders at the local and international levels; and the youth, students and their teachers. The Lebanese armed and internal security forces regularly attended sessions on international humanitarian law. The ICRC also focused on health, economic security and water and sanitation programmes. It sought to preserve or restore acceptable living conditions for civilians and assisted sick and wounded military and civilians.

The ICRC supported hospitals run by the Palestine Red Crescent by providing them with training, teaching materials, medical materials and hospital equipment; organized seminars on war surgery for surgeons working in Lebanese and Palestinian hospitals; and maintained a supply of medical and surgical stocks to enable hospitals and emergency medical services to treat future war wounded. In addition, the ICRC supported the local water authorities in upgrading water-supply facilities that were run down or damaged as a result of conflict. It also ran projects to improve water supply to vulnerable populations in Lebanon, concentrating on marginalized areas in the south, north and the Bekaa valley.

The ICRC provided extensive support to the Lebanese Red Cross and the Palestine Red Crescent Societies. The goal was to improve their emergency response and organizational capacity to meet the needs of affected populations more effectively and in particular to help emergency medical services to strengthen response capacity.

OPINION SURVEY

OPINION SURVEY

The Impact of Armed Conflict

Personal experience of armed conflict

Virtually everyone (96%) in Lebanon has been affected in some way by the armed conflict there – either through direct personal experience (75%) or due to the wider consequences which are felt beyond those who are immediately affected.



What specifically have people experienced?

Those who have been personally affected by conflict report a wide range of traumatic experiences:

- 61% of them became displaced;
- more than three-quarters (78%) suffered 'no or very limited access' to basic necessities such as water and electricity – only 28% were deprived of access to health care to some degree;
- more than half suffered serious damage to their property (57%), or lost contact with a close relative (51%);
- half (51%) lost their means of income.



Other respondents report particularly harrowing experiences such as:

- a quarter (26%) say that a member of their immediate family was killed;
- one person in eight (12%) was wounded in the fighting;
- seven per cent were tortured, 6% kidnapped, 4% imprisoned and 4% fell victim to sexual violence (4%). These small percentages nevertheless represent large numbers of people.

The numbers have generally declined since 1999, but overall they remain very high by most countries' standards.

In 2009:

- far fewer people reported being 'humiliated' by armed conflict (down from 62% in 1999 to 25% in 2009);
- fewer people reported losing contact with a close relative (down from 60% to 47%);
- fewer people reported that their homes had been looted (down from 31% to 20%).

But:

- more people have had to leave home and live elsewhere (up from 43% to 55%);
- serious damage to property is just as widespread as a decade ago (47% in 1999, 49% in 2009);
- and so is kidnapping (6% in 1999, 5% in 2009).

Personal impact of armed conflict - over a decade

Q3A/B. I'm going to ask you about your actual experiences during (how you yourself have been affected by) the armed conflict in Lebanon. Please tell me whether any of the following things happened to you personally or did not happen as a consequence of the armed conflict in Lebanon. For each one, please indicate whether it happened or did not happen to you.



Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Half (51%) of those with direct experience of conflict say they have lost their means of income.

People without personal experience of armed conflict were nevertheless asked about their experiences relating to such events in Lebanon.

The results suggest that this group has also been widely affected:

- access to 'basic necessities': 56% of respondents report at best limited supplies of water, electricity etc.;
- displacement: over a third (37%) say they had to leave home and live elsewhere;
- family: one-third (35%) have lost contact with a close relative;
- property: over a quarter (27%) have suffered serious damage to property;
- economic: a quarter (26%) have lost their means of income.

Men tend to report more of these experiences than women. Older people (those aged 35 or over) report a wider range of hardships than younger people.

When asked a completely open question, where respondents were unprompted and free to say whatever came to mind, 28% of all respondents – those with and without personal experience of armed conflict – mentioned other hardships, most (53%) of which involved psychological impact.

When were people most recently affected by the conflict?

For many (18%), it was within the past year.

This group includes 3% who are 'currently' being affected – while as many as 60% overall say their most recent conflict-related experience was between one and four years ago.

Looking further back, the figures decrease considerably: only 22% have been unaffected by the conflict for the past decade or longer.



Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (579)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

People's greatest fears

In Lebanon, one fear above all dominates: that of 'losing a loved one'. This is one of the greatest fears for 57% of respondents.

But people also worry about their property (28%), physical injury (27%) and their livelihoods (24%).

- Over half (57%) of respondents say they fear losing a loved one and 13% fear being separated from them.
- A quarter (24%) say that loss of livelihood is a major concern. Loss of education, however, barely registers as a concern (just 1%), suggesting people are more focused on the immediate day-to-day living.
- People are equally fearful of personal injury and property loss/destruction each is mentioned by over a quarter (27% and 28% respectively).
- 'Living with uncertainty' is mentioned as a key fear by 22%.

Fears over access to basic necessities such as water and electricity are mentioned less often – although (or perhaps because) this is in fact a genuine problem.

Very few people (5%) consider 'the outcome of the conflict' as one of their greatest fears.

Men tend to fear suffering physical harm, women losing loved ones.

People's greatest fears

Q6. What do you think are the two or three greatest fears people are facing in a situation of armed conflict in Lebanon?



Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Feelings as a consequence of armed conflict

How does armed conflict change people's states of mind?

It breeds greater anxiety (for 62%), sadness (55%), distrust (54%), and vengeance (34%), but also greater wisdom (for 81%), empathy for others (77%), and appreciation of each day (72%).

Perhaps not surprisingly, many people feel they have been affected – positively or negatively – in a large number of ways.

For example, most people report being wiser (81%), more empathetic towards others (77%) and more appreciative of every day (72%).

A large number of people are also optimistic about the future (49% – just outweighing the 35% who are less so).

Unfortunately, most people claim to be more anxious (62%), more sad (55%), and less trusting (54%).

Worryingly, more people now feel more violent/aggressive, not less (24% more/18% less), and more vengeful (34% more/15% less).

Feelings as a consequence of armed conflict

Q8. Now I would like to ask you about whether the armed conflict has changed the way you feel. For each description I read out, please say whether the armed conflict has made you feel more this way, less this way, or has it made no real difference. First [....], would you say it has made you more [....], less [....], or has it done neither?



Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (579)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Civilians' needs in armed conflict

First and foremost, people need 'the basics'. Half (50%) mention security/protection as a vital need while almost as many see food (45%) and medical treatment/health care (42%) as the priority needs.

The most crucial things that the people of Lebanon see as requirements for civilians living in areas of armed conflict are as follows:

- food (45% of respondents choose this from a list as one of the most important requirements for civilians living in conflict areas);
- medical treatment/health care (42%);
- shelter (31%);
- and in particular security/protection (50%).

People's broader emotional or future needs include:

- family members being kept together (23%);
- conflict resolution (21%);
- respect/dignity (21%).

By contrast, few people (2%) consider involvement in decisions a top priority in times of armed conflict.

The patterns among the various sub-groups are broadly consistent.

Civilians' needs

Q7. What do you think civilians who are living in areas of armed conflict need the most? Please select the three most important to you.



Base: All respondents (601)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Help and support from entities/institutions

Where do people turn for help during armed conflict?

Most turn to their parents and families (54%) or to their immediate communities (25%).

Organizations also play a part – and both the Lebanese Red Cross and the ICRC are considered to understand people's needs very well. As many as 80% of those who have received support from the Lebanese Red Cross and/or the ICRC say their needs were completely understood.

People report receiving help from a range of organizations – some of it seen as well-tailored to people's needs, some slightly less so.

Among national organizations, the Lebanese Red Cross and NGOs are frequently mentioned (by 18% and 16% of respondents, respectively). Government and religious entities are also cited (11% and 13%).

Nearly one person in five (18%) has received help from the Lebanese Red Cross or the ICRC – including some who have received help from both.

No one understands people's needs better than parents and immediate families; 92% say they understand them 'completely'.

Both the Lebanese Red Cross and the ICRC are on a par with people's own communities in terms of their understanding of people's needs (all three score almost 80%).

By contrast, NGOs fare relatively poorly in this respect, despite often being a source of help.

Help and support

Q9. During the time you experienced or were being affected by armed conflict, did you receive help or support from any of the following?

	% No	🗖 % Yes	Don't know %
Parents/family	46	54	*
Individuals from your community/neighbours	74	25	*
Lebanese Red Cross	81	18	1
Non-governmental organization (NGO) or charity	82	16	2
Military/army/combatants	84	15	1
Religious entities	86	13	1
Government	89	11	1
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)	91	5	3
UN/UN agency	95	4	1
TOTAL Lebanese Red Cross + ICRC	92	18	1

Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way (579)

Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Help and support

Q10. For each of the types of organizations or people you mentioned receiving help or support from, I would like you to tell me how well you felt they understood your needs. First, the [type of support at Q9]...do you feel your needs were completely understood, partially understood, or not understood at all?



Barriers to receiving help

In Lebanon, it is mainly 'pride and dignity' (cited by 48%) that prevent people from accepting aid – but there are several other barriers as well.

For example, there is a sense that factors such as discrimination (30%) and corruption (24%) are key barriers. Black markets are also mentioned, but less often (14%).

Lack of physical access to the places where aid is needed also plays a part (29%).

In addition to pride/dignity being cited as an obstacle to receiving aid (cited by 48%) is that people decline help because of 'who is offering it' (25%), or for fear of consequently being viewed as aligned with the 'wrong side' (18%).

Often, people claim not to need aid (30%) – but in some cases it is simply a case of not wanting it (13%).

Almost one person in six (16%) says lack of awareness is a problem.

Men and women have a broadly similar interpretation of the main barriers to receiving help or support, while those 18-24-years-olds are likely to highlight the role of black markets and of geographical inaccessibility.

Barriers to receiving help

Q11. Which, if any, of the following reasons do you think may have prevented people in Lebanon receiving or accepting help or support during armed conflict?



Reducing suffering

People look to the Lebanese Red Cross far more than to any other group – even within their own communities – to reduce suffering during armed conflict.

Three-quarters (74%) say the Lebanese Red Cross plays the biggest role, followed by 'local/international NGOs/charities' (27%).

Indeed, no other group (even within people's own communities) is mentioned first by even as many as 10%. Religious leaders, for example, score just 8% and community leaders just 2%. 9% of respondents cite the military. The Lebanese Red Cross is mentioned first by 46% of respondents.

Three-quarters of respondents (74%) mention the Lebanese Red Cross either first or second as a source of help. 79% of respondents mention the Lebanese Red Cross and/or the ICRC.

The military, religious leaders, international humanitarian organizations and other aid organizations are mentioned as having a role in reducing suffering by only about one-quarter (between 24% and 27%) of respondents.

'Community leaders' are mentioned by just 7%.

Women look more often than men to religious leaders for help; older people look more often than younger people to the military.

Reducing suffering

Q20. I'm now going to describe different kinds of groups and organizations. Please tell me which three of these play the biggest role to help reduce suffering during armed conflict.



Base: All respondents (601)

The role of external actors

People in Lebanon see a role for the international community both in direct intervention such as delivering emergency aid, (cited by 36%) and in other activities, such as bringing leaders charged with crimes to trial, (cited by 30%).

Outside intervention of the following kinds have the most support among respondents:

- delivering emergency aid (36%-40% among women);
- providing peacekeepers (27%);
- rebuilding infrastructure (24%);
- military intervention (22%).

In addition, there is support for a role of the international community:

- bringing leaders charged with crimes to trial (30% the single most widely-supported action);
- organizing peace talks/negotiations (27%);
- exerting political pressure generally (17%).

By contrast, economic sanctions find little favour (6%).

The various age groups are in close agreement on what the international community's priorities should be.

The role of external actors

Q21. What do you think the international community should do to help civilians who are living in areas of armed conflict?



Base: All respondents (601)

What should the role of people living outside the conflict zone (i.e. citizens from other countries) be in helping victims of armed conflict?

Donations of both money (66%) and goods (46%) are widely supported – as is the idea of people volunteering (36%).

More than a third of respondents (36%) say that those outside the conflict zone should put pressure on legislators/politicians.

Again, the population sub-groups show little difference of opinion.

Support from the wider world

Q22. What, if anything, do you think people living outside of conflict zones can do that would most help victims of armed conflict in Lebanon? Please select the three you feel are most important.



Base: All respondents (601)

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Limits to behaviour

The majority of people in Lebanon (54%) believe that there should be limits in armed conflict on what combatants are allowed to do.

Through an open question where respondents provided unprompted answers, around half of them (54%) cite specific behaviour that they feel is unacceptable. Most often, they mention the killing/targeting of civilians or children (24%), not respecting civil society/culture/laws (12%), or acts of violence/oppression such as kidnapping, theft, assault and torture (11%).

What do respondents mention as the basis for imposing limits?

Among those who advocate some limits to behaviour, three-quarters (74%) say human rights should be the benchmark.

The next most powerful criterion is religion. Half (53%) say this is a measure by which certain actions should be forbidden.

The law (49%-56% among men), people's personal code/ethics (44%) and cultural criteria (33%) are also mentioned.

Some people feel that certain kinds of behaviour are unacceptable on the basis of the harm they cause. For example, because certain behaviour produces too much destruction (28% say this is a suitable yardstick for actions deemed to be unacceptable), or because it produces too much hate and division (32%).

Limits to behaviour

Q12. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy?



Threats to civilians

Almost everyone (95%) in Lebanon supports the principle that civilians should not be targeted during armed conflict – they should either be left alone 'as much as possible' (63%) or entirely left alone (32%).

Respondents were asked whether it is acceptable to attack civilians in order to 'weaken the enemy'.

Nearly all respondents (95%) feel that civilians and enemy combatants are not equally acceptable targets (in 1999, the figure was 97%).

Only 32% of respondents say that civilians should be spared in all circumstances (in 1999, 68% expressed this view). Nearly two-thirds (63%) now say that civilians should merely be spared 'as much as possible' (29% in 1999).

Thus, many people now seem to reject the notion that civilians are always 'off limits'. This holds for all age and religious groups and for both men and women.

Only in instances where civilians voluntarily support the enemy are they then seen as acceptable targets:

- 62% say it is OK to attack civilians who voluntarily transport ammunition for the enemy. This is up from 37% in 1999 – and there are now twice as many people who say it is acceptable as people who say it is not (62% vs 32%).
- 46% say it is OK to attack civilians who voluntarily give food and shelter to the enemy. This
 figure has more than doubled from 22% in 1999 and there are now as many people who
 say it is acceptable as people who say it is not (in 1999, the ratio was over 3:1 against).
- Younger people are more likely than older people to accept 'attacking civilians who voluntarily transport ammunition'. Men are more willing than women to condone 'attacks on villages/towns populated by civilians'.

It is felt by nearly all that it is unacceptable to:

- plant landmines which may harm civilians (94% in 2009, 69% in 1999);
- deprive civilians of food, medicine or water (94% in 2009, 69% in 1999);
- attack religious and historical monuments (98% in 2009, 82% in 1999).

The same pattern applies to taking civilians as hostages and to attacking populated villages/ towns knowing that civilians would be killed (80% and 77% respectively).



Health workers and ambulances

There is almost universal support for the notion that neither health workers nor ambulances should be targeted by combatants in any circumstances (support for both runs at 99%).

Almost no one says that it is sometimes acceptable to target health workers or ambulances (just 1% in each case).

As a result of this limited data, it is hard to reliably say in which circumstances (those very few) people do think attacks are acceptable.


Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Targeting ambulances

- **Q18.** In a situation of armed conflict, are there any circumstances in which you think it is acceptable for combatants to target ambulances?
- **Q19.** In which, if any, of the following circumstances do you think this is acceptable?



Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

Health workers and services: the right to health care

Virtually everyone (98%) agrees that 'everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care'.

The vast majority (96%) agree 'strongly'. Just 1% expressly disagree.

Similarly, the vast majority of people (84%) feel that health workers should treat wounded and sick civilians from all sides in an armed conflict – and not confine their support to only 'their' side.

The right to health care

- **Q25.** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health care'
- **Q26.** In the context of an armed conflict, what best describes your personal views?



Where total does not sum to 100%, this is due to multiple responses, computer rounding or to the exclusion of "don't know" responses

The Geneva Conventions

Awareness of the Geneva Conventions is very high in Lebanon – 69% of respondents have heard of them – but many people are not convinced of their effectiveness in limiting civilian suffering in war time.

Just over a quarter (29%) of respondents say they have not heard of the Geneva Conventions.

Among those who have heard of the Geneva Conventions, 34% say the treaties do not limit the suffering of civilians at all and a further 15% say they do not limit it very much.

Around one respondent in three (36%) thinks the Geneva Conventions limit suffering by at least a fair amount (19% say the Geneva Conventions reduce suffering a great deal).

Men are more aware than women of the Geneva Conventions.



IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

The Impact of Armed Conflict

The people of Lebanon have lived through decades of armed conflict. Survivors from the hostilities of 1948, 1975-90, 2006, 2007 are all represented in the sample. Consequently, experiences vary widely in terms of whether individuals have become displaced, suffered physical injury, are relatives of missing persons or acted as first responders. Many people have endured a combination of these effects.

One common theme emerging from all the interviews is that people believe that the situation is getting worse rather than better, particularly in terms of the impact on and suffering of civilians.

People caught up in the violence of 2006 and 2007 are still in a state of shock and are struggling to come to terms with what has happened to them. They repeatedly ask why civilians were not spared the violence and give examples of what they saw as disproportionate use of force.

The involvement of civilians creates a view of the other side as 'not human' and has engendered even greater hatred between different sides.

If people lose their humanitarian feelings, they become monsters. (Ahmed, 45, relative of missing persons)

First responders are especially likely to express bitterness about the involvement of civilians because they have seen so much suffering first hand. Wahid, a photo-journalist, tells how he began evacuating children from a building when he found himself amongst the first people on the scene following a bombing.

I had the choice of either to save a life or to take a photo.. Of course I saved life, to hell with the photo in these cases ... It triggers feelings of anger and you cannot stay neutral in front of such ugliness and massacres. (Wahid, 30, first responder)

There is a wide range of views about the possible solution to conflict. Some hope for a peaceful solution whereas others feel that combatants have a duty to try to defend civilians and territory against aggressors. There is universal agreement that war represents the worst of humankind, but some people see benefits alongside the suffering. One young man who had lost a leg as a 13-year-old in a cluster munitions explosion values the winning-back of land and homes for his people:

If it wasn't for warfare we would not have recovered our land and villages in the south. It is true I have lost my leg because of the war, but at least now my village is liberated and I can visit my village freely. (Adil, 22, cluster munitions victim)

People in Lebanon link their own personal experience of war to a wider narrative about history, religion, land and justice. They want a resolution to conflict but see little realistic hope of one. A number of people openly say they have given up hope for their own lives but only hope to spare their children the suffering they have experienced.

I have no longer any hope of living restfully. I don't care about myself, I care about my children. (Mahmoud, 48, internally displaced person)

Personal experience of armed conflict

Becoming a victim of bombings or cluster munitions is the primary fear the respondents express – for themselves and their loved ones.

Bereavement, having a family member go missing, becoming displaced and losing belongings and livelihoods are the other potential impacts of war that most preoccupy the respondents.

Personal experience of armed conflict varies a lot, specifically by gender and according to the characteristics of the armed conflict individuals have lived through. The long-term nature of armed conflict in Lebanon and throughout the Middle East more generally means that families in certain areas have experienced multiple negative effects of war over several generations. This has led to a strong sense of injustice.

Death and physical injury

Becoming a direct victim of attack, bombing or cluster munitions is the main fear people express for themselves and their children. Aerial bombardment, cluster munitions and sniper fire are all mentioned specifically.

Those who have experienced aerial bombardment talk about the terrifying experience of trying to find shelter from attack. Crowding multiple families into rooms during hostilities was a common experience and sometimes this could go on for long periods. The fear of being crushed by a collapsed building is ever present at these times, as this father described:

When the fighting started we were deeply asleep, the children woke up and started to scream hysterically with fear. Shells were crashing near the house. We ran away to the ground floor of the building which we thought was the safest place to hide in. But the shelling intensified and we had to leave the house to another side of the camp which we felt was safer. We just left in our pyjamas and the clothes we had on. (Habib, 40, internally displaced person)

The widespread presence of unexploded cluster munitions/mines in civilian areas is seen as a particularly cruel effect of war in Lebanon because they carry on killing and maiming long after hostilities are considered over. One respondent has experienced the loss of his son, the injury of another son and the loss of his own leg in two separate incidents, even though the area had reportedly been cleared by professionals.

They came and detonated around 60 bombs and then said it was clear. Shortly afterwards, my two sons were playing in the field next to the house when a cluster bomb exploded, killing one and injuring the second... My heart has died since my son was killed. (Amir, 44, cluster munitions victim)

During the war, one can accept that people get killed, but not after the end of the war when people have returned to their homes and villages. (Amir, 44, cluster munitions victim)

Another mine victim had lost his leg as a 12-year-old (he is now 30) as a result of preventable gangrene. He had been unable to get a transfer to a hospital with suitable equipment because of the travel restrictions in place at the time.

I could not be evacuated to a main hospital in Beirut since this part of Lebanon was under occupation and cut off from the rest of the country. The local hospital was not well-equipped and could not give me the necessary treatment, so they had to transfer me two days later to a different hospital, but it was too late when I arrived because the gangrene had spread and they had to amputate. (Nassif, 30, mine victim)

Loss of relatives and friends

A few of the people interviewed have lost family members directly through the war. In addition, a couple of women talk about loved ones suffering poor health and ultimately dying after being 'broken' because of the impact of war. Some people have experienced the multiple effects of wartime bereavement and family members going missing – their fate unknown.

During interviews conducted with relatives of missing persons, respondents often broke down in tears. Their cases can be left unresolved for decades even when there is some hope that the missing people are still alive. Several of the mothers interviewed have had children go missing during the civil war (1975-90) and still do not know what has happened to them. One of the mothers believes that her missing son is still detained in a foreign prison but has been unable to contact him.

One can hide in the shelter to avoid shells, but how can you escape the suffering of not knowing the fate of your son or your beloved ones? This is the psychological war that continues long after the actual physical war has stopped. (Mirvat, 65, relative of a missing person)

Typically people would try and trace family members through acquaintances, local leaders and in some cases humanitarian organizations. In the sample of those interviewed, a few cases had been resolved but many had not. One woman whose only son and daughter were kidnapped in 1985 was still trying to find them. This mother, who was 65, feared she would die before knowing the truth. Others felt that nobody cared about their plight.

Nobody cares about our cause. We want to have back our missing. Those who died let them rest in peace and those who are living should be returned to their families. That is all we are asking for. (Handouma, 65, relative of missing persons)

Displacement

Displacement is a very common effect of war and is mentioned in most personal narratives. The experience of displacement ranges from precautionary evacuations for short periods to whole lifetimes spent on the move. Take the example of Imad, a 77-year-old man who was displaced in 1948 from present-day Israel and again in 2007 from the Nahr el-Bared Palestinian camp:

Displacement is part of the history of my life...It was not easy to suffer displacement at a young age when life was still lying ahead and when aspirations and hopes in life are high. (Imad, 77, internally displaced person)

Another civilian victim talks about her experiences during the civil war of 1975-90.

I remember I had given birth to my youngest child only eight days earlier when we were hit by the war. They attacked us and we had to flee. Then the gunmen took the men away and as for women and children they were kicked out of the area to the other side. Since then I haven't seen my son, my two brothers and my brother-in-law. (Odette, 66, relative of missing persons)

Displacement disproportionately affects older and less mobile people who are not able to flee quickly. Their stories of displacement tend to happen at a later stage when there is no alternative.

My seven sisters had to walk kilometres to flee even though they are elderly. They should have been evacuated by ambulances, but the ambulance could not reach the village as there was no access. (Hassan, 48, displaced from his border village in South Lebanon)

Loss of livelihood is often the long-term consequence of displacement, as people are separated from their means of providing for themselves.

Loss of property and belongings

Loss of property and belongings goes hand in hand with displacement as people flee their homes to save their lives. One woman talks about the sadness of not even having a photograph to remember her dead brother by. Others wish they had managed to salvage more from their homes but had not had time to do so whilst under fire.

Under the bombs one looks for shelter, nothing else. (Amina, 80, mother of a released prisoner)

What can we do? We were displaced and forced to leave almost barefoot, without carrying any of our belongings. (Mariam, 66, displaced and mother of a missing son)

The loss of property and belongings is a common story from the Nahr el-Bared camp where many dwellings were completely destroyed. Few expected the destruction to be so total and are angry about the senseless suffering this caused civilians.

No one expected the war to last that long or that the camp would be destroyed in such a bad and terrible way. I still don't understand the causes behind turning the camp into a pile of rubble. (Imad, 77, internally displaced person)

Differences in personal experiences of armed conflict, by group

Internally displaced persons

Becoming displaced is a common experience of armed conflict in Lebanon and there is a lot of overlap between displaced persons and other groups in this sample (relatives of missing persons, first responders and cluster munitions victims). The effects of displacement can be minor or major depending on a number of factors, namely:

- the duration of displacement;
- the condition of the home on return;
- the impact on livelihoods.

Often it is displaced persons who feel the effects of humanitarian gestures the most, as shelter and food is offered to them by acquaintances or their community.

Relatives of missing persons

Relatives of missing persons are more likely than other groups to have relatives who were combatants. Some of these people reportedly become missing after being taken prisoner during conflict. People could also go missing in other ways such as through kidnapping or separation during displacement. The search for news can dominate lives and have very negative long-term psychological effects. These respondents often feel that they had not been helped enough. When help is received it can be totally life changing (see next section on humanitarian assistance).

First responders

First responders see armed conflict and its effects from both the outside and the inside: from the outside, in their capacity as helpers to those who have been directly affected by the fighting; and from the inside, in that they have been working in territory where the conflict was taking place, and therefore have felt the same uncertainty and suffered in many of the same ways as those they were helping.

First responders are more likely to have a sense of fulfilment from having saved lives rather than experiencing the hopelessness and humiliation civilians often talk about.

Every time we managed to dig out a person who was still living, I felt happy, that it was an achievement. (Naseem, 44, first responder)

First responders feel that they were working under ever-riskier conditions and a number of them talk about the loss of colleagues and the negative effect of this on their morale. However, the pressing need to help civilians drove them on.

Cluster munitions victims

Cluster munitions victims express a strong sense of injustice regarding use of cluster munitions against civilians. They are more likely than other groups to talk about the importance of being able to earn a living and support families. They could feel that the authorities had not acted soon enough – or not at all – in providing them with prostheses to help them reconstruct their lives.

Civilians' needs in armed conflict

Civilians' main physical needs during armed conflict were for shelter, food/water, access to medicine, clothing/bedding and money.

Employment is the key to providing these but the conflict had interrupted and destroyed livelihoods.

Psychological needs were also neglected in the struggle for basic survival.

Civilians talk about their needs in armed conflict in terms of short-term needs and long-term needs. The main priorities in the short term are: shelter, food/water, access to medicines, clothing/bedding and money. The importance of prioritizing the needs of children and the elderly in terms of access to food and health care is mentioned across the sample.

At least the children should be distanced from the violence, because adults can cope better with hardships. They can stay two days without food, for example, but children cannot last out without food, and if they are injured they need to be attended to immediately, while if an adult is injured he can hold on better until assistance or an ambulance arrives. (Amir, 44, cluster munitions victim)

Civilians' longer-term needs are more complex and less likely to be met. There is a pressing need for civilians to be supported in rebuilding their lives following armed conflict. There are a number of positive examples of when individuals had been given help in securing new homes and livelihoods. However, widespread help in reconstructing civilian infrastructure has been limited and hard to secure.

In addition, the psychological needs arising from trauma are usually neglected in the struggle for basic survival. This is especially true for relatives of missing persons and cluster bomb victims.

The psychological effects of losing a limb are particularly notable in Lebanon because of the problem of cluster munitions. A first responder in South Lebanon describes how he always made sure a new victim coming in for a consultation with him met another victim who had recovered from the initial shock and was using a prosthesis, because this helped enormously with psychological recovery.

The pain of losing contact with loved ones is hard to bear and can leave people with psychological problems. It can also leave people vulnerable to exploitation. One woman had been asked for ransom money for her missing children and had tried to secure it but had found out in time that the claims were false.

I have lost my two only children, my son and daughter, and I've lost my health and my sanity. (Sarah, 75, daughter and son missing since 1985)

Humanitarian assistance

Some respondents feel they had received no help at all, while others report on the generosity of fellow citizens and humanitarian organizations.

Among the various humanitarian organizations mentioned, the ICRC/Lebanese Red Cross are the most frequently mentioned and there is much gratitude for their health assistance and provision of basic necessities. In addition, the ICRC's help in re-establishing family contact is hugely appreciated.

The importance of assistance

Many of the respondents have had had their lives saved by humanitarian assistance during armed conflict. Typical examples include help with being evacuated and being provided with food, water and shelter by local, national or international humanitarian organizations.

Humanitarian assistance is crucial for civilians and combatants alike.

Even the combatant relies in the back of his mind on the assistance of these organizations and societies, thinking that if he gets injured he can rely on the Red Cross for assistance. (Amina, 80, mother of a released prisoner)

Civilians express gratitude for assistance. However, they also carry a sense of indebtedness with which they do not always feel comfortable. People are typically much keener to talk about help they have given, rather than help they have received.

Some people say they have not been offered any help at all even though they have suffered severe trauma. Relatives of missing persons and cluster munitions victims are most likely to state this view.

Humanitarian assistance from organizations

Of more organized sources of humanitarian assistance, the ICRC/Lebanese Red Cross is the most commonly mentioned. UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees) and the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) are also mentioned. The internally displaced are most likely to talk about help they have received from these organizations.

People value the life-saving health assistance and the provision of necessities very highly. Providing the necessities to sustain life and making people feel welcome when they have been displaced can help them overcome the psychological trauma of their experiences.

Health care makes a huge difference, especially when combined with psychological support. One first responder in South Lebanon ran sports clubs for users of prostheses. One of his patients was also interviewed and says his life has improved immeasurably as a result of being provided with a suitable prosthesis and participating in sports.

There are a number of poignant stories of the ICRC providing life-changing contact between previously missing persons and their families. One of the respondents, Ahmed, had lost a leg during hostilities and had been taken prisoner. He was able to re-establish links with his family through the ICRC.

My mother contacted the ICRC in South Lebanon and they were able to trace me and visit me in the hospital... It was eight months after the incident. The ICRC even tried to organize a visit for my mother to come and see me in hospital. She got there and I could see her from the window, but they did not allow her to meet me. In January 1985, I was released and transferred through the ICRC from the hospital in Haifa to a hospital in Beirut, where the ICRC helped me get my first prosthesis.

... During my captivity I exchanged at least three Red Cross messages with my mother... You have no idea how much it helped me put up with my ordeal and lifted my morale by just reading news about my family. Also my mother could put up with the sufferings and separation much better by reading the messages I sent her... She did suffer a lot. (Ahmed, 45, released prisoner)

Another respondent describes how finding news of her son through the ICRC has helped her cope with life once more.

I was totally lost, until the ICRC stepped in and I finally got some information. The assistance of the ICRC made a big difference in my life, I was like born again. Before that I was always sad, very, very sad, completely lost, but after we got news of him we all in the family felt better... It is true that he is in prison but at least I know that he is still alive. (Shazia, 48, member of separated family)

Families feel that once a relative has been registered by the ICRC, they are safe from 'disappearance'. This gives families a huge amount of psychological reassurance and illustrates the respect and influence accorded to the ICRC. The visiting of prisons by the ICRC is also highly appreciated.

My son told me that the detention conditions improved a lot after the ICRC had stepped in. (Amina, 80, mother of a released prisoner)

Long-term reconstruction is generally seen as the role of the government rather than humanitarian organizations, though there are examples of humanitarian organizations and corporations playing a part in this important work. Employment is seen as the most important element of reconstruction as it has enabled families to return to some sort of normality.

I got assistance from ECHO worth \$1000 to help me restart a small business... they also provided us with training in breeding bees or doing other businesses. We thank them. They did care for us. (Hassan, 48, internally displaced person)

A telecom company recruited 70 people and it was a condition that they should be former prisoners to help them restart normal life... this made a difference to my life. (Ahmed, 45, released prisoner)

Desired improvements to assistance

The lack of provision for longer-term reconstruction is commonly felt and civilians want the government to do more for all types of victims of armed conflict. They want governmental support in rebuilding their lives and homes, as well as better long-term infrastructure such as better shelters in buildings. One health-care worker working with victims of cluster munitions describes how communities were very willing to offer assistance to victims of war but that there was little help available from the authorities.

On the personal level, in Lebanon we have this mentality of getting together and helping each other in times of wars and difficulties which is a good thing. For example in the 2006 war, all the Lebanese opened their houses to help and host the displaced and alleviate their sufferings. The humanitarian action exists on an individual level, but not on the level of nation in the sense of official organizations. (Tahir, 33, first responder)

People believe that not enough is being done for victims of cluster munitions. They want more efforts to clear areas of cluster munitions as well as more rehabilitation support for victims. Those who have lost limbs talked about the lack of financial assistance for them to find and replace suitable prostheses and the negative impact this has had on their lives.

As a war victim and disabled person I have no privileges or benefits whatsoever, in fact I have to work twice as hard because of my disability to be able to earn a living. (Kassem, cluster munitions victim)

The ministry gives you a card saying you are a handicapped person and war victim but this is only ink on paper because it does not give us any benefits at all. (Nassif, 42, cluster munitions victim)

Respondents are much less likely to criticize humanitarian organizations, though some suggest improvements to aid activities are made.

Displaced persons and first responders would like assistance to be distributed in a more organized and dignified way. They say that standing in long queues for food for displaced people can be a humiliating experience. A number of people talk about an atmosphere of disorganization and chaos.

There were long queues outside waiting for their food assistance portion, it was not organized and it was humiliating in a certain way. (Naseem, 44, first responder)

Some feel that the ICRC did not go far enough in terms of evacuating civilians. For example, one first responder had requested that the ICRC evacuate civilians in their cars during the 2006 conflict but had been refused because the civilians were not injured and therefore there was no medical need. He was angry and said:

Do you have to wait until these people are injured in order to evacuate them? (Wahid, 30, first responder)

Sometimes ambulances could wait for long periods for the 'green light' to go into areas to help civilians, which could be frustrating for first responders who felt they could be saving lives in that time. First responders acknowledge this was partly due to increased incidences of ambulances being hit, especially in the 2006 war.

People would like longer-term help from humanitarian organizations once hostilities have halted. Some of the cluster munitions victims are disparaging about the proliferation of humanitarian organizations because they did not seem to provide long-term financial or health assistance for cases like theirs. One 40-year-old man who had lost both legs at 17 says that earning a living with his disability has been a struggle and he would have liked to have seen more help for cases like his.

We have a lot of local charities and associations as well as international humanitarian organizations in Lebanon, but these organizations are not making sure that the assistance is being received by the ones who need it. I lost my legs in 1986 and I am a victim of war, but I have not received any assistance of any kind neither from local nor from international organizations. Although I have lost both legs, there is no one to take care of me, I have to work in order to make a living. If I don't work, I cannot eat. (Omar, 40, cluster munitions victim)

Finally, and most importantly, civilians want humanitarian organizations and specifically the ICRC to be more outspoken in condemning countries and combatants who violated the Geneva Conventions.

Humanitarian gestures

Respondents recount acts of great courage and generosity by their fellow citizens – and by humanitarian workers. These include evacuating areas under fire, offering homes for shelter and waiving payment of goods and services.

Respondents claim that in principle, they would give assistance to a wounded enemy, but none had been in this situation before.

Giving humanitarian aid at an individual level is seen as a defining feature of what it is to be a human being and people value this very highly.

Respondents recount acts of great courage and generosity on the part of fellow citizens and humanitarian workers. Humanitarian acts include help in evacuating areas under fire, opening homes to displaced persons and waiving payment for goods and services.

I was walking one day in Beddawi and I saw an old woman sitting on the roadside, all in tears ... she said that she and her children had not eaten much for three days and that she did not have a penny, so I opened my purse and gave her 20,000 Lebanese pounds (equivalent of \$12), it was all the money I had on that day. (Ikram, 40, displaced from her village in South Lebanon)

Friends and acquaintances can often be the first port of call at times of need. One woman, Mirvat, who sheltered a family during the 2006 war, describes her feelings about giving this help:

After the war, the husband makes a point to come every now and then to thank me and to show his gratitude. But if we don't help one another in such difficult times, when would we do it? (Mirvat, 33, herself later internally displaced)

The bonds within communities could be very strong, even when individuals did not know each other particularly well. Another civilian, an amputee, says he was about to lose his home because he was late paying the rent, when he was given money by an acquaintance he barely knew and was able to save his home. Many people fleeing from hostilities (especially from Nahr el-Bared in 2007) describe how they had found shelter with friends and relatives in safer areas.

Sometimes individual courage has saved lives when emergency services could not reach particularly inaccessible and dangerous areas. One person describes how he evacuated elderly and vulnerable people from a village by carrying them to the entrance of the village where ambulances were waiting.

Respondents claim they would give assistance to a wounded enemy combatant but none had ever had occasion to do so.

There are some examples of individual, uncoordinated aid being counterproductive. One first responder gives the example of people trying to free victims of a collapsed building but in the process causing the further collapse of some of the remaining walls, killing some of the victims. However, there is an overall sense that the benefits of spontaneous action outweigh the possible risks.

Behaviour during Armed Conflict

Rules of conflict

The belief is that armed conflicts have become more inhumane in recent years because civilians are more likely to be affected or even targeted.

People feel that the ethics and morality of conflict have sunk to new lows with the use of cluster munitions, as these continue to kill after the conflict has ended.

There is a widespread view that the conflicts have become less humane in recent years because civilians are more likely to be affected and even directly targeted. A couple of respondents recount stories of 'more civilized' ancient times when tribes would fight in the desert away from inhabited ares or settle disputes with individual duels. People affected by the conflict observe that most of the victims of modern violence are civilians and this was particularly true of the 2006 war. Some first responders perceive that the division between combatants and civilians has become blurred and this is causing civilians to be more affected.

On one side it is an army, on the other side it is a popular resistance which means the combatant is a civilian. (Wahid, 30, first responder)

The resistance fighters are in fact civilian. They fight, then they go back to their fields, to their groves to cultivate the land. (Naseem, 44, first responder)

Nonetheless, they still feel that this does not excuse the behaviour of the military in recent conflicts and causes a huge amount of injustice as innocent civilians were targeted.

We were accused of terrorism but we have nothing to do with all that. (Aliya, 58, internally displaced person)

People in Lebanon believe that the respect of the rules of conflict in modern warfare has sunk to new lows in terms of ethics and morality. First responders and cluster munitions victims are particularly likely to express this view. They specifically refer to the use of cluster munitions because they kill after the conflict is supposedly over and also to the aerial bombardment of civilian areas and buildings.

Other examples of the unacceptable impact on civilians include the failure to provide a safe passage for civilians fleeing from conflict even when a truce is declared and the failure to respect water supplies for civilian populations.

Here in Nahr el-Bared the water tanks were hit. Why? Even the cars which were distributing bread to the trapped people were targeted in the first days of the war and people were killed. (Meenera, 33, internally displaced person)

Right to health care and protecting health workers

There is a strong belief from all the groups that everyone should have the right to health care regardless of whether they are civilians or combatants.

Also, they believe health workers and their vehicles should be spared any violence.

Right to health care

There is a strong belief from all groups that everyone should have a right to health care, whether they are civilians or combatants. A number of people express a view based on religion in this regard.

Provision of health care for cluster munitions victims is not perceived to be very satisfactory. A number of people talk about the difficulty of finding health care and the fact that it takes years to have a prosthesis fitted.

Protecting health workers

There is strong agreement across the sample, and particularly amongst first responders, that health workers and their vehicles should be spared violence and left to do their job. This is regardless of religion, race and affiliation.

The side which targets these teams should be held accountable and punished, because the medical teams and ambulances are priceless and their work is sacred and a necessity. (Naseem, 44, first responder)

There is quite a lot of variation amongst first responders as to what extent they believe the health mission was respected. This seems to depend largely on the specific conflict they had experienced.

It is true that two of our comrades were killed, but it was a mistake... The fighting sides could have easily hunted us down had they really intended to harm us ... We were protected, but there is always so-called collateral damage caused by mistakes. (Shahin, 32, first responder)

In contrast, several first responders believe that during the 2006 war they had been directly targeted.

They used to fire shells in front of and behind the ambulances and try to cut off roads and access to the villages and victims. Why were we targeted? We were transporting injured, dead, civilians... From day one of the war we knew that we had no protection at all. (Hamid, 38, first responder)

There is general agreement amongst first responders and others that although it varies between conflicts, the principle of respecting the health mission is being eroded and urgently needs to be reinforced.

The Geneva Conventions

Most but not all are familiar with the Geneva Conventions. It is believed that the Geneva Conventions were being violated in Lebanon with regard to the targeting of civilians and medical personnel. However, civilians feel there have been no consequences, particularly at the international level.

Most but not all respondents are familiar with the Geneva Conventions. First responders are most familiar with their content. There is a perception that the Geneva Conventions were being violated in Lebanon through the targeting of civilians and to some extent medical personnel.

Impact on civilians in war is seen as inevitable in the sense that they would occasionally get caught in the crossfire.

It is a fact that civilians, not only in Lebanon, but all over the world, are caught in the war, because the belligerents are not fighting in a remote, empty desert, but inside cities, villages and agricultural fields. (Naseem, 44, first responder)

However, there is a strong sense of injustice amongst the Lebanese population that recent conflicts have deliberately targeted civilians for apparently political purposes and these atrocities have carried no international consequences.

The most bewildering thing is that there is no one to stop it [breaking of the Geneva Conventions]. (Tahir, 33, first responder)

Respondents point out that the Geneva Conventions have been violated in many countries and not just in Lebanon. A common view is that the Geneva Conventions were well written but need more implementation.

I am not saying the text should be revised, but the countries of the world should raise awareness about the importance of the Geneva Conventions, they should educate their fighters and armies on the principles of the Conventions in order to create in them an internal feeling of deterrence... (Ziad, 32, first responder)

Conclusions: priority actions

Those affected by conflict in Lebanon would like to see more international condemnation and ideally prosecution of those violating the Geneva Conventions.

They would also like to see aid and government assistance for long-term reconstruction, including clearing of cluster munitions.

Lastly, they would like further resolution of the problem of missing persons.

Respondents in Lebanon have three main messages they would like to communicate to the rest of the world:

If armed conflict is inevitable, then better implementation of the rules of conflict is needed, to ensure that the impact on civilians is minimal. There is outrage that the impact on civilians is getting worse and part of the problem appears to be the absence of any negative consequences for combatants and countries breaking international law. People want to see more international condemnation and ideally prosecution in cases where the Geneva Conventions have been deliberately violated. First responders feel even more strongly about this than other groups.

There should be punishment against violators, but no country which has violated the Conventions was punished. (Naseem, 44, first responder)

 All groups – and especially internally displaced people and cluster munitions victims – want more humanitarian aid and government assistance for long-term reconstruction and employment. Fully clearing areas of cluster munitions is also seen as a priority so that civilians can rebuild lives and livelihoods.

There is definitely a need for economic assistance in the sense of helping the war affected to continue in life and be able to earn a living. (Imad, 77, internally displaced person)

 People want a greater focus on the resolution of the problem of missing persons. Although the assistance of the ICRC and others has been life changing in many cases, there are still too many families who have not been helped and feel they have no one to turn to.

We want to know who is dead, who is still living, who is detained here or there, the families have to know what happened to their beloved. (Mariam, 65, son missing since 1990)

First responders have broadly the same views, but want to further emphasize the need to protect the health mission.

Specific trends for different groups

Internally displaced persons	 Displacement could become a way of life for some. Older generations may have been displaced several times in the course of the different armed conflicts. For the younger generations who have been displaced, the loss of livelihoods has become the most difficult aspect of life.
	• Loss of personal belongings could be particularly painful: sentimental attachments to possessions are felt keenly, especially where people have lost so much else in their lives. Many people fled to save their lives in a 24-hour period, with little possibility to gather possessions together.
	Often it was displaced persons who benefited most from humanitarian gestures, when shelter and food were offered to them by acquaintances or their community.
	• Their own experiences demonstrate how civilians are being targeted more than ever before. They felt the attacks were getting worse, with less and less care taken to avoid civilian casualties.
	• If they do have to flee their homes, they resent in particular having no warning and then being indiscriminately attacked as they leave. They have seen or experienced civilians being hit when they were going about their everyday lives. Their facilities such as schools, hospitals, places of worship and even ambulances and provision vehicles had been bombed.
Relatives of missing persons	• The search for news on the fate of missing persons could go on for decades and the results are often minimal, or non-existent.
	• Even if people had an idea where their relatives might have been, e.g. in prison, contact with those detained might still not happen.
	• The psychological torment of not knowing the fate of missing relatives is at the forefront for all. The suffering and pain for these individuals is still vivid after many years.
	• This is the group that feel most strongly that they have not received enough humanitarian assistance.
	• They are left with feelings of helplessness because they could not prevent their loved ones from being taken and did not know their fate.
	• They have become disillusioned with the Geneva Conventions as no individual seemed to benefit from protection.
First responders	• First responders lived through much of the same suffering as the other groups covered in this report. However, they console themselves with the sense that they were helping individuals and potentially saving lives.
	• They have strong feelings and opinions about the impact of the wars on everyone and are often foremost in calling for better political leadership and international aid. They have sometimes lost colleagues in the war, which makes the situation even more unjust for them.
	• They feel that respect for the work they did was often lacking, as they themselves did not escape attack when they came to the aid of civilians in distress.
	There is a sense that the Geneva Conventions are not being adhered to in Lebanon and the first responders are keen to ensure prosecution of those who violated the law.

Cluster munitions victims	Cluster munitions victims feel it is even more unjust to be injured or have a loved one die after the conflict was supposed to have ended – and this was what cluster munitions did.
	 Victims could take encouragement and inspiration from seeing the example of others who had reconstructed their lives after losing a limb. This was the best way to build psychological strength and keep thinking positively.
	They often feel they had not received enough humanitarian assistance.
	• They feel the authorities had not acted soon enough (or at all) in providing them with a prosthesis to enable them to start earning a living again.
	• There is a strong sense that children in particular should be spared in conflict – and children were often the victims of cluster munitions. For this reason there is a particular dread associated with the use of this kind of munition.
	• The Geneva Conventions are not seen to be implemented. The Geneva Conventions seem academic and unreal in the face of their experiences.
	• They feel the government had not helped them sufficiently and humanitarian organizations did not step in soon enough to help them with their disabilities or to clear the land of mines.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

OPINION SURVEY

Sample profile

	Number	%
Total	601	100
Gender		
Male	301	50
Female	300	50
Age		
18-24	118	19
25-29	79	13
30-34	73	12
35-39	69	11
40-44	67	11
45-49	52	9
50-55	51	8
56-64	46	8
65 or over	46	8
Religion		
Christian	254	42
Muslim	312	52
Druze	28	5
Others	7	1

Lebanon (Weighted profile)			
	Number	%	
Area			
Urban	528	88	
Rural	73	12	
Region			
Beirut	65	11	
Mount Lebanon	238	40	
North	122	20	
South	104	17	
Bekaa	72	12	
Education			
Never entered school	15	2	
Elementary	56	9	
Intermediate	124	21	
Secondary	133	25	
University	222	37	
Higher-specialized education	31	5	

Sampling details

Sampling tolerances vary with the size of the sample and the percentage figure concerned. For example, for a question where 50% of the people in the full sample of 601 give a particular answer, the chances are 95 in 100 that this result would not vary by more than 4 percentage points plus or minus (i.e. between 46% and 54%) from the result that would have been obtained from a census of the entire population (using the same procedures).

Some examples of the tolerances that may apply in this report are given in the table below.

Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels (at the 95% confidence level)						
Unweighted base (601) 10% or 90% 30% or 70% 50% ± ± ± ± ±						
Size of sample on which survey result is based (unweighted)						
601 (All respondents)	3	4	4			
288 (Men affected by armed conflict)	4	6	6			
223 (Mount Lebanon people affected by armed conflict)	4	7	7			

Source: Ipsos

Tolerances are also involved in the comparison of results between different elements (subgroups) of the sample – and between the 1999 and 2009 results. A difference must be of at least a certain size to be statistically significant. The table below shows the sampling tolerances applicable to some common sub-group comparisons, and between the 1999 and 2009 research.

Differences required for significance at the 95% confide percentages	ence level a	at or near t	hese
Unweighted base (601)	10% or 90% ±	30% or 70% ±	50% ±
Size of 2009 sub-groups and 1999 vs. 2009 samples involved in this survey (unweighted)			
288 (Men affected by armed conflict) vs. 290 (Women affected by armed conflict)	5	8	9
1,000 (1999 full sample) vs. 601 (2009 full sample)	3	5	5
			Source: Ipsos

Marked-up questionnaire

Questionnaire		
	 Interviews with 601 people Aged 18+ Conducted by telephone from 25 February to 10 March and 10 to 14 May 2009 Results are weighted 'POW' indicates a question also asked in 1999 An asterisk (*) indicates a result of less than 1% (but not zero) A 'n/a' denotes 'not asked' Base for each question is all (601), unless shown otherwise 	May
INTRODUCTION		
	Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am from Ipsos, an independer research agency. We are conducting interviews in this area and would I help with this. The interview will last around 15 minutes and is abc experiences of and opinions on the armed conflict in Lebanon.	ike your
AA) ON CONFLICT IN G	ENERAL	
ASK ALL ↓	Q1. Have you personally experienced armed conflict, or not?	
	Yes No Don't know Refused	% 75 25 0 0
ASK IF 'YES' AT Q1 ↓	Q2. Was this in Lebanon, or was it somewhere else?	
	Base: All experiencing armed conflict at Q1-450	%
	In Lebanon	100
	Somewhere else (specify)	0
	Both	0
	Don't know	*

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q1 ↓	Q3A. I'm going to ask you about your actual experi in Lebanon. Please tell me whether any of the foll personally or did not happen as a consequence of For each one, please indicate whether it hap you (POW). ROTATE STATEMENTS. SINGLE CODE EACH STATE	owing tl the arm pened	nings ha ied conf	ppeneo lict in Le	l to you banon.
	Base: All experiencing armed conflict at Q1-450	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
		%	%	%	%
	Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	61	39	0	0
	Imprisoned	4	96	0	0
	Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	6	94	0	0
	Tortured	7	93	0	0
	Been humiliated	29	71	0	0
	Lost contact with a close relative	51	49	0	0
	A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	26	74	0	0
	Serious damage to your property	57	43	0	0
	Wounded by the fighting	12	88	0	0
	Combatants took food away	8	92	*	0
	Had your home looted	22	78	0	0
	Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence	4	95	*	0
	ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE SEPARATELY AFTER OTHERS				
	No or very limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	78	21	*	0
	No or very limited access to health care	28	72	*	0
	Lost all my belongings	14	86	0	0
	Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	51	49	0	0
	The area where I lived came under enemy control	37	63	0	0

ASK IF NOT 'YES' AT Q1 ٦	Q3B. I'm going to ask you about how you yours armed conflict in Lebanon. Please tell me wheth happened to you personally or did not happen a conflict in Lebanon. For each one, please indicate happen to you. ROTATE STATEMENTS. SINGLE CODE EACH STATE	ner any c Is a cons whether	of the fo equenc	llowing e of the	things armed
	Base: All not experiencing armed conflict at Q1-151	Happened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
		%	%	%	%
	Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	37	63	0	0
	Imprisoned	4	96	0	0
	Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	3	97	0	0
	Tortured	5	95	0	0
	Been humiliated	14	86	0	0
	Lost contact with a close relative	35	64	1	0
	A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	15	85	0	0
	Serious damage to your property	27	73	0	0
	Wounded by the fighting	3	97	0	0
	Combatants took food away	7	93	0	0
	Had your home looted	12	88	0	0
	Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence	4	95	1	0
	ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE SEPARATELY AFTER OTHERS				
	No or very limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	56	43	1	0
	No or very limited access to health care	13	86	1	0
	Lost all my belongings	7	92	1	0
	Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	26	73	1	0
	The area where I lived came under enemy control	20	79	1	0

ALL RESPONDENTS I	Q3A/Q3B. I'm going to ask conflict in Lebanon. Please to you personally or did n	tell me wh	nether any	of the followi	ing things h	appened
	Lebanon. For each one, ple	ease indica	ate whethe	er it happene	d or did no	t happen
	to you.			Dilation	D. /l	D. C. J
	Base: All respondents	Нар 1999	pened	Did not happen	Don't know	Refused
			2009	2009	2009 %	2009
	Forced to leave your home and live elsewhere	43	55	45	0	0
	Imprisoned	6	4	96	0	0
	Kidnapped or taken as a hostage	6	5	95	0	0
	Tortured	12	6	94	0	0
	Been humiliated ('felt humiliated' in 1999)	62	25	75	0	0
	Lost contact with a close relative	60	47	53	*	0
	A member of your immediate family was killed during the armed conflict	30	24	76	0	0
	Serious damage to your property	47	49	51	0	0
	Wounded by the fighting	14	10	90	0	0
	Combatants took food away	6	8	92	*	*
	Had your home looted	31	20	80	0	0
	Somebody you knew well was a victim of sexual violence (:raped by combatants' in 1999)	4	4	95	1	0
	ROTATE STATEMENTS BELOW HERE	SEPARATELY A	AFTER OTHERS			
	No or very limited access to basic necessities (water,	n/a	73	27	1	0
	electricity, etc.) No or very limited access to	n/a	24	75	*	0
	health care Lost all my belongings	n/a	12	88	*	0
	Lost my means of income (e.g. job, revenue, farm land, etc.)	n/a	45	55	*	0
	The area where I lived came under enemy control	n/a	33	67	*	0

ASK ALL ↓	Q4. And have you been affected by armed conflict in Lebanon in any othe	r ways?
	What ways were those?	
	SINGLE CODE	
	New merille	%
	Yes – specify	28
	No	72
	Don't know	1
	Refused	0
	YES – SPECIFY: TOP MENTIONS (> 5% of respondents) Base: All who have been affected by armed conflict in any other ways at Q4-164	YES
		%
	TOP MENTIONS – PERSONAL SUFFERING	72
	I was psychologically hurt/suffered psychological problems	53
	Morally affected (unspecified)	8
	TOP MENTIONS – DETERIORATION IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING	17
	Fear	8
	TOP MENTIONS – OTHERS	7
	Forced to leave the country	5
ASK ALL WHO HAVE	Q5. And when were you personally most recently affected by this armed	conflict
EXPERIENCED CONFLICT -	in Lebanon?	
'YES' AT Q1 AND 'YES' AT Q2/	SINGLE CODE	
CODE 1 (IN LEBANON) OR ANY 'HAPPENED' RESPONSE AT O3,	Base: All who have experienced/been affected by conflict in any way, as defined above-579	%
OR ANY 'YES' RESPONSE AT	Now/currently experiencing	3
	Within the last month	2
Q4 ↓	More than one month ago, but less than six months	2
	Six months ago to within the last year	11
		25
	1-2 years	35
	3-4 years	1
	5-9 years	9
	10-19 years	-
	20 years +	13
	Don't know	1
	Refused	0

ASK ALL ↓	Q6. What do you think are the two or three greatest fears peop	ole are facing in a	
	situation of armed conflict in Lebanon?	situation of armed conflict in Lebanon?	
	DO NOT READ OUT. INTERVIEWER TO CODE A MAXIMUM OF TH	HREE RESPONSES	
		%	
	Inability to earn a living/personal or family economic instability	24	
	Losing a loved one	57	
	Being separated from loved ones	13	
	Losing/destruction of the house/losing of personal belongings	28	
	Living with uncertainty	22	
	Having to leave their home/becoming displaced/a refugee	14	
	Imprisonment	1	
	Surviving the conflict	10	
	Suffering injury	27	
	Sexual violence	5	
	Not being able to get an education/going to school	1	
	Fear of being rejected by your community	*	
	Having to take up arms/fight	3	
	Being humiliated	7	
	Limited access to basic necessities (water, electricity, etc.)	11	
	Limited access to health care (drugs, hospital)	9	
	Outcome of the conflict	5	
	Other (specify)	1	
	Nothing	*	
	Don't know	2	
	Refused	0	
ASK ALL ↓	Q7. What do you think civilians who are living in areas of armed		
	most? Please select the three most important to you	connecticed the	
	ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENTS		
	ANSWER. REPEAT THE LIST IF NECESSARY. THEN READ THE LIST		
	MENTIONING THE FIRST ANSWER AND ASK THE RESPOND	DENT TO SELECT	
	ANOTHER ANSWER. REPEAT AGAIN.		
		%	
	Food	45	
	Shelter	31	
	Medical treatment/health care	42	
	Family members to be kept together	23	
	Information on separated/missing family members	9	
	Security/protection	50	
	Respect/dignity	21	
	Psychological support	12	
	To influence decisions that affect them	2	
	Conflict resolution	21	
	Economic/financial help	14	
	Other (specify)	*	
	Don't know	*	
	Refused	0	

ASK ALL WHO HAVE	Q8. Now I would like to ask you about wh					-
EXPERIENCED CONFLICT -	the way you feel. For each description I read out, please say whether the arme					
'YES' AT Q1 AND 'YES' AT Q2/	conflict has made you feel more this wa					
CODE 1 (IN LEBANON) OR ANY	difference. First [], would you say it has	s made y	you mo	re [], le	ess []	, or has
'HAPPENED' RESPONSE AT Q3,	it done neither?					
OR ANY 'YES' RESPONSE AT Q4.	Base: All who have experienced/been affected	More	Less	No real	Don't	Refused
ROTATE ORDER ↓	by conflict in any way, as defined above-579			difference	know	
		%	%	%	%	%
	Vengeful	34	15	50	1	*
	Trusting	20	54	24	1	*
	Resilient	13	35	51	1	*
	Anxious	62	12	26	*	0
	Appreciative of every day	72	5	22	1	0
	Confused	38	17	45	*	*
	Sad	55	13	32	*	0
	Sensitive	69	6	25	*	0
	Disillusioned	33	29	36	1	*
	Optimistic for the future	49	35	15	1	0
	Wise	81	2	16	*	0
	Empathetic towards other people	77	6	17	*	0
	Violent/aggressive	24	18	57	1	*
BB) HUMANITARIAN ASSI	STANCE/NEEDS					
ASK ALL WHO HAVE	Q9. During the time you experienced or v	were be	ing affe	cted by a	armed o	onflict,
EXPERIENCED CONFLICT -	did you receive help or support from any	of the fo	ollowing	g?		
'YES' AT Q1 AND 'YES' AT Q2/	READ OUT.			-		
CODE 1 (IN LEBANON) OR ANY	Base: All who have experienced/been affected b	21/			D //	6.1
'HAPPENED' RESPONSE AT Q3,	conflict in any way, as defined above-579)y	Yes	No	Don't know	Can't remember
OR ANY 'YES' RESPONSE AT			%	%	%	%
04 7	UN/UN agency		4	95	1	*
	Lebanese Red Cross		18	81	1	0
	ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross)		5	91	3	1
	Other non-governmental organization (NGO) or				-	
	(local or international)	,	16	82	2	0
	Government		11	89	1	0
	Individuals from your community/neighbours		25	74	*	*
	Religious entities		13	86	1	0
	Military/army/combatants		15	84	1	0
	Parents/family		54	46	*	0
	Other (specify)		0	0	0	0
	Combination: Lebanese Red Cross/ICRC		18	92	1	0
	compination. Lebanese neu closs/ lene		10	12		0

ASK IF 'YES' AT Q9 ٦	Q10. For each of the types of organization help or support from, I would like you to te	ell me ho	w well y	ou felt th	ey und	erstood
	your needs. First, the [type of support at Q9] do you feel your needs were completely understood, partially understood, or not understood at all?					
	SINGLE CODE FOR EACH SOURCE OF SUPPORT MENTIONED AT Q9					
	Base: All who did receive support/help from each organization at Q9	Completely	Partially	Not at all	Don't know	Refused
		%	%	%	%	%
	UN/UN agency (Base = 20**)	52	34	5	9	0
	Lebanese Red Cross (102)	80	14	1	4	1
	ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) (31**)	77	13	4	6	0
	Other non-governmental organization (NGO) or charity (local or international) (94*)	48	40	11	2	0
	Government (61*)	43	34	20	3	0
	Individuals from your community/neighbours (145)	77	18	2	1	1
	Religious entities (79*)	72	26	1	1	0
	Military/army/combatants (85*)	65	29	4	1	1
	Parents/family (307)	92	8	0	1	0
	Combination: Lebanese Red Cross/ICRC (104)	80	16	2	5	0
	**Very low base/* Low base					
ASK ALL ↓	Q11. Which, if any, of the following reas people in Lebanon receiving or accepting					
	READ OUT LIST. ROTATE ORDER. MULTICO	DDE OK				
						YES
						%
	Corruption				24	
	Black market					14
	Discrimination/social status					30
	Location access – not able to reach the location					29
	Unaware that it was available					16
	Fear of being rejected by my community					7
	Fear of being perceived to be aligned with wron	ng side				18
	Pride/dignity			48		
	Did not meet criteria			11		
	Did not want to receive any support			13		
	Did not need to receive any support			30		
	Did not want to accept support because of who was offering it				25	
	Other (specify)					3
	Nothing					2
	Don't know					1
	Refused					0

CC) WARFARE/COMBAT/	ANIS				
ASK ALL ↓	Q12. Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to	o do in fi	ghting		
	their enemy?				
	And what else?				
	OPEN-ENDED QUESTION. DO NOT PROMPT – BUT PROBE FULLY.				
	TOP MENTIONS (> 5% of respondents)		YES		
			%		
	TOP MENTIONS – KILLING/TARGETING CERTAIN KIND OF PEOPLE		24		
	Kill civilians		17		
	Kill children		5		
	TOP MENTIONS – NOT RESPECT CIVIL SOCIETY/CULTURE/SOCIETY/LAWS		12		
	TOP MENTIONS – TYPES OF VIOLENCE/OPPRESSION		11		
	TOP MENTIONS – ATTACK BUILDINGS/DESTROY SPECIFIC AREAS		5		
	There is nothing they should not be allowed to do		31		
	(Any answer indicating that some action/s should be allowed)		54		
	Don't know		10		
	Refused		5		
ASK ALL WHO ANSWER	Q13. And why do you think that combatants should not be allow	ed to do	this? l		
SOMETHING AT QUESTION	that because it?				
12 ↓	READ OUT, ROTATE ORDER, MULTICODE OK				
	Base: All who identify some action/s that combatants should not be allow do-321	ed to	%		
	Is against your religion		53		
	Is against your personal code/ethics		44		
	Is against the law		49		
	Is against your culture		33		
	Is against human rights		74		
	Produces too much hate and division		32		
	Produces too much destruction		28		
	Other (specify)		1		
	Do not know		4		
	Refused		0		
ASK ALL ↓	Q14. Now I would like to ask you some general questions about ho				
	combatants should behave in times of armed conflict. When combatants attack				
	to weaken the enemy, should they (POW):				
	READ OUT. SINGLE CODE ONLY.				
		1999	2009		
		%	%		
	Attack enemy combatants and civilians	2	4		
	Attack enemy combatants and avoid civilians as much as possible	29	63		
	Attack only enemy combatants and leave the civilians alone	68	32		
	Don't know	- 1	1		
	Refused		*		

ASK ALL ↓	Q15. Is there anything that comb their enemy? For each one, please						
	in fighting their enemy (POW):	e indica	le whetr	ier it is c	JK OF NO	I UK IO	do that
	READ OUT. SINGLE CODE EACH S						
	READ OUT. SINGLE CODE EACH S		DK	No	t OK	Don't	Refused
						know	
		1999 %	2009	1999 %	2009 %	2009	2009
	Depriving civilians of food, medicine	70		70	70	70	70
	or water to weaken the enemy	23	5	69	94	1	0
	Attacking religious and historical	13	2	82	98	*	0
	monuments	15	2	02	90		0
	Attacking civilians who voluntarily					_	
	transported ammunition for the	37	62	51	32	5	1
	enemy Attacking enemy combatants in						
	populated villages or towns knowing	31	20	57	77	3	*
	many civilians would be killed	51	20	57			
	Taking civilian hostages in order to						
	get something in exchange	24	18	70	80	2	*
	('Kidnapping civilians in order to get	27		70	00	2	
	something in exchange' in 1999)						
	Attacking civilians who voluntarily gave food and shelter to enemy	22	46	69	49	4	1
	Planting landmines even though						
	civilians may step on them	27	5	69	94	1	*
	Civilians may step on them						
ASK ALL ↓	Q16. In a situation of armed conf	lict, are	there ar	ny circui	mstance	s in wh	ich you
ASK ALL ↓						s in wh	ich you
ASK ALL ᄀ	Q16. In a situation of armed conf					s in wh	ich you
ASK ALL ᄀ	Q16. In a situation of armed conf think it is acceptable for combata					s in wh	ich you
ASK ALL 기	Q16. In a situation of armed conf think it is acceptable for combata					s in wh	
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ASK ALL 기 ASK IF 'YES' AT Q16 기	Q16. In a situation of armed conf think it is acceptable for combata SINGLE CODE ONLY Yes No Don't know	nts to ta	arget hea	alth wor	'kers?		% 1 99 * *
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READ OUT EACH STATEMENT. ROTATE ORDER. SINGLE CODE EACH STATEMENTImage: Combulances (Combulances)Vest west west west west west west west w	ASK IF 'YES' AT Q18 ↓	Q19. In which, if any, of the following circumstance	es do you t	hink this	is acc	eptable?
target ambulances-5**)acceptateacceptateacceptateisonMetadetMen an ambulance is used by combatants for hostile purposes415900When an ambulance carries wounded or sick enemy combatants415900When an ambulance carries enemy wounded and sick civilians237700When an ambulance is not dearly identified as an ambulance584200*"Very low base0000DD) HUMANITARIAN GESTURESASK ALL 1Q20. I'm now going to describe different kinds of groups and organizations. Please tell me which three of these play the biggest role to help reduce suffering during armed conflict?READ OUT LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT FOR TWO MORE ANSWERS. REPEAT IF NECESSARY.1013MEAD OUT LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT FOR TWO MORE ANSWERS. REPEAT IF NECESSARY.1013The unitary and combatants/armed groups91525Religious leaders81624Journalists and the news media31013The United Nations51318International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)41115Lebanese Red Cross667123Local/international MoGS/charities522277Community leaders25700Other specify)00000None of these00000 </th <th></th> <th>READ OUT EACH STATEMENT. ROTATE ORDER. SI</th> <th>NGLE COI</th> <th>DE EACH</th> <th>I STAT</th> <th>TEMENT</th>		READ OUT EACH STATEMENT. ROTATE ORDER. SI	NGLE COI	DE EACH	I STAT	TEMENT
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ASK ALL ↓	Q21. What do you think the international community should do to help c	ivilians
	who are living in areas of armed conflict?	
	ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELEC	T ONE
	ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST AI	NSWER
	AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER(S).	
	REPEAT IF NECESSARY. MULTICODE THREE.	
		%
	Stop the armed conflict by military intervention	22
	Exert political pressure	17
	Deliver emergency aid	36
	Provide peacekeepers	27
	Provide financial support to humanitarian organizations	20
	Put leaders accused of committing war crimes on trial	30
	Place economic sanctions on the country	6
	Raise awareness of the plight of civilians who are caught in areas of armed conflict	10
	Rebuild infrastructure	24
	Organize peace talks/negotiations	27
	Better enforce the law that protects victims of armed conflicts	10
	Other (specify)	3
	Nothing	2
	Don't know	2
	Refused	0
	do that would most help victims of armed conflict in Lebanon? Please sel three you feel are most important.	
	three you feel are most important. ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELEC ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST AI AND ASK RESPONDENTTO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER(S). REPEAT IF NECE	T ONE
	three you feel are most important. ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELEC ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST A	T ONE NSWER SSARY.
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	three you feel are most important. ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST AI AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER(S). REPEAT IF NECE MULTICODE THREE. Put pressure on legislators/politicians Public lobbying Become a volunteer	NSWER SSARY 36 10 36
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	three you feel are most important. ROTATE STATEMENTS. READ THE LIST AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELEC ANSWER. THEN READ THE LIST AGAIN WITHOUT MENTIONING THE FIRST AT AND ASK RESPONDENT TO SELECT ANOTHER ANSWER(S). REPEAT IF NECE MULTICODE THREE. Put pressure on legislators/politicians Public lobbying Become a volunteer Donate money Support an organization that helps those affected by the conflict Mobilize their local community Donate goods Other (specify) Nothing Don't know Refused INTIONS Q23. Have you ever heard of the Geneva Conventions? SINGLE CODE ONLY Yes No	TONE NSWER SSARY. % 36 10 36 66 17 15 46 1 2 0 % %
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	024 To what extent do you think the evictor of othe Consul Convertion	a a livesita
ASK IF 'YES' AT Q23 ↓	Q24. To what extent do you think the existence of the Geneva Convention the suffering of civilians in war time?	ns limits
	SINGLE CODE ONLY	_
	Base: All who have heard of the Geneva Conventions-414	%
	A great deal	19
	A fair amount	17
	Not very much	15
	Not at all	34
	Don't know	14
	Refused	*
FF) MEDICAL MISSION	N	
ASK ALL 7	Q25. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statem	ent?
	READ OUT STATEMENT. SINGLE CODE ONLY	
	Everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict should have the right to health	care
		%
	Strongly agree	96
	Tend to agree	2
	Neither agree nor disagree	*
	Tend to disagree	1
	Strongly disagree	*
	Don't know	*
	Refused	0
ASK ALL ↓	Q26. In the context of an armed conflict, what best describes your persona	
ASK ALL \$		II VIEWS?
	READ OUT STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER. SINGLE CODE ONLY.	
		%
	Health workers should treat only wounded and sick civilians from their side of	13
	the conflict	CI CI
	Health workers should treat wounded and sick civilians from all sides of a conflict	84
	Don't know	2
	Refused	1
Demographics		
ASK ALL J	Respondent's gender	
		%
	Male	50
	Female	50
ASK ALL ↓	Respondent's age	50
ASK ALL +	Respondent s age	
		%
	18-24	19
	25-29	13
	30-34	12
	35-39	11
	40-44	11
	45-49	9
	50-55	8
	56-64	8
	65 or over	8
ASK ALL ↓	Education level	
		%
	Never entered school	2
	Elementary	9
	Intermediate	21
	Secondary	25
	University	-
	University Higher-specialized education	37
	Higher creciplized education	

ASK ALL ↓	Province	
		%
	Beirut	11
	Mount Lebanon	40
	North	20
	South	17
	Bekaa	12
ASK ALL ↓	Area	
		%
	Urban	88
	Rural	12
ASK ALL ↓	Religion	
		%
	Christian	42
	Muslim	52
	Druze	5
	Others	1

IN-DEPTH RESEARCH

Discussion guide

This guide was used for the group discussions. A very similar guide was used for in-depth interviews.

I. Your own experience of armed	What we are a family a different distribution of
conflict/violence (armed violence,	What experiences have you had of armed conflict/violence?
urban violence if necessary)	- When was it?
	- Where?
	- What happened?
	How you were/are – personally – affected? Your family/friends?
	What were/are your feelings and thoughts about this armed conflict/violence?
	- How much did you understand about the armed conflict/violence? Why did it happen the way it did?
	How do you feel (now) about what happened? How are you affected today, if at all?
	— What, if anything, has changed about you as a result of the armed conflict/violence?
2. On armed conflict/violence in general	We've talked about armed conflict/violence – can we go further into that. So when we say armed conflict/ violence can you describe to me in detail what you mean by this.
	Associations: what words come to your mind when I say 'armed conflict/violence' Which words best describe armed conflict/violence for you?
	• During times of armed conflict/violence what would you say are/were your greatest concerns? (E.g. losing a loved one, your own security, surviving the conflict/violence, etc.)
	• Do your concerns change over time? (E.g. are some concerns immediate and others only occurring later on? Are some concerns short term, and others longer term for the future?) How would you divide these concerns we talke about up into immediate concerns and longer-term ones? Persistent ones and ones which fade or are resolved?
	• So when you/others are confronted with these situations what do you feel are the things you/they need the most help for/with. Why do you say that?
	If you could, what would you like to communicate to the world?
	— What would you like to tell people about your needs? What is most important?
	— And what would you like to tell people about the way you feel?
	— And to help prioritize these messages in the minds of others, which are the most important issues in terms of your needs? Are there some things you can deal with on your own during these times? And are there some things you just cannot manage on your own without help?
8. On international community/	During these times – when you have faced these kinds of situations – have you received any support?
humanitarian support	— Have you ever received any support from any international organizations?
	• IF YES – RECEIVED HELP FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DATE: What kind (s) of help did you receive? How did they help you? Were they able to address any of your key areas of concern in any ways – which ones?
	• IF NO – NOT RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO DATE: Do you have any views on why you may not have received any support from international organizations to date?
	• Who played the biggest role (amongst different kinds of people and organizations) to help reduce your suffering (e.g. religious leaders, UN, local NGOs, Red Cross/Red Crescent, ICRC, other international NGOs, neighbours, etc.)?
	— Why would you say their role (s) were biggest?
	— Who else played biggest roles?
	What do you think the international community should do to help victims?
	If there is something that an international humanitarian organization could do better, what would it be?

4. On humanitarian actions/gestures	And what is a 'humanitarian action', for you? Can you give me some examples?
	Thinking of the armed conflict/violence you witnessed, can you recall any gestures or acts of kindness/humanity that made a difference in yours or others lives?
	— Could you tell me about them?
	— What difference (s) did this (these) make?
	 Who was responsible for this (these) act (s)?
	Were you, yourself, able to help someone? If so, how?
	If you could have done something to help what would it have been? Why?
	 Do you think you could have made a difference in someone else's life? If so how?
	- Thinking back, would you have done anything differently? What could others have done differently?
	• More generally, what, if anything, do you think individuals can do to help other people (civilians) who are living in areas of armed conflict/violence?
5. On warfare/combatants	• I would like to ask you what you think the rules of conflict should be, ideally, to control what combatants can do in war:
	- Is there anything that combatants should not be allowed to do in fighting their enemy? What and why?
	— Is it ever OK for combatants to involve civilians in conflicts? In what circumstances?
6. On Geneva Conventions	Before now, had you ever heard of the Geneva Conventions?
	Could you tell me what your understanding is of what the Geneva Conventions are about?
	Do you believe the Geneva Conventions do adequately protect persons in war time? Why?
7. On health/medical mission	• Do you think that ambulances operating in situation of armed conflict/violence should always be spared? Why?
	— How do you identify an ambulance in a situation of armed conflict/violence?
	— How do you identify a health/medical worker in a situation of armed conflict/violence?
	• Do you think everyone wounded or sick during an armed conflict/violence should have the right to health/medical care? Both civilians and combatants? Why?
	- Do you think there is anyone in particular who should not have access to health/medical care? Why?
	• Do you think that in a situation of armed conflict/violence health/medical workers should be protected in all circumstances? In what way Why? Why not?
8. Wrapping up	• Is there anything else you would like to share with us about your experiences of living in armed conflict/violence?
	What would have been useful for you to know in order to alleviate your suffering/improve your situation during armed conflict? Do you think stronger laws would have helped?
	What are the main things which helped/would have helped allieviate suffering/improving your situation?
	To sum up: what does your experience tell you about the value of humanitarian work in conflict situations?
	• What are the main messages you would like us to spread in order to try to make this world a safer place for civilians living in situations of armed conflicts/violence?

MISSION

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance.

The ICRC also endeavours to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles.

Established in 1863, the ICRC is at the origin of the Geneva Conventions and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. It directs and coordinates the international activities conducted by the Movement in armed conflicts and other situations of violence.

ABOUT IPSOS

Ipsos is a leading international research agency, with offices in over 60 countries worldwide and global reach.

Established in 1975, it conducts qualitative and quantitative research with the private, public and voluntary sectors. One of its key areas of specialization is in social and opinion research. This includes extensive work with a wide range of national and international NGOs, charities and aid organizations.

This study was coordinated by Ipsos Switzerland, with fieldwork on the opinion survey in Lebanon conducted by Ipsos Lebanon.

