Still Paying The Price?

Progress on addressing the Syria crisis since the London Conference
1. Introduction

Since the Syria conflict began five years ago, over a quarter of a million people, perhaps twice that\(^1\), have been killed. The country’s development has been put back by almost four decades.\(^2\) Half of Syria’s entire population has been displaced, some people up to five different times.\(^3\)

On 4\(^{th}\) February 2016 the UK, Norway, Germany, Kuwait and the UN co-hosted the ‘Supporting Syria and the Region’ conference (henceforth ‘London Conference’), taking a positive and innovative step towards a comprehensive plan to address the greatest humanitarian crisis of our time. Donors and governments made significant funding and policy pledges including:
- Aid pledges totaling over $12 billion, with the capacity to support 4.7 million refugees in the region\(^4\) as well as those inside Syria
- Policy commitments to create 1.1 million jobs in refugee hosting nations, to open up labour markets to refugees and to ensure ‘No Lost Generation’ by promising access to a quality education for 1.7 million refugee children for the 2016/17 school year.

The first official check point on progress against these commitments comes at the World Humanitarian Summit (WHS) on 23\(^{rd}\)–24\(^{th}\) May 2016. Whilst acknowledging only three months have passed, this report aims to shine a light on progress so far and hold donors and governments accountable for both their financial and policy related promises. It also seeks to get an on the ground perspective from both Syrians and people working to support them, based on field surveys conducted between 5\(^{th}\)–13\(^{th}\) May 2016 by Concern Worldwide, Christian Aid and Islamic Relief.\(^5\)

Key Statistics\(^7\)

### Slow to put words into deeds
- Of the $6 billion pledged for 2016 by the participating donors of the London Conference, only $1.16 billion has been committed.\(^6\)
- By mid-April 2016, 94% of London Conference donors had not turned their full pledges\(^9\) into actual commitments.\(^10\)
- Over half of the funds pledged at the conference have not been allocated to appeals and 47% of funds have not been allocated to an implementing organisation.\(^11\)

### Syria is under-represented
- There are 6.6 million internally displaced people (IDPs) inside Syria, almost two million more than the 4.8 million refugees in neighbouring countries\(^12\). Around 13.5 million people in Syria are in need of protection and basic services, three times the caseload of refugees in host countries.\(^13\) Yet:
  - London Conference donors have so far allocated three times the amount of money to the regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) than to the Syria Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP).\(^14\)
  - Well over twice the amount of combined overall funding (not just for UN plans) has been contributed to surrounding countries compared to Syria.\(^15\)

### The 2016 humanitarian response remains underfunded
- Almost half way through the year the main UN funding instruments the HRP and 3RP, according to OCHA Financial Tracking Service, are only 20% funded as at 17 May 2016.\(^16\)
- The regional 3RP is 23% funded, well below what it should be approaching half way through the year, but significantly higher than the Syria HRP, which, despite being over a billion dollars less in total, is just 14% funded.\(^17\)
2. Progress on donor commitments

Putting promises into action

Pledges are just words until they are translated into commitments (usually by signing a contract) and then dispersed to implementing organisations to provide assistance. Analysis shows a significant number of promises are yet to be translated into action:

By 13th April 2016:
- 94% of London Conference donors had not committed their pledges (44/47). Only three donors (Australia, Malta, Lithuania) had fully committed their funding pledges.
- 18 donors had committed none of their funds, including Kuwait, one of the co-hosts.
- 98% of Saudi Arabia’s pledge, 96% of the UK’s pledge, over 89% of Germany’s and 89% the EC’s pledges were all still outstanding.

By 29th April 2016:
- 52% of the pledged funds had not yet been allocated to an implementing organisation.
- 47% of pledged funds have not been allocated to a particular appeal.
- 28% of pledged funds had not been allocated to a recipient country affected by the crisis.

The statistics above indicate slow progress on making pledges a reality. It is Syrians who pay the price of this delay through assistance not materialising. Shortly after the London Conference the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) warned donors of a critical window of opportunity for humanitarian action during the brief cessation of hostilities in Syria: “Rapid disbursement and decisions of allocation will be important to allow agencies to step up operations in Syria in light of the cessation of hostilities.” The UN High Commissioner for Refugees also cautioned that over half of the funds promised had not been allocated, hampering humanitarian organisations from scaling up their efforts.

Addressing the longer-term

Concern’s report, Paying the Price: Why donors must take a new approach to the Syria crisis, published ahead of the London Conference highlighted the need for donors to provide longer-term, predictable funds and to bridge the gap between humanitarian and development assistance. On this point the London Conference made an impressive attempt at a new approach to protracted humanitarian crises by achieving pledges to both 2016 humanitarian funds and for 2017-20. While OCHA does not track development funding making it difficult to accurately assess the success of this new approach, a total of $6.1 billion was pledged for the period 2017-2020. Nineteen of 47 donors pledged more overall funding for long-term support than for the year 2016 including the host nations Norway, Kuwait and the UK. Germany made significant financial contributions up to the year 2019 before the conference. The largest financial donor to long-term humanitarian aid at the conference, was the EU followed by Germany then the UK. (see Table I).

Other donors stood out for pledging double, triple and quadruple the amount for the 2017-2020 as for 2016 including Norway, Kuwait, France, Italy, Sweden, Portugal, Luxembourg, Croatia, Cyprus and Malta. Of course, these donors are only setting the standard if pledges are fully committed and in the shortest possible timeframes.

Although the London Conference earlier this year saw record-level pledges, many donors have not yet allocated the funds pledged, and disbursement rates remain low. Without tangible contributions, organizations cannot scale up or sustain operations in Syria and the region.”

UN OCHA.
3. Sharing responsibility

The London Conference and the Geneva Conference on Syrian Refugees took place within weeks of each other and aimed to tackle different aspects of Syria as a global crisis. A high level of commitment and success was equally important at both conferences in order to effectively address the widespread impacts of the crisis.

But there is a stark imbalance in donor performance. Just six out of 47 donors at the London Conference (Germany, European Commission, USA, United Kingdom, Japan, Norway) accounted for $4.56 billion, over three quarters, of the overall amount pledged for 2016. This means a handful of wealthy countries are shouldering the bulk of the financial burden for the humanitarian response, while others contribute little or nothing. There is also an imbalance when it comes to taking responsibility for the resettlement of refugees. See Table II below.

Table II: Donor performance on financing and resettlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOP DONORS</th>
<th>Syrian resettlement places 2015 based on fair share</th>
<th>Top donors to Syria 2015 based on fair share</th>
<th>Top overall pledgers at London Conference</th>
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<td>Germany</td>
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<td>EC (EU)</td>
<td>$2,513,661,202</td>
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Countries surrounding Syria are straining under the immense pressure of the largest displacement crisis since World War II. UNHCR estimates that well over 450,000 of the most vulnerable Syrian refugees, including survivors of torture and widower families, will need resettlement places before the end of 2018. In March, the Geneva Conference on Syrian Refugees aimed to tackle this critical issue, but with disappointing results with some major donors not accepting their fair share of the resettlement burden.

- EU member states have so far accepted a total of 185,000 Syrian refugees between them, a mere 3.8% of the Syrians being hosted by countries in the region.
- Collectively, rich nations offered resettlement places to only 28% of their minimum fair share in 2015. Gulf countries including Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain have offered no resettlement places to Syrian refugees.
- Russia has resettled zero Syrian refugees and has pledged zero humanitarian aid for 2016 onwards.
- US is a top donor to Syria but by March had only resettled 955 out of the 10,000 Syrian refugees it pledged to resettle by the end of September 2016. Canada is a more modest donor but has exceeded its plan to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees.
- The UK is a top financial donor but by the end of 2015 it had officially resettled only 1,337 Syrians, representing 5.5% of its fair share for that year.
- Germany was not only the largest overall donor at the London Conference and contributed 152% of its fair share of funds as well as 113% of its fair share resettlement places in 2015.

The EU-Turkey deal agreed on 18th March 2016 which included the controversial ‘return one to resettle one’ scheme for Syrians seeking a safe haven in Europe, accounts for a full 17% ($582 million) of the total amount raised from the London Conference. This is despite the fact the Council of Europe has since stated: "The EU-Turkey Agreement, [however] at best strains and at worst exceeds the limits of what is permissible under European and international law. Even on paper, it raises many serious questions of compatibility with basic norms on refugees’ and migrants’ rights. It has so far given every indication of being even more problematic in practice."
4. Policy progress in the region

“A huge amount of money is being spent, but the governments and donors are only caring if the money is spent – not if the refugee was fully helped or got any benefit from what was offered”.

Local staff member, Syrian response, Lebanon

A key strength of the London Conference was in recognising and attempting to tackle policy barriers in refugee hosting countries, resulting in two important outputs in the form of the Jordan Compact and Lebanon Statement of Intent. Turkey, host to the largest number of Syrian refugees, also released the ‘Turkey Statement’ covering challenges, gaps and some intent for positive change.

Policy progress will not happen overnight, and the UK Government have indicated they are happy with negotiations on policy commitments from the London conference so far. Whilst there is little transparency on the policy monitoring, reports from NGOs and Syrians on the ground indicate there has so far been little substantive change on even reviewing existing regulatory frameworks for refugees since the London Conference in either Lebanon or Jordan. The key thematic areas of the London Conference, education, livelihoods and protection are examined below. Overall, indicative information from those on the ground suggests there has been more progress on education than livelihoods, and points to a lack of strategy and planning for interventions to maximise the benefit for refugees.

Education

Access to education has become a recognised high priority in both countries, but there are prevailing barriers to ensuring children can access a quality education, as promised by participating donors of the London Conference.

In Lebanon, the government committed to “expanding access to education opportunities for the most vulnerable out of school through quality and regulated Non-Formal Education (NFE)”. As of May 2016, there is an official NFE Framework, but those on the ground report that it is not being operationalised and, despite NGOs having the immediate capacity to provide NFE for out-of-school children, they have been asked to desist from providing NFE programming.

According to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education, 60% of 6-17 year olds are not accessing formal education and there are also 131,989 3-5 year olds requiring early childhood education. Key barriers raised by survey participants include no accreditation certificates, security and protection risks, distance to travel and the financial strain of sending children to school.

Jordan announced its commitment to open 50,000 new school places for refugees by doubling the number of second shift schools by September 2016, and made a landmark commitment to ensure that every child in Jordan will be in education in the 2016/17 school year. However, barriers to meeting this goal remain, including quality of education, violence in schools, distance to travel and transport costs, as well as registration and civil documentation challenges that mean children are being rejected from learning opportunities opened up by the government.

Livelihoods

Following the London Conference, Jordan announced that with the right support 200,000 job opportunities for Syrian refugees could be created in the next three years and that Syrians currently working in the informal economy would be given three months (from April 2016) to ‘regularise’ their situation without cost. This is a vital and important step. However, uptake has reportedly been limited and further regulatory changes are needed to allow for the work permit process to be fully accessible to Syrian refugees including the most marginalised. The scope of labour opportunities need to be expanded and the practice of work permits being tied to the employer rather than the employee must also be reviewed, as it makes Syrians vulnerable to exploitation and restricts their freedom.

In Lebanon, as of May there still appear to be no concrete plans or timelines for the operationalisation of the commitment to ease and remove barriers to refugees seeking residency and work.

““There should be more resources and coordination among organisations and the government to control the education quality in order to have better results and improvement”

Local staff respondent

“We are abused in our work as some times we are not paid”

Boy child-labourer, Lebanon
A change by government is needed to allow Syrians to work, and documentation that grants refugees temporary residency (renewable, at no cost) until they can return safely is critical.

**Protection**

Investment in the Protection Cluster for Syria is life-saving – tackling widespread violence, abuse and neglect including gender-based violence, unexploded ordnance remnants of war/landmines, family separation, unaccompanied children, child labour and child recruitment. Without addressing these factors, other humanitarian interventions cannot be successful as civilians live in constant fear and jeopardy. As a humanitarian sector, protection received little attention at the London Conference. The success of education and livelihoods responses also hinge upon humanitarian protection efforts.

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**Spotlight on Northern Iraq**

“I do not feel any support from the international community. There is no change and no-one is hearing us”.

Iraq is a conflict country itself and hosts more refugees than all the European Member States put together. It is notable by the absence of attention received and policy commitments made at the London Conference. It is therefore no surprise no surprise that 23 out of 25 beneficiaries (children, youth and adults of mixed gender) surveyed by Christian Aid answered ‘no’ when asked whether they felt an increased sense of support from the international community in the last three months. Over half of respondents also said they feel no sense of hope for the situation improving, stating that things have got worse in recent months. The most common priority needs from respondents were cash, jobs and education – ironically linked to the three key themes from the London Conference.

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**Spotlight on Lebanon**

Has momentum made a difference to people on the ground?

The London commitments should have demonstrated the level of support from the international community. However, surveys conducted in Lebanon by three organisations over the past few weeks find that many Syrians report losing hope and some are feeling a profound lack of support from the international community in the months following the London Conference. This is in part owing to the patchy progress on policy promises made. Out of over 80 mixed respondents in Lebanon:

- Over three times as many beneficiaries said the situation has not changed or got worse as compared to those that felt it had improved.
- Double the number of staff members that support Syrian refugees felt there has not been increased support from the international community in the last three months, although the majority felt at least partially more hopeful about the current situation changing.
- This was echoed by a large majority of beneficiary respondents in Lebanon saying there has been either no increase or that they felt support had decreased in the last three months.
- The majority of all respondents in Lebanon said ‘not at all’ when asked if they had an increased sense of hope in the last three months, but this was particularly stark for children and young people.

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“Nothing is making me hopeful because it’s politics”

Young Lebanese refugee
5. Inside Syria

“As people exhaust their savings and resources, they are forced to pawn their future to survive”

(Final Monitoring Report for Syria 2015)

Around 13.5 million people in Syria, including 6 million children51 are in need of protection and some form of humanitarian assistance. Access to food, energy, and water is being used as a weapon of war, exacerbating suffering and humanitarian need.52 During 2015 the use of sieges as a tactic of war led to the number of people under siege doubling, creating an increasing number of hard-to-reach IDPs.53 It is these people in besieged areas or areas under ISIS control that are most in need, and least well served by the humanitarian response.

Despite the scale of need in 2015, only 43% of the funds requested for inside Syria in 2015 were actually received. The least funded sectors in order were: Nutrition, Education, Non-Food Items, Protection and Community Services and Early Recovery and Livelihoods.54

Although there was discussion at the London Conference on protection and ‘inside Syria’, outputs were limited to statements and commitments on the political track, with no policy outcome document on Syria or commitment on tackling specific humanitarian needs inside the country.

The scale of need in 2016 remains staggering, with over two million more people in need inside Syria than for the entire regional refugee response; the UN is aiming to reach 6.6 million IDPs in Syria and 4.8 million refugees in host countries.55 Yet, so far in 2016, funding for both responses is weak, with funds for Syria little more than half the amount of money received for the regional response (see Diagram I).

The imbalance between Syria and the regional response was very apparent in the outcomes of the London Conference. Participating donors have so far allocated three times the amount of money to the Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) than to the Syria Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP).57
6. Conclusions and recommendations

The London conference on Syria and the Region generated significant funds and much needed momentum to address the humanitarian crisis in Syria and its neighbours. It represented an important step towards a new approach to responding to protracted crisis, including raising $6.1 billion in multi-year funding, and achieving policy commitments from refugee hosting countries to make the funds effective on the ground. However, these commitments must quickly be turned into action to avoid vulnerable Syrians paying the price.

1. Donor promises have not turned quickly enough into action. Donors must accelerate the timeframes for disbursing funds and ensure allocations match the needs on the ground

- Rates of disbursement of the London Conference commitments remain low – putting action to save lives on hold and missing opportunities to take advantage of windows of humanitarian access, such as the recent cessation of hostilities.

- The humanitarian response in neighbouring countries continues to garner more funds than the response inside Syria, is where the majority of people in need remain. This balance must be redressed, and donor governments must push all parties to the conflict to grant unconditional humanitarian access to reach those most in need.

2. For Syrians to see the benefits of policy commitments made, further support and action is required from all stakeholders to implement policy commitments in host countries

- Delays in getting funding to the region are leading to a seemingly catch-22 scenario with host governments indicating they cannot make progress on their policy promises until they receive the funds.

- Access to education has become a clear priority on the ground, progress is too slow, the needs of the most vulnerable are often not met, and quality is not being taken into account. If this continues to be unaddressed, a ‘lost generation’ remains a risk.

- Livelihoods is not being given enough priority by donors. On the ground onerous, complicated, inconsistent and costly processes continue to hamper Syrians from accessing safe and legal livelihoods. In particular it is necessary to remove charges for residency permits in Lebanon, to extend the grace period on work permits in Jordan, and to make further and quicker progress on job creation.

- Syria has been dubbed the greatest protection crisis of our time, yet the Protection Cluster received little attention in the outcomes of the London Conference. As donors continue to disburse funds and prepare policy statements for the WHS, this must be taken into full account.

- Those nations that have not set out multi-year funding commitments for 2017-20 should do so as soon as possible to help prevent disjointed planning and gaps in services.
3. Governments are not adequately sharing responsibility for the humanitarian response and resettling refugees. Donors must adopt a comprehensive approach to their responsibilities.

- The countries giving the highest level of financial support can be the least forthcoming on resettlement and refugee policies and vice versa, with Germany being a stand-out exception that has fulfilled both responsibilities. Donors must focus on the needs of the most vulnerable and not on using humanitarian funds as a way to keep refugees out.

- It is not acceptable that some wealthy nations, such as Russia and the Gulf states, have shown no support in either financing or resettlement. Diplomatic efforts should be put into ensuring all donors are contributing their fair share.

4. Monitoring of commitments made at the London Conference to date has been inadequate and opaque. Formal, public frameworks must be established to hold donors and governments to account for their commitments.

- The co-hosts of the London Conference must work with refugee-hosting countries to track policy as well as financial commitments. Donors should work with UN OCHA to develop suitable accountability structures that can capture both humanitarian and developing funding for protracted crises. This effort should include an agreed maximum timeframe to turn financial pledges into a reality.

- Hosts of the London conference should work with refugee-hosting countries to publish public reviews of progress on both funding and policy commitments, and progress towards comprehensive, coordinated plans in each country.

- Donors should also establish a mechanism for ongoing coordination and review of progress, working with the private sector, the World Bank and other multilateral development banks, and civil society.

5. Syrians have not been adequately involved in international policy processes and must be put at the centre of political, policy and programming solutions.

- There were efforts to involve NGOs and Syrian civil society in the London conference. Whilst Syrian civil society was represented at the ‘NGO day’ on 3rd February, only a handful of Syrians were in attendance for the main pledging event on 4th February. Involvement and engagement of civil society in implementation of policy changes and programming on the ground is also reportedly limited. Mechanisms should be set up in country to more routinely engage and involve civil society in implementation and reviewing progress.

Finally, and most importantly, no effort must be spared in stepping up political and diplomatic efforts to end the war that rages on in Syria. Without a peaceful settlement, the cycle of loss of life, displacement and humanitarian need will continue unabated.

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According to current UNOCHA FTS data and accurate as of 17 May 2016:

See;  
Ibid. Page 5.

According to Oxfam, the UK's fair share for 2015 would have been 23,982. See Oxfam's fair shares analysis on Syria available here:  
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So far 27,005 Syrians have been resettled under the scheme. See,  
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Survey used open questions to gather input from both staff and beneficiaries about changes that have occurred in the months following the conference (though of course these shifts cannot necessarily be attributed directly to the conference itself). We sought input from all countries in the region but received the majority of surveys from Lebanon. We also received surveys back from Jordan, Northern Iraq and Turkey. In smaller quantities. There is therefore a greater amount of data on Lebanon included in this report based on the information that was received.

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This report was produced by Concern Worldwide, with support in conducting surveys from Christian Aid and Islamic Relief. Quotations from local staff and Syrian refugees represent the views of individuals only and are not representative of demographic groups or the organisations that conducted the surveys.

Concern Worldwide is an international humanitarian organisation dedicated to tackling poverty and suffering in 28 of the world’s poorest countries. We work in partnership with the very poorest people in these countries, directly enabling them to improve their lives, as well as using our knowledge and experience to influence decisions made at a local, national and international level that can significantly reduce extreme poverty. Concern has been working in Syria since 2013, and also has programmes supporting Syrian refugees and host communities in both Lebanon and Turkey.

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