



AKTISSTRATEGY

## Endline Report

Lebanon Host Communities Support  
Project - 11 June 2018





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# 1 Executive Summary

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Aktis Strategy was contracted in 2014 to conduct stability perceptions research under the Lebanon Host Communities Support Programme (LHSP) for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA).

The following section outlines the key findings of the most recent wave of data collection conducted in February 2018 in twelve municipalities. It highlights noticeable trends regarding the three main research topics: service delivery, municipal legitimacy and social stability.

## 1.1 Service Delivery

**Access and quality of services continues to be an issue.** Despite improvements in some municipalities, satisfaction with services continues to be low. The lack of functioning services contributes to additional financial pressure for many people who have to rely on alternative means of access, such as generators or bottled water. In addition, issues related to the provision of health services, as well as sewerage services and water, exposes people to health hazards.

**Lebanese and Syrians express different levels of satisfaction with basic services.** Although expectations with services are likely different between the two groups, Syrians appear to have more challenges accessing certain services. However, this trend is not true for all the municipalities visited. In places such as Bourj Hammoud, Machha, Tripoli or Sir Dinnieh both Lebanese and Syrian report similar levels of satisfaction with services, suggesting that their constraints are similar.

**People talk about change in roads and waste management. Roads continue to be the main topic point in people's stories.** Some report

positive change, perhaps as a result of the election cycle, while others deplored the poor state of the roads. Waste management is also a debated matter, with many people either praising positive change or complaining about the lack of improvement. Interestingly, and despite Lebanon's garbage crisis, waste management was the most satisfactory service across all municipalities.

### **Jobs and unemployment is still the main topic of conversation.**

Although services are still the most talked about topic when combined, amounting to almost 75% of stories, employment is still the single most discussed subject. A large majority of stories about employment were negative, with people recounting the difficulties of securing jobs or running businesses. Several mentioned the financial pressure put by the low prices exerted by Syrian shops and the Syrian workforce.

### **People overwhelmingly agree that the LHSP projects are beneficial for the community.**

Respondents reported various levels of awareness of the LHSP projects. Less visible projects, such as the youth centre in Saida, were only known by 14% of people, whereas 96% of people in Rajam Issa had heard of the LHSP project which connects local houses to the sewerage network. Across all municipalities, 90% of those who knew of the project agreed that it was positively affecting the community.

**International NGOs are credited for LHSP projects.** When asked about who was responsible for the project, 63% of respondents answered international NGOs. Yet a greater number of people now also identified the municipality as responsible for the projects. Whereas 38% of respondents saw the municipality as responsible for projects in 2017, in 2018 this percentage increased to 55%.



## 1.2 Municipal Legitimacy

**Trust in the municipality as the main service provider has increased in all regions.** Across all communities visited, trust in the municipality as a service provider has grown since the last wave of survey. Similarly, one third of respondents, both Lebanese and Syrian, believe that the municipality is most trusted to resolve disputes. A majority of people across all regions trust the municipality to work well to improve the community.

**People appear convinced by the municipality's capacity.** Over time people increasingly see the municipality as able to act regardless of their level of trust in its actions. The majority of respondents (77%) in all regions agree that the municipality does have the resources to provide the necessary services in the local community. Yet, as municipalities become powerful respondents insist on the need for accountability to avoid discrimination and favouritism.

**Since 2014, municipal legitimacy has increased.** In places where LHSP has been ongoing for more than three years, more people see the municipality as able to act, trusted and willing to take action. Particularly since the last round of research, the municipalities of Ali el Nahri, Ghazieh, Saadnayel, Sarafand, Sir Dinnieh, and Rajam Issa appear to be more willing to act, and have stayed trusted and capable. Yet, upon the juxtaposition of trust and ability, people see the municipality as more able than trusted to take the right action.

**Feeling of exclusion is growing everywhere but in the North. More people report feeling excluded than in previous rounds particularly in the South.** People feel more and more othered from their community. Yet, this trend is inverted in municipalities visited in the North of Lebanon where more and more people welcome change. On the other hand, feeling of engagement have also grown across the municipalities.

**Demand for municipal engagement appears low.** Around 60% of respondents are aware of municipal activities organized in their communities, mainly town hall meetings and community events. Yet not all of those who are aware of event chose to engage with them. People in Mount Lebanon are least keen on participating in municipal activities and events, while people in the South are more likely to participate, particularly in community events. Instead of direct engagement, more than one third of people are asking their municipalities to improve their communication with the community.

## 1.3 Social Tension

**Competition for employment remains the number one cause of tension.** Most respondents identify competition related to employment, particularly for lower-skilled jobs and between businesses, as the main cause of tension. This competition, along with the attribution of aid, is particularly intense between Syrians and Lebanese. Municipal representatives mentioned the emergence of parallel markets, Lebanese and Syrians buy and sell to their own people.

**In the face of tensions, people adopt a passive stance.** Although 50% of respondents agreed that people are working together to resolve tensions, SenseMaker data suggest that most tend to ignore each other. Several respondents suggested that Lebanese people were expecting Syrians to return, thus delaying open confrontation. Perhaps as a result, open competition appears to have decreased.

**Levels of tension within the Lebanese population remains significant.** Although nearly 65% of all respondents stated that tension exists in their communities between Syrians and Lebanese, 43% feel that there is tension among Lebanese communities. Family disputes or political alliances were notably quoted as some of the evidence of these tensions. Nearly a quarter of people (24%) said that people in their community could not be trusted, particularly in the South (33%) and Mount Lebanon (30%).

## 2 Context

### 2.1 Background

Since 2014, Aktis Strategy has conducted stability perceptions research under the Lebanon Host Communities Support Programme (LHSP) for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA). LHSP provides a comprehensive, coordinated and durable response to the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon under the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP), which aims to build the capacity of national and local institutions to respond to the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis while reinforcing Lebanon's economic, social, environmental and institutional stability.

Delivered by UNDP and MoSA in close partnership with local authorities, and funded by a consortium of international donors, LHSP implements critical service delivery and livelihood projects in municipalities with a high concentration of Syrian refugees relative to the Lebanese host population in most cities. Projects aim to improve access to and quality of public services, alleviating resource pressures, reducing tensions and strengthening the legitimacy, responsiveness and capability of the municipality.

Since the outbreak of the Syrian conflict in March 2011, the number of registered Syrian refugees in Lebanon has grown exponentially, reaching close to one million as of April 2018. The number of Syrian refugees settling across Lebanon has had a considerable impact on Lebanese host communities, with the increased strain on public services and infrastructure compounding pre-existing shortcomings in municipal service delivery.

From 2014 to 2016, Aktis research examined Lebanese residents' changing perceptions of services, the municipality and social tension in communities where LHSP projects funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) were implemented. In 2017, Aktis expanded the scope

of its research to six new municipalities where LHSP projects are funded by the US, Germany and the Netherlands and for the first time, included municipalities from the Governorate of Mount Lebanon. In 2018, Aktis returned to the six municipalities visited in 2017 as well as the six surveyed between 2014 and 2016 to conduct an endline assessment of the impact of LHSP on local perceptions.

### 2.2 Report Objectives

This research tests the following theory of change:

*If better quality and better targeted services are provided by municipalities to poor communities hosting high concentrations of Syrian refugees;*

*Then host community confidence in the government's ability and willingness to meet their service delivery needs will increase;*

*Thereby reducing tensions between communities and Syrian refugees;*

Through this Theory of Change, the research seeks to answer the following:

- Whether perceptions of the quality of services and access to services change following LHSP interventions;
- Whether changes associated with the projects or other factors contribute to a change in the level of social tension;
- To whom these changes are attributed and whether they have affected perceptions of the capability and responsiveness of municipalities.





The primary purposes of this end line report are to:

- 1) Identify changes in pattern of perceptions in the twelve municipalities on the topics of service delivery, municipal capability and social stability, between 2016 and 2018;
- 2) Recommend actions to UNDP, MoSA, municipalities and donors, to address negative trends and amplify positive changes; and
- 3) When and where possible, provide evidence of change attributable to the implementation of LHSP projects.

In this report, information collected in February 2018 in all twelve municipalities is compared to that collected in February 2016 in Ali el Nahri, Ghazieh, Rajam Issa, Saadnayel, Sarafand and Sir Dinnieh and in February 2017 Aley, Bourj Hammoud, Machha, Majdal Aanjar, Saida, and Tripoli.

## 2.3 Methodology

In previous collections, Aktis Strategy utilised the SenseMaker® methodology to conduct the research. SenseMaker® elicits 'micro-narratives' (stories) from respondents about their own direct experience in the surveyed community. Respondents then signify the meaning their story holds for them against a pre-developed signification framework.

Since 2017, Aktis Strategy has also collected quantitative information from the same respondents. Combining SenseMaker® with conventional survey research thus allows experience-based sentiment to be compared with data on behaviour and opinions on the impact of interventions. In addition, Syrian refugees were also added to the survey sample, to gauge differences in opinion between two different nationalities within the municipalities.

Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs) have been held with key knowledge-holders in each community. The KIIs have

been conducted with mayors, municipal members, and political and religious figures in the communities. The FGDs have been conducted with 8 male and/or female professional and semi-professional Lebanese residents of the target municipalities above 18 years old of age.

Table 1 Composition of FGDs

|           | Municipalities                               |
|-----------|--|
| Women FGD | Ali el Nahri, Bourj Hammoud, Saida, Tripoli  |
| Male FGD  | Ghazieh, Machha, Sarafand, Saadnayel         |
| Mixed FGD | Aley, Majdal Aanjar, Rajam Issa, Sir Dinnieh |

Finally, following the completion of the data collection in the municipalities, four regional workshops and one national workshop were organised to present the research and primary findings to municipal representatives and donors in order to better understand their constraints and for them to inform the analysis of the data.

Together, this approach provides a comprehensive and multi-layered understanding of perceptions relating to municipal legitimacy, social tension and service delivery.

### 2.3.1 Selection of municipalities

This report outlines data collected by Aktis Strategy in twelve municipalities. These municipalities have been carefully selected in close collaboration with UNDP and MoSA. The selection of municipalities into the study was conducted between 2014 and 2018, based on the following criteria:

- High concentration of Syrian refugees relative to the Lebanese Host population;



- LHSP projects activation time, to ensure that services will be operationalised before the first round of research;
- Visibility of LHSP projects, both during the delivery stage and in terms of post-implementation outputs;
- Local and specific focus of LHSP projects;

- Geographical and demographic diversity of municipalities; and
- Diversity of projects funding.

The twelve municipalities and corresponding LHSP project are displayed in the table below. Due to the ongoing nature of the research, municipalities were added to the sample at different stages.

Table 2 Overview of municipalities surveyed

| Region        | Municipality  | Donor         | Project   | Date of inclusion |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|-------------------|
| North         | Machha        | KFW (Germany) | Rehabilitation of agricultural roads in Machha  | 2017              |
|               | Rajam Issa    | DFID          | Connect Rajam Issa (220 housing units) to the sewerage network  | 2014              |
|               | Sir Dinnieh   | DFID          | Improved solid waste management (SWM) in Sir Dinnieh through the replacement of the SWM truck             | 2015              |
|               | Tripoli       | DFID          | Revitalisation of Talaat Al Refaei Area (part of Tripoli Old City)  | 2017              |
| Mount Lebanon | Aley          | KFW (Germany) | Equipment of a well linked to the water reservoir in Aley   | 2017              |
|               | Bourj Hammoud | US            | Strengthening the Primary Health Care of Karagheusian through rehabilitation                              | 2017              |
| Bekaa         | Ali el Nahri  | DFID          | Increase social cohesion in Ali el Nahri through construction of recreational spaces                      | 2015              |
|               | Majdal Aanjar | DFID          | Construction of a ground-level concrete water tank in Majdal Aanjar                                       | 2017              |
|               | Saadnayeil    | DFID          | Construction of a football court  | 2014              |
| South         | Ghazieh       | DFID          | Efficient solid waste management to improve environment and health conditions in Ghazieh host communities | 2015              |
|               | Saida         | Netherlands   | Rehabilitation and equipping of the Vocational Training Centre for the youth in Saida                     | 2017              |
|               | Sarafand      | DFID          | Construction of a water tank with installation and equipment  | 2014              |



### 2.3.2 Methodological limitations

This research identified several limitations during the design and research phases:

- **Technical difficulties during field work:** During the field work, some surveyors' experienced technical difficulties with the SenseMaker® application. Daily monitoring of people' stories were delayed for two days because of these issues. As a solution, two tablets were replaced before the completion of the project, and the technical team was contacted to resolve the issue with data download.

- **Regional workshop:** After project assessment, the regional workshops were timely and convenient for all municipalities to attend except Saadnayel which did not have any representative present at the workshop. Consequently, there was no feedback from this municipality on the research implementation.

- **Control Municipality:** While acknowledging the desirability of including control municipalities in such research – for example, conducting research in typologically similar municipalities where no projects are implemented – this has not been possible within the current research budget.

- **Refugee Samples:** Although respondent samples were age- and gender-balanced, it has not always been possible to survey numbers of refugees proportional to their representation in each community. This has been resolved by weighting samples on the basis of UNHCR refugee numbers in each community.

- **Baseline:** The baseline for the 12 municipalities presented in the thematic section is an aggregate of two rounds of data collection: one which was conducted in 6 municipalities in February 2016, and another conducted in the 6 remaining municipalities in February 2017.

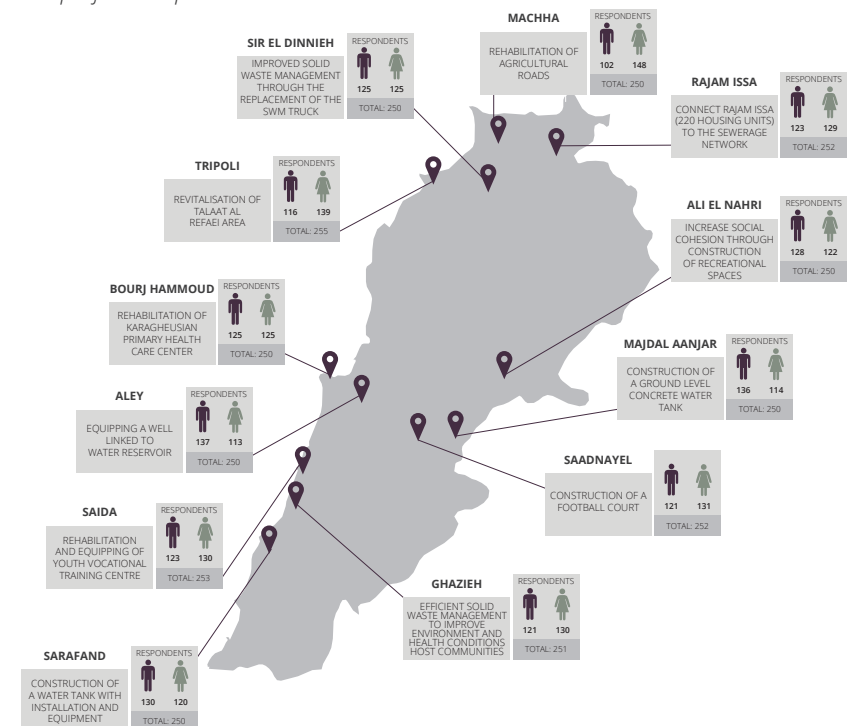
- **Questionnaire expansion:** Following the methodological improvements made in 2017, quantitative questions were added to the research framework. Municipalities which were surveyed in 2016 do not have an available baseline on these questions.

- **Statistical relevance:** Overall findings are not statistically representative at the national level, but rather at the level of each of the 12 surveyed municipalities.

### 2.3.3 Respondent Demographics and Key Data

In total, 3,013 responses have been collected in February 2018 across the twelve municipalities. Respondents included 2237 Lebanese and 771 Syrians.

Figure 1 Map of municipalities visited





Overall, 48% of people surveyed were in full-time employment while 11% were looking for work. Unemployment was highest in Majdal Aanjar (28%) and Saadnayel (26%). With regards to socio-economic status, 38% of all respondents said they barely made enough for food, rent and clothes. This ratio was once again highest in Majdal Aanjar (66%), as well as in Rajam Issa (60%).

With regards to education, 28% of women and 23% of men had a university degree while 16% of all respondents had not been educated beyond elementary level. This was particularly true among Syrian respondents, among which this ration rose to 36%.

## **2.1 Outline of the Report**

Sections 3 to 6 present the findings of the research in detail. Findings are first examined by theme – service delivery, municipal legitimacy and social stability – with consideration to results across all twelve municipalities and overall trends by demographic indicator. The research then examines findings for each of the municipalities visited (Section 6) followed by thematic and municipality-specific recommendations (section 7).



### 3 Quality of and Access to Services and Jobs

This section assesses the types of service and non-service related issues that people prioritise in their stories, as well as their reported levels of satisfaction with the infrastructure and social services in their communities. It also reveals people’s awareness of the specific LHSP projects in their communities, and their opinions of these projects.

#### 3.1 What Are People Talking About?

People primarily talked about municipal services

In 2018, the majority of peoples’ stories were about services. Three quarters of all respondents talked about services, with nearly a fifth concentrating on roads and bridges alone (19%). Employment was the second most common topic discussed (15%), followed by waste management (10%) and sewerage services (10%). The provision of water (9%), security (8%) and electricity (7%) followed. Few people discussed youth facilities and education in their stories. Below, Figure 2 offers a breakdown of the major themes talked about by each of the municipalities.

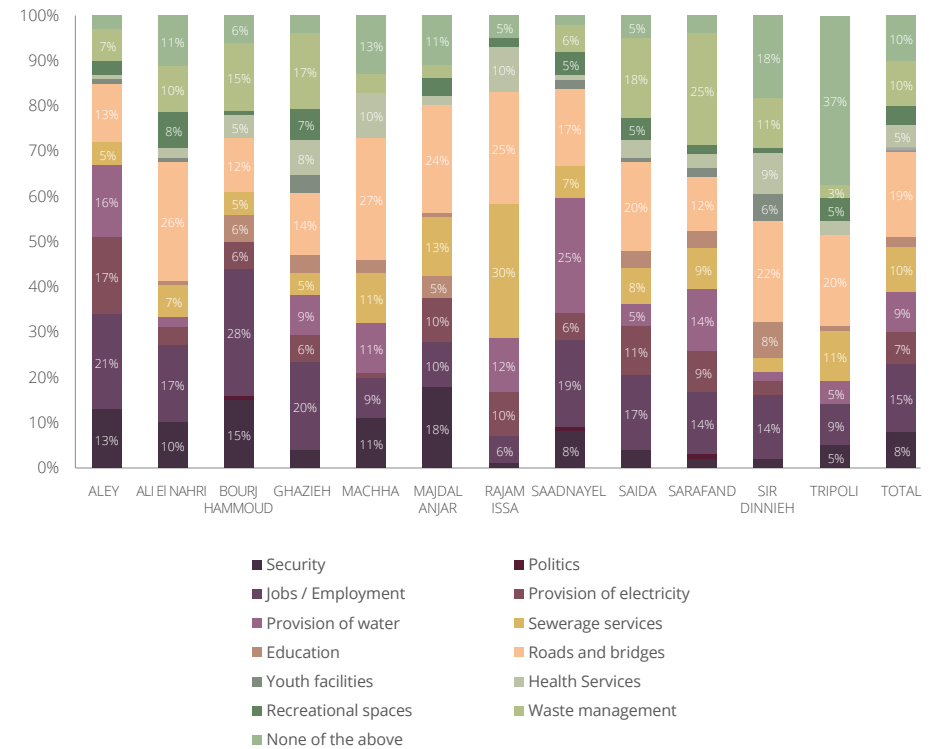
*‘The roads are a disaster because they are covered in mud and not asphalted. We have a real hard time in winter when my children come home from school.’* Syrian, Majdal Aanjar

*‘Water service is good; electricity is bad - maintenance is average, however generators are charging very high prices lately. Sewage networks are ok in general, but in some parts, are old and need renovation. Waste management is very bad as the public company does not do its job properly.’* Lebanese, Bourj Hammoud

*‘Recently the unemployment rate has increased, and the general situation is getting worse. There is somehow an economic gap, where there few wealthy people and a majority of poor people are barely able to eat. As well, there are some extremely*

*poor families who have nobody to generate income for them.’* Lebanese, Machha

Figure 2 Your story is mostly about



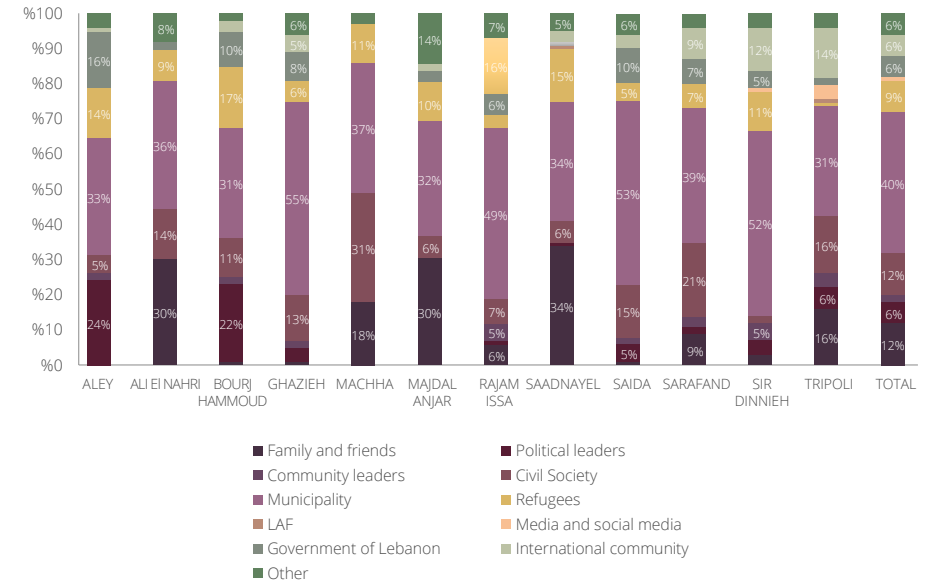


### **Municipalities and family and friends are most influential actors in peoples' stories**

Respondents were asked about the most influential actor in their stories. The municipality continued to dominate respondents' stories, with an average of 40% of people across municipalities referring to it in their stories, an 11% increase from 2017 (29%). In the Bekaa, people referred to the municipality the least (34%) while almost half of people from the south (49%) talked about the municipality. The frequency of references to the municipality demonstrates the significant role municipalities play in peoples' lives. Furthermore, many respondents make a direct connection between service provision and the municipal government (regardless of whether it reflects satisfaction or not).

Friends and family as well as civil society appeared together to be the second most influential actors in individuals' stories. While civil society influenced similar numbers of people in the North (14%), South (16%) and Bekaa (9%), friends and family disproportionately affected the stories of people living in the Bekaa (31%) compared to those living in the North (11%) and South (4%). In Sarafand, civil society influenced peoples' stories more than any other actor group (21%). Meanwhile, in Bourj Hammoud (22%) and the region of Mount Lebanon more generally (23%), political leaders had the greatest influence on peoples' stories (22%). As in 2017, in Majdal Aanjar, family and friends heavily influenced stories (30%).

Figure 3 Who had the most influence on your story?



### **People are sharing more negative than positive experiences related to changes in their local communities**

Overall, the majority of people shared negative experiences related to changes in their communities. Reflecting trends in 2017, 63% of people talked about negative experiences in their stories, while 32% spoke of positive experiences, as evidenced in Figure 4. As in 2017, Mount Lebanon had the highest share of negative stories (75%), with 88% of stories in Aley, and 77% in Bourj Hammoud. The North of Lebanon also continued to have the highest share of positive stories (51%). Majdal Aanjar also proved to have a high share of negative stories in 2018 (84%). Tripoli, which held the highest share of positive stories in 2017 (50%), dropped to 44% in 2018 and was surpassed by the nearby municipality of Sir Dinnieh. In Sir Dinnieh, 69% of



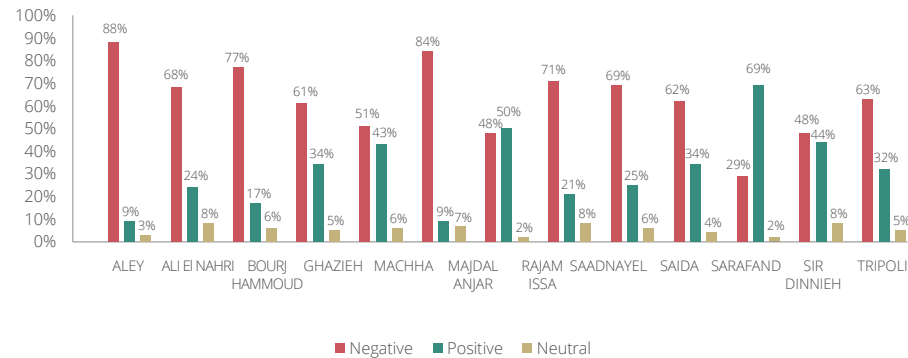


people shared positive experiences relating to changes in their communities.

'This town was always overcrowded, with the refugee crisis, the number of poor people among Lebanese communities increased. Unemployment increased. The image of the town has changed.' Lebanese male, Bourj Hammoud

'Residents of Aley don't get a single drop of water and rely on private companies' cisterns. This situation has gotten worse in the past year.' Lebanese male, Aley

Figure 4 How do you feel about your story?



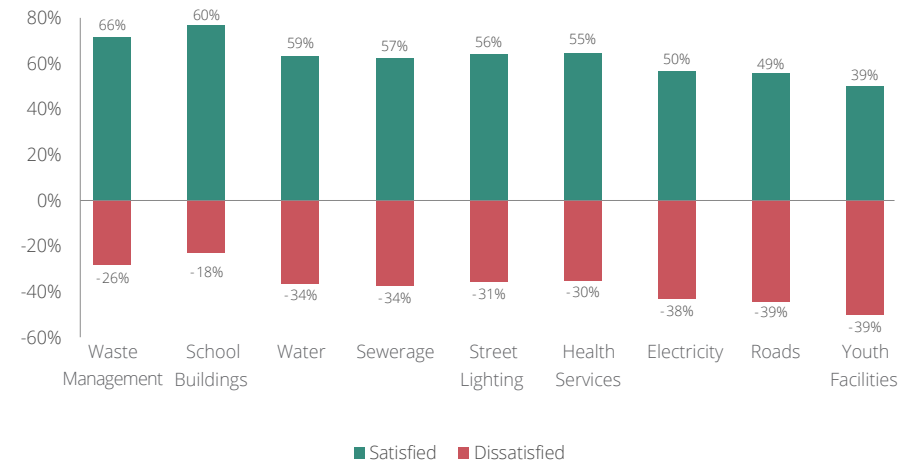
### 3.2 What Do People Think About Services in Their Communities?

**Respondents expressed overall satisfaction with the majority of municipal services**

Figure 5 shows the overall levels of satisfaction with various services in the twelve different municipalities. People expressed the most satisfaction

with the state of refuse collection (66%), followed by school buildings (60%) and running water (59%). Overall people expressed the least amount of satisfaction with youth facilities (39%), roads and bridges (49%) and electricity (50%).

Figure 5 Satisfaction with the quality of services



In 2018, respondents were most satisfied with refuse collection. The largest number of dissatisfied respondents for refuse collection came from Ghazieh (70%), followed by Saida (52%). More generally, the South of Lebanon felt significantly more negative about refuse collection (53% dissatisfaction) compared to the North, the Bekaa or Mount Lebanon (7% and 24% and 25% dissatisfaction respectively). Residents of rural areas continued to feel more satisfied than residents of urban areas. In 2017, it was suggested that this was likely due to the fact that many rural municipalities collect their own waste, while most urban cities outsource this task to private companies, a fact which remains true in 2018.



'It is the municipality that helps collecting and managing the waste but there is no good waste disposal: the waste company is again collecting the waste in the former dump known as the mountain of waste.' Lebanese, Saida

Similar to 2017 (where 49% of people were satisfied with **water** and 36% were dissatisfied), in 2018 50% of people reported being satisfied with the quality of water and 38% were dissatisfied. The greatest levels of dissatisfaction came from Bourj Hammoud (83%). In Bourj Hammoud, only 11% of people surveyed were satisfied with the service of running water. Levels of dissatisfaction were also high in Machha (61%) and Ali El Nahri (62%).

*'In terms of water, the situation is getting worse; there is a high demand and a very [limited] supply.'* Lebanese man, Bourj Hammoud

Overall, people's level of satisfaction with the quality of **school buildings** in their communities was quite high at 60% (up from 47% in 2017). The people that were most satisfied with school buildings hailed from Saadnayel (88%), Machha (87%) and Ali El Nahri (86%). People living in Rajam Issa were the least satisfied with the quality of school buildings out of all the municipalities (25%).

*'There is an afternoon shift in the public school for the refugees to follow up with their education. Many committees and organisations are participating to help Syrian children.'* Syrian man, Machha

While the average level of satisfaction with **sewerage** was 57%, people in most municipalities were very content with the service. The average was brought down in part, however, by a very low satisfaction rating from Machha (13%). In Machha, 93% of Lebanese residents expressed dissatisfaction with sewerage compared to 71% of Syrians. In general, people living in rural areas (52%) tended to be more dissatisfied with sewerage than people living in urban (34%) or semi-urban areas (28%)

*'The municipality came for a period of time and cleaned the water filters in our*

*street which were blocked for a long time during which nobody could open them. Water used to flow whenever it rained. When the municipality came in they reduced the problem by 70%.'* Lebanese man, Tripoli

More than half of respondents expressed with **street lighting** (56%). People that were most satisfied with street lighting came from the municipalities of Machha (96%), Sir Dinnieh (81%) and Saadnayel (79%). People that were the least satisfied came from Ghazieh (20%).

Overall satisfaction with **roads and bridges** increased from 2017 (43%) to 2018 (49%). At the same time, satisfaction was recorded at less than 50% for eight out of twelve of the municipalities. Sir Dinnieh, by far, showed the greatest satisfaction with roads (87%), while less than a third of residents in Majdal Aanjar (24%) and Ghazieh (29%) were positive about the state of their roads.

*'The roads are so [bad] that when a person is walking in the rain and a car passes by, he would get soaked with flooding sewage water, all because of our good for nothing municipality.'* Lebanese, Majdal Aanjar

Respondents also provided a range in levels of satisfaction with **health services**. In Saadnayel and Ali El Nahri, almost three quarters of people were content with the quality of health services. People Aley (32%) were the least satisfied. In fact, several key informants from Aley called for the establishment of a hospital in Aley. Older people and economically inactive respondents are the most satisfied groups of respondents.

*'There is a problem in the only two private hospitals in Aley which its owners are trying to fix. There are no good public hospitals in Aley, only a few clinics which provide basic services.'* Lebanese female, Aley

Reflecting trends in 2017, in 2018, general satisfaction with **youth facilities** remained low. Overall, an equal portion of people was satisfied with youth facilities to the portion of people that was dissatisfied (39% satisfied, 39%



dissatisfied). People living in urban and semi-urban areas tended to be more satisfied with youth facilities (46%) compared to those living in rural areas (5%). Lebanese (43%) tended to be significantly more satisfied with youth facilities than Syrians (27%). Just over 40% of youth expressed satisfaction with youth facilities (42%).

*'The best thing the municipality did was build a football field. It is very clean and neat. Best of all, it is free of charge and all Lebanese and Syrians are very thankful for this project, noting that Saadnayel needs many other things. I don't want to complain now. I think many other people have already. Let's talk about the positive issues.'* Lebanese man, Saadnayel

Finally, 50% of respondents reported satisfaction with **electricity**, an increase of 24% from 2017. Satisfaction with electricity was highest in the Bekaa (80%) where the highest levels of satisfaction came from Ali El Nahri (94%) and Saadnayel (88%). The lowest level of satisfaction came from Aley, at 9%.

*'The electricity is causing us major problems. In my shop, all the devices have been damaged because of this.'* Lebanese man, Aley

*'We have electricity cuts every four hours which last for six hours. Everyone lives on generators which are controlled by two distributors, [who are] like mafia'* Lebanese male, Aley

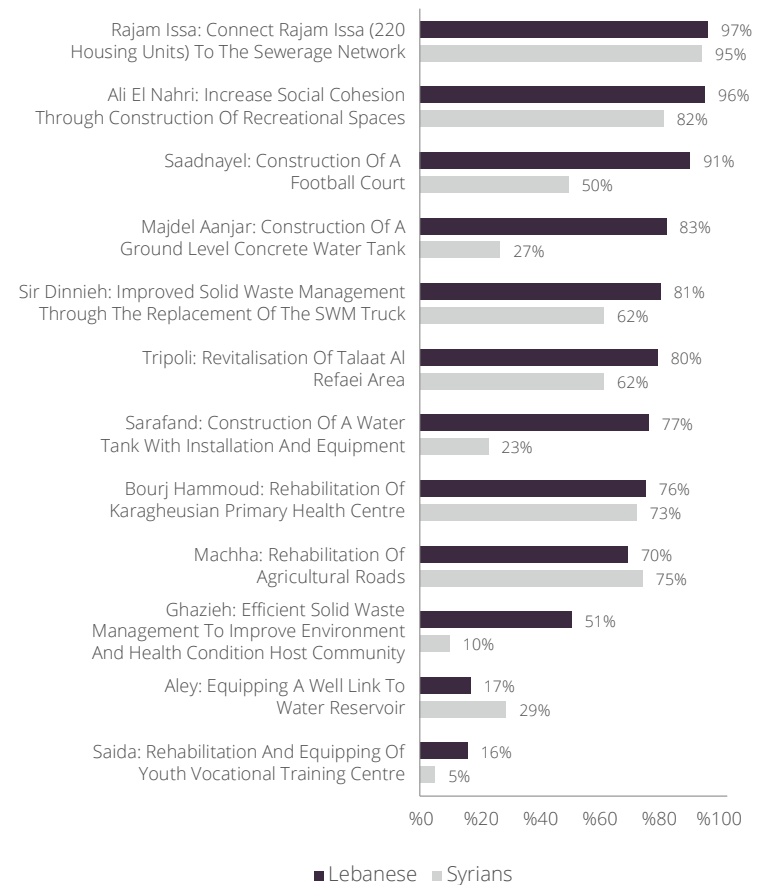
### 3.3 What Do People Think About LHSP Projects?

#### **Nearly two-thirds of respondents were aware of LHSP projects in their communities**

In total, 63% of respondents were aware of LHSP projects being conducted in their communities. In Rajam Issa, 97% of respondents reported being aware of the project, followed immediately by Ali El Nahri where 92% of respondents knew about the project. The lowest level of awareness continued to be found

in Saida, although in 2018 14% of people were aware of the project compared to 6% in 2017. While there were greater disparities in awareness between Lebanese and Syrians in 2017, as Figure 6 shows, Lebanese still tend to be more aware of LHSP projects than Syrians (67% and 48% respectively).

Figure 6 Awareness of ongoing LHSP projects by nationality





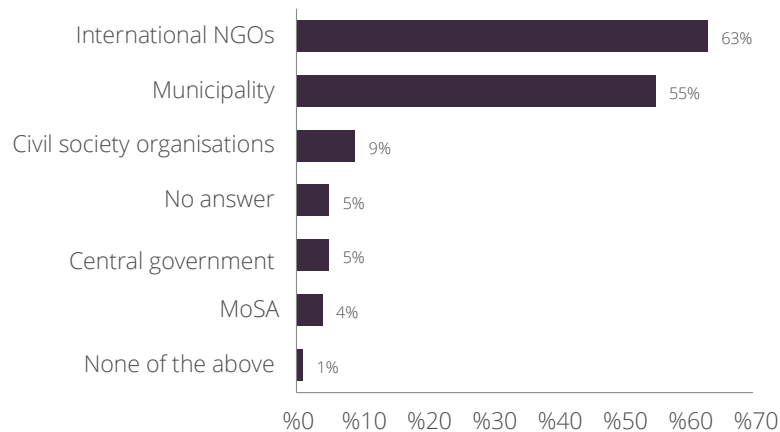


Of those aware of the implementation projects, 90% agreed that the projects were having a positive impact on their community. The overall and overwhelming satisfaction with the LHSP projects indicates that – in communities where people are aware of them - projects reflect the needs of the local communities. Still, the fact that 37% of all respondents were unaware of the projects shows an area LHSP can improve on.

**Overall people saw International NGOs as the group responsible for LHSP projects in their communities.**

When asked about the people responsible for the project, 63% of respondents answered International NGOs (please see Figure 7). While this percentage is large, it is down slightly from 2017 (72%). At the same time, a greater number of people identified the municipality as responsible for the projects. Whereas 38% of respondents saw the municipality as responsible for projects in 2017, in 2018 this percentage increased to 55%. This increase can be viewed positively as more individuals who already view the projects very positively are associating the municipality with them, meaning trust in and the legitimacy of municipalities is likely improving overall.

Figure 7 Who do you think is behind the LHSP project?



The portion of respondents who viewed the municipality as responsible for projects varied significantly by region. In the Bekaa, 81% of respondents attributed the LHSP projects to the municipality, compared to 59% in the North, 22% in the South and 22% in Mount Lebanon. There were also significant differences in answers between people living in urban and rural settings. While 61% of people living in rural areas linked projects to the municipality, only 29% of urban dwellers did. There were few differences in answers between men and women, Lebanese and Syrians.



## WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

In their stories people were most concerned about services. While in 2017, people discussed jobs more than any particular service, in 2018, people spoke of roads and bridges first and foremost. While most people felt negative about their stories, the KIIs and FGDs tell a somewhat different story where respondents acknowledged the problems, the challenges, but also, in most instances stated that services were improving and that their municipalities were doing more to serve the public.

Lebanese and Syrians express similar levels of satisfaction with basic infrastructure and social services, indicating that they have similar access to these services.

A greater number of people were aware of the LHSP projects being implemented in their municipalities and levels of satisfaction with these projects were good. Also positive is that an increasing number of people saw the municipality responsible for such projects, though the majority still attribute the responsibility to international NGOs. Higher levels of satisfaction with services were recorded in urban areas. There are discrepancies in the quality, frequency and degree of services people living in more rural areas reported receiving. These discrepancies are likely to be due in part to the greater access to information and exposure to project urban residents have as opposed those living in small towns. In contrast to data from 2017, more women were aware of the LHSP projects. Though awareness levels varied from municipality to municipality, in total women were just as likely to know about an LHSP project as men.



## 4 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

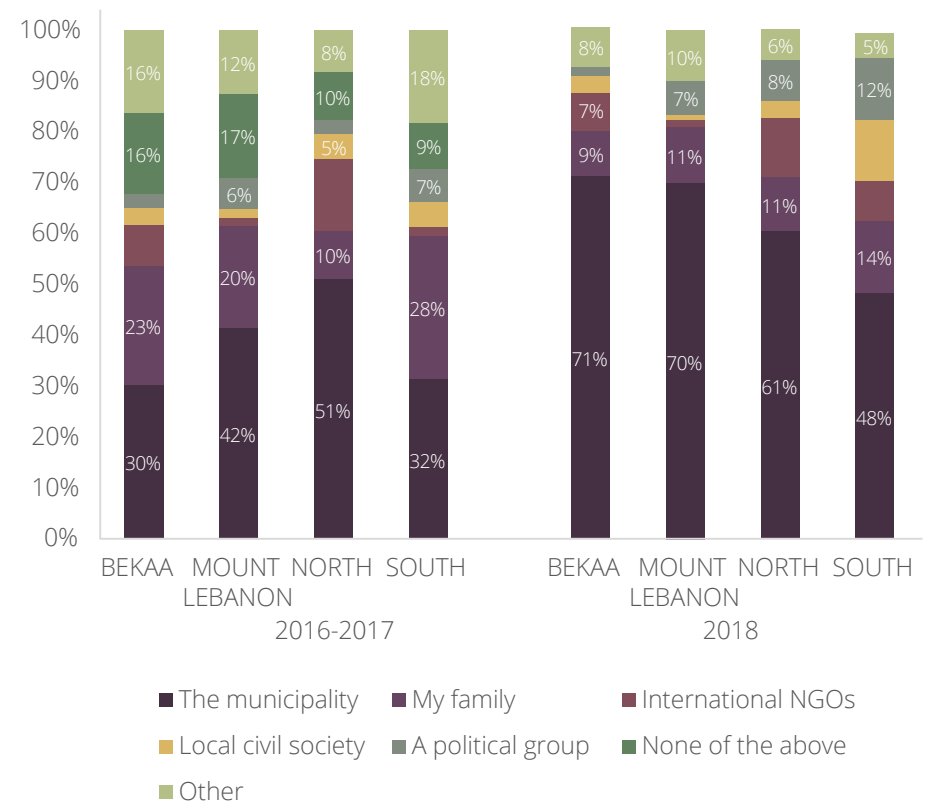
This section looks at the changes people's perceptions of the municipality in terms of its capability and legitimacy over the past two years, and their levels of trust in its ability to deliver services and take the right decisions. It also looks at changes in people's knowledge about and inclusion in municipal activities, as well as their suggestions regarding how municipalities can improve their service delivery processes.

### 4.1 Who Do People Trust as a Service Provider?

***Trust in the municipality as the main service provider has increased all regions.***

Overall, people tend to rely less on the family as a service provider and more on the municipality compare to two years ago. For example, in Bekaa, 23% used to rely on their families and 30% on the municipality in the 2016 – 2017 period, while in 2018 the share of those who rely on their family has decreased to 9% and those who rely on the municipality has increased to 71%. In addition, almost no-one reports "none of the above" as a response, while this was not the case two years ago.

Figure 8 Who do you trust most to provide services in your community?



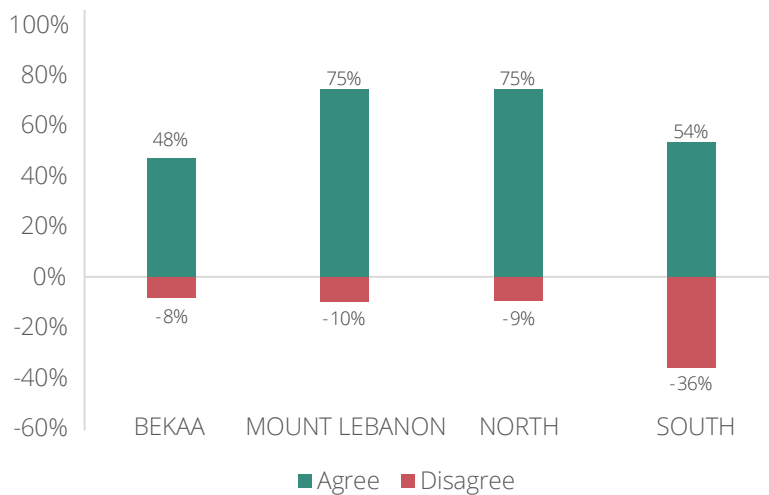
Looking at some disaggregation, more Syrians (45% compared to 33% two years ago) trust the municipality as the main service provider, and less trust international NGOs (22% compares to 32% two years ago), indicating that municipalities are also able to better cater to the needs of the Syrian communities.



## The majority of people across all regions trust the municipality to work on improving the community.

Overall, 63% of people trust that the municipality is working well to improve life in the local community. Figure 9 shows that responses are most positive in Mount Lebanon and the North and most negative in the South. The Bekaa has the highest share of neutral responses. Similarly to the previous results, the share of Lebanese who agree that the municipality is working towards improving the community is higher than that of Syrians (72% for Lebanese and 57% for Syrians). There are no significant differences by gender.

Figure 9 I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community



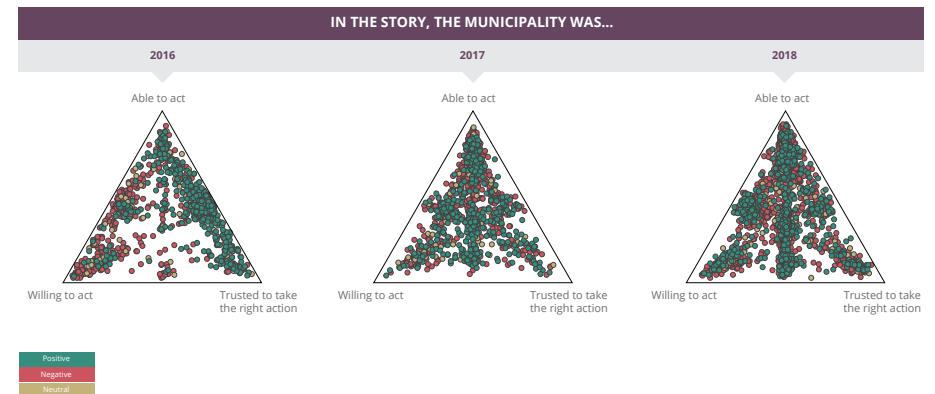
## 4.2 What Are the Current Perceptions About the Capability of the Municipality?

**Over time people increasingly see the municipality as able to act regardless of their level of trust in its actions.**

Similarly to the previous round of collection in 2017, there is an increasing tendency of people to see the municipality as capable as shown in figure 10. 89% of stories included the municipality and 72% of respondents believed that the municipality is able to act. Of these, 9% saw it as both able and willing and 7% saw it as able and trusted to take the right action. This is true for both positive and negative stories.

SenseMaker disaggregated data shows that Syrians are more inclined to say that the municipality is able to act, but neither trusted nor willing to do so. There are no significant differences between male and female respondents, or differences by confession or age group.

Figure 10 In the story, the municipality was...





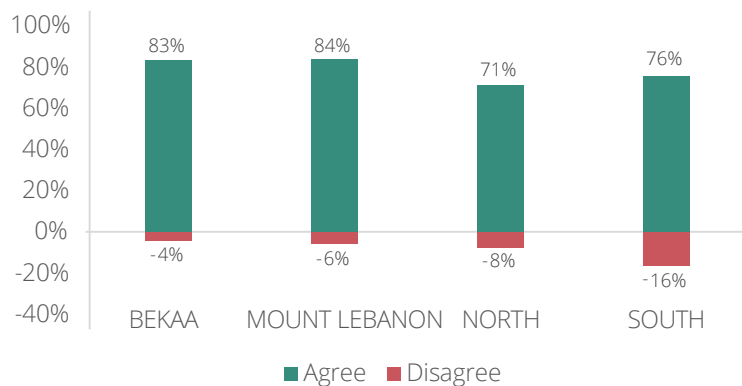
*'The garbage mountain became a tourist destination here in Saida and no one cares because everyone is benefitting from the ongoing corruption' – Lebanese female, 30 – 39, Saida*

*'We really liked the new sidewalk that the municipality did because now we can walk on it without being scared of the cars and motorbikes, especially the children. This is something we had been asking the municipality for and they responded quickly and implemented it in the entire village as you can see.'* Syrian male, 50+, Rajam Issa

**The majority of respondents (77%) in all regions agree that the municipality does have the resources to provide the necessary services in the local community.**

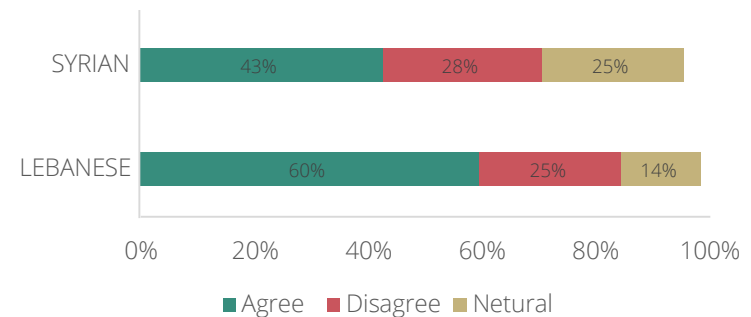
As shown in figure 11, the highest share of those who disagree is located in the South (16%). There are no significant differences between nationalities or male and female respondents.

*Figure 11 I believe the municipality has the resources to provide necessary services to the local community*



Less people agree that there is no discrimination in the way the municipality provides services. 56% agreed that the municipality is not discriminatory and 26% claimed that it is. As the figure 12 shows, more Lebanese feel that there is no discrimination, while more than a quarter of the Syrians preferred to stay neutral on this subject.

*Figure 12 I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services*

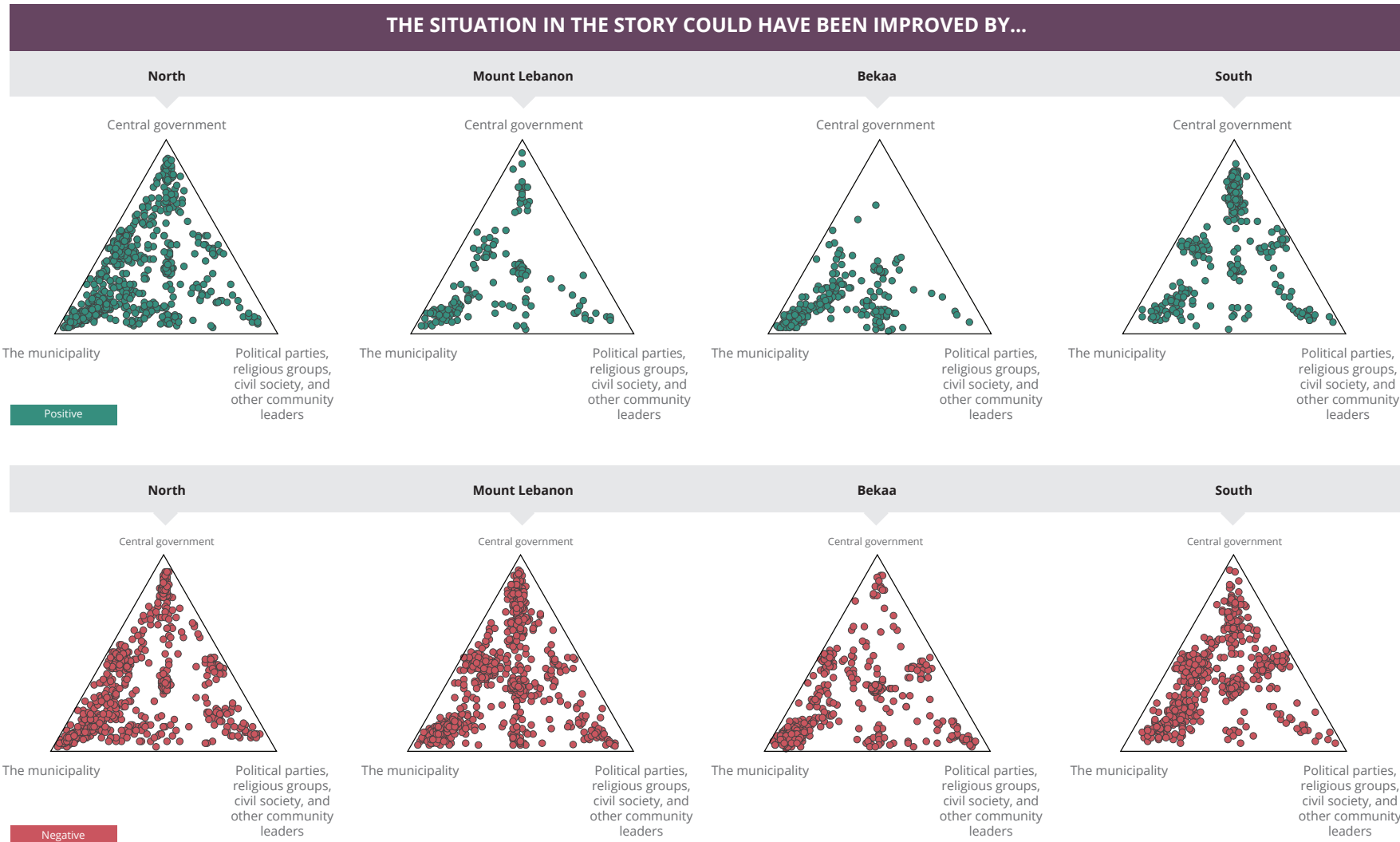






**More than half of the respondents rely on the municipality to improve the situation in their stories.**

Figure 13 The situation in the story could have been improved by ... (Positive vs Negative)





When asked who could have improved the situation in their story, 52% of respondents were clustered around the municipality, indicating that the majority of respondents believe that the municipality can improve the situation, especially when the stories are positive, indicating that the municipality has already acted in a positive manner that has made the situation better (see figure 13). In fact, the figure shows that more people who told negative stories also believed that the Central Government could improve the situation, indicating that these problems go beyond the capacity of the municipality such as issues related to electricity and water provision, or employment opportunities.

*'At the beginning of the winter season, we suffered from the land eroding, which led to road closure. We talked to the municipality. They used the new machinery and they solved the problem.'* Syrian male, 18- 29, Sir Dinnieh

*'In our village, there is a traffic and cars parking everywhere, in front of the shops. The municipality is working hard to improve this situation, but it should hire more police members to handle the traffic.'* Lebanese female, 50+, Ali el Nahri

Disaggregation showed that there were regional differences, where respondents in the Bekaa appeared to be the least reliant on the central government, while respondents in the South were the most clustered around the central government. Overall, few respondents mentioned that political / religious parties, or civil society could improve their situation, and their share was highest in Mount Lebanon.

*'Yesterday there was a shooting and they closed all the roads. The municipality should have solved this issue and banned weapons.'* Syrian male, 50+, Bourj Hammoud

### 4.3 How Included Do People Feel in Municipal Activities?

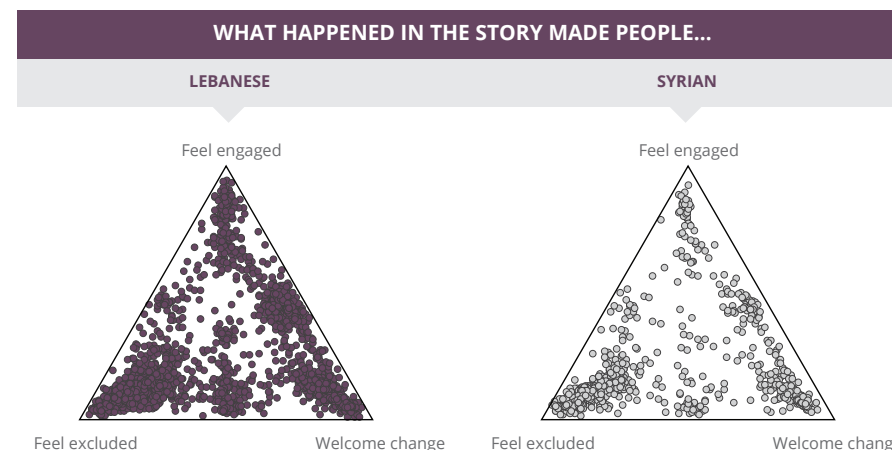
**Similarly to the baseline survey results, respondents felt excluded from the events and changes taking place in their communities.**

Overall, 41% of respondents felt excluded rather than engaged in the events of the stories they told. This share increases to 50% when we look only at the Syrian respondents and decreases to 38% for Lebanese (see figure 14).

*'The urbanization spread is very bad especially the resorts opening along the seaside which are causing pollution and effecting our jobs as fishermen'* Lebanese male, 30 – 39, Sarafand

*'No one care about Saida residents. The authorities here only care about meeting and celebrating, while Saida is sinking in sewerage water and bad smells.'* Lebanese female, 50+, Saida

Figure 14 What happened in the story made people feel...

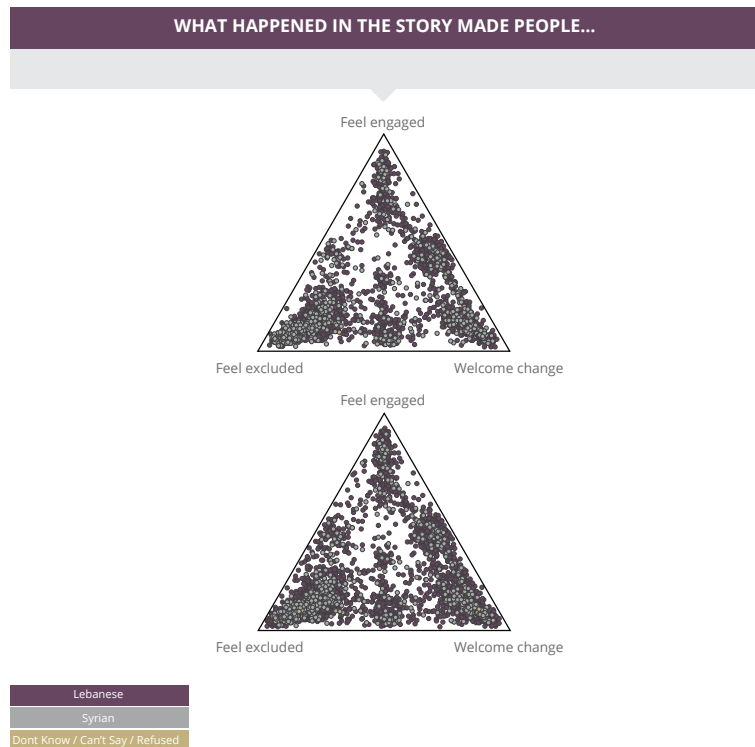


Comparing to the rounds of 2016 and 2017, there is an overall increase in feelings of exclusion were 34% reported feeling excluded in their narratives in the previous rounds of data collection. There is also less tendency for people to welcome changes. In 2016-17 collections, 27% of respondents were clustered around the corner of welcoming change, but this has decreased to 19% in this round of research.



During discussions in regional workshops with the municipality members, mayors, and town representatives, the municipalities suggested that people can tend to feel excluded if they do not personally participate in all the decisions and meetings, which can be overwhelming for the municipal council. They stressed on the need to spread the “culture of delegation”, where people elect local committees at the level of the neighbourhood or community, and whose members can represent them during municipal council meetings or lobby for their demands.

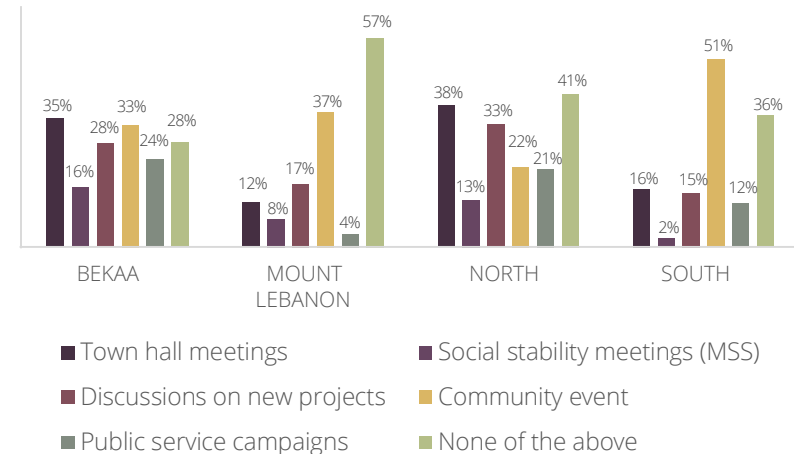
Figure 15 What happened in the story made people ... (Collection 4-5 vs 6)



**Around 60% of respondents are aware of municipal activities organized in their communities, mainly town hall meetings and community events.**

When respondents were asked about their knowledge of a series of municipal activities such as town hall meetings, community events, MSS meetings and others, 39% of respondents did not know of about any of these events having taken place in their community. The figure 16 shows these shares per region. Respondents in the Bekaa and North knew the most about town hall meetings, while respondents in Mount Lebanon and the South were most aware of community events. The highest share of people aware of MSS activities are in the Bekaa followed by the North. Only 2% of respondents in the South knew about MSS meetings.

Figure 16 Which of the following do you recall having taken place?



<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting here than some confusion around MSS meeting could have occurred as local communities might call these meeting by a different name.



The table below compares the 6 municipalities that were part of the research in 2017 and 2018, and there appears to be an overall drop in awareness of all types of municipal events. Looking at the MSS meetings, 11% used to know about them in 2017 and this share has dropped to 9% in 2018.

Table 3 Awareness of municipal events within the 6 municipalities over time

|                                 | 2017 | 2018 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|
| Town hall meetings              | 32%  | 23%  |
| Social stability meetings (MSS) | 11%  | 9%   |
| Discussions on new projects     | 28%  | 21%  |
| Community event                 | 36%  | 23%  |
| Public service campaigns        | 15%  | 12%  |
| None of the above               | 29%  | 36%  |

**People in Mount Lebanon are least keen on participating in municipal activities and events, while people in the South are more likely to participate, particularly in community events.**

As observed in the baseline research, knowledge about municipal activities does not necessarily translate to active participation in them. Results show that 47% the people who knew about at least one of the activities organized by the municipality did not engage in them. As shown in table 3, overall, people are most engaged in community events and least engaged in town hall meetings. With the exception of the Bekaa, very few are also engaged in MSS meetings.

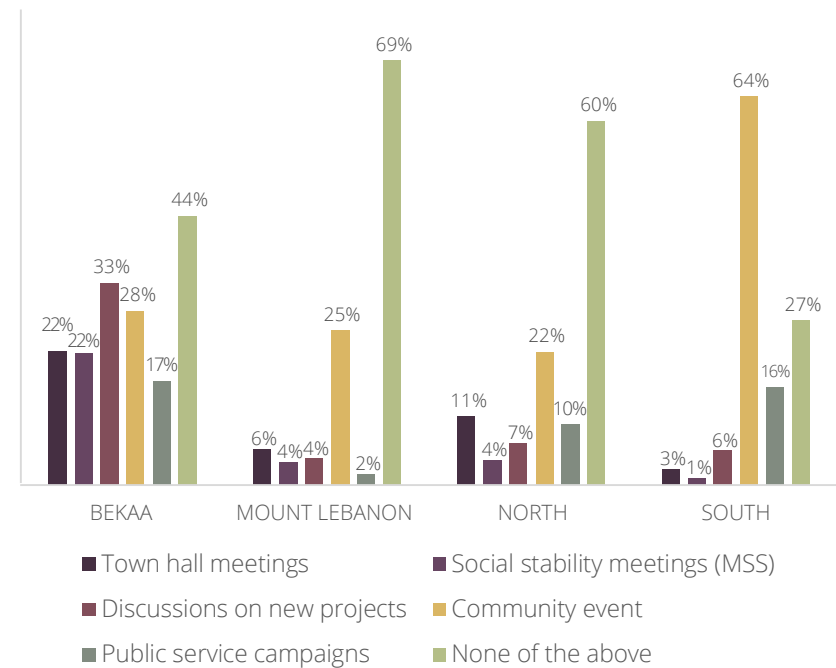
Syrians participate much less than Lebanese, where 61% of Syrian reported not participating in any of the activities compared to 45% of Lebanese.

Age also appears to play a role in the tendency to participate, where the share of older people (above the age of 64) who have not participated in activity (61%) than the share of the younger people (44% for youth and middle-aged respondents).

#### 4.4 How Could the Municipality Improve Its Service Delivery and Planning?

**More than one third of people are asking their municipalities to improve their communication with the community.**

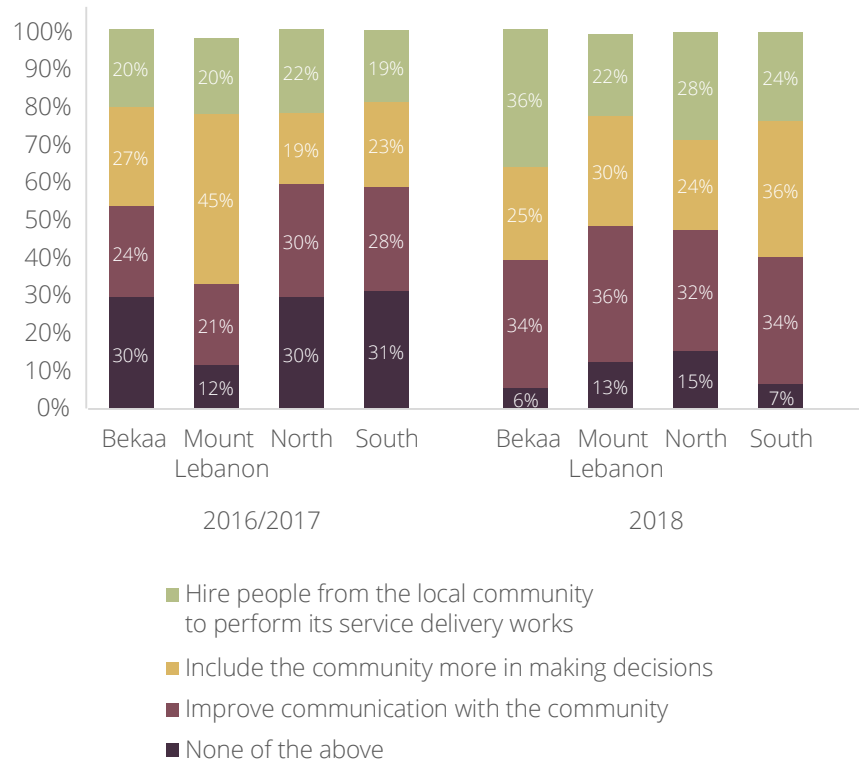
Figure 17 Which of the following have you engaged with?





When asked how the municipality can improve its planning and delivery of services, people's responses have not change drastically between the baseline and end line as depicted in the graph below. In the Bekaa, there are more people asking for improved communication. In Mount Lebanon, people are less focused on being included in making decisions and more on improved communication. On the contrary, in the North and South, more people are demanding more inclusion in the decision-making process.

Figure 18 If the municipality wants to improve how it plans and delivers services, it needs to





## WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

Overall, people are more trusting of their municipalities than in 2016 and 2017 in terms of their ability to deliver services to the community. Municipalities see a direct link between project delivery and increased trust in their capabilities, making them keen to focus more on hard infrastructure types of projects rather than soft projects related to job creation or skills development. Yet, findings related to access to services and jobs show that such activities are needed and expected from the municipalities themselves.

Participation in municipal activities continues to be an issue in most municipalities. Around half of the people who know about various events do not engage in them. People also feel more excluded in their stories, showing an increasing inability to influence change. Their lack of engagement may signify a need to adopt different strategies to reach out to the community. Overall, municipalities suggest that there is need for a 'culture of delegation' among people who tend to feel excluded even though there are local committees who represent (or are supposed to represent) their voices.

Building better communication channels with all members of the community is essential for improving the relationship between residents and their local governments. In addition, these new communication channels should focus on higher transparency to ensure that relationships are founded on trust rather than solely on dependency.

Finally, employment of local human resources in service delivery is essential to maximise the benefits of projects conducted by the municipalities. Yet, sustainable solutions to unemployment should be prioritised.



## 5 Social Stability

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This section looks at the evolution of tension related issues within communities. It highlights the relationship between competition and cooperation behaviour described in the stories as well as sources of tension and dispute resolution mechanisms. It looks into the Lebanese-Syrian as well as Lebanese-Lebanese tension dynamics.

### 5.1 What Do People Say About Tension in Their Communities?

#### 5.1.1 Tension in the Stories

##### *In the face of tensions, people adopt a passive stance*

Although 50% of respondents agreed that there are tensions in their communities, and that people are working together to resolve them, they appeared less cooperative and more passive in the stories they told. People's stories in all regions in this round of data collection are moving from "cooperation" or "competition" towards "ignoring each other" as figure 19 shows. The lower levels of competition indicate that there are less stories on tensions over employment and resources since these formed the bulk of competition related stories in past rounds of data collection.

The movement towards "ignoring each other" corners can indicate that people are waiting to see how the Syrian crisis will unravel since there are has been talk of the war coming to an end and Syrians going back home.

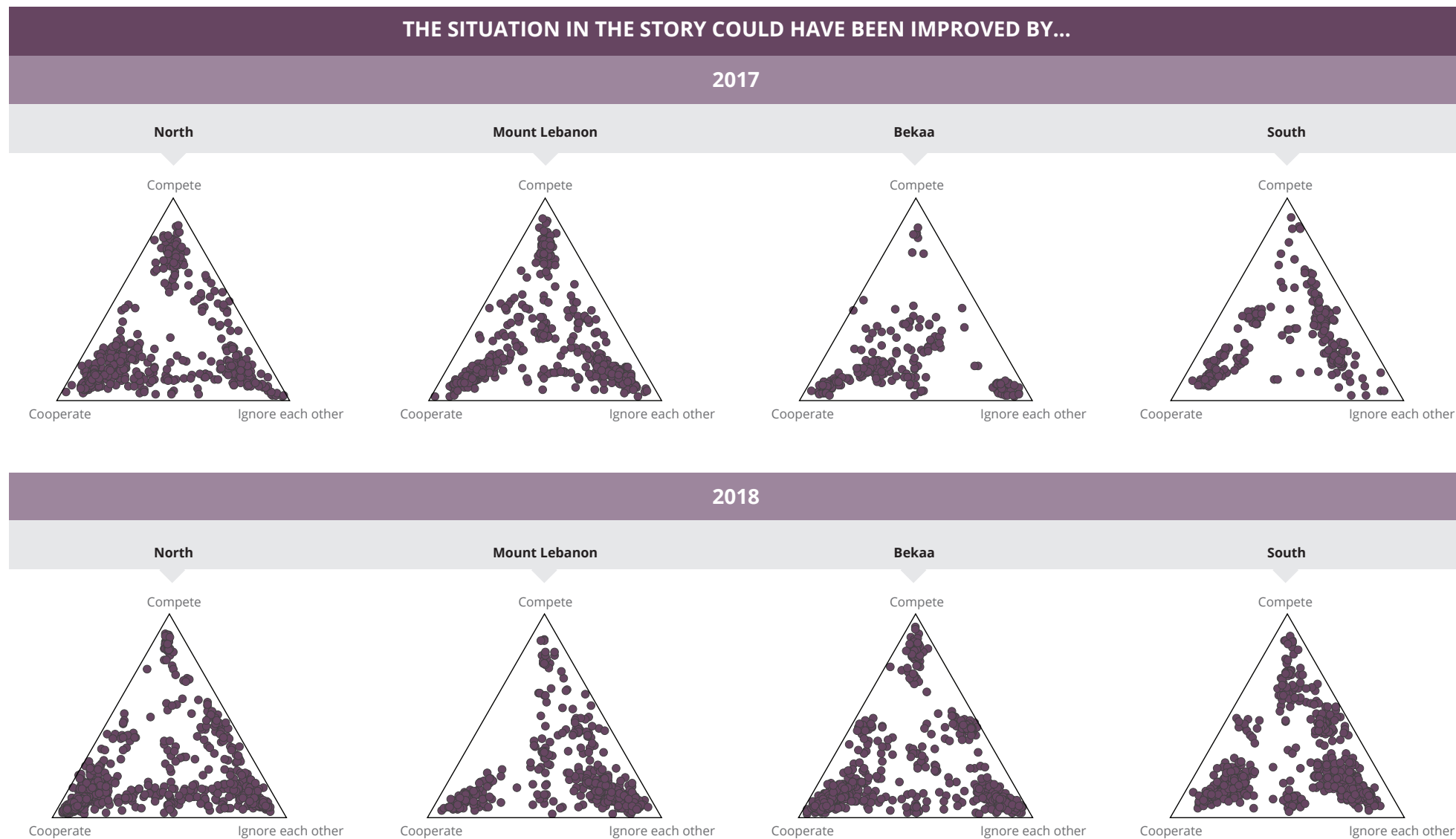
There were no significant differences between male and female respondents, or respondents from different confessions, or employment status.

*'There isn't any gynaecologist here in the town. We have to go to Tripoli if we have any problem. We tried to ask for a doctor to come here, but no one is helping us.'*

Syrian female, 30 – 39, Sir Dinnieh



Figure 19 In the story, people... (Collection 5 vs 6 per region)





## 5.1.2 Tension between Lebanese and Syrians

### ***Tensions are increasing due to competition over employment***

65% of respondents agree that there are tensions between Lebanese and Syrians, mostly due to opening of competing business and competition over low skilled jobs. The findings on the degrees of tension vary by region, where the South has the highest rate of those who believe there are tensions (86%), and this is largely due to the high share of people in Saida who believe there are tensions with Syrians.

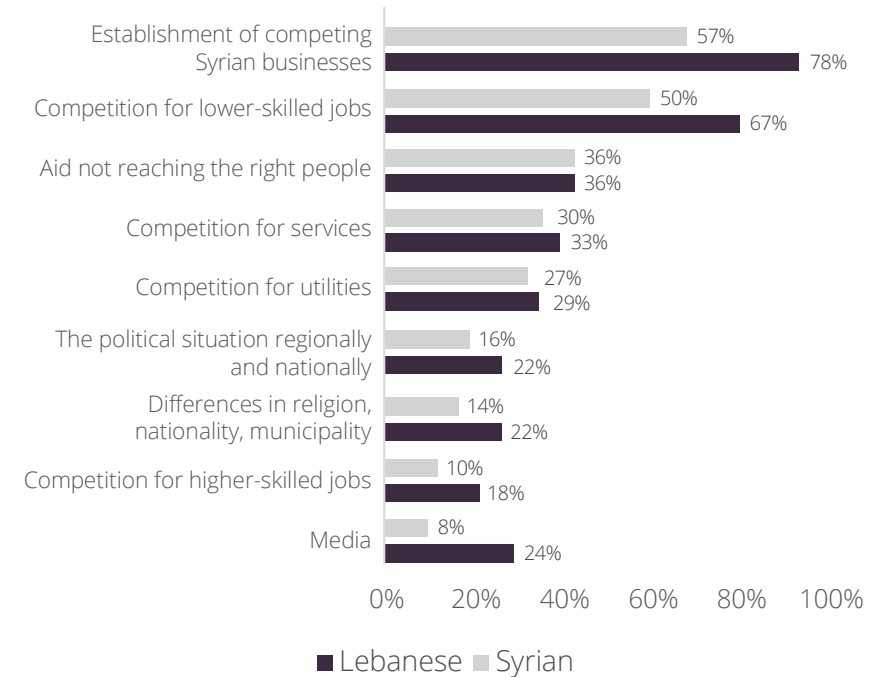
Among the 6 municipalities that were part of the baseline research, the share of respondents who believe there are tensions has decreased from 74% to 68%.

However, the main reasons behind these tensions remain the same as two years ago, where competing businesses and competition over low skilled jobs are reported as the main reasons for tension by both Lebanese and Syrians as depicted by figure 20.

*'A Syrian and a Lebanese fought due to a bagging job. The Syrian charged less than the Lebanese. So, the construction workshop hired the Syrian and fired the Lebanese. But I have heard that the issue has been resolved. In general, the Syrian are affecting us in all our jobs.'* Lebanese male, 30 – 39, Maccha.

*'I used to work in a restaurant, but when the Syrians came, the employer fired me and hired 3 Syrians instead of me. What do you think about that? Syrians work and accept all conditions plus they receive aid from the UN, while we suffer from unemployment.'* Lebanese male, 40 – 49, Sir Dinnieh

Figure 20 Main causes of tension between Lebanese and Syrians



### ***Lebanese attitudes towards Syrians continue to deteriorate***

Although 76% of respondents agree that Lebanese have been good hosts to Syrian refugees, more than half of them also believe that the attitudes of Lebanese towards Syrians have deteriorated over the past year. 61% of Syrians and 82% of Lebanese believe that Lebanese have been good hosts to Syrians since the onset of the Syrian crisis in 2011. The share of these people is higher in rural areas (91%) than in urban areas (74%).



Figure 21 Over the past year, the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians has deteriorated

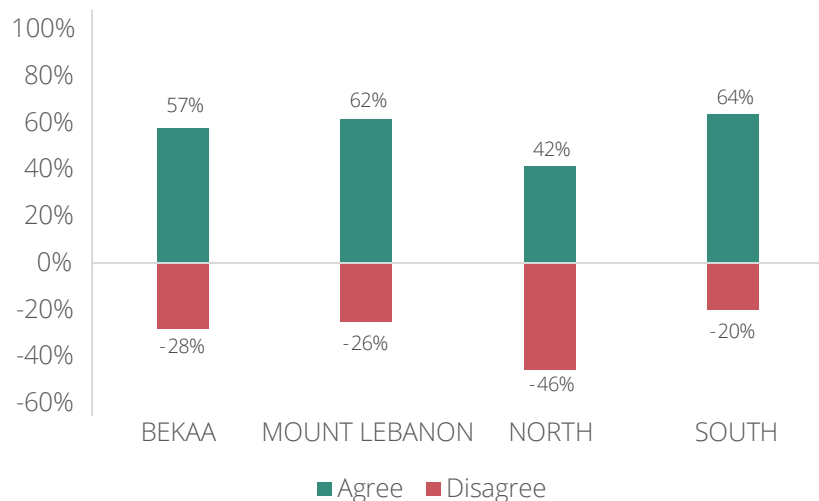


Figure 21 shows people’s opinions regarding the attitude of the Lebanese host communities towards the refugees. In all of Bekaa, Mount Lebanon and the South, more people see that the overall attitude of Lebanese has deteriorated over the past year. The North is the only region where opinions are equally split between people who think Lebanese attitudes have deteriorated and those who think they have not.

Comparing the 6 locations that were part of the baseline research in 2017, the share of people who see that the attitudes of Lebanese have deteriorated has decreased from 66% to 57%. Therefore, people in these locations see themselves are slightly better hosts today compared to one year ago.

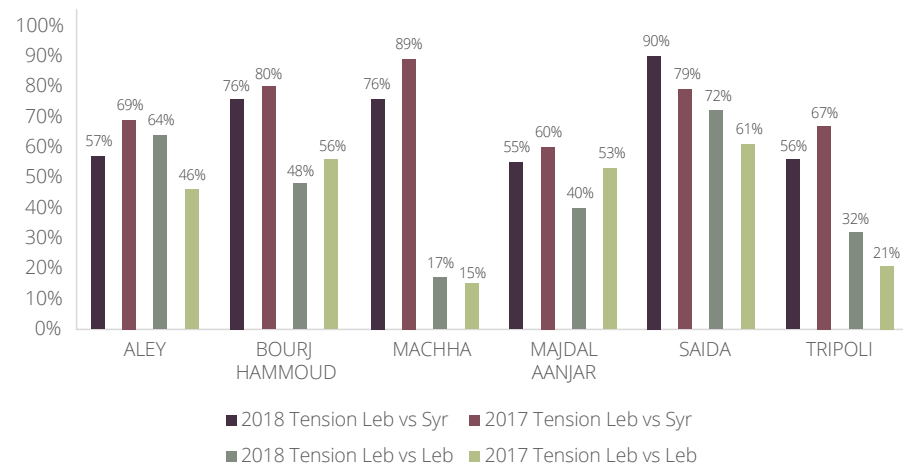
*‘In the neighbourhood where we stay as Syrians, the municipality cut off the electricity to provide it to the other neighbourhood where Lebanese people stay. Now we cannot do the laundry or turn on the heaters’ Syrian female, 50+. Saida*

### 5.1.3 Tension between Lebanese and Lebanese

#### Tensions among Lebanese are also perceived, albeit to a lesser extent

43% of respondents believe there are tensions between Lebanese in their communities, while 65% believe there are tensions between Lebanese and Syrians. As expected, more people believe that tensions exist between Lebanese and Syrians and between Lebanese themselves. Looking at the six communities surveyed in 2017 and 2018, figure 22 shows that Aley and Tripoli report increased tensions with Syrians but decreased between Lebanese. Bourj Hammoud and Majdal Aanjar show increased perceptions of tension between both Lebanese and Syrians, as well as between Lebanese themselves. Maccha shows increased tensions between Lebanese and Syrians and almost no change in the already very low share of people who saw tensions between Lebanese. As for Saida, there is a decrease in reported perceptions of tension for both Lebanese Syrian tensions and Lebanese tensions.

Figure 22 Percentage respondents reporting tensions 2017 - 2018







*'Our street is filled with potholes, but a while ago we called MTV channel, so they came and closed them under their project "Ensa el Joura" [Forget the Pothole], and they repaired all the potholes in the region.'* Lebanese male, 18 – 29, Saida

## 5.2 How do people resolve disputes?

**Lebanese respondents told more stories where people engaged in dialogue compared to Syrian respondents.**

Overall, the largest share of people is reacting in their stories by “waiting to see what happens”, which also reflects the same passive attitude observed earlier in their interactions in their stories.

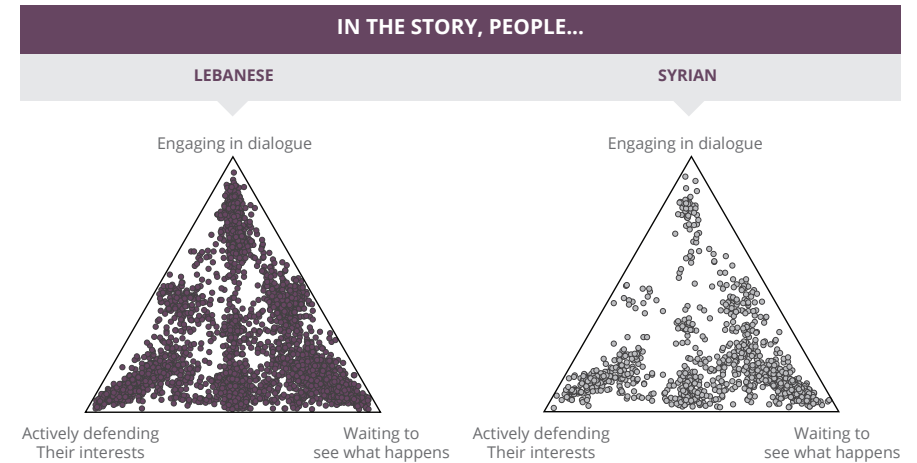
The timing of the research before the Parliamentary elections could have played a role in people’s increased tendency to wait compared to one or two years ago when results shows that around one third of people were more inclined to defend their own interests.

As figure 23 shows, Syrians are much more likely to wait to see what happens than engage in dialogue or actively defend their interests. This observation is similar to the one in previous rounds of collection.

*'I have been looking for a sponsor for my residency for the past two months, and still cannot find anyone. Even the owner of the bakery I work for won't sponsor me.'* Syrian male, 18- 29, Saida

*'I am Syrian and we came here six years ago. We moved to Sir two months ago. Our situation is very bad and the landlord wants his house because we cannot pay rent. We are waiting for the financial aids that the UN is supposed to give us, but we so far we have not received anything.'* Syrian female, 30 – 39, Sir Dinnieh

Figure 23 In the story, people reacted by... (Syrians vs Lebanese)



**Who is not engaging in dialogue?**

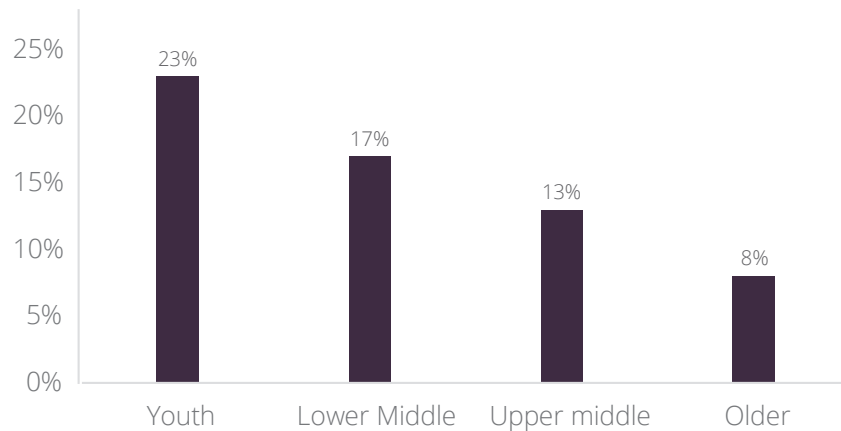
The following do not describe stories involving dialogue:

- Syrian respondents
- Christian respondents
- Respondents with elementary education or less.

Although only 16% of total respondents agreed that violence is sometimes an acceptable way to defend one’s interests, there are some sub-groups that tend to agree more with this statement. 34% of people in Ali el Nahri for example believe that violence can be acceptable in certain cases. As figure 24 shows, the tendency to agree with this statement decreases with age. Youth are the keenest on using violence to defend their interests.



Figure 24 Violence is sometimes an acceptable way to defend one's interests (per age group)



### 5.3 How Do People Feel About Their Communities?

#### ***Most people feel like they belong in their community***

74% of respondents feel that they are part of their communities, and 63% believe that the members of the community can be trusted. Expectedly, the share of Lebanese who believe that they belong to their communities is higher than that of Syrians (66% for Lebanese and 56% for Syrians).

For the communities that were part of the study in 2017 and 2018, the share of people in each of Majdal Aanjar, Saida and Tripoli who feel part of their communities has decreased. More details on the specificities of each municipality are discussed in the later sections dedicated to more focused analysis for each town (see figure 25).

*'My husband used to have a shop. Sometime ago, the municipality closed it because they said he must have a Lebanese partner with him. We spoke to the municipality and they agreed to reopen the shop. This helped us to be able to get on. Thank God the municipality retracted its decision.'* Syrian female, 18 – 29, Saadnayel

*'The municipality held an awareness campaign for waste recycling and they distributed plastic bags and they helped people sort out waste.'* Lebanese female, 18 – 29, Ghazieh

#### ***One third of respondents, both Lebanese and Syrian, believe that the municipality is most trusted to resolve disputes.***

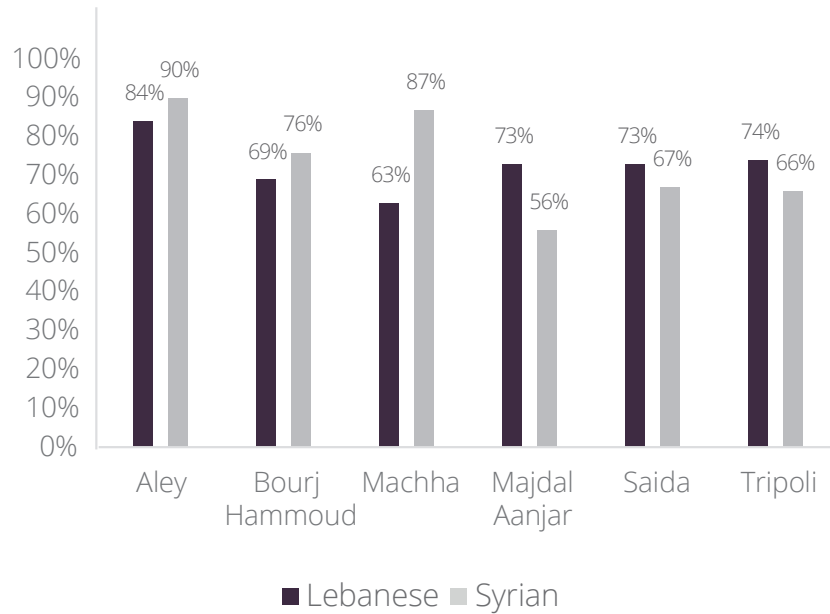
As for resolving disputes, 32% see that the municipality is the most trusted party to resolve disputes in the local community. 19% attribute this mission to the LAF and 18% believe at the family is most trusted.

In the previous round of data collection in 2017, Lebanese primarily trusted the municipality, while Syrians relied on support from their families. This has changed in this round of data collection as one third of Syrians also relied on the municipality, while 19% relied on their family. This indicates that Syrians' trust in the municipality's ability to defend them is increasing.

*'There is a new municipal ambulance car, we heard someone donated it to the municipality, --and it is taking Lebanese and Syrians without any discrimination. We thank the municipality for this and the good people of the village.'* Syrian male, 30 – 39, Rajam Issa



Figure 25 I feel part of this community



Respondents were also asked whether people in their community can be trusted. The majority of respondents agreed that they do trust people in their communities, where the highest rates of trust were in Rajam Issa and Sir Dinnieh (78% and 77% respectively), while the lowest were in Majdal Aanjar and Sarafand (both at 53% of respondents).

Similarly to the last round of data collection, the feelings of belonging to the community are stronger than the feelings that everyone in the community is trustworthy.

## WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

Tensions between Lebanese and Syrians are reported by people in all communities. Much like in 2017, the main reasons for tension are competition over low skilled jobs and Syrians opening new businesses. However, there are less stories about competition over job opportunities between Lebanese and Syrians compared to last round of research in 2017. Considering the continued tension, this may likely mean that the situation of employment as not changed, either positively or negatively, as much as other aspects of daily life. For instance, and although respondents still believe that people have been good hosts to Syrians, around half do believe that the attitude of Lebanese towards the Syrians has deteriorated compared to last year.

The prevailing attitude of members of all communities is a passive one, whereby people ignore each other rather than cooperate and wait to see what happens rather than engage in dialogue or take action to defend their interests. Both Lebanese and Syrians have increased their trust in the municipality as the authority that would resolve disputes in their community. This reinforces earlier findings on overall increased trust in the capacity of the municipality and its legitimacy. In addition, it may also explain why people are now less proactive. Yet, this stance relies on the hope that positive change will happen and may lead to heightened negative feelings if these expectations are not met soon.



## 6 Findings by Municipality

This section provides an in-depth baseline assessment of each of the twelve municipalities. It considers satisfaction with service delivery, including LHSP projects, and perceptions of the capability and legitimacy of the municipality. The section also examines reported sources of tension and ways to mitigate tensions.

### 6.1 Mount Lebanon

#### 6.1.1 Aley

##### 6.1.1.1 Context

Aley's economy primarily relied on the hospitality industry and tourism, particularly from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. However, political tensions between Lebanon and Saudi Arabia between 2012 – 2016 and the subsequent travel warnings issued to tourists from the Gulf, significantly damaged the local economy.

Aley is a Druze-majority city and many Syrian refugees who have settled there are also Druze. However, a significant number of them are Sunni. In 2017, several respondents mentioned that the Municipality had instituted a curfew for Syrians after 8pm but it was unclear whether this was still in place in 2018.

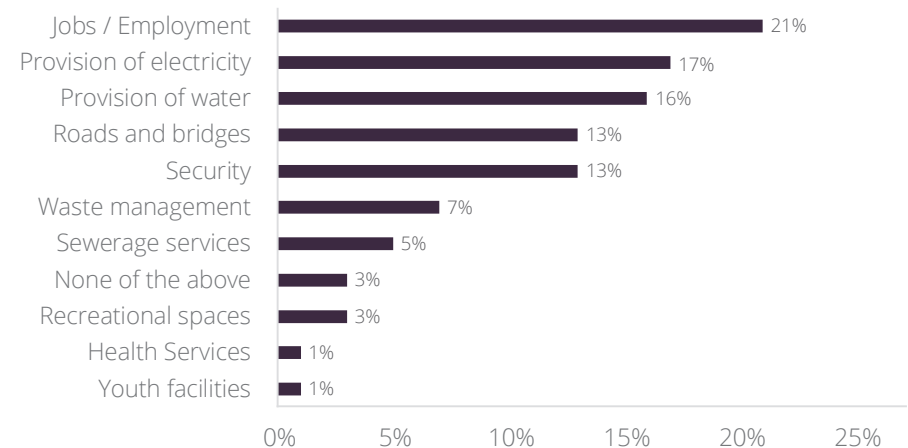
**Profile of Respondents.** In 2018, 31 respondents in Aley were Syrians and 219 were Lebanese. A large majority of Lebanese respondents identified as Druze (95%), and so did 48% of Syrians. Respondents both Lebanese and Syrians were on average more educated than in other municipalities with 31% having received a university education. 85% of them also reported being in full-time jobs, whereas the average for other municipalities was around 48%. Yet, 29% still said that they barely made enough for food rent and clothes.

#### 6.1.1.2 Quality of services and access to services

##### *Growing dissatisfaction with services*

In 2018, 88% of respondents in Aley reported negative stories, more than in any other municipality visited. Only 61% of people in Aley had also reported negative stories in 2017. The most talked about topic was Jobs and employment (21%). However, and unlike in 2017, services were often discussed, particular electricity (17%), water (16%) and roads (13%). 13% of stories were about security, which was more than in the rest of the municipalities but was in line with the topic of the stories collected in 2017 in Aley.

Figure 26 Your story is mostly about

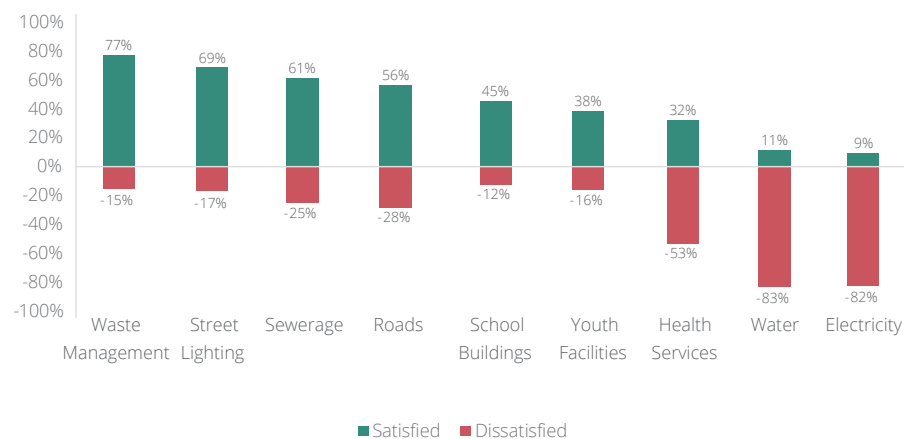




While, refuse collection continued to be seen positively, people in Aley showed growing dissatisfaction with health services, water and electricity compared to 2017. While these services were already the least satisfactory, the level of this dissatisfaction captured in 2018 was much stronger. Overall, people felt that little had improved regarding the delivery of services, increasing feelings of frustration. Many respondents, explained that the provision of water and electricity was unreliable and very expensive. In particular, the need to connect to a generator due to the cuts in the electricity provided by the Government was a big financial burden. In addition, the prices of both generators and regular electricity were said to be on the rise.

People also expressed growing dissatisfaction with roads, with 28% saying that they were dissatisfied compared to 16% in 2017. Many explained that pot holes had not been fixed despite efforts from the municipality on certain roads. The main road entering Aley was identified as particularly damaged. This was the cause of several car accidents, with at least two different respondents stating that they had personally been involved in an accident due to the state of the roads.

Figure 27 Overall satisfaction with services



### LHSP Project in Aley

In Aley, LHSP is equipping a well with the necessary water pumps, pipes and other materials to link it to the water reservoir in Aley.

Despite the project, water was still a point of contention among respondents who said that there were shortages, particularly in the summer. 'The water problem is that we are paying and we are not getting any water. We have to buy water. The UN says that it is helping Syrians but we are suffering and we need a lot of help. Plus the water project was last year.' A large majority of people (82%) had not heard of the project, however 98% of those who had thought it was beneficial for the community. The municipality confirmed that the project was not operational. During the regional workshop, it explained that the water project was not yet active as it required a generator to be installed, which should be procured in the summer 2018.

However, although the project may support the regular provision of water, the financial pressure of water may need to be addressed. Water bills were said to be expensive, even more so than electricity bills. One respondent said: 'The water crisis here is affecting us badly. You have to get more than 3 jobs to be able to pay your bills'. In the focus groups, respondents even accused the municipality of benefitting from the shortage, stating: 'There is water outage because water supply is cut off, by agreement with the municipality mayor, so that the water can be sold





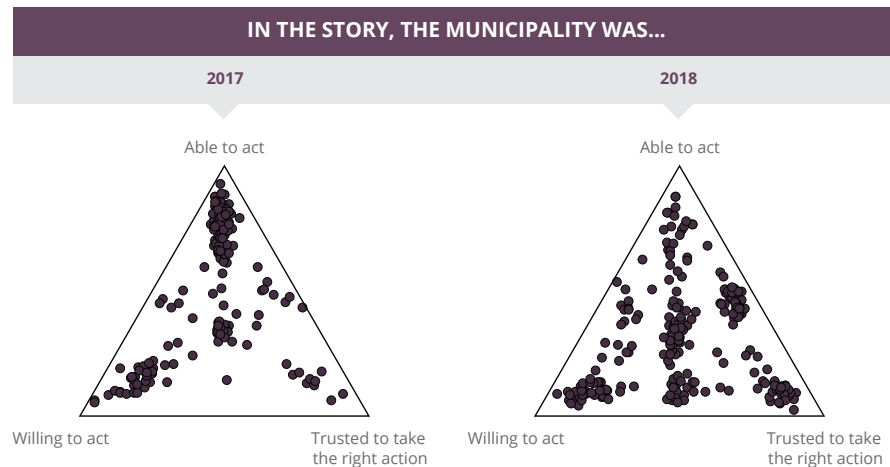
### 6.1.1.3 Municipal capability and legitimacy

#### ***People in Aley trust the municipality to take the right action, think it is able and willing***

Although people in Aley recognised the municipality's capability in 2018, a cluster of them now also trusted it to take the right action and be willing to act.

Despite, grievances regarding the state of services, many stories reported that the municipality was doing its best: 'The roads, they need to be repaired, the municipality is repairing them but they can't do more than that', 'The municipality is collecting the garbage but the problem is that people are throwing garbage everywhere.'

Figure 28 In the story, the municipality was...



This was corroborated by quantitative surveys: 81% of people in Aley said they trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community. Similarly, 87% of people stated that they trusted the municipality most to provides services. Before their families (6%) and the Central Government (4%). Although, this number was slightly lower among Syrian respondents

(74%), it showed a sharp increase compared to 2017, when only 35% named the municipality as their most trusted actors.

Similarly, respondents were positive about the role of the municipality regarding security. 72% said that they trusted the municipality first to resolve disputes. More than the LAF (17%) or a political party (4%). Again, while Syrians trusted the municipality slightly less (61%) than Lebanese to resolve disputes, this rate was much higher than in 2017, (33%).

#### ***Discrimination in access to services and lack of engagement***

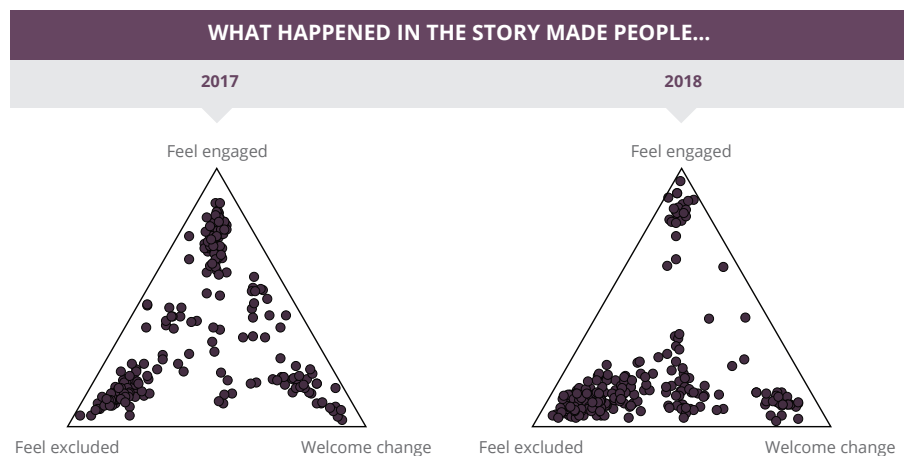
However, the municipality's performance was more debated when talking about services than security. Almost all of those who told stories about security thought the municipality was able, trusted and willing to act whereas those who talked about services had a variety of opinions. This is likely explained by the fact that many respondents felt that the municipality did not provide services to all people equally. 37% of respondents, both Syrian and Lebanese felt that there was discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services, more so than they did in 2017 (22%). Both Syrians and Lebanese respondents surveyed felt these discriminations. This was echoed by the focus group conducted in Aley. Participants notably accused the municipality to be profiting from the water and electricity crisis. The municipality was notably said to own the generators in Aley. Respondents stated that favouritism should be reduced and transparency encouraged.

In addition to this discrimination, reported less municipal engagement than in 2017. Only 48% of people could remember a municipal event in the past year against 70% in 2017. Meanwhile only 31% of them effectively attended at least one. Among Syrians, only 29% could recall any form of municipal engagement in the past year.

As a result, people felt increasingly excluded. This sentiment was felt across all indicators measured regardless of the respondents' gender, nationality, religion, level of education or financial status.



Figure 29 What happened in the story made people...



Consequently, 34% of people felt that the municipality should improve its communication and 31% said that it should include the people more in decision making to improve the way it deliver services. Meanwhile, Syrians insisted more on the need for improved communication (52%).

Table 4 In your opinion, if the municipality wants to improve how it plans and delivers services it needs to...

|  | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|----------|--------|
| Improve communication with the community                                   | 33%      | 52%    |
| Include the community more in making decisions                             | 32%      | 16%    |
| Hire people from the local community to perform its service delivery works | 26%      | 23%    |
| None of the above  | 9%       | 10%    |

### 6.1.1.4 Social stability

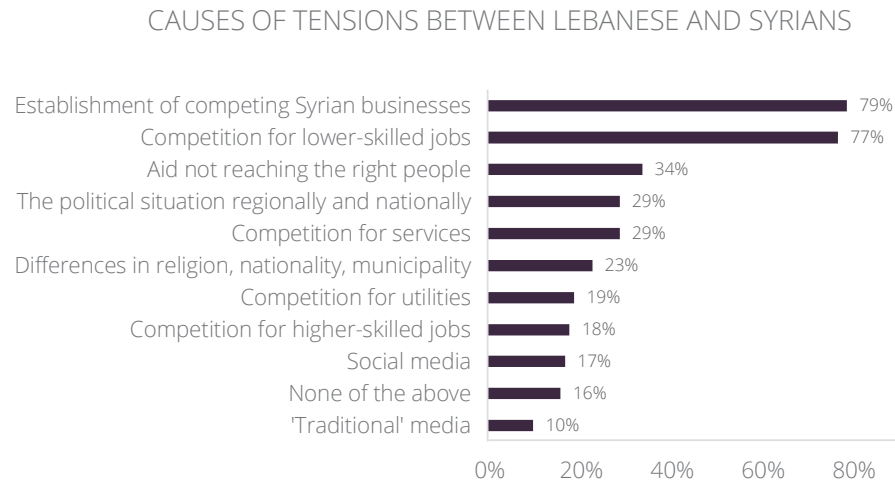
#### *Intolerance is growing, fuelling violence*

In 2018, 57% of people in Aley felt that they were tensions between Syrians and Lebanese, while this number was up to 69% in 2017. Yet, 54% of people in Aley also felt that the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians had deteriorated in the past year. Syrians were often discussed in stories, with many people stating that they had negatively affected the job market or the price of rents.

This was reflected by the results of the surveys. When asked about what had caused tensions between Lebanese and Syrians, people highlighted the establishment of Syrian businesses (79%) and competition for lower-skilled jobs (77%). 34% also said that aid not reaching the right people had been a factor of tension. During focus groups discussion with residents of Aley, many explained that they did not feel safe due to the presence of Syrians in public spaces. They notably reported that they felt an increase in cases of robbery and prostitution. Women in particular said that they had been exposed to sexual harassment, one said: 'We are usually harassed by the Lebanese, but it is somehow acceptable. Lebanese youth have a certain respect. As for the Syrians, we feel some hatred and intolerance towards them.' This was also reported in by a Key Informant: 'Aley residents feel that Syrians are out of control and are scared of them (that they would hurt them) while Syrians feel persecuted by residents of Aley and as such take measures to protect themselves (guns) it becomes a cycle where both parties can and do become violent.'



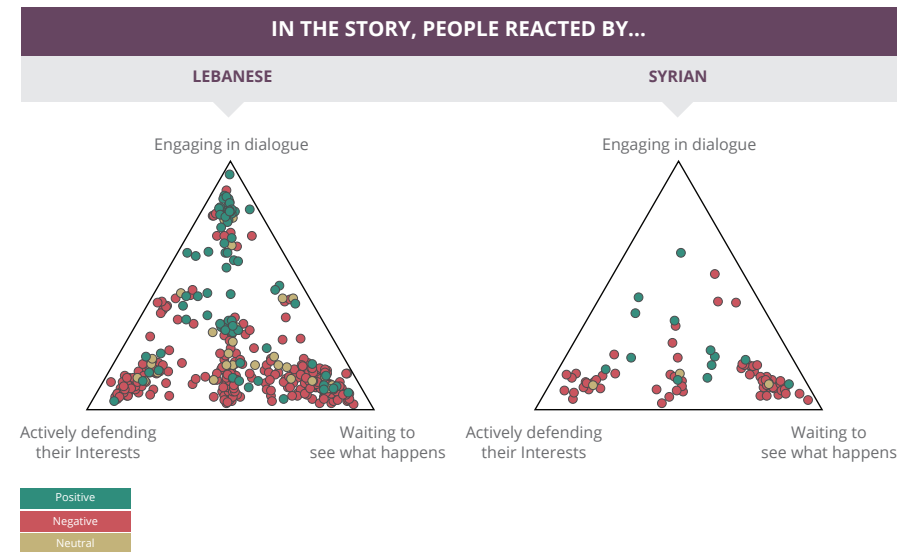
Figure 30 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians



People are at risk of resorting to violence but are mostly passive

Despite the tensions very few people said that people were working to resolve them (16%). Many Lebanese expressed that they had an issue with the very presence of Syrians in Lebanon and asked for their return. Three Lebanese men in focus groups discussions admitted that they had physically assaulted Syrians in Aley. Similarly, SenseMaker data showed that much like in 2017, a large group of people were actively defending their interests rather than engaging in dialogue.

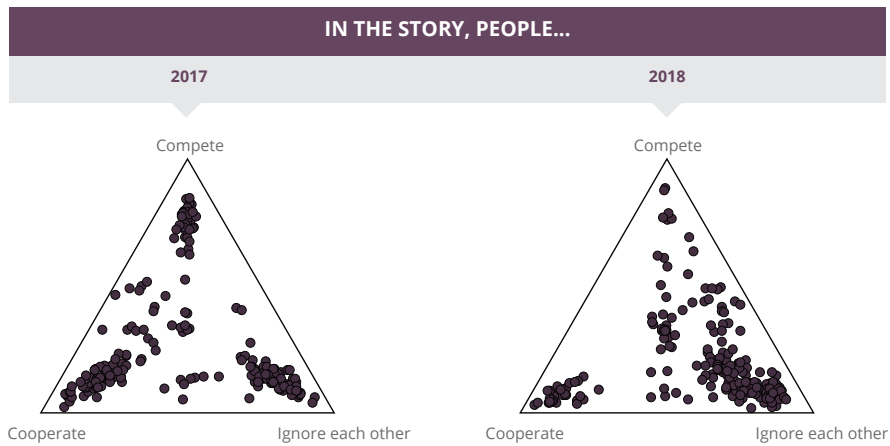
Figure 31 In the story, people reacted by... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



However, a large part of respondents, both Syrian and Lebanese, still adopted a passive stance. Moreover, 85% of people surveyed said that violence was never an acceptable way to defend their interests, suggesting that a majority of people may be opposed to such proactive measures. This was reflected by a decrease in people openly competing with each other. In Aley, more people now tended to ignore each other. Municipal representatives of Aley during regional workshops confirmed that people were becoming more passive and that Lebanese were waiting for a solution to be found regarding Syrians, many hoping for their return to Syria.



Figure 32 In the story, people...



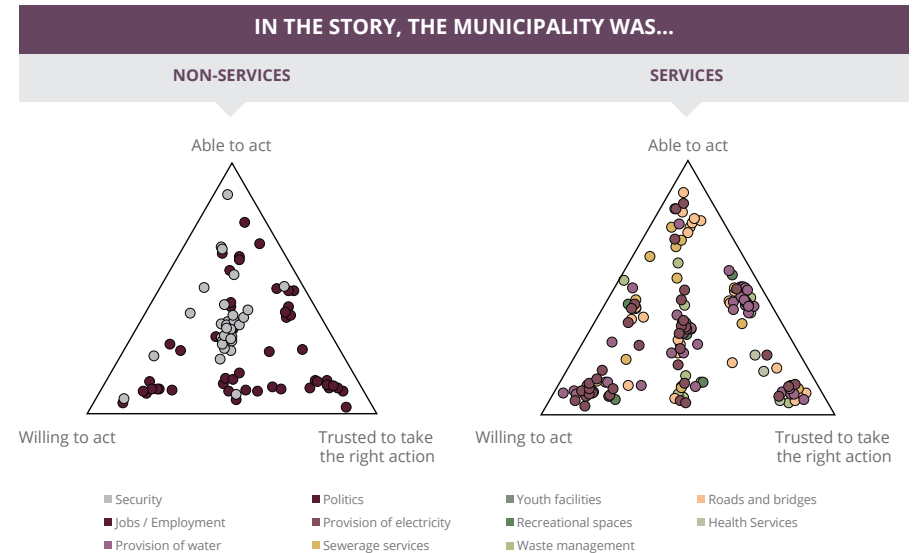
### Cultural and religious tensions among Lebanese

In parallel to tensions between Lebanese and Syrians, even more respondents surveyed stated that there were tensions among Lebanese themselves. 64% said that is was the case this was particularly true for respondents between 18-29 and 30-39 where this rate raised to 70% and 69% respectively.

The causes of these tensions were much different from those with Syrians. 66% of people said they were due to the regional political context and 41% pointed out the differences in religion. One Key Informant explained that Lebanese residents in Aley may have different political opinions leading to clashes, including within one family.

Meanwhile, several during focus groups and KIIs said that a part of the Lebanese youth could be found loitering in the streets, drinking and racing cars. Several mentioned that alcohol and drug abuse were issues among the youth. One focus group participant said that this issue was a problem for the whole Lebanon and not only Aley.

Figure 33 Causes of tensions among Lebanese



## 6.1.2 Bourj Hammoud

### 6.1.2.1 Context

Bourj Hammoud has historically been a place of settlement for refugees and migrants from various backgrounds. Famous for its Armenian community, the municipality also hosts many migrant workers from Asia and Africa due to its immediate proximity to Beirut. Since the beginning of the conflict, many Syrians have also settled in what has become one of the most densely populated area of the region.

The economy of Bourj Hammoud relies mostly on small businesses, retail shops, light industry and restaurants. While the area was already poor prior to the Syrian conflict, the arrival of Syrians has increased the competition for jobs among residents. Security incidents have also erupted as a result of



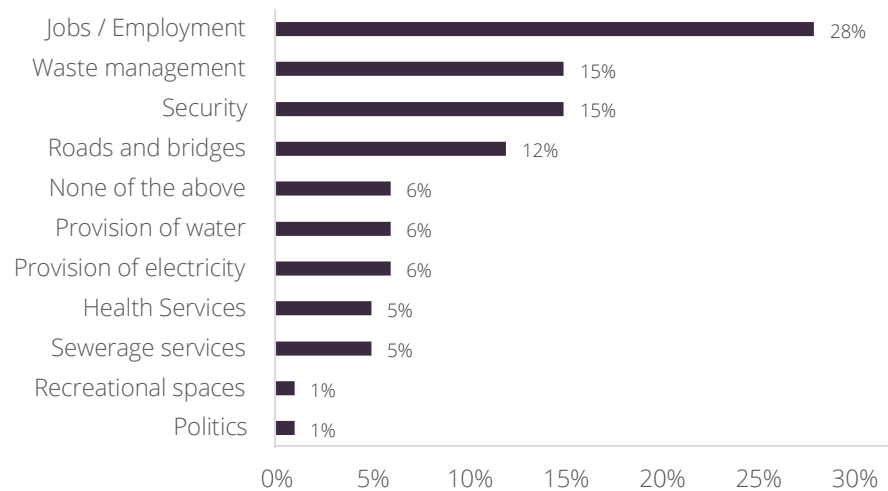
tensions between Syrians and Lebanese, and within each group.

**Profile of respondents.** In 2018, 88% of respondents interviewed in Bourj Hammoud were Lebanese, while 11% were Syrians. Among Lebanese, 67% identified as Armenian while 23% identified as Arab. As much as 17% of Syrians refugeeed in Bourj Hammoud also identified as Armenian but the majority (63%) were Arab.

Both Lebanese and Syrian respondents in Bourj Hammoud reported higher levels of full-time employment relative to other municipalities visited (73%) but did not drastically differ with regards to socio-economic status.

### 6.1.2.2 Quality and access to services and jobs

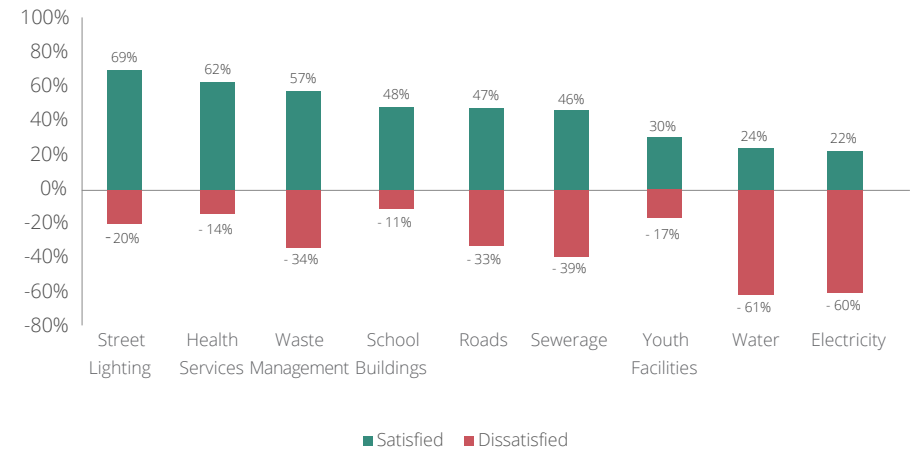
Figure 34 Topics most discussed by respondents



Much like in 2017, employment was the most discussed topic, accounting for 28% of stories, more than any other municipality surveyed. Security was also a primary focus for respondents (15%) along with waste management (15%). Roads was the most discussed service (12% of all stories).

A majority of these stories were negative (77%), and as much as 41% of all were even said to be strongly negative.

Figure 35 How satisfied are you with the availability and quality of the following services



Compared to 2017, levels of satisfaction with services in Bourj Hammoud were more positive. Street lighting and health facilities showed much higher levels of satisfaction, from 34% to 69% for street lighting. Roads was still a source of dissatisfaction for many respondents due to the presence of pot holes, but many noticed that the municipality had done work to fix the situation. As a result, satisfaction levels grew from 23% to 47%.

#### **Growing discontent with water provision**



However, other services such as water provision evolved negatively with satisfaction levels dropping from 47% to 24%, while dissatisfaction levels rose from 34% to 61%. Many respondents explained that the water supplied to their homes was dirty and often cut. One respondent complained that the water had even been contaminated by sewage pipes hence the foul smell. Bills were also said to be expensive while many people were forced to buy water through other sources, both of which put financial strain on them: 'The municipality cut off the water supply for some and give it for some others during the night. They do that to help the water tank suppliers to work. During the summer there wasn't any water supply for weeks so we had to buy water to survive.'

#### **LHSP Project in Bourj Hammoud.**

In Bourj Hammoud, LHSP rehabilitated the Karagheusian PHCC to align with the criteria of the Ministry of Public Health.

Health was discussed by only 4% of Lebanese and 10% of Syrians. Yet, levels of satisfaction were on the rise, increasing from 49% to 62% for health facilities. One respondent, stated: 'The situation is very bad but there are some improvements, especially the new medical clinic that was opened. It helped people to benefit from these cheap services.'

Overall, 75% of people were aware of the LHSP project and 95% agreed that it was having a positive impact on the community. However, some respondents still did not seem to be able to access medical services in other facilities: 'The medical services are very bad and very expensive, one could die at the entrance of the hospital because you have to pay in advance. My child was sick we went to Saint Joseph's Hospital and they didn't let us in because we didn't pay in advance.'

#### ***Changes noted with regards to garbage collection***

Stories about garbage collection increased from 6% to 15% between 2017 and 2018. During the regional workshop, the municipality explained that they had hired a new private company to clean the street and collect garbage to replace Sukleen. This change was noted many respondents who said that the new company did not collect garbage daily, as was the case before, and that trash was piling up as a result: 'the streets are very dirty and we clean in front of our shops but people throw garbage in the streets. The new cleaning company does not come to collect the waste as well. The previous one was better'. In addition to the smell, the accumulation of garbage was said to bring rats. Several also noted that the presence of the landfill where much of Lebanon's garbage was being thrown was a safety hazard. Yet, overall levels of satisfaction with garbage collection did not change drastically.

#### **6.1.2.3 Municipality capability and legitimacy**

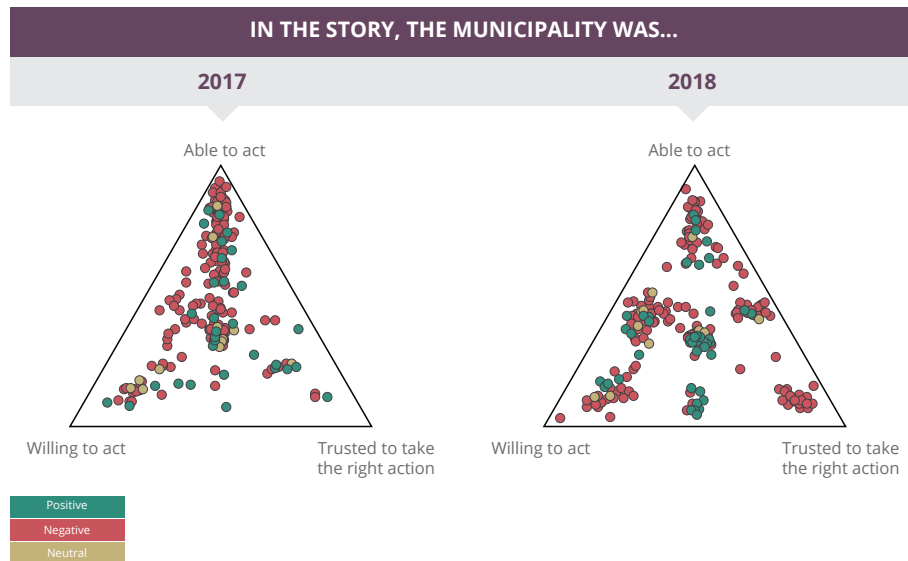
##### ***Increase in trust in municipality***

Whereas in 2017 Bourj Hammoud reported the lowest percentage of trust in municipality with regards to service delivery (33%), 2018 results showed more positive results. 53% of people relied on the municipality for service delivery. This was however still lower than the average across all municipality surveyed (58%). Interestingly, and unlike in 2017, more Syrians said that they would trust the municipality or the municipal police first to resolve disputes: 41% against 25% for Lebanese who trusted the LAF first.





Figure 36 In the story, the municipality was...



This trend was reflected in the SenseMaker data. When talking about change in their community, 44% of respondents estimated that the municipality was trusted to take the right action against 35% in 2017. Similar to 2017, Syrians also relied more heavily on family and friends (36% compared to 13% for Lebanese). Inversely, the number of Syrians to rely on INGOs for service delivery dramatically dropped from 19% to 0%. This increased trust was linked to higher perception of the municipality's resources. As much as 83% of respondents agreed that the municipality had the resources to provide the necessary services to the community, compared to 77% in 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Total respondents who said that the municipality was trusted to take the right action, able and trusted, willing and trusted or all three options.

Yet, despite this growing trust only 50% of respondents in Bourj Hammoud agreed that there was no discrimination in the way the municipality delivered services.

### **Continued feeling of exclusion**

A majority of respondents, both Lebanese and Syrians, reported feelings of exclusion, similarly to 2017. However, unlike 2017, some Lebanese respondents also said that they welcomed change in their community. Overall, less engagement was felt by respondents and 38% of them said that the municipality should work on improving the way it communicates with people to improve the delivery of services. Tellingly, 61% could not remember any type of municipal events having taken place in the past year, a rate similar to 2017 (57%).

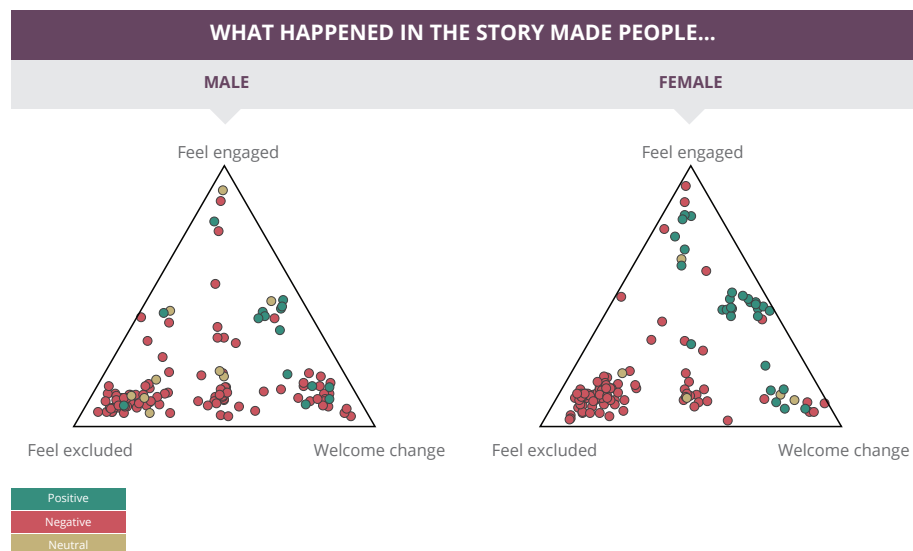
Knowledge of municipal events was even lower among Syrians, 83% of which did not know of a single municipal event having taken place in the last year. Incidentally, Syrians were also more pessimistic about the municipality's ability to provide services. 15% of them said that they did not think the municipality have the resources to provide the necessary services for the community.

### **Women are more engaged but less trusting of the municipality's ability to deliver services**

Yet, women surveyed in Bourj Hammoud showed much higher levels of engagement with municipal events than men. Although awareness of these events was similar for men and women (35% and 43% respectively knowing of at least one type of municipal event in the last year), 41% of women had engaged with them as opposed to 27% of men. This was reflected in SenseMaker data where a cluster of women did feel engaged and welcomed change.



Figure 37 What happened in the story, made people... (Male vs Female)



Interestingly, this engagement did not necessarily translate into increased trust in the municipality. More women said that the municipality did not have the resources to provide the necessary services for the community for the community (11% against 4% of men). They were also more likely to say that they did not trust the municipality to work well to improve the community, (17% against 9% of men). When asked whether they agreed that there was no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services, 16% of women disagreed strongly, against 9% of men. Conversely, men were 7% more likely to rely first on the municipality to deliver services.

Yet, women were also more likely to rely on the municipality and the municipal police to resolve disputes: 36% for 18% of men. This is likely linked to the inclusion of policewomen in the ranks of the municipal police since December 2016.

### 6.1.2.4 Social stability

#### ***Tensions are still high but stable***

People in Bourj Hammoud reported continuing tensions between Syrians and Lebanese than in the previous year, while tensions among Lebanese were reportedly slightly decreasing. Despite this fragile stability, many felt that the relationship between the two communities was deteriorating and that people were not working to resolve these tensions. An overwhelming 76% of people said that there were tensions between Lebanese and Syrians, both communities reporting similar levels. While high, these results were slightly lower than 2017 when 80% said that significant tensions existed. Paradoxically, while reports of tensions appeared consistent between 2017 and 2018, respondents felt that these tensions were increasing and 69% agreed that relationships between Lebanese and Syrians had deteriorated significantly over the course of the last year, compared to 57% in the previous year. 16% of Lebanese even strongly agreed with the statement

#### ***Women at risk of sexual harassment and exploitation***

Many respondents described an overwhelming feeling of insecurity due to the presence of men in the streets. Syrian men and youth in particular were said to be loitering in the streets, many abusing drugs and alcohol. Three out of four key informants said that women were consequently commonly victim of sexual harassment and one even mentioned that reports of rape were on the rise. One sign of this insecurity: 36% of women said that people in this community could not be trusted against 26% of men.

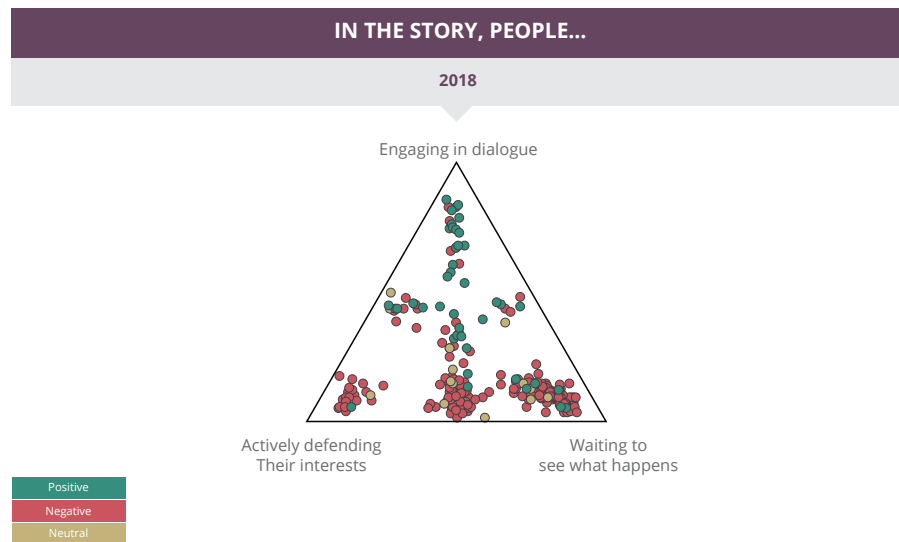
During focus groups many also mentioned that prostitution had become more common, particularly among Syrian women. Brothels were said to have been set up in some apartments.

#### ***In the face of tensions people adopt a passive stance***



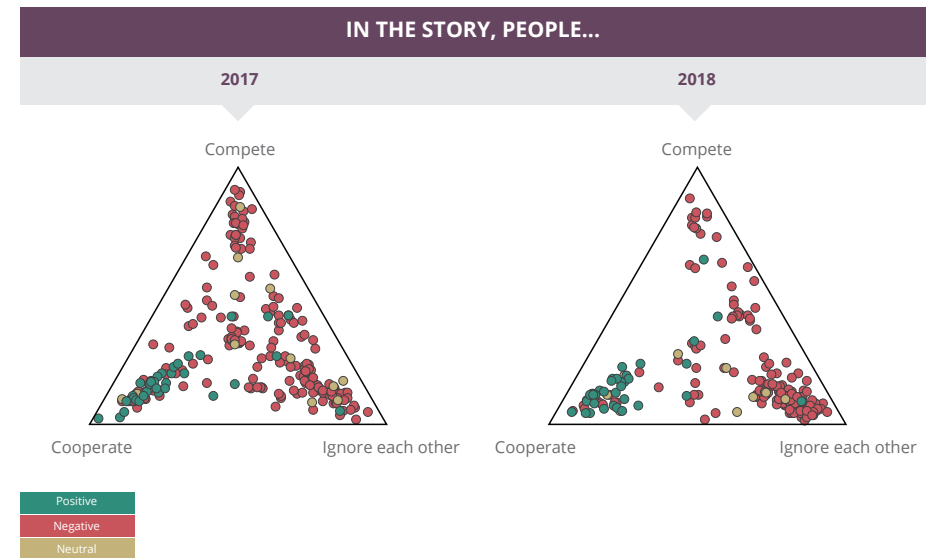
Despite these tensions 42% of people also stated that people were not working to resolve these tensions. This view was particularly strong among Lebanese (43% vs 34% of Syrians) and women (47% vs 36% of men). Many Lebanese respondents asked for the return of Syrians, holding them responsible for the degradation of living conditions in the neighbourhood and difficult economic situation.

Figure 38 In the story, people are...



As a result, many people chose to actively defend their interests, wait to see what happens or a combination of both. Yet even when defending their interests, most people seemed to choose to ignore each other rather than openly competing. Compared to 2017, the rate of people competing seemed to be decreasing. This was confirmed by municipal representatives during the regional workshop who said that residents expected that Syrians be deported to Syria soon. Meanwhile, a small number of people cooperated, often reporting positive stories.

Figure 39 In the story, people



**Competition for employment remains main cause of tension**

During focus groups, the increase of Syrian refugees was said to be the main problem in the community as they competed with Lebanese for employment and housing.

This assessment was corroborated by respondents surveyed who stated that the establishment of Syrian businesses and competition for lower-skilled jobs were the first causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians (82% and 76% respectively). One respondents stated: 'The rent is increasing and our expenses increased, this is all due to Syrians who live here. They open five clothes shops next to each other and the sales are bad.' This was echoed by a shop owner who explained that Syrians represented an unfair competition as they sold cheaper products and were a cheaper workforce, while not paying any taxes. Syrian business owners were also said to have less expenses than

Lebanese by sleeping in their shops or sharing accommodations with other Syrians. This situation led Lebanese to blame the central Government and the municipality who did not prevent Syrians from working illegally.

### ***Aid is a cause of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians***

The third most quoted factor of tension was international aid, with 45% of respondents stating aid not reaching the right people had caused tensions. This theme was the focus of many stories by Lebanese respondents who expressed the feeling that Syrians were taking jobs away from Lebanese while still collecting aid: 'Syrians rented a shop next to ours and they started selling vegetables and after that it became a supermarket and they were selling the same products as ours. They are supported by the UN and they are paid monthly but we don't receive any help. The government says that they can only work in the agricultural field, but what are they doing here? I think that the municipality wants that because they are not controlling this.' However, this version was contradicted by one Syrian in Bourj Hammoud explained: 'I am Syrian and I came here to run away from war, the UN is not helping us. My children can't work because they don't have residencies, no medical services.'

### ***Tensions among Syrians are also at play in Bourj Hammoud***

Several respondents in KIIs and focus groups explained that tensions also existed among Syrians living in Bourj Hammoud due to their political stances vis a vis the Syrian conflict, compounded by religious and ethnic differences.

## **6.2 North**

### **6.2.1 Machha**

#### **6.2.1.1 Context**

Maccha is a primarily agricultural village in the mountainous region of Akkar.

Farmers mainly cultivate olive and almond trees, in addition to various fruit trees. Much like Sir Dinnieh, the closure of the border with Syria has impacted local livelihoods by removing a main export channel for producers.

Recent years have witnessed an increase in greenhouse vegetables agriculture in Maccha, which is a trend in many of the districts of Akkar. Farmers are resorting to greenhouse production as a means to generating more constant profit and reducing the cost of production. However, greenhouse farmers in Akkar have faced difficulties selling their production due to the shortage of demand and competition with imported agricultural products.

In addition to the influx of about 13310 refugees for a host community of 3505, Maccha has had to deal with its long-standing poverty which predates the Syrian conflict.

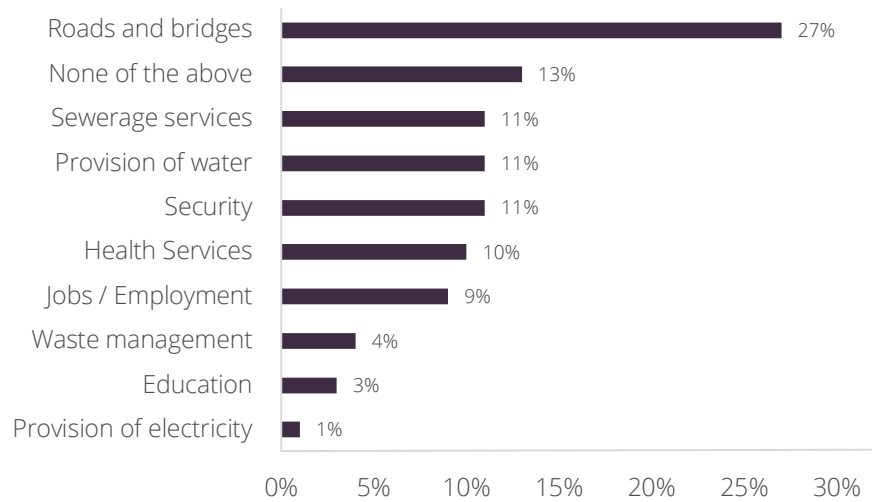
**Profile of Respondents.** All respondents in Machha identified as Sunni. Half (50%) of the respondents had received a secondary education and 12% had gone to university. 71% of women surveyed were inactive, while 10% were working part-time. Meanwhile, 32% of the youth were looking for a job.

#### **6.2.1.2 Quality and access to services and jobs**

In 2018, people in Maccha told as many negative stories (51%) and positive stories (43%) as in 2017. However, they talked about very different themes. The topic most discussed was roads (27%), while 11% respectively talked about sewerage, water and security and 10% talked about health services. Employment was the topic of only 9% of stories as opposed to 17% in 2017.



Figure 40 Your story is mostly about...

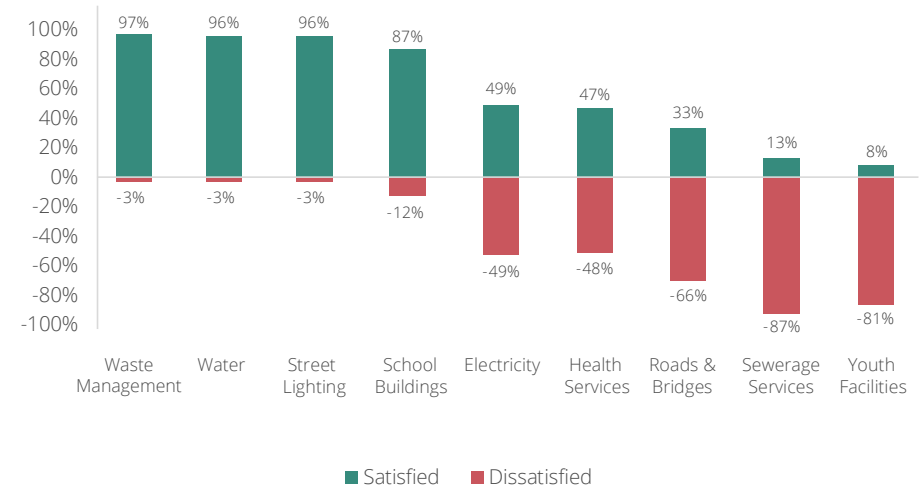


The most satisfactory services were said to be refuse collection (97% satisfaction), water (96%) street lighting (96%) and, to a slightly lesser extent, school buildings (87%).

**Good waste management is a source of pride**

Satisfaction with waste management was very high in Machha (97%). Respondents agreed that garbage collection was regular while a nearby factory had been opened to recycling waste produced by the town. Several people explained that a sensitisation campaign had been conducted in 2016 and provided people with recycling bins: The municipality did a great project in the village to segregate waste. They even turned the waste into fertilizers. No more trash in the village. We are now considered as the best village in terms of waste management.'

Figure 41 Satisfaction with services



**Improvement in water delivery and street lighting**

Several respondents explained that the municipality had built two water tanks in 2017, which had greatly improved the delivery of water and made it more available. One respondent said: 'They have built a water tank for our village. Now we have access to water 24/24. We no longer suffer from lack of water. We used to buy water every 4 days.' These initiatives caused a noticeable improvement in satisfaction levels from 62% in 2017 to 96% in 2018.

The implementation of a solar panel-powered street lighting project was also linked to an increase in satisfaction from 42% to 96%. The project also contributed to enlarging some roads, an improvement saluted by several respondents. Yet, despite progress 66% expressed dissatisfaction with the state of the roads themselves which were said to be full of potholes and in urgent needs of renovation. Some mentioned that the municipality was



planning to put asphalt on them in May 2018. This was not mentioned by the municipal representatives during the regional workshop.

### ***Sewerage is an important source of dissatisfaction***

However, some pointed it out that the water had been polluted by the sewerage, which was deemed dissatisfactory by an overwhelming 87% of respondents. Overall, sewerage appeared to be the main issue in Machha as the systems was said to be completely ineffective and clogged, causing water to overflow onto the street. During the regional workshop, the municipality acknowledged the issue but explained that it did not have the capacity to intervene. It did mention that the Council for Development and Reconstruction had conducted a preliminary study and would be rehabilitating the sewerage system by September 2018.

### ***Lack of opportunities for the youth***

Youth facilities were also said to be lacking in the town. Respondents explained that the youth had no sports facilities or recreational centres, causing them to be idle. In turn, this lack of activities was said to favour disputes between Syrian and Lebanese youth. The municipality explained that, although a small youth centre existed, it lacked fund and space to establish proper youth facilities. However, it was hoping to build a stadium for the youth in the whole of Akkar.

### ***Old houses are in urgent need of repair***

Several respondents explained that the houses in the town needed renovation because the structure was old. Many even mentioned accidents in which walls or ceilings fell on residents, injuring them.

### **LHSP Project in Machha**

LHSP upgraded three agricultural roads to connect agricultural areas to the main transportation routes. The project also provided a backhoe loader to access agricultural areas.

The project was seen positively by those who mentioned it, saying that it had made work easier for farmers and saved them money. One respondent stated: 'Recently, they constructed roads leading to the croplands. Harvesting machines couldn't reach the croplands before. Now, we can harvest our croplands. It is an important project indeed!'. 71% of people in Machha were aware of the project and 96% of them thought that it was having a positive impact on the community.

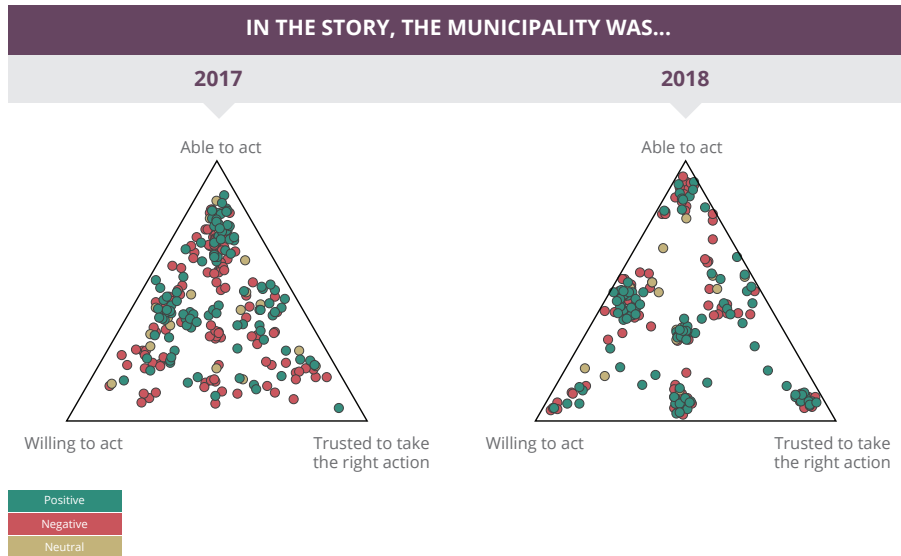
## **6.2.1.3 Municipal capability and legitimacy**

### ***Trust in the municipality increasing particularly among Syrians and youth***

While respondents already recognised the municipality's ability in 2017, more people now also thought that it was also willing to act or willing and trusted to act. However, a cluster of people thought that the municipality was not able to act although it was trusted or trusted and willing to do.



Figure 42 In the story, the municipality was...



The municipality was even more trusted to provide services in 2018 than it was in 2017 (90% vs 72%). This increase in trust was particularly noticeable among Syrians 75% of whom said they trusted the municipality the most to provide services as opposed to 29% in 2017. Youth respondents also overwhelmingly relied on the municipality as the first service provider (98%) while 9% of the eldest respondents (above 50) trusted religious authorities most.

Table 5 Who do you trust most to provide services?

| Top Responses      | Lebanese | Syrians | Youth | 50+ |
|--------------------|----------|---------|-------|-----|
| Municipality       | 95%      | 75%     | 98%   | 87% |
| INGOs              | 1%       | 13%     | 0%    | 0%  |
| Friends and Family | 1%       | 8%      | 0%    | 4%  |
| A religious leader | 1%       | 4%      | 0%    | 9%  |
| The Mukhtar        | 1%       | 0%      | 2%    | 0%  |

Similarly, while all people in Machha also trusted the municipality most to resolve disputes (43%), this was particularly the case of youth respondents (61%), whereas people above 50 relied on religious leaders (34%) almost as much as on the municipality (35%).

***Yet, youth and unemployed people mistrust people in the community***

Overall, 95% said they trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community, more than in 2017 where 66% agreed. However, this rosy picture was contested by respondents in focus groups who accused the municipality of making false promises and embezzling money. All eight of them rated the municipality between 3 and 5 out of 10. Their opinion reflected that of youth and unemployed people who were more likely to say that people in Machha could not be trusted; 44% and 43% of them respectively disagreed with the statement 'People in this community can generally be trusted'. Therefore, a part of the youth may be relying on the municipality for service delivery and resolution of dispute, but out of necessity and recognition for its capability rather than because they whole heartedly trust it.

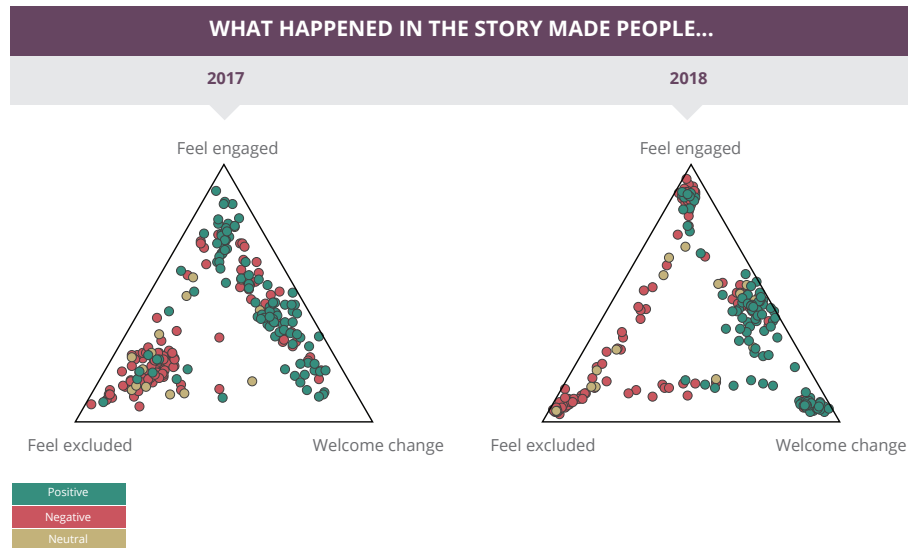




### **People feel less excluded and more engaged but do not take part in public events**

While they also trusted the municipality more, people in Machha also felt less excluded than in 2017. More of them either felt engaged and/or welcomed change.

Figure 43 People in the story...



This feeling engagement concurred with an even stronger awareness of municipal events than in 2017, with 97% naming at least one public event having taken place in the last year. However, much like in 2017, only 26% of people who were aware of these events chose to take part. This was particularly the case of women, 91% of whom said they had not engaged with any of the events they were aware of. Yet, women were still more likely to ask the municipality to improve communication with the community, which was demanded by 31% of them. During the regional workshop, the municipality agreed that there should be more transparency regarding the municipal

budget and that it should be published on the website. On the contrary, men insisted on hiring people from the local community to perform its service delivery works (40%).

Figure 44 If the municipality wants to improve how it plans and delivers services it needs to...



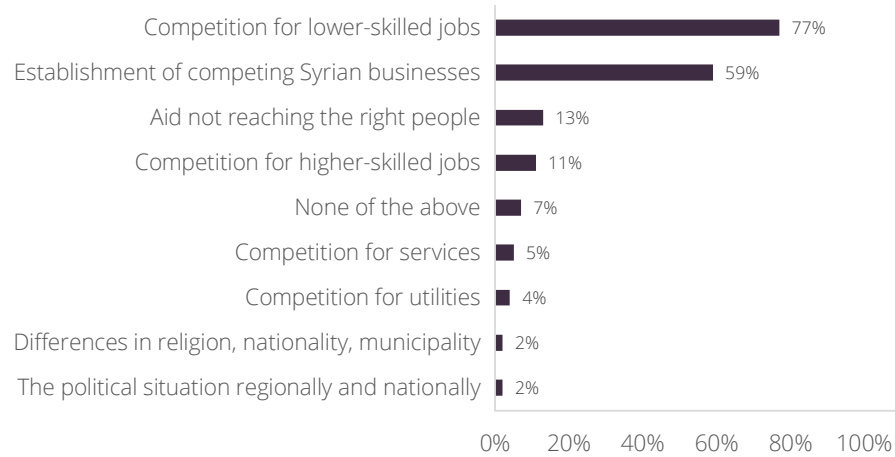
### **6.2.1.4 Social stability**

#### **Tensions between Lebanese and Syrians are still driven by competition over jobs and businesses**

Perceptions of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians was still high in Machha, albeit slightly lesser than in 2017. 76% of respondents said that there were tensions between Syrians and Lebanese.



Figure 45 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians



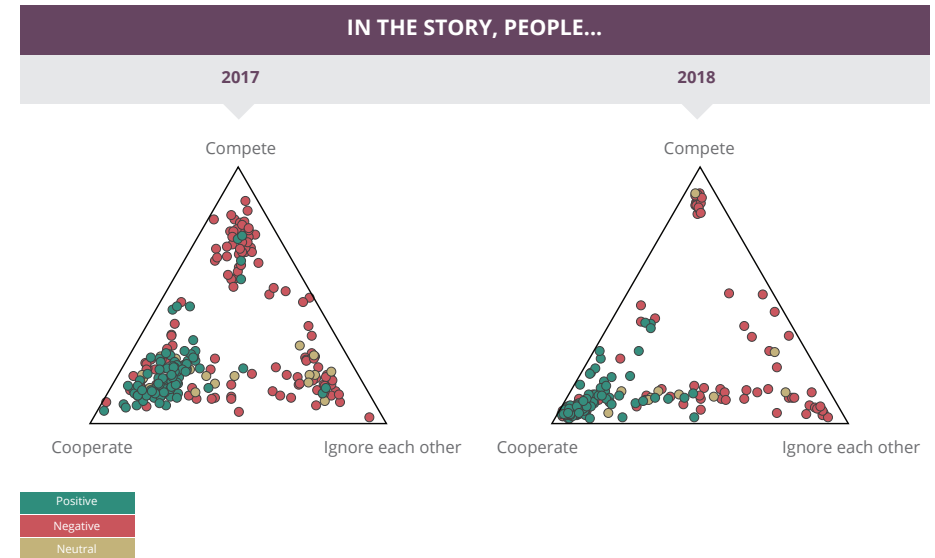
Much like in the rest of the municipalities visited, competition for lower-skilled jobs (59%) and between business-owners (59%) were the two main causes of tensions between the two groups. This competition was particularly intense in the field of construction: 'Syrians and Lebanese are fighting for work especially in the construction field. Few months ago, my relative had a big fight with a Syrian for plastering work. The municipality then interfered and paid my relative \$300 just to sort things out.' Paradoxically, and while they also listed employment as the main cause of tensions, unemployed respondents were more likely to also recognise other reasons, including political, religious and cultural differences as a source of tensions. One unemployed Lebanese respondent for instance mentioned price wars between shop owners: 'There are two pastry shops in the village; one is owned by a Lebanese and the other by a Syrian. The Syrian is speculating the Lebanese with his cheaper prices thus, attracting all the people in the village to his pastry shop.' Yet,

51% of unemployed people also denied that there were tensions altogether. Unemployed people were also more likely to deny there were tensions among Lebanese, 88% saying it was not the case. However, this was more in line with the rest of the sample considering that 78% said that there were no such tensions.

### More people cooperate, less compete

Despite the continuation of tensions, more people in Maccha suggested that cooperation was increasing compared to 2017. Several of these stories talked about actions taken by the municipality or international organisations in order to improve the community. Meanwhile, competition between people was less recurrent and mostly related to employment or competition between businesses.

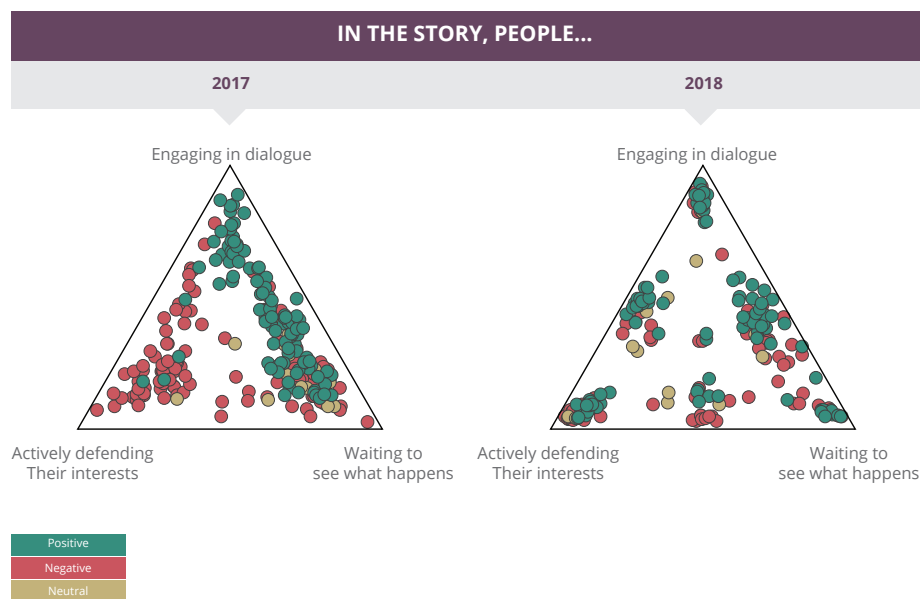
Figure 46 In the story, people...





In terms of people’s reaction, respondents in 2018 were less likely to wait and see and more likely to actively defend their interests than there were in 2017. However, 98% said that violence was never a way to defend one’s interests, suggesting that this trend may not necessarily lead to violence. Moreover, 95% of respondents said that despite tensions people were working on resolving them. This was much more than in 2017 when 59% only agreed that this was the case. Finally, 42% of all respondents, particularly men (48%) and unemployed people (59%) said that the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians had not deteriorated in the past year. In this regard, 2017 appeared to have been a much more tensed year, considering that 84% of people in Machha had felt a deterioration of the relationship between the two groups.

Figure 47 In the story, people are...



## 6.2.2 Rajam Issa

### 6.2.2.1 Context

Rajam Issa is located in the district of Akkar, in the region of Wadi Khaled along the northeast border with Syria. Even prior to the Syrian conflict the area has been one of the most deprived in Lebanon in terms of access to services. The economy in Wadi Khaled more generally has historically been relied on illegal trade with Syria. The closing of the smuggling routes had taken a heavy toll on the already fragile livelihoods of the community.

The impoverished city has seen a massive influx of refugees and the Syrian population is now more than double than the Lebanese host community.

**Profile of Respondents.** The respondents’ sample in Rajam Issa reported the second lowest level of education among the municipalities visited: 26% had only received elementary education or less and 42% had an intermediate level of education. More Lebanese respondents had received a secondary education (30%) than Syrians (16%). Women were also notably less educated than men, with 40% of them stating their level of education was elementary or less as opposed to 12% of men. Almost two thirds of women (61%) were inactive while 14% of them were looking for work, as opposed to 2% of men. Overall only 35% of respondents were employed full time. This lack of employment opportunities translated into high levels of poverty, with 60% of people surveyed stating that they barely made enough for food, rent and clothes, including 90% of Syrians.

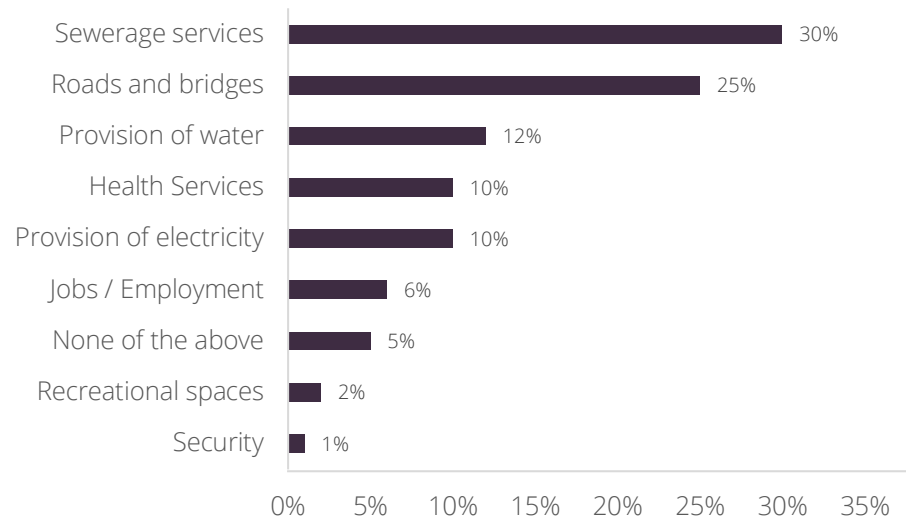
### 6.2.2.2 Quality of services and access to services and jobs

#### *People in Rajam Issa overwhelmingly talk about services*

Half of respondents (50%) in Rajam Issa told positive stories and 48% told negative ones. These stories were mostly about services. Only 6% were about employment and 1% was about security.



Figure 48 Your story is mostly about...



The most talked about services were sewerage, which was the focus of 30% of stories, and roads (25%). Syrians were more likely to also talk about health services than Lebanese (19% against 7%). Meanwhile, 14% of youth talked about employment.

### **People are satisfied with recent improvements on roads and waste management**

Waste management was the most satisfactory service, along sewerage services and roads. Satisfaction with roads appeared to be linked to efforts made by the municipality to pave several of them using asphalt and to the construction of sidewalk. One respondent said: 'We thank the municipality because they paved the internal roads with asphalt but the most important one is the main and international road. We hope they repair it soon.' As for waste management, participants in focus groups mentioned the recent

distribution of waste containers by NRC.

### **Dissatisfaction with water is increasing**

Compared to 2016 stories about water were much more negative. Many people mentioned that a water project had been started by the municipality to extend the water network in the town. However, provision had not started following the installation of the pipes. This lack of water forced many to buy water from alternative sources, putting financial pressure on them. Out of all the respondents surveyed, only 53% had access to running water.

The mayor of Rajam Issa explained that water was indeed a key issue in the town which mostly relied on cistern and wells. The installation of a water pump was supposed to address the issue but it did not lead to any improvements. The purchase of costly cistern by many families was also said to put additional financial pressure on them.

### **Health facilities do not meet demand**

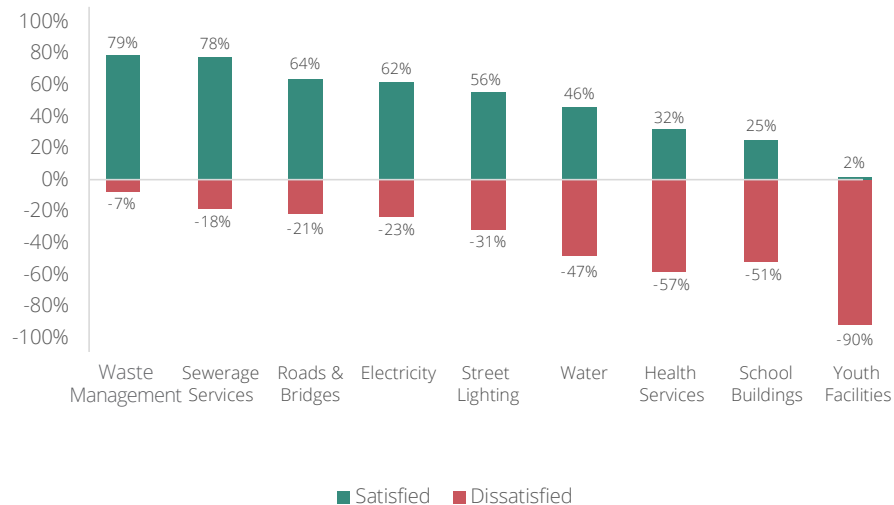
Health facilities were reportedly lacking in Rajam Issa and 57% of people said they were dissatisfied with it. Women were particularly critical of health services, 91% of them said they were dissatisfied. Focus groups respondents mentioned that the nearest hospital was in Qobayat more than 40 minutes away. In response, one philanthropist was said to have procured an ambulance to the municipality and UNDP reportedly opened a mobile clinic supported by Doctors without Borders to meet demands. Even this initiative appeared to be insufficient as respondent and municipal representatives talked about the lack of equipment and the unavailability of medical staff at the local clinic.

### **Youth facilities are lacking**

Youth facilities were said to be a particularly negative point. 90% of people said they were dissatisfied with them. Focus groups respondents mentioned

that a football pitch had originally been envisaged but that it was ultimately not installed due to tribal and family disputes.

Figure 49 Satisfaction with services



### LHSP Project in Rajam Issa

In Rajam Issa, LHSP connected 220 housing units to the sewerage network. An overwhelming 97% of people were aware of the project and 85% of them thought it was having a positive impact on the community.

People who had not been connected complained about their situation and the negative impact of the lack of sewerage. Several respondents mentioned that the selection of houses connected to the sewerage system was driven by political leanings: 'This was also mentioned by people who had not been connected to the sewerage network.' 14% of men surveyed strongly disagreed that the project was having a positive impact on the community.

More worrying several people mentioned that the sewerage project had heavily polluted the local river which many relied on for drinking and cooking water: 'When the UN installed the sewage system they drained it to the river. I live in a tent next to the river and I used to drink from the river's water and use it for cooking but since it was polluted we didn't dare to use it again.'

### 6.2.2.3 Municipal capability and legitimacy

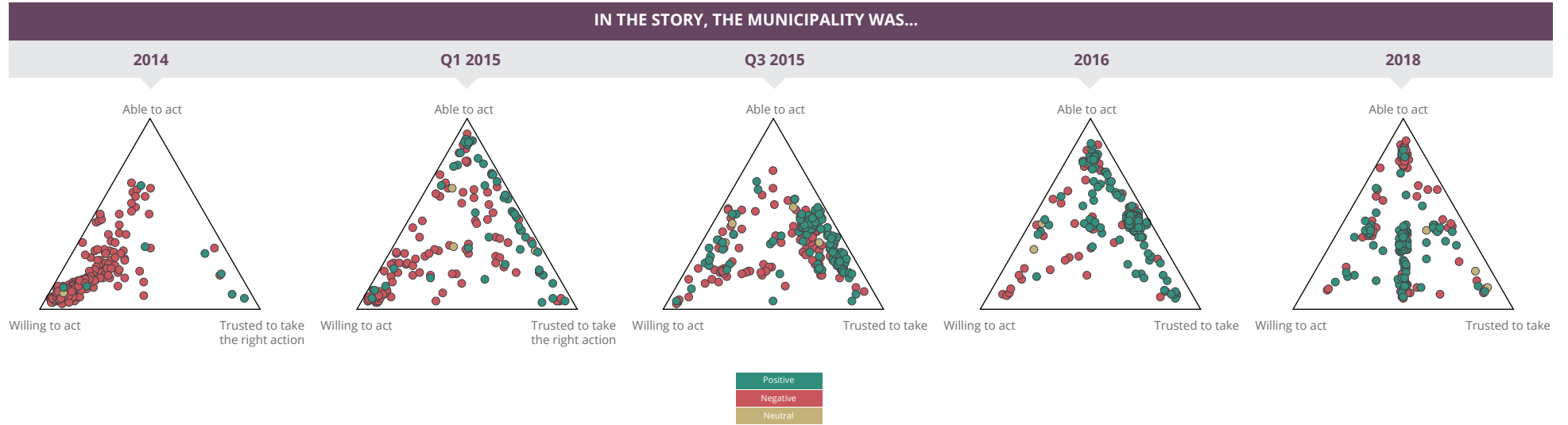
***The municipality is trusted, able and willing to act, but remains constrained by resources***

Since the beginning of the UNDP support to Rajam Issa, the perception of the municipalities has been in constant improvement. Perception of municipal ability and trust were the first to increase. In 2018, more people than ever now think that the municipality is able, trusted and willing to act. Overall, 80% of people said they trusted the municipality to work well to improve



the community. This was particularly true of Lebanese respondents, 86% of whom agreed with the statement as opposed to 61% of Syrians.

Figure 50 In the story, the municipality was...



A cluster of people do perceive the municipality to be willing and trusted to take the right action, but not able. This is likely due to a better perception of the municipality's constraints. Men in particular identified an issue with resources, 23% of them stating that the municipality did not have the resources to provide the necessary services for the community. Some of the key informants explained that the municipality's capability was limited by its budget and that it required a lot of external support from international organisations.

***A section of respondents perceive bias in the way the municipality delivers services***

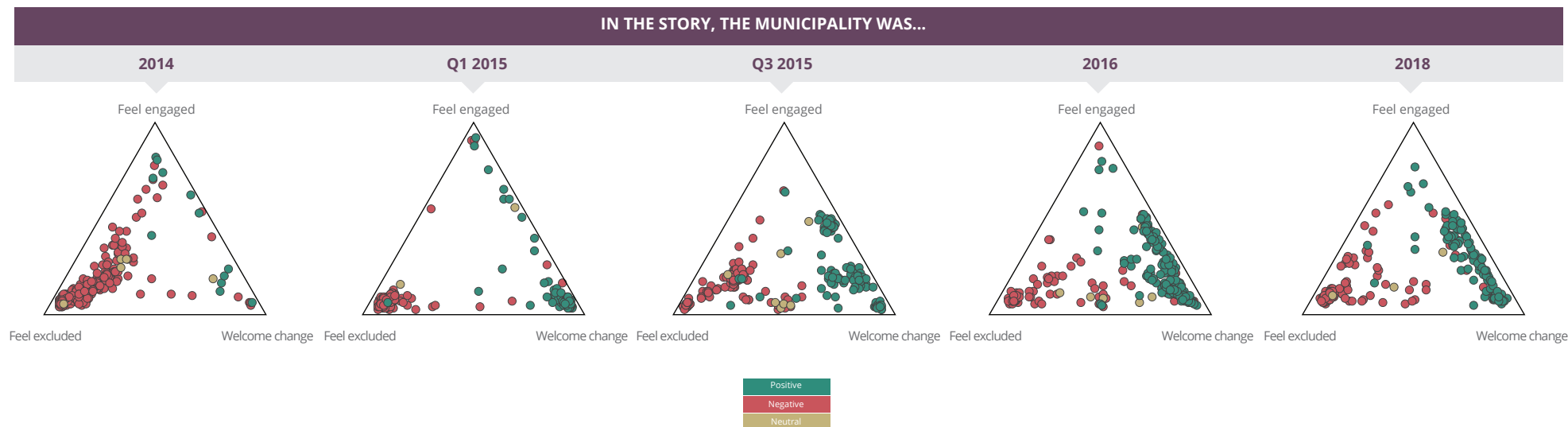
Although 71% of respondents said that there was no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services, several respondents suggested this was indeed the case. Talking about the recent work done on the roads, several respondents said that they enmity with the municipality was the reason why roads near their houses had not been selected for reparation: 'They paved the roads with asphalt but they road in front of my brother's house wasn't repaired because he is against the municipality's president. We hope that they solve this problem soon'. One key informant concurred that asphalt had only been spread in front of the mayor's house and that of his son.

***Demand for municipal engagement is low***



More than half of respondents (53%) were not aware of any type of municipal event in the past year. Men and Syrians in particular could not remember a single event having taken place (66% and 67% respectively).

Figure 51 What happened in the story, made people...



However, demand for these events did not appear to be high. A large majority of people felt engaged in change happening in the community and welcomed this change. Overall, level of engagement and people's positive reaction to change appeared to be established in Rajam Issa since 2016, as evidenced by SenseMaker data collected. Feeling of exclusion, while still present, has receded. Considering that 74% of respondents who were aware of them did not engage with the events more outreach from the municipality did not appear to be a solution. Women in particular stated that they had not attended the events (84%).

Instead, 44% of men asked the municipality to hire people to conduct perform its service delivery works. However, key informants pointed out that, while temporary works on services involving local people had provided temporary relief by providing temporary employment opportunities, more sustainable

#### 6.2.2.4 Social stability

##### ***Women and men react and perceive tensions differently***

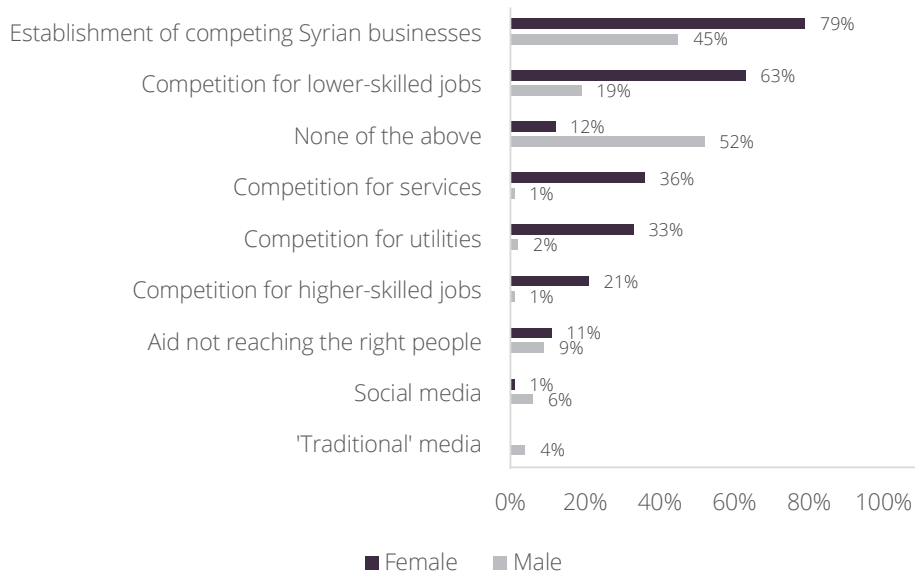
Women and men in Rajam Issa had widely different opinions about community tensions. 36% of them said that there were tensions among Lebanese and as much as 78% stated that tensions existed between Syrians and Lebanese.





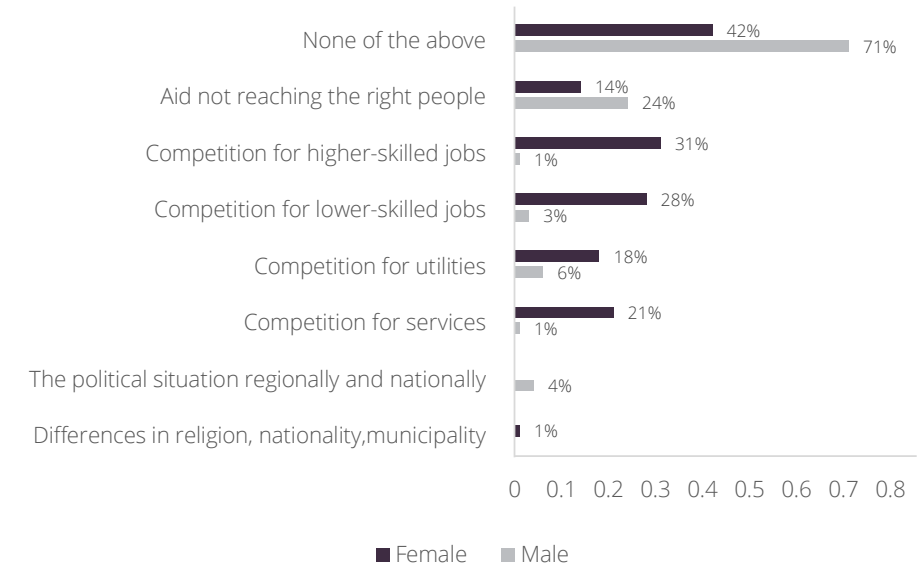
By contrast, their male counterparts concurred at 16% and 23% respectively. According to 43% of them the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians had deteriorated in the past year. In addition, 14% of them stated that people in the community could not be trusted when only 3% of men agreed.

Figure 52 Causes of tensions between Syrians and Lebanese (men vs women)



Men and women also had a different reading of the causes of these tensions with female largely attributing them to competition between business owners (79%) and competition for lower-skilled jobs (63%). Meanwhile men, although they also identified employment as a primary cause of tensions, stated that other reasons were at play. Similar patterns were noticeable when talking about tensions among Lebanese with women blaming employment-related reasons more so than men did.

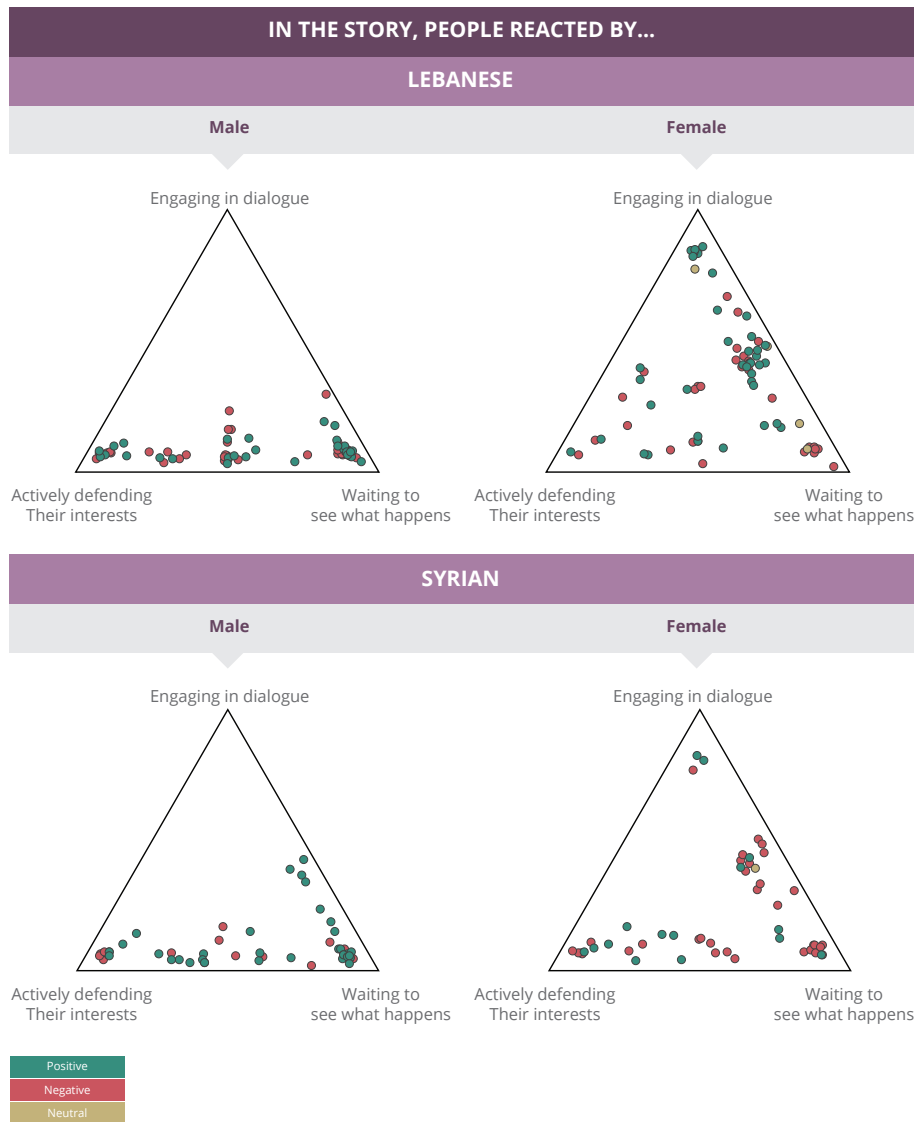
Figure 53 Causes of tensions among Lebanese (men vs women)



In addition to differing in their perception of tension, men and women in Rajam Issa also differed in their reaction. Men showed a much lesser tendency to engage in dialogue than women, particularly Lebanese men. Instead, most of them either waited to see what happened or actively defended their interests. Although many women also waited to see what happens, more of them resorted to dialogue. Overall, a large part of women in Rajam Issa appeared to have less agency than their male counterparts, many being inactive and less educated.



Figure 54 In the story, people reacted by...

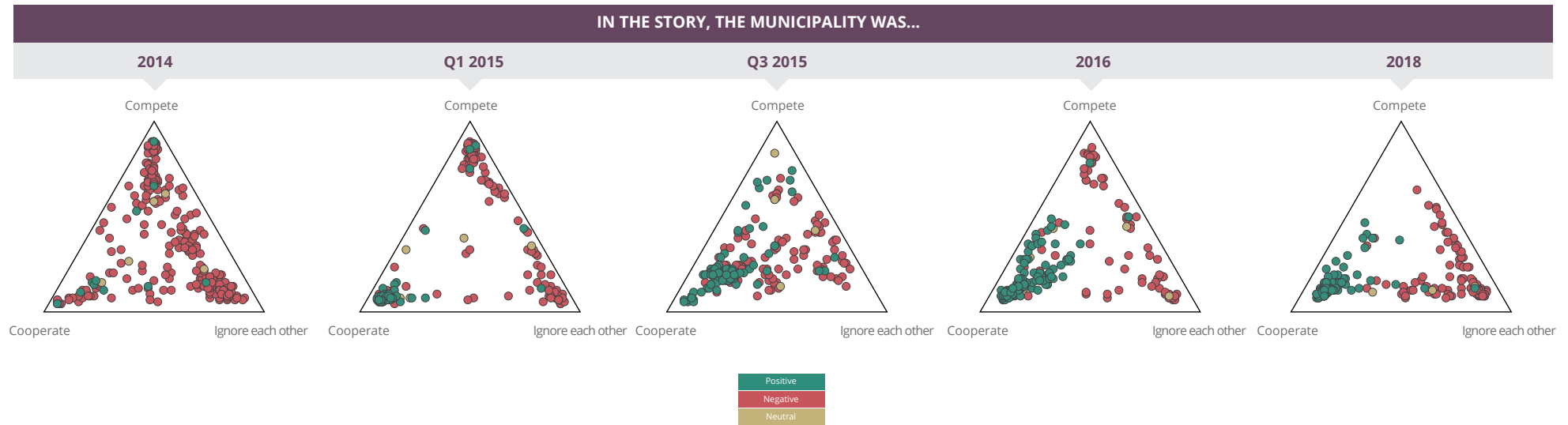


**People ignore and/or cooperate while competition is at its lowest**

In the face of tensions most respondents appeared to either ignore each other or cooperate rather than compete. In spite of a pick in competition in 2016, people in Rajam Issa seem to have gradually moved towards avoidance and/or cooperation since 2014. According to focus groups respondents pre-existing relationships between Syrians and Lebanese in the region mitigated the rise of tensions after the influx of refugees. For instance, 68% of women stated that despite tensions people were working to resolve them. Meanwhile, the mayor of the town explained that tribal leaders were essential actors for conflict resolution and had helped kept tensions low. Yet, respondents said that tribal tensions had been the reason for the failure of a project aiming to establish a stadium for the youth.



Figure 55 In the story, people...



An evidence of the importance of tribal ties was the reliance of family for conflict resolution. Friends and family were the first actor trusted for resolution and was quoted by 49% of respondents. These were particular important among men, 71% of responses as opposed to 27% for women.

## 6.2.3 Sir Dinnieh

### 6.2.3.1 Context

Sir Dinnieh is the biggest town in the mountainous region of Dinnieh. The inhabitants of Sir Dinnieh are primarily Sunni. The town has seen a large influx of Syrian refugee. In 2016, 7446 were registered in Sir Dinnieh for a host community of 4223.

The region's economy is largely based on agriculture thanks to its resources in water. Before the influx of refugees, Sir Dinnieh also enjoyed some trading activities and a tourism industry, as evidenced by the Sir Dinnieh teleferique.

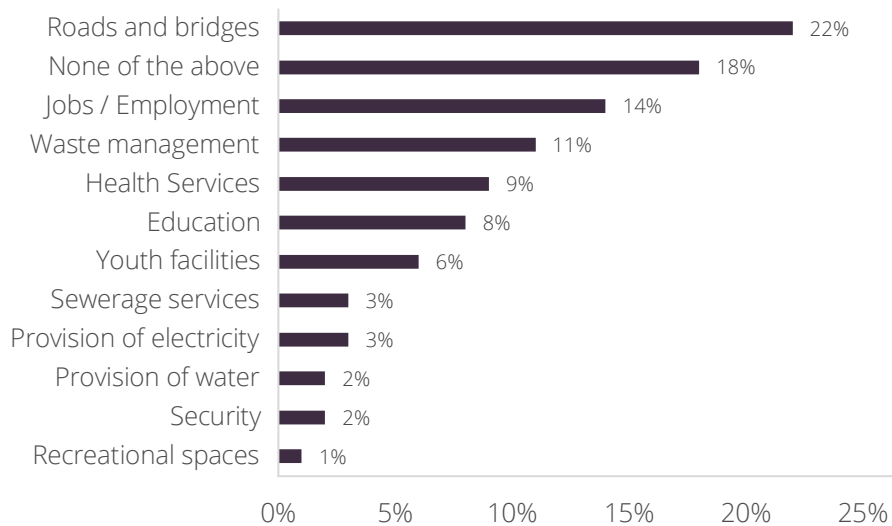
**Profile of respondents.** The baseline collected in Sir Dinnieh in 2016 only included Lebanese respondents. In 2018, the sample in Sir Dinnieh was composed of 75% of Lebanese and 25% Syrians. 39% of respondents said they earned barely enough for food rent and clothes and another 49% said they could afford these things but not durables. However, between 98 and 99% said that running water, electricity, sewerage services and regular refuse collection were available in their household. This is more than in most municipalities visited where these rates oscillated between 83% for electricity and 65% for regular refuse collection.



### 6.2.3.2 Quality and access to services and jobs

Compared to other municipalities visited Sir Dinnieh reported much more positive stories (69%) than negative ones (29%). This was almost reversed from 2016 when 28% of people reported positive stories and 67% negative ones.

Figure 56 Topics most discussed by respondents

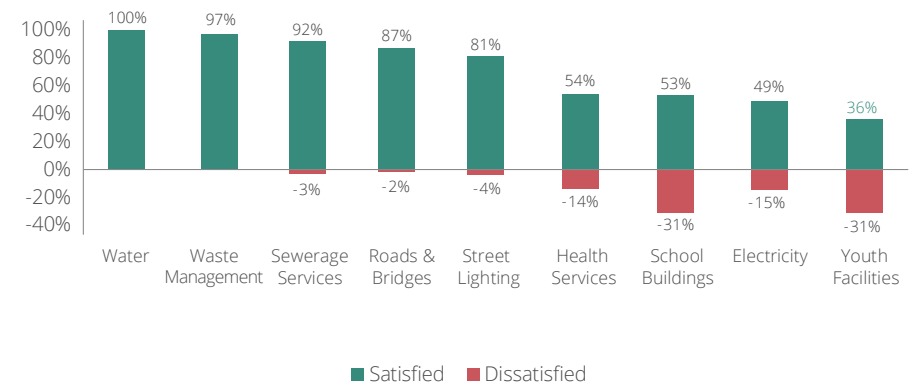


Most stories talked about roads (22%) and jobs and employment (14%). Among the 18% of stories related to other topics than those proposed, many discussed street lighting, the tourism industry or international aid.

regarding roads, several respondents explained that the narrow roads in the town had been a challenge but that efforts made by the municipality had improved the situation. One respondent explained: 'The municipality is working hard to fix the roads. It has been a year since the roads are clean and

the repaired. We don't see any more holes nor garbage. 'During the regional workshop, municipal representatives from Sir Dinnieh explained that while there were some unpaved roads left, many had been refurbished including the main road of Sir Dinnieh in 2018.

Figure 57 How satisfied are you with the availability and quality of the following services



### People are very satisfied with most services and credit the municipality and the UN

Respondents in Sir Dinnieh showed very high levels of satisfaction. This was most notable with water, refuse collection and sewerage services (100%, 97%, and 92% respectively). This was likely the result of municipal efforts and support from international donors. For one many stories praised the reactivity of the municipality regarding issues with water: 'Few months ago, we used to suffer from water cut off because of the broken pipe and we had to buy water. We are a poor family and we couldn't afford these expenses, now the municipality fixed and solved this problem'. However, in one KII and



in one focus groups respondents mentioned that the water was sometimes calcareous and unclear. At the regional workshop, the municipality mentioned that water was rationed following the conduct of the field research. Water flow was halved due to the high demand which exceeds the capacity of the water network in the summer. Potential dissatisfaction regarding these cuts was therefore not captured in this report.

### **LHSP Project in Sir Dinnieh**

11% of respondents talked about change in the waste management in Sir Dinnieh. All these stories were positive with respondents praising the improvement made both in the collection and the management of garbage. Respondents notably mentioned how the UNDP project had helped clean the garbage in the street: 'The village is more clean now, the streets are clean and the waste is collected. The UN funded this project and it offered waste trucks for the municipality as well as compressors to be able to recycle more waste.'

Overall, 76% of people were aware of the UNPD project and 97% of them thought it was having a positive impact on the community. 79% of respondents credited international organisations for the project but as much as 69% also said that the municipality was behind the project.

Meanwhile several stories touched on the many projects conducted in Sir Dinnieh, particularly in the fields of education, recreation activities, and waste management. One respondent mentioned: 'The UN renovated the official school in Sir. Personally, I didn't benefit from this but Lebanese and Syrians living here benefited from it and we thank them for taking care of our village and helping us.'

Similar stories were captured regarding street lighting and how they had made people in Sir Dinnieh feel safer at night: 'The change is that the UN

installed solar street lights and now all the streets are lightened. There used to be theft during the night now it is safe.' However, one respondents did mention that they regretted that all the lights had been installed near the town market. They explained that other roads also needed lighting without which people would feel unsafe at dark.

All these initiatives were said to have had a positive impact on the overall access to and quality of services.

### ***Health services are a subject of dissatisfaction***

Despite mostly satisfactory services overall, 31% of people in Sir Dinnieh said they were dissatisfied with health provision in the town. Several stories mentioned that the quality of care in the local hospital, Assoun Hospital, was very dissatisfactory and that they preferred to seek care from Tripoli. Several people even nicknamed it 'the Hospital of Death' because of the frequent medical errors. One respondent said that the Red Cross had opened a medical centre to provide an alternative but expressed concern that individuals from the community had been selected to work there and may favour some people over others. During the regional workshop the municipality explained that the local dispensary, mentioned by several respondents in Sir Dinnieh, needed to be fully operationalised but that it was run by the Ministry of Health and needed large support.

Some respondents also highlighted the improvements in access to healthcare following the opening of a dental clinic by the UN.

### **6.2.3.3 Municipal capability and legitimacy**

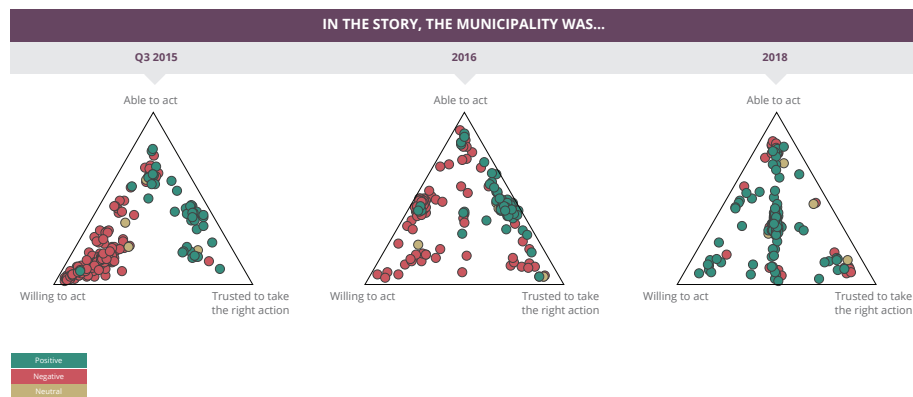
#### ***Perception of municipal capability and trust in constant improvement since 2015***

Although most people in 2017 agreed that the municipality was able to act, several considered that it was not willing or did not trust it to do so. In 2018,



the largest cluster of people now believed that the municipality is all three at once.

Figure 58 In the story, the municipality was...



Over the period 2015 to 2018 the perception of the municipality appears to have steadily improved as evidenced by SenseMaker data throughout the years of research. In addition to this improved opinion of the municipality this evolution clearly shows an increasing number of positive stories. In 2018, 83% of people said that they trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community.

Despite trust, the municipality is not always the only actor for service delivery and dispute resolution

Relatedly, 62% of people trusted the municipality the most to deliver services, while 11% relied first on international organisations. Disparities existed between Lebanese and Syrians with the latter showing greater reliance on international organisations (30% vs 5% of Lebanese). While they considered the municipality the first service provider, this percentage may be symptomatic of a dependence on INGOs for access to services.

Interestingly, 13% of men said that they relied on a political party while only 2% of women agreed. These results may indicate that connections and political alliances may be at play in the way services are delivered in Sir Dinnieh. This was also suggested when looking at who people trust to resolve disputes. The first actor quoted by respondents were family and friends (39% of all responses), a tendency which was even stronger among Lebanese. Meanwhile, among youth respondents the first actor trusted to resolve disputes was the LAF (40%). Family ties appear to be strong in Dinnieh more generally, as evidenced by clashes between opposing families which occurred in July 2017, which were resolved by the LAF. Yet, while focus groups respondents confirmed that tribal alliances were at play in Sir Dinnieh, they also said that this had not caused problems or cases of favouritism. However, it was said to have weakened the ability of the municipality

Table 6 Who do you trust most...

|                                     | Lebanese | Syrian |
|-------------------------------------|----------|--------|
| <b>... to deliver services</b>      |          |        |
| The municipality / municipal police | 67%      | 49%    |
| International organisations         | 5%       | 30%    |
| Friends and family                  | 9%       | 11%    |
| <b>...to resolve disputes</b>       |          |        |
| Friends and family                  | 42%      | 32%    |
| The LAF                             | 28%      | 29%    |
| The municipality / municipal police | 24%      | 35%    |

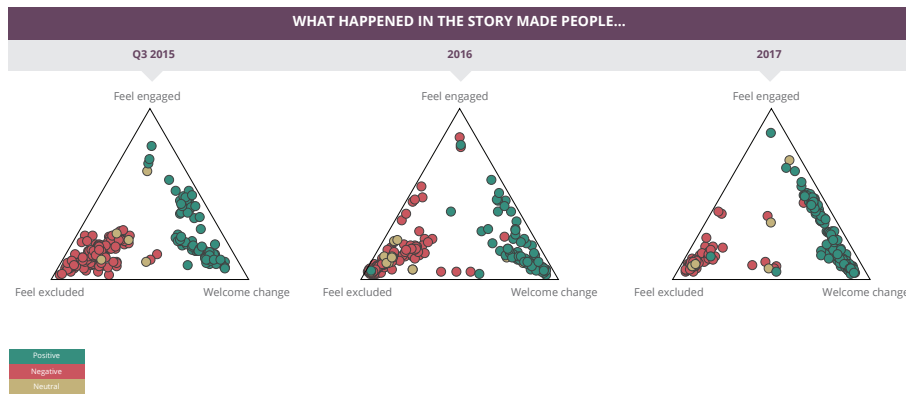
<sup>6</sup> Civil Society Knowledge Centre. 'Conflict Incident Report', July 2017



### Growing sense of engagement and positive change

Between 2015 and 2018, the feeling of engagement seemed to have grown among respondents in Sir Dinnieh. While some people continue to feel excluded, more and more reported feeling engaged while they also welcomed change. Those who felt excluded were mostly those who talked about jobs and unemployment or health services.

Figure 59 What happened in the story made people...

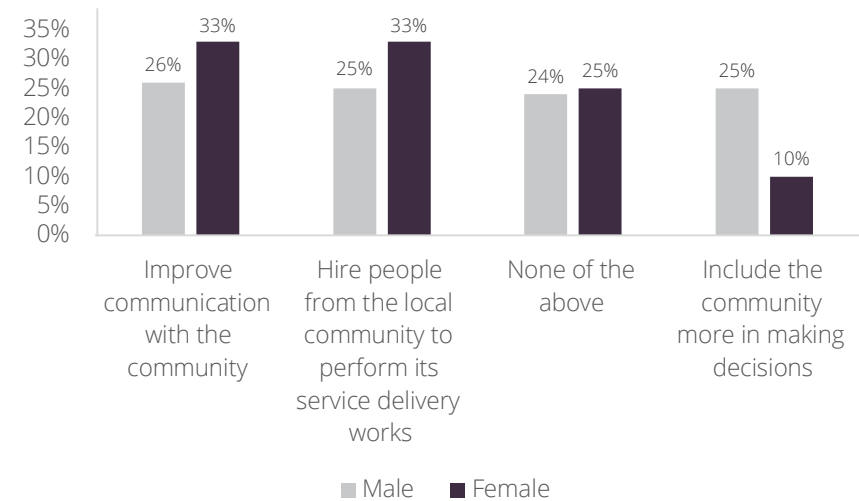


### Women trust the municipality to work well while men want to be part of decision-making

Yet, this engagement did not appear to be linked to a high number of municipal outreach events as 57% of people did not know of any having taken place in the past year. Women in particular were not aware of any municipal events, with 72% saying that they could not remember even one. Among those who did know of municipal events, 60% had attended at least one. Differences between male and female respondents suggest that demand for these types of events may be higher among men 25% said that the municipality should include the community more in decision-making while only 10% of women did. Instead, women were more likely to ask for improved communication

(33%) or the hiring of local people for service delivery works (33%). More of them (89%) said that they trusted the municipality to work well to improve the municipality. A local mukhtar explained that the municipality had a big WhatsApp and online presence for communication purposes, which had contributed to earning a certification as ‘the most beautiful village in Lebanon’ in 2017. However, this was contested by another mukhtar. One member of the municipality also explained that a website had been created but that the municipality did not have particular outreach strategies or regular events.

Figure 60 In your opinion, if the municipality wants to improve how it plans and delivers services it needs to...



### Syrians appear less engaged in municipal life but do not feel excluded

No notable differences appeared between Syrians and Lebanese on how they municipality should improve the way it works. However, Syrians





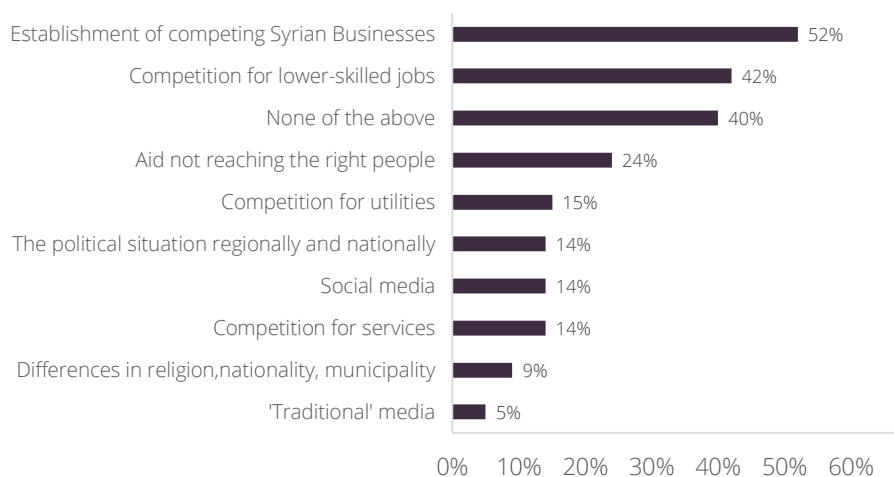
appeared to be less engaged with 74% saying that they did not remember any municipal event in the past year. On questions about the municipality's capacity, efficiency and fairness they were more likely to respond with 'neither agree nor disagree'. Yet, they did not show higher feelings of exclusion either. Engagement with the municipality may therefore not be a priority for them as long as service provision continues to be satisfactory.

### 6.2.3.4 Social stability

#### ***Tensions are low and causes debated***

People in Sir Dinnieh reported less tensions when compared to other municipalities visited in 2018. Only 21% said that there were tensions between Lebanese and 34% said that there were tensions between Lebanese and Syrians. When asked whether the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians had deteriorated had in the past year, only 27% said that this was the case, as opposed to an average of 54% across all other municipalities.

Figure 61 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians



Establishment of competing Syrian businesses was identified as the most common cause of tensions (52%), along with competition of lower-skilled jobs (42%). One Syrian respondent explained that he had personally been victim of intimidation and threats: 'Few months ago, I opened a grocery shop and it was working good, but I was threatened by some Lebanese people. They told me to close it and go back home. I was scared and I didn't want to leave the village because I can't find cheap rents around here. Now, I am working as a part timer in a shop just to be able to cover my family's expenses.'

Men and women had different perceptions of the causes of tensions. Women were more likely to identify competition for utilities, services and aid as a cause of tension than men. While the latter were more likely to quote politics, social media and religious differences (see table below).

Table 7 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians (Men vs Women)

|  | Men | Women |
|--|-----|-------|
| Competition for lower-skilled jobs                 | 67% | 49%   |
| Aid not reaching the right people                  | 5%  | 30%   |
| Competition for utilities                          | 9%  | 11%   |
| The political situation regionally and nationally  | 67% | 49%   |
| Social media                                       | 5%  | 30%   |
| Competition for services                           | 9%  | 11%   |
| Differences in religion, nationality, municipality | 67% | 49%   |

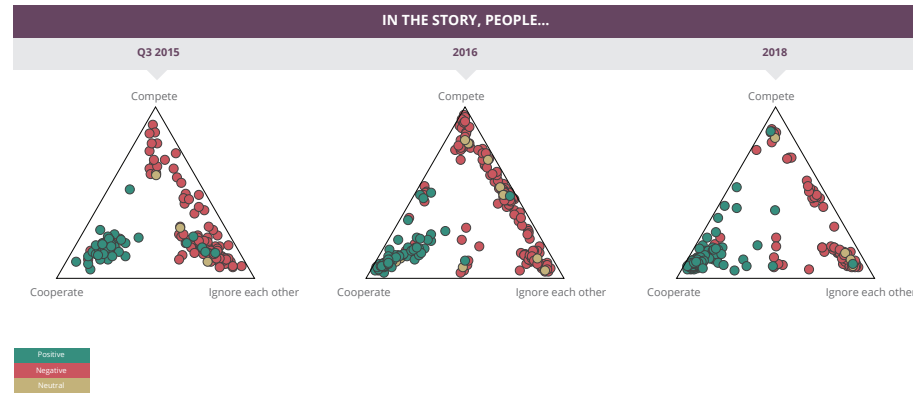
Similarly Lebanese and Syrians had different readings of the factors of tensions. Lebanese blamed employment-related issues and political differences much more than Syrians did. For Syrians, the first cause of tension was aid (34%). In an interview, a local mukhtar in Sir Dinnieh confirmed that Lebanese had received less opportunities for aid despite facing similar hardship, creating tensions.



### Competition is subsiding in favour of cooperation

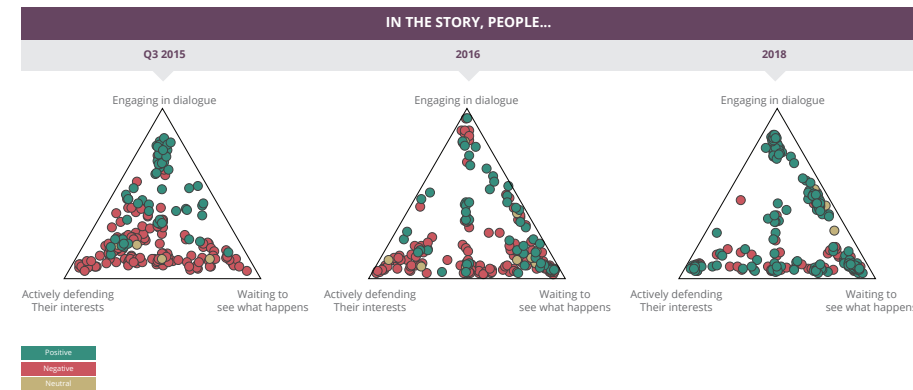
While competition was at a peak in 2016, Sir Dinnieh now shows much more cooperation between the people of the community. However, among Syrians, those who cooperate are in equal numbers to those who ignore each other.

Figure 62 In the story, people...



Similarly, more people engaged in dialogue compared to 2016. A large group also engaged in dialogue and waited to see what happens, which is likely a reflection of the growing trust in the municipality. Compared to both 2015 and 2016, fewer people actively defended their interests.

Figure 63 In the story, people reacted by...



Overall, while tensions appeared to be low, the lack of job opportunities was said to be weighing heavily on people. Respondents mentioned that employment opportunities should be encouraged, through supporting tourism or rehabilitating the local slaughterhouse.

## 6.2.4 Tripoli – Abu Samra

### 6.2.4.1 Context

Only the Abu Samra neighbourhood of Tripoli was surveyed in relation to the LHSP project implemented in Talaat Al Refaei. It is one of the most popular neighbourhoods in Tripoli’s old town. Although quite diverse in its socio-economic fabric, it hosts pockets of high poverty and vulnerability.

Profile of respondents. 91% of respondents were Lebanese and 8% were Syrian. Although Tripoli overall does host a significant number of Syrian refugees, the residents of the target area were mostly Lebanese. The vast majority of respondents were Sunni (94%). 55% of respondents were female and 45% were male. 44% were working in full time jobs and 20% were not working or looking for work (including retired). 36% identified as barely making enough money for food.

### 6.2.4.2 Quality of and Access to Services and Jobs

**People in Abu-Samra are most satisfied with water services and least satisfied with youth facilities.**

When asked to tell a story about changes in their communities, the highest share of people was talking about sewerage, and none of the above, which in many cases actually referred to the LHSP project of rehabilitation of the historical houses. However, the stories at many instances were negative, mainly indicating that more has to be done on the inside of the restored houses, not just the façade.



Overall, compared to 2017, as shown in figure 64, people were talking less about health services, job and employment, as well as roads and bridges.

'There is a project funded by Britain for renovating the buildings in Talaat Al Refaei. We benefitted from it a lot honestly because we have a shop there that we are renting and my father is very happy they fixed the area.' Lebanese female, 18- 29, Tripoli.

*'Although the project of buildings restoration is very necessary and should be implemented, but there are mistakes, since they planned to implement this big project, why didn't they use original and durable materials? They just painted the building facades facing the street, what about the rear side of the buildings? I don't blame the UN, but the contractor who did this is to blame.'* Lebanese male, 50+, Tripoli

*'My mother lives in one of the buildings in the street behind the restored buildings, nobody entered her house, and it is completely ruined. I don't know how people will benefit if their houses were coloured from the outside and there is no life from the inside'* Syrian female, 30- 39, Tripoli

Figure 64 Topics most discussed by respondents in 2017 and 2018

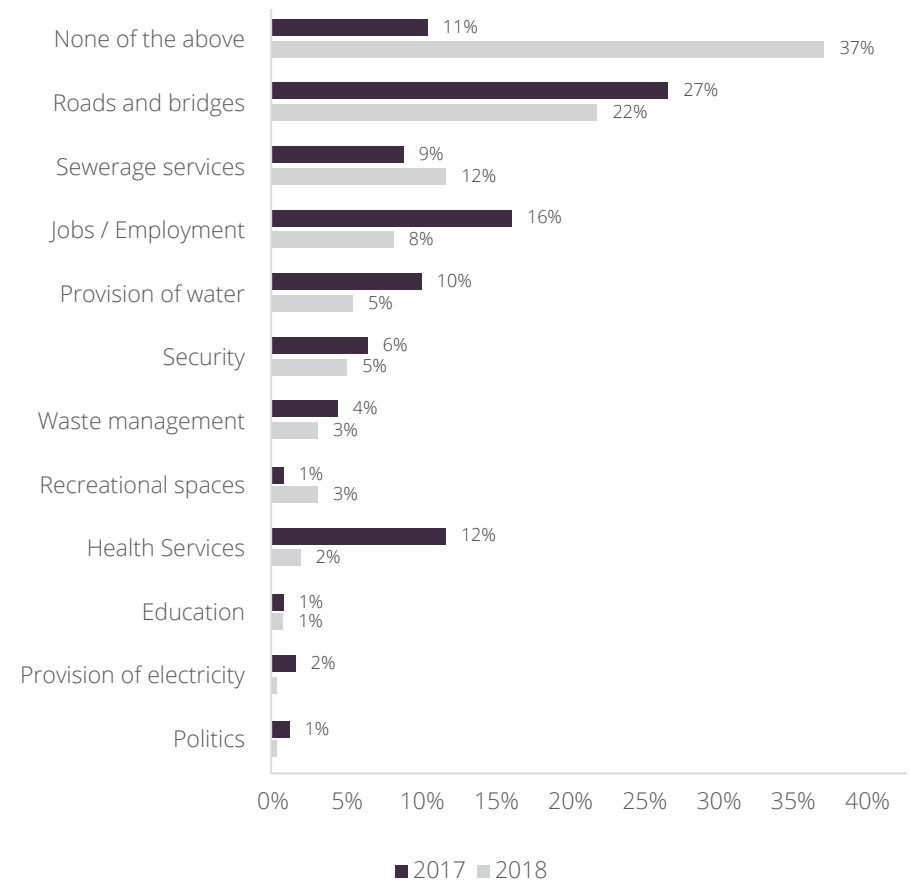




Figure 65 Satisfaction with services

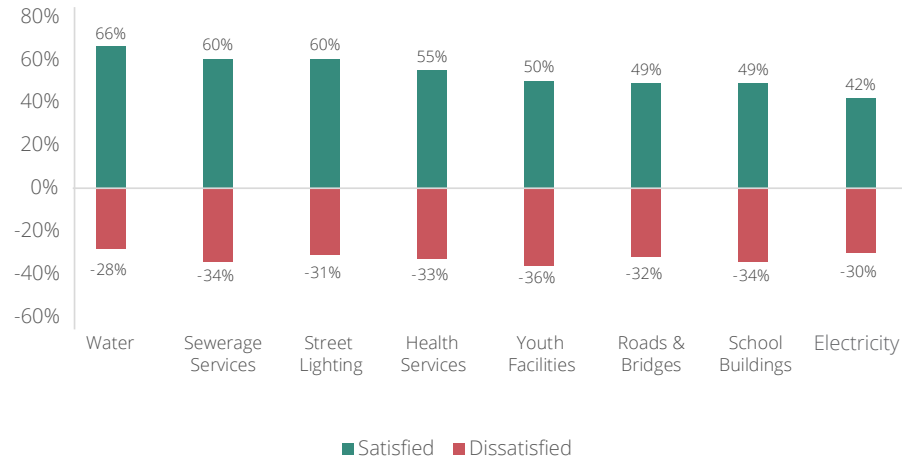


Figure 65 shows the degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the various social and infrastructural services in Tripoli. People were most satisfied with the running water. Stories mentioned that municipal works on renewing the water pipes that people were generally satisfied with.

*'We have new water pipes that the municipality placed during the summer and we thank them for their efforts. We never used to drink water from the tap, but now we are encouraged to do so.'* Lebanese female, 18 – 29, Tripoli

People were least satisfied with youth facilities in the area, although they did not bring them up in their stories about changes in their neighbourhood. Most of the stories of dissatisfaction were about issues related to roads and bridges.

*'They have been digging up the road for more than a year and they don't improve anything, and no one knows what the purpose behind all this is.'* Lebanese female, 30 – 39, Tripoli

Compared to the baseline data, more people were generally more dissatisfied with services, especially sewerage, refuse collection, school buildings, and electricity.

### LHSP Project in Tripoli

LHSP revitalised the Talaat Al Refaei area in Tripoli Old City by upgrading the sidewalks and public spaces, providing lighting and waste bins and rehabilitating the facades of buildings on one side of the street.

77% of respondents were aware of the project as opposed to 95% who were aware of it in 2017. This decrease in awareness is likely due to the fact that the project has been completed and people did not perceive it as a novelty anymore.

The number of people who believed that it had a positive impact on the community decreased from 96% in 2017 to 66% in 2018.

When it comes to the implementation, 63% thought the project was done by INGOs and 42% attributed responsibility to the municipality, whereas 92% attributed it to INGOs and only 17% to the municipality in 2017.

### 6.2.4.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

***People in Tripoli Abu-Samra trust the municipality less than last year to provide them with services and tend to trust political groups more than before***

As shown in table 8, the share of respondents who trust the municipality as the main provider of services in their area has decreased from 43% to 23%, while the share who trust a political group has increased from 5% to 24%. Syrians continued to trust INGOs more than Lebanese. This is likely due to the fact that many rely on UNHCR for a number of services.



Table 8 Who do you trust most to provide services in your community?

| Top Providers       | All Respondents |      | Lebanese |      | Syrian |      |
|---------------------|-----------------|------|----------|------|--------|------|
|                     | 2017            | 2018 | 2017     | 2018 | 2017   | 2018 |
| Municipality        | 43%             | 23%  | 42%      | 27%  | 46%    | 10%  |
| INGOs               | 19%             | 13%  | 13%      | 8%   | 46%    | 33%  |
| Local Civil Society | 13%             | 7%   | 16%      | 8%   | 2%     | 0%   |
| A political group   | 5%              | 24%  | 5%       | 26%  | 0%     | 14%  |

Although less people believe that the municipality is working to improve their community, more people believe that it does have the resources to provide the necessary services for the community.

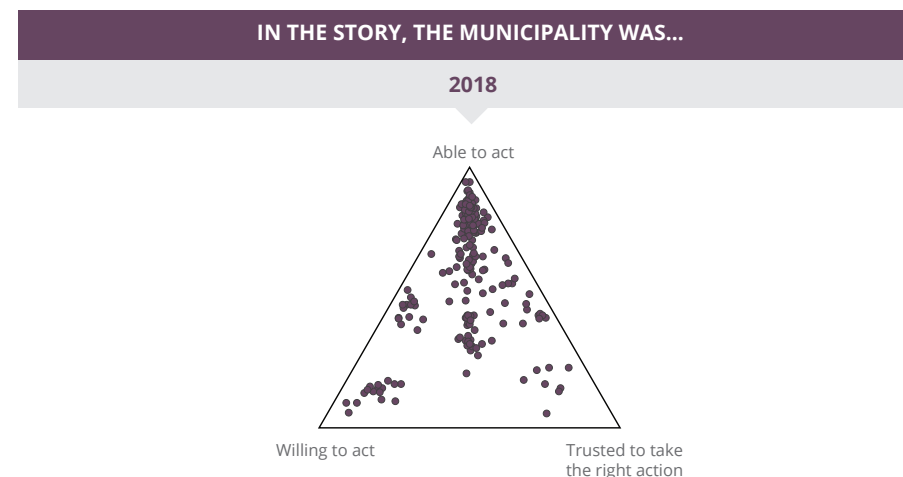
As table 9 shows, the number of people who believed that the municipality was working to improve the community has decreased from 63% to 43% among Lebanese respondents and from 51% to 33% among Syrian respondents. Significantly more Syrians now saw the municipality has having the resources to provide services (their share increased from 37% to 86%). In addition, more Lebanese and Syrians believed that the municipality was discriminating in the way it delivers services.

Table 9 Percent who agree with the following statement

|  | Lebanese |      | Syrian |      |
|--|----------|------|--------|------|
|  | 2017     | 2018 | 2017   | 2018 |
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 73%      | 80%  | 37%    | 86%  |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 63%      | 54%  | 51%    | 33%  |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 55%      | 44%  | 42%    | 24%  |

Respondents' stories came to further confirm this observation. Most people were clustered around the municipality's ability to act and very few respondents highlighted its willingness to act or trust that it is taking the right decision (see figure 66). There were no differences between Lebanese and Syrian, male or female, or respondents from different age groups.

Figure 66 In the story, the municipality was...

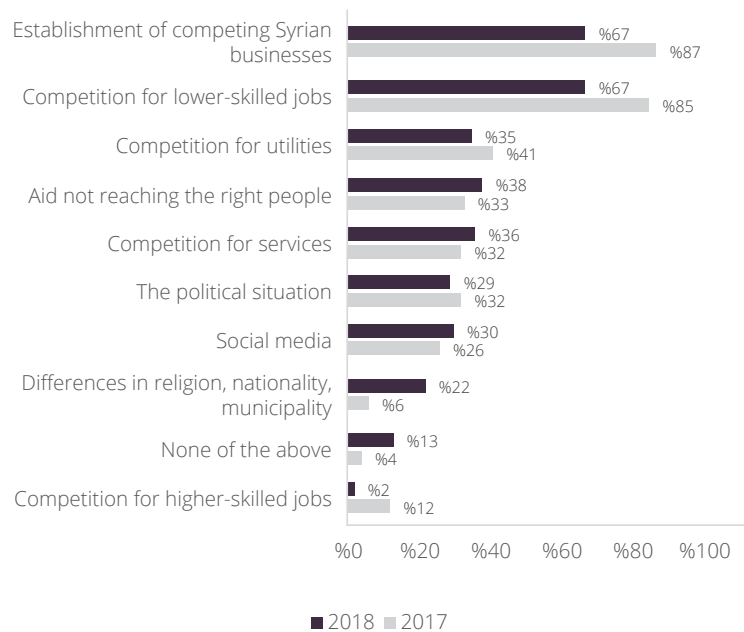




**Contrary to the baseline research results, community members are largely unaware of events taking place in their community.**

Less people were aware of the various activities organised by the municipality in Abu Samra. For example, 17% were currently aware of town hall meetings, while 68% were aware of them in 2017. Consequently, a very low share of people participated in these events. This was true for both Lebanese and Syrian residents. Focus group discussions highlighted people’s grievances that popular areas such as Abu Samra are being marginalized and no events are being organised there. In fact, focus group participants were calling for the organisation of exhibitions and festivals in these popular areas to improve the livelihoods of local businesses.

Figure 67 Which of the following are you aware of or have you engaged with in the past year?



**People seek better communication with the municipality and more inclusion in municipal decisions.**

In line with the findings above, when asked what the municipality could do to improve its service delivery in their area, 42% of residents in Abu Samra prioritised better communication, and 33% mentioned increased inclusion in municipal decisions.

**6.2.4.4 Social Stability**

**Although the main reasons for tensions between Lebanese and Syrians remain the same, slightly more people believe that aid not reaching the right people and social media are also playing a role in increasing these tensions.**

The share of people who believe there were tensions between Lebanese and Syrians in Abu Samra area has decreased from 67% to 56% in one year.

Figure 68 shows the changes in people’s opinions on the causes of tension between Lebanese and Syrians between the baseline and endline data collections. 67% of respondents believed that competition over businesses and lower skilled jobs were the main reasons for tensions. 38% attributed tensions to mismanagement of aid, and the share of these respondents was higher than last year (33%). Therefore, grievances surrounding aid distribution could be a mounting source of tension which needs to be addressed.

*‘Syrian workers are working everything, they took all the jobs not only in construction. I used to work for a company in an office and they fired me to hire a Syrian. They also receive help and have everything for free.’ Lebanese male, 30 – 39, Tripoli*

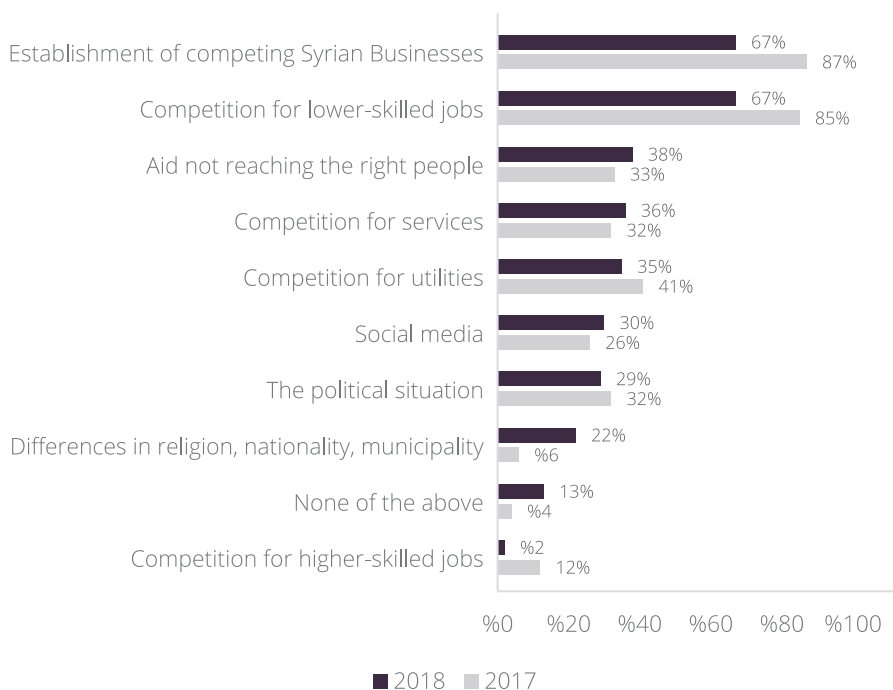
*‘A week ago, my employer fired me because I owed him money. He used to give me USD 600 per month and after a while he reduced it to 300. I refused because I wouldn’t be able to pay my house rent. I got fired and moved to live with my*



brother in law.’ Lebanese male, 40 – 49, Tripoli

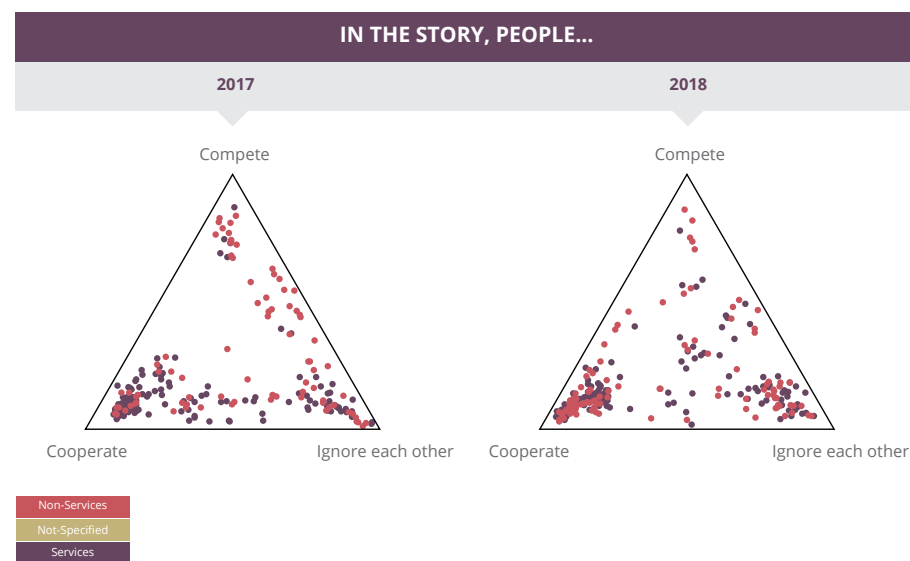
*‘The change I want to talk about is the restoration of buildings implemented by the UN. We said that they will repair the leakage in our house, but they didn’t do anything, they just painted it from the outside and inside, and now look at the paint, it is peeling from the moisture, so the situation is just like before.’* Lebanese female, 40 – 49, Tripoli.

Figure 68 Causes of tension between Lebanese and Syrians



The lower rates of competition between Lebanese and Syrians were portrayed in the lower number of stories about competition that respondents told in this round of research (see figure 69). Interaction in their stories was rather passive and there was a larger clustering around people “ignoring each other” in the story than in 2017. Meanwhile, the number of people cooperating was still high.

Figure 69 In the story, people...



**Both Lebanese and Syrians continue to seek the LAF to resolve disputes.**

As table 10 shows, more people compared to the baseline believed that the LAF was the most trusted party to resolve disputes. Although, as shown earlier, both Lebanese and Syrians trusted political parties to provide services, their trust in them solving disputes decreased among Lebanese from 12% to 5% and Syrians continued to not trust them at all.





Table 10 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes? (Top responses)

| Top Responses       | Lebanese |      | Syrian |      |
|---------------------|----------|------|--------|------|
|                     | 2017     | 2018 | 2017   | 2018 |
| Municipality        | 48%      | 60%  | 44%    | 57%  |
| INGOs               | 12%      | 5%   | 0%     | 0%   |
| Local Civil Society | 0%       | 3%   | 15%    | 14%  |
| A political group   | 6%       | 8%   | 27%    | 0%   |

**Respondents are increasingly adopting a passive attitude to solving their issues by waiting to see what happens.**

More respondents that a year ago reported that they resolved the issue in their story by waiting to see what happens. Compared to Syrians, more Lebanese described situations where people defended their interests, largely related to jobs and poor service delivery.

People who agreed that violence can be an acceptable way to defend one's interests increased from 19% to 25%. This statement was made most often by males, both Lebanese and Syrians.

**People who believe they belong to their community has decreased from 74% to 67% over the course of one year.**

Probably the deterioration in people's opinion of the municipality and the marginalization that they feel has led fewer people to respond positively to the statement "I feel I belong to this community". Less Syrians (43% in 2018 compared to 54% in 2017) feel part of Tripoli's community. However, a larger share of youth believe that they belong to their community compared to one year ago (84% in 2018 vs. 68% in 2017).

## 6.3 South

### 6.3.1 Ghazieh

#### 6.3.1.1 Context

Several kilometres south of Saida, lies Ghazieh, a small coastal city. Ghazieh is home to both Sunni and Shia communities. The UNDP estimates that up to 25% of people living in Ghazieh are refugees, primarily Syrian. Currently, several international NGOs operate in Ghazieh, providing services to primarily Syrian refugees.

Agriculture, particularly citrus orchards, plays a dominant role in the local economy of Ghazieh. Due to its proximity to Saida, many people living in Ghazieh work in the larger nearby city. Ghazieh is also very much affected by events and developments in Saida. In 2016, authorities built a waste management facility in Ghazieh to deal with extensive waste from greater Saida, built up from civil war times. In May 2018, a fire broke out in the plant and raised concern about the waste situation in Ghazieh and the area more generally. Critics have pointed to the dangers of the very inflammable waste being broken down at the plant, as well as the trash mountains surrounding the small municipality. Furthermore, the Minister of Health, Ghassan Hasbany commented that cancer rates have increased in the last 10 years in Ghazieh.

#### Profile of participants

Reflecting the demographics of Ghazieh, 75% of those interviewed were Lebanese nationals while 25% were Syrian refugees. Females accounted for just over half of all respondents (51%), while males accounted for slightly less (49%). At least 65% of the surveyed population reported having access to regular refuse collection. At least 73% of the population reported having access to sewerage services, running water and electricity. Almost half of respondents (48%) indicated that they could access enough for food, rent

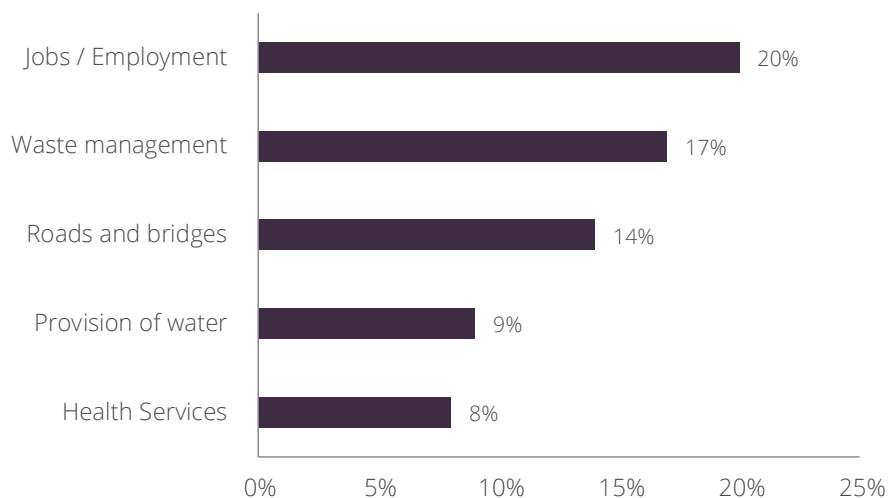


and clothes but could not afford durables. More than a third of respondents (38%) answered that they barely had enough for food, rent and clothes.

### 6.3.1.2 Quality and Access to Services and Jobs

In their stories, the greatest proportion of people living in Ghazieh (20%) spoke of jobs and employment. While collectively people mentioned services more than jobs employment, jobs were still the top single topic discussed. Overall, stories about services centred on waste management (17%), roads and bridges (14%), the provision of water (9%) and health services (8%). Less than 5% of people talked about education (4%) or youth facilities (4%).

Figure 70 Your story is mostly about...



Syrians were significantly more concerned with security in the community (15%) than Lebanese (0%). Syrians also spoke more about education (10%) than Lebanese (2%). Lebanese, on the other hand, talked more about waste management (19%), roads and bridges (18%) than Syrians (8% and 2% respectively).

In their stories, many respondents spoke about jobs and employment. An issue that came up when trying to find a job was political favouritism. Several respondents lamented that if an individual was not aligned with a particular party, he or she would be discriminated again when trying to find employment.

*'There are no job vacancies here unless you support a political party like Nabih Berry's or Hezbollah's. My sister graduated as a hotel manager, and until now she can't find a job.'* Lebanese male, Ghazieh

*'If you want to get a job here, you should have connections or support from a political party. Since I don't support any of them, I am jobless and I borrow money from my family to raise my children.'* Lebanese male, Ghazieh

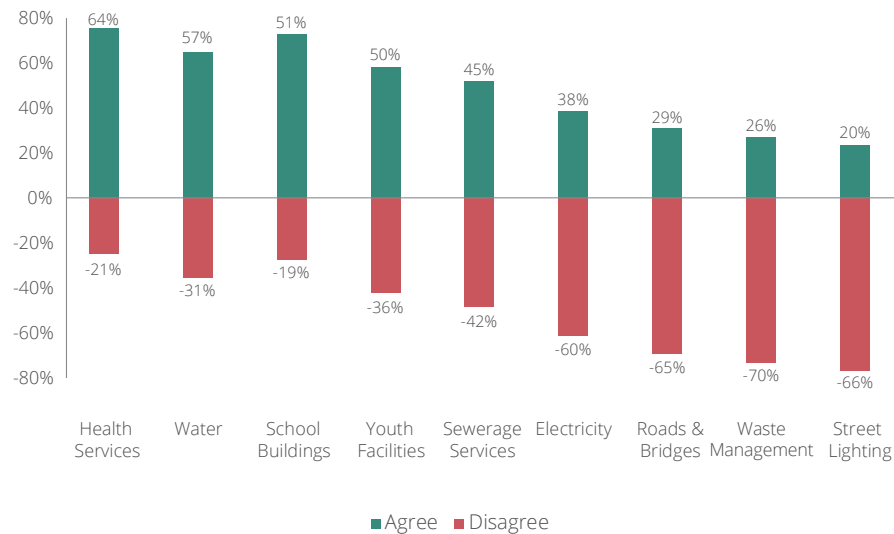
### Overall survey respondents demonstrated low satisfaction with municipal services

When asked about their level of satisfaction with the list of nine municipal services, respondents only showed levels of satisfaction of more than 50% for three services, namely health services (64%), running water (57%) and school buildings (51%). As shown in figure 71, respondents were least satisfied with regular refuse collection (26%) and street lighting (20%). Lebanese tended to be more satisfied with services than Syrians, particularly running water, sewerage services, regular refuse collection, school buildings, youth facilities and health services. Syrians were the least satisfied with regular refuse collection. Over 90% of Syrians reported dissatisfaction with regular refuse collection (92%) compared to 62% of Lebanese.

*'They are not collecting garbage in the region here. It stays a week before they collect it.'* Syrian female, Ghazieh



Figure 71 Satisfaction with services



### FGD participants were most critical of water provision services

FGD participants spoke most critically of water provision, describing how water supply was often interrupted during the summer. Another FGD respondent stated that water outages occur due to an agreement with the municipality mayor, in which some of the water could be sold later and profited from. A third participant, however, said that improvement had begun 30 days earlier resulting in purer and clearer water.

FGD participants, for the most part, felt satisfied with electricity, sewerage, and roads. When it came to waste, participants described how the situation had improved, but only because the municipality was moving waste to other areas like 'Ras Al Jabal' landfill and burning it. Schools were also a source of complaint. People lamented that there were not enough school while one woman asserted rural schools were superior to the urban schools in

Ghazieh. Finally, respondents explained that there were not government hospitals. Only two private hospitals operated in the community and one man asserted that an individual would need to be backed by a political party to gain entry into one of the two hospitals.

### LHSP Project in Ghazieh

For the last three years, LHSP has been involved with a project focused on efficient solid waste management with the desired outcome of improving the environment and the health conditions of the host community.

Less than half of the individuals surveyed knew of the LHSP project (41%). Lebanese, however, were significantly more aware of the project (51%) than Syrians (10%). Of the respondents who were aware of the project, 93% believed that the project was having a positive impact on the local community.

When asked who they thought was behind the project, the vast majority of respondents answered an international NGO (72%). Almost a fifth of respondents attributed the project to the municipality (19%), while 16% of respondents linked the project to civil society organisations.

### 6.3.1.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

FGD participant confidence in the municipality was low. Out of a maximum score of 10, the eight respondents gave the municipality an average score of 6. During the focus group discussion, participants regularly brought up politics and political influence over the municipality and delivery of municipal services. Participants particularly referred to the Progressive Society Party and stated that projects were only implemented with the approval of Khaled Jumblatt. Survey respondents also referred to political favouritism in their stories.



Key informants were more generous when scoring the municipality. The three key informants provided the municipality with a higher average score of 7.33. Two key informants praised the municipality for constantly examining needs, regularly involving the community in meetings, seeking their participation and offering solutions. A third key informant spoke of how the municipality was improving its work, especially how it dealt with waste.

**Overall, the majority of people still trust the municipality first to provide services**

*'The municipality is working hard and it started to pave the roads next to our house with asphalt.'* Lebanese female, Ghazieh

Despite FGD references to corruption, and political groups' power over service provision, 51% of respondents still trust the municipality the most to provide services in their community. Though Lebanese trusted the municipality more, almost a third of Syrians (32%) still trusted the municipality as the service provider in their community as shown in table 17 below. Following the municipality, 15% of respondents trusted political groups most to provide services. Very striking is the fact that while 20% of Lebanese indicated they would turn to political groups, 0% of Syrians acknowledged the body as a trustworthy service provider. Finally, 11% of survey respondents answered that they would trust their families most to provide services. Syrians trusted their families significantly more than Lebanese, reflecting trends in other municipalities for Syrians to rely on family first and foremost for services as well as to resolve disputes.

Table 11 Who do you trust most to provide services?

| Top Providers       | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality        | 51%             | 49%      | 15%    |
| Local Civil Society | 15%             | 20%      | 0%     |
| My Family           | 11%             | 8%       | 18%    |

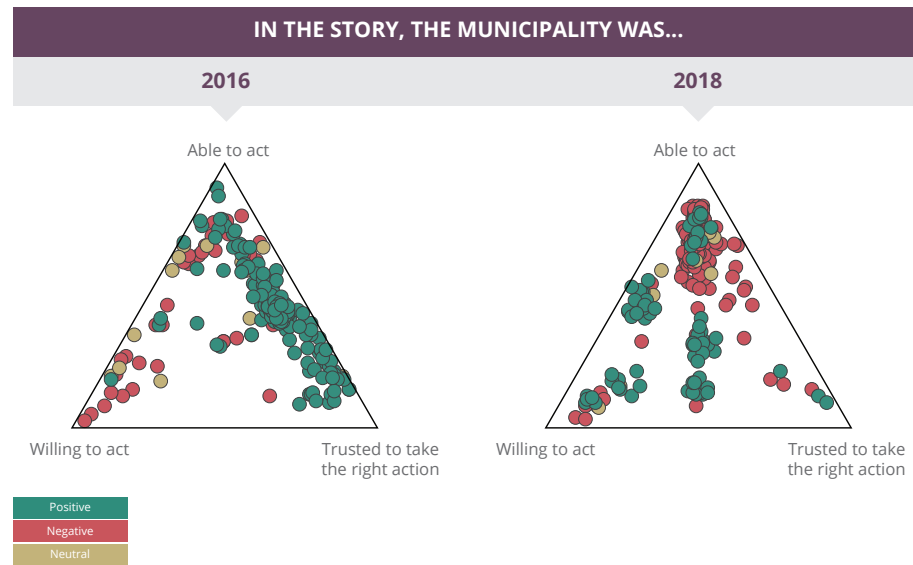
**People are more negative about the municipality's ability to act than before**

In 2015 when the project started, the majority of survey participants related very positive stories about the municipality. In 2015, 76% of stories were positive denoted people's belief in the municipality's ability to act and their trust in its taking the right action. Positive sentiment grew further in 2016. However, between 2016 and 2018, people's trust in the municipality's ability to act and take the right action dropped as is visible in figure 72 below.

Whereas in 2016, 79% of survey respondents spoke positively of the municipality in their stories, that percentage sunk to 38% in 2018. Though some people continued to relay overall positive stories about the municipality, its ability and willingness to act, far fewer trusted the municipality to take the right action. Moreover, many people spoke negatively of the municipality's ability to act. Syrians, almost exclusively, commented negatively on the municipality's ability to act while Lebanese held more mixed views.



Figure 72 In the story, the municipality was...



### Only half of respondents trust the municipality to work well

While the majority of people in Ghazieh agreed that the municipality had the resources to provide the necessary services for the community (76%), only half trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community.

Table 12 Percentage who agree with the following statement

|  | Overall | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|---------|----------|--------|
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 76%     | 85%      | 50%    |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 50%     | 62%      | 12%    |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 45%     | 56%      | 12%    |

While Lebanese trusted the municipality significantly more than Syrians, still, only 62% believed the municipality work well to improve the community. Less than half of respondents agreed that there was no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services (45%). Though significantly fewer Syrians agreed with this statement (12%), only 56% of Lebanese negated discrimination. This is to say, a substantial chunk of the population surveyed, more than half, believe there is discrimination in service provision. More than a third do not trust the government to work in their best interests. Trust in the municipality appears to be an issue.

*'The electricity is off in the Syrian neighbourhood and we know that the Lebanese aren't facing this power cut.'* Syrian female, Ghazieh

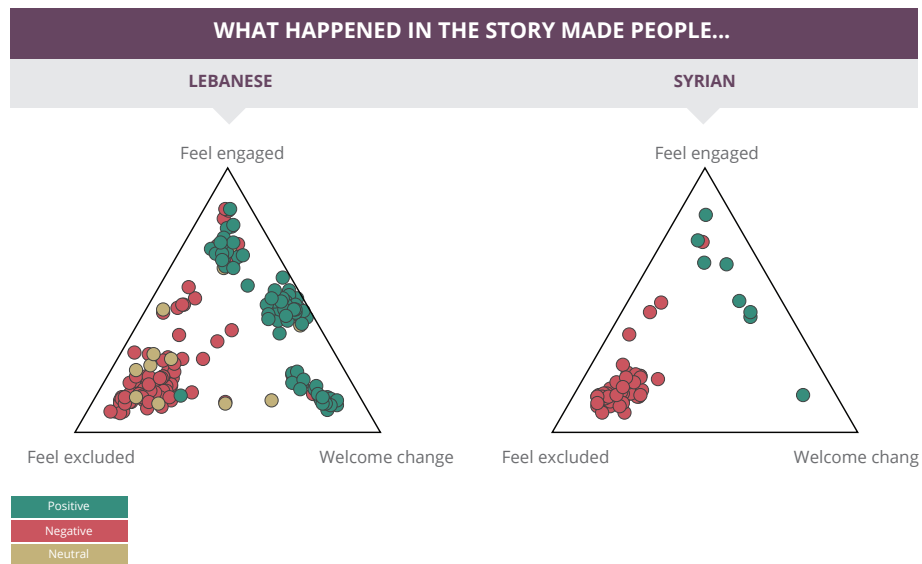
*'I have four children and in Ghazieh there isn't a school for Syrians. Plus, [the municipality] bans Syrians wandering at night, so I send my children to school in Saïda.'* Syrian male, Ghazieh

### Syrians feel overwhelmingly excluded in their stories

Though a substantial number of Lebanese described feeling excluded in their stories, a comparable portion described feeling engaged and welcoming change (see figure 73). Lebanese stories about response were therefore a combination of positive and negative. Meanwhile, Syrians' stories were overwhelmingly negative, and centred primarily on feeling excluded.



Figure 73 In the story, the municipality was... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



**People want to be included more in municipal decision-making processes**

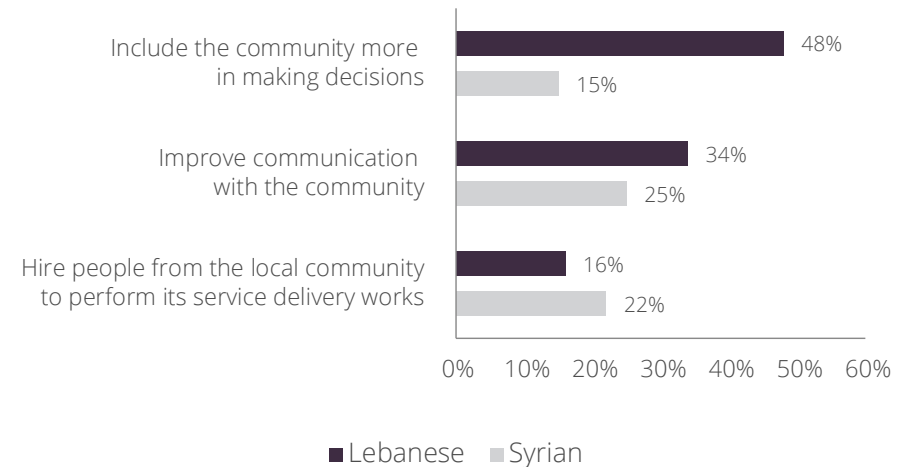
As shown in figure 74 below, nearly half of all Lebanese respondents (48%) answered that if the municipality wanted to improve how it plans and delivers its services, it should include the community more in making decisions. Despite what key informants said about the municipality seeking community members' input, just under 50% of Lebanese feel municipal engagement with the community could be improved.

Nearly a third of Lebanese and a quarter of Syrian respondents believed that improved municipal communication with the community could improve service provision. There was no significant difference in Lebanese and Syrian answers to this question. In fact, the majority of Syrians agreed that communication was key.

A greater proportion of Syrians (22%) answered that the municipality should hire from the local community than Lebanese (16%). Youth saw the hiring of

the local community to perform service delivery works as a way to improve service provision significantly more (30%) than lower or upper middle-aged respondents (both 11%). FGD participants also believed that ways to improve service delivery should involve the creation and expansion of job opportunities. Furthermore, they recommended greater transparency on the municipality's part, and that it avoid favouritism.

Figure 74 If the municipality wants to improve the way it plans and delivers services, it needs to... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



**6.3.1.4 Social Stability**

**93% of Syrians felt the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians has deteriorated in the last year**

Overall, 68% of survey respondents agreed that the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians has deteriorated significantly this last year. While 60% of Lebanese agreed with the statement, 93% of Syrians did. This very percentage,



paired with most Syrian stories about response centring around exclusion, paint a picture of a worsening, more isolating and trying situation for Syrians.

When then asked if they felt there was significant tension between Lebanese and Syrians in the community, 93% of all respondents agreed. There was no significant different between how Lebanese and Syrians answered as 92% of Lebanese and 98% of Syrians agreed.

*'We live in a big prison here because they banned Syrians from wandering. We have to inform them where we are going and what we are doing. This is not a life. We feel trapped here.'* Syrian male, Ghazieh

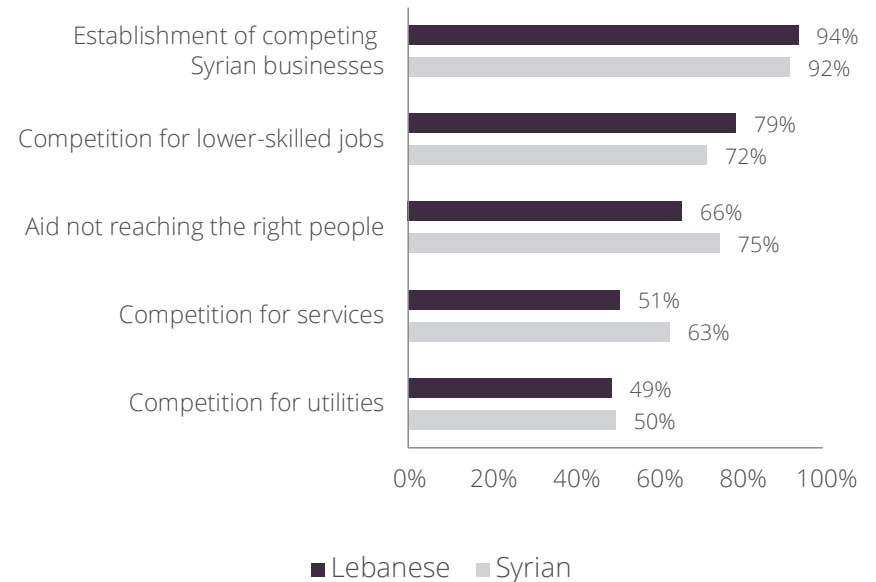
In the focus group, participants spoke in depth about the tensions. One woman stated that Lebanese in her community no longer felt safe since the Syrians had arrived. A male participant spoke of clashes between the two groups. He himself admitted to getting into fights with Syrians and called them disrespectful. Participants expressed resentment at employers' perceived preference in hiring Syrians. Another participant acknowledged feeling hatred and intolerance towards Syrians in her community. The same respondent attributed increase crime (robbery specifically) to Syrians.

*'We have become guests in our own country'* Lebanese female, Ghazieh

**The establishment of competing Syrian businesses is at the heart of tensions.**

Similar to other municipalities, the great majority of both Syrians and Lebanese believed that the establishment of competing Syrian businesses causes tensions between Lebanese and Syrians. Unlike other municipalities, though, is the fact that Lebanese and Syrians almost equally see Syrian business completion as a cause for of tension. In fact, there were no significant different differences in how Lebanese and Syrians answered this question, demonstrating that the order in which statements in figure 75 are ranked are representative for both communities.

Figure 75 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians



**Syrians and Lebanese ignore each other.**

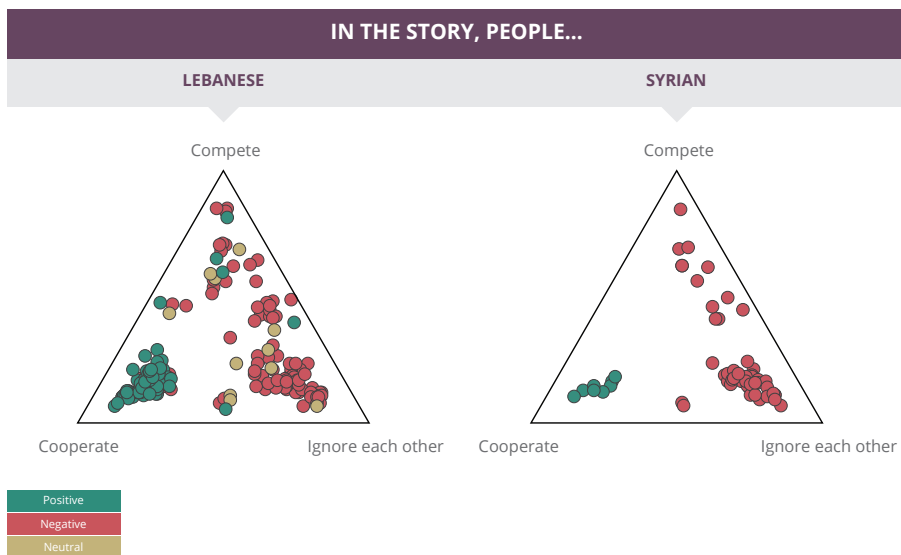
In The bulk of Syrians' stories of interaction were negative and focused around ignoring one another. A few respondents did tell positive stories of cooperation; however, these people were the minority.

In 2016, Lebanese' stories of interaction were overall positive and related to cooperation. Respondents even told several positive stories having to do with competition. While they recounted negative stories, these formed approximately a third of all stories told. In 2018, positive stories made up nearly a third of all stories told, while negative experiences dominated. Story themes largely centred around cooperation and ignoring each other. A small number spoke of competition.





Figure 76 In the story, people... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



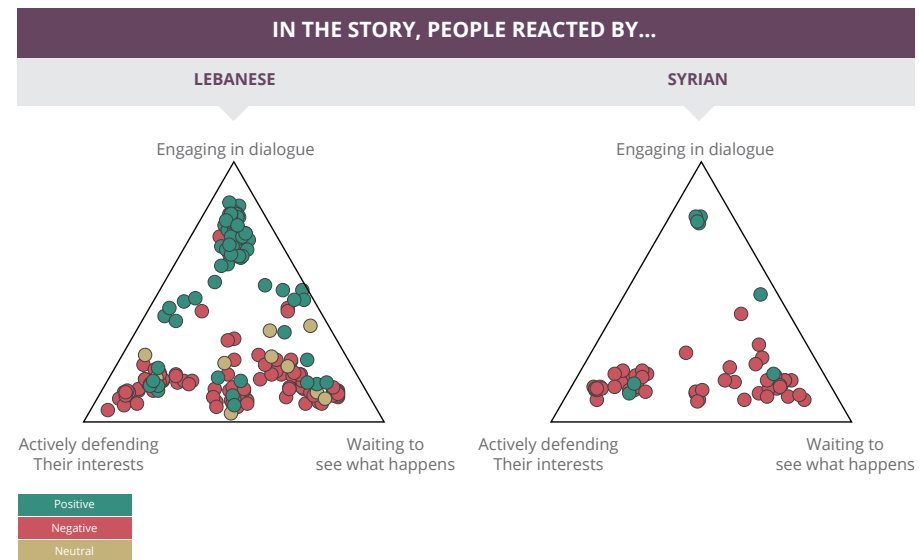
**Stories of reaction are becoming more negative:**

When asked about stories of reaction in 2016, Lebanese respondents provided very positive experiences. Almost 80% of respondent experiences were positive. People spoke mainly about how they were engaging in dialogue, while some spoke positively about waiting to see what happens. At that time, negative stories related to waiting to see what happens and made up only 21% of narratives.

In 2018, more Lebanese relayed negative experiences of actively defending their interests and waiting to see what happens (see figure 77). A number still spoke positively of engaging in dialogue, but the percentage dropped. Syrians also recounted primarily negative experiences, similarly about actively defending their interests and waiting to see what happens. As well, a very small number of Syrians reported positive stories about engaging in dialogue.

*'They ban Syrians from wandering around after 6:00pm in Ghazieh. I can't work late hours and if they children need anything at night, I can't go out.'* Syrian male, Ghazieh

Figure 77 In the story, people reacted by... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



**The majority of respondents acknowledge there are significant tensions in the community, but the majority also people are working together to resolve them**

When asked if there was significant tension between Lebanese and Syrians in the community, 93% of respondents answered that there was. There were no significant differences in peoples' response. Lebanese agreed almost as much as Syrians that such tension existed. On the other hand, 60% of respondents believed that the community was working to resolve the tension. Though Lebanese agreed more than Syrians that people were working together to resolve problems (62%), still nearly half of Syrians agreed that people were working together (53%).



*'If we didn't have a well for water, we wouldn't have had water because the municipality is not able to provide water for all residents. The residents in our building worked together to have this well.'* Lebanese female, Ghazieh

### Is violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?

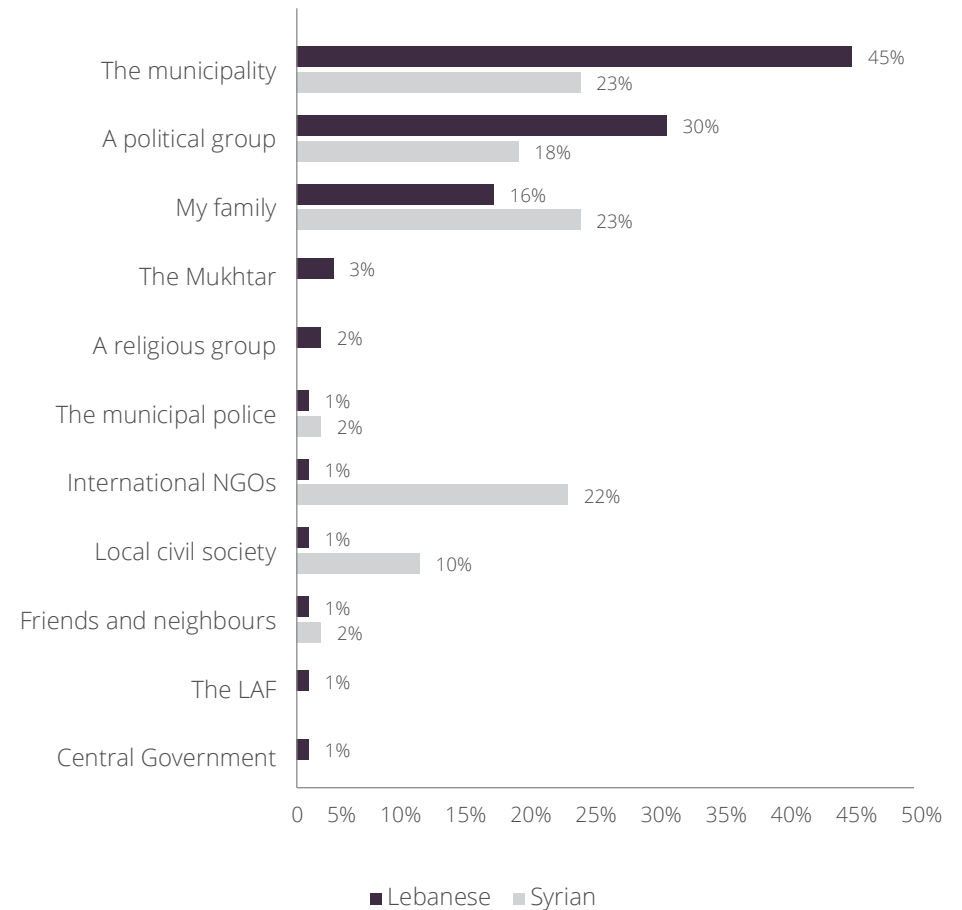
Only 12% of people in Ghazieh agreed that violence was an acceptable way to defend their interests. The great majority of respondents disagreed. Syrians were particularly opposed to using violence. In comparison to 14% of Lebanese who agreed that violence could sometimes be justified, only 5% of Syrians agreed.

### Almost a third of Lebanese and a fifth of Syrians go to political groups to resolve disputes in their communities

As in other cities, the majority of Lebanese reported that they turned to the municipality to resolve disputes in their community (45%) as is evidenced in figure 78. A large proportion, just less than a third (30%), however, approached political groups for help instead. This percentage fits in line with the comments made by FGD participants about the power political groups yield in Ghazieh.

While the majority of Syrians in other communities tended to turn to their families first to resolve disputes, an equal proportion of Syrians living in Ghazieh said they would approach their families as they would the municipality (23% in both cases). Just over a fifth of Syrians said they would approach International NGOs to resolve disputes in their community (22%), while 18% would turn to political groups.

Figure 78 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes in your community? (Syrians vs Lebanese)



### ***Nearly half of Syrians reported feeling part of the community***

Despite the acknowledged tensions that exist between Lebanese and Syrians in Ghazieh, despite resentment and distrust commented on in focus group discussions, nearly half of Syrians reported feeling part of the community (47%). Nearly half of Syrians also felt that they could trust people in the community (47%). Compared to municipalities like Sarafand where less than a third of Syrians felt part of the community and trust levels were low between both Lebanese and Syrians, Ghazieh appears to be doing better.

More than three quarters of Lebanese respondents (76%) reported feeling part of the community, while 61% felt they could trust people in their community. Trust levels among Lebanese were also higher in Ghazieh than in other municipalities, again, despite reported tensions and distrust.

## **6.3.2 Saida**

### **6.3.2.1 Context**

Located along the coast, 48 kilometres south of Beirut, Saida is Lebanon's third largest city. Saida is the centre for both the Governorate of the South and of the Caza, which is one of the largest in the South. Sidon is a predominantly Sunni Muslim city with approximately 110,000 residents.

Employment in Saida is concentrated in the wholesale, retail trade and repair sectors (30%). Manufacturing constitutes around 22% of local economic activity, where the largest types of manufacturing are those of sweets and pastry products and furniture. With a few exceptions, industrial activity takes place within micro and small enterprises (MSMEs).

Similar to nearby city Sarafand, agriculture also plays an important role in Saida's economy. Greenhouse agriculture covers vast areas in South Lebanon, and is mostly devoted to the plantation of fruits. Meanwhile, permanent agriculture involves olive and citrus trees.

To a certain extent, Saida also relies on tourism. Lebanese and international tourists alike come to visit sites in and around the Old City, the main centre for small industrial production. In 2013 and 2014, however, tourism took a hit due to frequent conflicts between a Sunni cleric, his followers and Lebanese security agencies, resulting in roadblocks and closures. The situation embodies growing security concerns as well as increasing tensions between religious sects in greater Saida.

Around 25% of Saida's population are Palestinians. The Palestinian population in the Greater Saida area is mostly concentrated in the Ain el Helweh camp (57%), which falls outside the municipal borders of the city. Around 32% of the Palestinians live within the city of Saida in various neighbourhoods, namely Dallaa, Hay Zuhour, Dakerman, Haj Hafez, Hay Njasa, Old Saida, Taameer, Villat and Al Barrad. The city also has approximately 13,800 registered Syrian refugees, and Greater Saida hosts an additional 14,000.

The municipality of Saida provides services to the entire area of greater Saida, which includes several other municipalities. However, these municipal demarcation lines have denied Saida significant tax revenue, which has affected its capacity for high-quality delivery of services to its residents.

In recent years, Sidon has struggled with waste disposal. While a waste treatment plant was set up to break down 80% of the city's trash, 20% ends up being stored. Moreover, in 2016, the municipality agreed to accept some of Beirut's municipal waste, resulting in the facility exceeding its capacity. In 2017, the city saw a garbage overflow at a nearby waste treatment plant. Residents of greater Saida have witnessed piles of waste, fumes emission and as a result, coastal pollution. Refuse disposal is regularly voiced by residents as a source of frustration.

**Profile of respondents.** In 2018, a quarter of survey respondents were Syrian while 75% were Lebanese. Just over half of respondents (52%) were female. Nearly a third of respondents had received at least a secondary education



(31%) while the majority of respondents (55%) had achieved university level education. The majority of respondents (59%) were engaged in full time work, and only 9% reported being unemployed. Most respondents (54%) reported having enough money to pay for food and shelter but not durables.

### 6.3.2.2 Quality and Access to Services and Jobs

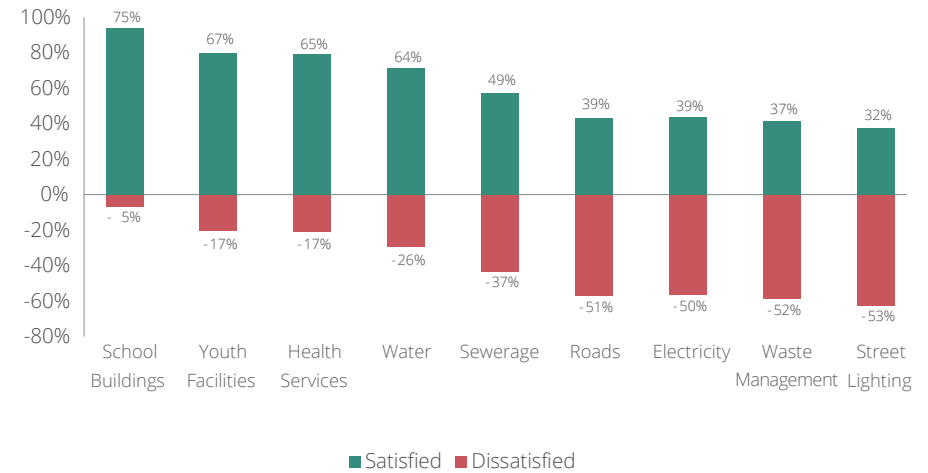
#### ***Overall people are happy with recent improvements to services, but satisfaction dropped in several areas***

While more than half of people in Saida were satisfied with services in 2018 (52%), people demonstrated increasing dissatisfaction with a greater number of services that was offset by high levels of satisfaction in fewer services, namely school buildings, youth facilities, health services and running water. Peoples' satisfaction with youth facilities in particular increased from 16% from 2017. At the same time, satisfaction levels with regular refuse collection dropped by nearly half in 2018 (from 63% in 2017 to 37% in 2018). Furthermore, the overall level of satisfaction of 52% dropped 2% from 2017. During the FGDs, people explained that the water quality was good, but that it is not widely available. Electricity cuts are frequent and there are problems with waste build up.

*'It is the municipality that assists in the management and collection of waste, but waste is not properly sorted. This is evidenced by the collected garbage mountain that reappeared in the city.'* Lebanese male, Saida

<sup>7</sup> Chaaban, M. 'Socio-economic Survey of Palestinian Refugees', 2016

Figure 79 Satisfaction with services



The top themes that came out as respondents discussed their stories were roads and bridges, waste management, jobs and employment, the provision of electricity and sewerage services as shown in figure 80, respondents talk about jobs and employment, bridges and electricity. The majority of Syrians spoke about jobs and employment (32%) significantly more than Lebanese (14%), while the majority of Lebanese talked about roads and bridges (22%) and waste management (19%).

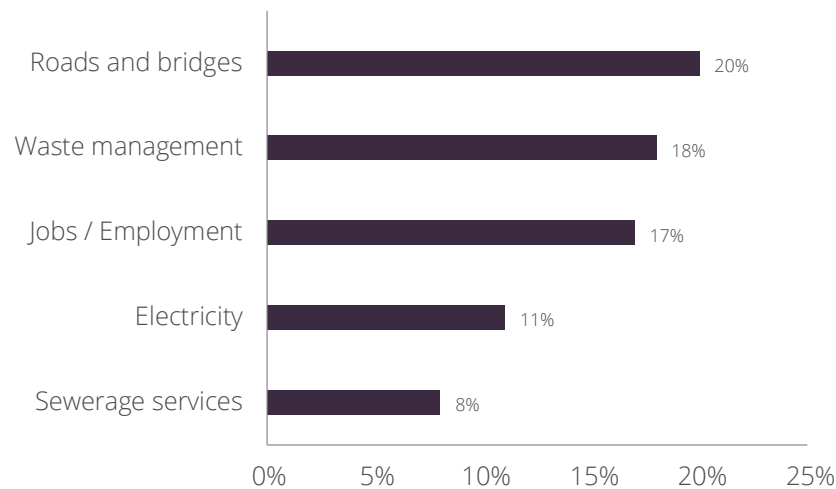
*'I had a traffic accident three days ago due to potholes in Saida and the bad roads.'* Lebanese male, Saida

*'The municipality is working in few locations and at a very slow pace. In our quarter, the potholes are still not filled. Because of this, I have repaired by car's tires three times.'* Lebanese male, Saida

<sup>8</sup> Municipality of Saida and USUDS. 'Saida Urban Sustainable Development Strategy: Strategic Diagnosis Report', 2014



Figure 80 Your story is mostly about (Top responses)



### LHSP Project in Saida.

In Saida, LHSP supported the capacity development of youth through the rehabilitation and equipping of a vocational training centre.

In 2018, 14% of respondents know of the LHSP project, an improvement from 6% in 2017. Of those who knew about the project, 95% thought that the project was having a positive impact. The majority of those who were aware of the project viewed INGOs as the responsible authority (63%), however, 55% attributed the project to the municipality. Considering 38% of people linked the project to the municipality in 2017, the increase of 17% demonstrates a marked difference in perception of municipal authority and capacity.

LHSP also implemented a solar lighting project and a water management project in Saida.

### 6.3.2.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

**Lebanese respondents trust the municipality and believe it has the resources to improve Saida.**

*'In the past, when I went jogging on the cornice, there were no lights and the road was all cracked, but the municipality installed lights on solar power and repaired the road.'* Lebanese female, Saida

As is apparent in table 13, Lebanese trusted the municipality to provide services substantially more than Syrians. Syrians, in turn, trusted family members the most to provide services. The third most common group trust to provide services was a political group. Lebanese trusted such a political group significantly more than Syrians.

Table 13 Who do you trust most to provide services? (Top responses)

| Top Providers     | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality      | 52%             | 56%      | 32%    |
| My Family         | 17%             | 15%      | 30%    |
| A Political Group | 13%             | 15%      | 2%     |

Respondents whose stories do involve the municipality believe it is able but not necessarily willing or trusted to work on their behalf. Although 81% of respondents believe the municipality has the resources, only 61% believe it does so without discrimination. It is clear that people are suspicious of the municipality's intentions. This is particularly true among Syrians, as shown in table 14.



Table 14 Percentage who agree with the following statements

|  | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|----------|--------|
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 77%      | 57%    |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 53%      | 18%    |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 57%      | 17%    |

**Lebanese trusted the municipality significantly more than Syrians**

Lebanese felt significantly more confident than Syrians that the municipality had the resources, that it did not discriminate and that it would work well to improve the community. Lower (52%) and upper middle-aged (51%) respondents tended to trust the municipality to work well to improve the community more than the youth (35%). Women also trusted the municipality to work well significantly more (54%) than men (40%).

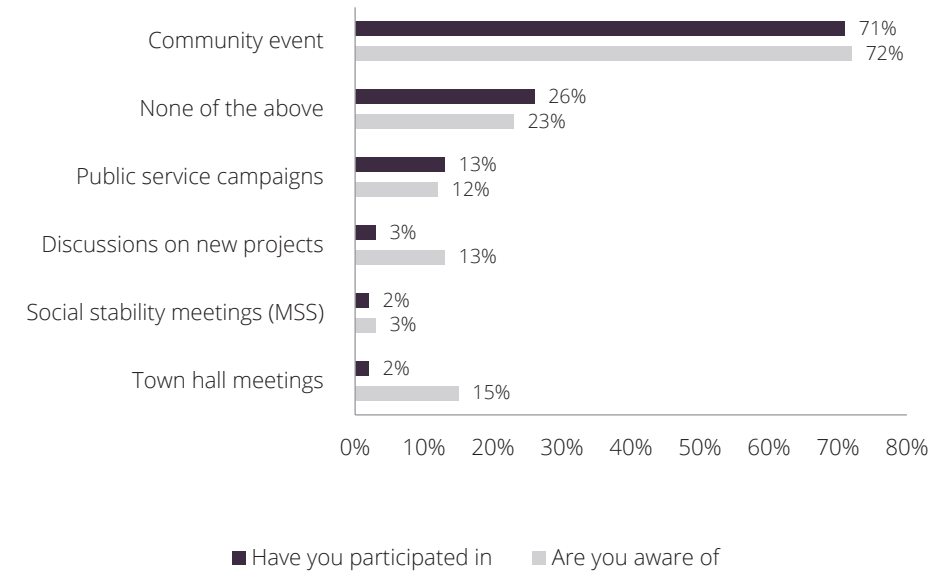
**People feel excluded from the changes in Saida.**

Respondents in Saida are divided on how involved they feel about the changes taking place in their community. 40% of respondents report situations and describe stories of how they feel excluded, while 46% welcome the changes. Youth and Shia respondents in particular feel excluded, as well as respondents who discuss security and jobs.

Fewer respondents were aware of municipal events in 2018 than in 2017. As figure 81 shows, in 2018 72% of respondents were aware of municipal events, compared to 80% in 2017. On the other hand, in 2018, 71% of respondents reported having taken part in such events as opposed to the 45% of respondents who reported so in 2017. There were few significant

differences in respondents' participation in 2018. A near equal proportion of men and women participated in events. Youth and adults under 40 tended to be just as aware of events and more active in community events than adults 40 and older.

Figure 81 Which of the following have you participated in or engaged with in the last year?



Lebanese were aware of and active in events significantly more than their Syrian counterparts. Still, 43% of Syrian respondents reported attending community events though they are less likely to attend than Lebanese respondents.

**While people are not necessarily satisfied with the current quality of services, they recognise that the municipality is working to improve these**



When asked the municipality could do if it wanted to improve how it plans and delivers services, 34% of respondents answered improve communication with the community, 32% said include the community more in decision making and 27% said hire people from the local community to perform service delivery. Men and women agreed rather closely on these points. Lebanese, however, were significantly more likely than Syrians to recommend that the municipality include the community more in decision-making. Youth were meanwhile, more likely to advise the municipality to hire people from the local community to perform service delivery.

When asked to provide a score for the municipality out of 10, members of the focus group discussion in Saida gave slightly less than a 6 on average. Similarly, KII respondents gave the municipality an average score of 6. KII respondents, however, spoke far more positively of the municipality. All KII respondents described the municipality's efforts to improve the lighting of roads, the quality of roads, and its heightened attempts to engage with the public.

'The municipal work scores 7 out of 10 for me, because of there were many improvements and the municipality held consultative meetings with the community, which helped remove many obstacles between them.' Lebanese man, Saida

### 6.3.2.4 Social Stability

#### ***Establishment of competing businesses and competition over low-skilled jobs continue to be the main causes of tension between Lebanese and Syrians***

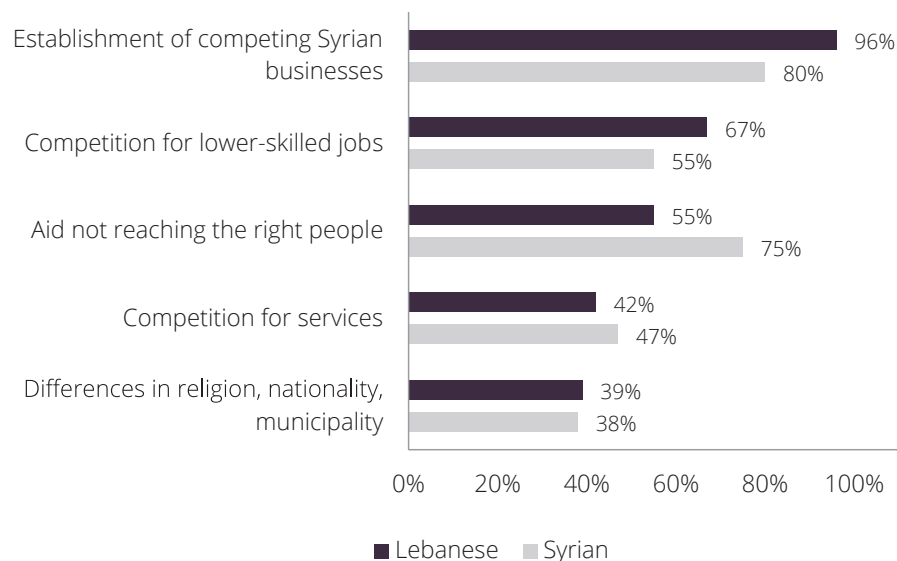
*'They keep saying Syrian workers are taking all of the available work from the Lebanese, and until now, I cannot find a single job opportunity.'* Syrian male, Saida

In 2018, the vast majority numbers of Lebanese and Syrians attributed tension between the two communities to the establishment of competing

Syrian businesses as shown in figure 82. Both the proportion of Lebanese and Syrians who viewed business competition as creating tension between the communities increased from 91% and 73% respectively (in 2017) to 96% and 80% in 2018. Business competition should therefore be considered a serious and growing concern. The second most perceived cause of tension among Lebanese was the competition between the groups for lower-skilled jobs. Meanwhile, aid not reaching the right people was perceived by Syrians to be the second most common source of tension. Tensions between the communities came up in both KIIs and FGDs.

*'[Syrians] have caused unemployment to the entire population. [Our] businesses are in conflict as well as the labour market. [They are also] the cause of the high cost of living.'* Lebanese, Saida

Figure 82 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians





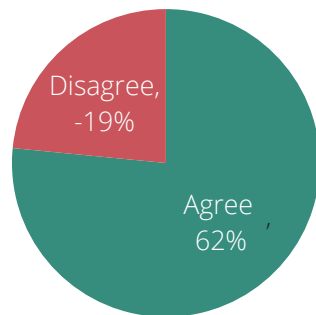


As a recommendation, some of the FGD participants agreed that Syrians should be forcefully deported.

### **Fewer respondents believe that tensions are deteriorating than in 2017**

In 2017, 70% of respondents believed that the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians has deteriorated in the past year. In 2018, responses had improved slightly. The proportion of who believe relations had deteriorated dropped somewhat from 70% to 62% as displayed in figure 83. As in 2017, KII respondents did not believe that tension would grow in Saida, because people were working to reduce it. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of respondents agreed that there were tensions in Saida (up from 50% in 2017) but that people were working together to resolve them. Perhaps even more importantly, there was no significant difference in response to this question between Lebanese and Syrians; 57% of Syrians agreed.

Figure 83 The attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians has deteriorated significantly



### **In 2018, Saida reported the second highest level of tension between Lebanese and Syrians**

*‘There are many acts of violence in our community between the Lebanese and the Syrians. Yesterday my brother was hit by a Lebanese man, so they took him to the police station. The Lebanese man was subsequently freed and my brother was kept there because his residency permit had expired.’* Lebanese male, Saida

In 2018, the only community to report on tension more than Saida was Ghazieh (93%). While 93% of respondents in Ghazieh reported tension between Lebanese and Syrians, Saida was close to follow with 90% of respondents acknowledging such tension in their community. Lebanese (90%) and Syrians (87%) similarly acknowledged this high level of tension to exist.

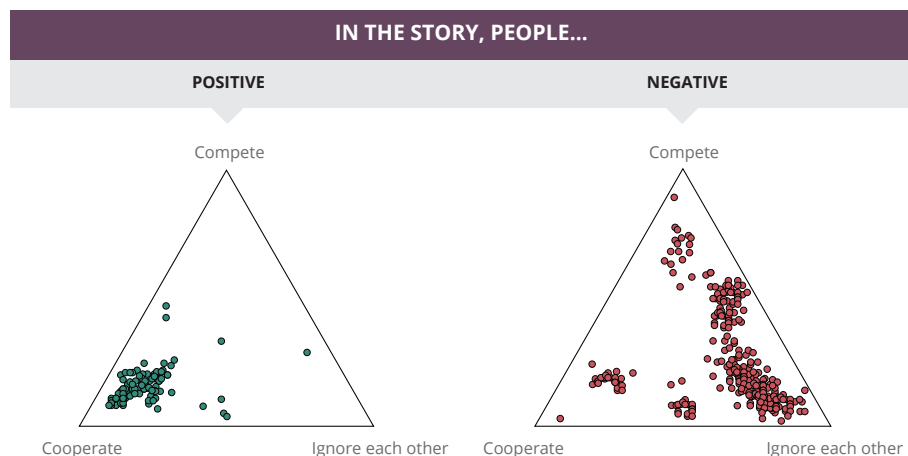
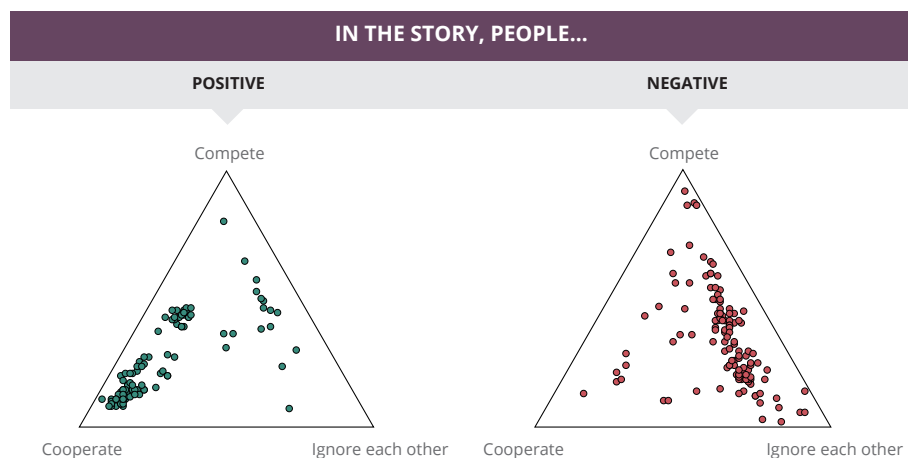
Relatedly, Saida was also the municipality in which respondents reported the greater degree of tension between Lebanese. Nearly three quarters of Lebanese respondents recognised significant tension between Lebanese in their community (77%). Lebanese perceived tension within their community significantly more than Syrians perceived tension between Lebanese (42%).

### **Tensions appear to have risen in Saida with more respondents describing negative incidents of ignoring one another**

While stories of competition were rarely discussed in 2017, IN 2018 stories dealt more with the topic. Following trends in 2017, the majority of respondents ignored each other, and the number that reported negative experiences in doing so increased in 2018. Though the number declined from 2017, in 2018 a substantial number of respondents continued to report positive stories involving cooperation. Syrians stories were dominated by negative incidents involving ignoring each other, while fewer stories dealt with cooperation those these too were largely negative. Lebanese tended to speak more positively about cooperation. Overall though, as evidenced in figure 84, stories in 2018 were dominated by negative incidents (more so than in 2017).



Figure 84 In the story, people... (Positive vs Negative stories, 2017 vs 2018)



While two of the KIIs denied that tensions currently existed between Lebanese and Syrians, two other key informants acknowledged that relations were strained. One KII advised associations to try and resolve this through the even and equal distribution of services between the two communities.

**People increasingly trust the municipality to resolve disputes in Saida**

A growing number of both Syrians and Lebanese identified the municipality as the most trusted body to resolve disputes (see table 13). At the same time the number of Syrians and Lebanese who approach political groups to resolve disputes has almost doubled in 2018 from 2017 (in 2017, 13% of Lebanese and 3% of Syrians turned to political groups). Finally, a greater number of Lebanese are turning to their families to resolve disputes while the number of Syrians who did so waned somewhat in 2018.

Table 15 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes (Top responses)

| Top Providers     | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality      | 52%             | 56%      | 32%    |
| My Family         | 17%             | 15%      | 30%    |
| A Political Group | 13%             | 15%      | 2%     |

**More than half of Syrians feel that efforts are underway to resolve tensions in their community**

While only 39% of Syrians agreed with the statement 'Tensions exist in Saida and people are working to resolve them' in 2017, 57% agreed that such efforts were underway in 2018. Nearly two thirds of Lebanese agreed (69%).



### Violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?

In Saida, a total of 10% of respondents agreed that violence was sometimes an acceptable way to defend their interests, a decrease of more than half from the 26% that agreed in 2017. Only 7% of Syrians agreed compared to 10% of Lebanese.

### Significantly fewer Syrians felt a part of the community than Lebanese

The number of Lebanese respondents who reported feeling part of the community dropped from 77% in 2017 to 71% in 2018, and relatedly the number who did not feel part of the community increased (please see table 14 below). A greater portion of Syrians felt included in the community, however, the proportion was still small compared to Lebanese. Meanwhile, despite not feeling engaged, more Syrians and Lebanese agreed that people in the community could generally be trusted.

Table 16 Perception of the community

|  | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|----------|--------|
| <b>I feel part of this community</b>                     |          |        |
| Agree/strongly agree                                     | 71%      | 47%    |
| Disagree/strongly disagree                               | 19%      | 43%    |
| <b>People in this community can generally be trusted</b> |          |        |
| Agree/strongly agree                                     | 57%      | 47%    |
| Disagree/strongly disagree                               | 34%      | 47%    |

### Who feels optimistic about the future?

Nearly three quarters of respondents felt optimistic about their futures (74%). Men and women felt almost equally optimistic (men felt 73% confident and women felt 75% confident). Lebanese (78%) felt significantly more confident about their futures than Syrians (50%). Youth tended to feel less confident - but not significantly so - than individuals between 30 and 49 years. Still, people were more positive about their futures in 2018 than in 2017.

## 6.3.3 Sarafand

### 6.3.3.1 Context

The municipality of Sarafand is located 58 kilometres south of Beirut and 14 kilometres south of the Sidon. For decades the seaside city was a popular stop for people on the way toward Tyre.

Agriculture has always been key to Sarafand's economy. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, Sarafand became popularly known for its glass blowing and other traditional crafts. Additionally, Sarafand's position in between Sidon and Tyre has also led it to become a commercial centre feeding into surrounding localities. The city prospered in those years.

Today, Sarafand's economy relies heavily on agriculture, fishing, tourism and trade. These sectors, however, are not as prosperous as they were in the sixties and seventies. Furthermore, where previously people heading to Tyre might stop in Sarafand for service shops and retail, following the construction of the Beirut-South highway, fewer people get off the highway and visit the city.

In recent years, the city has dealt with heavy rural to urban migration.



Increasing numbers of people from the surrounding villages have moved to the city for greater economic opportunity, and have encroached on arable agricultural land. Since the war, small commercial and industrial shops have popped up long the seaside, for the most part unregulated.

Sarafand is home to approximately 17,000 inhabitants, including just over 4,000 refugees. This is to say, that close to one in four people living in Sarafand is a refugee. Many Syrians live informal camp settlements in some of the many banana plantations that surround Sarafand. Recognising the needs of Syrian refugees, as well as their effect on both local economy and infrastructure, international organisations have turned to work on projects in conjunction with the Sarafand municipality.

**Profile of respondents.** Of the individuals surveyed, three quarters of Sarafand respondents were Lebanese and a quarter was Syrian. Data collectors approached an almost equal number of men (52%) and women (48%) for information. Approximately half of the respondents approached in Majdal Aanjar were female (53%), while just under half were male (47%). The majority of respondents were Syrian (68%), with fewer Lebanese respondents (32%). The majority of respondents had achieved at least intermediate education, with 19% having completed intermediate only, 34% having completed secondary education and 35% having completed university. Less than 10% of respondents were looking for work, while 55% of respondents were engaged in full-time work. Slightly more than a quarter of respondents (28%) reported having barely enough income to cover food and rent. A half said they had enough for food, rent and clothes but that they could not afford durables.

### 6.3.3.2 Quality and Access to Services and Jobs

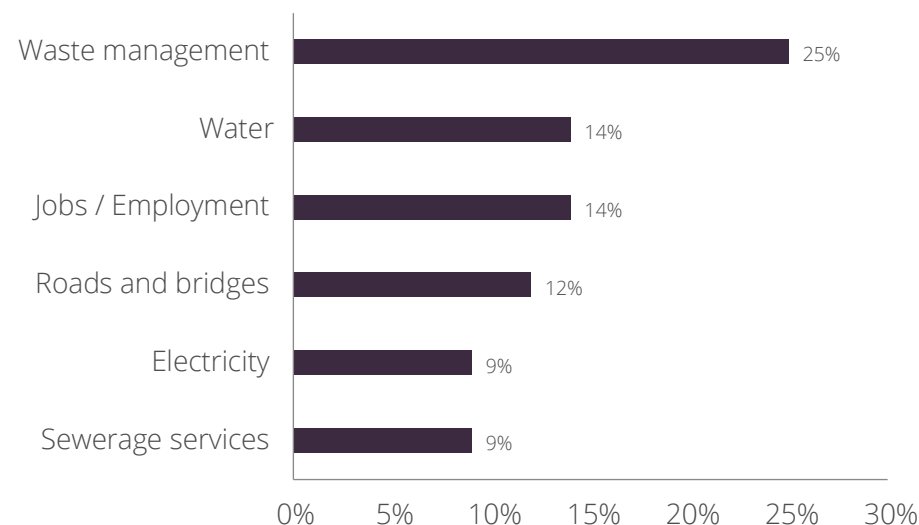
In Sarafand, a quarter of respondents discussed waste management in their stories. The provision of water, jobs and employment were the second most discussed themes in stories. For Lebanese, waste management was

a particularly key theme, and Lebanese respondents spoke about waste management (31%) significantly more than Syrians did (8%). Similarly, Lebanese spoke significantly more about roads and bridges (16%) than Syrians (2%). On the other hand, Syrians' stories related to sewerage services to a far greater extent (30%) than Lebanese stories did (2%).

*'Here in the region they don't collect the waste and it is everywhere. While in different villages they collect them and the streets are clean.'* Syrian female, Sarafand

While figure 85 shows the top six themes that dominated stories, however, it is worth noting that including other less talked about services, 80% of all stories related to services. Overall, services featured very heavily in Sarafand stories.

Figure 85 Your story is mostly about (Top responses)





### **FGD respondents expressed satisfaction with municipal services**

In the FGDs, the majority of participants tended to speak very positively of the services being offered in their community. They commented that the quality of water was good, due to the improvement of the water networks and the construction of water wells and water tanks. Electricity had also improved due to the connection of the network to Zahrani electricity networks. FGD participants also mentioned that generators were made more available and at an accessible price imposed by the municipality. Residents also asserted that they did not suffer from waste related problems as waste disposal bodies collected waste on a daily basis. Similarly, residents expressed satisfaction with sewerage, roads, health and education services.

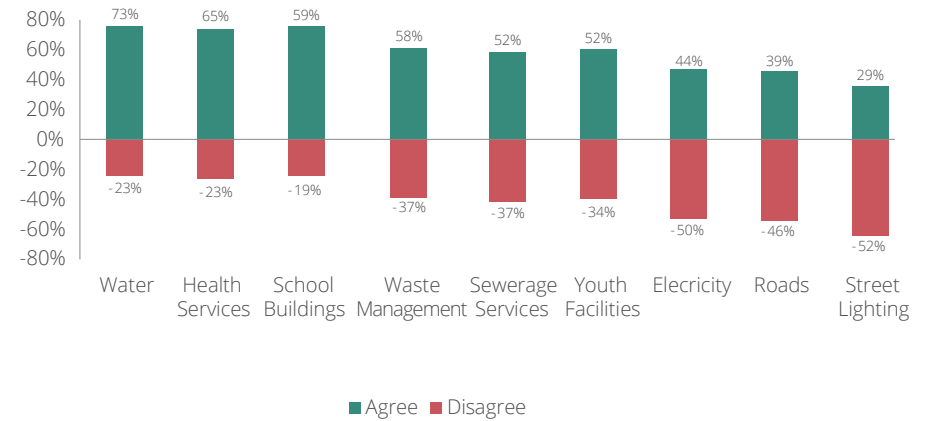
### **Survey respondents were less satisfied with municipal services**

In contrast to FGD participant feedback, survey respondents were much less positive about the quality and condition of municipal services. While more than half of respondents were satisfied with most services, figure 86 shows that satisfaction levels were still quite low for many services. People in Sarafand demonstrated particular dissatisfaction with the quality of street lighting (52% dissatisfaction), roads and bridges (46% dissatisfaction), and electricity (50% dissatisfaction).

Despite low levels of overall satisfaction with services, nearly three quarters of respondents expressed satisfaction with running water. Many people spoke positively to water provision in their stories as well.

*'The good thing in Sarafand is that they [commissioned] the water well and all the cities now have enough water supply.'* Lebanese female, Sarafand

Figure 86 Satisfaction with services



Syrians were significantly more dissatisfied with all services than Lebanese. Syrians' dissatisfaction could point to the fact that they are not receiving the same services nor the same standards of services. As described earlier, many Syrians are said to live outside of the city centre in informal tent settlements in the banana plantations surrounding the city. Their negative responses could have to do with their physical location and related lack of access to municipal services.



### LHSP Project in Sarafand

LHSP took on the construction, installation and equipping of a water tank in Sarafand in 2013.

In Sarafand, 64% of survey respondents knew about the LHSP project. Men and women were equally aware of the project. Lebanese were significantly more aware of the project (77%) than Syrians (23%). Among those who knew of the project, almost all (96%) agreed it would have a positive impact on the community. When respondents were asked who they thought was responsible for the project, 63% attributed the work to international NGOs. Just over a quarter of respondents (28%) linked the project to the municipality, and a fifth of respondents accredited the project to civil society.

### 6.3.3.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

When asked how satisfied people were with the municipality, FGD participants scored the municipality quite highly. Participants gave the municipality an average score of 7.75 out of 10. Key informants scored the municipality slightly lower, 7.66 out of 10, with two informants awarding scores of eight and one a seven. Key informants commented that the municipality has been making many improvements to the town, and is actively involving the public in the planning process. Respondents reported that the municipality regularly held town meetings with members of the public to discuss peoples' needs and that it was actively working to reduce the marginalisation of citizens. Despite these quite positive reviews, the data from the survey depicted in figure 86 above, shows that there is still a good amount of frustration and dissatisfaction with the quality of many services.

**Overall, the majority of people still trust the municipality first to provide services**

*'The sewage system was better before. The municipality is working hard to fix this system. We thank them for their efforts and I trust that they will keep on working to solve other problems.'* Lebanese female, Sarafand

The majority of survey respondents from Sarafand saw the municipality as the most trusted service provider (40%). Following the municipality, people saw local civil society (16%) and their family (15%) as the next most trusted bodies to provide services. Lebanese were significantly more likely than Syrians to view the municipality as the most trustworthy body to provide services. Syrians, on the other hand, were significantly more likely than Lebanese to turn to their families for service delivery.

Table 17 Who do you trust most to deliver services? (Top responses)

| Top Providers       | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality        | 40%             | 49%      | 15%    |
| Local Civil Society | 16%             | 18%      | 12%    |
| My Family           | 15%             | 12%      | 27%    |

When data collection began in 2013, references to the municipality in respondents' stories were primarily negative. Only 8% of respondents offered positive or even neutral stories. Respondents spoke very negatively about the municipality's willingness to act. Between 2013 and 2016, however, views and stories improved. In 2016, nearly 41% of people recounted either positive or neutral stories about the municipality, and spoke more positively of the municipality's willingness to act. In 2018, 33% of people made positive or neutral references to the municipality in their stories. Far fewer people discussed the municipality's willingness to act. Instead people related a combination of negative and positive (though primarily negative) stories

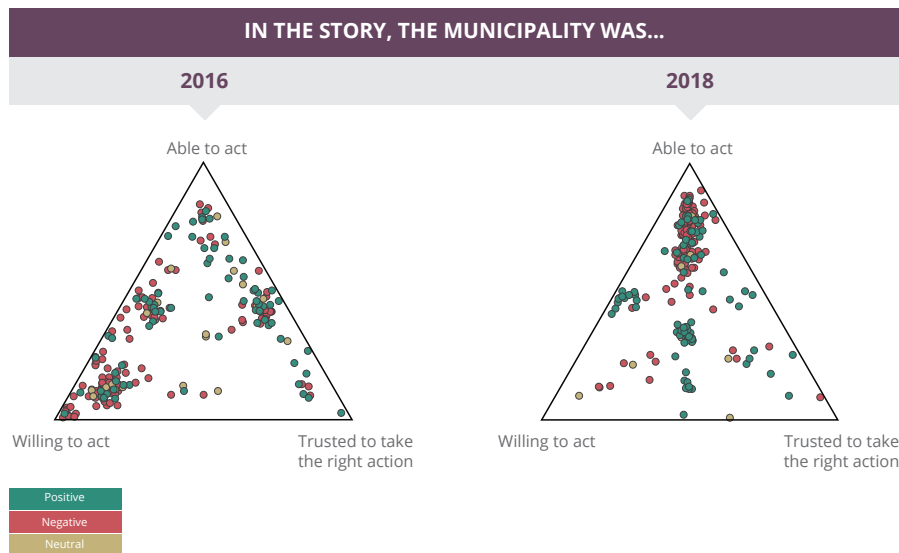


about the municipality's ability to act. Syrians expressed almost exclusively negative sentiment about the municipality's ability to act in 2018.

In their stories many people directly and indirectly referred to the municipality's ability to act. A number of people did not see the municipality as having the ability to act. Subsequently some discussed turning to other groups like INGOs for service provision and help.

*'The municipality held a cleaning campaign once and it wasn't successful because not all of the organisations that were invited showed up.'* Lebanese female, Sarafand

Figure 87 In the story, the municipality was... (2016 vs 2018)



More than three quarters of people (77%) thought that the municipality had the resources to provide services, as can be seen in table 16 below. Lebanese were significantly more confident about the municipality having the necessary resources than Syrians. Fewer respondents agreed that they trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community. While the majority of Lebanese asserted that they trusted the municipality, less than half of Syrians agreed. Finally, just over half of people felt that there was no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services. Lebanese felt significantly more that there was no discrimination in service delivery than Syrians.

Table 18 Percentage who agree with the following statement

|  | Overall | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|---------|----------|--------|
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 76%     | 85%      | 50%    |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 50%     | 62%      | 12%    |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 45%     | 56%      | 12%    |

### Syrians feel overwhelmingly excluded in their stories

In 2018, fewer people welcomed changes in Sarafand in the stories they told than in 2016. A greater number of people told positive stories where they eluded to both feeling engaged and feeling welcomed. At the same time, in 2018, more people reported feeling excluded than in 2016. Breaking the sentiment of stories down by nationality, nearly half of Lebanese told negative stories about feeling excluded, while somewhat less than half described



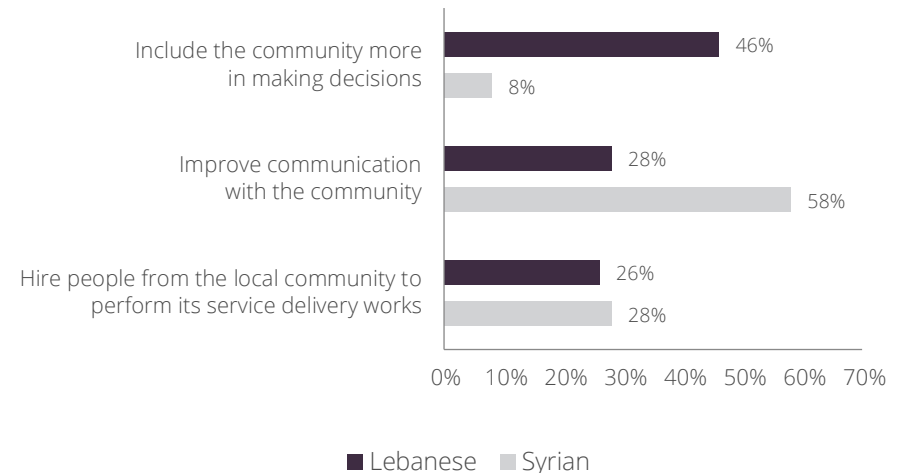


welcoming change and feeling engaged. Syrians, on the other hand, almost without exception related stories of exclusion.

### **People want to be included more in municipal decision-making processes**

When asked what the municipality needs to do if it wanted to improve how it plans and delivers services, an equal proportion of respondents answered that it should improve community with the community (36%) and include the community more in making decisions (36%). Between these two most popular suggested improvements, Lebanese and Syrians differed significantly in how they answered. While Lebanese believed the municipality needed to include the community more in making decisions significantly more than Syrians did, Syrians opined the municipality should improve communication with the community significantly more than Lebanese. From these responses, it might be possible to deduce that while the government is communicating with the majority of Lebanese, almost half feel excluded from the actual decision-making process. Meanwhile, more than half of Syrian respondents do not even feel that the municipality is communicating with them. Similar proportions of Lebanese and Syrians answered that the answer was to hire locally. Key informants described how the municipality uses a variety of means to communicate with the public, including social media (a Facebook page), social events and town hall meetings. Key informants and FGD participants failed to put forth any new recommendations for municipal improvement of planning and delivery, but instead highlighted the importance of municipal communication and involvement with the public in planning processes, particularly the youth.

Figure 88 If the municipality wants to improve how it plans and delivers services, it needs to...



### **6.3.3.4 Social Stability**

#### ***There is significant tension between Lebanese and Syrians***

More than three quarters of respondents agreed that there was significant tension between Lebanese and Syrians living in Sarafand. Furthermore, there was little difference in Lebanese and Syrian perception of these tensions; 76% of Lebanese and 78% of Syrians acknowledged significant tension between the two groups.

Interestingly, FGD participants disagreed that there were no tensions between Syrians and Lebanese. Similarly, KII respondents affirmed that no real tensions between Syrians and Lebanese in the community. A Lebanese male key informant even declared that tensions between the groups did not exist thanks to high quality services that were made equally available to both Syrians and Lebanese.





Despite the high proportion of people who disagreed tensions existed, 56% of survey respondents indicated that there are tensions and that people are working together to resolve them. Respondents did not answer significantly differently from one another, though more Lebanese answered positively than Syrians.

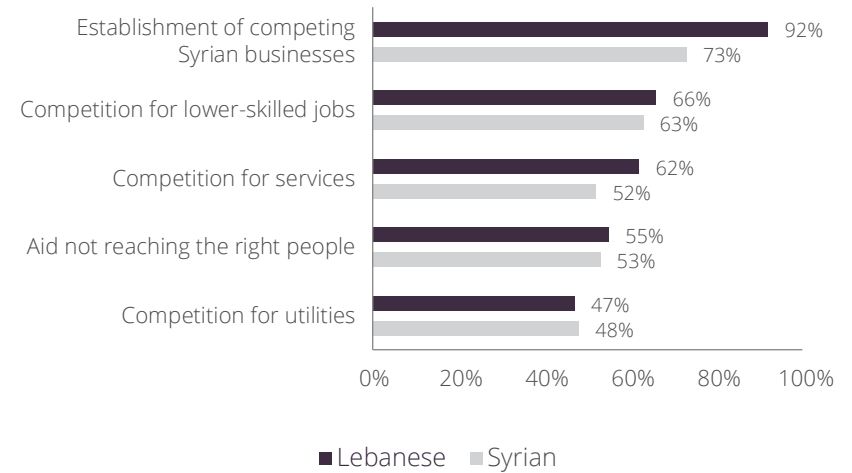
***The establishment of competing Syrian businesses is at the heart of tensions.***

The majority of both Syrians and Lebanese believed that the establishment of competing Syrian businesses causes tensions between Lebanese and Syrians. While Lebanese indicated business competition as a cause for tension significantly more than Syrians, the greatest proportion of Syrian respondents still saw business competition as a principal source of tension. Lebanese and Syrians answered similarly about other causes of tension. The second greatest cause of tension for both groups was perceived to be competition for lower-skilled jobs, followed by completion for services. Key informants and FGD participants did not elaborate on the roots of competition and tension within the community.

*'I am an engineer but I can't find a job in this field. I am working as a part time waiter and this is affecting me badly. Syrians are working here and they own shops and restaurants, that is why employment is affected.'* Lebanese male, Sarafand

*'I came from Syria two years ago and I suffered for two years from my previous job, I was in a different city and now I moved to Sarafand and I opened a clothes shop and the work is very good. Lebanese people envy us because our work is good but still they buy from our shop.'* Syrian male, Sarafand

Figure 89 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians (Top responses)



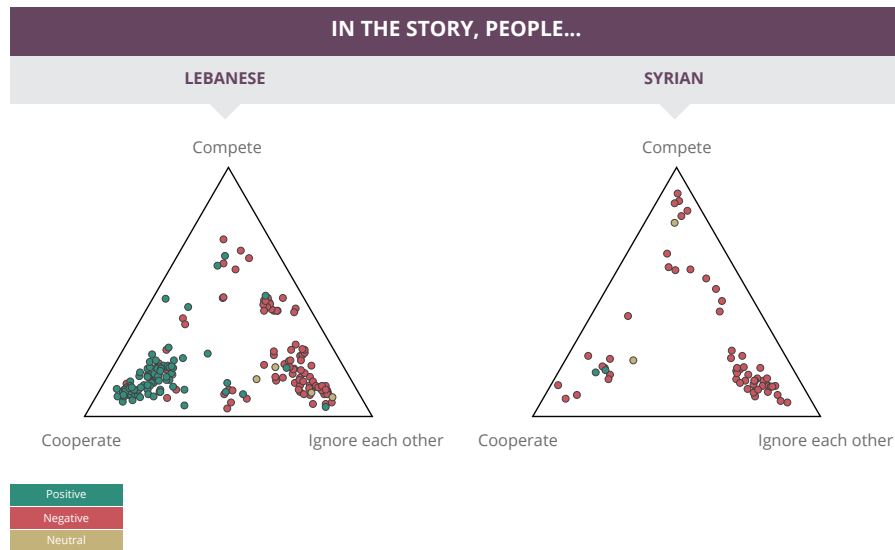
***Syrians and Lebanese ignore each other.***

When discussing interaction in their stories, large portions of Lebanese and Syrians described ignoring each other. As is evident in figure 90 (right), Syrians' stories of interaction centred negatively on ignoring one another. Fewer Syrians relayed stories of competition and coordination.

Lebanese stories focused mainly on cooperation and ignoring the other. Many Lebanese relayed positive stories about cooperation, at the same time a large number also spoke negatively about ignoring each other. Few Lebanese spoke about competition between Lebanese and Syrians.



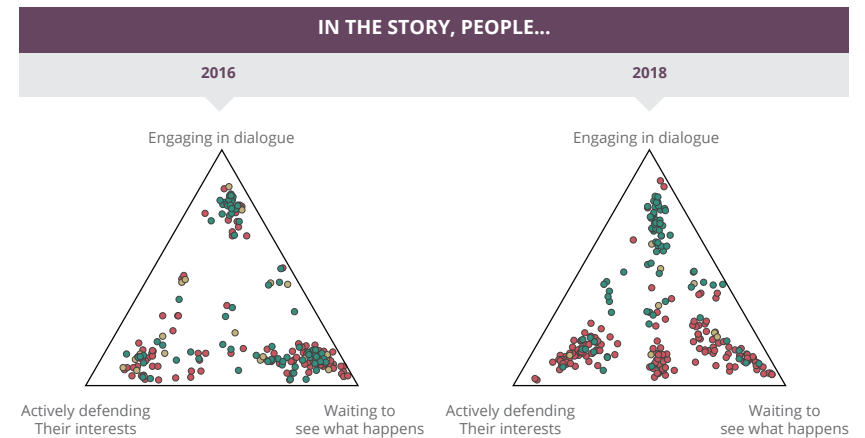
Figure 90 In the story, people... (Lebanese vs Syrians) - MISSING



**Respondents in Sarafand are almost equally engaged in dialogue, defending their interests and waiting to see what happens**

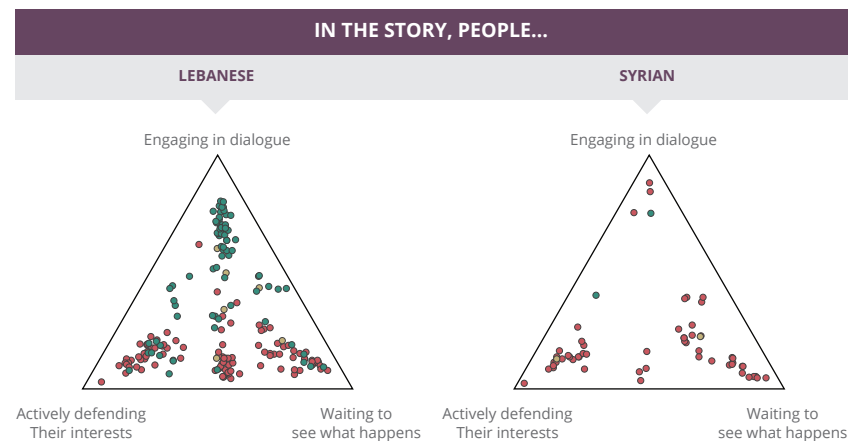
In 2016, the majority of respondent stories relating to reaction involved waiting to see what happens. In 2018, however, stories dealt with all three types of interaction. Fewer respondents reported waiting to see what happens. A greater number of respondents spoke positively about engaging in dialogue in 2018 than in 2016. Simultaneously, a greater number of respondents spoke negatively about actively defending their interests in 2018 than in 2016.

Figure 91 In the story, people reacted by... (2016 vs 2018) - MISSING



Trends in story themes differed quite significantly between Lebanese and Syrians (see figure 92 below). Lebanese recounted more positive stories than their Syrian counterparts. While Lebanese positively discussed engaging in dialogue, and the more negatively, defending their interests and waiting to see what happened, most Syrian stories were negative and either related to actively defending their interests or waiting to see what would happen.

Figure 92 In the story, people reacted by... (Lebanese vs Syrians) - MISSING





### **Respondents believe in solving tensions peacefully.**

In 2017, 68% of respondents reported that although there were tensions, people were working to resolve them. In 2018, this figure dropped to 48% in Majdal Aanjar. While on average, throughout all the municipalities, half of respondents believed that people are working together to resolve tensions, less than half agreed in Majdal Aanjar. Syrians in particular appeared less hopeful about working together. While in 2017 73% of Syrians had said they believed tensions could be worked through together to be resolved, in 2018, only 46% agreed. The Lebanese who agreed with this statement dropped from 58% in 2017, to 51% in 2018. It would appear that relations between the groups have deteriorated in the last year.

#### **Is violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?**

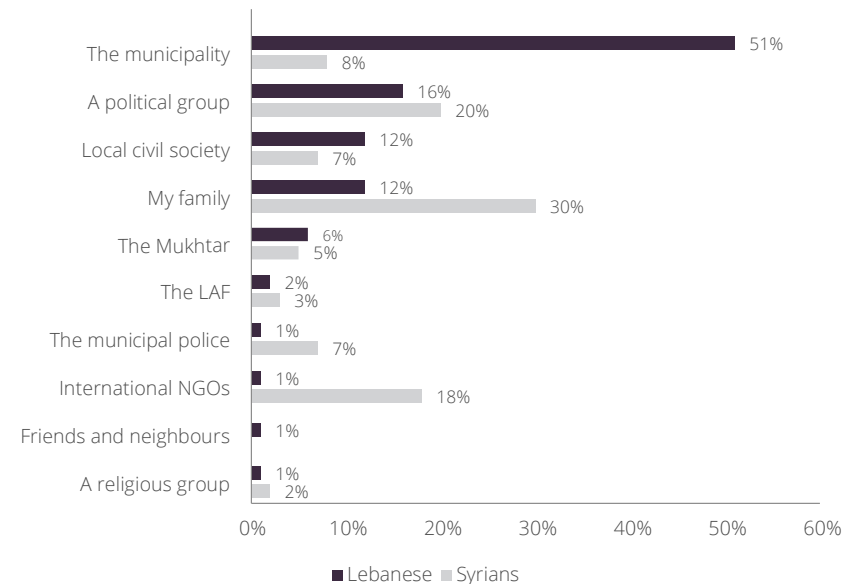
Less than 20% of respondents from Sarafand thought that violence was sometimes an acceptable way to defend their interests. Women (8%) saw violence as significantly less acceptable than men (18%). Nearly a fifth of youth (21%) believed violence to be an acceptable way to defend interests, more so than any other age group.

### **Lebanese rely largely on the municipality to resolve disputes while Syrians rely more on their families**

More than half of Lebanese (51%) identified the municipality as the body they trusted most to resolve disputes in their community. Lebanese approached the municipality for assistance resolving disputes 30% more than any other group. At the same time, only 8% of Syrians turned to the municipality for help, demonstrating a large discrepancy in who Lebanese trust and who Syrians trust for help in the community.

As in other municipalities, Syrians tended to rely on their families (30%) first and foremost for help resolving disputes in their community. Between 15 and 20% of both Syrians and Lebanese relied on political groups for assistance, while 18% of Syrians tended to seek help from international NGOs.

Figure 93 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes? (Lebanese vs Syrians)



### **Less than a third of Syrians report feeling part of the community**

The majority of Lebanese in Sarafand agreed that they felt part of the community. The 81% that agree indicate that, for the most part, Lebanese are engaged in civic life in Sarafand. Echoing previous question responses, the majority of Syrians answered that they did not feel part of the community in Sarafand. Figure 94 only further builds on the predominant stories of exclusion told by Syrians. Syrians appear to feel neglected and excluded from municipal services and civic life.



Figure 94 I feel part of this community

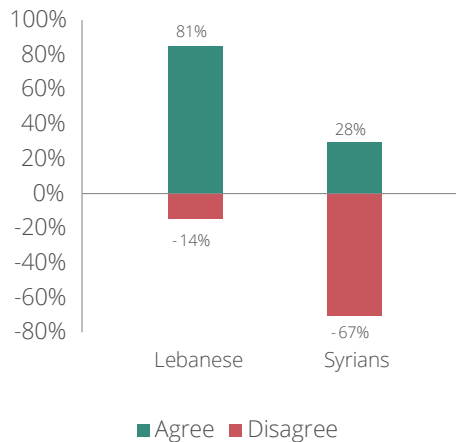
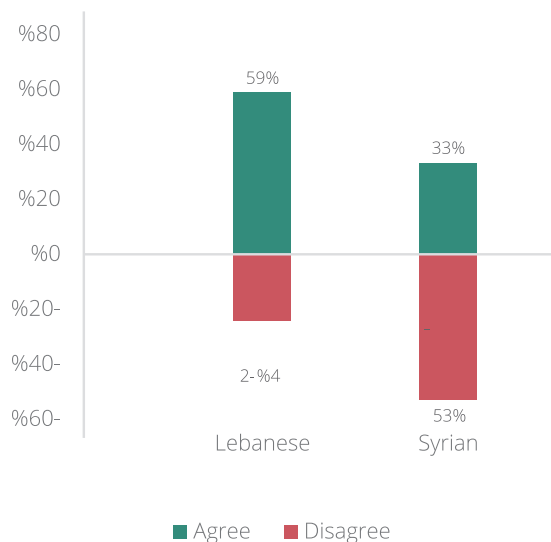


Figure 95 People in this community can generally be trusted



## 6.4 Bekaa

### 6.4.1 Ali El Nahri

#### 6.4.1.1 Context

Like Saadnayel, Ali El Nahri is also located in Zahle district of the administrative division of the Bekaa. Of the 12 municipalities, Ali El Nahri lies closest to Syria, just 12.4 kilometres from the border. Ali El Nahri is a small town with a population of just over 9,000 including approximately 3,000 Syrians. The majority of the Lebanese population works in agriculture and in the stone quarries surrounding the municipality. Unofficially, some members of the population worked as smugglers of goods (over the Syrian border) before the border was closed and patrols intensified.

The most common faith denomination amongst Lebanese residents of Ali El Nahri is Shia Islam. For years, residents of Ali El Nahri have supported Hezbollah as a party in municipal elections. Some residents have even joined the party. Political party is worth noting as Hezbollah has a very particular stance on Syria and the Syrian refugees that have arrived in the area.

Residents of Ali El Nahri have been outspoken about their frustrations with the Syrian presence in the town. In March 2017, residents from Ali El Nahri staged a four-day demonstration against Syrian labour in the country, and its undercutting of Lebanese business. Protesters asserted that there was an overexpansion of Syrian labour into the Lebanese labour market and an overexpansion of Syrians into Lebanese communities. Demonstrators called on officials to quickly and decisively resolve the crisis of hosting Syrian refugees.

In recent years, Ali El Nahri has seen kidnappings and other forms of crime. In February 2015, gunmen kidnapped a man on the Ali El Nahri highway. They released him after reaching an agreement with his family. In January 2016,



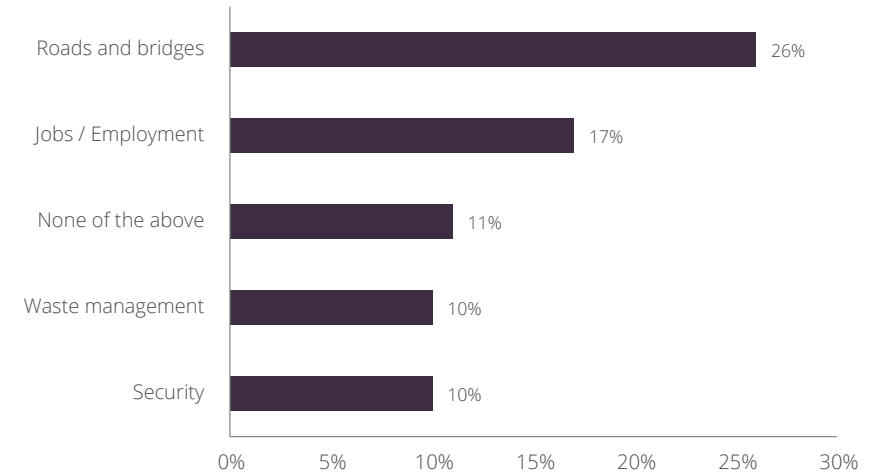
gunmen kidnapped a contractor from inside his home and stole millions of Lebanese pounds from him. He was later returned without a ransom. In June 2016, a gunfight resulted in the death of a Lebanese residents and injuries to his son. The reasons for the fighting are unknown.

**Profile of participants.** Three quarters of respondents surveyed were Lebanese while a quarter were Syrian. Nearly half of respondents were male (51%), while just less than half were female (49%). The majority of respondents were between the ages of 30 and 49 (68%, 33% between 30 and 39, and 35% between 40 and 49). More than half of respondents (54%) had not achieved more than an intermediate education. While half of respondents reported having enough to cover food, rent and clothes, 39% reported barely having enough for these three staples.

#### 6.4.1.2 Quality of and Access to Services and Jobs

In their stories, the majority of Lebanese and Syrians talked about roads and bridges (26%). Stories about roads and bridges were followed by stories about jobs and employment (17%). As shown in figure 96, 11% of stories were not about any of the listed services and topics. This is to say that 11% of stories did not deal with services, security, politics or employment. Stories centred on waste management and security accounted for 10% of respondents' stories. In total, 61% of stories related to services.

Figure 96 Your story is mostly about (Top responses)



Lebanese spoke about roads and bridges (32%) significantly more than Syrians did (9%). Men also talked about the topic of roads and bridges (32%) significantly more than women (21%). Syrians, meanwhile discussed jobs and employment (32%) significantly more than Lebanese respondents (12%). Though water was not a particularly popular theme in respondents' stories, women spoke about its provision (4%) significantly more than men (0%).

#### Survey respondents showed high satisfaction with services

People in Ali El Nahri demonstrated high overall satisfaction with municipal services. Respondents were more than 50% satisfied with nine out of ten services. Specifically, respondents were 94% satisfied with electricity, 86% satisfied with school buildings and 85% running water. People were least satisfied with roads and bridges; respondents indicated 45% satisfaction with roads and bridges in Ali El Nahri.

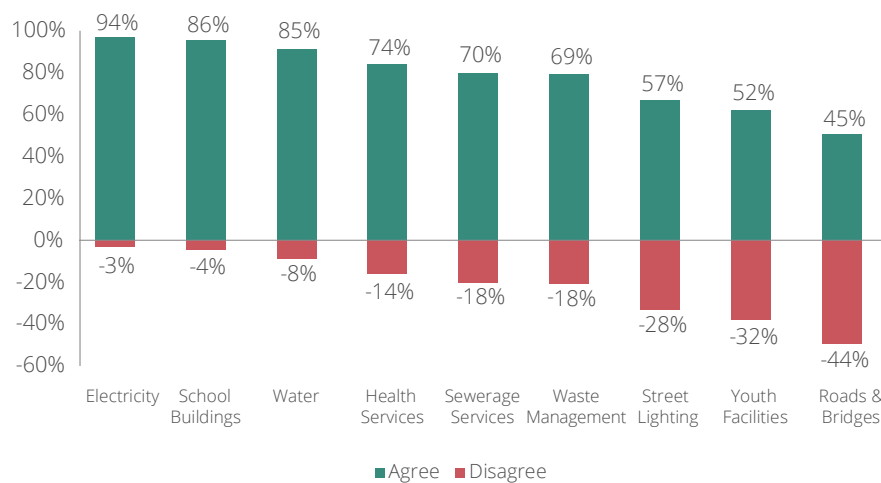


*'Roads in Ali El Nahri need to be paved with asphalt. You find a pothole at each step, and each time [the municipality] covers it with asphalt someone starts digging to fix wastewater.'* Lebanese woman, Ali El Nahri

While there were no major differences in satisfaction along demographic lines, there were a few significant differences in terms of dissatisfaction. Syrians were significantly more dissatisfied with health services, sewerage services and electricity than Lebanese. Men were significantly more dissatisfied with youth facilities than women, while women were significantly more dissatisfied with running water than men. All demographics were similarly dissatisfied with roads and bridges.

With the exception of running water, Lebanese were significantly more satisfied with services than Syrians. Lebanese and Syrians both rated the quality of running water particularly low.

Figure 97 Satisfaction with services



### FGD participants were much more critical of services

In the focus group discussion, participants painted a less positive picture of services. FGD participants were particularly critical of roads, sewage and waste management. One person exclaimed that the only time roads were asphalted was during the election period to boost candidate's appeal.

*'It's been more than 20 years and our road has not been asphalted'* – Lebanese woman, Ali El Nahri

Participants described the situation of sewage as a crisis. They stated that sewerage networks in some areas badly needed repair. They also described how certain areas were favoured for services because the mayor or his relatives lived there.

With regards to waste, residents related that during summer months there were sometimes delays in waste collection. These delays often resulted in the emergence of insects. Part of the problem they said, was that the municipality did not have the pesticides to deal with and control insects in such a situation.

People stated that the water was a problem, and that it was generally unclean and pressure was poor. They recognised, however, that access to clean water varied according the particular neighbourhood, though houses higher floors of buildings required a generator.

Participants explained that there were no hospitals in the area but that there were dispensaries. Each person who visits the dispensary, however, needed to pay a fee. While the fee for the average Lebanese person was 15,000 Lebanese pounds, Syrians were allowed to pay as little as 3,000 and Hezbollah members were given free access.

Participants said that some of the public schools were very good while others were quite poor because of a lack of basic equipment. All of the private schools



in the area were reported to be excellent and well equipped but required admissions and fees and were therefore inaccessible to many families.

Finally, FGD participants spoke very highly of electricity service in the town. People could access electricity 24 hours a day. Furthermore, the electricity providers and the companies providing generators worked together. The maximum electricity bill that could be expected would be 120,000 LBP.

### ***Key informants were divided on whether or not services were improving***

Two key informants felt that that nothing has changed. One said that the municipality was trying to improve the roads, but that services generally remained the same. In contrast, two other key informants asserted that services were improving. One key informant explained that electricity improved since Zahle Electric Company began to provide it. The other informant attributed improvements to international organisations like Intersource that have been supported the municipality were water services. In both cases, improvements were not directly attributed to the municipality but to outside groups.

### **LHSP Project in Ali El Nahri**

In 2013, LHSP began working with Ali El Nahri. LHSP realised divisions were strong between Lebanese and Syrians living in the community. To try and reduce tension while simultaneously promoting cohesion between the two groups, LHSP inaugurated construction on recreational spaces where Syrians and Lebanese might meet and engage.

92% of respondents in Ali El Nahri were aware of the LHSP project. Lebanese were significantly more aware of the project (96%) than Syrians (82%). Of those that knew about the project, 94% believed the project was having a positive impact on the local community.

Where asked who they thought was responsible for the project, 87% of survey respondents answered the municipality. Almost half of respondents (49%) attributed the project to International NGOs. Significantly more Lebanese believed INGOs were responsible for the project (52%) than Syrians (35%). 11% of respondents thought civil society organisations were responsible for the project.

## **6.4.1.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy**

### ***Political allegiance affects service provision***

Though key informants all agreed that the municipality is good overall but that a certain political party often affects its work. Three key informants found the municipality to be legitimate but added that it needs to be more transparent and share its work with the public more. A fourth key informant did not see the municipality as legitimate do to its political leanings.

'If only the municipality organises projects where it employs people other than Al Mazbouh family. They took over everything, even the president. They



only look to their relatives to cover the roads in front of their houses with asphalt. No one asks about us, they only act nicely before the elections.'  
Lebanese male, Ali El Nahri

When asked how satisfied they thought people in the community were with the municipality, FGD participants gave a very low average rating of 4.25. The lowest rating given was a 2 while the highest was a 6. FGD participants acknowledged that the population would perceive the municipality differently based on its partisan orientation. Those affiliated with the municipality's party were more likely to appreciate its work as opposed to those who were not.

***More than any other body, survey respondents trusted the municipality to provide services***

Despite the frustrations raised and negative comments made by FGD participants, 73% of respondents still trusted the municipality the most to provide services. Just over three quarters of Lebanese (76%) trusted the municipality first and foremost to provide services, with 61% of Syrians in agreement.

Far fewer people trusted other groups to provide services. Only 6% of respondents trusted their families to provide services, including 5% of Lebanese and 7% of Syrian respondents. These low figures stand in stark contrast to many other municipalities where people relied much more heavily on families for support, particularly Syrians. Fewer respondents trusted International NGOs (5%) and central government (5%) to provide services.

*Table 19 Who do you trust most to provide services? (Top responses)*

| Top Providers      | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality       | 73%             | 76%      | 61%    |
| My Family          | 6%              | 5%       | 7%     |
| INGOs              | 5%              | 0%       | 20%    |
| Central government | 5%              | 7%       | 2%     |

There were only a couple of significant differences in the way respondents rated potential service providers. As has been true in most municipalities, Lebanese trusted the municipality to provide services significantly more than Syrians. Syrians, in turn, trusted International NGOs significantly more than Lebanese to provide services.

***Peoples' stories focused primarily on the municipality's ability to act***

In 2015, respondents' stories were both positive and negative to act and related to a range of issues. Positive stories focused on the municipality's ability to act and take action. In addition to the cluster of positive stories, respondents spoke of negative and positive experiences relating to the municipality's willingness to act and its ability to act.

In 2016, stories shifted somewhat. Close to half of the stories relayed positive experiences related to the municipality's ability to act and people's trust in the municipality to take action. A smaller number of negative stories, however, concentrated in between the municipality's ability to act and its willingness to act as shown in figure 98. Stories told in 2016 reflected the trends mentioned in 2015, however, several people told negative stories specifically regarding the municipality's willingness to act.

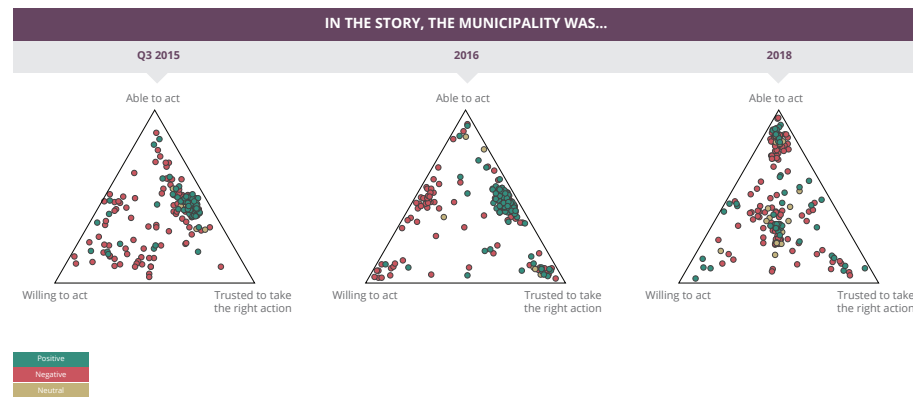




Finally, 2018 saw a major shift in stories as can be seen in figure 98. In stark contrast to stories in 2016, in 2018 respondents' stories focused predominantly on the municipality's ability to act. Though stories were overall negative, people relayed a number of positive experiences as well.

*'The last thing that was done in our village was dredging. They also installed a large screen on the roundabout in order to display the on-going projects in the village. Moreover, they established a free park and hired two people from the village. The park includes a children's playground and sports stuff for adults. It's a good step.'* Lebanese man, Ali El Nahri

Figure 98 In the story, the municipality was... (2015 vs 2016 vs 2018)



Between 2016 and 2018, Ali El Nahri saw a round of municipal elections held. It is quite possible that the results of these elections affected perceptions of the municipality's attitude towards and role in service provision.

### Survey respondents perceive the municipality very well

Respondents agreed most that the municipality had the resources to provide the necessary services for the community (table 20 below). Lebanese and

Syrians agreed on this point similarly. More than three quarters of people trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community, including 83% of Lebanese and 84% of Syrians. In this case, Syrians unusually trusted the municipality even more than Lebanese. Finally, more than two thirds of respondents declared that they did not perceive discrimination in the way the municipality delivered services. Once again, Syrians and Lebanese responded very similarly, with no significant difference in their answers.

Table 20 Percentage who agree with the following statements

|  | Overall | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|---------|----------|--------|
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 94%     | 96%      | 89%    |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 84%     | 83%      | 84%    |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 69%     | 70%      | 66%    |

### Between 2015 and 2018, stories were overall negative and focused on feelings of exclusion

*'In Ali El Nahri, there are few of us Syrians. Because of this, we don't receive any aid from the UN and no one responds to our demands at the municipality. We cannot even get jobs at the town.'* Syrian male, Ali El Nahri

Trends in respondents' stories changed little between 2015 and 2018 as can be seen on the left-hand triad in figure 99. In 2016 the number of positive narratives increased slightly so that stories were nearly half positive and half negative on more spread out. In 2018, nearly half of stories were negative while the other half were positive. Despite the fact that respondents continued



to tell negative stories about feeling excluded, respondents were positive about feeling engaged and welcoming change. There were no significant differences in story trends between Lebanese and Syrian respondents.

Figure 99 In the story, people... (2015 vs 2016 vs 2018)



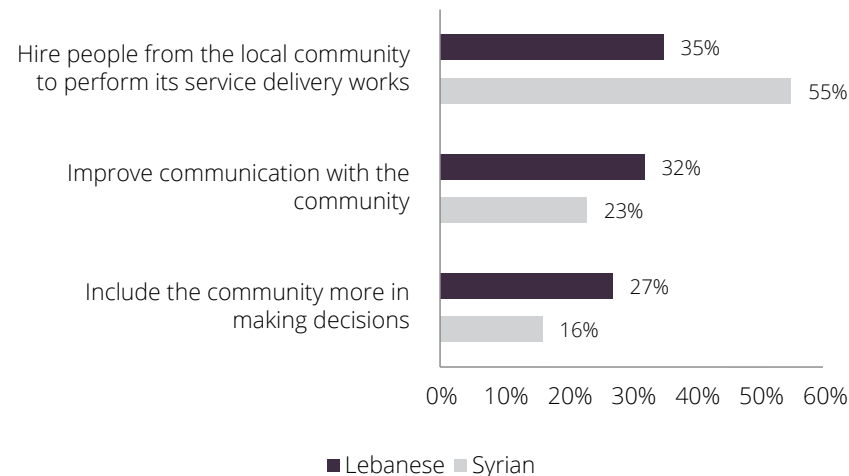
Age, gender and nationality had very little effect on whether stories were more likely to be positive or negative in 2018. Stories of all demographic groups tended to concentrate on negative experiences of feeling excluded.

### Respondents want the municipality to hire locally for service delivery

When asked what the municipality needed to do if it wanted to improve service planning and deliver, 40% of all respondents said hire people from the local community to perform service delivery. In contrast to people in most other municipalities, people in Ali El Nahri cared most about the municipality hiring locally, more than improved communication or engagement with the community on service related topics. As shown in figure 100, the majority of Lebanese (35%) and Syrians (55%) recommended the municipality hire locally for the performance of service delivery works. Significantly more Syrians agreed on this solution to improve planning and delivery of services. About a third of respondents suggested improving communication with the

community, and a quarter recommended including the community more in making decisions.

Figure 100 If the municipality wants to improve the way it plans and delivers services, it needs to... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



### 6.4.1.4 Social Stability

#### The majority of respondents agreed that Lebanese had been good hosts to Syrians

As in Saadnayel, more than three quarters of respondents (77%) agreed that Lebanese had been good hosts to Syrians refugees. Similar percentages of Lebanese (78%) and Syrians (71%) agreed. The high percentage of people who agreed demonstrate a positive, or at least appreciative attitude towards the host community.

When asked whether the Lebanese attitude towards Syrians had deteriorated significantly within the last year, 55% of people agreed. Compared to other municipalities, this percentage is rather average and shows that people have



very mixed views on the topic of Syrians in Ali El Nahri. Similar proportions of Lebanese (55%) and Syrians (54%) agreed with the statement.

FGD participants negated that there were disputes or fights but acknowledged that some people felt hatred towards Syrians. One woman explained that a number of Lebanese in Ali El Nahri had been forced to leave the town because the number of Syrians keeps increasing and the economic situation for Lebanese has become “unacceptable” and hopeless.

*‘Since their arrival the situation changed a lot and business conflicts emerged’*  
Lebanese woman, Ali El Nahri

Another woman talked about an increased number of crimes and higher rates of drug abuse, linking these to Syrians. She acknowledged, however, that some Lebanese benefit from Syrians’ presence economically. Still FGD participant feedback was negative, and portrayed a rather bleak story of strained relations and resentment as in many of the other communities.

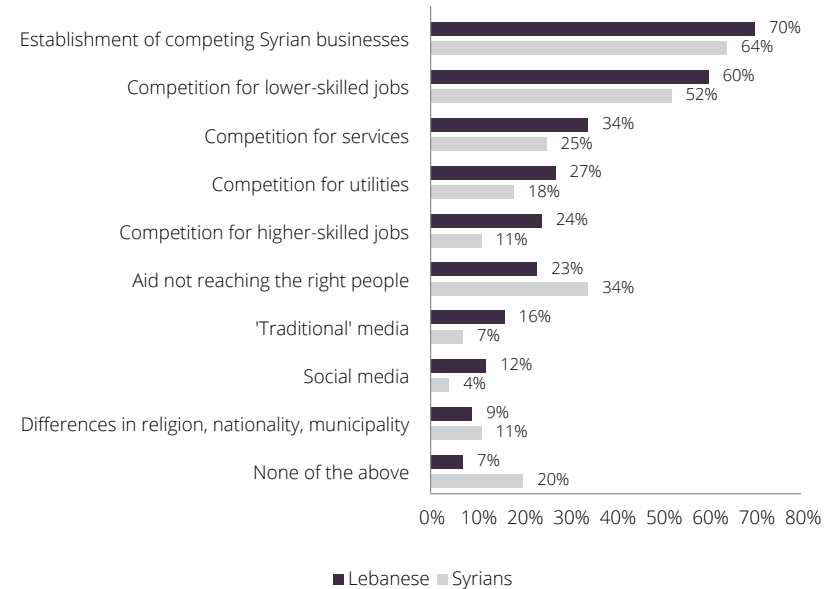
*‘Before they came, the situation was much better’* Lebanese woman, Ali El Nahri

### **The majority of respondents perceive the establishment of competing Syrian businesses to be a cause of tension between Syrians and Lebanese**

Figure 101 shows that a large majority (69% total respondents) of respondents believed competing Syrian businesses to be the greatest cause of tension in the community. Lebanese (70%) and Syrians (64%) agreed similarly. The second most popular cause of tension was viewed to be competition for lower skilled jobs (58% total respondents). Youth agreed that this was a cause for tension (75%) significantly more than lower middle (59%), upper middle (54%), or older adults (20%). Youth may have answered this way because youth tend to struggle for the lower skilled jobs more than other groups. Competition for services was seen by 34% of Lebanese and a quarter of Syrians to be a cause of tension. Again, youth agreed significantly more with this as a cause of tension than other age groups.

There were few significant differences in the way that Lebanese and Syrians answered questions. However, Lebanese agreed significantly more (24%) than Syrians (11%) that competition for higher skilled jobs was a source of tension.

Figure 101 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians



### **Since 2015, Lebanese have told increasingly positive stories of cooperation**

Since the project began in 2015, an increasing number of Lebanese have told positive stories about cooperation as can be seen in figure 102 below. In 2015, stories were largely negative. Some negative stories were more general, while others related to ignoring each other and cooperation. Still, in 2015 respondents reported a number of positive experiences dealing with cooperation, moving towards engagement. In 2016, stories followed the same trends, but were less general and clustered more tightly about the triad points. In 2018, the number of positive stories increased. While



they were primarily clustered around cooperation, some were more general regarding interaction. Lebanese shared considerably more positive stories than Syrians in 2018.

Figure 102 In the story, people... (2015 vs 2016 vs 2018)

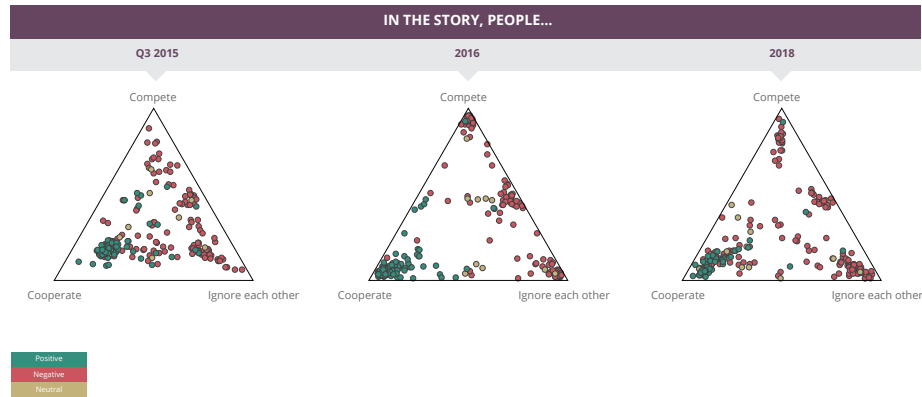
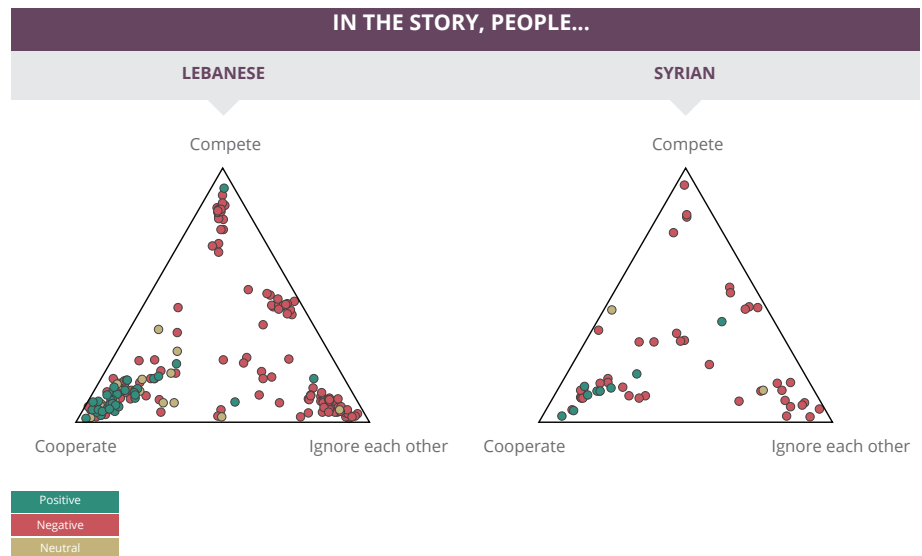


Figure 103 In the story, people... (Lebanese vs Syrians)

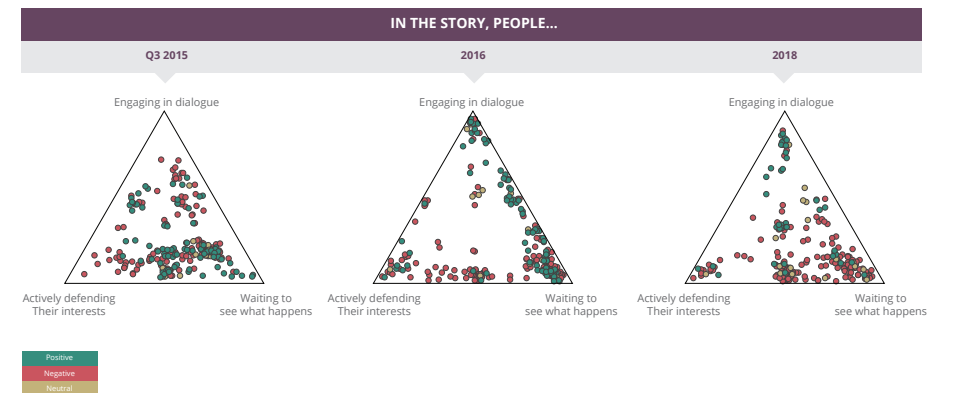


**In 2018, stories of reaction tended to be overall negative focused on waiting to see what happens**

In 2015, stories were overall positive and concentrated on waiting to see what would happen. Respondents told fewer stories of negative experiences relating to engaging in dialogue, actively defending their interests, and waiting to see what happened (see figure 104). In 2016, Ali El Nahri saw a change in narrative trends. The majority of stories depicted positive experiences, particularly around engaging in dialogue and waiting to see what happens. 2018 saw another shift in trends, this time negative. This time, the majority of respondents told stories, relating negative experiences about waiting to see what would happen.

Still, a small number of respondents told stories about positively engaging in dialogue. Trends in experiences were similar for stories told by Lebanese and by Syrians, as well as for stories told by men and women. People of Shia denomination tended to tell more positive stories about engaging in dialogue than people of Shia denomination.

Figure 104 In the story, people reacted by... (2015 vs 2016 vs 2018)





### **More than half of respondents felt that there were significant tensions between Lebanese and Syrians**

Over half of respondents (55%) felt that there were significant tensions between Lebanese and Syrians in Ali El Nahri. Syrians agreed more strongly that these tensions existed (59%) than Lebanese (54%) but not significantly so. In terms of other demographic groups, youth also agreed that existed significantly between Lebanese and Syrians more than other age groups. As suggested earlier, this could likely be due to Lebanese and Syrian youth coming into competition with one another in the workplace (particularly for low-skilled work).

*'I want to talk about work scarcity. Syrians cut off other people's earnings. I haven't sold anything in a month while they work in construction for cheaper wages. We are quitting our jobs because of them. Enough already.'* Lebanese male, Ali El Nahri

At the same time as nearly half of respondents acknowledged tensions, close to half of respondents also agreed that people were working to resolve these tensions together (53%). The fact that more than half of respondents felt people were working together is something positive, and shows a certain level of resolve on behalf of more than half of the population to coexist. Lebanese agreed more strongly that groups were working together (54%) than Syrians (48%).

### **Is violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?**

The proportion of respondents who agreed with the use of violence in Ali El Nahri was the highest of any of the municipalities. In Ali El Nahri, just over a third of respondents (34%) agreed that violence was an acceptable way to defend their interests by. This is to say that one in three people in Ali El Nahri finds violence justifiable in certain scenarios. While there were no differences in attitudes between Lebanese and Syrians, youth agreed significantly more than other groups with the use of violence; 46% of youth thought it was reasonable to use violence to defend one's interests.

### **The majority of Lebanese go to the mukhtar to resolve disputes**

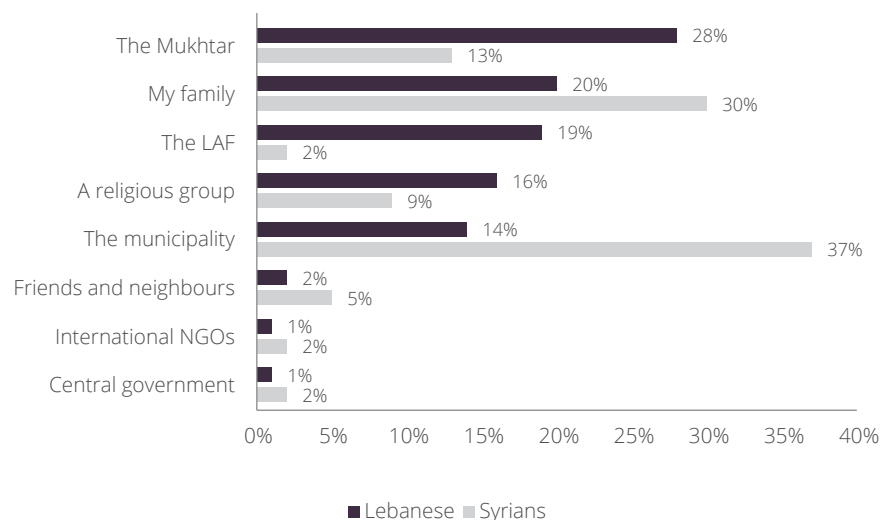
Respondents from Ali El Nahri differed quite substantially from other respondents in terms of the people and bodies they would approach to resolve problems. The majority of Lebanese said they trust the mukhtar most to resolve disputes in their community (28%). Similar to in Saadnayel, mukhtars in Ali El Nahri can be seen as very influential figures in their communities (which does not appear to be true in other communities). A sizeable number of Syrians also agreed that they would trust the mukhtar to resolve disputes (13%).

The second group Lebanese respondents said they would turn to resolve issues were their families. One fifth of Lebanese of Lebanese trusted their families to help resolve disputes, a high percentage compared to other municipalities. The large proportion of Lebanese that would go to their families for help likely demonstrates that Ali El Nahri is very family centred. Family, tribe and clan ties are stronger than ties to the municipality, outside organisations or security actors. As in other municipalities, a high proportion of Syrians (30%) also agreed they would trust their families most to resolve disputes.



In contrast to most other municipalities, the majority of Syrians in Ali El Nahri answered that they would trust the municipality the most to resolve disputes. In other municipalities, Syrians tended to answer that they would trust their families first. In Ali El Nahri, however, 37% of Syrians answered they would trust the municipality the most compared to 14% who said they would trust their family first. It is quite interesting that Syrians felt more comfortable approaching the municipality for conflict resolution (37%) than Lebanese did (14%). The significant difference in those who would approach the municipality raises the question as to why Lebanese would feel less comfortable turning to their own municipality than Syrians.

Figure 105 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes? (Lebanese vs Syrians)

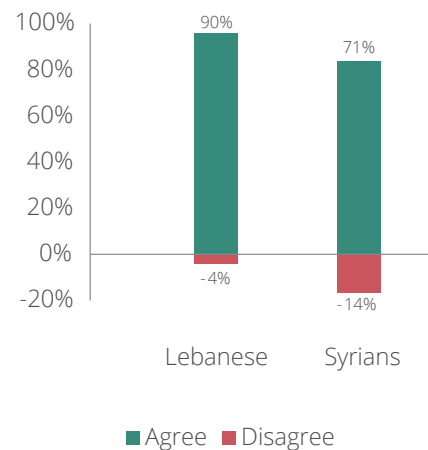


### Close to three quarters of Syrians felt part of the community

Notwithstanding the reported tensions between Lebanese and Syrians, most Lebanese and Syrians felt part of the Ali El Nahri community as can be seen in figure 106 below. Ali El Nahri was one of three municipalities in

which 85% or more of the population felt part of the community. The vast majority of Lebanese felt part of the community (90%), significantly more than the proportion of Syrians who felt part of the community. Still, nearly three quarters of Syrians (71%) agreed they felt part of the community.

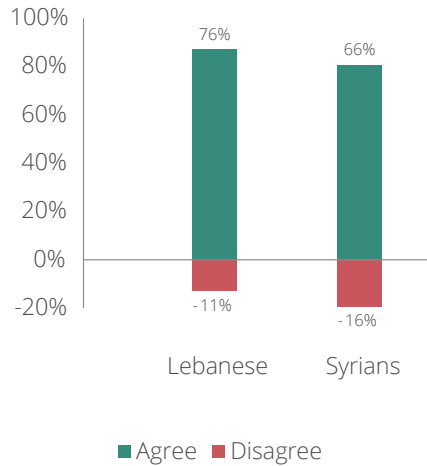
Figure 106 I feel part of this community



Though tensions and feelings of resentment are high, the majority of people in Ali El Nahri still feel they can trust others in the community (see figure 107). Over three quarters of Lebanese (76%) feel that they can trust people in their community, a high and very positive percentage. Two thirds of Syrians (66%) of Syrians agreed, also a high and positive percentage. No significant differences existed between the nationalities, ages, genders or religious denominations meaning that overall, people feel they can trust one another in Ali El Nahri.



Figure 107 People in this community can generally be trusted



## 6.4.2 Majdal Aanjar

### 6.4.2.1 Context

The municipality of Majdal Aanjar is located in the Bekaa Valley, within the Zahle district. The municipality has been particularly affected by the Syria crisis, and at present, Syrian refugees outnumber Lebanese by almost two to one. Jobs and employment are a major source of strain as many Lebanese relied on jobs related to the transport of goods and people to and from Syria. Since the formal closing of the border and due to the increased military presence along the border, the municipality lost a crucial source of income.

Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, however, the municipality has taken legal measures to regulate and reduce tensions between the two communities. While Syrians are allowed to open their own businesses in Majdal Aanjar, the municipality requires them to register just as Lebanese would. Current job opportunities are to be found primarily in agriculture and construction, two sectors which have historically been held by Syrian workers.

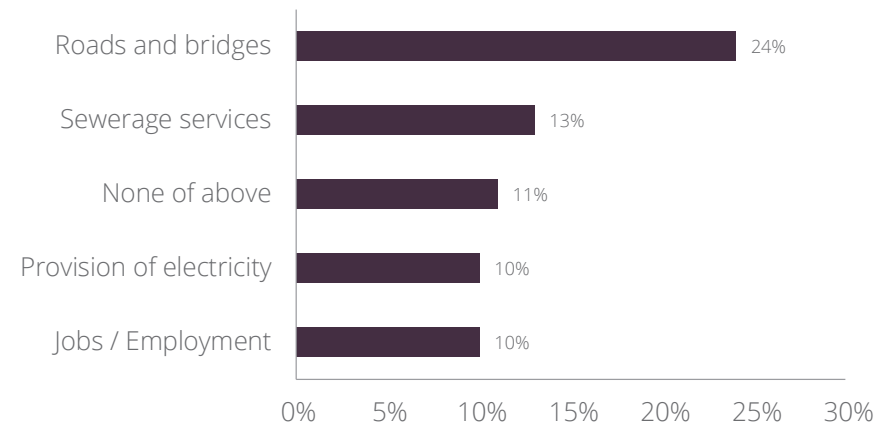
Profile of respondents. Approximately half of the respondents approached in Majdal Aanjar were female (53%), while just under half were male (47%). The majority of respondents were Syrian (68%), with fewer Lebanese respondents (32%). Most surveyed

Nearly the same number of respondents was engaged in full-time work (30%) as unemployed and looking for paid work (28%). Relatedly, the majority of respondents reported having barely enough income to cover food and rent (66%). While nearly two-thirds of respondents had access to electricity (65%) and running water (62%), 12% of respondents described not having access to such basic services.

### 6.4.2.2 Quality and Access to Services and Jobs

As in 2017, in 2018, respondents in Majdal Aanjar discussed services more than other topics. The majority of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with services during FGDs and project monitoring in January 2018. Respondents described particular frustration with running water, roads and bridges and refuse disposal. In the surveys, respondents spoke more about roads and bridges as well as sewerage services.

Figure 108 Your story is mostly about (Top responses)





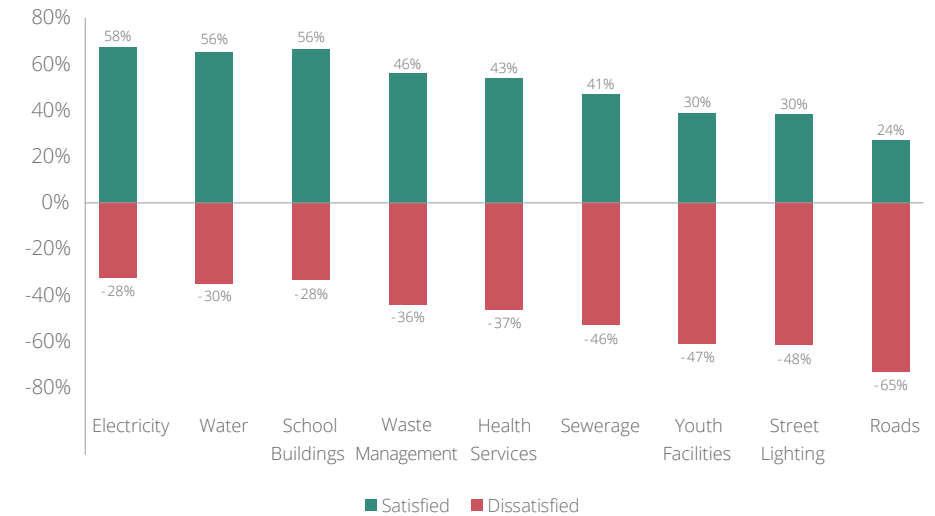
From 2017 to 2018, roads and bridges as well as sewerage services continued to dominate survey respondents' stories. Running water (spoken about by 10% of respondents in 2017) dropped from the top five most common story topics in 2018. At the same time, the provision of electricity (10%), jobs and employment (10%), emerged as top themes in 2018 stories.

Overall, in 2018, there tended to be few major differences in story topic popularity between Lebanese and Syrians. Lebanese and Syrians only differed significantly in story topic about sewerage services and security. In both cases, Syrians spoke significantly more about the services than their Lebanese counterparts.

### **Respondents remain dissatisfied with the state of roads**

As shown in figure 109 below, the majority of survey respondents remained the most dissatisfied with roads and bridges in Majdal Aanjar (65%). Respondents frustration with street lighting increased from 41% in 2017 to 48% in 2018. On the other hand, while the third greatest percentage of respondents were dissatisfied with street running water (47%) in 2017, feelings improved in 2018 (with dissatisfaction reduced to 30%). Instead, in 2018, nearly half of respondents (47%) expressed unhappiness with youth services. While survey participants' feelings running water, electricity, roads and bridges improved from 2017 to 2018, overall, feelings of dissatisfaction about the quality of services increased in 2018.

Figure 109 Satisfaction with services



In parallel to these findings, FGD respondents overwhelmingly expressed dissatisfaction with services. Meanwhile, three out of four key informants stated that the services have improved recently, particularly sewerage, health, waste management and water services, and attributed the improvements to the municipality's efforts.

*'Roads should be paved with asphalt and the quality of roads and lighting should be improved, and the new municipality does not fix anything.'* – Lebanese respondent

<sup>10</sup> Only 6% of Lebanese discussed security in their stories compared to 23% of Syrians. Similarly, only 6% of Lebanese spoke of sewerage services in their stories compared to 16% of Syrians.

<sup>11</sup> Respondent was interviewed during a January 2018 monitoring exercise.





### LHSP Project in Majdal Aanjar.

In Majdal Aanjar, LHSP is built a 300m<sup>2</sup> ground-level concrete water tank and connected it to the main water pipeline. Prior to construction the municipality conducted a soil analysis to ensure the ground could sustain the foundation of the water tank.

In 2018, 45% of survey respondents were aware of this project. Overall knowledge of the project increased amongst both Lebanese and Syrians between 2017 and 2018. While 81% of Lebanese and 7% of Syrians had heard of the project in 2017, in 2018, these percentages increased to 83% for Lebanese and 27% for Syrians. Among those who knew of the project, 88% agreed it would have a positive impact on the community, slightly less than the 95% in 2017. Meanwhile, when asked who they thought was responsible for the project, survey respondents were nearly split between the municipality (57%) and International organisations (53%). This is to say the number of respondents who attributed the project to the municipality dropped (from 72% in 2017 to 57% in 2018), while the number of respondents who attributed the project to international organisations increased (from 35% in 2017 to 53% in 2018).

### 6.4.2.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

People in Majdal Aanjar expressed mixed views towards their municipality. While survey participants tended to convey overall positive feelings about the municipality, the number of Syrians who felt there was discrimination in the way the municipality delivered its services increased significantly. Moreover, FGD participants felt particularly negative towards the municipality and when asked to score it, gave it the lowest score.

Increasing numbers of Syrians trust the municipality and its resources; however, many believe the municipality discriminates in its service provision

Overall, the municipality remained the most trusted service provider, as shown in table 21 below. Interestingly, the percentage of Lebanese who trusted the municipality for service provision dropped from 82% in 2017 to 67% in 2018. At the same time, the percentage of Syrians who trust the municipality to provide services in Majdal Aanjar increased from 42% in 2017 to 63% in 2018. As more Syrians relied on the municipality, fewer approached International NGOs for services in 2018 (15%, down from 28% in 2017). All key informants recognised the municipality as the key provider of services.

Table 21 Who do you trust most to provide services?

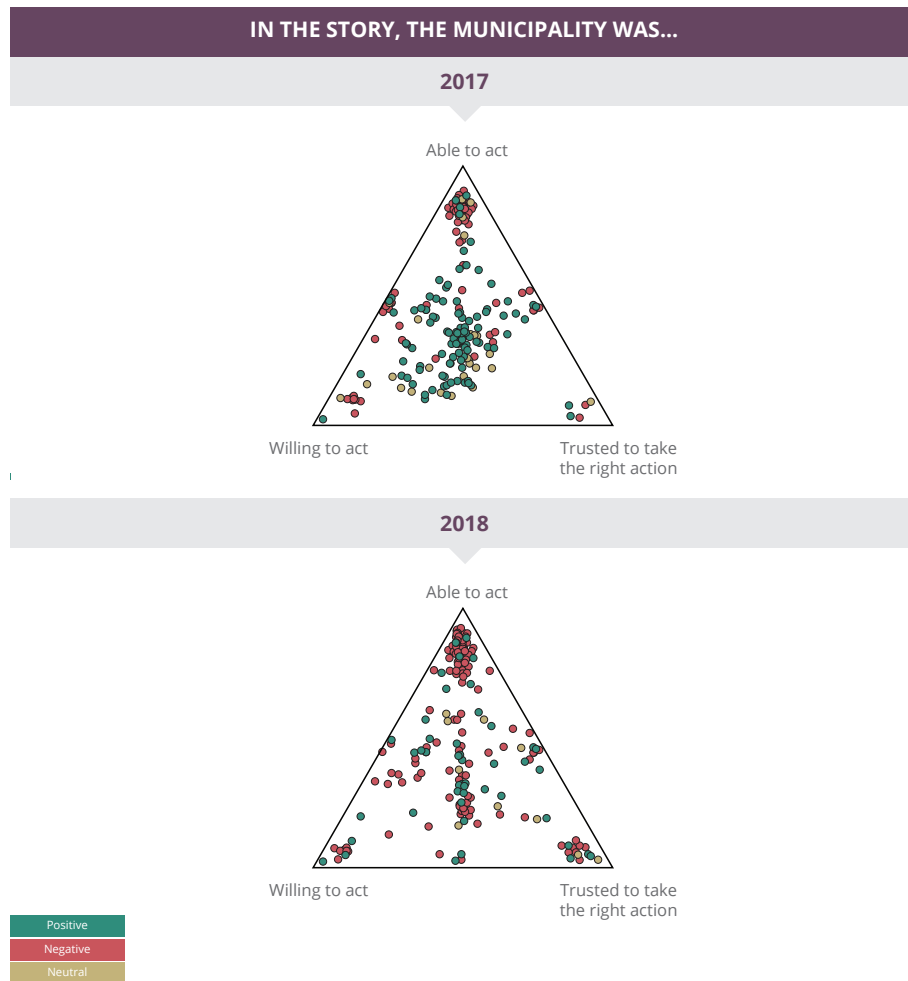
| Top Providers      | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality       | 65%             | 67%      | 63%    |
| INGOs              | 10%             | 1%       | 15%    |
| Central government | 8%              | 6%       | 8%     |

While views towards the municipality were more positive in 2017, in 2018, most survey respondents in Majdal Aanjar, took more negative stances. In 2017, people saw the municipality as able, willing and trusted to act, as shown in figure 110. For those whose stories are negative, the municipality is often seen as able to act but not willing or trusted to do so.

In 2018, however, people viewed the municipality as unable, to act, as shown in figure 110. The positive opinions that were evident in 2017 shifted, and a higher concentration of individuals told negative stories about the municipality's inability to take action. Syrians respondents tended to be more negative in their stories about the municipality than Lebanese.



Figure 110 In the story, the municipality was... (2017 vs 2018)



In 2018, 68% of people agreed that the municipality had the resources to provide services, as shown in table 22 below. The 68% represents a drop in confidence in the municipality's resources from 2017 (when it was reported at 83%). Fewer survey respondents trusted the municipality from in 2018

(59%) compared to 2017 (76%), while public opinion on discrimination in municipal service delivery dropped from 74% in 2017 to 42% in 2018. Syrians tended to be less confident and more ambivalent about the municipality's abilities than Lebanese.

Table 22 Percentage who agree with the following statements

|  | Overall | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|---------|----------|--------|
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 68%     | 83%      | 61%    |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 59%     | 68%      | 55%    |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 42%     | 54%      | 37%    |

**Municipality does not engage with Syrians.**

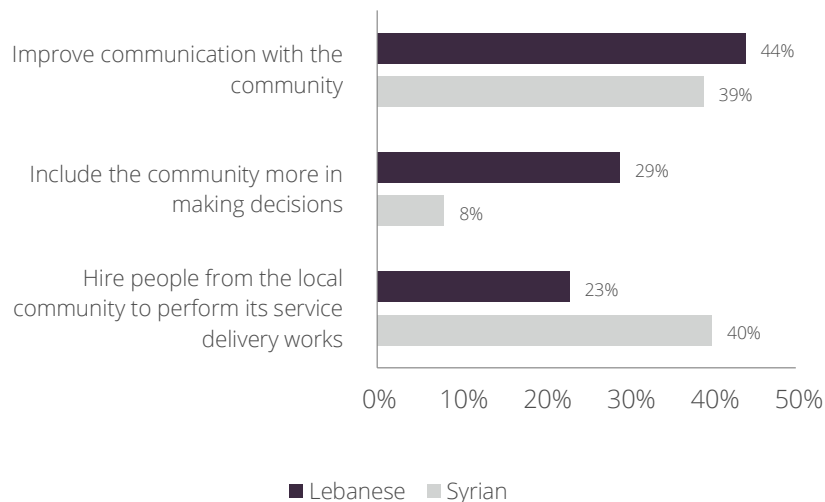
In 2018, far fewer people welcome the changes in Majdal Aanjar in the stories they told. While some respondents positively reported that they felt engaged, a similar number reported on negative engagement. A high concentration of respondents reported negatively reported on feeling excluded, both Syrian and Lebanese. Compared to 2017, a number of Lebanese spoke of negative experiences in which they felt excluded; 48% of all stories dealt with exclusion. While Syrians had reported negatively on feeling excluded in 2017, the number increased in 2018 with 45% of respondents discussing exclusion in their stories.

In contrast to the results from the 2017 survey where 38% or Lebanese and 11% of Syrians thought the municipality should improve communication with the community, in 2018, greater numbers of both nationalities agreed that communication was an area the municipality could approve upon (see



figure 111). From 11% in 2017, 39% of Syrians agreed in 2018. Fewer people, particularly Syrians, however, thought that the municipality should include the community more in decision making processes. While more Syrians felt the municipality could improve by hiring people from the local community to perform its service delivery works (40% in 2018 compared to 31% in 2017), fewer Lebanese were inclined to agree (23% in 2018 compared to 34% in 2017). Key informants described how the municipality uses a variety of means to communicate with the public, including social media (a Facebook page), social events and town hall meetings. Key informants had mixed views about the municipality's usage of social media, but two key informants mentioned the Majdal Aanjar should do more with its Facebook page as it is not regularly updated.

Figure 111 If the municipality wants to improve the way it plans and delivers services, it needs to...



#### 6.4.2.4 Social Stability

Compared with other municipalities, people in Majdal Aanjar reported lower tensions, whether among Lebanese or between Lebanese and Syrians. Despite this, more than half of the individuals surveyed (55%) acknowledged that tension between Lebanese and Syrians exists.

##### **Respondents acknowledge tensions between Lebanese and Syrians**

Of the 55% of surveyed respondents who agreed tension exists, 47% of Lebanese respondents agreed while 58% of Syrians agreed.

The Lebanese key informants further supported these results. All four key informants spoke of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians, arising primarily because of conflict of interest. Three informants described how economic conflict related to business competition divided the communities. Another informant related how tensions increased with the increasing number of Syrians arriving illegally with the help of human smugglers. Finally, an informant described how Syrians have created strain on the issue of marriage, as more and more Lebanese men have been turning to Syrian brides.

##### **Competition for employment and aid at the heart of tensions.**

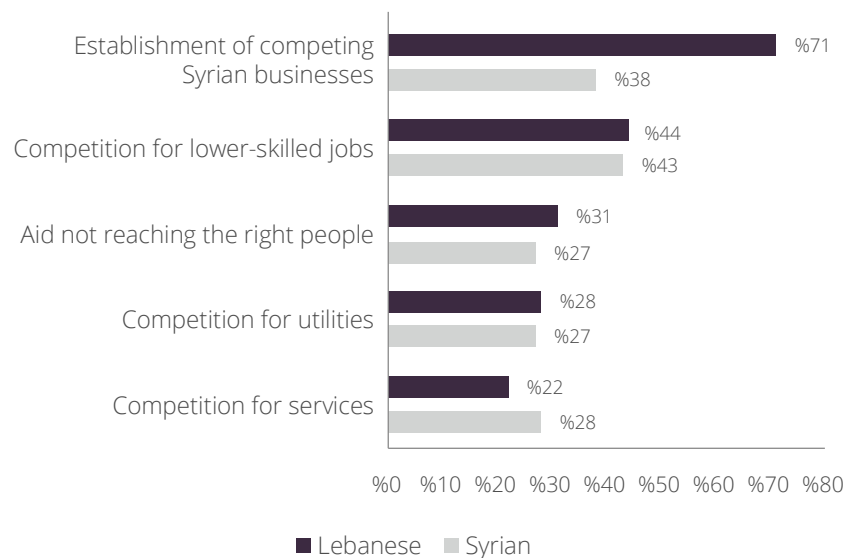
Similar to 2017, findings from 2018 showed that both Lebanese and Syrians felt that competition for employment and aid were some of the most common causes of tension between them. In their stories, Lebanese respondents discussed how Syrians were prioritised for services and benefits. Some respondents talked about how Syrians tend to buy from and support one another, rather than supporting Lebanese businesses. One respondent described Syrians as benefiting from leasing, trading, ambulant selling in front of Lebanese stores and overall financial benefits. In 2018, however, 37% of Syrian respondents described themselves as looking for paid work compared to only 10% of Lebanese respondents.



*'The tensions... also exist on the basis of business competitors (Syrians) opening the same type of business as the locals.'* Key informant in Majdal Aanjar 2018.

*'The tension is because Syrians are competing with Lebanese in the market. Also, Lebanese men are marrying Syrian women.'* Key informant in Majdal Aanjar 2018.

Figure 112 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians (Top responses)

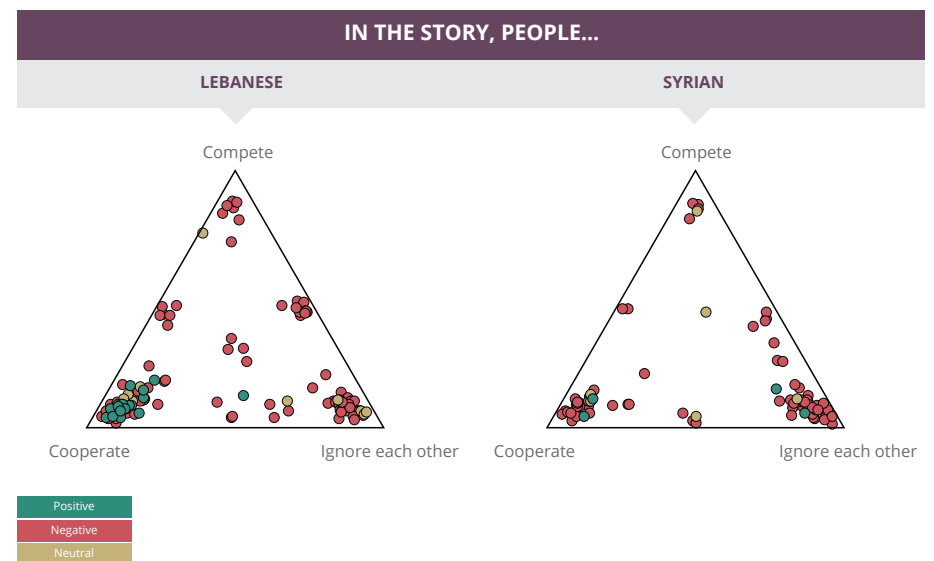


While the majority of Lebanese (71%) continued to perceive the establishment of competing Syrian businesses to be a cause of tension between the groups, only 38% of Syrians agree. In 2017, the majority of both Syrian (60%) and Lebanese (71%) respondents attributed tensions to competition for lower-skilled work. In 2018, however, only 44% of Lebanese and 43% of Syrians saw competition for lower-skilled work to be a cause of tension.

Syrians and Lebanese ignore each other

Lebanese and Syrians continued to recount stories where they ignored one another in 2018. Fewer people told stories of cooperation, and these stories were a mix of positive and negative as evident in figure 113. Syrians more than Lebanese described stories of ignoring one another. Syrians also tended to be more negative in their stories regarding cooperation. While Lebanese and Syrian stories became more negative from 2017 to 2018, Lebanese reported more positively on cooperation.

Figure 113 In the story, people... (Lebanese vs Syrians)

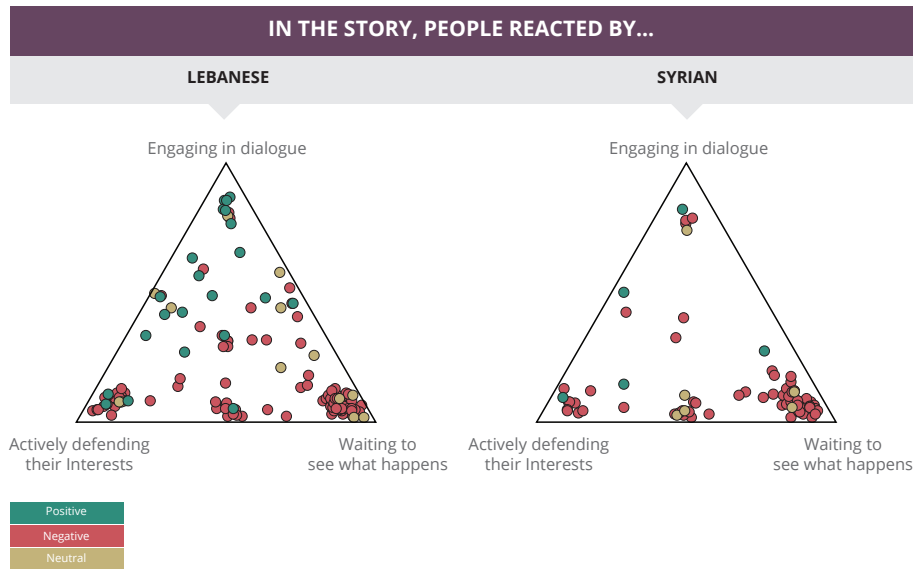


As in 2017, in 2018 the majority of stories involved people waiting to see what happened in their stories rather than actively defending their interests or engaging in dialogue, as shown in figure 114. While in 2017, stories involving people waiting to see what happened tended to be positive for Lebanese and mixed (though more negative) for Syrians, an increased number of stories centred around waiting to see what would happen and for both nationalities, tended to be very negative. More respondents, both Syrian and Lebanese told stories about actively defending their interests in 2018. These stories



were mostly negative. A few individuals reporting engaging in dialogue, and Lebanese appeared to have more positive experiences in this regard.

Figure 114 In the story, people reacted by... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



In 2017, 68% of respondents reported that although there were tensions, people were working to resolve them. In 2018, this figure dropped to 48% in Majdal Aanjar. While on average, throughout all the municipalities, half of respondents believed that people are working together to resolve tensions, less than half agreed in Majdal Aanjar. Syrians in particular appeared less hopeful about working together. While in 2017 73% of Syrians had said they believed tensions could be worked through together to be resolved, in 2018, only 46% agreed. The Lebanese who agreed with this statement dropped from 58% in 2017, to 51% in 2018. It would appear that relations between the groups have deteriorated in the last year.

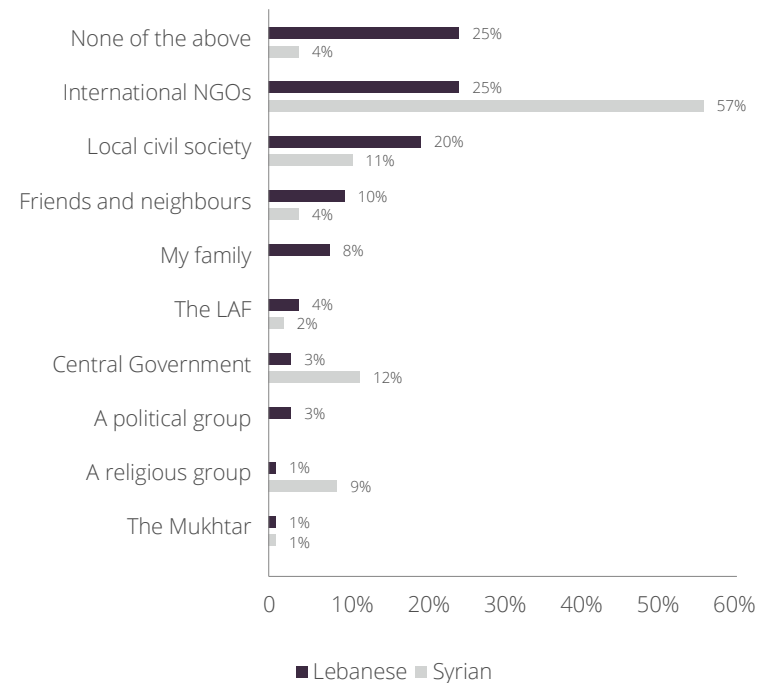
### Is violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?

26% of respondents agreed that violence was sometimes an acceptable way to defend their interests, down 4% from 2017.

### Syrians relied heavily on International NGOs to resolve disputes

The majority of Syrians (57%) indicated that they trusted International NGOs to resolve disputes in their community, as shown in figure 115. The number of Syrians who trusted International NGOs in 2018 increased 28% from 2017. Meanwhile, the majority of Lebanese relied on International NGOs (25%) or local civil society (25%) to help resolve disputes.

Figure 115 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes? (Lebanese vs Syrians)

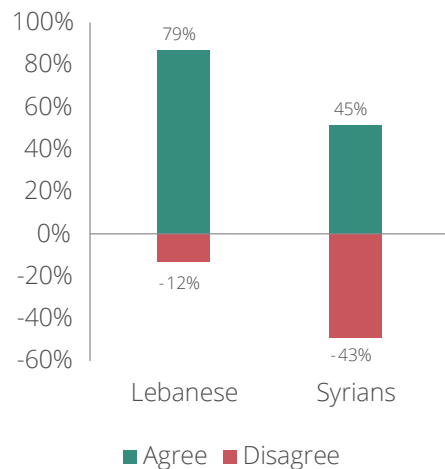




### Respondents feel a sense of community among their own

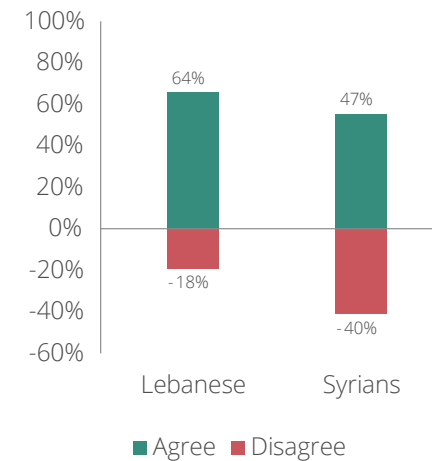
Despite the fact that in 2017, both Lebanese and Syrians living in Majdal Aanjar displayed the strongest sentiments of belonging to the community (80% and 69%, respectively) out of any municipality, these sentiments appeared to change in 2018. As figure 116 shows, though nearly more than two thirds of Syrians (69%) agreed that they felt part of the community in 2017, this number dropped to 45% in 2018. Only 47% of women in Majdal Aanjar felt part of this community, significantly less than male respondents (66%). At the same time a sizeable portion of surveyed youth continued to feel excluded from the community (32%) while a larger number of older respondents (33%) felt excluded compared to in 2017 (19%).

Figure 116 I feel part of this community (Lebanese vs Syrians)



The number of Syrians who felt that people in the community could be trusted fell significantly from 2017 (72%) to 2018 (47%). In contrast, a greater percentage of Lebanese respondents felt they could trust people in their community in 2018 (64%) as opposed to 2017 (57%).

Figure 117 People in this community can generally be trusted (Lebanese vs Syrians)



Syrians and Lebanese related negative accounts where they were ignored or ignored someone else. Tensions between the two groups appear to only be growing. Key informants discussed that the only real way to address this is to improve the economic situation between Lebanese and Syrians. As one key informant related, solutions for Syrian labour should be found, and more jobs opportunities should be developed.

#### Is violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?

Almost a quarter of people living in Majdal Aanjar agreed that violence was an acceptable way to defend one's interests (26%). An even number of women and men agreed that it was acceptable (26%) and similar numbers of Lebanese and Syrians agreed as well (28% of Lebanese, and 25% of Syrians). Still, the majority of Majdal Aanjar's population (62%) saw violence as unacceptable, even to defend interests.



## 6.4.3 Saadnayel

### 6.4.3.1 Context

Located in Zahle district, in the Bekaa Valley, Saadnayel is a predominantly Sunni Muslim community of approximately 25,000 inhabitants. Due to its location at a natural crossroads between Damascus and Beirut, Saadnayel has seen and hosted tens of thousands of Syrian refugees fleeing the war. In 2015, UNDP reported that Saadnayel was host to more than 16,000 Syrian refugees. At the beginning of 2015, however, the municipality recorded heavy Syrian arrivals so that at one point, Syrians numbered 35,000. While it is hard to know exactly how many Syrians currently live in and around the town, it is fair to estimate that at present there are almost equal numbers of Syrians as Lebanese. As with most more rural municipalities, many Syrians live in informal camp settlements surrounding Saadnayel. In March 2018, radio station “Voice of Lebanon” reported that a large number of weapons had been found in an informal Syrian settlement. Security forces including the Lebanese Army intervened, confiscating the weapons and attempted to pursue the men who had been collecting and storing them.

Lebanese residents of Saadnayel have traditionally relied on agriculture for employment and livelihoods. According to key informants, agriculture has declined in the last years, creating increasingly difficult conditions for people who relied on the sector.

In the last couple years, the municipal and national government, along with the support of several international donors have targeting the community for infrastructure and service development projects. The UK has invested money in the construction and rehabilitation of agricultural roads, bridges and road networks in Taalabaya and Saadnayel to better enable farmers to access their lands and decrease transportation related costs. The Ministry of Finance in Lebanon has also invested in the rehabilitation of a water distribution network. At the same time, the UN has chosen to launch technical and skill training workshops geared at unemployed youth in Saadnayel (among other small towns in the Bekaa). Other smaller NGOs and non-profits have also established programmes in Saadnayel related to education and child protection.

**Profile of participants.** Of those surveyed, 75% were Lebanese and 25% were Syrian. Nearly half of respondents were male (49%) and while 51% were female. Almost 40% of respondents surveyed (39%) were between the ages of 30 and 39 years. The majority of people had achieved intermediate education, primary education or less. Just over a third of respondents had completed secondary or higher education. Nearly half of respondents barely had enough money for food, rent and clothes (45%). Just over a half had enough for food, rent and clothes but could not afford durables (52%).

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<sup>14</sup> Samaha, N. ‘Here the dead are dead, and the living are dead’, *Al Jazeera*, 26 January 2015

<sup>15</sup> ‘Shorter Inaugurates Additional UK Funded Projects in Bekaa Under Partnership Between Ministry of Social Affairs and UNDP’, *National News Agency*, 30 November 2016.

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<sup>16</sup> Council for Development and Reconstruction. ‘Social and Economic Development: Integrated Regional Development Projects’, October 2016.

<sup>17</sup> United Nations Lebanon. ‘Stories: Technical Skills and Life Skills Training for Unemployed Youth in the Bekaa’, 2016



### 6.4.3.2 Quality and Access to Services and Jobs

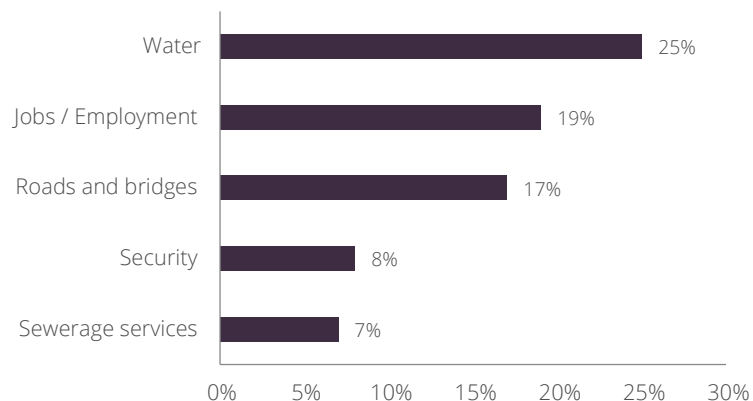
As shown in figure 118, municipal services were the dominant theme in more than two thirds of respondent stories (69%). Of the municipal services, a quarter of respondent stories related to the provision of water. Following water provision, the next most talked about theme in stories was jobs and employment (19%).

*'Lately, we have been suffering from water scarcity. This is extremely bad for Saadnayel and its mayor. We complained several times about this issue. Now, the municipality promised to solve the problem.'* Lebanese female, Saadnayel

*'We suffer from lack of work and a lot of Syrians. They are speculating on everything and openings.'* Lebanese female, Saadnayel

Roads were the third most prevalent theme, whereby 17% of respondent stories focused on roads and bridges. Respondent in Saadnayel discussed security (8%) in their stories a lot more than residents of other municipalities. On the other hand, unlike in other municipalities, no one in Saadnayel talked about education in their stories.

Figure 118 Your story is mostly about... (Top responses)



Lebanese were more concerned with themes of employment (22%) than Syrians (12%). Lebanese also spoke more about roads and bridges (21%) significantly more than Syrians (6%). Meanwhile, Syrians discussed sewerage services (18%) significantly more than Lebanese (4%). Stories about electricity likewise tended to come from Syrians (10%) more than Lebanese (4%).

#### **Survey respondents showed high satisfaction with services**

*'There was a pothole in front of my house on the highway which gets filled with rain. Every time someone steps on it, our balcony fills up with water. We contacted the municipality to fix the pothole and they responded within two hours.'* Lebanese female, Saadnayel

Survey respondents from Saadnayel displayed particularly high levels of satisfaction with municipal services as can be seen in figure 119. Respondents reported satisfaction of over 70% with seven out of nine listed services. People reported close to 90% satisfaction with electricity and school buildings (88%). Respondents report 75% satisfaction or higher with health services (75%), regular refuse collection (77%), roads and bridges (78%), and street lighting (79%). Respondents were least satisfied with the quality of running water in Saadnayel (32%).

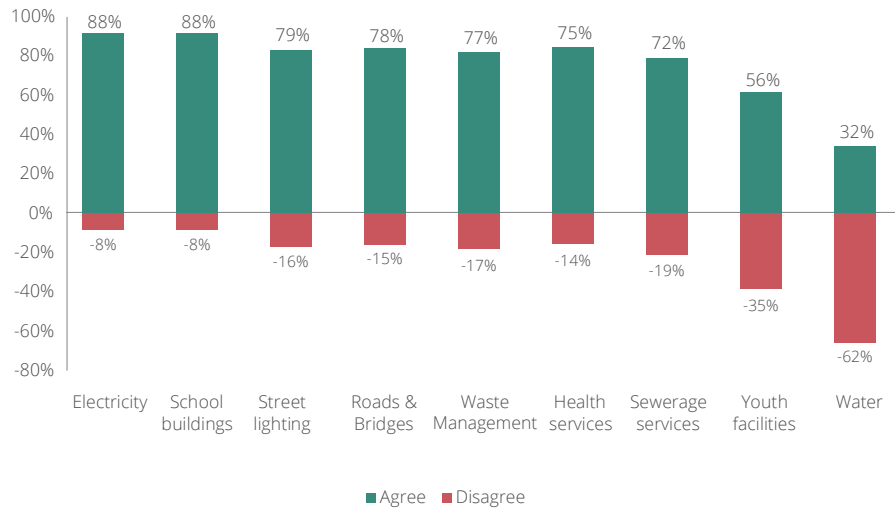
*'Saadnayel is a very beautiful and neat village, but we suffer from one thing which is water scarcity. There is no water. There are water installations, but not everyone has access to water. Many people still buy water. We ask our municipality to take this into consideration.'* Lebanese male, Saadnayel

With the exception of running water, Lebanese were significantly more satisfied with services than Syrians. Lebanese and Syrians both rated the quality of running water particularly low.





Figure 119 Satisfaction with services



### **Key informants were most critical of water provision services**

In line with survey respondents, key informants spoke in detail about shortages in water and difficulties faced in accessing it. One key informant stated that water networks have not been efficient. As a result, many people have become dependent on old water networks and wells. Many houses have their own wells. Another key informant explained that a wastewater project was underway but the government has not been helpful in the project.

FGD participants, however, disagreed. In the FGD, participants discussed significant improvement in water provision since a project meant to improve the water network was completed (eight months prior).

Both key informants and FGD participants expressed general satisfaction with electricity. One key informant explained that the Zahle municipality

supplied electricity and that it could be access 24 hours a day. Another key informant described how the municipality bought new generators and solve the electricity problem. One FGD participant attributed the “excellent” electricity service to Asaad Nakad.

FGD respondents were similarly satisfied with waste disposal, schools and roads. Key informants more or less agreed. Key informants acknowledged that the quality of school buildings was good, but that Saadnayel needed an additional primary school. Informants commented that roads and bridges were old and had been a problem but that recent infrastructure projects, such as those mentioned earlier and funded European bodies were improved the state of transportation for residents.

According to a key informant, Saadnayel uses a trash dump in Zahle so that no trash piles up in the smaller municipality. A second key informant contradicted saying waste management faces problems. Furthermore, a third key informant explained the waste production has increased in the last years quite significantly.



### LHSP Project in Saadnayel

Five years ago, LHSP began a project in Saadnayel, targeting youth. LHSP started construction of a football court that is now open and accessible to the public. The idea behind the football pitch was to increase public space, and encourage engagement between communities, especially the youth.

In Saadnayel, 81% of respondents knew about the project. As in other communities, more Lebanese were aware of the project (91%) than Syrians (50%). Youth, in particular, tended to be very aware of the project (87%).

90% of the population surveyed agreed that the project was having a positive impact on the community. Men, women, Lebanese, Syrians and groups of all ages agreed strongly on this point. Almost the same percentage of those surveyed (89%) attributed the project to the municipality. Lebanese (91%) were more likely to credit the municipality with the project than Syrians (77%). Just over half of respondents connected the project to International NGOs.

Saadnayel, just over half said they would trust the municipality.

*'The sewage network doesn't reach our house. We talked to the landlord, he asked us to fix it at our expense. Therefore, we asked the municipality to help us. They responded immediately and set workers who fixed the sewage and constructed as septic tank. This was very helpful.'* Syrian female, Saadnayel

Far fewer Lebanese answered that they would turn to a body other than the municipality for services. Higher percentages of Syrians indicated they would. Whereas 5% of Lebanese would trust a political group most to provide services, 14% of Syrian respondents agreed they would. Just 1% of Lebanese said they would trust their families to provide services while 26% of Syrians would (in keeping with trends in other municipalities).

Table 23 Who do you trust most to provide services? (Top responses)

| Top Providers     | All Respondents | Lebanese | Syrian |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------|--------|
| Municipality      | 76%             | 84%      | 52%    |
| A political group | 8%              | 5%       | 14%    |
| My Family         | 7%              | 1%       | 26%    |

### ***The majority of people trust the municipality most as a service provider***

FGD participants gave mixed feedback about the trustworthiness of the municipality. When asked how satisfied FGD participants thought people in the community were with the municipality, participants gave an average score of 6. Several participants agreed that the municipality is nepotistic. The example they gave was the employment of one of the mayor's relatives in the municipality while another works as traffic police. Other FGD participants believed that the municipality was doing a good job and ventured that most citizens are satisfied with its work.

### 6.4.3.3 Municipal Capability and Legitimacy

#### ***The majority of people trust the municipality most as a service provider***

More than three quarters of survey respondents (76%) trusted the municipality most to provide services in their community (see table 23 below). Lebanese trusted the municipality very highly. Of the different potential service providers, 84% of Lebanese indicated that they trusted the municipality most. A high proportion of Syrians also indicated they viewed the municipality as the most trustworthy provider of services. Compared to municipalities where Syrians did not believe in the municipality as much, in

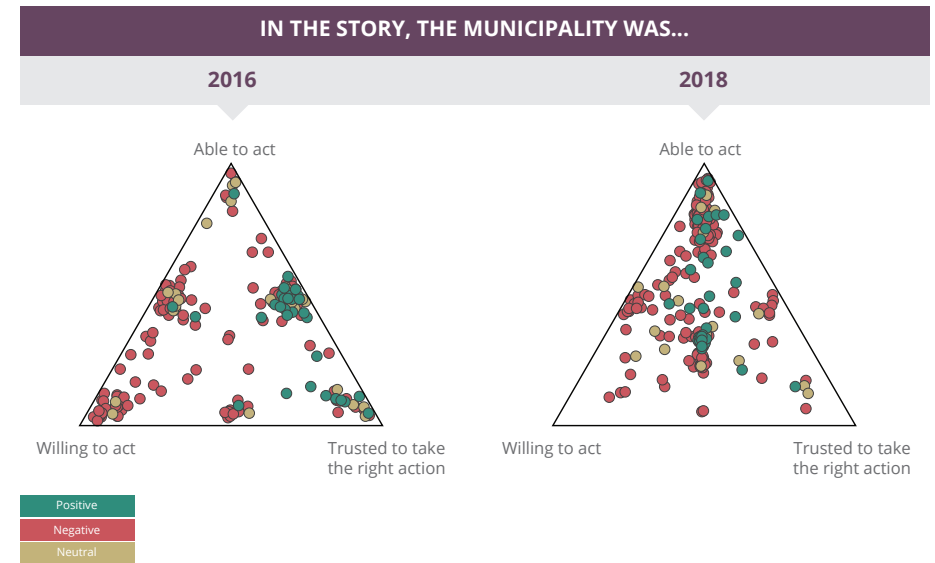


Key informants thought that the municipality was doing well overall but that it faced changes in terms of funding and politics. Two key informants held that the municipality was following a certain political party which affected the work it did. Another identified communication with the public as an issue. He explained that the municipality was trying hard to fix services in the area, and that many things had improved thanks to the municipality (rather than the central government) but that this was not necessarily clearly communicated to the public.

### **Respondent stories about the municipality are largely negative**

The LHSP project in Saadnayel began in 2013. At that time, the vast majority of stories involving the municipality were negative. People did not perceive the municipality as willing to act. In 2014, opinions improved substantially, and while nearly half of the stories remained negative about the municipality's willingness to act, somewhat less than half of the stories involved positive experiences demonstrating the municipality's ability to act and take action. In 2015, the majority of experiences in stories were positive. Starting in 2016, however, the majority of experiences recorded were negative. While some people were still positive about the municipality's ability to act and trusted it to take the right action, by 2018 few respondents recounted such stories as is apparent in figure 120. In 2018, most stories related to negative experiences around the municipality's ability to act. A smaller number of respondents recounted positive experiences again around ability. Interestingly, stories focused primarily on the municipalities ability to act.

Figure 120 In the story, the municipality was... (2016 vs 2018)



Nearly half of respondents felt there was discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services

The majority of respondents in Saadnayel thought that the municipality had the resources to provide the necessary services for the community (88%). The majority of respondents also trusted the municipality to work well to improve the community (71%).



Table 24 Percentage of people who agree with the statements

|  | Overall | Lebanese | Syrian |
|--|---------|----------|--------|
| I feel the municipality has the resource to provide the necessary services for the community | 88%     | 90%      | 84%    |
| I trust the municipality to work well to improve the community                               | 71%     | 70%      | 71%    |
| I feel there is no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services              | 53%     | 52%      | 58%    |

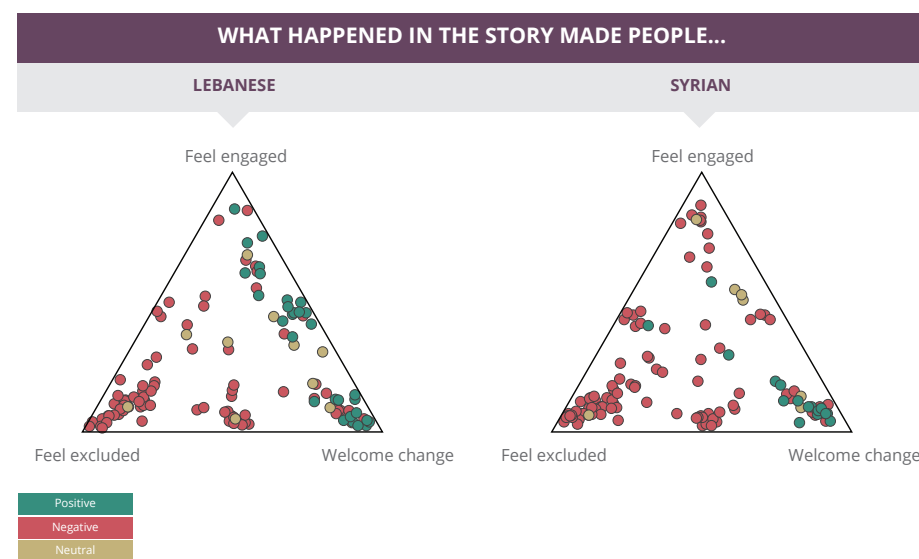
Unusually, there were no significant differences between percentages of Lebanese and Syrians who agreed with the statements. Lebanese and Syrians largely agreed that the municipality had the resources to provide the necessary services for the community. Again, both Lebanese and Syrians largely agreed that they trusted the municipality to work to improve the community. In contrast, just over half of Lebanese and Syrians thought that there was no discrimination in the way the municipality delivers services. Despite the high levels of trust in resources and the ability to work well and improve the community, discrimination is largely acknowledged.

*'We Syrians suffer from a lack of water and nobody listens to our complaints. The Lebanese also suffer from the same problem. We raised our claim to the municipality with a number of Lebanese, but they responded differently every time.'* Syrian male, Saadnayel

**There were no significant differences in Lebanese and Syrians' stories about response, furthermore, stories about response have not changed very much over the years**

In their stories about response, Lebanese and Syrians had similar experiences as can be seen in figure 121. Many Lebanese and Syrians relayed negative experiences of feeling excluded. Few felt engaged. Lebanese tended to have slightly more positive experiences feeling engaged than Syrians. Both Syrians and Lebanese reported positively on welcoming change. At the same time, both reported some negative experiences related to new developments that they were excluded from.

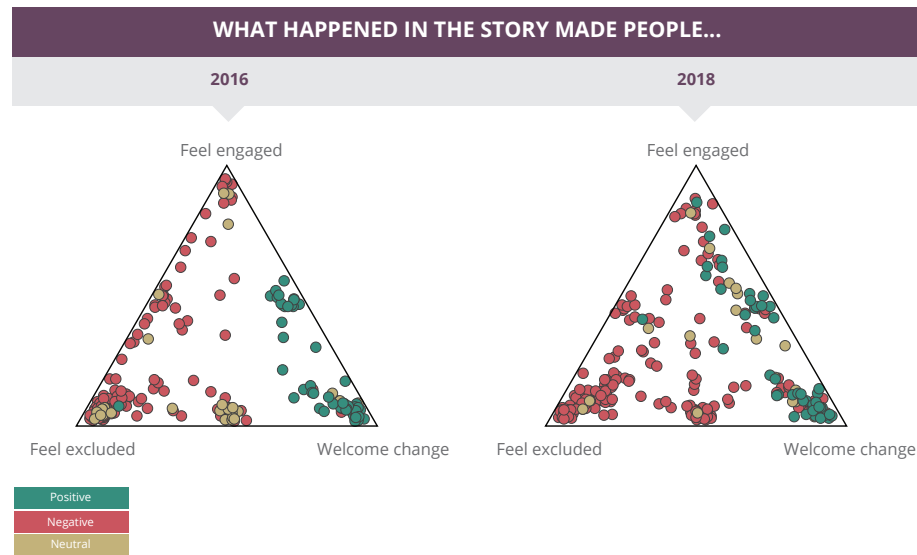
Figure 121 What happened in the story made people... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



Overall respondents' stories about response have changed little since the beginning of the project in 2013. In 2013, 2014 and 2015 negative experiences were concentrated around stories of exclusion. Respondents recounted positive stories, however, about feeling engaged and welcoming change. In 2016, people told negative stories about a greater range of issues that in previous years.



Figure 122 What happened in the story made people... (2016 vs 2018)

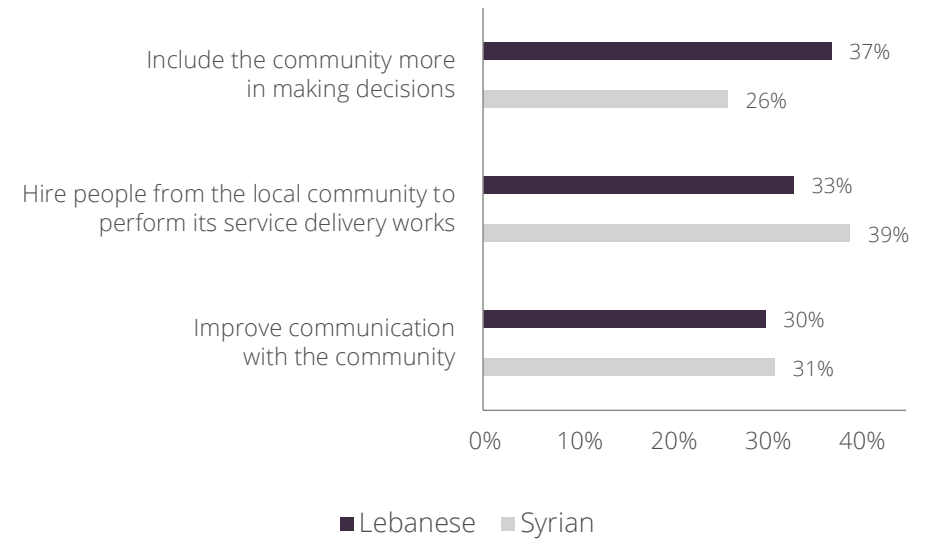


In 2018, negative stories centred primarily around feelings of exclusion. Positive stories remained consistently focused on welcoming change, though more positives stories were told about feeling engaged.

**People want to be included more in municipal decision-making processes**

When asked what the municipality needed to do if it wanted to improve service planning and deliver, nearly a third of respondents agreed with each of the three statements.

Figure 123 If the municipality wants to improve the way it plans and delivers services, it needs to... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



While in most other municipalities respondents tended to favour one recommendation over the others, in Saadnayel, a near equal number of respondents favoured all three. Furthermore, Syrians and Lebanese answered very similarly. Slightly more Syrians than Lebanese believed the municipality should hire people from the local community to perform its service delivery works. Slightly more Lebanese than Syrians thought the municipality should include the community more in making decisions.

**6.4.3.4 Social Stability**

**Three quarters of respondents agreed that people have been good hosts to Syrians**

When asked about relations between the host and Syrian community, Lebanese and Syrians again, tended to agree. Three quarters of people



surveyed agreed that people have been good hosts to Syrians. Nearly the same percentage of Syrians (73%) as Lebanese (75%) agreed with this statement, reflecting a sense of general sense of good will and appreciation of the host community.

At the same time, a high percentage of respondents answered that the attitude of Lebanese towards Syrians deteriorated significantly in the past year (64%). Only in Bourj Hammoud did a greater percentage of respondents admit to a deterioration of relationships in the last year. In Saadnayel, more Lebanese agreed the relationship had deteriorated (66%) than Syrians (56%).

While there is no significant difference in the way Lebanese and Syrians answered the question about the deterioration in relationship, the percentage of both groups that agreed is interesting. More Lebanese felt negative about the relationship than Syrians, when, in other municipalities, Syrians tended to be the ones to report feeling more negative. The difference in Saadnayel could be due to the fact that a number of organisations (oftentimes in conjunction with the municipality and local government) are targeting programmes and work in Saadnayel on Syrians. In this case, Syrians might not recognise Lebanese frustration and resentment to the same extent that Syrians do in other municipalities.

In the focus group – made up exclusively of Lebanese - participants spoke very frankly about their hostilities towards Syrians. People stated that not only were there tensions, but that Syrians worsened the situation in Saadnayel since their arrival. FGD participants linked Lebanese unemployment to Syrians. Participants also noted that Syrians received support from international bodies like the UN, with the insinuation that Lebanese received none. One person even said Lebanese were faced with deportation. Overall, FGD participants were both hostile towards and resentful of Syrians living in the community.

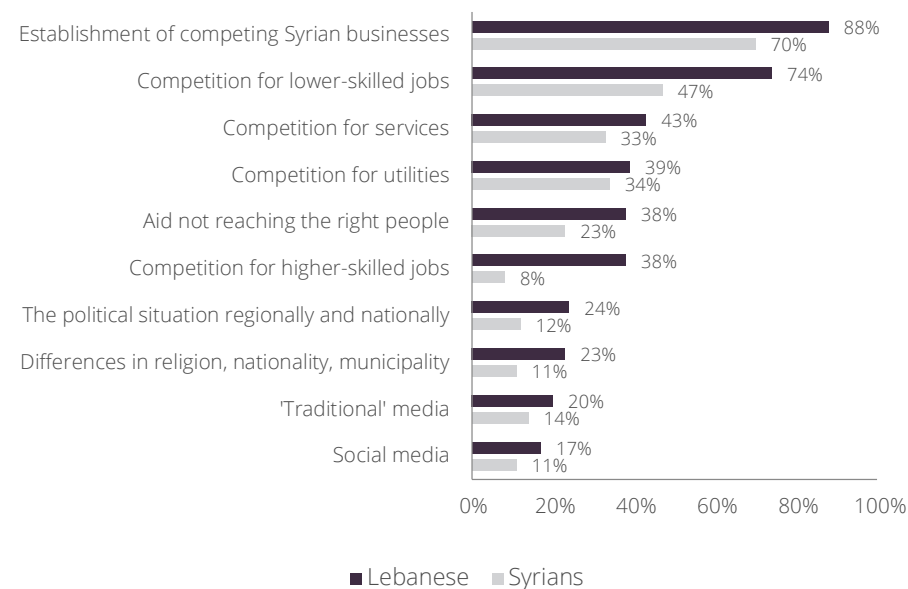
*'We hate them. They cause conflict of interest, and [they] have stolen our lives'*  
Lebanese male, Saadnayel

***As with almost all other municipalities, the establishment of competing Syrian businesses is perceived as the key cause of tension between the communities***

As apparent in figure 124, most Lebanese perceived business competition from Syrians as the greatest source of tension between the two communities (88%). The majority of Syrians agreed (70%). The second highest percentages of Lebanese (74%) and Syrians (47%) saw competition for lower-skilled jobs to be a cause of tension in the community. Competition for services and for utilities between Lebanese and Syrians were also quite highly perceived to cause tension.

*'Syrians took over our jobs here in Saadnayel. Their numbers have exceeded ours as Lebanese.'* Lebanese male, Saadnayel

Figure 124 Causes of tensions between Lebanese and Syrians



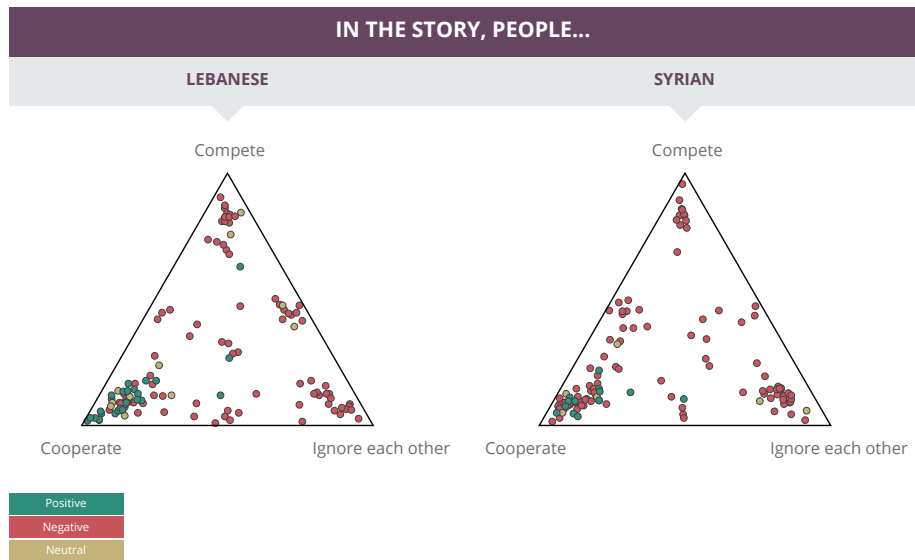


### Syrians and Lebanese are ignoring and competing with each other

Following the pattern of other municipalities, most of Lebanese and Syrians' stories of interaction were negative. A few respondents did tell positive stories of cooperation; however, these people were the minority.

In 2014 and 2015, Lebanese' stories of interaction included a mix of positive and negative experiences. In both years, but 2015 in particular, Lebanese spoke quite positively of cooperation. In 2016 the number of positive stories around cooperation dropped. The number of positive cooperation related stories increased again in 2018, but Lebanese attitudes towards interaction were still overall negative. In 2018, most negative experiences relating to ignoring each other.

Figure 125 In the story, people... (Lebanese vs Syrians)



### In 2018, stories of reaction tended to be overall negative focused on waiting to see what happens

Similar to stories of interaction, in 2014 and 2015 stories of reaction tended to be a mix of positive negative. Though respondents spoke of mostly negatively of depending their interests and waiting to see what happens, many recounted positive experiences of engaging in dialogue. In 2016, the positive stories around engagement reduced substantially. In 2018, very few people recounted positive stories of engaging in dialogue. Instead, most respondents told negative stories and the majority dealt with the theme of waiting to see what happens.

*'My dad has a grocery shop. He wakes up every morning at 4:00am to go to work. A Syrian parks his pickup next to my dad's shop and sells groceries for lower prices and [competes with] him. My dad asked him many times to stay away from his shop but in vain. Then, one day the Syrian came filling his pickup with lettuce. My dad couldn't handle the situation and hit him.'* Lebanese female, Saadnayel

In 2018, more Lebanese relayed negative experiences of actively defending their interests and waiting to see what happens. The drop in positive stories around interaction and reaction from 2015 to 2016, might be a cause for question – did something happen in Saadnayel that would have affected popular attitudes and resulted in more negative experiences?



Figure 126 In the story, people reacted by... (2014 vs 2015 vs 2016 vs 2018)



**Only about half of survey respondents thought people were working together to resolve them**

In Saadnayel, nearly two thirds of respondents (64%) acknowledged significant tension between Lebanese and Syrians in the community. Only about a fifth (22%) of all respondents disagreed that there were not significant tensions between the groups. Lebanese tended to agree that there were tensions (67%) significantly more than Syrians (54%). Syrians apparently thought that tensions were not as much of an issue.

When asked if people were working together to resolve these tensions, close to half of all respondents agreed (51%). Compared to other municipalities, this percentage is not high and is not low. Still, it should be telling that only half of respondents thought progress was being made to resolve tensions.

**Is violence an acceptable way to defend your interests?**

In Saadnayel, 31% of respondents agreed that violence was an acceptable way to defend their interests by. The percentage of people who agreed with the use of violence in Saadnayel was one of the highest for all municipalities, and second only to the percentage from respondents in Ali El Nahri (34%). There was no significant difference in how respondents answered this question whether in terms of gender, age, or nationality.

**The majority of both Lebanese and Syrians go to their families to resolves disputes in their communities**

While Syrians in most of the other municipalities trusted their families first and foremost to resolve disputes, Lebanese almost always trusted the municipality first to do this. In Saadnayel, 39% of Lebanese trusted the families to solve disputes, while only 11% trusted the municipality to do so. After their own families, Lebanese would approach the mukhtar (28%) for

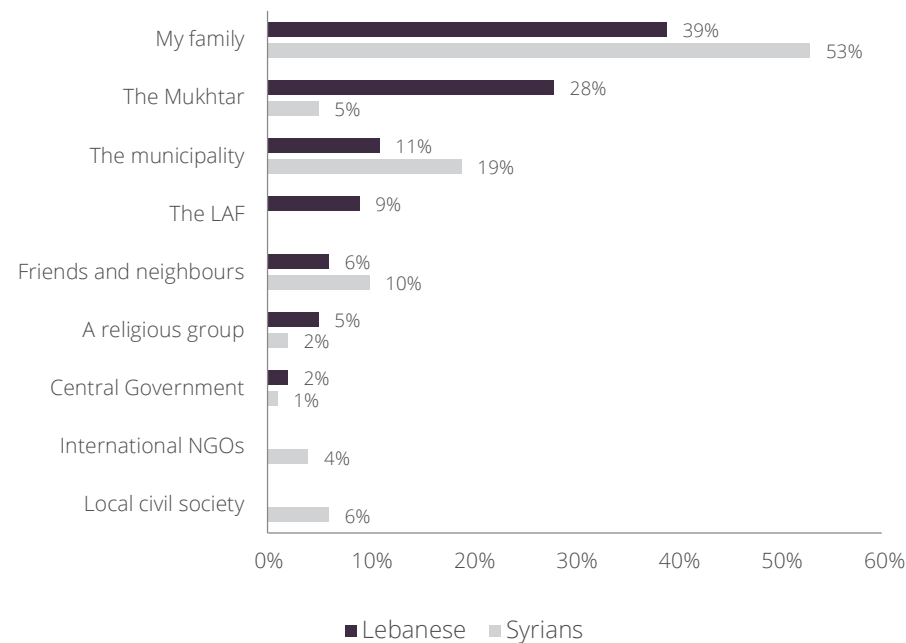




assistance with disputes before approaching the municipality (11%). It could be deduced that either trust in the municipality amongst Lebanese is low or that Saadnayel is more tribal or family oriented and the mukhtar has a much more important role. Following the municipality, nearly 10% of Lebanese trusted the LAF for help (9%).

Meanwhile, Syrians trusted their families the most to resolve disputes (53%), followed by the municipality (19%). Friends and neighbours were the third group Syrians trusted the most to resolve disputes (10%).

Figure 127 Who do you trust most to resolve disputes?



### Nearly half of Syrians reported feeling part of the community

Despite high levels of reported tension, the majority of Syrians and Lebanese felt that they were a part of the community. The majority also felt that people in the community could be trusted. A high portion of Lebanese felt a part of the community in Saadnayel (87%) than in other municipalities. Almost two thirds of Syrians also indicated their felt part of the community as is evident in figure 128 below.

Notwithstanding the resentment expressed in FGDs, three quarters of Lebanese agreed that people in the community could be trusted. Again, almost two thirds of Syrians agreed (64%).

These proportions paint a more positive and hopeful picture of interactions. Even though tensions exist, based on the answers to these two questions, there seems to be room for dialogue and improved relations between Lebanese and Syrians in Saadnayel.

Figure 128 I feel part of this community

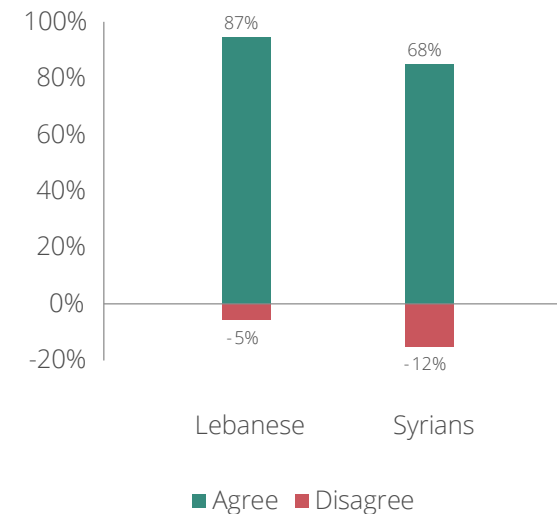
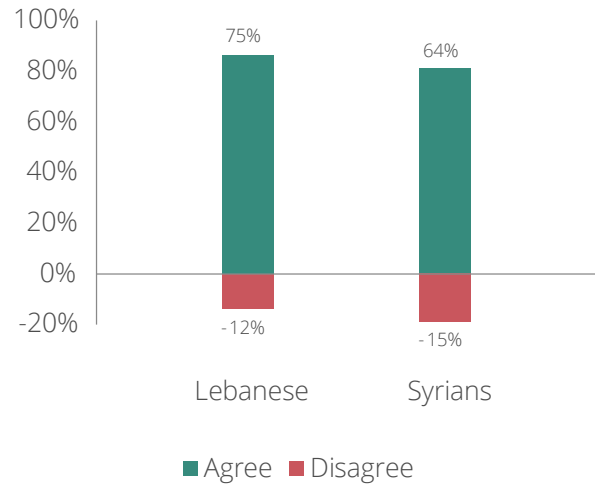




Figure 129 People in this community can generally be trusted





## 7 Recommendations

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### 7.1 Recommendations for LHSP

**Capitalise on the success of infrastructure projects to include more soft components.** To ensure buy-in from municipalities and comprehensive approaches to service delivery, LHSP should integrate more soft components to successful infrastructure project. Utilising such projects to provide livelihoods to the community would be beneficial, including to alleviate tensions. On the other hand, certain related activities could help maximise the impact of project. For instance, conducting awareness campaigns on recycling could help support the success of a waste management project as shown in Machha.

**Establish a regular monitoring mechanism to ensure municipal accountability.** As LHSP seeks to empower municipalities, clear systems should be implemented to ensure that they are being held accountable and ensure that the community as a whole can benefit from it. Transparency measures such as sharing municipal budgets could also contribute to improved communication with the community (see Recommendations for municipalities).

**Create platforms for Syrians and Lebanese to engage with each other and establish tension mitigation strategies.** In concert with local actors, municipalities should identify ways to bring together Syrians and Lebanese to develop strategies to reduce tensions within the framework of LHSP. Coordination should integrate existing efforts such as the MRR and MSS processes to help identify new projects. Cultural centres and youth centres could be considered, but research indicates that higher priorities should be to fix water, sewerage and roads in communities that need them.

**Work on financial access to services as well as physical.** In Aley, where LHSP implemented a water project, several respondents complained of an increased in water bills. LHSP should integrate financial vulnerability as one of the barriers to accessing basic services and ensure that projects do not increase financial pressure.

### 7.2 Recommendations for Donors

**Invest in activities targeting the youth to reduce idleness and favour cultural exchanges.** Whether through the creation of recreational spaces or vocation and cultural youth centres, donors should support the provision of activities for the Lebanese and Syrian youth. Activities should make sure to be age-inclusive to help reduce child labour. Such activities could also contribute to increasing feelings of safety the number of people loitering and decrease street harassment.

**Address growing health and safety risks for women and youth.** Consider combating rising drug use among the through awareness campaigns and counselling in medical facilities and youth centres. In addition, address growing sexual harassment and sexual exploitation of women, through awareness campaigns and support to GBV survivors and sex workers.

**Ensure that both men and women are involved in peaceful dispute resolution in Machha.** Form working groups with both men and women to identify specific ways of reducing tensions and preventing violence between Lebanese and Syrians in Machha while encouraging peaceful resolution of community issues.

**Create a participatory mechanism to reinvigorate tourism in Aley and Sir Dinnieh to support tension-reduction projects.** Consider local tourism and eco-tourism projects aimed at encouraging job growth and alleviating tensions between Lebanese and Syrians. In Sir Dinnieh, donors should also look at supporting the local slaughterhouse.

**Address the lack of healthcare in Wadi Khaled** to ensure both Syrian and Lebanese have access to affordable and high-quality health care.

### 7.3 Recommendations for municipalities

**Improve communication strategies.** Rather than multiplying municipal events, municipalities should work on rethinking communication strategies. One strategy could be to foster the establishment of neighbourhood level committees to allow people to voice demands and grievances.

Building on the example set by Bourj Hammoud, **include more policewomen in the municipal police where relevant and possible.** This approach has been met positively and could help further build trust in the municipality for dispute resolution, particularly among women.

**For any street lighting projects, consider wider dispersion of lights** to provide the greatest coverage possible and avoid feeling of discrimination. One solution to maximise the number of beneficiaries would be to start with important intersections rather than intervene only in a concentrated area.

**Ensure the water project in Aley is operationalised** as soon as possible and starts delivering to the whole community.

Build on the LHSP project in Tripoli to **provide a more comprehensive refurbishment of Talaat al Refaei** which is both in line with local expectations and provides opportunities for local employment. In addition,

use the lessons learnt from Tripoli to **consider a refurbishment project in Machha to solve the infrastructural issues of old houses in the town centre.**

**Address the issue of water pollution caused by the sewerage system in Rajam Issa.** In addition to installing proper drainage systems for the sewerage systems, LHSP should consider how to ensure project design takes into account environmental constraints which may affect its implementation.