

Education Resilience Approaches (ERA) Program

A complement to the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER)

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RES-Research
Resilience in Education Systems
Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

The Resilience of Syrian Refugee Children in Lebanon: What do they need to acquire quality education?



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**Research conducted at
Jusoor Non-Formal Education Centre - Beirut, Lebanon**



The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the Education Resilience Approaches program team, the World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the executive directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

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About the RES-Research Studies Series

Development practitioners in fragile and conflict-affected contexts are demanding better support for research, evaluation and assessments: this can range from conducting an exploratory needs assessment for an emergency intervention, monitoring and evaluating ongoing project impact, or building the evidence base to design a reconstruction or post-conflict program. In contexts of overwhelming adversity it is crucial not only to get reliable and valid data but to also ensure that we are going about this data collection in the right way. Doing research “right” in these contexts requires asking the right questions, talking to the relevant participants and stakeholders, using the most pertinent methods, and paying particular attention to ethics and power differentials.

To address these concerns, the ERA Program developed the Resilience in Education Settings (RES)-Research training module. The training is specifically targeted for researchers

As with all SABER tools, the RES-Research training module is openly available for education practitioners within the World Bank, as well as other agencies. The module consists of a research manual and handouts, power point presentations and additional guidance materials.

If you are interested in using this tool please contact the ERA team for the appropriate resources: educationresilience@worldbank.org

living in context of conflict, violence and other adversities. It brings together resilience theory and a transformative research paradigm. Resilience theory seeks to understand the process by which individuals, communities and organizations recover from crisis, continue to perform in the midst of adversities and even radically change to prevent future risk exposure and continue their development process (Reyes 2013). The transformative research paradigm provides methodological guidance to conduct studies with vulnerable populations, while recognizing both their exposure to overwhelming threats but also their assets such as strengths, opportunities and available services (Mertens 2009).

Through a nine-month training program, RES-Research builds on the capacities of academics and education practitioners in fragile, conflict and violence-affected contexts to undertake locally relevant and rigorous education resilience research. First piloted in Central America, the training program was improved and recently implemented in the South Asia region as part of a multi-donor trust fund for the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) initiative supported by DfID-UKAID, DFAT-Australian AID and the World Bank.

This study is the product of one of the researchers who attended the nine-month RES- Research training. It provides valuable contributions to our on-going understanding of resilience in education settings in difficult context.

Executive Summary

Since the beginning of the turmoil in Syria, more than one million Syrians have been forced to leave their country and find refuge in Lebanon, a small neighbouring country with limited resources and its own political, social and economic challenges. This report presents the findings of a pilot study that follows the Education Resilience Approaches (ERA) framework (Reyes 2013). The purpose of the research is to discover the different risks, assets, and processes that influence the learning achievement of Syrian refugee children trying to access education services in Lebanon. The main research was conducted at Jusoor's¹ non-formal education centre in Beirut.

The difficulties that confront Syrian children in the Lebanese educational system are not simply due to the difference in languages of instruction as it seems to be at a first glance. Although the language barrier is clearly recognized by all the stakeholders, this study reveals how many children could overcome this barrier through traditional and simple means such as extracurricular language instruction and proper support.

In addition, there are difficulties that have more structural reasons related to deeply entrenched characteristics of the Syrian society, and such difficulties are usually not taken into account in traditional refugee education programs.

For instance, this study indicates that Syrian parents from originally lower socio-economic classes have less access to provide means of support to their children. Their children seem to have experienced more violence (due to the war in Syria or potentially violence in their own families), and are more sensitive to discrimination. These combined risks make these children less resilient and push them to drop out of school. In such cases, offering language instruction adapted to the Syrian students' needs is not enough to retain these children at school. An awareness and support program that involves the parents might have more positive impact on children's retention.

This study also reveals that the feelings of discrimination and exclusion felt by Lebanese peers are often the result of individual and communal apprehension and not necessarily the result of real incidents (except minor ones). This indicates that programs involving both Syrian and Lebanese peers could work well and might help the Syrian children to adapt at school and give a good feeling of responsibility and inclusion to their Lebanese peers. This is especially true as the Lebanese children who go to public schools come also from the most vulnerable socio-economic classes in the Lebanese society and they share many of the same risks as their Syrian peers.

On the other hand, Syrian adults and children relate cases of mistreatment and discrimination from school staff and teachers. This also reveals the lack of proper training as most studies indicate that most of the Lebanese teachers and staff have not received any special training to deal with the massive arrival in their schools of Syrian children with special educational and psychological needs. In fact, the Lebanese educational system needed restructuring (Lebanon, Ministry of Education and Higher Education 2010) even before the spill over of the Syrian crisis. The massive arrival of refugees resulted in an upheaval that the educational system does not have the inner resources to absorb properly.

¹ Jusoor is an NGO established by the Syrian diaspora in 2012. Jusoor runs among other activities oriented toward the Syrian youth, an aspiring refugee education program (Jusoor 2014).

According to the education resilience framework (Reyes 2013), the study is not limited to a risk assessment. I try to understand the reasons behind each risk and the relationships between different risks. I also try to discover related assets of these children and the social ecology around them. The main assets that educational programs can build upon lie in the support that the Syrian diaspora provides to children in Syrian-run non-formal education centers. Besides education, Syrian volunteers in these centers offer refugee children much needed affection and psycho-social support in addition to limited financial support in some cases. At present, the Lebanese public education system does not make any space for Syrian educator to participate in the education of Syrian refugee children. The study indicates that the intervention of the Syrian diaspora will have positive impact on the children as Syrian teachers could provide them with emotional support and they are more able to define their educational needs.

Hopefully, this study offers a better understanding of risks and assets to inform future educational programs and to better help Syrian children acquire quality education while they are living the difficult experience of being refugees.



I. Introduction

Syrian refugee children who had the chance to access education in Lebanon have faced many difficulties that pushed many of them to abandon school. This research, conducted at Jusoor's non-formal education centre in Beirut, follows the **Education Resilience Approaches (ERA)** framework (Reyes 2013), and tries to discover and understand the different factors that influence the achievement of Syrian refugee children enrolled in Lebanese schools.

The main purpose of resilience research is usually to explore the processes and assets that help people in acute adversity to better cope and overcome the effects of crisis. **Resilience** was initially defined by many researchers as the set of "individual" qualities that foster a process of successful adaptation and transformation despite risk and adversity (Benard 1995). Later, researchers proved that resilience is not only an individual process or set of characteristics, and that it is very influenced by the social ecology surrounding the individuals (Ungar 2011).

This pilot study confirms once again the **impact of the social ecology on the education resilience of the children**, as it sheds a light on the unfortunate limitations of the original socio-economical background of the family on the refugee children's coping processes at the Lebanese school.

On the other hand, experts inform that offering adequate help and resources makes the children more resilient (Zimmerman, et al. 2013). Hence, it is essential to specify the adequate processes and resources that Syrian children and their families need to acquire a quality education while they are living in acute adversity as refugees in many neighbouring countries.

The work is also based on a principle of the **transformative paradigm** (Mertens 2010) that states that before any attempts are made to change a situation, it is important to first understand it and understand the reasons underlying its existence. In addition, the researcher must not assume any version of reality, instead he has to discover and understand the real version adopted by the population in need of help. Furthermore, the transformative paradigm facilitates the application of the research findings to the design of future programs in order to better serve the targeted population.

It should be noted that this research is only a pilot study limited to **qualitative research** according to the ERA framework. Nevertheless, the research helps reveal the complexity of the situation, and detects some hidden structural risks that have the greatest influence on the achievement of the children.

The report is intentionally a mix of description of the formal methodology and a narrative of the experience and the findings of the specific study. As the human context is very meaningful to the researcher, Jusoor's team and volunteers, it is desirable that the report be of help to other local researchers applying the ERA framework in future related studies.

The following subsection presents a limited perspective of the context of adversity that Syrian refugee children are facing in Lebanon. The children are facing many risks and difficulties, but this pilot study is limited to the risks hindering their education. The presentation of the context of adversity is followed by a brief presentation of the methodology. Chapter 3 presents the study design details according to the ERA framework, then, Chapter 4 is dedicated to a conceptual

framework that summarizes the findings, followed by more detailed analysis of the most striking findings supported by stories and narratives. The analysis is followed by a proposal of possible direct actions on the ground and recommendations for institutional and policy level interventions. The conclusion contains reflections on this pilot study and recommendations to complement it with further study using a quantitative research plan inspired by its main findings.

I.I Limitations of the study

It should be noted that this study is only a pilot and it does not have an exhaustive research cycle nor scope. Notably:

- I depart from a conviction of the right of education to all, but I don't discuss whether the integration of Syrian children in the Lebanese schools is the best solution or not.
- The study focuses on children who have access to schooling opportunities. It does not address the factors that prevent the majority of Syrian children from accessing education.²
- The study is only qualitatively based on one case study through focus groups and interviews.
- No focus group with Syrian parents was run.
- The social ecology circles that are considered in the study are solely those that have direct contact with the children: the family, the community, and the school. The impact of high-level policies is not discussed.
- The study revealed mostly risks as the situation of Syrian refugees in the region is one of acute adversity and instability. According to the resilience framework, assets must exist, hence, a subsequent study should be dedicated to better analyse the assets that mainly exist in refugee relief structures run by the Syrian diaspora.
- More globally, a quantitative phase should be conducted in order to confirm and evaluate in a larger community the extent of the findings of the present study. A plan for this quantitative phase is suggested here for further research.

I.II Context of adversity and desirable outcomes

Since April 2014, the number of registered Syrian refugees in Lebanon has surpassed one million refugees. However, the real number of refugees is even higher as not all Syrians living in Lebanon are registered as refugees and as the flow of people fleeing Syria to Lebanon continues. This means that refugees represent more than 25 per cent of the Lebanese population (UNHCR-UK 2014). More than half of these refugees are children, and about 400,000 are of school age.

In addition to the obvious lack of access to education services due to the huge number of potential students,³ Syrian children who had the chance to go to school have confronted a language barrier,

² A recent study reveals great differences in life conditions among Syrian refugees depending on the geographic regions (Van Vliet and Hourani 2014). These differences logically apply to the children's access to education.

³ The number of Lebanese students is estimated to be one million students, 70 percent of which are schooled in private

as the Lebanese curriculum is developed in English or in French and Arabic takes a limited place. On the contrary, foreign languages in Syria were historically not adequately supported. Language instruction in Syrian public schools remains limited and lacks the appropriate practice.⁴

Although Lebanon is a neighbouring country that shares a common history, cultural heritage and language with Syria, the people in the two countries evolved differently over the last seventy years. The differences are due to difficult economic and political circumstances that are out of the scope of this study, but it matters to know that Syrian people tend to live in a closed environment where the most influential social unit is limited to the family, especially in lower socio-economic communities. Even in big cities, people prefer to socialize in small homogeneous communities who share ethnic, religious, or regional characteristics.

On the other hand, Lebanese people live in an open and more heterogeneous environment. An important part of the population lived abroad for several years, mainly during the Lebanese civil war.

Another critical difference is that Syrian people were used to relying on public services, mainly in education, health and infrastructure, although there were large discrepancies between rural and city areas. In the case of Lebanon, since the Lebanese civil war people have learned to cope individually even for basic needs as electricity and water.

These social differences are translated into big differences between the educational systems in both countries, and mainly in the expectations parents have of the education system. Lebanese parents mostly trust private schools and are struggling individually to plan and finance the education for their children. On the contrary, Syrian parents were used to benefitting from free public education services that were mostly available to everyone. As a counterpart, education quality issues were not really a concern in Syria and there was limited involvement of parents from lower socio-economic levels in the education of their children.

This study reveals that the differences between the two societies make it difficult for the Syrian refugees and their children to adapt to the new (and unexpectedly different) environment.⁵ They also represent a risk for the education of Syrian children from lower socio-economic communities as they face many difficulties in understanding how the Lebanese education system functions.

This hidden risk is in addition to the other known risks that face any population fleeing civil war, such as trauma, lack of resources, instability, etc. These risks also hinder the access of Syrian children to education. In addition, the Lebanese public education system that is supposed to host these children already suffers from many long-dated difficulties as it nearly collapsed during the Lebanese civil war (Zakharia 2004). The Lebanese public education system lacks resources and demand from Lebanese parents as it is surpassed by the private system that absorbs about 70 percent of the students in the country (Le Commerce du Levant 2013).

schools (Le Commerce du Levant 2013).

4 A young boy during an interview for this study stated: "In Syria, even English was taught in Arabic".

5 This shock due to a transition from a closed to an open environment could not be an issue in the rural regions of Lebanon. This pilot study was conducted in Beirut and its suburbs and this specific issue was revealed through the discussion with Lebanese teachers in contact with Syrian students.

Despite the difficulties facing the Lebanese public education system, the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE), with the support of the UNHCR, allowed for the enrolment of close to 90,000 refugee children in public schools (UNHCR 2014) during the 2013/14 school year. More than 30,000 of these children were enrolled in a second teaching shift that delivers a lighter certified curriculum for Syrian students with Arabic as the main language of instruction.

Another 5,000 children also attend non-formal education programmes. UNHCR resources reach 34 schools and 15 community centres that run such programs.

The Syrian NGO Jusoor (Jusoor 2014) runs one of these non-formal education centres in Beirut. (This centre will be referred to in the rest of the report as “Jusoor’s school”). Young Syrian volunteers provide Syrian children with non-formal education and after-school support in order to prepare them to integrate Lebanese public and private schools. Children also receive some food for lunch and psycho-social support through an NGO called “Alwan” (colours). From October 2013 and until January 2014, many children at Jusoor’s school had access to the first or second shift in Lebanese schools. However, many of them abandoned the formal school and preferred to return to Jusoor School.

Jusoor’s objective is to help Syrian children adapt to Lebanese schools, but the children were confronted with many difficulties, **including the language barrier and violence and mistreatment at school**. The fact that many abandoned the Lebanese school was a compelling question that this pilot study tried to address.



II. Theoretical Background

This chapter is dedicated to a brief presentation of the theoretical foundations of the ERA framework and its main parts. The content is directly inspired (and in some parts, quoted) from different publications of the World Bank series: Education Resilience Approaches, and mainly Reyes (2013).

Violence, conflict and other contexts of adversity present significant challenges to education systems in countries facing adversity. The impacts of pervasive violence and conflict are especially felt by the poor and traditionally vulnerable communities. However, research and practice in situations of adversity have also highlighted that education can protect vulnerable children and youth by providing them with an appropriate environment to nurture their psychosocial well-being and ensure them a better future. The ERA framework, applied in this study, focuses on the education system level features that can support the pursuit of positive learning outcomes in adversity.

For more than 40 years, resilience studies tried to understand the capacity of human beings (and the social ecology circles that surround them, such as families, communities and institutions) to recover from crises, to continue to perform in spite of adversities and to transform positively (Ungar, Ghazinour and Richte 2013).

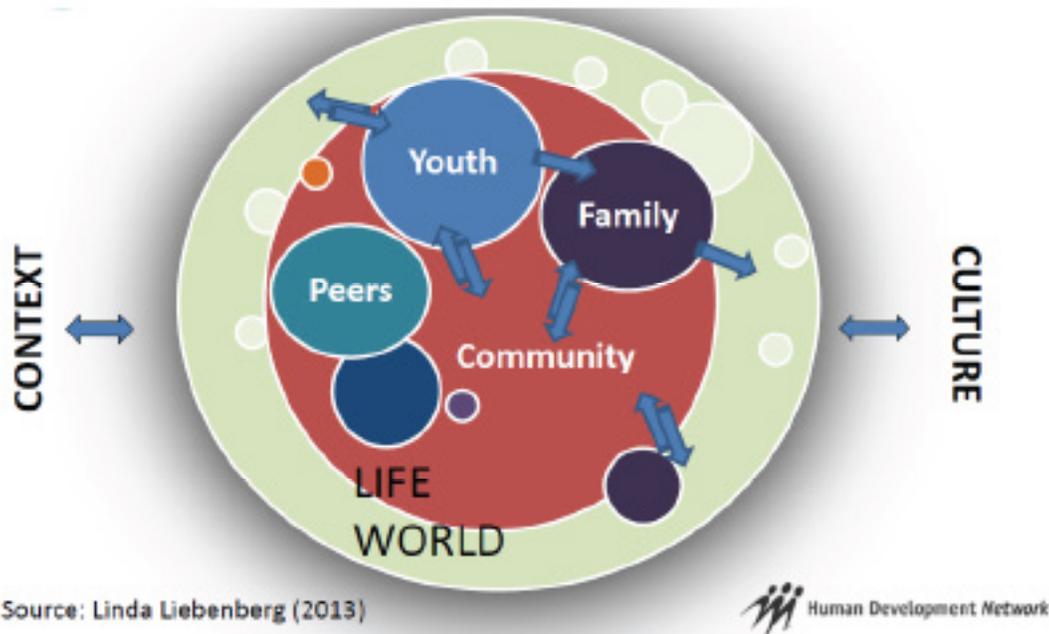
Ungar (M. Ungar 2011) defines **resilience** as both the individual's capacity to navigate to needed resources (such as food, education or health care), and the capacity of the individual's social ecology (family, community and institutions, see Figure 1) to provide these resources in culturally meaningful ways. Hence resilience is no longer seen as a special trait of only few distinguished individuals. Resilience occurs ordinarily in the interactions between people facing adversity as the need to develop competence and skills to overcome the negative effects of adversity appears, and to find access to needed resources.

Studies (Martin-Breen and Marty Anderies 2011) also show that the development of a resilient behaviour of individuals facing acute adversity needs proper programs and actions. Leaving people in need of help without any support will perpetrate their suffering and exaggerate the impacts of adversity.

From this perspective, to design programs and actions to help at-risk populations, it is of great importance to consider a specific **positive outcome**, (such as learning, health, community cohesion, etc.), a proper understanding both of the **risks** that face a specific **population at risk**, and of the **assets** that help to protect from the effect of these risks and develop a resilient behaviour.

Certainly, many studies (Reyes 2013) identify schools and teachers as important contributors to resilience in children, adolescents and youth. Resilience can be further promoted through the provision of relevant and quality services that foster the interactions among students, teachers and parents to address both learning and well-being.

Figure 1
Social Ecology Circles that Surround Youth



While the forms of adversities—especially of violence and conflict—differ greatly from one country to another, by applying resilience theory, the ERA framework focuses on **learning outcomes** and on the relevance and quality of **education services** in situations of pervasive adversity across varied contexts. ERA offers a flexible diagnostic and research tools, firstly to gather evidence of this process within a particular context (specifically risks and assets) and then to furnish general lessons learned and grounded meaningful **recommendations**.

II.I Objectives of the framework

The ERA framework employs a resilience lens to understand **learning** in contexts of adversity. It does so by identifying the **risks** as well as **assets** present in education communities through a process of data collection and analysis at a **local level** on the relevance of education services in contexts of adversity. The aim is to align those assets with existing education services and support on different socio ecology levels: institutional, community, family and individual.

II.II Framework methodology

To effectively capture the complexity of the resilience processes, ERA relies on the collection of qualitative and quantitative data, known as mixed-method data. A well designed and well implemented **mixed-method approach** offers the advantages of combining the strengths of qualitative and quantitative data approaches to provide more comprehensive and contextualized evidence. Notably, **qualitative phases** help to understand the context and setting where the research takes place; probe into the complexity of factors, processes and inter-relations; and, give voice to the participants. **Quantitative phases** allow for larger generalizable samples and identifying, isolating and correlating factors and determinants related to a particular phenomenon (Creswell 2009).

Mixed methods research is usually designed into sequential, concurrent or cyclical patterns:

- A sequential design can be a sequence of a qualitative phase followed by a quantitative phase (or vice versa)
- A concurrent design arranges to conduct qualitative and quantitative methods at the same time
- Cyclical designs reiterate cycles of mixed-method research (MMR) studies across time to deepen knowledge and evidence.

This pilot study represents a first qualitative. A second quantitative phase is recommended to measure the extent of the different risks and assets discovered through the first phase.

II.III Design steps of a Mixed-Method Research study

MMR study should go through the following steps:

- Define a **central research question**
- Ask a limited number of **operational questions** related to the framework
- Decide on the **phases** (qualitative/quantitative) and the pattern of the study
- Design the **sampling scheme** for each phase
- Create a **local advisory committee** (LAC)
- Select the **samples** and conduct the study with the LAC's help
- Apply relevant tools for **analysis and interpretation**
- Offer conclusions, **proposals and feedback to the community**
- **Disseminate** the findings and the recommendations

III. Design of the Study

III.I Population at risk

The study focuses on Syrian refugee children in Lebanon who frequent a non-formal education centre, who had access to Lebanese public schools and who have continued to attend school or dropped out.

III.II Research questions

After discussions, Jusoor's team agreed with the necessity of exploring the factors and processes that help Syrian students receiving non-formal education make the transition to (public or private) Lebanese schools, and the role of the non-formal education center in the academic success of these students in the Lebanese schools.

The Research Sub-Questions that are induced from this target question are:

- What processes and factors help Syrian refugee students adapt better to living and studying in Lebanon and its schools?
- What difficulties do Syrian students experience in Lebanese schools?

- How can refugee education programs (or specifically non-formal education programs) support Syrian children and youth to adapt and perform well in Lebanese schools?

Initially, the stakeholders of this study were aware of few factors and outcomes depicted in Table 1, showing the researcher's assumptions. Nevertheless, the theoretical foundations of the ERA framework, specifically the "transformative paradigm" (Mertens 2009), recommend to design the study in order to discover the real context as lived and expressed by the targeted population itself and the social ecology circles in interaction with it. The conceptual framework presented in Chapter 4 below includes the main factors as expressed by participants from the population. Some factors from Table 1 below appear explicitly in the framework while others seem to have less relevance to the participants than initially thought.

Table 1
Initial assumptions

Population at risk: Syrian students studying in Lebanese public schools or who have dropped out			
Risk factors	Protective processes	Assets	Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language barrier • Tensions between Syrians and Lebanese • Lack of financial and material means • Displacement experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers' support to Syrian students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peer relations / support • After school classes for Syrian students • Extra-curricular activities (e.g. NGOs, religious communities or other civil society efforts) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning assessment outcomes (Lebanese national tests) • Enrolment rates • Dropout levels

The following sections detail the selected samples and research methodology employed in this study.

III.III Sample

This pilot study is limited to qualitative research built on purposeful focus groups and supplemented with a few interviews. In order to confirm the findings of this research, a second quantitative phase is recommended. A few suggestions for the design of the quantitative phase are discussed in the conclusion.

The study is based on the analysis of discussions with three focus groups and ? interviews with school administrators, teachers and volunteers:

- A focus group with Syrian students who have transferred to Lebanese Schools and are coping well
- A focus group with Syrian Students who entered Lebanese schools but have returned to non-formal programs
- A focus group with teachers or facilitators at a non-formal education centre
- Interviews with a few Lebanese teachers working with Syrian children.

The interviews with both Syrian volunteers and Lebanese teachers revealed that the Syrian family itself experiences important risks that limit its support to their children's education; that is, families in adversity present an important source of risks. A focus group with the parents of children who abandoned the Lebanese schools could reveal their point of view and better help estimate the gravity of the risks noted by the teachers. Time limitations prevented from enriching this qualitative study with such an important source of information. An additional qualitative phase could be conducted in order to include parents in the research. Nevertheless, the present study includes some information extracted from informal discussions with few Syrian parents. These discussions were mainly useful to reveal the extent of discomfort in the interaction with the Lebanese school staff.

III.IV Data collection methods

Focus groups were run at Jusoor's school. The school coordinator selected the children for both focus groups. Children who attend Lebanese schools continue going to Jusoor's school for extra-curriculum support and potential help with homework on Fridays. Surprisingly, the participants in this focus group included mostly girls (ten girls out of twelve children).

Most of the children who abandoned the Lebanese schools continue their education at Jusoor's school four days a week. This focus group included mostly boys (ten boys out of twelve children).

The discussion with the first children's focus group lasted approximately 50 minutes and the children were well-disciplined and answered the questions in a well-behaved manner. The discussion with the second focus group lasted only 30 minutes, after which the children were no longer able to sit still. They were excited and all talking at the same time. They showed more emotive expressions especially when the discussion led to talk about mistreatment and physical punishment at school.

A focus group was also run with the volunteers at Jusoor's school. The coordinator invited the persons who knew the children for the longest period. The group was formed of six women of different ages and one young man. Only one teacher had been an English teacher in Syria, while the others had no prior teaching experience.

The coordinator and an external person attended the discussions at Jusoor and took notes on the most important points. Intuitive discussions with the school coordinator and Jusoor's educational program coordinator in Lebanon were also recorded and analyzed by the researcher. In addition, an interview with a Syrian teacher who taught older students at a Syrian school in Beirut was also recorded and analyzed. Related information to the context of this study was included in the codes and in the conceptual framework.

The interview with the Lebanese school coordinator was held at a public school in the suburbs near Beirut. In the mornings the school hosts a high percentage of Syrian students since the beginning of the crisis in Syria, and in the afternoon the same school staff run a non-formal education program, funded by UNICEF, for out-of-school Syrian children. This interview was preceded by an informal discussion with a kindergarten assistant from the school to explain the purpose of the research and ask for contact with the school staff, as Lebanese school principals seemed to be skeptical and not keen to receive interviewers.

Annex A includes the interview guides for the different focus groups and interviews.

III.V Analysis stages

This study is built on open coding of the transcripts of all the recorded interviews and discussions (with the prior consent of the participants). A full listing of distinct concepts and categories were identified in the data. Initial codes were in Arabic as this language was more appropriate for expressing the different concepts. The codes were then classified, according to resilience theory, as risks, assets, positive and negative outcomes, and identified processes.

During the classification process some relationships were detected and the most important ones are discussed in Chapter 4.

Constructive discussions with the World Bank ERA team led to a conceptual framework that classifies the codes according to the concepts of the theory of resilience and according to different levels of the social ecology that surround the child: individual, family, Syrian community, and the different educational systems that a Syrian student interacts with: the Syrian education system, the Lebanese education system, and the non-formal education system.

III.VI Participation and ethics

The ERA framework promotes the forming of a local advisory committee. The different interview guides were discussed with the educational advisor and two volunteers at Jusoor's school. The guides for the children's focus groups were translated into Arabic and pre-tested with two children selected from the school for validation.

Participants at Jusoor's school, both adults and children, were very welcoming, answered the questions freely, and were ready to share their experiences.

Some of the transcripts were shared with Jusoor's young coordinator for a parallel coding. However she was too busy to code them and instead gave a few general comments.

As explained earlier, access to the Lebanese school was more challenging, as there is a preconceived idea that Lebanese schools will not be open to such studies. This is due to circulating information that Syrian children suffer from mistreatment in some schools.

At the end of the analysis, the framework and the complete list of initial codes were presented to volunteers from Jusoor for discussion and to stimulate grounded recommendations. The findings were also shared with the inter-agency information gathering initiative REACH (Reach Initiative 2014) and influenced the design of a survey that was to be conducted in June 2014, in order to profile out-of-school Syrian children in Lebanon.

IV. Findings and Analysis

As mentioned above, the analysis of the transcripts followed an open coding approach. Multiple phases of classification followed, first according to the theory of resilience and then according to the ecological model presented by Ungar, Ghazinour and Richte 2013. The following framework is the final result. The exhaustive list of codes is attached in Annex B, which shows the original codes in Arabic as they better reflect the transcripts and are more meaningful to the main targeted readers.

The final conceptual framework is separated into four tables summarizing the most important codes of risks, assets, outcomes and promotive processes. Each table classifies the items according to different levels of the social ecology surrounding the Syrian refugee children.

Since Syrian refugees suffer from acute adversity, it is not surprising to discover that risks outnumber assets in the conceptual framework. Nevertheless, resilience theory indicates that there are always assets in the community that can be built upon to overcome the risks and help the community of interest to be more resilient and better performing to achieve the desired outcomes. Specifically, important assets exist in the non-formal education structures and other support programs run by Syrian volunteers. Subsection 4.13 discusses the socio-emotional support role of volunteers in contact with refugee children. This study reveals that the Syrian diaspora plays an important role in refugee relief and more specifically in education as they are more culturally aware of the social background of the refugees and are more committed to offer help and support. A dedicated study could be conducted to discover all these assets that the present pilot study could not reveal because of its numerous limitations.

Table 2
Code book - Risks

Pillar 1. Risks		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of risks	Most recurrent risks
Individual	Personal perceptions	Lack of confidence, introversion, fragility, lack of hope (no expectation for the future) , personal wish to abandon school
	Maladaptive behaviours Adaptation difficulties	Violence , asocial behaviour Girls adapt better than boys, young children adapt better than older peers, deep nostalgia, stigmatisation because of downgrading and grade repetition (two common practices in the Lebanese system rarely practiced in Syrian schools)
Social (Family)⁶	Pre-crisis	
	Educational background Relations within the family	Uneducated parents /mothers Violence in the family , lack of social and behavioural education
	Expectations of education	Low expectations of education, slackness about school, bad influence on the education of the children, student anxiety due to parent pressure
	Aggravated by the crisis	
	Relations within the family Resources Instability Expectations from school	Lack of care and affection Lack of resources, lower standard of living, child labour No long-term vision, permanent hope of an imminent return A place only to play, no big expectations as the situation is "temporary"
Social (Community)	Pre-crisis	
	Socio-economic status Relations within the community Relations with the outside	Socio-economically disadvantaged groups Old social problems, no respect for women (hence women teachers), early marriage (for both genders) The main social unit is the (extended) family, closed homogeneous communities (ethnic, religious, rural, and even urban...)

Pillar 1. Risks		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of risks	Most recurrent risks
	Aggravated by the crisis	
	Relations with the outside	Transition from closed Syrian society to more open Lebanese society, transition shock , “freedom is returned into chaos” (interview quote), circumscription and wariness against the Lebanese people ⁷ , hate , “I wish [the war] stops in Syria and starts here [in Lebanon]”, “I wish I could go back to Syria, and when Lebanese people come as refugees I could mistreat them” (interview quotes)
Education system (Syria)	Teaching methods Learning difficulties Slack educational system	Arabic is the language of instruction, limited English language teaching , recitation, memorization, no critical thinking development; Non-skilled teachers Poor English teaching , children lack the basics Tolerance for absenteeism , “ automatic promotion ”, lack of teacher commitment and accountability, insufficient training of teachers, big gap between urban and rural regions
Education system (Lebanon)	School environment	
	Personal perceptions at school	Feeling of rejection and hate, mistreatment, attachment to Syrians
	Peer perception at school	Arrogance, violence , rejection, lack of confidence due to political polarization
	Relations with adults at school	Verbal and physical violence , mistreatment, neglect, lack of confidence due to political polarization, staff weariness
	Risks related to educating Syrian children	
	Pre-existing problems	Lack of resources and interest, public school is mainly for vulnerable communities (schools only 30 percent Lebanese children), insufficiently trained teachers, low qualifications, high grade repetition rate, high dropout rates even among Lebanese students ⁸
	Organization difficulties	Same teachers for both shifts (exhausted teachers)
	Learning difficulties	Language barrier, interruption of schooling, disappointment due to downgrading , absenteeism
	Classroom environment	Overcrowded classes, different ages and skills gathered
	Non-adaptive teaching methods	Different language of instruction, no special training for teachers ⁹

Pillar 1. Risks		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of risks	Most recurrent risks
	Teaching difficulties Non-formal education programs	Big differences in curricula, difficulties of mixed classes of Lebanese and Syrians, no commitment to teach classes with Syrian majority, fed up with the different expectations of Syrians Overcrowded classrooms, children come from the most disadvantaged communities, misuse of resources, uncommitted teachers
Non-formal Education Run by Volunteers	Classroom related Teacher related Education-system related	Overcrowded classrooms with many different levels and different ages, children come mainly from disadvantaged communities, lack of discipline , violence among peers Insufficient number of inexperienced teachers, no long-term commitment, too many staffing changes, need for educational adviser Differences between Syrian and Lebanese systems, lack of knowledge about the Lebanese curriculum, no follow up of children in the Lebanese schools

Table 3
Code book - Assets

Pillar 2. Assets		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of assets	Most recurrent assets
Individual	Intelligence School purpose Adaptation skills Gender Younger age	Mature children, clever and full of enthusiasm, eager to go to school, autonomous, tailored attention is fruitful, children are responsive to encouragement and stimulation , individual attention improves outcomes A student with a clear goal struggles more, a student who is aware of the challenges better withstands pressure and mistreatment Taking the first step towards Lebanese peers, responsiveness to the change Girls cope better than boys ¹⁰ Young children cope better than older ones

Pillar 2. Assets		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of assets	Most recurrent assets
Social (Family)	Parents' relationship with school	Eager to communicate with the school
	Parents' support of learning	Willing to educate their children, understand the reasons behind downgrading, help the children, provide private lessons
Social (Community)	Relations with the outside	Openness and adaptability accelerate evolution
Education (Syria)	Diaspora efforts	Syrian-run schools in Lebanon, Syrian teachers more familiar with the needs of Syrian children
	Interaction with teachers	Some Lebanese teachers have sympathy and understanding for the Syrian children
	Curriculum	Impression of better teaching in Lebanon
Non-formal education based on volunteers	Children's perceptions	Children are emotionally attached to their teachers; children prefer the non-formal education school to the Lebanese school, a strong feeling of belonging
	Volunteers' perceptions	Volunteers and children help each other to withstand and overcome difficulties, the feeling of responsibility makes the volunteers do their best, volunteers are ready to follow up with the children in the Lebanese schools Positive thinking (they hope education in Syria will benefit from the crisis)

Table 4
Code book - Desirable Outcomes

Pillar 3. Desirable Outcomes		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of outcome	Example
Lebanon education system	Access	Staying at the Lebanese school
	Well-being	Adapting to school and the Lebanese society
	Learning	Achieving progress at school, learn English better
Syrian education system	Continuation of studies (upon return)	Understand why children must not be upgraded automatically
	Education system quality	Learning from the Lebanese experience
	Minimize clientelism	Changing the expectations from the educational system

Table 5
Code book - Processes

Pillar 4. Assets that Promote Desirable Educational Outcomes		
Level (Social ecology sub-system)	Type of process	Example
Individual	Peer-to-peer learning	Jusoor teachers solicit peers' help in class; Siblings help at home
	Language skills	Summer courses
	Parents' support	Parents help with homework, Parents pay private lessons
	Lebanese education system's support	After-school support sessions, teachers offer extra help at school
Social (Family)	School-community structures	Set regular communication with parents
	Training of parents (parent schools)	Define awareness programs for parents; Language courses for parents
Social (Community)	Family services	Inform parents about the school's expectations
	Volunteerism by displaced upper class Syrians	Private lessons (free or at low cost) and after-school support are offered by Lebanese and Syrian people in the community
Education system (Syria)	Diaspora	Opening of schools for Syrians with Syrian teachers
		Training of Syrian teachers
		Language courses for teachers
Education system (Lebanon)	Transitional programs	Second shift open and dedicated to Syrians (Arabic is the language of instruction); Adaptation classes
	Language courses	Summer courses
Non-formal education run by volunteers		Jusoor offers English, math and Arabic teaching Jusoor volunteers help with homework

This conceptual framework is only a means to summarize the findings of the different formal interviews and focus group discussions as well as many informal discussions with Syrian teachers, parents and children. In the following subsections, I try to provide deeper insight into the most

6 Note that no clear gender issue was detected through the interviews. In fact, as used to be the case in Syria before the crisis, girls could be disadvantaged because of early marriage, but boys could also be disadvantaged due to child labour.

7 Harb and Saab 2014.

8 The Lebanese MEHE estimates the rate of dropout to be 25 percent among children before grade 9. See, Le Commerce du Levant, *Décrochage scolaire: l'école à la rue ?* (2013).

9 As told by the Lebanese school principal and confirmed by an NRC survey conducted in the North of Lebanon (NRC 2013).

10 This observation is explained by the fact that girls are more accustomed to mistreatment, and usually their reaction is not violent (low profile). This helps them to withstand it, while boys are more violent and proud, hence they are less ready to accept the humiliation, and react with violence.

important aspects of the interaction of Syrian refugee children with the different social ecology levels or circles that surround them.

I believe that knowledge of Syrian society and the Syrian education system allows me to recognize subtle interactions and helps me understand how some hidden risks influence the navigation of Syrian children through the Lebanese education system, and show that some factors could be risks or assets depending on how they impact the children. Namely, the role of parents seems to be decisive in how many assets the children could accumulate to overcome the risks and be able to cope at the Lebanese school.

The analysis is separated into subsections related to risks or outcomes and considers interactions by specific social ecology levels.

IV.I The harmful mix

The most compelling finding of this study is a “harmful mix” of risks that could be pushing the children to drop out of the Lebanese school:

Lower socio-economic conditions impact the ability of parents to support and prioritize the education of their children. In addition, these children reflect more explicitly some lived experience with violence (due to the crisis and potentially in their own families), and are more fragile and sensitive to discrimination. This combination makes these children less resilient and pushes them to leave school.

Unfortunately, the poverty experienced by many Syrian families contributes to an accumulation of untreated risks and isolation in low-income communities. The crisis pushed them out of their country to coexist with Lebanese people, where their structural problems became visible. The lack of resources and support to influence the education of their children seem undeniable to the stakeholders of this study.

IV.II Parents’ role: An asset or a risk?

This study revealed that Syrian parents seem to have a very decisive influence on the education of their children, but poverty and other social injustices impacted the direction of such influence, sometimes in controversial ways. Several behavioural patterns that are typical of the original pre-crisis Syrian society are also observed among refugees:

- Parents with higher education and financial resources send their children to Lebanese private schools
- Parents with higher education but with no financial resources send their children to Lebanese public schools and try to support them to cope. Sometimes, financial difficulties force parents to send their child to work (see Box 2. in Chapter 5).
- Parents with no education and good financial situation might be reluctant to send their children to school for security or other social reasons. This reflects their low expectations of education.
- Parents with no education and low resources present two different patterns with risks:

1) There are parents who do their best to provide quality education to their children. For instance, despite financial difficulties, some parents pay for private lessons for their children. Oddly, some parents put high pressure on the children and might use verbal violence and even corporal punishment to push them to work harder at school. This behaviour could also lead the child, mainly teenage boys, to decide to abandon school. 2) The second pattern is the same one detailed in the harmful mix, where parents have low expectations of education and often decide to make the child work to earn money even if it is not really vital for the family. This category also includes families who come from communities that value financial earnings more than education.

From the perspective of the resilience theory, the socio-economic background of parents can represent a risk as well as a valuable asset for the education of their children. This is why programs or processes that aim to educate children in contexts of adversities will also need to provide support to parents and families who are themselves in contexts of adversity. Family and parental programs can be part of the protective processes for children by, for example, raising awareness about the importance of education.

IV.III The violence issue

The violent behaviour of some Syrian children was often raised by Lebanese teachers as well as Syrian volunteers. It is obvious that the children lived through trauma that might vary in severity depending on what they experienced, because of the war in Syria and because of their situation as refugees with very limited resources in Lebanon.

The relations in the family seem also to have a great influence on children as Syrian parents under socio-economic constraints may tend to use more violence to cope with their own adversities, redirecting their own frustration towards their children. See Box 1.

Box 1 Ali and Ahmad

Ali and his brother Ahmad¹¹ are two of the many “trouble makers” who attend Jusoor’s school. They are unable to respect any disciplinary rules. Their teachers are drained, and they believe these children would never be able to adapt to a Lebanese public school. Ali and Ahmad come from a family of 15 children. They are from Deir Ezorr, a rural region in Syria. Their father used to be a wealthy landlord; he did not used to worry about feeding the big family. Quality education was not one of his concerns. Now in Lebanon, the father has no job and no resources. The whole family shares one room. To control the situation, the father makes the children sit by the wall quietly. Hence, at the education centre, the children externalize violence on the other children verbally and physically.

As noted earlier, the tensions at home due to the socio-economic impact of the Syrian crisis on refugees translates to behavioural problems at school. The lived and reflected violence outside the school prevents the children from adapting to the Lebanese school. They are not able to control themselves to follow common disciplinary rules and they are less able to tolerate discrimination practices than children from more stable environments, and continue to go to school. A private

11 Names in almost all case studies have been changed for privacy issues.

school principal once told the parent of a Syrian student who had newly arrived at her school: “You should help your child ‘wear a shield’ at school...” to tolerate the students’ insults against Syrians. Unfortunately, vulnerable parents may not have the skills to help their children overcome such difficulties.

Adults’ interaction with violent behaviour

Adults in contact with children who have experienced violence have great difficulties dealing with the children’s excitement and lack of discipline. But the reactions of Lebanese teachers and Syrian volunteers differ profoundly.

Syrian volunteers try to treat the violence with compassion and through appropriate activities to channel the children’s energy. Jusoor’s coordinator admits that the mission is not easy but also estimates that progress is made gradually.

On the opposite side, Lebanese teachers who work with the children in the afternoon non-formal program let the children express themselves freely and sometimes with aggressiveness towards each other, which is seemingly in accordance to INGO’s recommendations. A young Syrian teacher who observed the children tried to suggest some activities to channel the children’s energy with the help of older Syrian participants but the school staff rejected any proposal that involved the participation of Syrians.

In formal education settings, undisciplined students are rejected from the system as teachers lack the proper training and resources to understand or to deal with the reasons behind the violent behaviour. “Such kids will not be admitted at our school next year” said the public school principal when talking about a 12-year-old boy who had been admitted to Grade 1 as he did not know the alphabet. The boy had been continuously attacking his younger peers and damaging school equipment.

IV.IV School dropout issue

There are many reasons that push students, mainly boys aged 11 and above, to drop out of schools. Financial issues are an important factor, and transportation, bullying and the language barrier are also factors that keep teenagers and pre-teens from school.

The majority of the interviewed children who had abandoned school said they took this decision themselves. Few were dismissed through a school’s decision. The main reasons were the difficulties of studying in English and the mistreatment: “I tried my best to adapt, but I couldn’t”, said Hisham.

The difficult economic situation of the refugee families is also an important reason why parents do not send their children to school. Box 2, “Abu Samer and family”, depicts a typical story of a small family with two children.

Another story, in Box 3, reflects the effect of transportation costs and a father’s concerns about the differences in Lebanese society, on his decision to keep his three daughters at home.

Box 2 Abu Samer and family

Abu Samer¹² used to own a small workshop in Aleppo. He used to have a decent home and a good financial situation. In the autumn of 2012, Abu Samer was forced to leave with his small family to move to Beirut after a year of displacement and terror in Aleppo.

During the first few discussions with Abu Samer about how his 13-year-old daughter, Salma, was faring at the neighbourhood public school, he never mentioned he also had an older son. Abu Samer must have been ashamed to reveal that he could not also send his son to school: “Samer was not really willing to go to school here (in Lebanon), I didn’t want him to waste his time. So, he started to work... back in Aleppo, and until the end, I was sending my children to private schools, but here...”. Abu Samer has a job that does not earn enough (US\$ 350) to cover the rent of a modest apartment (US\$ 400), so he has to rely on the US\$ 200 the young Samer is earning to subsidize the family income.

Samer’s mother used to be an English teacher, but the family left Aleppo in very difficult circumstances and she was not able to bring her diploma. Fortunately she was able to offer good support to Salma, helping her to adapt to Grade 6 at the Lebanese school after two years spent out of school.

Next year, a new challenge is confronting Salma: She must move to another school far from home, and Abu Samer is not sure he can afford the transportation. He does not know the route to an appropriate school as the present school staff is not keen to help and provide the needed information. Even if the father is willing to provide education for his children, the lack of resources and information could push him to decide differently.

Abu Samer is not registered as a refugee, he receives no humanitarian aid, and lives with the hope of returning soon to his hometown, as is the case for most of the families who are struggling in Lebanon and see no future there. “I want to go back. Even if I have to live there in a tent, it doesn’t matter”. Abu Samer’s house in Aleppo was destroyed and he has no news about whether his workshop is still standing or not.

Box 3 Abu Hadi and family

Abu Hadi and his family left the Damascus countryside for the northern suburbs of Beirut about two years ago (2012). In Beirut, Abu Hadi has a stable financial situation and a job. When they first arrived, Abu Hadi tried to send his three daughters to a private school managed by the Sunni community in Western Beirut. Such schools are more conservative and more compatible with the Syrian values. However, the school is far from where the family lives, and transportation costs (in addition to school tuition) seemed unaffordable to the father. Hence, the three girls stayed at home, and the father did not make any further effort to find them a closer school, probably because the family feared sending the girls to a different environment. After some encouragement, the father now intends to send his daughters to public school next year.

¹² “Abu Samer” is a nickname. It is a common way to respectfully address men in Syria. The nickname means that the man has a son called “Samer”. Equivalently, a mother would be called “Oum Samer”. It is also common in some communities to give such nicknames to young boys for endearment.

Note that Lebanese public schools already suffer from a high dropout rate, mainly among students aged 11 to 14 years. A language barrier in Lebanon's vulnerable communities is identified as one of the reasons behind this, in addition to other socio-economic reasons (Le Commerce du Levant 2013). Clearly, Syrian students will not be spared as they are struggling with multiple risks. Two parents related that their sons, though they have been at school over two years, are now considering abandoning school.

IV.V Girls versus boys

Remarkably, most of the participants in the focus group of children who abandoned school were boys, while the majority of those in the second focus group of children who continued to go to school were girls.

Apparently, Syrian girls are more apt to navigate the risk of violence by keeping a low profile, hence they are able to keep going and work hard. Nevertheless, they do view their surroundings with a critical eye and they can clearly articulate their experience with discrimination.

On the other hand, Syrian boys are more open to externalize violent behaviour and they might react to mistreatment or pressure with violence, or by deciding to drop out. Boys who are face some type of academic risk and a difficult situation at home or at school, especially could quickly decide to abandon school.

IV.VI The effect of nostalgia

Children and families keep hoping to return to Syria in the near future and do not feel the need to adapt to the Lebanese system. Both Lebanese and Syrian teachers have the impression that there are parents who send their children to school just to spend time and play or to give the parents a time to take a rest.

This might be due to the difficult living conditions of the refugees, but it is also due to their general low expectations of education in Lebanon and to their deep feeling that they will return soon to their country.

On the contrary, more educated parents and volunteers believe that children could greatly benefit from their experience in the Lebanese school.

IV.VII How Lebanese teachers work with Syrian students

Although mistreatment was not mentioned during the discussions with the Lebanese teachers, the weariness of the speakers was easily detectable: "The crisis is almost finished in Syria, 'Yallah!' (*Go ahead*), go back there, what else are you going to do here [in Lebanon]?". This weariness is confirmed by the testimonials of children from the same school. Later during the meeting, one school staff suddenly said: "Why don't you bring Syrian teachers to teach Syrian children, they are very different from our students", and the coordinator contradicted her by saying that there is no need for Syrians to come and share the income of Lebanese teachers.

The fact that the Lebanese public school has its own difficulties¹³ was not discussed during the interviews either. This might be due to the fact that the Syrian volunteers and children are overwhelmed with their own difficulties and they cannot yet be critical vis-à-vis the Lebanese public school. The Lebanese teachers who were interviewed were not expected to criticize their own system while they are presently facing more demanding circumstances due to the massive arrival of Syrian children.

Unexpectedly, both the Lebanese coordinator and other studies, mainly the study conducted by the Norwegian Refugee Council in the north of Lebanon (NRC 2013), indicate that most of the Lebanese teachers did not receive any training to help them cope with the newcomers. Teachers need special training to provide psychosocial support and protection, and to be able to address traumatic experiences, as well as training in special needs education and child-centred pedagogical practices (World Bank 2013b).

Syrian parents and children feel that Lebanese teachers are not committed to teaching Syrian students. Children feel abandoned in class: “I try to ask the teacher but she doesn’t listen to me” said a third grade girl. An older girl who is repeating the fifth grade related that since her class is of Syrian majority, teachers do not care about them and do not teach them properly. For instance, the girl mentioned that, this year, they were lagging behind on the maths program by four to five lessons compared to last year. A young Syrian teacher who attended a few English classes in the afternoon non-formal program also confirmed this observation: “The Lebanese English teacher was attached to her Whatsapp messenger the whole time”.

The interviewed children and parents related many stories about mistreatment, verbal abuse and corporal punishment at school. It seemed as if corporal punishment was of common use. “Oh! This teacher is known to have the longest ruler in the school” said Sama, a 12-year-old girl, in reference to the common use of the ruler to slap students.

Verbal discrimination and insolence are also very present. Sama reported that the school coordinator used to repeat that “Syrian students will no longer be welcome at this school”, and, “You have to thank us, you will go back to Syria well instructed and free of diseases”, referring to the health care provided by UNICEF. One of the teachers used to tell Sama: “You don’t need to understand, you are Syrian!”. Another girl who attends the second shift (in a different school) reported after seemingly some hesitation that the school principal often insults the Syrians students by saying: “You are dirty and you smell bad”, “You are useless and brainless, look at your Lebanese peers, they are far better than you” in addition to other harmful insults.

A boy who attended an UNRWA-run school in Lebanon related that “the verb ‘hit’ is not enough” to express the severity of the corporal punishment there. He literally whispered his story about when he abandoned the school. He was very affected, describing how the principal hit him; he resisted, and then left the school. Another boy who also abandoned the UNRWA-run school shared how the school threatened his parents that the whole family would be banned from humanitarian aid if he did not go back to school.

13 A special edition of a local Middle Eastern economics magazine was devoted to discussing these difficulties (Le Commerce du Levant 2013).

In fact, UNRWA schools in Lebanon made great efforts to enroll all the Palestinians fleeing Syria (UNRWA 2014), but it seems that, for complex social reasons, violence is far more widespread in the Palestinian camp environment than in other neighborhoods. This is why UNRWA schools in the camps suffer from higher levels of violence, which is a reflection of the external violence.

Parents are also hurt by the way the school staff deals with them. They feel hopeless and unable to defend their rights and the rights of their children, even though they know that the school is receiving important financial support in order to host Syrian children.

It should be mentioned that during the focus group with the children who continued going to the Lebanese schools, only one girl, the oldest, told stories about verbal mistreatment and discrimination at school. The others did not seem to suffer from this specific risk. Jusoor's coordinator suspected that these children were probably warned not to talk about any violent incidents at their schools. In the past, these children used to complain about what they were facing at school. In a later discussion with the coordinator (by the time of the writing of this report), she confirmed that the children seemed to adapt well at the Lebanese school and had stopped complaining. This observation serves to nuance what the interviewed parents agree on and shows that the situation might differ from one school to another. This is where a quantitative phase is necessary to evaluate the real extent of the verbal and physical violence at school.

IV.VIII How Syrian students relate with peers

During this study, a Syrian teacher and a few students told only stories of discrimination and bullying in the surrounding environment of the school. Apparently, Syrian children attending public schools with Lebanese students prefer to avoid them and do not try to socialize with Lebanese peers, as they find them “arrogant” and “unpleasant”. One interviewed girl said: “I only have one nice Lebanese friend; I don't try to talk to other girls. When I was in Syria, I used to talk to everyone in my school”. Her brother who goes to a public college (seventh grade) does not even know if there are other Syrians in his school as he only speaks with a few friends he used to know in primary school: “I talk to no one! I stay away [from trouble]”.

Some of Jusoor's volunteers believe that this introversion and apprehension are transmitted from the family and the community, and they are not necessarily justified.¹⁴ Another Syrian teacher believes the isolation is indeed justified because of the fear of any political liability, especially when the children go to a school with clear political polarization or in sensitive regions. For example, there were reported cases of teachers who insisted to know if the parents voted in the Syrian presidential elections. Often, Lebanese students also embarrass their Syrian peers with questions about their political opinions. In such environments, children would feel insecure and prefer to retract to protect themselves.

It is important to recall here the narrow scope of this study. Bullying by peers seems to be an issue identified by other studies conducted in other regions of Lebanon or in other contexts (see for example, NRC 2013; JENA-Working Education Group forthcoming). This nuance is interesting and might need further exploration to discover whether this feeling of discrimination elsewhere is due to tangible reasons or mainly a result of the susceptibility of Syrian parents and children.

14 Other volunteer teachers expressed clearly that the “Lebanese society is racist against Syrians”.

IV.IX Interaction with the Syrian education system

Syrian children and parents are generally nostalgic for Syrian schooling. They have the feeling that once back in their hometown, there will be a means to register the children according to their age even if they spent one or two years out of school. Some parents believe that this is the best solution for their children, and do not feel that they have to engage seriously in the Lebanese school. This explains the impression of some Lebanese and Syrian teachers that some parents send their children to school “just to play, and spend a few hours outside, so that the parents can take a rest”.

IV.X Interaction with the Lebanese educational system

Syrian students at the Lebanese school were confronted with two common practices that are very rare in Syria: downgrading to the real level of the student, and grade repetition if the student’s academic results are not satisfactory. A World Bank report (World Bank 2013a, 78) informs that the failure and dropout rates of Syrian students in Lebanese schools are double the national average.

Students in Syria are accustomed to what could be called “automatic upgrading” except in extreme cases. Hence, these two Lebanese practices are discouraging to students and contribute to their feelings of discomfort at the public school. (One can see the embarrassment in the eyes of a tall 13-year-old boy who is forced to wear the pink and blue overalls assigned to children in the primary school).

IV.XI The lack of interaction between the school and the Syrian community

Many studies concerning the Syrian refugee community in Lebanon (see for example, Harb and Saab 2014; NRC 2013) note the lack of constructive communication between Syrian and Lebanese people. Concerning the education of Syrian children, the Lebanese system excludes any participation of Syrian teachers. They are in fact not allowed to practice in Lebanon.

During the discussion with the Lebanese school coordinator, Syrian teachers were clearly identified as a threat to Lebanese teachers. “We don’t need Syrian teachers to help with the education of the Syrian children. Why would Syrians come and share the income of Lebanese teachers?” As mentioned earlier, the coordinator also rejected proposals from a Syrian teacher to introduce activities in the playground led by a Syrian adult volunteer to channel the energy and aggressiveness of the children in the afternoon non-formal program. According to the Syrian teacher, the coordinator declared: “There are no apt Syrian teachers in Lebanon”.

Jusoor’s experience shows, on the contrary, that Syrian teachers are a source of reassurance and emotional support to children. This support is essential for them to navigate the new education system.

IV.XII A major asset: The socio-emotional support role of Jusoor and other Syrian-run centres

Apparently, Lebanese schools do not offer the feeling of safety that Syrian-run schools and centres provide. Vulnerable children, who could not withstand the pressure of the Lebanese system, decided with their parents to leave the system and preferred to stay with Syrian peers at a non-formal education centre that responded better to their emotional needs.

Ungar 2006 qualifies this type of decision as a hidden or uncommon pattern of resilience in which reluctance to engage with the mainstream may be protective. Specifically here, the rejection of the Lebanese school seems a protective process adopted by some Syrian refugee parents and children.

Box 4 Judy and Jana

Among the many stories discovered through this study, there was the case of 6-year-old twin girls, Judy and Jana who chose to drop out of the highly renowned International School of Choueifat. Instead, they attend a non-formal program run by the NGO “Basmeh & Zeitooneh” (a smile and an olive) where their mother works as the educational program coordinator (basmeh-zeitooneh, 2012). At the Lebanese private school, the girls felt like strangers and different from the other children, and they were not happy. The researcher observed that at the non-formal education centre, Judy and Jana were shining with positive energy stimulated by the caring environment of a Syrian-run community centre.

Basmeh & Zeitouneh is a community centre that looks like a beehive. It offers many services to Syrians and Syrian Palestinians in the heart of a Palestinian camp in Beirut (and in two other sites). Volunteers and modestly-paid Syrians and Palestinians (and even a French teacher) run a non-formal education centre, a cultural centre and even a sport club for children. It also runs social development projects that train women to become productive and cover their financial needs. Although the NGO building is very modest and narrow, children move around with confidence. Their educators are present to educate them and to provide them with affection.

Similarly, the same atmosphere of affection and confidence is present at Jusoor’s school. During my several visits to the school, Maryam (a former psychology student in Damascus who had to interrupt her studies) was almost always with the kids. She was present to support them. She was with them in class or out in the yard, showing care for them, and sitting on the ground listening to them.

Rana, a loving volunteer in her forties, is a second mother and a confidant to the children, as well as a devoted teacher at Jusoor’s school. Children whisper their little sweet secrets in her ear. Rana and her colleagues work hard to gather anonymous in-kind and financial assistance for the children and their families.

Through the focus group and the different individual discussions with the volunteering teachers, it was visible that the volunteers care about their students’ lives and about their problems at home.

They always try to help with the simple means they have. This support has a very positive impact on the progress of the children (see Box 5). Although volunteers complain about the high number of students in their classes, it was clear during the focus group that they know the academic needs of almost every child and try to respond to them.

Box 5 Iman

Maryam shared the story of Iman, a teenage girl who was suffering from negative pressure and insults from her mother concerning her studies. Volunteer teachers met with the mother and tried to explain that Iman needs encouragement and that verbal violence will affect the teenager's self-esteem and will not help her make any progress. Iman's mother insisted that this was the way she raised her daughter. Following this, Maryam decided to balance the negative influence of her upbringing at home by continuously telling Iman that she is clever enough and that she can succeed regardless of what her mother tells her. Finally the girl was able to bypass the negative effects of her mother and started improving her results at school.

The story of Iman shows the affective and psychological support role of Jusoor's volunteers (and more generally the young Syrian diaspora). They are more committed to help Syrian children than Lebanese teachers, and they understand better the mentality of Syrian parents even if they come from different socio-economic classes. In fact, Iman's mother has great willingness to offer education to her daughter but she does not have the right means to support her, and can benefit from the role of the Syrian volunteers who can offer a proper help. Logically, Lebanese teachers are not expected to have the same affection and care regarding Syrian students as the Syrian volunteers. They already have their own professional and social problems that the Syrian crisis aggravates severely.

Sometimes the inexperienced volunteers find themselves in unexpected positions (see Box 6).

Box 6 Layla

Six-year-old Layla is very attached to Hiba, the coordinator of Jusoor's school. Hiba used to be her teacher until she became the coordinator. When this happened, the little girl became overwhelmed and unwilling to go to class with another teacher. Hiba thinks that Layla lacks affection at home because of unique family circumstances that are unrelated to financial difficulties. Layla fulfils her affective needs by frequently asking Hiba for hugs and kisses.

Jusoor volunteers raised an issue related to child labour that they feel unprepared to deal with: Some children who work are stigmatized by their peers, although they are all refugees. Teachers want to protect these children from psychosocial stress caused by their peers even though they know that these children should not work. Teachers also try a different approach with children who work, as they have no time to work on their homework, and often come sleepy to school.

In addition to playing an affective role Jusoor also provides some financial aid to parents through donor funding, to help them keep their children in school. Transportation and breakfast are also

provided to all the children. At the beginning of the school year, also Jusoor arranged placements for students in private schools through scholarships and tuition waivers.

IV.XIII Negative outcomes to be treated

Resilience theory is mostly concerned with the achievement of positive outcomes, but in situations of acute adversity, negative outcomes can occur if no action is taken to prevent them.

During the analysis, some negative outcomes were detected. Programs should be designed to counter such outcomes that are observed at present:

Table 6
Undesirable negative outcomes

Negative outcomes
School dropout
School's decision to expel the student because of his/her low academic level
Student's desire to leave school
Hatred for the Lebanese school/people
Lack of integration at school (introversion or aggressiveness)
A sense of helplessness: "Trying to cope without success" (interview quote)



V. Recommendations for Practice and Policy

Resilience theory aims to detect positive factors and processes that support the resilience of populations at-risk, in addition to the risks they face. This study revealed more risks than assets. Nevertheless, this first research phase contributes to a better understanding of the situation in order to design appropriate programs. At first glance, the main problems for Syrian refugee children seemed to be mainly the language barrier and mistreatment at the Lebanese school, but the study revealed that children who had proper support could successfully manage studying in English, could feel strongly a purpose in going to school, and could protect themselves from the negative effects of mistreatment. Children who lack parents' support are the most vulnerable to dropout, in term of the objective to keeping them in the Lebanese school to get a quality education.

These findings are crucial to future programming. They indicate that successful programs should take into account the reality of the social and familial background of the targeted children and provide more holistic support. The stakeholders of this research have a strong conviction that programs must be designed to include parents in order to raise their awareness of the importance of education for their children, and to inform them about what to expect from the school and their role in supporting the children.

According to the theory of the social ecology of resilience (Ungar 2011), changes in the children's social ecologies can foster their resilience. In the case of the Syrian refugee children, although programs oriented towards teachers and parents do not seem directly oriented to children, theory indicates that taking this kind of action, through the social ecology, could have a positive impact on their engagement at school as well as decrease their exposure to other risks.

Hence, the following set of recommendations is the result of the discussions with the Syrian and the Lebanese teachers. They are not restricted to actions to take with children but also concern the other social ecologies around them, namely the parents and the Syrian volunteers.

Other ecologies such as the Lebanese education system are also of great importance, but because of the limitations of this study and the fact that recommendations concerning an education system are of a higher level of programming that involves policies and governmental institutions, the recommendations are limited to what could be done with the children and with the closest social ecologies surrounding them, and where assets are detected: their parents and their Syrian teachers.

V.I Immediate actions to help children

- Provide psychological and emotional support
- Provide after-school and summer support sessions, mainly in English
- Provide behavioural and social education to make up for the lack of education at home. This is estimated to be of great importance in helping the children adapt to the Lebanese school
- Help the children have hope and perspective
- Organize activities to allow positive interactions between Syrian and Lebanese peers

- Design programs that aim to channel the violence of the children through appropriate means of expression

V.II Immediate actions to help parents

Design programs to involve parents in the education of their children. Specifically:

- Raise awareness of the importance of education, primarily to improve the refugee experience but also to prepare the children for a better future.
- Explain the role of the Lebanese school and explain the differences between it and Syrian school.
- Clarify the risk of Syria’s “automatic upgrading” practice, which allows students to pass to the next the grade regardless of school attendance, and explain the justifications of downgrading a child to a grade corresponding to his real academic level, which is a common practice in Lebanon.
- Provide English and French language courses to help parents follow and support their children in learning the language and consider specially designed courses that integrate implicit guidance and awareness activities.¹⁵

V.III Immediate actions to help Syrian volunteer teachers

- Provide advice about the special psychosocial needs of the children such as child labour, violence, radicalisation and trauma, and provide pedagogical training to align their teaching with the Lebanese curriculum.
- Offer language courses to enable them to practice and teach English (and potentially French) at an adequate level compared with the Lebanese schools.
- Create frameworks that allow Syrian teachers to follow up with Syrian children at the Lebanese School, “hand in hand” with their parents.
- Provide more resources in order to create more homogeneous groups of children in terms of different ages and different levels.
- Develop learning strategies based on peer-to-peer learning as other resilience research (World Bank 2013b) shows that peer support is very beneficial.
- Train teachers to deal with the sensitivities of Syrian child labour
- Provide more instructional materials
- Provide training on how to teach the Lebanese curriculum and provide a teacher’s guide
- Enrich the non-formal program to more closely resemble formal school and all its school subjects

After several discussions with Jusoor’s coordinators on the issues raised by their volunteer teachers during this study, the NGO started to hire additional teachers to overcome the risks induced by basing the full teaching responsibilities on volunteers.

15 See for example the MOM project run by the NGO Unite Lebanon Youth, <http://www.unitelebanonyouth.org/web/ourprograms.php>

V.IV A resilience-fostering school operates with both Syrian and Lebanese teachers

At the beginning of the study, Syrian stakeholders were interested in solutions that copy the UNRWA schools for Palestinians, i.e. establishing schools for Syrian students run by Syrian teachers but teaching the Lebanese curriculum which would lead to Lebanese certifications. Besides the fact that such solutions are very expensive and difficult to set up and finance, as they need political support and a high level of programming, the main drawback is that such schools will perpetrate the division between the Syrian and Lebanese communities. This separation would prevent Syrian children from adapting to Lebanese society. Jusoor's volunteers believe they have to continue their efforts to prepare children to go to the Lebanese school.

A "politically accepted" educational program might be a program run and supervised by Lebanese teachers who master the Lebanese curriculum, with the assistance of Syrian teachers or young volunteers who are more able to emotionally engage with the children and support their development. Such solutions would prevent Lebanese teachers from feeling threatened by competition from Syrians and would help create a welcoming environment where the children could easily adapt, which helps foster children's resilience and improves learning outcomes.

VI. Conclusion

According to the study, the difficulties that Syrian children face in Lebanese schools are not simply due to the language of instruction and discrimination as it seemed to be at a first glance. The difficulties also have to do with structural reasons related to the distinct characteristics of Syrian society and their differences with Lebanese society.

Mainly, the study reveals the critical role of parents in their children's education. The experience of acute adversity can drive parents to become a risk to the education of their children. In fact, many stories from this research showed that Syrian parents do have the will to provide education to their children but do not necessarily have the right means of support. Hence, programs should include parents through offering awareness programs about child development needs, and about the importance of education to prepare for a better future. Social support and even education (e.g. language courses) specifically designed for parents would also empower them to give the right support to their children on their educational journey.

Important assets were also discovered in the non-formal education centres run by Syrian volunteers. A subsequent study should be conducted to better analyse these assets (and eventually discover others). Meaningful programs could be designed to benefit from the social cohesion and the cultural understanding of the educated Syrian diaspora to enhance the existing refugee education programs.

Some of these research findings are similar to findings from other field studies, for instance, the Joint Education Needs Assessment (JENA) for Syrian refugee children conducted by UNHCR (2013).¹⁶ Nevertheless, this study offers an insightful opinion that connects some risks to the original Syrian social ecology. A better understanding of these relationships would allow for better program design in the future, as "Interventions to facilitate optimal human development and well-being in contexts where children face adversity are most effective when they reflect the complexity of a multisystemic view of human development and resilience" (Ungar, Ghazinour and Richte 2013).

It was interesting to see how the application of the ERA framework allowed the research to detect the deep impact of the social structure on the education of refugee children. Although the findings could be judged intuitive once discovered, they clearly explain the gap between children who are coping brilliantly and others who are struggling unsuccessfully, despite the fact that all the adults working with Syrian children confirm that they are all smart and mature.

In order to support these findings, I recommend conducting a quantitative phase. The World Bank's Education Resilience team has published a rapid resilience assessment tool called the RES-360° (World Bank 2013c) which is accompanied by a tool kit (World Bank 2013d). The tool allows for the design of a rapid assessment plan to identify the main risks and assets available for children, schools, communities and education systems.

Annex C is a questionnaire template taken from the associated RES-360° tool kit. The questionnaire could easily be adapted to each social ecology level as suggested by the conceptual framework

16 The Joint Education Needs Assessment was launched in mid 2013 (UNHCR 2013, 5).

presented in Chapter 4.

Hopefully this study, despite its limited scope, provides a better understanding of the struggle of Syrian students in Lebanese schools. This understanding should lead to well-designed, effective programs that offer these disadvantaged children a quality education and a better future.



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Annex A. Interview guides

Interview guide for students attending the Lebanese school

The interview started with a small ice-breaker activity. The children were asked to write their names in Arabic and in English on a sheet of paper that the coordinator pinned on the desk in front of every child. The children were clearly informed that they were free not to participate or not to answer specific questions.

Questions to get to know the children:

1. Where do you come from? من أين أنت في سورية
2. For how long have you been in Lebanon and in Beirut? كم مضى لك من الوقت في لبنان
3. How old are you? ما عمرك
4. In what grade were you in Syria and in Lebanon? How do you feel about being downgraded and do you understand why? بأي صف كنت في سورية، وفي أي صف أنت الآن؟ ولماذا تغير صفك؟ ما إحساسك تجاه تغيير صفك؟

Questions that relate to the research questions:

1. Why do you go to school? Who decided that you should go to this school? لماذا تذهب إلى المدرسة من قرر أنك ستذهب إلى المدرسة، ومدرستك الحالية بالذات؟
2. Tell me about your experience at the Lebanese school: about teachers, peers, language, books, playground... احكِ لي عن تجربتك في المدرسة، عن الأساتذة والطلاب والكتب، ولغة الدراسة، والبناء والملاعب
3. What did you like when you began studying in the Lebanese school? ما الذي تحبه في المدرسة اللبنانية
4. What was difficult when you began studying in the Lebanese school? ما الذي كان صعباً عندما بدأت الدراسة في المدرسة اللبنانية؟
5. What helped you with those difficult situations? ما الذي ساعدك على تجاوز الصعوبات
6. Who looks after your studies at home? من الذي يتابع دراستك
7. Who do you ask for help with your school work? (peers, family members, teachers, extra classes, etc.) ممن كنت تطلب المساعدة بما يتعلق بالدراسة
8. Who do you play with at school? مع من تلعب في المدرسة اللبنانية
9. Which school do you feel benefits you more? Why? في أي مدرسة تحس أنك تستفيد أكثر، ولماذا
10. Tell me about your experience learning in a new language? احكِ لي عن تجربتك في الدراسة بلغة تعليم مختلفة عن العربي
11. How did Jusoor's support help you in the Lebanese school? كيف ساعدتك جسور في الدراسة بالمدرسة اللبنانية
12. How are you now compared to when you first started school? هل تحس أنك تطورت عن بدايتك في المدرسة؟ كيف تجد نفسك الآن
13. What do you think would be helpful for you and your fellow Syrians to cope in the Lebanese school? ما الذي باعتقادك يمكن أن يساعدك ورفاقك على النجاح في المدرسة اللبنانية
14. Tell me a story about a Lebanese teacher you thought was good for you and your fellow

احك لي عن أستاذ لبناني جيد لتعليم السوريين، هل تعرف مثل هذا الأستاذ؟

15. Describe a good school for you and your fellow Syrians? Is yours a good one? ما هي برايك المدرسة الجيدة لتعليم السوريين. هل تعتبر مدرستك جيدة
16. What are your expectations for your education and your future? ما هي أحلامك المستقبلية فيما يخص المدرسة

Interview guide for students who had dropped out of the Lebanese school

The interview started with a small ice-breaker activity. The children were asked to write their names in Arabic and in English on a sheet of paper that the coordinator pinned on the desk in front of every child. The children were clearly informed that they were free not to participate or not to answer specific questions.

Questions to get to know the children:

1. Where do you come from? من أين أنت في سورية
2. For how long have you been in Lebanon and in Beirut? كم مضى لك من الوقت في لبنان
3. How old are you? ما عمرك
4. What grade were you in Syria and in Lebanon? How do you feel about being downgraded and do you understand why? بأي صف كنت في سورية، وفي أي صف أنت الآن؟ ولماذا تغير صفك؟ ما إحساسك تجاه تغيير صفك هل تفهم السبب؟

Questions that relate to the research questions:

Note: The questions were only partially discussed, as the children were unable to sit still for very long.

1. Why do you go to school? Who decided which school you go to? لماذا تذهب إلى المدرسة؟ من قرر أنك ستذهب إلى المدرسة، ومدرستك الحالية بالذات
2. Tell me about your experience at the Lebanese school: about teachers, peers, language, books, playground... احك لي عن تجربتك في المدرسة اللبنانية، عن الأساتذة والطلاب والكتب، ولغة الدراسة، والبناء والملاعب...
3. Why did you leave the Lebanese school? What was difficult when you began studying there? لماذا تركت المدرسة اللبنانية، ما الذي كان صعبا عندما بدأت الدراسة فيها؟
4. Who did you ask for help with your schoolwork? ممن كنت تطلب المساعدة بما يتعلق بالدراسة
5. Who looks after your studies at home? من الذي يتابع دراستك
6. How was your attendance at the Lebanese school? Why? كيف كان دوامك وحضورك في المدرسة اللبنانية
7. Why did you leave that Lebanese school? لماذا تركت المدرسة اللبنانية
8. Who did you play with at the Lebanese school? مع من كنت تلعب في المدرسة اللبنانية
9. If you could change something in the Lebanese school, what would it be? Would you go back if this changed? إذا كان بإمكانك تغيير شيء في المدرسة اللبنانية، ماهو؟ وإذا تغير فهل تعود إلى هذه المدرسة
10. What do you think would be helpful for you and your fellow Syrians to cope in the Lebanese

school? ما الذي باعتقادك يمكن أن يساعدك ورفاقك على النجاح في المدرسة اللبنانية؟

11. What do you think makes a good teacher for you and your fellow Syrians here in Lebanon?

من هو برايك الأستاذ الجيد لتعليم السوريين؟

12. What do you think makes a good school for you and your fellow Syrians here in Lebanon?

صف لي المدرسة الجيدة برأيك لتعليم السوريين؟

13. What do you like about Jusoor School? ما رايك بمدرسة جسور، ما الذي تحبه فيها وما الذي لا تحبه

14. What are your expectations for your education and your future? ما هي أحلامك المستقبلية فيما يخص

المدرسة

Interview guide for Jusoor's volunteer teachers

Introduction: The purpose of the research/ voluntary nature of participation and freedom to not answer/ privacy and confidentiality issues.

1. Did you already have teaching experience before working at Jusoor? For how long?
2. How are the children selected for the Lebanese school and how do you assess their cognitive levels? What do you think about these processes (selection and level evaluation)?
3. Tell me about your experience teaching Syrian refugee children in general? What are the difficulties? What are the strengths of these children?
4. How do you help them cope with the difficulties in the non-formal program?
5. Describe your perception of how the children are progressing.
6. Do you keep in contact with children transferred to Lebanese schools? How?
7. What do you think are the challenges and difficulties in Lebanese schools (that you have no control over)?
8. What do the Syrian children need to be successful in a Lebanese school? How are you helping them with those needs?
9. How can you or others help children fill those needs successfully? (What are the needs of a school like Jusoor?)
10. What is the most important step to take if you rank your responses to the previous question?
11. For you as a volunteer teacher, what do you need to better help the children? (money, experience, pedagogical training, psychosocial training, stability, etc.)

Interview guide for the Lebanese school coordinator and teachers

Introduction: The purpose of the research/ voluntary nature of participation and freedom to not answer/ privacy and confidentiality issues.

1. Are you living in the same neighbourhood as the Syrian children? Do you have contact with the children outside school?
2. How are the children selected to attend the Lebanese school and how do you assess their cognitive levels? What do you think about these processes (selection and level evaluation)? *Record the answer for both morning and afternoon shifts.*
3. Tell me about your experience teaching Syrian refugee children in general. What are the difficulties? What are the strengths of these children?
4. Are the majority of the children from the same neighbourhood? Do you feel they are different from the Lebanese children? How? Can you tell me how and why they are different?
5. How do you help them cope with difficulties in the non-formal program?
6. Describe your perception of how the children are progressing.
7. Tell me about your interaction with Syrian parents and about their level of involvement in their children's education. *Record the answer for both morning and afternoon shifts.*
8. What do you think are the challenges and difficulties in Lebanese schools (that you have no control over)?
9. What do the Syrian children need to be successful in a Lebanese school? How are you helping them with those needs?
10. How can you or others help children fill those needs successfully? (What are the needs of a school like yours?)
11. What is the most important step to take if you rank your responses to the previous question?
12. For you as a public school teacher, what do you need to better help the children? (money, experience, pedagogical training, psychosocial training, stability, etc.)

Annex B. Complete list of original codes

I include here the full list of original codes as extracted and categorized in the first cycle of analysis. The codes are kept in Arabic as it is the original language of the participants and I considered that translation would reduce their meaningfulness.

Table A1
Original codes representing the risks

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
Individual risks (Behavioural, mainly crisis-related)	Personal perception	عدم ثقة بالنفس إحساس بالعجز عدم خجل من عدم المعرفة إحساس بالنقص وحاجة للمزيد من الدعم خوف الأولاد من المدرسة اللبنانية إحساس بالحاجة إلى عدم الابتعاد عن الأخوة رفض القيود مفهوم الزمن غير سليم خجل من العمل اللبنانيون متعجبون
	Maladaptive reactions	مشاكل نفسية: شرد / تشتت / تأتأة / عنف عنف مع الأقران التعبير العنيف انعكاس للعنف بسبب الحرب العنف أكثر لدى القادمين الجدد عدم قدرة على التركيز بسبب المعاناة رغبة الطفل في ترك المدرسة والعمل لكسب المال تعزيز الشخصية بالعمل
	Adaptation difficulties	الحنين إلى البلد انعدام الأمل تعلق بفكرة العودة السريعة عدم تخطيط على المدى البعيد البنات يتأقلمن أفضل من الصبيان التأقلم اسهل للأصغر عمرا حاجة للوقت للتأقلم المعاناة الناتجة عن ظروف الانتقال الحاجة للدعم المعنوي حدود لطاقه الأولاد: إرهاق انطواء شديد وانغلاق اجتماعي
Relational (social) risks	Familial risks a. Pre-crisis (and aggravated by the crisis)	تساهل في تغييب الطفل عن المدرسة عدم وعي الأهل أمهات غير متعلمات عدم اهتمام الاهل والاهمال عدم معرفة الهدف من المدرسة المدرسة فقط ليرتاح الأهل قليلا من الاولاد البيئة الأصلية سيئة انعدام العطف “ في مشكلة متابعة من البيت “ عنف أسري الصراخ في البيت التعبير العنيف انعكاس للعنف في البيت

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
	b. Crisis-related	<p>إهمال بسبب الظروف الصعبة ضغوط كثيرة على الأهل احتياجات عديدة للأطفال: مادية وعاطفية وتعليمية إهمال وعدم مبالاة بالمدرسة عدم دعم المراهقين في الدراسة عمالة الأطفال تمنع المدرسة عمالة الأطفال تعيق الدراسة انخفاض القدرات المادية للأسرة عدم استقرار الأهل ينقلون عدم الاستقرار للأولاد "الولد مراية البيت" ضغط الأهل ذو التأثير السلبي على الطلاب والمدرسة سلوك الأهل الاجتماعي السلبي معيق لدراسة الأولاد احساس الأهل برفض المدرسة لأولادهم إحساس بعدم الأمان في العلاقة مع المدرسة اللبنانية احساس إدارة المدرسة برغبة الأهل باستغلال موارد المدرسة</p>
	Community-related risks a. Pre-crisis b. Crisis-related	<p>مشاكل اجتماعية موروثية بيئة غير واعية اختلاف البيئة السورية عن اللبنانية البيئة السورية الأصلية منغلقة عدم احترام المرأة وبالتالي المدرّسة الزواج المبكر لكلا الجنسين تغيير البيئة من منغلقة إلى مفتوحة تشنج السوريين في المجتمع اللبناني صدمة اختلاف المجتمع "صاروا يستخدموا الحرية كفضى" تعبير الطلاب لبعضهم بسبب العمل بيئة الأطفال غير طبيعية (فقدان عزة النفس (عدم الحرج من طلب المساعدات</p>
School environment	Personal perception a. Rejection by school and peers	<p>"إحساس بوجود "حقد" " المعاملة في المدرسة اللبنانية كثير سيئة وفيها إذلال " ظروف التعليم للسوريين سيئة خوف من الذهاب إلى المدرسة اللبنانية إحساس بالغيرة في المدرسة اللبنانية رفض الأولاد اللبنانيين عدم الاعجاب بالمدرسة اللبنانية رفض المدرسة اللبنانية المدرسة فقط للعب تفضيل البقاء بين السوريين (التمسك بالمدرس السوري (رفض المدرس اللبناني سهولة التعامل مع الأقران السوريين</p>
	b. Attachment to Syrians	
	Relations with peers	<p>سوء معاملة من الأقران اللبنانيين عنف من الأقران اللبنانيين فوضى في الصف عنف في محيط المدرسة التأثير السلبي للعناصر المضطربة</p>

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
	<p>Relations with adults</p> <p>a. With teachers</p> <p>b. With principal & staff</p>	<p>عنف من المدرسين اللبنانيين</p> <p>سوء معاملة من المدرسين اللبنانيين</p> <p>عنف كلامي من المدرسين</p> <p>عدم التواصل مع المدرس اللبناني</p> <p>(عصبية المدرس اللبناني غير الموجهة بالضرورة للطالب السوري)</p> <p>شعور بالاهمال (عدم تجاوب) من المدرس</p> <p>صراخ المدرسين اللبنانيين</p> <p>عدم تحمل المدرسين اللبنانيين للطلاب السوريين</p> <p>قناعة بأنه لبنان متطور أكثر من سورية</p> <p>عنف من المدير</p> <p>عنف كلامي من المدير</p> <p>سوء معاملة الإدارة اللبنانية</p> <p>تجريح الطلاب أمام أهاليهم</p> <p>تهديد من إدارة المدرسة</p> <p>الإهانة من الإدارة</p> <p>سلبية الإدارة</p> <p>تلملح واضح من السوريين تعبير غير مباشر عن الملل من السوريين</p> <p>خوف من منافسة المدرسين السوريين اللبنانيين</p>
Education related risks	<p>Learning difficulties</p> <p>a. Pre-crisis</p> <p>b. Crisis related</p> <p>c. Maladaptive reactions</p>	<p>صعوبة اللغة</p> <p>إحساس بالعجز أمام اللغة الانجليزية</p> <p>صعوبة الدراسة</p> <p>أساس علمي ضعيف</p> <p>الفجوة والانقطاع عن المدرسة</p> <p>مشكلة تنزيل الصف</p> <p>عدم وعي لسبب تأخير الصف</p> <p>احساس بالضيق للكبير في صف اصغر</p> <p>عدم قناعة بتأخير الصف</p> <p>تشبث باللغة العربية/ عدم قناعة بأهمية الانجليزي</p> <p>تغيب بسبب إحساس بالعجز</p>
	<p>Non-adaptive teaching methods</p>	<p>عدم ملاءمة التدريس مع احتياجات ومستوى الطالب</p> <p>عدم إمكانية المعاملة الخاصة لكل طالب</p> <p>عقاب في المدرسة بسبب الوظائف</p> <p>عدد طلاب كبير بالصف</p> <p>عدم وجود برامج خاصة للمدارس التي فيها سوريين</p>
	<p>Risks related to the Lebanese education system</p> <p>a. Pre-crisis</p> <p>b. Crisis-related</p>	<p>التعليم سيئ</p> <p>حاجة لموارد تعليمية أكثر</p> <p>حاجة لدعم النشاطات اللاصفية، والرحلات التعليمية</p> <p>عوائق إدارية لتسجيل السوريين</p> <p>اهمال في تدريس الصفوف ذات الغالبية السورية</p> <p>فروق كبيرة بين المنهاج اللبناني والسوري</p> <p>”مستوى اللبناني أحسن من السوري“</p> <p>خط السوريين مع اللبنانيين متعب للمدرس</p> <p>سوء استغلال لبرنامج دعم تعليم السوريين</p>

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
	<p>Risks related to the Lebanese education system</p> <p>a. Pre-crisis</p> <p>b. Crisis-related</p>	<p>سوء النظام التعليمي في سورية</p> <p>فساد المدرسة في سورية</p> <p>سوء تدريس اللغة بسورية</p> <p>”تمسك اللاجئ بالنظام التعليمي السوري” الفاسد</p> <p>اختلاف ظروف التعليم في سورية بين المدينة والقرية</p> <p>فساد المدرسة في سورية: الغش</p> <p>”الاسلوب الدارج بسورية هو الالتقاء“</p> <p>أسلوب الإلقاء التلقين والحفظ</p> <p>فقدان ثقة المدرس السوري بنظام التعليم السوري</p> <p>(نظرة مشوهة للنظام اللبناني بشكل مشابه للسوري) (فساد</p> <p>تسرب الطلاب بسبب العوائق الإدارية</p>
	<p>Risks related to the volunteer-based education</p> <p>a. Class-related</p> <p>b. Teacher-related</p> <p>c. Education system-related</p>	<p>عدة مستويات بنفس الصف</p> <p>اختلاف الأعمار في الصف</p> <p>عدد الطلاب الكبير في الصف</p> <p>الطلاب قادمون من بيئات فقيرة ومحرومة</p> <p>(الأثر السلبي للأطفال ذوي المشاكل على الآخرين (عنف وفرط حركة</p> <p>قلة النظام وحركة الطلاب المفرطة في الصف</p> <p>نقص بعدد المتطوعين-ضغط كبير على المتطوع</p> <p>متطوعين غير مدربين</p> <p>حاجة لإشراف تربوي</p> <p>عجزالمدرس المتطوع عن دعم الطالب المراهق</p> <p>عدم التزام كل المتطوعين</p> <p>عدم التزام المتطوعين بالأنظمة والقواعد</p> <p>حاجة لوسائل إيضاح</p> <p>تعلق الأطفال الشديد (المرضي) بالمدرس السوري</p> <p>عدم احترام المدرس بسبب كثرة التغيير</p> <p>كثرة تغيير المدرسين تعطي انطباع بعدم جدية</p> <p>عدم معرفة المتطوعين بالمنهاج اللبناني</p> <p>عدم وجود تخاطب وتواصل مع اللبنانيين</p> <p>انقطاع متابعة الطفل في المدرسة اللبنانية</p> <p>اختلاف المنهاج اللبناني عن السوري</p>
	Non-formal education program (run by UNICEF)	<p>(استغلال سيء للموارد المقدمة (سرقة</p> <p>عدد الطلاب الكبير</p> <p>عدم جدية المدرسين</p> <p>الطلاب قادمون من بيئات فقيرة ومحرومة</p>

Table A2
Original codes representing the assets

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
Individual assets		<p>رغبة الأولاد بالتعلم الإرادة الوعي تجاوب ممتاز لبعض الطلاب تجاوب الصغار مع التعليم غير الرسمي مطالبة المعلمة بمزيد من الشرح ذكاء ولطف حماس للمدرسة (إحساس بالاستقلالية) بالدراسة التأقلم اسهل للأصغر عمرا تعاطف مع ظروف الأهل الصعبة الطالب الذي لديه هدف يستمر ”وعي الطلاب لتحمل الضغط والإذلال“ اندماج مع اللبنانيين معرفة أنه يجب المبادرة بالتفاعل مع اللبنانيين</p>
Relational (social) assets	Family	<p>اهتمام الأهل بمتابعة تعليم الأولاد دعم الأهل الانفتاح يساعد على لتطور متابعة الأهل مع المدرسة تفهم الأهل لضرورة تنزيل الصف حماس الأهل للتواصل مع المدرسة</p>
	Informal education environment a. Children-related b. Volunteer-related	<p>تعاطف المتطوعين مع الأطفال تفهم الاستاذ السوري لوضع الطالب السوري حب جسور إحساس بالانتماء إلى جسور جسور مصدر إضافي للتعلم العناية الفردية مجدية للولد تجاوب مع التحفيز والاهتمام إيجابية: أمل بالاستفادة من الصدمة ”إحساس الانتماء بيخليك تعطي كل جهدك“ استعداد لمتابعة الطفل في المدرسة اللبنانية المدرسين يأخذوا طاقتهم من الطلاب وبالعكس</p>
	Lebanese school	<p>تعاطف بعض المدرسين اللبنانيين تفهم بعض المدرسين اللبنانيين انطباع تعليم أفضل في لبنان</p>

Table A3
Original codes representing the outcomes

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
Positive outcomes		إحساس بالتقدم: انطباع إيجابي بأن الأولاد يحرزون تقدماً في بيئة التعليم غير الرسمي تجاوب إيجابي مع اللغة إعجاب بالمدرسة اللبنانية تعلق بجسور التأقلم مع المجتمع اللبناني الاستفادة من التعرف على التجربة التعليمية اللبنانية
Negative outcomes		ترك المدرسة قرار المدرسة بصرف الطالب بسبب ضعف مستواه قرار الطالب بترك المدرسة عدم إعجاب بالمدرسة اللبنانية عدم اندماج في المدرسة إحساس بالعجز: محاولة التأقلم دون نتيجة

Table A4
Original codes representing the promotive and protective processes

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
Promotive processes		الاستفادة من نظام التعليم اللبناني أثر إيجابي للخلط بين طلاب التعليم الرسمي مع طلاب التعليم غير الرسمي دورات لغة للطلاب والمدرسين تدريب للمدرسين
	Support for learning in the formal education system	مساعدة المدرس في الصف دروس خصوصية مساعدة الأهل في الدراسة مساعدة الأقران (الأخوة) مساعدة بعد الظهر دورة تقوية صيفية دوام ثانٍ مخصص للسوريين مساعدة في حل الوظائف أثناء الأسبوع صفوف تأقلم
	Role of volunteers	معاملة خاصة للأولاد حسب احتياجاتهم تشجيع وتحفيز للأولاد دور جسور التعليمي دور جسور بتعليم الانجليزي متابعة وضع الطالب في المدرسة الرسمية جعل الأولاد يدرسون بعضهم تدريب المتطوعين على أسلوب التدريس اللبناني
Protective processes	Adult (external) support	توجيه اجتماعي وصحي إشراف نفسي وعاطفي “ مهمتي هي زرع طموح “ نقل فكرة البدء بحياة جديدة للطلاب دور جسور العاطفي
	Family support	“ إذا الوضع بالبيت مأمّن بيتحملوا الضغط برا “
	Raising family's awareness	برامج توعية وتوجيه للأهل تعريف بدور المدرسة الفعلي

Categories	Sub-categories	Original codes
	Unconscious adaptive processes (children's dreams)	حلم قصير المدى-تعليم الانجليزي حلم بعيد المدى-معلم أو مدير أو طبيب حلم - الحنين إلى الوطن حلم - تغير تعامل اللبنانيين
	Unconscious maladaptive processes (children's dreams)	حلم- رغبة بالانتقام من اللبنانيين

Annex C. Questionnaire template

Source: Based on questionnaire in World Bank, Resilience in Education Systems (RES-360°): Tool Kit (2013d).

SECTION A: RISKS

SECTION A1: RISK PREVALENCE					
How prevalent are the following risks in your home, school, community, or neighborhood?					
	Non-existent	Low	Somewhat	Frequent	Often
1. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
2. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
3. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
4. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
5. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
6. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
7. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
8. ...	<input type="radio"/>				

SECTION A2: RISK LOCATION			
Where do you experience these risks?			
	School	Home	In the street
1. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Risk-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. ...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

SECTION B: ASSETS

SECTION B1: ASSET PREVALENCE

How prevalent are the following assets in your home, school, community, or neighborhood?

	Non-existent	Low	Somewhat	Frequent	Often
1. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
2. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
3. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
4. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
5. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
6. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
7. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>				
8. ...	<input type="radio"/>				

SECTION B2: ASSET LOCATION

Where do you experience these assets?

	School	Home	In the street
1. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Asset-related question here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. ...	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



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