**APPENDIX A**

**Interviews Conducted**

Note: Interviews are organized by code, which is how they are referenced in footnotes. A code beginning in J denotes an interview from the Jordan case, L for the Lebanon case, T for the Turkey case, and R for regional actors not associated with any one case.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Code** | **Date** | **Location** | **Individual or Group** | **Gender** | **Sector** | **Organization Type** | **Duration** | **Snow-balled?** | **Recording method** |
| J.01 | 17-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 90 mins | N | Recording |
| J.02 | 18-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | F | Aid | Syrian NGO | 30 mins | N | Recording |
| J.03 | 18-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | M | Ref | None | 30 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.04 | 18-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 90 mins | N | Written notes |
| J.05 | 18-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 90 mins | N | Written notes |
| J.06 | 19-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 30 mins | Y | Written notes |
| J.07 | 19-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Aid | International NGO | 30 mins | N | Written notes |
| J.08 | 19-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Group | F | Ref | None | 60 mins | N | Recording |
| J.09 | 19-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Group | Both | Ref | None | 60 mins | N | Written notes |
| J.10 | 20-Aug-15 | Amman | Group | Both | Other | Security Organization | 120 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.11 | 20-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 30 mins | N | Recording |
| J.12 | 20-Aug-15 | Amman | Individual | F | Aid | Syrian NGO | 30 mins | N | Recording |
| J.13 | 23-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Aid | International NGO | 45 mins | Y | Mixed |
| J.14 | 23-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Group | F | Aid | International NGO | 60 mins | Y | Mixed |
| J.15 | 23-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Group | Both | Aid | International NGO | 100 mins | Y | Written notes |
| J.16 | 24-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Group | Both | Aid | International NGO | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.17 | 24-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Group | Both | Aid | International NGO | 45 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.18 | 24-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 30 mins | N | Debrief recording |
| J.19 | 24-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 60 mins | N | Mixed |
| J.20 | 25-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 120 mins | Y | Mixed |
| J.21 | 25-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Ref | None | 10 mins | Y | Debrief recording |
| J.22 | 25-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Ref | None | 60 mins | Y | Written notes |
| J.23 | 25-Aug-15 | Zaatari | Individual | M | Ref | None | 45 mins | Y | Written notes |
| J.24 | 8-Sep-15 | Amman | Individual | F | Aid | International NGO | 30 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.25 | 8-Sep-15 | Amman | Individual | M | Aid | International NGO | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.26 | 10-Sep-15 | Amman | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| J.27 | 24-Jan-16 | Amman | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 30 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.01 | 14-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 45 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.02 | 15-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 180 mins | N | Mixed |
| L.03 | 16-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Aid | Lebanese NGO | 30 mins | N | Recording |
| L.04 | 16-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Aid | Lebanese NGO | 30 mins | N | Recording |
| L.05 | 17-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 45 mins | N | Recording |
| L.06 | 21-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Other | University | 45 mins | N | Written notes |
| L.07 | 22-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Aid | Lebanese NGO | 30 mins | N | Recording |
| L.08 | 23-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | UN | UN Organization | 60 mins | N | Recording |
| L.09 | 23-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Aid | International NGO | 90 mins | N | Recording |
| L.10 | 27-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Aid | Syrian NGO | 45 mins | Y | Mixed |
| L.11 | 27-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | Newspaper | 90 mins | N | Debrief recording |
| L.12 | 28-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Other | University | 75 mins | N | Recording |
| L.13 | 28-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | UN | UN Organization | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.14 | 29-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 60 mins | N | Written notes |
| L.15 | 30-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Aid | International NGO | 90 mins | N | Recording |
| L.16 | 31-Jul-15 | Bekaa | Individual | M | Ref | None | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.17 | 31-Jul-15 | Bekaa | Individual | F | Ref | None | 30 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.18 | 31-Jul-15 | Bekaa | Individual | F | Ref | None | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.19 | 31-Jul-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Aid | Syrian NGO | 45 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.20 | 3-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 90 mins | N | Recording |
| L.21 | 3-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 105 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.22 | 4-Aug-15 | Bekaa | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 120 mins | Y | Written notes |
| L.23 | 4-Aug-15 | Bekaa | Individual | M | Ref | Lebanese NGO | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.24 | 4-Aug-15 | Bekaa | Individual | F | UN | UN Organization | 30 mins | Y | Written notes |
| L.25 | 10-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | None | 90 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.26 | 11-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Aid | UN Organization | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.27 | 11-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | Other | University | 30 mins | N | Written notes |
| L.28 | 12-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Ref | None | 120 mins | N | Debrief recording |
| L.29 | 18-Aug-15 | Beirut | Individual | F | UN | UN Organization | 80 mins | Y | Recording |
| L.30 | 15-Sep-15 | London | Individual | M | Other | Think Tank | 90 mins | N | Recording |
| L.31 | 24-Sep-15 | Beirut | Individual | M | Other | Human Rights Organization | 45 mins | Y | Recording |
| R.01 | 7-Jul-15 | Amman | Individual | F | UN | UN Organization | 60 mins | Y | Written notes |
| R.02 | 15-Jul-15 | Dubai | Individual | F | Aid | Syrian NGO | 30 mins | N | Written notes |
| T.01 | 5-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Other | Newspaper | 60 mins | N | Written notes |
| T.02 | 6-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Ref | International NGO | 60 mins | N | Recording |
| T.03 | 6-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| T.04 | 7-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | F | Aid | International NGO | 180 mins | N | Recalled |
| T.05 | 8-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Ref | International NGO | 180 mins | N | Recording |
| T.06 | 8-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Ref | Newspaper | 180 mins | N | Recording |
| T.07 | 9-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Aid | International NGO | 60 mins | N | Written notes |
| T.08 | 9-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Other | Newspaper | 120 mins | Y | Recording |
| T.09 | 9-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Other | None | 120 mins | N | Recording |
| T.10 | 10-Jun-15 | Kirikhan | Individual | M | Aid | Turkish NGO | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| T.11 | 11-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | F | Aid | International NGO | 90 mins | Y | Mixed |
| T.12 | 11-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Aid | International NGO | 60 mins | Y | Recording |
| T.13 | 11-Jun-15 | Narlica | Individual | M | Ref | None | 30 mins | Y | Debrief recording |
| T.14 | 11-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 60 mins | Y | Debrief recording |
| T.15 | 11-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | F | UN | UN Organization | 90 mins | Y | Mixed |
| T.16 | 11-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | F | Other | Think Tank | 90 mins | Y | Debrief recording |
| T.17 | 12-Jun-15 | Yayladagi | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 120 mins | Y | Debrief recording |
| T.18 | 12-Jun-15 | Antakya | Individual | M | Other | Church | 30 mins | Y | Debrief recording |
| T.19 | 12-Jun-15 | Narlica | Individual | M | Ref | Syrian NGO | 120 mins | Y | Recording |
| T.20 | 18-Jun-15 | Gaziantep | Individual | F | Aid | Turkish NGO | 30 mins | Y | Written notes |
| T.21 | 18-Jun-15 | Reyhanli | Individual | M | Aid | Turkish NGO | 60 mins | N | Recording |
| T.22 | 14-Jun-15 | Istanbul | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 30 mins | N | Written notes |
| T.23 | 15-Jun-15 | Kilis | Individual | M | Ref | None | 15 mins | N | Recalled |
| T.24 | 15-Jun-15 | Kilis | Individual | M | UN | UN Organization | 30 mins | N | Recalled |
| T.25 | 15-Jun-15 | Nizip | Individual | M | Ref | None | 30 mins | N | Recalled |
| T.26 | 15-Jun-15 | Ankara | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 30 mins | N | Recalled |
| T.27 | 14-Sep-15 | Ankara | Individual | M | Govt | Government Organization | 45 mins | Y | Recording |

**APPENDIX B**

**Qualitative Research Design and Data Collection Methods**

This study’s research design draws on two of the most well-established techniques in qualitative research: the comparative case study and process tracing. I select three cases, Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon, with broadly similar characteristics (i.e., states in the Middle East with similar income levels which hosted large numbers of Syrian refugees) but whose outcomes differ on the key variable of interest: refugee mobilization. I further control for potential confounding differences across cases by focusing on a similar unit of analysis within each site: the refugee camp. Because non-camp refugees in these sites have markedly different living conditions, social backgrounds, access to resources, and relationships to authorities than do camp-based refugees, the comparison is made “cleaner” by focusing on only those refugees in each site that live in camps. In Jordan I particularly focus on the Za’atari Camp, not only because it was by far the largest camp in the country, but also because it was the only case that could be coded positively on the key outcome of interest (refugee mobilization). In my alternative explanations section I do, however, note the differences between Za’atari and other Jordanian camps, where mobilization levels were low. In Turkey, I examine the 25 formal refugee camps established and run by the Turkish government, all of which exhibited the same negative coding of the outcome. And in Lebanon, where formal camps were illegal, the most comparable units for analysis were the informal tented settlements (ITS), which approximated camps in both physical characteristics and makeup. Here, too, the outcome of interest could almost universally be coded negatively across the sites (and where there is some variation, it largely supports the theory, as I mention in footnote 90).

I complemented the comparative method with process tracing within each case, in which I examine the mechanisms linking together each variable in the theory to the particular outcome in each case. I also use these causal process observations to adjudicate between my theory and other potential explanations, in the Alternative Explanations section of the essay. To develop these causal process observations I collected qualitative data of various types. First, I conducted interviews with refugees, aid providers, UN representatives, and government authorities in all three sites. Second, I analyzed UNHCR documents posted on the UNHCR Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, which is the document sharing platform that the UNHCR and its partners used in managing the crisis. These documents proved particularly valuable for studying the Za’atari Camp, which the UN began managing in March 2013. They included the meeting minutes from camp management meetings, planning documents, surveys, and reports, which collectively offered a rich overview of life in the camp from the perspective of the authorities governing it. Finally, I drew on an array of secondary sources, including: policy reports and research briefs from think tanks and universities, human rights reports, and surveys conducted by governments, think tanks, and NGOs.

By triangulating across these three types of data, I was able to develop a relatively complete picture of the processes at work in each site, and guarded against risks stemming from potential biases in any one particular source (for example, the UN reports on protests and street leaders in Za’atari almost uniformly discussed them in a negative light, e.g., as riots, thuggery, and mafia action). Wherever possible, I substantiate a claim or inference with multiple sources, ideally from different types of data sources (e.g., an interview and a security report). In some select instances, particularly when discussing specific events, this type of cross-validation was not possible and I rely on only one source to substantiate a claim. In those instances, which usually draw on my interview data, I am careful to consider the characteristics of the source in question – I only include the evidence when the source has no obvious reason to distort his or her account and, based on his or her position or experience, has strong credibility vis-à-vis the fact she or he is conveying. Indeed, I include information on my interviewees’ organizations in this appendix in order to demonstrate transparently where I have made these judgments (to the extent that I am able without violating the confidentiality and anonymity that I guaranteed to my interviewees).

The most important inference to “get right” in any comparative case design is the descriptive inference on the coding of the dependent variable in each case. In this study this meant ensuring that my codings of Za’atari as a case of high mobilization and the camps in Lebanon and Turkey as cases of low mobilization were accurate. I therefore ensured that I collected a broad array of evidence and data, across different types of sources, to support these inferences. In each case, the coding is substantiated by myriad interviews with different types of individuals and with third party reports. Indeed, in Za’atari it was not challenging to find many accounts of the protests and unrest in the camp. In Turkey and Lebanon, where protest was infrequent, reports and studies frequently noted that unrest in the camps was rare and that refugees, particularly in Lebanon, remained passive and quiescent. I also sought to confirm these patterns using quantitative data. The best data collected on refugee mobilization were held by UNHCR. While the UNHCR authorities in Za’atari were willing to share their data from the camp with me, unfortunately the authorities in Lebanon were not, despite numerous requests. Moreover, because UNHCR did not run the camps in Turkey, it collected no data on refugees in that case. I was therefore not able to compare quantitative protest data systematically across cases. However, to partly make up for this, I collected data on events in Lebanon using a different method: scraping open source Web content on news sites and social media. It was particularly important to cross-validate my findings with quantitative data in the Lebanon case, as the physical dispersion of refugees across sites could mean that protests were occurring but that my interviewees were unaware of them. Though these data cannot be compared directly with the UNHCR data from Za’atari, the low number of events identified using this method provide additional evidence for the lack of mobilization in Lebanese ITS. Indeed, when triangulated with the strikingly consistent responses across multiple interviewees (who worked in different positions and in varied locations around the country) and the finding across multiple unconnected NGO reports of refugee quiescence, I am able to make a relatively robust inference regarding the coding of the Lebanese case.

The interview data was collected during three months of field research in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan from June to September 2015. In total I interviewed 87 individuals, including 26 aid workers, 28 Syrians, 7 government representatives, 14 UN representatives, and 12 other experts, scholars, and researchers. In Turkey, I interviewed 27 people and focused my research on the border provinces of Hatay, Kilis, and Gaziantep. I also visited four refugee camps: the Kilis Container City in Kilis, the Nizip Container City and Nizip Tent City in Gaziantep, and the Yayladagi Tent City in Hatay. All four of these visits were brief and I was guided around by government authorities, limiting my ability to conduct interviews with camp residents (though I did conduct some). I therefore also spoke to officials who had worked in the camps, Syrians who had left the camps, and journalists who had covered the camps to round out my perspective. In Lebanon, I interviewed 31 people, and focused my research on the Beka’a Valley region. I conducted two field visits to the Beka’a, as well as a focused assessment of one of the largest camps in the Beka’a village of al-Marj, where two local NGOs that I knew were operating a school and community center. Finally, in Jordan, where I interviewed 27 people, I focused my research efforts on the Za’atari Camp. I spent four days in Za’atari (as well as several in Amman) interviewing camp residents and aid providers.

In all three sites, I relied on snowball sampling to identify my interviewees. Though snowballing is often the only way to identify respondents in sensitive contexts like refugee crises, there is always the possibility that such an approach will lead to a biased sample of interviewees, and therefore a skewed set of findings. I attempted to mitigate this concern by identifying multiple inroads into the communities in each of my sites, and so at any given time I might have been following three or four “snowballs” to identify additional interviewees. I also ensured a roughly comparable number of respondents in each of the primary categories mentioned above in all three sites. Another potential concern is that my Syrian respondents, who I mostly met through the NGOs that provided them with assistance and support, might have been wary to share information with me. I therefore found NGOs that had long-standing ties with communities and strong relationships of trust. In Lebanon, this often meant local Lebanese NGOs or Syrian volunteer groups; in Jordan it meant NGOs engaged in community mobilization efforts in Za’atari; and in Turkey it meant local human rights workers with ties to the Syrian communities. These interlocutors were crucial to allowing me to gain the trust necessary to elicit honest responses from my Syrian interlocutors.

Depending on the preferences of the interviewee, interviews were recorded with a recording device or with handwritten notes. In some cases, interviewees concerned with confidentiality preferred not to be recorded and not to have me take notes. In these cases, I often conducted a “debrief recording” shortly after the interview, during which I recorded myself describing the content of the interview and recounting key quotes. In some cases, when it was impossible to debrief in this way, I recalled the interview in note form shortly afterward. Some interviews were recorded in multiple formats, usually because an interviewee asked, halfway through an interview, for me to turn off the recorder. All Arabic and English interviews were conducted by me, and Turkish interviews were conducted with the help of a Turkish interpreter. In some cases interviews were with multiple individuals (i.e., a group of refugees), and these have been recorded as “group” interviews. Recorded interviews were transcribed by me and, when in a foreign language, translated by two research assistants.

**APPENDIX C**

**Contentious Events Involving Syrian Refugees in Lebanon (2014-2015)**

**Source: EQLIM**

The events collected below were scraped by the Lebanese data consultancy EQLIM from open source Web content (both news sites and social media posts) using keyword-based searches in English and Arabic. The period covers January 2014 to January 2017. All sources were individually verified by the author.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Date** | **Location** | **Event Type** | **External Link(s)** |
| March 25, 2014 | Tripoli | Self-immolation | http://www.facebook.com/291374804048\_10152720026949552  |
|  |  |  | http://www.facebook.com/216013721785128\_634379433281886  |
|   |   |   | http://sana.sy/eng/21/2014/03/26/535366.htm |
| May 18, 2014 | Zahle | Protest | http://www.twitter.com/LBCI\_News\_EN/status/467950093274865664 |
| May 30, 2014 | Tripoli | Protest | http://www.facebook.com/214836818613540\_588984411198777  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/BassamAbouZeid/status/472337328652812288  |
|   |   |   | http://www.twitter.com/Racha93halabi/status/472329273383329792 |
| May 31, 2014 | Aarsal | Protest | https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/archive/549447-syrian-refugees-in-arsal-protest-against-elections-of-death |
| June 1, 2014 | Khreibet Ej-Jindi | Protest | http://www.twitter.com/LBCI\_News\_EN/status/473143975583313923  |
|   |   |   | http://www.twitter.com/NewsLB/status/473131631008440320 |
| September 10, 2014 | Nabatiyya | Protest | http://www.twitter.com/Live961/status/509709644655505408  |
|   |   |   | http://www.twitter.com/Mulhak/status/509720449610022912 |
| September 26, 2014 | Aarsal | Protest | http://www.facebook.com/165780076805908\_834275136623062  |
| December 29, 2014 | Aarsal | Roadblock | https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/NewsReports/564137-army-hostages-fate-in-balance  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/LebFeed/status/515484715722096640  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/Live961/status/515477648848719872  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/Live961/status/515472622382243842  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/tayyar\_org/status/515476050785349632  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/tayyar\_org/status/515483436975656960  |
|   |   |   | http://www.twitter.com/tayyar\_org/status/515482179397500928 |
| January 15, 2015 | Laboue | Protest | http://www.aliwaa.com/Article.aspx?ArticleId=233310 |
| February 26, 2015 | Wadi Khaled | Protest | http://www.twitter.com/LBCI\_NEWS/status/570905091848298497  |
|   |   |   | http://www.twitter.com/NaharnetArabic/status/570905394253565952 |
| July 31, 2015 | Wadi Khaled | Protest | http://www.facebook.com/481563071955607\_742450849200160 |
| October 20, 2015 | Beirut | Protest | http://www.facebook.com/113359008741899\_932439303500528 |
| December 8, 2015 | Beit al-Housh | Protest | http://assafir.com/Article/8/460717 |
| January 8, 2016 | Mejdel-Ansar | Sit-in | http://dev.cskc.daleel-madani.org/sir/demonstrations-and-road-blocked-solidarity-madaya |
|   |   |   | http://www.alhayat.com/m/story/13313947#sthash.xaQ0RrU7.dpbs |
| March 24, 2016 | Abra | Sit-in | https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10209402983136402&set=o.420796315726&type=3&theater |
|  |  |  | http://www.dailystar.com.lb//News/Lebanon-News/2016/Mar-24/343926-syrians-call-on-un-chief-to-help-them-after-eviction-warning.ashx |
|   |   |   | http://www.saidaonline.com/news.php?go=fullnews&newsid=79023 |
| April 29, 2016 | Tripoli | Protest | http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Apr-29/349917-demonstration-in-solidarity-with-aleppo-in-northern-lebanon.ashx |
|  |  |  | http://nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/show-news/219889/  |
|   |   |   | http://mtv.com.lb/News/590877 |
| July 18, 2016 | Al-Taybat | Protest | http://dev.cskc.daleel-madani.org/sir/syrian-refugees%E2%80%99-demonstration-east-lebanon |
|   |   |   | http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2016/Jul-18/362650-syrian-refugees-in-east-lebanon-protest-living-conditions.ashx |
| July 26, 2017 | Deir al-Ahmar | Strike | http://al-manshour.org/node/7053 |
| December 13, 2016 | Al-Mehamra | Roadblock | http://www.dailystar.com.lb//News/Lebanon-News/2016/Dec-13/385235-akkar-youths-burn-tires-in-protest-over-aleppo.ashx  |
|  |  |  | http://www.twitter.com/DailyStarLeb/status/808748311335342080  |
|   |   |   | http://www.albawaba.com/news/protesters-lebanon-block-highway-%E2%80%98solidarity%E2%80%99-aleppo-915190 |