



Bridging the Gap: Exploring the Use of Social Enterprise for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

Citation

Grom, Edward Dean. 2017. Bridging the Gap: Exploring the Use of Social Enterprise for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard Medical School.

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<u>Title Page</u>

Scholarly Report submitted in partial fulfillment of the MD Degree at Harvard Medical School and the MPP Degree at Harvard Kennedy School of Government

Date: 28 March 2017

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Scholarly Report Title: Bridging the Gap: Exploring the Use of Social Enterprise for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

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<u>Abstract</u>

TITLE: Bridging the Gap: Exploring the Use of Social Enterprise for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

Purpose: There are more than 1 million Syrian refugees in Lebanon, prompting a major humanitarian crisis. Given the funding gaps and the protracted nature of the Syrian Civil War, we explore whether social enterprise can be employed as a more sustainable model of humanitarian delivery.

Methods: We conducted 28 in-depth interviews with members of the Syrian refugee response in Lebanon including the Lebanese Government, various United Nations agencies, as well as local and international NGOs. We also conducted two focus groups with Syrian refugees living in Beirut (one all-male and one all-female). We took notes during these sessions and then analyzed the notes for common themes, which ultimately informed the Key Findings and Recommendations.

Results: This study had four Key Findings. 1) Syrian refugees in Lebanon are vulnerable, and becoming more so. Our interviews and focus groups revealed a deep and pervasive vulnerability in the Syrian refugee population, exacerbated by employment restrictions. This makes it difficult for Syrian refugees to become customers in a social enterprise model. 2) Many donors and service providers are focused on basic assistance rather than development work. We discovered that, while most interviewees acknowledged the need for sustainability, most organizations involved in the crisis actually focus on Basic Assistance and charitable aid. 3) The current sociopolitical landscape does not foster the use of social enterprise. Although Lebanon has a strong entrepreneurial history, the current policy of the government towards refugees, as well as persistent local tensions, make it difficult for social enterprise to develop healthily. 4) There are social enterprises involved in this crisis and partial cost recovery is possible in some sectors. Despite the barriers in the previous Findings, we did find that pre-existing social enterprises had expanded services to Syrian refugees, although have had to rely on charitable funding to do so. We did, however, find some examples of cost recovery taking place, especially in the Health and Livelihoods Sectors.

Conclusions: We ultimately provide four Recommendations for funders involved in the humanitarian response. 1) Invest in existing social enterprises in order to help them expand to the Syrian refugee population. 2) Look at the primary healthcare field for examples of current cost recovery and possible opportunities to scale. 3) Explore microfinance and livelihood activities, especially ones that are currently being tolerated by the Lebanese government. 4) Acknowledge that hybrid social enterprises (in which some money comes from donations) are still an opportunity.

BRIDGING THE GAP

Exploring the Use of Social Enterprise for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon



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A project conducted for Alfanar Lebanon

Submitted to: Julie Boatright Wilson, PAC Seminar Leader Juliette Kayyem, HKS Advisor Jennifer Kasper, HMS Reviewer

This PAE reflects the views of the author(s) and should not be viewed as representing the views of the PAE's external client(s), nor those of Harvard University or any of its faculty.

Is it not yet a very little while until Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall be regarded as a forest? -Isaiah 29:17

I have many people to thank for this product.

First, and most importantly, I would like to thank Teresa Chahine, who served as Innovation Advisor at Alfanar during my time working on this project. Without her valuable input, guidance, and expertise in social enterprise, this project could never have been conducted. Thank you for your patience and steadfast help.

Second, I would like to thank Harvard Medical School and the Harvard Kennedy School of Government for their support and the opportunity to conduct this research. In particular, I want to thank Julie Boatright Wilson, Juliette Kayyem, Jennifer Kasper, and Michael Van Rooyen who served as invaluable (and responsive) mentors and advisors. In addition, I would like to thank Kari Hannibal and the Scholars in Medicine Office at HMS for working with me to fund my travel to Lebanon.

Third, I would like to thank all my interviewees, who took time out of their busy schedules to meet with me and share their perspectives. In particular, I would like to thank the people of AMEL Association for generously lending their staff and facilities to conduct focus groups. I learned more from these interviews than can ever be contained in this report. Thank you for all the work that you do to help Syrian refugees and the people of Lebanon. Thank you for being on the front lines.

Fourth, I would like to thank the Syrian refugees who met with us in focus groups. Thank you for opening yourselves up and for sharing your struggles. I truly hope this report can help make your lives better.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Dany, for his support throughout this process and for allowing me to share in the joys of his homeland.

شكراً

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Executive Summary

The Syrian Civil War, one of the greatest humanitarian crises of our time, has had a particularly devastating impact on the country of Lebanon. With the influx of more than 1 million Syrians among a native population of 4.4 million, Lebanon now hosts the highest proportion of refugees worldwide. This has created a major humanitarian situation, which is now persisting into its seventh year. Funding requirements for the crisis response are high (2.75 billion USD in 2017) yet year after year are far from fulfilled. These funding gaps have led to new questions about more efficient ways to deliver humanitarian services in this protracted crisis.

This is where social enterprise fits in. Social enterprises are organizations that attempt to solve social problems through market-based principles. While traditional humanitarian funding is charity-driven, social enterprises aim for sustainability in the delivery of social services by providing services for a fee and engaging in cost recovery. We asked the following research question:

Is it possible to employ a social enterprise approach to serve Syrian refugees in Lebanon as customers rather than beneficiaries?

In an attempt to answer this question, we conducted 28 interviews with members of the humanitarian response in Lebanon, as well as 2 focus groups with Syrian refugees. These meetings resulted in a wealth of information, including the following Key Findings:

• Key Finding #1: Syrian refugees in Lebanon are vulnerable, and becoming more so.

Our interviews and focus groups revealed a deep and pervasive vulnerability in the Syrian refugee population, exacerbated by employment restrictions. This makes it difficult for Syrian refugees to become customers in a social enterprise model.

• Key Finding #2: Many donors and service providers are focused on basic assistance rather than development work.

We discovered that, while most interviewees acknowledged the need for sustainability, most organizations involved in the crisis actually focus on Basic Assistance and charitable aid.

• Key Finding #3: The current sociopolitical landscape does not foster the use of social enterprise.

Although Lebanon has a strong entrepreneurial history, the current policy of the government towards refugees, as well as persistent local tensions, make it difficult for social enterprise to develop healthily.

• Key Finding #4: There are social enterprises involved in this crisis and partial cost recovery is possible in some sectors.

Despite the barriers in the previous Findings, we did find that pre-existing social enterprises had expanded services to Syrian refugees, although have had to rely on charitable funding to do so. We did, however, find some examples of cost recovery taking place, especially in the Health and Livelihoods Sectors.

Informed by these Key Findings, we provide the following Recommendations for venture philanthropists and others interested in efficient humanitarian delivery:

- 1.) Invest in existing social enterprises in order to help them expand to the Syrian refugee population.
- 2.) Look at the primary healthcare field for examples of current cost recovery and possible opportunities to scale.
- **3.) Explore microfinance and livelihood activities, especially ones that are currently being tolerated by the Lebanese government.**
- 4.) Acknowledge that hybrid social enterprises (in which some money comes from donations) are still an opportunity

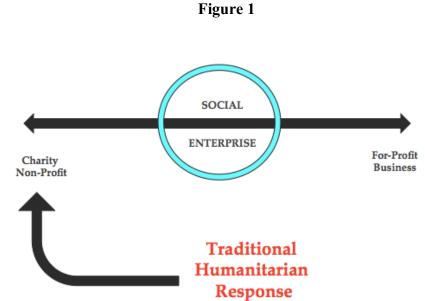
Background & Introduction

The Syrian Civil War has led to the displacement of approximately 11 million people from their homes since 2011, 5 million of whom have fled Syrian borders to other nations.ⁱ During this same time period, the number of forcibly displaced people worldwide went from 42.5 million to 65.3 million, an increase of 50% in just 5 years.ⁱⁱ Nearly 40% of these individuals are refugees and asylum seekers who have left their countries seeking safety elsewhere.ⁱⁱⁱ This represents an alarming global trend that is affecting a growing proportion of the worldwide population, and is having ramifications that go beyond the borders of countries in conflict. The ongoing and worsening refugee crisis poses new questions for leaders in the humanitarian, non-profit, governmental, inter-governmental, business and academic sectors.

Lebanon has been particularly affected by the global refugee crisis. Following its own lengthy civil war from 1975-1990 and further unrest in the mid-2000s, Lebanon saw a period of economic growth and reinvestment in infrastructure and social services in the half decade leading up to 2010.^{iv} Since 2011, however, Lebanon has absorbed more than one million Syrian refugees, putting a strain on all sectors and undoing much of the country's forward progress.^v With a population of only 4.4 million people, Lebanon hosts the highest proportion of refugees worldwide: there is one refugee for every four people.^{vi} This has called for an incredible investment in humanitarian relief in the country since 2011. Despite the Lebanese Government's and the international community's attempts to coordinate the Syrian refugee response, resources to support the refugee community are limited. Funding requirements for the response have increased every year since 2011, but actual funding has not kept up.^{vii} For example, while 60% of the appeal was covered in 2015, funding actually decreased in 2016 and covered only 52% of needed funds.^{viiii} This leaves Lebanese civil society asking whether other models might be more effective in improving the lives of Syrian refugees, among other marginalized populations.

Why Social Enterprise?

These funding gaps span every sector of the response and have actual ramifications for the lives of refugees in need.^{ix} Given the protracted nature of the Syrian crisis, this uncertainty about funding highlights the necessity of sustainability in the delivery of social services to refugees. The field of social enterprise presents the opportunity for sustainability by employing cost recovery (the ability to match



costs with a source of revenue). A social enterprise is defined, most simply, as "a company or organization that provides a social product or service at a fee."^x Social enterprises can take many forms but they must provide an effective, evidence-based social product or service, they must be financially viable, and they must be scalable or replicable.^{xi} On a spectrum between charity nonprofits and for-profit commercial businesses, social enterprises fall somewhere in the middle. The field of social entrepreneurship has experienced increased momentum in Lebanon in recent years.¹ Organizations serving Syrian refugees, however, have followed primarily a traditional charity rather than social enterprise response: raising funds from the international aid community and through local and global fundraisers to provide a range of social services (see Figure 1). It is important to acknowledge, however, that Syrian refugees are also consumers (it is estimated that the multiplier of international humanitarian assistance in Lebanon is 1.6).^{xii} Yet the international community does not appear to be leveraging market-based principles to provide services. At the inception of this PAE, there were no readily apparent examples of local organizations providing products and services to Syrian refugees using a social enterprise model.

Given the funding gaps in the humanitarian sector as well as the increased focus on entrepreneurship in Lebanon, organizations like Alfanar and others in the social entrepreneurship ecosystem are posing the following question: *Is it possible to employ a social enterprise approach to serve Syrian refugees in Lebanon as customers rather than beneficiaries?* Information in the social entrepreneurship and humanitarian relief literature to answer this question is limited, despite growing interest in the topic.² To our knowledge, this is the first systematic study examining whether the social entreprise model might be applied in a refugee

¹ For more information about social enterprises in Lebanon, please see Appendix A

² Also see Appendix A for a Literature Review and more information about the use of social enterprise in refugee situations.

setting to provide products and services that improve social outcomes. For the purposes of this PAE, we define social enterprise with two main criteria:

- (1) Must have a social mission to serve refugees (in any sector).
- (2) Must employ cost recovery principles in an attempt to be financially sustainable.

Methods³

This PAE was conducted as a qualitative research study using focus groups and semi-structured in-depth interviews. We conducted 28 interviews with members of the humanitarian response in Lebanon. Interviewees included representatives of various UN agencies, local and international NGOs, and select Ministries in the Lebanese government. We also conducted two focus groups with Syrian refugees in Beirut, one all-male and one all-female. These meetings yielded a wealth of information, which are organized into four Key Findings in the analysis below. The outcomes of these interviews and focus groups, as well as review of relevant data provided by interviewees, inform the final Recommendations of this paper.

Limitations

For the interviews, we utilized a snowball approach starting at high levels (e.g. the UN and Lebanese government). Thus, it is possible that we missed important perspectives on social enterprise at the grassroots level. Our methods attempted to solve this by interviewing direct service providers in addition to coordinating agencies. Additionally, since we were only able to conduct two focus groups, we were not able to gauge the experience of refugees in the informal tented settlements, whose quality of life is often much different than refugees living in Beirut. However, we believe that even a small subset of qualitative information about the experience of refugees is important at grounding this research and contributing to its success.

From an analysis perspective, we are limited by the fact that this is qualitative research that collects subjective anecdotal information from individuals. Our methods attempt to overcome the subjectivity of the data through the number of interviews and the diversity of the stakeholders. Additionally, since the idea of social enterprise in a humanitarian crisis is a new concept, we believe these individual perspectives are important for beginning the conversation.

³ For a more detailed explanation of Methodology, please see Appendix D



The interviews and focus groups yielded a wealth of information and number of thematic commonalities emerged. The most important of these themes are grouped here in four Key Findings, which speak to the research question and ultimately inform the Recommendations.

Key Finding #1: Syrian refugees in Lebanon are vulnerable, and becoming more so.

To explore whether social enterprise can function in the refugee context, we needed to ask the question, "Can Syrian refugees become customers rather than passive recipients?" This is an important question because it highlights whether cost recovery can occur through a direct exchange of goods between the enterprise and the target population. The results of our interviews and focus groups, as well as an examination of the quantitative data available, revealed a deep and pervasive vulnerability within the Syrian refugee population of Lebanon. This is an important finding because it limits the social enterprise models that can be implemented in such a setting.

Recent data reports that over 50% of Syrian refugee households in Lebanon have a per capita monthly expenditure that falls below 87USD, which is the Survival Minimum Expenditure Basket (i.e. the bare minimum a household needs in order to survive).⁴ Between 2014 and 2015, the number of Syrians living below the poverty line increased dramatically from 49% to 70%. This sharp decline plateaued in 2016, largely due to an injection of cash assistance and other

⁴ The data in this paragraph comes from the Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon (VASyR), which is a joint effort by UNHCR, UNICEF, and the WFP. It provides the best quantitative needs assessment of the refugee population. Please see Appendix B for more information about Syrian expenditures and incomes in Lebanon.

humanitarian efforts, but remains high at 71%. Additionally, 36% of households have moderate to severe food insecurity (an increase from 23% in 2015). Food accounts for 44% of household expenditures (this number is much higher in certain regions) and comes at the expense of spending on other important needs such as education and health care.^{xiii}

Although Syrian refugees are certainly not the only disadvantaged population in Lebanon (there are an estimated 1.5 million vulnerable Lebanese citizens)^{xiv}, there are some barriers unique to refugees that appear to increase their vulnerability and have implications for the practicality of social enterprise in the crisis. A frequent theme in our focus groups was legal residency permits, which cost 200USD per person per year. Many of the refugees we met with could not afford this fee, resulting in their illegal presence in the country and restrictions on their employment and mobility. At the time of this writing, this requirement was recently lifted for registered refugees. This may decrease the economic vulnerability of some refugees, although it appears that there are many Syrians that may still have to pay going forward.^{xv}

Another common concern was the restriction on employment for Syrian refugees. In order to become "customers" in the truest sense of the word, interviewees pointed out that there naturally must be opportunities for steady income in Syrian families. Yet the reality of Lebanese law makes this issue complicated. One of the most frequent themes arising from the interviews was the implication of the government policy banning refugees from legally working in Lebanon. Syrian refugees are allowed to find temporary employment in three sectors: agriculture, infrastructure, and environment. If Syrians manage to secure work permits in one of these three sectors, they risk losing their status and assistance as refugees.^{xvi} This system limits their legal employment opportunities and also means that many refugees are working in the informal sector, placing them open to exploitation and lack of oversight. In the focus groups, refugees discussed these issues: some of them felt they were underpaid compared to Lebanese individuals and some had to send their children to work instead of school.

It is important to note that assessments of refugee vulnerability varied based on the types of refugees being discussed. A recurrent theme was the difference between the refugees living in informal tented settlements (approximately 17% of all refugees)^{xvii} and those living in cities and Lebanese communities. One woman who works in the tented settlements talked extensively about the horrible conditions there and about frequent exploitation by camp "bosses." Although there is vulnerability in both groups, there was a distinction made between them, both with regards to their experiences and the types of services necessary.

This finding has a number of implications for our research question. Many interviewees pointed out the difficulty of using a social enterprise approach without a means of formal employment for refugees. A lack of steady income makes it nearly impossible for refugees to become "customers" of the types of services that they need, as it would not be ethical to ask them to pay. Indeed, there were some who felt that a focus on social enterprise in the humanitarian response

Bridging the Gap

was not appropriate. One interviewee in the government stated that a focus on social enterprise would "turn the refugee context into an industry." Another member of an international NGO stated that the refugees are "living in bloody tents. They are 100% vulnerable." Six years into the crisis, the necessity of development-minded thinking is more important than ever, yet the persistent vulnerability of refugees means that the need for humanitarian aid is perversely increasing.

Thus, for any social enterprise model to effectively function in this setting, it would have to be constructed with Syrian vulnerability in mind and the revenue stream would have to incorporate alternative sources. Examples include tiered pricing models, use of cash transfers, and utilization of temporary UN funding. These models are discussed and elaborated on below.

Key Finding #2: Many donors and service providers are focused on basic assistance rather than development work.

One of the reasons for meeting with such a diverse group of stakeholders was to determine if the humanitarian community is actually prepared to adopt a social enterprise model in delivering services. In the process of conducting interviews, it became clear that there is very little emphasis on sustainability and cost recovery in the crisis. Additionally, although the response is coordinated among ten sectors ranging from pure humanitarian aid to capacity building and development, the focus is skewed towards the former.⁵ For example, in the 2015-2016 Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP), the Basic Assistance sector accounted for 14% of the annual funding requirement of 2.48 billion USD yet actually received nearly 20% of the funding collected.^{xviii} In 2017, Basic Assistance accounts for nearly 21% of the 2.75 billion USD budget.^{xix} Much of this is likely due to actual needs and the increasing vulnerability of refugees, as discussed above. However, our interviews indicate that there may be supply-side issues that further illuminate the situation.

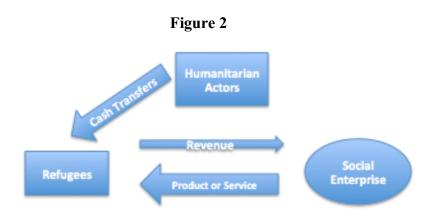
Multiple interviewees talked, surprisingly, about the large amount of funding available for the response. Although there are certainly gaps, it was highlighted that 6 years into this crisis the funding from international donors is still significant. After all, the response in Lebanon received 1.12 billion USD from the international community in 2016 alone.^{xx} Some interviewees attributed this to the idea that Western and Gulf states want to "keep the refugees where they are" (i.e. provide enough funding so that refugees can stay in Lebanon rather than migrating outside of the Levant). It was noted by many interviewees that the availability of funding for humanitarian purposes decreases the incentive for NGOs to engage in cost recovery behavior. One government official, when asked her opinion of the viability of social enterprise, stated, "Do you think NGOs are ready to do that? Do you know why not? Because they get so much more

⁵ Please see Appendix B for more information about the breakdown of the humanitarian response.

money from donors," pointing to examples of corruption and misappropriation of funds on the part of some humanitarian actors.

Many interviewees referred to the emphasis on basic assistance in the response rather than on capacity building and development. There were some in the government who lamented the lack of development funding from the international community. One government interviewee pointed out that the international community is putting pressure on the government to support livelihood (e.g. employment) activities for refugees but at the same time will only provide funding for development projects (which create employment) in the form of concessional loans rather than grants. Other interviewees also highlighted a bias towards emergency response projects, citing the relative ease of providing basic assistance (e.g. potable water, cash, winter blankets) compared to engaging in the more difficult work of community capacity building.

One interesting implication of the focus on pure humanitarian aid is the use of cash transfers. It appears that much of the Basic Assistance component of the humanitarian response has transitioned to cash rather than goods in-kind. Some interviewees pointed out that this allows the refugees to make choices as consumers and helps better highlight their financial needs. However, others pointed out that there is little long-term



utility to cash assistance without building up local economic capacity or opportunities for income generation. Multiple interviewees stressed the need for an "exit strategy" and the lack thereof in this crisis. Although they are a form of charity, cash transfers provide a unique opportunity to design social enterprises that deliver affordable services to refugees while empowering them to reintegrate as customers (see Figure 2). Thus far, however, it appears that there are few social enterprises that have taken advantage of this opportunity: most products and services are either provided for free by NGOs or have to be purchased at market price in the private economy.

One area that does seem to be gaining traction in the international community is employment. Despite the preferential focus on Basic Assistance, many interviewees acknowledged and communicated the need for development work and stated that there has been more discussion about this in recent stages of the crisis. The Livelihoods sector was noted multiple times as one that meshed naturally with the idea of social enterprise. Organizations in this sector provide a unique service for refugees (employment) but also are potentially able to collect revenue by selling a product targeted at other customer populations (see Figure 3). Multiple interviewees pointed out that Livelihoods is an important area of focus moving forward, especially given that

the crisis is so protracted. It was also noted, however, that this sector has historically been one of the most underfunded in the humanitarian response. Additionally, the rules regarding refugee employment make actual implementation of this difficult.





Key Finding #3: The current sociopolitical landscape does not foster the use of social enterprise.

The Syrian crisis has been very difficult for Lebanon as a country. Absorbing more than one million refugees in a short amount of time has resulted in problems with delivery of social services and social cohesion. Unemployment is rampant and it is estimated that the economy would need to create six times as many jobs to fully integrate all the migrants into the labor force.^{xxi} As an important, and highly impacted, stakeholder in this crisis, the perspective of the Lebanese government was brought up many times in both the interviews and focus groups. It was overwhelmingly noted that the government believes repatriation to be the only option for Syrian refugees. Much of Lebanon's refugee policy illustrates this bottom line. Thus, any policy that encourages permanent settlement is met with opposition on the part of the Lebanese government. This was reflected in many interviews, including those within the government and outside of it. Interviewees noted policies such as the ban on permanent infrastructure for refugees (which is the reason that there are no refugee camps for Syrians but only informal tented settlements). As mentioned above, refugees in the focus groups noted the high cost of the permit for maintaining residence in Lebanon, prompting many of them to lapse in their legal status from year to year. In addition to the bans on employment (which were mentioned by the majority of interviewees), the limitations on Syrians' ability to open new businesses frequently came up. Some interviewees noted that these policies contribute to the marginalization of refugees and do little to incorporate them into the formal economy. One interviewee suggested that these policies allow Syrian refugees "to survive, but not live." Interviewees in the government, on the other hand, pointed to the high unemployment rate in Lebanon and the necessity of limiting the employment of refugees to protect Lebanese citizens.

When it comes to social enterprise activities, then, the current political landscape is not fertile. In the words of one UN official, "the law abides." It was noted that many NGOs are operating in a

"gray area" of the law, employing Syrian refugees on a small scale, sometimes paying them informally or as volunteers. Many NGOs have specifically initiated employment opportunities for women, as multiple interviewees noted that male employment is what is of true concern to the Lebanese government. There were noted examples of artisanal and nutritional cooperatives providing employment opportunities and empowerment for Syrian women, some of which have a component of cost recovery. There was significant uncertainty, both on the part of the government and the humanitarian sector, about what the legal implications for NGOs will be if livelihood activities continue to expand going forward.

It was also noted that there is no legal framework for social enterprise in Lebanon. This makes it difficult to regulate such activities in the country. One government official put it this way: "There are businesses with social agendas and NGOs with business agendas," pointing out that it is not always

Legal and Cultural Barriers to Social Enterprise

Bans on refugee employment/business ownership

Residency permit requirements

Lack of permanent infrastructure for refugees

Cultural differences in Syria regarding cost of social services

Tensions between Syrians and Lebanese hosts

Lack of legal framework for social enterprises

possible to determine the motives of such organizations. Without a legal framework for defining social enterprise, or indeed a definition, it is difficult to look towards using it as a future model for humanitarian delivery.

From a sociocultural perspective, the results are more mixed. Issues of tensions between Syrians and the host communities were a frequent theme. For example, some interviewees (both inside and outside of the government) talked about how funding has been tied to the word "refugee," especially at the beginning of the response. This means that Syrians who are living within Lebanese communities are receiving services while their vulnerable Lebanese neighbors are not.⁶ It was highlighted that this can create tension in host communities, contributing to trouble with integration. One interviewee explained that her organization provided services to everyone in poor communities, regardless of nationality, even though this was technically not the intended use of the funding. Other interviewees pointed to the difference in culture between Lebanon and Syria. This was especially relevant surrounding the concepts of social services such as healthcare and education. Refugees in the focus groups highlighted that healthcare was free in Syria and is now prohibitively expensive for them in Lebanon. Some interviewees also believed that Syrians are not willing to pay for certain services in Lebanon that they received for free in Syria. One

⁶ Many Syrians have settled in areas of Lebanon that were already incredibly poor. See Appendix B for more information about the geographic breakdown of Syrians in Lebanon.

interviewee stated that, in order for social enterprise to work, "we have to develop credit societies" focused on "thrift and savings" but that the emotional stability is not yet there.

Other interviewees noted, however, that the Levantine culture (inclusive of both Syria and Lebanon) is very entrepreneurial and that this serves as a benefit for the growth of social enterprise in the region. Indeed, Lebanon scores highly in many categories in the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, although it lags in government support and infrastructure.^{xxii} Multiple interviewees felt that entrepreneurial ideas would come out of the Syrian population in Lebanon were it not for the legal barriers to employment and business creation for refugees. There were noted examples of successful youth engagement in entrepreneurial activities (examples include Nawaya and UNICEF Innovation). One interviewee talked about Lebanon's heavy reliance on civil society (with a great number of social organizations per capita) and how this has historically made Lebanon a place where the people seek creative solutions to the country's problems. In particular, multiple interviewees mentioned the connection of many organizations to religious groups and how this taps into a relatively stable source of funding and support.

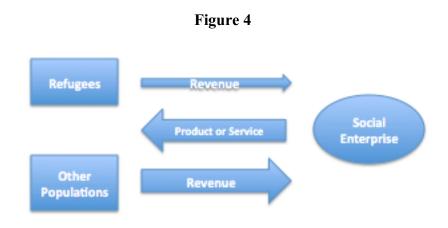
Key Finding #4: There are social enterprises involved in this crisis and partial cost recovery is possible in some sectors.

We interviewed representatives from multiple social enterprises that predated the Syrian crisis (examples include Arc en Ciel, AMEL, and Ana Aqra). Although these organizations have become involved in the refugee response, they have found it difficult to do so in a sustainable manner, having to rely on international funding for their expansion to Syrian refugees. This means that while they employ cost recovery principles to their organizations generally, they are not able to do so in the acute setting of the Syrian crisis. One interviewee from an international NGO felt that such expansion to Syrian refugees by preexisting social enterprises would not have been possible without the funding that comes from the humanitarian response. In other words, when a crisis emerges, social enterprises do not have enough sustainable funds to scale rapidly and accommodate the new situation without charitable donations.

However, the representatives from these organizations talked about the benefits of a social enterprise approach and gave unique insights into some of the components to its success. These interviewees understood the concept of cost recovery and financial sustainability better than many of the charitable NGOs that we interviewed. The representative from Arc en Ciel, for example, discussed the importance of becoming a "reference point" on certain issues so that ultimately the organization can leverage political power to enact change. Arc en Ciel's well-established and sustainable presence in the social sector in Lebanon gave it front-line access that was utilized by the humanitarian response to deliver services. The representative from Ana Aqra, similarly, talked about the importance of becoming an "expert" in one's field and how the UN was able to leverage Ana Aqra's expertise in teacher training as part of the Education sector in the crisis. In this sense, the UN served as a "customer" of Ana Aqra.

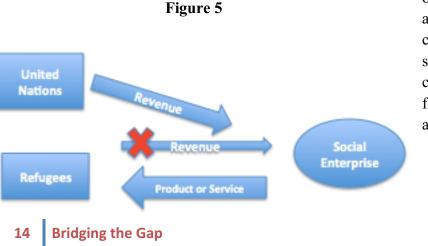
There were some examples of cost recovery noted in our search, especially in the **Health** sector. A consistent theme in interviews with members of the Health sector was the cost-sharing that takes place with healthcare services. Syrian refugees have been incorporated into existing Lebanese health centers, and there are differential fees charged based on refugee status and vulnerability criteria. The government, UN, and NGOs that participate in the official

humanitarian response use the same fee-schedule.⁷ The concept here is a tiered pricing model in which the most vulnerable pay minimal to no fee while those with more resources pay higher fees (see Figure 4). In this way, those with more means are able to subsidize those with less. The representative from AMEL, a healthcare social enterprise that employs this type of model, talked



about the importance of quality and how refugees are willing to pay for their services even if there is a free clinic nearby. This type of approach requires significant investment in determining vulnerability criteria that are fair and unbiased. Using "refugee" as a catch-all without considering the individual situation is a dangerous precedent. The issue of resentment between refugees and their vulnerable Lebanese neighbors regarding who receives services for free was a frequent theme in the interviews and focus groups.

Yet even this type of model has not functioned effectively in the face of an increasingly vulnerable refugee population. The UN has had to step in and pay even the reduced fees for many refugees. This raises an interesting possibility that was brought up multiple times during the interviews: the idea of the UN acting as a payer in the chain during a crisis situation (see Figure 5). Many interviewees pointed to the availability of funding, especially at the beginning



of a crisis. This type of model allows a social enterprise to create a pricing and revenue scheme designed for traditional customers but the UN covers the fees for the most vulnerable. This approach relies on charitable funding, but it allows the UN to selectively target funding towards sustainable organizations. In order to truly be sustainable, however, such a model has to be accompanied by opportunities for the target population to eventually become customers themselves, which is not the case in Lebanon.

Finally, multiple interviewees mentioned examples of cooperatives and **Livelihood** activities that are occurring as part of the crisis, some of which involve components of cost recovery. As discussed above in key Finding #2, most of these activities are taking place on a small scale due to the Lebanese regulations regarding Syrian employment. Examples of this type of work include food preparation, handicrafts, and entrepreneurial vocational training. Many of these livelihood opportunities, as well as microfinance initiatives, are targeted at females in order to avoid problems with the Lebanese government; and even then, they are often operating in a "grey area" of the law. According to the interviews, this makes it difficult to scale and employ these types of programs to reach a larger proportion of Syrian refugees. Additionally, while such initiatives *may* employ social enterprise models, it is important to note that livelihoods work does not necessarily equate to financial sustainability.^{xxiii}

Recommendations

Our research question was: *Is it possible to employ a social enterprise approach to serve Syrian refugees in Lebanon as customers rather than beneficiaries?* Given the results of our interviews and focus groups, it appears that full financial sustainability is difficult under the current circumstances. The models discussed above could theoretically be employed in the refugee setting, although they are not being used in a systematic way that engages in true principles of cost recovery. The use of cash transfers and UN funding (Figures 2 and 5 respectively) are really just charitable models that provide an opportunity for social enterprises to step in and fill a gap. Without a means for Syrian refugees to ultimately be employed and become customers again, this cannot function as anything other than pure humanitarian aid. Although tiered pricing (Figure 4) is a social enterprise model being employed by AMEL and other healthcare organizations, it has not been able to sustain the expansion to Syrian refugees without the contributions of the UN. And finally, livelihood activities (Figure 3) are occurring on a small scale but the laws regarding refugee employment make it unlikely that this sector will expand dramatically in the near future. Indeed, the inability of refugees to earn an income seems to be the **biggest barrier** to social enterprise functioning effectively in Lebanon.

Nevertheless, there was overwhelming support in our interviews for this research question as well as broad acknowledgment of the need for sustainable solutions in humanitarian delivery. If worldwide funding continues to decrease, the humanitarian community will be forced to adapt or pull out. There are certainly scenarios in which social enterprise may never work (such as in basic assistance for the most vulnerable). There are, however, opportunities to explore cost recovery principles in an ethical and realistic way in this crisis. To this end, we provide the following Recommendations, informed by the Key Findings above. Please note that these Recommendations are most directly targeted towards venture philanthropists, impact investors,

and donors. Our hope, however, is that the United Nations, local NGOs, and other humanitarian actors can learn from these conclusions as well.

1.) Invest in existing social enterprises in order to help them expand to the Syrian refugee population.

As mentioned in the Key Findings, we found multiple examples of pre-existing social enterprises that have expanded services to Syrian refugees. These organizations have struggled to do so in a sustainable manner for a number of reasons. On the supply side, social enterprises do not have enough liquid funds to scale rapidly in the setting of a humanitarian crisis of this magnitude. On the demand side, the inability of many Syrians to pay even minimal fees makes revenue collection difficult. The impression after these interviews, however, was that these organizations have a unique perspective about market principles that makes them strong candidates for sustainability, especially given the protracted nature of this crisis. Existing social enterprises would be good places to begin to discuss potential revenue collection models and creative solutions to the new problems posed by the Syrian refugee crisis.

In particular, existing social enterprises are likely to:

- Focus on quality and specialization so that they can attract customers and maintain financial sustainability
- View the United Nations and international community as one "customer" in the chain rather than the sole source of funding
- Be well established in the local community and have increased access to target populations
- Be willing to engage in discussion about financial sustainability and scaling

For these reasons, we recommend active engagement with existing social enterprises in the crisis, even if cost recovery has not been possible. This is especially important given the UN's current use of cash transfers and other funding outputs. Without an exit strategy, these funds are experiencing very little social return in the form of capacity building and sustainability.

2.) Look at the primary healthcare field for examples of current cost recovery and possible opportunities to scale.

As discussed in the Key Findings, cost-sharing is built into the official humanitarian response in the Health Sector. It is one of the few sectors in which Syrian refugees and Lebanese receive services together, and are expected to pay. UNHCR subsidizes fees for refugees, which has allowed primary healthcare organizations (like AMEL) to expand their services while maintaining a revenue-driven business model. Even though this expansion has depended on charitable international funding, the flow of funding is distinctly different from other sectors and is constructed with cost recovery in mind. While access to healthcare remains an issue for many refugees and vulnerable Lebanese, it is encouraging to see organizations focused on providing affordable and quality primary health services.

In particular, we saw the following areas of encouragement in the primary Health Sector:

- The focus on quality, resulting in the willingness of refugees and other vulnerable people to pay for affordable health services even with alternative free options
- Tiered pricing based on vulnerability assessments
- Assessments of vulnerability based on socioeconomic indicators rather than refugee/non-refugee status

We see potential for significant social return on investment by exploring the Health sector and its organizations operating in the public sphere.

3.) Explore microfinance and livelihood activities, especially ones that are currently being tolerated by the Lebanese government.

The Livelihoods Sector, as discussed above, was frequently mentioned in the interviews. Organizations operating in this sphere provide a very specific service to refugees (employment or seed money), rather than tangible social products. Given the vulnerability of refugees, however, this seems to be the **most important** sector and a necessary investment before other types of social enterprises can become financially viable. For Syrian refugees to return to being customers, they must have opportunities to earn an income and open businesses. If donors invest in this goal, they will see greater social return on investment than with basic assistance (which often does nothing to change the vulnerability of refugees). Current Lebanese law makes full investment in this area difficult but we did note some areas of opportunity:

- There are multiple cooperatives and initiatives designed for Syrian women. Although some of these have not reached a stage of financial sustainability, the potential for cost recovery exists. This provides a unique opportunity to target a particularly vulnerable portion of the Syrian refugee population while using a social enterprise approach.
- The Lebanese government allows employment of Syrians in three sectors: agriculture, construction, and environment. Livelihood work in these sectors is possible and should be an area of active exploration by donors and would-be social entrepreneurs.

4.) Acknowledge that hybrid social enterprises (in which some money comes from donations) are still an opportunity.

This final point has already been made in the previous Recommendations, but is worth reiterating as a stand-alone consideration. The bottom line is that the current situation in Lebanon (for all of the reasons discussed above) makes it very difficult to deliver services to Syrian refugees using a pure, financially-independent social enterprise model. There is value, however, in engaging in partial cost recovery. Investments in sustainability-oriented activities provide a unique opportunity to utilize existing humanitarian funding while simultaneously thinking about an exit strategy for when that funding runs out. In a crisis of this magnitude and length, it is worthwhile to explore every option that increases the chance of success over the long term. Our recommendation for funders and other humanitarian stakeholders would be to take organizations seriously if they are actively thinking about ways to become financially viable, even if they have not yet implemented such a plan. In our interviews, it was rare to encounter organizations with this mindset. Perspective itself is something to be valued.

Conclusion & Next Steps

We have provided the above recommendations in an attempt to begin the conversation about incorporating social enterprise into the world of humanitarian response. It is important to note that we received overwhelming support for this research while conducting the interviews, an affirmation that this is an unexplored yet important field. There remains much work to be done. In particular, we would advise these next steps:

- Attempted mapping of all humanitarian organizations currently employing cost recovery in the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon
- Continued work with the Lebanese government to expand economic opportunities, and decrease financial barriers, for the displaced Syrian population.
- Similar research conducted in the neighboring countries of Jordan, Turkey, Iraq, and Egypt where there may be different perspectives on the use of social enterprise.
- A systematic exploration of case studies and outcomes data from the use of social enterprise in other refugee situations, which may further inform work in Lebanon.

We remain hopeful that there is a role for social enterprise in the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon. We will consider this research a success if it can help guide stakeholders to begin to think more sustainably as they go forward with the important work of serving the world's most vulnerable.

Appendix A: Literature Review

Social Enterprise in Lebanon

Social entrepreneurship is a relatively new field in the Arab world, but there are already success stories. Compared to other Arab countries, Lebanon has been cited for its thriving civil society and entrepreneurship ecosystem.^{xxiv} One of the most historical examples is Arc en Ciel, a Lebanese organization focused on supporting the handicapped population of Lebanon. By manufacturing wheelchairs for hospital purchase while employing handicapped people in its factories, it found a creative way to be financially sustainable and socially effective.^{xxv} This later grew to include a host of social enterprises providing a range of products and services including hazardous hospital waste management, recycling, ecotourism, and others; revenues from which are re-invested towards the organization's central mission. Other examples are abundant and, with the global movement in social entrepreneurship growing, there has been increased interest in identifying and fostering these initiatives. Lebanon's social entreprises have been used as case studies to contribute to the larger global literature on social entrepreneurship.^{xxvi}

Organizations like Alfanar help support social enterprises in Lebanon by investing through venture philanthropy.^{xxvii} Others, including international aid agencies, have funded workshops, incubators, and accelerators to foster the growth of social entrepreneurship in Lebanon. Arc en ciel, for example, with funding from USAid, decided to give back to the social enterprise ecosystem by founding *nabad* in 2013, the largest social enterprise incubator in the Middle

East.^{xxviii}At the same time, there has been an increased interest in mapping social enterprises across Lebanon, with a recent collaborative effort by Digital Opportunity Trust (DOT) Lebanon and its partners.^{xxix}

There remains, however, much work to be done. Recent reports by Beyond Reform and Development (BRD) and Brookings acknowledge the strengths in Lebanese society but highlight the need for better government support and funding opportunities.^{xxxxxii}In the private sector, there has been incredible growth in the startup movement, but social innovation has lagged behind.^{xxxii} Social enterprises have difficulties securing enough funding to get off the ground, although recent studies suggest there may be a market for loans that can be utilized.^{xxxiii}

The fact remains that most Arab countries, including Lebanon, still experience gaps in the market when it comes to the implementation of social enterprises. On one end of the spectrum, there are organizations that provide social value but struggle to be financially viable; on the other end are for-profit organizations that provide social value as a byproduct but not as an end.^{xxxiv}

Social Enterprise in the Refugee Context

One area where this gap seems incredibly apparent is in the Syrian refugee crisis. As far as we can tell, this is the first systematic study regarding the use of social enterprise in a refugee situation. There is very little literature on this topic, but there is a growing realization that our current humanitarian model is not sufficient to meet the needs of the global refugee crisis. Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, two professors at Oxford, write:

International policy toward the Syrian refugee crisis is both antiquated and fueled by panic. It is premised on the same logic that has characterized refugee policy since the 1950s: donors write checks to support humanitarian relief, and countries that receive refugees are expected to house and care for them, often in camps.^{xxxv}

They make the argument for integration of refugees into the labor market, which benefits both the refugees themselves and the countries that are hosting them.

Beyond economic integration, there is a movement towards more innovative ways to deliver services, including through the use of social enterprise. The Skoll Foundation recently highlighted some examples and expressed its support for cost-efficient delivery of humanitarian services.^{xxxvi} The UNHCR Innovation Lab is overseeing multiple projects in refugee camps around the world, some (but not all) of which have an ultimate goal of financial sustainability.^{xxxvii} Unite For Sight outlines a few key examples of social enterprises functioning in the refugee setting. In the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Somalia, for example, a microcredit system for women helped 90% of the camp population become independent of UNHCR aid.^{xxxviii}The American Refugee Committee has also piloted some social enterprises in Africa with an aim of financial sustainability and scaling.^{xxxix}

There are also examples of social enterprise work in the resettlement of refugees in the West. Germany boasts many organizations aimed at the growing population of asylum seekers.^{xl}In the United States, refugees can work in farming to become self-reliant and financially sustainable.^{xli} Although these types of efforts are less likely to inform our research question on the use of social enterprise in humanitarian crisis situations, they are very relevant to the larger question of refugee resettlement and integration.

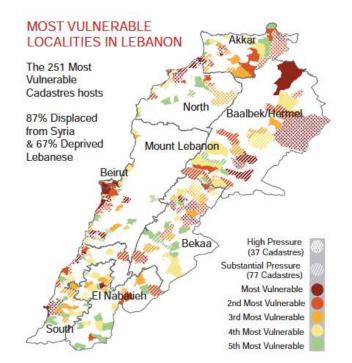
Thus, there is significant recent interest in the use of social enterprise to address the refugee crisis. There is a gap, however, in the exploration of this topic in the Middle East and especially in Lebanon. Our hope is that this paper contributes to the literature on this topic and advances the discussion about the use of social enterprise in the humanitarian sphere.

Appendix B: Background on the Crisis

Geographic Context

There are 1.01 million Syrian refugees officially registered with UNHCR in Lebanon. However, the Lebanese Government requested that UNHCR stop registering new refugees in May 2015, so the estimated number of Syrians in the country is much higher at 1.5 million, 54% of whom are children.^{xlii} In addition to Syrians, there are approximately 32,000 Palestinian refugees from Syria and 35,000 Lebanese returnees from Syria. These numbers are in addition to the 278,000 Palestinian refugees already in Lebanon.^{xliii} This influx has created an incredible strain on Lebanese infrastructure, government, and society.

Unlike in many other refugee situations, no official refugee camps have been set up during this crisis. Refugees are therefore found throughout the country, living among Lebanese citizens. Most of the refugees (87%) have settled in the country's 251 most vulnerable cadasters, where 67% of the vulnerable population of Lebanon lives (see Figure 6 for a map showing the geographic breakdown of these cadasters).^{xlv} When asked their reasons for settling in these locations, refugees pointed to factors such as safety and security, job opportunities, and family networks.^{xlvi}



Refugee Vulnerability

Many refugees living in Lebanon are very vulnerable. In the latest Vulnerability Assessment, here were some key facts about refugees (almost all of these statistics have geographic variability, with refugees in the above areas being worse off):

- 17% of households are headed by women and these households perform worse on most vulnerability indicators
- 78% of households have debts of 200 USD or more and 44% have debts of 600 USD or more
- More than half of refugee households are below the Survival Minimum Expenditure Basket (SMEB) of 87 USD per month. In some districts, it can be as high as 86% of households.
- Households spend an average of 44% of their monthly expenditures on food, but in 17% of districts it can be over 65% of expenditures. Please see Figure _____ for a breakdown of average monthly expenditures in a refugee household.
- 27% of Syrian households report not having a working age adult in the past month (this number is 50% in some districts.
- Average per capita monthly income ranges from 30 USD in Baalbek to 152 USD in Beirut
- 97% of refugee households employ negative coping strategies that deplete their assets, such as selling their household goods, withdrawing their children from school, or spending their savings.^{xlvii}

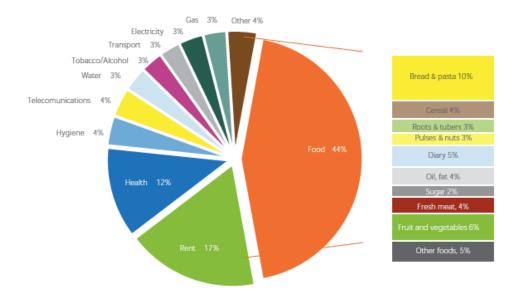


Figure 7^{xlviii}

The Humanitarian Response

The response to the crisis has been well coordinated among the United Nations, the Government of Lebanon, international donors, and local service providers. 2015-2016 saw the publication of the first Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP), which served as a framework for activity as well as a funding appeal for the year. The LCRP fits into the larger Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan (3RP), which serves to coordinate refugee activities in the surrounding nations of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Turkey. The Government of Lebanon and the UN recently published a four-year LCRP (2017-2020), which aims to encompass more long-term planning and development activities. The funding appeals will still occur year to year, however, and the LCRP calls for 2.75 billion USD of funding in 2017.

The LCRP has four target populations, adding up to 3.3 million people in need:

- 1.5 million Syrian refugees (displaced Syrians)
- 1.5 million vulnerable Lebanese citizens
- 278,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon
- 31,500 Palestinian refugees from Syria

The most recent LCRP breaks the crisis down into 10 sectors, with UN agencies and government ministries sharing responsibility for coordinating the response within each sector (see Figure 8). Through this coordinating umbrella, more than 100 partner organizations (local and international NGOs) work to implement and deliver the services on the ground (see Figure 9). For this project, we contacted most of the organizations listed in Figure 8 and met with at least one representative in each sector.

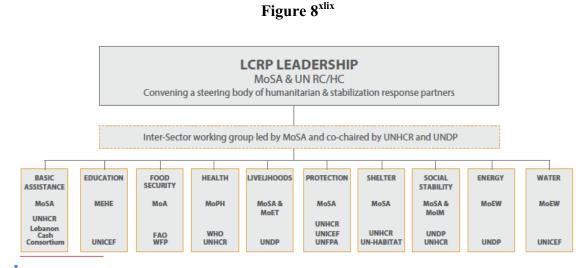


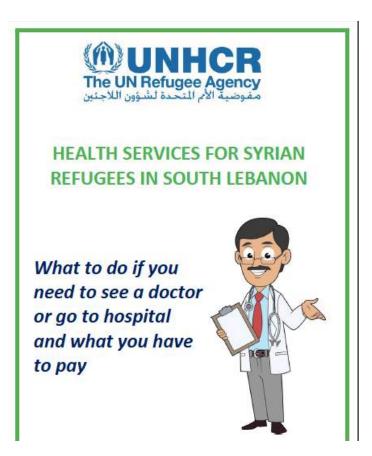


Figure 9¹

ENGAGING WITH PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, CIVIL SOCIETY & PRIVATE SECTOR

Appendix C: Healthcare Pricing

The Health Sector of the crisis response in Lebanon is unique in that it requires cost-sharing on the part of Syrian refugees. There are many problems with health access, both at the primary and secondary healthcare levels.^{li}Through UNHCR subsidies and tiered pricing, however, some healthcare NGOs are attempting to provide affordable primary health services while engaging in cost recovery behavior. Below please find select images from a brochure explaining the breakdown of health fees for Syrian refugees in South Lebanon.^{lii}



Is the Lebanese health system different from the Syrian health system? Yes. The Lebanese health system is very different from the Syrian health system. It is highly privatized and registered Syrian refugees have to pay a contribution towards their health care, in the same way that Lebanese do.

IF YOU NEED TO SEE A DOCTOR

If you need to see a doctor, you should contact the PHCc or dispensary in advance to check if there is a doctor available that day and make an appointment. Check the list of PHCc or dispensaries below.

DOCTOR'S FEES

When you go to see a doctor at a PHCc or a dispensary you will be charged between 3,000 LL – 5,000 LL for a consultation. UNHCR's partners pay the remainder of your consultation fees.

For laboratory and diagnostic tests, UNHCR covers up to 85% of the cost for children under 5 years old, elderly over 60 years old, pregnant women and other vulnerable individuals.

The remaining 15% of the cost must be paid by the patient. All other individuals are required to pay 100% of their medical costs. Please see the table below for more information.

Service	What you pay
Vaccines	Free at all PHC centers and dispensaries
Consultation	3,000 – 5,000 LBP
Acute medications	Free
Chronic medications (diabetes, cardiac conditions, hypertension, asthma, epilepsy, etc.)	1,000 LBP per visit (handling fee)
Family planning (Insertion of IUD, pills, condoms)	Free
2 ultrasounds for pregnant women	Free
Dental care	Subsidized. Please refer to the PHC or

4

HOSPITAL FEES

Will UNHCR pay my hospital bill?

UNHCR pays up to 75% of the total cost of the following hospital services only:

- Life-saving emergencies
- Giving birth
- Care for newborn babies

You will have to pay the remaining 25% of the cost.

If you receive any other hospital service, you will have to pay the total cost of your hospital bill.

If you need a very expensive hospital treatment, disc disease or elective medical interventions, UNHCR's Exceptional Care Committee must first approve treatment before it will agree to cover up to 75% of the cost.

The Committee will consider:

- The need for and adequacy of the suggested treatment
- The cost and the need for financial assistance
- Feasibility of the treatment plan and prognosis

You should go to the hospitals listed at the end of this brochure because you will have to pay more if you go to any other hospital. Remember to call MediVisa Lebanon before admission to the hospital so we can assist you financially with your medical bills. We will not reimburse any payments you may have advanced.

6

Appendix D: Methodology Overview

We designed this study as a qualitative research study conducted using focus groups and semistructured in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews took place with service providers: both higher-level providers such as UN agencies and government ministries as well as direct service providers such as NGOs. We conducted the focus groups among Syrian refugees.

In-Depth Interviews:

I conducted in-depth interviews with members of the "lead" coordinating organizations (mainly UN agencies and Lebanese government ministries). Please see Figure 8 in Appendix B for a list of these organizations. I recruited these individuals by email (see Appendix E) as there were publicly available contacts for most organizations on the UNHCR website. I used a semistructured interview approach, using a guiding script (Appendix F) with flexibility to deviate if the conversation was productive. The purpose of these interviews was to gauge perspectives on social enterprise and survey the humanitarian landscape for work that employed cost recovery.

Based on the results of these conversations, I employed a "snowball approach" to schedule more interviews with members of NGOs that were possibly engaged in social enterprise work. I again used the same interview guide in these conversations to explore their work and perspectives.

I conducted 28 interviews in total. Please see Appendix H for a list of organizations interviewed. All took place during a three week period in September 2016 in Beirut, with the exception of one interview which was conducted via Skype upon return. Detailed notes were taken during the interviews for later analysis.

Focus Groups:

We also conducted two focus groups with Syrian refugees, one male group and one female group. We divided the groups based on gender in order to better understand the refugee experience for different members of the family. These were set up with the assistance of AMEL Association and were conducted at an AMEL healthcare center in the Bourj el-Barajneh municipality of Beirut. The purpose of these focus groups was to get the perspective of refugees themselves. The male group consisted of 8 men and the female group of 12 women. We attempted to get a representative sample of the population, and there was a range of ages present within each group. We were not able to conduct groups with children, however, as it would be difficult to get an IRB exemption with this group.

We used a guiding script to conduct the discussion (see Appendix G). We used a translator and two separate individuals took detailed notes during the discussion.

Analysis:

I analyzed the interview and focus group notes using thematic analysis to identify common perspectives. I then applied recursive analysis to group the themes into more manageable categories. I assessed these themes for barriers and opportunities in light of our research question in order to arrive at the Key Findings and Recommendations.

IRB/Ethical Considerations:

This study was granted exemption by from Human Subjects Review by two separate Harvard IRBs. This research involved two separate groups of people: service providers and Syrian refugees. The service providers were interviewed in the setting of their employment and no risk was posed to them by these interviews. In our analysis below, we make our best attempt to maintain confidentiality even for this group. As for the Syrian refugees, although they represent a vulnerable population, our focus group did not put them at risk. We did not collect or report any personally identifiable information from the members of the focus groups and we maintained a strict level of confidentiality during the group itself. All participation in the research (for both populations) was strictly voluntary and individuals could choose to withdraw at any time.

Appendix E:

Recruitment Email

Subject: Interview With Harvard Researcher

Hello,

My name is Edward Grom, I am a medical student at Harvard Medical School and a masters student at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. I am conducting research on the Syrian refugee response in Lebanon with Teresa Chahine (cc'ed). Teresa teaches at Harvard and also works for Alfanar, a venture philanthropy organization that works in Lebanon.

I am hoping to get a better perspective on the work being done and therefore want to sit down with the organizations that are spearheading the humanitarian response in the country. I am coming to Beirut in September. Would it be possible to set up a meeting during this time with you or someone in [your organization] who could answer my questions?

I am also available for a brief Whatsapp call in the next few weeks if that would work as an initial way for us to make contact.

Let me know. And if you have any other recommendations of who I should reach out to, that would be much appreciated.

All the best,

Edward Grom

MD Degree Candidate, Harvard Medical School

MPP Degree Candidate, Harvard Kennedy School

Appendix F: Guiding Interview Script

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of this research project. We are studying the Syrian refugee response in Lebanon and determining if services can be delivered using a social enterprise approach In other words, can the refugee community be served as a customer rather than a passive recipient?

We expect this interview to last between 30 and 60 minutes. I plan to take notes while we talk in order to help with later analysis. Is that alright?

- 1.) Tell me about your organization's role in the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon.
 - a. What sectors are you involved in? What kind of activities do you perform?
 - b. Do you oversee other organizations in the response? Is your organization involved in higher-level crisis planning?
- 2.) Let's talk a little more about the delivery model for social services.
 - a. How is your organization funded?
 - b. Are the services you provide delivered for free to refugees?
 - c. Do you ever charge fees for services or have a cost-recovery model of some kind (can explain this concept if interviewee is confused)?
- 3.) Do you know of other organizations that might be taking a social enterprise approach to delivering emergency services? Can you tell me about them? Social enterprises

provide products and services to marginalized populations at minimal costs, with the goal of maximizing affordability, accessibility, acceptability, and quality.

- 4.) Is there any data on the spending patterns of Syrian refugees in Lebanon? What products and services are they securing at no cost from humanitarian organizations; and what products and services do they need to obtain from the market? [If they don't know, whether they have recommendations on other individuals and organizations who might have this information.]
- 5.) [Whether or not they were able to provide examples] What are your thoughts about using the social enterprise approach in a humanitarian crisis?
 - a. Do you think it is possible? If so, why? If not, why not?
 - b. Are there some sectors where it might be easier to do this than others?
 - c. Is there anything about the Lebanese context specifically that you think it is important for me to know when it comes to this subject?
- 6.) Is there any innovation happening in the Syrian refugee response? Who is undertaking this innovation?
- 7.) Is there anyone else you think I should talk to about this topic? Can you connect me with any of them?

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me. If it is alright with you, I will contact you if I need any clarification on something we discussed. You can always contact me with any questions you might have. You already have my email. I wish you all the best with your work.

Appendix G: Focus Group Guide

Thank you for taking the time to meet with us today. Introductions. We are conducting research on the Syrian refugee response in Lebanon and we hope to get some perspectives from refugees themselves. We hope to have a rich and informative discussion today. A few things before you start.

Please note that your participation is strictly voluntary. Nothing you share here will be individually connected to you and we have a strict rule of confidentiality for everyone participating in the discussions. We will be taking notes during the meeting but will not write down anyone's name. We expect this to last between 1 to 2 hours.

- 1.) Let's start by talking about the experience of living in a refugee camp. Can people share examples of how they get basic services (food, water, healthcare, housing)?
- 2.) Can you tell us about a time you found it particularly difficult to get something basic that you need? What about a time where you were able to get something that you needed quite easily?
- 3.) Have you ever had to pay a fee for the types of services we talked about before? If so, can you tell us about it? Was this something difficult for you to do?
- 4.) Do any of you work? If so, tell us a little bit about your employer and what you do.
- 5.) Do you feel that your access to basic services is stable on a daily basis? Is there any fear that one day you will wake up and no longer have access to something you need?

- 6.) Do any of you have children? Tell us a little bit about how they get their services (education, health). Is it different from how adults get things that they need?
- 7.) Please give one example of how your needs as refugees could be met better and one example where you think things are going well.

Thank you all for taking the time to meet today. Does anyone have any concluding thoughts or questions?

If you have any questions later on, you can contact me through AMEL Association, who set up this meeting.

Appendix H:

List of Orgs. Interviewed

UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund)

WFP & FAO (World Food Programme and Food and Agriculture Organization)

UNICEF (2) (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund)

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees)

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme)

UN-HABITAT (United Nations Human Settlement Programme)

MoSA (2) (Lebanese Ministry of Social Affairs)

MoEW (Lebanese Ministry of Energy and Water)

MoPH (Lebanese Ministry of Public Health)

Mercy Corps

AMEL Association

SONBOLA

Arc en Ciel

ACTED

LCC (Lebanon Cash Consortium)

38 Bridging the Gap

Ana Aqra

Al Majmoua

Oxfam (2)

SAWA Association

Search for Common Ground

Alphabet

The Nawaya Network

Malaak

MakeSense

Appendix I:

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