



A children's play park sits between the neighbourhoods of Jabal Mohsen and Bab al Tabbaneh in Tripoli. Jabal Mohsen and Bab al Tabbaneh are among the most impoverished and neglected areas in Lebanon. Photo: Sam Tarling/Oxfam

MAKING AID WORK IN LEBANON

Promoting aid effectiveness and respect for rights in middle-income countries affected by mass displacement

Lebanon currently hosts the largest number of refugees per capita in the world. Donors have recognized the scale of the challenge and have offered support both in the form of humanitarian assistance as well as multi-year development financing. This briefing paper is based on extensive research conducted in partnership with the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS). It urges donors and policy makers to ensure that new financing to Lebanon is rights-based, accountable to local populations, reflects local priorities, benefits the most vulnerable and does not exacerbate pre-existing structural issues.

SUMMARY

The international community has been providing Lebanon with foreign aid and loan packages since the end of the Lebanese civil war. The many opportunities in recent times to provide support for improving the infrastructure and overall economic performance of Lebanon have not been without shortcomings and have not always resulted in the positive impact that was envisaged. As Lebanon turns to the international community to again ask for aid, both donors and the government should heed lessons from the past and not miss the opportunity to ensure aid is effectively used to fight poverty and inequality, and helps empower women. This policy brief presents findings originally contained in a research report entitled *Development Financing in Lebanon: The Politics of Foreign Aid*. The research was commissioned by Oxfam in Lebanon and conducted by the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS).¹

Lebanon will soon have various opportunities to receive international financial support through proposed international conferences, such as Rome II to support the Lebanese Armed Forces and other security agencies; the CEDRE Conference (also known as Paris IV), which will seek to assist in financing large-scale infrastructure projects; and Brussels II, which will provide support to Lebanon as it continues to respond to the influx of a large number of refugees from Syria. The three conferences provide the Government of Lebanon (GoL) with the opportunity to engage with local civil society to ensure that the projects that are proposed are based on needs and emerging protection threats, which have been exacerbated due to continuous deterioration of the socio-economic situation. While members of civil society that Oxfam interviewed for this briefing paper did express doubts that effective consultations would take place, they also expressed their desire and willingness to constructively engage if afforded the opportunity. Those attending Rome II, CEDRE, Brussels II and any future conferences should respect aid effectiveness principles – ownership, transparency, results, mutual accountability, harmonization and alignment – and ensure that these principles are embedded in their aid contributions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Developing a national, home-grown, inclusive, multi-sectoral strategy, whereby intervention sectors are prioritized and aid is allocated to projects based on a rights-based development framework.²
2. Reinforcing ownership, transparency and accountability in the Lebanese public sector and in donors providing aid to Lebanon.
3. Advocating for the involvement of civil society in all aspects of the development and monitoring of development strategies, in order to help ensure that local priorities and citizens' voices are included, with a view to ensuring that rights are protected.
4. Allocating facilitated aid agreements that are politically unconditional and untied, but that promote respect for rights and the rule of law.
5. Carrying out local monitoring, evaluation and impact assessments in parallel with donor assessments in order to mutually assess success and weaknesses, as well as mutually practise accountability mechanisms.
6. Reporting aid flows transparently through a unitary in-country database that integrates commitments and disbursements by donor, sector and public aid- recipient agencies as well as being in line with international standards.
7. Speeding up negotiation and approval processes, such as deliberations, decision making, planning, implementation, agreements and decree ratifications in order to promote efficiency in the public sector.

8. Improving donor harmonization with respect to aid negotiation and planning, in order to improve coherence, avoid duplication and more effectively promote respect for rights and the rule of law.
9. Strengthening refugees' access to protection. In light of the CEDRE Conference, the GoL's proposed large-scale infrastructure projects will be funded by concessional finance investments through the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), and will require the employment of Syrian refugees. Hence, the GoL's policies should harness refugees' access to protection and human rights, by setting up clear, accessible and affordable procedures to obtain and maintain valid documentation, residency and registration.
10. Appointing a single interlocutor on behalf of the GoL between donors and aid-recipient public institutions, such as ministries and the CDR, in order to ensure aid flows are effectively addressing government priorities.

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the civil war in 1990, Lebanon has experienced a series of political, financial and security shocks that have impeded its development as well as its economic growth. The international community has come to the support of Lebanon on multiple occasions in recent years and provided the financial resources required to fund various initiatives that seek to manage the negative impacts of these shocks on the country. Lebanon has been considered an upper-middle income country since 1997, a classification that sets certain aid-related conditions for the funds that are pledged and dispersed.

A new era of foreign aid in Lebanon was sparked and initiated by a series of international donor conferences that followed the 1975–1990 civil war, such as Paris II and Paris III. The Government of Lebanon (GoL) has relied on foreign aid to support post-war reconstruction, development and the improvement of financial stability. As a result of the process often lacking robust consultations or transparency, foreign aid that has been allocated to Lebanon has been vulnerable to criticism and scepticism from those who feel they have not been given the opportunity to engage, as well as from those who are intended to benefit from the support.

With the flow of aid to Lebanon also came a variety of finance packages including loans. Yet today, critics point to the increasing public debt, which rose to \$76bn in 2017, and place blame on the loans provided in the immediate post-war era. The debt hampers the GoL’s ability to contribute resources to essential services and keeps the government from effectively responding to the refugee crisis. Thus, Lebanon is again turning to the international community for support through foreign aid.

Figure 1: ODA to Lebanon (2005–2010)

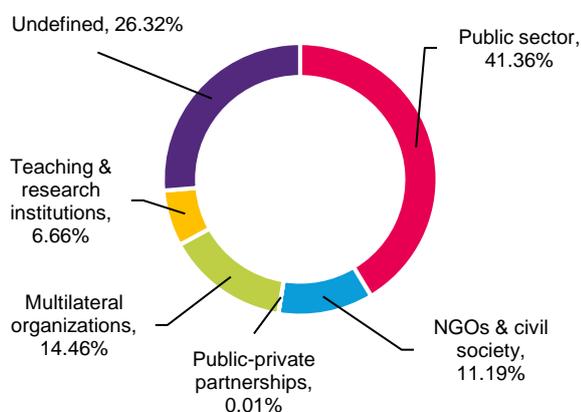
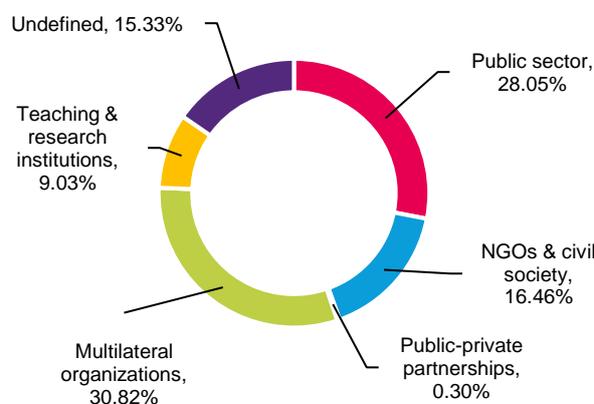


Figure 2: ODA to Lebanon (2011–2015)³



Source: OECD’s Creditor Reporting System on Official Development Assistance to Lebanon. Creditor Reporting System website: <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=CRS1>

Since the Syria crisis began in 2011, large numbers of refugees have entered Lebanon seeking safety and protection from a war that has continued to spiral further into violence and threats of persecution. With the crisis becoming one of the biggest in recent history, large amounts of humanitarian aid have flowed into the country to support the response. The population of Lebanon has experienced a demographic shock that has resulted in the highest rate of refugees per capita in the world. In recent years, the country has experienced a 22% increase in its population resulting from an influx of 997, 905⁴ registered Syrian refugees to date, with estimates of unregistered refugees from Syria totaling approximately 1.5 million. These figures do not include the presence of 174,422 Palestinian refugees,⁵ who predate the Syrian crisis.

Prior to the war in Syria, aid distribution lacked coordination and the increase in ODA has further exacerbated pre-existing challenges. Donors often engaged directly with the government in the past, whereas the response to the crisis in Syria resulted in donors funding their own humanitarian agencies and local organizations. The new dynamics of aid allocation created by the Syrian crisis have sparked competition between the government and civil society organizations. The response to the emergency by international organizations, local NGOs and community-based organizations often lacked coherent coordination among the various actors who are reliant on similar sources of financing. In the pre-crisis period, the type of aid allocated was defined in a clearer manner, with the government receiving aid for public sector services, while local organizations were funded with smaller-scale social projects. In response to the Syrian crisis, aid allocation has distributed emergency humanitarian assistance to both actors for various reasons, according to information collected during stakeholder interviews.

Box 1: Key figures on the impact of the Syrian Crisis⁶

- 52% of displaced Syrians and 10% of Lebanese are extremely poor (living on less than \$2.40/day).
- 91% of displaced Syrians are living in debt.
- 60% of Syrians who are 15 years of age and above are without legal residency.
- 41% of Syrians live in inadequate shelter with 12% ranked as being in dangerous conditions.
- 95.4% of Syrians and 35.6% of Palestinian refugees from Syria are moderately or severely food insecure.

GOVERNMENT PLEDGES AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

'Moments like international conferences (Brussels II, CEDRE I) and the negotiations around the LCRP provide us with a moment to push for policy changes, but the absence of a strategy by the government [presents] obstacles to [the ability] to provide change.'

– Senior staff member of a Lebanese human rights organization

In February 2016, the UK, Germany, Kuwait, Norway and the United Nations co-chaired a conference in London entitled 'Supporting Syria and the Region'. The event was part of donor efforts to further coordinate support for the response to the Syrian crisis and to affected countries. The GoL presented its Statement of Intent at the conference and highlighted the need for longer-term development financing to support needs and enable it to address the growing crisis in the country. Donors committed to increasing support to Lebanon if the government took measures to ease certain restrictions. In particular, donors pushed the Lebanese government to provide legal protections to Syrians working in the country. In response, the Statement of Intent included commitments by the GoL to remove barriers for refugees from Syria to obtain legal residency and to ensure the basic rights of all refugees, regardless of how they entered the country.

A follow-up conference was held in Brussels in April 2017, but continued to fall short of building on the welcome easing of restrictions. In the build-up to the conference, a waiver was issued for the fee associated with residency renewal but included criteria that excluded refugees who had not registered with UNHCR prior to 2015⁷ and those who renewed their residency through the sponsorship pathway. The fee waiver also excluded Palestinian refugees from Syria. In addition to the exclusion of certain segments of the refugee population, the application of the commitments has been inconsistent. The policies and their implementation fall short of effectively honouring the commitments made by the GoL. This has resulted in increased protection risks for refugees from Syria as they have had to explore alternative means if they did not meet the criteria outlined

above. These alternatives were often exploitative in nature, such as obtaining a sponsor.⁸

Oxfam continues to advocate for funding and policy to include greater access to legal status for refugees from Syria to mitigate the growing protection risks.

Box 2: Concessional finance investments in infrastructure and public services – Lebanon Statement of Intent⁹

*'The Government (of Lebanon) will work, in partnership with the World Bank and co-hosts along with others in the international community, to agree a final comprehensive assessment of the proposed portfolio for **large infrastructure projects**, to develop detailed implementation plans on the basis of the available finance, and to issue a further report on this package by the end of March. Although at an early stage the Government proposals cover projects strategically selected from the transport, energy, water, environment and public services sectors, which are proposed to be financed by blending grants and loans to create **concessional finance**, including macro fiscal assistance delivered via World Bank, EBRD (pending ratification of Lebanon as a member),¹⁰ EIB and IDB. This is a developing body of work, but current projections are that it would require a grant contribution from donors of \$420m a year for 5 years.'*

In response to the Syrian refugee crisis, donor countries have also greatly expanded bilateral and multilateral funding to Syria's neighbours. In April 2016, the World Bank, with the UN and the Islamic Development Bank, announced a new MENA (Middle East and North Africa) Facility, later renamed the Global Concessional Financing Facility (GCCFF). This was supported with a package of more than \$1bn, including \$141m in grants, \$1bn in soft loans and \$500m. It is important to note that the GCCF is only one type of mechanism that the GoL can benefit from and is not the entirety of the aid portfolio. Utilizing 'blended finance', the fund seeks to engage with the private sector and facilitates the ability of multilateral development banks to increase financing to eligible countries like Lebanon. Oxfam research has shown that blended financing facilities do have shortcomings, such as diverting ODA from key development priorities, as well as minimal evidence on impact,¹¹ and the same could be true for the GCCF.

Box 3: Key features of the Global Concessional Financing Facility¹²

1. Provides financing for development projects in middle-income countries impacted by refugee crises across the globe.
2. Bridges gap between humanitarian and development assistance.
3. Enhances coordination between the United Nations, multilateral development banks, refugee host countries and donors to address shared priorities.
4. Strengthens resilience of countries impacted by refugee crises by assisting both host communities and refugees.
5. Supports policy reforms and programmes in areas such as education, health and job creation to create sustainable development outcomes.

THE PRINCIPLES OF AID EFFECTIVENESS AND LEBANON

Increased humanitarian and development aid must adhere to the principles of aid effectiveness. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness issued in 2005, the Accra Agenda for Action in 2008 and subsequent conferences that culminated in the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation in 2011 defined the aid effectiveness principles, which are outlined below.

Lebanon faces a high number of socio-economic challenges, many of which predate the Syrian refugee crisis. In order to better address the core issues, adherence to aid effectiveness principles must be upheld and incorporated into the planning, disbursement and monitoring of financial aid. Oxfam research has found that there is growing concern among Lebanese civil society that more needs to be done with respect to adhering to these principles. As a senior staff member of Lebanese human rights organization stated, 'Duty bearers in Lebanon are not taking issues of aid effectiveness in Lebanon [seriously]'

Oxfam believes that in addition to adherence to the principles of aid effectiveness, work to alleviate poverty and address inequality must focus on women's rights and support for women's rights organizations and civil society to be truly effective.

Box 4: Aid Effectiveness principles

- **Ownership** – aid recipients should forge their own national development strategies with their parliaments and electorates.
- **Alignment** – donors should support the strategies developed by aid recipients.
- **Harmonization** – donors should streamline their efforts and ensure coherence among them in-country.
- **Results** – development policies should be directed towards achieving clear goals and progress towards these goals should be monitored.
- **Mutual accountability** – donors and recipients alike should be jointly responsible for achieving these goals.

2 SHORTFALLS IN AID EFFECTIVENESS IN LEBANON

'We do not have sectoral priorities, and we have a lot of problems in each sector. The donors are also lost in where to intervene or target their aid, because the shortfalls are a lot. All of the donors start from the same point and do not know what other donors are doing or what the local government is doing.'

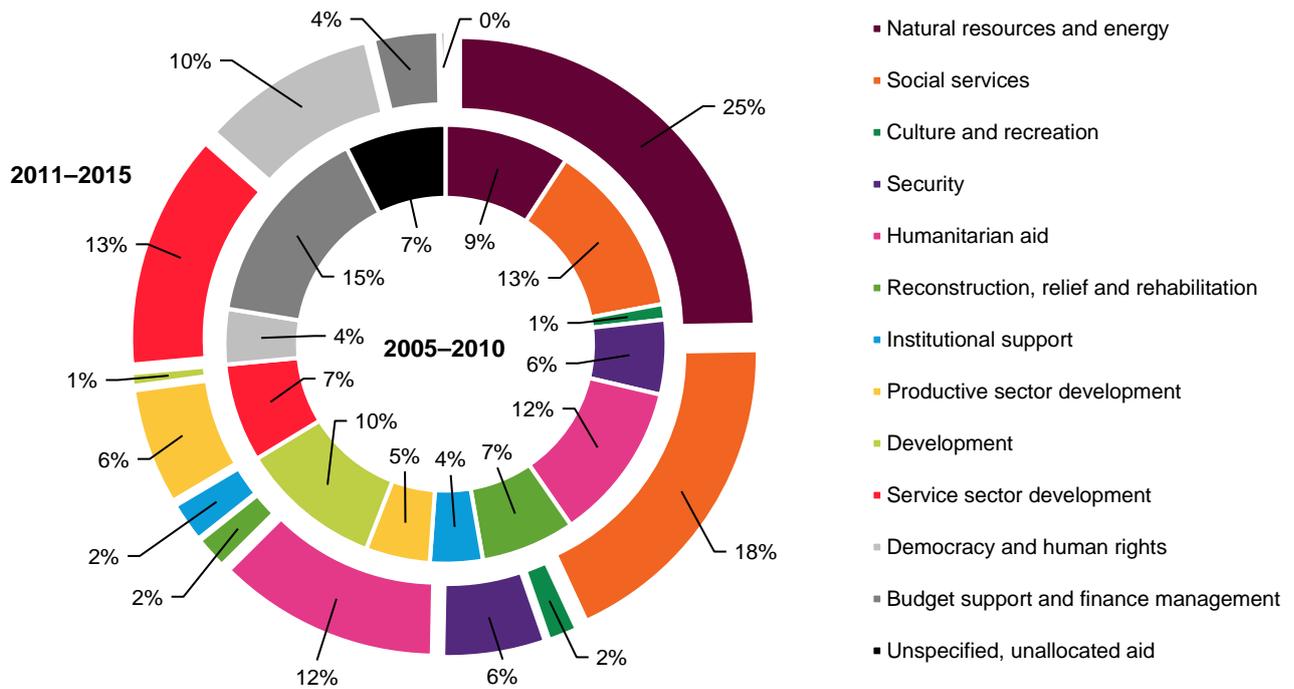
– Representative from Lebanese civil society.

AID TO LEBANON: WHO DECIDES?

One of the key principles of the aid effectiveness agenda is country ownership, and a central feature of this principle is for donors to provide aid through a nationally owned development plan. Unfortunately, the plans developed by the GoL are not unified, and are based on priorities identified by ministers and their advisors whose mandate would involve them in the roll-out, as well as various UN agencies. In recent years, humanitarian and development aid in Lebanon has been supporting various vulnerable groups in need. However, the lack of a comprehensive national plan and approach has resulted in priorities being set by donors and the various ministries within the GoL in response to various crises in the country, as opposed to a well-coordinated approach, in which aid reaches the most vulnerable with the support required to address their needs. The delay on behalf of the GoL in developing a coordinated response to the impact of a massive influx of refugees from Syria on already depleted state resources has further weakened the ability of various stakeholders to address growing needs throughout the country.

Efforts have been made to fill the void left by the absence of a national government plan in response to the ripple effects of the war in Syria. Beginning in 2015, the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP) has been the mechanism by which priority interventions have been put in place through the UN system, and humanitarian aid is directly channelled via donors and UN agencies. Sectoral strategies are prepared by ministries, at times with the support of donors, to determine key sectoral priorities and strategic plans for development. Examples of sectoral strategies include the Ministry of Agriculture's Strategy of 2015–2019 prepared with the EU; the National Educational Technology Strategic Plan of 2012, a joint plan between the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and the Ministry of Social Affairs, prepared with USAID under the D-RASATI programme;¹³ the Prime Minister's Office's Economic and Social Reform Action Plan 2012–2015; and the Ministry of Labour's National Action Plan to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Lebanon by 2016, prepared with the International Labour Organization and the National Steering Committee Against Child Labour. Sectoral plans are never considered to be full-fledged, comprehensive national strategies aimed at forging a path towards greater development.

Figure 3: Sectoral allocation of ODA to the Lebanese public sector



Source: OECD's Creditor Reporting System on Official Development Assistance to Lebanon. Creditor Reporting System website: <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=CRS1>

The presence of strategies similar to the ones listed in the previous section provided certain ministries with greater access to funding, which resulted in the expansion of some projects at the expense of others. ODA allocation to the Lebanese public sector varies between the pre-Syrian crisis (2005–2010) and Syrian crisis periods (2011–2015). ODA allocation to natural resources and energy, social services, the development of service sectors and the promotion of democracy and human rights have greatly increased since the crisis began, while ODA targeting reconstruction, budget support and public finance management significantly decreased.

AID TO LEBANON: WHO IS CONSULTED?

Aid is not the only driver of development but can be essential in forging a functioning development compact between active citizens and effective, accountable governments. As mentioned in the previous sections, a quarter of Lebanon's population are not citizens but the government has also failed to fulfil its obligations to many people who helped put them in power. Women in Lebanon have been systematically marginalized and are provided with limited opportunities to voice their ideas, concerns and potential solutions on issues facing the country.¹⁴ Political representation for women in Lebanon, at both a local and national level, has been consistently less than five percent,¹⁵ and with extremely minimal civil society consultations when ministerial priorities are being discussed, the voices of Lebanese women are often neglected.¹⁶

Interviews conducted with stakeholders indicated that aid-related negotiations and the planning process that was undertaken were not inclusive and lacked transparency. 'There are never effective consultations, it's only done as a box-tick, states a member of a Lebanese human rights organization who was interviewed by Oxfam. Consultations that were held were often conducted in the presence of relevant government agencies and ministries with donor representatives. The absence of a single government interlocutor representing the GoL has often resulted in a duplication of the negotiation process, causing confusion on the part of donors.

In recent years, the negotiation processes of aid allocation have been disorganized as donors negotiate with several actors in parallel depending on the sectoral intervention.

As the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) plays the role of a key interlocutor for infrastructure-related interventions, social interventions are negotiated with the Ministry of Social Affairs and health-related interventions with the Ministry of Public Health. A recent example of this would be the CDR acting as the main interlocutor on all infrastructure projects that have been proposed in the Capital Investment Plan, which is being coordinated by the office of the Prime Minister. While some improvements have been made, more needs to be done to ensure that the process of aid allocation takes place with the active participation of key stakeholders such as civil society organizations, sectoral experts, private-sector partners and beneficiaries.

'Who is in charge of the long-term vision of society? If we think about it a bit, politicians cannot make long-term plans because their terms end and other plans [will] be adopted and they [are] reporting four years and they will have nothing to report. In the private sector, the shareholders have targets and they expect fast results that are bound by the stock market or the political system. The only actors that can have a long-term vision are civil society because they do not have to report to anyone today, and they are not bound by any agenda.'

– Representative from Lebanese civil society

In the context of Lebanon, the state-citizen compact that can potentially be forged between the government and a base of active citizens can by definition exclude a large group of people found in the country. Much like the plight of Lebanese women, our research indicated that consultation with representatives of Syrian and Palestinian civil society is also absent.

AID TO LEBANON: WHO MONITORS?

Transparency is another pillar of aid effectiveness that needs to be improved. Unfortunately, in Lebanon, aid transparency still falls short. Transparency in foreign aid disbursements is not provided by local public institutions and not fully provided by donors or multi-lateral organizations such as the UN. When assessing the flow of aid into Lebanon, as well as other aspects related to government performance, obstacles in gaining access to reliable and up-to-date information are a long-standing issue, with the exception of humanitarian funding. In January 2017, the Lebanese Parliament ratified an access to information law which requests that all government institutions disclose information related to the performance and financial health of their respective work.¹⁷ While this is an important legislative step, full disclosure on all financial issues related to public institutions has yet to really change.

The Public Accounting Law established a centralized model of foreign financing that ideally should be coupled with a national strategic plan. Most externally financed loans require corresponding funds known as government co-financing, which are financed internally and should also be integrated into the national budget. In addition, Lebanon does not have a comprehensive budget for two primary reasons. The budget of the CDR is not included in the national budget and the existence of extra budgetary funds is not integrated into the national budget. Lebanon also faced a 12-year gap in the ratification of a state budget, with the most recent being passed in 2017.

Engagement between international donors and the Lebanese government has witnessed a noticeable increase in coordination since the onset of violence in Syria seven years ago.¹⁸ Information related to foreign-funded projects is available but often lacks an in-depth presentation of how all the funds are spent, only including a 'top-line' budgetary overview. The need for further improvement on behalf of international donors should be utilized as an opportunity to promote the replication of existing best practices by the GoL, and to collaborate on the establishment of a financial database that tracks aid flows in a transparent and effective manner.

3 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The increased flow of international aid, including development financing, in recent years has presented an opportunity to improve the socio-economic conditions of all affected populations in Lebanon in a sustainable manner. The creation of the GCCF also provides a further opportunity to alleviate the poverty of affected populations in Lebanon by engaging with the private sector. In order to fully take advantage of these opportunities, the GoL and donors need to ensure that principles of aid effectiveness are fully adhered to. Without transparency and accountability, as well as intensive consultations with civil society and marginalized groups, namely refugees and women, new funding will exacerbate old structural issues that will prevent aid to Lebanon from being more effective.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Developing a national, home-grown, inclusive, multi-sectoral strategy, whereby intervention sectors are prioritized and aid is allocated to projects based on a rights-based development framework.¹⁹
2. Reinforcing ownership, transparency and accountability in the Lebanese public sector and in donors providing aid to Lebanon.
3. Advocating for the involvement of civil society in all aspects of the development and monitoring of development strategies, in order to help ensure that local priorities and citizens' voices are included, with a view to ensuring that rights are protected.
4. Allocating facilitated aid agreements that are politically unconditional and untied, but that promote respect for rights and the rule of law.
5. Carrying out local monitoring, evaluation and impact assessments in parallel with donor assessments in order to mutually assess success and weaknesses, as well as mutually practise accountability mechanisms.
6. Reporting aid flows transparently through a unitary in-country database that integrates commitments and disbursements by donor, sector and public aid- recipient agencies as well as being in line with international standards.
7. Speeding up negotiation and approval processes, such as deliberations, decision making, planning, implementation, agreements and decree ratifications in order to promote efficiency in the public sector.
8. Improving donor harmonization with respect to aid negotiation and planning, in order to improve coherence, avoid duplication and more effectively promote respect for rights and the rule of law.
9. Strengthening refugees' access to protection. In light of the CEDRE Conference, the GoL's proposed large-scale infrastructure projects will be funded by concessional finance investments through the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), and will require the employment of Syrian refugees. Hence, GoL's policies should harness refugees' access to protection and human rights, by setting up clear, accessible and affordable procedures to obtain and maintain valid documentation, residency and registration.
10. Appointing a single interlocutor on behalf of the GoL between donors and aid-recipient public institutions, such as ministries and the CDR, in order to ensure aid flows are effectively addressing government priorities.

NOTES

- 1 S. Atallah, Z. Helou and D. Mahdi. (2017). *Development Financing in Lebanon: The Politics of Foreign Aid*. The Lebanese Center for Policy Studies.
- 2 A rights-based development framework should ensure that aid upholds the rights of refugees and the civic and labour rights of both Lebanese and non-Lebanese.
- 3 The figures represent aid allocated to Lebanon's governmental institutions with a minimum budget of \$500,000 and explored two periods, pre-Syrian crisis (2005–2010) and Syrian crisis (2011–2015). The information presented in Figure 1 is based on data collected from the Organisation for Economic and Social Development's (OECD) Creditor Reporting System that presents the Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitments and disbursements to Lebanon's public sector. The ODA defines foreign financial assistance as aid flows extended by official government or multilateral institutions to ODA recipient countries that have a concessional component and a minimum 25 percent grant element, and targets recipient countries' economic development and social welfare. See the OECD Creditor Reporting System website: <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=CRS1>
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- 5 *The Daily Star*. (2017, December 21). *Census finds 174,422 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon*. <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2017/Dec-21/431109-census-finds-174422-palestinian-refugees-in-lebanon.ashx> (accessed 22 December 2017)
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- 8 Oxfam protection monitoring, July, August and September 2017.
- 9 Republic of Lebanon. (2016). London Conference – Lebanon Statement of Intent. <https://2c8kkt1ykog81j8k9p47oglb-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Supporting-Syria-the-Region-London-2016-Lebanon-Statement.pdf>
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- 13 Developing Rehabilitation Assistance to Schools and Teacher Improvement project, Lebanon. See <http://www.amideast.org/lebanon/institutional-strengthening/d-rasati>
- 14 Avis, W. (2017). *Gender equality and women's empowerment in Lebanon*. K4D Helpdesk Report 175. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/175-Gender-Equality-and-Womens-Empowerment-in-Lebanon.pdf>
- 15 Hussein, W. (2017). *The 'Female Quota' in Lebanon: A Temporary Solution to a Chronic Political Problem*. Heinrich Boll Stiftung. <https://lb.boell.org/en/2017/02/17/female-quota-lebanon-temporary-solution-chronic-political-problem>
- 16 Avis, W. (2017). *Gender equality and women's empowerment in Lebanon*, op. cit.
- 17 Arbid, J. (2017). *A step toward transparency*. *Executive Magazine*. <http://www.executive-magazine.com/special-feature/a-step-toward-transparency>
- 18 S. Atallah, Z. Helou and D. Mahdi. (2017). *Development Financing in Lebanon*, op. cit.
- 19 See endnote 2.

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Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

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