

Refugees Hosting Displaced Persons

Investigation of the Change in Attitude of Lebanese
Displaced Persons towards Palestinian Refugees

**In Dedication of the Palestinian Human Rights
Organization (PHRO)**

“When Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah called for the victory of Hizbullah after the July-war; the Palestinians called for the victory of bringing Lebanese and Palestinians closer towards each other”

- a Palestinian refugee, November 2006 -

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Acronyms

During my master program "Humanitarian Action" at the University of Groningen, I got the possibility to go to Lebanon to do a master research. During this research I came in contact with the Palestinian Human Rights Organization (PHRO). They made me aware of their work, the situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and the human rights violations against Palestinians. After my first month in Lebanon, the armed conflict between Hizbullah and Israel started. I had to stop my research, and after one week I had been evacuated to the Netherlands. Back in the Netherlands, I developed the idea to go back to Lebanon to do my internship. Bassam Hbeichi from the PHRO offered me to do a research for them. One month after end of the conflict I found myself back in Lebanon to start a very interesting research, and to work in an organization that is working against the violations being done to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The people working for the PHRO inspired me, their stories touched me, and their hospitality and openness were incredible to me.

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Abbreviations

IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
IDP	Internal Displaced Person
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
PHRO	Palestinian Human Rights Organization
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
SD	Standard Deviation
UN	United Nations
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

Introduction

In the summer of 2006, an armed conflict took place between Hizbullah in Lebanon and Israel. During this conflict, approximately one fourth of the Lebanese population has been displaced to neighboring countries, to the mountain areas of Mount Lebanon and to different Lebanese cities¹. The Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) were coming from the south of Lebanon, the southern suburbs of Beirut and from the Bekaa Valley². The Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon contributed to the hosting of displaced persons. Especially the camps in Tyre (Rashidieh, El Buss, Burj el-Shemali) and the camps in Sidon (Mieh Mieh, Ein el-Hilweh) hosted many IDPs who fled from the southern villages. For many Lebanese IDPs it was the first time that they entered a Palestinian camp, and even the first time that they came in contact with Palestinian refugees³. Many Lebanese during the conflict of 2006r did not have other options than going to a Palestinian camp, since other shelters were already full with other IDPs⁴. Being in a camp for a certain period can change the attitude of Lebanese towards Palestinians. This research is done to answer the following question:

"Did something change in the attitude of Lebanese Displaced Persons towards Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, due to their stay in the Palestinian camps during the summer 2006 conflict? If yes, could this change have possible implications for the future of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon?"

This report will start with a brief overview of the history of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and their changing relationship with some different Lebanese sectarian groups. After this section, an overview will be given of how the humanitarian aid to the IDPs in the camps was organized. In the third section, the actual research and the outcome will be discussed. To analyze possible changes in the attitude of former IDPs who stayed in the camps, interviews have been conducted with 30 IDPs, all living in the southern villages of Lebanon. Although it is a very small sample, something can be said about this topic. Finally, a final conclusion will be formulated, with some suggestions for those interested in changing the relationship between Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon and Lebanese people, and for future research.

¹ Presidency of the Council of Ministers – Higher Relief Council. <http://www.lebanonundersiege.gov.lb>

² OCHA, September 2006, Lebanon Crisis 2006, Interim Report. Humanitarian Response in Lebanon 12 July to 30 August 2006

³ Outcome of this research: interviews with 30 former IDPs, 13 Palestinian refugees, and several NGOs

⁴ Interview Amne J. Sulieman, General Union of Palestinian Women. 05/10/2006

Chapter 1: Changing Relationships Palestinian Refugees and Lebanese

“Lebanon has a State, but no Nation; Palestinians have a Nation but no State”

- Palestinian Refugee, interview 03/10/2006 -

During the last 58 years that Palestinian refugees are living in Lebanon, the relationship between some different sectarian Lebanese groups and Palestinians has been changing constantly over the years. The sectarian groups in Lebanon constitute sets of kinship, religious and communal loyalties to which one belongs by virtue of birth. The sectarian group to which one belongs also emphasize one's social and political functions and significance. That is why in Lebanon it is not possible to talk about the relationship between Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese community as a whole. In this chapter, a very brief history will be given about the presence of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and this unstable relationship.

1.1 History of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon

After the creation of the state Israel in 1948, many Palestinians fled to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and to neighbouring countries. Around 100,000 Palestinians from the north of Palestine (Haifa, Acre, Beisan, Nazareth, Tiberias, Safad and the Galilee region) fled to the borders of Lebanon, which is about 14% of the Palestinian refugees who fled Palestine⁵. For many of those refugees who lived in the north of Palestine, Lebanon was a natural choice because of their ancient relations with its inhabitants⁶. Since the hosting of the refugees was expected by the Lebanese and Palestinian refugees to be a temporary solution, President Bishara El-Khuri welcomed the refugees mandating that they should be given food, shelter and medical care. In 1949, the UN General Assembly established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) by United Nations (UN) General Assembly Resolution 302, which started its operations in 1950. The establishment of the UNRWA was only intended to offer temporarily assistance, with the aim to take

⁵ Julie M. Peteet, 1997. *Lebanon: Palestinian Refugees in the Post-War Period*. Le Monde Diplomatique.

⁶ Hani A. Faris, 1981. *Lebanon and the Palestinians: Brotherhood or Fratricide?* Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol 3. no 4 (352-370).

responsibility for the humanitarian aspects of the Palestinian refugee problem with a secondary aim to promote conditions of peace and security in the Middle East.⁷

Although the first two decades of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon were a time of uncertainty and direct poverty, the Palestinians and the Lebanese lived in relatively harmony with each other, with some freedom of expression and political activity and a remarkable cooperation⁸. When it became clear that the Palestinian refugees could not return home, the attitude of the Lebanese government towards Palestinians started to change. The Lebanese feared that long term settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon would affect the fragile sectarian balance in their country. In order to discourage permanent resettlement, the Lebanese government started to place harsh restrictions on the refugees. Most of the Palestinian refugees were living in formal refugee camps and gatherings, and the Lebanese government started to prohibit any rebuilding and rehabilitation of the housings. Furthermore, although the Palestinians were considered by the Lebanese government as refugees, in 1962 they were classified as foreigners as-per the Lebanese labor law for foreigners; where they were required to obtain work authorization. Despite all these restrictions the Palestinians endured at that time, they did not have an adequate leadership to address their concerns.

In June 1967 the "Six Day War" took place, in which Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Approximately 360,000 Palestinians were forced to leave the West Bank and Gaza Strip for Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, often referred to as "1967 displaced persons". The defeat of the Arabic countries in the Six Day War resulted in a wave of support for the Palestinian military operations against Israel in many Arab countries, including Lebanon where the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) (established in 1964), started to enlarge its military operations. The growth of the Palestinian artillery activities from the Lebanese soil accompanied with the heavy Israeli retaliations increased the level of frictions between the Lebanese army and the Palestinian forces. As many Lebanese citizens were supporting the Palestinians due to several factors (sympathy, discontent with the Lebanese political regime...) in addition to the Egyptian mediation, the Lebanese government signed in November 1969 an agreement with PLO known as the Cairo Agreement⁹. The Cairo Agreement granted

⁷ Jalal al-Husseini, 2005. *UNRWA and the Palestinian Nation-Building Process*. Journal of Palestine Studies. Vol 29, no. 2, (51-64).

⁸ J. Suleiman, 1999. *The Current Political, Organizational, and Security Situation in the Palestinian refugee Camps in Lebanon*. Journal of Palestine. Vol 29, no. 1, (66-80).

⁹ The Lebanese parliament formally abrogated the Cairo Agreement in May 1987.

residency, freedom of movement, and labor rights to the Palestinian refugees, as well as autonomy in the refugee camps and the right to carry out armed attacks against Israeli targets from Lebanese soil. Nevertheless, these residencies; freedom of movement; and labor rights were tied to the Cairo Agreement and have never become national legislation¹⁰.

In September 1970, a clash occurred between the PLO and the Jordanian authority, known as Black September. After this clash PLO headquarters and its military apparatus were transferred from Jordan to Lebanon. In addition, Black September resulted in the fleeing of several hundred thousands of Palestinians towards Lebanon. Then, PLO rapidly became a political power in Lebanon, polarizing the country into two camps: proponents and opponents of its presence, leading to a confessional division in the country. The financial and military assistance afforded by PLO to its supporters, who consisted mainly from the Lebanese left wing¹¹, angered the Maronites regime and right-wing parties¹². The increasing activism of the Palestinians coincided with rising protest and discontent that manifested itself among the Muslim lower classes in Lebanon as well as in the middle strata, both of which had been virtually shut out of the political system, leading to the Civil War that started in 1975.

Many factors contributed to the outbreak of the war, in which we can summarize as follows¹³:

1. Imbalance of the Lebanese political system;
2. Unequal distribution of wealth;
3. Lebanon's foreign policy orientation;
4. Growing of the armed Palestinian presence

In 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon in order to expel PLO out of the country. This invasion resulted in huge number of casualties among the Palestinians and Lebanese and to a massive destruction in Lebanon forcing PLO to leave Beirut. In May 1985, skirmishes began between Palestinian forces and the Lebanese Shiite Amal militia supported by the Shi'ite Sixth Brigade of the Lebanese Army in the camps of Beirut and southern Lebanon. During this war (1985-1987), known as "the War of the Camps",

¹⁰ Forced Migration, (<http://www.forcedmigration.org>)

¹¹ Most of the Lebanese left wing activists came from the Lebanese Muslim community

¹² Most of the Lebanese right wing activists came from the Lebanese Christian community.

¹³ Simon Haddad, 2003. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon: the Politics of Refugee Integration*. Sussex Academic Press.

Amal did not manage to gain control of any of the Palestinian camps, but intensive bombardment led to the destruction of many camps¹⁴.

The signing of the Ta'if Agreement in 1989 covered a political reform and ended the civil war in Lebanon. Palestinian refugees came under a new discriminatory policy imposed by the Lebanese government, since when many of their rights are violated. Notice that some Lebanese are blaming the Palestinian refugees for the out break of the civil war. We can summarize these human right violations as follow¹⁵:

1. the right to fair trial
2. the right to free movement¹⁶
3. the right to nationality
4. the right to own property
5. the right to work
6. the right to housing
7. the right to education
8. the right to health
9. the right to social security

These violations are companied with a lack of social services once provided by the PLO, and the diminishing of the activities provided by the UNRWA. The Lebanese government decided in September 1995 that Palestinian holders of Lebanese travel documents would henceforth be required to obtain permission to leave and enter the country; this ruling was later revoked in January 1999. During the last decade Israeli attacks have continued unabated, with major onslaughts on southern Lebanon, in which the Palestinian refugee camps were targeted.

From the 12th of July 2006 until August 14 a conflict took place between Hizbullah and Israel. The conflict started when Hizbullah launched a cross-border raid on Israel, killing eight, and kidnapping two Israeli soldiers of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF).¹⁷ It was the first conflict in which the Palestinian refugees were not directly involved in fighting a conflict in Lebanon. On the contrary, the Palestinian refugees were involved in the humanitarian assistance given to Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs).

¹⁴ Ali Khalidi and Fadi Bardawil, 2001. *Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon 2001*. Institute for Palestine Studies. p7.

¹⁵ Palestinian Human Rights Organization, 2005. Advocacy Practicum. For NGOs Representing Palestinian Refugee in Lebanon. *The Palestinian Refugees Situation in Lebanon*.

¹⁶ An example of such a violation, is when the Lebanese government in 1995 decided that Palestinian holders of Lebanese travel documents would henceforth be required to obtain permission to leave and enter the country, this ruling was later revoked in January 1999.

¹⁷ International Crisis Group, September 2006. Conflict History: Lebanon. (www.crisisgroup.org).

1.2 Relationship Lebanese - Palestinians

The relationship between the different Lebanese sectarian groups and the Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon is still very complicated. Multiple factors affect the receptivity to, and the hostility towards Palestinian refugees.

The presence of the Palestinians, mostly Sunni Muslims, serves as a focal point for the growing discontent of Lebanon's Muslims and their eventual political mobilization for a greater share of power and national resources in the country. Based on the belief that the Palestinians might threaten their economic and political dominance and become the demographic majority with other Lebanese Muslims, most Christians have always been hostile to the Palestinians.

Part of the Lebanese society (mainly Christians) believes that the Palestinians are responsible for the civil war that broke out in 1975 and the devastation that followed.¹⁸ Furthermore, many Lebanese feel that they are kept responsible for the destiny of the Palestinian refugees, although they believe it is not their responsibility, but that of the Arab and international community. The Lebanese government is hardly able to secure the necessities of life for its own citizens (employment, housing, social guarantees), which rise the question for many Lebanese how it can secure that for the Palestinians.¹⁹

The majority of the Lebanese living in the south of Lebanon is Shi'ite Muslim. The attitude of the Shi'ites in the south of Lebanon towards Palestinian refugees has to do with the violent history in the south. The south of Lebanon has been the target of hard-handed Israeli retaliation for Palestinian guerrilla raids against Israeli targets. Palestinian militarism has been risen in the 1960s, which caused at the beginning a mobilization of the Shi'ites who demonstrated sympathy and support for the Palestinians leading to the enrolment within the Palestinian movements. The mistreatment of some Palestinians in addition to the Israeli heavy retaliations on the civilians in the south increased the anti-Palestinian attitude of many Shi'ites. The actual and bloodiest confrontation between the two communities took place in the War of the Camps, mainly fought between the Syrian-backed Shi'ite Amal Movement and the Palestinian refugees. Furthermore, in 1990, a military expansion took place in Iklim al-Tufah, a region in the south of Lebanon, which led to bloody encounters between Palestinians and the Shi'ite movement Hizbullah.

¹⁸ Khalili, 2005

¹⁹ Julie Petet. *Landscape of Hope and Despair. Palestinian Refugee Camps*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia, 2005, p.6.

On the other hand, Sunni Muslims in Lebanon are the sect that sympathize with Palestinians the most. This has mainly to do with the fact that the majority of the Palestinians have the same confession as the Sunnis do. Sunnis and Palestinians were allies during the civil war, since the Sunnis perceived PLO as a Sunni Muslim Army, that could weaken the Maronite dominated establishment.²⁰

Nowadays, the Lebanese Christians sharing the same fear with the Shi'ite Muslims from the resettlement of Palestinians in Lebanon. This has to do with the fact that most Palestinian refugees are Sunni Muslims, in which such resettlement could upset the sectarian balance and political status quo in Lebanon.

On the Palestinian side, the Palestinians nowadays are suffering from the absence of a unified Palestinian leadership that should be responsible for ensuring the Palestinian interests and aspirations. This absence is mainly the result of political disagreements and divisions experienced by the Palestinian society in the previous decades. These divisions stemmed from numerous historical factors and circumstances mostly related to the political views toward the issue of conflict with Israel, while others resulted from regional differences and disparities that impacted negatively on the whole Palestinian situation. The reopening of the PLO Representative Office in Lebanon in 2006, revived the hope that such step will help in setting the reconciliation and understanding between the two communities. Here again, the political wells in combination with the joint interests of both sides are the prior conditions for that relation.

²⁰ Haddad, 2003

Chapter 2: Organization of the Humanitarian Aid given to Lebanese IDPs in the Palestinian camps

"We can not say we were receiving them, they received us 58 years ago"

- Interview Khaled Arif, PLO, 05/10/2006 -

During the July 2006 conflict, many Lebanese and Palestinian displaced persons from the southern villages to Tyre and Sidon to seek refuge. The Palestinian camps in those two towns hosted more than 14.000 Displaced Persons. Most of the IDPs in the camps were hosted in schools and in the houses of Palestinian families. Palestinian individuals together with Palestinian and international organizations took care of the humanitarian aid given to them. Beside the camps, the Palestinian community was also taking care of displaced persons who were hosted in the UNRWA schools in Sidon and Tyre, not in the camps.

2.1 IDPs in the Palestinian camps in Tyre

Many fleeing Lebanese and Palestinian refugees living in the southern villages of Lebanon arrived in the camps in Tyre from the first day on²¹. For most people it was a logical choice to go to the camps, since the camps are located near the villages, and for most of the people who fled the villages it was the nearest safe place in the area. In the camps in Tyre it were the Popular Committees of the camps that were responsible for the humanitarian assistance being given to the IDPs. The Popular Committees in the different camps worked together with several NGO's (Appendix 1). Food and non-food items (eg. blankets, mattresses, clothes) were collected from Palestinian refugees living inside the camps. The payment of the aid differed in the different camps: in El-Buss and in Rashidieh the PLO collected money from Palestinian Organizations and Palestinian refugees to afford the aid being given; in Burj el-Shemali it was the PLO who paid most of the aid. The difference between the payment of the aid has to do with the population living in the different camps, in the camps of El-Buss and Rashidieh there are more well educated and employed inhabitants, while the refugees living in Burj el-Shemali are less educated and economical equipped.²² In all camps it was especially the Palestinian youth who helped to assist the IDPs. An estimated 6375 persons (1265 families) were

²¹ The three Palestinian camps in Tyre are: El-Buss, Rashidieh and Burj el-Shemali.

²² Interview Jamal Fandry, Popular Committee El-Buss, 15/11/2006

hosted in the Palestinian refugee camps in Tyre (Table 1).²³ An additional number of 3,000 individuals fled further to the north, because the Tyre area was a target of sustained Israeli shelling and bombardments²⁴. On the last day one Palestinian refugee was killed in the shelling in El-Buss.

Table 1: Estimation of number of Displaced persons in the Palestinian refugee camps in Tyre²⁵

Homes at Rashidieh		School at Rashidieh		Homes at Burj el-Shemali		Schools at Burj el-Shemali		Homes at El-Buss		Schools at El-Buss	
Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families
1875	375	425	75	990	198	760	152	700	140	1625	325
Rashidieh Camp				Burj el-Shemali				El-Buss			
Nationalities		No of Fam.		Nationalities		No of Fam.		Nationalities		No of Fam.	
Lebanese		350		Lebanese		Unknown		Lebanese		465	
Palestinian		100		Palestinian		Unknown		Palestinian		0	

2.2 IDPs in the Palestinian camps in Sidon

On 19 July 2006, seven days after the start of the conflict, the first seven Lebanese families arrived in the two Palestinian camps in Sidon: Ein el-Hilweh and Mieh Mieh.²⁶ Since the shelters in Sidon were full of displaced persons, and the inflow of people fleeing from the south was still high, the mayor and the head of the municipality negotiated with the Palestinians working at the municipality to host people in the camps. When the displaced persons arrived in Sidon, they were put in buses, by which they were distributed to a number of possible shelters. The first group of people who were brought to the Palestinian camps refused to stay there since they were scared of the camps²⁷. However, after they found out that there was no other option since the shelters in Sidon were full, they conformed. When the first families arrived, the Palestinians called for help through the minarets of the mosques from the Palestinian community. Within half an hour, the inhabitants of the camps came with food, mattresses, covers, clothes and other needed material to help the Lebanese.²⁸ The popular committee of the camps and some NGOs started to interfere and organized a meeting how to organize the hosting of the displaced persons. Five committees were set up in order to coordinate the

²³ Interviews Khalid Ferhat & Mosbak Marouf, Popular Committee Rashidieh, 15/11/2006; Jamal Fandry, Popular Committee Burj el-Shemali, 15/11/2006; Ali Nagye. Popular Committee El-Buss, 15/11/2006.

²⁴ Gonzalez-Ubeda, UNRWA, 2006. www.un.org/unrwa/refugees.

²⁵ Although the camps in Sidon had an exact number of people who stayed in the camps, this was not available in the camps in Tyre

²⁶ Interview Intisar Abu Salem, Association Najdeh, 05/10/2006.

²⁷ Interview Khaled Arif, PLO, 05/10/2006.

²⁸ Interview Anne J. Sulieman, General Union of Palestinian Women, 05/10/2006.

humanitarian assistance and later two other committees were added²⁹ (Table 2). Each coordinator of one of the committees was also a member of the follow up committee. In this committee, information was shared by which the operation could be overseen day by day. The members of the committees were employees from 31 different organizations (international and Palestinian) (appendix 1), in addition to district members of the popular committee of the camp, and volunteers.

Table 2: Tasks of the different committees that were present in the camps in Sidon to organize the humanitarian aid during the war if the summer of 2006 (Source: Association Najdeh)

Committee	Task
Welcoming Committee	Welcoming the newly arrived displaced persons and taking them to their shelters
Medical Care Committee	Investigating of the medical needs, and organizing the medical care
Distribution Committee	Distributing the food and materials to the displaced persons
Donation Committee	Seeking for donors
Follow Up Committee	Reflecting the operation day by day
Education Committee*	Taking care of the education and animation of the displaced children
Media Committee**	Talking to the media

* set up 25/07/2006

** set up 29/07/2006

The displaced persons were hosted in the UNRWA schools and in houses of the Palestinians. In total there were 8553 individuals (1906 families) hosted in the camps in Sidon³⁰ (Table 3).

Although many people stayed in one room, NGOs and individuals were trying to make life more comfortable by cleaning the shelters every day, bringing televisions, making a security regulation to guide the shelters, and organizing activities³¹. During the conflict, Ein el-Hilweh has been bombed three times. Three persons died because of this bombings, two inhabitants of the camp, of whom one UNRWA health-care employee,

²⁹ Interview Intisar Abu Salem, Association Najdeh, 05/10/2006

³⁰ Association Najdeh, 08/08/2006

³¹ Interview Mohammad Hreish, Alghad Foundation, 05/10/2006

and one displaced person³². Because of these bombings the Palestinians showed the displaced persons where to hide in case the camp would be under attack. After the cease fire came into effect, most of the displaced person went back to the southern villages.

Table 3: Displaced persons in the Palestinian refugee camps in Sidon during the conflict of the summer of 2006. (Source: Association Najdeh, 08/08/2006)

Homes at Mieh Mieh camp		Schools at Mieh Mieh camp		Homes at Ein el-Hilweh		Schools at Ein-el Hilweh	
Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families	Individuals	Families
341	95	162	39	6589	1435	1528	337
Mieh Mieh				Ein el-Hilweh			
Nationalities		No of Fam.		Nationalities		No of Fam.	
Lebanese		59		Lebanese		534	
Palestinian		70		Palestinian		1253	
Non ID		1		Non ID		7	

³² Interview Mohammad Hreish, Alghad Foundation, 05/10/2006

Chapter 3: The Research

“While the Lebanese government did do nothing to help us, the Palestinians gave us their own food, clothes, blankets and mattresses”

- Interview former Lebanese displaced person, 04/11/2006 -

3.1 Research Question

This investigation tries to answer the question: "Did something change in the attitude of Lebanese Displaced Persons towards Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, due to their stay in the Palestinian camps during the summer 2006 conflict? If yes, could this change have possible implications for the future of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon?"

3.2 The survey instrument

A total of 25 items were used in the Lebanese questionnaire (Appendix 3). In developing the survey instrument, an initial pool of items was constructed from a research done by Simon Haddad in 2000³³. The remaining items were developed anew by the investigator. An English- and Arabic-language version of the questionnaire was prepared.

3.3 The sample

The study was based on a quota sample of 30 former Lebanese displaced persons, and was carried out in the beginning of November 2006, approximately three months after the end of the conflict. The response rate was 100%. The sex distribution of the sample consisted of 50% male and 50% female. The mean age of the respondents was 40,6 years (SD = 2,00), with a minimum age of 20 and a maximum age of 66.

The respondents were drawn randomly by visiting different villages around Tyre. The respondents were drawn from nine different villages (Table 4), and during the conflict they were hosted in four of the five possible camps, and one gathering (Kfar Badda). Two respondents moved after three days from a camp in Tyre to a camp in Sidon because of safety reasons, one of them stayed first in El-Buss, and later in Ein el-Hilweh; the other person moved from Burj el-Shemali to Ein el-Hilweh. The average number of days of hosting was 24,4 days (SD = 7,28), with a minimum stay of four days, and a maximum stay of 34 days. Three out of the 30 respondents (10%) were Sunni Muslims, the other 27 respondents (90%) were Shi'ite Muslims. The higher

³³ Simon Haddad, 2003

percentage of Shi'ite Muslims in the group of respondents has most likely to do with the fact that most people living in the south are Shi'ite Muslims.

Table 4: Lebanese villages where the respondents were coming from

Village	Number of people
Ain Baal	7
Bazouriyeh	4
Chabriha	1
Hanaouay	2
Qana	1
Qasmiyeh	3
Siddiqine	2
Qalaileh	6
Zeb Qine	4
Total	30

Table 5: Camps where the respondents stayed

Palestinian Refugee Camp	Number of people
Ein el-Hilweh	14*
Mieh Mieh	0
El-Buss	10
Burj el-Shemali	2
El-Rashidieh	3
Gathering	1
Total	30

** two of the respondents stayed first three days in another camp in Tyre (Burj el-Shemali and El-Rashidieh)*

The level of education of the respondents differs from 'no education at all' to the level of college (Table 6), with a majority under the level of secondary school.

Table 6: Level of education of the respondents

Level of Education	Number of people
None	3 (10%)
Elementary	11 (36,7%)
Intermediate	11 (36,7%)
Secondary	2 (6,7%)
College	3 (10%)
Total	30 (100%)

3.4 Quality of the data

There are different issues that could have influenced the outcome of the investigation. First, because the very short time period available to conduct this research, the sample of respondents is very small. This is why this research has to be seen as a pilot study, or small investigation.

Second, this investigation has been done in the first three months after the signing of UN resolution 1701. During this time, the tensions between different sectarian groups in Lebanon have been extremely high. The tensions in Lebanon were between pro-Syrian groups, especially Hizbullah and Amal (mostly Shi'ite Muslims) and anti-Syrian groups, foremost the March-14 forces (mostly Sunni Muslims). The Maronites in these tensions were divided. All 30 interviews are taken in the beginning of November 2006, while those tensions were present in Lebanon. The influence of the tensions to the response pattern of the respondents is not clear. Although the majority of the Palestinian refugees is Sunni-Muslim, the Palestinian refugees are not involved in the tensions, and did not play a role in the conflict. There are even indications that many Palestinian refugees feel related to the Shi'ite Hizbullah movement, since they are fighting Israel. This can be illustrated with the answer many respondents gave to the question why they thought the Palestinians helped them during the conflict. Many respondents thought the Palestinian refugees helped the IDPs because they suffered the same under Israel. Still, the questionnaire contains very sensitive questions, and is not sure how honest the respondents answered those questions. The tensions can have influenced the answers of the respondents.

Thirdly, a disadvantage of the questionnaire used for this investigation is that respondents had to answer questions about how they thought about certain issues before

the conflict. It is possible that people are biased or do not realise how they thought about those issues back then.

A fourth and last remark on this investigation is the fact that the researcher has made use of two different interpreters. Both interpreters were Palestinian. Although it was not mentioned that they were Palestinian, it is not sure if the respondents were aware of it, and if this has influenced their response pattern.

3.5 Questionnaire administration

The interviews were conducted by one interviewer and two different interpreters during three different days in the beginning of November 2006 (04/11/2006; 06/11/2006; 08/11/2006), less than three months after the end of the conflict between Hizbullah and Israel. The responses of the respondents were written on the questionnaire by the interviewer herself. In this research, and in order to prevent systematic errors, a pilot was administered to one person. Following her feedback, some questions were rewritten in a clear and direct form in the final format of the questionnaire, and some were omitted. After conducting the interviews, the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Tests has been used to investigate if there are differences between the opinion of the respondents before and after the conflict.

3.6 Analysis of the findings

3.6.1 Stay in the camps

Out of the 30 respondent, nine had never entered a camp before the conflict (30%); five seldom visited a camp (16,7%); seven regularly visited a camp (23,3%); and nine often visited a camp (30%). Reasons to visit a camp were shopping (n=2); visiting friends (n=11); going to a clinic (n=3); visiting family who are living in a camp (n=5)³⁴; and work related visits (n=6). During the conflict in the summer of 2006, the villages in the south of Lebanon were targets for Israel's attacks. Because of that many people fled the villages to find a safer place. The decision made by the respondents to go to a Palestinian camp was made for different reasons. The majority (n=20, 66,7%) decided to look for hostage in a Palestinian camp because they heard from people who were already in the camp and/or Palestinians they knew, that Israel would not attack the

³⁴ Besides Palestinians, there are also Lebanese people living in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. The main reason to live in a camp is that living in a camp is cheaper. Another reason is that there a many intermarriages between Lebanese and Palestinians.

camps. The other respondents (n=10, 33,3%) went to the camp because everything else was full.

All respondents went with their family to the camp. 21 respondents (70%) stayed in a school, eight of the respondents (26,7%) were hosted in the house of a Palestinian family, and only one respondent (3,3%) stayed in a clinic in the camp.

For ten out of the fourteen respondents who never or seldom visited a camp (71,4%), the camp was not what they expected it to be. Nine of them (90%) expected the camp to be "*very dangerous, with many bad people and a lot of violence*". One of them had "*a good feeling of the camp, expecting nice people*". All of these respondents described the camp afterwards as a place with very nice, welcoming and open people. For one out of the fourteen people who never or seldom visited a camp it was how he expected a camp to be, and three respondents did not expect anything.

Two of the respondents (6,7%) did not have any contact with Palestinians in the camp during their stay in the camp. The reason for one respondent was that she just gave birth to a baby, for the other respondent the reason was that she had to take care of the children. Two respondents were seldom in contact with Palestinians (6,7%); 13 respondents were regularly in contact with Palestinians (43,3%); and 13 respondents were often on contact with Palestinians during their stay in the camp (43,3%). Of the 28 respondents who have been in contact with Palestinians, 13 felt comfortable communicating with Palestinians (46,4%), while 15 felt very comfortable (53,6%).

3.6.2 Change in opinion

Table 7 shows in what kind of fields the Lebanese IDPs have had frequent personal contact with Palestinians before and after they were hosted in a Palestinian camp. Compared to the number of fields the respondents had contact with Palestinians before the conflict, the respondents do have significantly more contact after the conflict.

Table 7: Fields of contact that the respondents had with Palestinian refugees before and after the armed conflict

Field of contact	Contact before the conflict (N=30)		Contact after the conflict (N=30)	
	n	%	n	%
Residential	5	16,7	5	16,7
Civic	5	16,6	6	20
Friendship	16	53,3	28	93,3
Occupational	6	20	7	23,3
Political	2	6,7	2	6,7
None	8	26,7	1	3,3

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: z = 2.828

Alpha < 0.05

Table 8 shows the answers given to the question whether the respondents think the Palestinians should be granted citizenship; granted immigrant status; or resettled outside Lebanon other than Palestine. The opinion about this issue significantly changed after their stay in the camp, with more people thinking that Palestinians should be granted immigrant status or citizenship, and less people thinking that Palestinians should be resettled outside Lebanon.

Table 8: Opinion of respondents about the future of Palestinians before and after the armed conflict

	Before the conflict		After the conflict	
	n	%	n	%
Granted citizenship	11	36,7	17	56,7
Granted immigrant status	9	30	12	40
Resettled outside Lebanon	10	33,3	1	3,3
Total	30	100	30	100

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: z = 2.879

Alpha < 0.05

In table 9 states the answers that are given to the question if the respondents would accept settlement of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, in case that there is no possibility to return to Palestine. After the conflict, significantly more people would accept settlement than they would have done before their stay in the camp.

Table 9: Opinion of respondents about settlement of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

	Before the conflict		After the conflict	
	n	%	n	%
Accept settlement in Lebanon	18	60	25	83,3
Reject settlement in Lebanon	11	36,7	4	13,3
Unsure about settlement in Lebanon	1	3,3	1	3,3
Total	30	100	30	100

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: z = 2.111

P = 0.04

Table 10 shows the number of respondents that would and would not allow their daughter to marry a Palestinian. There is no change in opinion about his subject after the conflict. The reasons given by the respondents who would not allow their daughter to marry a Palestinian are: “Palestinians are Sunni instead if Shi’ite” (4); “the way of living of Palestinians” (1); “there is no future with Palestinians” (1).

From the 30 respondents, six would never allow their daughter to marry any other confession (20%), 19 would only allow their daughter to marry a Muslim man (63,3%), and 5 would allow their daughter to marry any confession.

Table 10: Number of respondents that would allow his/her daughter to marry a Palestinian man before and after the armed conflict

	Before the conflict		After the conflict	
	n	%	n	%
Accept daughter to marry a Palestinian	23	76,7	24	80
Do not accept daughter to marry a Palestinian	7	23,3	6	20
Total	30	100	30	100

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: z = 1.000

P > 0.5

Table 11 shows the opinion of the respondents about the living situation of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon compared to the living situation of the Lebanese. The opinion of the respondents about this comparison did not change due to their stay in the camp. The majority of the respondents already thought before their stay in the camp that the living situation of the Palestinians is worse than that of the Lebanese. Examples to illustrate their answers were the bad housing and infrastructure. A minority thought the living situation of Palestinian refugees is better than that of the Lebanese. Reasons given to illustrate that had mainly to do with the many NGOs that are taking care of the Palestinians, and according to some Lebanese respondents, this makes the living situation better than that of them.

Table 11: Opinion of the respondents about the living situation of Palestinian refugees compared to the living situation of Lebanese before and after the armed conflict

	Before the conflict		After the end	
	n	%	n	%
The Palestinian living situation is better than that of the Lebanese	4	16,4	3	10
The Palestinian living situation is similar to that of Lebanese	9	27	8	26,7
The Palestinian situation is worse than that of the Lebanese	17	56,6	19	63,3
Total	30	100	30	100

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: $z = 0.584$

$P > 0.05$

Table 12 shows the opinion of the respondents about possible changes that could be made to the situation of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The outcome shows that significantly more respondents think that changes are needed after the conflict than before the conflict. The possible changes that are needed according to the respondents are: application of civil and (international) human rights (9); allowance to work (9); more freedom (7); change the whole situation (6); allowance to build/ make changes to their houses (5); possibility to own houses (4); possibility to move (4); possibility to live

out of the refugee camps (3); change the attitude of the Lebanese government towards Palestinian refugees (3); infrastructure inside the camps (1); treat Palestinians as humans (1). The respondents who changed their opinion about the living situation of Palestinians answered to the question what they thought before the conflict: "I thought it was fine how they lived, I was not aware of their problems" (9); "I thought Palestinians have more problems than Lebanese, but that is not true" (1).

Table 12: Opinion of the Lebanese respondents about possible changes of the situation of Palestinians before and after the armed conflict

	Before the conflict		After the conflict	
	n	%	n	%
No changes needed	10	33,3	2	6,7
Changes needed	20	66,7	28	93,3
Total	30	100	30	100

Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test: $z = 2.828$

$P < 0.05$

The last question of the questionnaire was: "did your opinion about Palestinian refugees change because of your stay in the camp?" Of the 30 respondents, 14 respondents (46,7%) did not change their opinion about Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, while 16 respondents (53,3%) changed their opinion. The answers the respondents gave about how their opinion changed were: I did not expect Palestinians to be so nice (11); I know more about their living situation (6); I understand their suffering more (3); before I stayed in the camp I was afraid of fanatics, now I understand why Palestinians become fanatics (1). Three respondents added that they understand now that it is the Lebanese government and the media who gives the Lebanese a bad picture about Palestinians (3)

Chapter 4: Conclusion and Discussion

“After really meeting the Palestinians,

I now even suffer for Palestinians in West Bank and Gaza”

Interview former Lebanese IDP, 06-11-2006 –

During the conflict in the summer of 2006, villages in the south of Lebanon, southern suburbs of Beirut, and the Bekaa Valley were targeted by Israel. Many people fled their houses to seek refuge somewhere else. One of the places were the Palestinian camps, especially in Tyre and Sidon. Interesting is that during the history, there been many tensions between different Lebanese sectarian groups and the Palestinian refugees. According to the questionnaires, the answers to the following questions will be discussed in this research: *is there a possibility that the conflict between Hizbullah and Israel has been a start of a changing attitude of Lebanese IDPs towards Palestinian refugees because of the humanitarian aid given by Palestinian; and is there a possibility that the hosting of Lebanese IDPs in the Palestinian camps could cause changes in the economical, political and social living situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon?* As discussed earlier, there are many shortcomings in this research (small sample; Palestinian interpreters; period of conducting; sensitive subject), and in discussing the questions, the reader should be aware of that. The results of this research will be divided in two topics. The first topic covers the changes in perception of the respondents on the Palestinian refugees. The second topic discusses a possible change in the attitude of the respondents towards the political situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

4.1 Conclusion

4.1.1 Changes in the Perception of Lebanese IDPs on Palestinian Refugees

46,7% of the respondents never or seldom visited a Palestinian camp before the conflict, while 53,3% regularly or often visited a camp before. Expectations that the people who rarely or never visited a camp had of the camps were different than they really were; 90% expected the camps to be very dangerous, with many bad people, and a lot of violence, while afterwards all of the respondents described the camps as a place with very nice, open and welcoming people. Several people added that the Palestinian refugees did more for them than the Lebanese people and the Lebanese government did.

Remarkable is that the respondents in general have currently more contact with Palestinians after the conflict than they had before the conflict. Especially the number of people who have friendships with Palestinians has grown (from 53,3% to 93,3%). The people who built up friendships in the camps illustrated this by telling that the Palestinian refugees nowadays visit them in the villages and that they themselves still visit the Palestinians in the camps.

The opinion of the respondents about the living situation of the Palestinians compared to the living situation of the Lebanese did not change after the conflict. It seems to be that the majority of the respondents before the conflict already had the idea that the living situation of the Palestinians is worse than that of the Lebanese (56,6%). Remarkable is that, although the majority of the respondents before the conflict already thought the living situation of the Palestinian refugees is worse than that of the Lebanese, after the conflict significantly more respondents agree with possible changes to the situation of the Palestinian refugees. Although 33,3% would not agree upon any changes in the living situation before the conflict, after the conflict this is only 6,7%. This means that, although many of the respondents before the conflict thought the situation of the Palestinians is worse, there was no need to change it. While after their stay in the camp, the opinion about the Palestinians changed in a way that now they would accept certain improvements. The main answers given to the question what kind of changes they would allow were: application of civil and human rights; allowance to work; more freedom; and change of the whole situation.

Nothing has changed in the opinion of the respondents about a possible marriage of their daughter with a Palestinian man. For most of the respondents, marriage with a Palestinian would not cause any problems. Only two respondents would not allow their daughter to marry a Palestinian because their way of living, or a possible future. The most important reason not to allow marriage to a Palestinian had to do with confession; Palestinians are mostly Sunni Muslims, while the respondents were mostly Shi'ite Muslims. In Lebanon, when a couple would get children, the children get the confession of the husband, what would mean that when a Sunni Palestinian (most of the Palestinians are Sunni Muslims) marries a Shi'ite wife, the children will be Sunnis. Four out of the 30 respondents would not allow their daughter to marry any confession. It seems to be that it is especially the religion (Muslim) that is important in marriage, and not the nationality.

To conclude, it seems to be that the contact between the Lebanese respondents and the Palestinians has improved due to their stay in the camps. It is the opinion about the kindness of the Palestinian and the understanding of their situation that has changed. The respondents are more in contact with the Palestinians and changed their mind about possible changes that have to be made.

4.1.2 Possible change in the opinion about the future of the Palestinian refugees

An interesting outcome in this investigation is the change in opinion of the respondents about the future of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Although before the conflict, 33,3% of the respondents thought that Palestinian refugees should have to leave Lebanon for another country, after the conflict this was only 3,3%, with an increased percentage accepting immigrant status (before the conflict, 30%, after the conflict 40%) and settlement in Lebanon (before the conflict 36,7%, after the conflict 56,77%). Nevertheless, if there is no possibility to go back to Palestine, 83,3% would accept settlement of the Palestinians, against 60% who would have accepted settlement before the conflict.

4.2 General conclusion and discussion

The general conclusion of this investigation is that living together with Palestinians in a refugee camp changed the perception of the respondents on Palestinian refugees, and changed their opinion about the future of Palestinians in Lebanon. Not only did the respondents change their minds about the Palestinians as persons (nicer persons than they expected to be), and did the interaction between the two groups increase, also the opinion about possible changes in the living situation and the possible future of Palestinian refugees did change. This would indicate that the hosting of the Lebanese IDPs in the Palestinian camps during the conflict of the summer of 2006 could make a change in the overall situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Some of the respondents did take some effort to give attention to what the Palestinians did for them. Two of the respondents went to the media to tell their experiences, another respondent who was building his house, only employed Palestinian workers to build his house.

Even though the Palestinian camps hosted thousands of people, nothing is written about this by the government sources. The Lebanese government developed a website about the 2006 conflict with a lot of information on it about the hosting of IDPs, but nothing is written about the humanitarian assistance given by Palestinian refugees.

Nevertheless, Hizbullah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah, thanked the Palestinians for their aid during the conflict.

The outcome of the investigation would indicate that intensive meetings between Lebanese and Palestinians do not only change the perception of Lebanese about the Palestinian refugees, but also change the opinion about the living situation and the possible future of the Palestinians in Lebanon. Hopefully, the hosting of IDPs in Palestinian refugees camps, and the correlated change in opinion of the IDPs, made a beginning to the improvement of the situation of the Palestinians. Nevertheless, this investigation is done by interviewing Lebanese civilians living in the south. The system has to be changed by the Lebanese government, and it is unknown how willing they are to make any changes. The complicated sectarian system in Lebanon has a big influence in all political decisions. Settling of the Palestinians in Lebanon would be very complicated, because of the shaky sectarian balance in Lebanon as discussed before. Furthermore, it is unknown if Palestinian refugees want to be settled down in Lebanon. Nevertheless, improvements in their living situation and granting civil and human rights would be welcomed. Since many Lebanese people are not aware of the real situation of the Palestinian refugees living in their country, simply because they do not meet each other, effort should be taken to let the two groups meet each other. Besides doing this, it is important that Lebanon becomes aware of what the Palestinians did during the conflict of the summer of 2006. Since many Lebanese have a bad picture of Palestinian refugees in their country, it is recommended to make the Lebanese people aware of the good things the Palestinians did during the conflict in 2006.

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Mr. Fouad Bawachi, Health Care Society, 26/09/2006
Mr. Simon Haddad, Researcher 'Notre Dame University' 02/10/2006
Mr. Hisham Pepsi, PLO, 03/10/2006
Mr. Naji Yousof Saiid, Right to Play, 05/10/2006
Ms. Anne J. Sulieman, General Union for Palestinian Women, 05/10/2006
Ms. Dalal Moussa, Teacher UNRWA school, 05/10/2006
Mr. Khaled Arif, PLO Saida, 05/10/2006
Ms. Intisar Abu Salem, Association Najdeh, 05/10/2006
Mr. Mohammad Hreish, Alghad Foundation, 05/10/2006
Ms. Anissa Sabaayon, Norwegian People's Aid, 10/10/2006
Mr. Khalid Fershat, Popular CommitteeRashidieh, 15/11/2006
Mr. Mosbak Marouf, Popular Committee Rashidieh, 15/11/2006
Mr. Ali Naguye, Popular Committee El-Buss, 15/11/2006
Mr. Jamal Fandy, Popular Committee, Burj el-Shemali, 15/11/2006
31 Lebanese former IDPs, 01/11/2006 (pilot), 04/11/2006. 06/11/2006, 08/11/2006
14 Palestinian Refugees, 05/10/2006 (pilot), 05/11/2006

Appendix 1

NGOs working with Displaced Persons in Tyre

Rashidieh

Nagdy Alagtema

Bet Atfal Alsmod

Premiere Urgence

General Union of Palestinian Women

El-Buss

Premier Urgence

General Women

Naba Association

UNRWA

Burj el-Shemali

Open Bet Atfal Asmod Center

Holy Club

UNRWA

Premier Urgence

General Union Women

Appendix 2

NGOs working with IDPs in Sidon in English and in Arabic³⁵

1. Social Help Association
2. *unknown how to translate*
3. *unknown how to translate*
4. General Union for Palestinian Women
5. *unknown how to translate*
6. Alghad Cultural Institution
7. Norwegian Peoples Aid
8. Right to Play
9. Committee for Zakat and Donations
10. Alfor Kan Association
11. Al Sanabel
12. Khaled Ben Walid Medical Centre
13. Development Social Centre
14. Welfare Association
15. Sabeel Association
16. Palestinian Youth Committee
17. Solidarity and Development Organization
18. Ghassan Kanafani Institution
19. Alghad Institution
20. Popular Committee Ein el-Hilweh
21. General Syndicate Union
22. Hittin Social Centre
23. *unknown how to translate*
24. Jerusalem Association
25. Palestinian Children Relief
26. PARD
27. Right to Return Leagues
28. *unknown how to translate*
29. Saad Sayel Dispace
30. *unknown how to translate*

³⁵ Since it is difficult to translate the Arab names of the organizations in English, also an Arabic list is included.

المؤسسات المشاركة:

1. جمعية النجدة الاجتماعية
2. المشروع المسكوني للتربية الشعبية
3. بيت اطفال الصمود
4. الاتحاد العام للمرأة الفلسطينية/ فرع لبنان
5. الجمعية الاهلية للتدريب المهني والخدمات الاجتماعية
6. مؤسسة الغد الثقافي
7. المساعدات الشعبية النروجية NPA
8. الحق في اللعب Right to play
9. لجنة الزكاة و الصدقات
10. جمعية الفرقان
11. روضة السنابل
12. مركز خالد ابن الوليد الطبي
13. مركز التنمية الاجتماعية
14. مؤسسة التعاون
15. جمعية السبيل
16. تجمع الشباب الفلسطيني " لاجيء "
17. جمعية التضامن والتنمية
18. مؤسسة غسان كنفاني
19. مؤسسة الغد
20. اللجنة الشعبية مخيم عين الحلوة
21. الاتحاد العام للمهندسين
22. مركز البرامج النسائية الاونروا
23. مركز حطين الاجتماعي
24. جمعية المشاريع الخيرية الاجتماعية
25. جمعية بيت المقدس
26. إغاثة اطفال فلسطين PCRf
27. المساعدات الشعبية للإغاثة والتنمية PARD
28. لجان حق العودة
29. مستوصف سعد سايل
30. عاندون

Appendix 3

Nr.:
Gender: M / F
Village:

Date:
Interviewer:

Questionnaire Lebanese

This research is about your stay in the Palestinian camp during the last war, and involves some questions in which I will ask your opinion and your experiences. The research is done for the 'University of Groningen', in Holland. For the research it is very important that you answer the questions as open and honest as possible. If you prefer not to answer a question, you do not have to. I will not write your name, so the whole research is anonymous.

I will start with some general questions

1. How old are you?
Age:
2. What is your marital status?
 - a. Married
 - b. Single
 - c. Divorced or widowed
3. What is your profession?
4. What is your level of education?
 - a. College
 - b. Elementary
 - c. Intermediate
 - d. None
5. What is your religious affiliation by birth?
6. How do you describe your family's living conditions by Lebanese standards:
 - a. High
 - b. Above average
 - c. Average
 - d. Below average
 - e. Well below average
 - f.

Now I will ask you some questions about your stay in the camp, the time before, and the time afterwards.

7. In which camp did you stay during the war?
 - a. Ein el-Hilweh
 - b. Mieh Mieh
 - c. El-Buss
 - d. Burj el-Shemali
 - e. El-Rashidieh
8. From when to when did you stay in the camp?

9. How often did you enter a Palestinian camp **before the last war**?
- Often → 9a
 - Regularly → 9a
 - Nearly → 9a
 - Seldom → 9a
 - Never → 9b
- 9a: For what reasons did you visit a camp before? → 10
 9b: How did you expect a Palestinian camp to be? → 9c
 9c: Was it what you expected it to be when you entered it?
- Yes
 - No, namely.....
10. How did you decide to go to a camp?
11. With whom did you go to the camp?
12. What was your first reaction when you heard that you would be hosted in a refugee camp?
 12b. Why?
13. Where did you stay in the camp?
- House
 - School
 - Other, namely.....
14. How would you describe, in your own words, your stay in the camp?
15. How much have you been in contact with the Palestinians in the camp?
- Never
 - Seldom
 - Regularly
 - Often
16. How comfortable did you feel communicating with Palestinians during the war?
- Very comfortable
 - Comfortable
 - Not Comfortable
 - Not comfortable at all
 - Unsure
 - f.
17. Why do you think the Palestinians helped Lebanese displaced persons?
- 18a. Can you indicate in what fields you had frequent personal contact with Palestinians, **before the last war**:
- Residential
 - Civic
 - Friendship
 - Occupational
 - Political
 - None
- 18b. Can you indicate in what fields you **currently** have frequent personal contact with Palestinians:
- Residential

- b. Civic
- c. Friendship
- d. Occupational
- e. Political
- f. None

19a. In your opinion, do you think the Palestinians in Lebanon should be:

- a. Granted citizenship, getting Lebanese nationality
- b. Granted immigrant status
- c. Resettled outside Lebanon

19b. Did you think the same about this **before the last war**?

- a. Yes, I thought the same about this
- b. No, before the war I thought Palestinians should be granted citizenship
- c. No, before the war I thought Palestinians should be granted immigrant status
- d. No, before the war I thought Palestinians should be resettled outside Lebanon

20a. If resettlement would be imposed, would you:

- a. Accept it
- b. Reject it
- c. Unsure

20b. If, **before you stayed in the camp**, resettlement would have been imposed, would you have:

- a. Accepted it
- b. Rejected it
- c. Unsure

21a. If you had a daughter, and she would like to marry a Palestinian man, would you accept it?

- a. No → 21b
- b. Yes → 21c

21b. Why not? → 21c

21c. Did you think the same about this before the July-war?

- a. Yes, my opinion did not change
- b. No my opinion changed, namely.....

22a. If you had a daughter, and she would like to marry a man with an other confession, would you accept it?

- a. No, never → 23a
- b. Depends what confession he has → 22b
- c. Yes, always → 23a

22b. Which confessions would you accept, and which not?

23a. In your opinion, do you think the living situation of the Palestinians is:

- a. Better than the situation of the Lebanese
- b. Similar to the situation of the Lebanese
- c. Worse than the situation of the Lebanese

23b. Did you think the same about that before you stayed in the Palestinian camp?

- a. Yes, before I stayed in the camp I thought the same about that

- b. No, before I stayed in the camp I thought the situation of the Palestinians is better than the situation of the Lebanese
- c. No, before I stayed in the camp I thought the situation of the Palestinians is similar to the situation of the Lebanese
- d. No, before I stayed in the camp I thought the situation of the Palestinians is worse than the situation of the Lebanese

24a. Do you think the living situation of the Palestinians needs any changes?

- a. No
- b. Yes, namely.....

24b. Did you think the same about that before you stay in the Palestinian camp?

- a. Yes, I thought the same about that → 25
- b. No → 24c

24c. What did you think before the war?

25a. Did your opinion about the Palestinians change because of your stay in the camp?

- a. No, my opinion did not change
- b. Yes, my opinion did change → 25b

25b. How did your opinion change?

This was my last question. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

.....