

Migration Trajectories: Narratives in Lebanon

An investigation into the participation of refugees in the development processes in Lebanon

Written By: Tarek Arbash
Supervisor: Dr. Dora Martins Sampaio
Utrecht University
No. 7992238



The photo used showcases one of the product lines available in the Lebanese market, which has been crafted by a Syrian refugee as part of her social enterprise programs.

Abstract

This study centers on the relationship between migration and development in countries within the Global South. With a predominant emphasis on migration from the south to north countries, which constitutes only 15% of total global migration, the influence of migration within the Global South—comprising 85% of global migration—remains inadequately explored. Addressing this gap, the research sheds light on the under examined topic of south-south migration, specifically investigating the contributions of Syrian refugees to Lebanon's development. Syria stands as the world's largest producer of refugees. Among its neighboring countries, Lebanon, alongside Turkey and Pakistan, hosts 30% of the global refugee population. As such, Lebanon holds the highest per-capita number of refugees, with more than a quarter of its population composed of refugees. However, this study employs a dual methodology including in-depth interviews and life narratives, engaging a diverse cohort of 44 participants, incorporating representatives from NGOs, host community members, and refugees themselves. The findings of this research highlight that Syrian refugees in Lebanon contribute to the country's development in various dimensions. The majority of refugees in this research actively engage in fostering new markets, introducing new skills, establishing cross-border connections, and stimulating the local economy, thereby contributing to local development. However, this research also shows that the extent of refugees' contributions is influenced by the challenges they confront. Additionally, the role played by NGOs in facilitating refugees' involvement in development-related activities also holds a key role.

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List of Abbreviations

UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
PSD	Private Sector Development
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MEHE	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
ITS	Informal Tented Settlements
WFP	World Food Program
SMEs	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Research Topic

“When I was forcibly relocated from Syria to Lebanon, I estimated that it would take me ten to eleven weeks to return; nevertheless, I never anticipated that these eleven weeks would grow into eleven years. To secure a living, I found investing in a new country to be difficult, and I never imagined that one day I would take the initiative, connect the globe with the Syrian and Lebanese communities through my digital lens, and find two centers that would empower both communities. I came to the realization that it's best to never have expectations in life.”

This is a snippet of what Mo Hazzaa shared with me during our interview at his center. Mo Hazzaa is one of the 1.5 million Syrian refugees who have been hosted by Lebanon since fleeing war-torn Syria in search of sanctuary. It should be noted that the total number of Lebanese inhabitants is around four million, which means Lebanon has the highest number per-capita of refugees worldwide, with more than one in every four inhabitants being a refugee (MEHE 2016). As a country bordering Syria, Lebanon, together with Turkey and Pakistan, are home to 30% of all refugees worldwide (OECD, 2017). In this context, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recently published data showing that 89.3 million people have been forcibly displaced globally. Of the overall number of refugees, around 83% were received in countries of the Global South (low and middle-income countries), and 72% were hosted in neighboring countries (UNHCR, 2022). Since the relationship between migration and development is complex and sometimes unclear (Skeldon et al., 2020), this leads to further expanding academic knowledge on the long-term consequences of refugee arrival and settlement on host countries in the global south. In addition, it leads to a clearer understanding of the interdependence between these effects and development processes in the receiving countries.

The nexus between (in)voluntary movements of people and development has received significant academic attention (IOM, 2006; World Bank, 2006); various studies have been conducted on forced migrants and their impact on the development of the host countries (Zetter, 2014; black, 2018; OECD, 2016). These studies have consistently displayed multilateral perspectives on how people who were forcibly moved to safer countries contribute to the growth of their host societies. According to Nyberg, Nicholas, and Poul, migration and development are intertwined and are inseparable in numerous ways, including individual, family, and community livelihood and survival strategies. Second, through investments, collaborative ventures, and advocacy by migrants, refugees, diasporas, and their

transnational communities; and lastly, international mobility connected with global integration, for instance, through international development cooperation and the empowerment people receive from countries of settlement (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002). In this context, a study conducted by Roger Zetter (2014) supports the claim that the presence of refugees in host countries is an asset that brings about certain development objectives. A particularly good illustration is the economic and social benefits refugees provide; by growing new markets, bringing in new skills, fostering cross-border connections, revitalizing local economies and, accordingly, local development (Skeldon et al., 2020).

The consequences of the refugees' presence in host countries as an additional strain, however, have prompted scholars and organizations to investigate the reasons behind them. Various studies and reports have indicated that the existence of refugees places a burden on the socio-economic sectors as well as infrastructure, labor, and education (UNHCR, 2018; Bahar & Dooley, 2020). They have stated that some refugees are traumatized by conflict; especially in the case of Lebanon, they flow in large numbers, live in precarious conditions, and are unable to relocate their belongings to their country of destination due to the harsh conditions they face. In addition, their inability to clearly define their status and the ambiguity surrounding the length of their stay frequently makes it more difficult for them to integrate into local economies. Furthermore, it affects their forms of contribution to the development of their host country and limits their ability to invest in human capital. However, all of this, along with little to no reference to the impact of Syrian refugees on Lebanon, has led to research and analysis of the contribution of refugees, who took a south-south migration route, to the development processes and the effect of their presence on state systems.

The contribution of refugees to host countries in the global south, according to a study conducted by Nicola Piper, needs stronger emphasis and not only via the contribution by highly skilled and professional ones (Piper, 2009). In this framework, an assessment conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) found that forty-five percent of Syrian refugee workers are employed in unskilled professions, the bulk of which are in the agriculture sector. Forty-three percent of people have semi-skilled employment. The smallest portion of Syrian refugees employed are skilled employees who work in fields including teaching, financial management, and trade. When it comes to Syrian refugee entrepreneurs, a report by the Issam Fares Institute found that Syrian refugee entrepreneurs have demonstrated agency in launching businesses to support themselves and their families. The economic impact of these small businesses is significant, as they provide a livelihood for the owners and often employment opportunities for others, including refugees and local residents (Fathallah, 2020).

1.2 Research Objective & Questions

The overarching aim of this research is to examine the participation of Syrian refugees¹ into the development processes in Lebanon – a topic that has received limited attention in existing literature and policy thus far – since extensive attention has been focused on their impact from the geographic lens of South-North Migration (OECD, 2017). The use of the migration development nexus as a lens to explore how they contribute to the development of their host country is highly relevant to the migration trajectories in Lebanon and helps in demonstrating their diversity of participation. Hence, lack of reference to the impact of the Syrian refugees on Lebanon has led to today’s environment where it is now necessary to research their contribution to the development of Lebanon. Some Syrian refugees undoubtedly expand markets, establish enterprises, and provide much sought-after skills to the Lebanese economy. This contribution to the market is, in some cases, bolstered by support received by refugees while living in Lebanon. Financial support for projects often stems from NGOs, where the amount of funding received has an influence on both the individual and the host country. To that end, this research additionally seeks to understand the patterns in which financial aid provision and various other elements have an impact on the efforts brought about by the refugees. To shed light on the main research question: **How do Syrian refugees contribute to the development processes in Lebanon?** - a set of sub-questions have been formulated. These sub-questions delve into the dynamics through which Syrian refugees actively participate in and contribute to development initiatives within the Lebanese context.

1- **Direct contribution** (where refugees contribute directly without receiving support).

- What is the direct involvement of refugees in development-related activities such as projects, skills, businesses, and investment opportunities?

2- **Challenges:** as “agents of development”

- What challenges do refugees face in their contributions to development in the host country?

3- **Indirect contribution:** (through the support provided by NGOs to empower refugees in their development prospects)

- What role(s) do NGOs and international development cooperation initiatives play in fostering refugees’ potential for development in the host country?

¹ Lebanon neither signed nor joined the 1967 Protocol to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. People who left Syria to Lebanon after March 2011 are referred to as "displaced" by the Lebanese government. The United Nations describes the departure of people from Syria as a refugee movement and believes that the majority of these Syrians are looking for international protection and likely fit the definition of a refugee (UNHCR, 2014). Therefore, this research uses the terminology “**refugees**” to refer to civilians who have fled from Syria after March 2011.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis includes six chapters. The first chapter provides a general introduction to the research topic and its problem statements, as well as outlines the research objectives and the specific research questions. The second chapter presents the theoretical framing that the thesis is based upon through a review of the literature on the migration-development nexus and participation in development. The chapter presents how participation in development takes place in five forms, including grassroots, agency, empowerment, social enterprises, and social capital. The third chapter provides a brief overview of the research context in Lebanon. The chapter briefly elaborates on the trajectory of the Syrian movement from non-violent protests to the refugee crisis and beyond and sheds light on the current state of the Syrians' crisis impact on Lebanon. Chapter four displays the methodology used in the research and elaborates on the research approach, process, and design by presenting, amongst other things, the research instruments used during the field-based data collection period. In chapter five, the research findings are presented and discussed, i.e., the direct contribution of Syrian refugees to the development of Lebanon, the challenges refugees face in bringing about certain development objectives, and the roles NGOs play in fostering the refugees' potential for development. The chapter equally highlights the challenges that were encountered during the research process and how they were overcome. Chapter six further discusses and concludes the research by answering the main research question and providing some recommendations for development practice and policy planning purposes as well as for further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

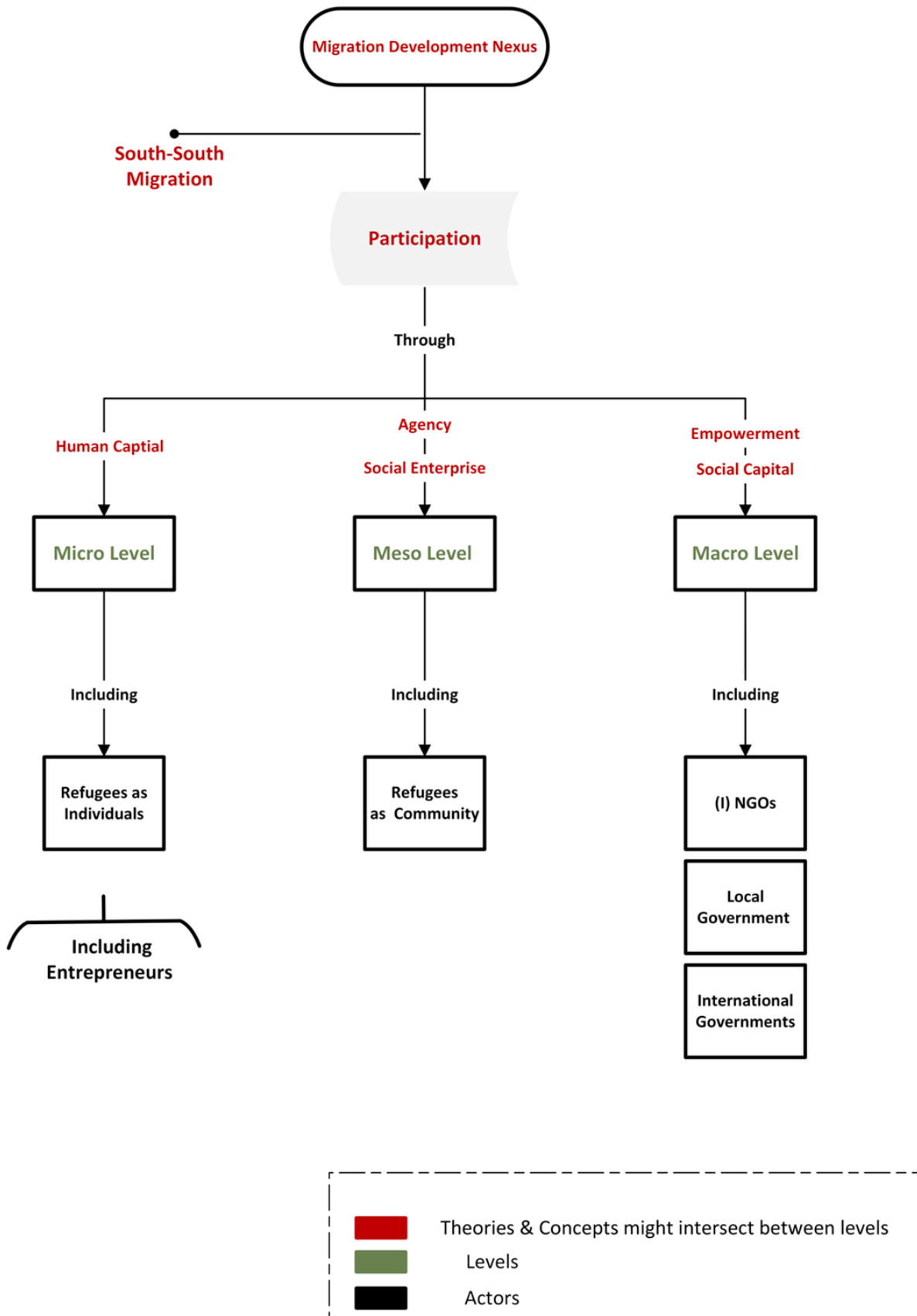


Figure 1: Level-based guide – Theoretical framework

This research adopts a migration-development nexus perspective to investigate the link between Syrian refugees and their impact on Lebanon's development. The chapter lays the foundation for the research by exploring the literature and evidence from former studies on the migration-development nexus and the participation approach, which emphasizes the interconnectedness of migration and development (see figure 1). Within this approach, diverse forms and levels of engagement are included, and five key concepts emerge and are utilized to illustrate this connection. These levels range from 1) grassroots participation in shaping development processes through 2) the agency of the actors involved. Along with the 3) support provided for empowerment by governmental and non-governmental organizations. Through this empowerment, people are equipped to identify gaps and develop responsive plans to achieve their aspirations. In addition, they can do so by implementing development-related projects or by establishing and actively participating in 4) social enterprises. To further amplify these endeavors, partnerships are fostered among individuals, communities, and development actors and represent the concept of 5) social capital, which will be extensively examined to delve into the implications of this collaborative approach for development.

2.1 The Migration-Development Nexus

The existing research on the migration-development nexus has led to a significant shift in the migration studies literature. Rather than predominantly focusing on industrialized countries of destination, attention now centers on the potential impacts of migration on sending and receiving countries in the developing world (Papademetriou and Martin, 1991; Nyberg-Srensen et al., 2002; De Haas, 2005). Recent World Bank research, which focuses on south-south migration, supports this research and demonstrates that migration patterns between developing countries are of paramount importance. Nearly half of all migrants from developing countries live in countries of the South (74 million), and almost 80% of these movement flows occur between neighboring countries (IOM, 2021). The Global South, as a result, is home to many of the most significant migration pathways. Hujo and Piper (2007) cite a number of reasons for this South-South Migration, including: “1) shorter distances between countries of origin and destination reduce the costs of migration; 2) networks based on ethnic, community, and family ties facilitate the migration process; 3) middle-income countries attract migrants from nearby low-income countries; 4) some countries in the South evolved as important transit countries for migrants who eventually aim at a northern destination; and 5) refugees from conflicts, wars, and natural disasters often go to nearby developing countries” (Hujo & Piper, 2007).

The International Labour Organization (2004), the Global Commission on International Migration (2005), and the United Nations (2006) have collectively emphasized the growing attention from researchers and policymakers towards diverse social and developmental aspects associated with migration. They also recognize the opportunities it brings for the countries, societies, and migrants

involved (Skeldon et al., 2020). Through focusing on migrants as potential "agents of development" in the South, particularly in connection with the building of "diasporas" or "transnational communities," the migration development literature has also played a crucial, and in some cases corrective, role in changing the negative resonance of migration policy debates in OECD (Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development) destination countries (Levitt and Nyberg-Sorensen, 2004). It is claimed that this is achieved not solely by sending remittances, but also by providing their countries of settlement with new skill sets and invaluable knowledge.

Nyberg, Nicholas, and Poul demonstrated the connection between migration and development through various dimensions. Firstly, they highlighted how individual, family, and community survival strategies are linked to migration. Secondly, they emphasised the role of migrants, refugees, diasporas, and their transnational networks in driving investments, joint initiatives, and advocacy efforts. Lastly, how global integration is facilitated by international mobility, such as through international development cooperation, while underlining the empowerment individuals gain from their host countries (Skeldon et al., 2020; Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002). However, to investigate the extent to which migration can contribute to development in the context of migratory flows between countries in the Global South, both in the sending country and the destination, more substantial evidence and analysis are required.

2.2 Participation Towards Development

In recent decades, the concepts of participation and community involvement in development have garnered significant attention and appeal in the broader discourse on development (Burde, 2004). Initially, participation gained prominence and popularity primarily within the non-governmental organization (NGO) sector. However, over time, the idea of participation has been integrated into the discussions and agendas of governments and international development organizations such as the United Nations (UN), highlighting the crucial role played by civil society. In this sense, the concept of participation encompasses various forms and levels of engagement, ranging from grassroots participation in decision-making processes to partnerships between communities and development actors. Bliss and Neumann define the concept of participation as:

“Means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural, and political processes that affect their lives. ... The important thing is that people have constant access to decision-making and power” (Bliss & Neumann, 2008).

There is an increasing interest in community involvement and participation in development, which may imply dissatisfaction with prior development patterns (Botchway, 2001). The focus on involvement in

development is frequently attributed to the perceived drawbacks of earlier strategies, which are referred to as "top-down" structures. As a response to these perceived failures, there has been a shift towards promoting "bottom-up" approaches that prioritize the inclusion of people and project beneficiaries in decision-making processes that directly impact their lives. This shift emphasizes the concepts of participation and the active involvement of stakeholders in shaping development initiatives (Willems, 2009). Participation has been advocated as a means of addressing the perceived shortcomings of the development industry, aiming to counteract its top-down, paternalistic, and dependency-generating tendencies (Michener, 1998).

These factors imply a shift towards a more grassroots-oriented approach to development. As a result, participation has become more widely acknowledged as a key principle with important consequences for the field of development over time. With particular reference to participation as an approach in development practice (for instance: as part of development intervention and programming design), the promotion and utilization of participation as an input has, in many instances, been acknowledged as a means for interpreting interventions 'better' in diverse ways. This includes fostering grassroots initiatives, empowering communities, supporting agencies, encouraging social enterprise, and boosting social capital. Participation is now recognized as a force that not only transforms communities but also encourages inclusive and sustainable development outcomes (Willems, 2009).

2.2.1 Participation Through Grassroots

Participation, which can be defined in a variety of ways, has been advocated and justified on many grounds throughout the past few decades in the context of development. Theorists typically view participation as a process by which people, particularly those who are disadvantaged, have an impact on decisions that affect them, or, in other words, contribute to and take part in influencing development (Brett, 2003). It has frequently been associated with numerous perceived advantages and benefits. Leading to what Cleaver (1999) describes as "heroic claims", these claims have contributed to the widespread perception of participation as inherently positive and have fueled its popularity in development discourse. According to Beazley & Ennew (2006) the participatory development discourse has evolved into its own language, with terms such as 'stakeholders' and 'empowerment'. Since the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was published in 1948, participation has been seen as a human right. For Beazley and Ennew, participation in this context refers to people's right to and duty to participate in decision-making related to the management of their own lives.

The role of participation as a strategy in project effectiveness, stakeholder conflict reduction, and local responsiveness have been widely acknowledged and explored in the literature (Willems, 2009). Consequently, participation has been proposed as a means to enhance project effectiveness and efficiency (Hope, 1983), as well as to reduce conflicts and disagreements among stakeholders (Oakley,

1991). By utilizing people's experiences and knowledge, involvement has been seen as a way to better respond to local needs and priorities from the outset. Pretty et al. (1995) designed a typology of participation (see table 1), outlining seven distinct degrees of participation ranging from lower to higher levels of participation. The lower levels correspond to what might be called 'passive forms' of participation, which are restricted to manipulation, information sharing, and consultation about activities, whereas the higher levels give people a stronger role by allowing them to participate in the creation of development-related action plans, eventually granting them the ability to act independently in coordination with organizational actors. The typology indicates a fairly direct relationship to ongoing development-related projects.

TYPE	CHARACTERISTICS
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretense, with people's representatives on official boards, but who are un-elected and have no power
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information-gathering processes and thus control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labor, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices
7. Self mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if government and NGOs provide an enabling framework for support. Such self-initiatives mobilization may or may not changed existing distributions of wealth and power

Table 1: Typology of Pretty et al. (1995) (in Cornwall, 2008)

The existing literature has presented other efforts to categorize participation that complement and expand upon one another. For instance, there are three categories for participation divided by Oakley (1991), including participation as contribution, organization, and empowerment, considering how it was put into practice. Participation in development programs, according to Oakley, involves many forms of

people's involvement in contributing to development, which are considered crucial for enhancing the implementation of projects. These shapes align with the Human Capital Theory (Becker, 1994), which states that people bring valuable skills and knowledge that can drive economic and social development through labor, entrepreneurship, and innovation. For participation in development-related initiatives, the role of agencies has also been emphasized. This is often realized by organizing groups of people into effective committees in which they can participate in shaping the development, bolstered in some cases by support from external actors. Empowerment, however, aims to grant people greater agency and autonomy, enabling them to lead more fulfilling and well-balanced lives (Williams, 2004). These three categories are often influenced by connections among people, social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness; social capital.

2.2.2 Participation Through Agency

In a similar vein, the involvement of individuals in development as agents has been deemed a crucial component for achieving independence (Hope, 1983). According to Oakley (1991), this can reduce dependency on development processes, but it also promotes a sense of autonomy and awareness of oneself among beneficiaries, thereby facilitating the pursuit of solutions to their personal challenges (Oakley, 1991). Nonetheless, the notion of agency is widely acknowledged as a fundamental concept that pertains to individuals' capacities to assert their claims, devise and propose strategic plans, and execute their objectives, i.e., the collective capacity of individuals to speak out and act accordingly (Scott and Marshall, 2009). In the context of this research, agency is regarded as a deep-seated one that refers to the capacity for people to unite themselves as a platform, negotiate what opportunities are available and what challenges they face, and suggest proposals that boost their efforts towards their growth and that of the country they reside in; in other words, the ability of people's unity to speak out and act accordingly (Scott and Marshall, 2009).

According to Sewell, being an agent entails having some level of influence over the social ties in which one is involved, which also requires having some degree of oversight over those social interactions to make an impact in societies (Sewell 1992: 20). McLaughlin and Dietz give a more specific definition of agency as "the capacity of individuals and corporate actors, with the diverse cultural meanings that they espouse, to play an independent causal role," which extends agency to include collective action. One important justification for stressing agency is that it helps to combat the perception of people as powerless victims of societal change; it acknowledges that people are never merely passive (Brown & Westaway, 2011).

2.2.3 Participation Through Empowerment

The concept of participation as empowerment refers to the prominent relationship between participation and power. According to Oakley, this can mean "empowering people to choose and take the actions

they believe are necessary for their development" (Oakley, 1991). Similar to participation, empowerment is a concept that can be challenging to define. It is, for example, "a process whereby individuals or groups are able to exercise their ability and capacity to understand and interpret problems and define needs, which are then translated into an action process by organizing themselves in such a way" (Botchway, 2001). This enables them to make choices, influence, demand, participate in negotiations, and engage in executing activities. The improvement of individual strengths and capacities to have control and to keep participating in their own development process is related to participation as empowerment, when participation becomes an endeavor to attain. With a focus on participation as an attribute of empowerment, participation has additionally been spoken of as a means of making sustainable development more possible (Botchway, 2001).

Refugees experience empowerment as they acquire an inclusive understanding of the legal and social contexts within which they find themselves (UNHCR, n.d.). When refugees receive adequate support and accurate information regarding the array of available protection services, they are better equipped to make informed decisions that contribute to their own development as well as that of the host countries. This, in turn, has the potential to address social, economic, and political challenges that hinder their active participation while also facilitating increased access to resources, information, and decision-making capabilities.

2.2.4 Participation Through Social Enterprises

In recent years, there has been a growing emphasis within the international development community on exploring private sector development (PSD). This emphasis is driven by the recognition that PSD can play a crucial role in facilitating poverty reduction and fostering long-term, equitable, and inclusive economic growth. As a producer of goods, services, and jobs, PSD can have a profound effect on people's lives. Using social development thinking is critical for effective PSD work that is accountable, inclusive, and provides long-term benefits to people (Hinds 2015). In this context, this research will investigate how Syrians are involved in social enterprise and have participated in and contributed to development processes. Virtue Ventures recommends the following working definition of social enterprise, which retains the distinctiveness of its purpose and strategy while including a wide range of practical applications:

"A social enterprise is any business venture created for a social purpose—mitigating/reducing a social problem or a market failure—and to generate social value while operating with the financial discipline, innovation and determination of a private sector business." (Alter 2007)

Social enterprises aim to address market failures and social problems while bridging the gap between underprivileged people and markets (Seelos and Mair, 2005; Hartigan and Billimoria, 2005; Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). They stand apart from traditional non-profits by focusing on the root causes of issues rather than superficially addressing them (Dees, 2012). Unlike standard for-profit corporations, social enterprises are driven by a social mission goal, as emphasized in Virtue Ventures' working definition. However, these surface distinctions are inadequate to fully grasp the scope of social enterprises in theory. Figure 2 highlights the existence of a hybrid spectrum where various organizations, including social enterprises, can be classified between the traditional non-profit and for-profit pools (Alter, 2007). The organizations on the right side of the spectrum are primarily motivated by economic growth, while those on the left prioritize social impact. This distinction remains fundamental to their thinking and activities, leading organizations to maintain their position along the hybrid spectrum without significant shifts.

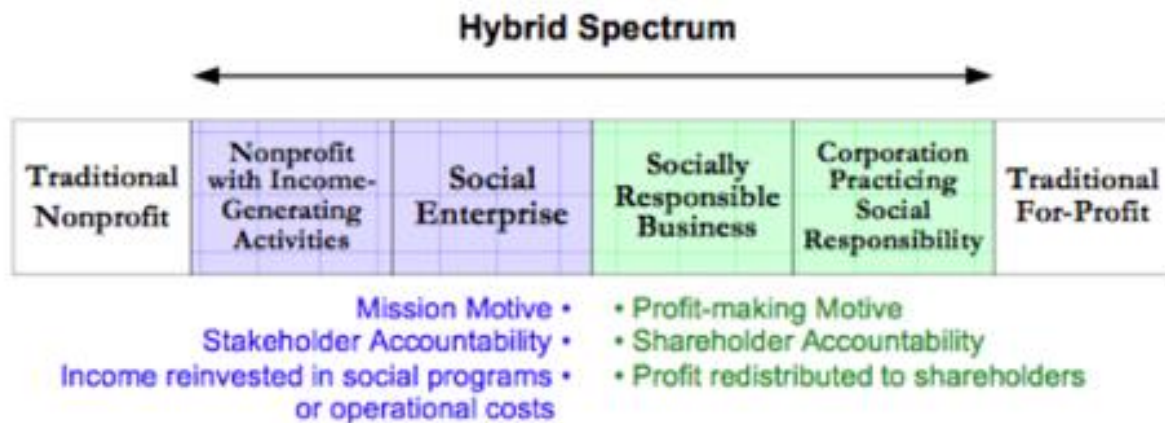


Figure (2): Social Enterprise Hybrid Spectrum (Alter 2007)

Social enterprises have an approach that combines both mission-driven and market-oriented tactics to achieve mixed goals. Their objectives encompass the creation of both economic and social value. Unlike traditional for-profit organizations that implement social programs as a means to enhance profits or non-profit organizations that use commercial methods to reduce reliance on external funding, social enterprises strive for a sustainable equilibrium between social and economic aspects. (Alter, 2007). In contrast to other types of organizations on the sustainability spectrum, social enterprises emphasize societal problems as the cornerstone of their business models. This approach helps them remain sustainable in the long run. According to Dees (1998), wealth creation in social enterprises is not an end in itself, but rather a tool to advance their social objectives. Social enterprises are distinctively anticipated to pursue a dual-value creation approach. While their ultimate aim is the development of social value, they also employ business practices to achieve financial success. The proceeds from their

operations are often channelled to fund mission-related activities or corporate expansion and development, further strengthening their commitment to social impact.

2.2.5 Participation Through Social Capital

Traditional social capital theorists have looked at social capital from two divergent perspectives: the normative (individual) and the resource-focused (structural) approaches (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008). Other academics have concentrated on social capital's consequences, causes, or characteristics (Putnam 1995; Hyman 2002). Others, including Granovetter (1973), Gittel & Vidal (1998), Portes (1998), and Putnam (1995, 2002), have decided to focus on how internal and external links affect, increase, or decrease social capital. This discourse provides the impression that there is no right or wrong explanation for the process of social capital, while many researchers argue that simplifying the term has resulted in an ambiguous meaning (Portes & Landolt, 1996). However, to understand social capital within the context of a community, it should be demonstrated through the characteristics that it entails within a collective activity. In the context of this research, Putnam (1993, 1995, 2002) widened the outlook from the individual approach to that of the community in his assessment of social capital.

Social capital, as defined by Putnam and his supporters, enables collectivities to engage in civic activities, fostering cooperation and tolerance among citizens. Unlike Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam characterizes social capital through the nuanced characteristics of networks and communities, emphasizing the connections among individuals and the norms of reciprocity and trust that arise from them (Putnam, 2002). Social capital's close association with "civic virtue" lies in its recognition of the potency of social relationships in fostering civic engagement. According to academics aligned with Putnam, social capital equips individuals with the tools to build sustainable communities. However, it is important to note that social networks alone may not fully explain the dynamics of communities, as cautioned by Sampson (1999). Nevertheless, Putnam (1995) highlights social capital as a crucial feature of social life, facilitating effective collective action towards shared objectives through civic participation and interconnected relationships.

While Putnam's argument receives support from existing research, it overlooks the impact of structural factors on disadvantaged populations. Neglecting to acknowledge the hurdles faced by marginalized individuals in participating in civic engagement activities, which could bolster their social capital across multiple groups, is a notable limitation (McClean, 2002). McBride, Sherraden, and Pritzker's (2006) research affirms that families in underserved communities encounter particularly challenging barriers. Time constraints, job and family responsibilities, and the absence of organized community groups in their locality hinder their involvement in community improvement initiatives. Moreover, Cosio's (2006) investigation into the cultural dimensions of social capital highlights how dominant networks, like community organizations, can marginalize groups unfamiliar with the norms, language, and cultural

capital associated with the prevailing context. Consequently, civic participation may be severely restricted for these marginalized groups, hindering their ability to leverage social capital to improve their situations (McBride et al., 2006). The very community institutions established to support these individuals and groups may inadvertently perpetuate disparities through their exclusion from civic engagement due to structural factors.

3. Research Context

This chapter aims to provide a review of the Syrian refugee crisis and its effects on Lebanon. It begins by exploring the patterns of movement as they relate to Syrians, starting with non-violent protests and extending to the appearance of the refugee crisis and beyond. Subsequently, it delves into an exploration of the decade-long consequences of the Syrian crisis on Lebanon's humanitarian and socio-economic landscape, with a focus on key trends. Next, it reviews the relationship between Syrian refugees and Lebanon's economic terrain, highlighting the entrepreneurial agency demonstrated by the refugees. Lastly, a comprehensive overview of the support and funding mechanisms for Syrian refugees is presented.

3.1 Syrians' Movement Trajectories

The initiation of non-violent protests against the Syrian regime by thousands of Syrian civilians in March 2011 is said to have set off the Syrian refugee crisis. Demands for greater freedom and democratic reforms in Syria did not result in a political revolution but rather in a civil war that indirectly affected both Europe and the wider Middle East, in large part due to the high number of refugees seeking asylum across the region (Alvarez-Osorio, 2014). Since 2011, more than 6.8 million Syrians have been compelled to flee their homeland, while another 6.9 million remain displaced inside their own country. The bulk of those, around 5.2 million refugees, have sought asylum in neighboring states: mostly in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey (UNHCR, 2022). The first forced flows to bordering countries (Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey) began as early as 2011, immediately following the first protests, and the largest influx spanned 2013 to 2016. When Syrian protests descended into a civil war in 2013, the UNHCR registered one million refugees. By 2015 this number had reached more than 5 million, and by 2017, more than 6.5 million.

Syrian refugees have often been obliged to switch their pathways from safer land routes through Turkey, Macedonia, and Greece to risky sea routes (Turkey-Greece, and Libya-Italy) in order to reach their final destination: European countries (Romano, 2019). In this context: Europe is now home to 11.6% of the world's total population of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers (South-North Migration), while Turkey and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) account for the other 88.4% (South-South Migration) (UNHCR, 2018). Therefore, this makes Syria the world's biggest producer of refugees (see figure 3).

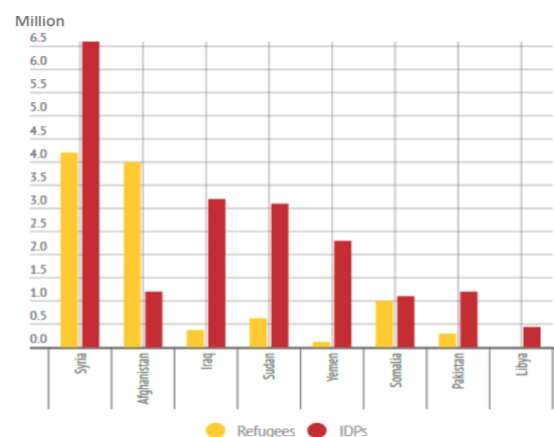


Figure 3: Total displaced populations originating from Eastern Mediterranean Region (WHO, 2015)

Many migrants experienced a sense of being "stuck", unable to pursue their goal of migrating elsewhere, despite the well-documented political instability and economic distress. Müller-Funk and Fransen (2020) found that while there was a considerable desire to depart from Lebanon, which indicated generally low levels of life satisfaction, there was limited capacity to translate that desire into action. The phenomenon of this involuntary immobility aligns with research on the decision-making process of refugees regarding a potential return to Syria. Studies indicate that when refugees have familial ties or property to return to, their aspirations to relocate to a third country diminish (Durable Solutions Platform, 2019; Achilli, 2016). Instead, refugees tend to strive to ‘make do’ until a return to their home becomes possible. This situation seems to have been worsened by the policies of the Lebanese government, which frequently promotes, both explicitly and implicitly, the return or onward movement of Syrians rather than their integration within the Lebanese community; “The Lebanese government’s policies towards refugees, starting with the October 2014 policy on Syrian displacement, that led to the UNHCR suspending registration of refugees, have consistently been restrictive and focused on encouraging return to Syria” (IRC, 2020).

3.2 The Impact of the Syrian Crisis

The Syrian crisis, now in its tenth year, has had a seismic humanitarian, socio-economic, and political impact on Lebanon and its inhabitants. Over the past decade, Lebanon has been an open host, welcoming around 1.5 million Syrian refugees, approximately 1.1 million of whom are registered with UNHCR (UNHCR 2016). This number includes 44,227 Palestinian refugees from Syria (UNRWA, 2014). With a pre-crisis population of 4.2 million, figure (4) shows that Lebanon has the world's largest per-capita proportion of refugees, with more than one in every three inhabitants being a refugee (MEHE 2016). The majority of Syrian refugees live in cities or peri-urban areas, such as Beirut and Tripoli, as well as densely populated communities in the Beqaa Valley. An estimated 10% of Syrian refugees live in informal tented settlements (ITS) in rural areas near the Syrian border. It should be noted that the Syrian conflict has had a substantial impact on Lebanon's social and economic progress, exacerbating problems in an already fragile economic landscape (World Bank, n.d.).

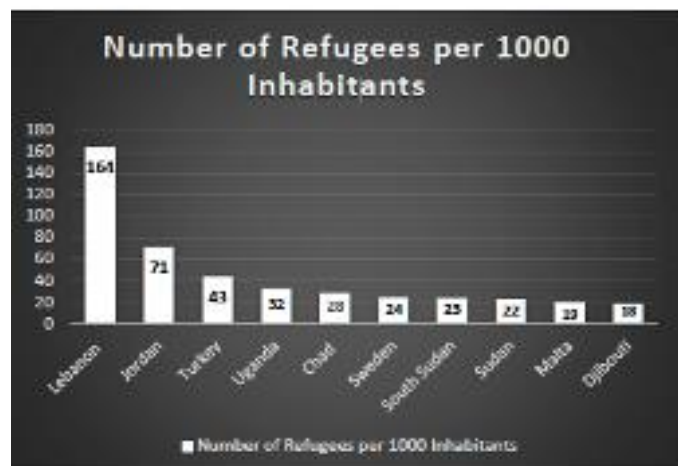


Figure 4: Countries with the most refugees per capita (UNHCR, 2017).

There is a significant overlap, however, between Lebanon's economic losses resulting from the Syrian crisis and the losses caused by the presence of refugees. According to a study conducted by The World Bank and commissioned by the Lebanese government, the Syrian crisis and the accompanying border closures have had a catastrophic impact on the Lebanese economy. Reductions in exports, tourism, and other sectors have resulted in a loss of 7 billion dollars in the first three years after the Syrian war (World Bank, n.d.). This has created immense strain on an already vulnerable country and has had existential ramifications for the economy as well as on infrastructure, the labor market, and education. The cost of public infrastructure, for example, is estimated to be roughly \$589 million, which has created an acute need for urgent development support from the national government and international institutions alike. In addition, Lebanon's labor force has grown by 50% since 2011, but the unemployment rate has more than doubled since the beginning of the crisis. By the end of 2021, the crisis had made its mark on the Lebanese economy with an estimated US\$18.08 billion in economic slowdown, fiscal income loss, and additional strain on public services (Masri and Srour, 2014). Furthermore, the number of people requiring government and NGO assistance has roughly doubled since 2011. This issue, compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic, has resulted in an accelerated rise in poverty and threatened the protections afforded to Syrian refugees in Lebanon (World Bank, 2013).

3.3 Syrian Refugees and Lebanon's Economic landscape

Syrian refugees have had far-reaching consequences for the Lebanese economic sector, facilitated by the decline of small-scale local businesses. This has been highlighted in an earlier report by the International Labour Organization (ILO) during the crisis, which emphasized the impact on Lebanon's economic landscape (ILO, 2013). Small-scale enterprises account for over 90% of the Lebanese economy and play an important role in industries such as agri-food production, local retail shops, and bakeries. These small-scale businesses, however, have experienced significant challenges (UNDP, 2020). The emergence of Syrian businesses offering similar products, coupled with preference given to medium- and large-scale enterprises through livelihood programs, has contributed to this situation. In addition, Syrian refugees tend to utilize the World Food Program's (WFP) vouchers and e-food cards predominantly in medium- and large-scale businesses with special agreements with WFP (Carpi, 2017).

Additionally, the high tax burden, particularly the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), which raises labor costs, is unaffordable for small firms. This, in turn, reduces the incentive for creating formal employment opportunities (Srour and Chaaban, 2017). It should be noted that a recent UNDP report (2020) concentrated on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) identified Syrian refugees as a crucial factor shaping the history of SMEs in Lebanon. Changes in the SME sector appear to be driven by humanitarian policies, such as the encouragement of sales in medium and large enterprises (e.g., through WFP programs). However, these entrepreneurial ventures, among the various activities

undertaken by refugees, are, in some cases, bolstered by support and empowerment. Financial support for projects often stems from NGOs, with a focus on enhancing the livelihoods of refugees and developing the socio-economic sector in Lebanon. This will be explained in the following section.

3.4 Support and Funding Mechanisms

In a collaborative endeavor, partner NGOs have united to provide assistance to refugees through the 3RP framework. This framework consists of two interconnected components: the refugee protection and humanitarian component, as well as the resilience/stabilization-based development component. More than 270 partners from the region actively engage in the 3RP process, either by supporting funding requests as partners of funding agencies or by contributing to the platform for policy, advocacy, and program delivery (UNHCR, 2017). The 2018 Inter-Agency Application sought a total of US \$4.4 billion, encompassing the funding requested by UN organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) within the 3RP national chapters. Within this funding allocation, US \$2.62 billion was intended to meet refugee assistance and protection requirements, while US \$1.78 billion was designated to provide development-related support to both refugees and host communities (Yassin, 2018). Countries hosting Syrian refugees have received significant assistance through various funding mechanisms, in addition to the financial support provided through response plans. These funding mechanisms include agreements and compacts established in Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, the countries with the highest number of Syrian refugees in the MENA region. They are characterized by defined commitments and agreed-upon priorities among the parties involved (Inter-Agency Coordination, 2017).

Lebanon and Jordan have signed the EU-Lebanon Compact and the EU-Jordan Compact, respectively. Grants worth over US \$3.1 billion were given to Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, and Turkey in 2017 by bilateral and multilateral donors. The World Bank's Global Concessional Financing Facility (CFF), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), and various bilateral donors also contributed to loans totaling US \$4.3 billion during that year (Yassin, 2018). Lebanon has received a substantial amount of over US \$7.1 billion in contributions between 2012 and 2018 to address the Syrian refugee crisis. To mitigate the consequences of this crisis resulting from the influx of Syrian refugees, the humanitarian, and development funding allocated to Lebanon has been directed towards several sectors. These sectors encompass a diverse range of areas, including WASH (water, sanitation, and hygiene), education, food security, health, protection, and social stability, among others (UN OCHA, 2019).

4. Research Design and Methodology

This research has been conducted in Lebanon from March until May 2023. This chapter will delve into the operationalization of the concepts, methods for data analysis, data collection, quality assurance, and positionality as a researcher.

4.1 Operationalization of the Concepts

Operationalization is essential for internal and external validity. The key concepts are derived from the theoretical framework to address the pressing research questions at hand. The investigation revolves around understanding the practical application and measurement of these concepts, enabling it to shed light on their implications. By aligning the research questions with the core ideas that have emerged from the theoretical framing, the aim is to provide insights into the tangible manifestations of these concepts within the context of this research.

Main Research Question: How do Syrian refugees contribute to the development processes in Lebanon.

Sub-question 1: What is the direct involvement of refugees in development-related activities such as projects, skills, businesses, and investment opportunities?			
Main Concept	Operationalization	Indicator	Explanation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Human capital ○ Social enterprises 	what examples of refugee-led businesses in Lebanon?	Business sector	Categorizing the refugee-led businesses based on the sectors they operate in (e.g., retail, food, technology, services, etc.).
	What are specific development projects or initiatives in which refugees (as ‘agents of development’) have been directly involved?	Type of Development project	Categorizing the development projects or initiatives in which refugees have been involved based on their nature. This could include variables such as projects related to education, healthcare, infrastructure, livelihoods, community development, social enterprises, environmental sustainability, etc.
	How Syrian refugees contribute to the labour market in Lebanon?	Informal Vs. formal employment	Differentiating between informal and formal employment among Syrian refugees

Sub-question 2: What challenges do refugees face in their contributions to development in the host country?

Main Concept	Operationalization	Indicator	Explanation
Empowerment	How have refugees' initiatives been supported and/or hindered by local policies and regulations?	Availability of policies	focusing on identifying policies and regulations that actively support or hinder refugee-led development initiatives
	Have there been any challenges or barriers to the direct involvement of refugees in development-related activities, and if so, what are they and how have these been addressed?	Participation	Evaluating the specific challenges that hinder refugees' direct involvement in development-related activities. This could include variables such as legal restrictions, lack of documentation, limited access to education and training, and discrimination.

Sub-question 3: What role(s) do NGOs and international development cooperation initiatives play in fostering refugees' potential for development in the host country?

Main Concept	Operationalization	Indicator	Explanation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Social Capital ○ Agency 	What types of programs or initiatives do NGOs implement to support refugees in Lebanon?	Program Focus	Categorizing the programs or initiatives based on their primary focus area. this could include variables such as Education (e.g., schools, vocational training), Healthcare (e.g., medical clinics), Livelihood Support (e.g., job training, microfinance), Community Development (e.g., social cohesion projects, capacity building).
	How do the networks between refugees and NGOs assist in expanding opportunities for refugees?	Socio-Economic Outcomes	Assessing the socio-economic outcomes achieved through the collaboration between refugees and NGOs. This could include variables such as new business start-ups, educational achievements and social integration.

	How do refugees, as agency, collaboratively engage in development-related activities with the support of NGOs?	Skill Development	Evaluating the extent to which refugees acquire new skills and knowledge through these collaborative efforts. This could include variables such as skill-building workshops, and training sessions offered.
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Table 2: Operationalization of the concepts

4.2 Methods for Data Analysis

For this study, Grounded theory was chosen as the research strategy to analyze data. The use of grounded theory² aligns with the research philosophy, as it provides the necessary tools to assess, interpret, and elucidate the meaning that individuals in social contexts construct in order to comprehend their experiences. In addition, this study applies inductive approach to analyze and understand qualitative data. According to Thomas (2003), the inductive approach's main goal is “to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies”. The chosen approach comprises three essential elements: coding, memo writing, and theoretical saturation. Coding involves two key steps - initial coding, which systematically categorizes data cohesively, and focused coding, which refines and structures the research with a high-quality framework. Memos provide a chronological record of the evolution of ideas and insights. Hence, the point at which data collection no longer uncovers any new properties relevant to a category is referred to as theoretical saturation.

Throughout the research process, participants demonstrated varying levels of English proficiency, necessitating the inclusion of Arabic language interviews, which is the researcher's native language. This decision ensured that the participants' voices were accurately captured and that their insights were not hindered by language barriers. After collecting the data through audio-recorded interviews, transcription and note-taking were carried out. To prevent the loss of significant perspectives during fieldwork, solely relying on memory was avoided, as recommended by Saunders et al. (2012). Thus, notes were consistently taken both during and after the interviews to preserve key discussion points. The qualitative data analysis involved a thorough examination to distinguish content and meaning. Coding was employed to identify categories, themes, and topics, enabling the exploration of emerging patterns and themes in the data.

² According to Saunders et al (2012), Grounded theory helps in providing the tools to evaluate the meaning that individuals in social contexts construct to eventually grasp their experiences.

4.3 Methods for Quality Assurance

This study adopted the triangulation method, following Saunders' (2016) recommendation, to ensure the highest possible research quality. Triangulation is a well-established and suitable methodology that aligns with the assessment criteria for qualitative research quality. By incorporating multiple data sources and data collection methods, triangulation validates the reliability, credibility, and authenticity of the research data, analysis, and interpretation. Thus, the decision to employ this approach was driven by the aim of enriching the research by enhancing its depth, breadth, complexity, and richness. To ensure data validation, however, participants actively participated in the interviews, with confirming questions interspersed throughout the duration of the discussions. Additionally, in some cases where interviews were conducted remotely (the reason will be explained in the next section), the scripts were sent back to participants for further validation. Throughout the research process, various activities were undertaken in alignment with the requirements of the grounded theory method to ensure the reliability of this study. These activities included comparing codes and categories and consistently writing memos to identify and track changes. For external validity, the overall theories, concepts, techniques, and contextualization of the ideas are explained in this research, which ensures the transferability of this study to another setting.

Regarding secondary data, careful attention was given to the sources utilized, with a particular emphasis placed on official publications and peer-reviewed academic articles. This was especially crucial in understanding the context of NGOs' interventions to empower refugees to contribute to the development of their host country, which closely aligns with the second research sub-question. During the data collection process, a combination of interviews and the life narrative approach was employed, involving a diverse range of participants. This approach allowed for triangulation of the gathered data, ensuring consistency and accuracy, as similar types of questions were asked across both methods. In addition, through these empirical tools, the study sought to ensure the inclusion of diverse viewpoints and shed light on the experiences of refugees in the context of development studies. The documentation of these perspectives contributes insights that can increase awareness and drive change in understanding the impact of involuntary migrants on development in the global south.

4.4 Methods for Data Collection

This research employed a qualitative research approach to collect data, utilizing a combination of in-depth interviews and a life narrative approach. These two methodological choices were made in order to effectively capture the subjective experiences and perspectives of individuals, as supported by Robert's work³ (1999). Within the framework of this present study, which centers on examining refugees' contributions and the development strategies employed by NGOs, the chosen research approach aligns with the general orientation of conducting research as defined by Bryman (2006). During the period of conducting the research, In-depth interviews were conducted with people from NGOs, host community members, and refugees with a number of 44 interviews, 60 to 90 minutes per each, data was gathered and categorized into three interrelated research phases, each with its own aims. The choice to divide the research into three distinct phases was primarily driven by the use of two types of interview guides, each designed for specific participants - NGOs and refugees. These guides entail sets of questions tailored to capture the viewpoints of each group. Additionally, the decision to adopt a multiphase approach was influenced by the need to maximize time efficiency, as the study's initiation was postponed from the originally scheduled date in February 2023. Following the completion of the fieldwork, supplementary interviews were conducted with refugees. The newly obtained data served as a complement to the existing data previously collected.

4.4.1 The First Phase: Literature Review & Hybrid interviews

To establish the conceptual framework for this research, gain an understanding of the migration and development debate, and assess the potential contributions of the Syrian refugees to the development context in Lebanon, the research began with a literature review. This review included a wide range of sources, including reports from governmental and non-governmental organizations, online publications, and peer-reviewed academic studies. By examining these sources, the research aimed to achieve a balanced understanding of the thematic and theoretical discussions surrounding the research topic, while also taking into account its context-specific characteristics. In addition, prior to the fieldwork, in-depth interviews with five participants were conducted remotely. During the remote interviews, the research topic was explained and properly followed during the interview process. As an additional quality check, participants were asked to fill out the interview guide and cross-check their responses to prevent any misunderstanding or miscommunication. Once the fieldwork has started, interviews have been conducted again to discuss participants' responses and clarify any vague questions. Notes were

³ Qualitative research methods, according to Robert, are “valuable in providing rich descriptions of complex phenomena; tracking unique or unexpected events; illuminating the experience and interpretation of events by actors with widely differing stakes and roles; giving voice to those whose views are rarely heard; conducting initial explorations to develop theories and to generate and even test hypotheses” (Robert, 1999).

taken throughout the entire process, compiling all the input to ensure a high-quality output. The combination, however, included complete responses along with notes, as well as ice-breaking meetings, which helped in requesting referrals for potential participants.

4.4.2 The Second Phase: Interviews with NGOs and Community Members

During the first four-week period of the fieldwork phase, the primary objective was to complete the first phase of interviews with participants, including NGOs and community members. Additionally, this time was dedicated to coordinating the subsequent phase of the research fieldwork, specifically focusing on scheduling interviews with potential participants from the refugee community. The sampling process for NGOs and community members involved a non-random approach, with prior coordination established with a key contact person in Lebanon. The non-random process was guided by two main criteria: 1) selecting participants from NGOs, particularly those in top-level management and policy departments; and 2) choosing participants who held responsibilities related to Syrian refugees within the community. The geographical scope primarily included the capital of Lebanon, Beirut, as the selected NGOs' headquarters are located there. The interviews aimed to gather data on the roles played by NGOs in facilitating the development potential of refugees. Additionally, the perspectives of the participants contributed to addressing the second research sub-question. An overview of the participating NGOs and community members can be found in Appendix (1).

4.4.3 The Third Phase: Interviews with Participants from the Refugee Community

During the final four weeks of the fieldwork phase, the primary emphasis was on conducting in-depth interviews with participants hailing from the refugee community. To enrich the research, the life narrative approach was employed in addition to the in-depth interviews. The adoption of the life narrative approach was deemed more appropriate for this research, as its ultimate objective is to guarantee that the narratives remain focused and do not provide any inaccurate information. Additionally, it provides a representation of how Syrians participate in the development process of the Lebanese community. This approach facilitated the analysis and presentation of the data in a more engaging and informative way. Throughout the research process, Note-taking was implemented to ensure the acquisition of high-quality data. The selection of participants was based on predetermined criteria, including factors such as the duration of their residency in Lebanon, their diverse ways of contributing (e.g., as business owners, founders of social enterprises, people who took initiative, or employees in the Lebanese market), and the skills they have acquired. The geographical scope encompassed three cities: Beirut, Tripoli, and Beqaa, which have experienced high concentrations of Syrians. However, by utilizing a life narrative approach, participants' perspectives specifically contributed to addressing the first and third research sub-questions. An overview of the participants from the refugee community can be found in Appendix (2), and the geographical locations of the districts visited can be displayed in Appendix (3).

4.5 Positionality as a Researcher

As the researcher hails from the same nationality as the target group (Syrians) and has worked for over seven years with and for refugees in various NGOs within Lebanon, it was acknowledged that potential biases might arise during the research. However, proactive measures were implemented to mitigate or avoid these biases effectively:

- **Culture:** The researcher was transparent about the purpose of the research, emphasizing that it aimed to critically examine the refugees' contribution to the development process. This clarification ensured that the study was not intended for showcasing achievements or seeking potential funding but was driven by the genuine intent to contribute to academic literature and understanding.
- **Translation:** To overcome potential biases introduced by language barriers, the researcher conducted some data collection in the language of the participants (Arabic). This approach allowed for more nuanced and contextually accurate exchanges during the interviews. By speaking the same language as the participants, the researcher facilitated a deeper exploration of their perspectives and insights.
- **Socially Desirable Answers:** Recognizing the possibility of socially desirable responses, particularly when discussing who is responsible for Lebanon's development, the researcher took measures to foster open and honest communication. Participants were assured that they could provide information anonymously if they preferred, thereby encouraging responses. Additionally, the researcher redirected conversations when participants tried to give unrelated answers to ensure that responses remained relevant to the research questions and were not influenced by external pressures.

4.5.1 Ethical Consideration

Research in developing countries might present ethical challenges for the research as well as the communities involved, as highlighted by (Henshall, 2006). To address potential challenges, ethical considerations were given the utmost attention in this research from the outset. Participants were provided with a detailed explanation about the study and sought their informed consent prior to their involvement. This included a clear explanation of the central theories, concepts, and objectives of the research, as well as an understanding of the research process itself. Participants were also given a detailed overview of the interview guide questions and reassured about the measures implemented to protect and secure their perspectives. It was emphasized that they have the right to withdraw their consent at any point, and their decision would be fully respected. Due to the sensitive nature of the research topic, some participants from the refugee community asked to use fictitious names instead of

their real names to ensure confidentiality and avoid any potential traceability. This request was fully acknowledged and respected, as it is crucial to prioritize the well-being and safety of the participants⁴.

⁴ According to Henshall (2006), It should be the objective of the entire research process to “protect the individuals’ dignity, privacy and basic rights, including the right to withdraw from the project at any time”.

5. Analysis of Findings

This chapter aims to provide an exploration of the insights and narratives shared by Syrian refugees and NGOs, highlighting the diverse ways in which they contribute to the development processes in Lebanon. Data is examined using a thematic-based analysis approach, as it offers, according to Braun (2012), flexibility in interpreting the data. The use of this approach also facilitates the handling of large datasets by categorizing them into themes, thereby enabling a more manageable analysis process. However, the contribution is broadly categorized into two main themes, as depicted in Figure 5. The first theme encompasses the direct contributions made by Syrian refugees, challenging stereotypes that have limited their participation in the Lebanese market. It delves into their contributions not only to the formal economy but also to the informal sector. The second theme addresses the challenges faced by refugees in their efforts to contribute to the development processes in Lebanon, providing insights into the barriers and obstacles that need to be addressed in order to further enhance their engagement and impact. Lastly, this chapter also focuses on the roles played by NGOs in fostering the potential of refugees for development. It sheds light on the various ways in which NGOs facilitate opportunities and empower refugees to actively contribute to development initiatives in Lebanon. This includes recognizing the indirect contributions of Syrian refugees, made possible through their presence and the support extended by NGOs.

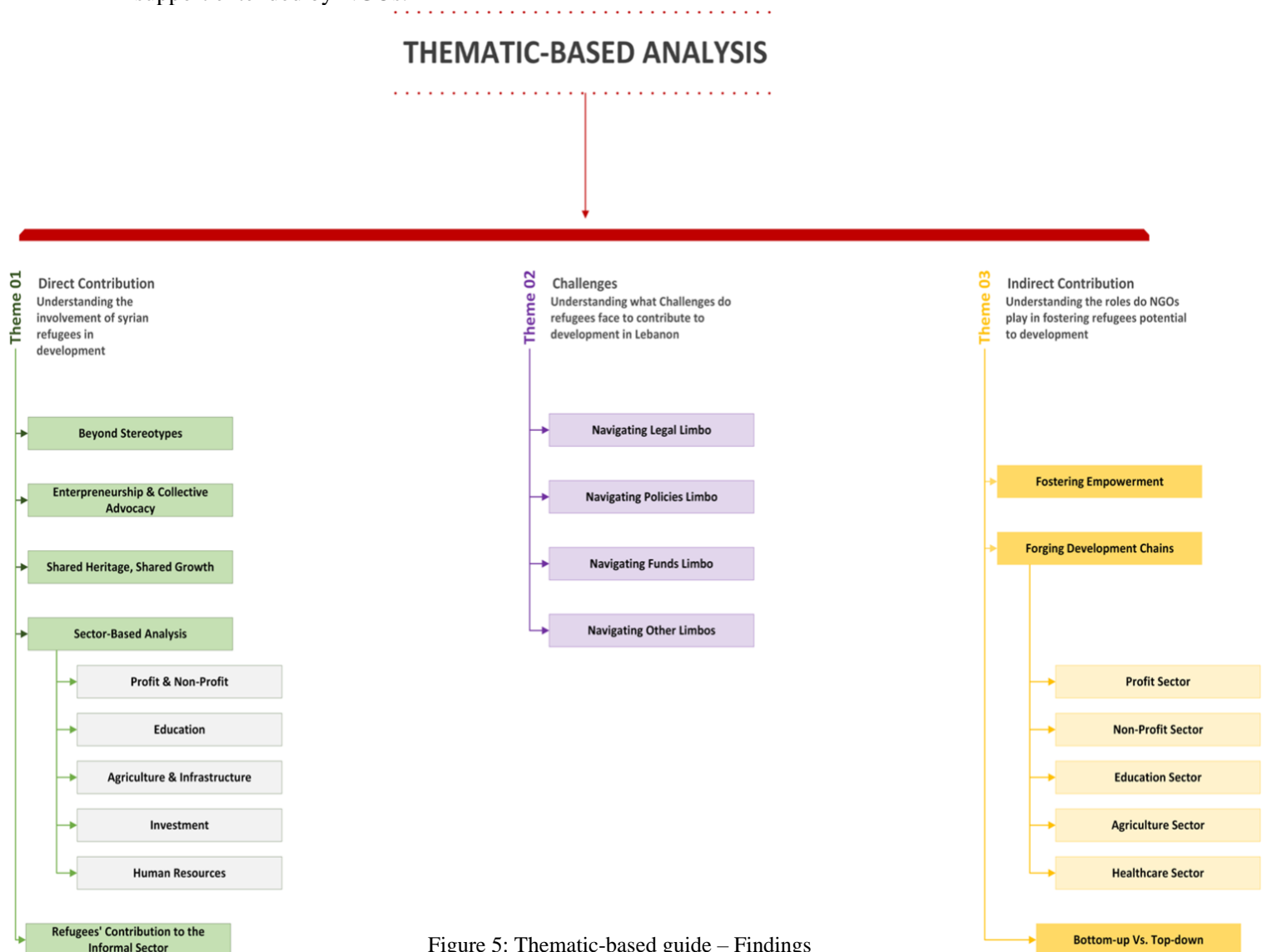


Figure 5: Thematic-based guide – Findings

5.1 Analysis – Direct Contribution to Development

During the field visit in Lebanon, participants had the opportunity to share their perspectives on the diverse ways in which Syrian refugees contribute to the development processes in Lebanon. These perspectives encompass various forms of involvement, sector-specific interventions, and contributions to the informal sector. However, this section aims to illuminate the direct involvement of Syrians, challenge stereotypes, and explore their active and inactive roles, entrepreneurial spirit, and shared culture with Lebanon as a host country.

5.1.1 Involvement Shapes: Beyond Stereotypes

The impact of Syrian refugees on Lebanon's progress manifests in a multitude of ways, with the majority actively contributing to the country's development, while a smaller fraction remains less engaged. The underlying reasons for this dichotomy are accordingly explained. This observation has been recognized by the participants as well. *“Development is undertaken not only by Syrian hands, but also by their minds, their abilities, their hard work, and their strong will” (P1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12).* The extract emphasizes the agency of Syrians and their contributions to developmental endeavors. Upon their involuntary migration from Syria to Lebanon, Syrians not only brought essential life-related provisions such as food and clothing but also transferred valuable assets in the form of skills, knowledge, labor force, human resources, investors, and traders. This is further exemplified by the following extract, which indicates that Syrian refugees have not only sought refuge, but have also actively engaged in economic activities that have led to the establishment of businesses in various sectors.

“Since the arrival of Syrian refugees to Lebanon, they have carried out a lot of development work, especially at the beginning of the refugee crisis, when the rich Syrian classes migrated first. After their arrival, we witnessed large commercial enterprises such as shoe factories, iron factories, and numerous commercial companies” (P1,2,4,5).

It is crucial to challenge the prevailing stereotype that confines Syrians solely to the roles of farmers and restricts their employment to the agricultural and construction sectors within Lebanon. Such assumptions have historically persisted in the relationship between Syria and Lebanon as neighboring countries. In this context, a consensus among the participants confirming this stereotype has been spotted: *“there is a generalization that Syrians are only farmers and constructors, which built upon their (Syrians) movements prior to the Syrian war in 2012, but they are not only farmers”.* This indicates the heterogeneous backgrounds and origins of Syrians who have migrated to Lebanon, demonstrating their ability to engage in sectors beyond farming and construction. Consequently, the perception that Syrians are exclusively limited to these sectors has become outdated, and no longer holds true. The

evolution of this perception is a result of various factors, including the passage of time, the influx of new and different waves of migrants to Lebanon, and the various forms of influence exerted by Syrians on the country.

5.1.2 Entrepreneurship and Collective Advocacy

“Syrians play many roles that benefit Lebanon, in my opinion, including using their youth potential and skills to fuel the labor market, bringing experiences and professions not commonly found in Lebanon. They also contribute to the market through their businesses and initiatives, and Syrians contribute to Lebanon’s economic cycle by receiving funds for relief or development work from international humanitarian institutions.”

(P5)

The new trajectories of Syrians within Lebanon, coupled with their agency, have furthermore substantiated their impact on multiple sectors. These sectors include not only the private sector, including both profit-oriented and non-profit organizations, but also extend to domains such as infrastructure, investment, agriculture, production, education, and human resources. The influence of Syrians in these areas collectively serves to stimulate the Lebanese economy, fostering growth and development. “Do you think refugees can play a role in developing their host country by contributing to the market, labor, businesses, and investment opportunities?” is one of the questions listed in the interview guide. It aims to understand the general view of the participants on Syrians’ ability to contribute to their self-development, and to Lebanon as a host country. The above extract underscores the proactive involvement of Syrians across diverse industries, effectively addressing the labor market requirements, generating employment prospects, and ultimately fostering economic growth. Furthermore, it highlights how refugees have introduced experiences and professions that are not typically prevalent in Lebanon and serves as an example of a social enterprise that addresses both social and economic hurdles.

This infusion of diverse expertise enhances the local workforce, facilitating knowledge sharing and fostering heightened productivity within the region. This trend of leveraging skills is depicted by the following extract. “*One of my business activities is to recycle the plastic bags into crochet-yarn, in this way I participate in protecting the environment and add new lines of products in the Lebanese market*” (P33). In addition to their entrepreneurial endeavors, a notable proportion of Syrians have demonstrated agency by establishing an inclusive coordinating committee in Lebanon. This committee serves as a prominent platform for articulating their demands, advocating for their rights, and actively engaging in decision-making processes. Through fostering collective representation, this initiative empowers

Syrians to assert their interests, navigate challenges, and contribute to shaping policies that directly impact their community.

“I started with a coordinating committee that represents Syrians in Lebanon, to call for our claims and to participate in formulating plans, with time, I established a training center for capacity-building in collaboration with international organizations” (P20).

These committees can act as a reference point for key stakeholders, including the Lebanese government and NGOs. They play a role in evaluating the refugee presence in the country and help bridge the gap by coordinating available resources through intermediaries. This process ultimately aims to address the needs identified by the committees that represent Syrians in Lebanon.

5.1.3 Shared Heritage, Shared Growth

The cultural heritage brought by Syrians to Lebanon has proven to be instrumental in shaping the relationship between the two communities. Despite the uncertainty and unfamiliarity they faced upon fleeing their home country, participants demonstrated a shared perspective regarding Syrians’ multifaceted roles as agents of development. This collective understanding acknowledges the contributions made by Syrians in various aspects related to development. As such, this perspective sheds light on the emergence of Syrians within the Lebanese market, occupying roles as human resources, business owners, professional collaborators with the Lebanese, and catalysts for cultural exchange. The participants confirm that Syrians bring with them a rich heritage rooted in the cradle of civilization, encompassing diverse aspects such as handcrafting, art, traditional cuisine, factories, new trade routes, and a skilled labor force. These offerings from the Syrians have found resonance within the Lebanese market, augmenting its economic and cultural landscape. *“Syrians brought with them a rich cultural legacy that is communal with Lebanon, primely leading to enriching cultural exchange, this is not anew” (P2, 5).* When viewed through a cultural, economic, and historical lens, it can be observed that the influx of Syrians to Lebanon is not a recent phenomenon. These two countries can, in many ways, be regarded as a single entity with intertwined cultures, markets, familial ties, and a history of intermarriage that spans several decades.

“At our organization which combines Syrians and Lebanese in the field of art, we focused on the talented people in a certain marginalized places that are unable to reach talents-building centers, we provide the necessary support to enable them to achieve their desires and then after join the market” (P37).

This historical and sociocultural context underscores the deep-rooted connections and shared heritage between the Syrian and Lebanese populations. Indeed, as depicted by the extract above, the presence of shared artistic elements between Syrians and Lebanese fosters a sense of familiarity and connection within the two communities. These shared cultural characteristics enable the transfer of ideas and traditions; in addition, they contribute to the formation of a more inclusive and diverse society.

“At our band which is a mix between Syrians and Lebanese musicians with multicultural and different orientation, we sing and play cultural music on a stage that united our mission: peace, and we try to lay a healthy society with peace, safety, and tolerance” P (44).

The promotion of tolerance and respect for different cultural backgrounds becomes paramount in this context. Consequently, such cultural exchanges play a key role in bringing about sociocultural development in Lebanon. As such, the mutual enrichment and interweaving of Syrian and Lebanese cultures creates a peaceful space that alleviates tension and serves as a promoter for positive societal change, fostering harmonious coexistence and an appreciation for diversity.

5.1.4 Sector-Based Analysis

The previous section provided insights into the broader perspective of Syrians’ involvement in the development processes in Lebanon, including their entrepreneurial contributions and the mutually enriching cultural exchange between Syrians and Lebanese. This section will delve deeper into the specific impact of Syrians across various sectors, including profit and non-profit organizations, education, agriculture, infrastructure, investment, and human resources. It will explore the distinct fingerprints that Syrians have left in each of these sectors, highlighting their role in fostering growth and development in Lebanon.

5.1.4.1 Profit and Non-profit

Many Syrian refugees are actively participating in the Lebanese market, either by establishing their own sole proprietorships or by forming partnerships with Lebanese people. *“You can hardly walk down a street in Lebanon without coming across a Syrian-run enterprise” (P1, 4).* According to a sizable number of participants, businesses primarily focus on food production, clothing and textiles, liberal professions, metal manufacturing, woodwork, leather work, and paper-related industries. The participants’ responses suggest that Syrian refugees bring valuable skills and expertise from their home country that are applicable to many sectors. This highlights their potential to contribute to socio-economic development by leveraging their existing knowledge and experience. *“There are four million Lebanese living in Lebanon, and around double this number living abroad, that’s why there is a shortage in many sectors” (P 37).* The involvement of Syrians in the labor market, whether as self-employed people or employees, can be attributed to economic necessity and limited opportunities

within the Lebanese employment sector. This drives them to take action for self-development, enhance their livelihoods, and contribute to specific development objectives in Lebanon.

The diverse sectors in which Syrians are engaged demonstrate how their participation has diversified the local economy and introduced new skills and perspectives. Ultimately, this participation plays a role in improving livelihoods for both Syrians and the local population. Many Syrians actively engage in the non-profit sector, assuming roles such as social workers, project implementers, supervisors, and, in certain instances, founders. As reported by a notable number of participants, this indicates that a significant portion of Syrian refugees are involved in humanitarian and social development initiatives. Their contributions in these areas highlight their commitment to addressing societal needs and fostering positive change in their host communities.

“NGOs in Lebanon are not only working for developing refugees, but they are also home to them through employing them in implementing projects for development, participating in the design of policies and plans and working for their empowerment” (P3, 19).

Despite the challenges refugees face in accessing the for-profit sector and the job market in general, they have shown resilience by exploring opportunities in other sectors. NGOs play a significant role in empowering refugees, not only by enhancing their skills, but also by recognizing and nurturing their potential. As mentioned in the extract above, refugees are integrated into the hierarchical structure of NGOs and contribute to their visions and missions. The participatory approach is emphasized by NGOs by actively involving refugees in policy and planning processes, acknowledging the importance of their perspectives and voices in decision-making.

“For us (NGOs), it is so difficult to legally employ Syrians and obtain work permits for them. What we do is provide them with the opportunity to volunteer. Through volunteering, we can incorporate them in this sector” (P1, 5).

The majority of Syrian refugees, as acknowledged by the participants, opt for the non-profit sector due to the more lenient employment conditions provided by NGOs. According to the extract above, legal restrictions often limit refugees' access to the job market, prompting NGOs to offer an alternative solution: volunteering. Through volunteering, refugees regain a sense of control over their lives and are able to actively participate in their own empowerment and that of their host community.

5.1.4.2 Education

The involvement of Syrians in the education sector is of paramount importance, particularly in addressing the educational needs of fellow refugees, and this is closely intertwined with the non-profit sector. This was acknowledged by a considerable number of participants. Syrians who have personally experienced displacement possess valuable insights into the challenges faced by Syrian students, including delayed enrollment in Lebanese schools, difficulties in following the Lebanese curriculum, and financial constraints reducing access to educational tools and resources. To bridge these gaps, Syrians have played a dynamic role in enhancing the quality of education provided to their fellow Syrians. They have served as teachers in schools operated by NGOs, assumed leadership and coordination roles, and, in some instances, even founded educational initiatives.

“We (NGOs) found difficulties in addressing the education challenges alone since a big number of Syrian students couldn't join the schools directly due to insufficient places at the Lebanese schools” (P 1, 14, 15).

Their contributions have been crucial in improving educational opportunities and outcomes for Syrian refugees in Lebanon. The extract above emphasizes the challenging situation faced by the Lebanese education sector in meeting the needs of its own students, which consequently makes it even more difficult for Syrian refugees to access Lebanese schools. However, NGOs have played a crucial role in securing funds, enabling the establishment of schools, and leveraging the expertise of Syrian teachers who possess firsthand knowledge of the challenges confronting Syrian students within the education sector.

Syrians who actively contribute to enhancing the education sector for refugees, however, not only benefit their fellow refugees but also provide assistance to the Lebanese government and NGOs by fostering social development within the refugee community. *“We established ten schools in collaboration with (1) NGOs to cover the needs of education for Syrians in a long-term basis” (P17).* It is further emphasized that refugees possess an understanding of the cultural and social contexts in which refugee students are learning. This contextual knowledge enables them to design and implement educational interventions that are culturally relevant and responsive to the needs and experiences of refugee students. By leveraging this understanding, they are able to create inclusive and supportive learning ventures that promote the academic advancement and overall well-being of the students. It became clear how, through these tailored interventions, refugee students are provided with opportunities to thrive academically and socially. They are enabled to contribute to the broader social development of their community as they move forward in their educational journey.

5.1.4.3 Agriculture and Infrastructure

Syrians have been actively involved in Lebanon's agriculture and infrastructure sectors through temporary migration, even prior to the Syrian war. The outbreak of the war has led to some Syrians becoming refugees who now reside in Lebanon, while others still engage in temporary migration on a year-round basis. As indicated by some participants and emphasized in the following extract, there is a historical pattern of Syrian farmers engaging in seasonal migration to Lebanon, along with regular migration from Syria to Lebanon prior to the Syrian war. *“Syrians legally work in the farming and construction sector and illegally in the rest of sectors”* (P 6). The engagement of Syrians in both the agriculture and infrastructure sectors has been justified, dispelling the stereotype that portrays them solely as farmers. Their formal involvement in these sectors is driven by the opportunity provided by the Lebanese government, which allows them to contribute to Lebanon's development. *“Around 90% of the economic growth driven by the farming and construction sector is achieved by Syrians”* (P 4). As a result, statistics, and data on their contribution in these fields are acknowledged and less emphasis on how they drive economic growth by contributing to this sector is placed in this research paper.

“As an expert in the field of construction, I established a company the has now around 40 workers plus minus, we came altogether to work on the infrastructure in Mount Lebanon where I live at the moment and before was in the south of Lebanon” (P 39).

As emphasized above, the presence of approximately 40 workers suggests that refugees have created job opportunities through their journey in the country, thereby improving their families' livelihoods. This employment and economic activity are crucial factors for local development. Syrian workers who participated in this study have made contributions to the development of their host country's regions. They have incorporated their knowledge, skills, and experiences in the field of construction, resulting in a more skilled workforce that enhances the quality of work. This, in turn, opens the door for further growth in the construction sector and improves infrastructure as a whole.

5.1.4.4 Investment

The post-war period witnessed a significant number of Syrian investors moving to Lebanon; however, due to the economic instability in the country, many of them have chosen to remain only temporarily before eventually moving to other countries, such as Turkey or Europe. The unstable Lebanese economy has had a detrimental effect on the decisions made by Syrian investors, leading them to seek more favorable investment opportunities abroad. The adverse economic conditions, characterized by volatility and uncertainty, have undermined investors' confidence in the local market, prompting them to explore more stable environments to protect their investments and pursue long-term growth prospects.

“Lebanon is super closed to Syria, and Lebanese banks were attracting Syrian investors before the Syrian war, many Syrian contractors chose Beqaa and Tripoli for rebuilding projects, now banks are closed and, in a way, bankrupt and both Syrians and Lebanese now are looking for opportunities abroad” (P25, 29).

The close geographical proximity between Syria and Lebanon has historically fostered strong economic ties and investment opportunities between the two countries. Prior to the war, several participants confirmed that Syrian investors found Lebanese banks attractive for investment purposes. According to the extract above, the proximity between the two countries and the potential economic benefits associated with investing in Lebanon made it an appealing choice for Syrian investors. The ease of access, shared cultural and linguistic factors, and established financial infrastructure in Lebanon created favorable conditions for investment and financial transactions between the two countries.

The recent financial crisis that has deeply affected the Lebanese banking sector, including bank closures, has significantly impacted the investment climate in Lebanon. *“More than 45 billion dollars for Syrian investors have been freezing in the Lebanese banks until further notice” (P 25).* This situation has not only influenced Lebanese investors but also Syrian investors, leading to limited options within the country and prompting many to seek investment opportunities abroad. However, it is worth noting that some investors, both Syrian and Lebanese, have chosen to remain in Lebanon and have found potential investment opportunities in the real estate sector, particularly in cities like Tripoli and Beqaa. Many of these investors opt for partnerships with Lebanese counterparts when engaging in real estate investments. This highlights how some investors have identified specific niches within the Lebanese market, despite the challenges, and have leveraged partnerships to pursue investment prospects, particularly in the real estate sector.

5.1.4.5 Human Resources

Syrians' active involvement and integration into the Lebanese workforce have proven to be an invaluable asset that contributes to the advancement of the overall economy. They play a key role in increasing employment opportunities across various industries in Lebanon. All participants acknowledge that Syrians bring diverse skill sets and a strong work ethic, enabling them to fill labor gaps and meet the growing demand for workers. Whether in construction, agriculture, services, or other sectors, Syrians, as indicated below, provide essential manpower that drives the expansion of businesses and industries. This, in turn, leads to the creation of more job opportunities, benefiting both the Syrian and Lebanese populations. By actively participating in the labor market, Syrians make a crucial contribution to the economic growth and development of Lebanon, which serves as a dual mission

between social and economic objectives while also improving their own livelihoods and integrating into the local communities.

“I established a waste recycling centre that collects waste from a shelter in Beqaa which hosts around 300 Syrian families and from the surrounding. Around ten people work in this centre” (P 42).

Evidence from this research points to the existence of valuable skills and expertise that Syrians have brought to the Lebanese market. These skills have a tangible impact on enhancing the capabilities of Lebanese companies and organizations. As a result, productivity is improved, and positive competitiveness is fostered within the market. It is indicated how the cultural diversity that Syrians bring, alongside their skills, contributes to fostering innovation, creativity, and cross-cultural collaboration within the Lebanese job market. The exchange of ideas, perspectives, and experiences between Syrian and Lebanese professionals leads to the development of new approaches, solutions, and opportunities. This synergy of diverse backgrounds and skills results in a more dynamic and thriving job market where different perspectives are embraced and utilized to drive progress and success.

“I transformed my creative hobby into a successful business by producing many on-trend goods and establishing a handicraft business venture, crochet yarn. I make patterned cloth by looping yarn around a crochet hook as its main material; I have facilitated more than 100 workshops and given services to more than 200 people so far; now I am officially an influencer and a teacher” (P34).

The agency of Syrians extends beyond being employees to actively creating jobs. 18 Syrians in this research, among many other entrepreneurs, demonstrated their entrepreneurial spirit by establishing businesses and ventures, thereby contributing to the entrepreneurial ecosystem by addressing social and economic gaps. These newly established ventures not only create employment opportunities but also provide development-related services for both Syrians and Lebanese. *“I am a founder of an NGO that established ten schools, two medical centres, two vocational training centres, a team for innovative learning and yet to come” (P17).* However, the provision of services by Syrians to both Syrian and Lebanese communities has stimulated diverse sectors and fostered the establishment of peaceful bridges between the two groups. This indicates how These initiatives serve as an effective means of promoting synergy and collaboration among people, ultimately working towards achieving shared aspirations and desires.

“The two healthcare centers in Majdal Anjar provide over 70% of primary healthcare services for Lebanese citizens, with a staff comprising both refugees and Lebanese. This collaboration enhances healthcare quality, fosters community development, and promotes peace and harmony between communities” (P17).

Additionally, Syrians often engage in small-scale businesses, such as restaurants, retail shops, and service-oriented establishments, which enhance local commerce and generate income for the host community. This indicates their entrepreneurial spirit and drive to establish their own ventures, which accordingly contribute to the vibrancy of the local business landscape. *“My company provides capacity-building programs in the technology field for people living in Lebanon, we are now around ten employees and we have around 400 beneficiaries” (P22).* Furthermore, the involvement of Syrians in businesses fosters their integration into the host community by creating connections and relationships with various stakeholders, including local people, suppliers, customers, beneficiaries, and fellow business owners. This interaction plays a significant role in promoting social integration and community cohesion.

5.1.5 Refugees' Contribution to the Informal Sector

Syrians have displayed active engagement in diverse industries, showcasing their participation in the labor market through various means. However, it is important to acknowledge that a significant portion of their efforts are concentrated in the informal sector. Participants in this research expressed differing opinions on Syrians' willingness to contribute, adaptability, and resilience, considering the restrictions on formal employment in certain sectors. The limited formal work opportunities have indeed impacted the contribution of Syrians in different ways, leading to a division between active and inactive involvement. As indicated in the following extract, Syrians express frustration with the legal restrictions that prevent them from engaging in their desired fields of work. While Syrians have experience in various fields beyond farming and construction, which are the only two sectors where formal employment is permitted for Syrians in Lebanon, they highlight that even these sectors are off-limits to them. This contradiction between the limited sectors they are allowed to work in and the fields they have expertise in creates a sense of dissatisfaction among many Syrians. This limitation indeed creates a barrier for Syrians to pursue their potential formally, especially considering that the majority of those seeking refuge in Lebanon have skills and experiences in sectors beyond farming and construction.

“How can I peacefully work if I am always under pressure of legal prosecution because I am not allowed to, I have experience in financial auditing, and it's forbidden to work in this field in Lebanon, I am praying to leave to Turkey very shortly” (P43).

The highlighted stumbling blocks faced by Syrians in participating in development processes can lead to the perception that migration presents a potential solution to escape these constraints and find a more favorable environment for professional growth and personal well-being. However, it is crucial to recognize that while migration may provide a temporary respite, addressing these constraints necessitates the implementation of comprehensive social policies. These policies are essential to fostering social cohesion, integration, and sustainable growth for all refugees in Lebanon in the long run. Despite the difficulties encountered in Lebanon and the limited availability of formal job opportunities, there is a range of perceptions among Syrians regarding the situation. While some may feel discouraged by the local limitations, others remain resilient and actively seek alternative ways to contribute to their own self-development and the progress of Lebanon.

“I am only allowed to work in the construction and agriculture sector, unfortunately, I am not passionate in working in these sectors, but that does not mean I remain at home and waiting for others to help me, I can do a lot and I run projects in which I have experience even though I do this in an informal way” (P40).

Despite not having a strong passion for the designated sectors, some Syrians demonstrate a proactive approach to finding solutions. They express their willingness to take on projects based on their experience, even if it means operating informally. This underscores their determination to make use of their skills and expertise. In this context, the following extract suggests a limited level of control and oversight from the Lebanese government regarding the work activities of Syrians. As a consequence, many Syrians are able to engage in work activities, even if they are officially prohibited from doing so. *“Luckily, although I am prevented from working in these kinds of sectors, a blind eye has been turned not only to me but to the majority of Syrians since there is limited control over this” (P24, 32, 42, 43).* According to the participants, the Lebanese government has chosen not to actively enforce the restrictions on Syrian employment in some cases. This leniency can be attributed to several reasons, such as the challenges in monitoring and controlling all informal work activities or a recognition of the economic contributions made by Syrians and the potential negative impact that strict enforcement may have.

In addition to Syrians' involvement in the informal sector, there are Syrians who have actively sought alternative pathways to contribute to the development of the country by forming inclusive partnerships with members of the host community. As mentioned by the participants, these Syrians have taken the step of legally registering their enterprises and operating within the formal framework. By doing so, they not only aim to improve their own livelihood prospects, but also to harness and enhance the local

potential. These collaborative efforts between Syrians and members of the host community have significant implications for economic development and social cohesion. In situations where Syrians face challenges in legally registering their businesses, some choose to seek out members of the Lebanese community and propose a joint venture. If both parties agree to the business proposal, the Lebanese partner can take the necessary steps to activate the business legally, while the Syrian partner assumes responsibilities related to the business operations.

“Refugee-related laws in Lebanon were an obstacle to refugees themselves establishing developmental companies and businesses. However, the refugees’ participation in businesses carried out by Lebanese citizens, where refugees were partners or workers, was a solution for them to pursue their ambitions” (P5, 6, 8, 12, 14)

This cooperative approach allows Syrians and Lebanese citizens to collaborate in establishing legitimate businesses that contribute to the economic growth and overall well-being of both communities. Furthermore, the collaboration between Syrians and members of the host community is often supported by various organizations, including NGOs. These organizations provide financial support and guidance to individuals or joint ventures, which further facilitates the establishment and growth of businesses. The amount of funding received can have a significant impact on both Syrian entrepreneurs and the host country, as it enables the implementation of business plans, the expansion of operations, and the creation of employment opportunities. This fund, among other roles NGOs played in fostering Syrians’ potential for development in Lebanon, will be further explored in the upcoming chapter.

5.2 Analysis – Challenges

The previous section provided insights into the direct contributions of Syrian refugees towards improving their livelihoods and those of their host country. This section aims to shed light on the challenges faced by Syrians in their contributions to Lebanon's development. These challenges encompass various aspects, such as legal hurdles in obtaining residency, the absence of policies aimed at empowering refugees to organize their presence in the country, limited funding for supporting their initiatives, and other factors that impede their efforts in achieving specific development objectives.

5.2.1 Navigating Legal Limbo

Syrians face several challenges when it comes to their legal status, which has persisted for a decade and continues to this day. The complexities involved in applying for legal residency have resulted in only a small fraction of Syrians in Lebanon obtaining legal documentation. The Participants in this study confirmed that the application process for legal residency entails a waiting period of up to four months or even longer. Furthermore, once obtained, the residency permit must be renewed annually in accordance with the law. These hurdles greatly impact refugees' decisions to re-apply for residency due to the difficult nature of the process and the associated financial costs. *“It has been four months since I applied for my residency and there has been no answer yet. I am fed up, and I have almost forgotten about it at all. They make me wait to be legal, and then they want to fine me if I work illegally. How is this right?”* (P24). Additionally, participants emphasized that various types of residency exist, with the most prevalent being temporary residency, displaced residency, sponsorship residency by Lebanese individuals or organizations, student residency, marriage residency through a Lebanese spouse, and work residency. For most types of residency, however, excluding marriage and work residency, Syrian refugees must provide documentation affirming that they will not seek employment in Lebanon. Even for those granted work residency, Syrians are limited to certain sectors, such as agriculture and construction. Consequently, legal measures are implemented at specific times and in certain cases to penalize those who violate the law.

These measures include financial fines, the closure of refugee-owned institutions and shops, and penalties for those employing refugees. This highlights a discrepancy in the actions of the Lebanese government. While they enforce strict measures against rule violators on certain occasions, they exhibit leniency in specific situations, allowing Syrians some freedom to explore their potential. *“The official Lebanese decisions that hinder the work of refugees have had no solution until now, despite advocacy campaigns. There are also no facilities to allow for the granting of residency permits easily”* (P19). The existence of these legal barriers poses significant challenges for Syrians, undermining their resilience and their ability to contribute to development processes. The inability to attain legal residency status engenders feelings of insecurity and vulnerability, particularly when Syrians are forced to engage in

informal work to sustain themselves. This informal employment exposes them to further legal risks, perpetuates a cycle of marginalization, and exposes them to exploitation in some cases, hindering their capacity to actively participate in the host community's growth and development.

5.2.2 Navigating Policies Limbo

Syrians are challenged by the absence of local policies that would effectively structure their presence in Lebanon. While decisions concerning Syrian refugees are occasionally made, the lack of a well-defined framework or clear plan outlining their rights and responsibilities creates administrative disorder. As a result, the organization of the refugee presence becomes chaotic, hindering development efforts and impeding the self-development of both the refugees and the host community. This study reveals that the Lebanese government shares concerns about the settlement of Syrian refugees, which can be attributed to the absence of policies and legal frameworks addressing their presence. *“There is no policy to support Syrians. On the contrary, there are always laws that prevent anyone from doing anything besides leaving the country”* a common view shared by participants. The absence of comprehensive policies leads to a reinforcement of the Syrians’ decision to leave Lebanon as soon as possible, as there are no regulations to govern their presence. Consequently, the Syrians’ contributions to development processes become fragmented and uncoordinated, lacking a unified developmental framework.

This situation creates a lack of opportunities for both the refugee and host communities. Furthermore, the lack of policies hampers Syrians’ empowerment to enhance their livelihoods and utilize their potential as agents, preventing them from legally achieving goals that would benefit the host society. *“I have the money and the experience to start my own office as a lawyer. I have been here (Lebanon) for five years, but I can’t start my own business because of the law. Instead, I practice my profession with an organization that defends the rights of refugees”* (P19). This absence of policies can be seen in the context of the Lebanese government's apprehension, fearing they may repeat the Palestinian refugee crisis with Syrians. Palestinian refugees migrated to Lebanon in 1948 and have since settled there. The government's concerns about a similar scenario have hindered their efforts to create a supportive environment for Syrian refugees.

5.2.3 Navigating Funds Limbo

Among the challenges faced, the limited availability of funding for small-scale projects acts as a barrier that hampers the agency, empowerment, and integration of Syrian refugees. Many Syrians have ideas and the potential to improve their livelihoods and empower the host community. While some of these initiatives initially received support, insufficient funding prevented them from achieving their full potential, leaving them in a state of waiting for new funding opportunities. *“I am waiting for funds to help me to continue with empowering women and providing them the necessary raw materials to make*

products and sell them in the market” (P32). This challenge not only impedes refugees from sustaining their initiatives but also hinders their integration into the host community. As a result, their contribution to the development processes of the host society is diminished. Participants in the study emphasized that funding opportunities for small-scale initiatives primarily rely on development organizations in Lebanon, while the Lebanese government completely lacks support for small or even large-scale initiatives.

“I already received funds from an organization to provide education for Syrians, but this is the only channel for all of us, since there are no funds made available by the government” (P28).

Furthermore, specific conditions imposed by the primary donor must be met to secure funding. These conditions include the formal registration of the initiative and the initiator being a Syrian individual with legal representation in Lebanon. *“To apply for a fund, I need to prove to the funder that my initiative is legal, although he likes my business idea, I could not take the fund because I can’t legally register my business”* (P35). This kind of situation results, as posed by many participants in this study, in a significant loss of support for empowering and enabling Syrian initiatives. It perpetuates a cycle where Syrians are unable to formalize their initiatives, limiting their potential for growth and hindering their ability to contribute to Lebanon’s growth. It has become clear, however, how such conditions imposed by various stakeholders, which are difficult to fulfill in the Lebanese context, further impede the agency, empowerment, and integration of Syrian refugees in Lebanon.

5.2.4 Navigating other Limbos

During the interviews, several additional challenges faced by Syrians in Lebanon were brought up. One prominent challenge is the mental health of refugees, which has become a significant issue since the beginning of the conflict in Syria. The consequences of war have also had an effect on the productivity levels of some Syrians. Some have been compelled to abandon their university studies and instead pursue employment to meet their daily needs. Additionally, a number of Syrians have encountered racism from Lebanese citizens who reject their presence in Lebanon. These people claim that there is competition between Syrians and Lebanese for job opportunities. This is compounded by the prevailing stereotype of Syrian refugees as those living in tents, and this has had a negative impact on productive Syrians, leading them to seek alternative, often illegal, opportunities to leave the country. However, these challenges were not extensively explored due to the limited perspectives of the participants on these issues.

5.3 Discussion

Building upon the findings and narratives explored in the previous two sections, which highlighted the direct contributions of Syrian refugees to the development processes and the challenges they face in realizing their potential in Lebanon, this section takes a step further. It aims to connect these findings by placing the narratives of these refugees within a broader societal and literary context. As such, this discussion is guided by the first research sub-question: "What is the direct involvement of Syrian refugees in development-related activities such as projects, skills, businesses, and investment opportunities?", and the second research sub-question: What challenges do refugees face in their contributions to development in the host country? By doing so, it provides a deeper understanding of the multifaceted dynamics at play, shedding light on the larger sociocultural and literary implications of the experiences and contributions of Syrian refugees in Lebanon.

5.3.1 Syrians' Involvement & Agency

The findings demonstrate the new trajectories of Syrians within Lebanon, coupled with their agency, and have further substantiated their impact on multiple sectors. These sectors include not only the private sector, including both profit-oriented and non-profit organizations, but also domains such as infrastructure, investment, agriculture, production, education, and human resources. The influence of Syrians in these areas collectively serves to stimulate the Lebanese economy, fostering growth and development. The finding directly addresses the facets of refugees' direct involvement in development-related activities and encapsulates the essence of refugees' contributions across sectors, thus aligning with the research objectives. Comparing with existing literature, there is an alignment with the concept of agency as defined by McLaughlin and Dietz (Brown & Westaway, 2011). This concept refers to "the capacity of individuals and corporate actors to independently influence and cause change, encompassing both individual and collective action". It emphasizes the active role individuals play in shaping their own circumstances and challenges the perception of them as passive victims of societal change.

The finding demonstrates the Syrians' ability to play an independent causal role in shaping their economic circumstances and challenges the notion of being passive victims of their displacement. This is evidenced by their engagement in the market and pursuit of ventures that allow them to realize their potential. However, according to the findings of this research and in alignment with the challenges refugees face in their entrepreneurial journeys, this finding does not entirely comply with the concept of agency. While Syrians display agency through their entrepreneurial endeavors, there are still structural and systemic barriers that limit the full realization of their agency. For instance, legal limitations, access to funding, and business registration processes hinder their entrepreneurial potential. Therefore, to achieve the full meaning of agency, it is crucial to address these obstacles and provide

adequate support and resources to further empower Syrians and enable them to fully exercise their agency in the development landscape. However, further research is required to explore the long-term sustainability of refugees' impacts and their specific contributions within each sector. Additional investigations have the potential to offer insights into the effects of refugees' contributions to Lebanon's economic and social landscape.

5.3.2 Syrians' Participation & Self-mobilization

Many Syrian refugees are actively engaging in the Lebanese market, displaying their resilience by either establishing their own sole proprietorships or forming partnerships with Lebanese individuals. While they face restrictions that limit them to specific types of jobs, such as agriculture and construction, they employ strategies to adapt to this challenging environment. One such strategy involves forging partnerships with Lebanese partners, enabling them to navigate the limitations and access opportunities in the market. This finding supports the endeavor to understand the direct involvement of refugees in various development-related activities. In this context, the concept of self-mobilisation, as theorised by Pretty et al., applies to the engagement of Syrians within the for-profit sector in Lebanon. However, the drive of Syrian refugees to engage in self-employment is largely powered by legal limitations, which, often, leave few options open to them besides starting their own enterprises. Pretty's 'self-mobilisation' concept argues that, in the absence of external support, people will frequently create their own systems within which they can operate (Pretty et al., 1995).

NGOs in the region play an active role in bolstering the achievements of these Syrian-run enterprises, a topic that will be explored in detail in the subsequent chapter. On the other hand, businesses established by refugees in Lebanon regularly operate independently, facing challenges in securing support, official business registration, obtaining required permits, and achieving financial self-sufficiency. This is incompatible with one aspect of the concept, which is: self-mobilization can spread if the government provides support. The legal limitations and lack of support for formal registration and financial stability hinder the full realization of Syrians' entrepreneurial potential, making it essential for further support mechanisms to be put in place to harness the positive outcomes of self-mobilization effectively (see figure 6). Hence, the combination of the findings regarding the participation of Syrian refugees in the Lebanese market and the incompatibility with the concept of self-mobilization sheds light on the second research sub-question, which primarily focuses on the challenges refugees encounter in their participation in the development processes of Lebanon.

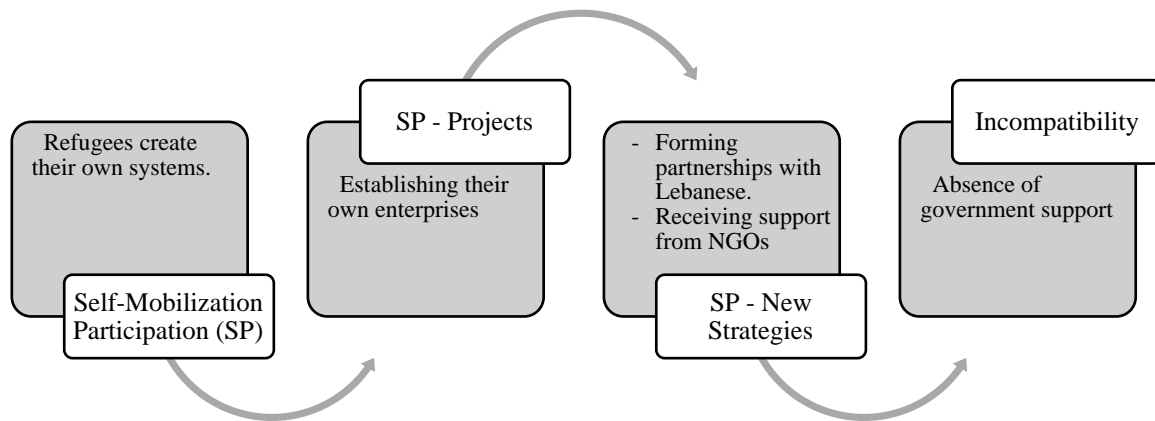


Figure 6: The relationship between self-mobilization and the findings

5.3.3 Social & Economic Impacts

The findings of this research highlight the dual endeavors of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, as they establish businesses to generate income and introduce new products into the market while also maximizing their social impact, particularly in the fields of education and advocacy. Syrians have actively sought to build bridges between the two communities and have initiated diverse initiatives to enhance the social sector, including education and employment. In direct response to the first research question, these findings explain the direct involvement of refugees in development-related activities. Through entrepreneurship, innovation, and social initiatives, they directly impact economic and social dimensions within their host society. In addition, this aligns with the concept of social enterprise, as defined by Seelos et al., which aims to explain market failures or social problems and reduce the gap between individuals with limited opportunities and the market (Seelos and Mair, 2005; Hartigan and Billimoria, 2005; Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). However, the theoretical implications extend beyond the concept of social enterprise. Practically, these findings advocate for the incorporation of refugee-led initiatives in policy discussions and development programs, tapping into their entrepreneurial spirit to drive economic and social growth.

The initiation of ventures with socio-economic objectives presents a contradiction in relation to what Khan et al. suggest. While traditional for-profit organizations implement social programs alongside profit-related initiatives and non-profit organizations adopt commercial methods to reduce reliance on external funding, social enterprises strive for a balance between generating profit and having a positive social impact (Khan et al., 2015). The research suggests that Syrian social enterprises, despite addressing market failures and social challenges, still require funding from external sources (such as

NGOs) to fulfill their missions. In some cases, due to funding gaps, refugees face challenges in achieving their goals, and this, in turn, has a negative impact on social enterprises operating in the market – largely due to a decrease in participation. However, it is important to note that the integration of social and economic objectives can further improve the livelihoods of both communities over time. In this context, additional research is required to consider the evolving nature of entrepreneurship and its lasting impact on both refugees and the host community. This could suggest avenues for a deeper understanding of the complexities involved.

5.3.4 Collective efforts & Participation

Syrians have demonstrated agency by establishing comprehensive coordinating committees in Lebanon. These committees highlight how refugees are actively shaping their own path of development. Through the formation of these groups, they demonstrate their ability to work together in making decisions, planning, and carrying out projects. This proactive involvement goes beyond simply being beneficiaries, offering a broader perspective on their role in development. In this context, this finding aligns with the concept of functional participation as proposed by Pretty et al. (1995). Functional participation involves people or groups participating to achieve project goals through interactive engagement and shared decision-making. In the specific case of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, the establishment of coordinating committees becomes a platform for expressing their needs, advocating for their rights, and collectively devising plans to enhance their lives and drive progress. This finding, however, serves as a clear demonstration of refugees' direct involvement in development-related activities through their active role in shaping these committees. This reflects their agency and contribution to broader developmental discourse.

However, it's important to note a subtle divergence between this concept and a specific facet of the finding. The study demonstrates that Syrians have established platforms to voice their concerns in development dialogues and advocate for their rights. Nonetheless, a contradiction arises in relation to their functional participation in decision-making processes. While they actively engage in decision-making within their coordinating committees and occasionally contribute insights to the formulation of policies by NGOs, their involvement may not extend further into more extensive and formal decision-making frameworks (see figure 7). This discrepancy prompts inquiries into the degree to which their role in decision-making is acknowledged and effectively implemented.

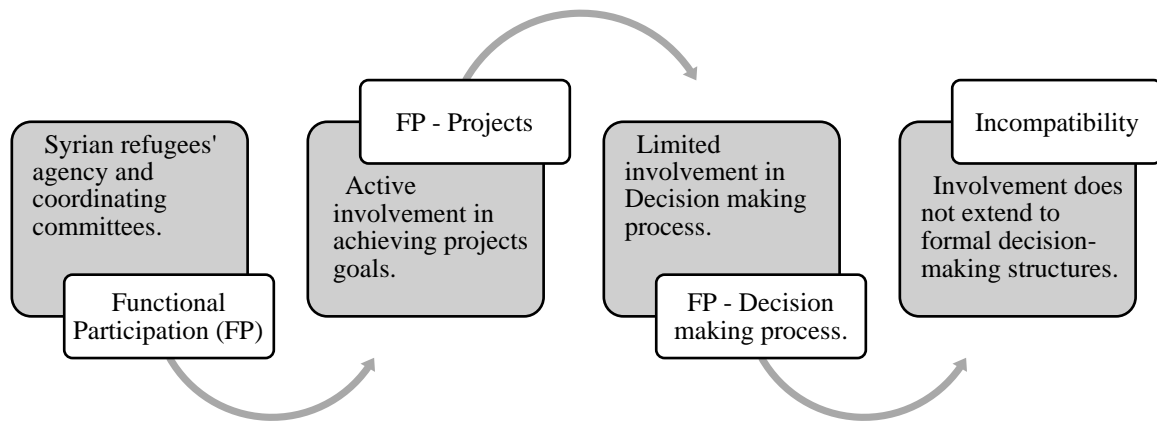


Figure 7: The relationship between Functional Participation and the findings

5.4 Analysis – Indirect Contribution to Development

The previous sections provided insights into the direct contributions of Syrian refugees towards improving their livelihoods and those of their host country. It addressed the challenges refugees face, provided interpretation for the findings, and compared them with the existing literature. This section aims to highlight their indirect contributions to the development of Lebanon, with a particular focus on how NGOs empower refugees to eventually participate in the country's growth. The label indirect for the refugees' contribution as "indirect" originates from its connection to the support provided by NGOs. This suggests that NGOs' efforts empower refugees to engage in their host country's development. Fundamentally, the support provided to refugees acts as a cornerstone that facilitates their involvement in shaping the developmental scenario. Consequently, this highlights the importance of delving into the roles played by NGOs in fostering refugees' potential to actively participate in their host country's development. In this sense, this section explores how the presence of refugees contributes to development and examines the diverse roles played by NGOs across various sectors, including profit and non-profit organizations, education, agriculture, and healthcare.

5.4.1 Fostering Empowerment

NGOs have played diverse roles in raising awareness and advocating for the rights of refugees, resulting in their empowerment and active engagement in the development of their host country. Through in-depth interviews conducted for this research, it has been revealed that there is a prevalent belief among NGOs, community members, and interviewed refugees that NGOs effectively address the development and empowerment of refugees. This perception can be attributed to the government's limited resources for fostering the refugee community, or to the prevailing notion that the country primarily serves as a transit point for refugees rather than a permanent destination. Nevertheless, the key role of NGOs in facilitating the growth and well-being of refugees is widely acknowledged and recognized. Participants emphasized that NGOs have been proactive in advocating for policies that promote the development of refugees. *“NGOs have increased awareness of the importance of supporting refugees for their own benefit and the benefit of the host country by raising their voices and enhancing efforts to formulate policies that promote their development”* (P5). The extract highlights the endeavors of NGOs in Lebanon to establish an empowering environment, enabling Syrians to make meaningful contributions towards enhancing the local livelihood. These advocacy endeavors include engaging with policymakers and shaping regulations that consider the needs and potential of refugees.

“As Palestinian-Syrian, I founded an initiative called "Dicostamine",
launched in Lebanon, to address tensions and discrimination against
refugees, to exchange experiences and promote cultural understanding, and
to challenge stereotypes. Despite not being able to register legally, the

initiative actively prepared and delivered speeches, formulated recommendations, and disseminated them through Lebanese organizations, thanks to our partners and supporters” (P18).

Regardless of the legal constraints on raising voices, the extract suggests that the advocacy and awareness-raising efforts of NGOs yield benefits for both refugees and the host country. By empowering Syrians to actively participate in the development of the host country, a more inclusive and vibrant society can emerge, promoting social cohesion and fostering mutual understanding between the Syrian and Lebanese communities.

In addition to raising awareness and advocating for various causes, NGOs play a crucial role in supporting development processes in Lebanon by actively fundraising. The participants acknowledged that the presence of Syrian refugees has intensified the need to address humanitarian and developmental challenges, prompting NGOs to actively pursue financial support from international partners. It is evident that this mobilization of funds plays a significant role in unlocking the potential for development among refugees and contributing to Lebanon's overall growth.

“We supervise more than 65,800 Syrian refugees in many sectors including education, jobs, and livelihoods, we could not achieve that throughout the past ten years without the financial support from NGOs in France, Italy, Germany, the UK, Japan, Malaysia, Turkey, and South-Africa” (P1).

The previous excerpt indicates that funding mechanisms have been established through long-term collaboration between local and international organizations to enhance the well-being of individuals. This notion is consistently echoed by all NGOs interviewed in this research. In this context, NGOs have proposed intersectional projects aimed at attracting financial support from both local and international organizations. *“At our organization, we work on two ways to attract fund, first by assessing the needs and translate this into concept note or proposal, and we approach our partners to get the fund, second, based on the predetermined budget offered by funders themselves” (P5).* The dynamic interaction between local and international NGOs in securing funds indicates their collaborative efforts to drive change and address the urgent development-related needs of both communities.

5.4.2 Forging Development Chains

NGOs in Lebanon have taken a leading role in providing multifaceted support to refugees across various domains. The funds received by refugees have empowered them to actively participate in Lebanon's development processes, spanning human, social, and economic dimensions. The insights obtained from

interviews reveal the establishment of a development chain where each component contributes to the overall impact. This chain incorporates the involvement of NGOs, Lebanese and Syrian human resources, beneficiaries from both communities, and, in some cases, local ministries and suppliers. It is crucial to emphasize that the existence of this development chain is due, in large part, to the presence of Syrians in Lebanon, a fact acknowledged by the participants as well. *“We implement projects related to: education, healthcare, mental health, solar panel-related projects, road improvements, building decent residential units, improving job opportunities, providing micro-loans, etc.”* (P1, 5, 6). As emphasized, development-related programs exhibit diversity and interconnectedness, encompassing a broad spectrum of sectors.

The following insight illustrates the collaborative endeavors undertaken by various components within the development chain with the aim of attaining socio-economic development and enhancing the well-being of both Syrian and Lebanese populations. Specifically, these components comprise NGOs, the local ministry, human resources, and local suppliers, synergistically working together to improve the quality of education. This holistic approach underscores the potential for stakeholders to unite and actively contribute to development initiatives. It is noteworthy that this collaborative effort extends beyond the education sector and encompasses other sectors as well, as validated by all participants involved in the study.

“We (NGOs and INGOs) coordinated with the ministry of education and higher education to fund a project to educate 100,000 Syrian refugee students, which ensured the employment of thousands of Lebanese teachers, and hundreds of Lebanese companies specializing in educational requirements such as stationery, books, transportation, and so on” (P1).

5.4.2.1 Profit Sector

A symbiotic relationship between NGOs and the private sector, contributing to the enhancement of the quality of life, is indicated. This is achieved through the establishment of a collaborative effort embedded within the development chain, which is facilitated by the presence of Syrians in Lebanon. The extract below highlights the crucial role played by NGOs in mobilizing funds to address the needs of the local community and their continuous efforts in implementing development-related projects. However, it emphasizes the necessity for additional support to enable NGOs to effectively carry out these activities, necessitating the formation of partnerships with local companies.

“We (one Syrian and one Lebanese partners) founded a company that hired around 40 employees in the field of infrastructure; we are

responsible for repair, renovation, and rebuild activities. We spotted a need that NGOs need to implement their projects for developing Syrian refugees in collaboration with suppliers to take on responsibilities related to infrastructure” (P39).

In fulfilling their designated responsibilities, companies rely on their human resources, which are essential for both NGOs and the local community. As indicated, this involves the employment of both Syrian and Lebanese individuals, who assume various roles within these companies. According to seven participants, such companies thrive through a synergistic combination of Lebanese expertise in marketing, purchasing, and legitimate business establishment, complemented by Syrian expertise in field execution acquired from their previous experiences in their home country. It is worth highlighting, furthermore, the establishment of relationships with other companies to ensure the adequate availability of essential raw materials for project execution. *“Since the company relies on human resources to work on implementing project, I need to find ways to benefit from workers who their experiences and inputs are crucial to the company” (P39).* As recognized, both companies and NGOs have made significant contributions to stimulating the Lebanese economy and creating new job opportunities within the market. This dual impact has not only alleviated the economic burden on the host community but also provided avenues for Syrian refugees to sustain themselves, support their families, and actively engage in growth-oriented endeavors.

5.4.2.2 Non-Profit Sector

“As one among the partners with the United Nations in Lebanon, UN has a platform where all NGOs unify their activities through this platform, where they fill out forms that include implemented projects, numbers, and various services provided to the refugee population to ensure the best for the beneficiaries” (P2,4,5,17).

Collaboration among NGOs has played a crucial role in establishing a structured framework for development dynamics that promote socio-economic growth in Lebanon. The insights gathered from ten NGOs involved in this research highlight the crucial role of the UNHCR in creating a platform where NGOs can collaborate and exchange information regarding implemented projects, statistics, and services provided to the refugee population. This platform likely serves the purpose of avoiding service duplication and effectively managing the chain of development-related initiatives. However, the above extract suggests that this coordination ensures efficient resource allocation, maximizes impact, and facilitates the effective utilization of available resources to address the needs of both refugees and host communities.

“The participation of 60 Syrian and Lebanese employees at our organization in organizing a global conference attended by representatives from about 50 international countries. After the conference, around 30 strategic development projects were funded, contributing to the development of refugees and the host community by more than 10 million dollars” (P1)

In addition to the UNHCR's efforts in establishing a structured framework for coordination, NGOs have demonstrated a high level of agency by fostering collaboration between Syrians and Lebanese communities to actively contribute to the development process. The above example highlights the collective efforts of both groups to redirect funding from relief and humanitarian support towards projects focused on long-term development. This strategic shift, as observed, has successfully secured funding for numerous development initiatives, amounting to substantial financial support and potentially reaching millions of dollars. This exemplifies the mobilization of capital from the international community to bolster the development of Lebanon, enabling Syrians to enhance their skills, participate in meaningful employment, and engage in community-building endeavors.

5.4.2.3 Education

The education sector stands out as a key area where associations, Syrian, and Lebanese initiatives actively collaborate, all facilitated by funding from international associations. Their collective efforts are aimed at achieving social development in Lebanon and empowering both Syrian and Lebanese communities. This is substantiated by the insights provided by the participants in the study. Syrians, including the study participants, acknowledge the support received from various sources, including significant online followings on social media platforms and the involvement of local and international NGOs. In this collaborative context, it is important to mention how some Syrians have been able to start educational projects that focus on empowering and teaching children, youth, and women, which in turn creates job opportunities, like the case of Mo Hazzaa.

“As Syrian, it is difficult to start up an initiative, but with support from more 780K global followers on Instagram, 600K global followers on YouTube, and local and international NGOs, I had the chance to establish two centers, one for empowering and educating children and youth, second for empowering women and more than 20 job opportunities are provided” (P22).

Other initiatives have embraced innovative approaches and contemporary perspectives to elevate the quality of education, often bolstered by the support provided by NGOs. Two participants in the research (P17, P22) highlight the active participation of robotics teams in global conferences and Olympic competitions. Notably, one team represents Lebanon, while the other team represents refugees in Lebanon. The former achieved first place among 160 countries in a competition held in Switzerland, while the latter achieved third place. This signifies the unity and collective achievements fostered by NGOs' empowerment initiatives between Syrians and Lebanese communities. Furthermore, this global recognition underscores the potential of these collaborative efforts to empower and enhance the well-being of all the beneficiaries they serve. In this context, the following extracts demonstrate the collaborative endeavors undertaken by Syrian and Lebanese communities to promote education. These initiatives encompass the establishment of schools, the creation of job opportunities, and the promotion of social development, all aimed at enhancing the well-being of individuals from both communities. Moreover, these extracts shed light on the critical role of social capital in facilitating the realization of specific development goals.

“the educational center that I established is focused on the robotics field and capacity building for Syrians and Lebanese, my team for robotics participated in many global conferences and Olympics competitions, in the beginning of 2023, in Switzerland, the latest competition my team participated in, won the first place among 160 countries across the world, I am Syrian, but my team represents Lebanon.” (P 22)

“Al-aman School” is a school that is established by our organization through funds received from our international partners, and its management is jointly formed between Lebanese and Syrian people. We have 55 Syrian and Lebanese teachers, and we provide education for 535 students per year.

(P14)

5.4.2.4 Agriculture

NGOs have played a key role in facilitating the advancement of Syrians in the agriculture sector, contributing to their empowerment through financial assistance and the promotion of sustainable practices. *“Since farming sector is listed among the legal professions refugees can work at, this helps us in raising more funds and support more farmers from the refugee community to secure their living”* (P3). The agriculture industry, being a legal space where Syrians can work, presents an appealing domain for development agencies, local NGOs, and refugees to engage in the development chain with

the objective of enhancing productivity in this sector. By allocating funds and providing essential resources, the following extract highlights how NGOs have created opportunities for refugees to excel and contribute to the advancement of the agriculture sector. The collaboration between local NGOs and international organizations has played a significant role in uplifting this sector, particularly through the implementation of micro-support initiatives that enable Syrians to unleash their potential.

“Aquafarming project. This project was implemented in the Bekaa Valley region of Lebanon, employing around 30 people. It was an innovative project by nature, as it is environmentally friendly, has low costs (in terms of capital) and does not occupy large areas, and was a motive for more funds for this kind of project” (P43).

The insights from the participants clearly demonstrate how these projects not only aim to improve livelihoods but also emphasize the importance of environmental sustainability. Farming projects, by adopting innovative and environmentally friendly practices, have exhibited a strong commitment to preserving natural resources and ecosystems. The example presented above showcases a project with low capital requirements and minimal space occupation, making it a feasible option for implementation and capturing the attention of development agencies, thereby resulting in increased interest and investment in the agricultural sector. In this context, by funding such projects, NGOs not only empower Syrians but also contribute to environmental protection. The integration of sustainable practices within agricultural projects plays a crucial role in mitigating negative environmental impacts and promoting a greener and more sustainable approach to food production. This aligns with the inclusive goal of sustainable development, ensuring that economic growth and environmental preservation go hand in hand.

5.4.2.5 Healthcare Sector

The involvement of international development agencies in Lebanon's healthcare sector reflects their collective endeavor to enhance the quality of life for both Syrian and Lebanese communities. As recognized by the participants, the healthcare sector in Lebanon faces its own challenges in meeting the needs of the local population. However, the presence of Syrians in Lebanon has had a positive impact on securing funds for healthcare-related projects. *“The EU-funded large-scale primary healthcare project in Lebanon aims to enhance the healthcare sector by developing medical centers. This project was funded as a response to the presence of Syrians” (P18).* The commitment of international partners to enhancing the healthcare sector in Lebanon is evident through their support in developing its facilities. The funding provided by EU countries, channeled through local NGOs to benefit both Syrian and Lebanese communities, underscores the importance of social capital, which involves networking and collaboration among stakeholders to achieve development-related outcomes. These collaborative

efforts and resource mobilization contribute to bridging gaps and uplifting the healthcare sector in Lebanon.

The long-term implementation of such projects over the past decade has played a crucial role in rebuilding trust among citizens in their country's healthcare system. This has had a significant impact on the healthcare professionals involved, regardless of whether they are Syrian or Lebanese. Continuous exposure to these projects, as illustrated below, has allowed healthcare professionals to acquire valuable skills, experiences, and knowledge. This professional growth contributes to the overall development of the healthcare workforce, enhancing their capacity to deliver high-quality care and effectively address the evolving healthcare needs of both Syrian and Lebanese populations.

“Through these projects, trust among Lebanese citizens has been restored through high-quality services, since the healthcare sector is struggling at the moment. It also empowers Lebanese doctors to deliver high-quality healthcare services” (P18).

Among the previous interventions, it is evident that the limited availability of healthcare resources in certain cases is a significant concern, necessitating the intervention of NGOs to address the gap. The healthcare infrastructure in specific towns in Lebanon is marked by a scarcity of medical facilities, posing challenges for residents to access essential healthcare services. *“Some towns in Beqaa and Tripoli have no medical centers at all, and in some cases, the same number of residents and even more in some towns are Syrians” (P17).* This issue becomes even more pronounced when Syrian refugees settle in these towns, further exacerbating the strain on already limited healthcare resources. Given Lebanon's limited capacity to address these gaps, NGOs have intervened to mitigate the healthcare divide. Recognizing the pressing need to bridge this gap, these NGOs have undertaken initiatives to raise awareness and secure funding for healthcare-related projects.

“Lebanon, with its unstable economic and political situation, has billions dollar as debt which worsen the situation of all sectors including the healthcare” (P5).

By leveraging these resources, NGOs strive to enhance the quality of life for both the local population and Syrian refugees. It is evident that NGOs, through their interventions, play a crucial role in addressing healthcare gaps. As illustrated below, they facilitate access to essential medical services and cater to the healthcare needs of underserved towns. These efforts underscore the significance of collaborative action between NGOs, international stakeholders, local communities, and Syrians in mitigating healthcare challenges faced by Lebanon and improving the well-being of its residents.

“Through cooperation between refugees and our NGO, a hospital was established in Aarsal with modest capabilities, led by a Lebanese administrative team and a Lebanese and Syrian medical team, and thousands of services have been provided to both the refugee and host communities. This is because we do not have any medical centers, with the nearest center being 50 kilometers away in the city. Its name is Aarsal Medical Hospital” (P1).

5.4.3 Bottom-up Vs. Top-down

Development processes in Lebanon are primarily driven by the agency of the local population and the active engagement of humanitarian and development organizations. While the Lebanese government does play a role, its contribution remains comparatively limited in relation to the efforts of non-governmental actors. It is indicated that a significant number of local municipalities depend on financial support from civil society organizations to execute their development initiatives. *“I have attended several meetings between funders and local councils to see the proposed projects and discuss the possible ways of funding, this is prevalent since the government has no financial ability” (P36).* This pattern, among the similar views of some participants, indicates that the development paradigm in Lebanon exhibits a bottom-up orientation, wherein initiatives are initiated and sustained by grassroots actors rather than being imposed by centralized authorities. This is confirmed in the previous chapters as well. However, it is important to highlight that participants in this study express divergent viewpoints regarding the efficacy and desirability of this approach, reflecting the complexity of perspectives on the dynamics of development in Lebanon.

Among certain participants, there exists a prevailing viewpoint that development efforts are exclusively the domain of the government, with no active involvement from the resident population or community-based organizations. *“We (Syrians) come from a country with a strong government that is responsible for improving the country, and community organizations are rarely found or active” (P40, 42, 43).* It is indicated that they question the fundamental concept of development and the role individuals play in shaping it. Their argument revolves around the notion that development is exclusively the responsibility of the government, while individuals have no meaningful contribution to it. Consequently, they perceive their presence in Lebanon merely as passive consumers, failing to recognize their active role in generating income, fostering new opportunities in the Lebanese market, and mutually developing themselves alongside the host community.

“The political system is divided along sectarian lines, and each sect has its own agenda. Leads to no plans for development because they are busy deciding who will lead the country” (P13).

This intervention has been previously substantiated. On the contrary, as evidenced by the extract above, the prevailing perspective in Lebanon leans towards a top-down approach, where development is perceived to be solely driven by the government. Unfortunately, this perception is accompanied by the absence of an official structure that effectively guides the long-term vision for the country's development. As a result, the absence of a coherent framework contributes to the stagnation of development efforts, which in turn presents significant challenges for Syrians. These challenges impede their formal and active contribution to the development processes. In the upcoming chapter, these challenges will be further examined, shedding light on the barriers that restrict Syrians' participation in shaping the trajectory of the country's development.

5.5 Discussion

Building upon the findings explored in the previous section, which highlighted the indirect contributions of Syrian refugees to the development process through support provided by NGOs, this section goes a step further. Its objective is to connect these insights, placing the narratives of these refugees within a broader societal and literary context. However, this discussion is guided by the third research sub-question: What role(s) do NGOs play in fostering refugees' potential for development in the host country? By doing so, it aims to provide a deeper understanding of the various dynamics at play, shedding light on the larger implications of the NGOs roles in supporting refugees in Lebanon.

5.5.1 The Role of NGOs & Empowerment

5.5.1.1 Participation Through Platforms

NGOs have played diverse roles in empowering Syrians by providing them with platforms to voice their concerns, raise awareness about their rights, and advocate for their needs. It is indicated in this research that, through their support and activities, NGOs create opportunities for Syrians to organize themselves and participate in the development processes of Lebanon. This finding contributes to the concept of empowerment as defined by Botchway (2001). Empowerment refers to “a process in which individuals or groups are able to exercise their abilities and capacities to understand and interpret problems, define their needs, and translate them into action” (Botchway, 2001). The finding also underscores the role played by NGOs in fundraising, which serves as a vital component of support for development processes. Through active fundraising efforts, NGOs generate resources that enable refugees to access essential services, education, healthcare, and opportunities to improve their livelihoods. Additionally, these funds empower refugees to pursue their business ideas and translate them into tangible projects, thereby contributing to the socio-economic development of Lebanon. This financial support adds to the concept of empowerment and facilitates the third stage as outlined by Botchway, wherein needs are translated into action, and to do so, funds are needed to fill the gaps. However, it is crucial to emphasize that restrictions in funding pose a significant obstacle for NGOs in their missions to effectively empower refugees and hinder their progress toward self-development.

5.5.1.2 Participation Through Job Opportunities

Beyond providing platforms for refugees to voice their concerns, NGOs have taken steps to offer job opportunities characterized by lenient working conditions. This research sheds light on the constrained formal employment options available to Syrian refugees, which has impacted their contributions to the development processes in Lebanon. These refugees express their frustration with the legal constraints imposed on them, hindering their pursuit of work aligned with their aspirations and obstructing their integration and overall well-being. In this context, the concept of empowerment assumes a key role in fostering social cohesion, integration, and overall growth within a host country (Botchway, 2001). The

present finding highlights this concept's relevance by emphasising the importance of providing inclusive legal support to refugees, enabling them to make informed decisions that contribute not only to their own development but also to that of Lebanon. The mismatch between the sectors where Syrians are permitted to work and their actual skill sets further highlights the pressing need for government-backed policies that empower refugees, recognizing and harnessing their potential. However, the absence of a structured empowerment policy in Lebanon significantly hinders Syrian refugees' integration efforts and their capacity to actively shape development.

5.5.1.3 Participation Through Improving Well-being

In the context of this research, the evident role of NGOs in addressing the needs and improving the well-being of Syrian refugees highlights their crucial contribution. These NGOs, as demonstrated in the previous section, play a key role in implementing social policies that promote resilience among Syrians, empowering them to express their aspirations and effectively contribute to the host country. The involvement of NGOs and the limited official development-related policies aimed at empowering Syrians in Lebanon highlight the link between development, refugees, and empowerment, and further adds to the empowerment concept that empowerment can be shaped not only by formal structures within a country but also by community-based organizations (see figure 8). These organizations have an impact as they foster peoples' potential, establish development-oriented projects, and support people to build their path and foster their social cohesion. Consequently, empowerment becomes better able to address the needs of refugees and effective in achieving their self-actualization in Lebanon by being more inclusive, and responsive. In this context, this finding corresponds with the migration-development nexus framework proposed by Nyberg-Sørensen et al. (2002). This framework emphasizes the interplay between migration and development, highlighting the roles played by stakeholders such as individuals, families, and communities. These stakeholders actively engage in enhancing livelihoods and crafting survival strategies, thereby enabling participation in shaping and contributing to the development processes.

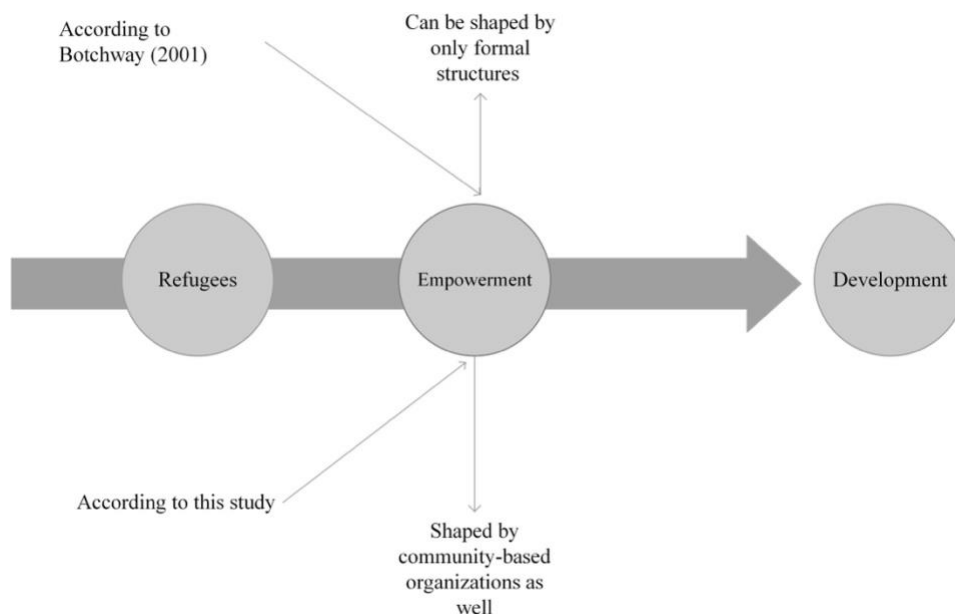


Figure 8: The relationship between refugees, empowerment, and development

These interconnected aspects highlight the crucial role of empowerment, facilitated by the active engagement of NGOs in supporting refugees, contribute significantly to addressing the third research sub-question, which primarily focuses on the roles played by NGOs in bringing about development by enhancing refugees' potential. However, this discussion addresses the research question by explaining the diverse roles that NGOs play in fostering refugees' potential for developmental engagement. By providing platforms for expression, raising awareness, and offering job opportunities, NGOs strengthen refugees' agency, contributing to their active involvement in shaping Lebanon's development landscape. This understanding elevates the narrative of refugees as agents of change, substantiating the critical role of NGOs in their empowerment and developmental participation.

5.5.1.4 Participation Through Grassroots

Development processes in Lebanon are primarily driven by the agency of people and the active engagement of humanitarian and development organizations. The finding confirms the involvement of NGOs in fostering development in Lebanon through 1) implementing development-related projects in the sectors of education, healthcare, livelihood, and capacity-building programs for concerned people including refugees and 2) providing funds for new businesses, initiatives, and social enterprises that eventually improve the locals and refugees' livelihoods. As such, a significant number of local authorities in Lebanon rely on financial support from civil society organizations to execute their development initiatives. These findings demonstrate a clear link to the concept of participation, which emphasizes the involvement of grassroots initiatives through including people in the economic, social, and culture processes (Botchway, 2001). These findings also highlight the limited contribution of the Lebanese government compared to non-governmental actors in the development process. This aligns with the participation concept, which emphasizes the need for community-based organizations to have constant access to decision-making and power (Bliss & Neumann, 2008).

As confirmed through evidence, the local authorities in Lebanon heavily rely on financial support provided by civil society organizations to effectively execute their development initiatives. This situation brings to the forefront the efforts put forth by NGOs in their endeavors to enhance the quality of life for individuals and, simultaneously, achieve their potential for further developmental progress. This situation also highlights the significance of collaborative support, emphasizing the necessity of unifying Lebanon's structural components in order to collectively drive the country's growth agenda forward. This finding resonates with the concept of participation, which underscores the essence of establishing partnerships between communities and various development actors (Botchway, 2001). Furthermore, this finding closely aligns with the migration-development nexus framework introduced by Nyberg-Sørensen et al. (2002). This framework highlights the relationship between migration and

development, placing special emphasis on the role of collaborative ventures forged by diverse stakeholders to guide in development outcomes. By highlighting the importance of cooperation, this framework aligns with the collaborative support in Lebanon's context between stakeholders, including the Lebanese government and NGOs.

5.5.1.5 Participation Through Social Capital

This research also highlights the active collaboration between the Syrian and Lebanese communities and the connections made through their joint endeavors in pursuing development-related projects. These projects include the establishment of schools and medical centers and the introduction of new professions that were not previously available in the local market prior to the arrival of Syrians in Lebanon. The findings emphasize that these efforts are often supported by various actors, especially NGOs, who come together to engage in the development process, aiming to enhance livelihoods and improve the overall quality of life for both communities. This finding contributes to explaining the connection in relation to social capital theory, which emphasizes the importance of constructing social capital between people to establish connections and networks, thereby uniting their efforts towards more progress (Putnam, 2002). Putnam's perspective on social capital suggests that it takes place through active involvement in organizations and collaboration between different groups in a democratic manner.

Starting new initiatives, however, in a fragile country with already limited resources available, like Lebanon, can be challenging due to the unstable economic situation as well as the existence of legal barriers. It is suggested in this research that Syrians have adapted by employing new strategies, such as forming partnerships with Lebanese partners to legally represent their ventures. These insights highlight the importance of considering the effects of structural factors on disadvantaged populations, a point that Putnam's theory does not explicitly address. Additionally, adverse circumstances faced by people may hinder their engagement in civic-related activities, which are crucial for building social capital across multiple groups (McClean, 2002). The research underlines the impact of structural barriers on decisions made around integration by Syrians regarding their path towards integrating fully into Lebanese society. It is important to demonstrate, however, that the majority of Syrians, according to the findings, actively participate in civic engagement activities, which is a critical aspect in the development of effective social capital.

5.6 Research Limitations

The timeframe for the research was limited due to various constraints. Originally planned for three months, the fieldwork had to be condensed into nine weeks due to personal challenges faced by the researcher, namely the delay in receiving a passport, which would allow travel to Lebanon. Despite the condensed schedule, the quality of interviews remained unaffected, and the researcher was able to conduct the planned interviews within the allocated time frame. The geographical distribution of participants across different cities in Lebanon presented challenges around transportation. While transportation arrangements were provided by the organization where the researcher was interning, the time required to travel between these areas posed an obstacle. Much time was consumed traveling around Lebanon, and this impacted the number of interviews that could be conducted each day. The researcher conducted interviews both in Arabic and English, depending on the comfort of the participants. This linguistic flexibility ensured a smooth exchange of information and allowed participants to express themselves comfortably in their preferred language.

Certain unexpected challenges arose during the field visit to Lebanon, including unreliable access to the internet and power outages; however, the main challenge faced during this research was related to the willingness of refugees to participate in the research. Although an adequate number of participants from the refugee community were interviewed, the original plan was to include a larger sample size of refugees. Unfortunately, the selection of potential participants coincided with a series of arrests conducted by local authorities, specifically targeting refugees without lawful residence. As a result, many refugees were forcibly removed to Syria, which hindered the research process. Potential participants expressed hesitancy to proceed with the interviews as they were concerned about the possibility of being removed to Syria. In this context, it is essential to acknowledge that the majority of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, especially those integrated into the Lebanese market, encounter various challenges related to their legal status.

These challenges, which are extensively discussed in the previous sections, influenced the research dynamics and the willingness of participants to openly share their experiences. In addition, the legal complexities and potential risks associated with discussing unregistered initiatives and activities, through which they contribute to Lebanon's development, added to a feeling of unease amongst participants. In order to allay the worries of participants, pseudonyms were used throughout the interview process if the participant expressed concerns about their identity being discovered. This safeguard positively contributed to the participation of refugees, who intimated that they could not engage with the interview process safely without a guarantee of anonymity.

6 Conclusion

This research has aimed to examine the participation of refugees in development processes in Lebanon. It focused on the migration that happens between countries in the global south, since extensive attention has largely been on their impact through the geographic lens of South-North Migration (OECD, 2017). The analysis of interviews with refugees and NGOs has contributed to a more comprehensive contextual understanding of the research. Through these interviews, the intertwined relationship between migration and development has become evident, promoting new patterns of refugee participation in development initiatives. The study also utilized the migration-development nexus as a lens, enabling participants to identify dimensions of this relationship through their narratives. Diverse forms of participation emerged consistently throughout the interviews, including agency, networking, and individual contributions across various sectors such as employment, education, profit and non-profit sectors, social enterprises, and entrepreneurship. Collectively, these forms of participation contribute to enhancing the well-being of both refugees and the host community. The migration-development nexus, participation, and related concepts like grassroots participation, empowerment, agency, social enterprise, and social capital serve as foundational notions guiding the narratives of refugees and highlighting their perspectives concerning the research topics.

The research findings validate the presence of a relationship between refugees and development in Lebanon, prominently evident within the context of participation, both at individual and community levels. The findings demonstrate that Syrians hold the ability to play an independent causal role in shaping their economic circumstances and challenge the notion of being passive victims of their displacement. This is evidenced by their engagement in the market and pursuit of ventures which allow them to realize their potential. However, according to the findings of this research and in alignment with the challenges refugees face in their entrepreneurial journeys, these findings do not entirely comply with the existing studies on the concept of agency (Brown & Westaway, 2011). Syrians demonstrate agency by participating in projects related to development, but there are still structural and systemic barriers that prevent them from fully realizing their agency. For instance, they are constrained by legal restrictions, funding access issues, and business registration procedures. In this context, this research found that collaboration among NGOs has played a crucial role in establishing a structured framework for development dynamics that promote socio-economic growth in Lebanon. Development processes in Lebanon are primarily driven by the agency of the local population and the active engagement of humanitarian and development organizations. While the Lebanese government does play a role, its contribution remains comparatively limited in relation to the efforts of non-governmental actors.

The findings of this research also highlight various modes of participation that point to the diverse migration trajectories of Syrians within this study. The expectations regarding their indirect

contributions extend beyond their mere presence in the host country and the roles of NGOs. It was observed that the local population in Lebanon has gained valuable experience through the implementation of projects directly aimed at enhancing the livelihoods of refugees. Over the span of ten years since the onset of the Syrian conflict, Lebanese individuals have contributed through substantial involvement in driving development processes within Lebanon. This validates the notion that the presence of refugees indeed introduces new avenues for development within the country, albeit indirectly, by supporting in fundraising efforts to bridge development-related gaps. This presence also generates new employment opportunities and establishes fresh pathways for both refugees and locals, while concurrently enhancing the skill set of those actively engaged in project implementation over an extended period.

6.1 Recommendations

There are a number of recommendations that can be proposed to enhance the livelihoods of Syrian refugees, enabling them to actively engage in fostering their own development as well as contributing to the host country where they have resided for nearly a decade and still reside. Firstly, it is important to establish complementary efforts between NGOs and the Lebanese government. The role of NGOs should ideally complement the efforts of the government, rather than substitute for them. While NGOs provide essential support and services, the Lebanese government holds the responsibility to support Syrian refugees. By focusing on improving refugees' livelihoods and ensuring access to their rights, the government can empower them to develop themselves and contribute to Lebanon's growth. Secondly, the establishment of a far-reaching policy framework is crucial. This framework should include all aspects concerning refugees, clearly outlining their rights, responsibilities, and integration opportunities. It should be firmly grounded in principles of rights, non-discrimination, and inclusion. By ensuring that refugees are well-informed about their entitlements and obligations, a conducive environment can be created where they have the freedom to make informed choices. Lastly, streamlining the residency process is vital. Developing an accessible process for Syrians to apply for residency in Lebanon can significantly alleviate their challenges. This could be achieved through the creation of transparent guidelines, reduction of bureaucratic hurdles, and the provision of adequate support to refugees throughout the application process. The establishment of legal aid avenues and support centers can further assist Syrians in navigating the complexities of the residency system, ultimately enhancing their integration and contribution to the host country's development.

Last word inspired by Albert Einstein

*“All that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity
for development accorded to the individual.”*

Appendixes

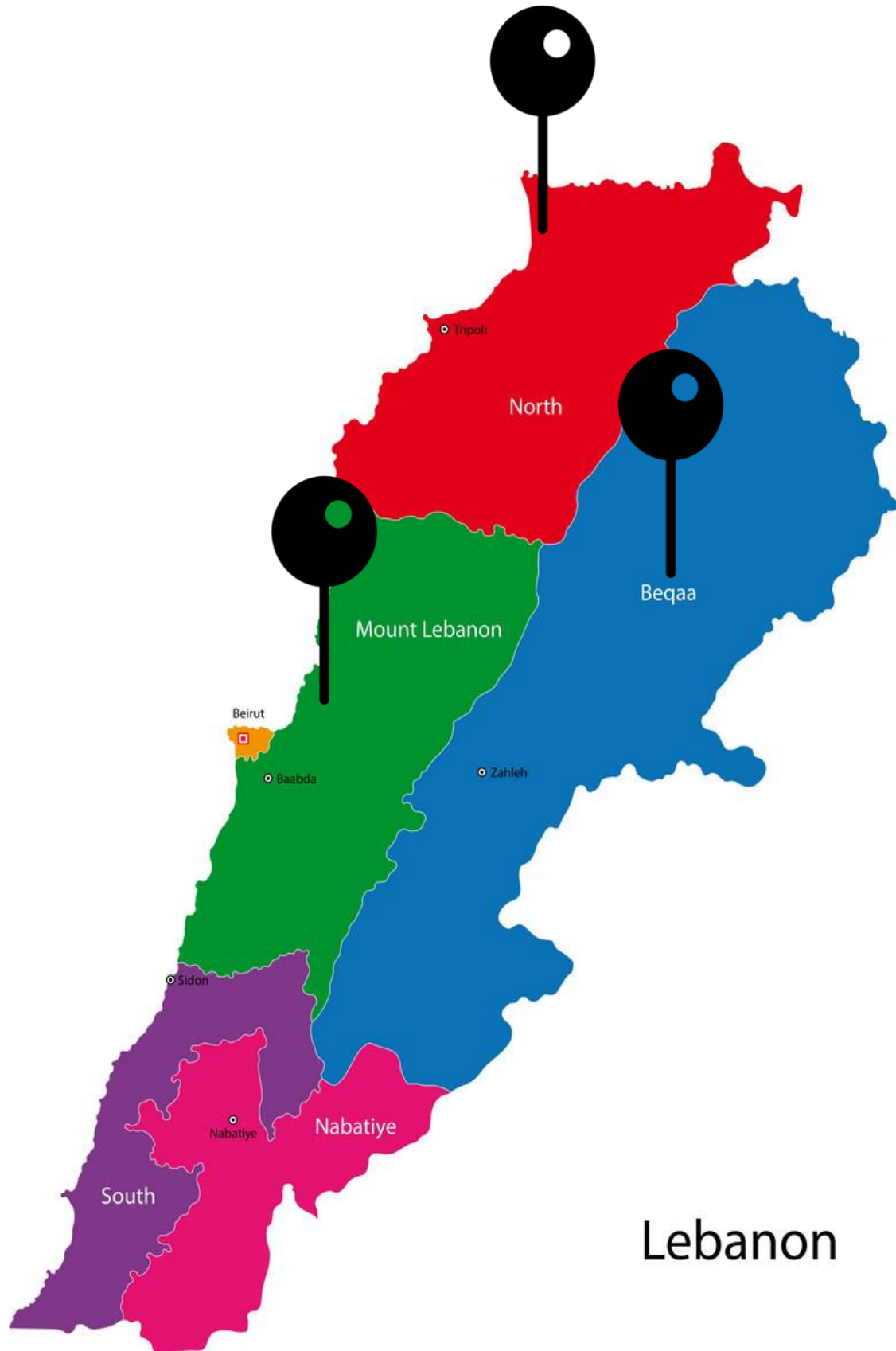
Appendix 1: list of participants from NGOs and the Lebanese community

Code	Organization's Name	Participant's Position
P1	Union of Relief and Development Associations	Founder
P2	Al-Berr Association	Policy Maker
P3	Environmental Development Association	Founder
P4	SAWK Association	Co-founder
P5	CVC Association	Programs Manager
P6	Kafalat Association	Executive Director
P7	FI for providing micro-loans	Operation Manager
P8	Save the Children	Community-based Protection Coordinator
P9	Bond Organization	Policy Maker
P10	Ebdaa Orgnization	Founder
Community Member's Name		
P11	Maysoon	Communication Manager
P12	Marwa	Media Director
P13	Christina	Policy Maker
P14	Ahlam	School Manager
P15	Khaldoun	Academic Director
P16	Goerge	Project Manager

Appendix 2: List of the participants from the refugee community

Code	Name	Sector	Domain
P17	Dr. Fadi	Non-Profit	Education, human resources, and production
P18	Dr. Ziad (Palestinian-Syrian)	Non-Profit	Advocacy
P19	Hassan	Non-Profit	Advocacy
P20	Ayman	Profit	Capacity-building, and production
P21	Mo Hazzah	Social enterprise	Education and human resources
P22	Hamza	Social enterprise	Education and human resources
P23	Mohammad	Profit	Infrastructure
P24	Samah	Social enterprise	Education
P25	Monir	Social enterprise	Advocacy and education
P26	Mussa	Profit	Education
P27	Ismail	Profit	Education
P28	Moemen	Non-Profit	Advocacy and education
P29	Adnan	Non-Profit	Capacity-building and infrastructure
P30	Abdul-Rahman	Non-profit	Education and human resources
P31	Rami	Social enterprise	Production and education
P32	Rabiaa	Social enterprise	Production and capacity building
P33	Alaa	Social enterprise	Production and education
P34	Joumana	Social enterprise	Production and education
P35	Khaled	Non-profit	Advocacy, education, and human resources
P36	Muzna	Non-profit	Education
P37	Roze	Non-profit	Education
P38	Farid	Profit	Production
P39	Ibrahim	Profit	Infrastructure
P40	Abdo	Investment	Real-estate
P41	Nizar	Investment	Real-estate
P42	Amer	Profit	Agriculture
P43	Hanna	Profit	Agriculture
P44	Majd	Profit	Production

Appendix 3: Geographical locations of districts visited.



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