

How Effective is the Education Response for Displaced Syrian Children in Lebanon?

Non-Formal Education Programming in a Fragile Context.

BACHELOR THESIS PUBLIC GOVERNANCE ACROSS BORDERS

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Abstract

The Bachelor thesis addresses the research question “*how and to what extent do selected education projects undertaken by non-state service providers address the factors inhibiting the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon effectively?*”. Drawing on service delivery theory in fragile states in the education sector, the study presents the main concepts education delivery, state fragility, education in emergencies, effectiveness, and barriers to education. Deploying a longitudinal case study approach, the thesis takes four education projects derived from qualitative desk research into account. By analysing the three sub-research questions (1) “*What are the factors that constrain access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon?*”, (2) “*What are the current initiatives taken by national and international NGOs regarding supporting education among Syrian refugees in Lebanon?*”, and (3) “*What is the documented effectiveness of the selected education projects in reducing the main barriers to access to education for Syrian refugees?*”, the thesis consequently arrives at the conclusion that the education delivery is constrained by the education barriers cost to education, negative coping mechanisms, psychological stress and trauma, being over age, lacking language skills, lacking documentation, and discrimination and violence. It identifies that non-state education delivery significantly contributes to the provision of education for marginalized groups. However, structural barriers such as capacity gaps and fragmentation of service delivery require to be addressed beyond the NGO and INGO interventions in order to create sustainable improvement.

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1. Background: Introduction and Research Question

This thesis addresses the issue that a high proportion of displaced Syrian youth in Lebanon lacks access to adequate education opportunities. While state authorities, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) seek to overcome barriers to education with a wide range of projects, the projects' effectiveness in tackling these barriers remains in the dark.

Since the beginning of the Syrian war in 2011, Lebanon experienced the worldwide highest per capita influx of displaced persons with 1.5 million Syrians seeking refuge, which exceeds 30 percent of the country population (Ministry of Education and Higher Education [MEHE], 2014; United Nations System in Lebanon [UN Lebanon], 2017). Given the impact of confessionalism on the Lebanese political system that paralyzes decision-making and makes it prone to external influence, as well as the negative economic repercussions of the 1975-1990 civil war and the 2006 conflict with Israel, Lebanon already experienced difficulties in the public sector prior to the arrival of the Syrian refugees (The World Bank Group Middle East and North Africa Region, 2015). The abrupt population growth and its accompanying changing composition not only disrupts Lebanon's confessional balance but further exacerbates the pressure on the state infrastructure that remains behind the population's need in terms of social service delivery.

Around 42 percent of the displaced Syrians are school-aged children between 3-18 years (MEHE, 2014). According to a study conducted by UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, and Save the Children International (2014) only 6 percent of the surveyed Syrian refugee youth are enrolled in formal education in Lebanon, even though 35 percent of the youth sample have been previously enrolled in Syria. Whilst also catering for the Lebanese youth, the education demand exceeds the capacity and the resources of the Lebanese education sector. This leads to the problem that a large share of children and youth lack access to appropriate education opportunities, leaving many of them out of school.

Addressing this issue by guaranteeing the human right to education plays a vital role for the displaced Syrian children as well as the Lebanese host community. For the affected children, education in the immediate reaction to emergencies provides a protective environment that can serve as entry point for psychological support and other life-saving information e.g. on self-protection from abuse. It furthermore opens the opportunity for reaching children with other crucial services such as nutrition, health, or water and sanitation (Baird, 2010; Burde, Kapit, Wahl, Guven, & Skarpeteig, 2017). In conflict-situations, education also reduces the likelihood of being recruited for combat, forced labour, drug trafficking or sexual exploitation (Save the Children, 2015). In the long-term, education can offer a sense of normalcy within a disrupted life by providing familiar routines and a perspective for the future. It also sustains progress already made by school-going children and decreases the impact of

interruptions. Beyond the affected individual, education can contribute to a shared identity through communicating values such as human rights and tolerance, thereby fostering integration in the host-community. The acquired skills enable an economically independent life and increased future job opportunities which contain implications for the country's social capital and economic development (Baird, 2010; Burde et al., 2017). In situations of conflict and fragility, education contains an even higher relevance as it is prone to politicization. If addressed effectively, education delivery can assist in peace-building processes and promote social cohesion (Rose, 2007a). Next to the benefits that come along with increased education opportunities, paying attention to this issue is also relevant because states need to be responsive to their population's needs. According to 16 studies that were conducted across different types of emergencies by eight organizations, 99 percent of children in crisis situations see education as a priority (Save the Children, 2015). This is also the case in Lebanon. It is known that among the Syrian refugees that were enrolled in Syria, 87 percent would like to continue their education in Lebanon if possible (UNESCO et al., 2014).

Being aware of these wide ranging effects of lacking access to education, the Lebanese government adopted the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP) in 2015 and launched the Reaching All Children with Education programme in 2014 as respective response for the education sector (Government of Lebanon [GoL] & United Nations [UN], 2015; MEHE, 2014). As the Lebanese state alone is unable to cater the needs of all Syrian refugee children, the response to the education crisis involves numerous non-state actors that support the cause. National and international NGOs (INGOs) as well as international organizations provide complementary educational programmes and prepare the refugee youth for the transition into the formal education system. Yet despite the efforts that are undertaken by all actors, barriers to education remain.

Therefore, the question arises to what extent the response to the education crisis by non-state actors addresses these barriers effectively. In the past decade, academic research on education in crisis situations and early reconstruction has been growing (Kagawa, 2005). This body of literature includes best practices for education delivery in fragile situations, improving access for marginalised and vulnerable communities, and the role of NGOs in doing so (Rose, 2007a; Rose & Greeley, 2006). What is missing according to a literature review on what works for the education delivery in fragile situations by Burde, Guven, Kelcey, Lahmann, and Al-Abbadi (2015) is an examination of the best interventions for supporting educational access, quality of learning and well-being for refugee children and youth. Therefore, Burde et al. (2015) suggest comparing the impact of different access interventions as number one recommendation for further research.

Taking the state of research in the field into account, this paper seeks to address this research gap by examining education projects carried out by different non-state actors in terms of their effectiveness in addressing the main barriers to education for Syrian refugee children and youth in

Lebanon. The paper hereby considers projects carried out by different non-state actors such as NGOs, INGOs and international organizations. This paper adds to the existing body of knowledge by pointing out similarities and differences between the education access interventions and assessing their effectiveness in reducing or overcoming the barriers to education. The barriers are derived from various reports that are partly based on the input and feedback of the affected refugee youth. That way it can be guaranteed that the projects are demand-oriented and not exclusively formulated by the donor community. With this approach, insights into the informal education sector in Lebanon are provided and knowledge on the effectiveness of different access interventions is generated. By assessing the barriers to education and the effectiveness, the paper takes a stance on the importance of ownership among the affected population, which possibly contributes to future project implementation processes in fragile contexts in the education sector.

Consequently, this paper raises the research question:

How and to what extent do selected education projects undertaken by non-state service providers address the factors inhibiting the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon effectively?

This descriptive main-research question is structured in three sub-research questions.

(1) What are the factors that constrain access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon?

This sub-question is designed to introduce the specific country context of Lebanon. Besides explaining Lebanon's particular political-administrative system and historical background of civil war, it sheds light on the education sector before and after the influx of Syrian refugees. It finishes by pointing out the key factors that hinder Syrian refugees from starting or continuing their education.

(2) What are the current initiatives taken by national and international NGOs regarding supporting education among Syrian refugees in Lebanon?

This sub-question provides an overview on different NGO and INGO education projects. It continues by analysing four education projects in-depth regarding the extent to which they address the barriers to education identified in sub-research question one.

(3) What is the documented effectiveness of the selected education projects in reducing the main barriers to access to education for Syrian refugees?

This sub-question takes into account the extent to which the projects deploy monitoring mechanisms and the extent to which the project outputs correspond with the formulated project objectives.

The underlying assumption is that the refugees have a great awareness of their own educational needs and what prevents them from satisfying them, and that by orienting the project interventions towards this knowledge, the projects' effectiveness increases.

Following the introduction of the research problem and the presentation of the research question and its respective sub-research questions, chapter two outlines the theoretical background on education delivery in a fragile context. Chapter three describes the methodology and operationalization which explains how the data used in the analysis has been extracted and displays the data that is used to answer the research question and the sub-questions. Chapter four analyses and answers the three sub-research questions, after which chapter five provides the conclusion and reflection. The research questions as well as the sub-research questions are answered in the conclusion chapter which also provides recommendations for further research.

2. Theory

This chapter presents the theoretical grounding for the topic of limited access to education for refugees in a fragile state context. Section 2.1 discusses New Public Management as framework theory for service delivery in stable environments and particularly focuses on contracting out for social services in section 2.1.1. Section 2.2 elaborates on the fragile state context and section 2.2.1 describes its implications for service delivery. Section 2.3 zooms in and presents education delivery in fragile situations and introduces the concept of emergency education. Section 2.3.1 defines non-state education delivery, with a particular focus on NGO provision in section 2.3.2. Section 2.3.3. conceptualized the first core concept, effectiveness, and section 2.3.4 provides the conceptualization for the second core concept, the barriers to education.

2.1. New Public Management in a Stable Environment

A stable environment is in most cases a state, which consists according to Jellinek's three-element doctrine of a state territory, a state population and a state authority, which represents the state's ability to execute its core functions (Hirschmann, 2016). A stable state exercises four core functions: (1) security governance through its monopoly of power, (2) political governance through the rule of law, (3) administrative governance through the execution of legislative decisions, (4) and socio-economic governance through the provision of a minimum of welfare, social services and mechanisms for resource redistribution (Hirschmann, 2016). The *access to education* can be classified as a provision of a public service in the education sector.

The contemporary management theory New Public Management (NPM) can be deployed as framework concept for service delivery in stable environments. NPM is a "global public management

reform movement that has redefined the relationships between government and society” (Frederickson, Smith, Larimer, & Licari, 2016, p. 229). The connections between government and society refer to the implementation of public policies and programmes which makes NPM a governance model of organisational and institutional reform. NPM revolves around six core issues: productivity, marketing, decentralization, policy, service orientation and accountability (Frederickson et al., 2016). Especially the last two dimensions are of importance for this paper. The aspect of service orientation refers to a stronger connection between governments and citizens which aims at improving the customer satisfaction of public services. Accountability refers to governments that deliver on their promises.

There is considerable academic debate on the relationship between the public and private sector and their role in providing public services. NPM holds the explanatory targets of improving the efficiency of the public sector and its responsiveness to citizen demands through the application of corporate values and practices. Furthermore, for NPM the public sector differs from the private sector only by the type of goods and services being produced, which reduces the government to “a contractual agent for [...] citizens” (Frederickson et al., 2016, p. 266). Therefore, contracting out for efficiency represents one of the core dimensions of NPM.

2.1.1 Contracting Out

Contracting out is a form of public management in which public service delivery is not only provided by the state but also by privately-owned enterprises and non-profit organizations. Due to very different sector characteristics and bidding environments, contract management differs significantly among the three realms (1) capital construction and repair and maintenance purposes, (2) weapon systems, airplanes or space projects, (3) and the field of social services (Frederickson et al., 2016).

In the realm of social services, to which education belongs, contracts are usually not put out for bids but negotiated with one provider (Frederickson et al., 2016). Contracting out for social services is characterized by limited markets, hardly definable goals, and difficulties in measuring outcomes, which prevent the rise of market or government monopolies (Frederickson et al., 2016). Therefore, contracting out for social services can be understood as negotiated network in which the government sets out broad policy objectives (steering) and policy networks implement the policy through entrepreneurial activity (rowing) (Frederickson et al., 2016).

The shifted responsibilities raise questions on the extent to which governments can be held accountable, as contracting exports not only day-to-day government activities to third-party contractors such as NGOs, but also much of the capacity to direct and to control policy. By creating a supply and demand driven environment in which service providers compete for satisfying clientele demands, NPM

seeks to circumvent this accountability issue but, in turn, creates regulatory capture with services providers being responsive to their clientele instead of the public interest (Frederickson et al., 2016).

Because of that, managing by contract requires effective contract management that sets out clear outcome measurements to determine effectiveness and that offers tools to hold the parties of the negotiated network accountable. In order to become smart and effective in buying, governments are advised to prevent contracting out for core government functions and to provide direct funding to stable, centralized, monopolistic service providers (Frederickson et al., 2016). In emergency situations, stable networks and cooperative relationships between the public and private sector are equally important (Frederickson et al., 2016).

However, Meier and O'Toole (2009) in Frederickson et al. (2016) criticise that “contracting out is often not done for reasons of performance and efficiency but rather to get rid of problems” (Frederickson et al., 2016, p. 114). They point out that networks can be effective in hierarchical environments but that in unstable environments a conservative approach in contrast to change-oriented management is more effective (Frederickson et al., 2016). More generally, they criticise that the fundamental assumptions of NPM, in particular contracting out for efficiency and change-oriented management style, lack empirical support (Frederickson et al., 2016). Despite the critique, NPM is a widely accepted and applied form of administrative theory and constitutes an appropriate tool for describing service delivery in stable environments. However, the explanatory power of NPM is limited for fragile environments.

2.2 State Fragility

State fragility refers to a continuum of situations in which a state lacks state authority and struggles to provide some (weak and failing states) or all (failed states) of the aforementioned core state functions (Hirschmann, 2016). The situation of state fragility can therefore be understood as a framework for different forms of state failure, state collapse and state reconstruction (Hirschmann, 2016). State fragility is a process that can be recognized before a complete state failure by “the rise of local or religious authorities, the [...] building of parallel structures, and the emergence of additional power actors/players” (Hirschmann, 2016, pp. 29–30).

Around the world, fragile states either result from the breakdown of artificial (former) socialist states, forced integration, permanent undesirable developments by the system of government or the construction of artificial states through former colonial rule (Hirschmann, 2016). The latter group pertains mostly to states in Africa and the Middle East, where demarcations through e.g. the Sykes-Picot Agreement between the former colonial rulers France and England constituted the country borders known today.

Even though there is not one precise definition of state fragility, the OECD offers a widely accepted one. A *fragile state* is characterized by a lack of capacity (effectiveness) and/or willingness (legitimacy) to perform key government functions such as meeting the population's basic needs, maintaining security and enabling economic development (François & Sud, 2006; OECD, 2008). Capacity thereby refers to the ability to mobilize resources and to execute territorial control. It is also related to the effective exercise of political power, economic management and the administrative capacity for policy implementation. Willingness refers to the “political commitment to policies supporting human welfare” and is reflected in an inclusive implementation approach, while legitimacy “concerns the sources of support for the state” (OECD, 2008, p. 14). These structural weaknesses do not go unnoticed but have a severe effect on the service delivery of fragile countries. The assessment of how state fragility affects service delivery outcomes is therefore at the core of this paper.

2.2.1 Service Delivery in Fragile Situations

Services are delivered in a two-step process: Policy makers allocate them and service providers produce or implement them (OECD, 2008). Matland (1995) describes this process of policy implementation and distinguishes the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach. In the top-down approach, the policy designers are the central actors, creating policy at the central level. In the bottom-up approach, central actors devise government programmes at the macro-level of implementation and local organizers develop and implement the programmes at the micro-level of implementation, wherefore the service deliverers ultimately determine the policy. To differentiate this approach, Matland (1995) distinguishes between four policy paradigms. Administrative implementation in the context of low conflict and low ambiguity, political implementation in the context of high conflict and low ambiguity, symbolic implementation in the context of high conflict and high ambiguity, and experimental implementation in the context of low conflict and high ambiguity. Fragile settings are contexts of low conflict and high ambiguity, wherefore the policy outcome depends on the contextual conditions such as resources available and actors present (Matland, 1995). A compact between the policy maker and the implementer specifies the intended outcomes, while the client who uses the service does not partake in this compact. The users can hold the providers accountable either through the long route of accountability via the policy makers to which they express their (dis)satisfaction or directly to the producers with the short route (OECD, 2008). The long route of accountability requires an effective state and is mostly inoperative in fragile situations.

The OECD (2008) identifies three major problems that disrupt service delivery in fragile states. *First*, incentives for service delivery are negatively affected by a lack of government capacity and willingness, the breakdown of social order through conflict as well as through corruption or private capture of public resources. *Second*, service delivery tends to be fragmented because national policy

frameworks are missing. *Third*, poor infrastructure and technical and managerial capacity may hinder sustainable service provision as capacity development is subordinate to more urgent needs. The dilemma of trade-offs between short-term service delivery and long-term capacity development is also underlined by Brinkerhoff (2010).

The fragile context often leads to a situation in which capacity gaps in the public service delivery are filled by alternative modes of service provision to cater the humanitarian imperative and the needs of the population (Brinkerhoff, 2010; OECD, 2008). In fragile contexts with high will but low capacity, the international community may assign performance roles to non-state actors and bypass the state by directly contracting with alternative providers (Batley & Mcloughlin, 2010; Brinkerhoff, 2010). The non-state actors with which the central or local government contracts may be NGOs, International Organizations, Faith-based organizations, political movements or rebel groups. Moreover, various forms of client power such as community-driven development and co-production as well as market-based provision are possible (Baird, 2010; Brinkerhoff, 2010; OECD, 2008).

In these cases, service delivery depends on short-route accountability from service providers directly to users, which allows for greater participation and customization through voting with feet or with money (OECD, 2008). However, in fragile situations in which governments cannot guarantee political and economic stability or a legal system that would ensure contractual rights, formal contracting can hardly be effective (Batley & Mcloughlin, 2010). These alternative forms of service provision undermine the state's performance legitimacy that derives from service delivery. It decreases the population's trust in the state and disables the building of sustainable public-sector capacity (Brinkerhoff, 2010; Peace Security and Development Network, 2009). As the two tracks, service delivery and capacity development, require different strategies with different time-frames, this dilemma situation cannot be easily resolved.

Besides these impediments in service provision in fragile situations, service delivery is a broad term that implies a variety of delivery models depending on the characteristics of the environment and the service sector. For instance, in a context in which the desire for services is very heterogenous, decentralization improves service delivery by bringing decision making and beneficiaries closer together (Baird, 2010). Some sectors such as health contain an agreement on basic services and a shared practice of actions, which enable the import of international models of institutional reform and contracting-out the service delivery with NGOs. However, other sectors such as education present a different situation. The specifics of the education delivery in fragile state contexts are presented in the following section.

2.3 Education Delivery in Fragile Situations and Education in Emergencies

The education delivery in fragile contexts constitutes a special situation because “education is more than a basic service, in relation to fragility, education is at the same time cause, effect, problem and possible solution” (Kirk, 2007, p. 181). As previously mentioned, education promotes individual, family and community health and prosperity and empowerment. It can have a positive effect on the level of cohesion and group collaboration and can provide normalcy and opportunity for children (Kirk, 2007). At the same time, the omission and politicised commission of education can contribute to fragility.

The absence of education and later on job opportunities can contribute to instability as people with limited chances to improve their life turn to radical groups, who fill the vacuums in the public sector, or leave their home country (Kirk, 2007). The provision of education can be complicit in conflict and instability. Harmful practices and violence such as corporal punishment, bullying and sexual violence endemic within the school environment directly affect the development of children. More subtly, this environment denies children opportunities to develop their skills and to resolve conflicts peacefully. Schools can maintain the status quo by reproducing and exacerbating ethnic tensions and dominant forms of masculinity and femininity, thus contributing to instability and conflict (Kirk, 2007)

Since there is a reciprocal relationship between fragility and the omission and politicised provision of education, this leads to the imperative to prioritise sustainable education provision in fragile contexts that aims for the inclusion of diverse communities and the reconciliation of conflict. However, the education delivery in fragile contexts faces similar challenges than other sectors. The government lacks the capacity to provide education for the whole population and the education delivery is constrained by resource scarcity that leads to trade-offs with other sectors and between primary, secondary and tertiary education (Baird, 2010). This leads to a fragmented situation in which a variety of non-state actors are active in the education delivery.

A difficulty in the education provision by non-state actors is that unlike in the health sector, the education sector faces a “high degree of local content in the curriculum and different views on acceptable teaching practices” that make it “more difficult to contract out education services or provide them through non-state providers” (Baird, 2010, p. 13). However, if there is a tradition of non-state education delivery or there is mistrust in government agencies, non-state provision of education is a suitable option. When doing so, it is crucial to involve the community and to develop a compact by which “the government sets the curriculum and monitors the performance, in exchange for public funding” (Baird, 2010, p. 14).

This is recognized by a group of policy-makers, technical advisers and researchers who committed to this topic in the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE). The INEE

formulated the concept of *education in emergencies* to support decision-makers in enhancing the effectiveness and quality of their educational assistance in situations in which “children lack access to their national and community education systems due to occurrence of complex emergencies or natural disasters” (Kagawa, 2005, p. 494). Emergencies hereby specifically include human-made crises (e.g. war, internal conflict, genocide), wherefore the situation of war-induced Syrian refugees and the required restructuring of the Lebanese education system fall within this category. In these situations, other stakeholders such as multilateral organisations (e.g. UN), INGOs, and community-based organisations increasingly support the education sector with supplemental educational interventions and assume responsibility for the education provision (INEE, 2010). They execute education in emergency programmes which are promoted as a key element of the humanitarian response for both, host populations and refugees (Burde et al., 2017). They hereby operate on three dimensions of fragility sensitive education provision: (1) the equitable and effective delivery of education, (2) the content of education (e.g. the curriculum) and (3) the processes through which education takes place (e.g. teaching methods, management, administration systems and relationships) (Kirk, 2007). To achieve quality education that is available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable, the INEE formulated minimum standards for education in emergencies as a framework for good practice. These standards are divided into foundational standards, standards on access and learning environment, standards on teaching and learning, and standards on teachers and other educational personnel (INEE, 2010). By putting attention on community participation, the curriculum content, and the teacher selection process and training, these minimum standards go beyond the acute emergency reaction but provide guidance for capacity-sensitive education provision in fragile settings (Kirk, 2007).

2.3.1 Defining Non-State Education Delivery

Due to various arrangements regarding the provision, financing and regulation, difficulties for the distinction between state and non-state spheres in education arise (Rose, 2007b). Privately owned schools may be subsidised by the government and the government may exert control over non-state education institutions through regulation. This impedes finding a clear definition of non-state education. UNESCO (2005b) in Rose (2007b) defines education as private if the institution is controlled and managed by a non-government organization, and distinguishes between government-dependent private schools and independent private schools, depending on whether they are more or less than 50 percent state funded.

Non-state education provision is not a new phenomenon. It started with missionaries and faith-based organizations that provided education in the Global South and later extended to NGOs focusing on vulnerable communities and for-profit private institutions focusing on domestic elites. In some countries, non-state education was established before a formal state-education system existed (Rose,

2007a). Nowadays, governments are mostly the main provider of education while non-state providers (NSPs) fill the gaps. In doing so, state and non-state actors can cooperate for education delivery in different ways, take responsibility for different aspects of service delivery and the interaction can range from informal give-and-take to formal contractual arrangements (Baird, 2010; Rose, 2007b).

In low-income countries and fragile settings, formal contracting of education service delivery by governments to non-state actors is rather rare as contracting requires an enabling policy and regulatory environment and a strong legal framework for education (Rose, 2007b). In these contexts, non-state provision is based on diverse cooperation forms that vary between fragile states that are in deterioration, post-conflict transition, arrested development or early recovery stages (Rose, 2007b). In a post-conflict transition such as in Lebanon, INGO provision and community-based approaches are dominant while engaging the government to build capacity. This cooperation between a state facing a fragile situation and a non-state education actor can take on five different forms. It can take place (1) within a government-led framework, (2) towards a government-led framework, (3) alongside a government-led framework, (4) outside of a government-led framework, and (5) within a global framework (Strategic Policy Impact and Research Unit [SPIRU], 2007). The third form works with multi-sectoral programmes that finance small-scale public investments with social funds. They require close working relationships with ministries and are usually implemented through community approaches in fragile settings (Berry, 2009).

While all NSPs seek to close a provision gap in the state school system, they differ in their focus groups. Community-based approaches first invest in the traditional links between the schools and the communities and later on transfer the school management and service provision to the communities (Rose, 2007b). This NSP is apparent when no other providers deliver education, requiring communities to set up their own schools. Faith-based organizations provide education to meet a more differentiated demand. They traditionally have a strong root in many countries through missionary schools and madrasahsⁱ (Rose, 2007b). Philanthropic organizations, charitable organizations that are funded by individual donations or family trusts, mostly focus on poor communities. They require an economically well-off middle class or elite and are therefore less present in low-income countries (Rose, 2007b). Commercially-oriented private entrepreneurs often provide education services for the middle and upper class. Hereby, the distinction between for-profit and not-for-profit motivations is blurry. There are contract schools which are publicly funded and owned but managed by the private sector and within the public education system, some service aspects may be contracted out to private companies (e.g. quality assurance services) or the private sector may contribute with education inputs (e.g. textbooks) (Rose, 2007b). However, these market-based provisions of education often lack ownership and are likely to be underprovided since the provision is not economically profitable for the private sector and the civil society (OECD, 2008).

Also, NGOs operate as non-state education provider and hereby focus on hard-to-reach groups which require alternative service delivery models and small-scale innovative approaches (Rose, 2007a). As refugees are a hard-to-reach group, NGO provision of education is the focus of this paper. These non-formal approaches to education via (more or less formal) contracting with non-state providers require a redefinition of education not as “time-bound, place-bound process confined to schools and measured by years of exposure” but rather “equating education with learning, regardless of where, how or when learning occurs” (Rose, 2007a: 6). Non-formal education can thus be seen as “organised, systematic, educational activity carried out outside the framework of the formal system” (Rose, 2007a: 6).

2.3.2 Education Delivery Through NGO-Provision

Since the 1980s, NGOs and INGOs are increasingly involved in the education sector in fragile environments either through advocacy, supporting the quality of government provision or via providing education services themselves. Their education programmes can be distinguished into two groups. The first group of initiative integrates the education service with the state system, while the second group runs the education service as alternative to the state system (Rose, 2007a).

The first type aims at integrating the non-state provision into the state system in the long run. These NGOs operate similarly to the state system by using e.g. the same curricula. The involvement of the community is usually limited, and the education service is seen as temporary, gap-filling solution as a response to a lack of government resources (Rose, 2007a). The NGOs mostly work on the community level by mobilising and sensitizing parents and local actors to improve the education conditions and encourage demand for schooling (Rose, 2007b). Also, innovative practices are piloted for government provision. The second form of NGO-provision of education is operating as an alternative to the state system. Alternative NGO provision seeks to meet the needs of excluded and vulnerable communities such as street children and refugees who need more flexible education delivery modelsⁱⁱ. However, in fragile contexts in which donors cannot work through governments, NGO provision may sometimes not be an alternative but the only form of education provision (Rose, 2007b). Therefore, NGO education programmes are increasingly seen as complementary to state provision. Thus, small-scale local level involvement is often scaled-up and integrated with the government education provision, which requires a stronger alignment between NGO and government provision to allow a transition from one system to the other.

Most NGO involvement in the Global South draws on international donor funds. The cooperation between donors and NGOs can take place in three different modes. (1) Donors can finance projects through the government but make the involvement of NGOs in the delivery of the project compulsory (Rose, 2007b). (2) Donors can provide funds directly to a local NGO. This is the case when

there is low political will and/or capacity of states to manage contracts but there is a civil society. (3) Donors can provide funds directly to an INGO which in turn works with local NGOs (Rose, 2007b). This is done when there is low political will and low civil society capacity. This is mostly the case in conflict-affected states and fragile situations in which the donors do not intent to legitimize an unwilling regime, there is concern that the aid is not effectively managed by the public institutions, or there is an urgency to act in emergencies (Rose, 2007b). Bypassing government bureaucracies raises question for the sustainability of the involvement and possibly creates tensions with the state, also because they stand in competition with the government for donor resources. On the other hand, NGO provision is sometimes more accepted by the government as it constitutes a middle way between state and market provision and thus does not threaten the government monopoly on formal education (Rose, 2007b).

2.3.3 Conceptualization of the Effectiveness of Education Delivery

With the emergence of the fragmented service delivery in the education sector, mechanisms that keep educational interventions in fragile states effective come to fore. Effectiveness is a contested concept that is mostly associated with performance outcomes. According to Rainey (2014) the basic performance assumption is that a public organization performs better if it defines clear goals and measures progress against them. This means firstly that effectiveness is closely connected to goal achievement and secondly that this approach requires monitoring instruments that allow for the measurement of the progress towards reaching that goal.

Any public or private organizations expresses its values and purpose (official goals) and seeks to meet specific ends with its procedures (operative goals). These goals are always *multiple*, as they are embedded in a set of goals, *conflicting*, because reaching a short-term goal possibly impedes a long-term goal, *organized in chains and hierarchies* in which one goal leads to another, turning them from ends into a means, and *shifting*, when the organization moves through different stages of its life cycle (Rainey, 2014). These goal complexities make it difficult to define what an organization's goal is and consequently to measure its achievement (Rainey, 2014). The focus on goals implies a rational orderly management process while “managerial decisions may be more turbulent, intuitive, paradoxical and emergent than a rational goal-based approach implies” (Rainey, 2014: 156). Despite the search for alternatives, assessments of effectiveness revolve around the goal approach in different variants.

One variant of the goal approach is looking at effectiveness on a systemic level by assessing the goals achievement of the whole network rather than of a single organization within the network. Networks hereby refer to “structures of interdependence involving multiple organizations or parts thereof, where one unit is not merely the formal subordinate of the others in some larger hierarchical arrangement” (Rainey, 2014: 169). For negotiated networks such as the fragmented education provision in fragile states, this would require measuring effectiveness from the government or international donor

that funds the service to the network of private and non-profit organizations that provide them (Rainey, 2014). Another prominent variant of the goal approach is to measure effectiveness based on criteria or goals that presumably all organizations must pursue (e.g. productivity, flexibility, adaptability) instead of determining specific goals for a specific organization. Further research on the goal approach in the education sector was carried out by Cameron (1978) who measured effectiveness mainly by drawing on perceptual criteria and measures reflecting the interest of students (Rainey, 2014). He found that even within the same sector there are conflicting criteria that weight against each other and that the institutions follow “different patterns of effectiveness” (Rainey, 2014:165).

All of the goal approach variants require monitoring instruments to assess to what extent the goals are achieved. These instruments need to follow a multidimensional approach covering system design, inputs, content process and outcomes. The instruments should be precise and measurable (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2017). The assessment can be undertaken by an external actor or internally as long as the independent judgement can be guaranteed. For the education sector, monitoring mechanisms can stretch from assessments of student and teacher performance, condition of the school infrastructure, financial performance, organizational and administrative performance, to large-scale assessments on the country level such as the PISA study (UNESCO, 2017). Monitoring is integral for knowledge management and for identifying areas of opportunity and areas of intervention to improve performance outcomes.

2.3.4 Conceptualization of the Barriers to Education

In the fragmented education delivery in fragile settings, NGOs seek to fill the capacity gaps of state school-systems to reach excluded and vulnerable communities. To achieve this goal and effectively provide education, the factors why students struggle to access formal education need to be outlined. These factors can be conceptualized as barriers to education that need to be overcome in order to provide education for marginalized communities such as refugees.

The barriers to education can be categorised into supply-side and demand-side barriers which interact with one another (Justino, 2016). Among the demand-side barriers are the direct and indirect costs of education and coping strategies of child labour and child marriage, psychological stress and trauma and being over age for the grade level.

Cost of Education: The most frequently mentioned barrier to education is the prohibitive cost of education (Wofford & Tibi, 2018). The exposure to violence or displacement leads to severe economic loss and forces refugees to live in extreme poverty. Parents may have to prioritize economic, social and psychological struggles above the education of their children (Wofford & Tibi, 2018). These circumstances impact on the household ability to send children to school as direct education costs such

as school fees and indirect costs for uniforms, books, certificates, lunch and transportation cannot be borne (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2009).

Negative Coping Mechanisms: Child Labour and Child Marriage: In response to the economic vulnerability, children are required to assist in income generation activities to support their families. Child labour is a widespread coping strategy for households who face adverse economic shocks. The need to work impedes the education opportunities for children and often leads to school drop-out (Justino, 2016). These financial constraints are interlinked with the supply-side barrier of insecurity. In areas of high insecurity, parents withdraw their children from school in fear of (sexual) violence or rape (Justino, 2016). Parents are especially unlikely to allow their daughters to attend school if they fear violence on their way to or inside schools (Kirk, 2007). Securing safety through e.g. transportation poses an additional financial burden, wherefore often other coping mechanisms are deployed. The most frequent strategy to protect girls and to release financial burden is early marriage, which is affiliated with premature school drop-out (Kirk, 2007).

Psychological Stress and Trauma: Another demand-side barrier is psychological stress and trauma (Justino, 2016). Conflict and displacement impact on the cognitive abilities of children and lead to mental health issues that hamper school attendance and school performance (Aydin & Kaya, 2017). Resettled children may be dispersed across schools in a district or region depending on available placements. This leads to psychosocial isolation and mental health issues that add to the trauma of displacement and war (Wofford & Tibi, 2018). While socially integrated students are less likely to drop out of school, low-quality interpersonal relationships are attributed to higher likelihood of school drop-out (Bademci, Karadayı, & Vural, 2016).

Over age for Grade Level: Another factor that hinders children from accessing education is being over age for the grade level. Displacement causes a disruption of education for a significant amount of time. When refugee children want to continue their education, they are often too old for their grade level. Older students who have missed years of schooling are embarrassed to be schooled with significantly younger children and skip school or drop out (Sunny et al., 2017; Visconti & Gal, 2018b).

Next to these demand-side barriers, there are also supply-side barriers that need to be overcome to create an enabling environment. Among the supply-side barriers are a lack of language skills/curriculum, a lack of documentation and discrimination and violence.

Lack of Language Skills/Curriculum: Displaced children face difficulties in attending school because their native languages often differ from the language of instruction in schools. Therefore, a lack of language skills prevents them from participating in schools, which leads to repetition of grades or

school drop-out (Aydin & Kaya, 2017; Justino, 2016; Karam, Monaghan, & Yoder, 2017; UNDP, 2009; Visconti & Gal, 2018b; Wofford & Tibi, 2018).

Lack of Documentation: Another supply-side barrier to education resulting from displacement is a lack of documentation. Children mostly need to show proof about the completion of the previous grade in order to enrol in schools (Justino, 2016). Due to displacement, this proof cannot be supplied, wherefore they either cannot enrol at all or not in their grade level as they are denied taking exams for higher levels (Visconti & Gal, 2018a). This category refers to legal documents such as residency permits that deter enrolment because children fear reporting of their irregular situation in or on their way to school (UNDP, 2009).

Discrimination and Violence: Another important factor that prevents refugee children from accessing education is discrimination and violence. When migrants or refugees enter a country's education system, scarce resources are stretched, leading to resentment between the host population and the refugees (Wofford & Tibi, 2018). As a result, the integration into foreign classrooms is difficult and bullying among refugees and between refugees and native students frequent (Visconti & Gal, 2018a). Bullying is a proactive type of aggression that aims at hurting others through physical assault, verbal harassment and via indirect means such as anti-social behaviour (Bademci et al., 2016). This sort of discrimination also encompasses xenophobic attacks, neglect or exclusion by teachers and school administrators (Karam et al., 2017; UNDP, 2009). Coercion and (corporal) punishment to deal with inappropriate student behaviour instil fear within the children and lead to their absence or drop out (Bademci et al., 2016).

Since many of these barriers interact with one another, refugees constitute a multiply marginalized group (Rose, 2007b). They reside in poorer areas with higher insecurity and where lesser schools are available. They are affected by linguistic disadvantages and often face discrimination based on ethnicity and gender. Barriers to education are thus best viewed from an intersectional perspective (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2001).

This chapter provided the theoretical framework for the thesis. Section 2.1 elaborated on New Public Management as a framework theory for service delivery in fragile environments, after which section 2.1.1 detailed the characteristics of contracting out for efficiency. Section 2.2 described the characteristics of fragile settings and section 2.2.1 explained how they disrupt service delivery. Section 2.3 zoomed in on education delivery in fragile situations. It outlined the connection between fragility and education and presented emergency education as concept deployed in crisis situations. Section 2.3.1 highlighted the fragmented education delivery in which non-state actors fill the capacity gaps of state education delivery. Then the education provision by NGOs was presented in more detail and their specific target group of hard to reach communities such as refugees was identified in section 2.3.2.

Subsequently, section 2.3.3 conceptualized the effectiveness with a monitored goal approach. Lastly, section 2.3.4 presented the conceptualization of the supply- and demand-side barriers to education for refugees that need to be overcome to enable their access to education in fragile contexts.

3. Data and Documents

This chapter presents the deployed methodology consisting of research design, the data analysis method and the limitations that occur in the research process. It then continues with a clear operationalization of the concepts that are described in the theory section.

3.1 Methodology (Research Design, Data Analysis Method and Limitations)

The thesis examines *how and to what extent selected education projects undertaken by non-state service providers address the factors inhibiting the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon effectively*. Taking the country and displacement context into account, the study seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of the non-state education provision in order to give recommendations on how education can be better targeted at marginalized and displaced groups. The thesis is a case study that focuses on one single instance, namely on the social phenomenon of lacking access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon (Babbie, 2013). Unlike the clear typology of research designs in quantitative research, in the context of qualitative research the research design “should be a reflexive process operating through every stage of the project” (Maxwell, 2008, p. 214). A case study design refers to describing the original view of the problem, the methodological and theoretical commitments and how these affect the research and vice versa (Maxwell, 2008).

With a longitudinal case study approach, the study presents the evolution of the emergency education response to the displaced Syrians since the crisis outbreak in 2011, thus looking at the case of non-state education provision in a fragile setting over time. The research design thereby follows a process tracing approach which analyses the qualitative interferences, namely the NGO and INGO education programmes that are sought to tackle barriers to education (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). By examining the qualitative interferences as units of analysis, the process from causal factor to outcome can be traced back. The process tracing thereby helps to identify steps for intervention by examining a combination of divergent factors in the process that lead to a specific outcome (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). The factors refer to the barriers to education which are observed via a secondary data analysis of project reports, which are the units of observation. Deploying the process tracing approach enhances the internal validity by enabling an assessment if for instance one change in approaching refugee children led to more/less effectiveness of one project than another. In order to provide temporal order, density and depth of the description of the causal process, storylines with the major steps and detailed descriptions of important moments are important (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). The appendix provides

a portrayal of Lebanon's historical background to develop a coherent storyline. The emergency education response for refugees constitutes an influential case within the education sector as it “fits the overall model [...] [and] might affect the overall set of findings for the whole population” (Seawright & Gerring, 2008, p. 303). Since the study is conducted with one case, the education sector in Lebanon, it is unlikely to play an influential role in terms of generalization, but the case of Lebanon provides in-depth understanding of the refugees' precarious situation, which is equally important (Seawright & Gerring, 2008).

Maxwell (2008) refers for qualitative research to transferability instead of generalizability. He developed an *interactive model of research design* with the components *goals, conceptual framework, research questions, methods* and *validity*. The components are subject to reciprocal effects and address different issues relevant for the coherence of the study (Maxwell, 2008). In this paper, the *intellectual goal* is to describe *how and to what extent selected education projects undertaken by non-state service providers address the factors inhibiting the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon effectively*. This approach preserves the individuality of the situation and leads to a better understanding how actions and events are shaped by the unique circumstances in which they occur (Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Maxwell, 2008). The *conceptual framework* of this study refers to the key concepts outlined in the theory section. The *research question* re-connects to the other components of the design, such as the concepts and the goals, focuses the study and provides guidance on how to conduct it (Maxwell, 2008, p. 229). The *methods* that are used in this paper can be characterised as *intensive research design* as it focuses on the “particular phenomena studied” and the “internal validity and contextual understanding [...] [of] the processes that led to specific outcomes” (Maxwell, 2008, p. 233). The paper is interested in the particular phenomenon of non-state education provision for Syrian refugees in Lebanon and focuses on the differences in the conducting of the respective projects that lead to effective or ineffective outcomes.

In qualitative research, data analysis consists mostly of categorizing strategies through coding which enables to “rearrange and compare between things in the same category and between categories” (Maxwell, 2008). In this study, the arguments are derived from academic and grey literature via desk research. Precisely, data is extracted from project evaluation reports on educational projects, which are structured and coded for comparison. Due to time constraints, there is no opportunity for conducting expert interviews or surveys with the affected refugee population. Drawing on the conceptualization of effectiveness and barriers to education from section 2.3.3 and 2.3.4, the projects are analysed regarding the extent to which they address the barriers to education effectively. The conclusions of this paper will be drawn on the basis of the whole examination of the influential case. Possible validity threats resulting from researcher bias are sought to be countered by collecting information from a diverse pool of authors

and reliable organizations (triangulation) and by searching for discrepant evidence and negative cases (Maxwell, 2008).

3.2 Operationalization and Data Collection Methods

The main concepts in this paper are *service delivery* (access to education), *state fragility*, *education in emergencies*, *effectiveness*, and *barriers to education*.

Service delivery can generally be assessed at the sector level. This study focuses on education delivery in Lebanon which is operationalized with the level of education enrolment that can be derived from the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) for formal education. Enrolment data on refugees can be derived from the Vulnerability Report by UNICEF, UNHCR, and World Food Programme (2015, 2016, 2017; 2017). Also the completion rates, literacy rates and numeracy rates provide insights in the level of education delivery (The Fund for Peace, 2018). These rates can also be extracted from MEHE or from independent sources of external parties (United States Agency for International Development [USAID], 2018). *State fragility* assessed via the Fragile States Index by the Fund for Peace which can be used to receive numerical data (The Fund for Peace, 2018).

Education in emergencies can be approached via its main task, the supplemental educational interventions. These are operationalized with non-state education programmes, e.g. community-based homework groups and basic numeracy and literacy programmes (Deane, 2016). As formal education provision is largely unavailable for refugee children, non-formal education (NFE) initiatives are considered effective to the extent that they adapt education to the realities of the displaced children (Deane, 2016). The necessary information is derived from project reports of NGO or INGO education project reports. As the data availability of NFE delivery is limited, other research studies circumvent this problem by creating measurement methods such as monitoring school visits (Echessa & Pinnock, 2012). Since this is not possible for this thesis, the availability of project reports is a prerequisite for the data collection.

Besides the general screening of possible non-state actors through search engines, the researcher consulted the Operational Portal Refugee Situations by UNHCR that lists the partners of UNHCR per country and sector. Unlike for the other countries in the region, the website does not list the partners in Lebanon. The researcher looked for non-state education actors on the websites of the Lebanese government, UNHCR, UNICEF and UNDP as well as on lists provided by the American University of Beirut and the Centre for Educational Research and Development of Lebanon. Over the course of the thesis, the researcher identified possible non-state education projects and looked for the public availability of project reports (exclusion criterion). The researcher contacted promising education projectsⁱⁱⁱ that provided descriptions of their approach but no publicly available evaluation reports. After

non-response, follow-up e-mails were sent. Until the end of the research process, no response was delivered by the contacted NFE providers apart from Basmeh & Zeitooneh which responded that no evaluation report can be sent. Dealing with the limited data availability, the researcher decided to focus on INGO projects. Via the Lebanon Humanitarian INGO Forum (LHIF) three INGO projects could lastly be selected. In order to find a fourth project, the academic and grey literature was screened (again) and all promising references to other project reports were followed up on. The researcher faced the obstacle that the other researchers had access to internal evaluation reports. In order to uphold a minimum of four education projects for the analysis, an outreach campaign for education enrolment was selected despite not consisting of NFE itself. To compensate for the small selection of projects, the researcher included the information found during the search for projects in the overview on NGO and INGO education provision in section 4.2.1. Yet, this overview is not representative.

When analysing these project reports, the projects are considered *effective* (1) if they deploy monitoring mechanisms and (2) if they achieve the goals they have set in the beginning. The monitoring mechanisms are operationalized via assessments at the students, teacher and administrative/organizational level (UNESCO, 2017). The goal achievement is operationalized as the project output, as indicated in the project reports. Monitoring and evaluation data is extracted from project evaluation reports and from ActivityInfo, the response planning and monitoring platform UNICEF uses.^{iv} Rainey (2014) argues that relying on self-described effectiveness in project reports is only the second-best option and that personal data collection in the field is preferable.

The *demand-side barriers to education* that consist of the *cost of education*, *negative coping mechanisms*, *psychological stress and trauma*, and being *over age*, as well as the *supply-side barriers to education* consisting of the *lack of language skills/curriculum*, *lack of documentation*, and *discrimination and violence* are operationalized in the following way. The *cost to education* is assessed via the presence of school feeding programmes, the provision of stationary and books, the provision of transport or school uniforms, and the abolition or waiving of tuition fees, which increases the net attendance ratio and the primary school completion rate (Jennings, 2016; Langsten, 2017). The *negative coping mechanisms* can be operationalised with conditional or unconditional cash transfer programmes that transfer cash to families when they fulfil certain activities such as school enrolment (Justino, 2016; Masterson, 2016; Morais de Sa e Silva, 2015). Interventions that reduce the poverty of families is also operationalized as targeting negative coping mechanisms as poverty contributes to absence in school due to the need to work. Another operationalization is the restructuring of schools so that work can be reconciled with education (Save the Children, 2009). Regarding the coping mechanism of early marriage, the involvement of family and community and higher shares of female teachers are sought to contribute to prioritizing education (Save the Children, 2009). The barrier of *psychological stress and trauma* is operationalized with the access to psychological counselling or psycho-social activities (Aydin & Kaya, 2017; McLaughlin & AL-Hroub, 2016; Shuayb, Makkouk, & Tuttunji, 2014). The barrier of

being *over age* for the grade level is operationalized through repetition rates, indicating that age-for-grade heterogeneity contributes to grade repetition (Sunny et al., 2017). The barrier of *lack of language skills/curriculum* is operationalized as presence of additional language support, the development of multilingual teaching material, the presence of literacy and numeracy tutoring, homework support, or remedial support (McLaughlin & AL-Hroub, 2016; Shuayb et al., 2014; Wofford & Tibi, 2018). The *lack of documentation* is operationalized with easing enrolment processes and registration for exams. *Discrimination and violence* are operationalized as non-violent teaching practices, the presence of an inclusive classroom approach, and the absence of bullying, (corporal) punishment and politicised curricula (Awada, Diab, & Faour, 2018; Echessa & Pinnock, 2012; Save the Children, 2009).

4. Analysis

The analysis chapter prepares the answer to the central research question of *how and to what extent selected education projects undertaken by non-state service providers address the factors inhibiting the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon effectively* by analysing and answering three sub-research questions. For each sub-question, first the data is reported and second the data is discussed in the light of the theoretical framework.

4.1 What are the Factors that Constrain the Access to Education for Syrian Refugees in Lebanon?

The first sub-research question asks “*What are the factors that constrain the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon?*”. In order to answer this question, section 4.1.1 outlines the Syrian refugee crisis and the response in Lebanon, section 4.1.2 sketches Lebanon’s resulting socio-economic situation, section 4.1.3 presents the Lebanese education sector, and section 4.1.4 describes the adjustments made in the education sector to accommodate the refugees. Section 4.1.5 answers the first sub-research questions by identifying the factors that constrain the access to education for Syrian refugees and viewing them in the light of theory. This chapter is best understood embedded in Lebanon’s historical background, which is provided in the annex.

4.1.1 The Refugee Crisis and the Response in Lebanon

The Syrian war is the most intricate conflict in the world right now, resulting in an estimated 400.000 civilians being killed and the majority of the country’s infrastructure being destroyed (Dionigi, 2016). The semi-anarchical and warlord-ruled area leads to approximately 6.6 million internally displaced persons and around 4.7 million refugees who seek shelter in the region and worldwide, turning the Syrian conflict into an unprecedented incident of forced migration in the modern history of the Middle East (Dionigi, 2016). Given the geographic proximity, the shared history and language as well as family connections and trade relations, Lebanon is one of the main destinations of Syrian refugees.

With more than 1.5 million Syrian refugees, Lebanon hosts the highest per capita share of refugees worldwide, with refugees exceeding 30 percent of the country population (MEHE, 2014; UN Lebanon, 2017). The arriving refugees consist of Syrian nationals, Lebanese returnees and Palestinian refugees who settled in Syria. Because of the previous conflicts, international organizations already established a presence in Lebanon for dealing with Palestinian refugees. Therefore, international organizations including the United Nations (UN) agencies took the initial lead in responding to the Syrian refugee crisis in the absence of a national coordination strategy (Boustani, Carpi, Gebara, & Mourad, 2017). Lebanon opened its borders in a laissez-faire approach, but neither formulated a mandate for the many humanitarian organizations present nor developed a national response strategy to the crisis, because Lebanon does not view itself as a country of asylum and is not a party to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention (Janmyr, 2016).

As the repercussions of the Syrian refugee crisis not only affected Lebanon but the whole region, UNHCR and UNDP developed several regional response plans for the humanitarian emergency response to the Syria crisis. In 2012, the plans resulted in the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) that introduced a long-term component for the countries most affected by the crisis (Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt) (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] & UNDP, 2017, 2018). Lebanon's country version of this plan is the Lebanon Crisis Response Plan (LCRP) which was drafted in the end of 2014 and updated at the end of 2015 for 2016 (GoL & UN, 2015, 2014, 2018). The LCRP is designed to ensure humanitarian assistance and protection, to strengthen the capacity of the national and local service delivery systems and to reinforce Lebanon's economic, social, environmental and institutional stability (GoL & UN, 2015). The initial plan was later transformed from an emergency response into a longer term strategic framework for 2017 till 2020 (GoL & UN, 2018). Over time, the Lebanese government, especially the Ministry of Social Affairs, increasingly participated in the development of these plans. The LCRP is divided among sectors and regions and each task is led by UNHCR, a sector-specific agency (e.g. UNESCO for education), and a national ministry (Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) for education) (Boustani, Carpi, Gebara, & Mourad, 2016). The sector initiative for education is the Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) plan, which aims at providing access to quality formal and non-formal learning opportunities for children in a safe and protective environment (MEHE, 2014).

Regardless of the efforts on multiple levels, the influx of Syrian refugees influences the situation in Lebanon. Since the beginning of the refugee crisis in Lebanon, political, social and economic challenges that mostly existed in the country prior to the war in Syria have been exacerbated, leading to worsening living conditions for both refugees and host communities. Therefore, the following section briefly describes the impact of the Syrian refugees on Lebanon in economic, social and political terms.

4.1.2 The Lebanese Socio-Economic Situation

Regarding the economic side, the main consequences of the Syrian refugee crisis are an increased expenditure due to the population increase in combination with economic losses in the main sectors (UN Lebanon, 2017). Despite the fact that Lebanon is still an upper middle income country, Lebanon's economy faces negative repercussions of the Syria conflict (USAID, 2018). The gross domestic product fell from 8 percent in 2007-2010 to 1.5 percent in 2013 (MEHE, 2014). The Syrian conflict disrupts key growth drivers such as banking, construction, tourism and the service sector, and affects the import and export of commodities over the land route, leading to increased prices. At the same time, the Syrian refugees impact the labour market, leading to decreased wages due to more competition (Cherri, Arcos González, & Castro Delgado, 2016). Living costs and the inflation are rising. This development pushed approximately 170.000 Lebanese families into poverty (MEHE, 2014). While prior to 2011, 28 percent of the Lebanese population were living under the poverty line of US\$3.84/day and 8 percent under the extreme poverty line of US\$2.4/day, the overall Lebanese poverty has increased to 32 percent (GoL & UN, 2015). The economic inequalities are deepened and negatively impact on social relationships, ultimately posing a threat to the social cohesion and the country's stability.

With regard to the social dimension, the settlement of Syrian refugees plays an important role. Given Lebanon's urban character and the strict no-camp policy following the conflicts in Palestinian refugee camps, the majority of the displaced Syrians seek shelter in Lebanon's most vulnerable and poorest communities along the poverty belts of large cities due to lower living costs (Oxfam, 2015). 86 percent of the Syrian refugees live in 242 communities where 66 percent of Lebanese live on less than US\$4 a day (UNICEF et al., 2017). These are the traditionally deprived regions in the North (30 percent) and in the Bekaa valley (34 percent) (MEHE, 2014). There are over 400 informal settlements hosting 12.5 percent of the registered refugees (MEHE, 2014). The influx of refugees in the communities exacerbates the difficult socioeconomic situation and challenges the coping capacity of the Lebanese host community. The distribution of aid to Syrians fuels tensions with the poverty-stricken Lebanese communities (Turner, 2015). In addition, the mostly Sunni Muslim Syrian refugees upset the sectarian balance in Lebanon.

On the political side, the influx of Syrian refugees meets a divided stance between the groups who support the opposition in Syria and those who support Assad, which makes refugees subject to political contention. This antagonism is also present in the government, leading to political deadlocks in decision-making on refugee issues, as the allocation of public expenditure follows confessional lines (Janmyr, 2016; Salti & Chaaban, 2010). The Syrian refugees add to an already tense situation in the public service delivery. For instance, municipal spending on waste disposal has increased by 40 percent and 92 percent of untreated sewage contaminates water sources, because the increased service demand exceeds the capacity to meet it (Cherri et al., 2016). The infrastructure and public health care systems

struggle because they lack staff, equipment and medication (Cherri et al., 2016). In addition, the no-camp policy as well as the absence of an official census impede the appropriate targeting of refugees with the needed services as it is unclear how many people are in the country and where they reside. This creates a challenge for NGOs and UN agencies in terms of outreach, accessibility, and registration with the municipalities (Boustani et al., 2017).

The aforementioned situation sheds light on the structural and systemic problems that existed in Lebanon prior to the refugees and shows how the Syrian refugee crisis aggravates them. The socioeconomic and political impact of the Syrian refugee crisis is enormous on a country that still recovers from years of conflict and struggles to mitigate sectarian tensions. Especially the public service provision is struggling to keep up with the sudden and large increase in demand, causing a decline in public service access and quality, and a rise of tensions with the marginalized Lebanese poor. One of the most problematic sectors is education, as it used to not be covered by the humanitarian response even though it is crucial for a generation of children and subsequently the future of Syria and the region. Therefore, the following section pays special attention to the education sector.

4.1.3 The Lebanese Education Sector

Similar to the overall overburdening of the Lebanese public sector, the Lebanese education sector was already in need of reform prior to the Syria crisis (Cherri et al., 2016). The Lebanese school system is divided into elementary and intermediate education, catering for the age group 6-14, and secondary education, catering for 15-17 year olds (UNESCO et al., 2014). The Lebanese school system consists of public, subsidized and private schools.

The main problems in the Lebanese education sector are the small proportion of public provision and the low quality of the provision. The public system caters only for 30 percent of the Lebanese student population (Human Rights Watch, 2016). These are mostly the communities with the lowest socioeconomic characteristics that are attracted through the tuition free education but can afford the related education costs in registration, supplies, uniforms and transportation. As only 44 percent of the employed teachers are in the public sector, the student-teacher ratio is high (MEHE, 2014). Due to the overcrowding of the classrooms and the low quality of teaching, public schools show a 10 percent lower academic outcome in test scores in comparison to private schools and their repetition rates, a proxy-indicator for learning, lay at 19 percent (MEHE, 2014). Moreover, the school infrastructure requires rehabilitation in many cases, especially for water and sanitation facilities. In 2011 only 78 percent of public schools had access to piped water systems (MEHE, 2014). One third of the school buildings are not state-owned and thus require MEHE to rent more than 400 schools, which poses an additional financial burden on the budget for public education (MEHE, 2014). The Lebanese government spends 2.48 percent of the GDP on education, thereby remaining far below the regional average of 4.2 percent (USAID, 2018). However, it put significant effort into increasing the number of public schools and

improving their quality. But despite the efforts the progress remained inadequate, wherefore many students drop out of school and parents who can afford it chose to send their children to private schools due to perceived better performance.

Because of these constraints in the public school-system, non-state education provision forms an important pillar in the Lebanese education sector. Besides the public schools, there are free private confessional schools provided by faith-based organizations, which are sometimes subsidised by the state and usually teach the Lebanese curriculum (MEHE, 2014). Additionally, there are non-free private schools provided by for-profit organizations in exchange for tuition fees, teaching a specific curriculum. The private schools account for more than half of the enrolled Lebanese students (UNESCO et al., 2014). Furthermore, there are UNWRA schools for Palestinian children at primary level that are free and teach the Lebanese curriculum (MEHE, 2014). This precarious education situation has been exacerbated by the Syrian refugee crisis.

4.1.4 The Adjustments in the Lebanese Education Sector

Of the population influx of 1.5 million officially UNHCR-registered Syrian refugees, an estimated 42 percent are school aged children between 3-18 years (MEHE, 2014). Of these 420.000 Syrian children an estimated 180.000 Syrian children and an additional 50.000 Lebanese children are in primary school age (6-14 years) (UN Lebanon, 2017). This leads to a tense situation with additional pressure on the underfunded education sector. It demands not only the increase of the education services but also more variety to cater specific needs and to compensate for negative impacts on the quality of the public education system.

In response to this emergency, the aforementioned Reaching All Children with Education I (RACE I) plan was adopted for 2014-2016 as the education sector part of the LCRP. A follow up plan, RACE II, was established for 2017-2021. RACE I builds on the “No Lost Generation” Strategy and a stabilization framework developed by the UN, the World Bank and the Lebanese government (GoL & UN, 2015). The RACE II outlines a multi-year comprehensive approach to education and covers the humanitarian response and long-term support (GoL & UN, 2018). The plan targets a population of around 460.000 Syrian children, 6.500 Palestine children from Syria, 6.500 Palestine children in Lebanon, as well as 81.000 vulnerable Lebanese children with an investment of US\$388.2 million (GoL & UN, 2015).

As part of the response to accommodate the additional students, MEHE introduced a variety of mechanisms for the public school-sector. Since 2013, it prompts 364 public schools to introduce a second shift approach with Lebanese children mostly attending in the morning and Syrian refugees attending from 2:00 to 6:00pm (GoL & UN, 2018). The afternoon shifts offer a modified syllabus which contains a condensed form of the Lebanese curriculum (Deane, 2016; GoL & UN, 2018). MEHE

facilitates the access to education via mandating public schools to enrol refugees regardless of their legal status and waiving school and book fees since 2015 (El-Ghali, Ghalayini, & Ismail, 2016; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Lebanon [UNHCR Lebanon], 2016). MEHE introduced a certified Accelerated Learning Programme as a pathway to formal public education for children from seven to 24 years who have been out of school for more than two years (MEHE, 2016). It teaches a condensed form of the Lebanese curriculum, mostly one grade of the national curriculum in three months (Deane, 2016; Norwegian Refugee Council [NRC], 2017). For children who do not qualify for the Accelerated Learning Programme, the Basic Literacy and Numeracy programme for ten to 18 year olds is offered (MEHE, 2016). However, on average only 35 percent of the children who attend the Accelerated Learning Programme transfer to the formal public schooling (GoL & UN, 2018). In line with these MEHE-accredited NFE programmes, MEHE also formulated a Non-Formal Education Framework that standardizes and centralised NFE programmes since 2016 (NRC, 2017). In addition, Syrian refugee children also receive subsidised formal education in many private schools and NFE programmes are offered in 205 informal settlements across Lebanon (MEHE, 2014).

However, these changes did not come without problems. The double-shift approach puts extra burdens on teachers and students and the government struggles with the costs of the Accelerated Learning Programme (Karam Foundation, 2016). Moreover, the influx of refugees in the most vulnerable communities adds to the overcrowded situation that existed prior to the refugee crisis. These conditions lead to rising tensions within the class and between students and teachers. The teachers are not prepared to manage the new needs and draw on violent coping mechanisms. In 2012, the incidence of violence in the classrooms was at 70.4 percent (MEHE, 2014). The overcrowding also contributes to the already high utilization and deterioration of public school infrastructure, which required rehabilitation already prior to the refugee crisis.

Until now there has not been a comprehensive impact assessment of RACE I that provides reliable data on measurable indicators such as enrolment and dropout rates. The data that is available shows considerable variation, depending on the actor publishing them and sometimes even in different documents provided by the same actor (Basmeh & Zeitooneh, 2017). Therefore, the numbers presented in the following section are sometimes optimistic estimates by the Lebanese government and sometimes conservative estimates by education actors such as NGOs, hoping to display a realistic middle way. Especially the data of the Vulnerability Reports of 2015, 2016 and 2017 are used because they are the result of a comprehensive assessment of the Syrian refugee situation in different areas with mixed methods (UNHCR et al., 2015, 2016, 2017).

Prior to the RACE I plan, the government efforts led to a refugee enrolment rate in public education in the school year 2012-2013 of approximately 40.000 students (13.5 percent), in the 2013-2014 school year 88.000 (30 percent) and in the 2014-2015 school year 106.000 (36 percent) (GoL &

UN). For secondary education, the enrolment rate laid at 2 percent in the 2012-2013 school year (MEHE, 2014). After the introduction of the RACE I plan, the enrolment rates for primary education (6-14 year olds) raised from 52 percent in 2015 and 2016 to 70 percent in 2017 (UNHCR et al., 2015, 2016, 2017). In the most deprived Bekaa region the enrolment rate raised from 36 percent in 2015 and 2016 to 59 percent in 2017 (UNHCR et al., 2015, 2016, 2017). In turn, this means that today a minimum of 30 percent of primary aged children are still out of school. Even though the enrolment rates are rising, the completion rates remain a challenge. In 2015, only 46 percent of the students who entered primary grade one reached grade six, leading to a completion rate of 13 percent for primary education (UNHCR et al., 2015, 2017). The failure rate of Syrian children is twice as high as the one of their Lebanese peers. For secondary education (15-17 year olds) the enrolment rates stayed at around 5 percent from 2015 to 2017 (UNHCR et al., 2015, 2016, 2017). In 2015, 89 percent of the secondary school children were out of school, which decreased to 84 percent in 2016 (UNHCR et al., 2015, 2016). Also here the completion rate remains a challenge, with 11 percent for upper secondary education (grade 10-12) (UNHCR et al., 2017).

Even though the initiative reached significant amounts of children, the RACE I strategy has failed to reach its targets of providing around 530.000 students with education in the 2015/2016 school year (GoL & UN, 2015). This can mostly be drawn back to insufficient funding, weak coordination among government agencies and inadequate collaboration with NGOs (El-Ghali et al., 2016). MEHE estimated that the additional cost of teaching each Syrian refugee child is US\$600 per year and the budget of MEHE fell short on US\$140 million (MEHE, 2014). In addition to the high number of children who remain either out of school or drop out along the way, the children who remain in school are not always learning due to language barriers and poor quality of the curriculum and teaching. Given that a situation analysis of the Syrian youth in Lebanon by UNESCO et al. (2014) shows that 95 percent of them are willing to continue their education in Lebanon if possible, it is worthwhile to look at the factors that hinder Syrian refugee children from accessing or remaining in education.

4.1.5 Answer to the First Sub-Research Question: The Factors that Constrain the Access to Education for Syrian Refugees

In the education sector, soft security concerns of the refugee situation such as intra-communal tensions and marginalization can be addresses by responding to the particular needs of Syrian children (Deane, 2016). Therefore, it is important to know about the factors that still constrain Syrian refugee children from accessing education. In order to not only derive the barriers to education from one moment in time, the Vulnerability Reports of 2015, 2016 and 2017 are taken into account, thus providing persistent barriers to education. Additionally, further reports are used to increase the reliability of the factors identified. The barriers to education are divided into demand-side barriers and supply-side barriers as they require different forms of action to tackle them (Justino, 2016).

Among the demand-side barriers are the cost of education and accompanying negative coping mechanisms such as child labour and child marriage, psychological stress and trauma, and being over age.

Cost of Education: In numerous assessments the cost of education is identified as the main barrier to education across all age groups. Besides mostly waived tuition fees in public schools, costs arise for uniforms, supplies and transport, hindering refugees from accessing education (El-Ghali et al., 2016). 71 percent of the households whose children were out of school had an income of less than US\$300 (UNHCR et al., 2015). In line with that, 39 percent of children between 6-15 years and 36 percent of children between 15-17 years mention the cost of education as main barrier to education (UNHCR et al., 2017).

Negative Coping Mechanisms: Child Labour and Child Marriage: The precarious life circumstances of Syrian refugee children due to displacement make them one of the most marginalized groups who settle in the most vulnerable communities. It also leads them to living in poverty. Poverty forces people to adopt negative coping strategies such as child labour and other forms of exploitation. Families often rely on the children's income wherefore they deprioritize their children's education (Karam Foundation, 2016). Seasonal child labour is particularly prominent in the Bekaa, North and South, where the communities face a depletion of resources and a reduction of assistance (GoL & UN, 2015). 7 percent of the Syrian refugee children between 12-14 years mentioned the need to work as a barrier to their education (UNHCR et al., 2015). Among the 15-17 year old, this number rises to 13 percent (UNHCR et al., 2016). In some communities, the community leader (Shawish) also refuses children to go to school in order to send them to work (GoL & UN, 2015; United States Department of State, 2017). Besides child labour, poverty also leads to the negative coping strategy of early marriage. It disproportionately affects girls who are married off their families to release financial burden and supposedly provide for their safety in insecure environments by assigning them a husband. One in five girls aged 15 to 19 are married and 18 percent of them to a spouse that is ten or more years older (UNHCR et al., 2017). Among the 15-17 year olds, 7 percent report being married as a reason for being out of school (UNHCR et al., 2016).

Psychological Stress and Trauma: Displaced Syrian children that have witnessed or experienced violence, the destruction of homes or losses of family members are affected in their psychological well-being (GoL & UN, 2015). This is reflected in symptoms such as sleep disturbances, crying, screaming, bed-wetting, nightmares, clinginess and withdrawal (GoL & UN, 2015). The psychological well-being of children is aggravated by the dire living conditions and the tensions with the host community. Only 11 percent of Syrian refugee youth describe their state of mind as positive, while 30 percent feel anxious or depressed, 22 percent afraid, and 6 percent despondent (UNESCO et al., 2014). To 17 percent of Syrian refugee youths the thought of ending their life occurs often while 24

percent report to have that thought sometimes (UNESCO et al., 2014). However, no information was to be found on the extent the psychological stress and trauma cause them to drop out of school or prevent them from enrolling.

Over age for Grade Level: The displacement disrupted the education of many Syrian refugee children sometimes for years, making it difficult for them to resume their education when resettling. 24 percent of the children state their age as a reason for being out of school (UNHCR et al., 2015). Of the children enrolled in the first grade of primary school, 54 percent are two or more years older than the standard age of that grade (UNHCR et al., 2017). 11 percent of the primary students are between 3 to 5 years older than the standard age for that grade (UNHCR et al., 2017). For early childhood (pre-primary) education, the primary barrier for being out of school is that parents consider the children too young for education (UNHCR et al., 2017).

Next to the demand-side barriers, there are also considerable supply-side barriers who affect the access to education for Syrian refugee children. Among them are a lack of language skills and the difficulty of the curriculum, the lack of documentation, discrimination and violence in schools, and inadequate availability of schools in deprived areas.

Lack of Language Skills/Curriculum: The Lebanese curriculum differs greatly from the Syrian curriculum with regard to content and language of instruction (El-Ghali et al., 2016; Karam Foundation, 2016). In Lebanon, the languages of instruction are Arabic, French and English, with the latter two languages being taught as second languages and being utilized for the instruction in math and science (Karam et al., 2017). As French and English are only taught as foreign languages in Syria, this leads to insufficient literacy in these languages (Deane, 2016; GoL & UN, 2015). This makes it difficult to catch up even for children whose education was not interrupted. For children with an education gap, keeping up is even harder (Awada et al., 2018). As a result, children are either placed in a lower grade or they drop out of school (Karam et al., 2017). 22 percent of the Syrian refugee youth state that the difficulty of the Lebanese curriculum caused them to drop out while 8 percent state the language of instruction as reason for dropping out of school (UNESCO et al., 2014). 40 percent of enrolled Syrian refugee youth report understanding foreign languages as main difficulty in school (UNESCO et al., 2014).

Lack of Documentation: A lack of documentation and legal status prevents refugees from accessing education. The Lebanese government issues a variety of legal obstacles for Syrians to obtain residency permits, which lead to an increase of refugees without legal status (Basmeh & Zeitooneh, 2017). Many children are not registered as refugees with UNHCR because they cannot not afford the transport to the UN offices for their application or because they fear negative side-effects of their registration and mistrust the authorities (Karam Foundation, 2016). As undocumented refugees, they fear deportation or imprisonment which prevents them from moving freely. This impacts on their

educational access as many fear check points on their way to school. The lack of documents is also a problem when registering at public schools. Even though MEHE arranged that refugees are allowed to enrol regardless of their legal status, the awareness for this rule among school administrators is limited (El-Ghali et al., 2016). Among the 6-14 and the 15-17 year olds, the school prohibited them from enrolment in 7 percent of the cases (UNHCR et al., 2015). When attending school, a lack of documents is also a barrier when refugees try to sit for exams, as many schools require certificates of the previous class level to enter the exam or to receive certification after the exam even though the restriction is repealed by MEHE. As many refugees do not possess their Syrian documents and cannot access them without returning to Syria, they cannot enter higher classes (UNHCR et al., 2016). Despite how prevalent the issue is in all reports, it is not possible to find data on how many children are affected by the lack of documentation and legal status, probably as this topic is a very sensitive issue.

Discrimination and Violence: Hostilities from teachers and peers that lead to bullying and exclusion prevent Syrian children from accessing education (Visconti & Gal, 2018b). Parents raise security concerns when their children face corporal punishment, abuse and violence in classrooms or on their way to school and withdraw them from schools (El-Ghali et al., 2016). This is especially the case for girls when they or their parents fear sexual violence within or on the way to school, relating back to the aforementioned negative coping mechanism of early marriage. In 2012, the incidence of violence in the classrooms was at 70.4 percent (MEHE, 2014). Further statements on the prevalence of violence in classrooms are made in UNHCR et al. (2016), but there is no precise data to be found how many children are out of school because of fearing discrimination and violence.

Besides the aforementioned supply barrier to education, 6 percent of the children report that they are not enrolled because there is no school available in their area or because the schools are overcrowded and do not accept more students (UNHCR et al., 2015).

The combination of the public schools not being able to scale up their provision fast enough together with the lacking quality and the high drop-out rates indicate a need for after-school or out-of-school learning programmes that support Syrian children. Many Syrian and Lebanese community-based organizations have emerged to fill the capacity gaps in the formal school system by providing complementary or alternative informal education programmes. However, their performance is difficult to evaluate.

Section 4.1 drew on the historical background of Lebanon that was characterized by various conflicts, sectarian tension and foreign influence as described in the annex. Section 4.1.1 outlined the unprecedented influx of Syrian refugees in the aftermath of the Syrian war into Lebanon and section 4.1.2 described the economic, social and political impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on Lebanon, presenting how the previously existing structural problems and capacity gaps were exacerbated by the population increase. Section 4.1.3 illustrated the education sector prior to the refugee crisis and outlined

the existing capacity gaps. Section 4.1.4 showed how the difficulties in the education sector aggravated in the wake of the refugee crisis and how these problems are sought to be overcome with the emergency approach RACE I that was scaled up to the long-term strategy RACE II. Lastly, section 4.1.5 answered the first sub-research question by presenting the factors that constrain the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon.

The education situation in Lebanon is worthwhile to be examined in the light of the theoretical framework of this thesis. It constitutes a service delivery in a fragile context, which according to OECD (2008) is disrupted by three factors. Firstly, the service delivery is disrupted by a lack of government capacity and/or willingness, the breakdown of social order through conflict as well as through corruption and private capture. Secondly, service delivery in fragile environments may be disrupted by the absence of a national policy framework that leads to the fragmentation of the action. Thirdly, the prioritisation of immediate service delivery over long-term capacity development may be unsustainable.

Regarding the first problem, Lebanon's struggling economy and the sectarian divide in the political-administrative system lead to a sincere limitation of the state capacity in delivering services and making decisions on the refugee situation. The sectarian organization of public life, from the organization of the political system to the provision of education, also impacts on the allocation of resources, which encourages favouritism along ethnic lines and thus private capture of public goods (Turner, 2015). These capacity gaps are accompanied by upsurges of conflicts with Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Iran, and between the ethnic communities, which disrupts the social order and leads to intercommunal tensions. The Syrian refugee crisis aggravates this situation and fuels tensions between the Syrian refugees and the Lebanese host community, having the potential for violent clashes and a social breakdown.

Concerning the second problem, the absence of a clear response strategy of the Lebanese government to the Syrian refugee crisis and its late willingness to cooperate with UN agencies to develop the LCRP as framework disrupted the service delivery in Lebanon. Already before the refugee crisis the education delivery consisted of a fragment of public, subsidised and private schools whose capacity did not meet the demands. The Syrian refugee crisis exacerbated the fragmentation of education delivery under which the quality of education suffered for the host community and the refugees. The emergence of the RACE I and II plan as policy framework to tackle the issue came late, underfinanced and with few mechanisms to measure the progress (El-Ghali et al., 2016).

Referring to the third problem, the cooperation of Lebanon with the UN agencies can be viewed in two ways. The initial lead of the refugee response through the UN agencies followed an emergency approach of urgent service delivery as humanitarian support to the Syrian refugees and the Lebanese host community. In the education sector, the UN agencies supported Syrian refugee children who lack access to their national education system due to human-made crisis by providing supplemental education

programmes in line with the emergency education concept of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (2009). The later formulation of the 3RP and the joint LCRP framework rather followed a long-term development approach to not undermine capacity development for the sake of urgent service delivery. This was important for the coordination between the local authorities and the international actors active in Lebanon to avoid OECD's (2008) second problem of fragmentation.

Therefore, the service delivery and especially the education delivery in Lebanon is rather disrupted by the first two OECD (2008) problems than by the third one. Regarding the state fragility definition of lacking the capacity and/or willingness to execute core government functions, this assessment indicates that Lebanon lacks the capacity to execute its socioeconomic governance of service delivery but shows willingness to some extent by cooperating on important framework policies (Hirschmann, 2016; OECD, 2008). However, this willingness is yet again limited by the sectarian divide. Moreover, this assessment underlines Brinkerhoff's (2010) argument that capacity gaps in the public service delivery are filled by non-state actors. In this case, the capacity gaps prior to the Syrian refugee crisis were filled by education provision through private or faith-based organizations and after the Syrian refugee crisis through a combination of international (UN agencies) and non-state actors. What initiatives these non-state actors take in the response to the education crisis is subject of the second sub-research question.

4.2 What are the Current Initiatives Taken by National and International NGOs Regarding Supporting Education Among Syrian Refugees in Lebanon?

The second sub-research question asks *“What are the current initiatives taken by NGOs and INGOs regarding supporting education among Syrian refugees in Lebanon?”*. In order to answer this question, section 4.2.1 provides an overview on NGO and INGO education provision in Lebanon. Section 4.2.2 introduces four education projects in detail and analyses to what extent they address the barriers to education previously identified, thus providing the answer to the second sub-research question.

4.2.1 An Overview of Education Activities by NGOs and INGOs

In a fragile state such as Lebanon that faces a protracted refugee crisis, it is important to have alternative and complementary education initiatives for children who cannot access the formal school system. Therefore, the NGO sector is besides the MEHE the main provider of education services for Syrian refugees (El-Ghali et al., 2016). NGOs offer remedial classes to children who attend public schools, accelerated learning programmes to enable the integration in public schools, as well as literacy and numeracy skills for children who never attended school (El-Ghali et al., 2016). They can be distinguished between NGOs and INGOs.

In Lebanon, 47 INGOs coordinate their work in the Lebanon Humanitarian INGO Forum (LHIF) of which 13 are official partners of UNHCR Lebanon (UNHCR Lebanon, 2018). Some of these

partner INGOs are generally not active in the education sector such as the International Medical Corps, Medair, Interesos, International Relief and Development, Terre des hommes or the International Committee for the Development of Peoples (Interesos, 2018). Other INGO partners run education projects in other countries but focus on different sectors in Lebanon (e.g. Danish Refugee Council, Premiere Urgence International, Care, Plan, Oxfam and World Vision) (Danish Refugee Council, 2014; Interesos, 2018; Premiere Urgence International, 2018; UNHCR Lebanon, 2018; World Vision, 2017). The INGOs that are official partners of UNHCR Lebanon and are active in the education sector are Concern Worldwide, the International Rescue Committee and Save the Children.

Concern Worldwide started an education programme in 2014 that consists of literacy and numeracy classes for the integration into formal schooling and homework and retention support for enrolled students. The education programme also includes a psychosocial support component to mitigate the negative impact of violence and displacement. Concern Worldwide raises awareness among parents and trains teachers in first aid and child protection (Concern Worldwide, 2018). The International Rescue Committee (IRC) operated in the education sector through community-based NFE and basic numeracy and literacy programmes from 2012 to 2016. After the MEHE restricted humanitarian organizations from providing full NFE programmes outside of public schools without accreditation, the IRC shifted its focus in 2015 to early childhood education and remedial support to children already enrolled in public schools. The early childhood education programme covers literacy, numeracy and social and emotional skills (International Rescue Committee [IRC], 2017; United States Department of State, 2017). Save the Children offers remedial education, NFE programmes with homework support and basic literacy and numeracy classes as well as early childhood care across Lebanon (Save the Children Lebanon, 2018).

Apart from the official partner INGOs of UNHCR, other INGOs are engaged in the education provision in Lebanon. One of them is the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) which generally supports people affected by displacement and has been working in Lebanon since 2006. In the education sector, the NRC supports access and retention to public schools and creates NFE opportunities as well as vocational and language classes for out-of-school children. Apart from that it supports the UNRWA's schools for Palestinian refugees, trains teachers and rehabilitates public schools (NRC, 2018).

Aside from these INGOs, UNHCR Lebanon has 13 NGO partners, of which the Amel Association International, the Makhzoumi Foundation, the René Moawad Foundation and UTOPIA operate in the education sector (UNHCR Lebanon, 2018). The Amel Association International is active in Lebanon since 1979 and provides a NFE education programme with homework support, remedial classes and accelerated learning that is offered in its own Amel centres since 2017. It also targets children in informal camps and shelters through Mobile Education Units. The Amel Bus operates in five informal settlements on a weekly basis and offers retention support through homework and remedial sessions,

psychosocial and recreational activities and awareness sessions for parents (Amel Association International, 2017). The Makhzoumi Foundation offers a vocational education project for the youth in marginalised areas that trains them in digital literacy and English skills (Makhzoumi Foundation, 2018). The René Moawad Foundation provides education projects that focus on soft skills and hard skills, employability programmes that promote literacy and numeracy, vocational training, apprenticeships, life skills lessons and awareness sessions for parents (René Moawad Foundation, 2018). UTOPIA offers English language courses and recreational awareness camps on pluralism, tolerance and mutual respect (UTOPIA, 2018).

Besides the partners of UNHCR, other Lebanese NGOs are engaged in the context of education. One of them is Sonbola, an NGO founded in direct response to the Syrian refugee crisis in 2014 and operating in informal settlements in the Bekaa Valley. It delivers the Tamkeen NFE programme in its own learning centre which provides remedial education in Arabic, English, science and math. It also promotes computer and robotic education, psycho-social support through art and music as well as citizenship education through debate clubs. It uses blended learning approaches with ICT skills and immersive, interactive and experimental learning. Additionally, Sonbola runs the project Taleem that supports formal education's enrolment through free transport and awareness campaigns with parents and communities (Sonbola, 2018). Basmeh & Zeitooneh, is another example of an NGO that was founded as reaction to the Syrian refugee crisis in 2014. It runs a NFE project for students whose education has been disrupted by conflict or who cannot enrol in public schools. In three community centres the programme teaches the Lebanese curriculum with English, French, Arabic, science and math. Alongside of the NFE programme Basmeh & Zeitooneh offers a peace education programme with recreational and creative activities for the promotion of psychosocial well-being (Basmeh & Zeitooneh, 2017, 2018).

4.2.2 Answer to the Second Sub-Research Question: The Current Initiatives Taken by National and International NGOs Regarding Supporting Education Among Syrian Refugees in Lebanon

The aforementioned examples of NGO and INGOs education provision illustrate how diverse and multifaceted non-state education delivery in Lebanon is. Yet it is paramount to examine whether the diversity of approaches contributes to the education access of Syrian refugee children by targeting the critical factors that prevent them from following their education. These factors consist of the cost of education, negative coping mechanisms (e.g. child labour, child marriage), psychological stress and trauma, and being over age on the demand side. On the supply side, they consist of a lack of language skills or the difficulty of the curriculum, a lack of documentation, and discrimination and violence. In the following section, four education projects are introduced in detail in order to follow up on this question.

Project 1: The Back-to-School Campaign by MEHE, UNHCR, UNICEF and Partner NGOs

Description

UNHCR has played an important role in ensuring access to education for Syrian refugee children. One of the initiatives taken in this respect is the *Back-to-School* campaign which operates before the beginning of each new school year. It is run, under the umbrella of MEHE, by UNHCR, UNICEF, UNESCO, the World Bank and more than 100 local NGO and INGO partners across the country and consists of a mass media campaign at the national level, an outreach and mobilization initiative at the community level, case management at the family level and preparation at school administrator level (MEHE, 2016). The information campaign is broadcasted on a multitude of information channels such as TV, radio, posters, information sessions, flyers, direct text messages, social media and an information hotline (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016).

The outreach campaign informs about the importance of education, enrolment opportunities and support mechanisms for already enrolled children (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016; UNHCR, 2017). Regarding enrolment opportunities, an important information for many parents is the partial waiving of documentation for enrolment. In cases in which some schools express additional requirements such as vaccination booklets UNHCR installs itself as communication partner that informs school administrators about legislative changes to ease the enrolment process (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016). Regarding support mechanisms, information on funding opportunities is crucial. Children who are enrolled in public schools through the *Back-to-School* initiative receive free text books and stationery. Moreover, for non-Lebanese children the tuition fees are waived and for Lebanese children the Parent Council fees at school (US\$60) are paid (UNHCR, 2017). Besides that, the most vulnerable refugees and those living more than 2.5 kilometres away from the nearest school can apply for additional cash support for transportation.

The campaign focuses on identifying and addressing reasons that hinder children from attending school and seeks community-based solutions for these issues. The information is gathered and distributed in multiple ways. The campaign trains refugees with a background in education, e.g. former teachers in Syria, as specialized Outreach Volunteers. The Outreach Volunteers organize awareness and information sessions for students and parents on what assistance they can receive and refer families in need to the respective service provider. Community Awareness Sessions are set up to identify problems through focus group discussions and to inform families about education opportunities in their houses, community centres, informal settlements and towns. Other outreach components are Parent Community Groups that involve parents and provide them with an opportunity to work on solutions for common problems together. For instance, in areas without public transportation to and from school, parents can set up transportation plans in which an adult accompanies the children. The precise design of the

outreach initiatives depends on the local partners and the community. One of the community outreach projects takes place in cooperation with the Lebanese scouts and is called the *School on Wheels*. It enables children to learn and play in a mobile classroom unit while their parents are informed about enrolment opportunities (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016). Another form of outreach is a cooperation with the Swedish Clowns without Borders that trains the outreach staff on trauma reduction methodologies in the *Learning through Laughter* approach (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016).

For the children that are already enrolled in an education programme, the parents are encouraged to establish Homework Support Groups. Doing homework together and under guidance motivates children to stay in school and offers a safe environment for questions. The Homework Support Groups take place in homes, tents, shelters and community centres and are led by Outreach Volunteers or parents to sustain the retention of children in education programmes. In addition, the *Back-to-School* campaign informs about opportunities for vocational education and higher education. It refers to one of 134 MEHE-accredited vocational education centres that teach practical skills and raise awareness for the DAFI scholarship programme that enables obtaining a university degree. Both initiatives are supported by UNHCR. Moreover, UNHCR initiates a pilot project in southern Lebanon for children with specific needs.

Barriers

Referring to the supply- and demand-side barriers to education, the *Back-to-School* campaign does not provide an education programme itself that seeks to overcome these barriers. Instead, it reaches out to communities through a multitude of channels and with a variety of local partners and approaches to identify barriers to education that have not been addressed and to inform about opportunities that are already in place to reduce barriers. Concerning the demand-side barriers to education, the *Back-to-School* campaign tackles the cost barrier of education by informing about the current regulation of free public education including free text books and stationery and by explaining the different funding opportunities that exist additionally. The funding opportunities include the cash support programmes for transportation in some cases or scholarships such as the DAFI programme. The financial burden on some families that urges children to work is at the core of the community-based outreach approach. It involves the parents and the community through Outreach Volunteers, Community Awareness Sessions and Parents Community Groups and seeks to inform them about the importance of education for their children's future. With an awareness for the importance of education in combination with the funding opportunities, the *Back-to-School* campaign contributes to a prioritization of education and thus positively impacts on negative coping mechanisms. The vocational education opportunities are an option to gain practical skills and execute more qualified positions in the job market for children who seek to work sooner. Regarding the barrier of psychological stress and trauma, the Outreach Volunteers are trained in initiatives such as the *Learning through Laughter* approach that equips them with trauma

sensitive skills. Beyond this approach, no information is provided in the project report regarding alleviating psychological stress and trauma. Neither does the report provide insights into ways in which the over age children are being addressed. Presumably, the parents of these children belong to the families with specific needs that are referred to the support hotline or to one of the Basic Literacy and Numeracy Programmes that prepare children for the Accelerated Learning Programme and consequently for formal education in the long run.

In respect to the supply-side barriers to education, the *Back-to-School* campaign informs about additional language support classes and remedial support. The Homework Support Groups help children to keep up with the rest of the class. Concerning the documentation barrier, the campaign shares knowledge regarding enrolment procedures, required documentation and legal requirements and seeks to find a solution for every family. In cases in which school administrators refuse to enrol the children, their families can also speak up in the community outreach sessions or the support hotline. With regard to the barrier of discrimination and violence, the *Back-to-School* campaign's community outreach targets all children of school age and informs about funding opportunities for both, Syrian and Lebanese children. The Outreach Volunteers also have the responsibility to provide personalized follow up on refugee students on issues such as bullying, violence and discrimination (MEHE, 2016). In addition, the Parent Community Groups are instrumental for managing the relationships between the Lebanese and Syrian parents as well as for tempering tensions between the parents and the school administration and teachers. It is therefore a tool for addressing tensions that arise through violence or discrimination.

Project 2: Learning in a Healing Classroom Programme by the International Rescue Committee

Description

During the school year 2016-2017, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) delivered the *Learning in a Healing Classroom (Healing Classrooms)* programme (IRC & Global Ties for Children at New York University [TIES/NYU], 2017b). It is designed as an after-school programme to support Syrian refugee children's learning outcomes and retention in Lebanese public schools. It is coordinated with the *Back-to-School* campaign by MEHE and is in accordance with MEHE's RACE plan and RACE II's Non-Formal Education Framework.

The *Healing Classrooms* programme is delivered by 145 IRC-trained teachers in 87 community sites in Lebanon's Bekaa and Akkar regions. The programme sites are located close to the homes or schools of the children. 4300 Syrian refugee children who are enrolled in Lebanese public schools receive eight hours per week of Arabic, second language (English or French) and math instruction. The programme is delivered in two 16-week cycles and there are three versions of the programme available. All of them implement a social-emotional learning (SEL) approach. Social-emotional learning affects

three realms of child development. Emotional processes such as recognition or empathy, social and interpersonal processes such as interpreting behaviour and clear communication, and cognitive processes such as working memory and attention control (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017a).

The first version *Healing Classrooms Basic (HC Basic)* provides a five-day training to teachers to integrate SEL principles of classroom management, critical thinking and positive pedagogy into their teaching practices in Arabic, second language, literacy and numeracy. The second version *Healing Classrooms + Targeted SEL (HC + Targeted SEL Mindfulness)* includes additional daily mindfulness exercises in between subject-matter transitions to buffer psychological stress. These consist of breathing exercises or focusing on the present moment. The third version of the *Healing Classrooms + Targeted SEL (HC + Targeted SEL Brain Games)* programme includes brain games based on movements and playfulness to build cognitive control in between subject-matter transitions. They are designed to support the working memory and flexibility of attention as well as overall executive functioning skills. The teachers of the *HC + Targeted SEL* versions *Mindfulness* and *Brain Games* receive an additional pre-service training (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017b).

Barriers

Regarding the programme's ability to support education among Syrian refugees, the *Healing Classrooms* programme only reaches Syrian refugee children that are already enrolled in Lebanese public schools in the first place. However, it addresses the barriers why children drop out of the formal system and seeks to bolster the refugee children's ability to succeed in the formal system. Concerning the demand-side barriers to education, the programme sites close to the school or the home of the children reduce the indirect education costs for transportation and the insecurity on the way to the programme. The *HC + Targeted SEL* programmes additionally address the barrier of psychological stress and trauma with their mindfulness exercises and the brain game. Since the targeted children are already enrolled in the formal education system, there are no barriers regarding the age-limit to be expected. However, the reports do not provide specific information on this topic.

With regard to the supply-side barriers to education, all three versions of the programme provide additional language instruction and math courses which address the language and curriculum barrier in Lebanese public schools in which math is taught in French or English. The reports do not provide information regarding the documentation that is required to participate in the programme. However, since the children have to be enrolled in the formal system, the entry into the after-school programme is supposedly not a problem. Regarding the barrier of discrimination and violence, the programme components do not specifically target the issue, but the teachers are taught in positive pedagogy which might contribute to a reduction of violent or discouraging teaching methods. The joint practice of the mindfulness components and brain games might contribute to a better classroom feeling. However, since

the IRC programmes only target Syrian refugee children, their Lebanese peers might feel an aversion as they cannot benefit from the extra support.

Project 3: Non-Formal Education Programming by the Norwegian Refugee Council

Description

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) provided NFE programmes to Syrian refugee children and vulnerable Lebanese children from 2013 to 2016 (NRC, 2017). Around 80 percent of the targeted children are Syrian refugees. Because the needs and the backgrounds of these vulnerable communities are diverse, the education programmes seek to be adjustable and flexible to these realities. Therefore, the NRC's education approach consists of three phases. It develops from a purely emergency-focused approach to a more sustainable non-formal programme and into a support programme that facilitates access to public schooling.

The first phase of the approach is an education in emergency programme for newcomers and out-of-school children. It provides an own *Child Education Pack* curriculum of three months that covers basic literacy and numeracy skills as well as psycho-social and recreational activities such as storytelling, sports, games and breathing and relaxation exercises. The programme aims at providing a sense of normalcy, to support children to cope with trauma and to teach basic educational skills. It is provided for up to one year and delivered in informal tented settlements or community centres (NRC, 2017).

The second phase of the approach consists of structured NFE programmes that aim at integrating the children into the certified public education system. They are based on the national Lebanese curriculum and are in line with MEHE's RACE plan and RACE II's Non-Formal Education Framework. The out-of-school children who are attending the structured NFE programmes are prepared for the formal system and are transferred either to the regular formal school system or the MEHE implemented Accelerated Learning Programme. Therefore, the NRC programmes are implemented in the same three-month cycles than the official MEHE Accelerated Learning Programme. One of them is the community based early childhood *School Readiness* education programme for pre-school children. The second one is the *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* programme for out-of-school children. They are delivered in community centres or NRC-owned learning centres because MEHE limits the access to public schools since it standardizes and centralizes NFE programming (NRC, 2017).

The third phase of the approach are support programmes to formal education to prevent drop-out and to ensure retention in the formal school system. The remedial *Learning Support* programme targets public second shift schools as they specifically provide education for Syrian refugee children. Because of the double-shift system, these schools lack the capacity for additional learning support classes, wherefore the NRC *Learning Support* only operates during the summer break inside these

schools. Children who perform poorly are referred to the NRC support classes by headteachers. In addition, the NRC offers the *Homework Support* programme (NRC, 2017).

In all three phases, the NRC deploys a holistic approach. It provides learning and academic skills with psycho-social and recreational support and life skills training. The NRC involves parents through *Parent Community Groups* and awareness and information campaigns on child rights, hygiene and positive parenting. It participates in *Community Outreach Campaigns* such as the MEHE *Back-to-School* campaign and encourages school enrolment through household visits, community awareness sessions and follow-up phone calls. The NRC trains and supports teachers and school personnel with child-centred inclusive teaching methodologies, multi-level teaching, positive discipline and the integration of light psycho-social activities. The latter are implemented throughout all three phases with NRC's psycho-social support programme *Better Learning*. In addition, the NRC creates a safe learning environment by rehabilitating schools, repairing learning spaces and distributing learning materials (NRC, 2017).

Barriers

Regarding the demand-side barriers to education, all NRC programmes run for free and do not involve direct costs for tuition. The programmes operate in community centres in the South and North and in informal tented settlements in the Bekaa. The proximity to the community enables assess and contributes to the reduction of indirect costs as no transportation is needed. However, children who do not live close to these centres are not specifically targeted through e.g. school busses. The distribution of learning material also lowers the indirect costs of education. Outreach campaigns and the strong involvement of the parents and the community contribute to the awareness for the importance of education. This might lead to a prioritization of education so that children are not send to work or married early. Another focus of the NRC programmes lies on the barrier of psychological stress and trauma as the NRC implements the psychological support programme *Better Learning* throughout its three phases. Especially in the emergency education phase, different psycho-social activities and relaxation exercises target the psychological well-being of the children. Also, the teachers are specifically trained for psycho-social activities. Regarding the barrier of being over age, the projects report does not provide information how the children are categorised in age groups and thus possibly excluded.

With respect to the supply-side barriers to education, the language and curriculum barrier is targeted. The emergency education programme extra focuses on the most important basic life skills that are relevant in crisis situations. The other two phases of the NRC programmes are closely aligned with the official Lebanese curriculum. It is not laid out how many hours of which subject are taught and if there is a specific focus on languages. But since the goal of the NFE programmes is to integrate the children into the formal system, they supposedly focus on the subjects in which the children face the biggest challenges, namely math and foreign languages. As even the first grade of the formal school

system as well as the MEHE Accelerated Learning Programme presume basic literacy and numeracy skills, the focus on literacy and numeracy in the NRC *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* programme targets this barrier to education. The *Learning* and *Homework Support* programmes focus precisely on the areas in which the children struggle to sustain their retention. Information how in detail the *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* or the *Learning Support* programme communicate and teach these skills is not provided in the project report. Neither does the report provide insights into the regulations of the NRC regarding the documentation that is needed to enrol in the NFE programmes. If the same documentation is needed that prevents children from enrolling in the formal school system, these children continue to be excluded. On another note, the NRC education programmes target Syrian refugee children and vulnerable Lebanese children alike. Thus, they do not perpetuate or fuel resentments that marginalized Lebanese communities are left behind while Syrian refugee children receive support. This can have a positive effect on the barrier of discrimination and violence. However, since 80 percent of the children are Syrian refugees, this effect might be rather small. The aim of integrating the refugees in the Lebanese public formal system increases the possibilities of interaction with Lebanese peers, but the second-shift approach prevents a full integration. In addition, the NRC teacher training addresses the discrimination and violence barrier by promoting an inclusive classroom atmosphere and by showing methods of positive discipline as alternative to (corporal) punishments.

Project 4: The Rainbow of Hope Project by Search for Common Ground

Description

The *Rainbow of Hope* project of Search for Common Ground (SFCG) was funded by the U.S. Embassy in Beirut and implemented by local NGOs in 25 locations across Lebanon from November 2014 to July 2015 (Search for Common Ground [SFCG], 2015). It aims at overcoming tensions between the Syrian refugees and the Lebanese host community through NFE programming that promotes conflict transformation. For the duration of six months, 625 Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian children between six and 11 years are supported with English classes. They also receive psycho-social and recreational activities together with an additional 625 children.

The English classes are delivered from Monday to Friday in the afternoons for one hour each. The classes teach basic and intermediate English language skills through language games, music and storytelling. 25 English short stories target conflict transformation topics such as empathy, respect and mutual understanding and seek to promote community building. The classes offer discussions on these topics in Arabic and incorporate English for resolving conflicts in a peaceful way. The psycho-social and recreational sessions are delivered by two animators per club for four hours on a weekend day in the locations where the English classes take place. At the end of the project, three final events are organized as an opportunity to bring the parents and students together and present the progress that has been reached (SFCG, 2015).

In order to implement the project, SFCG recruits 25 teachers and 50 animators and trains them for the programme components. The teachers receive five days of trainings on English teaching methods and classroom management as well as tools to integrate conflict transformation skills into the English clubs. They also write their book profiles and prepare their weekly lesson plan. The teachers receive one Refresher Day in which they get trained in child protection and new education tools. The animators receive three days of training on how to include conflict transformation skills into recreational activities and how to deal with conflict among children. Also, the animators receive one Refresher Day that focuses on creative tools for child protection and overcoming behavioural problems of children. Throughout the project the teachers and animators also receive coaching (SFCG, 2015).

Barriers

Referring to the demand-side barriers, the project focuses on out of school children in the most vulnerable communities and thus targets children that are otherwise excluded from education. Since the project is offered for free and in close proximity to the children's home, the barrier of education cost is tackled. The children are not wearing uniforms on the published pictures which indicates that also these indirect costs are avoided. In terms of negative coping mechanisms, the project report states that the programme aims at combatting child labour by providing the incentive of English language learning for Syrian refugee families to keep their children in education. Since no other incentives are provided, the contribution of the project in this realm is not evident. The psycho-social activities for the children on the weekend target the barrier of psychological stress and trauma. The focus on children from six to 11 years includes a wide age range wherefore also older children with no prior exposure to English can attend the classes, possibly contributing that children that are over age for their grade level in formal education can participate in this project.

Regarding the supply-side barriers, the project focuses extensively on the provision of English language skills which corresponds with the language and curriculum barrier to education. The teacher training promotes an understanding for different learning styles which prevents teaching on the lowest common denominator given the age-range from six to 11 years and the accompanying variations in comprehension level. However, the programme's focus on English does not address the overall literacy and numeracy of the children. Concerning the barrier of lacking documentation, the project report does not provide insights to what extent documentation is required for the enrolment in the programme. The project's component on conflict transformation skills inhibits a strong focus on overcoming the barrier of discrimination and violence. The whole project is directed towards community building, overcoming prejudices, fostering mutual understanding and peaceful conflict resolution between Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian children, thus impacting on bullying and other forms of discrimination and violence in the classroom. The project report mentions that the project is implemented where SFCG already runs other social cohesion projects due to a high concentration of Syrian refugees. Therefore, the *Rainbow of*

Hope project carries the social cohesion message into the classrooms. However, there is hardly any integration of the wider social cohesion projects with the *Rainbow of Hope* project and the only community or family involvement in the project takes place in the final events.

The second sub-research question presented an overview on NGO and INGO education projects in Lebanon and provided an in-depth analysis of four education projects. Project one profoundly targets the barriers cost of education, lack of language skills or curriculum and lack of documentation. Project two is particularly strong in targeting the barriers psychological stress and trauma, the lack of language skills or curriculum and moderately addresses discrimination and violence. Project three strongly impacts on psychological stress and trauma, the lack of language skills or curriculum, and discrimination and violence, and moderately targets the lack of documentation and cost-related barriers. Project four targets the barriers cost of education, psychological stress and trauma, being over age, lack of language skills (not curriculum), lack of documentation, and discrimination and violence, but is only punctual in scope.

4.3 What is the Documented Effectiveness of the Selected Education Projects in Reducing the Main Barriers to Access to Education for Syrian Refugees?

The third sub-research question asks “*What is the documented effectiveness of the selected education projects in reducing the main barriers to access to education for Syrian refugees?*”. In order to answer this question, the sub-chapter 4.3 elaborates on the monitoring mechanisms that are present in the four education projects and presents the goal achievement of the respective projects.

Project 1: The Back-to-School Campaign by MEHE, UNHCR, UNICEF and Partner NGOs

Monitoring Instruments

The *Back-to-School* campaign seeks to support children’s access to education through awareness raising and spreading information on enrolment opportunities and support mechanisms. The following monitoring indicators are in place in order to track the progress of the programme.

In general, UNHCR as well as UNICEF employ a variety of monitoring tools at the macro and micro levels to ensure a high quality of their programming for children. At the micro level, they conduct monitoring through field monitoring, partner reports and Third Party Monitoring to track outputs and activities and to ensure the quality of the respective programme implementation (United Nations Children's Fund Lebanon [UNICEF Lebanon], 2016). At the macro level, the outcomes of UNHCR’s or UNICEF’s contribution are monitored through surveys and evaluations (UNICEF Lebanon, 2016). For the *Back-to-School* campaign, these monitoring instruments are also deployed. However, the programme report does not provide insights into the precise indicators. It is known that the Outreach

Volunteers and partner NGOs who inform the communities about the education opportunities gather the concerns of the communities expressed in the household visits and other forms of collaboration and report back to UNHCR (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016). Furthermore, direct feedback from beneficiaries through regular focus group discussions, community groups and text messaging is taken into account (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016). Based on this feedback, the barriers to education can be identified and addressed through legislation and programming. What exact information of the household visits is collected is not known.

Goal Achievement

These monitoring instruments enable to identify to what extent the goal of raising awareness on the importance of education, enrolment opportunities and support mechanisms and consequently improving children's access to education is achieved.

In the academic year 2015-2016, 354.936 children are enrolled in Lebanese public schools of which 157.984 are Syrian refugee children (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016). This is double the enrolment rate of the 2013-2014 academic year thanks to the introduction of the double shift system and the *Back-to-School* campaign (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016). Furthermore, 29.000 children access NFE programmes such as MEHE's Early Childhood Education, Basic Literacy and Numeracy and the Accelerated Learning Programme (UNHCR, 2017). However, of the 488.000 school-aged Syrian refugee children, the target of enrolling 200.000 refugee children in formal education is not reached so that an estimated 180.000 Syrian refugee children in primary school age (6-14 years) remain out of school (UNICEF Lebanon, 2016; UNHCR Lebanon, 2016).

The *Back-to-School* campaign mobilises 109 Outreach Volunteers for the community-based approach and initiates 83 Parent Community Groups as key initiative to involve parents in their children's education. 101 Homework Support groups are established to sustain retention in schools. They are popular especially in the mornings before the second school shift starts. Moreover, 1.365 Community Awareness Sessions are held and they reach 24.451 parents. The information sessions lead to the enrolment of 1.033 students in vocational education and enable 131 students to receive a DAFI scholarship for Lebanese universities. Lastly, the outreach campaign identifies 170 children with special needs who receive glasses, hearing aids and wheel chairs (UNHCR Lebanon, 2016).

Project 2: Learning in a Healing Classroom Programme by the International Rescue Committee

Monitoring Instruments

The *Healing Classrooms* project aims at supporting Syrian refugee children that are enrolled in Lebanese public schools to succeed in the formal school system. In order to reach that goal, the following monitoring mechanisms are deployed.

The *HC Basic* version provides teachers with regular monitoring visits and peer-support through Teacher Learning Circles once a month (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017b). The *HC + Targeted SEL* versions *Mindfulness* and *Brain Games* receive additional in-service monitoring to support their use of the SEL activities (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017a, 2017b). Syrian refugee children who receive the *Healing Classrooms* programme (any of the versions) are compared to Syrian refugee children without access to this programme before the start of the programming, after the first 16-week cycle and after the second 16-week cycle. The impact evaluation deploys the Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA), the Early Grade Math Assessment (EGMA) as well as additional factor analysis to assess the literacy and numeracy skills (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017a). The cognitive, social and emotional skills are monitored with a scenario-based measure in which children are asked to hypothetically respond to certain social situations (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017b). Furthermore, 80 trained Lebanese enumerators assess the children's working memory, inhibitory control and executive functioning skills with a tablet-based research assessment with children, parents and teachers (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017a). Moreover, qualitative interviews with students and parents are conducted in order to assess the recipients' perception of the experience (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017a, 2017b).

Goal Achievement

With regard to the output of the *Healing Classrooms* programme, it is relevant whether and to what extent the goal of supporting Syrian refugee children that were enrolled in Lebanese public schools to succeed in the formal school system is achieved.

Regarding the access and retention in formal schooling, there is no data available how many Syrian refugee children drop out of the programme or out of the formal school system in comparison to children who do not have access to the programme. The data that is available shows that the students struggle to attend the retention support classes as they attended only 40 percent of the 51 retention classes. At the first assessment, one third of the Syrian refugee children cannot recognize one letter of Arabic, the language of elementary instruction in Syria and Lebanon. In the EGRA, 30 percent of the students score zero in all sub-tasks. In the subsequent mid-term and end assessments, the children with access to the programme have higher Arab reading and math skills compared to Syrian refugee children without access to the *Healing Classrooms* programme. However, the reports do not provide the information to what extent the results in e.g. the EGRA improve. The children who attend the *Healing Classrooms* programme are less likely to view interactions with peers as hostile in intent which is called the hostile attribution bias and results from bullying or violence. Moreover, these children recognize and

express their feelings, including the negative ones. However, there are no significant improvements of the children's mental health such as depression or anxiety (IRC & TIES/NYU, 2017a, 2017b).

Project 3: Non-Formal Education Programming by the Norwegian Refugee Council

Monitoring Instruments

Also, the three phases of the NRC's education programme require monitoring mechanisms in order to trace the process in reaching the goals. The goals are the provision of a sense of normalcy and the buffering of a crisis situation through emergency education, the integration of the children into the formal system through the pathway of NFE programmes, and the retention of the children in the formal system, preventing their drop-out through support programmes (NRC, 2017).

The monitoring of the NRC education programme operates on different levels. NRC keeps a child-level Excel database which includes the attendance, retention and completion rates of every child that is enrolled in the NRC programmes. In the second phase, children are tested in their physical, emotional and cognitive development before entering and after completing the NFE programmes. In the third phase, the NRC conducts a pre- and post-test with the children to measure their academic improvement and the effectiveness of the *Learning Support* programme. Across the phases, the lessons are assessed with structured observations to ensure the quality of the teaching, to provide feedback for the teachers and to decide if the teacher training needs to be adjusted (NRC, 2017).

In addition, the NRC conducts phone interviews with the parents of the children who attend NFE classes and are referred to public schools in the 2015/2016 academic year. In 2017, after almost two years, they are asked with a structured questionnaire whether their children are still enrolled. The interviews are also used to assess if there is a difference between children who attended the *Child Education Pack* (phase one) and the *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* classes (phase two). In addition, it is examined if the retention and transition rates of the children in the *Learning Support/Remedial* programme (phase three) improve (NRC, 2017).

Moreover, the NRC conducts spot-checks to control for the compliance with donor agreements. The NRC feeds these monitoring indicators into its (internal) global outline database to track monthly progress on the output and outcome level indicators and to measure them against the targets. Information on what exactly these indicators consist of is not provided in the report (NRC, 2017).

Goal Achievement

After pointing out the monitoring instruments that are in place to track the process in reaching the goal of the NRC education programme, the outputs of the three phase-approach are presented.

Between 2013 and 2016, NRC enrolls 42,454 refugees and host community children (ca. 10,000 children per year) in NFE programmes (NRC, 2017). The outreach campaigns at the beginning of each academic year refer 22,390 children to formal public education (NRC, 2017). The assessment of the *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* programme (phase 2) in the south of Lebanon in 2016 shows that 76 percent of the children who attend the classes enrol in formal public education. Moreover, in the assessment of the *Learning Support* programme (phase 3) in the 2015/2016 academic year 88 percent of the children show improvements in Arabic, math and foreign languages (NRC, 2017). Out of these students, 28 percent improve their academic performance at the highest performance benchmark. With regard to the teacher training component, NRC reaches 1,300 teachers. When assessing them with the standardized quality lesson observations in the 2016/2017 academic year, 83 percent of the trained teachers are able to replicate the key methods of the training (NRC, 2017). Regarding the involvement of the community, NRC engages 11,000 parents in Parent Community Groups of which 15 percent actively organise activities such as a safe access to the NRC learning centres (NRC, 2017). Moreover, the results of the telephone interviews in which the emergency approach (phase 1) and the non-formal learning programme *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* (phase 2) are compared show that the registration, retention and transition rates of the students in the *Child Education Pack* and the *Basic Literacy and Numeracy* programmes are similar (NRC, 2017). Even though the registration rates are still low, once the children are registered, the retention and transition rates are relatively high. The children who attend the NFE programme and additionally the *Learning Support* classes show the highest enrolment, retention and transition rates (NRC, 2017). However, the report does not provide more detailed data on the comparison between the programmes and the effectiveness of their combination. Comparative data from MEHE regarding the success rates is lacking, wherefore a comparison between children who attend NFE programmes and children who do not is not possible (NRC, 2017).

Project 4: The Rainbow of Hope Project by Search for Common Ground

Monitoring Instruments

In order to reach the goal of enhancing the English literacy and the conflict transformation skills through English classes and recreational activities, the *Rainbow of Hope* project deploys several monitoring instruments to track its process.

Firstly, the local NGOs reports to the SFCG on a monthly basis. With regard to the English classes, a variety of monitoring instruments are in place. On the teacher level, the SFCG distributes observation sheets to be filled out four times during the project (December 2014, January 2015, March 2015, May 2015) to examine the pedagogical and behavioural improvements (SFCG, 2015). The teachers are asked to track the attendance of students on a daily basis with an attendance sheet. In addition, they prepare and evaluate session plans for each short story. Moreover, the SFCG project coordinator and education advisor conduct field visits to the classes once a week and prepare a field visit

report. The classes are assessed in terms of lessons, design, students' progress, positive environment between students from different geographical and cultural backgrounds as well as the level of collaboration of the teachers to send their reports on time (SFCG, 2015). With regard to the recreational activities, the animators are also given observation and attendance sheets for each weekend and write a monthly report in order to track the behavioural improvement. In addition, the SFCG education advisor conduct interviews with a teacher and eight students of one of the project centres and further interviews with other students and their parents at the end of the project (SFCG, 2015). The SFCG project coordinator conducts phone interviews with ten animators at the end of the project. The final events are used to examine the children's interaction among each other. However, no information is provided to what extent and how the interactions during the events were assessed. Lastly, all of the aforementioned monitoring instruments were condensed in an Excel sheet (SFCG, 2015).

Goal Achievement

By deploying these monitoring mechanisms, the *Rainbow of Hope* project reaches the goal of enhancing the English literacy and the conflict transformation skills in the two areas of English classes and recreational activities to the following extent.

With regard to the English classes, the teachers' confidence in their capacity to teach the English curriculum improves from 63 percent to 96 percent. They most frequently use methods of vocabulary games, drawing or playing the main characters of the short stories, exploring moral lessons of the short stories and paraphrasing the stories in own words (SFCG, 2015). In the end, students are capable of linking the stories to their own life by telling similar stories. Each English class is supposed to cater an equal number of Syrian and Lebanese children. On average the classes are delivered to 42 percent Lebanese, 53 percent Syrian and 5 percent Palestinian students (SFCG, 2015). Of the 24 students per class, 16.8 students attend all classes. On average, the student's English language skills improve by 28.7 percent from initially 21.9 percent to 50.6 percent (SFCG, 2015). More specifically, 95 percent of the students can recognize, pronounce and use simple English words, 87 percent can describe pictures with English words, 70 percent comprehend the main ideas of the short stories and 35 percent can retell the short stories with the new vocabulary (SFCG, 2015). 14 percent of the students can express themselves in English and 12 percent can describe pictures using English sentences, which is the most advanced English skill (SFCG, 2015).

The English classes also impact on the children's conflict transformation skills. The children's behaviour improves on average by 26.7 percent from 27.6 percent to 54.3 percent. More specifically, 93 percent of the students positively interact with children from different nationalities and 82 percent approach others with positive intentions (SFCG, 2015). 61 percent listen to others even if they disagree and 29 percent respect and understand other persons' rights to learn and have fun (SFCG, 2015). The

students behaviour in conflict situations shifts from running away or fighting to resolving problems and using conflict management behaviour such as asking a teacher for conflict mediation (SFCG, 2015).

Concerning the recreational activities on the weekends, the animator's understanding of different animation techniques increases from 13 percent before the training to 76 percent after the training (SFCG, 2015). The project improves the animators' confidence to promote conflict transformation principles from 53 percent before the training to 87 percent after the training (SFCG, 2015). The extent to which they can promote these skills among children increases by +0.1 from 4.3 to 4.4. In the recreational activities an average of 39 children participate per weekend and centre, of which 12 children attend the English classes and the recreational activities (SFCG, 2015). 53.8 percent of the students are Syrian, 35.9 percent Lebanese and 10.3 percent Palestinian. The monthly reports of the animators shows that the quality of interactions among the children (on a scale from 1 with very negative interactions to 5 very positive interactions) increases by +0.8 in the Bekaa region, by +0.2 in the North and remained the same in the South (SFCG, 2015). It thus improves on average by +0.3. Furthermore, there is a -0.4 reduction of violent incidents, demonstrating the effect of the conflict transformation methodology (SFCG, 2015). Strong prejudices on both sides such as children not talking to each other shifts from to more interaction. The verbal violence (talking down to others, bullying, racist behaviour, swearing) and physical violence (kicking, fighting, pushing) as well as gender-based discrimination (girls were told not to speak) are also improved. The animators find an improvement of +0.5 in the children's ability to positively deal with conflicts from 3.6 to 4.1 (on a scale from 1 not at all to 5 totally) (SFCG, 2015). The third component of the project are the final events. In those, 150 Lebanese and Syrian children and their families participate in the South, 175 in the North and 170 in Bekaa. (SFCG, 2015).

This is a remarkable result given that in the beginning prejudices such as "I don't want to sit next to a Syrian, my mom does not allow me sit next to them because they are not clean" or "Lebanese think they are better than us" prevailed (SFCG, 2015, p. 22). However, one education project is not enough to overcome the social tensions that exist in the vulnerable communities and a greater involvement of the parents would be needed so that the prejudices that are overcome in class are not reproduced at home. The same is true for discrimination of girls in the project. The project cannot overcome patriarchal structures, but it raises awareness and communicates respect and the right to learn of all children including girls and thus contributes to the reduction of violence as indicated above.

The third sub-research question focused on the effectiveness of the education projects by examining whether they monitor their progress and if the project output fulfils the targets that were set in the beginning. All four projects deployed reporting, monitoring visits and field observations as monitoring instruments. Project one additionally included direct feedback through focus group discussions; project two, three and four conducted pre- and post-intervention tests; and project three and

four interviewed participants, teachers or parents. Project one fulfilled its target of raising awareness and informing on enrolment opportunities and support mechanisms by reaching almost 25.000 parents but did not reach the target of enrolling 200.000 Syrian refugee children. Project two sought to support Syrian refugee children to succeed in the public school-system and reached the target of improving the Arab literacy and math skills and reducing hostile interactions, but it did not reach the goal of improving the children's mental health. Project three aimed at integrating children into the formal school system which was achieved in 76 percent of the children attending the NFE programmes, and contributing to their retention, which was achieved due to an 88 percent improvement in Arab literacy, math and foreign languages. It is unknown whether the aim of providing a sense of normalcy through the emergency programme was reached. Project four targeted to improve the English literacy and conflict transformation skills which was reached with a 28 percent increase of English literacy and a 26.7 percent improvement of children interacting peacefully.

5. Conclusion

To draw a picture on the education situation of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, the first sub-research question presented the intertwining between Lebanon's fragile service delivery and the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis by elaborating on the response to the refugee crisis, the socioeconomic repercussions of the crisis, the challenges of the education sector prior to the crisis and the adjustments that have been made to cater the increased service demand. Section 4.1.5 identified the constraints to education access for Syrian refugees and consequently answered the first sub-research question. To sum up, the cost of education, negative coping strategies (child labour and child marriage) and being over age are the main demand-side barriers to education while psychological stress and trauma are found to be widespread but without evidence on their impact on enrolment. A lack of language skills and the consequential difficulties in following the curriculum are the main supply-side barriers to education whereas a lack of documentation and discrimination and violence were found to be widespread but without data on the direct link to education. On a structural level, the barriers to education in Lebanon derive from education delivery being disrupted by capacity gaps and sectarian tensions that result in a lack of social cohesion and fragmented action as defined in OECD (2008). Based on these findings, the second sub-research question explored current initiatives by NGOs and INGOs regarding supporting education access for Syrian refugees. Section 4.2.1 found that the initiatives either focus on integration into the formal school system through NFE or retention in the formal school system through remedial and homework support. Most of them also incorporated psycho-social and recreational activities. Section 4.2.2 subsequently analysed the four education projects (1) *Back-to-School* campaign by MEHE, UNHCR, UNICEF and partner NGOs, (2) *Learning in a Healing Classroom* by the IRC, (3) *Non-Formal Education Programming* by the NRC, and (4) *Rainbow of Hope* by Search for Common Ground in terms of the barriers to education that they address. The third sub-research question analysed the effectiveness of these four education projects with effectiveness being defined as deploying monitoring instruments

and reaching the set project targets. All four projects deployed a variety of monitoring instruments such as monitoring visits or pre- and post-intervention assessments. Project one and two reached their targeted objective partly, whereas project three and four achieved their goals fully.

Drawing on the answers of the three sub-research questions, the main research question “*How and to what extent do selected non-state education projects address the factors inhibiting the access to education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon effectively?*” is provided. Among the four education projects by non-state providers, the demand-side barrier cost of education was tackled only indirectly by waiving fees, providing materials or informing about funding possibilities (project one). There is limited evidence that the contribution of any of the four projects has been substantial regarding overcoming negative coping strategies such as child labour and child marriage. Awareness campaigns and the inclusion of parents and communities (project one and three) are not sufficient to tackle this issue. Instead, structural solutions that take into account the interrelatedness with sectors such as health and shelter are necessary for improving the dire living conditions of refugee families and alleviating the children’s need to support their families financially. Awareness regarding the importance of psychological well-being and trauma-sensitivity is reflected in all four projects through training teachers (project one) or involving social-emotional and psycho-social activities (project two, three and four). The barrier of being over age is only substantially tackled by project four that includes out-of-school children of a wide age-range. The lack of language skills and the difficulty of the curriculum are addressed through distributing information on support opportunities (project one) or directly offering remedial support (project two and three), accredited NFE (project three), language courses (project two, three and four) or emergency education to out of school children (project three and four). The lack of documentation is, together with being over age, a barrier that is not sufficiently addressed, especially in projects that offer only remedial support as it excludes children that are not enrolled in the formal school system in the first place (project two). In this respect project three and four are more flexible by offering emergency education for out of school children. Further attention is also needed regarding discrimination and violence. Project two and three target this barrier only indirectly through mindfulness activities and teacher training on positive psychology or inclusive non-violent methodology. Only in project four overcoming discrimination and violence forms an integral part of the curriculum through the promotion of conflict transformation skills.

This multitude of education deliverers with varying goals can be interpreted with Matland’s (1995) bottom-up approach in which the central actor MEHE devises the government programme RACE I and II on the macro-implementation level while NGOs and INGOs develop and implement their own programmes on the micro-implementation level. RACE consists of a clear goal, ensuring access to education, but allows for ambiguity in the choice of means. The high ambiguity leads to outcome variation from project to project and the low conflict enables a multitude of NGOs, INGOs and other non-state actors to participate in the education delivery, thus representing an experimental policy

implementation process (Matland, 1995). Project three's development from a purely emergency-focused response to a three-phase MEHE-accredited education approach is illustrative of experimental implementation in which the project starts with little knowledge and learns along the implementation process how to best respond to local needs (Matland, 1995; NRC, 2017). The project outcome is thus determined by the context in terms of actors involved at the local level and recourse available.

In stable contexts, seeing the government not as sole provider of services is a characteristic of NPM reflected in contracting out. This component was analysed in a fragile context through the thesis' focus on non-state education delivery in Lebanon, generating knowledge on service delivery in fragile states. It contributed to a greater understanding how non-state actors operate in cases of inadequate state service delivery and showed that the capacity gaps in the state service delivery do not result in a vacuum but are filled with more less formal mechanisms between state and non-state actors. The analysis of INGO education projects contributed to an understanding of the NGO activities in Lebanon, presenting that they form an indispensable pillar in the education sector. Identifying the factors that constrain Syrian refugee children from accessing education showed that all demand- and supply-side education barriers defined by Aydin and Kaya (2017), Bademci et al. (2016), Justino (2016), Karam et al. (2017), Kirk (2007), Sunny et al. (2017), Visconti and Gal (2018a) and Wofford and Tibi (2018) apply to the Lebanese context, thus validating their research findings. Examining the education barriers also provided insights into the hardships Syrian refugee children face and showed that despite the efforts a tremendous proportion of children remain out of school, thus underlining the importance of scaling up the efforts. The analysis of the extent to which the barriers to education are addressed by education projects identified effective projects that can be used for extracting best practices. It also identified projects that require readjustments to cater the needs of refugees effectively. Taking these findings into account in the planning process of future education projects might be beneficial to avoid repeating mistakes and reaching children that are now still excluded. Two of these mistakes are the sole focus on Syrian refugee children without addressing vulnerable Lebanese children and focusing on remedial education projects that target only children already enrolled in the public school-system. The outline of the education framework in which the NGOs work also showed that more coordination is necessary. Given that many children pass through different types of education programmes before finishing primary education, a joint accreditation system and increased recognition are needed.

Over the course of the research process the availability of empirical data on NGO and INGO education projects was limited wherefore the thesis only addressed four projects in depth. The researcher compensated this by providing an overview on smaller education projects. The publishing of reports in Arabic and French further limited the data pool. Given that not all Syrian refugees in Lebanon are registered, the researcher dealt with deviating enrolment and retention rates depending on the source and the absence of a central data system that includes information on NFE programming. Despite posing a barrier to education the issue of child marriage was not sufficiently addressed in the thesis due to a

lack of data. Further research on barriers to education could therefore deploy a gender-sensitive approach and distinguish between barriers for girls and boys. The strength of the in-depth information on Syrian refugees in Lebanon in turn creates the weakness of low generalisability for other country contexts. However, the neighbour countries that face a similar refugee situation such as Jordan can maybe derive information with caution for their NFE programming from Lebanon's case. Further research could therefore zoom out and look at the regional level or zoom in and distinguish specific barriers on the governorate level. To counter the data issues, future research should engage in the country through interviews and surveys and thus seek to close the data gap on NFE programming with a robust data system. Since censuses and other central data acquisition is a politically sensitive issue in Lebanon, researchers can maybe encourage progress where political actors cannot. Lastly, further research could examine the structural deficiencies in education delivery in Lebanon elaborated in section 2.2 and 4.1.2 that scattered NFE cannot compensate. In this respect, post-colonial research will not only apply a Westphalian sense of statehood to fragile settings but consider other institutions that inhibit authority and legitimacy in hybrid political orders (Peace Security and Development Network, 2009; Stel & van der Borgh, 2017). The provision of this data brings us one step closer to achieving RACE's goal of ensuring access to education for every child and overcoming the factors that constrain education delivery for Syrian refugees in Lebanon.

6 References

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7. Data Appendix

7.1 Historical Background of Lebanon: Conflict and Sectarian Tensions as Fragility Drivers

“The Syria crisis in Lebanon is more than a refugee crisis; it is a refugee crisis compounded by an already fragile socioeconomic and political context and by a constrained public system, both in terms of resources and capacity” (MEHE, 2014, p. 3). This means that the challenges of the refugee crisis in Lebanon cannot be viewed in isolation but embedded in the context of the historical development. Therefore, this section elaborates on Lebanon’s history in terms of Lebanon’s relations to Syria and in terms of the predominant confessionalism that impacts on today’s political-administrative system and thus education delivery.

Lebanon and Syria are tied together with a shared history. Both territories were part of the Ottoman empire from the 16th century until 1915, when Western powers divided the Ottoman territories during World War I (Kisthardt, 2013). During the Ottoman empire, sectarianism as “deployment of religious heritage as a primary marker of modern political identity” emerged with the establishment of confessional councils to oversee the self-government in Lebanon’s diverse religious communities (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2011, p. 19). This system encompassed autonomy over the education sector and every religious community had its own educational sponsors. With the founding of the Mutasarrifate of Mount Lebanon in 1860, greater Lebanon (including nowadays Syria) was divided into six administrative districts along sectarian lines, manifesting a sectarian consciousness in the public identity (UNICEF, 2011). At that time, also ties between the sectarian communities and foreign powers developed, influencing the education sector. Maronite Christian communities were affiliated with France, Protestant Christian communities with Britain and the United States, and Russians, Germans, Greeks and other Europeans also sought influence in the region. They spread “education and language along sectarian lines, with the ruling Ottomans developing schools for Sunni Muslims” (UNICEF, 2011, p. 20). Arabic was ascribed a literary function in schools and foreign languages were assigned scientific functions in education. Furthermore, national Christian and Islamic schools developed as rivals of foreign schools, laying the foundation for private and parochial schooling (UNICEF, 2011). Both, the multilinguistic education delivery and the emergences of private education, impact on the Lebanese education sector today.

Following the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the French Mandate from 1920 to 1943 covered the territories of Syria and Lebanon. The French introduced their language in the education sector and consolidated sectarianism by privileging Maronite elites, granting them vast political powers in the parliamentary structure (Kisthardt, 2013). They conducted the last official census in 1932, which formed the basis for the sect-based power-sharing formula represented in the National Pact of 1943 (UNICEF, 2011). The National Pact was an unwritten agreement between Christian and Muslim leaders who

declared Lebanon a neutral sovereign country with Arab character, which does not seek unity with Syria and is independent from France. More importantly, it declared a 6:5 ratio of Christian to Muslim representation in the parliament and attributed the position of the President to a Maronite Christian, the position of the Prime Minister to a Sunni Muslim and the position of the Speaker of Parliament to a Shia Muslim, thus institutionalising the consociationalism along confessional lines known today (Kisthardt, 2013). Since then, the demographic composition has changed towards the Muslim community, but no other consensus has been conducted to not disrupt the delicate balance of power. In the years after Lebanon's independence, the power-imbalances following the underrepresentation of Muslims resulted in the inequitable development in areas where marginalized groups such as Shia lived and set stage to many violent conflicts.

In 1967, the Arab-Israeli War led to a displacement of Palestinians who sought refuge in Lebanon. It also led to a flow of arms from Syria to the Palestine Liberation Organization which operated in Palestinian refugee camps inside Lebanon, thus destabilising the country and upsetting the power balance due to the influx of Muslims (UNICEF, 2011).

In 1975, the 15 year-long Civil War between Christians, Muslims and Palestinians evolved, in which around 150 000 people were killed until the end in 1990 (UNICEF, 2011). The injustice of the confessional system, the Palestinians in Lebanon as well as regional and international actors following their interests are blamed for the protracted nature of the civil war (UNICEF, 2011). During that time, the conflict and the complex composition of armed groups left the political system paralysed and impacted on the state capacity. The state failure compromised public schooling and led to the spread of private and parochial schooling which reproduced the sectarian divisions (UNICEF, 2011). The end of the Civil War was declared in 1989 with the Tariff Accord, the Document of National Reconciliation. It defined Lebanon as a parliamentary democracy with a free economy favouring privatization as well as an Arab identity, and it called for a new power sharing agreement for the Parliament that divides the power between Christians and Muslims more equally (Kisthardt, 2013). However, the new formula of sectarian balance did not address structural shortcomings of such a system. The Tariff agreement also resulted in an education reform that encouraged standardized curricula, the protection of private schooling and the development of public schooling. Furthermore, it aimed at strengthening a national Lebanese identity through common education components in language and history (UNICEF, 2011).

After the Civil War, tensions and grievances and the polarization of the society remained. In 2000, Israel withdrew its occupation from the Lebanese areas in the South and the Bekaa valley after 22 years of conflict (UNICEF, 2011). From 2004 to 2008, several political assassinations and other violent acts took place. The most prominent one was the assassination of the former Prime Minister Hariri in 2005, which caused the peaceful Cedar Revolution as well as enormous protests, the resignation of the government and the withdrawal of the Syrian army, which was present in Lebanon since 1976 (UNICEF,

2011). Furthermore, the July War in 2006 between Israel and the Lebanese Hezbollah destructed a lot of Lebanon's educational infrastructure, especially in the South and the Bekaa valley (UNICEF, 2011).

Between 2006 and 2007, the protests created the March 8 and March 14 movements, which constitute political parties today. The March 14 alliance was against the Syrian influence in the Lebanese government and lead to the removal of Syria's forces from Lebanon. The Hezbollah associated March 8 alliance was in favour of the Syrian regime and demanded the Lebanese government to resign. This paralyzed Lebanon's political system once again and raised awareness for sectarian politics, resulting in street clashes (UNICEF, 2011). In 2007, clashes between the Al-Qaeda-inspired Fateh al-Islam and the Lebanese army lead to the Nahr el-Bared Crisis, a Palestinian refugee camp in and around which a three-month war took place and raised tensions between the communities (UNICEF, 2011). In 2008 and 2011 tensions between the Hezbollah and the government as well as between Alawi Muslims (pro March 8) and Sunni Muslims (pro March 14) erupted, showing the sectarian divisions. Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2011, opposing views on supporting or resisting the Syrian regime drew people to the streets.

It is in the light of this history of conflict and sectarian tension that the situation of Lebanon today needs to be viewed in order to understand Lebanon's stance on refugees today. Referring back to the theoretical framework on state fragility, the categorization of origins of fragility by Hirschmann (2016) proves to be a fitting concept. Taking into account the four situations out of which fragility develops, the case of Lebanon can be traced back to the fourth category of a constructed state as a consequence of colonial rule. The division of the region into spheres of British and French influence following the Sykes-Picot agreement and Lebanon's occupation by France lead to an artificial construction of state borders which did not respect the affiliations of the residing communities. The Christian Maronites, Shia and Sunni Muslims, Druze and other ethnic communities were drawn together into a state construct which repeatedly lead to conflict and clashes along sectarian lines due to socioeconomic inequalities. The recurrent eruptions of violence are a symptom of this lack of national identity. Without the colonial oppression, these ethnic communities would not have merged into a common state. Therefore, the sense of belonging is transferred to the sub-state level which can be seen in the sectarian organization of public life, which decreases the legitimacy of the state structure as people do not feel connected to it (Hirschmann, 2016).

The historical background also shows how the sectarian divide lead to recurrent eruptions of conflict that hamper the capacity for action of the government and how regional and international powers play on these divisions to follow their own interests in Lebanon. This is illustrated with the education sector on which sectarianism and the involvement of international actors impacted. Education has been provided to the own community but the responsibility for other ethnic communities was undermined by the ethnic appropriation of education. Characteristics of the education sector such as the multilinguistic

language of instruction and the flourishing private sector, which will be more elaborated on in the section on the Lebanese education sector today, date far back in time. Education has been subject to politicization and instrumentalization, first to incite the ethnic communities, playing on their unequal treatment in the country, and after the civil war to propagate national unity through the curriculum. Moreover, the historical background presents how the Palestinians seeking refuge in Lebanon jeopardized the sectarian equilibrium which is relevant for understanding the reaction to the Syrian refugees today.

7.2 Operationalization Table

Theoretical concepts	Variables	Conceptualization of the Variables	Operationalization of the Variables
Barriers to education	Demand side barriers	Cost of education (direct and indirect)	Direct: Abolition/waiving of tuition Indirect: Presence of school feeding programme Provision of stationary/books Provision of transport Provision/no school uniforms
		Coping mechanisms related to costs: Child labour Coping mechanisms related to costs and insecurity: Child marriage/supply-side barrier insecurity	Cash transfer Programmes Interventions that alleviate family poverty Restructuring schools to reconcile work with education Awareness session on importance to education Involvement of family and community High share of female teachers
		Psychological Stress and Trauma	Access to psychological counselling Access to psycho-social activities
		Over-age for Grade Level	Repetition rates
	Supply side barriers	Lack of Language Skills/Curriculum	Language support Multilingual teaching material Literacy and numeracy support Homework support Remedial support
		Lack of Documentation	Easing enrolment Easing exam registration
		Discrimination and Violence	Non-violent teaching practices Presence of Inclusive classroom approach Absence of bullying Absence of (corporal) punishment Absence of politicised curriculum
	Effectiveness	Monitoring Instruments	Monitoring instruments present/not
Goal Achievement		Goal achievement/not	Project outputs

ⁱ Madrasahs are Islamic religious seminaries (Rose, 2007b).

ⁱⁱⁱ Among the projects that were contacted are the *Quality Instruction Towards Access and Basic Education Improvement* project by MEHE, World Learning, Ana Aqra and AMIDEAST, the *Non-Formal Education and Peace Education* project by the NGO Basmeh & Zeitooneh, the *Sonbola Taleem* and *Sonbola Tamkeen* programme by the NGO Sonbola, and the education approach of the NGO Tahaddi.

^{iv} Due to prolonged validation processes the evaluations of the education sector (in comparison to e.g. WASH) were not completed but initiated in 2017 (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2016). The researcher could therefore not draw on them.