



Oxfam Brief: Kuwait Donor Conference

The UN's combined Syria and refugee response appeal for 2014 is \$6.5 billion. It is the largest appeal in its history. The size of the appeal mirrors the escalation of the crisis and is an indication of the massive humanitarian needs and the ongoing, widespread violations of human rights and international humanitarian law being committed in the country. Syrians continue to pay a heavy price for deepening conflict and the failure to find a long-term political solution.

Donors gathering in Kuwait should pursue two mutually reinforcing priorities in the run-up to the Geneva peace talks on 22 January:

- An effective, well-coordinated aid response that alleviates the humanitarian situation and addresses long-term development and macro-economic support to regional governments to reduce the strain of hosting large numbers of refugees.
- Concerted diplomatic action to find a long-term political solution to the conflict. Governments should support inclusive peace talks, and take actions that both alleviate the humanitarian situation and bolster the chances of a successful resolution of the crisis.

In order to support millions of people affected by conflict inside Syria and in neighbouring countries donors in Kuwait must:

- Give their fair share and urgently release funds to support escalating needs.
- Shift from a humanitarian approach to building communities' resilience by supporting programmes that jointly benefit refugees and host communities.
- Create greater linkages and complementarity between humanitarian, development and macroeconomic responses and provide support to regional governments (national and local).
- Diversify funding streams and channel funding transparently through a variety of mechanisms.
- Agree to stop escalating and fuelling the conflict through the provision of arms and ammunition.
- Ensure the conditions are created to give peace talks the best chance of succeeding by fully implementing the Geneva Communiqué.
- Push for a cessation of armed violence when talks are ongoing including support for a ceasefire and local truces.
- Establish a formal mechanism to enable the participation of women's organisations and a diverse range of Syrian civil society groups at Geneva independently from the two negotiating parties.

Escalating needs inside Syria and the region

As the conflict approaches its fourth year the statistics paint a stark picture. More than 100,000 Syrians have lost their lives; an estimated 6.5 million people are internally displaced within Syria, and close to half the people remaining inside Syria are in need of humanitarian aid. There has been an exodus of 2.3 million people from Syria who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

Funding the Humanitarian Response

Despite the tough financial climate many donors have given generously to the UN appeals in the last two years, but this has not been enough to meet the enormous and continually expanding humanitarian needs. In its 2012 to 2014 combined appeals for Syria and the refugee response the UN has sought \$11.7 billion. Of this amount as of 9 January 2014 the UN has received \$ 3.8 billion in total for the three appeals. The 2012 and 2013 combined appeals were both funded at 70 per cent.

According to Oxfam's cumulative fair shares analysis for 2012 and 2013 some governments are delivering over and above what would be considered their fair share for the humanitarian response. The generosity of regional countries hosting Syrian refugees is a striking feature of the analysis with Jordan (12, 720 per cent), Lebanon (5, 617 per cent), Turkey (930 per cent) and Iraq (450 per cent) topping the table. Other Arab governments have also provided significant contributions Saudi Arabia (324 per cent), Qatar (472 per cent) and Kuwait (1,444 per cent). Much of this funding has been contributed outside of the UN appeal and is likely to be meeting needs which the UN appeal does not include. For example, Turkey has spent an estimated \$2 billion hosting Syrian refugees, but the UN appeal for Turkey in 2012 and 2013 is less than \$500 million.

Norway (380 per cent), Denmark (379 per cent) and the UK (298 per cent) are also among the top donors and are more than meeting their obligations.

The support provided by these donors and others has provided protection and life saving assistance to millions of people inside Syria and to refugees who have fled to neighbouring countries. Despite this generosity the actions of some donors who have provided substantial funding has also fuelled the conflict.

A number of states have not made a proportionate contribution, giving less than 50 per cent of what would be expected of them according to the fair share analysis. These include Russia and Japan, both G8 countries that have fallen drastically short, with Russia giving only 5 per cent and Japan 31 per cent of their fair share.¹ Significantly, some donors have also fallen short of their promises, with \$ 529,471,645 million of pledged funding in 2013 remaining outstanding.²

See Annex 1: For Oxfam's cumulative fair shares analysis for 2012 and 2013, and Annex 2: for 2014 countries fair share projections.

¹ Russia appears in the UN's Financial Tracking Service (FTS) as one of the top 20 donors for the Syria Humanitarian Appeal in 2013. However, the figures in our fair share analysis looks at Russia's total contribution to the combined Syria and Regional refugee response in 2012 and 2013, as well as ICRC and IFRC appeals and the national appeals for the governments of Jordan and Lebanon. The figures are taken from the most up to date data provided in the FTS. http://fts.unocha.org/reports/daily/ocha_R5_A1007_1401101509.pdf.

² This figure is taken from the UN's FTS website on 10 January 2014.

More donor transparency

Funding through the UN appeals is only one possible mechanism to provide support for those affected by the conflict. Some donors have chosen to provide funding through bi-lateral channels. Gulf state donors such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait and the UAE have been very generous in providing funding to assist the men, women and children affected by the conflict, but not all their funding is currently reflected in the UN Financial Tracking Service (FTS) figures.

Regardless of the funding channels used, donors should ensure that they are coordinating their assistance efforts and report their contributions transparently to the FTS. This will help to avoid duplication, identify gaps in the overall response, and do more to ensure that all those affected have access to the aid they need, regardless of which side of the conflict lines they are situated in.

Towards a comprehensive regional strategy

Progress towards developing a comprehensive regional strategy (CRS) is vital to ensuring a holistic, joined up response that brings together humanitarian, development and macroeconomic and fiscal support that can tackle the needs arising from the Syria crisis. This is a complex undertaking and rarely embarked on at such a scale. It is therefore important that the **process builds in participation and buy-in from all relevant stakeholders** (UN, local and national governments, NGOs, donors, development actors, IFIs etc.) and that there is sufficient representation on the Steering Group of the various actors, including NGOs.

Oxfam acknowledges the work already undertaken to draft a CRS including commitment to ensuring the RRP6/SHARP focus more on resilience and livelihoods, and the progress made in developing national government plans. However, there are still a number of major challenges ahead which need to be addressed:

- For the strategy to be effective, **it must provide as much coherence as possible between the many initiatives being implemented** and should ensure that these are based on common aims, understanding and analysis of the operational context in the short, medium and longer term. The strategy also needs to be succinct and accessible so that all actors can understand it and use it to influence their decision making and programming.
- For the strategy to be truly comprehensive it should **include needs inside Syria, but it must be made clear that the information available at present is limited and lacks independent verification of needs**. It is important that this should be openly recognised, and that efforts should continue to press for improved access for needs assessment, aid delivery and monitoring.
- The comprehensive strategy, while recognising the role of multiple agencies and actors involved, should also **provide direction for a unified or simplified humanitarian and development coordination structure** that will support decision making in implementing the CRS and its various components.

What should donors prioritise in Kuwait?

Donors should give their fair share of funding

- Donors who have given generously since the start of the crisis should sustain their support and ensure their funding reflects increased needs. **Those countries that have yet to give their fair share should urgently release funds.**

Support host communities and regional governments

- The overwhelming focus of donor funding has understandably gone to supporting refugees in host countries. However, with a projected 3.4 million refugees expected to be living outside camps by the end of 2014 donors must do more now to support host governments (both national and local/municipal governments) and local communities hosting refugees. **Donors should shift from a humanitarian approach to building communities' resilience** by investing in service delivery such as health, education and increasing employment opportunities, cash based interventions and other projects that jointly benefit refugees and host communities. This will help address tensions between refugees and host communities, reducing competition for resources, services and jobs.
- The focus of the regional response plans has been on immediate needs; however, the crisis has had a profound impact on the macro-economy, human development and economic and political costs for host governments. The scale and impact of the crisis will require **greater linkages and complementarity between humanitarian, development and macroeconomic responses**, and will need to meet the contextualised long term needs of each country. This will require donors in Kuwait, including international financial institutions, to ensure coherence and proportionality in their financial support, including support to national plans and development frameworks such as the government of Lebanon's stabilisation plan and the national resilience plan being developed by the government of Jordan.

Diversify funding channels

- In order to ensure that aid is delivered effectively, **funding should be channelled transparently through a variety of mechanisms** including NGOs (national and international), local civil society organisations, UN agencies and host governments (national and local), with a joint accountability framework developed for all the multiple actors involved, providing for joint evaluations to assess the effectiveness of how funding is being used. The many different organisations and institutions have differing strengths and can all add value to the overall humanitarian effort. A key factor is to ensure that funding across the response and the humanitarian community supports humanitarian principles (i.e. supports impartial, needs based assistance).
- In 2013, reporting through the UN's financial tracking service shows that 62.5 per cent of funding from the Syria response was channelled through UN agencies, 20.9 per cent through international NGOs and a little over 1 per cent was given as bi-lateral funding to

governments. Of the funding provided to NGOs 98.34 per cent of the funding went to international NGOs and only 1.64 per cent to national NGOs.

Donors should provide more direct funding through national and international NGOs.

Within Syria, NGOs are the primary humanitarian actor able to consistently reach areas outside of the Government's control and UN access is limited. Greater direct funding to NGO partners would better enable donors to capitalise on NGOs' existing response platforms in neighbouring countries, and their ability to operate quickly in non-camp urban environments, where the majority of the refugees are hosted.

- **More support should also go through host governments, particularly municipalities – as they are providing the majority of frontline services** such as housing, access to health, water, education and employment. This can be more cost effective and reduces the risk of putting all eggs in one basket. For those countries that are middle-income status countries such as Jordan and Lebanon, creative ways to access development financing should be explored.

Donors in Kuwait need to continue to dig deep and give generously and urgently. But, whilst Syria remains torn apart by conflict and thousands of people continue to flee to safety on a daily basis aid can only be part of the solution. As the attention of the international community shifts from Kuwait to Geneva the international community should:

Back up aid with more and better diplomacy

- The forthcoming talks in Geneva are the best chance of securing agreements that will alleviate the suffering of Syrians caught up in the conflict, and the governments who are pledging money in Kuwait must also focus on progress on measures that will quickly improve the humanitarian situation and stop the violence.
- Over the last two years global powers have been inconsistent in their policies towards Syria, favouring military options or waiting for one side or the other to weaken on the battlefield before putting their backing behind peace talks. However, the progress achieved on chemical weapons in Syria, while still incomplete, shows that diplomacy can and does work.

Stop fuelling the conflict

- Governments must do everything legitimately in their power to **ensure conditions are created to give peace talks the best chance of succeeding**. Negotiations in Geneva must build on existing, neutrally brokered initiatives, and aim at fully implementing the Geneva Communiqué. A clear and specific timeline and benchmarks should be set to monitor the progress of talks.
- For the talks to be successful, the Government of Syria and the various armed factions within Syria need to display an active commitment to finding a negotiated political solution to the conflict. This will be possible only if **external actors** agree to stop escalating and fuelling the conflict through the provision of arms and ammunition, and genuinely put their energies behind securing a political solution.

A halt to the violence: push for a ceasefire and support local truces

- There must be a cessation of armed violence in Syria, as envisaged in the Geneva communique. This would provide tangible humanitarian benefits by halting the bloodshed and allowing people to move to access assistance – it may also build confidence between the parties as talks are ongoing. Governments must use whatever influence they have over the parties to this end.
- **Opportunities for local ceasefires should also be supported.** A series of recent local ceasefires, for instance the truce between opposition towns and government forces in Muadamiyat al-Sham, shows that local-level agreements can be reached. Over more than 60 years working in conflicts around the world, Oxfam has witnessed the importance of ceasefires in enabling the humanitarian imperative to be met by ensuring civilians can access aid and humanitarian workers can operate with greater security, while at the same time creating a more conducive environment for meaningful negotiations between warring parties.

Support an inclusive process at Geneva

- It is critical that the proposed Geneva talks are based on an **inclusive process** and that they are seen as legitimate by the people of Syria. As the Geneva Communiqué recognises a successful political transition cannot be achieved unless it is ‘shared by all in Syria’. While some efforts have been made to reach out to a few civil society groups, particularly women’s groups, no formal mechanisms have been developed to include women and a diverse range of civil society groups in the Geneva talks. ***Women must account for a minimum of 30 per cent of the Syrian government and opposition delegations.***
- **A formal mechanism should also be established to ensure the participation of women’s organisations and a diverse range of Syrian civil society groups at Geneva independently from the two negotiating parties.** This mechanism should be established in consultation with women, NGOs and other civil society groups. One proposal put forward promotes the establishment of a Syrian Civil Society Forum to bring the agenda of civil society groups to the table. Civil society groups can play an important role in supporting peace including through direct participation in talks, monitoring the outcomes of discussions, implementing whatever outcome the process leads to and consolidating support for it.

Donors in Kuwait need to give generously to provide urgent and life saving assistance and to meet the long term needs of conflict affected people from Syria and host communities. A well-coordinated aid response that alleviates the humanitarian situation and addresses long-term development and macro-economic support to regional governments is key, but aid is only part of the solution. Donors must invest in concerted diplomatic action to end the conflict. This includes pushing for a cessation of armed violence as talks are ongoing, agreeing a halt to arms and ammunition transfers to the country, and ensuring effective participation of Syrian women and civil society in talks.

Annex 1: Cumulative Fair Share for Syria Crisis 2012-13 (as of 10 January 2014)

*Includes bilateral funding and multilateral contributions through CERF and EU where relevant. Total need is calculated using the UN appeal (SHARP and RRP 6), appeals from ICRC, IFRC and UNRWA in Jordan. Oxfam's fair share calculations are based on percentage of gross national income using the World Bank's 2012 GNI, PPP (current international \$).

*Bilateral donor figures for countries marked with an asterisk have been confirmed by the Government, all others rely on the UN's Financial Tracking Service and may not include all aid given.

REQUIRED FUNDS (\$m)	6,668
DAC share (%)	60%
DAC share (\$m)	4001
% DAC Received	105%
Non-DAC Share (%)	35%
Non-DAC Share (\$m)	2334
% Non-DAC Received	190%

Colour coding
>90% fair share contributed
50-90% fair share contributed
<50% fair share contributed
shortfall >\$5m

		Bilateral Contribution so far (\$m)	Imputed share of CERF & ECHO (\$m)	Total incl. CERF/ECHO share (\$m)	Fair share in \$m	Shortfall (\$m)	% of fair share contributed
Bilateral DAC members	Australia*	99.4	4.7	104.1	94.7	-9.4	110%
	Austria	10.9	19.4	30.3	36.0	5.7	84%
	Belgium	14.5	28.4	42.8	43.2	0.3	99%
	Canada*	203.3	0	203.3	143.0	-60.3	142%
	Czech Republic	2.5	10.3	12.7	25.1	12.3	51%
	Denmark	65.7	22.7	88.4	23.3	-65.1	379%
	Finland	26.7	14.5	41.2	20.1	-21.1	205%
	France	47.8	131.8	179.6	232.6	53.0	77%
	Germany*	416.8	148.9	565.7	330.6	-235.2	171%
	Greece	0.3	16.5	16.8	27.7	10.8	61%

	Iceland	0.3	0.0	0.3	1.1	0.7	30%
	Ireland	18.6	10.7	29.3	15.9	-13.4	184%
	Italy	36.3	101.7	138.0	193.0	55.0	71%
	Japan	136.7	0.8	137.4	446.2	308.8	31%
	Korea, Republic of	5.7	1.2	6.9	149.3	142.4	5%
	Luxembourg	11.3	3.6	14.9	3.4	-11.6	443%
	Netherlands	76.3	44.6	120.9	70.5	-50.5	172%
	Norway	101.6	21.4	123.0	32.4	-90.6	380%
	Poland	3.8	20.3	24.1	78.6	54.5	31%
	Portugal	0.2	19.6	19.8	25.2	5.4	79%
	Slovakia	0.2	3.7	3.8	12.9	9.1	30%
	Spain*	15.7	71.0	86.7	143.8	57.1	60%
	Sweden	77.6	36.8	114.4	40.5	-73.9	283%
	Switzerland	57.2	1.7	58.9	43.4	-15.5	136%
	United Kingdom*	565.8	103.7	669.6	224.8	-444.8	298%
	United States	1349.0	1.4	1350.4	1531.3	180.9	88%
Non-Dac	Saudi Arabia*	438.9	0.0	438.9	135.3	-303.6	324%
	Qatar	117.0	0.0	117.0	24.8	-92.2	472%
	UAE	84.9	0.0	84.9	60.0	-24.9	142%
	Russia	24.3	0.6	24.9	521.6	496.7	5%
	Kuwait	332.2	0.3	332.5	23.0	-309.5	1444%
	Iraq ⁱ	99.2	0.0	99.2	22.1	-77.1	450%
	Jordan ⁱⁱ	769.0	0.0	769.0	6.0	-763.0	12720%
	Lebanon ⁱⁱⁱ	563.3	0.0	563.3	10.0	-553.3	5617%
	Turkey ^{iv}	2001.0	0.1	2001.1	215.3	-1785.8	930%
	TOTALS	7,780	841	8,621	5019	-3602.4	n/a

Multilaterals	CERF	123.3
	ECHO	731.6

TOTAL (INCL. MULTILAT)	8,635
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Annex 2: Fair Share Projection for the Syria Response in 2014

REQUIRED FUNDS (\$m)	6,755
DAC share (%)	60%
DAC share (\$m)	4053
% DAC Received	10%
Non-DAC Share (%)	35%
Non-DAC Share (\$m)	2364
% Non-DAC Received	0%

Colour coding
>90% fair share contributed
50-90% fair share contributed
<50% fair share contributed
shortfall >\$5m

		Bilateral Contribution so far (\$m)	Imputed share of CERF & ECHO (\$m)	Total incl. CERF/ECHO share (\$m)	Fair share in \$m	Shortfall (\$m)	% of fair share contributed ^v
Bilateral DAC members	Australia	0.0	0.0	0.0	95.9	95.9	0%
	Austria	0.0	3.6	3.6	36.4	32.8	10%
	Belgium	0.0	4.2	4.2	43.7	39.5	10%
	Canada	0.0	0.0	0.0	144.9	144.9	0%
	Czech Republic	0.0	1.9	1.9	25.4	23.5	7%
	Denmark	0.0	3.0	3.0	23.6	20.7	13%
	Finland	0.0	2.2	2.2	20.4	18.2	11%
	France	0.0	24.4	24.4	235.6	211.1	10%
	Germany	0.0	26.6	26.6	334.9	308.3	8%
	Greece	0.0	3.1	3.1	28.0	25.0	11%
	Iceland	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1	0%
	Ireland	0.0	1.7	1.7	16.1	14.4	11%
	Italy	0.0	18.8	18.8	195.4	176.6	10%
	Japan	0.0	0.0	0.0	452.0	452.0	0%
	Korea, Republic of	0.0	0.0	0.0	151.2	151.2	0%
	Luxembourg	0.0	0.4	0.4	3.4	3.1	11%
	Netherlands	0.0	5.5	5.5	71.4	65.9	8%
Norway	20.2	0.0	20.2	32.8	12.6	62%	

	Poland	0.0	3.8	3.8	79.7	75.9	5%
	Portugal	0.0	3.6	3.6	25.5	21.9	14%
	Slovakia	0.0	0.7	0.7	13.1	12.4	5%
	Spain	0.0	13.0	13.0	145.7	132.6	9%
	Sweden	0.0	3.0	3.0	41.0	38.0	7%
	Switzerland	0.0	0.0	0.0	43.9	43.9	0%
	United Kingdom	257.8	14.1	271.9	227.7	-44.3	119%
	United States	0.0	0.0	0.0	1551.1	1551.1	0%
	Non-Dac	Saudi Arabia	0.0	0.0	0.0	137.1	137.1
Qatar		0.0	0.0	0.0	25.1	25.1	0%
UAE		0.0	0.0	0.0	60.8	60.8	0%
Russia		0.0	0.0	0.0	528.3	528.3	0%
Kuwait		0.0	0.0	0.0	23.3	23.3	0%
Iraq		0.0	0.0	0.0	22.3	22.3	0%
Jordan		0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1	6.1	0%
Lebanon		0.0	0.0	0.0	10.2	10.2	0%
Turkey		0.0	0.0	0.0	218.1	218.1	0%
TOTALS		278	134	412	5084	10167.9	n/a

Multilaterals	CERF	0.0
	ECHO	135.7

TOTAL (INCL. MULTILAT)	414
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ⁱ Government of Iraq spending estimates from a statement given by H.E. Hoshyar Zebari Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq in the Ministerial Meeting of the Refugee-Hosting Countries Bordering the Syrian Arab Republic available at <http://www.mofa.gov.iq/EN/Articles/display.aspx?id=MidvcBKCLUw=>

ⁱⁱ Estimates for Government of Jordan spending since 2012 from Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan MOPIC and United Nations (2013) *Host Community Support Platform: Needs Assessment Review of the Impact of the Syrian Crisis on Jordan* November 2013: 3.

ⁱⁱⁱ Estimates for Government of Lebanon funding since 2012 from World Bank and United Nations (2013) *Lebanon: Economic and Social Impact Assessment of the Syrian Conflict: Executive Summary* September 2013: 7.

^{iv} Estimates for Government of Turkey spending are from the FTS and AFAD (2013) *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Field Survey Results* (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry and Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency: Ankara): 10.

^v 2014 Commitments for EU member states include the European Union's \$227.2 million contribution to the 2014 appeal. Only the United Kingdom has contributed bilateral funding as of 13 January 2014.