



# IMAGES

## MENA

the International Men  
and Gender Equality Survey

A Qualitative Study on War,  
Masculinities, and Gender  
Relations with Lebanese and  
Syrian Refugee Men and Women

A study by



UNITED STATES  
INSTITUTE OF PEACE  
Making Peace Possible



“ WE CAN  
NEVER  
GO BACK  
TO HOW  
THINGS  
WERE  
BEFORE ”

ابعد  
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## ABOUT THIS STUDY

This study aims to contribute to a greater understanding of how masculinities and gender relations are affected by the post-conflict setting and by the impact of conflict-related displacement in Lebanon. It was carried out as a partner study to the International Men and Gender Equality Survey - Middle East and North Africa Region (IMAGES MENA). IMAGES MENA includes representative household surveys with men and women ages 18-59 in Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine. The research and dissemination of the regional IMAGES MENA study, along with this report, was coordinated by Promundo and UN Women, under the UN Women Regional Program, "Men and Women for Gender Equality," funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), with additional support from the Arcus Foundation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (via Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women (FLOW), the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), and the United States Department of State in partnership with Vital Voices. This qualitative study was specifically supported by the USIP.

## ABAAD

ABAAD is a non-profit, non-politically affiliated, non-religious civil society association founded in June 2011 with the aim of promoting sustainable social and economic development in the MENA region by advancing the equality, protection, and empowerment of marginalised groups, especially women.

ABAAD is made up of a dynamic pool of human rights activists, lawyers, experts in their fields, social workers, and researchers who are all dedicated to achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. ABAAD aims to achieve gender equality, seeing it as an essential pre-condition for sustainable social and economic development in the MENA region. ABAAD seeks to promote equality and active participation through policy development, legal reform, gender mainstreaming, eliminating discrimination, in addition to supporting the advancement of women and empowering them to participate effectively and fully in their own communities.

ABAAD is a pioneer organisation, in both Lebanon and the MENA region. One of the main pillars of its work is engaging men in redefining masculinities and ending violence against women. ABAAD seeks to support and collaborate with civil society organisations that work on or seek to activate I) gender equality, gender-based violence, and/or engaging men programmes; II) direct services for women and men; and III) advocacy campaigns.

For more information see: [www.abaadmena.org](http://www.abaadmena.org)





## PROMUNDO

Founded in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1997, Promundo works to promote caring, nonviolent, and equitable masculinities and equitable gender relations internationally. Promundo's Global Consortium of independently registered organizations includes those in the United States (Promundo-US), Brazil (Instituto Promundo), and Democratic Republic of the Congo (Living Peace Institute), with representation in Portugal. These organisations collaborate to achieve Promundo's mission by conducting applied research that builds the knowledge base on masculinities and gender equality; developing, evaluating, and scaling-up gender transformative interventions and programmes; and carrying out national and international advocacy to promote gender equality and social justice. For more information see: [www.promundoglobal.org](http://www.promundoglobal.org)

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

- FGD - focus group discussions  
GBV - gender-based violence  
IDI - in-depth individual interviews  
IMAGES – International Men and Gender Equality Survey  
IRC - International Rescue Committee  
MENA – Middle East and North Africa  
SGBV - sexual and gender-based violence  
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



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**PART A**  
**INTRODUCTION**





# 1) THE CONTEXT AND THE FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

Lebanon is considered to be a post-conflict country, yet it sporadically and unpredictably erupts into conflict. This conflict is a direct result of the political instability of national and regional politics, sectarianism, and limited governmental control over political parties and armed groups in the country. Furthermore, Lebanon has the highest rate of refugees per capita in the world, most of whom are Syrian, fleeing from civil war in their country. Syrian refugees have joined the nearly 500,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, most of whom have been in the country since 1948. Numerous studies have affirmed that displacement, as in the case of refugees, leads to multiple vulnerabilities; among them is an increased risk of gender-based violence (GBV).

Despite a clear need for more data to inform services and responses to gender-based violence in Lebanon, relatively little research has taken an in-depth look at men and women from Lebanon, including Syrian refugees, in terms of: a) their perceptions of social and cultural gender roles; and b) how these gender roles are affected in conflict and post-conflict settings— in particular, how conflict affects men's identities and, in turn, gender relations more broadly. The results and analysis aim to inform programming for the Syrian refugee population and the Lebanese population as a whole by bringing a better understanding of masculinities into efforts to promote gender equality and prevent gender-based violence.

***Specifically, we sought to study (1) how gender relations and masculinities of Syrian refugees are affected by conflict and displacement; and (2) how gender relations and masculinities of non-refugee men and women in Lebanon are affected by conflict, tensions emerging from ongoing political instability, and the Syrian refugee crisis.***

The results generated from this study give much needed insight into the experiences and perceptions of gender-based violence, and other aspects of gender relations. Together with the IMAGES survey in Lebanon, the results have already inspired new programmatic actions, including through a partnership between ABAAD and Promundo, among others. These initiatives include, namely, the MenCare project to engage men as equitable fathers, and Programme Ra (developed out of Promundo and partners' Program H) as an approach to engage young men in gender equality and to reduce gender-based violence.

## Brief Literature Review and Overview of the Context: The Impact of Conflict on Gender Relations in Lebanon

Following the political unrest in Syria in 2011 and the start of the Syrian civil war, many Syrians were forced to flee the conflict and migrate to bordering countries. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) figures, Lebanon is the highest per capita host of refugees in the world, which has put a considerable strain on the already weak national economy. Throughout the six years of war that have followed, it is estimated that a total of 1.5 million Syrian individuals have entered and currently reside in Lebanon. Of those, approximately one million are registered with the UNHCR<sup>1</sup>. There are no official Syrian refugee camps in Lebanon. Instead, the majority of Syrian refugees are dispersed throughout Lebanon, with various host communities, primarily along the sectarian lines in the Bekaa Valley and Mount Lebanon, and with high concentrations in the North and Baalbak-Hermel<sup>2</sup>. Palestinian refugees from Syria generally join existing Palestinian camps and more informal 'gatherings'.

Most of the Syrian refugees immigrated to Lebanon as part of families; 53 per cent of the refugees in Lebanon are children. According to UNHCR, 70 per cent of Syrian households in Lebanon live below the poverty line, and 52 per cent live in extreme poverty<sup>3</sup>. Forty-five per cent of refugees who rent apartments share small lodgings with other families in overcrowded conditions, as they are not able to afford alternative housing. Moreover, 39 per cent of Syrian refugees live in insecure accommodations, such as tents in informal settlements, garages, work-site sheds, and unfinished buildings. Such locations are hard to improve, as municipalities often forbid structural changes, for fear that these improvements would encourage Syrian refugees to stay in Lebanon permanently<sup>4</sup>.

Refugees face extreme difficulties in meeting their basic needs, accessing life-saving services, and protecting themselves from violence. The impact of the influx of refugees in Lebanon and its communities is severe, especially where the limited capacity to absorb the refugees can contribute to increases in prices of consumer goods for all, and create challenges the provision of health and education services. For example, despite some efforts from the Ministry of Education and Higher Education to provide schooling for Syrian refugee children, 74 per cent of Syrian child refugees in Lebanon remain out of school<sup>5</sup>. This is partly due to the inability of the public schools to accommodate the majority of school-aged Syrian refugees, as well as other challenges, such as the cost of transportation, language of instruction, and ongoing discrimination.

1/ Syria Regional Refugee Response, last accessed January 2017

2/ Refugees from Syria: Lebanon, March 2015

3/ Increasing Vulnerability among Syrian Refugees, 2016

4/ No Place to Stay? Reflections on the Syrian Refugee Shelter Policy in Lebanon, 2015

5/ Responding to Crisis: Syrian Refugee Education in Lebanon, March 2016

These problems are compounded by limited access to employment for both refugees and the local population. Only 47 per cent of working-age Syrian refugees are economically active. Unemployment levels are particularly high among women, with only six per cent of Syrian refugee women above the age of 15 currently working in Lebanon<sup>6</sup>. Among the Lebanese population, unemployment has increased by 24 per cent since 2012<sup>7</sup>. This is influenced by a lack of adequate shelter services for survivors of violence, which is even more acute for non-Lebanese survivors of gender-based violence.

## Gendered Impact of Conflict

To better understand the gendered impacts of the conflict on refugees, several local and international organisations have conducted rapid assessments within the past three years<sup>8</sup>. These studies have found the following:

- **General adverse conditions:** Some of the main issues identified by these assessments included “overcrowding, inadequate access to basic services and poverty [...], rising rent and food prices, and competition for the limited work opportunities<sup>9</sup>.”
- **Specific risks to girls/and women:** According to a recent regional report by Human Rights Watch (2016) on the situation of women and girls affected by the Syrian crisis, restrictions on mobility in urban areas limit women’s and girls’ ability to access goods and services provided by the government and and/or humanitarian organisations. Hence, women continue to face violence, humiliation, and mistreatment after arriving in Lebanon, in addition to a shortage of quality services for survivors of violence. Moreover, intimate partner violence, domestic violence, early marriage, and survival sex have been identified as other forms of violence currently experienced by women and girls in Lebanon. Survival sex, typically linked to women’s and girls’ desperate need to access income to cover the increased cost of living in Lebanon, was also identified as a type of violence frequently experienced by Syrian women and girls<sup>10</sup>. Syrian women also currently make up the majority of women involved who are sexually exploited or involved in the sex trade in Lebanon<sup>11</sup>. Another rapid assessment conducted in 2012 by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in collaboration with ABAAD focused on assessing the vulnerabilities of Syrian women and girls to GBV both prior to crossing the border and after entering their new host communities. The study found that once women and

girls arrive in Lebanon, they are often subjected to various types of violence (including intimate partner violence), and also are at risk of sexual exploitation and forced marriages. With limited or no options, some women exchange sex for food or hygienic materials, or for money to help pay the rent. In addition, early marriage becomes a form of forced marriage, with families saying that marriage is necessary to protect their daughters from the threat of rape, not to mention for economic reasons. The assessment also indicated that inaccessibility of GBV services; cultural norms that prevent or challenge the reporting of GBV; as well as fear of stigma due to revealing such information, increase women’s and girls’ vulnerability to GBV<sup>12</sup>.

- **Specific risks to and realities of young men:** With a few exceptions, there is little research on young and adult refugee men’s realities in Lebanon. One such exception is the recent IRC report examining the vulnerabilities of Syrian refugee men. This study, conducted in 2016, found that more than two-thirds of Syrian refugee men interviewed had experienced threats to their personal safety involving incidents of abuse and exploitation, mostly in work settings<sup>13</sup>. Young male refugees in particular are highly susceptible to forced and early labour because they are seen as the sole economic providers for their families. The most recent study assessing child labour in Lebanon and Jordan – titled “Small Hands Heavy Burden: How the Syrian Conflict is Driving More Children into the Workforce<sup>14</sup>” – has shown that child labour in the public sphere and for economic generation is mostly done by young boys. The study also found that “over two-thirds of street-based children were found to be male.” An even more worrisome gendered impact of armed conflict for boys is increased exposure to recruitment by armed forces and groups, which has been the case in the Syrian conflict<sup>15</sup>.

## The Goal of this Study: Through the Lens of Masculinities

Only a handful of studies in Lebanon have shed light on the changing gendered dynamics within the refugee families by comparing gender roles, expectations, and practices before and after displacement (as result of armed conflict)<sup>16</sup>. And even when such research is carried out, it has seldom examined how changing roles and identities related to masculinities affect gender relations. Thus, the results and analysis of this study focus on gaining a new understanding of masculinities in this conflict-affected setting, with the goal of improving responses and services for women and men affected by the conflict.

6/ Assessment of the Impact of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and their Employment Profile, 2013

7/ Economic Impacts of Syrian Refugees, 2016

8/ Syrian Women & Girls: Fleeing death facing on going threats and humiliation, International Rescue Committee, August 2012

9/ Shifting Sands: Changing gender roles among refugees in Lebanon, 2013

10/ Human Rights Watch: World Report 2016

11/ Human Rights Watch: Lebanon – Syrian Women at Risk of Sex Trafficking, 2016

12/ Syrian Women & Girls: Fleeing death facing on going threats and humiliation, International Rescue Committee, August 2012

13/ Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugee Men in Lebanon, January 2016

14/ Small hands heavy burden: how the Syria conflict is driving more children into the workforce, July 2015

15/ The Big Dilemma of Small Soldiers: Recruiting Children to the War in Syria, February 2015

16/ Shifting Sands: Changing gender roles among refugees in Lebanon, 2013



## 2) RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the expectations and perceptions of masculinities in times or settings of conflict and post-conflict among men and women residing in Lebanon.

The study both stands alone and is a companion study to the IMAGES quantitative research carried out in Lebanon. The research focused on participants' views and beliefs about the roles of men and women in the context of conflict and post-conflict. It included broad questions on these topics for men and women in diverse settings across Lebanon, as well as individual interviews with participants identified as having unique stories or perspectives, namely:

- a) Stories of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), as either perpetrators or victims (and possibly both); or
- b) Stories displaying inspirational and positive deviations from traditional/hegemonic or violent attitudes on gender roles, masculinities, and femininities.

### Specific Research Questions

1. How are Syrian refugee men and Lebanese (non-immigrant or non-refugee) men expected to act in times of conflict versus in times of peace?
2. How do gender perceptions differ regarding attitudes and behaviours of men versus women in conflict and post-conflict settings?
3. How do gender perceptions differ with regards to the effects of conflict on men versus women?
4. What are some examples of alternative masculinities (non-traditional, equitable, and non-violent masculinities) that exist in times of conflict and post-conflict?

## 3) RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

This study was carried out with Lebanese residents and Syrian refugees, and covered the following geographical regions:

- North Lebanon (Mhamra, Qebbeh, and Tripoli)
- South Lebanon (Zibdine, Zrariyeh, and the Bass camp)
- Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh, Borj Al Barajneh, Hay el Sellom, Hamra, Ras el Nabeh, and Haret Hreik)
- Bekaa (Ein Kfar Zabad and Bar Elias)
- Mount Lebanon (Ghazir, Jounieh, Jbeil, Harissa, and Daraoun)

These areas were selected because they are covered by ABAAD's scope of work, or will be covered by ABAAD's scope of work in the future. The areas were also selected to ensure coverage of major geographic areas in Lebanon.

**A total of 278 participants took part in this qualitative research, which was conducted by ABAAD.** This included 20 focus group discussions (FGDs), which were conducted with Syrian refugees (five FGDs with men and four with women) and Lebanese residents (seven FGDs with men and four with women) in four governorates (North, South, Beirut, and Bekaa), covering 13 areas: Ras el Nabeh, Hay el Sellom, Hamra, Ein el Remmeneh, Borj Al Barajneh, the Bass camp, Zrariyeh, Zibdine, Tripoli, Qebbeh, Mhamra, Bar Elias, and Ein Kfar Zabad). Participants in the FGDs were recruited to represent a diversity of religious identities, nationalities, geographic locations, and genders (as seen below). Details on individuals who participated in the study have been withheld to protect their identities.

	NORTH LEBANON			BEQAA		
	Total	Syrian	Lebanese	Total	Syrian	Lebanese
# of participants	61	39	22	51	23	28
Mean Age	33.52	23	38.79	42.34	38.67	46.01
# of Men	12	4	8	30	15	15
# of Women	49	35	14	21	8	13

Table 1 – Demographics of FGD participants in North Lebanon and Bekaa



	BEIRUT			SOUTH LEBANON		
	Total	Syrian	Lebanese	Total	Syrian	Lebanese
# of participants	93	28	65	47	26	13
Mean Age	35.93	36.31	35.55	44.31	40.77	47.85
# of Men	70	20	50	21	13	8
# of Women	23	8	15	26	13	13

Table 2 – Demographics of FGD participants in Beirut and South Lebanon

The study also included 26 semi-structured individual interviews with Lebanese and Syrian refugees residing in Lebanon from five governorates (North, South, Beirut, Bekaa, and Mount Lebanon). These included 10 individual interviews with women (five with Syrian refugees and five with Lebanese nationals) and 16 individual interviews with men (10 with Syrian refugees and six with Lebanese nationals). A list of ages, locations, and information for each of these is included in Annex D. Individual interviews targeted men from different age groups, marital statuses, and religious identities who have lived through war but chose not to engage in it, and women from different age groups, marital statuses, and religious identities who have lived through war. These men and women were identified and recruited using chain-referral sampling. The purpose of these interviews was to understand possible pathways of resistance to armed violence among men, and to understand women's perceptions of men's resistance to armed violence.

## 4) METHODS

A comprehensive FGD guide (See Annex A), including open-ended questions and probes for each question, was developed for the use of facilitators. It was used to ensure that key issues were discussed, and that a proper comparison of respondents' experiences of gendered roles, perceptions, and behaviours was made **between their lives during conflict and their lives during peace**.

Two separate guides (see Annexes B and C) were developed for the individual interviews, one for women and another for men. They included questions in the same categories as the FGD questionnaire, as well as probes on the repercussions for men of not engaging in combat and on alternative roles that they took instead. Individual interviews with women were conducted to explore their perceptions of masculinity during the war and its effects on them and on the men in their lives.

Using these research instruments, field researchers identified individuals in the target regions and facilitated the focus group discussions. Co-facilitators were present to record the answers. Individual, or one-on-one, interviews (in-depth individual interviews, or IDIs) were held with the participants, during which the facilitators recorded the interviews. Interviews and FGD results were then transcribed into English. Responses were then recorded in a matrix according to sub-theme. Using the matrix, the co-researchers read through the interview transcripts multiple times to identify key trends, which are presented in this report.

**Key trends or conclusions represent perspectives that were mentioned or affirmed by various participants. Rather than offering static truths, such trends reflect the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of gender roles, practices, and underlying norms and their fluidity in moments of conflict and post-conflict.** When the particular conclusion emerged from only one respondent, it is noted in the analysis below. At other moments, we say "respondents," "some respondents," or "various respondents" to denote topics or affirmations that were mentioned or affirmed by more than one respondent. As the research is qualitative, it maps tendencies and provides nuances to themes, but does not provide a basis for generalisation (as the IMAGES results do).



## 5) ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Anonymity:** The research team did not gather participants' personal information in order to ensure their safety and anonymity. The team used a coding system to avoid duplication of information, while ensuring that no private information would be disclosed.

**Confidentiality:** The information shared by participants was only used by the research team and for the purpose of the study. This information was clearly communicated with participants prior to their engagement in the study.

**Verbal consent:** As discussed, participation in this study was voluntary, with the objective of guaranteeing that the participants would not face any negative consequences or missed opportunities from ABAAD if they chose not to participate.

**Privacy of information:** All information collected has been stored in a safe cabinet only accessed by the research team.

**Institutional review board (IRB) approval:** Approval was obtained from La Sagesse University.

## 6) LIMITATIONS

The nature of the topics and the use of group discussions for portions of the research meant that some respondents did not answer sensitive questions. This was more often true for male respondents, and Syrian male respondents in particular, who were much less vocal about certain topics than female interviewees. Moreover, by asking about "the effects of conflict" this research sometimes equated or compared accounts of the current or recent war in Syria with accounts of the Lebanese wars and conflicts, the most recent being nine years ago<sup>17</sup>.

This was particularly true for interviews with participants who had only been affected by the Lebanese civil war, which ended more than 25 years ago. Geographical coverage was also limited to the areas described. Analysis of the different experiences of other specific groups (i.e. Druze and Kurds) was also difficult to establish given the sensitivity of discussing ethnicity and religion in Lebanon.

***The findings are not, of course, generalisable. However, the data allows us to triangulate findings with the IMAGES research in Lebanon, which are representative of both the native-born Lebanese population, and the Syrian refugee population in Lebanon.***

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<sup>17</sup> The most recent conflict, referred to as the May 2008 ,7, conflict when Hezbollah and other pro-Syrian militias entered west Beirut, subsequently led to negotiations in Doha, which resulted in new electoral law and a national unity government taking office shortly after. The conflict itself and its origins are highly sensitive in Lebanon. Although the clashes were violent, there is no official number of dead or wounded.





# **PART B: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

This section presents the main findings and analysis of this study, including quotes from the FGDs and from individual interviews. It begins by exploring how men are expected to act in times of conflict versus times of peace. It then examines different gendered perceptions regarding attitudes and behaviours of men versus women in conflict and post-conflict conditions. Next, it looks at how gender perceptions differ with regard to the effects of conflict on men versus women. Finally, it provides a narrative of non-traditional, non-violent alternative masculinities that emerge in times of conflict and post-conflict, as well as reflections on how women support such alternative masculinities.



# 1) GENDERED ROLES:

## How Are Men Expected to Act in Conflict Versus Peace?

Three sub-themes emerged under gendered roles: roles of men as providers, their roles as protectors, and their relationships with their spouses and children. Not surprisingly, war and conflict drive significant changes in household dynamics, particularly men's loss of livelihoods and subsequent perception of no longer being the head of household. Some men perceive these changes purely as a loss, while other men and women reported men becoming closer to their children or to their spouses during conflict. The fourth main theme in this category is women's changing roles in conflict and men's reactions to those changes.

### Provider: Loss of Work Means Loss of Identity and Sometimes Role Reversal

An oft-repeated theme, and one that emerges in the IMAGES findings as well, is that men's central socially-defined role in Lebanon is that of provider:

**"Men should provide their family with all financial needs, they have to work and bring money to the house, so they can spend and buy all the goods, the children's school needs, etc."** (Syrian man - FGD in Bass camp)

Accordingly, when a man is able to fulfil his perceived duties, primarily by providing for his family, he feels good about himself:

**"When men fulfil their roles and duties, they feel like they own the universe, they are in control of everything, and this brings them joy and inner peace."** (Syrian man - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

In some instances, this further increases the man's sense of superiority:

**"It is a huge boost of ego. He becomes able to order what he wants, what he wishes, even if it is marrying a second wife."** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

However, when men are not able to fulfil their perceived duties, they worry, and their self-esteem decreases:

**"He will feel like he failed in his life. This will affect him psychologically and will affect his family as well. This affects him psychologically very negatively, because he feels unable to do his responsibilities. The society will look at**

**him negatively. He will feel weak in society. With the family, it also affects it negatively."** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hamra)

Men reported that they become fragile in these instances:

**"He becomes like a tissue, very easily breakable. In normal times, he is like steel, but when he cannot fulfill his duties, he becomes very fragile."** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

A few respondents take the notion one step further, and believe that a "real man" is one who manages to be the sole provider for the family without having to count on his wife as a source of income:

**"The man has to be able to provide for his family, and it is better if the wife doesn't work so that she can take care of the children. [...] The strong man doesn't require his wife to work."** (Lebanese man - FGD in Ein el Remmeneh)

Some women feel that they should not have a job after getting married, as it is the man's duty to provide for her at that point:

**"The man has a role in taking care of the income and the expenses of the family, and to take care of them financially. His role is outside the house, and her role is inside the house."** (55 year old Lebanese woman - IDI in Ein el Remmeneh)

For some women, it seems that the role of the man is reduced to that of a provider, and that a man for them is nothing more than financial security:

**"A man is financial security. Nothing less, nothing more."** (Lebanese woman - FGD in Tripoli)

A key stress during conflict, perhaps the key stress men face, is their loss of this provider role both during the war and afterwards:

**"Financial constraint becomes much bigger in times of conflict. This is more so if a person is married. If the children are young, he has to make sure he is able to provide for them."** (62 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ghazir)

**"A man who can't fulfil his role as a provider loses his value to society."** (Syrian man - FGD in Bar Elias)

**"People see us as weak and powerless. I'm seen as less of a man."** (Syrian man - FGD in Bar Elias)



A few participants said that providing for one's family is even more important for a man than going to war and fulfilling his role as protector for his community or country:

**“My husband did not engage in war. [...] He did not want to go because he had a family of five children that he needed to provide for.”** (56 year old Lebanese woman - IDI in Ein el Remmeneh)

For many, men were no longer able to provide income (whether partially or fully) during the war, and women had to take on the role of a provider. This role reversal seemed much more prominent for the Syrian participants:

**“My role changed a lot from that of an ordinary woman after the war. In Syria, everything to buy for the house was my husband’s responsibility. Now it is mine.”** (28 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Tripoli)

**“I don’t believe that there’s a definition to what a man is anymore. I mean I would understand that back in Syria, but now things have changed and women work now and they take responsibility.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Tripoli)

This switch in roles as women take on provider roles also implies a shift in household dynamics, with men being perceived as having less power:

**“He becomes unable to say anything to his wife. Like a man we know who does not work, so his wife goes to work and comes back home every time at 2 am. This is obviously not OK, but he cannot say anything to her, because she is providing.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

Some women view these changes positively:

**“Men started to rely on women actually. We are now the backbone of the family.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Tripoli)

**“Men now trust women more.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Tripoli)

### **Protector: Men’s Perceived Role is to Defend Their Families First, and Their Communities Last**

During war or conflict, as heard repeatedly in FGDs and IDIs, men are expected to protect their families first, followed by the need to specifically protect the women and girls in their families, and lastly to protect their communities. For some, men's roles as protectors also brings a sense of honour, which varies in

terms of who the enemy is, or if the conflict is deemed worthy or morally just.

Syrian men cite a need to protect the women and girls in their families first and foremost. This priority could be due to the real and present danger women have faced in the course of the Syrian war in terms of sexual violence. Lebanese men were more likely to emphasize the importance of protecting their country, which could be due to the fact that the Syrian war has been mostly a civil war, while Lebanese conflicts have had a foreign component:

**“When the war became like this, we did not spend much time with our children. At first, we opposed them fighting, especially because we did not know what the war was about. But when the others started raping women and cutting throats, all the neighbourhood sons went, my husband did not say anything to them [that is he did not protest or comment on these acts], because it was to protect the women.”** (44 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Tripoli)

Lebanese men do not consider protection of women per se as the key priority in times of war or conflict; instead, they said that men are supposed to provide a feeling of safety for women. In part, this may have to do with the fact that rape was not widely used as a weapon of war in the recent Lebanese conflicts (except for rare incidents). The priority of protecting women above anything else for the Syrian population, as opposed to the Lebanese population, is likely due to the danger women face in terms of sexual violence during the Syrian war with deliberate use of rape as a weapon of war, in some instances.

Protecting one's family is a role that, as affirmed by many participants, takes precedence over protecting one's country or ethnic group, despite this also being an important role for the Syrian interviewees:

**“The man’s role becomes to preserve and provide security for his family. I remember in 7 May, my father held his rifle and sat by the door. He told us not to be scared, that nothing will happen.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hamra)

**“In war, the man, to be a proper man, should go to war to protect his family and land, and if he dies he would be a martyr, or if he stays alive, he goes back to his family after the war. That is how one shows that he is a real man in war.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Ein el Remmeneh)

For one group of Palestinian Syrian refugees interviewed, the roles of protector and protected have become reversed, **whereby men do not feel safe without**



**women.** This is in part because men do not have proper documents and because they are less likely to be stopped by army personnel when they are with women:

**“Sometimes, they cannot even move without women. They resort to having a woman with them for safety. This is causing a lot of pressure on men.”**  
(Syrian woman - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

Another quote affirms the extent to which this role reversal makes men feel emasculated:

**“Men feel that women have become stronger than them. He’s the weaker link.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

Expectations are higher for men to engage in fighting if either their families or communities are in immediate danger, or if the cause or motive of the conflict is viewed as ‘righteous’ or just. In other words, some respondents said that manhood could not be attained, or honour affirmed, simply by fighting or taking up arms; it requires taking up arms for the right reason:

**“My parents thought my brothers should fight. Of course, they were scared for them, but they wanted them to fight. I also thought they should fight. All our environment was engaged in war. In every family, there was someone who was fighting.”** (56 year old Lebanese woman - IDI in Ein el Remmeneh)

If these preconditions of conflict as just and necessary are not met, it is seen as negative for men to join in the fighting:

**“I know a lot of people that engaged in the 2006 war. I am proud of them. They are martyrs, heroes, we are proud of them, whether they are friends or relatives. But for those who were part of the May 7 war, I am against any person who carries a weapon against a person from his country, especially in a war of politics, not an actual fight between the two. I think very poorly of anyone who would do that [take up arms for political in-fighting].”** (36 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Haret Hreik)

Some Syrian refugee men faced this dilemma when talking about expectations to take up arms to fight for their communities. Some said that in a civil war it becomes unclear who you are fighting and thus how to preserve one’s sense of male honour during war time:

**“Every man loves to defend his people, his country, and his house. But like I told you, who would we fight? Who would we kill? We are all relatives. We**

**are all neighbours. We cannot know when we fire a bullet, who it would hit.”**  
(47 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Jbeil)

## Men’s Relationships to Family and Children: Instances of Stress and Closeness in Times of War

In times of peace, men are expected to have close relationships with their children, while keeping some emotional distance so as to maintain their role as moral authority. In times of war, however, this relationship may become closer or more intimate because men try to reduce the effects of war on their children:

**“My husband started to talk with the children more. He started playing games with them, he did all that he could so they remain clueless of the war going on outside.”** (Lebanese woman - FGD in Ein Kfar Zabad)

However, it should be noted that other participants also reported they feel the relationship between a man (father) and his children weakens in times of war because of the worries that war brings and the new problems that men face:

**“Men aren’t paying enough attention to their children anymore because of the problems they’re facing. We barely talk to them, we don’t buy them gifts anymore. I, for one, used to treat my daughter like a princess, but not anymore.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Bar Elias)

A few participants discussed how a man “loses control” of his children in times of war and is no longer able to educate them properly:

**“Now they lost control over their children. Even children stopped answering to their fathers. They no longer consider them authority figures. Men can’t control their families anymore.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in the Bass camp)

This again seems to be directly connected to men’s inability to play the familial and community roles that are expected of them:

**“If the war is close and finances are low, the father loses control of his family, especially if the children are older.”** (62 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ghazir)

In terms of spousal relationships, most participants feel that the relationship should be strong in times of peace. Specifically, that the man should be particularly supportive and flexible with his wife:

**“He should be affectionate and kind with his wife and also provide for her and not let her feel weak. She is his support just like he is her support. He should be understanding at all times, he should not play “the man’s role” towards her, it is not “my word over anyone’s,” he should be very democratic, very smooth. At many times, the woman needs someone to understand her. The man has to be this person.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hamra)

A few participants feel that the man has to be in control of the family at all times, an issue that was affirmed in the IMAGES data on decision-making as well:

**“The father is the most important member of the family. Father’s Day is on the longest day of the year because the father serves his family, it is proof that he fulfills the most important role.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Ein Kfar Zabad)

As such, even during wartime, and perhaps especially during wartime, some respondents said that the woman should know her limits and not overstep her bounds:

**“But of course, she should not interfere with my outings with the guys or me spending time with them. I used to be married, but my wife wanted to overstep her boundaries, so I divorced her and married a woman that knows her limits and that her limits are within the house.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

Similar to the relationships with his children, a man’s relationship with his wife also changes during war. For some respondents, their relationships with their partners strengthened during the war, mostly because they depended on one another to be able to survive:

“My husband and I raised each other during the war – we used to point things out to each other. We used to trust each other a lot. [...] There’s more intimacy, they start caring for one another more. They fear for each other’s lives.” (Lebanese woman - FGD in Ein el Remmeneh)

Other respondents, however, noted that the couple relationship may weaken during war:

**“The man becomes more radical, and no longer accepts the voice of reason in his hyper-masculine feeling he gets during war. For the woman, the feelings of motherhood and looking for serenity creates a schism in their points of views. He would no longer accept that he is at fault, and due to**

**her fear of what is happening, she considers him to be wrong.”** (56 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Jounieh)

When the stressors become overwhelming, problems, including aggression and couple conflicts, arise:

**“The relationship within the couple changes a lot. The man will be aggressive and very tense.”** (46 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Jbeil)

This is especially the case when the gender roles shift, and even more so when the household roles are reversed:

**“The relationship between my mother and father went mad because she is working while he sits at home. He feels like she replaced him.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Tripoli)

When women become the “breadwinners” they feel empowered, which in turn throws off the power dynamic that had existed in the family before the war. A few women enjoy this new sense of empowerment:

**“Yes, men feel that women have become stronger than them. He is the weaker link. If things go back to how they were in terms of security, we can never go back to how things were before in the couple. Women feel stronger. Have the men become weaker? No, but men are noticing that we [women] have become stronger. He asks her ‘why are you changing like this?’ He thinks that she is being influenced. He doesn’t understand.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

The change in power dynamics and the empowerment of women and girls becomes even more tangible in times where women gain opportunities for leadership or civic or community participation, such as through joining a political party:

**“Many problems started when a girl would fight with her parents, so she would join the party and become untouchable.”** (18 year old Syrian man - IDI in Daraoun)

Again, this theme of shifting gender roles in conflict was only touched on by Syrian participants, and not by Lebanese respondents. This is most likely due to the same reasons speculated above. In contrast, most Lebanese respondents reported more cohesiveness and understanding in their intimate or partner relationship during the war. This was true for both Lebanese and Syrian participants who did not engage in armed fighting:



**“Both men and women feel more responsible towards their families and its safety, especially towards the kids. Therefore, they do not engage in fighting so they do not let their kids have more fear.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

A few other participants expressed how women, in times of war, are more likely seek divorce:

**“Divorce rates become higher because of the problems and conflicts inside families.”** (Syrian man - FGD in the Bass camp)

**“Women started to ask for a divorce for no reason, they came from Syria to Lebanon and once they arrived here they asked to be separated. There is no reason, we do not know why, maybe because of the trauma, maybe of the stress, maybe because there is no money.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

Some women supposedly sought divorce because the man was no longer able to provide for her as he did before the war:

**“I saw a lot of women who left their husbands. They used to live in luxury before the war because their husbands provided for them. Once the war started, he no longer was able to provide, so she left him. I heard of divorce many times between my friends.”** (55 year old Syrian man - IDI in Ras el Nabeh)

### Women's Roles in Conflict, Including as Combatants

Participants expressed a range of views on a woman's roles in the community in times of war and conflict. **Some believe that women should not engage in combat because her engagement would decrease her perceived femininity:**

**“I know women who fought. It is normal that it would decrease their femininity. The job a person takes has a direct effect, no matter how much she works to get back her femininity. If she is a leader in war, it means she has to yell, to take on responsibilities. She cannot go back home and get a manicure and pedicure. I know women who have struggled with this. Many women would kill and shoot, before going back home. She won't be feminine at home. She will keep that [aggressive nature].”** (60 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ghazir)

**Others do not see a problem with women engaging in combat,** and do not see it as having to do with their femininity:

**“I do not know any women who engaged in fighting, but I do not think that it affects their femininity. We see on TV in Kurdistan, and before in the Lebanese war, entire battalions that are made of women, that are fighting. But it depends on a person's concept [of femininity].”** (26 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ein el Remmeh)

A few participants believe that women have a part to play in the community even in war or conflict **but not as combatants.** Rather they believe women should carry out more traditional caregiving roles to support the war:

**“A woman in war should help the men, should cook for them, should take care of them.”** (55 year old Lebanese woman - IDI in Ein el Remmeh)

## 2) GENDER NORMS AND EXPECTATIONS OF MALE AND FEMALE BEHAVIOURS:

What is the Impact of Conflict and Displacement?

Participants reported that war led to multiple changes in gender relations, both in terms of behaviours, roles and attitudes. For example, in both peace and war, it was reported that men should not express emotions in public, so as not to be seen as weak. In both peace and war, women are seen as more emotional by nature than men are. However, in times of war, men are less able to hide their emotions, even as it is seen as “unmanly” for them to do so. Attention to women's “virtue” and honour also increase during wartime. And, while women are forced to take on greater income-generating roles during conflict and displacement, this is seen as a threat to men's identities. At the same time, some men take on greater caregiving roles, suggesting a pathway to change in gender relations. Whether such changes are lasting, or just temporary, is unknown.

### Showing Bravery, Expressing Emotions in Wartime

In terms of emotional expression, it is widely believed that men should be stoic in their interactions with others. **Although participants acknowledged that men may feel sadness, depression and helplessness, it is seen as important that men do not show these emotions outwardly.** At most, men can express these emotions alone or at certain times with select individuals, particularly in times of war. However, the overall opinion is that for a man to show these emotions would be interpreted as a sign of weakness thus resulting in a loss of respect or honour:

**“Regarding fear, he cannot as a man show it, because they will say he is a coward, that he is not a man, that he is someone who gets scared, they will talk about him. We all get scared. There is not one person without fear. As for sadness, if a man is sad, they say that he is not able to support himself, that he is not a man. A man can be sad when he is on his own, not when he is around other people.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hamra)

Some participants acknowledged that war has a drastic effect on a man's ability to express sadness; in other words, men start to show sadness in ways that they have not before. Participants often also feel these expressions of sadness are connected to men's inability to fulfil their societal and familial roles as men, because of the conflict:

**“My husband became more emotional. He started crying because he asked people for help.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Tripoli)

Above all, though, men are expected to show bravery and strength in times of war:

**“Men should be strong and show their strength among others. They should be able to fight if needed but also be wise before going into any conflict with anyone.”** (Lebanese men - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

Multiple respondents affirmed that men must appear fearless in the face of danger. Participants mentioned, specifically in times of war, that even if men do not take part in the fighting, they should not be afraid, and they should do something to help others who are endangered during the conflict:

**“Militants used to say that I am a coward, that I am scared. But I think that the person in the Red Cross is stronger than the person shooting, because Red Cross volunteers go on the field during [live] fire and have nothing to protect themselves with.”** (60 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ghazir).

For Syrian men who fled the conflict, some said that they were the “brave ones,” while those who took up arms showed a weakness of character, and not the other way around:

“I do not think of masculinity and war as connected. The man is a man from the inside; he is not the one who can hit others. This is what I think. Many people think [what makes] a man is in his ability to hit, loot, and steal, or who has a tattoo on his shoulder. I disagree with this idea. I do not think this is masculinity. On the contrary, I feel like these things show a weakness in character.” (18 year old Syrian man - IDI in Daraoun)

## Protecting Women's Bodies and Virtue in War

In war, for a few participants, the protection of a woman's body becomes even more essential, as the danger towards women increases:

**“A woman during war has to protect her honour and her body.”** (21 year old Syrian man - IDI in Harissa)

Here, a woman's place at home, for protection reasons, seems to be even more strictly enforced:

**“A woman might be more in danger of kidnapping or killing or other things, she is not as strong as a man to protect herself, so she should decrease her outings a bit more because of that.”** (28 year old Syrian man - IDI in Harissa)

## Women's and Men's Shifting Household Roles in Conflict and Displacement

As affirmed in the IMAGES findings, and discussed earlier, the majority of men and women respondents believe that women's chief role is that of caregiver and the man should be the provider. Participants see women entering the workforce as something that should be done mostly out of necessity, and only if men are unable to play that role due to displacement, conflict, or other reasons. This is interpreted as a role emerging in times of conflict, in which men are unable to be the providers for the family, or if women become a widow:

**“In times of war, if a woman has young children and her husband dies, she then has to work. But she should choose a job that is respectful, not just choose any job. She should stay modest.”** (18 year old Syrian man - IDI in Daraoun)

Indeed, only in these exceptions, brought on by conflict or displacement, did men and women report that women could be dual caregivers and breadwinners.

The nature of accessing humanitarian relief resources for Syrian refugees living in Lebanon is another factor complicating couple dynamics and men's sense of identity. Many refugees rely on humanitarian assistance for food, shelter, and clothing, especially because registered refugees cannot be legally employed. Women are often the beneficiaries of this aid because of their specific vulnerabilities and needs. However, in some cases, participants noted that women play the role of receiving or seeking aid because it would be shameful for men to ask for money or other assistance:



**“If we hear that aid is being distributed then we leave everything to go get aid. You leave your house, everything. Women are doing everything. We wait and search for organizations [that give assistance]. Men are ashamed to go wait and get aid.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in the Bass camp)

In terms of men's caregiving roles in the home, conflict and displacement create conditions that shift traditional gendered practices. In the special conditions of war, most respondents see this as an acceptable role for men to play, particularly when men are unable to assume the role of provider, or when women are unable to partake in domestic chores due to pregnancy, illness, or injury. Also, many participants alluded to the fact that when men do “help” with domestic chores in the house, it is not equal to the work that women do in the house:

**“Some men help their wives around the house, since it's better than doing nothing. Men don't like to feel useless.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Tripoli)

Some participants stated that men who “help” with domestic chores around the house are often [subject to ridicule from those in their social circles](#):

**“My husband had to quit his job in Jabal Mohsen so he started helping me with the housework. Our neighbours made fun of him and started asking us ‘who's the man in the relationship?’”** (Lebanese woman - FGD in Tripoli)

Even with changes in roles, men are still seen as the “heads” of households. A resounding number of participants stated that men's role in the home is “head of the household” in both peace and war. They believe that men are responsible for all other family members, and are best equipped to guide other members of the family when presented with difficult or important life choices. Men were referred to as the “decision-makers” of the home, and participants believe that other family members should respect that authority:

**“A man is the person who takes responsibility, and who assumes responsibility of making the final decisions. Even if that should be in agreement between the couple, but he has to assume the responsibility of the decision, if it is right or wrong. This is how it should be, that he assumes responsibility.”** (25 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Jbeil)

Some Lebanese-born men went as far as to say that with the instability of the Lebanese Government, men were expected to not only fill the role of provider, but to also fill the role that the Government is designed to play including protecting the neighbourhood and keeping the peace:

**“We have to be the city plumbers, electricians, police, thugs, mediators, etc., because the government is not doing these things. It is up to the**

**man to take on these roles. We would like to not have these roles, but the government is absent. There is no government, so we have to take on the job of the government.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

### 3) OTHER GENDERED EFFECTS OF CONFLICT:

How does War Affect Gender-based Violence, Psychological Well-being, and Sexuality?

Interviews probed numerous challenging and difficult-to-discuss topics, namely how conflict and displacement affect gender-based violence, the effects of war and displacement on psychological well-being, and the impact of war on sexual relations. Respondents said that violence by men against women often increased in times of conflict and displacement, and/or took on new forms. At the same time, many participants affirmed that war should not be the “excuse” for gender-based violence. Others reported that it was financial stress rather than war or displacement that increased gender-based violence. Respondents also added that sexual relations during conflict sometimes decrease, though in a few cases, sexual activity increases, serving as a symbolic act of resistance or as stress relief. At the same time, some women said that sexual relations become less intimate and tender during times of stress and conflict.

#### GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: WAR AND DISPLACEMENT AS DRIVERS?

Respondents affirmed, as seen in other research, that in times of war, conflicts within the family are exacerbated. [The stress of the war infiltrates the home and leads to fights between family members](#):

**“Conflict leads to a lot of stress inside the house, which in turn leads to a lot of fighting between all the family members, not only the parents.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Ein Kfar Zabad)

Most interviewees feel that gender-based violence increases during times of war, because of the multiple levels of stress:

**“The state is violent against our men here. It is only normal for our husbands to be violent against us.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Bar Elias)

According to most participants, [this trend is even more common in cases where the man engages in armed conflict](#). Often times, the violence that the man lives outside the house is translated into violence towards his wife:

**“People who engage in war no longer need peace, they do not have interest in peace, they gain more from war, from controlling everything, from controlling his house, his wife. I think many of the fighters are now like this [using violence in all aspects of their lives].”** (55 year old Syrian man - IDI in Ras el Nabeh)

Within the epicentre of the war, and possibly due to the absence of accountability, gender-based violence is said to be taken to the extreme, where there are instances of men killing women in their families after participating in combat:

**“I know someone who killed his sister and mother after coming back from war.”** (18 year old Syrian man - IDI in Daraoun)

One participant believed that it is not just war that increases gender-based violence, but rather the military structure and militarisation of their countries and communities. More specifically, that when soldiers accept the idea of war, it may cause them to become violent against their wives and children at home:

**“Despite all my respect for the Lebanese army, and that I think it is a very noble institution, but this type of discipline, whether it is war or accepting the idea of war, has very bad effects on homes. You feel that many military men have something wrong in their families, because of the way they treat their wives and raise their children. These are just because they belong in a military institution. This expands immensely for people who have fought. The reaction will be towards their family members.”** (56 year old Syrian man - IDI in Jounieh)

Others said that it was not war, per se, but financial stress that drives men's use of GBV during war:

**“I think it has more to do with the stress that a man lives through because of the socioeconomic difficulties. When he gets stressed that he cannot provide, you see more violence towards the children and the wife. He vents this way. It [economic stress brought on the war] has a much bigger impact than if a person engages in combat.”** (26 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ein el Remmeneh)

The effects of financial stress are accentuated in the instances in which the woman takes over the provider role. Participants argue that the role reversal seems to cause increased stress for the man, who then becomes aggressive towards his wife:

**“When roles changed, women go to work and men stay home. Men feel helpless. No ego, no dignity. So they became verbally and physically violent with their wives. They would shout for no reason.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Bass camp)

Similarly, many respondents said that, in peace, GBV also tends to occur in [times of financial hardship](#), when the man feels like he is not fulfilling his socially ascribed role:

**“They [men out of work] would engage in any conflict with anyone just to let their anger out, and because they would feel weak, they want to prove the opposite. It can go from shouting all the time at their wives or children or even hitting their children for no reason. And once they engage in a fight with their wives, they might hit them.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

For Syrian participants, conflict and displacement means that household conflict may now translate into [violence against children](#) from both parents; however, violence against children was not reported as common practice in times of peace:

**“In Syria, men didn't use violence while raising their children. However, in Lebanon [during displacement] and because of the stress and the pressure, men became more violent towards their children. Women became more violent toward their children.”** (Syrian man - FGD in the Bass camp)

Violence against children in times of war was not something that the Lebanese participants discussed as much, although IMAGES results found it to occur at a high rate.

And while affirming that gender-based violence often increases during conflict, many respondents affirmed that [war should not be the excuse or an excuse for men's use of violence against women or against children](#):

**“No matter how much violence there is outside the house, it's not supposed to cause any violence on the inside.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Mhammra)

Respondents said that men should be able to separate what is going on with their surroundings and with their families:



**“We should separate external violence from internal violence. We shouldn’t let the violence around us make us beat our wives and children.”** (Syrian man - FGD in bar Elias)

While discussions of gender-based violence mostly focused on men’s physical violence against female partners, [instances of other kinds of violence were reported](#), including a few cases in which men attempted to sexually traffic their wives or their daughters:

**“The economic situation made some people sell their girls under the cover of marriage, because they can’t raise them anymore and because they need the money to survive.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Ein Kfar Zabad)

Two women disclosed war-related sexual abuse perpetrated by strangers:

**“What was the hardest for me is a boy who is my children’s age, who I had to beg to not touch me.”** (44 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Tripoli)

A few participants [rationalized gender-based violence in times of peace as being the woman’s fault](#). These participants argued that women experienced violence because they were not fulfilling their roles or “duties” as women:

**“When men come back from work, they need their house to be a calm and safe space, and everything needed by them should be available. If their wives cannot respond to their needs, women are not needed anymore, and conflicts inside the family will start.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

Other men said that when women are not understanding of the man’s financial difficulties, it can also provoke violence:

**“Women also have a responsibility in this (violence by their husbands against them). They need to learn to tolerate their situation. They need to be understanding.”** (Lebanese woman - FGD in Ein el Remmeh)

Interestingly, a group of men approached the facilitator at the end of a focus group discussion, and shared that they cannot use violence towards their wives because their wives are “protected” by their male family members. The men in the focus group perceive these male family members to be stronger than they are, thus they act as a deterrent to their use of violence. This suggests the importance of social capital and kinship networks as possible buffers of GBV, even as these kinship networks also serve to limit the mobility and autonomy of women:

**“We have to respect our women because most of them are from the Bekaa and have men behind them that would protect them if they were hurt.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

## War and the Impact on Psychological Well-being

Most participants talked about how [fear is constantly present in their daily activities and thoughts](#) during times of war. Women were much more vocal and articulate about these effects of conflict on their husbands, than men themselves were:

**“In times of war, when I was in Syria, I could not do any of the things that I do now. I couldn’t even cook or clean. Sometimes, we needed to stop cooking and run. If I needed to shower, I would shower in 2 minutes. I would be very afraid to die naked. There is nothing that can describe how we were feeling during the war.”** (25 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Jbeil)

This fear is amplified by the [uncertainty of conditions for those who were displaced during the war](#):

**“We feel fear, especially in this country, because we don’t know what might happen to us at any moment. We are not living in our country. We have already fled the war. But we fear that if something happens in Lebanon, we would have nowhere else to flee to.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Ras el Nabeh)

Participants also discussed how low their morale dropped during the war and [how depressed they became](#) because of it (or how depressed their spouse became):

**“My husband’s morale became very low during the war. Suddenly, they started worrying about going to work because of checkpoints, harassment, people demeaning them. So they preferred staying at home and not going to work and being humiliated. He isolated himself from the world. He did not want to go anywhere.”** (46 year old Syrian woman - IDI in Jbeil)

A few participants expressed how they have become [numb as a result of the war](#), regardless of whether they had engaged as combatants:

**“You feel like you have become emotionally numb. Without feelings. You cannot even sleep.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

On the other hand, some interviewees said that they benefited psychologically from not engaging in war, and that in some cases, this helped drive them to achieve in other aspects of their lives:

**“I feel it was good for me not to engage in war. I was able to succeed at work. I made a goal in my life that I have to succeed in having good morals. I felt like I had to work harder to provide for myself and my family in what we had missing.”** (62 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ghazir)

## Sex in Times of War

In times of war in Lebanon and Syria, the nature of sex changes. Most people interviewed for this study agreed that frequency of sex within a couple decreases during war, often due to lack of privacy:

**“Even the sexual life became poor. Most of the refugees live in a house where many families live together, so it makes it harder for the couple to have privacy.”** (Syrian man - FGD in the Bass camp)

Others mentioned the effects of general anxiety regarding the war on their sex lives:

**“There is a lot of stress. Intimacy doesn’t exist anymore, so sexual relationships changed a lot. The frequency decreased a lot.”** (Syrian man - FGD in Borj Al Barajneh)

However, some participants did report an increase in sexual frequency in times of war. For these respondents, sex, and more specifically procreation, can become an act of resistance:

**“I think that our society believes in procreation as a way to resist [war]. Like ‘go ahead and kill our men, we can bring more’ [into the world by having babies].”** (Lebanese woman - FGD in Ein Kfar Zabad)

For others, sex during war is seen as an outlet to release their stress:

**“There are always exceptions. Sex might become a way to let off some steam. It is a good place to let go of emotions, of everything he is seeing outside.”** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hay el Sellom)

Most women who stated that frequency of sex within a couple increases during war complain that it lacks intimacy:

**“It’s drier and less emotional. No more affection. Very robotic. It’s like he wants it only for his release and pleasure. He doesn’t care about my [pleasure] anymore.”** (Syrian woman - FGD in Bar Elias)





**PART C:**  
**CONCLUSIONS AND**  
**RECOMMENDATIONS**



## PATHWAYS TO CHANGE: PROBING FOR ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES OF MASCULINITY

Qualitative research in general, and focus groups specifically, can too often give the sense of a superficial or static truth unless it probes for the dynamic and changing nature of relationships and the fluidity of gendered practices and roles. To be sure, there are common refrains in this study: that war, conflict, and displacement lead to (1) losses of men's identities as provider; (2) increases or changes in their use of gender-based violence; (3) changes in sexual relations; (4) the need for men to affirm their manhood as protectors or face loss of honour; and (5) men's perceived need to "tough it up," that is, not show the extent to which displacement and conflict have left them stressed, depressed, or emotionally vulnerable.

**The study also seeks to probe alternative notions of masculinity in the face of conflict and displacement. Specifically, to better understand the motivations and characteristics of those men who hold progressive ideas and beliefs about relationships between men and women and about masculinity.** These men exemplified, in their discourses, a more equitable and healthy masculinity, compared with a traditional or patriarchal masculinity. What factors, then, emerged among these more "equitable" or progressive men, and what did these "more progressive" men have in common? It should be noted that the perspectives listed below – albeit representing important and hopeful signs in the path towards greater gender equality – come from a minority of participants who seem to embody more progressive, equitable gender attitudes. Yet, these findings should be stressed, as they represent an encouraging deviation from the norms around masculinities and gender relations in the broader Lebanese context.

**1) Women Doing the Providing:** Many of the more progressive (male) participants highlighted the importance of women's involvement in the workplace and in sharing in the role of provider as a driver of change in couple relations. Unlike other participants who accepted women playing this role out of necessity, these more progressive male participants believe that women should play this role because it is their right to do so, and because they can see how beneficial it is for women as well as for men:

**"My wife is an equal partner to me, in all ways. From making decisions, to work. We both work outside of the house, so we both work inside the house."**  
(56 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Jounieh)

**2) Men Doing the Caregiving:** Complimentarily, a number of male participants also expressed the view that men should be equal partners in

household tasks. They believe that it is important and necessary that men assume an equal amount of the domestic chores of cooking and cleaning. They expressed, as noted before, that men and women should share roles as partners, and they questioned the traditional division of household tasks:

**"I believe that household chores and child upbringing should be done by both the man and the woman. As I mentioned earlier, I iron at home, I wash my own dishes, I put away my clothes, I tidy up after myself when I wake up, put away the mattress and covers, this should be normal [for a man to do]."**  
(26 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Ein el Remmeh)

Likewise, these more progressive men believed that men should not shy away from their responsibilities in the upbringing of their children:

**"The concept of a man is like the concept of a woman, there is no difference between them these days. They both need to help the family be a successful family, make sure that the children are being brought up the best way possible."** (Lebanese man - FGD in Ein el Remmeh)

Several participants also shared more progressive viewpoints with respect to [men's emotional expressiveness](#). These participants feel that men need to express themselves emotionally with their partners and that there is no shame in doing so:

**"A man should be able to express all his feelings. It should not be that a man is shamed for crying. Society should be OK with it."** (Lebanese man - FGD in Hamra)

**3) Non-Violent Practices and Discourses:** Many of the participants said that men are defined by their ability to foster peace and shun violence. These men believe that true manhood is found in refusing to engage in violent acts inside and outside of the home. Their viewpoints stand in stark contrast to traditional and patriarchal expectations of men, especially in conflict settings. In other words, they hold the belief that violence is not an inherent attribute of manhood. This viewpoint is all the more promising coming from individuals who live or have lived in conflict-affected environments:

**"I like peace, I like calmness. I can [understand] a person is angry so that afterwards they can hold themselves accountable. I am against war. I try to mediate fights, but I end up being to blame as well. For me, the man is the one who does not fight. I fight in my peace in my thinking [that is, fights using peace]. If a person wrongs me, I should try to communicate that in peace. I had taken that decision to not engage in war from before the war started. I cannot think of carrying a weapon or killing people. I think that war is all about opportunism. I think anyone who engages in war does so because**

*there is money involved. Some people can be bought to kill. This, to me, is war. I can defend myself and my family in my own ways. I left the country, that is how I defended my family.*" (55 year old Syrian man - IDI in Ras el Nabeh)

**4) Women's Role in Supporting Men's Non-Violence:** Participants also highlighted the important role that women can play in changing violent masculine attitudes and behaviours, and in supporting men's non-violence. Several of the men who reported not participating in armed conflict said that it was the women in their lives who supported them in going against societal norms. These men expressed gratitude and appreciation that these women helped them to see that rejecting violence was the best option for themselves and for their families:

*"My mother played an important role in making me grow up to be a person that can respect women and girls, because she used to talk to me about women, about how I can or cannot behave with women. [...] My wife is my partner. From when we got engaged, my wife started working, and she was ready to pay equally for things to get married.... Some people prefer that things are solved peacefully, those ones refused to fight. It is a good thing if it can be solved peacefully, without both sides being hurt."* (27 year old Lebanese man - IDI in Haret Hreik)

**5) The Situational Nature of Changes in Gender Roles and Masculinities:** At times during war and conflict (and displacement), some men apparently have no choice but to give up the role of the provider while their wife takes it on. Subsequently, men may have no choice but to temporarily accept caregiving roles that they would otherwise not consider their responsibility. In these situations, where men have been forced to accept roles that they consider un-masculine, they may be more likely to accept alternative notions of masculinity that affirm a new gendered identity and relieve them of the stress of not being able to assume stereotypical masculine roles. This creates a point of entry for programme work, and plays an important role for children who witness these new gender dynamics and may replicate them as adults. Work with the children in such communities on encouraging different notions of masculinity then becomes easier, as they have already seen examples of non-stereotypical roles in their communities. **In sum, the situational changes that emerge in times of conflict and displacement, as damaging as they are, must be used to help communities explore alternative concepts of masculinity that are free of violence and are more gender-equitable.**

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite the prevalent traditional gender roles that exist and that are exacerbated in the Lebanese and Syrian conflicts, **many participants expressed belief in more progressive ideas.** Many see the importance of women engaging in the workforce beyond the temporary necessity during war, and women's right to do so. This, in turn, is accompanied by a belief, among some, that men should do an equal share of household chores and child-rearing. Similarly, many interviewees emphasized that **there should be no shame in a man expressing his feelings, and that this should not take away from his identity as a man.**

**More importantly, many participants feel that men should be non-violent, whether at home or in society, and that their identity as men lies in their ability to foster peace.** There is reason to believe that these beliefs are situational or very context-dependent as many of these same men are in support of men playing the role of combatants in times of war or conflict. This may be the result of men differentiating between the context of being non-violent among friends, family, and members of their society, and the necessity of playing the role of a combatant when engaging against militias, armies, or groups. This dichotomous schema displayed by these men may be more understandable considering their reality of living in settings infected by conflict and war. In turn, views about women's roles in conflict vary, with some participants believing women could be combatants, while others voicing that women should have a humanitarian role in the community, in times of conflict.

**The constant refrain is that manhood for Lebanese and Syrian men (as in much of the world) is defined by the role of a provider, and that there are extreme effects on men when they lose this status and sense of identity during wartime and displacement.** In times of war, the role of a provider becomes even more important, because work opportunities become more unstable for the vast majority of the population, with the exception of some involved in military or in combat or combat-supporting roles.

**And yet, men's loss of provider status, and women's involvement as providers, is perhaps the biggest opportunity for redefining masculinities, men's identities, women's identities, and couple relations.** Women sometimes have to take on the role of the provider when men are no longer able to provide during times of war. This role reversal sometimes alters men's sense of identity, often with negative repercussions, but sometimes with positive ones, resulting in more gender equal relationships.

**Similarly, men's increased involvement with caregiving and their closer relationships with their children were frequently described as drivers of change, and point to potential ways to support men's and women's recovery from**



conflict. Indeed, men's close involvement with children was sometimes described as a buffer to the toll that war has on men's psychological well-being.

And yet, if there are positive stories of change, of men at least "helping" in care work and caregiving, there are as many challenges remaining. For example, many men perceive themselves to be emasculated by the conflict, report that they depend on women (and feel shame because of this), and say these feelings are further exacerbated by the way that humanitarian relief is provided. Some men do no domestic chores, despite having ample time on their hands to do so. For these men, a movement toward more flexible, progressive ideals of manhood has not occurred.

According to many interviewees, men are more likely than women to isolate themselves, show sadness, feel that they are worthless, and to be more aggressive and violent than women are, as a result of inability to provide for or protect their families. Male participants reported high levels of anxiety and fear, as well as decreased morale due to perceptions of emasculation. Furthermore, men often perceive a lack of healthy outlets for recovering from the trauma of war and displacement, precisely because seeking help is understood as a weakness. Many men reported the very human need for emotional expression, yet believe that showing these emotions is a sign of weakness.

Clearly, women, as many previous studies have shown, disproportionately suffer the costs of conflict as victims of physical, verbal, psychological, economic, and sexual violence. The results of this study also affirm that conflict and violent environments result in greater gender-based violence inside of the home. GBV may also intensify as men spend more time at home, as seen among Syrian refugee respondents. Participants also spoke of the increasing levels of violence against children in the home, as a result of the stress from conflict and displacement.

**In sum, the study affirms that war and displacement are driving changes in gender relations, some positive, some negative, and some whose results are still unclear. These changes require urgent attention.**

## RECOMMENDATIONS

This study shows the necessity of more focused programming on promoting equitable and non-violent masculinities with Lebanese nationals and with Palestinian and Syrian refugee populations affected by conflict and displacement. The more long-term and consistent the programme is, the greater the possibility of effectively transforming traditional patriarchal understandings of masculinity. Such long-held beliefs, supported by gendered cultural traditions and further reinforced by war, can only be overturned by programming that works with men and women at the national, community, and individual levels.

Programming on masculinities and gender equality needs to include men and women, boys and girls. The traditional viewpoints and patriarchal understandings of manhood and masculinity that participants expressed in this study were heard from men and women in Lebanon, from urban and rural areas, and among refugee populations. As such, programming must be geared toward both men and women and boys and girls in all of these spaces to achieve lasting, transformative change.

Changing gender roles during wartime can be a motor for debunking long-held traditional notions and beliefs around what it means to be a man and a woman. Programming should use these opportunities to show that men and women are capable of playing shared roles, and that greater equality in household relations benefits men, women, and society at large.

Programmes must challenge men's greater power in household relations and men's use of violence, particularly violence against women. This study adds to the already extensive body of literature that documents the high levels of violence women experience from men, especially in times of conflict and displacement. Masculinities programmes must address the socialisation of men into the use of violence, and the negative effects of this violence on men, women, and society as a whole. Conflict and war exacerbate the belief that men should play protector and, often, violent protector roles in times of war. But it is those beliefs that further promote militarised and violent masculinities, in turn, creating further conflict in an already conflict-plagued country. Non-violent and peaceful ideals of masculinity must be the standard that masculinities programming aims to instil in all beneficiaries.

Real life examples of men and women who promote positive ideals of masculinity must be focused on in masculinities programming. Positive male role models, inspiring stories of change, and non-violent yet powerful examples of men from the Lebanese context will be core aspects of effectively promoting real and achievable gender transformation. This study shows that such examples do exist, and can be investigated further for utilisation in truly transformative gender equality programming.

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# ***Annexes***





## ANNEX A - FGD QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions	Probe
1. Can you briefly tell us about how a typical day of yours (24 hours) goes?	Describe a (typical) day in both (times of peace) or (times of conflict) for you
2. What does it mean to be a man in our culture? (probe)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socially, what is a man expected to do in our society?</li> <li>• What is expected of the man in terms of emotional expression?</li> <li>• What is expected from a man in terms of his economic role in our society?</li> <li>• What are a man's roles and responsibility inside the family? What about women?</li> <li>• How are men expected to look physically in our society?</li> <li>• What is expected from a man in terms of sexual relationships?</li> <li>• For all of the above, what about women?</li> </ul>
3. How do these (above) roles change in times of conflict?	Specifically for Lebanese population, have them think back to 2006 or 2007 incidents.  Probe: socially, household, economic, etc... For all of the above, what about women?
4. How are relationships between men and women (couples) different during conflict in comparison to period outside of the conflict? What about relationships of men with rest of the members of households in general? What about relationships with children?	Relationship in household with women, rest of family members, children, etc...
5. Referring to the roles and responsibilities that you earlier identified as society's expectations for men, what effect would this have on you when you (men) are able to fulfill these roles?	Emotionally, psychologically, socially, etc... (positive and negative consequences) For all of the above, what about women?

6. Referring to the roles and responsibilities that you earlier identified as society's expectations for men, what effect would this have on you when you (men) are unable to fulfill these roles?	Probe: emotionally, psychologically, socially, etc...(positive and negative consequences)  For all of the above, what about women? Specifically probe for perceptions of social pressures to fulfill these roles and the consequences (anxiety, depression, violence, risk-taking behaviour, substance abuse, etc...)
7. Do you think that the conflict experienced outside the home in conflict and post-conflict environment, increases the level of violence inside the home?	
8. Referring to the roles and responsibilities that you earlier identified as society's expectations for men, do you know men, or do you (yourself) chose to act differently to what is expected? How?	

## ANNEX B - INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW MEN QUESTIONNAIRE

### Introductory Questions:

- 1- How old are you? What is your marital status?
- 2- What is your educational level? Do you work? If yes, what is your job, and where do you work? If married, what is your wife's educational and work status?
- 3- Do you practice religious rituals? Do you engage in social obligations?
- 4- Do you have any siblings? How many brothers and sisters? How old are they?
- 5- What is your father's educational level? How about your mother's?
- 6- Does/did your father work? If yes, what is/was his job? What about your mother?

### Questions on Childhood and Upbringing:

- 7- Where did you grow up? Who did you live with? Do you still live in the same area? If not, where do you live now?  
(If answered that they live with someone other than their parents), how many years did you live with your parents?
- 8- Who cared for you during your childhood/adolescence? Was it someone else from the family or neighbourhood? Why? Tell me about this person.
- 9- Who had the final say in your family when it came to major decisions (family



investment, property, moving, etc.)? How about now?

- 10- Who was responsible for the chores (cleaning, cooking, buying groceries, doing laundry, etc.) in the house? Were they divided among family members? As a child, what did you do around the house? Did your parents share these responsibilities? Did you learn to do chores during your childhood/adolescence? What about your sisters/brothers?
- If the father did not do any chores: Did your father do some chores on special occasions, such as if your mother got sick or was traveling? What about now?
- 11- In your upbringing what was equated with the words "masculine" and "feminine" (probe and elicit examples: such as physical looks, performance, sexuality, virility, sports and activities, violence....)?
- 12- What kind of method of upbringing would you say was used with you? How do you evaluate it? Would/Do you use the same method with your children?
- 13- What kind of games did you play with your friends? Were these accepted by your parents?
- 14- Tell me more about your father? How did he spend his time with you? What kind of role did he have in your upbringing? What about your mother? How did she spend his time with you? What kind of role did she have in your upbringing? How did your upbringing differ from that of your sisters/brothers? Did you father/mother treat sons differently to daughters? How?
- 15- Who/what would you say was the biggest source for creating your ideas and concepts of what it is to be a man/woman (family, friends, school, peers, travels, need, etc.)?
- 16- Usually in everyone's life, there is a turning point from childhood to manhood. Can you provide some examples as to when this turning point in your life was?

### Current Life:

- 17- If you compare yourself to the other men in your family or environment, do you consider yourself different when it comes to ideas about masculinity and war?
- 18- How do you spend your time with your children? How much time would you say you spend with them? What are the activities you do together? How would you describe your relationship with them?
- 19- How do you spend a normal day? How does that change in times of war?
- What does it mean to be a man in our culture (What is expected of him in our society, in terms of emotional expression, economic role, responsibilities inside the family, physical looks, & sexual relationships)? What about women?
- How do you define a man's/woman's honour? What honours a man/

woman? What dishonours them?

- 20- How do these roles change in time of conflict?
- 21- How are relationships (between couples) different in times of war? What about with the rest of the family? With children?
- If there is time, ask about:
- How do you describe your partner (demographically)?
- What were your expectations of marriage/partnership regarding the partnership and a family? How does that compare to how your life has turned out?
- Do you consider your partner an equitable partner to you? In what ways?
- Do you think that sharing the chores and child upbringing between partners is a normal/common thing in a relationship?
- What are the chores that you do at home? How much work would you say you do compared with your partner? What is the percentage of those chores compared to what your partner does?
- 22- How does your faith shape the way you define what it is to be a man? And a woman? Do you feel it is hard to live up to this definition in times of conflict?
- 23- What do you feel is the role of women in conflict? Do you know women who have fought? Does that affect her femininity? Does not participating in combat affect a man's masculinity?

### Facilitating Factors:

- 24- Can you tell me your story? At what point did you decide not to engage in violence? What made you choose and what encouraged you to do that?
- 25- What was your parents' view regarding the war? What was their view regarding you fighting or not?
- 26- Regarding the war, did any of your male relatives/neighbours/surrounding engage in fighting before you did? How did you view that?
- 27- Did any of them refuse to fight? Why do you think they did not? How did you view that?
- 28- Who/what would you say was the biggest source for you resisting to engage in militant activities (family, friends, peers, travels, need, etc.)?

### Positive and Negative Repercussions:

- 29- Some people viewed that your decision was unusual from what is common. Would you agree? What was these people's reaction towards you when you made your decision? What was their perception of you?
- 30- Do you think there are many people that acted the same way as you?

- 31- Did you feel any pressure to engage in fighting? What do you do to deal with these pressures? (If they didn't feel pressure: why not?)
- 32- What did your partner/children/family think of you not taking part of the war? Do you feel that it affected your relationships with them? In what way?
- 33- What effect did not playing that role (engaging in the war) have on you (psychologically, emotionally, socially, etc.)?
- 34- Do you think that the war increased tension and violence inside houses? How about your house?
- 35- In other parts of the world, we know that men who have been involved in conflict can have difficulty adjusting to peace, and that violence can continue in the home, towards their wife or children. Do you think that is also true in your community? Do you know of men who have been in a similar position? What do you think about that? Have you seen men break this cycle of violence? How?

### **Towards the Future and Change:**

- 36- Would you have wanted to have done things differently? In what sense?
- 37- Do you think more people should resist engaging in war?
- 38- What would you say are the factors that could change the idea to engage in war/violence? (Upbringing, socioeconomic levels, area where they reside, jobs, etc.)
- 39- What do you wish for your children (boys & girls) with regards to engaging in violence?
- 40- If time permits:  
 What do you consider is the main difference between men and women in our society?  
 What would you say are the factors that could change the (im)balance between men and women in society? (Upbringing, socioeconomic levels, area where they reside, jobs, etc.)  
 What do you like most about how society is moving towards gender equality? What bothers you the most?  
 What do you wish for your children (boys and girls) with regards to roles in the house, child upbringing, and concepts of masculinity/femininity?
- 41- Is there anything else you feel is important about the topic that you would like to share?

## **ANNEX C - INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE**

### **Introductory Questions:**

- 1- How old are you? What is your marital status?
- 2- What is your educational level? Do you work? If yes, what is your job, and where do you work? If married, what is your husband's educational and work status? How old is he?
- 3- Do you practice religious rituals? Do you engage in social obligations?
- 4- Do you have any siblings? How many brothers and sisters? How old are they?
- 5- What is your father's educational level? How about your mother's?
- 6- Does/did your father work? If yes, what is/was his job? What about your mother?

### **Questions on Childhood and Upbringing:**

- 7- Where did you grow up? Who did you live with? Do you still live in the same area? If not, where do you live now?  
 (If answered that they live with someone other than their parents), how many years did you live with your parents?
- 8- Who had the final say in your family when it came to major decisions (family investment, property, moving, etc.)? How about now?
- 9- Who was responsible for the chores (cleaning, cooking, buying groceries, doing laundry, etc.) in the house? Were they divided among family members? As a child, what did you do around the house? Did your parents share these responsibilities? Did you learn to do chores during your childhood/adolescence? What about your sisters/brothers?
- If the father did not do any chores: Did your father do some chores on special occasions, such as if your mother got sick or was traveling? What about now?
- 10- In your upbringing what was equated with the words "masculine" and "feminine" (probe and elicit examples: such as physical looks, performance, sexuality, emotionality, compassion, nurture, sports and activities, violence, etc.)?
- 11- What kind of method of upbringing would you say was used with you? How do you evaluate it? Would/Do you use the same method with your children? Was the same method used for boys?



- 12- What kind of games did you play with your friends? Were these accepted by your parents? How about your brothers?
- 13- Tell me more about your father? How did he spend his time with you? What kind of role did he have in your upbringing? What about your mother? How did she spend his time with you? What kind of role did she have in your upbringing? How did your upbringing differ from that of your sisters/brothers? Did you father/mother treat sons differently to daughters? How?
- 14- Who/what would you say was the biggest source for creating your ideas and concepts of what it is to be a man/woman (family, friends, school, peers, travels, need, etc.)?

### Current Life:

- 15- If you compare the men in your family to men in general, do you consider them different when it comes to ideas about masculinity and war?
- 16- How do/did the men in the family spend their time with the children? How much time would you say they spend with them? What are the activities that they do together? How would you describe their relationship with them?
- 17- How do you spend a normal day? How does that change in times of war?
- What does it mean to be a man in our culture (What is expected of him in our society, in terms of emotional expression, economic role, responsibilities inside the family, physical looks, and sexual relationships)? What about women?
- How do you define a man's/woman's honour? What honours a man/woman? What dishonours them?
- 18- How do these roles change in time of conflict?
- 19- How are relationships (between couples) different in times of war? What about with the rest of the family? With children?
- 20- What were your expectations of marriage/partnership regarding the partnership and a family? How does that compare to how your life has turned out?
- 21- Do you consider your partner an equitable partner to you? In what ways?
- 22- Do you think that sharing the chores and child upbringing between partners is a normal/common thing in a relationship?
- 23- What chores does your husband/father/brother do at home? How much work would you say they do compared to women? What is the percentage of those chores compared to you/your mother?
- 24- How does your faith shape the way you define what it is to be a man? And a woman? Do you feel it is hard to live up to this definition in times of conflict?

- 25- What do you feel is the role of women in conflict? Do you know women who have fought? Does that affect her femininity? Does not participating in combat affect a man's masculinity?

### Men and War:

- 26- Can you tell me your story? What did you do during the war? Who were the men in your family? Did they engage in war? What did they do during the war? And afterwards?
- Can you describe their childhood? Would you say they had violence during their childhood/upbringing?
- 27- What was the men's parents' view regarding the war? What was their view regarding participation in the war or not?
- 28- Regarding the war, did any of your male relatives/neighbours/surrounding engage in fighting? How did you view that? How did other people view it?
- 29- Did any of them refuse to fight? Why do you think they did/did not? How did you view that? How did other people view it?
- 30- If the men did not participate, Who/what would you say was the biggest source for them resisting to engage in militant activities (family, friends, peers, travels, need, etc.)?

### Positive and Negative Repercussions:

- 31- How would you describe the morale during the war? What about the men's moral? Did you feel any behavioural changes on their part? Did you act differently towards them?
- 32- Did the men in your family feel any pressure to engage in fighting? What do they do to deal with these pressures? (If they didn't feel pressure: why not?)
- 33- What did you think of their engagement (or not) in the war? Do you feel that it affected your relationships with them? In what way?
- 34- What effect did the engagement in war have on you (psychologically, emotionally, socially, etc.)?
- 35- How would you say war affected the men (isolation, anger, overcompensation in relationships, etc.)?
- 36- Do you think that the war increased tension and violence inside houses? How about your house?
- 37- In other parts of the world, we know that men who have been involved in conflict can have difficulty adjusting to peace, and that violence can continue in the home, towards their wife or children. Do you think that is also true in your community? Do you know of men who have been in a similar

position? What do you think about that? Have you seen men break this cycle of violence? How?

### Towards the Future and Change:

- 38- What do you think now about war (engaging or resisting to engage)?
- 39- What would you say are the factors that could change the idea to engage in war/violence? (Upbringing, socioeconomic levels, area where they reside, jobs, etc.)
- 40- What do you wish for your children (boys & girls) with regards to engaging in violence?
- 41- What do you consider is the main difference between men and women in our society?
- 42- What would you say are the factors that could change the (im)balance between men and women in society? (Upbringing, socioeconomic levels, area where they reside, jobs, etc.)
- 43- What do you like most about how society is moving towards gender equality? What bothers you the most?
- 44- What do you wish for your children (boys and girls) with regards to roles in the house, child upbringing, and concepts of masculinity/femininity?

## ANNEX D – DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS WOMEN AND MEN

	Gender	Age	Nationality	Location Interviewed	Marital Status
1.	Man	24	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
2.	Man	21	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
3.	Man	21	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
4.	Man	18	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
5.	Man	32	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
6.	Man	28	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
7.	Man	20	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
8.	Man	27	Syrian	Keserwan	Single
9.	Man	21	Syrian	Beirut	Single
10.	Man	55	Syrian	Beirut	Married
11.	Man	62	Lebanese	Keserwan	Married
12.	Man	56	Lebanese	Keserwan	Married
13.	Man	26	Lebanese	Beirut	Single
14.	Man	27	Lebanese	Beirut	Married
15.	Man	36	Lebanese	Beirut	Married
16.	Man	60	Lebanese	Keserwan	Married
17.	Woman	25	Syrian	Jbeil	Married
18.	Woman	47	Syrian	Jbeil	Married
19.	Woman	46	Syrian	Jbeil	Married
20.	Woman	44	Syrian	Tripoli	Married
21.	Woman	38	Syrian	Tripoli	Married
22.	Woman	53	Lebanese	Beirut	Married
23.	Woman	55	Lebanese	Beirut	Married
24.	Woman	57	Lebanese	Beirut	Widow
25.	Woman	56	Lebanese	Beirut	Widow
26.	Woman	28	Lebanese	Tripoli	Married



A large, expressive yellow brushstroke graphic on a dark blue background, with the word 'IMAGES' written in white, stylized, hand-drawn letters across it.

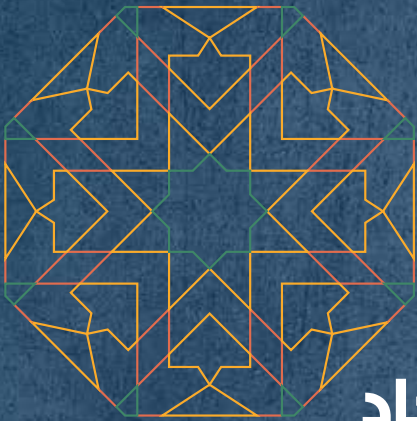
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A Qualitative Study on War,  
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Relations with Lebanese and  
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