



AKTIS
STRATEGY

12 May 2016

Impact Evaluation Report

Lebanon Host Communities Support Project

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1 Executive summary

The Lebanon Host Communities Support Project (LHSP) is a multi-donor programme aimed at increasing stability and building the capacity of communities affected by the Syrian crisis to address tensions, prevent conflict and ensure peaceful co-existence. The assistance, delivered by the municipalities and supported through the funding mechanism of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Department for International Development (DFID) in partnership with the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA), consists of a range of projects to enhance the provision of services and increase livelihood opportunities for the rapidly expanding host and refugee population.

On behalf of DFID and in close collaboration with UNDP, Aktis Strategy has previously conducted two rounds of field research for the continuous monitoring and evaluation of DFID-funded interventions in three municipalities (Rajam Issa, Saadnayel, and Sarafand) situated in the North, the Bekaa and the South. This research, which began in 2014, aims to establish whether improved service delivery in communities under pressure from the influx of Syrian refugees can affect the level of tension between Syrian refugees and residents in Lebanese host communities.

Aktis Strategy was contracted to continue the evaluation of LHSP in 2015-2016, and carried out two additional rounds of research in August 2015 and February 2016. This research was expanded to three new municipalities (Sir Dinnieh, Ali El Nahri, and Ghazieh).

1.1 Purpose of this report

The primary purposes of this report are to:

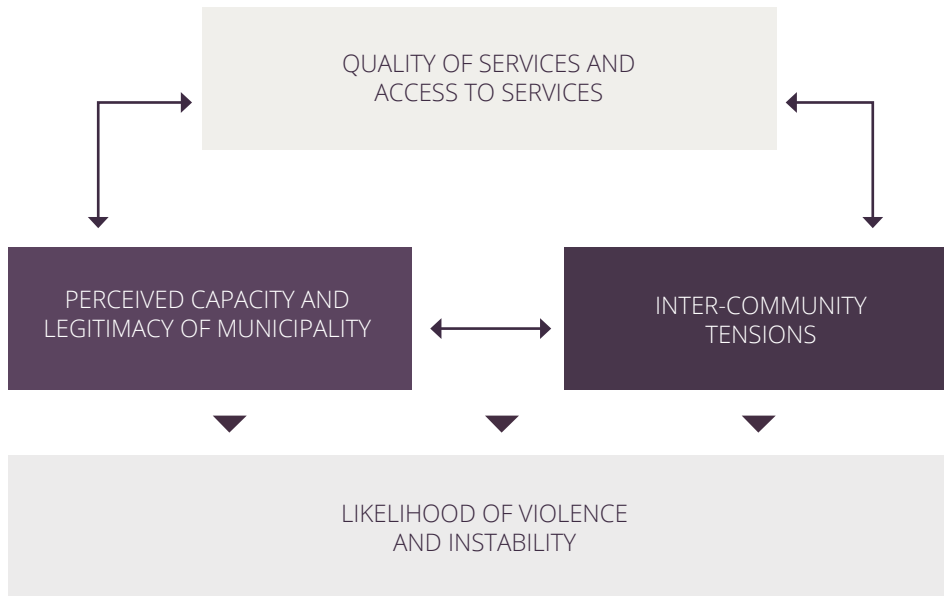
1. Identify changes in patterns through data collected in the three new municipalities following the implementation of selected DFID-funded projects; and
2. Follow up on identified changes in patterns in SenseMaker® data collected in the three initial municipalities displayed in the LHSP Impact Evaluation Report in February 2016.

Changes in patterns will be used to ascertain whether the LHSP Theory of Change holds true and examine in further detail:

- Whether the projects have changed perceptions on quality of services and access to services in the municipalities;
- Whether changes associated with the projects have contributed to sustainable change in the level of social tension;
- To whom these changes are attributed and whether they have affected the long-term perceptions of the capability and responsiveness of municipalities; and
- What influence or impact these changes have on social stability and the propensity for conflict in the municipalities.



FIG. 1
LHSP THEORY OF CHANGE



1.2 Summary of key findings

Results from the research indicate that service delivery continues to be a central issue in people's lives. Respondents continue to turn to municipalities in relation to services. Municipalities are increasingly viewed as both trusted to take the right action and able to do so. This is likely a result of the implementation of a number of service projects, including through LHSP.

As a result, improved communication and increased participation in the decision-making process is a growing priority for people across municipalities. As noted in previous rounds of research, communication between the municipality and residents plays a vital role in increasing acceptance of

projects and perceptions of their outcomes as positive. This is recognised by the municipalities who expressed strong interest during the regional workshops in improving communication with residents.

Many projects implemented in 2014 and early 2015 are no longer referenced as frequently. While one possible explanation is that people are now more satisfied with that particular service, another possibility is that other service gaps have become more pressing and thus are referenced more often by respondents. Indeed, collection 4 saw a heavy emphasis on jobs/employment as a growing concern among Lebanese. As anticipated in the previous wave of evaluation, issues pertaining to the livelihoods of host communities remain a priority, as the majority of the stories linked to refugees continue to be primarily about employment. While the number of stories referencing refugees continues to decrease, lack of jobs/employment, and perceptions that Syrians are benefitting disproportionately from jobs and aid, is influencing social stability in the North and Bekaa.

The lack of stories reflecting cooperation between refugees and host communities when it comes to service delivery may also signal an isolation of refugees within each municipality. This is further reinforced by the growing number of people who reported avoidance instead of cooperation within the municipalities, and reported a feeling of powerlessness, particularly regarding their economic situation.

2 Background and context

Since the outbreak of the Syrian conflict in March 2011, the number of registered Syrian refugees in Lebanon has been growing steadily, reaching approximately 1.1 million as of January 2016.¹ 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 service delivery. The following sections provide an overview of recent research conducted in this area, as well as important information regarding the municipal and cadastral context that may influence the results.

2.1 Literature review

The Lebanese government, working in partnership with numerous UN agencies as well as local and international NGOs, developed the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP) for 2015-2016, which outlines an integrated strategy to provide relief and protection to the displaced from Syria and the poorest Lebanese, and to invest in service and social welfare systems, job creation, and conflict mitigation in high-risk parts of the country.²

In an attempt to inform the approach outlined in the LCRP, REACH, in partnership with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), launched an assessment of community-level vulnerabilities in 252 communities across Lebanon. The study was conducted from September 2014 to February 2015 and employed a mixed methodology including a qualitative assessment as well as primary data collection. Further to this study, REACH issued an overall assessment report on *"Defining Community Vulnerabilities in Lebanon"*,³ as well as 207 individual community profiles detailing key indicators related to priority needs, demographic pressure, income and poverty, WASH, and education.⁴ The study found that employment was a commonly reported priority amongst both host and refugee respondents as well as a key driver of community division between host and refugee communities.⁵

As set forth in the LHSP Evaluation Report from February 2016, several other studies have likewise examined the challenges presented to Lebanese host communities by the influx of Syrian refugees, and have explored how increased pressure on basic service delivery has affected social stability.⁶ A



number of these studies further examined the relationship between service delivery and rising tensions between refugees and host communities in Lebanon and have, in accordance with the LHSP, identified the municipality as a key stakeholder that can help reduce these tensions through better and equitable service provision.⁷

As explained in the prior Evaluation Report, the vast number of studies tend to complement each other, but are weakened by poor data, or data gaps including: 1) limited access to primary data, 2) existing data unavailable in disaggregated form, 3) inconsistency between sources, and 4) outdated data. Flaws in the available data make any impact assessment problematic. Aktis Strategy has consequently sought innovative methods to study the relationship between service delivery and tension between refugees and host communities. As explained in Section 3 of this report, Aktis Strategy has aimed to circumnavigate these pitfalls by emphasising the perception of Lebanese host communities in our analysis, which helps make sense of the complex local context.

2.2 Cadastral and municipal context

When evaluating the impact of LHSP projects in the municipalities, it is important to examine and understand the local context. This section introduces the cadastral and municipal context for the three regions where data is collected.

The majority of Syrian refugees, or displaced persons,⁸ have settled in peripheral areas that are historically poor (specifically the North and Bekaa regions), aggravating already difficult living conditions. The strain on public services, a particular challenge in poor areas, has amplified existing frustration over old problems and in some cases, has increased resentment towards Syrian refugees.⁹

2.2.1 Demographics

As of January 2016, the number of registered Syrian refugees in Lebanon reached 1,067,785, including at least 260,337 in the North, 370,850 in the Bekaa and 124,642 in the South.¹⁰ 51.7% of refugees are female, 48.3% are male, and more than half of all Syrian refugees in Lebanon are children.¹¹

Of the six municipalities covered by the SenseMaker® research, those in the North (Sir Dinnieh and Rajam Issa) have the highest ratio of registered Syrian refugees to local Lebanese residents. Saadnayel in the Bekaa likewise records a high ratio of registered Syrian refugees to local Lebanese residents, with approximately two registered Syrian refugees per Lebanese resident. This ratio is much lower in the South, which has seen a lower influx of Syrian refugees over the past five years.¹²

Notably, as of 6 May 2015, UNHCR Lebanon suspended the registration of new refugees following instructions from the Lebanese Government.¹³ The

UNHCR figures thus do not include refugees awaiting registration since May 2015, those unwilling to register, or twice displaced Palestinian refugees from Syria.

2.2.2 Socio-economic differences

The socio-economic status of the Lebanese population differs by region. Residents in the Bekaa are better educated and live in communities with a 23% unemployment rate, while in Sahel Akkar and Wadi Khaled (both in the North), communities are less educated and the unemployment level is twice as high (44% and 58% respectively).¹⁴ These important variations in the economic environment help explain differing levels of frustration and susceptibility to conflict across regions. According to a UNDP report from 2008, poverty rates among the Lebanese is 53% in the North, 42% in the South and 30% in the Bekaa, whereas the national poverty rate is at 28%.¹⁵ The sudden increase in the labour supply as a result of the high influx of Syrian refugees has contributed to a decline in wages and a strain on the job market, which translates into fewer job opportunities for Lebanese citizens.¹⁶

2.2.3 Local perceptions

Perceptions on the level of threat posed by the refugees to the safety of Lebanese communities are inconsistent among Lebanese citizens, differing widely based on regional, sectarian, social, and economic dynamics. Research measuring people's feelings of safety in their communities has found widely varying results.¹⁷ However, a report by International Alert in 2015 found that the vast majority of respondents felt that safety conditions in their communities had worsened since the arrival of Syrian refugees.¹⁸

Similarly, while 30% of respondents across Lebanon felt that the presence

of Syrian refugees threatened the sectarian balance in their area, in Zahlé and Saida the figure reached 80%, while respondents in the mostly Sunni North seemed much less concerned by the threat of sectarian violence.¹⁹ It is evident that confessional makeup matters when it comes to perceptions of safety and of the possibility of sectarian violence.



3 Methodology

As in previous collections, Aktis Strategy has utilised the SenseMaker® methodology to conduct the research. SenseMaker® elicits “micro-narratives” (stories) from respondents about their own direct experience in the area of the research. Respondents then signify the meaning their story holds for them against a pre-developed signification framework. Demographic data is also captured to allow the sense-making data to be correlated and disaggregated by age, gender, confession, and socio-economic background. Over time, shifts in patterns indicate changes in perception and attitude towards provision of services, municipal legitimacy and social stability.

By mapping changing perceptions by municipality and by other sub-categories, such as type of services, age, gender, confession or socio-economic background, and filtering them through a contextual analysis (including a knowledge of current projects and events on the local municipal level) we can not only display how perceptions alter but also theorise about the impact of certain projects on people’s changing perceptions and attitudes.

3.1 Research sample selection

During the first two rounds of research, Aktis Strategy collected data in three municipalities. In 2015, Aktis Strategy worked closely with UNDP, MoSA, DFID, and other relevant stakeholders to select three new municipalities to include in the research. The selection of additional municipalities was based on the following criteria:

1. Project activation time (to ensure project implementation before the next evaluation in January 2016);
2. Whether project locations have seen a large influx of Syrian refugees;
3. Visibility of projects, both in the delivery stage and in terms of outputs;
4. The extent to which the projects have a specific and local geographic focus;
5. Accessibility of research locations.

The six municipalities and the LHSP projects implemented in each municipality are displayed in the table on the following page.



TABLE 1
LHSP PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED

Location	LHSP projects implemented
Rajam Issa	Improving the liquid and solid waste management system to improve hygiene and health conditions in Rajam Issa;
Sir Dinnieh	Improving solid waste management (SWM) in Sir Dinnieh through the replacement of the SWM truck;
Saadnayel	Strengthening the capacity of Saadnayel Municipality in promoting social stability through sports facilities for youth; Enhancing the transportation system and the road network in Saadnayel;
Ali El Nahri	Increasing social stability in Ali El Nahri through construction of recreational spaces;
Sarafand	Improving sustainable access to quality water in Sarafand; Ensuring comprehensive water management for better hygiene and health conditions in Bisariyeh (Sarafand);
Ghazieh	Ensuring comprehensive wastewater management for better hygiene and health conditions in Ghazieh.

3.2 Respondent demographics and key data

While the data collected reveals trends and patterns relating to all services as well as certain non-services such as jobs/employment, security, and politics, a closer investigation of people’s perceptions of several particularly relevant services or non-services allows us to deepen our understanding of specific trends and patterns. For the purposes of this research, we have selected the most relevant services/non-services for each municipality based on the following criteria:

- The most talked about service/non-service in collection 4;

- The second most talked about service/non-service in collection 4
- The most talked about service/non-service in collection 3;
- The most talked about service/non-service in collection 2 for the three initial municipalities

This process ensures the analysis considers current trends as well as changes over time. Table 2 displays the relevant services/non-services per municipality.

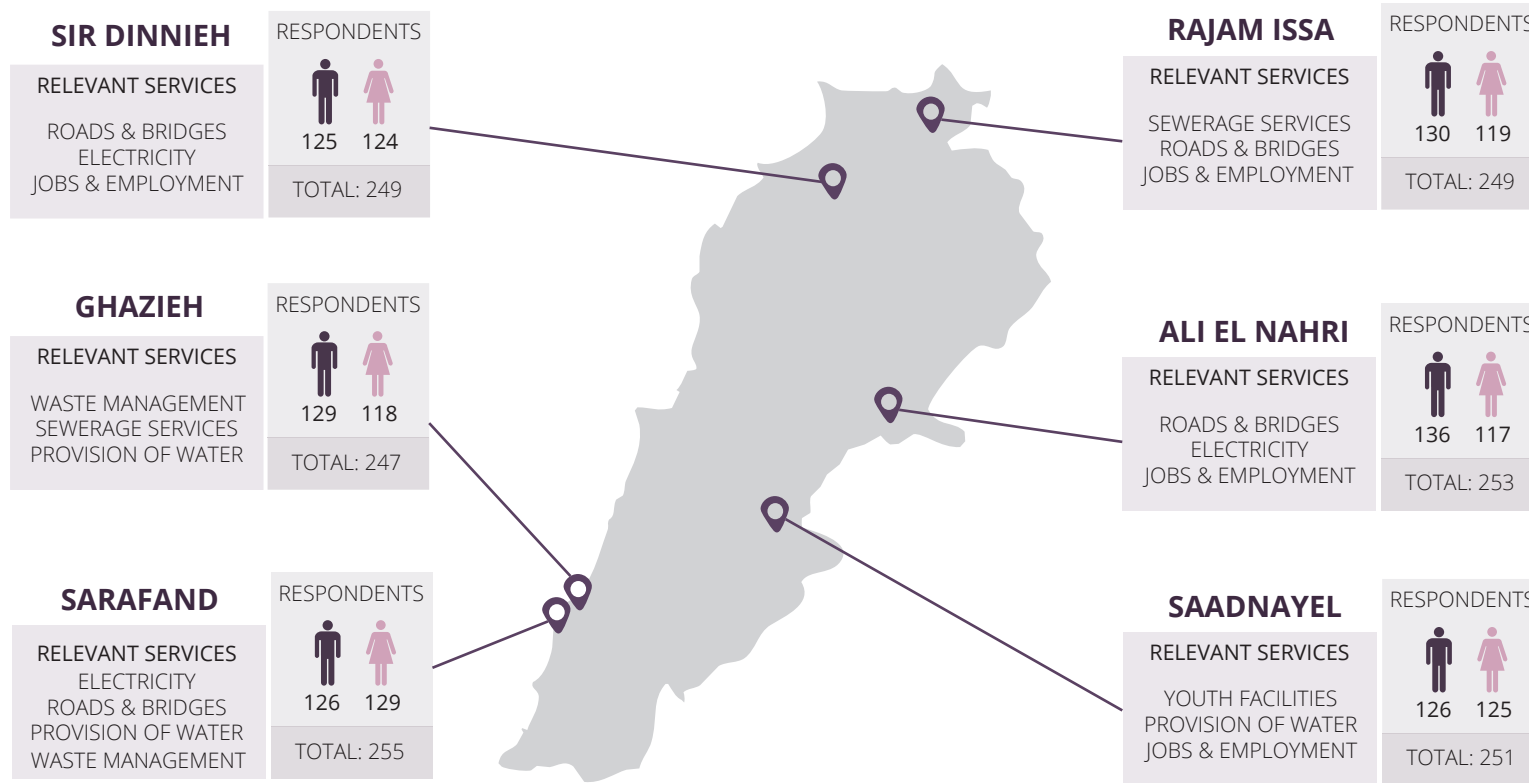
In total 1,504 responses were collected during this round of research in the six municipalities. The map on the following page displays the locations of the six municipalities as well as the breakdown by gender of the respondents per municipality.

TABLE 2
LHSP PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED

Location	Relevant services/non-services
Rajam Issa	Sewerage service, roads & bridges and jobs & employment
Sir Dinnieh	Roads & bridges, provision of electricity, jobs & employment
Saadnayel	Youth facilities, provision of water and jobs & employment
Ali El Nahri	Jobs & employment, provision of electricity and roads & bridges
Sarafand	Roads & bridges, provision of electricity, provision of water and waste management
Ghazieh	Sewerage services, provision of water and roads & bridges



FIG. 2
MAP OF RESEARCH MUNICIPALITIES



3.3 SenseMaker® workshops

The SenseMaker® regional and analysis workshops are an integral part of the research methodology.

The purpose of the regional workshops is to demonstrate the utility of the research in strengthening the ability of Lebanese municipalities to plan and direct resources into actions which support social stability; to better understand the data and its underlying drivers in light of the local context and

incorporate that understanding in our analysis of the trends and patterns in each municipality; and to generate a greater coherence of understanding and action among stakeholders.

The purpose of the Beirut analysis workshop is to catalyse greater coherence of thought and action among implementing partners and donors and to continue the conversation regarding whether the research can contribute to measuring stability dynamics as one tool to unify evaluation at outcome and impact level.

In late February and early March 2016, Aktis Strategy, in collaboration with MoSA and UNDP, facilitated three half-day SenseMaker® workshops in locations in the North, Bekaa, and South to discuss the results of the third and fourth rounds of research. The workshops were attended by MoSA and UNDP regional representatives municipal officials and representatives from each of the six municipalities, as well as local and international organisations, including organisations that have implemented service projects in or around the relevant municipalities.

Key findings from the regional workshops include:

- The forthcoming municipal elections may have influenced the forth collection of data.
- Jobs/employment remains a priority issue in the North and the Bekaa due to growing competition with Syrian refugees who are willing to accept lower wages. By contrast, jobs/employment is a secondary concern in the South where the overall number of Syrian refugees is significantly lower than in other regions and unemployment rates also remain low.
- Improving awareness and communication around service delivery is key to changing people's perceptions about the legitimacy of the municipality and social stability. In particular, municipalities were very interested in discussing the best ways to communicate service delivery projects and municipal priorities to the community.
- The strong connection between the "family" and the "municipal government" that appears across most municipalities is linked to the constitution of the municipal board. Members of the municipal board are often elected on a tribal/family basis and are thus considered representative of the tribe/family in addition to being municipal members. Moreover, as a result of the continuing shortage in the provision of services at the level of the central government, citizens

tend to obtain many of those services (especially water and electricity) through private means, often by relying on their extended families.

- In December 2015, all municipalities received funds (see Annex I) from the Independent Municipal Fund, a large portion of which had been outstanding since 2010. Many of the municipalities covered by the research reported using those funds to improve roads.

Following the regional workshops, Aktis Strategy convened a collaborative analysis workshop in Beirut to further analyse the changes and patterns in the six municipalities. The workshop was attended by key stakeholders, including DFID, UNDP (central and area officers), MoSA, and members of the Social Stability sector. The discussion centred on the methodology, how LHSP intends to integrate the findings in future programming, as well as some of the key trends and patterns in the fourth collection of data.

A full review of findings and disaggregation trends is planned for late April.



3.4 Methodology challenges and constraints

A number of constraints and challenges were identified during the design and research phase and are likely to have relative implications for the research results.

The political backdrop

During the period of data collection large parts of Lebanon were experiencing serious disturbance in the provision of waste collection and management causing occasional unrest. Even though the waste management crisis was limited to certain regions, there was still a concern that the perception of broader service delivery would be affected by people's dissatisfaction with the deficient waste collection, which would skew results and undermine the focus on specific services for the purpose of evaluating the impact of DFID-funded projects. However, the analysis of the data seems to suggest that the waste management crisis had no major effect on the results of the research.

In addition, many municipal representatives noted that upcoming municipal elections may have influenced results. It was suggested in the regional workshops that, as part of their electoral campaign, the municipalities tend to step up their communication and service delivery efforts in the months leading up to elections, potentially skewing perceptions of their ability compared to the last round of data collection.

Limited analytical time and resources

The SenseMaker® data generates the potential for almost limitless analysis of correlations and extrapolation of meaning. Due to the circumscribed nature of the research terms of reference, we have focused our analysis

on the primary research questions as stated above. Aktis Strategy has been contracted to carry out an additional analysis, disaggregating the research results by various subcategories such as age, gender, confession, and socio-economic background, for a better understanding of underlying factors driving specific trends and patterns. This additional analysis will be submitted to DFID and UNDP at the end of April 2016.

Delayed project start-up & non-completion

The three additional municipalities selected as research locations during the inception period for this phase of the research were selected partly on the basis of activation time, ensuring that they would have projects implemented between the first and second data collection. However, initial project start dates were later altered in discussions between MoSA and relevant line ministries. After re-evaluation of the selected municipalities and readjusting the research scope where necessary, certain projects were not fully completed by the time of the fourth round of research. However, the results indicate that the outstanding project elements have had no, or little, impact on people's perceptions.

Seasonal variations

Seasonal weather variations sometimes skew research results. The latest data collection was carried out in February when most municipalities tend to have access to water but little/no agricultural production. By contrast, the third data collection was carried out in August when most municipalities experience a shortage of water but high agricultural production. Such seasonal variations can have a significant impact on people's expectations of service delivery.

Ongoing movement of refugees

Any impact assessment faces challenges due to the movement of refugees, especially within Lebanon. Thus, population movements (refugees re-settling between different regions) between the data collections must be taken into account when considering the findings and when planning future projects.

Data concerning the ongoing movement of refugees is not publicly available partially due to the fact that UNHCR Lebanon has stopped registering refugees since May 2015.

Qualitative vs Quantitative approach

As this report uses the SenseMaker®research approach that relies on qualitative narratives to display changes in perceptions over time, it acknowledges the necessity to combine and correlate different qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to gain a full understanding of the impact of service delivery projects. When possible, we have sought to use and complement our qualitative assessment with quantitative data, and to confirm findings through participatory exploration of the data with local stakeholders. The contextual analysis partly rests on the ability to map other projects carried out in the relevant municipalities to ensure we can further understand the reasons for changing perceptions. Further projects not captured in this report might have likewise affected the outcome of the research. Annex II includes a list of projects identified by UNDP that were conducted in or around the research period. When relevant, these are referenced throughout the analysis.



4 Evaluation

This section identifies trends in data collected from respondents in areas where DFID-funded projects have been implemented under LHSP. The results are analysed separately for each municipality to identify changes in patterns since August 2015 for the three new municipalities, and since 2014 for the original three municipalities. After exploring each municipality separately, trends and patterns are compared in order to draw wider conclusions.

This analysis is based on the following considerations: Data gathered in collection 1, which represented the baseline for the initial three municipalities is not included in order to focus the analysis on the most recent trends and patterns in all six municipalities.

In this analysis, we frequently compare attitudes to “service delivery issues” with attitudes to “non-service delivery issues”, defined as follows:

TABLE 3
SERVICE AND NON-SERVICE DELIVERY ISSUES

SERVICE DELIVERY ISSUES	NON-SERVICE DELIVERY ISSUES
PROVISION OF WATER	SECURITY
PROVISION OF ELECTRICITY	POLITICS
SEWERAGE SERVICES	JOBS/EMPLOYMENT
EDUCATION	
YOUTH FACILITIES	
ROADS AND BRIDGES	
HEALTH SERVICES	
RECREATIONAL SPACES	

In collections 2 and 3, the multiple choice attribute questions allowed respondents to select up to 3 answers. This was adjusted in collection 4 so respondents could select only one option, representing the most important answer in their view.

In order to maintain comparability between the 3 collections when displaying the results in this report, a weighting of answers was done to collections 2 and 3, whereby each answer was given an equal weight for the attribute questions. Therefore, each answer of the respondents who chose three answers would carry one third of the weight compared to those who gave only one answer.” For the triads, we initiated a system to retrospectively pick a single “mostly about” answer for each answer in collection 2 and 3 where the respondent had picked more than one option. The selection of the “mostly about” was done based on the selection of relevant services for each municipality, as well as most talked about, prioritising different answers over other, for each municipality.

4.1 Quality of services and access to services

This section assesses which types of service or non-service related issues are affiliated with the greatest changes in attitude and perception, displaying how aware people are of projects implemented in their areas and what services they identify as priorities. It also explores the increase or decrease in the number of stories referencing refugees.

4.1.1 What are people talking about?

This section looks at the recurring themes in people’s stories. Figure 3 shows the proportion of stories related to services, employment, security, and other issues in all municipalities over the last three collections.²⁰ The proportion of respondents who discussed changes involving services increased considerably between collections 2 and 3. The persistence of this trend from collection 3 to collection 4 is an indication that people remain

most concerned with service delivery issues. This could be positive, through stories expressing people’s satisfaction with implemented projects, or negative, through stories highlighting the shortage in the delivery of certain services or the unsatisfactory quality of others.

Looking at non-services, it appears that security is becoming less of a concern, while employment remains an issue that people consistently, and increasingly, raise in their stories. It is important to highlight here that the vast majority of the stories about employment were negative. This is explored further in Section 4.3.

A more detailed look (see Figure 4) into the specific topics that people mentioned in each municipality shows that priorities can vary greatly between regions and municipalities.

For instance, jobs and employment was a major concern in the Bekaa and the North, while it was not brought up nearly as much in the South. This can be attributed to the fact that the South has hosted the lowest number of Syrian refugees and that competition over employment opportunities between host and refugee communities is not as significant there as in the North and the Bekaa.

FIG. 3
WHAT ARE PEOPLE TALKING ABOUT?



“They installed water pipes before they paved the road. Now we always have water, and don’t buy water anymore.”

- Female, Age 50+, Ghazieh



Although the provision of electricity is a major problem nationwide, it was repeatedly brought up only in the Bekaa, especially in Ali el Nahri. This is likely due to the fact that Electricite de Zahle (EDZ), the only private company in Lebanon that holds a license to produce and distribute electricity, now provides all municipalities under its jurisdiction, including Ali el Nahri, with power 24/7.

Roads and bridges was a recurrent topic in all towns, especially in Ghazieh. According to regional workshop participants from the Ghazieh municipality, the recent disbursement of municipal funds from the Independent Municipal Fund, a portion of which had been withheld since 2010, could explain this surge in stories about paving and fixing roads. Of the six municipalities covered by this research, Ghazieh has received the largest amount of funds, which could explain why it recorded the largest number of stories revolving around roads.²¹

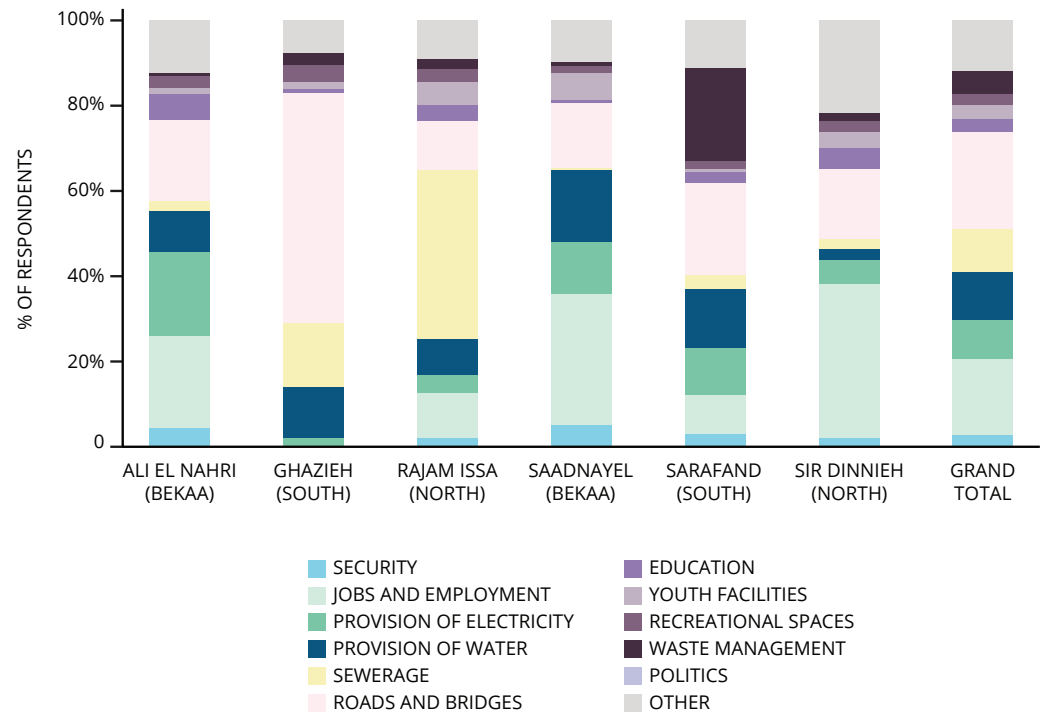
The overall number of stories regarding waste management was low. This is not surprising, as the waste management crisis has affected only larger Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Respondents in Sarafand had a comparatively large number of stories about waste management, however. Many of the negative stories in Sarafand discussed burning “mountains of garbage.” Some of the more positive stories referenced the solid waste sorting plant funded by LHSP.

“We now have garbage barrels everywhere and the municipality regularly removes the garbage. Before that, there was a mountain of garbage in front of every house, but the municipality is now clearing and removing the garbage.”

- Female, Age 49-40, Rajam Issa

People in Rajam Issa were very focused on sewerage services, while it was not a recurring theme in any other town. This is most likely a direct result of the DFID funded wastewater management project that had been recently completed in the town.

FIG. 4
WHAT ARE PEOPLE IN EACH MUNICIPALITY TALKING ABOUT?





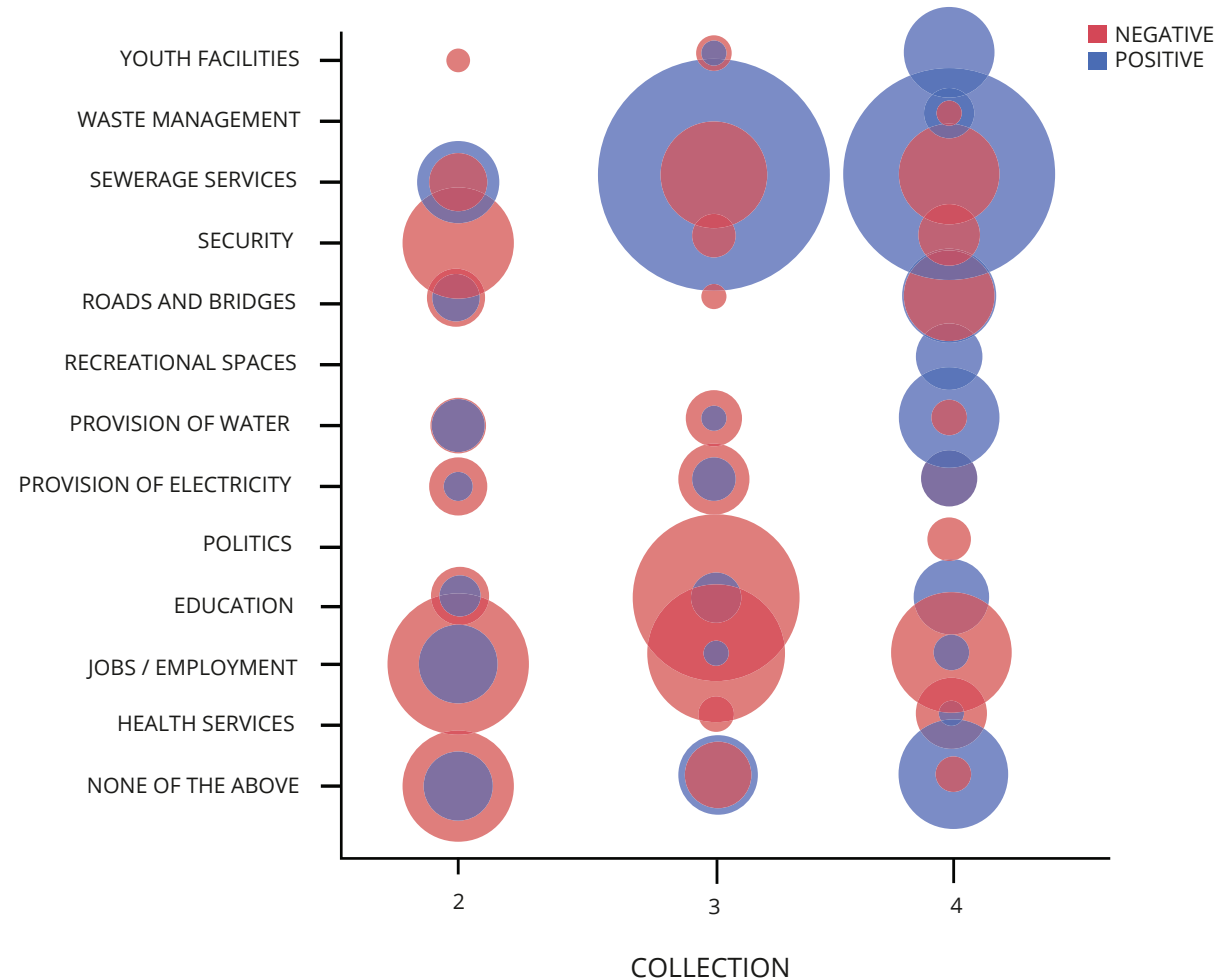
The following section examines each municipality in terms of the positive and negative stories around the different types of services and how they have changed between data collections.

RAJAM ISSA

Sewerage services continue to be highly talked about and most stories are positive. The wastewater management project that was implemented in Rajam Issa with DFID funding continues to elicit positive feedback.

The overall number of stories about water has remained constant over time, but have moved from being entirely negative in collection 2 to predominantly positive in the last collection. A similar trend can be observed in the stories including education. Stories about jobs and employment have been following a decreasing trend over the four waves of data collection. However, the prevalence of negative stories remains a common feature for all collections. In fact, the positive stories decreased between the second and third collection and remained low in the last collection.

FIG. 5
RAJAM ISSA



*As the services identified changed in the subsequently collections, data for collection 1 is not presented in this graph, but is reflected in the rest of the research. Furthermore, recreational spaces and waste management were not added as option until collection 4.



SIR DINNIEH

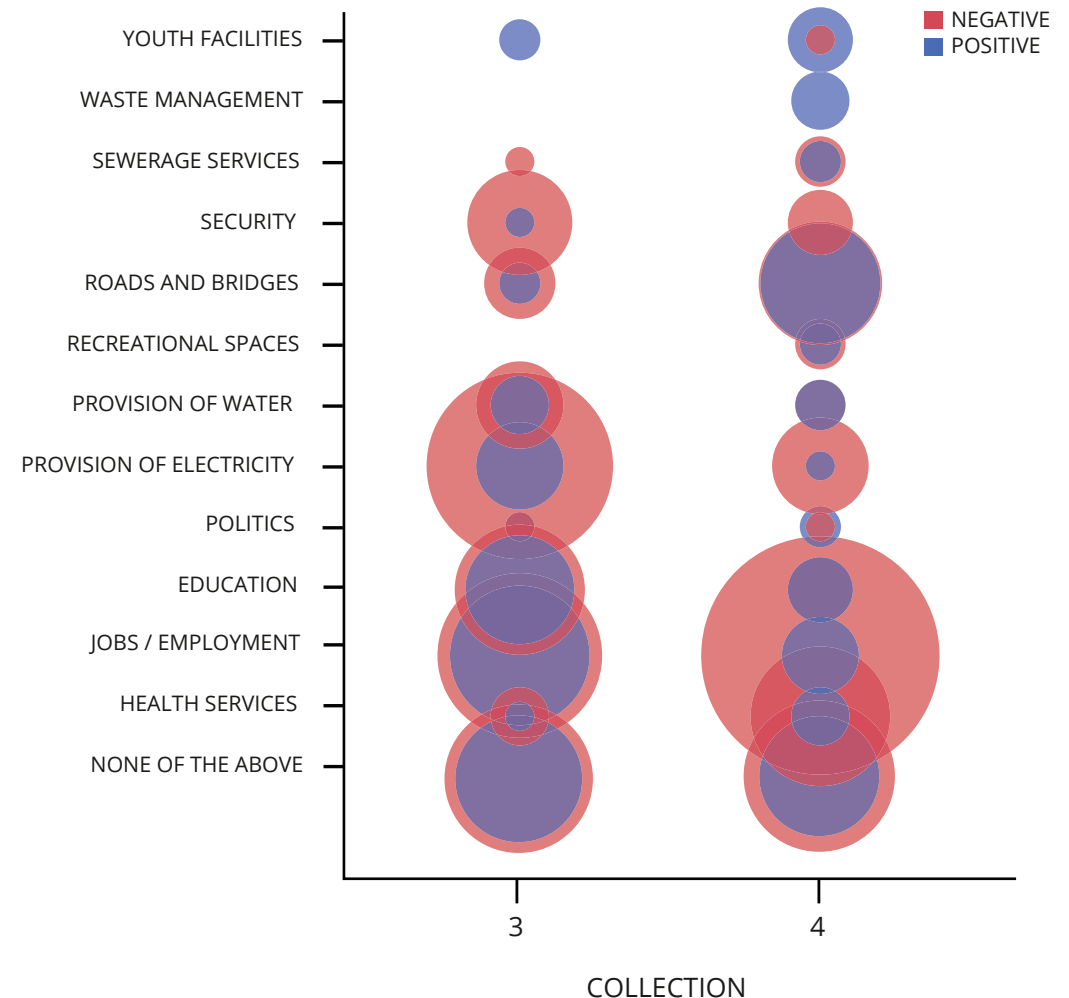
There is a clear change in the distribution of stories in Sir Dinnieh between the third and fourth collections. A considerable number of stories have moved from being about services to being about jobs/employment. In fact, the largest concentration of negative stories is around those related to jobs and employment.

The previously observed polarisation of groups in Sir Dinnieh does not seem to still hold in this last collection. The positive stories are mostly about youth facilities, roads and bridges, provision of water and education. Besides employment, there are negative stories around security, provision of electricity and health services. Residents appear to be more content with water, waste management, roads and bridges, and sewerage services than they were in the past, which may be a positive indication of recent work implemented by the municipality and LHSP.

“Currently there are plenty of garbage barrels and containers, and the municipality is collecting the garbage every day which makes the village clean and shining. Earlier the reeking odor was killing us, the barrel was left full for days and nobody cared.”

- Female, Age 49-40, Sir Dinnieh

FIG. 6
SIR DINNIEH



*Recreational spaces and waste management were not added as options until collection 4



ALI EL NAHRI

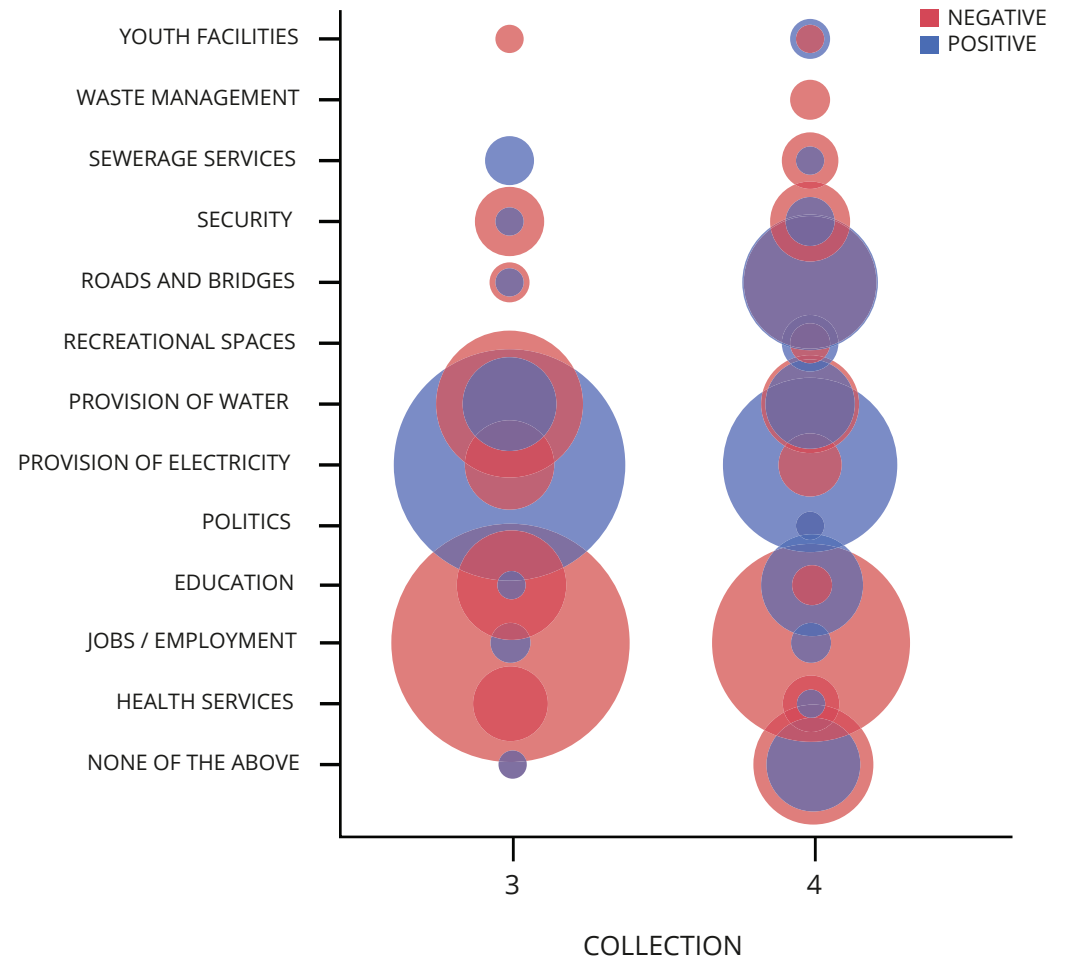
Overall, people in Ali el Nahri feel more positively about their stories than they did six months ago. The negative stories around roads and bridges, security, health service and education have decreased noticeably. Provision of electricity is the most talked about service and the stories revolving around it are predominantly positive, as they were in the last collection, indicating the residents' continued satisfaction with this service. Positive stories about education and roads and bridges also increased in the fourth collection. People are now discussing recreational spaces, following the construction of the public garden under LHSP, and most of those stories are positive.

Similarly to the results in the third collection, the largest concentration of negative stories in Ali el Nahri was related to jobs and employment, although this trend has decreased slightly.

"They are creating a public garden which really affects the area positively... People now can walk there and sit with their families, especially during summer."

- Male, 50+, Ali El Nahri

FIG. 7
ALI EL NAHRI



*Recreational spaces and waste management were not added as options until collection 4



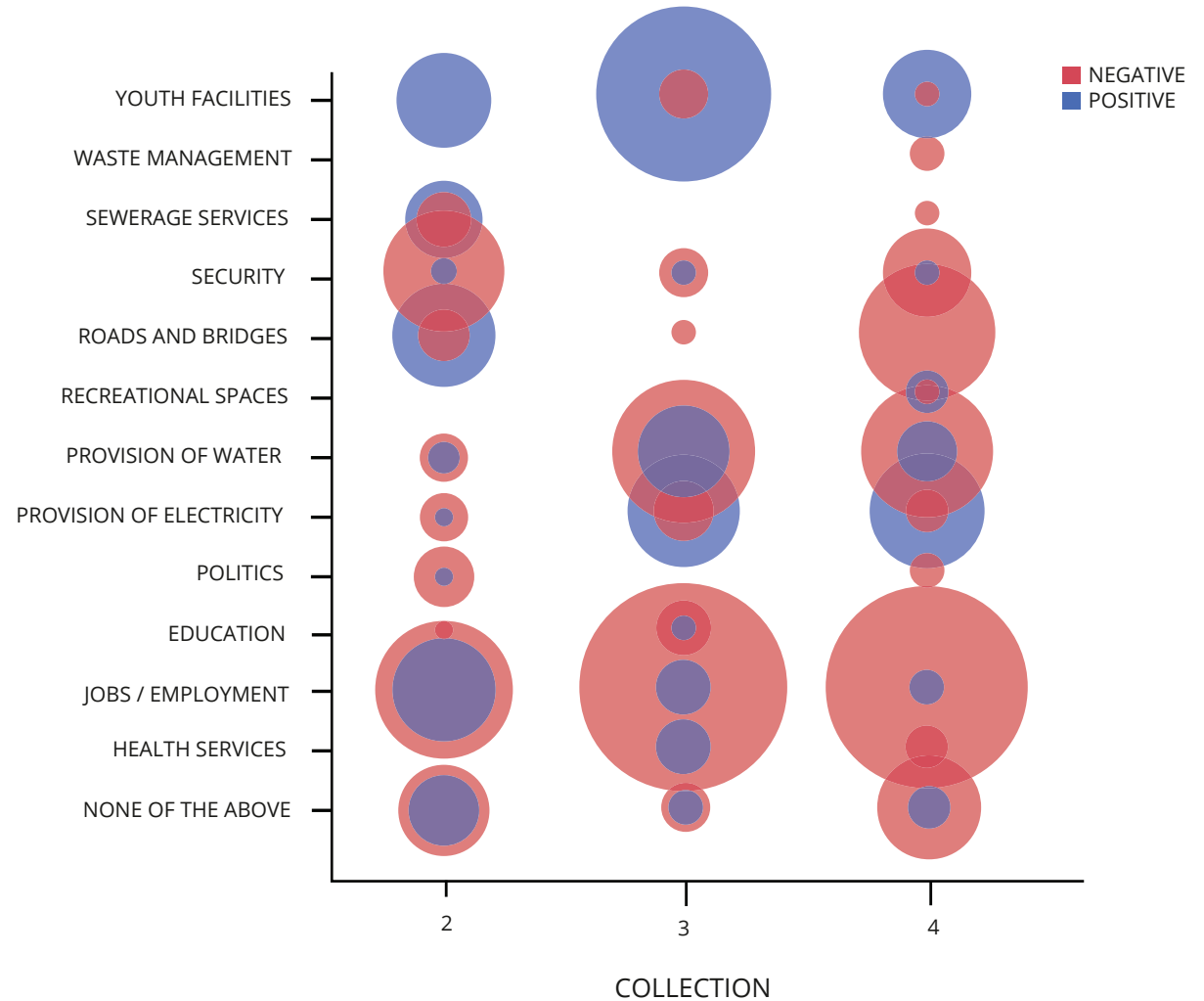
SAADNAYEL

The large number of positive stories about the youth project that was implemented between collections 1 and 2 has decreased since collection 3. This is to be expected as the project is not perceived as novel to the local community any longer. However, the majority of people who do talk about youth facilities still have positive stories to tell.

There has been a systematic decrease over time in the number of stories relating to security. However, people are still talking about security with predominantly negative stories, largely relating to refugees, as further detailed below in section 4.3.

The number of stories about roads and bridges has increased since the third collection, and the stories around this topic are all negative. It appears that the positive impact of the bridge rehabilitation project that was implemented between collections 1 and 2 has slowly been diluted and people have moved to talking about other negative aspects of the quality of roads and bridges. The number of stories about jobs and employment has remained consistently high over the various data collections, with the stories becoming increasingly negative. This indicates that the problems relating to people's livelihoods have not been adequately addressed.

FIG. 8
SAADNAYEL



*As the services identified changed in the subsequently collections, data for collection 1 is not presented in this graph, but is reflected in the rest of the research. Furthermore, recreational spaces and waste management were not added as option until collection 4.



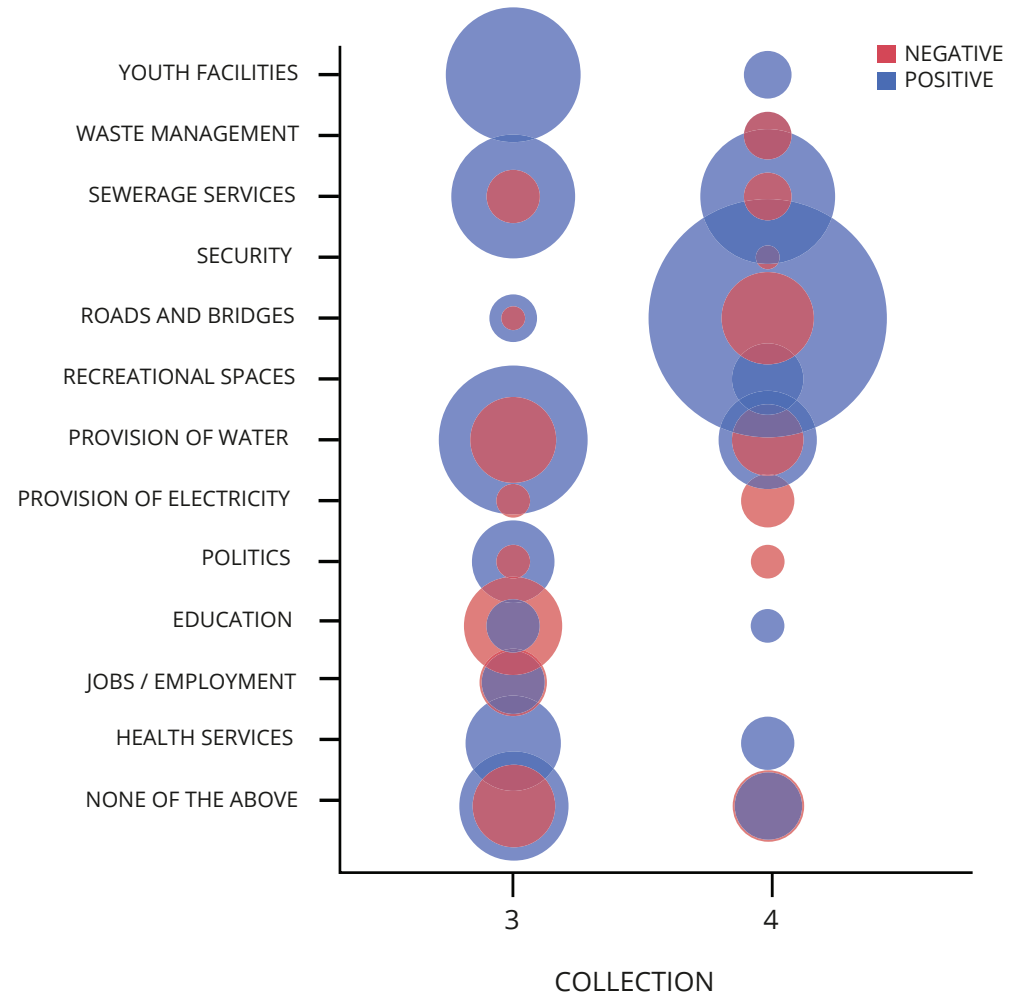
GHAZIEH

Overall, the distribution of stories across the various services and non-services in Ghazieh has become more concentrated around a smaller number of services and non-services. For instance, people have stopped talking about jobs and employment, and very few mentioned youth facilities.

Since collection 3, the number of stories relating to youth facilities, provision of water, provision of electricity, and health services have decreased. While these stories remain predominantly positive, the decrease in positive stories does not necessarily indicate that respondents are less pleased with these service than they were during collection 3. Rather, as delegates noted during the regional workshop in Tyre, respondents may well be content with the provision of services but have now shifted their attention to more pressing issues, as well as other visible changes, such as roads and bridges.

The number of stories about roads and bridges has increased, and these stories are largely positive, with a smaller number of negative stories. Indeed, the municipal representatives from Ghazieh reported during the regional workshop in Tyre that the municipality has used the recently-disbursed funds from the Independent Municipal Fund to pave and fix the town's roads, which likely accounts for this major change in perception.

FIG. 9
GHAZIEH



*Recreational spaces and waste management were not added as options until collection 4



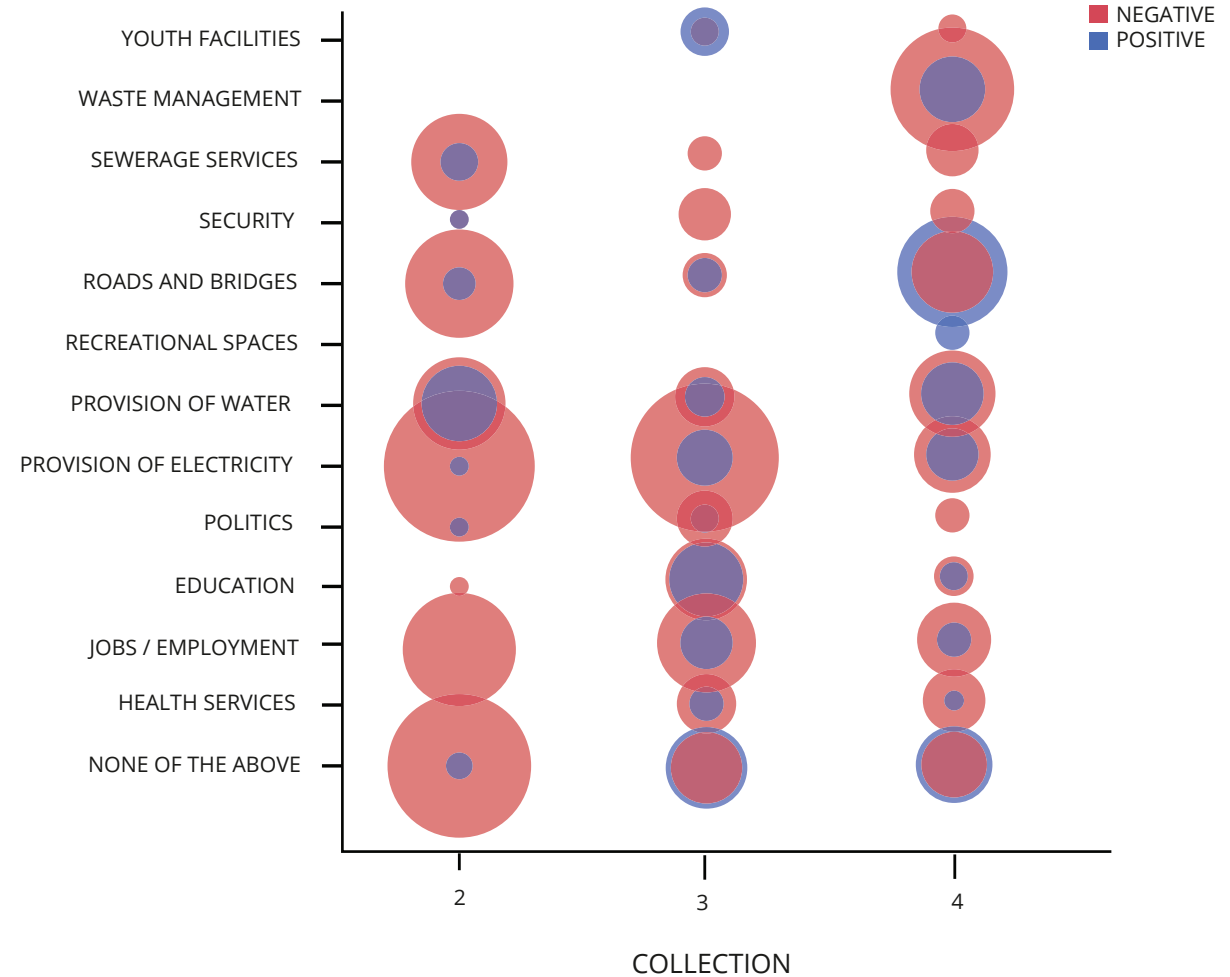
SARAFAND

The number of positive stories has increased over time in Sarafand, especially those relating to roads and bridges, provision of water, and provision of electricity. Stories about the water-related project are now fewer overall, but they are predominantly positive. This likely indicates that people are now accustomed to the presence of the water tank in the town, and are no longer perceiving it as a novelty, but still appreciate the improved quality and access.

Stories about health services appeared in the third collection and were almost equally divided between positive and negative. In the fourth collection, the number of stories is more or less the same, but they are more negative, indicating a decrease in quality of and access to healthcare.

Stories about roads and bridges have increased and are almost entirely positive. As for Ghazieh, municipal representatives from Sarafand reported during the regional workshop in Tyre that the municipality has used the recently-disbursed funds from the independent municipal fund to pave and fix the town's roads, which likely accounts for this major change in perception. The number of stories about security has decreased, but all stories on this subject remain negative as they were in the third collection.

FIG. 10
SARAFAND



*As the services identified changed in the subsequently collections, data for collection 1 is not presented in this graph, but is reflected in the rest of the research. Furthermore, recreational spaces and waste management were not added as option until collection 4.



Awareness of Projects

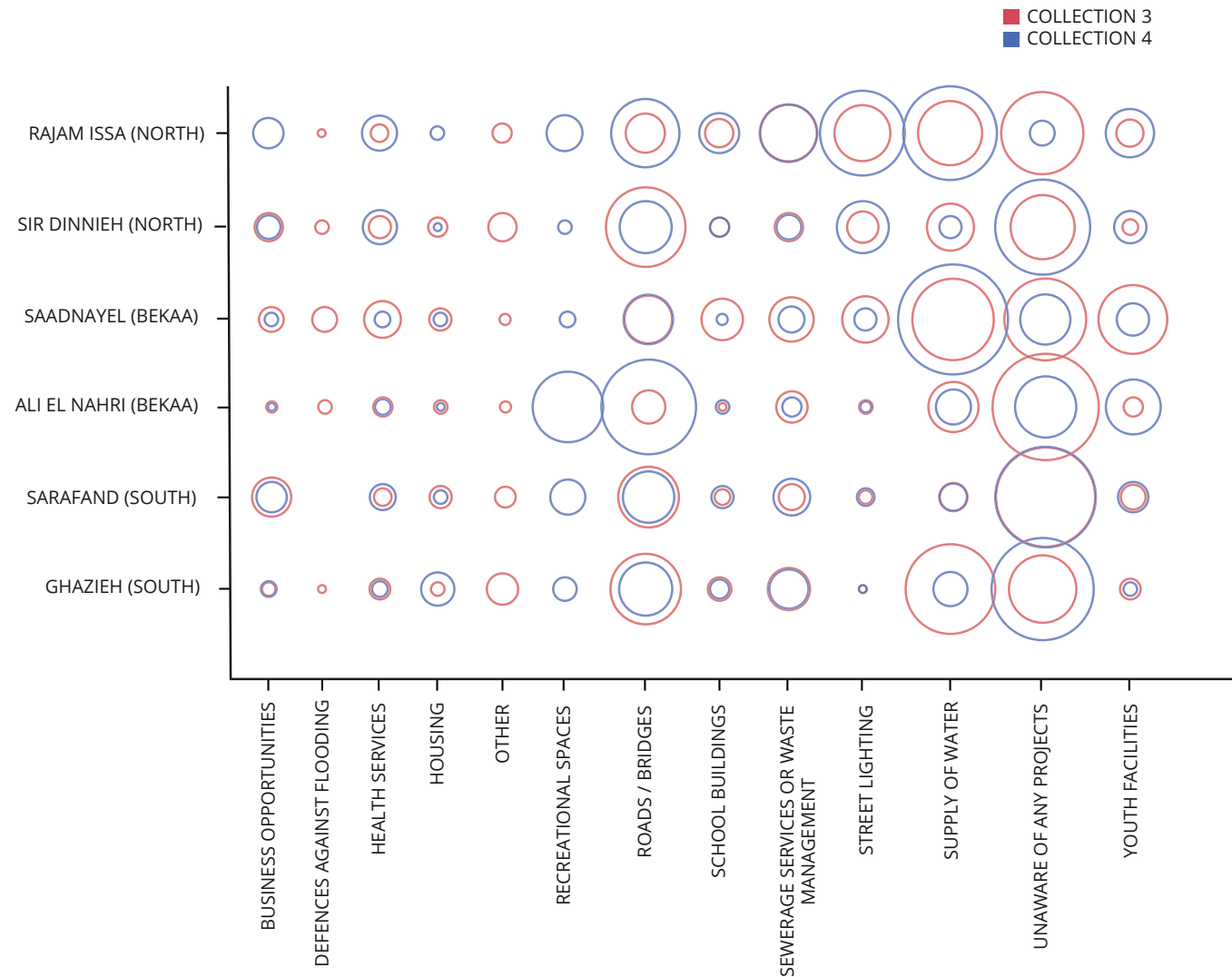
After evaluating what people prioritised in terms of services and non-services in their stories, it is interesting to observe the extent to which people are aware of projects being implemented in their towns and whose purpose it is primarily to address the issues of service delivery, livelihoods, and social stability.

Figure 11 depicts the change in awareness of projects between collections 3 and 4 in each of the six municipalities. Overall, fewer people are unaware of any project taking place in their towns, which indicates that implemented projects are increasingly more visible to residents and the municipalities are providing more information on projects as well.

In **Rajam Issa** more people are aware of projects relating to roads and bridges, schools, sewerage, street lighting, water and youth facilities. Most of this coincides with the various projects that have been implemented or are currently under implementation (such as the implemented wastewater, education and water supply projects), and indicates that people are becoming increasingly more aware of them.

In **Sir Dinnieh**, awareness about health services, sewerage projects, street lighting, and youth facilities has increased. Knowledge of the new wastewater management project has increased as well.

FIG. 11
PEOPLE'S AWARENESS OF PROJECTS





In **Ali el Nahri**, more people are aware of projects relating to youth facilities and roads and bridges. A number of people are now aware of the recreational spaces project being implemented there.

In **Saadnayer**, more people are aware of projects relating to water, which can be directly linked to the DFID-funded wastewater management project being implemented there. Fewer reported being aware of a youth facility project, indicating that the surge in visibility of the youth sports court that was completed in 2015 has now subsided, and the sports court is now seen as an existing facility in the town rather than as a new project.

In **Ghazieh**, the number of people unaware of any project has increased between collections 3 and 4, mainly due to a decreasing amount of people aware of water projects, a figure that previously high likely due to past project but also triggered by the seasonal demand for water. Awareness about the wastewater management project implemented by LHSP is similar to its level in the previous collection.

In **Sarafand**, knowledge about projects relating to school buildings, sewerage, street lighting, water, and youth facilities has slightly increased. Overall awareness of projects has decreased, which may indicate the need for further outreach by the municipality.

What does this mean?

Overall, service delivery issues remain the top consideration of people compared to employment and security. The overall number of positive stories has increased, indicating that people recognise the positive change.

Many projects implemented by LHSP in 2014 and early 2015 are no longer referenced as frequently, which could indicate that people are more satisfied with that particular service or that other service needs have become more pressing. The disbursement of funds to the municipalities from the Independent Municipal Fund also appears to be reflected in people's increasingly positive perceptions and their awareness about the projects implemented, especially those related to roads and bridges. The municipalities have prioritised outreach regarding many of these projects, including the projects funded under LHSP, which has also increased visibility.

Jobs and employment in the North and Bekaa continues to be a major concern in the fourth round of research. These trends will be examined further in the following sections.

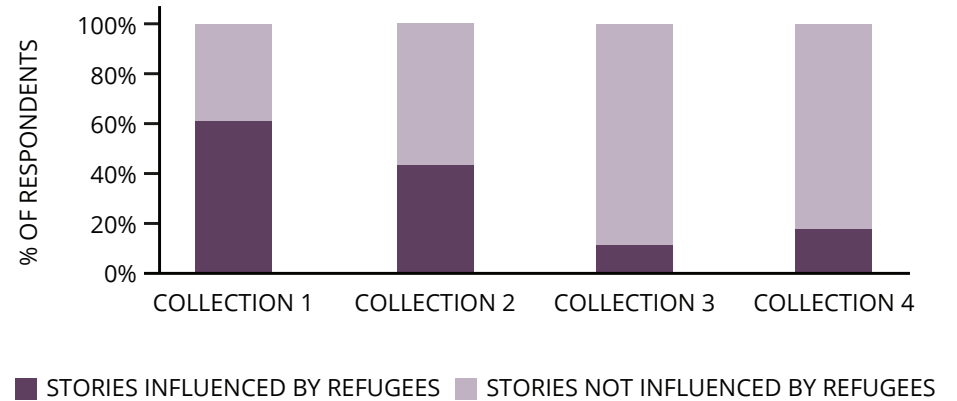


4.1.2 How many stories were influenced by refugees?

This section examines stories that respondents identified as being influenced by refugees. Throughout all the data collections, the number of stories where refugees were the main influencing factor in the story remained low compared to stories that were influenced by community leaders, political leaders, family or social media.

The overall proportion of stories influenced by refugees decreased considerably from collection 2 to 3. This drop could be a result of the implementation of projects that have started to relieve some of the pressure created by the influx of refugees. As Figure 12 shows, the proportion of stories increased slightly in collection 4 but remains low. The overall decrease from collection 2 can likely be explained by a reduced influx of new refugees, the gradual integration of the refugee population and improved coping strategies by municipalities. The recent increase in the numbers of stories related to refugees in the fourth collection, however, could be attributed to livelihood concerns in the North and the Bekaa which are explored further in Section 4.3.

FIG. 12
STORIES RELATED TO REFUGEES



"The security here is not good as a result of the Syria crisis. We now have an environment that enables extremism. Residents are not happy about this – it does not represent us. The majority of Syrians are silent about this issue. You can't walk at night... There's a Daesh flag on the mosque."

- Male, 50+, Rajam Issa



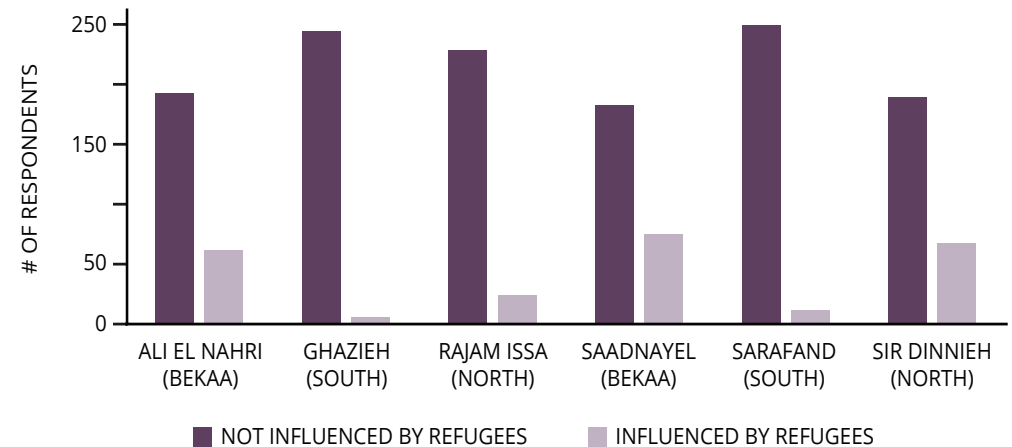
Attempting to understand the increase in stories influenced by refugees in the last collection, we looked at what the stories were mostly about. Figure 13 shows that the majority of stories related to refugees discussed non-services, namely jobs, employment and security. In fact, stories about refugees and security have been decreasing, while those about refugees and employment increased between collections 2 and 3, and remained consistent between collections 3 and 4. The fact that refugees have settled in the local communities and have moved from trying to provide for their basic needs to trying to provide a living could explain this surge in negative stories about refugees and employment.

Stories relating to refugees vary by region and municipality. As figure 14 shows, stories relating to refugees were more prevalent in the Bekaa and the North than they were in the South. Saadnayel in the Bekaa and Sir Dinnieh in the North registered the highest number of stories influenced by refugees. This is attributed to the fact that the presence of refugees in the Bekaa and the North regions is significantly higher than in the South. Rajam Issa is an exception since not many people talked about refugees there. This could be due to the fact that Rajam Issa is located at the Syrian border and, as any border town, people are accustomed to having Syrians residing or working there and therefore do not find their presence unusual, much less threatening.

FIG. 13
STORIES INFLUENCED BY REFUGEES BY TOPIC



FIG. 14
STORIES RELATED TO REFUGEES BY MUNICIPALITY





What does this mean?

As in previous collections, people's stories are not influenced by refugees as much as by other factors, such as the Lebanese government or community leaders. Although there are great regional disparities in this respect, refugees are not necessarily perceived as the primary concern of people when they think about the changes that have taken place in their local communities.

Stories in the North and in the Bekaa describe non-services such as jobs/employment and security more than in the South. As anticipated in the previous wave of evaluation, livelihood issues are becoming a priority as the majority of the stories linked to refugees continue to be primarily about employment.

The relative increase in the number of stories influenced by refugees could also be attributed to a seasonal effect, whereby in summer refugees tend to be more mobile and the demand for public and social services such as electricity or education is lower. Therefore, the perceived impact of refugee presence could be lower during summer than it is during winter.



4.2 Municipal legitimacy

This analysis explores perceptions of the capability and legitimacy of the municipalities and of other actors in the context of service delivery issues. We look at 'whose voice mattered' in stories involving services as well as non-services such as jobs and employment; and the actors which respondents felt could improve the situation being described.

The analysis aims to answer the following questions:

- Who do people trust to provide services and address issues in the municipality?
- What capacity is the municipal government perceived to have to help address people's issues?
- Is the municipality considered to be a legitimate service provider?

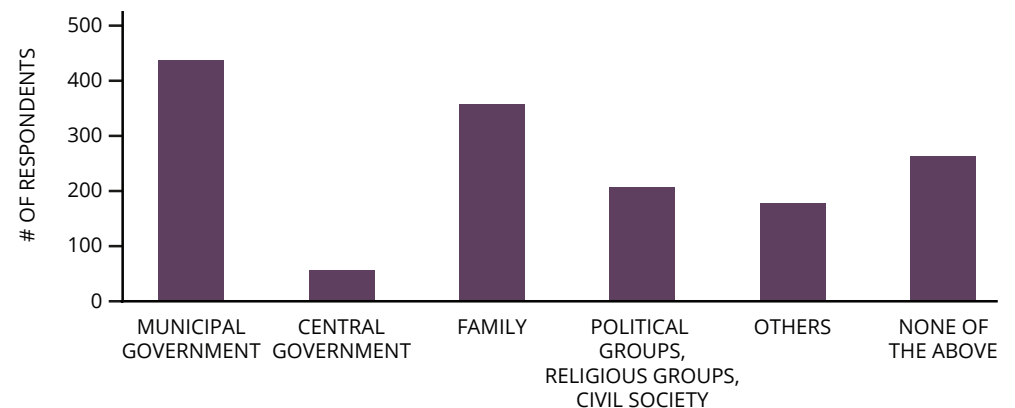
4.2.1 Who do people trust as a service provider?

When respondents were asked about who they trust most to provide services in their town, the majority named the municipality as their most trusted service provider, as seen in Figure 15. The central government continued to score very low in this respect. This is largely due to the central government's shortcomings in service delivery across regions and the corresponding lack of trust in the government capabilities. Respondents continue to have more faith in the capability and authority of their local government to provide services.

Similarly to collection 3, the family was viewed as the second most trusted service provider. Besides the conjecture that this is due to an overlap in perception between large families represented in municipal government and the municipal government as local official authority, some stakeholders

suggested during the regional workshops that this response could reflect the fact that most services are privately provided for, so their provision is attributed to those who pay for obtaining the service. For instance, purchasing water to compensate for the deficiency in potable water, subscribing to the private generator during the regular power cuts, paying private school tuitions when the quality of the public schools is unsatisfactory, purchasing private insurance when the national social security does not provide adequate coverage, etc. are all examples of when the family is seen as the purchaser of services and thus their provider.

FIG. 15
TRUSTED AS SERVICE PROVIDER



"There have been many changes, the most important of which is the public library established by the municipality... All the people, especially children, benefitted from it."

- Male, 18-29, Ali El Nahri

"They built a new playground in Saadnayel that gathered all the youth... it is a very good thing that changed people and strengthened ties between youth of the village, so there are no more problems."

- Male, 18-29, Saadnayel



4.2.2 Who could have improved the situation?

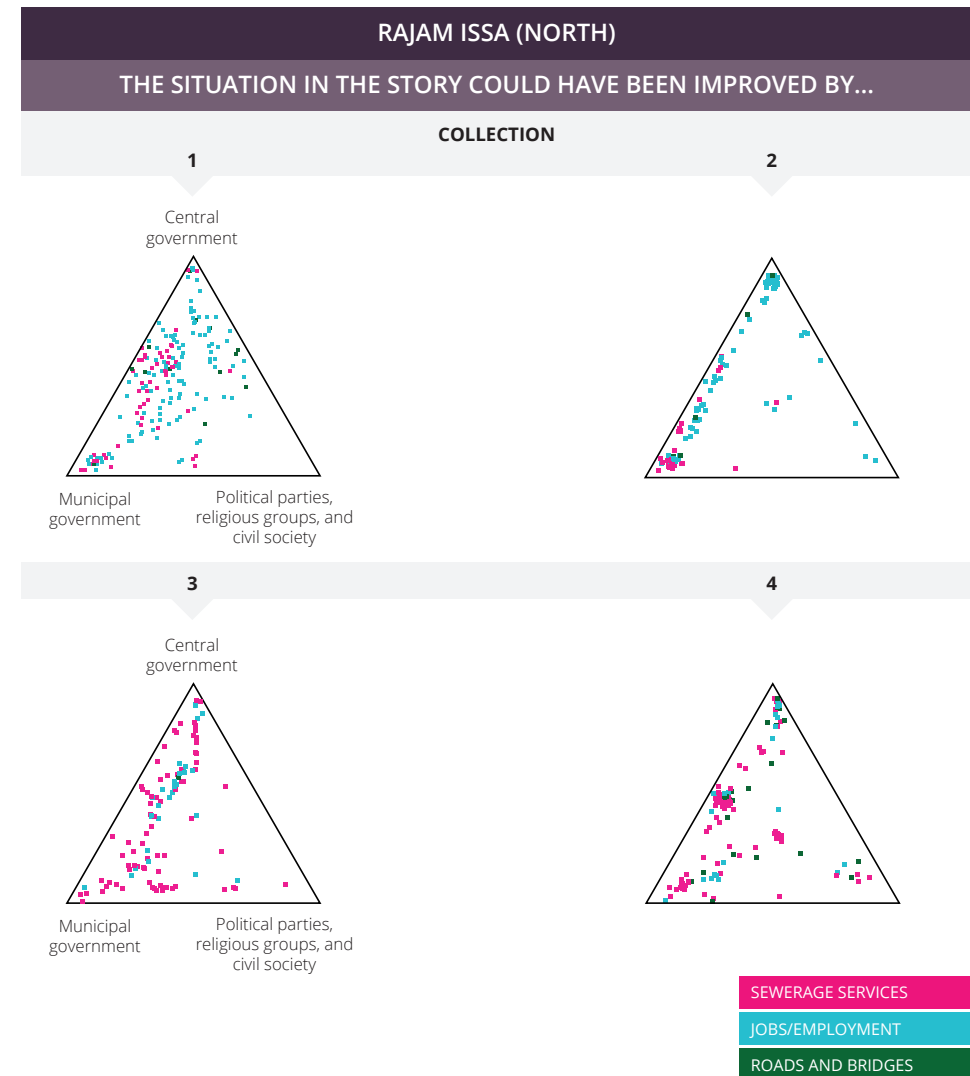
In addition to identifying the stakeholder they most trust as a service provider, respondents were asked to identify whether the central government, municipality, or political parties, religious groups, and civil society could have made the situation described in their story better. The trends, displayed through the most relevant services, are examined below.

RAJAM ISSA

While sewerage services in Rajam Issa were seen as largely the responsibility of the municipal government in collection 2, they have moved to be viewed as a shared issue between the municipality and the central government in collection 4.

Jobs and employment on the other hand were seen as a joint responsibility between the central and local governments, with a slight concentration around the central authorities, but are now spread around the triad thus reflecting a diversity of opinions regarding who could solve the problems pertaining to livelihoods. In fact, there are a few stories that have moved towards thinking that it is political and religious leaders who can provide jobs and employment.

FIG. 16

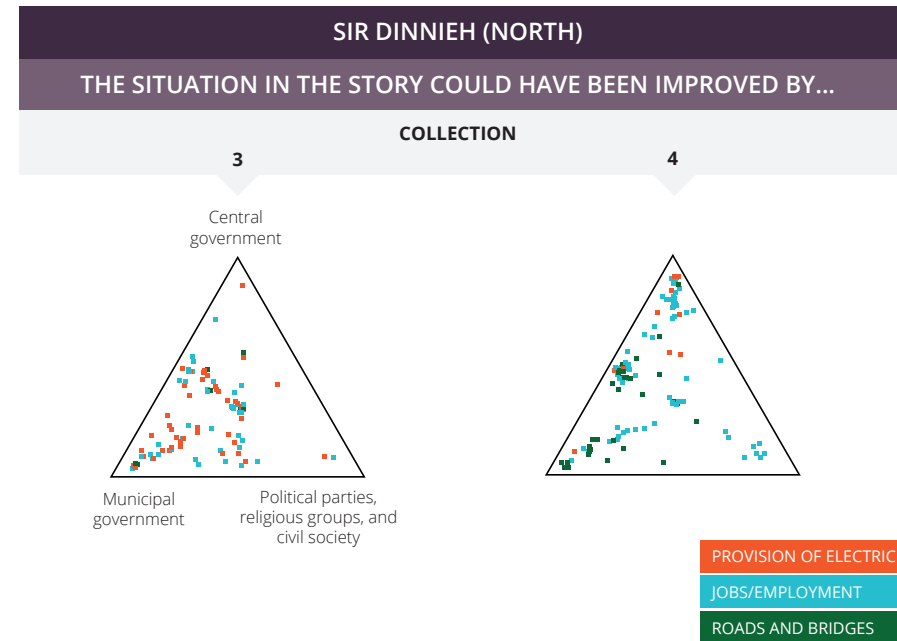


SIR DINNIEH

Overall, in Sir Dinnieh there is a movement of stories towards the axis linking central government and municipal government, away from heavy reliance on the municipal government to provide all services.

Regarding jobs and employment, the previous spread in the vicinity of the municipal government has migrated to forming a cluster around central government and political and religious groups and civil society. This indicates that people do not think the municipality is able to provide them with employment opportunities, but this is rather something that the central government should be doing.

FIG. 17



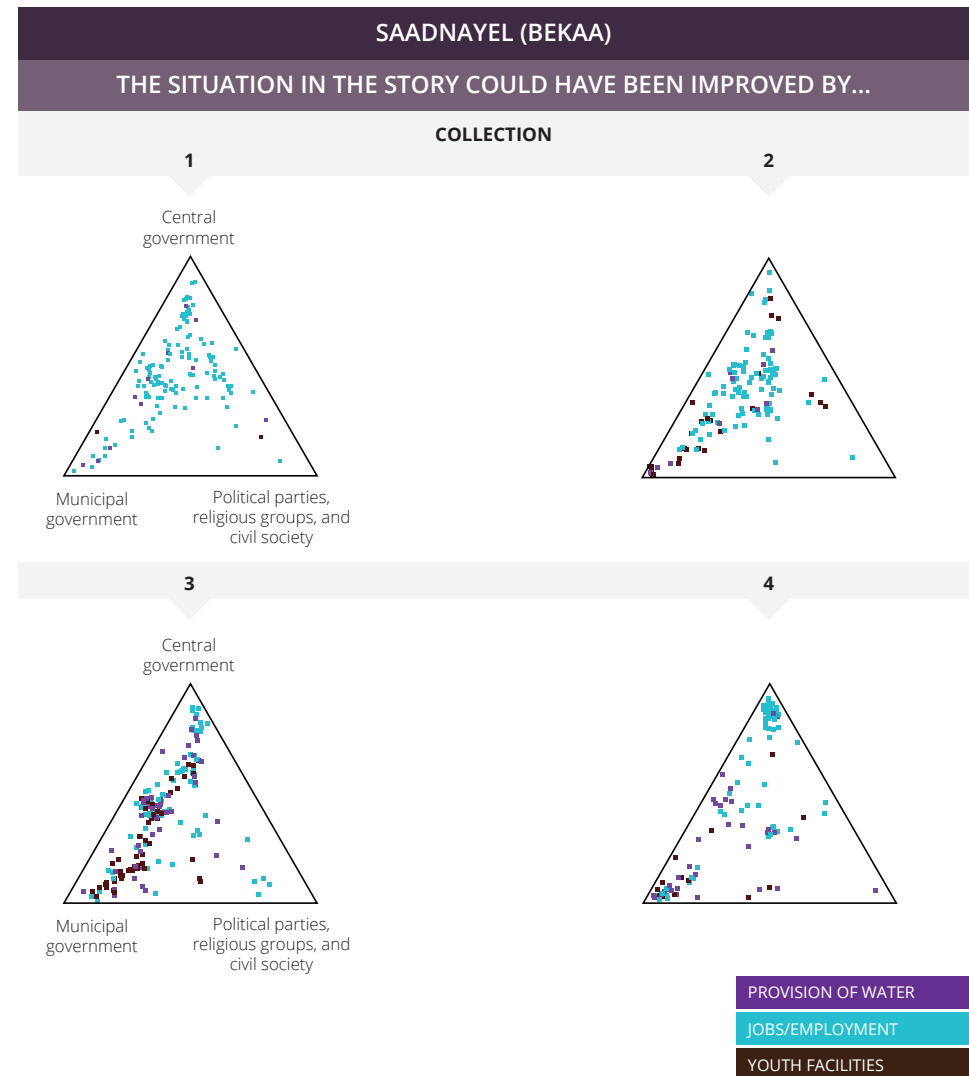


SAADNAYEL

In collection 2, people talking about jobs and employment in Saadnayel had a wide range of opinions regarding who can improve their situation. This started changing in collection 3 where stories were more concentrated between municipal and central government, and the trend continued upwards to cluster around the central government. Therefore, people believe that the municipal government is not responsible for increasing jobs and employment, but the central government is.

In the third collection, people talking about the provision of water thought that both the municipality and the central government can contribute to improving the situation. In the fourth collection this cluster has migrated towards giving the municipality a bigger role in terms of its ability to enhance the situation of water provision in the town.

FIG. 18

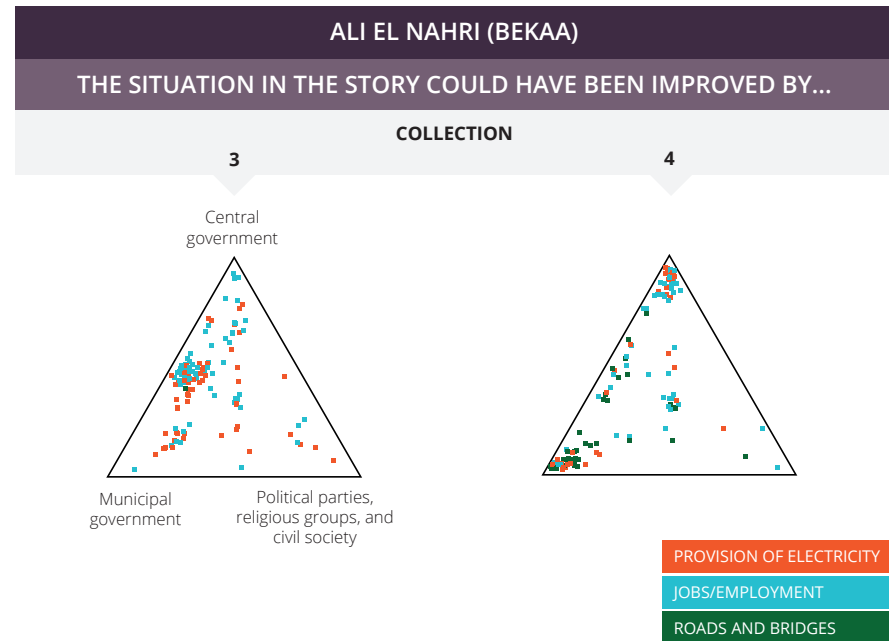


ALI EL NAHRI

In collection 3, people thought that the provision of electricity and employment could be improved by the municipal and central government together. A smaller number of people gave a partial role to political and religious groups and civil society.

This pattern changed in the last collection, where people largely thought employment should be dealt with by the central government. The municipality acknowledged this perspective, stating at the workshop in Zahle that residents “know we cannot do much to improve this situation”. However, there is a split among the people of Ali el Nahri on who can improve the provision of electricity. There are two clusters, one around the municipal government and one around the central government, a confusion that can be explained by the fact that electricity is increasingly supplied by Electricite de Zahle (EDZ). As for roads and bridges, which was talked about in the fourth collection much more than the third, the majority of people whose stories revolved around this service think that the municipality is able to improve the situation. Therefore, they attribute the works on roads and bridges to the municipal government.

FIG. 19





SARAFAND

Overall, stories are becoming more clustered around the municipality, so people are increasingly placing responsibility on the municipal government to improve service delivery. There is some concentration forming around political parties, religious groups and civil society, indicating that some people do not believe that any official authority is capable of enhancing their situation.

Interestingly, improving the situation of waste management is attributed by people almost entirely as a responsibility of the municipal government, but there is a number of stories which suggests that it is in fact the combination of municipal, central and other unofficial forces (religious, political, or civil society) that could improve the situation. It would be interesting to observe what trend is forming in the future around this service.

FIG. 20

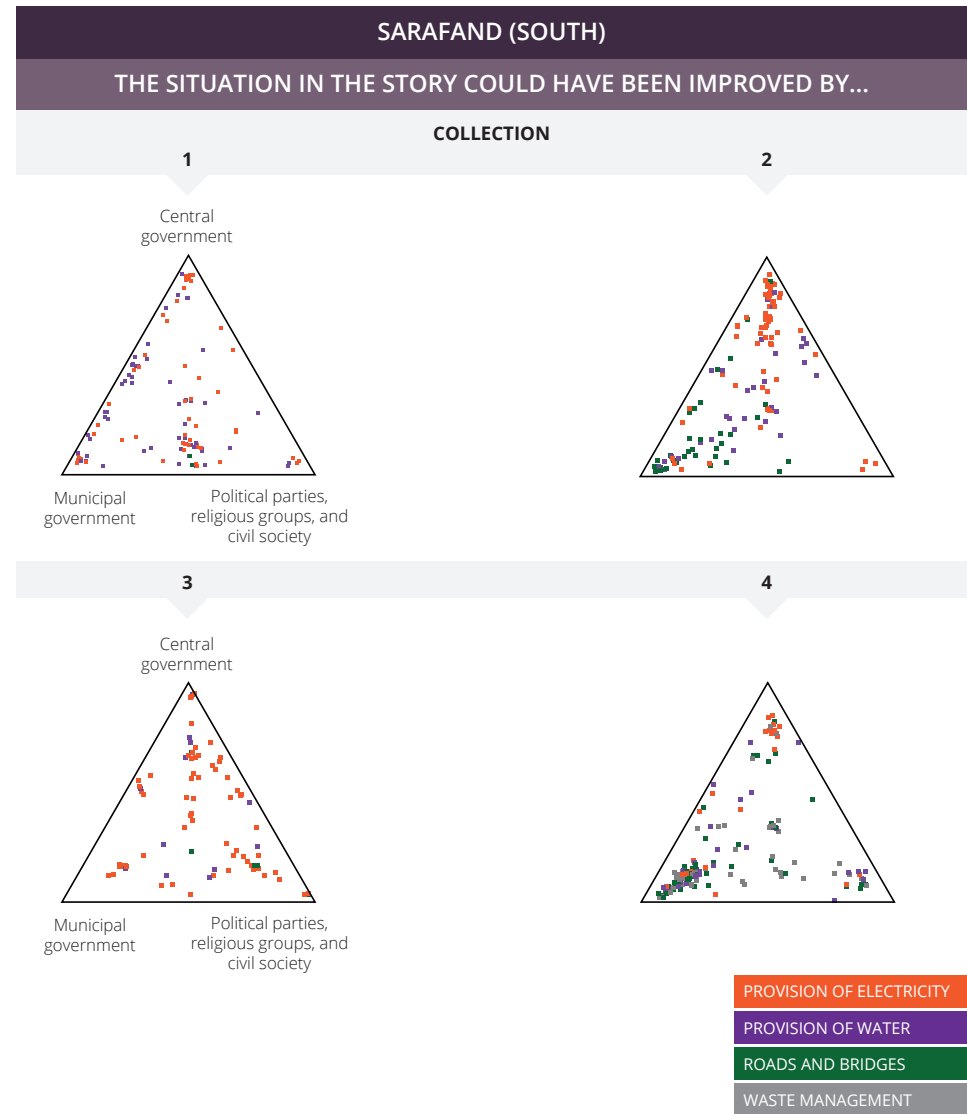
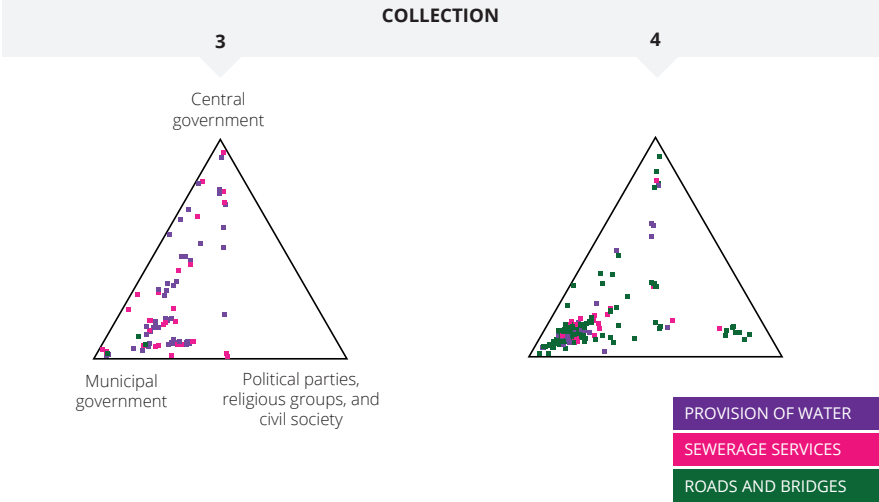


FIG. 21

GHAZIEH (SOUTH)

THE SITUATION IN THE STORY COULD HAVE BEEN IMPROVED BY...



GHAZIEH

There is a clear clustering around the municipal government regarding all services in the fourth collection, which was not the case in the previous collection. Therefore, people increasingly see the municipality as being responsible for improving services. Stories including both provision of water and sewerage services moved from being spread between the municipal and central government towards the municipal government.

As for roads and bridges, they are clustering around the municipality with a few outliers going in the direction of political parties, religious groups, and civil society.



What does this mean?

The municipality continues to be seen as the authority most responsible for service provision, which reflects the positive impact of the recently implemented projects through LHSP and the municipalities in boosting the legitimacy of the local authorities and their ability to meet people's expectations. On the whole, people are increasingly identifying municipalities as the entity responsible for improving service delivery.

Mitigating issues related to jobs/employment is increasingly seen as part of the role of central government rather than local authorities, indicating an awareness in people of the delineations between their municipality's capability and role and that of the central government. However, the increasing role played by jobs/employment in relation to social stability and refugees suggests that LHSP could increasingly address these issues in coordination with the central government as part of the local strategy to mitigate social tensions.

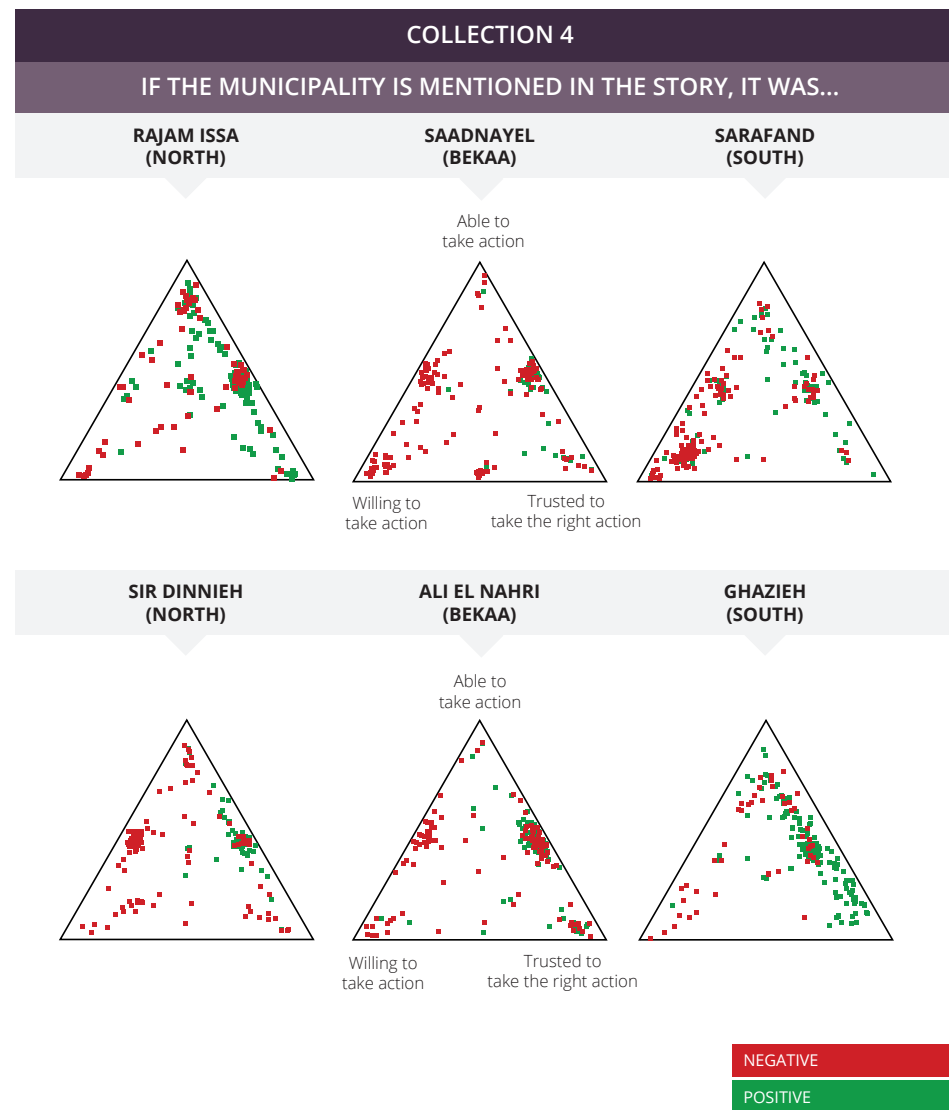
The role of political parties and religious groups is increasing in places like Rajam Issa in the North and Sarafand in the South. This is likely due in part to upcoming elections and recent efforts by politicians to demonstrate their influence in communities.



4.2.3 What are the current perceptions about the capability of the municipality?

Overall people's stories, negative as well as positive, indicate that they trust the municipality to take the right action and that they also perceive the municipality to be able to take the right action. This largely indicates that they believe in the capability and action of the municipality. In Sarafand and Saadnayel however, there are clusters around the "willing to take action" corner, suggesting a larger group of people that consider that the municipality is not trusted or able to take the right action. This is important in that it indicates that people do not believe the municipality is able to bring about positive change in the community.

FIG. 22



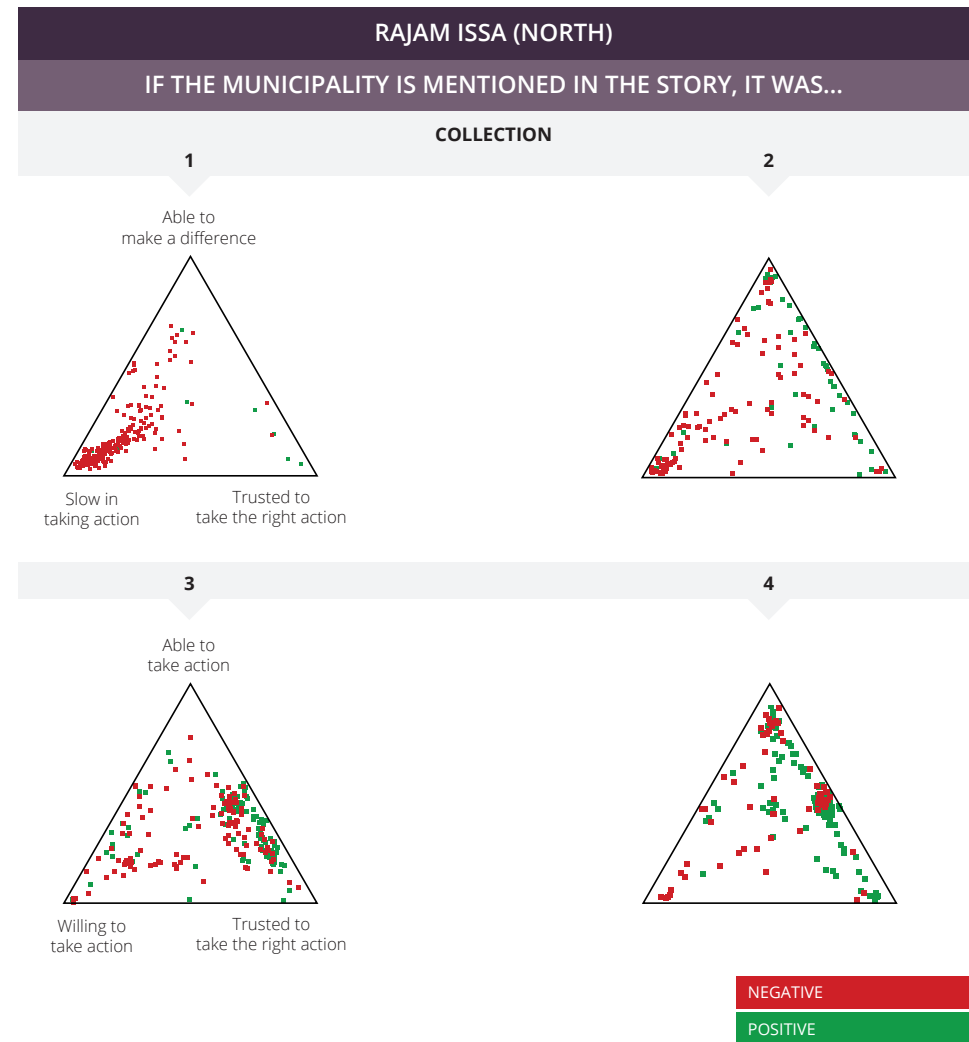


By examining changes over time through the different data collections for each municipality we can observe the following:

RAJAM ISSA

A visible increase in trust in the municipality occurred between collections 2 and 3, a trend that was maintained in the fourth collection, indicating that people largely trust the municipality to take the right action. Further changes in patterns also suggest that the municipality is increasingly perceived as able to take action. This is in line with previous observations of how expectations of service delivery from the municipality have been small in the north (due to historical reasons), but tends to grow as services are increasingly being delivered. As a result of this changing perception, greater expectations are likely to be placed on the municipality.

FIG. 23

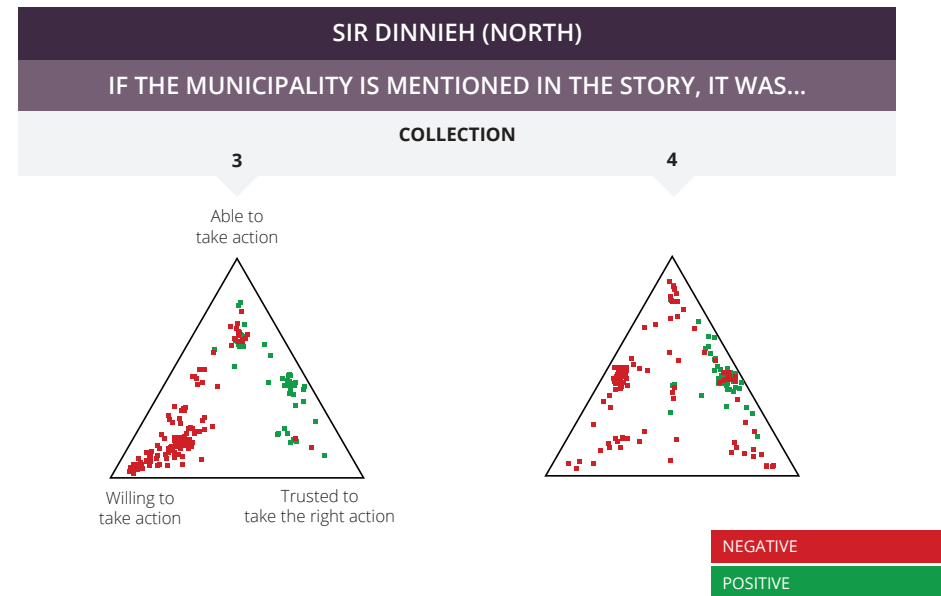


*Data in Collection 3 and 4 cannot be directly compared with data in Collection 1 and 2 because the signifiers in Collections 3 and 4 have changed polarity and focus.

SIR DINNIEH

In the previous collection the stories in Sir Dinnieh were strongly polarised and displayed the majority of stories (negative) in the corner of “willing to take action”, suggesting two main groups within the municipality with divergent attitudes towards the capacity of the municipality. In collection 4 there is a movement of clusters across the triad towards the “able to take action” and “trusted to take the right action”, demonstrating an increasingly positive perception of the municipality and their capability. Many of these stories are positive and reference improvements the government has recently made to the municipality, whereas the large cluster that remains between “willing to take action” and “able to take action” includes stories regarding insecurity and economic struggles, particularly involving refugees. This may indicate that residents believe the government is not trusted to deal with these issues, though they are at least partially able to.

FIG. 24

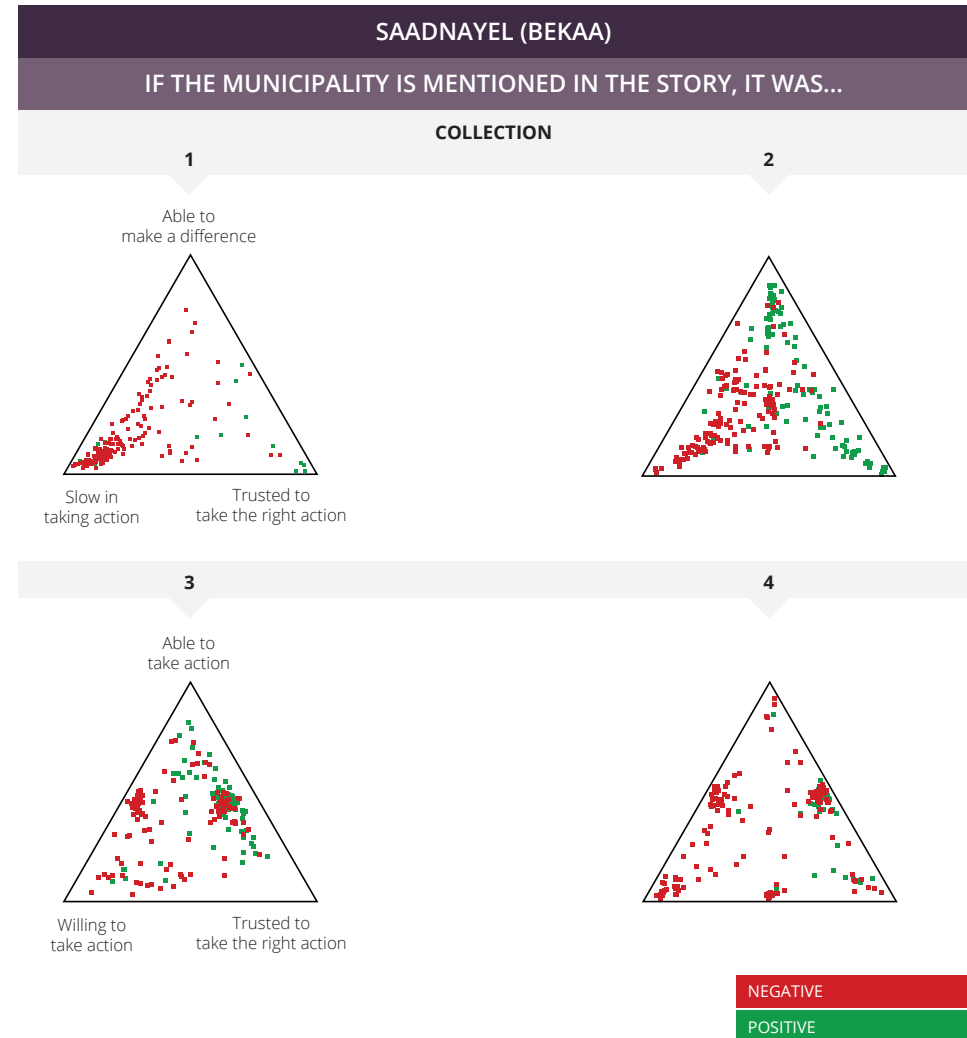




SAADNAYEL

In Saadnayel previous collections saw a positive shift away from the extremes and toward the middle of the triad, indicating the majority of people perceived the municipality to be willing, able and trusted to take the right action. In collection 4, patterns are again positioned towards to the extreme corners, or towards the axis between corners, indicating a polarisation of opinions. While some consider the municipality to be trusted and able, a majority of people in Sarafand considers the municipality to be willing but not trusted. The people who consider the municipality trusted and able demonstrate a mixture of feelings, positive and negative, demonstrating that people can be negative about their overall situation even if they are content with the capacity of the municipality.

FIG. 25

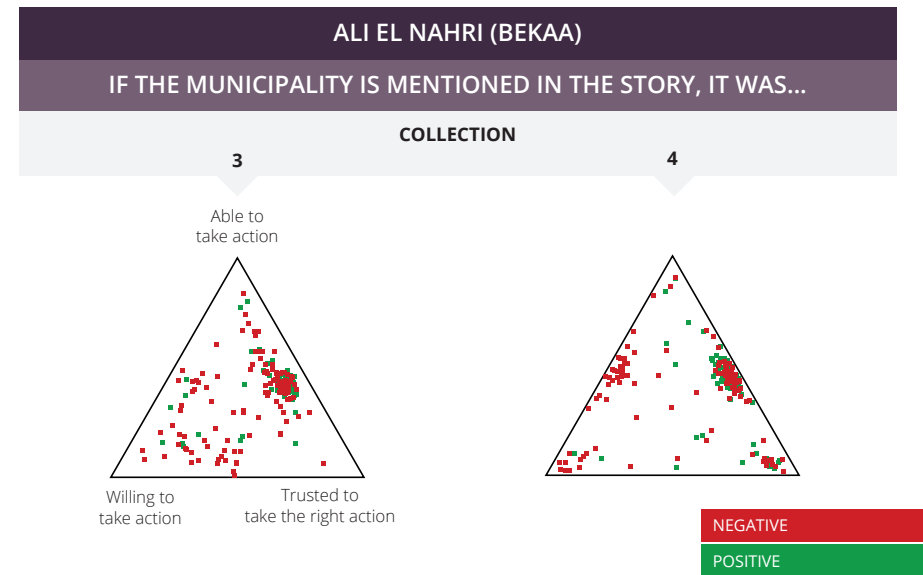


*Data in Collection 3 and 4 cannot be directly compared with data in Collection 1 and 2 because the signifiers in Collections 3 and 4 have changed polarity and focus.

ALI EL NAHRI

The stories in Ali el Nahri have remained split between positive and negative as in previous collections. With a majority of these stories being situated on the axis between “trusted to take the right action” and “able to make a difference”, we may conclude that a large part of the people in the municipality continue to consider the municipality both trusted and able. The remainder of the stories have however moved away from the “trusted to take the right action” corner, displaying a polarisation of opinion in the municipality. Looking closer at these stories, those clustered along the left axis seem to differ in socio-economic background compared to the stories that demonstrates trust in the municipality, something that can be further investigated in later additional analysis. There are no positive stories on the axis of willing and able to taken action, meaning that people who have told positive stories value trust in the municipality more than they value its capability to take action.

FIG. 26



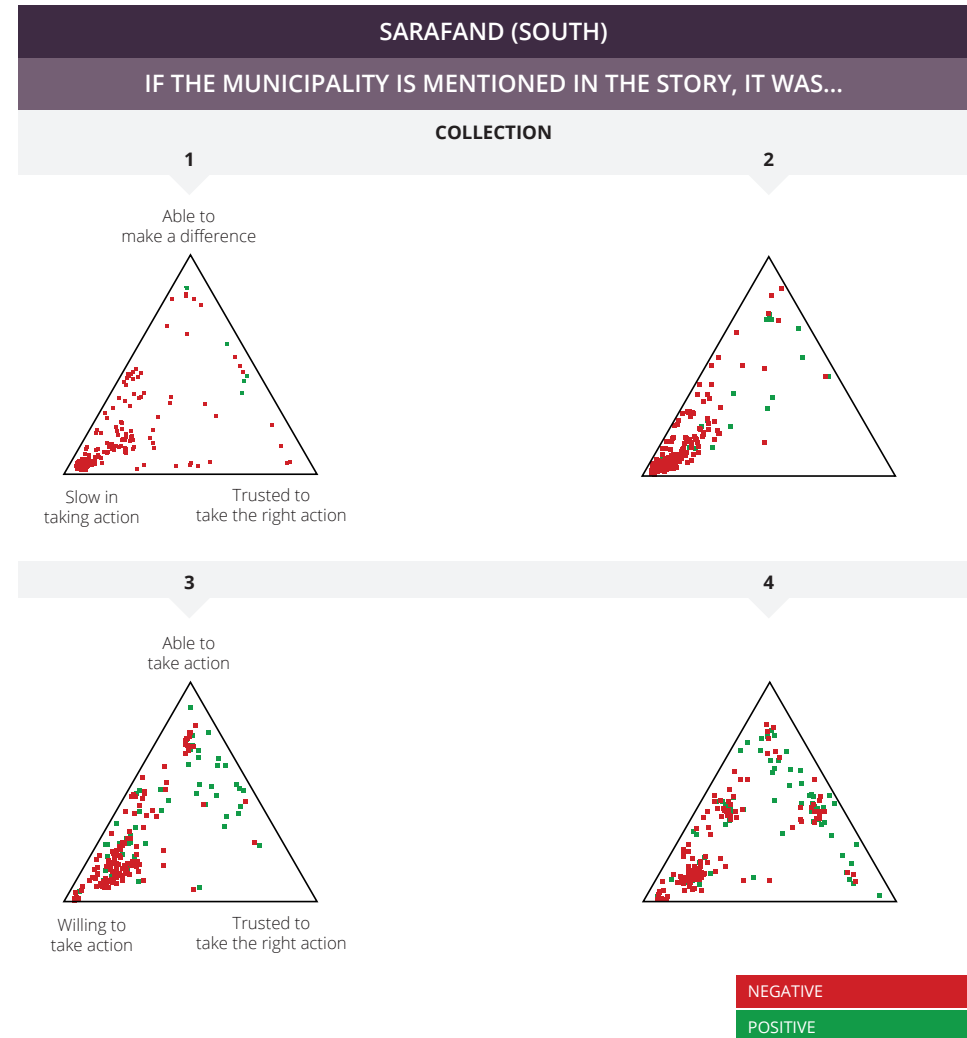


SARAFAND

In Sarafand previous collections have demonstrated mostly negative stories, not trusting the municipality to take the right action and perceiving it as overall unable to take action. Collection 3 saw the beginning of a change in pattern with an increasing amount of people considering the municipality slightly more able and trusted. This trend has continued in collection 4 where a further increasing amount of stories is located on the axis between “trusted to take the right action” and “able to take action”. The increased amount of people feeling acknowledging trust towards the municipality has increased since last collection.

However, the cluster of mostly negative stories around “willing to take action” remains, indicating that people recognize the willingness of the municipality to act but they are frustrated with the fact that it is not capable enough.

FIG. 27



*Data in Collection 3 and 4 cannot be directly compared with data in Collection 1 and 2 because the signifiers in Collections 3 and 4 have changed polarity and focus.

FIG. 28

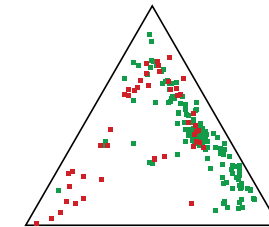
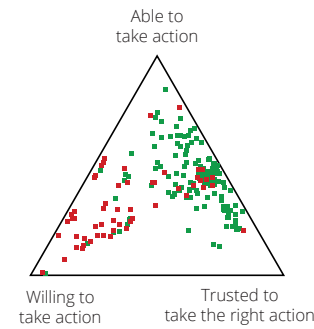
GHAZIEH (SOUTH)

IF THE MUNICIPALITY IS MENTIONED IN THE STORY, IT WAS...

COLLECTION

3

4



NEGATIVE

POSITIVE

GHAZIEH

The fourth collection in Ghazieh shows increasing clustering of stories along the axis between “trusted to take the right action” and “able to take action” demonstrating how a previously rather divided municipal population increasingly homogeneously considers the municipality both trusted to take the right action and able to do so. There are a few stories left in the corner of “willing to take action” suggesting that there is a minority in the municipality that doesn’t consider the municipality trustable or able. Looking closer at these stories clustered in the “willing to take action” corner, they all seem to be of a poorer socio-economic group, something that can be further explored in later additional analysis.



What does this mean?

Levels of trust in the municipality and perceptions of its capability are generally increasing in the North and South. This could be an indication that efforts to increasingly incorporate the municipalities into the process of designing and implementing projects, potentially linked to the implementation of the new MRR processes, has had a largely positive effect.

Many people still do not trust the municipality to take the right action. People in Sarafand and Saadnayel seem to consider the municipality willing to act, however not very able nor very trusted to take the right action. In Sarafand this is not surprising, observing earlier trends and considering the contextual reality of the South where the municipality traditionally is not perceived as a service provider. Further research as to these perceptions in Saadnayel could help the municipality address these concerns.

There seems to be a particular need to communicate the municipality's efforts to residents in order to boost its legitimacy, and to prevent other actors (such as political parties) from taking credit for those efforts. This feeling was reinforced by the municipal participants at the regional workshops.



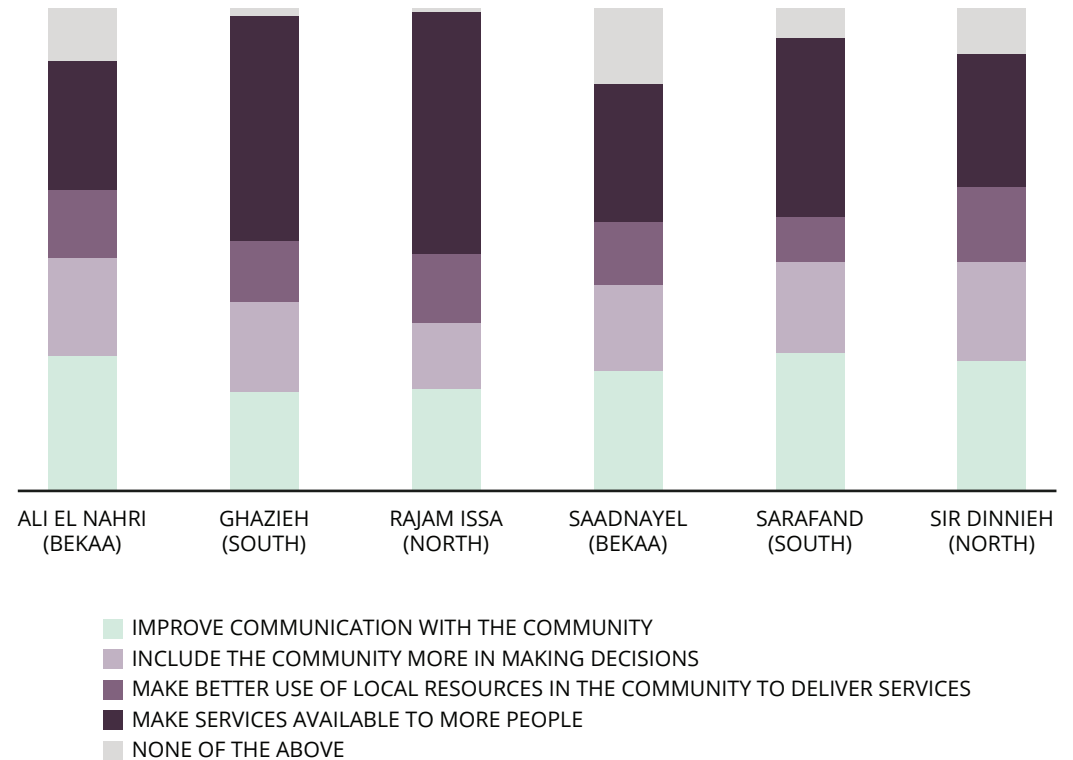
4.2.4 How could the municipality improve its service delivery and planning?

People in the fourth wave of data collection were asked how their municipality can improve service delivery and planning. Figure 31 disaggregates these results by municipality. Overall, a few key areas of sought improvement can be identified, such as “improving communication with the community” and “making services available to more people.”

This is a change from the last data collection, when improving the communication with the municipality was not considered an issue (with the exception of Sarafand). This development, together with a sustained wish by the community to be further included in decision making, is not surprising as there are many negative stories expressing frustration with how projects are being implemented in the municipalities. These concerns were frequently raised during the regional workshops as well, though not necessarily regarding LHSP projects. Putting these two categories together, they are even more important than “making services more available to more people.” The process of how decisions are made and communicated is an important area for improvement in the municipalities. This is an opportunity for further outreach by LHSP and together with MoSA, communicate the MRR process and engage citizens in discussions about future projects.

The ability of municipalities to make use of local resources in the community is not considered a massive problem and is often regulated by the fact that municipalities are required to engage registered companies to implement projects, preventing the municipality from employing locals. This was raised during several regional workshops, and the municipalities expressed the importance of ensuring the communities understand these regulations.

FIG. 29
HOW COULD THE MUNICIPALITY IMPROVE ITS SERVICE DELIVERY AND PLANNING?





What does this mean?

The need for improved communication between the municipalities and the community continues to mirror the concern described earlier that many municipalities are not trusted by residents to take the right action. People appear to be increasingly feeling the need to be better represented by the municipal government, and to be part of more inclusive communication and discussion at the planning stage of projects or initiatives. It will be important to keep an eye out for changing trends in this regards as the new MRR process will to a certain extent help communicate the needs and opinion of the communities.

The municipalities where people seem most content with the communication process is Ghazieh, where the municipal government has established a forum where municipality officials meet with residents on a regular basis.

Respondents continue to highlight the importance of making services available to more people, indicating that residents acknowledge that services are not evenly provided and desire their local government to do more. Further data disaggregation on this response may pull out interesting trends.



FIG. 30

4.3 Social stability

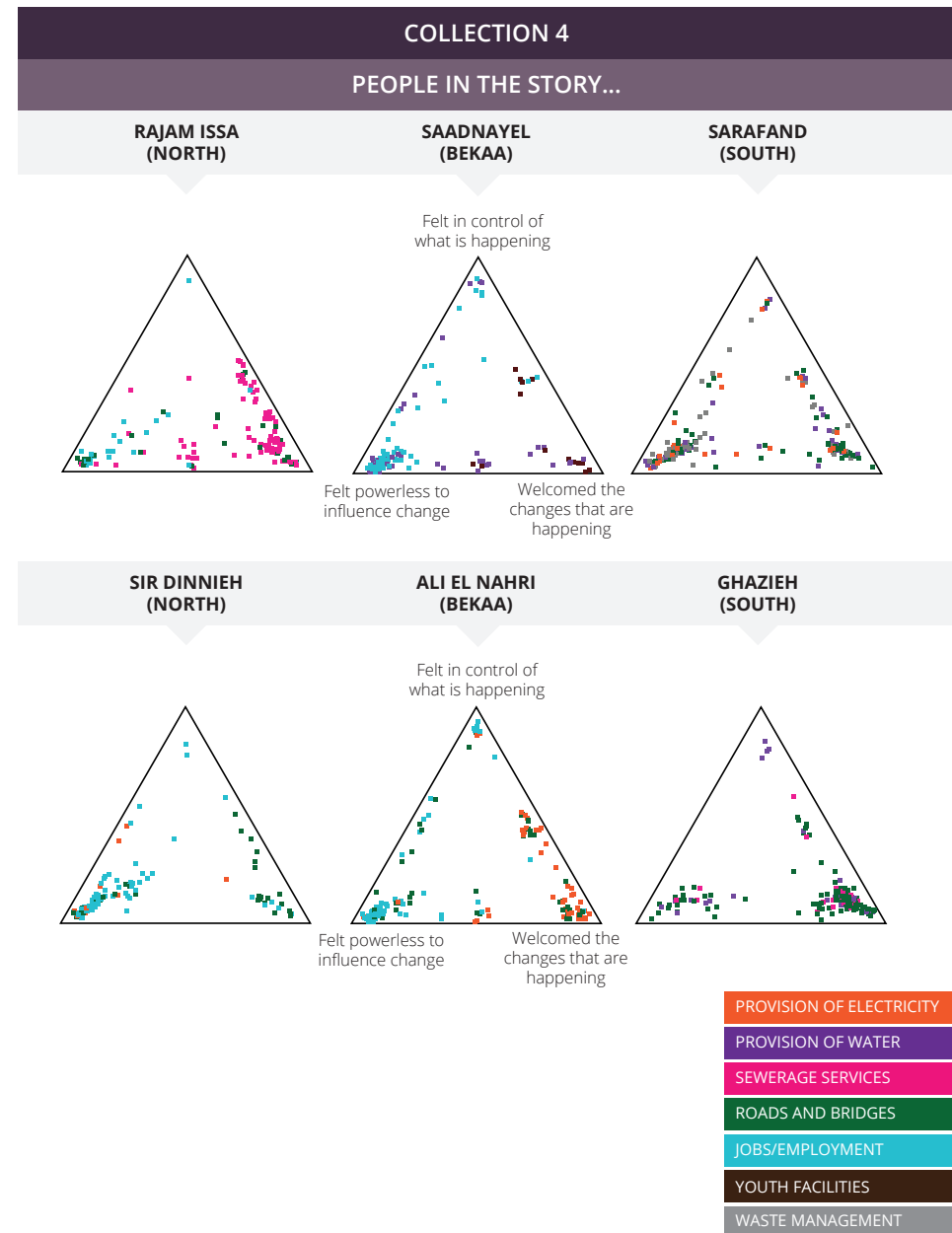
This analysis is intended to explore issues of conflict or competition in the stories described in collection 4 and the trends over time. We analyse the link between conflict or competition behaviour described in the story and (a) whether the respondent feels empowered and in control over his or her situation, or powerless to influence it; (b) whether people's perception of their situation is linked to refugees; and (c) whether the approach to the problem is one of 'wait and see' or of 'taking direct action' to defend one's own interests.

The analysis looks to answer the following questions:

- What is the relationship between services/non-services and social tensions in the stories, and what is the connection with refugees?
- How do people tend to respond to these issues and what implications might this have for community stability in the coming months?

4.3.1 Do people feel empowered?

In this section we look at results pertaining to the feelings of empowerment in all municipalities from the fourth round of data collection. Ensuring that residents feel empowered to influence changes in their communities is important for creating an environment where residents can engage constructively with their municipality to bring about positive changes, instead of turning to more violent or isolating means in order to "regain control". In addition, feelings of powerlessness or control reflect the degree of frustration or satisfaction with the ways host communities and municipalities have addressed the direct and indirect changes that have happened in the years





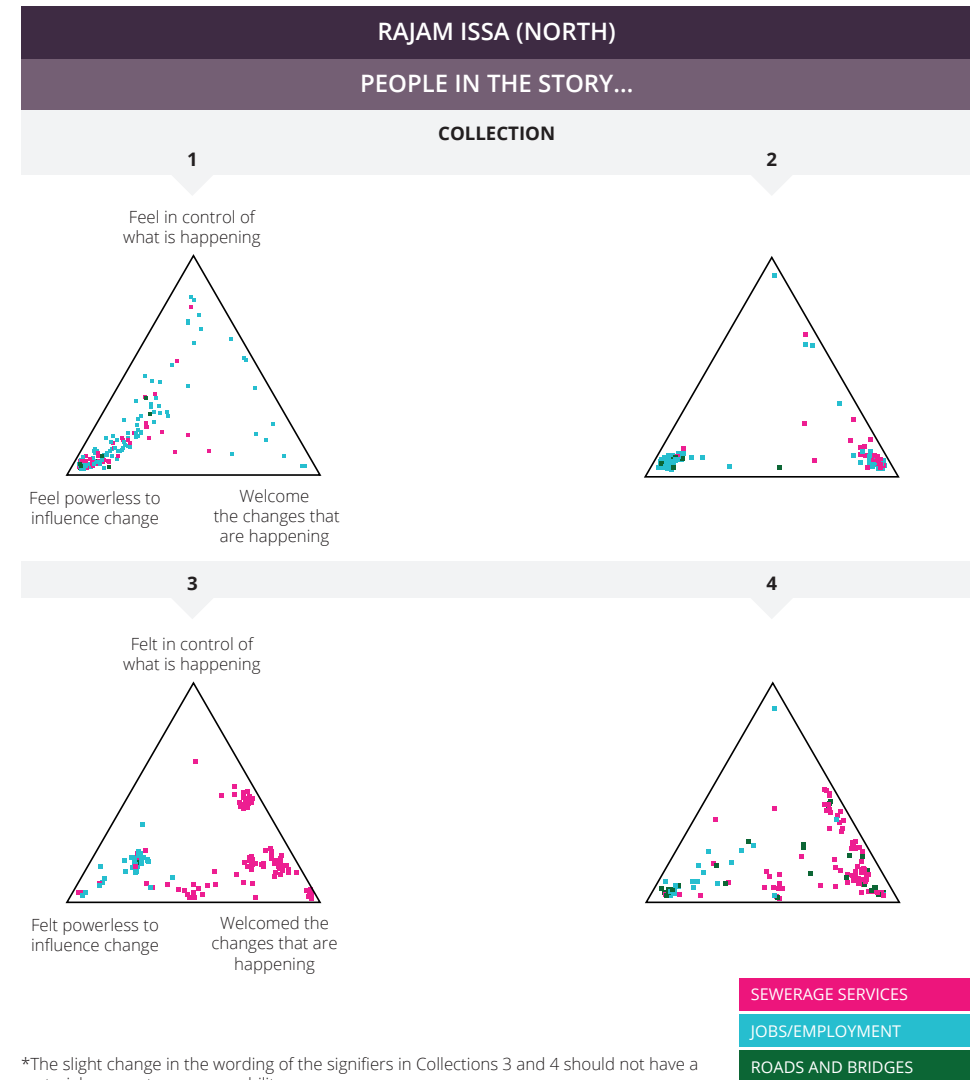
following the onset of the Syrian crisis.

Displaying the relevant services in these triads reveals interesting trends across all municipalities. While people generally welcome the services that are happening, they do not feel in control of what is happening, echoing the demand for increased participation voiced in section 4.2.4. In the Bekaa and the North, people appear to feel powerless to influence any change regarding jobs/employment. We will examine these trends over time by municipality below.

RAJAM ISSA

Overall in Rajam Issa, the level of empowerment is split depending on the type of service described in the story. Much like in collection 3, stories about sewerage are mostly centred on “welcomed the changes that are happening”, whereas stories about jobs/employment are predominantly centred on “felt powerless to influence change”.

FIG. 31

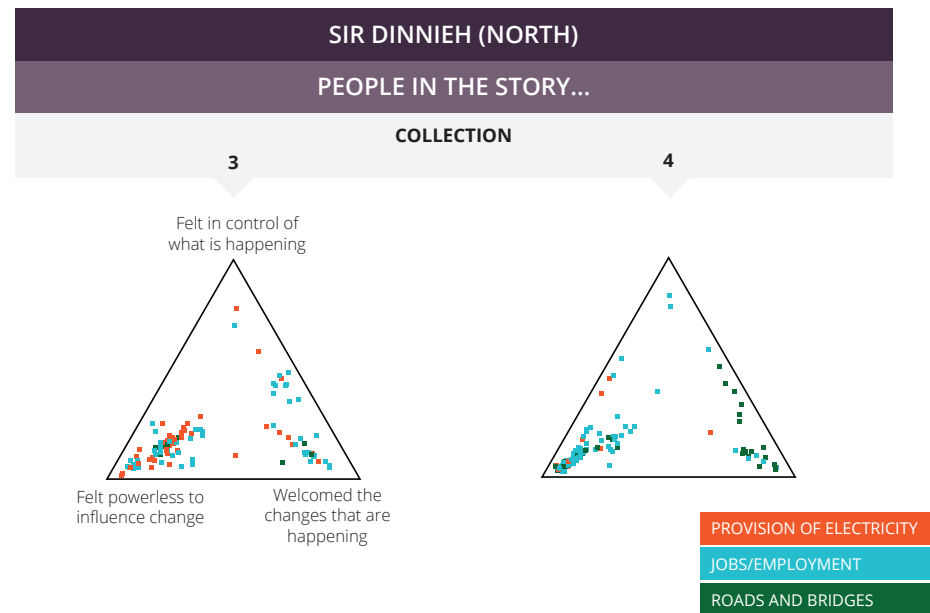




SIR DINNIEH

In Sir Dinnieh, the number of stories that have moved towards the corner where people feel “powerless to influence change” have increased, with increasing dissatisfaction especially among the stories about jobs/employment. In collection 3, these responses were located closer to “welcomed the changes”, either because of the availability of cheap labour, or because most people were employed during the summer months in the agricultural sector. The people discussing roads and bridges overall welcomed the changes taking place in the community.

FIG. 32





SAADNAYEL

In Saadnayel, the level of empowerment depends on the type of service. Youth facilities seem to be a service where people welcome changes and also feel partly in control of the situation. In previous collections, people felt empowered when it came to employment and jobs, however in collection 4 more people feel powerless to influence change in terms of employment and jobs, The number of stories discussing roads and bridges has increased as well, although respondents expressed varying levels of empowerment over the situation.

FIG. 33

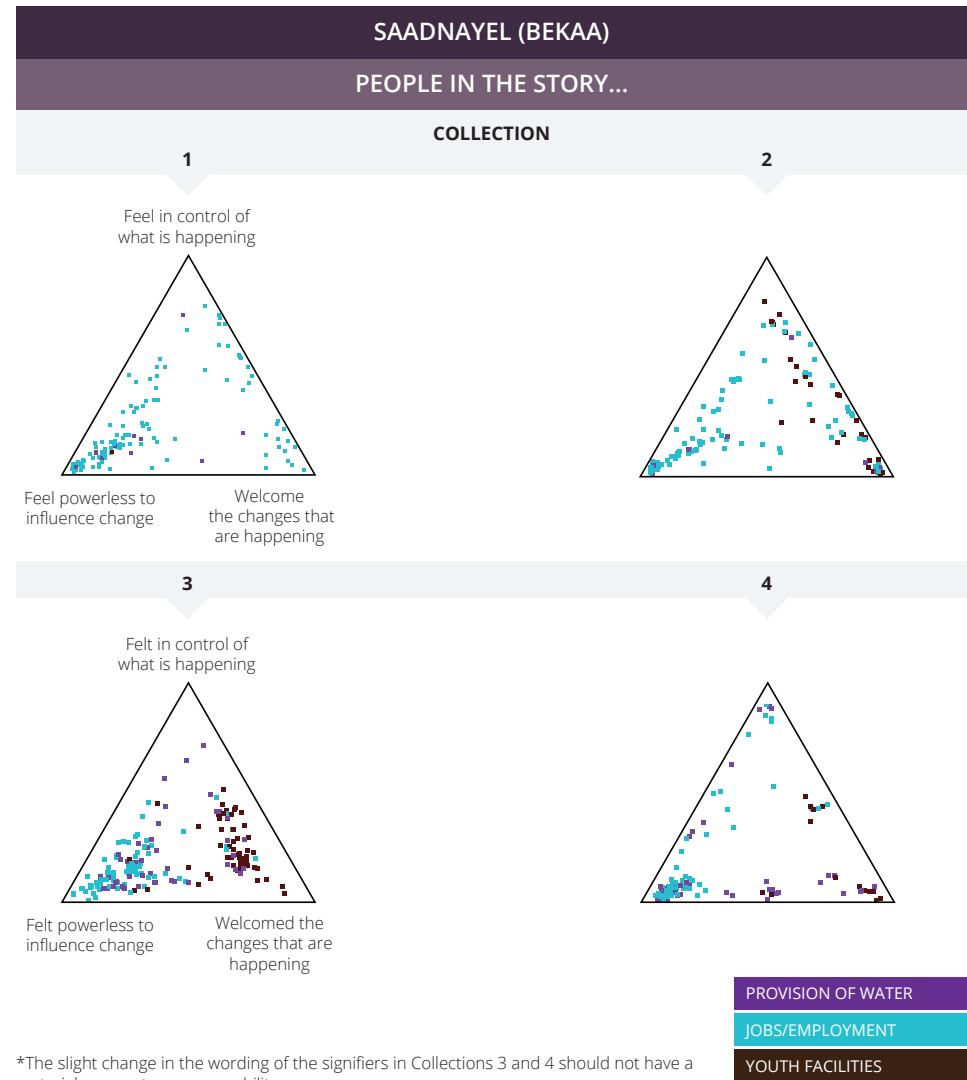
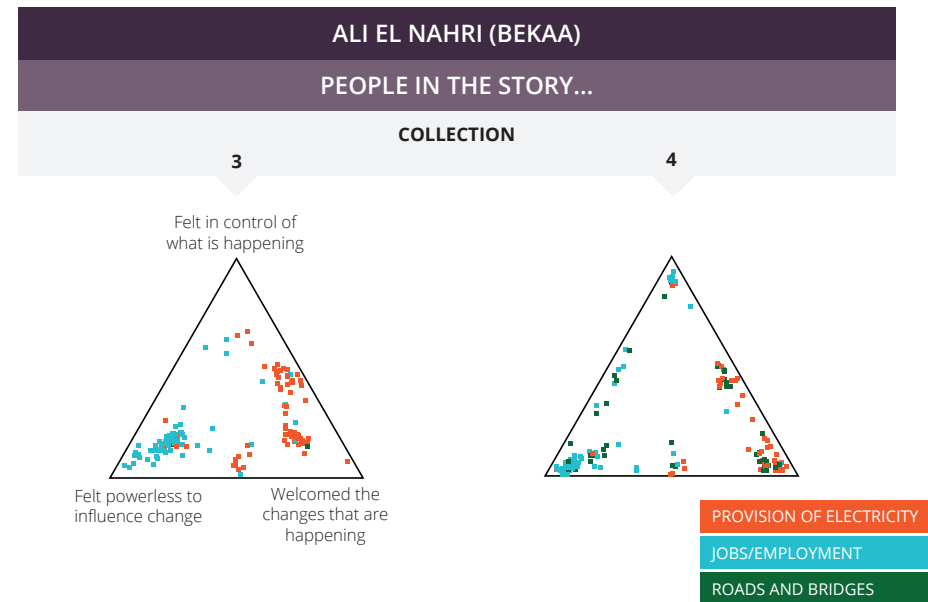


FIG. 34

ALI EL NAHRI

In Ali el Nahri, a positive trend can be observed in collection 4 where people discussing different types of services are moving towards the corner of feeling in control of what is happening. This is particularly true regarding electricity, where people clearly welcomed the changes in the community and also felt in control of the situation. Interestingly, jobs/employment stories are spread out more widely than in collection 3: some respondents felt in control of the situation, while others felt powerless. Interestingly, many of the respondents who felt in control were part of the lowest socioeconomic groups, perhaps because they felt that their situation was most likely to change for the better in the coming months during the start of agriculture season.





SARAFAND

In Sarafand, one can observe an increasing number of people whose stories are situated in the corner of “welcoming the changes that are happening”. However, feelings of powerlessness also remain strong and are evenly divided among the types of services described in the stories. The only service that tends to centre on a feeling of powerlessness is waste management, with a large number of respondents complaining about the open burning of garbage and the health risks that it poses to local residents. Feelings of empowerment are much higher for the other relevant services and non-services.

FIG. 35

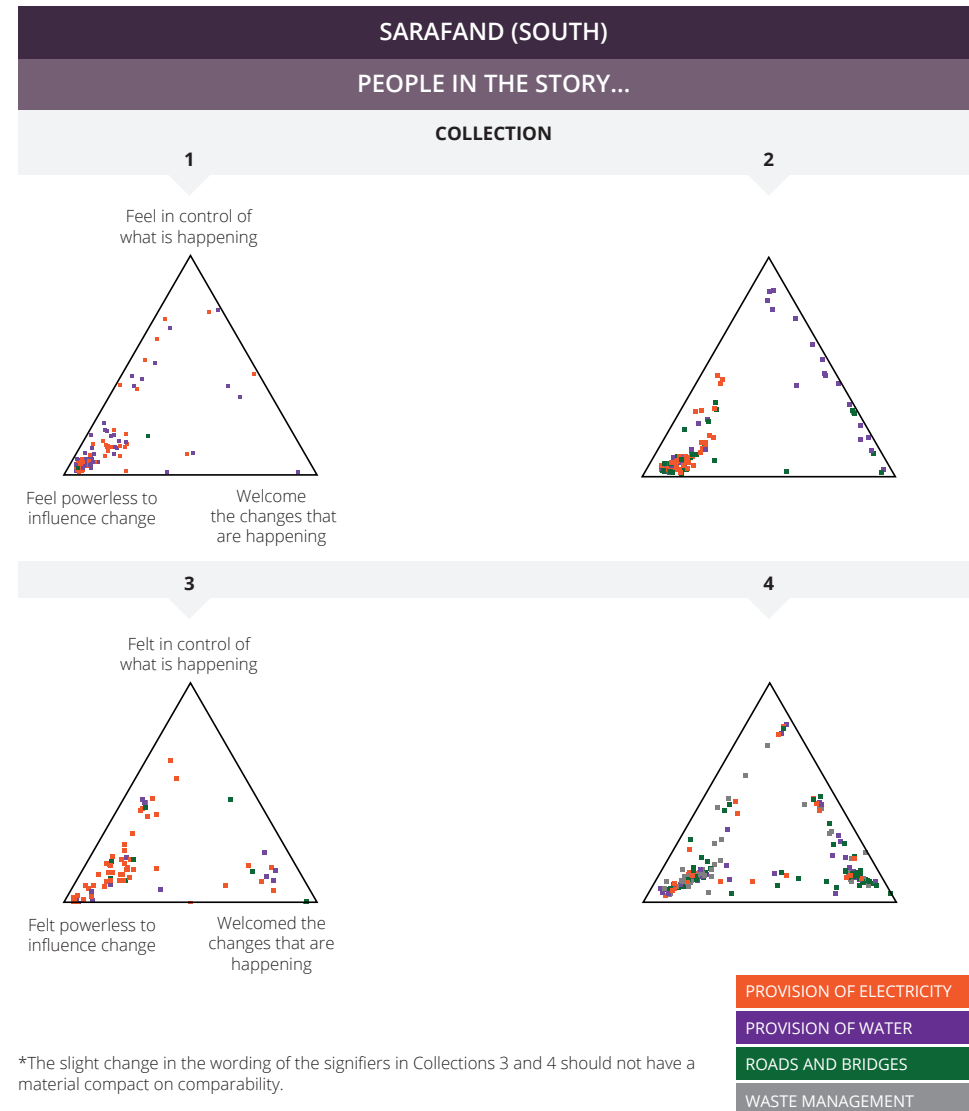
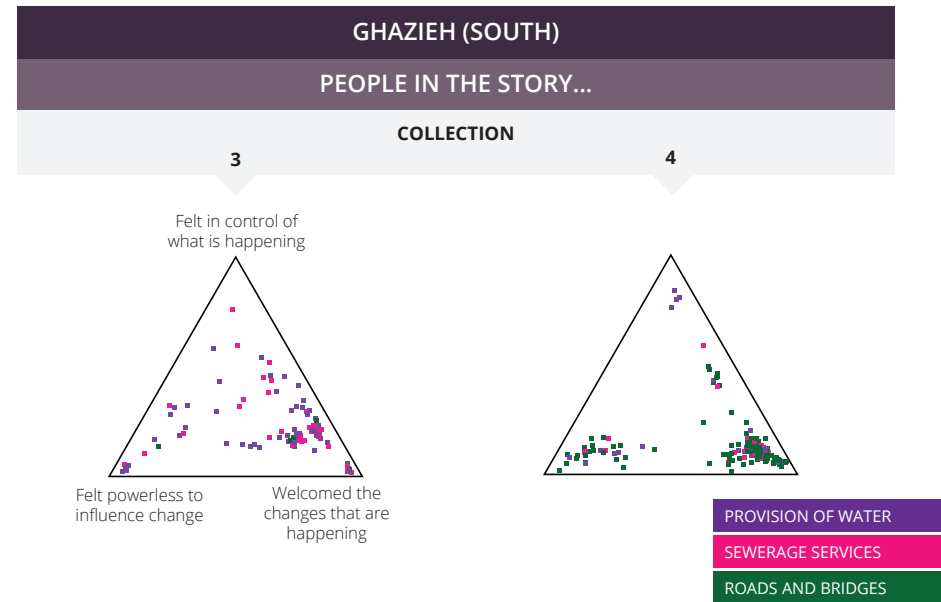


FIG. 36

GHAZIEH

Ghazieh has had a predominance of stories indicating a fairly high level of people welcoming changes and feeling empowered. While collection 4 has seen a continuation of this trend, there is an isolated minority (mixed services) that are feeling powerless to influence change, something that should be monitored in the future given Ghazieh’s otherwise positive results. The overall high level of empowerment is believed to be directly linked to the level of community engagement activities and open meetings that are facilitated on a regular basis by the municipality.





What does this mean?

Overall, residents are increasingly content with changes taking place in their communities, particularly around the delivery of services such as electricity and youth facilities. This demonstrates that as the municipality improves service delivery, residents feel increasingly more engaged and in control of the situation in their community, encouraging further ownership and positive interactions within and with municipalities.

Respondents whose stories involve jobs/employment continue to feel disempowered and unable to influence their environment. Recognising that most respondents perceive the central government as responsible for improving the employment situation, it is logical that they would feel less empowered to influence the broader economic situation than they might for a youth-related issue in their community. However, it is important to consider whether these feelings of disempowerment among a section of the population struggling with unemployment might lead to more isolating or violent behaviour, particularly if they blame a social group such as refugees for their problems.



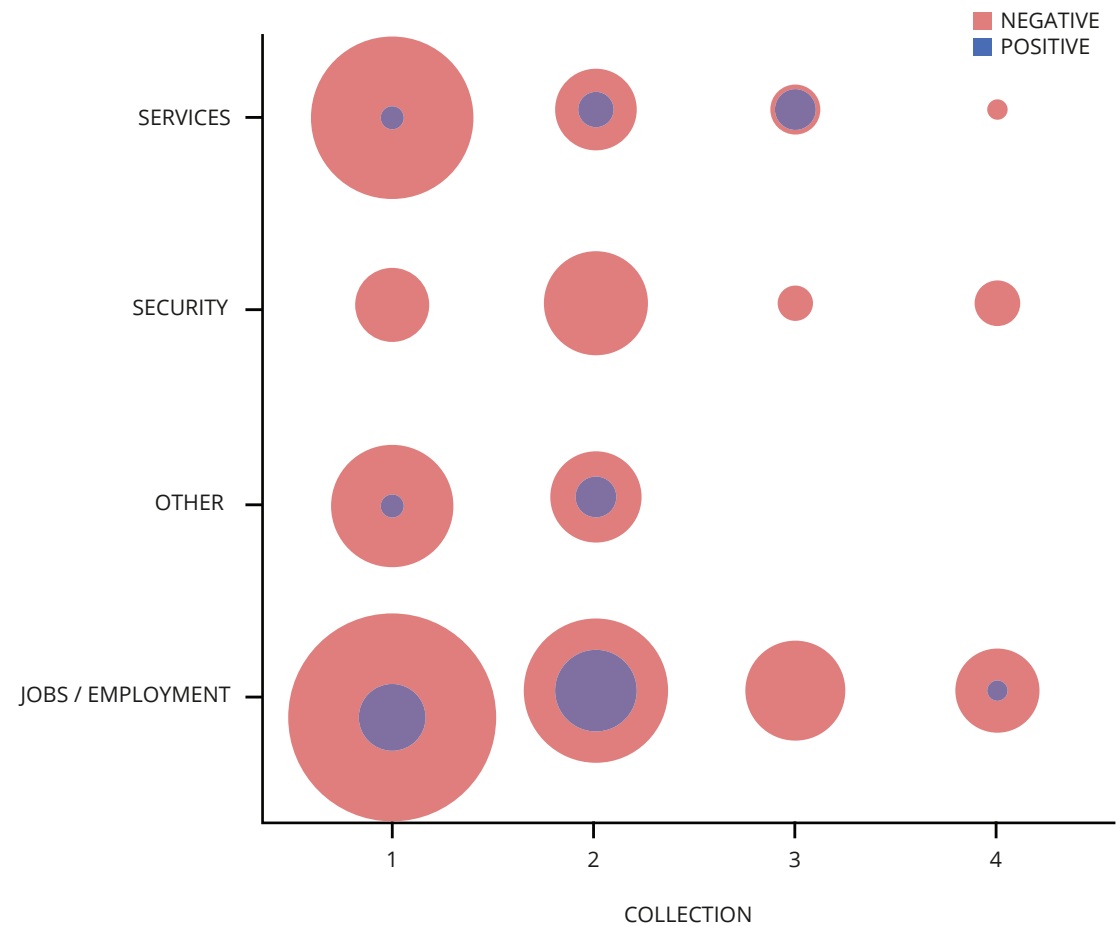
4.3.2 What are people's perceptions of security/employment and refugees?

In this section, we examine how respondents perceive the relationship between services/non-services and refugees. While the number of stories influenced by refugees remains low overall, refugees are consistently referenced in stories regarding jobs/employment, particularly in the North and the Bekaa.

RAJAM ISSA

Overall, the number of negative stories involving refugees in Rajam Issa has declined. This could indicate that the refugee population in the area has largely stabilised and residents feel their needs are largely being met in service delivery. Jobs/employment is the major issue associated with refugees, indicating residents continue to see refugees as a threat to their economic interests. Most positive stories regarding refugees disappeared in collection 3, either because residents no longer attribute positive benefits to them, or because they've focused attention on other community issues.

FIG. 37
RAJAM ISSA





SIR DINNIEH

In Sir Dinnieh, the number of negative stories discussing refugees increased between collections 3 and 4. The largest increase comes from jobs/employment, where refugees appear to be seen both as a positive and negative force. Likewise, the number of service-related stories attributed to refugees has increased, perhaps indicating that ongoing service delivery issues are attributed to the increased refugee presence but positive improvements in the community are also attributed to them.

"The Syrians caused an economic recovery, and people's situation improved. These Syrians started buying their goods from the stores of the Lebanese people... this is all cash flow spreading in the market."

- Female, 30-39, Sir Dinnieh

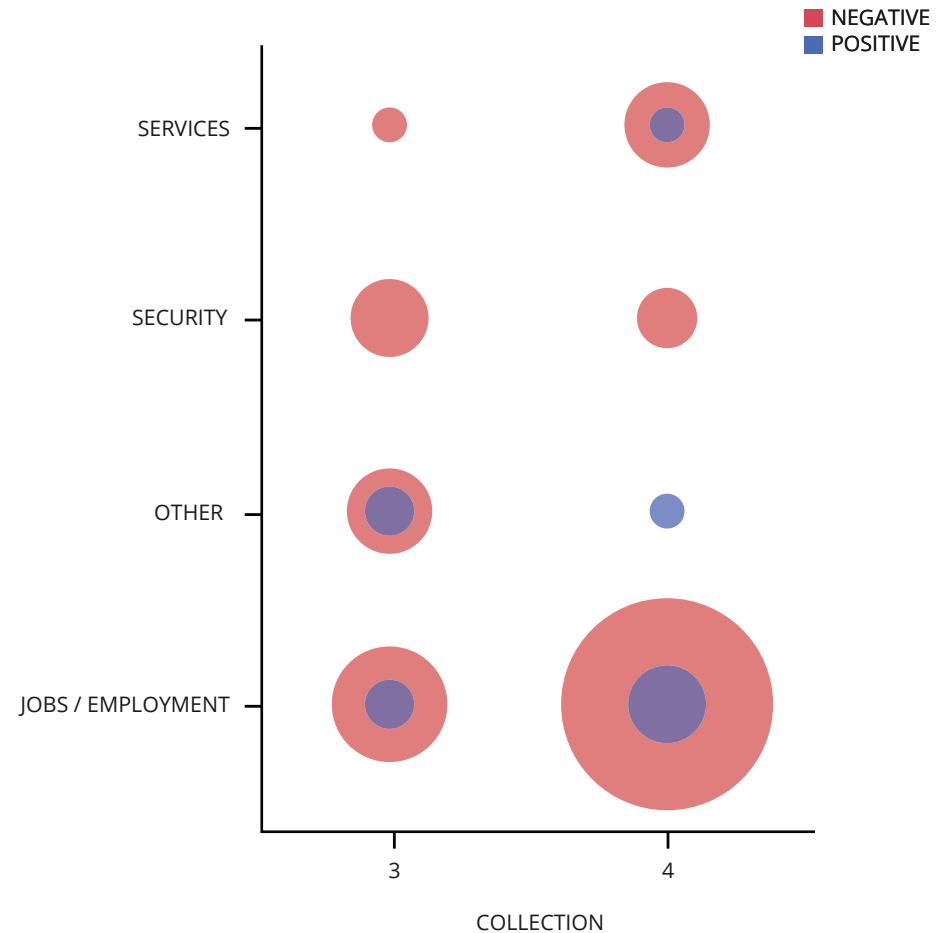
"I have six children and all of them are unemployed. There are no jobs for the youth... the area is full of Syrians. They get fuel, food and money while we are destitute. If we are not relatives of someone in power nobody will care for us."

- Female, 50+, Sir Dinnieh

"The problem is the Syrian refugees are professionally competing with us... by selling at lower prices without caring about the impact."

- Female, Male 40-49, Sir Dinnieh

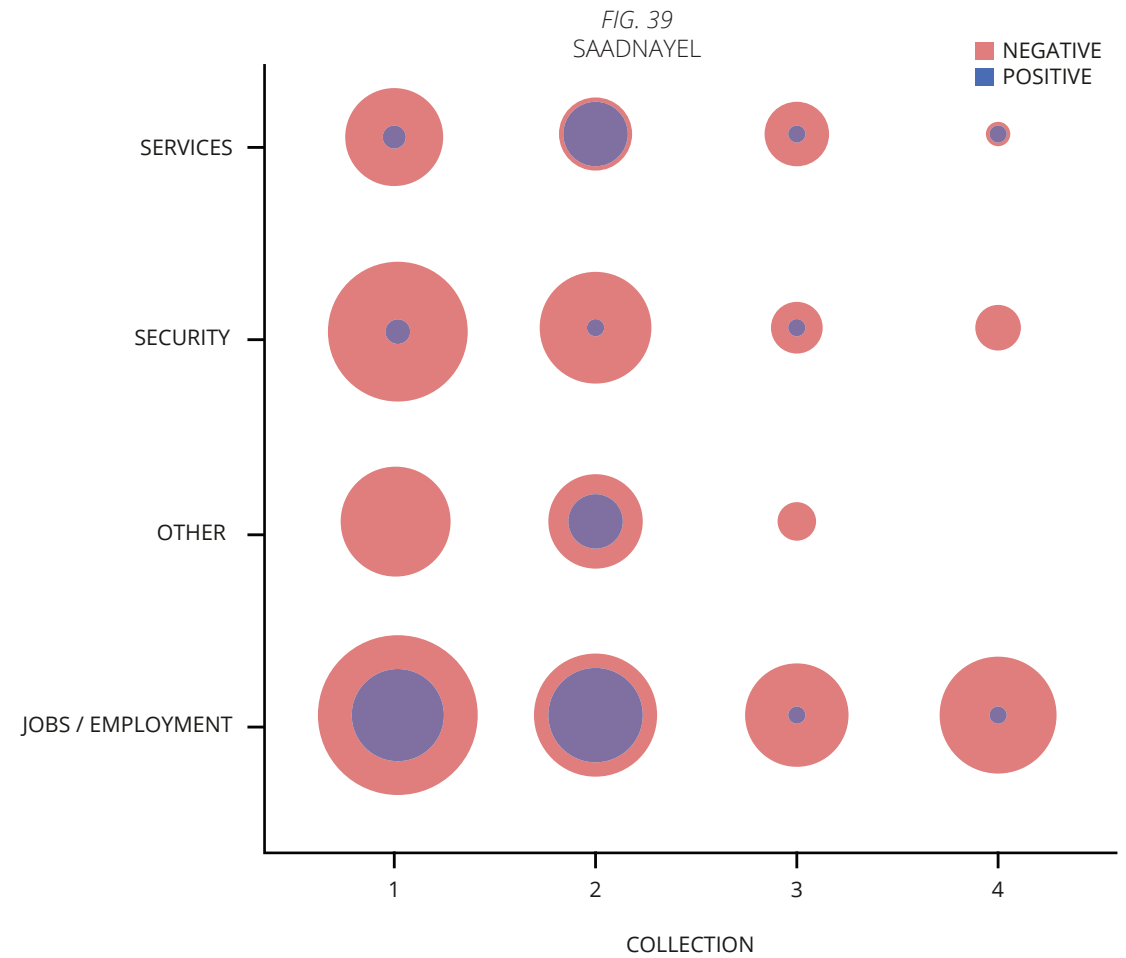
FIG. 38
SIR DINNIEH





SAADNAYEL

In Saadnayel, the number of negative stories influenced by refugees has decreased. Jobs/employment remains the main issue associated with refugees in the community. It is important to note that the number of positive stories influenced by refugees in jobs/employment and services has decreased after collection 2, perhaps because the positive energy regarding immediate benefits of the refugee population – increased work force, cash flow, improved service investment by government – is no longer felt, or at least not recognised. This could be due to the realisation that the refugees are going to settle in the area and are not leaving in the foreseeable future, so people have become anxious about longer-term implications of the increased workforce in the community.

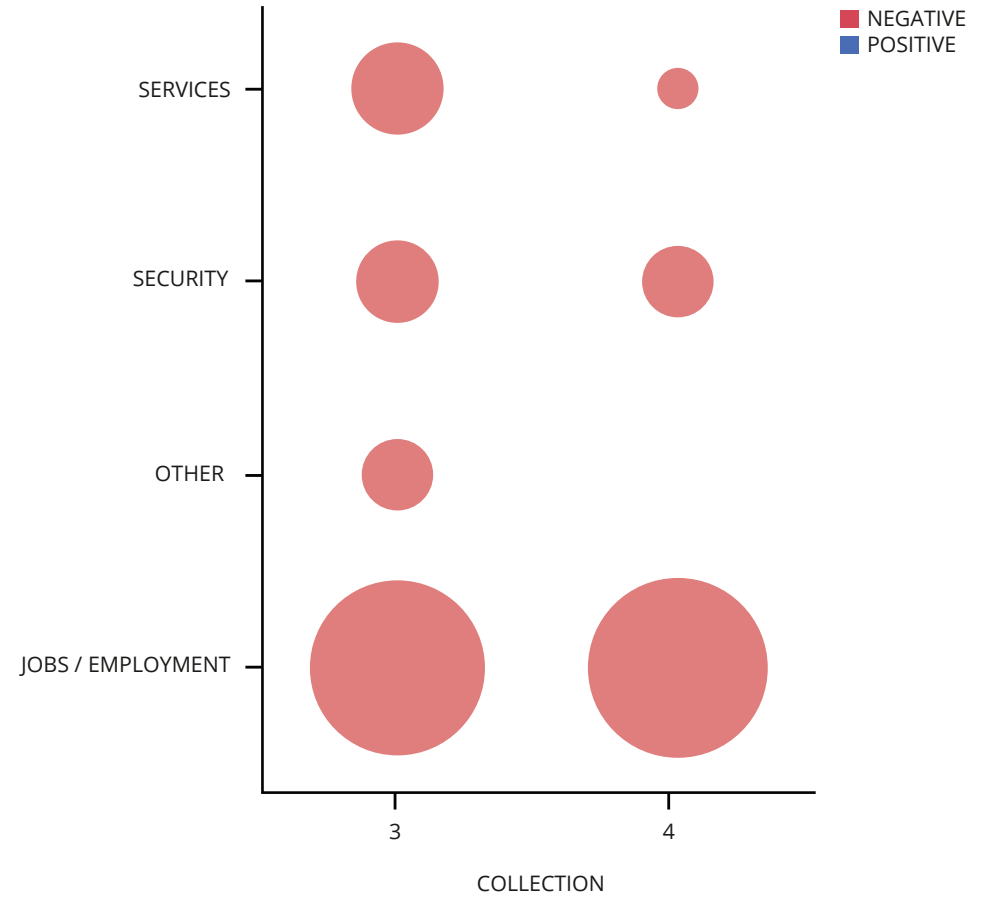




ALI EL NAHRI

In Ali el Nahri, negative stories regarding refugees and security and service delivery decreased between collections 3 and 4 indicating reduced fears and concerns about refugee settlement in the community. Negative stories related to jobs/employment remained steady, and could become an issue if not addressed. The economic sector in the Bekaa is heavily dependent on agriculture for employment. According to municipal officials, Syrian refugees have often taken these seasonal jobs during the summer months. During the winter, they seek other forms of employment, which likely contributes to increased tensions over limited non-agricultural jobs in Ali el Nahri and Saadnayel.

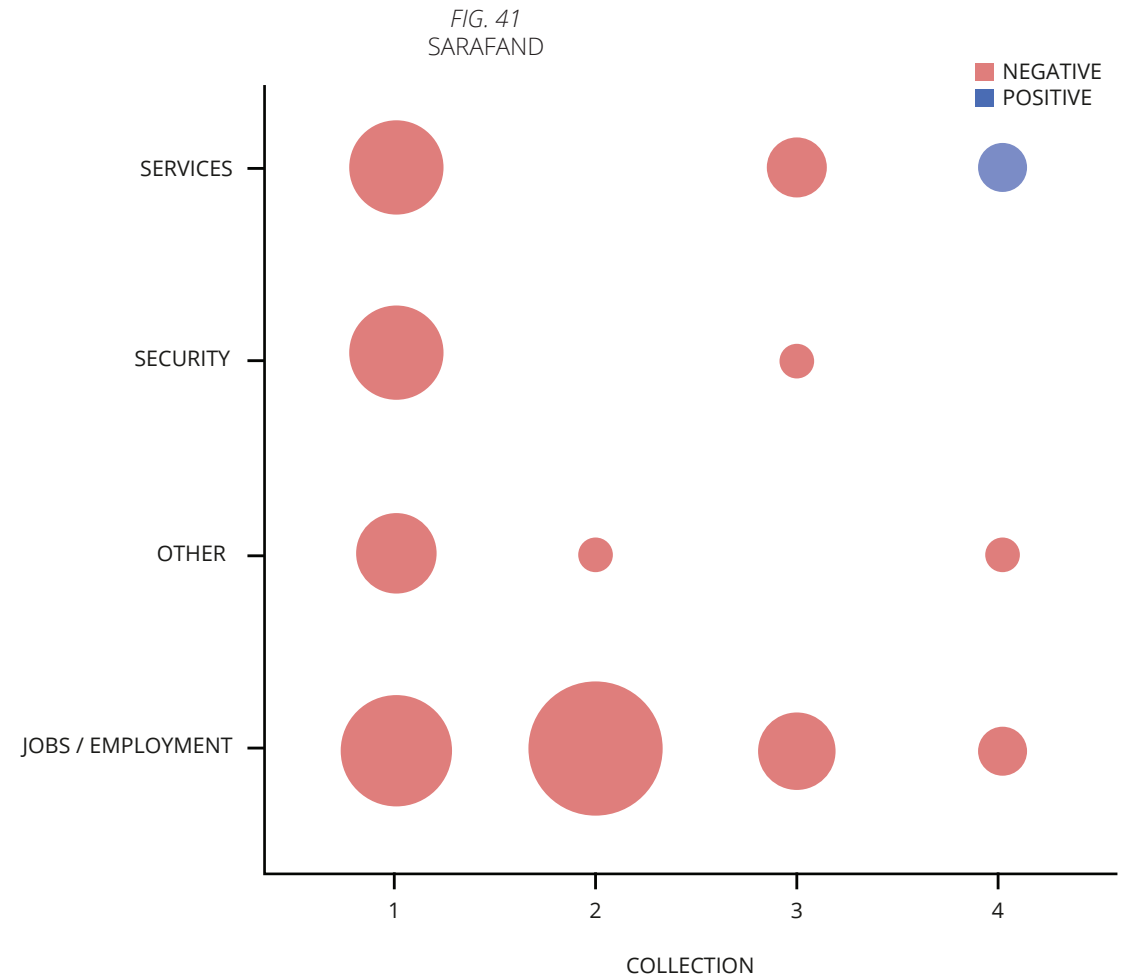
FIG. 40
ALI EL NAHRI





SARAFAND

In Sarafand, the number of negative stories influenced by refugees continues to decrease. Unlike in the North and Bekaa, negative stories related to jobs/employment decreased in collection 4. As was mentioned earlier, employment does not appear to be a major issue in the South, and thus, refugees are not often associated negatively with these issues. In contrast with the North and the Bekaa which tend to rely on agriculture to a larger extent, the economic structure in the South is built on minor industrial production, which offers all-year around employment opportunities and thus a different opportunity for a stable livelihood sector. Positive service delivery stories referencing refugees also increased in collection 4, perhaps because respondents identified the positive role refugees have played in ensuring service improvements since the start of the most recent UNDP-MoSA engagements in late 2015, including youth facilities and roads and bridges improvement.

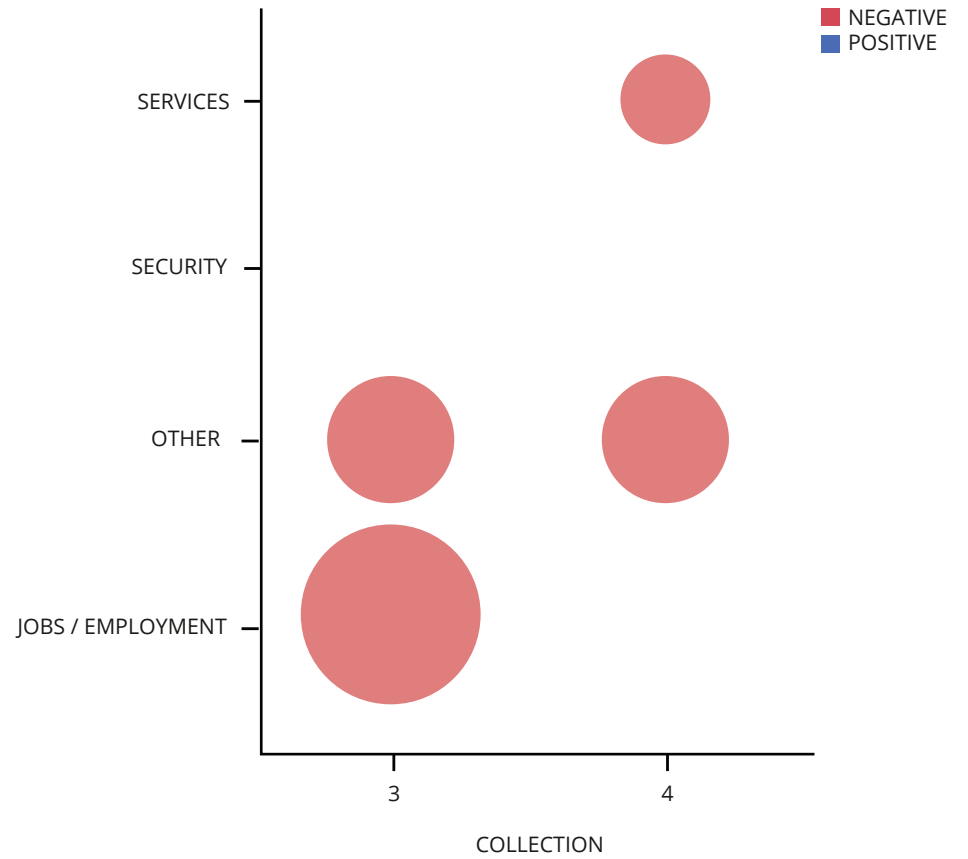




GHAZIEH

In Ghazieh, refugee stories related to jobs/employment completely disappeared in collection 4, likely because employment is not a major issue in the region, according to municipal authorities. Likewise, there are no stories about refugees and security, indicating that there is no existing security-related tension between refugees and host community. However, an increase in the number of negative stories related to refugees has occurred, perhaps because respondents have identified services such as water or electricity that are not reaching the entire population.

FIG. 42
GHAZIEH



What does this mean?

Overall, the number of stories influenced by refugees decreased in the latest rounds of data collection compared to the first and second collections. Although security and services remain a concern, particularly in Raja Issa in the North and Ali el Nahri in the Bekaa, jobs/employment continues to be the main issue for refugees and host communities, and an important area for consideration by LHSP.

Recognising that basic service provision should remain an important component of LHSP given increasing positive trends from improved service delivery, LHSP should consider focus on livelihoods programming to address growing tensions between Syrian refugees and host communities over jobs/employment. The two most recent rounds of data collection clearly demonstrate that people's concerns with respect to the presence of Syrian refugees have shifted from service delivery to livelihoods issues. There are many potential reasons for this. One assumption is that refugees have an immediate need for basic services upon arrival in Lebanon, as they in most cases arrive with very little support; however, over time, they settle in, organise, and potentially integrate into the communities. As a result, competition for basic services decreases and Lebanese residents become more accustomed to their presence in communities. However, this gradual adjustment suggests that planning for more long-term economic goals, such as securing employment – then shift the centre of gravity towards tension with the host communities over economic stability.



4.3.3 What are the prevailing attitudes in terms of tension?

This section examines the prevailing attitudes in terms of tension between refugees and host communities by looking at the municipalities through triads reflecting social tension, and isolating the stories that are influenced by refugees. The figures to the right display these stories categorised as relating to service delivery or to non-service related issues, such as security and employment.

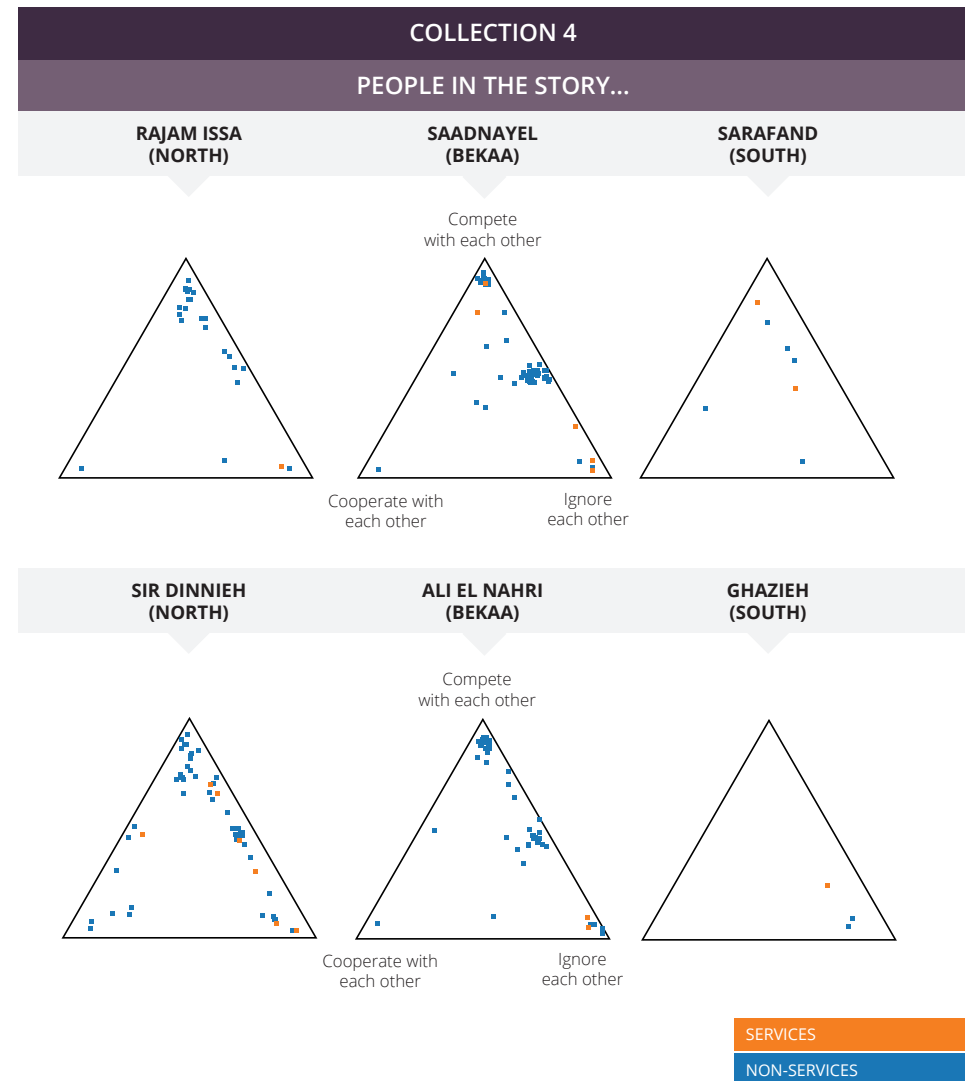
The results show that in the north and the Bekaa, there are clusters that demonstrate competition in the non-services sector. In the Bekaa, clusters are also located between competition and ignorance. This may indicate the presence of tension in these communities between the refugee population and host community. In the South, very few stories reference refugees, indicating lower levels of tension.

Looking closely at each municipality, we can observe changes over time.

“Aside from the population density, the village is too crowded and not safe anymore. If you leave or forget something outside overnight, it will disappear. We can’t even leave a chair at the entrance.”

- Female, 40-45, Saadnayel

FIG. 43

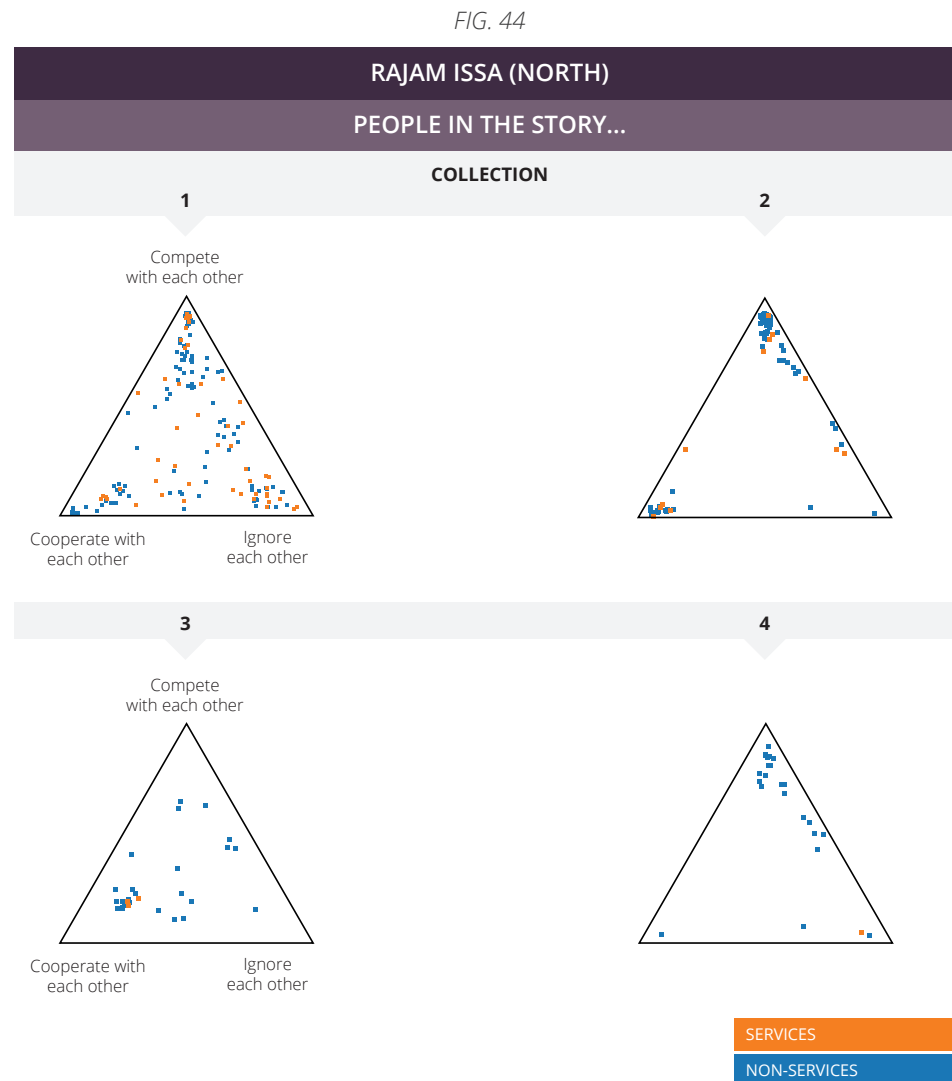




RAJAM ISSA

In collection 2, people in Rajam Issa were divided between those with a high propensity to cause instability through competition, and those who sought cooperation. These clusters disappeared in the third collection, in which the stories influenced by refugees all are rather centralised. In collection 4, almost all respondents moved toward competition, with a larger number also choosing avoidance. These actions suggest growing competition and tension over the non-service sector in the last six months, primarily security and employment, which has the potential to lead to further tension and conflict.

Many of the stories validate this, with respondents describing how the Syrians have created a crisis in the agriculture sector due to water shortages and how their businesses are slowing down because of competition from Syrians. In addition, municipal authorities have noted that forthcoming municipal election may have provoked a growing feeling of competition within the community.

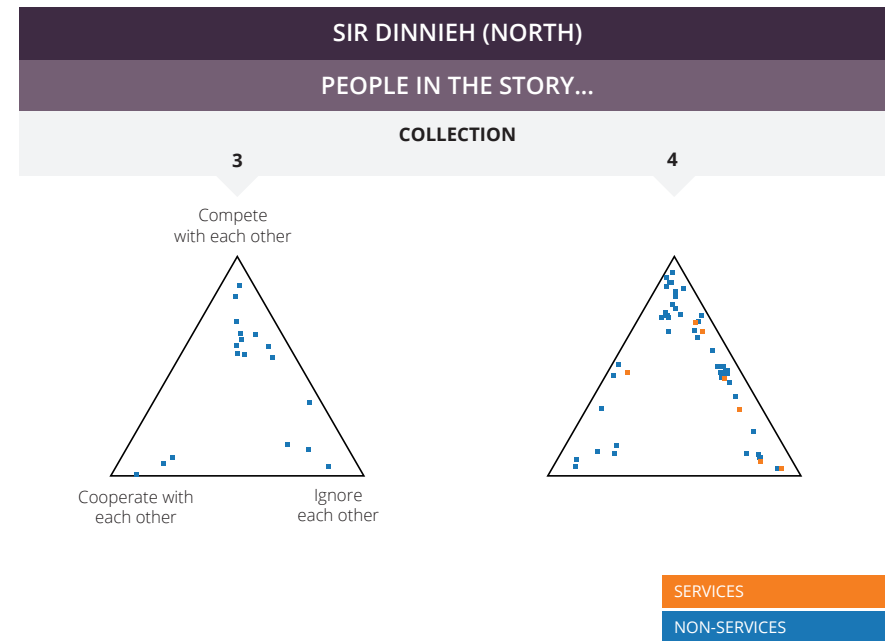




SIR DINNIEH

Relatively few respondents in Sir Dinnieh referenced told stories that were influenced by refugees in collection 3. Those that did described stories involving competition between the two groups. Collection 4 saw a large increase in the number of people referencing refugees in their stories on both services and non-services. These responses were clearly divided along the right axis of the triad, with the heaviest number clustered near cooperation or avoidance. Some of the stories in Sir Dinnieh referenced having lost out on jobs to Syrians willing to accept lower wages, or shop owners with fewer clients due to Syrians opening similar stores nearby. Still others referenced Syrians “being everywhere” and feeling insecure as a result. As with Rajam Issa, this appears to indicate growing competition and tension in the community regarding refugees, and could be the result of residents recognizing the potential long-term implications of the ongoing situation in Syria on the economy. Collection 4 also saw an increase in competition or avoidance around service delivery, indicating growing competition over services. Regional workshop participants thought this could be attributed to ongoing projects around electricity and other service delivery sites that have not reached the entire town, thus reinforcing feelings of unequal access. However, respondents also reported more cooperation in collection 4 than in past collections, indicating that some residents continue to see the financial benefit of the refugees.

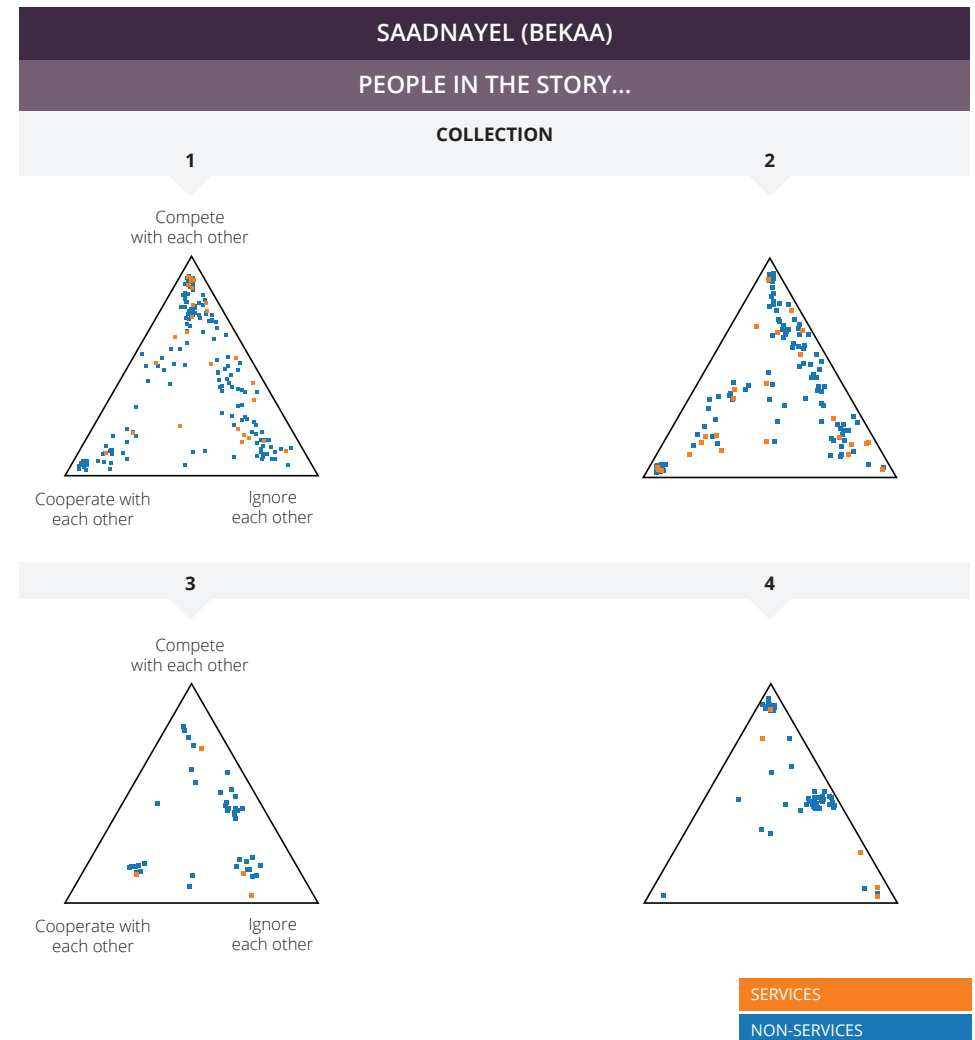
FIG. 45



SAADNAYEL

In collection 2, Saadnayel witnessed clusters of stories along the axis between competition and avoidance, signalling instability. In collection 3 the clusters spread into the central part of the triad, indicating reduced levels of tension between refugees and host communities. In collection 4, the trend reversed, with most responses moving along the competition and avoidance axis away from cooperation. The majority of these responses are clustered in the middle, indicating that host communities and refugees compete but do not interact, an indicator that may exacerbate tensions and set the stage for further conflict unless an avenue is opened to encourage cooperation and dialogue. Many of the stories in this cluster describe individuals who were unable to find a job, or whose business was struggling as a result of the increased competition from Syrian-owned businesses. Several stories also referenced Syrians stealing furniture and other property from Lebanese homes, reinforcing feelings of insecurity.

FIG. 46

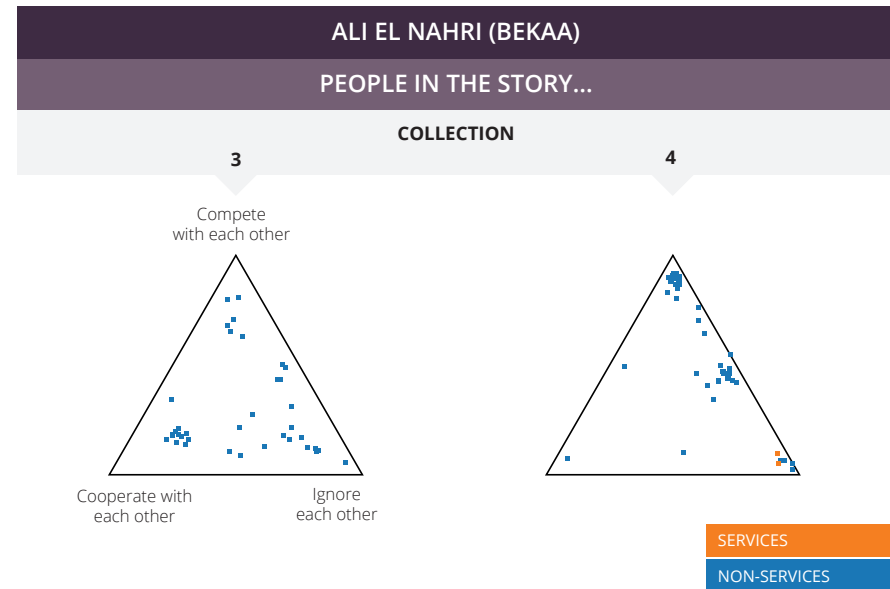




ALI EL NAHRI

In collection 3, respondents in Ali el Nahri were spread across the centre of the triad, with a cluster closer to cooperation. In collection 4, much like in Saadnayel, responses moved away from cooperation and clustered between competition and avoidance. As in the other municipalities, the stories are based around Syrians taking jobs from the Lebanese, who are now unable to find work, while also benefiting directly from UN or other donor aid. This was validated by municipality representatives who participated in the regional workshop. Delegates from Ali el Nahri stated that employment in Ali el Nahri is heavily tied to the agriculture sector, and Syrians are providing cheaper labour and taking jobs that Lebanese would otherwise have. This reinforces the reoccurring trend that tensions are worsening between refugees and host communities over the perception that refugees are taking jobs from Lebanese.

FIG. 47

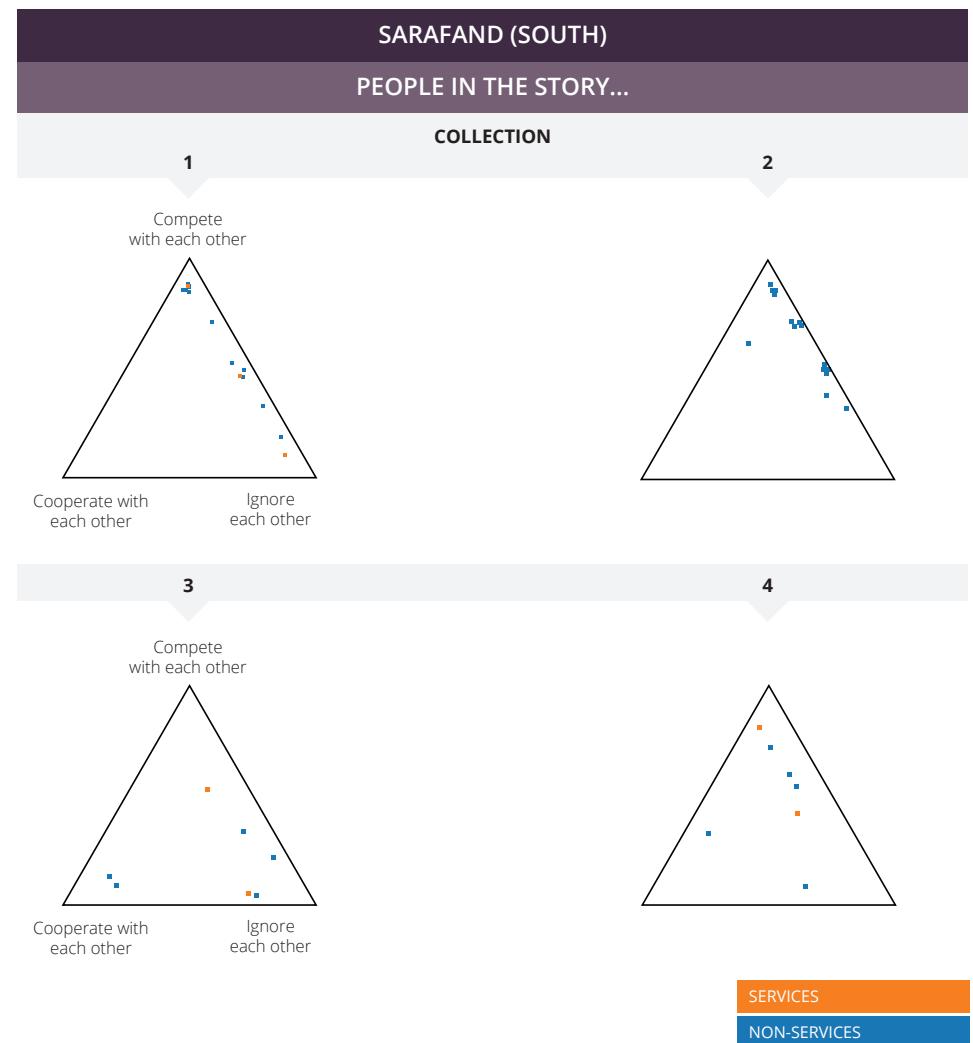




SARAFAND

In Sarafand, the number of stories influenced by refugees remains very low and no trends can be observed. This is unsurprising considering that the number of registered Syrian refugees in the South is much lower than in the North and the Bekaa. During the regional workshop in Tyre, delegates from both Sarafand and Ghazieh further explained that unemployment rates are lower in the South than in the North and the Bekaa, due to the number of factories in the region and limited reliance on seasonal employment in the agricultural sector. As they explained, Syrian refugees who settle in the South tend to work in the construction sector rather the agricultural sector. In addition, the major cities along the coast in the South are connected through a developed highway which means that people can easily circulate within the region in search for job opportunities.

FIG. 48

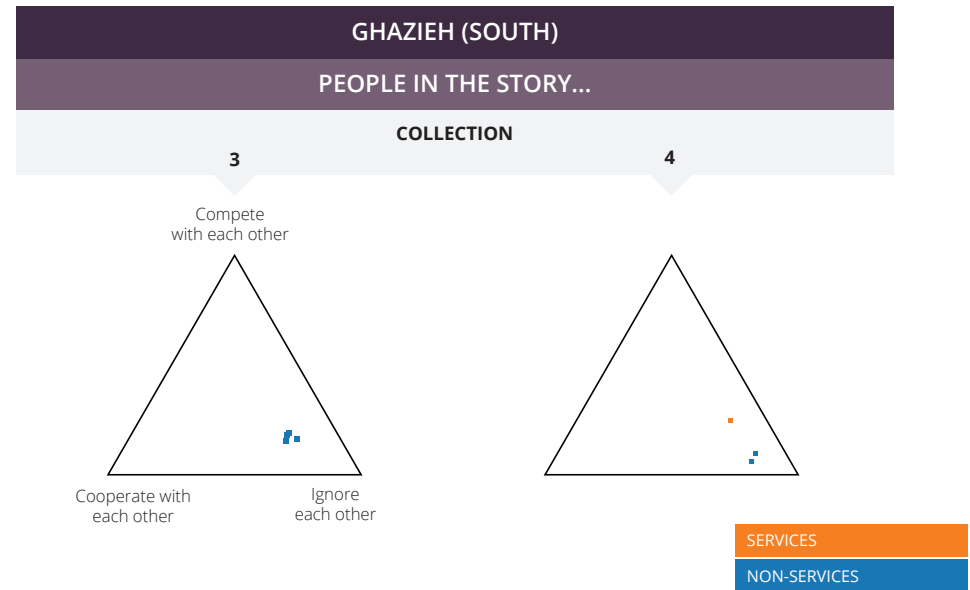




GHAZIEH

In Ghazieh, even fewer respondents referencing refugees in their service and non-service stories. All respondents were clustered around avoidance, perhaps indicating that the small refugee community does not interact regularly with the host community. As with Sarafand, it is difficult to make further assumptions based on such a small number of responses.

FIG. 49



What does this mean?

Increased feelings of tension between the refugees and host communities, especially in the municipalities in the North and the Bekaa, are largely over competition related to employment and jobs. As service delivery improves through municipal projects, and in some cases increased municipal funds, residents are turning to longer-term concerns, such as employment. This competition is likely also drawn from the realisation that refugees are unlikely to return home in the near future. In communities such as Saadnayel, where refugees outnumber Lebanese by two to one, this is particularly challenging.

The lack of stories reflecting cooperation between refugees and host communities when it comes to service delivery may be signalling an isolation of the refugees within each municipality. This is further reinforced by the growing number of people who reported avoidance instead of cooperation. This may also play into the perception that refugees are stealing jobs from host communities, so the relationship has become one of competition for survival rather than cooperation. This attitude has a tendency to halter any sustainable integration measures, something that might cause future tensions, particularly when recognising how many Lebanese reported feeling powerless to affect positive change in the communities. This increase in tensions should be watched carefully. In addition, efforts to emphasize that refugees are not disproportionately benefitting should be encouraged to ensure social stability in these communities.



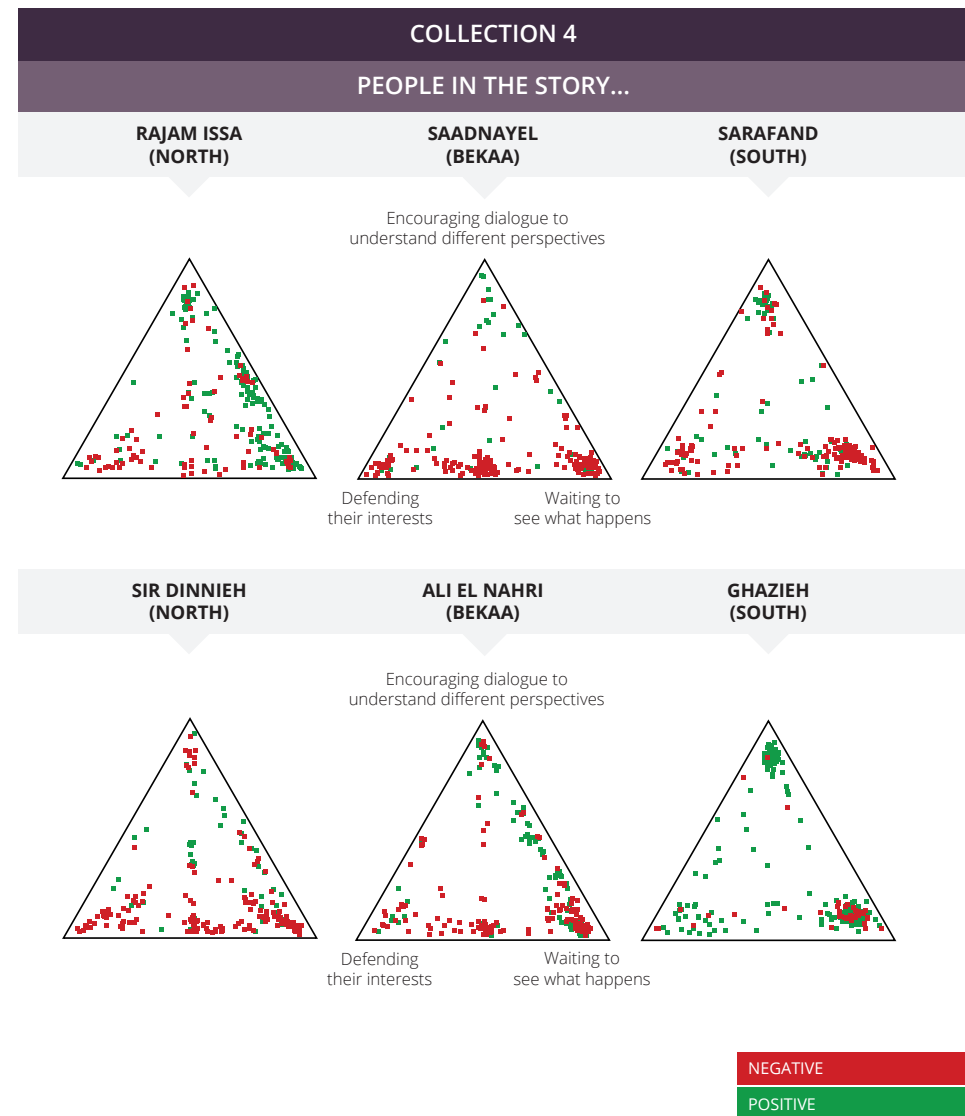
4.3.4 What is the propensity towards violence?

By considering how people respond to issues in their stories, we are able to observe their tendency to resolve or address problems through dialogue or more individualistic acts that could potentially destabilize relationships in the community. The triads to the right present the results when respondents were asked about how people in their story reacted to the issue at hand.

There are similar patterns across all municipalities, where the propensity towards people “waiting to see what happens” is highest but responses are also clustered toward dialogue, particularly in the South. As one would expect, the positive stories are closer to the upper corner where dialogue is encouraged, while the more negative stories are spread towards defending interest or waiting to see what happens. The number of negative stories in “waiting to see what happens” is a positive development, in that it shows trust by citizens that the situation could improve, and thus, they do not feel the need to act defensively immediately.

Looking at the change over time, a general movement towards the axis between “encouraging dialogue” and “waiting to see what happens” can be observed, thus moving away from “defending their own interest”. This is a positive sign, indicating the willingness of people to give both the refugees – and government – time to address issues before taking more confrontational action. This is examined further by municipality.

FIG. 50



RAJAM ISSA

People in Rajam Issa have become much more cooperative and encouraging of dialogue since collection 2. They have more positive stories to tell, which are clustered between dialogue and waiting to see what happens, indicating trust in the municipality to help make things better over time. However, the group of negative stories that were clustered between defending their interests while encouraging dialogue have moved to the axis, largely to defending their interests, which indicates that more people are willing to take action if the situation does not improve in Rajam Issa. Many of these stories highlight frustrations with the lack of employment for both young men and women despite investing in education and professional skills.

FIG. 51



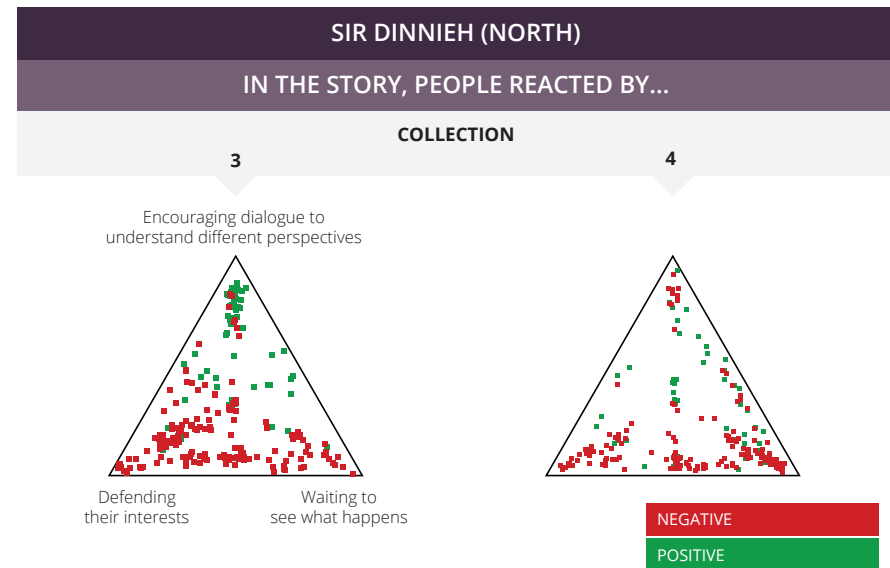
*Data in Collection 3 and 4 cannot be compared directly with data in Collection 1 and 2 because the signifiers in Collections 3 and 4 have changed polarity and focus.



SIR DINNIEH

People in Sir Dinnieh are largely divided: those with negative stories are located near the bottom of the triad, defending their interests and waiting to see what happens, while the positive stories are higher toward encouraging dialogue. In collection 4, some positive trends emerged, as a cluster of responses moved further into encouraging dialogue – including people with negative stories. In addition, more negative stories have moved toward waiting to see what happens, which implies patience and a willingness to hold off on action to give the government – or refugees – more time. Many of these stories highlight the inability of the government to provide services, or to provide them evenly to both Lebanese and Syrians. Of those reportedly defending their own interests, stories centred on feeling unsafe in public, an anger at the Syrians receiving aid without working for it – both stories that could lead to violent action on behalf of residents, if not addressed.

FIG. 52

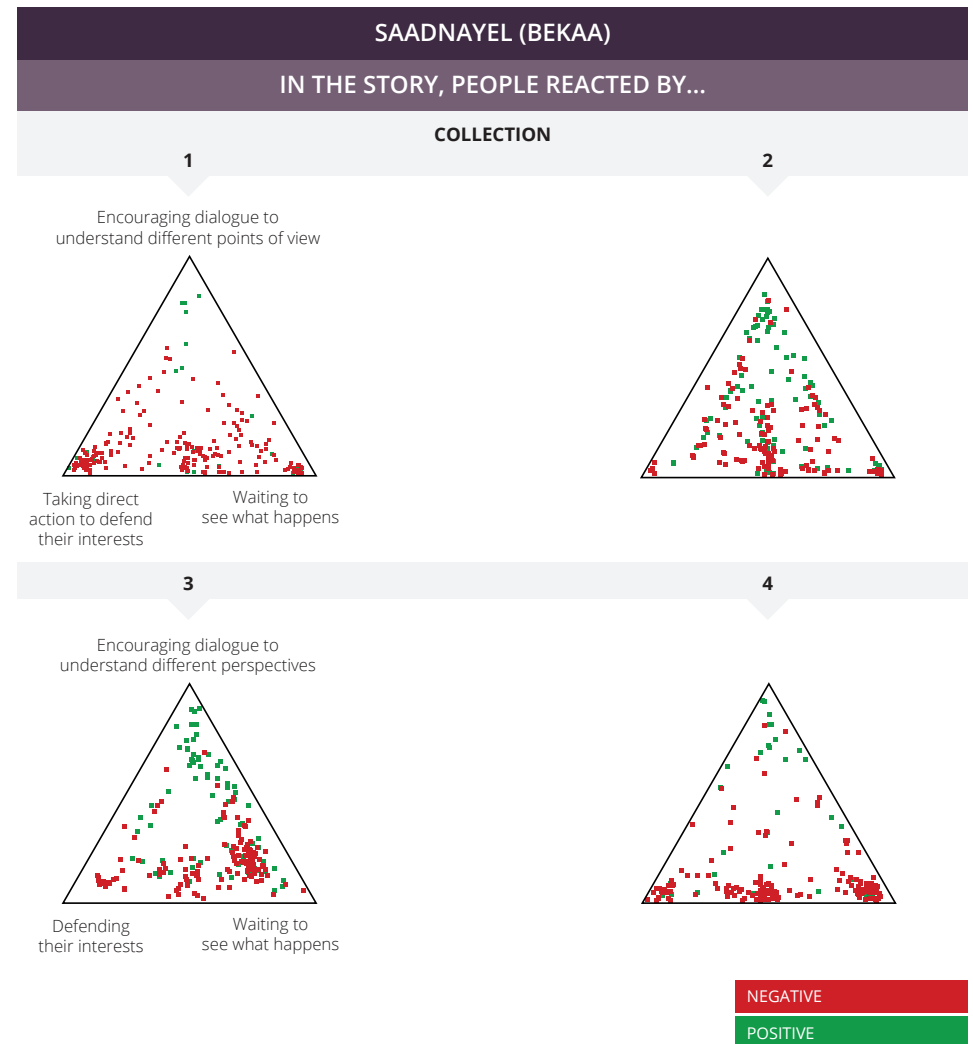




SAADNAYEL

The situation in Saadnayel changed very little between the second and third collections. In collection 4, a clear divide emerged as more people moved into defending their interests or waiting to see what happens. There is also a clear shift away from dialogue, although more people now see all three options as viable. Respondents focused on defending interests and/or willing to wait largely highlighted in their stories increasing rent and business costs due to the influx of refugees in Saadnayel, while those willing to encourage dialogue described recent improvements to community policing, water, and the UNDP-supported youth sports projects. The growing cluster of people waiting to see what will happen could also be explained by the forthcoming municipal elections.

FIG. 53



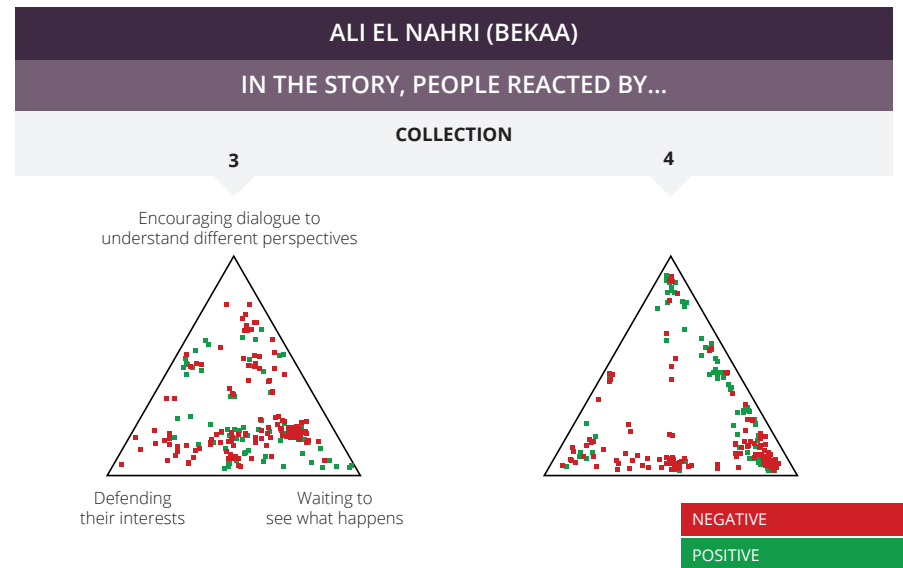
*Data in Collection 3 and 4 cannot be compared directly with data in Collection 1 and 2 because the signifiers in Collections 3 and 4 have changed polarity and focus.



ALI EL NAHRI

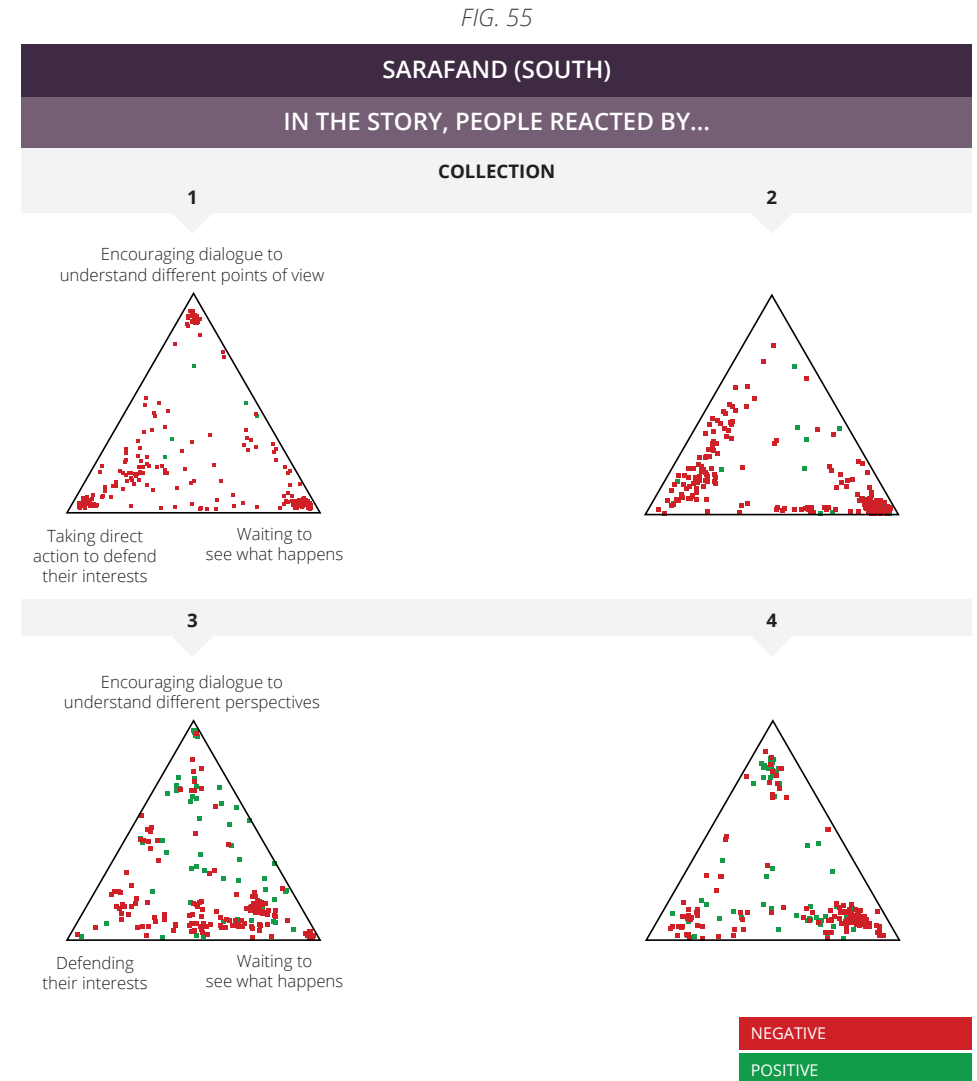
In Ali el Nahri, respondents moved away from the centre of the triad where all three options were possible, to the corners. This is positive, given the increase in respondents encouraging dialogue, but also more alarming given the number of respondents now defending their interests. Respondents who clustered around waiting to see what happens describe a number of service delivery issues, such as poor roads or broken water access. Their willingness to wait, however, is positive, in that it indicates a willingness to give the government time to address the issues. Those encouraging dialogue were largely pleased with recent service improvements. The Mayor of Ali el Nahri noted that the cluster of positive stories around people waiting to see what will happen demonstrates that residents trust the municipality but are waiting for the completion of the public garden.

FIG. 54



SARAFAND

An encouraging movement away from the extreme of “defending their interests” took place in Sarafand between collections 2 and three, when people who felt negatively about their stories moved from taking action by defending their interests to waiting to see what happened. In addition, more people began to encourage dialogue. This trend continued in collection 4, as respondents moved further toward encouraging dialogue and waiting to see what happens. This is likely due to the stabilisation of the refugee influx and increased patience with local authorities who appear to be taking action in the communities. It is overall a positive trend, as it signals that people are willing to take steps to encourage trust and positive relationships.



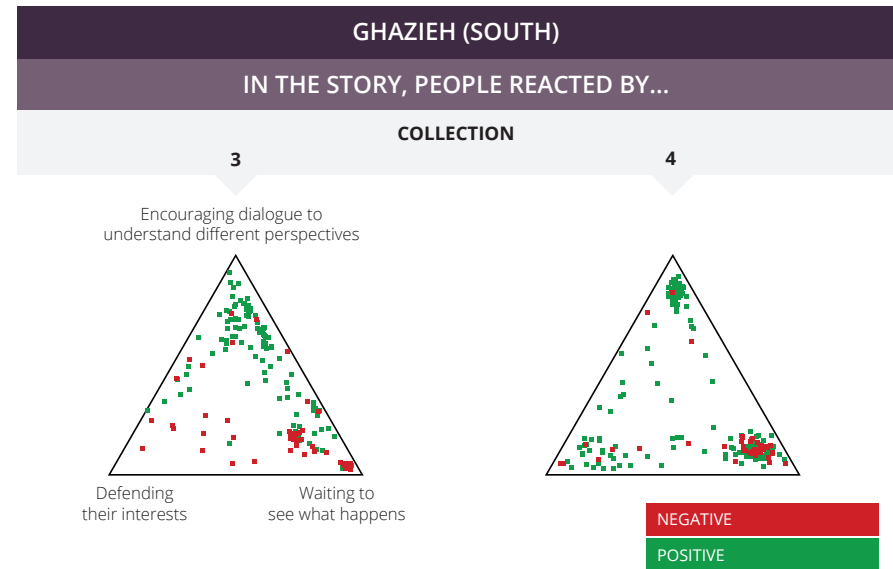
*Data in Collection 3 and 4 cannot be compared directly with data in Collection 1 and 2 because the signifiers in Collections 3 and 4 have changed polarity and focus.



GHAZIEH

An interesting change took place in Ghazieh between collections 3 and 4. In collection 3, very few respondents reported that their story involved defending their interests, and most negative stories were associated with people waiting to see what happens. In collection 4, a larger number of respondents have begun defending their interests, but these stories are largely positive. It is possible that the stories involved the larger community defending their interests together and achieving more positive results, such as the stories about improvements to the trash and water systems. Delegates from both municipalities noted that the larger clusters of people waiting to see what will happen is likely explained by the forthcoming municipal elections.

FIG. 56



What does this mean?

Despite the lower levels of tension in the South, potential elements of destabilisation still exist in some regions such as Saadnayel in the Bekaa and Sarafand in the South. Overall, the number of respondents seeking to defend their interests has increased and those promoting dialogue has decreased in most communities, indicating growing tensions and decreased social stability within the communities and increased likelihood this will lead to negative action. This could create conditions for people to use more violent or isolating means to take matters into their own hands particularly when considering the number of respondents who feel powerless to affect change in their communities, and who see themselves as competing with the refugee population.

The number of people in almost every community waiting to see what happens, however, indicates a more positive trend. Waiting to see how the situation evolves could mean that there is an opportunity for local authorities, such as the municipal government, to step in and address their problems before they choose to act. The positive outcomes of the implemented projects could thus be to increase the legitimacy of the municipality, and help reduce tensions with refugees as well. It also indicates that respondents are increasingly trusting the local authorities to take care of issues, having recognised the recent improvements to service delivery in all six communities.



5 Conclusions

The delivery of public services remains the top priority for people across all six municipalities, over security, politics, or jobs/employment. However, jobs/employment continues to be a major concern in the North and the Bekaa, frequently in relation to refugees. In the South, where industry appears to be stronger and the influx of refugees lower, jobs/employment is rarely mentioned in stories regarding changes in the community.

Although the total number of stories influenced by refugees continues to decline, tension regarding jobs/employment remains a major concern in the North and Bekaa. This, coupled with feelings of powerlessness among residents, and increased numbers of people willing to defend their own interests, must be carefully watched. Further disaggregation of this data to determine whether particular trends exist within the communities will be helpful in identifying appropriate responses.

People continue to trust the municipality as the main service provider. Although the municipality also continues to be seen as the source most responsible for improving service provision, there is a growing trend of people who place responsibility on the central government as well. Notably, respondents in the North and Bekaa place the responsibility for jobs/employment on the central government. This sentiment was welcomed by the municipal representatives at the regional workshops, who reiterated that this sector is the responsibility of the central government.

Although levels of trust in the municipality and its capability to deliver services are generally increasing in the North and in Ghazieh, there are a number of respondents, particularly in Sarafand and Saadnayel, who do not see the municipality as very able or trusted to take the right action. This is

particularly concerning when considering that respondents might turn to other actors to help resolve their issues, potentially violently.

The need for improved communication between municipalities and the community continues to mirror concerns regarding trust. People increasingly feel the need to be better represented by the municipality and to be part of more inclusive community at the project planning stage. The municipality where respondents are most content is Ghazieh, where the municipal government has established a forum to meet with residents on a regular basis.

Overall, the number of respondents seeking to defend their interests has increased and those promoting dialogue has decreased in most communities, indicating growing tensions and decreased social stability within the communities, and the increased likelihood this will lead to negative action. This could create conditions for people to use more violent or isolating means to “take matters into their own hands”, particularly when considering the number of respondents who feel powerless to affect change in their communities, and who see themselves as increasingly competing with the refugee population.

The number of people in almost every community waiting to see what happens, however, indicates a more positive trend of respondents who trust that things could improve. Waiting to see how the situation evolves also could mean that there is an opportunity for local authority, such as the municipal government, to step in and address their problems before they choose to act. This could be a double edged sword, however, if other actors take advantage of this space and fill the role of the municipality. Projects

with the highest visibility are the one being most talked about such as those related to roads and bridges. Therefore, people's perception of the municipal work is improved when they actually see work done on the ground.

5.1 Recommendations

Based on the above research findings, the following recommendations should be considered by LHSP, international donors and local/international implementing partners;

1. Service delivery projects should continue since they continue to be important for promoting social stability and improving the living conditions of both host and refugee communities.
2. Towns where the municipality communicates frequently with residents, such as in Ghazieh, are more trusted by residents. LHSP and other implementing partners should continue to encourage municipalities to engage regularly and openly with the community. Recognising that many Lebanese believe that only Syrian refugees benefit from aid in their municipality, municipalities should be more proactive in engaging Lebanese residents in discussions on how they also benefit from aid and service delivery projects.
3. A stronger focus should be placed on projects addressing perceptions of livelihoods equality between host communities and refugees, as growing tension and competition over jobs and employment could lead to instability and violence.
4. Additional research should be conducted in Saadnayel and Sir Dinnieh, where perceptions about municipal legitimacy and social stability are particularly poor.
5. In towns with relatively low levels of trust in the municipality, the municipal government should continue building this trust through the implementation of highly visible projects, even though they could be tackling issues not directly related to the most pressing needs of the town.
6. Municipal leadership may change in May 2016 following elections. LHSP should consider the potential implications on future service delivery projects. Recognising new leadership may be unfamiliar with this research, LHSP should consider discussing the research findings with the new leadership and discuss community perceptions on service delivery and social stability.



6 Annex I - Funding by municipality

In December 2015, pursuant to Decrees No. 2331 and 2341 of 30 November 2015, all municipalities received funds from the Independent Municipal Fund, a large portion of which had been outstanding since 2010. The breakdown by municipality is displayed below.

Location	Decree No. 2331	Decree No. 2341	Total (LBP)
Rajam Issa	139,874,000	96,566,000	236,440,000
Sir Dinnieh	925,122,000	558,251,000	1,483,373,000
Ali El Nahri	1,189,213,000	679,308,000	1,886,521,000
Saadnayel	1,013,017,000	664,191,000	1,677,208,000
Ghazieh	1,407,487,000	814,280,000	2,221,767,000
Sarafand	1,257,146,000	754,700,000	2,011,846,000

7 Annex II - Service delivery projects implemented in municipalities

The following were projects identified by UNDP that were recently implemented or are underway in the municipalities where Aktis conducted research. When relevant, these are referenced throughout the analysis.

Location	Service area	Project	Implementing partners
Rajam Issa	Wastewater management	Ensuring proper hygiene and health conditions in Wadi Khaled	DFID
	Education	Support public schools in Wadi Khaled, Setting up the medical room in Public schools (6)	UNHCR, LRF-Germany, Italy
	Infrastructure, Agricultural infrastructure	Enhancing the income opportunities in the most excluded rural area of Wadi Khaled district. Rehabilitation and extension of an agricultural road in Amayer/RajamIssa	DFID
	Municipal Infrastructure	Provision of a backhoe loader to Wadi Khaled Municipality	DFID
	Water Supply	Construction of water supply system for Wadi Khaled will provide water for municipalities	ESFD
Sir Dinnieh	Wastewater	Construction of wastewater network	DFATD
	Water	Upgrading supply and installation of five chlorination systems	UNHCR
	Solid waste	Solid waste support project (vehicle, awareness), waste bins	UNHCR
Ghazieh	Solid Waste Management	Efficient solid waste management to improve environment and health conditions in Ghazieh host communities	DFID
Saadnayel	Wastewater management	Improving the wastewater network in Saadnayel	DFID



8 Footnotes

¹ See UNHCR Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122>.

² See Lebanon Crisis Response Plan 2015-16.

³ REACH, OCHA, and UNICEF, *Defining Community Vulnerabilities in Lebanon*, September 2014-February 2015.

⁴ REACH, OCHA, UNICEF, Lebanon Community Profiles, available at: http://www.reachresourcecentre.info/system/files/resource-documents/reach_lbn_allprofiles_hcv_lebanon_jul2015.pdf.

⁵ REACH, OCHA, and UNICEF, *Defining Community Vulnerabilities in Lebanon*, September 2014-February 2015, available at: <https://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=9544>.

⁶ See International Labour Organisation (ILO), *Assessment of the impact of Syrian refugees in Lebanon and their employment profile, 2013*; Consultation and Research Institute (CRI) & UNDP, *The Syrian crisis – Implications for development indicators and development planning, Lebanon, 2012*; ALEF, *Two years on Syrian refugees in Lebanon, 2013*; Mercy Corps *Things fall apart – Political, economic and social instability in Lebanon, 2013*, Mercy Corps & UNDP, *Stabilisation & Resilience in protracted politically-induced emergencies – A case study exploration of Lebanon, 2015*; World Bank, *Lebanon – Economic and Social Impact Assessment of the Syrian Conflict, 2013*; Save the Children, *Social Cohesion and Intergroup Relations – Syria Refugees and Lebanese Nationals in the Bekaa and Akkar, 2014*; Amel Association International, *Gender Analysis of host communities affected by Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon, 2013*; CARE International for Lebanon, *Inter-Community Relations: A Study of the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Influx on the Lebanese Host Community and its Repercussions on the Social Cohesion Context in North and Mount Lebanon – T5 and Chouf*, October 2014.

⁷ See Mercy Corps 2013 & 2014 and CRI, 2015. Aktis Strategy also presented data and conclusion that support this in its *Impact Evaluation Report - Lebanon Municipal Support Project* in March 2015.

⁸ The ALEF Assessment (2013) notes that the Lebanese government prefers

to refer to the Syrians as “displaced” rather than as “refugees”

⁹ Mercy Corps *Things fall apart – Political, economic and social instability in Lebanon, 2013*.

¹⁰ See UNHCR Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122>.

¹¹ See UNHCR Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122>.

¹² Confirmed numbers to be provided by UNDP.

¹³ See UNHCR Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, available at: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122>.

¹⁴ See Save the Children, *Social Cohesion and Intergroup Relations: Syrian Refugees and Lebanese Nationals in the Bekaa and Akkar, 2014*.

¹⁵ See UNDP/MOSA, *Poverty, Growth, and Income distribution in Lebanon*. Beirut: UNDP, 2008.

¹⁶ Search for Common Ground (SFCG), *Dialogue and local responses mechanisms to conflict between host communities and Syrian refugees in Lebanon, 2014*, p.8.

¹⁷ While LCPS reported that only 40% of respondents felt safe in their communities, REACH found 65% of refugees and 75% of host community members felt safe.

¹⁸ International Alert, *Citizens’ perceptions of security threats stemming from the Syrian refugee presence in Lebanon 2015*.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ The results are displayed as percentage of stories rather than total number of stories to reflect the extension of the research to three additional municipalities. The percentages are statistically significant for the six municipalities covered by the research and are not intended to reflect broader regional or national trends. This applies to Figures 4, 12, 13, 14 and 31.

²¹ See Government of Lebanon decrees no. 2331 and 2341 dated 30 November 2015.

