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Towards a convergence of humanitarian and development assistance through cash transfers to host communities.
A case study on Wadi Khaled and Akroum - Akkar district, Lebanon.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the attempt of linking relief and rehabilitation and development within the aid community along a contiguum approach. In times of crisis or disaster the needs of the affected population are diverse and range from basic needs to livelihoods and community infrastructure. The dissertation is based on a case study of a cash for hosting project in northern Lebanon where protective shelter for Syrian refugees was provided through supporting those who provided this protective shelter (hosting households and communities). This paper documents that cash transfer programming targeting the host community bears a high potential of impact on a sustainable socio-economic development in enhancing the economy of an underdeveloped and impoverished region. This paper provides also evidence that a combination of the following factors are favourable to link emergency and development: Aid provision through cash transfer programming, inclusion of the guest (displaced) and the host (residents) community and the interaction of short term humanitarian assistance and long term development assistance.

Key words: cash transfer, host communities, contiguum, humanitarian assistance, development assistance, Lebanon, Syria
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Acronyms and Abbreviations

**ACAPS**  Assessment Capacities Project

**CaLP**  Cash Learning Partnership

**CCT**  Conditional Cash Transfers

**CT**  Cash Transfers

**CTP**  Cash Transfer Programmes

**CERAH-DAS**  Centre of Education and Research-Diploma of Advanced Studies

**DAC**  Development Assistance Committee

**DCI**  Development Cooperation Instrument (European Commission)

**DDPS**  Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport (Swiss)

**DFID**  Department for International Development (UK Government)

**EU**  European Union

**EC**  European Commission

**ECHO**  European Community Humanitarian Office

**ESIA**  Economic and Social Impact Assessment

**FDFA**  Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (Swiss)

**FTS**  Financial Tracking System

**FSTP**  Food Security Thematic Programme (European Commission)

**GDP**  Gross Domestic Product

**GHA**  Global Humanitarian Assistance

**HFA**  Hyogo Framework of Action

**HFP**  Humanitarian Futures Programme

**HRC**  High Relief Commission (Lebanese Government)

**ICRC**  International Committee of the Red Cross

**IFRC**  International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

**IDS**  Institute for Development Studies, University of Sussex

**JHDF**  Joint Humanitarian Development Framework

**LRRD**  Linking Relief Rehabilitation and Development
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MFF</td>
<td>Multiannual Financial Framework (European Union)</td>
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<td>MSF</td>
<td>Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders</td>
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<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>OXFAM</td>
<td>Oxford Committee for Famine Relief</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDC</td>
<td>Swiss Development and Cooperation</td>
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<td>SDC-HA</td>
<td>Swiss Development and Cooperation-Humanitarian Aid</td>
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<tr>
<td>SECO</td>
<td>State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (Swiss)</td>
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<td>SHA</td>
<td>Swiss Humanitarian Aid Unit</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNISDR</td>
<td>United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<td>UNOCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<td>UNRWA</td>
<td>United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>US Dollar</td>
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<td>U.S.</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Programme</td>
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1. Introduction

"I thought we would just stay for some days - so I only brought along some toys for my little daughter. If I could, I would rather go back yesterday than tomorrow." It was in summer 2012 when these words of a Syrian mother called Nahla from the city of Homs described the situation of many Syrians that fled from their country in the first 12 months after the onset of the crisis in Syria. Nahla and her family are still in Akroum village in northern Lebanon living in a small house, depending on aid from UN institutions and NGOs and on the hospitality of a Lebanese family. The Syrian crisis, which has developed into a civil war, is in its third year. According to UN statistics, since the onset of the unrest in March 2011 at least 150,000 people have been killed. 6.5 million Syrians are displaced within the country and over 2.4 million have fled Syria to seek refuge, mainly in neighbouring countries (UNHCR, 2014c).

Like the example of Nahla, displacement often lasts longer than anticipated, resources become scarce and the capacities of host families and host communities are stretched. In the first year after the onset of the Syrian conflict, the people of Lebanon's Akkar district - especially people living in villages bordering Syria - had to bear the brunt of the influx of displaced Syrians. Beside the challenge in accommodating displaced people, the conflict in the neighbouring country has severely affected the local economy as cross-border trading has come to a standstill and deprived many Lebanese of their livelihood. A constantly volatile security situation paired with a decreasing source of income, an increasing amount of expenditures and limited public services have dramatically intensified the vulnerability on an individual and communal level and caused increasing discontent in an already marginalized region of Lebanon.

The case of Nahla's family as well as that of her Lebanese hosts and communities illustrates the dimension and variety of needs within a crisis-affected population. Some need a roof over their head, to drink and eat, others need support to make ends meet. Thus humanitarian\(^1\) and development\(^2\) assistance is sometimes needed at the same time. Not only to cure but also

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1 Humanitarian aid or humanitarian assistance is short-term assistance to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain and protect human dignity in response in situations of natural disasters or conflicts (Diop, 2013).

2 Development aid or development assistance is a long-term endeavour that promotes and supports a process of profound social, economic political and cultural transformation of a developing country (ibid.).
address the underlying cause of a need could lead the aid community away from providing relief, rehabilitation and development activities in a sequence (continuum) and to link them instead in way that they could be carried out simultaneously (contiguum). The purpose of this paper is to explore the potential of linking relief and development in implementing activities of both sectors in parallel. Based on a case study of a cash for hosting project in Lebanon, it illustrates the opportunities a contiguum approach offers in targeting the host community.

The findings of this paper are based on a literature review (hard copy and via internet), revisions of policy documents, guidelines, articles (online and print), as well as knowledge acquired in the Diploma and Certificate of Advanced Studies Courses at the Centre for Education and Research in Humanitarian Action (CERAH) a joint Centre of the University of Geneva and the Graduate Institute. The case study is based on the author's professional experience as an SDC-HA Cash Project Manager in northern Lebanon as well as on institutional reports and documents. The findings through the case study are limited to the first initial six months of the project.

The dissertation will in the following chapter focus first on the evolution of the contiguum approach and second on the aid modality through cash transfer programming. The first section explores the evolution of the approach to implementing aid programmes covering humanitarian and development assistance simultaneously, described as the contiguum. The application will be illustrated through a three-generation progress of concepts. This section also examines the impediments with regard to putting the contiguum and its attributed concepts into practice. The second section introduces cash transfer programming as a modality of aid that offers the opportunity to assure contiguum thinking. It also explores opportunities and the particular challenges when applying cash transfer programming. The third chapter introduces, through a case study of a cash for hosting project in Lebanon, an additional dimension that could contribute to carrying out relief and development aid at the same time. It illustrates the opportunities for implementing activities of both sectors simultaneously when also considering the host community as a target audience. The fourth chapter will discuss the potential of the combination of the conceptual approach of the contiguum with cash transfer programming and in including the population of a residential area as beneficiaries. Furthermore, it provides some forward-thinking inputs in implementing relief and development in contiguum through reflections on the case study.
2. Literature Review

This chapter illustrates in the first section the debate on linking relief and development and how the implementation of the concept has evolved from a continuum\(^3\) to a contiguum\(^4\) approach. Furthermore, the section analyses the debate on the concept and its generations of evolution. The second section provides a historical background on the modality of aid through cash transfer programming in complex emergencies such as conflict or war context. It also describes the opportunities and challenges of cash transfers, examines their positive and negative effects and how this modality of aid provision can contribute to combining immediate relief with the longer term perspective of development.

2.1. The contiguum approach in humanitarian assistance

Until the 1980s, relief and development were seen as strictly distinct scopes of aid provision carried out in sequence and separate from each other. As a "major conceptual breakthrough in post-Cold War thinking" is how Ian Smillie (1998, p. xxiii\(^5\)) describes the concept of the continuum, which stands for the transition from relief through reconstruction or rehabilitation to development. Buchanan-Smith and Maxwell developed an argumentative chain to promote the idea in saying: "Better 'development' can reduce the need for emergency relief; better 'relief' can contribute to development; and better 'rehabilitation' can ease the transition between the two." (1994, p. 1). The implementation gives the metaphor of those in need on a conveyer belt. Specialized agencies would take responsibility for their specific field of work and then handover to the next agency (Smillie, 1998).

That the approach of linking relief, rehabilitation and development, which has become the common acronym LRRD, did not correspond to the reality in the field, has been shown by

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\(^3\) The continuum in humanitarian assistance implies to implement aid projects of the different phases (relief, rehabilitation and development) in linear sequence.

\(^4\) The contiguum in humanitarian assistance implies to implement aid projects of the different phases (relief, rehabilitation and development) simultaneously.

\(^5\) The page numbers of the executive summary part in Smillie (1994) are indicated in Roman numerals.
the findings of an IDS workshop in 1994\(^6\) whereas one of the main constraints to this approach was seen: a) as difficult to implement in conflict situations, b) in institutional constraints to linking relief and development, especially among donors and c) that the implementation of LRRD should not be in a linear sequence (Ross et al., 1994). It was the European Humanitarian Office (ECHO) that suggested in 1996 through the European Commission to move from continuum to contiguum to "[…] reflect the fact that operations in relief, rehabilitation and development may all be ongoing simultaneously within any given country." (European Commission, 1996, p. ii). As in crisis needs are diverse, like for example part of an affected population has to be assisted with life saving measures and others have needs in livelihood at the same time (ibid.). However, according to Smillie the move from the continuum to the contiguum was more one of semantics than towards an integrated approach (1998, p. xxv).

The following two figures illustrate in simplified form the concepts of the continuum, defined as implementing activities of relief rehabilitation and development in a sequence (Figure 1) and the contiguum, defined as implementing these activities simultaneously (Figure 2).

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### Figure 1:
LRRD implemented in continuum

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### Figure 2:
LRRD implemented in contiguum

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LRRD in all its dimensions has become an important part of aid policies on a donor, institutional and operational level. However, there seem to be inconsistent approaches already

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\(^6\) The workshop was held at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Sussex/GB, where 40 participants (academics, aid administrators and NGO representatives from Africa, Europe and North America) discussed the relevance of LRRD, the opportunities and challenges of this approach (Ross et al., 1994).
on a policy level as illustrated in a research paper comparing LRRD policies of the United States (U.S.) and the European Union (EU). The research describes the '2007 EU Consensus on Humanitarian Aid'⁷ in itself as contradictory. On the one hand it emphasizes the humanitarian principle of independence e.g. autonomy and on the other it asks to ensure synergies between humanitarian and development assistance. Furthermore the '2005 EU Consensus on Development'⁸ describes humanitarian aid as a modality of development assistance despite the existence of a valid EU consensus' for each entity e.g. humanitarian aid and development aid (Koddenbrock and Büttner, 2009, p. 127).

In the U.S. the exact opposite perspective is illustrated in the '2007–2012 Strategic Plan' for USAID and the Department of State called 'Transformational Diplomacy', which defines humanitarian aid as follows: “Humanitarian assistance is "[...] the 'genesis' of the transition to long term political, economic, and social investments that can eliminate the root causes of conflict and displacement." (ibid., 2009, p. 131). This perspective might be one of the reasons why the LRRD approach is to be (better) achieved by a willingness to broaden the humanitarian mandate, on which the humanitarian offices of USAID⁹ agreed. With regard to the EU and its implementing body of humanitarian aid (ECHO), which is clearly distinguished from the development cooperation entity, Koddenbrock and Büttner come to the conclusion that "To really preserve the independence of ECHO, the Commission would have to let it off the LRRD hook." (2009, p. 133).

Although LRRD implemented in contiguum has been recognised by the most relevant donor institutions, the concept got stuck in contradicting policy and strategy papers. Contradicting in the sense of requesting to use synergies and the emphasis on adherence to humanitarian principles. The next section describes the progression of the concept and the reservations regarding humanitarian aid principles from a researcher’s perspective. It furthermore illustrates how LRRD has been implemented in practice.

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⁷ The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid is the comprehensive policy framework governing the European Union's humanitarian aid response. The Consensus outlines the common objectives, fundamental humanitarian principles (humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence) and good practices (European Union, 2008).

⁸ The European Consensus on Development sets out common objectives and principles to guide both member states' bilateral efforts and EU activity in the field of development aid. The primary and overarching objectives are the eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development (European Union, 2006).

⁹ The humanitarian offices of USAID consist of the Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) and the Office for Food for Peace (FFP).
2.1.1. From the first to the second generation of debate

Harmer and Macrae (2004), who have explored the changing role of aid policy in protracted crises, divide the LRRD approach into a first and second generation of debate, which can be compared to the debate on the shift from a continuum to the contiguum. From the humanitarian aid perspective, the main concern may be the following two statements made by Harmer and Macrae: First, that within LRRD and the move to the contiguum, development actors have taken over the lead, which means more influence from political and security sides; second, that in regard to foreign policy and military intervention, the distinctiveness of relief becomes blurred (2004, p. 11). The growing trend that security/defence strategies prevail over development and humanitarian objectives is represented in the '2010 U.S. Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review' stating that development actors "[...] can be the partner that the military needs and deserves." (Carbonnier, 2013, p. 10).

The contiguum approach in LRRD calls for complementarity and coherence in its widest sense. Donini's et al. report on 'The State of the Humanitarian Enterprise'11 labels the issue of coherence as a threat to effective humanitarian action in stating "[...] the incorporation of humanitarian action into the political and world-ordering agendas of key donors and the UN Security Council entails growing costs, both in terms of principle and practice." (2008, p. 27). A challenging statement that leaves the humanitarian and development communities alike balancing on the narrow ridge of not damaging humanitarian principles and not contributing to a depoliticized development, respectively.

Adhering to the implementation of LRRD in linear sequence of phases e.g. continuum (which Smillie stated in 1998 and also Koddenbrock and Büttner, 2009) might make it comparatively easy for the humanitarian sector to stick to principles, whereas the contiguum thinking faces much more challenges in terms of analysis. Furthermore differing modes of operations

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10 The U.S. Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review is an assessment report on the activities of the Department of State and USAID. The 2010 issue was the first report. It can be downloaded in: http://www.usaid.gov/qddr/ (last accessed June 10, 2014).

11 The report summarizes the findings of a major research project on the constraints, challenges, and compromises affecting humanitarian action in conflict and crisis settings. The building blocks are 12 case studies of local perceptions of humanitarian action, conducted in 2006 and 2007.

12 The core four humanitarian principles endorsed by the UN General Assembly are: Humanity, Neutrality, Impartiality and Independence see: https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/OOM-humanitarianprinciples_eng_June12.pdf (last accessed June 10, 2014).
contribute to the risk of undermining both sectors’ activities as the humanitarian aid sector is operating in a short-term, top-down mode whereas development works with a bottom-up, participatory approach. Communication between the - in most aid institutions and many NGOs - departmentalized humanitarian and development realms would have to take place with a potential willingness to compromise (Koddenbrock and Büttner, 2009).

LRRD in a contiguum approach seems to be essential for the majority of practitioners. Aid networks like Concord\textsuperscript{13} and Voice\textsuperscript{14} advocate in a joint position paper LRRD in a contiguum that “[...] can address the poverty that disasters and conflicts generate (or intensify) by laying the groundwork for sustainable development during humanitarian interventions.” (Concord and Voice, 2012, p. 2).

Recent aid programmes in the food sector give examples of implementing LRRD: Oxfam\textsuperscript{15} combines humanitarian and development work in Turkana (Kenya) by a cash transfer programme to reduce food insecurity. At the same time, the organization runs a programme to improve pastoralists' livelihoods in building capacities in business skills and financial management. Furthermore, the programme advocates a state-owned social protection programme for pastoralists (Hillier and Dempsey, 2012). To meet the issue of coherence, cooperation and complementarity, the ‘Food Security Thematic Programme’ of the European Commission (FSTP 2011-2013) called for the establishment of a Joint Humanitarian Development Framework (JHDF). This structure, bringing humanitarian aid and development aid workers around one table, was used when responding to the July 2010 floods in the Centre North and East regions of Burkina Faso\textsuperscript{16} (European Commission, 2014a, online).

Researchers consider that aid provision implemented with an LRRD strategy can contribute to the politicization of humanitarian aid and that the humanitarian principles are put even more at stake through the simultaneous implementation of relief and development assistance.

\textsuperscript{13} Concord is the confederation of relief and development in Europe representing more than 80 NGOs.

\textsuperscript{14} VOICE (Voluntary Organisations in Cooperation in Emergencies), is a network representing 83 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) based in 18 European countries active in humanitarian aid worldwide.

\textsuperscript{15} Oxfam is a confederation of 17 like-minded organizations working together on solutions to poverty and injustice. Oxfam International was formed in 1995 by a group of independent non-governmental organizations.

\textsuperscript{16} A slide-show on the action plan of the Joint Humanitarian Development Framework can be downloaded under the following link http://capacity4dev.ec.europa.eu/public-cd-te/document/joint-humanitarian-development-framework-jhdf-%0B-context-food-security (European Commission, 2014b, online, last accessed on February 27, 2014).
Organizations putting the concept into practice are internally challenged in finding compromises between humanitarian aid and development realms. The next section illustrates how the LRRD concept has made a new step into the next generation of debate in extending it to 'resilience'.

2.1.2. The third generation debate - resilience

Resilience was the guiding overarching concept that led to the above mentioned examples of new approaches to aid intervention. The fact of recurrent crisis and repeated massive aid efforts in the same regions or countries put increasing pressure on the aid community to address the underlying vulnerabilities and to build resilience.

The concept of resilience defined by UNISDR as "The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner.” (2009, p. 24) is only one of a wide range of interpretations of the concept. Although brought into play already in 2005 through the Hyogo Framework of Action¹⁷, the concept of resilience was adopted when the UK Department of International Development (DFID) declared resilience a central element of its aid work with the aim of applying it in all country programmes by 2015 (Ashdown, 2011). Climate change, with its expected cause of more severe weather-related hazards and disasters, is an adding factor in the concept of resilience being adopted.

The above-mentioned agreed frameworks and donor policies endorsing resilience are associated with the flow of funds. One consequence is that most of the aid actors communicate strongly their commitment to resilience. The following figure elaborated by Sweeney and Kellet (2011) in analysing financing mechanisms and funding streams shows the positioning of resilience as an overarching goal in the scopes of humanitarian aid and development alike.

¹⁷ Hyogo Framework for Action plan (HFA) was adopted by 168 UN member states in 2005. Its goal is to substantially reduce disaster losses by 2015 by building the resilience of nations and communities to disasters. The HFA defines five priorities for action, and provides guiding principles and practical means for achieving disaster resilience (UNISDR, 2011).
However the term resilience may be interpreted, the concept claims application in all phases of a disaster or a crisis which would require linking relief, rehabilitation and development. The funding of the 'grey zone' between relief and development has remained a considerable issue in recent years as, in most donor institutions, the two sectors are distinguished and compartmentalized with different financing systems and procedures. In view of the importance of resilience and its connection with LRRD, flexibility in funding has been adopted. The Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) of the EU for the years 2014-2020, for example, appoints in its financial instrument for development cooperation (DCI) unallocated funds in geographical and thematic programmes (European Commission, 2014b).

The concept of resilience has revived the linking of relief and development along a contiguum, and funding constraints restricted to the two sectors have been defused. However, the debate remains fundamental for some organizations, as described in the next section.

2.1.3. Continuum and contiguum representing the relief and development divide

While proponents of LRRD call for a mentality change of both the humanitarian and the development community in order to increase coherence in policies and practice, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) strongly opposes that search for coherence. MSF representatives stress in an article in the 'Journal of Humanitarian Assistance' that there has to be a clear distinction between humanitarian aid and state-policy-driven development action in order to respect the humanitarian principles of humanity, impartiality, independence and neutrality (Pontiroli et
The organization also recently launched a statement in an online article stating that "[...] building resilience has become an excuse for inaction." (Whittall et al., 2014, online). The authors see a diminishing capacity of aid organizations to respond to emergencies as they were trapped in the resilience ambition of aiming at 'all things to everybody' instead of looking at immediate needs (ibid.).

The two positions represent the dispute on humanitarian principles that are shaping humanitarian organizations. 'Dunantists', named after the founder of the Red Cross Henry Dunant, ask for a strict division between humanitarian aid and development in order to preserve their independence and not to be brought into connection with politically motivated actors (Herman and Dijkzeul, 2011). 'Wilsonians', named after U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, accept state influence, thus also cooperating with the military. Especially in the context of complex emergencies and conflict, humanitarian principles with the Wilsonian approach cannot be maintained. In the past two decades, more and more humanitarian organizations have changed their policies towards linking relief and development, though many of them are still unclear about their position when it comes to cooperation with governments and the military (ibid.). Beside these main blocs some organizations, labelled as 'Solidarits', are active along their own mostly religious principles in supporting one side in a conflict. In addition it is also to mention the private sector entering the humanitarian field with commercial interests (ibid.).

As this paper is about the case of an humanitarian aid project of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), it is relevant at this point to look at the characteristics of the Swiss humanitarian aid organizational set up and policies. SDC is the government agency for international cooperation of the Swiss Confederation. The agency operates within the Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) and it is responsible for the overall coordination of development activities as well as for humanitarian aid. In 2012, the Swiss parliament passed the message on 'International Cooperation' for the years 2013 to 2016, which regulates the operational activities of the SDC as well as the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SDC and SECO, 2012). With this 'Whole of Government strategy' and as a governmental entity, SDC's humanitarian aid (SDC-HA) policies and strategies are also embedded within this

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18 Herman and Dijkzeul (2011) mention the Norwegian People's Aid organization as an example. This organization worked only with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in southern Sudan and not with the government in Khartoum.
political framework. SDC-HA acts as a direct implementer of humanitarian aid-assistance but also as a donor. This allows maintaining a good network within the operational humanitarian aid agencies and within the donor community. Furthermore, Switzerland's neutral status\(^{19}\) and status as depositary state\(^{20}\) and state party to the Geneva Conventions increases the credibility and acceptance of Swiss humanitarian aid and its programmes. Switzerland's special status without a historically encumbered past, in particular in the context of conflict, supports adherence to the humanitarian principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence.

Beside strictly principled humanitarian aid agencies like MSF, there seems to be a strong commitment to LRRD in contiguum on an institutional, donor and implementer level. However, LRRD, or more recently 'resilience', keeps the debate on the relief and development divide alive, as development actors are following political agendas while humanitarian actors are trying to adhere to the humanitarian principles. In this search for common ground between humanitarian and development action, the cash approach could be a means of linking the two sectors. The next section on cash transfer programming in emergencies tries to show how this modality of aid provision has evolved and what its positive and negative effects could be, as well as to what extent it could contribute to the contiguum approach in LRRD.

### 2.2. Cash transfers in humanitarian aid: Advantages and challenges

To assist people in emergencies with cash transfers is not new nor is it exceptional or even innovative. Paul Harvey and Sarah Bailey put this point clearly, referring back to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, when one of the American Red Cross founders, Clara Barton, organized cash assistance for war-affected people (2011, p. 3). Cash-based responses are also known in connection with the India famine responses in the late 19th century, in 1948 famine-affected people in Sudan received cash grants from the British colonial administration, or the implementation of large-scale cash for work projects in 1970 in India and in the 1980s in

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\(^{19}\) Switzerland's neutrality is cited in the Federal Constitution as an instrument for safeguarding independence. The law of neutrality forms part of international law and the essential rights and duties of a neutral state are laid down in the Hague Conventions of 1907. Based on this international law, even as a member of the UN, Switzerland remains neutral (DDPS, 2012).

\(^{20}\) Switzerland is the depositary state of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the three Additional Protocols of 1977 and 2005. Its duties in this regard are essentially administrative (FDFA, 2014, online).
Botswana (ibid.). However, in these days cash transfer programmes (CTP) are still characterised as new and innovative (Grünewald\textsuperscript{21}, 2013). Innovative in the sense that this modality of aid provision can meet the diverse needs within an affected population with flexibility and that it preserves people's dignity by transferring choice to them (ibid.).

2.2.1. Recognition and acceptance of cash transfer programming

According to Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) only in recent years has CTP been increasingly applied in the context of emergencies whereas in the decades before cash had been mostly used in development contexts, especially in the scope of social protection with conditional cash transfer programmes (CCT)\textsuperscript{22} like in Brazil or Mexico. Cash transfer programmes in development settings are implemented on a large scale, in contrast to emergency settings where cash projects are applied in shorter time frames (GHA, 2012). SDC Humanitarian Aid (SDC-HA), a 'forerunner' in implementing cash projects in humanitarian emergencies, has over 20 years of experience. The Swiss government institution started to use CTP in the Balkans after the wars in Slovenia/Croatia and Bosnia (1991-1995) and 1999 in Kosovo (SDC, 2005).

GHA data gathered from 2006 to 2011\textsuperscript{23} show an upward trend in funding CTPs in humanitarian emergencies (GHA, 2012). In 2010, when the level of funding peaked (Haiti earthquake and Pakistan floods), financing for cash transfer programmes in emergencies constituted 1.9% of the total of USD 13.8 billion in humanitarian funding that donor governments provided. In 2012, it fell to 0.9% of the total of USD 12.9 billion from donor governments (ibid.). Tracking funding for CTP is a challenge and precise data are not available\textsuperscript{24}. A research project undertaken by the Humanitarian Futures Programme (HFP) in conjunction with the Cash Learning Partnership (CaLP) assumes that "[...] the cash modality

\textsuperscript{21} Statements by François Grünewald, Chairman of Urgence-Rehabilitation-Development (Groupe URD) in his speech at a CERAH-DAS-session (2013) on 'Future challenges in Humanitarian Action'.

\textsuperscript{22} The term conditional cash transfers (CCTs) generally refers to middle- and large-scale social assistance transfer programmes of governments. They are not directly connected to emergency situations or crisis, but form part of those countries social protection policy (Herrmann, 2013).

\textsuperscript{23} The GHA analyses used data from the following institutions: the OECD’s Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and the UN OCHA’s Financial Tracking Service (FTS).

\textsuperscript{24} The percentage of cash-based responses compared as a portion of total humanitarian programming is nearly impossible to determine due to the unreliability of financial tracking data and the fact that aid agencies and donors rarely disaggregate their assistance into cash and in-kind categories (Mowjee, 2013).
currently only constitutes a small proportion of humanitarian assistance." (Mowjee, 2013 p. 9). The increasing recognition of CTPs by many humanitarian actors (including donors like ECHO, the UN, non-governmental and governmental organizations) is rooted in the growing experience in cash-based responses, when more and more aid agencies applied cash transfers in the post-disaster period of the Tsunami in 2004, the earthquake in Haiti and the floods in Pakistan in 2010. Based on these experiences and lessons learned, several humanitarian actors have developed policies or guidelines regarding cash transfer programming, and the 'Sphere Project' includes cash transfers in the revised 2011 Handbook: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response (The Sphere Project, 2011).

At the beginning of this century, reservations towards cash-based responses in emergencies were common and acceptance rare not only from donors (on an institutional and individual level) but also from the humanitarian community itself. The basic question related to cash grants was: What is the money used for? Fears remain until the present day, as this modality of aid provision leads to a paradigm shift that puts recipients in the driving seat, leaving them the choice which of their needs to meet and when (ICRC and IFRC, 2007). For the humanitarian aid community it means "[...] letting go of certain decision-making mechanisms previously held by donors, aid organizations and their staff." (ibid., p. 16). The reluctance towards the cash approach is founded on this paradigm shift and connected to the notion that the money will be misspent or misused. Harvey interprets the suspicion of misuse as "[...] a hint at the sense of superiority that sometimes underlies relations between aid agencies and their 'beneficiaries' - a term that itself suggests the passive receipt of assistance." (2007, p. 54). Nevertheless, worries about how recipients will use cash, especially in the context of conflict, are of legitimate concern. Cash may be more attractive and easier to divert than the provision of in-kind or food. However, according to Harvey (2005) there is no evidence that the cash modality is especially exposed to diversion. Further concerns, like the security risk for recipients carrying cash as well as local staff and partners 'dealing with cash', are the same as in doing food or in-kind distribution as well as when it comes to the issue of corruption (ibid.). Aid agencies and cash experts alike draw the conclusion that providing aid through CTP does not bear more risks than those surrounding any distribution commodity, and that

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25 Sphere is an initiative to improve the quality of humanitarian assistance. It does this mainly through guidelines compiled in the Sphere Handbook. Established in 1997, the Sphere Project is governed by a board composed of representatives of global networks of humanitarian agencies supported by a community of humanitarian response practitioners (The Sphere Project, 2014, online).
these risks can be kept to a minimum through good programme design and management (ICRC and IFRC, 2007; Harvey, 2007).

Cash transfer programmes in emergencies have brought a paradigm shift in the sense that the affected population is put into the driving seat, giving it the choice which needs to meet. One of the reasons why aid organizations were reluctant to use this modality of aid provision lies in losing control over what the grant money is spent on. Growing experience and studies on CTP show that providing aid through cash does not bear more risks than through in-kind. However, the application of the cash modality is dependent on the context, which requires various cash-favourable factors as described next.

2.2.2. Advantages and favourable factors for cash transfer programming

A cash-based response is not to be seen as an objective in itself but as an aid-provision modality. Good practice review on CTP (Harvey and Bailey, 2011) shows that the 'cash-tool' for providing humanitarian assistance is mostly used in: meeting immediate needs in emergency relief situations; supporting livelihood recovery following a crisis; promoting livelihood recovery and, in a longer time frame, ensuring long-term social protection, etc. In emergencies the humanitarian community applies CTP either with direct money grants (unconditional or conditional)\(^{26}\), with vouchers\(^{27}\) or with a cash for work\(^{28}\) approach. Cash and vouchers have most often been considered as alternatives and appropriate, cost-effective mechanisms (in terms of storage, logistics and time) for providing food aid, but they have also been applied in other types of interventions like shelter, non-food items, seeds and tools, livestock and livelihoods (ibid.). In terms of livelihoods UNHCR, for example, applies cash-based interventions to increase the protection of refugees who are at risk from harmful coping mechanisms like survival sex or child labour. Immediate capitalisation is also a means to protect affected people's assets or it can help to recover or invest in their livelihoods (UNHCR, 2012a).

\(^{26}\) Unconditional cash transfers mean that money is given as a direct grant with no conditions. The money doesn't have to be paid back and people are entitled to use the money however they wish. Conditional cash transfers mean there is a condition on how the cash is spent for example to reconstruct a family home (CaLP, 2011). CaLP (The Cash Learning Partnership) is a knowledge sharing platform that aims to improve the quality of emergency cash transfer and voucher programming across the humanitarian sector. http://www.cashlearning.org/overview/what-we-do-overview.

\(^{27}\) Vouchers are documents, tokens or electronic cards that can be exchanged for a value of goods or services in preselected vendors or service providers (ibid.).

\(^{28}\) Cash for work is a compensation of a work performance usually in public or community programmes (ibid.).
Besides providing flexibility and self-determination to aid recipients, CTPs are also perceived as stimulating local economies. An existing market and services are pre-dominant in order to even considering providing aid through CTP. As experience shows, it is often the case that an emergency situation (lack of basic needs) has not developed because basic goods or services are not available, but because people do not have access to them due to lack of income (Peppiatt et al., 2001). Thus there is no possibility to generate demand, as the potential consumers have no power to purchase. The provision of cash grants can mitigate the suffering and at the same time reinforce markets (ibid.).

The World Food Programme (WFP), which is implementing large-scale cash projects, indicates in its 'Cash and Voucher Manual' seven factors including indicators that are favourable for a cash approach (WFP, 2009, p. 7). Although focused on food distribution, the following cash-favourable factors can be also applied to goods or services.

**Table 1: Factors with indicators favourable for CTP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market function:</td>
<td>Number of shops/sellers is adequate and/or increasing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local markets are functioning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and/or recovering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food availability:</td>
<td>Food quantities and types in markets are adequate and/or increasing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staple food commodities are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mostly available on local</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>markets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical access:</td>
<td>Seasonal access by road in wet and dry seasons improved or unchanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households have continuing/easy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>access to markets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation:</td>
<td>Consumer price indices are stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General inflation trends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prices/wages:</td>
<td>Stable compared to long–term trends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prices of staple foods and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial transfer:</td>
<td>Available or increasing number of financial service providers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliable systems for financial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transfer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security:</td>
<td>Stable or improving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security situation in general</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The factors indicated in the above table imply the necessity of a context analysis conducted using an iterative method in order to be able to assess situations and to react with flexibility.
An economic environment can change rapidly in unstable situations provoked by natural disasters or conflicts.

Cash transfer programming is perceived as a time and cost-effective aid modality, once the predominant factor of an accessible and functioning market exists. Starting with food-assistance, the 'cash-tool' has found its application in various aid interventions like, for example, shelter. The attractiveness of cash requires special attention in terms of determining who should receive financial support as illustrated in the following.

2.2.3. Challenges of cash transfer programming

The provision of humanitarian aid in emergencies is per se challenging. Using cash as a modality of aid provision, humanitarian actors who set up guidelines for cash transfer programmes do not generally distinguish the appropriateness of cash in the context of natural disasters or complex emergencies like conflict or war. It is evident that cash-based responses are easier to implement in peaceful and secure situations than in uncertain, fragile contexts of conflict, but this is no less the case when distributing food or in-kind. In situations of conflict like in Afghanistan, for example, "[...] it is only the question whether cash is more or less difficult than possible alternatives." (Harvey 2007, p. 4). The following aspects of a cash transfer programme have to be especially considered: a) targeting\(^\text{29}\), i.e. who should be eligible to receive cash grants and b) the involvement of the whole community affected by a shock.

a) Targeting - eligibility

Receiving money is attractive to everybody and targeting procedures attract attention. Thus, selection criteria (population and geographical area) have to be clear and the registration process for eligibility must be carried out in full transparency. However, identification of supported individuals, households or communities is also crucial when providing aid through the distribution of commodities. Targeting in any kind of resource transfer is a problematic issue and bears risks of doing harm.

Looking at Mary B. Anderson's concept of 'Do No Harm' which names the characteristics of connectors and dividers in times of conflict or war: "Targeting aid reinforces divisions rather

\(^{29}\) Targeting is defined as the process by which areas and populations are selected for a resource transfer in a timely manner. A targeting system comprises mechanisms to define target groups, to identify members of the target populations, to ensure that assistance reaches intended beneficiaries, and to ensure it meets their needs (WFP 2007, p. 7).
than connectors in societies." (1999, p. 46). For aid agencies vulnerability analysis is standard in aid programme planning in order to support those most in need. Also, in view of limited resources, targeting is inevitable. Tensions may arise within groups or subgroups of societies when affected people cannot benefit equally from aid (ibid.). The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) in a guidance note on recovery sees a way to reduce or avoid tension - as every member of a community is directly or indirectly affected - in providing cash grants to every household (UNISDR, 2005). Consciousness that full coverage of assistance may reinforce the position of people in power and lead to further disadvantages of those without power is another reason aid agencies apply targeting criteria. Nonetheless, practice show that there is commonly a trade-off between exclusion errors (eligible people do not receive support) and inclusion errors (non-eligible people do receive support) (Echo, 2013). According to WFPs targeting policy, "[...] in acute emergencies, inclusion errors are more acceptable than exclusion errors." (WFP, 2006, p. 5). In its guidelines, SDC-HA recommends "quality before quantity" and, in view of limited financial resources, suggests covering a smaller area as more appropriate than reducing the amount of cash contributions (Rauch and Scheurer, 2007). With regard to targeting in CTP, coordination with other agencies is of high importance as well as when defining the amounts of the cash contribution. However, according to a comparative study on emergency cash mechanism, harmonising targeting and rates is difficult due to [...] "differing needs of the affected populations, differing mandates of organisations and therefore differing project objectives." (Kauffmann and Collins, 2012, p. 37).

b) Participation of affected people's community and the receiving community

Involving the community is characteristic for cash transfer programmes. Working with local authorities, religious leaders, chiefs, the elderly and involving existing committees not only for targeting but also registration, verification, monitoring, evaluation and dealing with grievances, bears challenging issues like corruption or fraud. Power by elites can be played out by influencing targeting decisions or the inclusion of people in a programme that they are not entitled to. However, community-based targeting is a means of paying respect to the community and the active involvement of the community implies ownership and responsibility (Harvey and Bailey, 2011). When cash grants are given on an individual household level, it can be taken into consideration, to support the community with a small action. SDC-HA cash standards foresee small actions on community level according to the
community's need, for example, with the refurbishment of classrooms or libraries, etc. (Rauch and Scheurer, 2007).

In situations of displacements in-country or cross-border, the influx of displaced or refugees respectively can put the receiving community, both residents as well as those hosting displaced, under pressure. Beside that displaced could be overlooked since they are not residing in camps, hosting displaced could put a substantial burden on host families as well as on a whole community. According to UNHCR, the 25 countries with the largest number of refugees per 1 USD GDP per capita are all developing countries and include 16 least developed countries (UNHCR, 2012c)\(^\text{30}\). As displacements often occur from one fragile or underdeveloped area to another maybe more stable but also underdeveloped or impoverished region, cash to vulnerable resident and hosting families should be taken into consideration (Harvey and Bailey, 2011). SDC-HA, for example, supported host households and host communities with a CTP in Serbia (1999 - 2001) to assist the host communities to absorb IDPs and refugees in a post-conflict context (SDC, 2005). Supporting host communities has become of high importance as more and more displaced are seeking refuge in private homes, especially in urban contexts. IFRC, for example, published guidelines for assisting host families and communities (IFRC, 2012).

Targeting, and by which means the selection process has been carried out, can be described as the main challenge in cash transfer programming. In emergencies there is more of a tendency to accept inclusion errors. Involving the community bears advantages (conveys ownership) and risks (playing out of powers to the disadvantage of the most vulnerable). Especially in contexts where affected people have to seek shelter or refuge, the receiving community and its members have to be taken into consideration in the targeting process.

2.2.4. Impact and potential of cash transfer programming

Although cash transfers are increasingly used in humanitarian assistance, there is only little literature that identifies their impact in the context of emergencies. A recent (2010) evaluation of 123 CTPs in 47 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa by the World Bank gives a rather critical

\(^{30}\) These data are based on UNHCR indicators which are calculated on the ratio of the size of a country's hosted refugee population to the average income of the country according to the GDP / Purchasing Power Parity, which allows a proxy measure of the burden of hosting refugees. When the number of refugees per 1USD GDP per capita is high, the relative contribution made by countries in relation to their national economy can be considered as high (UNHCR, 2012d, p. 15).
view of cash transfer programmes in emergencies. The desk research states that these programmes were neither sustainable nor effective as they were a) targeting a limited portion of the population or restricted to a certain vulnerable group and b) using inconsistent stand-alone management information systems and c) uncoordinated, without domestic ownership, as projects are often not designed for full geographical coverage (Garcia and Moore, 2012).

Authors of a literature review on cash transfer programming state that aid agencies are focusing more on monitoring in cash projects and reporting less, even only occasionally, on the outcomes (Arnold et al., 2011). Thus only a few impact assessments have been carried out. However the authors conclude regarding impact that the provision of cash can support people to meet their basic needs and that this modality may also support the transition to recovery (ibid.).

Evidence-based outcomes of CTPs are the strongest in relation to immediate and direct impacts as the following chart shows a graduation of evidence for outcomes of CTPs:

**Table 2: Graduation of evidence for outcomes of CTPs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raising living standards of the poor</th>
<th>very consistent evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- directly reduces poverty, hunger and inequality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- helps households sustain and improve livelihoods in the face of vulnerability and shocks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human development / human capital</th>
<th>growing body of positive evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- improves quantity and quality of food consumption (child nutrition and development)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- helps households make use of health and education services (meeting access costs, reducing need for child labour and school dropout)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic development and inclusive growth</th>
<th>strong logic, to date limited evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- facilitates structural reforms supporting long-term growth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- helps households to escape low risk, low productivity poverty traps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- frees up household savings for investment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- raises household spending with local multiplier effect and (in MICs) potential for fiscal stimulus role</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Empowerment and gender equality</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- empowers women within households and communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- empowers poor individuals and households to make their own decisions for improving their lives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Climate change and natural disasters</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- helps reduce and mitigate risks of environmental shocks (e.g. through public works and diversification) and cope with shocks that occur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilitating social cohesion and state-building</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- reduces inequalities that contribute to social fragmentation, crime and political instability.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Arnold et al., 2011, p. 16.
Although the study also takes long-term social transfer CTPs into consideration, there is only limited evidence that this aid modality increases economic development. But there is also a strong logic that CTPs can stimulate local markets, even in short-term activities. According to Creti and Jaspar (2006), cash transfers in emergencies boost purchases from local traders and producers and are used for investments in local trades or for the setting up of small businesses. Therefore, providing aid with the cash-modality in emergencies is inherently a developmental activity. Macrae values CTPs as "[...] a new generation of approaches that can truly link relief and development interventions - not in terms of smoothing aid curves, but in terms of providing conceptual and practical unity between humanitarian and poverty alleviation aims." (2012, p. 8). With regard to the potential of cash projects, a study on research gaps in CTP recommends an action research on how CTPs applied in emergencies can be linked or can lead to long-term development projects like social protection or social safety net programmes (Austin, 2013).

Cash transfer programming in emergencies is widely acknowledged as a fast, efficient and effective modality of humanitarian assistance, conveying affected people self-determination and dignity. Furthermore, CTP offers the opportunity to link relief and development not only in the sense of connecting but of implementing the activities of the two sectors in a contiguum. Widening the scope with respect to the affected population, the cash modality can add a further dimension of impact. The following chapter shows the example of a cash project in northern Lebanon where, in the context of the Syrian crisis, a special focus was given not only to those fleeing from the conflict but also to the residents of the receiving region in Lebanon.

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31 Action research is research initiated to solve an immediate problem led by individuals working with others as part of a 'community of practice' to improve the way they address issues and solve problems (Austin, 2013, p. 4).
3. Case study Wadi Khaled and Akroum, Akkar district, Lebanon

This case study is about an SDC-HA cash for hosting programme in Lebanon in the context of the Syrian civil war. The project can be qualified as innovative in the sense that it is directly addressing host families and communities and the support is given simultaneously to living/hosting costs and to development projects on host household as well as on host community level.

The civil war in Syria is a military confrontation between troops of the government of President Bashar al-Assad and the fighters of various opposition groups. The trigger of the civil war was a protest in the wake of the Arab Spring in early 2011 to achieve the democratization of Syria (Wikipedia, 2014, online). According to UN statistics, since the onset of the unrest in Syria in March 2011 at least 150,000 people have been killed. 6.5 million Syrians are displaced within the country and over 2.4 million have fled Syria to seek refuge mainly in neighbouring countries as shown on the following map (UNHCR, 2014c).

Map 1: Syrian civil war - neighbouring country displacement

Beside the provision of humanitarian aid through financial contributions to the ICRC, various UN agencies as well as international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs), SDC-HA is also implementing its own projects. One of these is the support of Lebanese families hosting Syrian refugees through a cash transfer programme. This chapter describes the project in providing background information on the impact of the Syrian crisis in Lebanon and in analysing the design of the cash project supporting Lebanese host families as well as the challenges it faced. The case study is focussing on the phase of the first six months of the implementation of the project.

3.1. Background information on Lebanon relevant to the Syrian crisis

Lebanon looks back on a war-dominated history and at a conflict-prone presence dating back to the last century. After gaining independence from France in 1946, the country experienced three Israeli invasions (1978, 1982 and 2006) and a civil war which began in 1975 and persisted until the end of 1990. Opposing Christian and Muslim factions were the main protagonists in the Lebanon civil war. Since 1948, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees have fled to Lebanon (Najem, 2012). In 2014, Lebanon hosted approximately 455,000 registered Palestinian refugees, with many living in the country’s 12 refugee camps (UNRWA, 2014, online). With the withdrawal of Syria in 2005 - after almost 30 years of military presence and high political influence in Lebanon - there was growing hope, that the country would pass on to peaceful times and economic prosperity (Najem, 2012).

Although the country has seen strong economic growth and apparent stability in recent years, it is still highly exposed to persisting regional conflicts and internal tensions often related to the country’s sectarian-based political system. The effects of the crisis in neighbouring Syria have seriously influenced Lebanon's path to increased political and economic stability. Lebanon mirrors the dispute of the region at large, Sunni (anti Assad's Syrian regime) versus Shia Muslim (pro Assad's Syrian regime). Recurrent violent clashes between Sunni and Shia Muslims along with deadly assassinations disrupt Lebanon’s everyday life.
Since the outbreak of the conflict in Syria in March 2011, the steadily increasing number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon\textsuperscript{32} has also become a major concern with regard to social stability, the labour market, as well as infrastructure (UNHCR, 2014a, online). One year after the onset of the Syrian crisis in March 2012, UNHCR data showed 9000 registered refugees; by the end of 2012 the number stood at 130,000 and in December 2013 at 820,000 (UNHCR, 2014b, online). The UN institution estimates the number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon will rise to 1.5 million by the end of 2014, equivalent to 36% of Lebanon's population. A World Bank report in 2013 on the economic and social impact of the Syrian conflict in Lebanon illustrates the downward spiral of Lebanon's economy. Beside the drop in the GDP growth rate by 2.9% for each year of the conflict, insecurity and uncertainty have had a negative impact on investors and consumers, the import and export of goods is hampered if not disrupted, and tourism has become almost non-existent. The high influx of Syrian refugees entails an increasing demand on public services (World Bank, 2013).

The SDC presence in Lebanon goes back to 2001, when the Regional Cooperation Office was first opened in Amman/Jordan to coordinate the Swiss Confederation’s humanitarian aid and development projects in Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Switzerland's engagement in the region started much earlier, in 1950. Since then, Switzerland has been supporting Palestinian refugees fleeing to the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, through contributions to UNRWA and ICRC.

SDC’s activities in Lebanon focus on humanitarian aid and development cooperation with priorities in the domains of basic services and livelihoods, protection, and disaster risk reduction (DRR). The scope of projects is within the operational framework that sets out SDC’s programme priorities, which are defined in a comprehensive regional strategy for the Middle East (Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria). The strategy has been developed with SDC’s policy of a 'Whole of Government approach' (SDC, 2010). This approach is also reflected in the contribution to aid projects in Lebanon in connection with the Syrian crisis, where programmes are funded, for example, by the Swiss Federal Office for Migration (safe and child-friendly environment for Lebanese and Syrian refugee students in public schools in the Akkar district) or the Swiss Federal Human Security Division (training of emergency medical

\textsuperscript{32} Lebanon has not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, although it has signed most other human rights treaties relevant to the protection of refugees. Constitutionally, the latter take precedence over domestic law but this is rarely observed by the courts, and there is no domestic legislation or administrative practice to address the specific needs of refugees and asylum-seekers (UNHCR, 2014a, online).
services’ volunteers in Syrian border regions). Furthermore, SDC provides financial contributions and seconds shelter experts from the SHA-pool to UNHCR and UNWRA is financially supported in its efforts to provide protection and basic services to Palestinian refugees from Syria. Financial contributions are also given to UNICEF and the ICRC. The 'Whole of Government' approach is also reflected in SDC-HA cash for hosting projects in Caza (district) Akkar in northern Lebanon. The project is partly financed by the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO). The SDC-HA cash project is currently in its third phase. This case study covers the initial 6 months of the first phase of the programme. The following section explores the factors that lead to the definition of the area of implementation of the SDC-HA programme.

3.2. The consequences of the Syrian crisis on the Akkar district

Akkar, especially the eastern regions of the district, were the first affected by the displacement of Syrians as the city of Homs, approximately 30 km from the border, was the centre of the uprising that started in March 2011.

Map 2: Location Akkar district Lebanon

Within the district, the regions of Wadi Khaled and Akroum (approximately 40,000 registered inhabitants in 27 villages) soon became a haven for refugees. This was not only, as illustrated in the map 3 below, due to the proximity to Syria's city of Homs but also because of the cross-border ties through kinship, acquaintance, labour and business, including a strong tradition of legal or illicit cross-border trade. Religious and clan affiliations are the pillars of the social fabric in Wadi Khaled and Akroum.

Source: Yvanova, 2014, online.

33 SECO's main priority is the promotion of economically, environmentally and socially sustainable growth that creates new jobs, encourages higher productivity and contributes to a reduction in poverty and inequality (SECO, 2014, online).
The majority of the population in this region is Sunni Muslim. Given the geographical location and the historically cultural ties, 95% of the displaced settled in Wadi Khaled and Akroum are living in private accommodation or are hosted by Lebanese families, the rest live in collective shelters (DRC, 2012).

Beside the challenge for the accommodation of displaced people, the conflict in the neighbouring country has severely affected the local economy as cross-border trading has come to a standstill and deprived many Lebanese of their livelihood. For Akkar, and especially the Wadi Khaled and Akroum areas, this is a triggering factor to the already existing poverty getting worse. Mouchref characterizes Akkar as "[...] showing all the typical features of a poor and relatively isolated rural community, with bad infrastructure and low quality education and health services. Limited sources of income, as well as limited support from the public sector and civil society, has created a vicious cycle of poor living conditions and increased the level of marginalization of vulnerable groups." (2008, p. 2). The North governorate of which Akkar is a district of, makes up 20% of Lebanon's population but it hosts 46% of the extremely poor population (Laithy et al., 2008, p. 9).

During the SDC-HA rapid need assessment in March 2012, community leaders expressed their concern regarding the potentially increasing flow of refugees that would affect the already existing bad communal infrastructure and the public services (SDC-HA, 2012a). That these concerns were justified is illustrated by the Economic and Social Impact Assessment
(ESIA) of the Syrian crisis in Lebanon in September 2013 by the World Bank. The report assumes that the increasing influx of Syrian refugees into Lebanon will stretch the level of pre-existing bad infrastructures and public services to the limit (World Bank, 2013).

On a household level, the loss of the already scarce source of livelihood combined with the additional costs of hosting has led in the first half of 2012 to expressions of fatigue. The great respect towards the traditional and cultural habit of hosting people regardless of kinship, with the consequence of a considerable increase in the financial burden, raised feelings of tensions. A rapid socio-economic assessment by UNDP later in that year mirrored the worsening of the situation and led in 2013 to a 'UNDP support programme for Lebanese communities affected by the Syrian crisis' (UNDP, 2013). Findings on social tension are also reported in a World Vision advocacy report on the impact of the Syrian crisis on Lebanese host communities (Midgley and Eldebo, 2013).

Aid agencies under the coordination of UNHCR started giving assistance to Syrians seeking refuge in Lebanon in 2011. The programmes focused on shelter support, food and non-food items. Furthermore, agreements were made in order to allow registered refugees to receive health care, access to education for children as well as the provision of legal counselling (UNHCR, 2012b, online). All this aid channelled to the Syrian population raised complaints of the Lebanese communities being neglected.

The security situation in the Akkar district has steadily deteriorated since the onset of the conflict in Syria. Border areas like Wadi Khaled and Akroum are regularly shelled by the Syrian armed forces as these regions are regarded as retreat areas of rebel groups. Security incidents such as kidnappings of both anti and pro-Syrian regime supporters indicated the strong trend of a spill over into Lebanon. Violent clashes between Sunnis (anti-Syrian regime) and Alawites (pro-Syrian regime) in the city of Tripoli hampered the access of aid organizations to Akkar as the main transport connection led through the area of clashes.

In the first year after the onset of the Syrian conflict, the people of Lebanon's Akkar district, especially people living in villages bordering Syria, had to bear the brunt of the influx of displaced Syrians. A constant volatile security situation, paired with a decreasing source of income, an increasing amount of expenditures and limited public services, has dramatically intensified the vulnerability on an individual and communal level and caused increasing discontent in an already marginalized region of Lebanon. At the time of the SDC-HA rapid
need assessment, UN institutions and international NGOs were setting their priorities on the guest community (refugees).

On the grounds of the above-mentioned factors, the SDC-HA project design focused on the direct support of Lebanese hosts in the particularly affected regions of Wadi Khaled and Akroum. The following section provides information on the design and the organization of the project as well as the constraints encountered in the initial phase.

### 3.3. The SDC-HA cash for hosting project in Wadi Khaled and Akroum

The SDC-HA cash for hosting project in Wadi Khaled and Akroum was launched following a rapid assessment carried out in March 2012, about a year after the onset of the conflict in Syria. Based on the main findings of the assessment, the preconditions for providing assistance through a cash modality were given. There was an existing and accessible market as well as a functioning financial system and the security situation, though volatile, was acceptable to implementing a cash project. In terms of targeting, Lebanese host communities and households found themselves at their limits, charged with the responsibility to put up refugees, whereas the guest community (refugees and displaced from Syria) was 'looked after'.

The first phase of the project was planned for a time frame of 10 months, from June 2012 to the end of March 2013. The overall goal was ensuring decent shelter for refugees and those displaced due to the Syrian crisis and to relieve the financial burden of Lebanese families who host these people. Beside the cash contribution for hosting, the programme included financial support for host-household improvement activities and development projects in selected communities hosting high numbers of refugees. The programme budget planned in its first phase to support 500 Lebanese families hosting displaced with cash assistance for a period of six months. The amount invested in households was USD 810,000. Host communities were planned to be supported with a total amount of USD 280,000 (SDC-HA, 2012b).

The programme was designed following SDC's strategic orientations regarding comprehensive aid and towards the 'Whole of Government approach', and in accordance with
the Lebanese Government, covering the main domains of protection as the primary result and basic services and livelihoods as secondary results (SDC, 2010). SDC-HA was the first aid organization in the Akkar district to implement a cash programme for host families in mid-2012. Later in the year, coordination took place with Polish International Relief and the Waqef Tayba organization from Saudi Arabia, who planned cash transfer programmes in the region for displaced Syrians. This coordination was limited to the geographical coverage. Exchange on targeted audience and the amount of cash transfers took place, but was not harmonized, due to differing project designs.

3.3.1. Eligibility and targeting for cash assistance

The cash for hosting project was primarily based on the respect of the strongly rooted cultural and religious tradition of hospitality and not to undermine the obligation of the duty to help people in times of crisis. Thus, before gaining eligibility, a Lebanese family had to have hosted displaced people for at least two months. The financial benefits were calculated as contributions and not as a reimbursement of all costs. The following criteria were applied for the targeting process:

- Lebanese citizens hosting displaced due to the Syrian crisis for at least the past two months;
- Displaced (guests) do not pay any rent;
- Displaced get free access to water and electricity.

In case of a high number of applicants, the programme foresaw additional criteria for the selection, addressing especially vulnerable Lebanese families such as women-headed households, host families with a high number of family members or with disabled or elderly persons. However, these additional criteria were not applied in the first phase of the programme, as the number of eligible hosting Lebanese families in the initial phase of the programme could be covered by the budget. Furthermore, it was of high interest that as many displaced people as possible find a decent place to stay in Wadi Khaled and Akroum. In Wadi

34 A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Government of the Republic of Lebanon, represented by the HRC and SDC, was signed in June 2012. HRC, the High Relief Commission, is directly assigned to the Prime Minister's Office and has the mandate to respond to the protection and humanitarian issues of displaced Syrians in the north of Lebanon.

35 Cultural and religious aspects of hospitality were given an important role. Hospitality and generosity are of central importance within the Arab culture. As the SDC-HA project was implemented in a Sunni-Islam-context, hospitality also has deep roots in connection with pilgrimage and mutual relations between fellow Muslims (Stephenson, 2013).
Khaled, special attention had to be paid to the clan dominance, thus the programme set the criteria of having a biased coverage of villages by clan.

3.3.2. **Amount and modality of cash payments**

The cash assistance towards hosting costs was set at a contribution of USD 170/month (per displaced family up to nine members), calculated on the basic living costs of USD 495 of a Lebanese household and the real additional hosting costs of USD 195. The amount is customized according to the number of guest members hosted. Host families receive cash payments retroactively every two months.

The individual financial support for host-household improvement activities were also paid retroactively - after completion of an activity. The support amount was set at USD 300 per household project. The projects, which are defined by the host family, could include infrastructure (repair of house, access to water, sanitation), livelihood (agriculture activities, livestock farming), and social (play area for children). Each family could propose a maximum of two activities for potential funding. The financial contribution to host-household development activities were meant as an incentive for the Lebanese family to put up displaced people. As there is no financial institution in Wadi Khaled and Akroum, the eligible affected people collected the cash assistance from a bank's branch in the town of Kobayat, approximately 15 km from the two project areas. Special attention was given towards the possibility of paying out the cash assistance to women.

The development component of the project was planned to be implemented in cooperation with a local partner (national NGO) for communities who were hosting a substantial number of displaced people. According to the individual community's needs, the SDC-HA project planned to contribute to a development project from which the whole population in the community could profit. These projects can include: social infrastructure (kindergarten, schools, playground, communal halls, libraries), general infrastructure (water and sanitation facilities, sewage, secondary road repairs), livelihood (irrigation, cultivation, production, market access) or social / health support (schools, health facilities, social activities, psycho-social). The selection process involved a committee made up of community representatives, SDC-HA and the implementing partner. In this part of the project, a special focus was also placed on women being represented in the committees. It was not possible in the first phase of

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36 Calculation based on information collected through the SDC-HA rapid assessment in March 2012.
the programme to launch these community development projects (see section 3.4 in this chapter).

All procedures of the cash project followed the SDC-HA cash programming guidelines (Rauch and Scheurer, 2007). The selection e.g. registration of eligible Lebanese host families as well as the verification and grievance process took place in cooperation with local committees and a close support by SDC-HA local staff. The registration process was carried out with every possible transparency. Hosting households representatives as well as representatives of their guests gave their signature in confirming truthful information. The publication of the beneficiary lists proved to be a good means of fraud-prevention.

3.3.3. Organizational aspects

SDC-HA implemented the cash for hosting project in Wadi Khaled and Akroum through a field office in the Christian village of Kobayat. The team consisted of a project manager from SDC-HA and six young local employees (Sunni Muslims and Christians) seconded by a national NGO. Through these secondments a sustainable know-how transfer for the implementation of cash projects was guaranteed. Beside the practical work in the field, trainings and workshops contributed to capacity building in cash transfer programming. With the exception of one local employee, the partnered NGO had to newly recruit employees who had little work experience and were not familiar with working in the humanitarian aid or development sector.

3.4. Challenges and adjustments of the SDC-HA cash for hosting project

The rapidly changing situation and an analysis of the progress of the project after the first six months brought to light the following issues:

a) Targeting process given a rising number of affected population - up-scaling

Due to the rapid increase of the number of refugees and displaced in the region, there were Syrian refugees hosted in every village in Wadi Khaled and Akorum fulfilling the eligibility criteria of the cash programme. Subsequently, SDC-HA adjusted the programme regarding the amount of the cash assistance and also the modalities in early 2013. The amount of the cash assistance was decreased from USD 170 /hosting up to nine members of a displaced family to USD 100. The reduction of the contribution in favour of a greater coverage of the
affected area with cash transfers was well accepted within the already considered beneficiaries. To simplify the procedures, the financial support for household development activities has become an integrated part of the cash for hosting payments and was not paid out separately. Despite these adjustments, the local bank branch was not ready to carry out payments to a steadily increasing number of cash-programme 'clients'. Contracting with another bank meant the host families collecting the cash assistance distant from their place of living in the capital of the Akkar district, Halba, approximately 50 km from Wadi Khaled and Akroum. The percentage of payments to women stayed at 25%, a relatively low level. This was on the one hand due to the culturally conservative environment of the area, on the other to the capacity of the field staff on gender issues.

**b) Lack of human resources in the field of development**

The communal development programme could not be launched in the first phase of the SDC-HA cash programme. The local authorities were overwhelmed by the dramatic increase in the influx of refugees from Syria. Their primary focus on putting up refugees and displaced limited the capacities and resources for development projects to be planned and implemented with a community-based approach. Also, the support from SDC-HA was limited due not only to a lack of human resources but also to the lack of know-how and capacities to coach local authorities for community development projects. SDC-HA instead launched small action projects and, based on communities' needs and requests, purchased furniture for a school for the nine villages, equipment/furniture for town halls (one for women) in three villages, a bobcat, a tractor and two pickups for communal workers and toys for a children's playground. The use of 'small actions' in order to support the community is an approach in accordance with SDC's cash policy. It is mainly implemented in form of purchases of equipment (SDC, 2014). The originally planned development programmes for the communities have been re-evaluated and have not yet led to a specific community development project.

**c) Cooperation with village committees in a clan-based social fabric**

The cash for hosting programme was based on cooperation with the local community, with Mukhtars and Heads of Municipalities as the first-row counterparts. This cooperation can be described as challenging as there was a fight for power between the newly elected members of
municipalities and the 'old' Mukhtars. It was initially planned to work with village committees who would support the targeting process, do registration and verification as well as dealing with complaints. This turned out to be difficult in practice as there was no such pre-existing structure and the establishment of a committee from scratch would have taken too much resources and time of the local authorities already overwhelmed by the task of hosting hundreds of refugees and displaced arriving every day. Moreover, there were strong indications that people on the committee would, as a member of the community, as a member of a family or as a member of a clan, come under pressure – if not even threatened – to register people with no eligibility. As a consequence, the SDC-HA project staff carried out the processes in the first six months, in close cooperation and full transparency with community representatives. In addition the number of local staff from outside the Wadi Khaled and Akroum region was increased in order to avoid fraud.

The SDC-HA cash for hosting project's main aim was to provide an improved protective host shelter environment for displaced Syrians. Combining this objective with a) supporting those who provide this protective shelter e.g. the hosts and with b) covering the needs through the cash modality paved the way towards implementing the 'contiguum model' with regard to linking relief and development. Furthermore, the cooperation with a national NGO who seconded its personnel to the SDC-HA project gave the opportunity of a know-how transfer for CTPs.

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37 A public administrative reform (2011) in the area of the SDC-HA cash for hosting project regrouped villages in municipalities, which created a power play between the Mukhtars in the villages and the heads of the new municipalities.
4. Discussion

This chapter will, based on the findings of the previous chapters, look at the practicality to simultaneously implement relief, rehabilitation and development activities. It will also discuss which factors can contribute to the design of an assistance programme with a contiguum approach in an emergency setting. The discussion is built along the aspects of the potential of cash transfers to unify relief and development, the host communities as the target audience and the knowledge obtained from the case study.

4.1. Relief and development: Convergence through cash transfers

According to the literature review of this paper, in situations of disasters or conflict the option of a simultaneous implementation of relief rehabilitation and development activities (LRRD contiguum) bears the potential to better cover the needs of the affected population. A prerequisite is the willingness to cooperate between relief aid and development at the very beginning of a disaster or crisis situation, with a joint analysis contributing to a holistic approach of aid. As for people in need who are the focus when providing assistance, the separation and compartmentalization of humanitarian aid and development is of no concern. Thus for aid organizations working in both sectors, the discussion should start not with the organizational chart but with how the know-how and skills of both sectors can be best deployed. Working with an integrated approach and using synergies must not mean a non-adherence to humanitarian principles or a de-politicization of development.

The literature review furthermore provides evidence that the modality of giving aid through cash transfers helps to cover basic needs in an emergency but also contributes to the support of the local economy. It can prevent people from using their assets and livelihood to recover from a shock and thus reduces the risk of de-capitalisation and impoverishment. In this regard, it can be stated that the cash modality has the capacity to support emergency aid and development aid provision at the same time. Which means that the link between relief, rehabilitation and development activities is not limited to a smooth handover from one sector to another but is grounded on conceptual and practical unity (Macrae, 2012).

However, the application of LRRD in contiguum thinking as well as the implementation of cash transfers has limits and depends highly on the context. Contexts of conflict or war may
neither offer grounds for development nor the prerequisite factor of an existing market for aid provision through cash transfers. However, an analysis of a context from the relief and the development perspective, as well as broadening the view on those in need, can also lead to innovative approaches to aid even in complex emergencies. The next section illustrates additional dimensions of opportunities to simultaneously implement relief, rehabilitation and development activities in the context of a complex emergency.

4.2. The forgotten host communities

The international aid community normally responds to displacements by providing shelter in camps. However, many people prefer to take refuge with relatives, friends, colleagues or neighbours as well as the proximity to the place of origin and religious affiliation also play an important role (IFRC, 2012). This was also the case in the Syria-bordering areas of Wadi Khaled and Akroum. The mode of accommodation in mainly private homes risks affected people being neglected in the provision of aid assistance or their needs being perceived as less urgent as the ones of refugees who are clearly visible, residing in community centres, schools or nomadic camps (ibid.). Aid organizations supporting Syrian refugees in northern Lebanon have adapted to this situation. Moreover, the Lebanese Government was not in favour of accommodating people fleeing from Syria in camps for political and practical reasons (Naufal, 2013). Private accommodation integrates the displaced and puts the responsibility on the receiving community (ibid.). Although it was a challenge for aid organizations targeting the displaced from Syria and to disseminate the registration process or distributions for example, the provision of aid assistance has steadily improved. Whereas the guest community received support, the host community meanwhile found itself overcharged with the responsibility to put up refugees. An UNHCR study labels host families and communities as "The silent NGOs" and positions them as "[...] an informal instrument of humanitarian aid - de facto NGOs critical to saving lives, building resilience and providing essential services." (Davis, 2012, p. 11).

In contexts where displacement takes place, a wider scope in the targeting process is required. Most of the people fleeing from disaster or conflict take refuge in communities often poor themselves. Especially when displaced are hosted for longer periods, this could have long-term economic, social, environmental, and political and security impacts (Puerto and
Christensen, 2010). In 2014 "Lebanon has the highest per capita concentration of refugees of any country in recent history, with nearly 230 registered Syrian refugees for every 1,000 Lebanese." (UNHCR, 2014d, online). Security has the most significant negative impact, which can also include military incursions from the sending country and the deterioration of an economic situation already fragile previous to the crisis (Jacobsen, 2002). This situation can be attributed to the situation in Wadi Khaled and Akroum where bombardments and shooting took place when Syrian troops were pursuing rebels who used Lebanon territory for retreat.

The crisis in neighbouring Syria and the volatile security situation led to the rupture of the cross-border trade that deprived many already poor inhabitants of their income. Pre-existing poverty, loss of income, and the influx of a high number of refugees are the main factors that brought the host communities in Wadi Khaled and Akroum to their limits, leading to dissatisfaction and tensions. Supporting the host community can have the effect that displaced people are seen as welcome guests that have to be assisted. According to Jacobsen, who researched the economic life of refugees, to exclusively support displaced or refugees with aid or livelihood resources is "[...] unfair, unethical, unsustainable and ineffective." (2005, p. 86).

The following factors can support decisions to support host communities and households. The factors are further explained with the example of the case study:

- **Existing assistance to the guest community:** Assistance was given to refugees and displaced from Syria not only by the host communities but also through activities of the Lebanese High Relief Commission (HRC), numerous national and international non-governmental organizations as well as through UN agencies like UNHCR and their implementing partners. UNHCR also acted as the coordination body. SDC-HA bilaterally supported UNHCR and ICRC with financial contributions.

- **Non-assisted host households and communities in an already impoverished region:** Over time, burdened hosting families deprived of income due to lost cross-border business opportunities with Syria were not taken into consideration for assistance. Community services and infrastructures were over their limits, due the increasing\(^\text{38}\) number of refugees and displaced from Syria.

\(^{38}\) In March 2012, one year after the onset of the Syrian crisis, Lebanon had 9000 registered refugees; by the end of that same year, the number stood already at 130,000 (UNHCR, 2014b, online).
- **Underdeveloped hosting region susceptible to negative impacts of the crisis:** The influx of Syrian refugees and displaced took the focus away from vulnerable Lebanese. The security situation disrupted the source of income of the residents and furthermore the development opportunities of the region.

The above-listed factors for assisting a receiving community, accompanied with the acceptance of the host country government, lay the ground for an assistance programme that benefits both the refugees and their hosts. The refugees are granted a safe and lasting shelter within a community. Their hosts, through the financial support, are encouraged and acknowledged in continuing to put up the displaced. The following section will discuss the additional outcome possibilities that assistance can offer to a resident community affected by a high influx of refugees or displaced people.

### 4.3. **LRRD contiguum-potential in targeting host communities**

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, cash transfer programming is a modality of aid provision that can carry out relief aid and development aid at the same time. Thus stating this with regard to the SDC-HA case study, it does not matter on which targeted audience the focus lies: the guest community or the host community.

In a given context like the one described in the case study, cash transfer programming can bear a wider opportunity in simultaneously implementing relief and development when targeting the host community. Figure 5 illustrates this cross-sector multidimensional approach of the case-study.

![Figure 5: Cross-sectored contiguum scheme](image_url)

**Source:** Author

The implementation of the various aid activities (relief, rehabilitation and development) for host households and host communities in parallel, enhances the coping mechanism of the host community members to respond to the influx of displaced people and refugees. Host
communities can offer a stable situation in which long-term development programmes can be considered. Guest communities aim to go back to the place where they lived before as soon as the situation allows. This calls for addressing immediate basic needs and leaves little room for a long-term view. With regard to cash transfer programming and the case-study, the following points add to the advantages and conducive aspects of targeting host households and communities.

- The fact of supporting both the hosts (providing financial support when hosting) and indirectly the guests (protective and lasting host shelter) contributes to a peaceful co-existence and interaction.

- The indirect support of markets and livelihoods through the cash modality can revive the local economy.

- The assistance given by the cash modality contributes to avoiding a further de-capitalisation of the hosting population. Increasing living costs could force them to use their assets (i.e. savings or selling, for example, livestock).

- In hosting regions with a high poverty rate, the cash approach offers the opportunity to adapt and scale up the support to a social protection programme.

- The know-how transfer on the implementation of cash projects to a domestic NGO (refer to sub-section 3.3.3), as well as the awareness-building towards the authorities, provides the capacity and the option to use this modality of assistance in future.

To support host communities with cash grants bears the potential of implementing relief and development aid simultaneously from the very beginning of an emergency. However each hosting context is different, some situations only allow a short-term view and cash transfer programming cannot stand for a cure of all. The next section lists points to take into consideration when implementing cash projects along a contiguum approach.
4.4. Critical reflection on the case study

In view of the constraints faced in the initial phase of the SDC-HA cash for hosting project, the following could be taken into consideration.

Joint assessment with humanitarian aid and development aid expertise: Although most of the aid institutions are working in departmentalized structures, humanitarian aid and development aid could benefit from the know-how within an organization which enables a holistic view of an emergency situation. Expertise from both sectors allows not only analysing the immediate needs as well as the underlying causes but also a wider scope on the affected population. Furthermore, a joint assessment of the sectors could allow a precise description of the expert profile requested for the implementation of an eventual future project.

Baseline study: Despite the usually big pressure of starting with the implementation of a project, the investment in a baseline study – even at a later stage during a project – would be beneficial. A baseline study provides references on the situation before the implementation of a project and thus contributes to have a better view on the progress of the project and can support decisions on programme adjustments.

Staff recruitment: The selection process of the partner organisation who seconds the local staff\(^{39}\) should involve an analysis of the relief and development aid know-how. To recruit emergency relief and development staff on local as well as on international level can be described as a prerequisite when implementing aid projects with the contiguum approach.

Recurrent context analysis: The investment of time and resources for a regularly up-dated context analysis taking into consideration the political economic, social and cultural situation can help in anticipating challenges and constraints when using the CTP modality. Moreover an up-dated context analysis helps to develop scenarios and supports decisions on whether and how to scale up a cash project.

Impact assessment: In emergencies, cash projects are rarely evaluated on outcomes (refer to Chapter 2). Impact research on cash grants, especially in connection with the host population and communities as targeted audience, could provide evidence in the potential of the linkage

\(^{39}\) The SDC-HA project partnered with a local Lebanese NGO, who seconded staff to the cash project. The staff was contracted by the NGO and was also paid according to the NGO's salary policy.
of relief and development activities in contiguum. It would be important to embrace and involve the whole population of an affected area in the research, i.e. the indirectly supported, in the case of SDC-HA cash project, the refugees and displaced, as well as the directly supported (host households and host communities).

The above mentioned two last points are highly relevant in view of Lebanon's increasing unstable situation. The country has no president since May 25, 2014 when former president Michel Suleiman's mandate ended. The two rival blocs that dominate the parliament and the country’s politics until to-date (June 2014) have been unable to agree on a successor (Now40, 2014, online). As described in the first sections of the case study the consequences of the Syrian conflict are felt in Lebanon on various levels e.g. continuous influx of refugees and the associated problematic of hosting, deadly in-country clashes between Shia (pro-Assad) and Sunni (anti-Assad) Muslims and as mentioned above, the actual political crisis. This development41 to a more and more unstable situation will also affect the activities of the aid community and the discussion on the distinctiveness of humanitarian assistance and development assistance as explored in Carbonnier (2014). Especially in contexts of conflicts recurrent context analysis and impact assessments are essential in providing the elements for decisions how, on what conditions, with whom or even if ever to continue to implement programs.

40 NOW is an online source for news, features, analysis covering Lebanon, the Lebanese diaspora and the Middle East. https://now.mmedia.me/LibraryPages/AboutUs.aspx

5. Conclusion

This dissertation has tried to set out that the application of the contiguum thinking in humanitarian aid can lead to innovative approaches. The needs in a crisis or a disaster are diverse: parts of the affected population have to be assisted with live saving measures others need support in livelihood. This paper has illustrated that the normally short-term humanitarian aid and long-term development aid activities do not have to be contradictory. Emergency relief, reconstruction or rehabilitation, development aid or economical support do not follow a logic continuum and ought to take place sometimes at the same time. This can be achieved through the modality of aid, the determination of target groups and the interaction between humanitarian assistance and development.

**Cash transfer programming:** This modality of aid in emergencies is a fast, efficient and effective modality of humanitarian aid assistance conveying affected people self-determination and dignity. Simultaneously, cash transfer programming supports to enforce the local economy and thus creates a programmatic unity of the humanitarian aid and the development aid sector.

**Determination of the target group:** An 'all-inclusive' approach in targeting allows a broader view and understanding of needs. To assist, the most often overlooked, host community stands for ethical values and fairness on one hand, on the other it paves the way for sustainability and aid effectiveness. Assistance to host communities may mean to reduce their susceptibility to shocks.

**Complementarity of humanitarian aid and development aid:** Humanitarian aid activities seen as an isolated silo within the aid community, focussing entirely on emergency response is good enough for the cure of a problem. Aid organisations working in both sectors have the advantage to deploy humanitarian and development experts to analyse and address the needs in the dynamic situations of crisis and its underlying causes.

This paper has illustrated through the case study on the SDC-HA cash for hosting project in northern Lebanon, the combination of the above mentioned factors. Providing protective shelter for Syrian refugees through the financial support of those who offer this protective shelter e.g. the host families and communities, in covering basic needs (protective shelter),
livelihoods (source of income) and community needs (infrastructure), represents the implementation of a 'true' contiguum thinking.

The case study on Lebanon in this dissertation furthermore has demonstrated that cash transfer programming targeting the host community bears a high potential of impact on a sustainable socio-economic development in enhancing the economy of an underdeveloped and impoverished region. It also contributes towards a more cohesive society in a crisis-affected area. These additional outcome possibilities enhance the coping mechanisms of the receiving community and contribute to resilience building.
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