



# Cultures of Expertise Academics in exile and their role in the future of food security in Syria

Syrian Food Futures Policy Brief 2022

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# Executive Summary

The SyrianFoodFutures project aimed to establish a network of diverse expertise between Syrian, Turkish and UK researchers, practitioners and decision-makers, so that local, cultural and technical knowledge, and experience, can be incorporated into socio-economic development and reconstruction programmes. It is hoped this will ensure a successful transition away from humanitarian provision of short-term food supplies and agriculture inputs towards long-term contingency planning for food security and adequate nutrition.

Sustainable Development Goal attainment is severely compromised, not only in fragile and conflict-affected countries (FCAS) such as Syria, but also in lower- and middle-income countries (LMICs) that host their refugee populations, such as Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. Under conditions of protracted conflict, food production, availability, distribution and consumption are compromised, with attendant effects on food insecurity and malnutrition. There is also extensive loss of in-country human and intellectual capital, as academics are displaced from high-risk areas as a matter of safety and security.

Local knowledge, connection and expertise offered by Syrian academics in exile in the Levant is a major part of Syria's intellectual and cultural capital that has, so far, been largely ignored by the intelligence-gathering and analysis activities informing humanitarian responses to the crisis. Furthermore, certain cultures of expertise, such as the arts and humanities, are often de-prioritised by decision-makers and funding bodies in favour of investments in projects which improve physical capital (infrastructure, technology and agricultural inputs) and natural resources, to address immediate humanitarian food and health security needs. For example, displaced Syrian agricultural communities hold considerable knowledge about sustainable farming, but their oral and embodied traditions have been disrupted by conflict and flight, and are seldom recognised by development actors. As a result, relevant, context-specific intelligence and expertise may be neglected or excluded from intergovernmental organisation (IGO), non-governmental organisation (NGO) or government-led social and development programmes.

The consequences are that some interventions may not be compatible with consumption habits, local practices, or growing conditions. Agricultural inputs, such as new cultivars, may be supplied in advance of suitability testing and without knowledge of any long-term unintended consequences for local species.

This project aimed to strengthen partnerships between UK researchers at the Universities of Edinburgh, Kent and Aberdeen, and Syrian academics affiliated with Cara (Council for At-Risk Academics) Syria Programme participants who are living in Syria and in exile in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. It facilitated opportunities to build trusted relationships between scientists, academics and decision-makers to promote integration of cultural and technical knowledge, and expertise in international decision-making and strategy development efforts for the long-term future of Syria. We employed foresighting approaches (e.g., scenario planning) to create a platform for dialogue between diverse groups of stakeholders, in which we explored a number of plausible long-term futures for agriculture and food production in Syria. This allowed us to co-construct sustainable, locally informed strategies for research and education to meet future needs.

This approach was informed and grounded by foundation research led by Syrian academics (from the arts and humanities, and agriculture and food security networks within the Cara Syria Programme) to explore the history and impact of cultural and religious practice on agriculture and food production, preparation and consumption through different disciplinary lenses – including Syrian folklore and music. This was complemented by in-person and remote ethnographic research about the impact of the conflict on current food environments in Syria, Turkey, Jordan, Iraqi Kurdistan and Lebanon. The Syrian Humming Project sought to capture the accompanying emotional and psychological aspects of food (in)security through an interactive online soundscape, developed from a collection of hums and related ethnographic narratives from displaced Syrian communities, so that these collective memories will not be forgotten.

## 1. Importance

The SyrianFoodFutures project aimed to strengthen partnerships between researchers, practitioners and decision-makers in the UK, Syria and countries receiving academics in exile (primarily Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan) so that local cultural and technical expertise can be incorporated into future Syrian socio-economic development and reconstruction programmes. This will help to ensure a successful transition away from humanitarian provision of short-term food supplies and agriculture inputs towards long-term contingency planning for food security and adequate nutrition under conditions of protracted conflict.

Protracted political conflict creates conditions for severe and widespread food insecurity. The conflict in Syria has not ended and there is currently a wealth of local knowledge, connection and expertise offered by Syrian academics in exile (as well as displaced Syrian agricultural communities) and in Syria. This is a major part of Syria's intellectual and cultural capital that has been largely ignored by the intelligence-gathering and analysis activities informing humanitarian responses to the crisis. Improving local knowledge-sharing about the culture and history of agriculture, food access, production, preparation and food behaviours will improve the effectiveness of strategy development for future reconstruction of the agricultural sector and Syrian food systems, particularly if there are lessons to be learned from responses to previous food-system shocks, such as conflict and drought.

Certain cultures of expertise, such as the arts and humanities are sometimes deprioritised by decision-makers and

funding bodies in favour of investments in projects that improve physical capital (infrastructure, technology and agricultural inputs) and natural resources to address immediate humanitarian food and health security needs. Relevant context-specific and interdisciplinary sources of intelligence may be neglected or excluded from IGO-, NGO- or government-led social and development programmes. As a result, some interventions to address food security have not been compatible with consumption habits, local practices, or growing conditions in Syria. Some agricultural inputs, such as new cultivars have been supplied in advance of suitability testing and without knowledge of any long-term unintended consequences on local species.

The SyrianFoodFutures project, through the strengthening of partnerships between Edinburgh and Cara (Syria), and collaboration with local and international NGOs/IGOs, sought to use innovative, transdisciplinary foresighting approaches to explore the utility and role of different cultures of expertise in decision-making. The project combined knowledge and expertise from the arts and humanities (music, history, literature, anthropology), social sciences, food systems and agriculture (livestock and crop production) to answer questions about the future of food security. This is fundamental if we are to improve “understanding of linkages between cultural practices or resource use and socio-economic outcomes”<sup>1</sup> and increase awareness of the cultural norms and power asymmetries that exist and influence short- and long-term decision-making processes in fragile and conflict-affected states.

## 2. Research Activities

The SyrianFoodFutures project addressed the focal question: “What is the future of food security in Syria and what role do Syrian academics have in shaping this?” through the following five themes: 3.1. Collective memory; 3.2. Current food-security environment; 3.3. Food security and mental health; 3.4. Syrian Humming Project; 3.5. A future vision of agriculture for Syria.

### 2.1 Collective memory

Syrian academics led a series of foundation projects to document and explore the collective memories, vernacular, indigenous knowledge and histories of food access,

production, preparation and consumption, through interviews and interactive workshops. These included:

- a) The impact of modernisation on women's roles and identities in food production, preparation and consumption.
- b) The history of food insecurity in Syria through the lens of Syrian literature, folklore and living memory; and lessons learned from previous system “shocks” such as drought and war.
- c) The impact of religious practice on the emergence of different types of food production pre- and post-conflict, with a focus on honey, olives and wheat.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson et al. (2018). Why culture matters for planetary health. The Lancet Planetary Health 2 PE-467-E468.



## Key messages

- Food culture plays a crucial role in community cohesion, psychological wellbeing and placemaking among displaced Syrian women.
- Historical accounts of food insecurity in Syria and the Levant from the late Mamluk era to 2011 highlight recurring patterns of interaction between environmental and human factors. Older Syrians have experienced more than one food crisis in recent history (1980s crisis, the 1973 war with Israel and the period of unity with Egypt between 1958 and 1961), although the current consensus is that the present crisis is the worst. As such, food insecurity is a prominent theme in Syrians' collective memory and is not limited to the consequences of the current crisis.
- Food aid provided by humanitarian agencies in Northern Syria is crucial to alleviating the impacts of the current crisis, but not enough aid is available and what does arrive is often unfairly distributed and can be spoiled or poor quality.
- Women's roles in food acquisition, production and consumption have changed significantly during and after displacement. This is sometimes empowering, but also destabilising. Traditional food knowledge is an important asset for Syrian women in all stages of displacement.
- Olives, honey and wheat are considered by Syrians in this study to be blessed due to scriptural references and widely believed to have spiritual and medicinal, as well as nutritional, benefits. There is limited research on whether such beliefs are scientifically supported, and whether these benefits outweigh challenges associated with agricultural production for these reasons, under current conditions.

This work was complemented by an ethnographic exploration of the current food-insecurity situation in Syria, coupled with a series of participatory artistic interventions (Syrian Humming Project). The latter aimed to stimulate debate and further insight on the social, historical, ethical and cultural impacts of food system shocks and resultant acute and chronic food insecurity.

## 2.2 Current Food Security Environment

In-person and remote ethnographic fieldwork was conducted to identify knowledge gaps and gather information from Syrian academics and their extended networks (both in and out of Syria) about local agriculture and food environments pre- and post-conflict, including consideration of emotional, cultural, financial and logistical drivers for food behaviours. This work included an exploration of the current relationship between Syrian academics, NGOs and IGOs involved in strategic planning for agriculture and food security and mapping with key informants to understand how social constructs reinforce or weaken support for selected strategies.

### Key messages

- It is important to acknowledge that working and living conditions for displaced Syrians greatly differ across

countries and regions in the Middle East, and types and seasons of agricultural production.

- Across the Middle East, our interlocutors live in big cities like Irbid (Jordan), Gaziantep (Turkey) and Erbil (Iraqi Kurdistan) in villages and small towns along Syria's borders, and in internally displaced person (IDP) camps in Northern Syria, and formal and informal refugee camps in Lebanon and Iraqi Kurdistan. What all have in common is that they originally come from rural areas, and most of them still work in agriculture or food production, even when they now live in urban centres. In many cases, this income complements additional sources of revenue, including other work in the informal economy and humanitarian assistance.
- While many displaced people find agricultural jobs through intermediaries, others liaise directly with employers. Refugees' legal status and access to humanitarian assistance also differs across host countries. In the allied *Refugee Labour under Lockdown* project, for example, 100% of interviewees in Lebanon and Jordan, but only 32% of interviewees in Turkey were registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This is unsurprising as the Directorate General of Migration Management of the Turkish Government, rather than UNHCR, is responsible for registering individuals under temporary protection in Turkey. Similarly, 100% of Syrian respondents in Turkey were registered with the local authorities.
- Overall, 42% of Syrian workers outside Syria reported having a valid permit to work in agriculture, with 65% in Jordan, 50% in Lebanon, and 11% in Turkey. However, according to agricultural intermediaries, refugees' possession of work permits was much lower.
- Taken together with limited sample sizes and convenience sampling through our existing networks, these important intraregional differences between Syrian communities mean that our ethnographic findings are hardly representative of all displaced Syrians working in Middle-East agriculture, let alone all Syrian refugees in the Middle East. However, they do paint a picture of wider trends in precarious refugee employment in increasingly globalised agriculture before and during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### Next steps

Drawing on our findings so far, we suggest three types of future research.

1. Retrace agricultural supply chains to understand the pressures that global companies exert on those at the beginning of global supply chains – it will be important to extend our fieldwork to “upstream” actors. Beyond agricultural intermediaries and employers, future research should include national and international retailers. Retracing agricultural supply chains will help de-exceptionalise the study of precarious refugee labour, which is subject to similar market dynamics as those of irregular migrant workers around the globe.

2. Explore intangible cultural heritage associated with food security. Our in-person and remote ethnographic research indicates that displaced Syrians hold on to their intangible cultural heritage, notably through harvesting songs and traditional ways of food production. However, in exile, there is also a growing rift between older and younger generations of Syrian farmers; displacement has torn apart not only tightknit agricultural communities, but also traditional forms of oral knowledge. In the allied Arts and Humanities Research Council- (AHRC) funded *FIELD SONGS* project, we partnered with the Syrian NGO, Douzan Art & Culture, to organise a series of joint workshops with Syrian farmworkers and Syrian musicians in Gaziantep, southern Turkey, to produce a digital archive of Syrian harvesting songs and to initiate conversations on cultural heritage between older and younger refugees.
3. Understand generational dynamics of refugee labour. Syrian women and children may experience precarious agricultural labour differently, and it is vital to understand better their paid and unpaid contributions to refugee households, and the specific risks that they face at agricultural work sites. In the *Refugee Labour under Lockdown* project, we did not find that female and child labour had increased in our sample during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, this indicates that in many poor households, women and children who were fit to work had already been toiling, at least occasionally, in agriculture before 2020. We need more research on the generational dynamics of refugee labour to explore how hostile asylum policies, and the absence of educational opportunities and alternative livelihoods, produce the next generation of refugee workers.

## 2.3 Food Security and Mental Health

Mainstreaming mental health is a critical element of any humanitarian response. However, the application of inappropriate, externally driven frameworks may be impeding progress and may lead to a lack of conceptual clarity around mental health and psychosocial programming.<sup>2</sup>

### Key messages

- Syrians displayed a number of coping strategies to maintain their food intake. This included borrowing, relying on others, buying on credit, choosing less expensive foods, limiting portions and reducing meals (or going without food altogether).
- Of those Syrians surveyed, those with greater food security, were likely to be experiencing higher levels of mental well-being. Positive psychological wellbeing of individuals facing humanitarian crisis is required for robust food security.
- Public health restrictions increased domestic demands and the economic pressures on households.
- Women were experiencing disproportionate burdens with respect to domestic chores and food production.
- Funding appeals will need to increase to meet growing needs. For instance, there may be benefits of prolonged

multipurpose cash assistance in reducing food insecurity and improving mental health. This points towards the need to explore the possibilities of “Cash Plus” programmes that provide linked mental health and psychosocial services.

## 2.4 The Syrian Humming Project

Hums are never just about songs. They are more about individual stories, memories and feelings. Syrian hums were collected through a crowd-sourcing method in collaboration with research colleagues, partners, and volunteers who were in Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, and Scotland. When we asked displaced Syrian families to share their hums of songs and tunes about food and meals, their hums were more than about food. They were for people with whom they shared meals. Crowd-sourcing resulted in over 120 hums and songs through which the memories and experiences of Syrian people on food, and in a broader sense, on their country, people, their hopes and dreams. Our spin-off project, *From the Field* also helped us collect the intimate soundscapes of the places and spaces of individuals and their families through their video diaries on food security under the pandemic and the consequent restrictions were celebrated.

### Key messages

- The crowd-sourcing method resulted in over 120 hums and songs through which the memories and experiences of Syrian people on food and in a broader sense, on their country, people, their hopes and dreams.
- The *From the Field* project helped us collect the intimate soundscapes of the places and spaces of individuals and their families through their video diaries on food security under the pandemic and the consequent restrictions.
- This project collated rich source materials (hums and soundscapes) to create the online exhibition: Syrian Humming Project (<http://syrianhummingproject.com>).
- The project consists of ten humming compositions based on the collected hums and soundscapes, quotes from the stories and images of food being prepared and shared by those who participated in *From the Field*.
- The current online exhibition, which launched in December 2020, is its first version.

### Next steps

In partnership with arthereistanbul artistic director Omar Berakdar (<https://www.arthereistanbul.com/>), we have asked Syrian visual and sound artists who are dispersed in Turkey and other parts of Europe to respond to this online exhibition with their own art work. By 1 August 2021, seven responses

2 Miller, K. E., Jordans, M., Tol, W. A., & Galappatti, A. (2021). A call for greater conceptual clarity in the field of mental health and psychosocial support in humanitarian settings. *Epidemiology and psychiatric sciences*, 30, e5. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S2045796020001110>. Research methodologies which do not integrate bottom-up processes, emphasising local expertise are arguably undermining efforts to respond to the needs of displaced Syrians.

were selected (four sound compositions, two audio-visual compositions, and one collection of hums from an art centre in Turkey), which have been used to develop this second version of the Syrian Humming Project, which was launched in October 2021.

## 2.5 Future Food Security in Syria

The aim of this component of the project was to develop relationships, strengthen partnerships and facilitate a platform for dialogue between academics, decision-makers, practitioners and lay people in order to integrate local knowledge, and cultural and scientific expertise to improve decision-making and strategy development for long-term and highly uncertain futures.

Participatory scenario-planning methodologies were employed to combine knowledge and create a variety of “what if” scenarios to explore uncertainties associated with these long-term drivers of change. This transdisciplinary approach brings together diverse groups of participants with different interests/beliefs to engage in qualitative structured long-term strategic thinking about the future. It includes the systematic examination of the history and current trends and developments that are played out in plausible ways that allows participants to challenge their own commonly held beliefs and identify potential blind-spots in thinking, which may be otherwise ignored by decision-makers.

Boden and colleagues were amongst the first to apply this methodology to explore the long-term future resilience and sustainability of livestock systems and agriculture in the UK.<sup>3</sup> In this project, we applied this approach to explore the future of Syrian food security and build strategic partnerships between stakeholders in Syria and Scotland to identify influential industry drivers, explore future scenarios and develop robust contingency plans.

UK experts in scenario planning and agriculture trained Syrian and Turkish partners in participatory futures techniques such as horizon scanning and scenario planning to map drivers of change, explore long-term futures and co-create strategies to consider a broad range of options to improve both the short- and long-term resilience of food security in Syria. The aim is not to “predict the future” but rather to create opportunities for stakeholder-led dialogue about potential constraints and benefits, and to evaluate whether proposed policy and investment decisions are likely to be robust in the context of evolving uncertainties. This allowed stakeholders to share their views on how the future agriculture sector in Syria, and in their host country, might develop in a sustainable and robust manner, not driven by excessive optimism or pessimism, and to make policy makers aware of potential side effects of decisions to mitigate these.

## Key messages

- Relevant, context-specific and interdisciplinary sources of intelligence may be neglected or excluded from intergovernmental, third sector and local initiatives, NGO- or government-led social and development programmes.
- The aim of this work is to highlight the potential role and contributions of Syrian academics, and to facilitate a platform for dialogue between academics and practitioners in order to integrate local knowledge with cultural and scientific expertise to improve strategy development and prioritisation for long-term planning.
- The emphasis of that dialogue is not to “predict the future” but to create opportunities to discuss potential constraints and benefits, and to evaluate whether proposed policy and investment decisions are likely to be robust in the context of evolving uncertainties. As one participant highlighted, “It’s difficult to make plans even for six months in Syria.”
- In this workshop, participants employed such a framework to explore uncertainties associated with long-term drivers of change according to three axes: displacement, natural resource management and agricultural policy, in order to articulate vision for the future of food security over the next five years.
- Participants stressed the importance of harmonising and centralising data curation, management and information sharing to ensure a coordinated approach in the region.
- Participants devised a set of affordable, accessible and acceptable locally led interventions to improve agriculture and food security from production to consumption. In summary these included:
  - Community-based actions, which should be incentivised and integrated into sustainable institutional arrangements capable of countering displacement and low connectivity.
  - Technological change, which improves natural resource management when supported by an institutional framework structured around transnational and local efforts (e.g., networks of agricultural knowledge).
  - Improved links between food security, agricultural production, and international markets, which should be explored at the intersection of a conflict-driven institutional landscape, the economic determination of long-term contingency planning, and the impacts of chronic global emergencies (e.g., the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change).
- The connectivity and resilience of Syrian food systems were addressed in terms of the constitution of sites of local knowledge-sharing about the culture and history of agriculture, food access, production, preparation and food behaviours. These networks of agricultural knowledge form

the basis for the reconstruction of the agricultural sector, by counteracting conflict- and economic-driven de-territorialisation.

- The scenario-planning workshop was a unique opportunity to facilitate dialogue between academics, researchers, practitioners and decisionmakers with multi-disciplinary expertise working towards food and health security in Syria. It prompted the development of strategic guidelines for a situated re-imagining of Syrian food futures, by questioning the legitimacy and relevance of the scenario-planning rationale itself, relative to the specificity of the Syrian context.

## Next steps

1. Understand and trace the tensions between emerging paradigms of global public policy (state dynamics) prompted by the COVID-19 and climate change emergencies, and collective actions occurring at the community level, linking knowledge networks into a pathway of food security (One Health) innovations.

# 3. Discussion and Conclusions

Stories of the Syrian conflict and its impact on food culture have been documented through narratives (e.g., the telling of stories, allowing stories to be heard, etc.). However, certain memories and experiences may be excluded, rendering important emotional and psychological dimensions or responses invisible to planners and decision-makers.

In this project, we have attempted to create a local, culturally appropriate and scientifically robust evidence-base to underpin decisions about food-security interventions and social development programmes that combine lessons learned from traditional and historical approaches with new technologies and expertise, to inform best-practice guidelines for agriculture in Syria. Concurrently, we explored existing knowledge gaps, using the literature, interviews and focus groups to understand differences between cultural needs/ rights and scientific inputs necessary for decision-making.

Through facilitated discussion and a series of structured processes, all partners, despite power asymmetries, had an opportunity to participate and make an equitable contribution to dialogue that would otherwise traditionally be restricted to scientists and government civil servants. Scenario planning and other related activities conducted within this project facilitated the creation of a new knowledge network and empowered individuals to take responsibility for interest in these issues. Data derived from scenario planning (i.e., priority risks to health/welfare, industry drivers of change, scenario narratives and stakeholder impact assessments) was used for strategic planning and delivery of a stakeholder-led foresight report on Syrian views of the future of food security in Syria, which identified and prioritised strategic interventions, education, training and research activities.

2. Re-imagine an agriculture network pathway:

- a) Recognise the gendered nature of knowledge production/creation/transfer and of the appeal to agricultural innovations.
- b) Horizontally connect local, transnational (displaced Syrians) and external (non-Syrian) expertise.
- c) Vertically connect academic knowledge and local lore.
- d) Refound Syrian higher education around principles of knowledge co-creation and the critical assessment of international guidelines (exigencies) on food security innovations.
- e) Co-construct a One Health framework for the Syrian specificity as a means to scaffolding Syrian higher education.

3. Determine the reach and impact of the resulting networks of (gender-critical) agricultural knowledge into various instances of institutional decision-making.

A unique feature of this project was the complementary participatory artistic interventions (which included collecting music and hums of tunes related to food production and consumption) to stimulate debate and further insight about social, historical, ethical and cultural impacts of food system shocks and resultant acute and chronic food insecurity. This element of the project will inform current and future individual and collective mechanisms for various healing processes and the different dimensions of the impact of the conflict on food security, which is being shared within families, schools and communities in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan.

The ultimate impacts of this project were to:

1. Capture individual and group-level data and knowledge about practical, cultural and emotional impacts of the conflict on food access, production and preparation.
2. Build local interdisciplinary research capacity and expertise in qualitative and quantitative techniques, including foresighting and strategic planning.
3. Bring together (online) a geographically dispersed Syrian academic community (located in Syria, Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan) in an effort to connect them with transboundary public/private organisations involved in food security so that local cultural and technical expertise is included in future strategic planning efforts for Syria.
4. Establish longer term UK-Syria-Turkey research networks so that Syrian academics in exile can horizon-scan, mobilise resources and research partnerships to respond to future funding opportunities.

3 Boden L.A. et al. (2017) Animal health surveillance in Scotland in 2030: Using scenario planning to develop strategies in the context of “Brexit”. *Frontiers in Veterinary Science*, vol 4, no. NOV, 201;

Boden, LA et al. (2015) Scenario planning: the future of the cattle & sheep industries in Scotland & their resiliency to disease. *Preventive Veterinary Medicine*, 121(3-4), pp. 353–364.



## 4. Recommendations

The long-term legacy of the project lies in the scalability of its outcomes. Creating sustainable communication pathways at the science-policy-industry interface, complemented by capacity building in knowledge-brokering and foresighting expertise, means that as this network grows in the future, members can apply these approaches themselves and train others to use them to address food security or other long-term strategic questions. Immediate benefits include:

1. Access to a network of diverse UK- Syrian-Turkish expertise that can sustainably connect with decision-makers in local and international NGOs to identify priorities in research, training and education, provide a robust evidence-base and to inform and improve delivery of locally compatible food-security interventions and direct future research funding agendas.
2. Access to foresight training to create a “futures toolkit” for Syrian academics to use in other contexts, and

prioritisation of the critical drivers for the future of Syrian agriculture (specifically crop and livestock production).

3. Support-provision for science policy communication and knowledge exchange. This will include delivery of a stakeholder-led foresight report on the future of food security in Syria which will identify what strategies are needed, by whom they will be implemented and how they will perform against a range of future conditions.
4. Widening participation to Syrian non-academics through public engagement activities (e.g., Syrian Humming Project with the arthere space in Istanbul).
5. Identification and co-construction with the Cara Syria Programme and other relevant NGOs, of education, training and future research priorities for implementation in future phases of the project (subject to funding opportunities).

## Appendix.

### Publications

Boden L.A., Wagner (now Zuntz) A., Abdullateef S., Al Kaddour A. (2020). *Community-led responses to COVID-19 are a matter of urgency in Syria. (NA). COVID-19 Perspectives.*

Burke J., Abdullateef S., Boden L.A., Calia C. (2020). *Food security and mental health under the Covid-19 syndemic. (NA). HPN: NA.*

Burke J., Abdullateef S., Boden L.A., Calia C. (2020). *Food Security and Mental Health Under the Covid-19 Syndemic. Humanitarian Practice Network. Online <https://odihpn.org/blog/food-security-and-mental-health-under-the-covid-19-syndemic/> Talks.*

Klema M. (2020). *A Crisis within a Crisis: Investigating the Economic Domino Effects of COVID-19 on the Food Security of Displaced Syrians.*

Wagner (now Zuntz) A., Al Kaddour A., Abdullateef S., Boden L.A. (2020). *Covid-19 and displaced Syrians' livelihoods along the Turkey-Syria border. (NA). Corona Times: NA.*

Wagner (now Zuntz), A., Abdullateef S., Boden L.A. (2020). *COVID-19 may not have reached Syrian communities in the Middle East, but its domino effects have. Routed Magazine.*

Zuntz A., Klema M., Abdullateef S., Mazeri S., Alnabolsi S., Alfadel A., ... Boden L. (2021). Syrian refugee labour and food insecurity in Middle Eastern agriculture during the early COVID-19 pandemic. *International Labour Review*, doi: 10.1111/ilr.12348

Zuntz A., Klema M., Boden L., Sefa Akay S., Akbulut B., Karabiyik E., ... Faisal Alnabolsi S. (2021). *Precarious Labour under Lockdown. Impacts of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Displaced Syrian Agricultural Workers in the Middle East. Situation Analysis Report (Ankara: One Health FIELD Network, Development Workshop and Syrian Academic Expertise, 2021).*

Zuntz A., Klema M. (2021). *The pandemic through the eyes of Syrian agricultural workers in Lebanon. COVID-19 Perspectives, 12 April.*

Zuntz, Ann-Christin, Klema, Mackenzie, Abdullateef, Shafer, Almashhor, Esraa, Alnabolsi, Salim Faisal, Akay, Sinem Sefa, Akbulut, Bürge, Ayaes, Selin, Karabiyik, Ertan, and Lisa Boden (2022). “Syrians’ only option – Rethinking unfree labour through the study of displaced agricultural workers in the Middle East.” *Journal of Modern Slavery* 7(2): 10-32.