



Conditions of Victims and their Attitudes towards Accountability and Reparations SURVEY



Conditions of Victims and their Attitudes towards Accountability and Reparations November 2019

Copyright ©



The Day After (TDA)

The Day After (TDA) is a Syrian organization that works to support democratic transition in Syria, and its scope of work is focused on the following areas: Rule of law, transitional justice, security sector reform, electoral system design and Constituent Assembly election, constitutional design, economic reform and social policies.

Istanbul - Turkey

Pürtelaş Hasan Efendi Mahallesi, Cihangir Caddesi, No:3, D:1

Estambul. Tel: +90 (212) 252 3812

Email

info@tda-sy.org

Website

www.tda-sy.org



We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small ...

Charter of the United Nations

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Executive Summary | 5 |
| Introduction | 12 |
| Methodology & Sample | 13 |
| I. Forms of violations & responsible parties | 16 |
| II. Socio-demographic groups most vulnerable to violations | 17 |
| III. Consequences of violations | 20 |
| Prevalence & severity of injuries & psychological harm | 20 |
| Aid | 21 |
| When & where physical injuries occurred | 25 |
| Who was injured & who was mentally affected | 26 |
| IV. Attitudes towards justice | 28 |
| Compensation for victims | 28 |
| Punishment for perpetrators | 28 |
| Justice for those who were and those who were not personally violated | 29 |
| Perceptions of justice by victims | 31 |
| Measures to support victims & achieve civil peace..... | 33 |
| Conclusion | 36 |
| Questionnaire | 37 |



Executive Summary

This report presents results of a survey conducted by TDA aiming to reveal the conditions of victims of violations carried out by various armed forces in Syria and to understand their attitudes towards accountability and reparations. This was done through a questionnaire completed by 2,131 respondents inside and outside Syria: 1,154 men and 977 women (602 residing outside Syria, and 1,529 inside). The TDA team administered the questionnaire through face-to-face interviews in seven governorates in Syria (Idlib, Aleppo, Homs, Daraa, Suwayda, Hasakah and Raqqah), in Turkey (Gaziantep and Antakya), the Netherlands (Amsterdam), Germany (Berlin), and Lebanon (Beirut and the Beqaa camps).

The results of this report show the widespread prevalence of attacks on human dignity in Syria. Many Syrian families were subjected to one of these attacks, and most of them mentioned that vital facilities in their neighborhood or residential area were targeted. This practice was one of the main strategies the regime and its Russian ally used to crush dissent under the pretext of the war on terror. Additionally, the majority were subjected to property destruction, displacement, robbery, and looting, and some were besieged, arrested, and physically abused.

The groups most vulnerable to violations are the poorest, the least educated, homeworkers (except for combatants), those over 45 years of age, Arabs, and mostly Sunni. They are also likely men and married, mostly residing in areas outside the control of the regime and Russia. In other words, the most likely characteristics of a victim are: A poor man whose income does not exceed 25,000 Syrian Pounds, who may have completed elementary school, and is unemployed, married, and over 45 years of age.

The majority of those subjected to these attacks suffered physical injuries, and the vast majority suffered psychological trauma. It is worth noting here that although women were less likely to suffer physical injuries, they suffered the same psychological trauma as men. This may be explained by the fact that a large proportion of physical injuries are caused by torture during detention, to which men are more exposed than women.

A small percentage of the victims receive the aid they need, which is mostly financial and not enough to guarantee a decent life; psychological assistance is practically absent, while legal assistance is only present in exceptional cases (peaking in Jordan at just 8.7%). Reasons vary for the absence of support, but are largely due to the refusal (or perhaps inability) of organizations to provide aid, or that there are simply no organizations or authorities close enough to help.

As for the attitudes of victims towards accountability and reparations, data shows there are major challenges facing its implementation. It does not appear that uncovering the truth and providing apologies and amnesty will play a significant role in the future. The victims visualize it differently: accountability first and foremost. Although most of

them want to see justice done through trial, in some cases, especially those involving killings and crimes against women, their perceptions reflect the despair with legal accountability mechanisms and embrace harsher demands amounting to execution without trial. Moreover, financially compensating victims is possible only in cases of material damage; for other cases trials are necessary, or a combination of both trials and financial compensation. This “severity” is especially apparent in cases of victims directly subjected to violations or those who lost a family member to violations. These individuals are more insistent on revealing the truth than others and want to punish the perpetrators with more severe penalties. The main difference between those afflicted, which becomes clear when comparing results according to severity of the affliction, is reflected in the attitudes towards those who carried out arrests or issued arrest warrants without trial, destroyed or issued orders to destroy property. Those more seriously afflicted demand more “severe” penalties, as their suffering is mainly a result of arrest and the bombing of homes and public places.

Despite this tragic picture, there is a positive lining. There is widespread support by Syrians for all measures that might aid victims, which future authorities can carry out: (1) Supporting associations that defend the rights of victims of violations; (2) Attention to compensating victims or their families; (3) Providing regular assistance to those who have suffered injuries resulting in inability to work and partial or complete loss of mobility; (4) Allocating a percentage of government jobs to those who have suffered physical or psychological trauma causing partial loss of mobility or ability to work, as appropriate for their condition and competence. In addition to this, there is a “rational” attitude towards dealing with the past; although around one-third of respondents believe that uncovering the truth may hinder peace and coexistence, a large percentage says that dealing with it should depend on the nature of the violation (options were: forget what happened and consider it past and start a new life; seek the truth and take measures the victim deems fitting and satisfactory; deal with it according to the nature of the violation).

In general, this report provides useful data that can assist concerned authorities and organizations to develop more effective intervention plans, to focus more on target groups or identify areas where more capabilities are needed to support new organizations, or where to increase the presence of such organizations. At the same time, this data demonstrates the need for victims to be present in any future justice plans or projects, rather than applying ready-made concepts of transitional justice.



Following is a list of the most prominent findings:

Forms of violations and responsible parties

- 14% said that neither they nor any of their family members (parents, siblings, children, partners, grandparents) were subjected to any kind of violation. These participants are included in the second part of the questionnaire only to examine their attitudes towards accountability and reparations.
- Respondents who were, or who had a family member who was, subjected to attacks, said their neighborhood or area of residence was shelled with a targeting of vital facilities such as hospitals and bakeries. Around two-thirds of them said their property was damaged, and around the same percentage mentioned both displacement and looting. Around half were subjected to siege, and around the same percentage reported arrest and physical abuse. More than 40% reported torture, and just under a third said they had lost a relative as a result of these violations. 20% said at least one person in their family was forcibly disappeared. Kidnapping was mentioned by around 12%.
- Parties responsible for the violations: The Syrian regime and its allies (59%), followed by the Islamic State (ISIS) (33%), followed by opposition forces at 18.7%. It is noteworthy that Hayat Tahrir al-Sham comes at the bottom of the list with less than 7%, somewhat close to the international coalition and SDF forces.

Socio-demographic groups most vulnerable to violations

- Men more than women: 59.5% of men said they were personally subjected to such violations, compared to 53% of women.
- Less education: The percentage of those personally attacked decreases from 68% in the case of elementary school graduates to 42% of university graduates.
- Combatants, unemployed persons and homemakers: The percentage of those who said they were personally assaulted ranged between 63%-68%.
- Lower income: The percentage decreases from 65.5% for those with a monthly income lower than 25,000 Syrian Pounds, to 55.1% for people with an income higher than 75,000 Syrian Pounds.
- Married, compared to others.
- Sunnis: The majority of Sunnis said they were personally assaulted (58.4%) compared to about a third of Christians and a quarter of Druze.
- Areas: The highest rate of attacks was recorded in areas under AA control (specifically in Raqqah), followed by opposition-held areas, and finally areas controlled by the Syrian regime and Russia.
- Older in age: The percentage drops from around 70% of people older than 45 to 53% of those younger.

Consequences of Violations: Physical and psychological effects

- In most cases (around 65%), these attacks resulted in physical injuries. This percentage increases to around 85% for psychological trauma.
- Over a third of physical injuries claimed the lives of their victims, and around 40% caused effects that hinder the ability to live a normal life. Just under a quarter have almost recovered from the effects of their injury.
- In general, psychological trauma has effects that hinder the daily lives of the majority (over 70%). Only around a third said signs of the damage had nearly or completely disappeared.

Receiving aid

- Responses are divided closely between those that say victims do not receive any support (46.9%) or that they receive little or insufficient support (43.1%). Most of the aid the victim receives is financial assistance, but only 5% say it is sufficient.
- Only 15.1% said that the victim received or receives psychological support, while legal support is almost absent.
- Psychological support increases significantly outside Syria compared to inside Syria (especially in Jordan, where more than 70% said the injured or afflicted received or receives psychological support). In Syria, the focus appears to be on financial support.
- Reasons for the absence of support: Around a quarter said the injured person does not need assistance. This may be due to an acceptable financial status or to family support. Remarkably, however, around a third said there were no organizations or authorities nearby that could help, and around a quarter said organizations have refused to provide aid, or said they did not want to ask organizations because they were ineffective (41.7%) or because they were embarrassed (42.7%).
- Organizations refusing to provide aid was the most common response in Aleppo. In Homs, also under regime control, responses were divided between those who declined to express a clear position and those who said the injured did not need any assistance. This last response came first in Suwayda, Idlib and Hasakah. Although Raqqah, like Hasakah, is controlled by the SDF, the reasons given were different. Here, the main reason given was: Absence of organizations or authorities nearby that can help. In Daraa, responses were divided between organizations refusing to help or their absence altogether.
- In Lebanon, the reason most given is absence of nearby organizations (reported by around 64% of respondents). Organizations refusing to provide support is the main reason in Jordan (around a third of respondents confirmed this), followed by the absence of these organizations (around a quarter). As for Europe, it appears that the reason is a lack of need or desire to request aid (most likely due to shame or a belief that it is useless to contact them).



When and where bodily injuries occurred

- The injuries appear to have gradually increased and peaked in 2016 after the Russian intervention in Syria on September 30, 2015.
- The injuries generally occurred in non-military locations: Houses, detention centers, public places, and during displacement. Only in less than 15% of cases did injuries occur on frontlines, within military areas, or in places close to them.

Who was injured, and who was mentally affected

- Injured persons are of different age groups, men as well as women, elderly as well as young.
- In 41.4% of cases, the injury occurred in a detention center, meaning that they were often a result of torture. Almost a third of the cases occurred inside the home or whilst in a public place (bombing of civilians). Less than 7% occurred on frontlines.
- The percentage of wounded combatants does not exceed 6%. The injured were primarily among the unemployed and students, followed by laborers and employees in different occupations.
- It can be noted that the percentage of those responding they had been personally subjected to the severest psychological harm in the family increases to more than a quarter. The proportion of women here increases significantly. Although they were not subjected to bodily harm as men were, the psychological damage is almost the same for both sexes.
- Most of the victims of psychological harm in attacks were the unemployed and housewives.
- In short, women were not subjected to physical assault as much as men, but they were subjected to psychological harm as much as men, especially in the case of housewives.

Compensation for victims

- There is no way financial compensation will be considered in cases of enforced disappearance, killing or arrest of a family member; there is a great insistence on justice through trials. However, compensation is applicable in cases of property destruction, theft and looting.
- Regarding compensation for victims of injuries or psychological trauma hindering the ability to lead a normal life, it is useful to consider the need for both: general plans to assist the injured and materially affected, as well as justice through trials.
- Respondents rate accountability as a priority in any strategy for victim compensation; apologies and pardons score lower.

Punishment for perpetrators

- It can be noted that a small percentage of those demanding «execution without trial» are present, especially in cases of genocide and crimes against women. We believe that the motives behind these responses and respondents' selection of an illegal measure lie in the seriousness of the crimes committed and their psychological impact on family members, as well as loss of confidence in accountability and judicial procedures in a country that has never known justice or rule of law or an impartial and independent judiciary, as ruling authorities have remained above the law for decades. In other cases, the majority want to see trial and punishment based on the law. Next come reduced sentences with apologies and pardons, but never direct pardons.
- It is worth noting that respondents see no difference between those who issued the orders and those who executed them. This is evidenced by the fact that approximately the same percentage demanded similar punishment for both high-ranking officials issuing the orders and those carrying them out.
- Most of those who were not personally subjected to any violations (but a family member was) believe that those who ordered or participated in genocide must be tried (around 58%), but this percentage drops to about 38% for people personally subjected to violations, most of whom want «execution without trial». The same can be said for the ordering of crimes against women. These two issues constitute the biggest point for disagreement between those who were attacked personally and those who were not. This is due to public mistrust of the judiciary and accountability procedures. In other cases, these differences diminish. The majority demands trial and punishment according to the law.
- Responses by those with minor injuries and those whose injuries hinder the ability to lead a normal life are close in most cases, except for: Arresting or issuing the order to arrest without trial, and destroying or issuing the order to destroy property. In these two cases, the more seriously injured are more severe in their demands than the less seriously injured. Most likely, the reason is the suffering behind these serious injuries inflicted under torture in detention centers or in the bombing of their homes or public places, as previously mentioned.
- Anyone who has lost a family member as a result of assault is more insistent than others in their demand for execution without trial in cases of murder, orders for genocide, or committing or issuing orders for crimes against women.



Supporting victims and dealing with the past

- There is absolute support for and no significant opposition towards all measures that can assist victims.
- Fewer than a quarter of respondents said the past should be forgotten and a new life begun.
- Forgetting the past as a solution is higher in AA (Autonomous Administration) areas, followed by opposition-controlled areas with a small difference, but reaches its lowest levels in areas of regime control.
- Residents of Raqqah and Idlib lean more towards forgetting the past than others (50.2% and 44.0%, respectively). These are followed by residents in Jordan by just under a third. In other regions, the percentage is less than 20%, with most of them saying the past must be dealt with according to the nature of the violation. With the exception of Daraa, which differs completely; in this city there is a great insistence on revealing the truth.
- People with low incomes (less than 25,000 Syrian Pounds) lean less towards forgetting the past than others.
- Kurds tend less towards forgetting than Arabs.
- Forgetting the past is most preferred among laborers, teachers, and employees of civil society organizations.
- In general, men are more insistent than women on uncovering the truth.
- Respondents are divided over the consequences of victims uncovering the truth: Around a third say it will have positive impacts on coexistence and peace, but a third also think it will have negative impacts. Almost the same percentage refused to express a clear position, or said they do not know or that it has no negative or positive impact on peace and coexistence.
- Those subjected to violations are more convinced that revealing the truth will impact peace and coexistence than those who were not subjected to violations, but they are divided on the nature of the impact (positive or negative).

Introduction

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights mentions dignity before rights, as it is the foundation for all human rights.¹ The preamble begins with a clear reference to dignity and it's imperative for peace, justice and freedom in the world: "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world .."² Numerous constitutions stipulate dignity, including the current Syrian Constitution, of which Article 19 affirms the following: "Society in the Syrian Arab Republic shall be based on solidarity, symbiosis and respect for the principles of social justice, freedom, equality and maintenance of human dignity of every individual." Despite this, the Syrian regime has destroyed these foundations of society through systematic attacks and violations since Hafez al-Assad came to power in 1970, until it was completely destroyed under the rule of his son Bashar after the Syrian revolution began in March 2011. All of this would not have happened were it not for the positions of international parties, some of whom, like Russia, Iran and China, helped the regime continue with its violations and provided it with political protection at the UN Security Council, while others refrained from taking decisive measures that would protect Syrian civilians and preferred to make deals to serve their narrow interests. The clearest example of this was international, American and European reaction to the regime's use of chemical weapons in Eastern Ghouta in the summer of 2013.

Without a doubt, these attacks have a significant negative impact on the psychological and social life of the population. There are many reports documenting cases of detention or the death toll, but the conditions of the victims who have survived prison, especially the ones injured, still need further research. Not only to provide support and assistance or to uncover what happened, but also to enhance their participation and presence in any plans or projects related to justice in Syria in the future. Hence the need to study these acts of aggression as attacks on human dignity in Syria, and ignoring this would threaten "peace, justice and freedom in the world." At the same time, it should be noted that we are talking about violations in the context of a declared war, so we focus mainly on attacks that have direct physical or psychological effects (torture, humiliation, bombing, etc.), even though the concept of dignity extends to include other issues that cannot be expanded upon here (education, for example).

This report aims to identify attacks against Syrians and their implications for the lives of the population, and to identify the most prominent attitudes of victims towards accountability and reparations. This is divided into three main parts: It begins by identifying types of attacks and the parties responsible, then studies the social groups most vulnerable to these types of aggression, and then examines the physical and psychological effects of the attacks and the attitudes of victims towards future justice.

1) United Nations News, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights... Why was dignity mentioned before rights? November 26, 2018.

2) Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



Methodology and Sample

With a view to identify the conditions of victims of attacks occurring in Syria after 2011 and their attitudes towards accountability and reparations, from February 19, to May 2, 2019, The Day After conducted a social survey of 2,131 respondents inside and outside Syria: 1,154 men and 977 women (602 residing outside Syria, and 1,529 inside). A team of field researchers and trainers from TDA conducted face-to-face interviews using the questionnaire in seven governorates in Syria (Idlib, Aleppo, Homs, Daraa, Suwayda, Hasakah and Raqqah), in Turkey (Gaziantep and Antakya), the Netherlands (Amsterdam), Germany (Berlin), and Lebanon (Beirut and the Beqaa camps).⁴

Despite the many difficulties facing data collection in field work under circumstances such as the current one in Syria, an ongoing war and continuous displacement of the population, we were able to draw a multistage stratified sample with characteristics that allow result analysis on the basis of several demographic variables, such as administrative regions (governorates), or areas of military control, or ethnic groups (Arab-Kurdish), and other (see Table A).

As for data analysis, a statistical analysis was performed: To reject or accept the assumptions of naught H0 (no statistically significant relationship or difference between two or more variables), we relied mainly on the Chi-square scale with significant levels less than or equal to 0.05.

3) This number does not include the pre-test sample, which included more than forty respondents, which we benefited from its findings to reformulate the questionnaire.

4) The questionnaire is attached at the end of this research, and is useful to see the progress of data collection, as there are many questions that were asked of a specific group and not of others.

Table A. Stages of main (first) sample collection *

| Stage 1 | Stage 2 |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total number of Syrians (residents and expatriates): 36,539,736 • Level of confidence: 95% • Margin of error: 2,2. • Maximum heterogeneity: p=q • Required sample size: 1985 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total population: 18,269,868 • Level of confidence: 95% • Margin of error: 2,5. • Maximum heterogeneity: p=q • Required sample size: 1537 • Total number of expatriates: 17.000.000 • Level of confidence: 95% • Margin of error: 4. • Maximum heterogeneity: p=q • Required sample size: 601 |
| Stage 3 | Stage 4 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total male population: 9.231.064 • Level of confidence: 95% • Margin of error: 2,9. • Maximum heterogeneity: p=q • Required sample size: 1142 • Total female population: 9.038.804 • Level of confidence: 95% • Margin of error: 3,2. • Maximum heterogeneity: p=q • Required sample size: 938 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Here, a random cluster sample was used, based on areas and governorates, and we also took into consideration religious and ethnic distribution, as shown in Table B and the map. The sample does not include any areas under the control of the Islamic State (ISIS). It is worth noting that in this stage we are dealing with indicative samples that help us better understand the subject of our research by comparing different demographic and social groups, but the results should not be generalized to these geographical areas or religious or ethnic groups. |

* These are estimated population figures for 2015, as there are no accurate statistics (see: <https://bit.ly/2DWhRTy>).

** For residents abroad, estimates vary greatly, and recent statements have been issued by "official" authorities that the number is equal or close to the population. See:

<https://www.almjhar.com/arsy/NewsView/925272469//%D985%D981%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%A3%D8%A9%D8%B9%D8%AF%D8%AF%D8%A7%D984%D8%B3%D988%D8%B1%D98%A%D98%A%D986%D8%AD%D988%D984%D8%A7%D984%D8%B9%D8%A7%D984%D985.aspx>

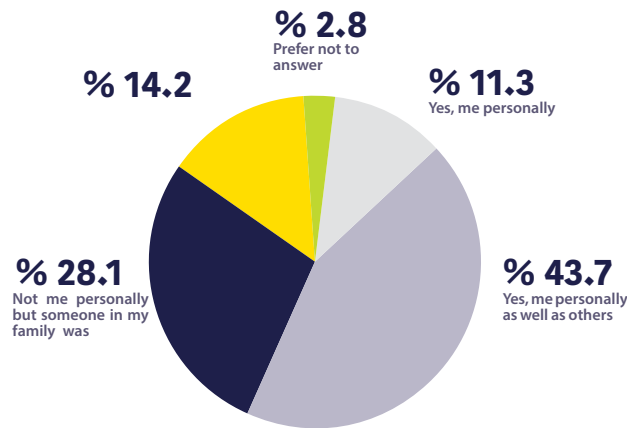
Therefore, we supposed here that the number is equal to the population.



Table 1. Distribution of sample

| Nationality - Ethnicity | | Region | |
|-------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|
| 1.777 | Arabic | 493 | Area under control of the Syrian government |
| 257 | Kurdish | 404 | Area under control of the Syrian opposition |
| 36 | Other | 628 | Area under control of the AA |
| 61 | No answer | 602 | Outside Syria |
| Educational level | | Location of interview | |
| 72 | Illiterate | 451 | Aleppo |
| 191 | Elementary | 103 | Homs |
| 346 | Preparatory | 400 | Hasakah |
| 494 | Secondary | 223 | Raqqah |
| 283 | Institute | 113 | Daraa |
| 708 | University | 95 | Suwayda |
| 37 | Postgraduate | 125 | Idlib |
| Civil status | | 174 | Turkey |
| 557 | Single | 138 | Jordan |
| 1378 | Married | 63 | Lebanon |
| 52 | Divorced | 227 | Europe |
| 144 | Widowed | 19 | Other |
| Other | | Monthly income | |
| 372 | Unemployed | 234 | Less than 25,000 SP |
| 5 | Judge | 619 | 25,000 - 75,000 SP |
| 25 | Lawyer | 347 | More than 75,000 SP |
| 121 | Government employee | 597 | Outside Syria |
| 119 | Private sector employee | 334 | Prefer not to answer |
| 134 | CSO employee | Age | |
| 231 | Student | 363 | Under 25 |
| 343 | Housewife | 850 | 26-35 |
| 32 | Journalist | 519 | 36-45 |
| 202 | Teacher | 282 | 46-55 |
| 30 | Fighter | 117 | 56+ |
| 51 | Farmer | Gender | |
| 224 | Laborer | 1154 | Men |
| 242 | Other private work not mentioned above | 977 | Women |
| | | Religion - Sect | |
| | | 1712 | Sunni |
| | | 74 | Druze |
| | | 61 | Christian |
| | | 243 | No answer |
| | | 41 | Other |

Figure 1. Do you think that you or someone in your family (parents, siblings, children, partner, grandparents) have been subjected to direct attacks that violate human rights?

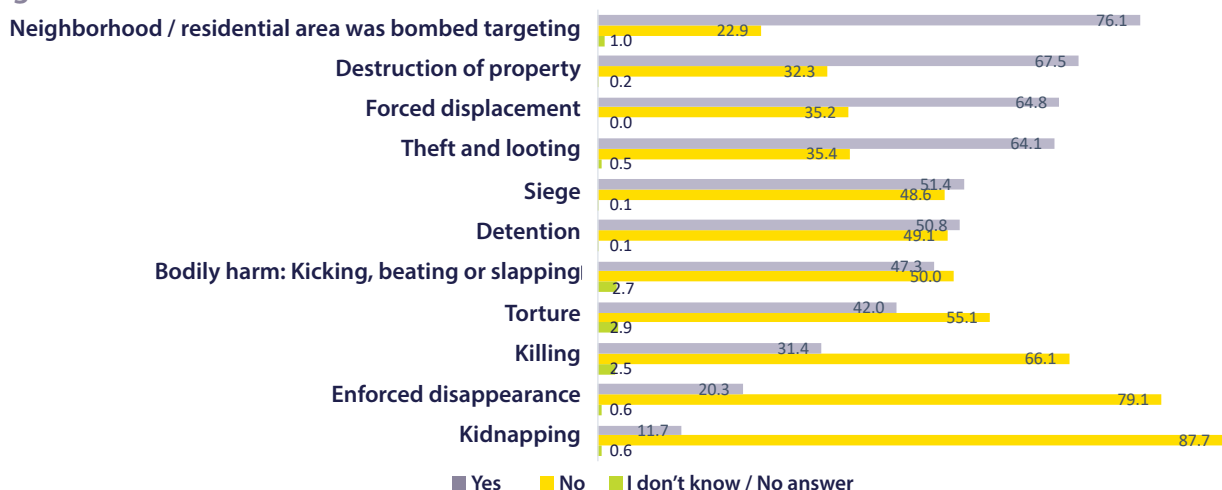


I. Forms of violations and responsible parties

It seems that all Syrian families have at least one member whose human dignity was violated. Only 14% said that neither they nor any of their family members (parents, siblings, children, partners, grandparents) were subjected to any kind of violation (Fig. 1). Probably the percentage is greater, as many field researchers noted some respondents do not mention “minor” violations. Additionally, indirect or symbolic attacks do not appear to many as obvious violations.

As can be seen in Image (2), around three quarters of respondents who were, or who had a family member who was, subjected to violations, said their neighborhood or area of residence was shelled with a targeting of vital facilities such as hospitals and ovens. Around two thirds of them said their property was damaged, and around the same percentage mentioned both displacement and looting. Around half were subjected to siege, and the same percentage reported arrest and physical abuse. More than 40% reported torture, and just under a third said they had lost a relative as a result of these violations. 20% said at least one person in their family was forcibly disappeared. Kidnapping was mentioned by around 12%.

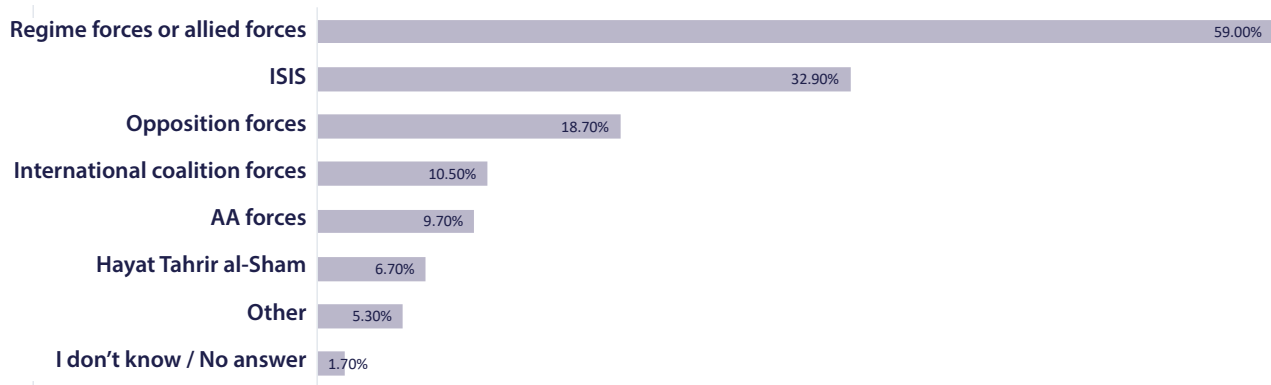
Figure 2. Forms of assaults





Most of these assaults were perpetrated by the Syrian regime and its allies (59%), followed by the Islamic State (ISIS) with a large difference (33%), followed by opposition forces at 18.7%. It is noteworthy that Hayat Tahrir al-Sham comes at the bottom of the list with less than 7%, somewhat close to the international coalition and SDF forces (Fig. 3).

Image 3. Parties responsible for the violations:



In short, the overwhelming majority of Syrians were subjected to attacks that were primarily the bombing of vital facilities and destruction of property, followed by forced displacement, destruction of property, theft and looting, and next came siege, detention, and physical abuse. The Syrian regime and its allies bear the greatest responsibility, followed by ISIS. However, the most prominent question here is on the «Humanitarian Deconfliction» mechanism applied in Syria since 2014, through the sharing of information about vital facilities with all the conflicting powers (especially the Syrian regime, Russia, and the US) UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). When around three-quarters of respondents say their neighborhood or area was bombed targeting vital facilities, this clearly indicates the failure of this mechanism; moreover, it likely “caused even more harm to civilians, because without international or UN pressure that would raise the political cost for the Russians bombing civilians and humanitarian facilities, this sharing of information alone will not produce any results.”⁵

II. Socio-demographic groups most vulnerable to violations

- Table (2) presents data that help identify the social and demographic groups more vulnerable to violations:
- Men more than women: Still, more than half of women were subjected.
- Married individuals more to others.
- Less educated: The percentage falls from two-thirds for those whose educational level is lower than secondary, to half for those with secondary and higher degrees.
- Combatants, unemployed persons and housewives are the most exposed.
- People whose income is lower than 25,000 SP, compared to those whose income is higher.

5) Orwa Khalife, How did the international Humanitarian Deconfliction Mechanism Fail in Syria? Al-Jumhuriya, July 18, 2019.

- Sunnis and Arabs, compared to other sects or religions.
- The highest rate of attacks was recorded in areas under AA control (specifically in Raqqah), followed by opposition-held areas, and finally areas controlled by the Syrian regime and Russia.
- It is noticeable that the percentage of those personally subjected to violations increases in Raqqah inside Syria, and Jordan and Lebanon outside Syria (more than 70%). The percentage drops dramatically in Suwayda, which remained under the authority of Assad, although this control was shaken somewhat after the start of the Syrian revolution.
- Older than 45 years old compared to younger.

Table 2. Social and demographic background of those personally attacked

| Not personally attacked | Personally attacked | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--|
| | | Gender |
| 47,0% | 53,0% | Women |
| 40,5% | 59,5% | Men |
| | | Civil status |
| 49,1% | 50,9% | Single |
| 40,2% | 59,8% | Married |
| 58,7% | 41,3% | Divorced |
| 47,8% | 52,2% | Widowed |
| | | Educational level |
| 35,3% | 64,7% | Illiterate |
| 31,4% | 68,6% | Elementary |
| 30,6% | 69,4% | Preparatory |
| 50,2% | 49,8% | Secondary |
| 47,3% | 52,7% | Institute |
| 46,8% | 53,2% | University |
| 57,6% | 42,4% | Postgraduate |
| | | Occupation |
| 32,3% | 67,7% | Unemployed |
| 42,0% | 58,0% | Government employee |
| 55,6% | 44,4% | Private sector employee |
| 47,7% | 52,3% | CSO employee |
| 35,9% | 64,1% | Housewife |
| 62,5% | 37,5% | Journalist |
| 47,0% | 53,0% | Teacher |
| 36,7% | 63,3% | Fighter |
| 55,1% | 44,9% | Farmer |
| 42,9% | 57,1% | Laborer |
| 43,0% | 57,0% | Other private work not mentioned above |



| | | Religion - Sect |
|-------|-------|---|
| 41,7% | 58,3% | Sunni |
| 61,4% | 38,6% | Christian |
| 75,0% | 25,0% | Druze |
| 56,7% | 43,3% | Other |
| 42,7% | 57,3% | No answer |
| | | Nationality - Ethnicity |
| 41,6% | 58,4% | Arabic |
| 54,1% | 45,9% | Kurdish |
| 38,5% | 61,5% | No answer |
| 64,7% | 35,3% | Other |
| | | Monthly income |
| 34,5% | 65,5% | Less than 25,000 SP |
| 42,5% | 57,5% | 25,000 - 75,000 SP |
| 44,9% | 55,1% | More than 75,000 SP |
| 41,6% | 58,4% | Outside Syria |
| 53,3% | 46,7% | Prefer not to answer |
| | | Location of interview |
| 52,9% | 47,1% | Area under control of the Syrian government |
| 43,5% | 56,5% | Area under control of the Syrian opposition |
| 37,9% | 62,1% | Area under control of the AA |
| 41,8% | 58,2% | Outside Syria |
| | | Governorate - Country |
| 42,7% | 57,3% | Aleppo |
| 41,8% | 58,2% | Homs |
| 45,0% | 55,0% | Hasakah |
| 24,8% | 75,2% | Raqqah |
| 49,6% | 50,4% | Daraa |
| 70,7% | 29,3% | Suwayda |
| 60,0% | 40,0% | Idlib |
| 59,2% | 40,8% | Turkey |
| 27,3% | 72,7% | Jordan |
| 20,6% | 79,4% | Lebanon |
| 42,2% | 57,8% | Europe |
| | | Age |
| 46,5% | 53,5% | Under 25 |
| 46,7% | 53,3% | 26-35 |
| 46,5% | 53,5% | 36-45 |
| 29,9% | 70,1% | 46-55 |
| 29,8% | 70,2% | 56+ |

III: Consequences of Violations:

Prevalence and severity of injuries and psychological harm:

In most cases (around 65%), these attacks resulted in physical injuries (Fig. 4). This percentage increases to around 85% for psychological trauma resulting from attacks (Fig. 5). Only about a quarter of respondents (28.4%) said that fighters were among the injured, while the overwhelming majority said that they included children (62.0%) and women (73.4%). But how serious are these injuries? To understand this, we asked respondents to assess the severity of the injury or psychological harm, based on its impact on their normal lives.

Figure 4. Physical injuries

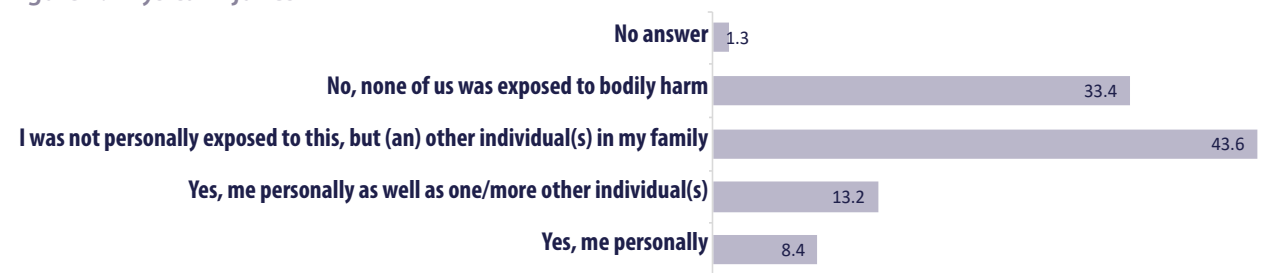
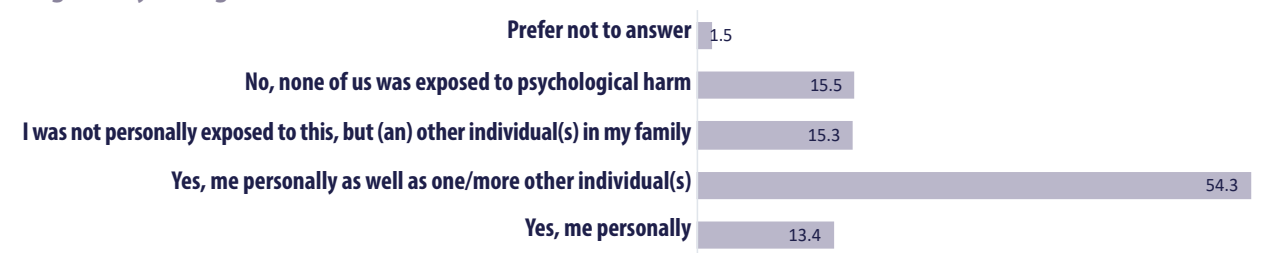
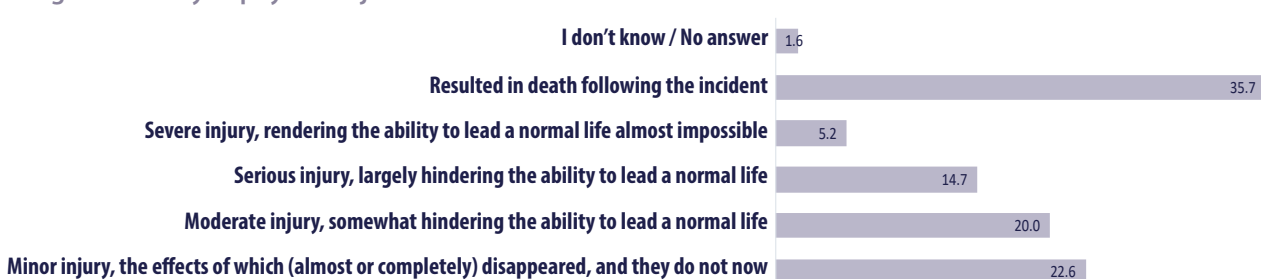


Image 5. Psychological trauma



Over a third of physical injuries claimed the lives of their victims, and around 40% caused effects that hinder the ability to live a normal life. Just under a quarter have almost recovered from the effects of their injury (Fig. 6). **However, it should be noted that in the case of more than one injury in a family, our question focused on the most serious. The question was as follows: How do you rate the extent of the injury? If there is more than one injured person in your family, please think of the most serious injury, how would you rate it?** Our objective is not to document all cases. This is another task that requires work under better and more stable conditions with more time allocated for interviews, something we are not able to do in the current circumstances. What we seek here is to obtain data that enables us to see more clearly how the most seriously injured are distributed, and to identify their conditions and needs.

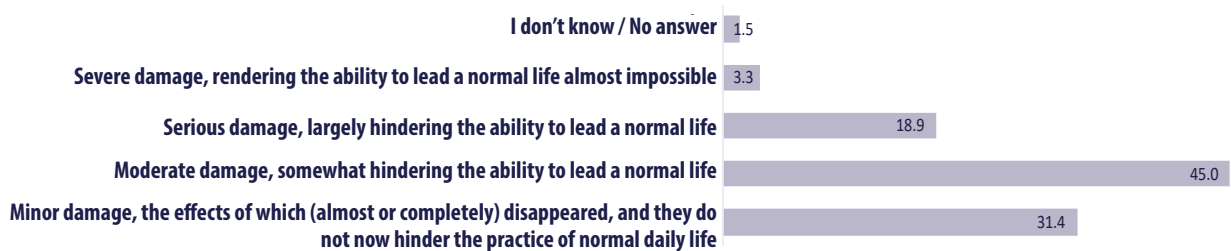
Image 6. Severity of physical injuries





The question on psychological trauma also focused on the most serious in the family, as follows: How do you rate the extent of psychological damage? If there is more than one afflicted person in your family, please think of the most serious case, how would you rate it? In general, psychological trauma has effects that hinder the daily lives of the majority (over 70%). Only around a third said signs of the damage had nearly or completely disappeared. It is worth noting that a considerable percentage says it severely hinders the victim's normal life (Fig. 7).

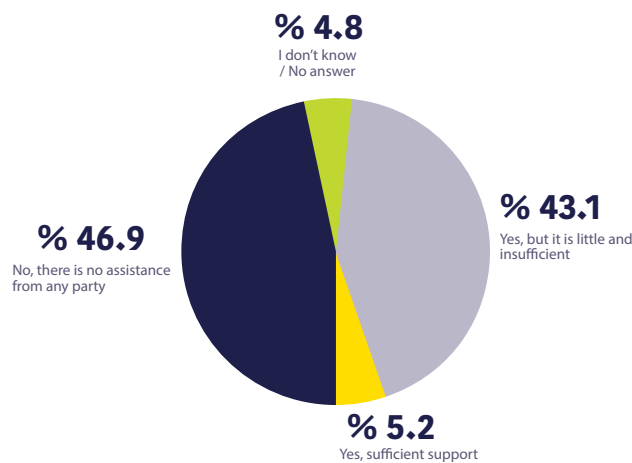
Figure 7. Severity of psychological damage



Aid

Regarding aid, responses are divided closely between those that say victims do not receive any support (46.9%) or that they receive little and insufficient support (43.1%). Most of the aid they receive is financial assistance (Fig. 8).

Figure 8. The aid victims receive



Furthermore, there does not appear to be psychological support commensurate with the extent of psychological damage. Only 15.1% said that the victim received or receives psychological support. As for human rights support, it appears to be practically absent (Fig. 9).

Figure 9. Types of Aid



This may be understandable in the absence of any prospect for holding to account those responsible for the attacks; nevertheless, more attention must be paid to this type of support. Understanding the different types of support in each region and governorate, and the reasons for the absence of support, will enable concerned parties to develop better intervention plans to support the victims. This is explained in the following lines. It can be noted that psychological support increases significantly outside Syria compared to inside Syria (especially in Jordan where more than 70% said the injured or afflicted received or receives psychological support, but where financial assistance, on the other hand, declines). In Syria, the focus appears to be on financial support. However, in Daraa, the percentage of those receiving psychological support increases significantly compared to other regions inside Syria, reaching 36.7% (Table 3).

Table 3. Types of Aid

| Other | I don't know / Prefer not to answer | Labor market qualification courses | Legal advice | Psychological | Material - funds or relief baskets | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------------------|---|
| | | | | | | Region |
| 2,2% | 5,0% | 6,7% | 3,9% | 15,6% | 92,2% | Area under control of the Syrian government |
| 1,2% | 0,0% | 7,5% | 3,5% | 5,2% | 98,8% | Area under control of the Syrian opposition |
| 6,3% | 0,3% | 0,3% | 0,7% | 7,0% | 91,7% | Area under control of the AA |
| 8,0% | 3,0% | 6,0% | 2,0% | 35,5% | 70,5% | Outside Syria |
| | | | | | | Governorate - Country |
| 2,6% | 2,0% | 11,9% | 6,0% | 10,6% | 95,4% | Aleppo |
| 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 1,9% | 98,1% | Homs |
| 4,2% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 0,8% | 8,0% | 93,5% | Hasakah |
| 19,5% | 2,4% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 80,5% | Raqqah |
| 3,3% | 0,0% | 6,7% | 0,0% | 36,7% | 100,0% | Daraa |
| 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 3,3% | 100,0% | Idlib |
| 14,9% | 3,0% | 11,9% | 0,0% | 19,4% | 67,2% | Turkey |
| 2,2% | 0,0% | 2,2% | 8,7% | 73,9% | 63,0% | Jordan |
| 6,0% | 6,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 17,9% | 76,1% | Europe |

Reasons for the absence of support are varied: Around a quarter said the injured person does not need assistance. This may be due to an acceptable financial status or to family support. Remarkably, more than a third said that there are no organizations or bodies nearby that can help (Fig. 10). Almost a quarter said existing organizations refused to provide support, or respondents did not want to seek help from organizations because they believe that they are ineffective (41.7%) or because they are embarrassed (42.7%) (Fig. 11). There are many reasons for refusing to provide aid, one of which may be the organization's inability to do so, or doing so selectively, as we will see later in Figure 12. Therefore, it is useful to identify the areas where there are increased responses that aid is refused or that organizations are absent, as this would assist in planning to support existing organizations or facilitate access or establish new organizations in these areas.



Figure 10. Reasons for the absence of aid

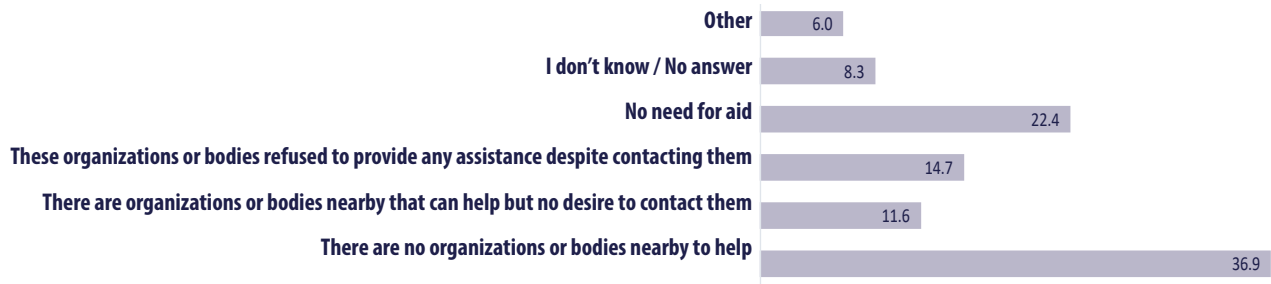
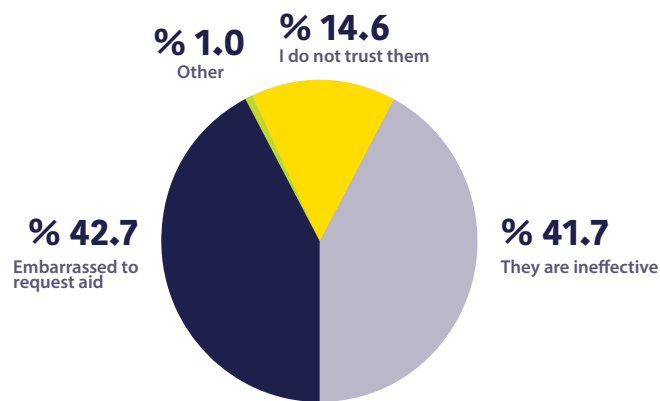


Figure 11. Reasons for not requesting



The absence of organizations in the vicinity appears to be the main reason in areas beyond Assad’s control. In areas under his control, the main reason is the refusal of organizations to provide support (Fig. 12). This may be explained by the fact that support in areas controlled by the regime and Russia is provided subject to conditions and the criteria of loyalty to the regime, who determines who deserves support or not; therefore, these organizations distribute aid to certain demographic groups and not to others.

Figure 12. Reasons for the absence of aid based on areas of control

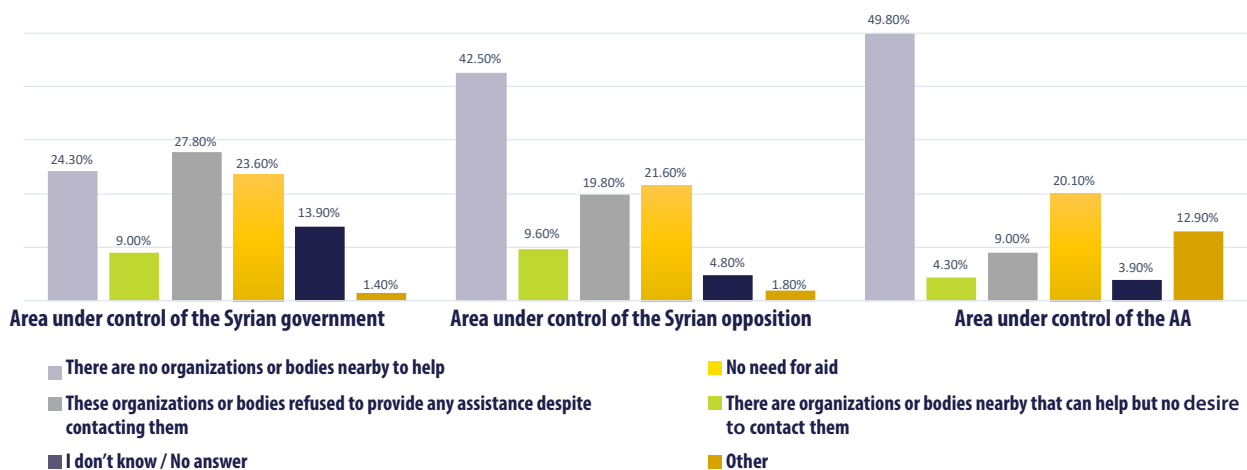
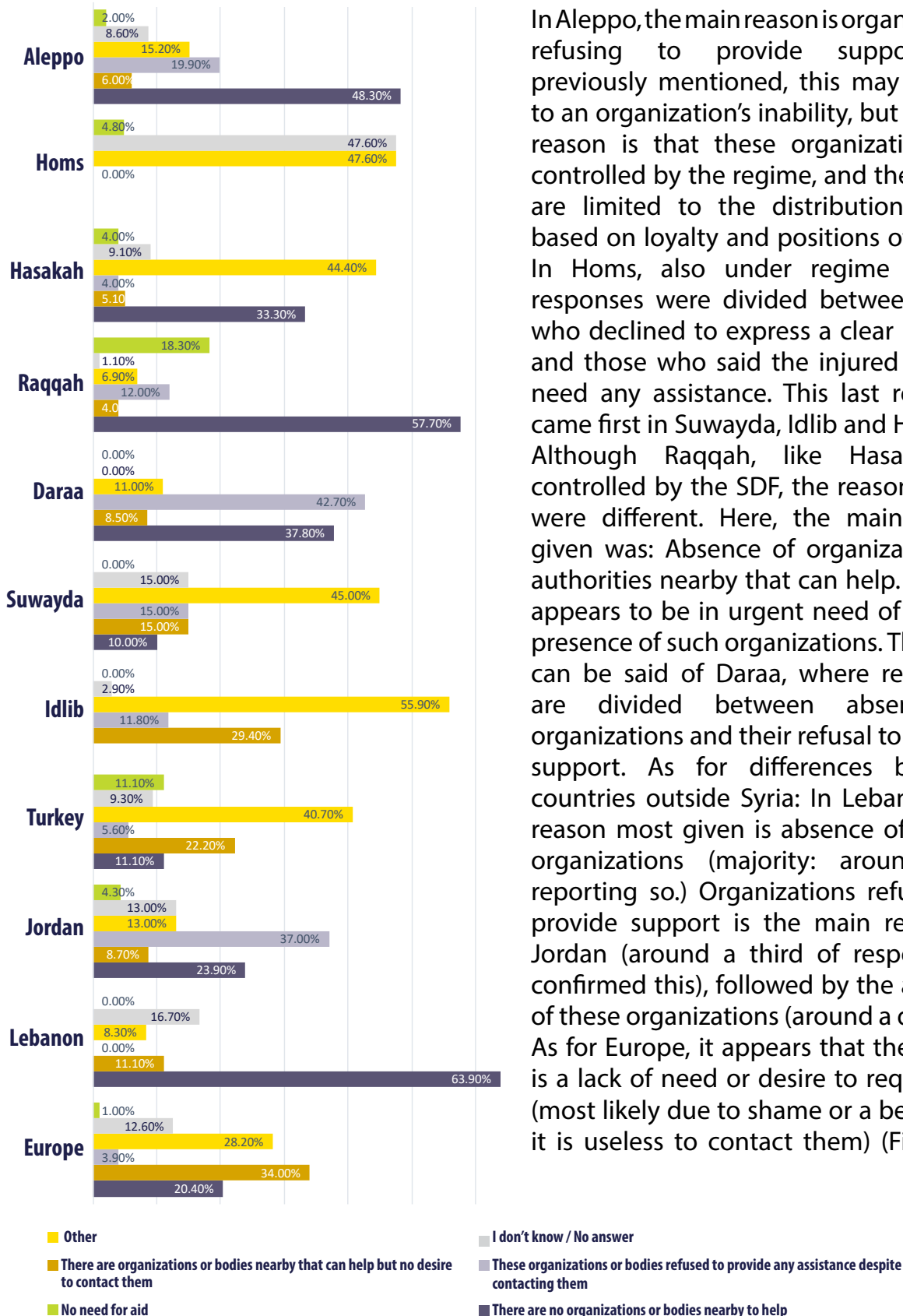


Figure 13. Reasons for the absence of aid based on governorate - country



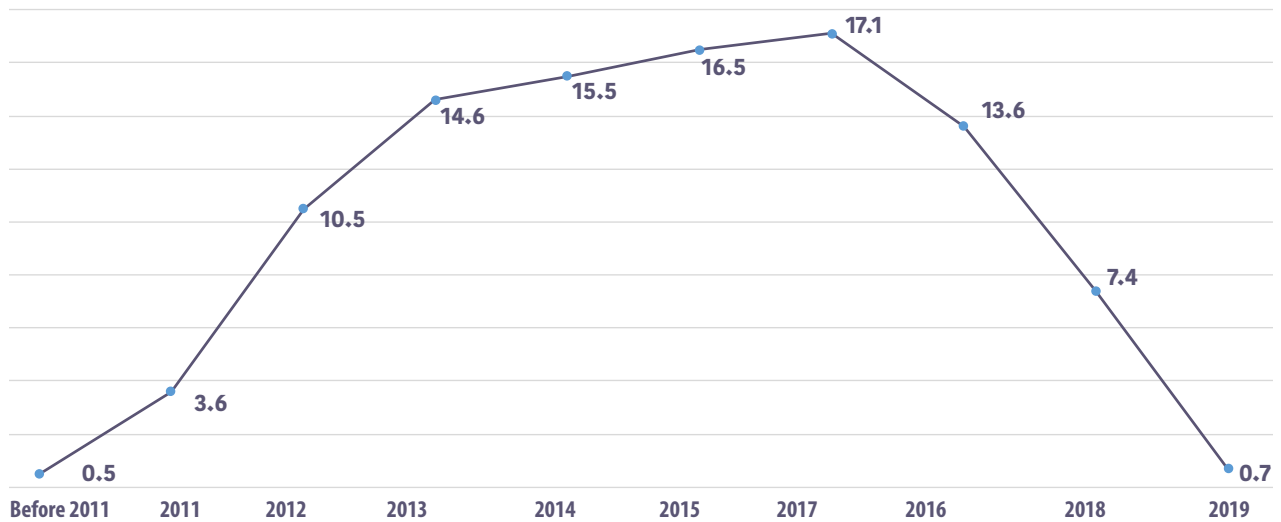
In Aleppo, the main reason is organizations refusing to provide support. As previously mentioned, this may be due to an organization's inability, but another reason is that these organizations are controlled by the regime, and their plans are limited to the distribution of aid based on loyalty and positions of power. In Homs, also under regime control, responses were divided between those who declined to express a clear position and those who said the injured did not need any assistance. This last response came first in Suwayda, Idlib and Hasakah. Although Raqqah, like Hasakah, is controlled by the SDF, the reasons given were different. Here, the main reason given was: Absence of organizations or authorities nearby that can help. Raqqah appears to be in urgent need of a wider presence of such organizations. The same can be said of Daraa, where responses are divided between absence of organizations and their refusal to provide support. As for differences between countries outside Syria: In Lebanon, the reason most given is absence of nearby organizations (majority: around 64% reporting so.) Organizations refusing to provide support is the main reason in Jordan (around a third of respondents confirmed this), followed by the absence of these organizations (around a quarter). As for Europe, it appears that the reason is a lack of need or desire to request aid (most likely due to shame or a belief that it is useless to contact them) (Fig. 13).



When and where physical injuries occurred

Injuries appear to have gradually increased and peaked in 2016, i.e. after Russian intervention in Syria which began openly on September 30, 2015 (Fig. 14).

Figure 14. Date of injury



Russia has always boasted of the types of weapons it has used in Syria and of testing new weapons for the first time.⁶ Injuries generally occurred in non-military locations: Houses, detention centers, public places, and during displacement. Only in less than 15% of cases did injuries occur on frontlines, within military areas, or in places close to them (Fig. 15).

Figure 15. Location where injury occurred

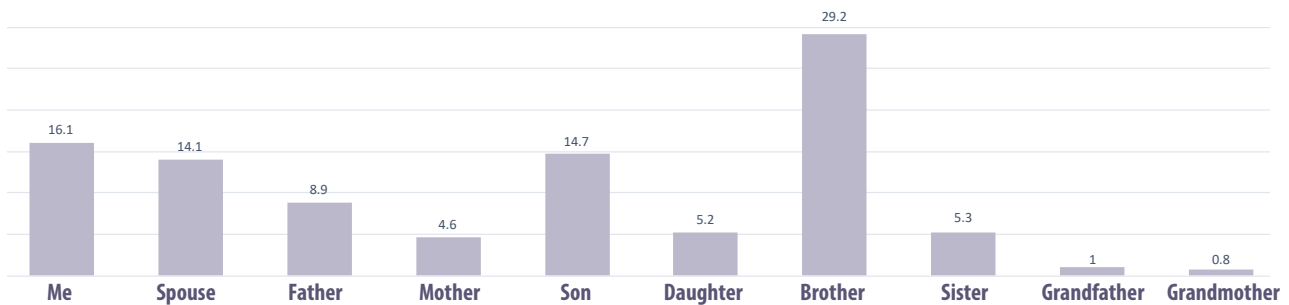


6) See: Russia tests more than 200 new weapons in Syria, Sputnik, February 22, 2018.

Who was injured, and who was mentally affected

As can be seen in Figure 16, injured persons are of different age groups, men as well as women, elderly as well as young persons. Among those we interviewed who were attacked and said they were left physical injuries, 16.1% said they were personally injured or there was more than one injured person in the family, but that their injury was the most serious. In the following we will get to know them in more detail.

Figure 16. Physically injured



In 41.4% of cases, the injury occurred in a detention center (Fig. 17),

Figure 17. Where the injury occurred - cases of those personally injured

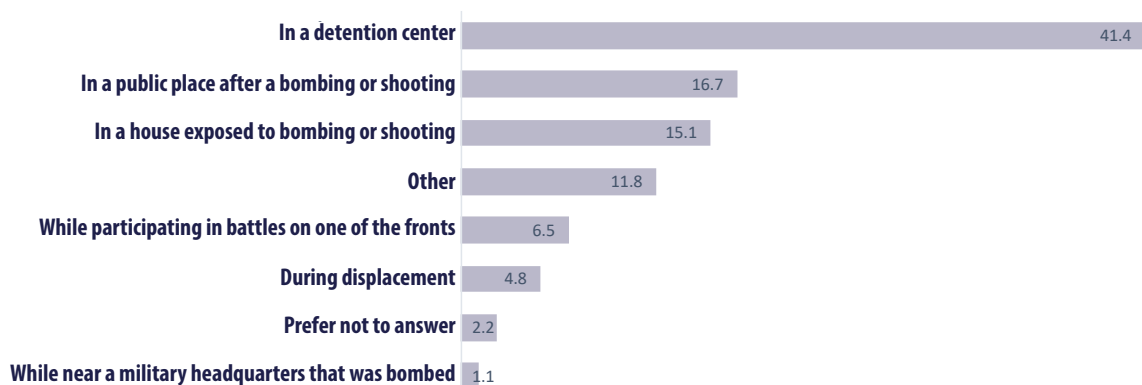
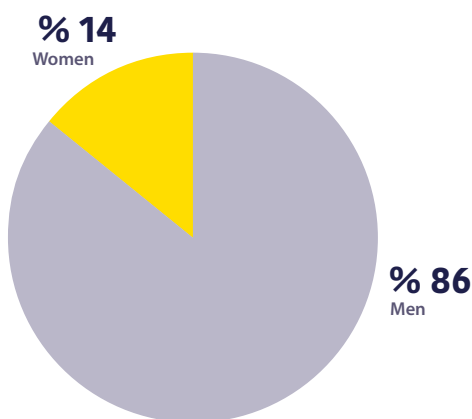


Figure 18. The injured by gender

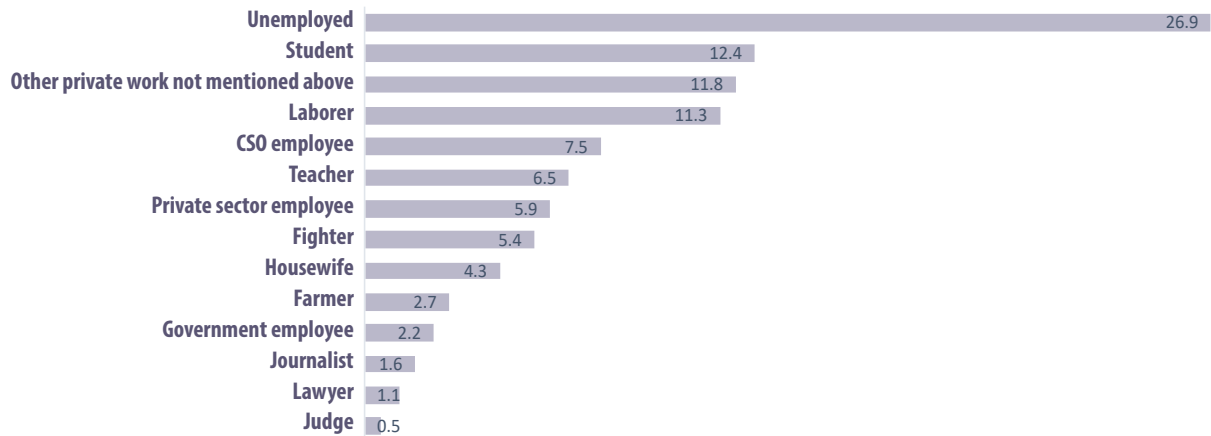


meaning that they were often a result of torture. Perhaps this explains the large proportion of men who said they were personally injured (or that their injury was the most serious) compared to women: 86% men compared to 14% women (Fig. 18). Almost a third of the cases occurred inside the home or whilst in a public place. Less than 7% occurred on frontlines. As for the cases that fall under 'Other', most of these refer to injuries while in the workplace, school, or in a car or bus, a demonstration, hospital or health center, basement (shelter), or during arrest, or shot while searching for water and food during the siege (Fig. 17).



When looking at occupations, one easily notices how the percentage of fighters does not exceed 6%. The injured were primarily among the unemployed and students, followed by laborers and employees in different occupations (Fig. 19).

Figure 19. The injured by occupation



As for psychological harm, the percentage of respondents personally subjected to the severest psychological harm in the family increases to more than a quarter (Fig. 20). The proportion of women here increases significantly. Although they were not subjected to bodily harm as men were, the psychological damage is almost the same for both sexes: 46.1% of those who said they had personally suffered psychological harm were women (compare Figures 18 and 22).⁷ Looking at occupations, the large proportion of housewives is immediately apparent. Most of the victims of psychological harm in attacks were the unemployed and housewives (Fig. 21). In short, women were not subjected to physical assault as much as men, but they were subjected to psychological harm as much as men, especially in the case of housewives.

Figure 20. The psychologically harmed

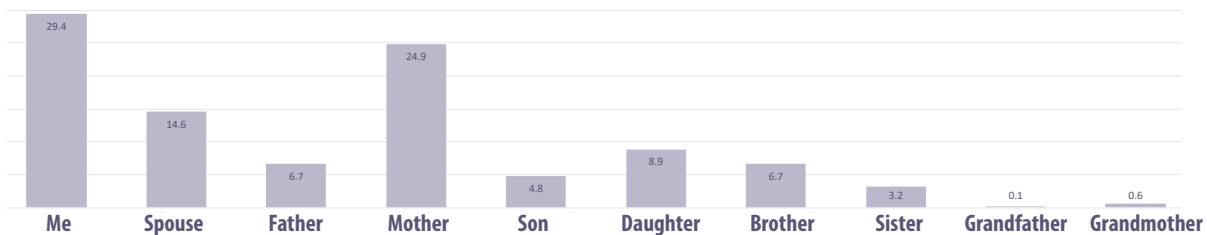


Figure 22. The psychologically harmed by gender

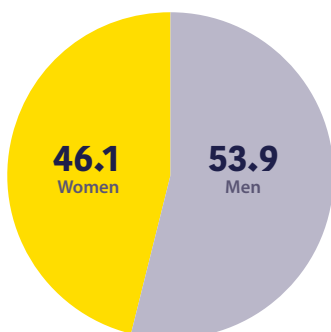
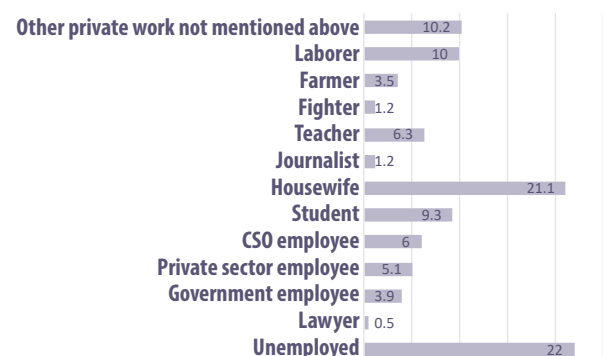


Figure 21. The psychologically harmed by occupation



7) It is important to recall here that our sample is originally biased towards men: 54.2% men compared to 45.8% women.

IV: Attitudes Towards Justice

Compensation for victims

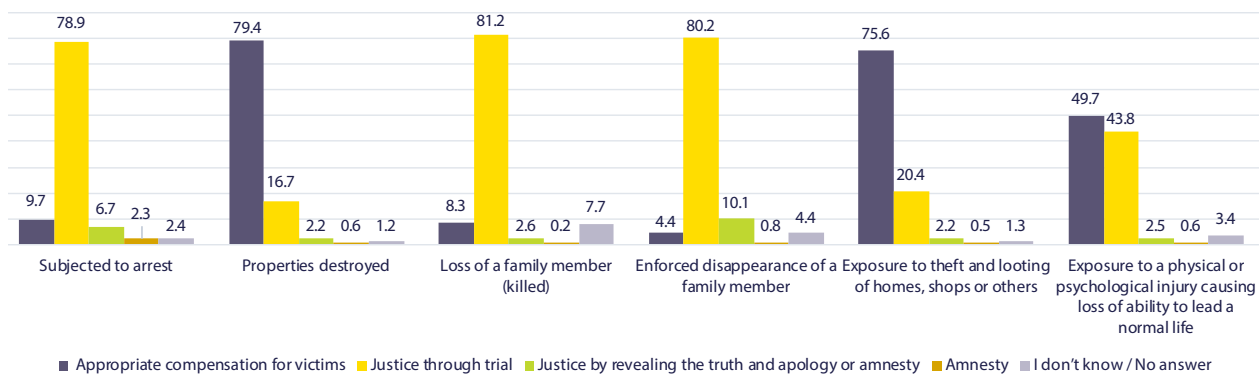
As shown in Figure (23), there is no room for financial compensation in the event of enforced disappearance or killing or arrest of a family member. There is great insistence on justice through trials.

Financial compensation is applicable in cases of destruction, theft and looting of properties. A relatively small percentage chose justice through trial.

It does not appear that providing financial compensation alone will be sufficient in the future in cases of physical or psychological injuries causing the loss of ability to lead a normal life, and the same is true with regard to achieving justice in trials. Respondents are divided regarding the appropriate compensation in this case. Therefore, it will probably be useful to think of both together: General plans to assist the injured and materially affected, as well as justice through trials.

As for amnesty, forgiveness, and uncovering the truth, these does not seem to hold a significant place in strategies for compensating victims in Syrian society at the moment: Priority is for accountability.

Figure 23. Appropriate compensation for victims



Punishment for perpetrators

It can be noted that the percentage of those demanding “execution without trial” is present, especially in cases of genocide and crimes against women. We believe that the motives behind these responses and respondents’ selection of an illegal measure lie in the seriousness of the crimes committed and their psychological impact on family members, as well as loss of confidence in accountability and judicial procedures in a country that has never known justice or rule of law or an impartial and independent judiciary, as ruling authorities have remained above the law for decades. In other cases, the majority want to see trial and punishment based on the law. Next come reduced sentences with apologies and pardons, but never direct pardons. Additionally, it is worth noting that respondents see no difference between those who issued the orders and those who executed them. This is evidenced by the fact that approximately the same percentage demands the same punishment, whether the perpetrator is a high-ranking official issuing orders or merely carrying them out (compare Figures 24 and 25).



Figure 24. Issuing orders

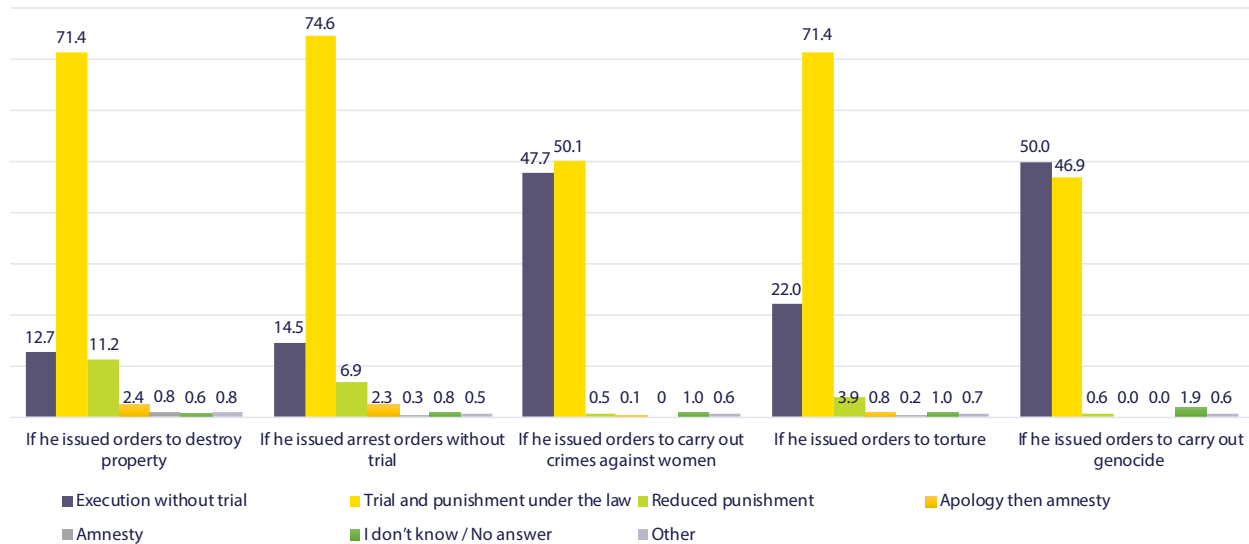
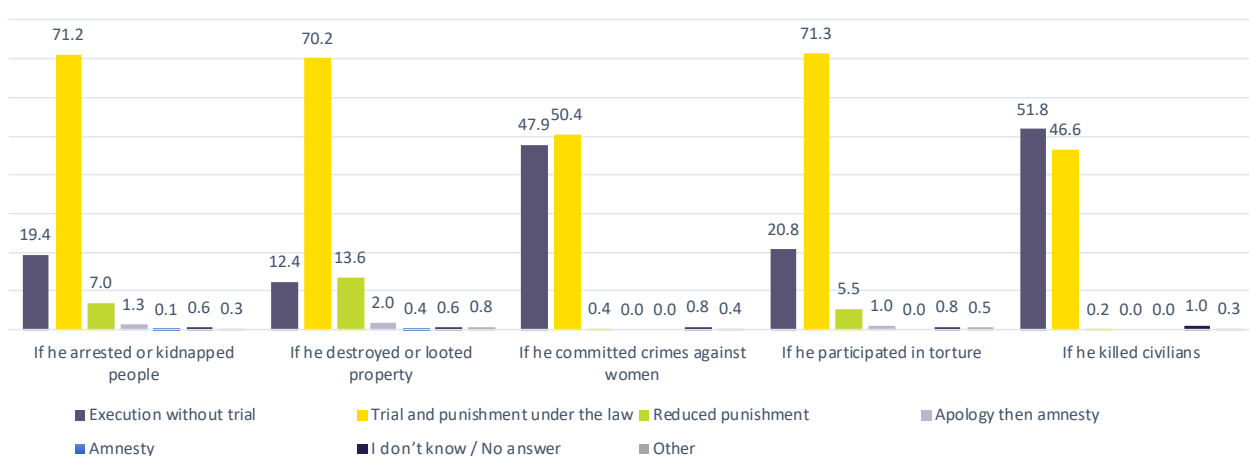


Figure 25. Carrying out instructions



Justice for those who were and those who were not personally violated

In general, there is a significant difference in attitudes regarding justice. Those personally subjected to violations are stricter in punishment for perpetrators, whether officials or of lower ranks. Most of those who were not personally subjected to any violations say that those who ordered or participated in genocide must be tried (around 58%), but this percentage drops to about 38% for people personally subjected to violations, demanding “execution without trial”. The same can be said for the ordering of crimes against women. The majority of those who did not suffer violations wanted trials. In general, these two issues constitute the biggest point of disagreement between those subjected to violations and those who were not. Firstly, committing or ordering a murder; and secondly, committing or ordering crimes against women. In other cases, these differences diminish. The majority demands trial and punishment according to the law (Table 4). But are there differences in the attitudes of the victims themselves? This is what we will try to answer in the following lines by comparing results based on the severity of the physical injury.

Table 4. Punishment the perpetrator deserves according to those personally violated and those who were not

| Other | I don't know / No answer | Amnesty | Apology then amnesty | Reduced punishment | Trial and punishment under the law | Execution without trial | |
|-------|--------------------------|---------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to carry out genocide |
| 0,9% | 1,1% | 0,1% | 0,0% | 0,5% | 39,1% | 58,3% | Personally subjected |
| 0,1% | 2,8% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,7% | 57,6% | 38,8% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to torture |
| 1,0% | 1,1% | 0,2% | 0,3% | 2,3% | 65,9% | 29,2% | Personally attacked |
| 0,3% | 0,8% | 0,2% | 1,0% | 5,9% | 79,6% | 12,1% | Not personally attacked |
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to carry out crimes against women |
| 0,9% | 0,9% | 0,0% | 0,1% | 0,3% | 40,8% | 57,0% | Personally subjected |
| 0,2% | 1,1% | 0,1% | 0,0% | 0,7% | 62,5% | 35,4% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he issued arrest orders without trial |
| 0,8% | 0,8% | 0,2% | 0,9% | 4,0% | 73,5% | 19,9% | Personally subjected |
| 0,2% | 0,8% | 0,2% | 3,4% | 10,6% | 77,3% | 7,5% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to destroy property |
| 1,0% | 0,8% | 0,9% | 0,9% | 6,8% | 70,7% | 18,9% | Personally subjected |
| 0,7% | 0,3% | 0,6% | 4,2% | 16,9% | 72,9% | 4,4% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he killed civilians |
| 0,5% | 0,9% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 38,0% | 60,7% | Personally subjected |
| 0,1% | 1,1% | 0,1% | 0,1% | 0,2% | 58,2% | 40,2% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he participated in torture |
| 0,6% | 0,7% | 0,0% | 0,3% | 3,3% | 67,1% | 28,0% | Personally subjected |
| 0,4% | 1,0% | 0,1% | 1,6% | 8,3% | 77,5% | 11,0% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he committed crimes against women |
| 0,6% | 0,7% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,3% | 40,8% | 57,6% | Personally subjected |
| 0,2% | 0,9% | 0,1% | 0,1% | 0,4% | 63,2% | 35,0% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he destroyed or looted property |
| 1,3% | 0,6% | 0,3% | 0,8% | 8,4% | 70,5% | 18,2% | Personally subjected |
| 0,3% | 0,4% | 0,7% | 3,2% | 20,2% | 70,2% | 4,9% | Not personally subjected |
| | | | | | | | If he arrested or kidnapped people |
| 0,4% | 0,8% | 0,0% | 0,5% | 4,4% | 67,6% | 26,3% | Personally subjected |
| 0,2% | 0,3% | 0,3% | 2,3% | 9,7% | 77,0% | 10,1% | Not personally subjected |



Perceptions of justice by victims

Regarding the position towards those responsible for the attacks. In general, the majority, whatever the degree of severity of the affliction, wants trial and punishment under the law of those responsible for issuing orders of torture (over 62%), orders of arrest without trial (over 65%), and orders to destroy property (63%). It is approximately the same for those participating in torture, detention, or destruction. As for those of lower ranks or whose role was limited to carrying out orders, opinions do not differ much from the position towards those responsible for the violations. As noted previously, respondents do not seem to attach much importance to distinguishing between who issued and who carried out orders (Table 5).

It is worth noting the case of property destruction. This is the only case where the percentage of those saying punishment should be reduced is high. Still, it is a small percentage, about 10% or less. As for apologies and amnesty, these come in last of all perceptions of justice in the eyes of the victims.

The main difference appears to appear in the event of death. Anyone who has lost a family member as a result of assault is more insistent than others in their demand for execution without trial in cases of murder, orders for genocide, or committing or issuing orders for crimes against women (Table 5).

In general, responses by those with minor injuries and those whose injuries hinder the ability to lead a normal life, are close in most cases, except for: Arresting or issuing the order to arrest without trial, and destroying or issuing the order to destroy property. The more seriously injured are more severe in their demands than the less seriously injured, as the percentage of those demanding “execution without trial” is prominent as a measure of revenge without recourse to the law. This is unjustified and in need of revision, but it is, at the same time, a result of the feeling that justice and accountability procedures are lacking in a way that would do justice to victims.

Table 5. Punishment the perpetrator deserves, depending on severity of the injury

| Other | I don't know / No answer | Amnesty | Apology then amnesty | Reduced punishment | Trial and punishment under the law | Execution without trial | |
|-------|--------------------------|---------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to carry out genocide |
| 1,1% | 1,1% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 40,6% | 56,7% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 1,1% | 2,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 44,3% | 52,3% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 1,7% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,2% | 36,7% | 61,2% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to torture |
| 0,8% | 0,8% | 0,4% | 0,4% | 3,8% | 66,3% | 27,6% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 1,7% | 1,7% | 0,2% | 0,9% | 4,3% | 62,7% | 28,4% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 0,7% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 2,2% | 70,9% | 26,0% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to carry out crimes against women |

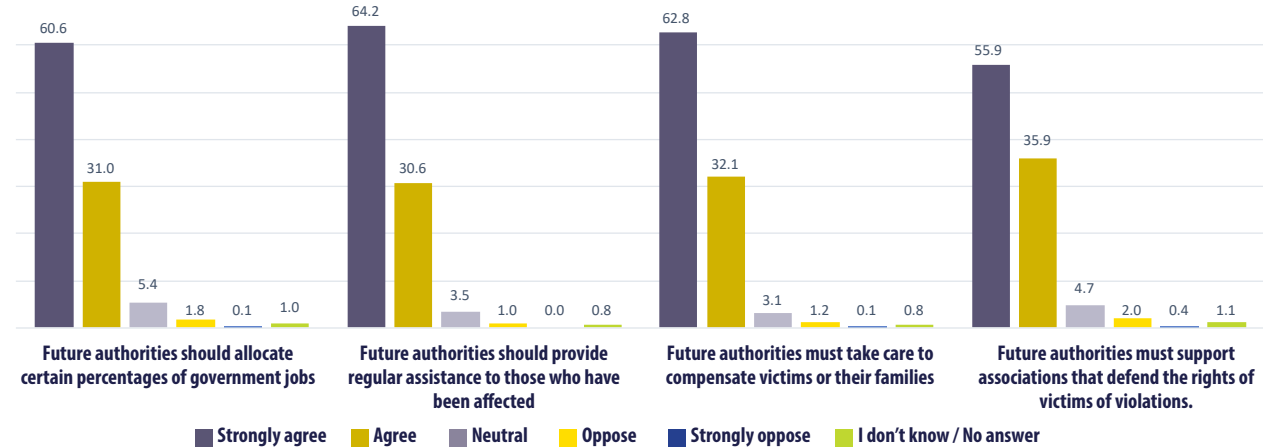
| | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|---|
| 0,8% | 1,1% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 0,4% | 47,5% | 49,8% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 1,1% | 1,1% | 0,2% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 47,9% | 49,2% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,0% | 0,7% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,5% | 39,3% | 59,5% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he issued arrest orders without trial |
| 0,8% | 0,8% | 0,4% | 1,1% | 2,7% | 80,8% | 13,4% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,9% | 1,1% | 0,4% | 2,6% | 7,8% | 65,5% | 21,7% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 0,5% | 0,2% | 0,2% | 4,6% | 77,2% | 17,0% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he issued orders to destroy property |
| 0,8% | 0,8% | 1,5% | 0,4% | 7,3% | 75,1% | 14,2% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 1,5% | 0,7% | 1,1% | 2,2% | 10,8% | 63,6% | 20,2% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 0,5% | 0,0% | 1,2% | 7,8% | 77,9% | 12,4% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he killed civilians |
| 0,4% | 0,8% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 44,4% | 54,4% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,4% | 0,9% | 0,2% | 0,0% | 0,2% | 43,8% | 54,4% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 0,7% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 35,2% | 63,8% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he participated in torture |
| 0,8% | 0,8% | 0,0% | 1,5% | 3,8% | 67,4% | 25,7% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 1,1% | 0,9% | 0,2% | 0,7% | 4,6% | 65,1% | 27,5% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,0% | 0,5% | 0,0% | 0,2% | 3,9% | 70,4% | 25,0% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he committed crimes against women |
| 0,4% | 0,8% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 47,5% | 51,0% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,4% | 0,9% | 0,2% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 48,6% | 49,5% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,0% | 0,7% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,2% | 39,8% | 59,2% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he destroyed or looted property |
| 1,5% | 1,1% | 0,4% | 1,1% | 7,7% | 74,7% | 13,4% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 1,5% | 0,2% | 1,3% | 2,2% | 11,3% | 63,8% | 19,7% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 0,5% | 0,0% | 0,7% | 9,2% | 76,5% | 12,9% | Fatal injuries |
| | | | | | | | If he arrested or kidnapped people |
| 0,4% | 0,8% | 0,0% | 0,4% | 5,7% | 75,9% | 16,9% | No injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,4% | 0,9% | 0,2% | 2,0% | 5,4% | 66,6% | 24,5% | Injuries that hinder the ability to lead a normal life |
| 0,2% | 0,5% | 0,0% | 0,2% | 5,1% | 68,7% | 25,2% | Fatal injuries |



Measures to support victims and achieve civil peace

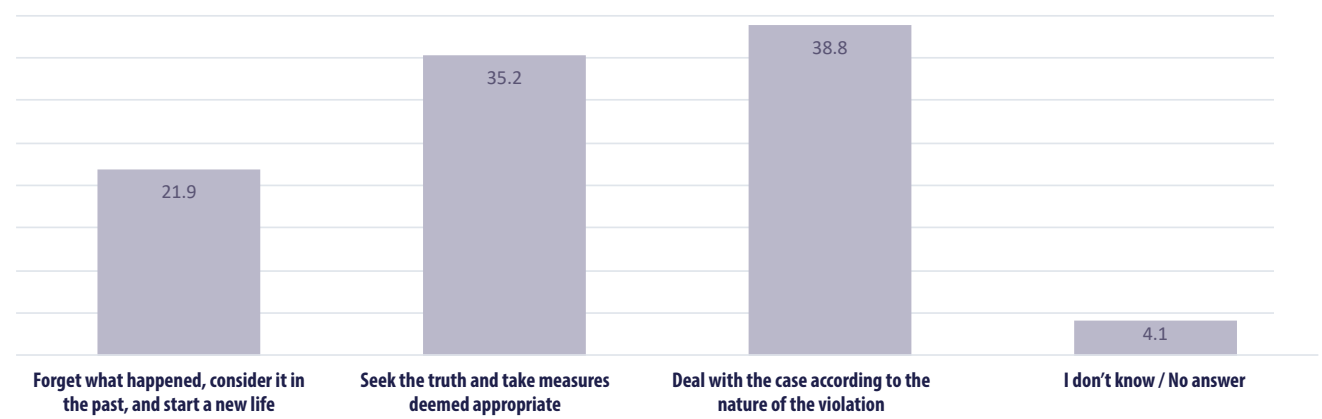
We presented respondents with 4 proposals that would improve the conditions of victims and support achieving justice after the war, as follows: (1) Future authorities must support associations that defend the rights of victims of violations. (2) Future authorities must take care to compensate victims or their families (3) Future authorities must provide regular assistance to those who have suffered injuries resulting in inability to work and partial or complete loss of mobility. (4) Future authorities must allocate a percentage of government jobs to those who have suffered physical or psychological trauma causing partial loss of mobility or ability to work, as appropriate for their condition and competence. As shown in Figure (26) there is almost no opposition to this. There is absolute support for all these procedures.

Figure 26. Measures to support victims and achieve civil peace



Fewer than a quarter of respondents said the past should be forgotten and a new life begun. About a third said victims should seek to uncover what really happened and take whatever measures they deem appropriate. The largest percentage, 38.8%, said that measures must be appropriate for the nature of the violation (Fig. 27).

Figure 27. Dealing with the past



We did not find any significant differences when we looked at the variables of exposure to violations, sect-religion, civil status, and age. We did find them, however, in each of the following variables (Table 6):

- Area: Forgetting the past as a solution is higher in AA areas, followed by opposition-controlled areas with a small difference, but reaches its lowest levels in areas of regime control. Fewer than 15% think it is the right course of action. The largest proportion, around half, insists on knowing the truth and taking appropriate measures accordingly.
- Residents of Raqqah and Idlib lean more towards forgetting the past than others (50.2% and 44.0%, respectively). These are followed by residents in Jordan by just under a third. In other regions, the percentage is less than 20%, with most of them saying the past must be dealt with according to the nature of each violation. The big difference appears in Daraa, where there is a very big insistence on the need to know the truth (85.8%).
- People with low incomes (less than 25,000 Syrian Pounds) lean less towards forgetting the past than others.
- Kurds tend less towards forgetting than Arabs.
- The unemployed, media workers, combatants and farmers are less likely to forget than others. - This option is the highest for laborers, teachers, and employees of civil society organizations.
- The percentage is almost equal for men and women. In general, however, men are more insistent than women on uncovering the truth.

Table 6. Deal with the past according to a number of social and demographic variables

| | Forget what happened, consider it in the past, and start a new life | Seek the truth and take measures deemed appropriate and satisfactory | Deal with the case according to the nature of the violation | I don't know / No answer |
|---|---|--|---|--------------------------|
| Region | | | | |
| Area under control of the Syrian government | 14,2% | 47,3% | 36,1% | 2,4% |
| Area under control of the Syrian opposition | 25,5% | 33,2% | 37,1% | 4,2% |
| Area under control of the AA | 30,4% | 26,8% | 40,1% | 2,7% |
| Outside Syria | 16,8% | 35,5% | 40,7% | 7,0% |
| Governorate - Country | | | | |
| Aleppo | 17,7% | 39,0% | 37,7% | 5,5% |
| Homs | 12,6% | 35,9% | 49,5% | 1,9% |
| Hasakah | 19,8% | 27,3% | 52,5% | 0,5% |
| Raqqah | 50,2% | 24,7% | 18,4% | 6,7% |
| Daraa | 0,0% | 85,8% | 14,2% | 0,0% |
| Suwayda | 23,2% | 37,9% | 36,8% | 2,1% |
| Idlib | 44,0% | 16,0% | 40,0% | 0,0% |
| Turkey | 19,0% | 20,7% | 48,9% | 11,5% |
| Jordan | 31,9% | 41,3% | 24,6% | 2,2% |
| Lebanon | 7,9% | 52,4% | 34,9% | 4,8% |
| Europe | 8,4% | 38,8% | 45,8% | 7,0% |
| Monthly income | | | | |
| Less than 25,000 SP | 18,4% | 42,7% | 35,5% | 3,4% |



| | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|------|
| 25,000 - 75,000 SP | 27,0% | 32,6% | 37,5% | 2,9% |
| More than 75,000 SP | 27,7% | 40,1% | 29,4% | 2,9% |
| Nationality - Ethnicity | | | | |
| Arabic | 23,2% | 35,5% | 36,9% | 4,4% |
| Kurdish | 14,0% | 34,6% | 49,4% | 1,9% |
| Other | 22,2% | 16,7% | 58,3% | 2,8% |
| Occupation | | | | |
| Unemployed | 16,1% | 39,8% | 39,5% | 4,6% |
| Government employee | 22,3% | 33,1% | 40,5% | 4,1% |
| Private sector employee | 27,7% | 31,1% | 34,5% | 6,7% |
| CSO employee | 31,3% | 25,4% | 43,3% | 0,0% |
| Student | 22,5% | 35,1% | 38,1% | 4,3% |
| Housewife | 22,2% | 32,1% | 39,7% | 6,1% |
| Journalist | 6,3% | 43,8% | 46,9% | 3,1% |
| Teacher | 28,7% | 24,8% | 43,1% | 3,5% |
| Fighter | 16,7% | 46,7% | 33,3% | 3,3% |
| Farmer | 13,7% | 41,2% | 39,2% | 5,9% |
| Laborer | 28,6% | 37,5% | 31,7% | 2,2% |
| Other private work not mentioned above | 14,9% | 44,6% | 36,4% | 4,1% |
| Gender | | | | |
| Men | 20,7% | 39,5% | 37,2% | 2,6% |
| Women | 23,3% | 30,2% | 40,6% | 5,9% |

Respondents are divided over the consequences of victims knowing the truth: Around a third say it will have positive impacts on coexistence and peace, but a third also think it will have negative impacts. Almost the same percentage refused to express a clear position, or said they do not know or that it has no negative or positive impact on peace and coexistence (Fig. 28). Given the differences between those personally subjected to violations and those who were not, we can say that the difference lies in that those subjected to violations are more convinced that revealing the truth will impact peace and coexistence than those who were not subjected to violations, but they are divided on the nature of the impact (positive or negative) (Fig. 29).

Figure 28. Impact of knowing the truth on coexistence and civil peace

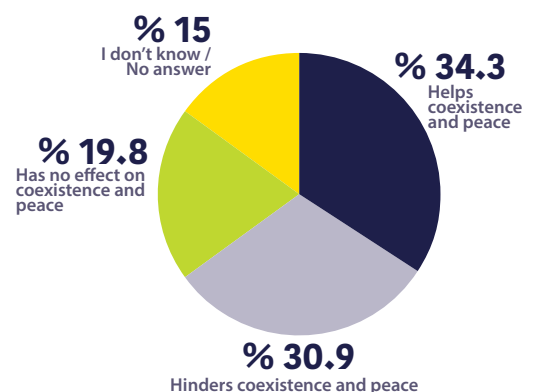


Figure 29. Impact of knowing the truth on coexistence and civil peace among those personally violated and those who were not



Conclusion and Recommendations:

The world's major powers left Syrians to face alone countries fighting for their own interests in Syria, as well as the regime, cross-border militias, militant factions, and de facto powers. The result was a prevalence of violations of all kinds, from verbal insults to death by chemical weapons, with considerable differences in the size, reach and impact of violations. This is what the overwhelming majority of Syrians have experienced in person or through a family member, as this report shows. This all happened before everyone's eyes. Victims broadcast images of daily bombings via all means at their disposal, over social media networks or TV stations and channels. Therefore, these attacks have left their effects not only on the bodies and souls of the victims, but also, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on "freedom, justice and peace in the world."⁸

As we write these lines, Russian forces and the Syrian regime are violating Idlib governorate, killing thousands of people and displacing hundreds of thousands under the pretext of "fighting terrorism". Talk of transitional justice cannot be upheld before the attacks and ongoing terrorizing operations are stopped. As François Burgat stresses, jihadism "is embedded in the very heart of the anxious lives led by the victims of our [Western countries] foreign policies or our mechanisms to exclude an entire section of our nation."⁹

This report provided many statements relating to the conditions and attitudes of victims towards accountability and reparations. This information not only helps to build plans to deliver aid to those in need, but is also necessary to understand the victims' perceptions of justice, which must be taken into account when developing any transitional justice projects. There is no justice for the victims if they are not present and involved in projects related to the future of justice in Syria.

No doubt, further studies that shed light on victims in Syria are extremely important, especially as international policies towards Syria continue in their current form while it continues to produce more victims on a daily basis, and with no changes in sight towards the suffering of Syrians and their aspirations for justice and dignity. Likewise, a model must be sought for a transitional justice in which victims, their rights and demands are central, and one which is more sensitive to the Syrian context rather than one which surrenders to appealing concepts and perceptions based on the experiences of other peoples.

8) The UN Office of Counter-Terrorism (2017) study on foreign fighters who joined the Islamic State (ISIS) showed that the effectiveness of their propaganda was mainly based on the narrative of Sunni oppression in Syria and not on the dream of living in the shadow of an Islamic caliphate.

United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism. (2017). Enhancing the Understanding of the Foreign Terrorist Fighters Phenomenon in Syria.

9) See: Fight Jihadists or Stop Making them: Interview with François Burgat, Idafat, Issues 38-39, spring and summer 2017.



Recommendations:

1. The Syrian regime, adopting the means of human rights violations to suppress voices calling for freedom, carried out attacks on human dignity in Syria in a systematic manner. Measures must be taken to uncover the truth and hold perpetrators of violations against civilians accountable. The scale, range, and impact of violations vary from the regime to other perpetrators.
2. Working to educate civilians on transitional justice and the rule of law, and distinguishing between legal procedures and retaliatory measures, as well as the appropriate mechanisms for holding perpetrators accountable for their violations against civilians.
3. Organizations need to work to support victims of violations, whether that support is financial, legal or psychological, especially for women who suffer under social stigma after their release from detention.
4. Organizations must launch projects and programs that target victims of violations within the framework of transitional justice, as actors in these programs and not only as participants.
5. Future authorities must:
 - Support associations that defend the rights of victims of violations.
 - Give attention to compensating victims or their families.
 - Provide regular assistance to those who have suffered injuries resulting in inability to work and partial or complete loss of mobility.
 - Allocate a percentage of government jobs to those who have suffered physical or psychological trauma causing partial loss of mobility or ability to work, as appropriate for their condition and competence.
6. The fate of detainees must be revealed, as well as persons missing and forcibly disappeared by the regime, because victims knowing the truth has a positive impact on coexistence and peace.

Questionnaire

1. Do you think that you or someone in your family (parents, siblings, children, partner, grandparents) have been subjected to direct attacks that violate human rights?

- Yes, me personally
- Yes, me personally as well as one/more other individual(s)
- I was not personally exposed to this, but (an)other individual(s) in my family was/were.
- No, none of us was exposed to this (move to Question 19)
- Prefer not to answer (move to Question 19)

2. What kind of violations listed below have you or your family members experienced?

| | Yes | No | I don't know / No answer |
|---|-----|----|-----------------------------|
| Kidnapping | | | |
| Detention | | | |
| Bodily harm (kicking, beating or slapping) | | | |
| Torture | | | |
| Killing | | | |
| Enforced disappearance | | | |
| Destruction of property | | | |
| Forced displacement | | | |
| Theft and looting | | | |
| Siege | | | |
| Neighborhood / residential area was bombed targeting vital facilities (bakeries, hospitals, etc.) | | | |

3. Who was responsible for these violations? (More than one choice) (Do not read)

- Regime or allied forces
- Opposition forces
- Kurdish or allied forces
- ISIS
- International coalition forces
- Nusra Front
- Outside Syria
- Other
- I don't know / No answer



4. Were any of the violated victims under the age of 18 when the incident occurred?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

5. Were there women?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

6. Did these violations result in any bodily injury?

- Yes, me personally (move to Question 8)
- Yes, me personally as well as one/more other individual(s)
- I was not personally exposed to this, but (an)other individual(s) in my family was/were.
- No, none of us was exposed to bodily injury (move to Question 13)
- Prefer not to answer (move to Question 13)

7. Were there any fighters among the injured?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

8. How do you rate the extent of the injury? If there is more than one injured person in your family, please think of the most serious injury, how would you rate it?

- Minor injury, the effects of which (almost or completely) disappeared, and they do not now hinder the practice of normal daily life
- Moderate injury, somewhat hindering the ability to lead a normal life
- Serious injury, largely hindering the ability to lead a normal life
- Severe injury, rendering the ability to lead a normal life almost impossible
- Resulted in death following the incident
- I don't know / No answer

9. When did the most serious injury occur?

- Before 2011
- 2011
- 2012
- 2013
- 2014
- 2015
- 2016
- 2017
- 2018
- I don't know / No answer

10. **Who suffered the most serious injury (if there is more than one injured person in the family)?**

- Me
- Father
- Mother
- Son
- Daughter
- Spouse
- Brother
- Sister
- Grandfather
- Grandmother

11. **How old was he / she at the time of this injury? (.....)**

12. **Where did the (most serious) injury occur?**

- In a house exposed to bombing or shooting
- In a public place after a bombing or shooting
- While participating in battles on one of the fronts
- While inside a military headquarters in the region
- While near a military headquarters that was bombed
- Outside Syria
- Prefer not to answer

13. **Did these violations cause you personally or a family member psychological harm?**

- Yes, me personally
- Yes, me personally as well as one/more other individual(s)
- I was not personally exposed to this, but (an)other individual(s) in my family was/were.
- No, none of us was exposed to psychological harm (move to Question 16)
- Prefer not to answer (move to Question 16)



14. How do you rate the extent of psychological damage? If there is more than one afflicted person in your family, please think of the most serious case, how would you rate it?

- Minor damage, the effects of which (almost or completely) disappeared, and they do not now hinder the practice of normal daily life
- Moderate damage, somewhat hindering the ability to lead a normal life
- Serious damage, largely hindering the ability to lead a normal life
- Severe damage, rendering the ability to lead a normal life almost impossible
- I don't know / No answer

15. Who suffered the greatest psychological harm?

- Me
- Father
- Mother
- Spouse
- Son
- Daughter
- Brother
- Sister
- Grandfather
- Grandmother

16. Is there any help or support from any party (of any kind)? Please think of the most serious case if more than one person was violated.

- Yes, but it is little and insufficient
- Yes, sufficient support
- No, there is no assistance from any party (move to Question 18)
- I don't know / No answer

17. Of what nature? (More than one choice)

- Financial.
- Psychological
- Food baskets
- Legal advice
- Other
- I don't know / Prefer not to answer
- (move to Question 19)

18. **What is the reason?**

- There are no organizations or bodies nearby to help
- There are organizations or bodies nearby that can help but no desire to contact them (move to 18.1)
- These organizations or bodies refused to provide any assistance despite contacting them
- No need for aid
- Other
- I don't know / No answer

18.1. **What is your reason for not wanting to contact them?**

- I do not trust them
- They are ineffective
- Embarrassed to request aid
- Other

19. **Below is a list of the most prominent harm caused to victims in Syria. Please select the most appropriate form of compensation that should be provided to victims? (Choose one for each case)**

| | Financial compensation | Justice through trial | Justice by revealing the truth and apology or amnesty | Amnesty | I don't know / No answer |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------|--------------------------|
| Subjected to arrest | | | | | |
| Properties destroyed | | | | | |
| Loss of a family member (killed) | | | | | |
| Enforced disappearance of a family member | | | | | |
| Exposure to theft and looting of homes, shops or others | | | | | |
| Exposure to a physical or psychological injury causing significant loss of ability to lead a normal life | | | | | |



20. In your opinion: If the perpetrator of a crime admits his guilt and expresses remorse, what is the punishment you can accept to help achieve peace and reconciliation in each of the following cases?

| | | Execution without trial | Trial and punishment under the law | Reduced punishment | Apology then amnesty | Amnesty | I don't know / No answer |
|----|---|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------|--------------------------|
| 1 | Issued orders to carry out genocide | | | | | | |
| 2 | Issued orders to torture | | | | | | |
| 3 | Issued orders to carry out crimes against women | | | | | | |
| 4 | Issued arrest orders without trial | | | | | | |
| 5 | Issued orders to destroy property | | | | | | |
| 6 | Killed civilians | | | | | | |
| 7 | Participated in torture | | | | | | |
| 8 | Committed crimes against women | | | | | | |
| 9 | Destroyed or looted property | | | | | | |
| 12 | Arrested or kidnapped somebody | | | | | | |

21. Following is a list of the most prominent entities said to be responsible for human rights violations in Syria. Please specify, to the best of your knowledge, the degree of its responsibility, from 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all responsible and 10 is absolutely responsible.

| I don't know / No answer | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | |
|--------------------------|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Russia |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Iran |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Syrian Armed Forces |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | International coalition |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Intelligence agencies |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Hezbollah |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | Nusra Front |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | ISIS |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | FSA |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | International coalition forces |

22. **As far as you know, were the majority of victims of above-mentioned violations in your area civilians or fighters?**

- Mostly civilians
- Mostly armed fighters
- I don't know
- No answer

23. **What is your position on the following statements?**

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Oppose | Strongly oppose | I don't know / No answer |
|--|----------------|-------|---------|--------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Future authorities must support associations that defend the rights of victims of violations. | | | | | | |
| Future authorities must take care to compensate victims or their families | | | | | | |
| Future authorities must provide regular assistance to those who have suffered injuries resulting in inability to work and partial or complete loss of mobility. | | | | | | |
| Future authorities must allocate a percentage of government jobs to those who have suffered physical or psychological trauma causing partial loss of mobility or ability to work, as appropriate for their condition and competence. | | | | | | |

24. **In your opinion, what is the best way for people subjected to violations to deal with what happened?**

- Forget what happened, consider it in the past, and start a new life
- Seek the truth and take measures deemed appropriate and satisfactory
- Deal with the case according to the nature of the violation
- I don't know / No answer

25. **Based on your knowledge of your area and its social nature, how will victims knowing the truth (why and how it happened, who the perpetrator was) affect reconciliation?**

- It helps reconciliation.
- It hinders reconciliation.
- Has no effect on coexistence and peace
- I don't know
- No answer



26. Gender

- Man
- Woman

27. Age (.....)

28. Other

- Government employee in non-military/security sectors.
- Employee or laborers in private sector.
- Employee or laborers in NGO.
- Combatant (move to Question 28.a)
- Non-combatant employee of security sector (move to Question 28.c).
- Non-combatant employee of military sector.
- Self-employed profession (I work for myself and under my own responsibility).
- Student
- Unemployed
- Housewife

29. Educational level

- Illiterate
- Elementary
- Preparatory
- Secondary
- University/ higher studies

30. Nationality - Ethnicity

- Arabic
- Kurdish
- Turkmen
- Circassian
- Armenian
- Assyrian
- Prefer not to answer
- Other

31. Approximate monthly income

- Less than 25,000 SP
- 25,000 - 75,000 SP
- More than 75,000 SP
- Prefer not to answer

32. Civil status

- Single
- Married
- Divorced
- Widowed

33. Religion - Sect

- Sunni
- Shi'ite
- Alawi
- Ismaili
- Druze
- Yazidi
- Christian
- Prefer not to answer

34. Location of interview

- Damascus
- Damascus countryside
- Aleppo
- Homs
- Hama
- Deir ez-Zor
- Hasakah
- Raqqah
- Daraa
- Idlib
- SuwaydaTartus Latakia
- QunaitraOutside Syria

35. Location of interview

- Under regime control
- Under opposition control
- Under AA control
- Outside Syria





Conditions of Victims and their Attitudes
towards Accountability and Reparations
SURVEY