

CASE STUDY SUSTAINABILITY AND REPRODUCIBILITY OF CSMC

NORTH LEBANON





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PURPOSE OF THE DOCUMENT

This case study aimed to report the effectiveness of CSMC during crises such as eviction and its sustainability once the crisis has passed. It employs a wholly qualitative methodology to provide an in-depth view of several CSMC committees that had been evicted from their original sites.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSMC	Collective Site Management and Coordination
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IS	Informal Settlement
KAP	Knowledge, Attitude and Practices
KII	Key Informant Interview
LAF	Lebanese Armed Forces
MEAL	Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability, and Learning
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SI	SOLIDARITES INTERNATIONAL
T 5	Tripoli Governorate
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene

1. INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

Since violence broke out in Syria in March 2011, Lebanon has been subject to the effects of the war on multiple fronts. Lebanon has, since the onset of the civil war in Syria, welcomed over 1 million Syrian refugees. Spread out across the country and residing in every type of shelter imaginable, providing basic services and meeting the needs of the Syrian refugees has posed a considerable challenge for both humanitarian actors and the Lebanese state.

In March 2013, two years after the eruption of Syrian civil war, Solidarités International (SI) began its operations in Lebanon in response to the humanitarian crisis that was facing the country. Between 2013 and early 2015, refugee camps or informal settlements had sprung up in many parts of Minieh, a sub-district of the Minieh-Dennieh district (kada'), including many tented settlements scattered across both sides of the Minieh-Akkar highway. The settlements, though informal, had become a mainstay of the scenery in the towns of Minieh, Markabta, and Zouq Bhannine, and were frequently visited by humanitarian workers. The visibility of these sites was often key to the swift delivery of humanitarian aid. That is, because these settlements were easy to find on a major highway that linked between Tripoli and Akkar, service providers could access them immediately and easily for interventions. This allowed them to receive assistance more quickly than their counterparts in less traversed locations.

In April 2015, the Collective Site Management and Coordination program (CSMC) was established and implemented in 50 sites¹, which had previously received WASH and Shelter interventions from Solidarités International. CSMC's ultimate aim is to empower the refugee community by raising awareness to humanitarian and protection standards, the definition, legal status and basic rights of a refugee, through the creation of site-management committees operated by the residents themselves. A large component of the program focused on referrals and complaints mechanisms and on the recognition of services providers to help ensure that the basic needs of

the refugee population were met. The program equally strove to promote autonomy and empowerment within the refugee population and to mitigate the risks of tensions with host communities and local authorities.

In August 2015, less than 5 months after the creation of the CSMC program, the first round of evictions began in Minieh. The presence of informal settlements near an army base was the main pretext behind this action. While initially only 5 sites were evicted, the second round of evictions, which took place in late September 2015 saw the eviction of 22 sites under various pretexts, ranging from proximity of ISs to main roads and highways to supposed "illegal activities" taking place in these sites. A third round of evictions which followed in the late summer of 2016, saw most of the ISs in the town of Minieh evicted, with residents moving to a variety of locations, from the nearby village Zouq Bhannine to the coastal areas of Akkar further north. Given that Lebanon has not signed or ratified the Geneva Convention of 1949, which guarantees refugee rights, Lebanese law supersedes all other international laws and treaties. Under the Geneva Convention, the state would not be allowed to evict or forcibly relocate populations outside of security or military necessity. The Lebanese state is hence free to remove and evict ISs when it sees need to without acceptable justification. In some of the sites evicted during these different waves, a CSMC committee had been created, trained and supported by SI. Because the ultimate goal of the CSMC program is to promote autonomy and self-sustainability, SI's MEAL team conducted interviews and held focus group discussions with evicted CSMC committee members. This study aimed to look into the effects of CSMC after a crisis such as eviction. It also studied which skills learned through CSMC proved useful in the new site, as well as the lasting impact of CSMC trainings and potential gaps in the training.

1. For more information about CSMC, refer to 2015, SI Lebanon, Case Study Collective Site Management and Coordination – The experience of Solidarités International in North Lebanon governorate

2. METHODOLOGY

This study was exclusively qualitative in nature, aiming to provide an in-depth view of stories of CSMC committee members, both as individuals and as groups of individuals who had been trained under the CSMC program and evicted from their sites. For this reason, a combination of focus group discussions (FGD) with committee members who had moved as a collective community and key informant interviews (KII) with those who had moved individually (or could only be contacted individually at the time) were conducted.

Three FGDs and six KIIs were conducted with a breakdown as follows:

- **Three FGDs** in Beddaoui 001, Minieh 054, and Adoua 001, where communities had moved collectively
- **Two KIIs** with individual committee members from Zouq Bhannine 063, where the community had moved collectively, but only two individual committee members could be contacted at the time
- **Four KIIs** with individual committee members from Minieh 012 (two individuals), Minieh 027, and Zouq Bhannine 063, who had moved separately from their communities

KIIs are labeled according to the original sites that respondents had been evicted from. The same discussion guide was used with all FGD participants and interviewees, covering topics that included the situation of the community before eviction, how the community reacted during the eviction, and the status of the individuals or community after the eviction had occurred.

Site profiles can be found in the appendix, including a summary the status of the CSMC committees and sites before eviction and their status after the eviction.

This study aimed to:

- Provide an in-depth analysis of the current status of former committee members who have been evicted from their site or who have voluntarily moved from their initial site;
- Study the medium-term (and potentially long-term) sustainability of CSMC;
- Identify which factors of CSMC are most-sustainable;
- Identify the role of CSMC in evictions;
- Identify the challenges faced by committee members after eviction or secondary movement;
- Identify specific scenarios where CSMC has proven to be sustainable;
- Understand what may be adjusted to improve the sustainability of CSMC interventions.



SI staff explaining the map of service providers

3.1. Pre-eviction: Social cohesion, community empowerment, and communication

As a site management effort, one of CSMC's roles was to improve organization within sites. The initiative aimed to create more robust pathways for refugees to communicate with humanitarian agencies and with local government. It also aimed to develop community empowerment by increasing beneficiaries' awareness of their rights and their capacity to ensure that they are afforded those rights.

As current and former CSMC committee members, FGD participants and individual interviewees alike unanimously agreed that CSMC was a positive force in their sites pre-eviction. They believed that it created stronger camaraderie and partnership between site members, driving social cohesion. Many stated that their sites had been initially haphazard and disorganized, but following the introduction of CSMC, more organization was introduced and a bolstered sense of community was fostered.

"Social bonds became stronger once committee was established on site"

- Zouq Bhannine 063 interviewee

"[CSMC] allowed us to understand each other better, and that we had to cooperate to run our IS properly"

- Minieh 054 FGD participant

"We learned more about our neighbors, and that helped us stick together, particularly women"

- Minieh 054 FGD participant

Some even stated that CSMC felt like a natural evolution for their site, a way to move forward. In Adoua 001, focus group participants stated that the formation of the committee was "a natural thing; the normal way things develop." They believed that it offered them a chance to become even more comfortable with their surroundings and to learn more about their rights as a refugee community. An interviewee Zouq Bhannine 023 further elaborated on this facet of CSMC. She stated that the committee was a positive force

within the site, creating more effective communication channels and improving the knowledge of residents.

"We knew we needed improvements on the site but we didn't know how to put them into words. The training sessions helped us formulate our needs and realize the importance of some of the services that we didn't know were offered or that we even needed, like protection. Training helped us to communicate with each other and to solve problems between the residents."

- Zouq Bhannine 023 interviewee.

CSMC assisted in empowering the community to work together pre-eviction, allowing them to accomplish goals that had otherwise seemed daunting at first. Participants also reported that CSMC assisted them in organizing communication pathways in their sites. It allowed them to establish focal points and to reduce disorganization in affected sites, facilitating access to humanitarian assistance. In Minieh 054, FGD participants felt that the committee was active and well-prepared as a result of the training they had received. Beddaoui 001 FGD participants echoed this idea, reporting that they felt empowered to access their rights thanks to CSMC.



Committee member

3. DISCUSSION

“ Social bonds became stronger once committee was established on site”
- Zouq Bhannine 063 interviewee

“If it wasn’t for the committee and the protection component, [security forces] would be harassing us on a daily basis.”

- Beddaoui 001 FGD participant

Thus, CSMC reportedly increased knowledge of and access to rights, particularly in the area of protection, allowing affected communities to communicate more effectively with the Lebanese Armed Forces and to reduce risks of harassment or interference. Communities reportedly became more self-reliant because of CSMC and felt more capable of reaching out for assistance. In some

cases, this led to communities addressing their own issues independently.

“[Because of CSMC], we gained confidence and we started counting on ourselves.”

- Zouq Bhannine 063 interviewee

“When we know what to expect, it decreases tension and allows us to work with the situation. It helped us accept the situation and pushed us to try to be more independent and self-reliant.”

- Minieh 012 interviewee



Municipality training done by SI for committee volunteers

3.2. Eviction and movement decisions

Eviction, a common crisis for Syrian refugees residing in informal settlements in North Lebanon, threatens the stability and security of many families. The Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) forces households to move from sites where humanitarian actors have already intervened to improve shelter and WASH conditions to sites in potentially much worse shape. The uncertainty of where and how the families will move, and the conditions into which they will move, creates

a sense of worry within communities and may drive many communities apart if they are unable to move collectively.

One question that arises when considering the effect of CSMC committees is its role in successfully streamlining the movement process post-eviction. Where do these communities go? Can a CSMC committee stay together after experiencing a crisis and keep the community organized?

3. DISCUSSION

Can this committee then play an effective role in assisting the community in reorganizing?

When faced with the threat of eviction, families focused most on finding sites as close as possible to health, community, and education services. These communities tried to find new sites that would allow them to access their basic needs with the greatest ease.

The role of CSMC committees' during and after evictions was, as such, studied through focus groups discussions and individual interviews. Responses were mixed as to the effectiveness of CSMC in organizing communities for collective movement. However, focus group participants and interviewees reported that all CSMC committees tried to reduce panic and organize movement (collective or individual), with varying success. The CSMC committee members in Minieh 054 felt that they were successful in accomplishing the task, as displayed by their ability to move collectively.

"We held meetings as committee members and we agreed on actively working to reduce the panic of the residents. We also agreed that residents should move collectively given the negatives repercussions that would ensue if the residents split into different sites."

- Minieh 054 focus group participants

An interviewee from Minieh 012 reported that committee members from different sites created a WhatsApp (an online messaging platform) messaging group to track the status of evictions and to keep different communities up to date about one another. In Beddaoui 001, committee members believed that the successful collective relocation of their community was largely due to CSMC.

"Had the site not housed a committee, the residents would have split into different sites because NGOs would not have helped them in the new IS."

- Beddaoui 001 focus group participants

Addoua 002 committee members similarly reported success in bringing their community back together, but their case differed. The committee

had initially attempted to organize the community for collective movement, but was unable to successfully do so due to their inability to immediately find a new site to fit the entire community.

Two weeks after the eviction, however, the Shawish¹ of the previous site was able to secure a new location to re-construct the settlement. The committee was able to contact community members and assist in bringing the community back together.

The same was true for residents from Zouq Bhannine 063, who stated that the committee assisted their small community in moving collectively to a new site. They believed that the training they received as part of CSMC was useful in coordinating their movement.

An interviewee from Zouq Bhannine 023 stated that the committee in her previous site attempted to facilitate collective movement but that, ultimately, these efforts were not successful. Site residents were forced to move to separate sites because new sites could not accommodate them all at once.

"We decided to count on the cohesion built by the committee to attempt to move together to a new site. We did not succeed in moving together

1. A Shawish (shaweesh, shawesh) is a person who has the responsibility of taking care of the campsite and the people residing in. Derived from Turkish descent, the word means "gate keeper". (2014, SI Lebanon, Functions of the Shawish IKB Report)



Committee members

3. DISCUSSION

because the Shawish of the new site did not allow us to move all at once. He said that the site could not accommodate us all."

- Zouq Bhannine 023 participant

“ Had the site not housed a committee, the residents would have split into different sites because NGOs would not have helped them in the new IS.”

- Beddaoui 001 focus group participants

Two other interviewees similarly reported failed attempts by CSMC committees to facilitate collective movement for their respective communities. They believed that the timeframe for notice of eviction was too short for them to organize effective movement.

An interviewee whose original site was Minieh 027 reported that no attempts were made by his site's committee to organize collective movement. Rather, the committee focused on relocating individual households as best as possible. He also believed that the situation would have been much worse and much more difficult had the committee not been present to help with this organization.

“Committee members tried to liaise with NGOs to find new shelters for residents. Residents expected NGOs to subsidize for any new shelters.”

- Minieh 027 interviewee



Committee members

3.3. Rebuilding communities post-eviction

The sustainability of CSMC and its long-term impact may be reflected in its effect on communities once a crisis such as eviction has passed. CSMC committees receive training in a variety of potentially useful post-eviction capacities such as communication with service providers and local

government, in conflict resolution, and in participatory mapping. This capacity building may have proved useful for many communities once they had resettled in their new sites, allowing them to initiate an effective and organized rebuilding process.

3. DISCUSSION

Evicted communities made attempts to rebuild their committees and structures in different ways. In Zouq Bhannine 063, one interviewee stated that they successfully rebuilt their committee and continued to possess the trust of new site residents. In Beddaoui 001, Adoua 001, and Minieh 054, committees remained effective and fully intact thanks to the community's ability to move as a collective unit. While not generalizable, overall results from this study showed that sites where committees and communities could move as collectively as possible were more successful in rebuilding CSMC structures similar to the ones founded by SI in their initial sites. This was, for example, true for Beddaoui 001, where collective movement was tightly and carefully done and CSMC committee recreation was mirrored to that of their previous site. However, when an individual moved alone, away from the committee, or when communities and their committees were fragmented, as with the cases of many of the individual interviewees in this study, CSMC structures were found to be less sustainable and more challenges were faced by these individuals.

"We continued to practice what we learned through the old committee. We re-organized, and the residents now look to old committee members for advice and help."

- Zouq Bhannine 063

Almost all interviewees and focus group participants asserted the utility of the binder containing service provider information that all CSMC committees receive. They believed that the binder may have been invaluable in their efforts to rebuild their communities, providing them with easier access points to assistance. They used the information contained within the binders, along with their training to contact service providers and municipalities, in order to reach out for assistance for their new sites.

"The binder, which contained the phone numbers of all NGOs was helpful as it allowed us to recognize which NGO provided what and that helped us communicate with them properly."

- Zouq Bhannine 063 interviewee

This was further corroborated during the Beddaoui 001 and Adoua 001 focus groups discussions and with most individual interviewees. They stated that they had relied on information from the distributed binders to contact service providers for assistance once they had moved to their new sites. In Adoua 001, the committee relied on information from the binder to contact a mapping agency to identify and name their new settlement. This in turn allowed them to receive winterization assistance in time for the winter season. Had they not known who to contact, they may not have been identified and assisted in time.

Further many focus group participants and many interviewees explained that beyond the binder, much of the training they received as CSMC committee members proved to be useful once they had moved to their respective new sites. Beddaoui 001 FGD participants felt that the training modules were useful as a package, as they helped them to organize their new site in a more effective manner. They claimed that the new site was now preferable to the previous one, as it was better-structured and well-designed.



Overview of an IS

3. DISCUSSION



Committee volunteers fixing a pipe

One interviewee from Zouq Bhannine 063 felt that the service provider and participatory mapping training modules were the most useful as they helped committee members decide on the best location to move. It helped them liaise more effectively with service providers and health institutions in the area once they had moved. This was echoed in the Minieh 054 FGD, where participants believed that the training they had received helped them to communicate more effectively with service providers by designating a referral focal point within the new site.

“The training sessions were helpful. They gave us the tools to realize that we had a problem, and we acted on it.”

- Zouq Bhannine 063 interviewee

Many focus group participants and individual interviewees stated that they felt that their capacity to liaise with municipalities, which was built through CSMC, was especially useful. Once they had moved to their new sites, many committee members immediately contacted municipalities to pre-empt issues such as solid waste management. In Minieh 054, for example, focus group participants felt that their ability to liaise with the Minieh municipality to resolve solid waste management problems in their new site improved their dignity and comfort.

“We felt like citizens [of Lebanon]. We felt respected. We mattered.”

- Minieh054 FGD participants

However, rebuilding efforts were more challenging for those who moved less collectively and more individually. For example, an interviewee from Minieh 012 believed that his new site struggled with social cohesion. Three families had moved from the original site to their new site, and immersion within the new site had been somewhat difficult. Thus, the interviewee believed that he was not as effective at representing members of his new site but still attempted to act as a focal point for referrals, particularly for the families who had moved from Minieh 012 with him.

Similarly, an interviewee from Minieh 027 felt that the community spirit was not as strong in his new site. He believed that this made it more challenging for him to implement what he had learned through CSMC. While he was able to address immediate WASH issue in his new site through his CSMC training (i.e. capacity for referrals), he felt that more community-specific aspects that he had learned through CSMC would be difficult, though not necessarily impossible, to implement in his new site.

“We felt like citizens [of Lebanon]. We felt respected. We mattered.”
- Minieh054 FGD participants

3.4. Challenges, potential gaps, and moving forward

While almost all interviewees and focus group participants expressed that the training they had received through CSMC had been useful in organizing their communities during and after the eviction, many felt that some gaps in their capacity still existed. For example, they believed that more effective communication with local municipalities would have helped them to more quickly develop their new sites. In Beddaoui 001, focus group participants stated that they experienced resistance from the municipality in assistance with solid waste management. An interviewee from Minieh 027 believed that training a focal point within each community to communicate directly with municipalities would have been useful for pre-eviction and post-eviction scenarios. However, this was not always the case, as illustrated by an interviewee from Zouq Bhannine 023, who felt that he had been equipped to communicate effectively with municipalities.

"I feel I can trust the municipality more. If there is a problem I can't solve on my own, I can resort to the municipality."

- Zouq Bhannine 023 interviewee

All interviewees and focus group participants agreed that they continue to rely on INGOs for assistance with little to no reliance on and trust in local NGOs. Many felt that they could not yet trust these local agencies, as they had not built a rapport with them and did not believe that their work would be to the same standard as that of INGOs.

"We are not very trusting towards local NGOs, we would have to deal with them to build trust."

- Zouq Bhannine 063 interviewee

"I am not willing to put my trust in local NGOs."

- Zouq Bhannine 023 interviewee

This meant that most committee members would have been reluctant to contact local NGOs for assistance post-eviction – or even in the absence of INGOs completely. They felt that more work

may be needed to establish effective communication channels between local NGOs and refugee communities in North Lebanon. Many felt that INGOs should assist this liaising effort in order to help build trust between the community and local partners.

Further, not all interviewees felt comfortable in their new sites, particularly when they moved as individuals rather than collectively. This was the case of the interviewee from Zouq Bhannine 023, who felt unwelcomed in his new site and reported feeling tensions with the community there. He believed that it would have been difficult for him to implement what he had learned in his CSMC training, as members of his new community would not have been accepting. Additionally, he believed that he did not possess that skill set to overcome the tensions that existed on the new site.

"The residents here are not welcoming. There is tension, and conflicts often flare up. Residents are not cooperative."

- Zouq Bhannine 023 interviewee

This indicated that there may have been room for improvement in the conflict management training that CSMC committee members had received. Other skills that many wished for further training included improving access to healthcare and to livelihoods.



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Committee members

4. LIMITATIONS

Because this study is qualitative in nature, its results cannot be guaranteed to be representative of the population as a whole. While the focus of this study was placed on specific cases, attempts were made to contact as many evicted CSMC committee members as possible, but only a limited number could be reached.

Further, most evictions studied took place within the Minieh municipal zone, where the municipality is generally helpful to refugees. Other municipalities may not be as positive in their

interactions with refugees, resulting in a more challenging experience. Thus, refugees dealing with the Minieh municipality may feel more capable of doing so than those dealing with other municipalities, resulting in positive bias.

Finally, this study looked exclusively into the perceptions of committee members. It may be beneficial to survey community members who were not involved in the committees to provide further depth.



Overview of an IS

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5. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Sustainability and reproducibility of CSMC

CSMC was reproduced most easily when communities moved collectively, allowing them to immediately replicate structures from their old sites. CSMC training was sustainable when committee members moved to sites where they felt accepted, but reproduction proved difficult when these sites faced pre-existing tensions within the community.

CSMC was successful in easing tensions on sites where it was implemented, improving feelings of social cohesion and belonging

Reducing tensions and improving social cohesion

Community empowerment

CSMC provided refugee communities with an increased sense of collective empowerment, allowing them to feel more autonomous and more capable of resolving their issues.

CSMC training helped build the capacity of committee members, allowing them to more effectively organize their communities for both collective and individual movement

Organization during and after evictions

Autonomy

Committee members reported improved capacity for autonomy, relying on themselves to contact municipalities and service providers post-eviction. This helped ease their transition into new sites.

More may need to be done to improve refugees' trust in local NGOs. INGOs may wish to increase partnerships with local partners and improve their capacity and liaison abilities to increase acceptance of local NGOs amongst refugee communities. This phenomenon requires further study, and may be the subject of KAP surveys and qualitative studies by SI in the next year.

Establishing a rapport with local NGOs

Site Profiles

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW #1

Initial site: Minieh 012

Current site: Zouq Bhannine 074

New site, settled by 5 families that moved collectively from Minieh 012 in mid-October 2016. Two families evicted from other sites in Zouq Bhannine moved to the site subsequently. Former CSMC committee member still acts as focal point for referrals and services. No committee exists on the new site. Regular follow-ups are still done by SI CSMC workers. Plans exist to establish committee on site over the course of a new project. A WASH intervention is currently being carried out by SI.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW #2

Initial site: Minieh 012

Current site: New IS; awaiting p-name and p-code

New site, settled by 4 families who managed to move collectively from Minieh 012 in mid-October 2016. The shawish of the old Minieh 012 was a committee member in the old site and has kept binder; acts as referral focal point for site residents and other acquaintances (gives information needed over the phone). No committee exists on the new site. SI CSMC workers follow-up on the site regularly. The site is too small to establish a committee (CSMC interventions require a site housing 10 or more households, according to the CSMC Modus Operandi). A WASH intervention by SI is planned but yet to begin.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW #3

Initial site: Minieh 027

Current Site: Store Complex; collective shelter facing Breiss mosque in Bhannine

Site previously housed 5 families; 12 new families moved to the site from various evicted sites in Minieh, including 2 families from the evicted site Minieh 027. The interviewee acted as shawish in Minieh 027. The site lacks social cohesion and no one is acting as a referral focal point. A new CSMC committee is planned once program relaunches in 2017. SI WASH intervention was completed.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW # 4

Initial site: Zouq Bhannine 063

Current Site: Zouq Bhannine 026

Site previously housed 12 families; 2 new families moved from Zouq Bhannine 063 after it was evicted. Site has 2 active committees: a Community WASH Committee, which oversees minor WASH repairs and other WASH and hygiene promotion activities within the site, and a CSMC committee that has received all CSMC trainings and has been fully capacitated. CSMC workers conduct regular visits; updated binder content recently. The Shawish acts as local focal point for referrals and services. A WASH intervention was completed by SI; minor repairs currently ongoing.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW #5 AND #6

Initial site: Zouq Bhannine 063

Current site: Merkabta 117

New site, settled by 6 families who moved from Zouq Bhannine 063 after partial eviction in mid-June 2016. 2 interviewees were members of the committee on the old site. One still acts as a referral focal point on site; kept binder and uses it to contact NGOs on behalf of residents. No official committee on site; former committee members still deliberate regularly but not in a formal context. Residents are urging SI to recreate committee on site. No plans at the moment by SI to recreate committee due to insufficient number of residents. A WASH intervention completed by SI; awaiting minor repairs.



Committee volunteers composed of one member of each group with specific needs (women, elderly, disabled)

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION #1

Initial site: Beddaoui 001

Current site: Beddaoui 001 (recreated on new plot of land)

New site, settled by 12 of the 14 families who were previously residing in the old Beddaoui 001 and kept p-code Beddaoui 001. All former committee members moved to new site together; committee reactivated and is currently operational. CSMC trainings ongoing; basic rights, eviction and fire trainings completed. Committee members still act as referral focal points for residents. WASH intervention completed by SI.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION #2

Initial site: Minieh 054

Current site: Building Saadeddine, Minieh

New site, unfinished building in Minieh. 17 families moved to the site in late September 2016 after eviction of Minieh 054; collective movement was successful. All committee members moved to the site; committee was recreated and is active. Committee members chose building together and assigned apartments based on need and household size. Committee members still act as referral focal points for residents. A WASH intervention completed by SI.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION #3

Initial site: Adoua 001

Current Site: Adoua 002

Site housed 9 families previously; 5 families moved from Adoua 001 after it was evicted. Binder was kept and former committee members act partially as referral focal points, although their training is lacking. A WASH intervention by SI ongoing.



Committee members controlling the work done on their site



SI staff referring to the list of committee members of a site



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