ENSURING THE HUMAN RIGHT TO FREE BASIC EDUCATION FOR SYRIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN IN LEBANON: (DIS)CONNECTIONS OF FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Source: Nikki van Gompel, Beirut, March 2019

Master’s International Development Studies
Graduate School of Social Sciences
Student: Nikki van Gompel
Student number: 10707808
Supervisor: Cornelius Hacking
2 July 2019
ABSTRACT

This research concerns the realisation of the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese in Beirut, Lebanon; both formal and non-formal education work towards realising this right. The influx of displaced non-Lebanese since 2011 poses immense challenges to the Lebanese education system. In a period of eight years, Lebanon had to ensure the right to education for around half a million additional school-aged children. The formal education sector shows great efforts, but these efforts are not enough to ensure the right to education for all displaced non-Lebanese children. The demand for non-formal education is high as non-formal projects support or sometimes replace the formal sector, but there are severe limitations to non-formal education. This research aims to explore the (dis)connections between formal and non-formal education in order to provide a clear picture of the Lebanese education system to better ensure the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese. By assessing both forms of education through the 4A framework of Tomaševski, this research outlines the areas where the right to education is not realised. Framework analysis is used as a means to explore the (dis)connections between formal and non-formal education in order to see where the Lebanese education system’s strengths and weaknesses lie, which creates room to make adequate improvements.

This research identified a lack of quality, capacity, and follow-up to be the main issues obstructing displaced non-Lebanese from enjoying the right to education. Many displaced non-Lebanese children are out of school, besides, enrolment does not equal the right to education. More attention needs to be paid to what happens inside classrooms to better ensure the right to education. The Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) of Lebanon and the international community should focus on renewing the curriculum and making it more inclusive, training its teachers, ensuring that the language of instruction matches the language of the curriculum, and follow-up more on the pupils that fail. The non-formal sector mainly lacks stable funding, stable and accredited volunteers, as well as the ability to accredit certificates. Both forms of education face different challenges, though they are dependent on each other. For now, the formal sector, which is most dominant, is the one to shift its focus and actions, otherwise the non-formal sector can do no more than maintaining the “insufficient” status quo.

Key words: displaced, human rights, education, non-formal education, formal education, inclusive education
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Cornelius Hacking, for dedicating his valuable time to guide me in the thesis process. Cornelius would always find time in his full schedule to provide me with extensive and detailed feedback. Your connections also gave me access to valuable participants for this research. Sometimes our perspectives would differ, which in the end significantly contributed to making my thesis stronger.

Secondly, I would like to thank the founders of 26 Letters for making me feel at home in Beirut. I very much enjoyed our discussions revolving around the Lebanese education system, till late at night.

Finally, I would like to thank Lieke Giltay for putting up with me during the thesis writing process. We were asked to leave the library many times after full days of writing together. You were always open to discuss my thesis, and you have been a great support.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS** 6  
**CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION** 7  
1.1 Background 7  
1.2 Problem Statement 8  
1.3 Rationale 9  
**CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK** 11  
2.1 Formal, Informal, and Non-Formal Education 11  
2.2 Inclusive Education and the 4As 13  
2.2.1 Availability 13  
2.2.2 Accessibility 14  
2.2.3 Acceptability 14  
2.2.4 Adaptability 15  
2.3 Conceptual Scheme 17  
2.4 Research Questions & Sub Questions 18  
**CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK** 19  
3.1 Description of Research Location 19  
3.2 Data Collection 19  
3.2.1 Interviews 19  
3.2.2 Field notes 19  
3.2.3 Observation 20  
3.2.4 Practicalities 20  
3.3 Unit of Analysis 21  
3.4 Data Analysis 21  
3.5 Data Quality 21  
3.5.1 Neutrality 22  
3.5.2 Subjectivity with transparency 22  
3.5.3 Dependability 22  
3.5.4 Authenticity 22  
3.5.5 Transferability 22  
3.5.6 Auditability 23  
3.7 Ethical Considerations 21  
3.7.1 Interviews 22  
3.7.2 Observations 22  
3.7.3 Conversations 22  
3.8 Positionality 23  
**CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT** 24  
4.1 The Lebanese Education System 24  
4.2 The RACE Program 24  
4.2.1 Successes of RACE I 26  
4.2.2 Challenges of RACE I 26  
4.2.3 RACE II 28  
4.3 26 Letters 30  
**CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS** 32  
5.1 To enrol, try to enrol, and not to enrol in public schools 32  
5.1.1 To enrol in public schools 32  
5.1.2 Try to enrol 33  
5.1.3 Not enrol 34  
5.2 Why enrol in a non-formal school? 36  
5.2.1 Struggles in public schools 37
5.2.2 Explanations for struggles 44
5.2.3 The demand for non-formal education 48
5.2.4 Deficits non-formal education 50

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Formal versus non-formal education 52
6.2 4AS: Public formal education (includes regulated non-formal) 52

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY 59
APPENDIX 62

I. Operationalisation of major concepts 62
**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALP</td>
<td>Accelerated learning program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLN</td>
<td>Basic literacy and numeracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECE</td>
<td>Early childhood education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEHE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education and Higher Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMU</td>
<td>Program management unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>Reaching All Children with Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Throughout 2019, globalisation continues running at a high pace and affecting even the most isolated individuals. On some, however, globalisation has a more positive impact than on others. Trends show an increase in inequality, which reflects the unequal opportunities for people, especially for those that are facing conflict. Concerning the Syrian conflict, few have the resources to travel to Europe, so for many travelling to neighbouring countries is the only option to get to safety. Syrians, as well as Palestinians previously residing in Syria, seek refuge across the Syrian border in high numbers. Jordan now hosts around 2.8 million refugees, which exceeds the number of refugees currently hosted by all countries of the European Union combined (World Bank, 2018). Lebanon, another neighbour of Syria, hosts 1.5 million refugees on a total population of less than 6 million (World Bank, 2018). The influx of 1.5 million refugees makes Lebanon the host nation with the highest refugee population per capita in the world (European Commission, 2018).

Living in the 21st century, crises such as the Syrian crisis are not only dealt with by the countries directly involved, often the international community also steps in. Several international commitments have been made to safeguard human equality and dignity, as well as the right to education. The renowned Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) proclaims that “Everyone has the right to education” as well as that education shall be free in the elementary stages, and compulsory (United Nations, 1948). Furthermore, Article 26 of the UDHR states, “Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.” (United Nations, 1948). As displacement can trouble the enjoyment of human rights, for example when seeking refuge one cannot attend school, several international commitments have been made to focus on human rights for refugees especially. The Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees has been a valuable contribution to ensuring education for this specific group. On 28 July 1951, this Convention was adopted, and to this day 145 States Parties have ratified the Convention. In 2010, the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education stressed article 22 of the Refugee Convention, involving the right to education for all as protected by international law, “Women, men, boys and girls of all ages and backgrounds – whether migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, stateless persons, returnees, or internally displaced persons – have the right to education.” (Muñoz, 2010, p. 6).

More pragmatic approaches to ensuring free education for all include the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs, subsequent to the Millennial Development Goals, contain 17 goals with specific targets providing “a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future.” (United Nations, 2015). This research ties in with SDG 4, which advocates for “free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education” for all boys and girls (United
Nations, 2015). As such, this goal builds on the Education For All commitments that were already part of the Millennium Development Goals. The targets include, among others, equal access to education for men and women, youth having relevant skills for the job market, the level of literacy and numeracy, the inclusiveness and effectiveness of learning environments, and the qualification of teachers. The first and leading target is, “By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.” (United Nations, 2015).

However, as widely known and ratified as these commitments and goals are, they are far from being reached around the globe, likewise in Lebanon.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Lebanon, Syria’s neighbouring country, is a practical place for Syrian refugees to seek safety due to its proximity. The recent enormous influx of refugees is understandable, but has resulted in a refugee population of one in every four persons residing in Lebanon, which unfortunately puts a strain on critical infrastructure and overall society of Lebanon. These affected structures include social cohesion, the labour market, the government budget, and as addressed in this thesis, the education system (Cherri, Z. et al., 2016). How the sudden increased demand weakens these structures may compromise the human rights of both incoming refugees as well as host communities. Even though repatriation of Syrians is already occurring, as stated by news articles, it is occurring “painfully slow” (Al Bawaba, 2018).

Notwithstanding the implications of repatriation for Syrian families, it is fair to assume a majority of Syrians residing in Lebanon will not return in the near future. The expectancy that displaced non-Lebanese are likely to stay for at least a few more years, if not ever, makes it crucial to research the impacted systems: how to adapt them in a way that can benefit the masses depending on them. Although the international community is working closely with the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) of Lebanon, these efforts are not sufficient. An astonishing 221,000 displaced non-Lebanese children enrolled in public schools between 2011 and 2016; however, an estimated 267,000 are still out of school (World Bank, 2016, p. 2). The high enrolment was accomplished by MEHE, with the support of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and bilateral donors. As every year counts for a child’s development, the issue of children still out of school needs to be urgently addressed, without losing sight of the quality of education.

In this thesis, the focus group is displaced non-Lebanese children. I use the term ‘displaced non-Lebanese’ to avoid exclusion on the basis of nationality. Most of the children that this research revolves around are Syrian. Another reason for me to use ‘displaced non-Lebanese’ is to circumvent the stigmatisation that is tied to the Syrian nationality, and to refugees even more. It is common for refugees to receive several labels that are not justifiable, and I wish for these labels and stigmatisations to be absent in this research, and in general.
1.3 RATIONALE

The human right that functions as a primary motivation for this thesis is the fundamental right to free primary education for all. Many children have missed valuable years of education due to the war in Syria, and subsequently, mass displacement. Unfortunately, providing for this group in Lebanon shows itself to be complicated. It is fair to say that desperation is high for the Lebanese administration for several reasons. Firstly, the government of Lebanon gave the authority of refugee status determinations to a global agency, i.e. the UNHCR. Furthermore, schools are overflowing while still many children are not attending primary schools. In addition, free and compulsory education in the Lebanese constitution is still confined to Lebanese nationals only. Besides the fact that adequate provision of education will have a significant positive impact on children, it may have an even more significant positive impact on the country of Lebanon itself. This positive impact can emerge in forms of increased productivity and efficiency of workers, but also in non-economic benefits such as welfare possibilities, social cohesion, political participation, and improved health (Charles & Denman, 2013; Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008; Vila, 2000). Furthermore, as Tomaševski (2001) states from a more rights-based perspective, “Education operates as a multiplier, enhancing the enjoyment of all individual rights and freedoms where the right to education is effectively guaranteed, while depriving people of the enjoyment of many rights and freedoms where the right to education is denied or violated.” (p. 10).

Perhaps following the awareness of the positive impact of education, the Lebanese government does act upon the low enrolment rate. After all, domestic legal enforcement of the right to education is essential to its realisation (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 11). An example of the Lebanese government working towards ensuring the right to education is the launch of the Reaching All Children with Education Program (RACE), which is managed by MEHE and received grants provided by bilateral donors and the World Bank. Furthermore, the program was able to map out the seriousness of the dysfunction of their education system; in 2016, around 500,000 Syrian refugees were of school age (between 3 and 18 years old), and as mentioned earlier, over half of this population is not enrolled in any formal schooling (World Bank, 2016).

In this research I argue that the role of non-formal education projects are better able to adapt to the local reality due to its small scale and close ties with the community. Because of this high adaptability, non-formal education is able to partly fill the gaps left by the formal sector. It is crucial to identify areas where the public education system is lacking as formal education is the leading provider of education. In the current situation, the quality of or access to education is at stake for Syrian refugees residing in Lebanon. I identified areas where the education realm can be improved by engaging with the Lebanese public education system, and provide an example of how a non-formal education project responds to these areas in need of improvement. The human right to education is straightforward and vague concept at the same time. On the one hand it simply involves that every child ought to receive education. On the other hand, many practicalities play a role in ensuring this right. Tomaševski’s 4A framework aids in understanding the dimensions of the right to education and signalling the exact areas where formal
education performs or lacks. This thesis also applies the 4A framework to non-formal education, and aims to map where the two connect and disconnect, in order to strengthen their cooperation. As the situation in Lebanon is unique, it is especially important to research how the Lebanese government responds to the crisis. Furthermore, the world refugee population is at its highest point, in absolute numbers, since the last two decades (UNHCR, 2018). Therefore, it is necessary to examine the following questions.

The central research question:

- How can the high demand for non-formal education projects like 26 Letters be explained and, what lessons can be learned to improve formal education, notably in ensuring the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese children in Lebanon?

Sub-research questions include:

- What are the reasons for displaced non-Lebanese children to enrol or not in a public school?
- If so, what is their main reason for enrolling in a non-formal education project instead or simultaneously?
- With respect to Tomaševski’s 4A framework, what are the qualities of both formal and non-formal education in Lebanon, and what are their deficiencies?

Even though this research was limited by time and location, as you can read in the limitations section, several interesting results came forward. Due to these limitations, the scope of this research is also limited to formal and non-formal education for displaced non-Lebanese in Beirut. However, the interesting results of this research may give some insight into internal processes and practicalities that can hinder the right to education. As the conflict in Syria is ongoing, now is the time to explore current organisations and hopefully improve them in a way that can impact on Syrian children now, rather than shedding light on the issue in hindsight. As the World Bank states, “the lack of schooling today is likely to contribute to a life of poverty and struggle tomorrow, exacerbating the risk of future conflict and destabilisation in the region.” (World Bank, 2016, p. 1).

The structure of this research is as follows. In chapter two, the concepts of formal and non-formal education are discussed, as well as Tomaševski’s 4A framework. Afterwards, I introduce my conceptual scheme from which my research questions flow. In chapter three, my methodology and conceptual framework are discussed, with specific focus on the framework analysis and ethical considerations. In chapter four, I pay attention to the context of education in Lebanon, whereafter the data analysis starts. In the analytical chapter, I draw links with the 4A framework for every variable of the operationalization of the 4As, that can be found in Appendix 1. Chapter six involves the broader ties to the theoretical framework, final conclusions, and the discussion of this research.
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the first section of this theoretical framework, I explore the concepts of formal, informal, and non-formal education, after which I addressed the 4A framework by Tomaševski.

2.1 FORMAL, INFORMAL, AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

As education is a fundamental concept to this thesis, it is essential to identify in which ways one can regard the concept. We can draw upon three broad forms of education in academic literature, namely formal, informal, and non-formal education, of which the first and the last are most valuable for this research. Formal education is probably the best-known form of education around the world. It is defined as the “institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university” (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8).

Furthermore, its characteristics involve admission guidelines, compulsory attendance, regulated curricula, round off with certification (La Belle, 1982, p. 163). Informal education, contrarily, is described by Gerber et al. (2001) as “in essence, the informal learning can be defined as the sum of activities that comprise the time individuals are not in the formal classroom in the presence of a teacher” (p. 570). One can acquire informal lessons through conversations, situations, and experiences, with friends, families, or strangers.

Non-formal education or learning “occurs in a planned but highly adaptable manner in institutions, organisations, and situations beyond the spheres of formal or informal education” (Eshach, 2007, p. 173). The most known forms of non-formal education are delivered by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or community-based organisations (CBOs). Non-formal education is a gateway for children out of formal education to obtain basic writing and reading skills, and as participation is often voluntarily; motivations are often intrinsic for students (Eshach, 2007, p. 174). Finally, as non-formal education is separate from state-sanctioned schooling (La Belle, 1982, p. 163), it often results in a lack of ability to issue recognised certificates.

However, receiving recognised certificates positively influence a child’s future course of life, especially with regard to job security. So why would a child, and their parents, choose non-formal over formal education? A knowledge gap exists at the motivation for students, to choose for non-formal education over the accredited formal programmes. The adaptability of non-formal education is very attractive for pupils, and but the importance of a certified diploma may exceed the attractiveness of adaptability. This research shows that the formal sector’s lack of quality serves as a push factor which explains the high demand for non-formal education.

Dib (1988) prefers to see formal and non-formal education as a spectrum on which organisations can place themselves. In formal education, the “centre of gravity” as Dib refers to, lies with the process of the professor and school system. For non-formal education, on the other hand, the centre of gravity lies with the student. “The legitimacy of schools is based upon their role as credential agencies while non-formal education will derive its legitimacy only from its ability to meet real social needs” (Dib, 1988, p. 8).
Furthermore, Dib considers competition between formal and non-formal education as valuable as it results in the need to offer more and better education at all levels. However, as Dib (1988) argues, one should not regard these as conflicting systems but as mentioned earlier, as a spectrum instead. Dib states how schools can be highly formal and follow a strict curriculum, and non-formal schools can be innovative and flexible, but either form of education is to some extent able to adopt features of the other.

Dr. Lee Nelson, expert in pedagogy in sport, elaborates on the ability for both forms of education to be able to adopt each other's features. However, not in a way that it is possible, but rather as a fact. “[The] development [that] rejects the bifurcation of education” he argues, “testify to the process of fusion between formal and [non-formal education]” (Nelson et al., 2006, p. 269). Changes that he observed over the past decades involve new organisational forms and settings, reliance on resources of the community, and more attention to morals and values rather than cognitive educational outcomes. Rather than having rules and punishment, according to Nelson (2006), non-formal education rather relies on quality norms. Moreover, Nelson (2016) suggested that a bridge needs to be built between the two forms of education, “by ‘deformalization’ of formal education and ‘reformalization’ of [non-formal education]” (p. 269). In this research I will assess if this deformalisation and reformalisation of formal and non-formal education respectively, occurred in the context of Lebanon providing for displaced non-Lebanese.

Dib’s and Nelson’ notion of formal and non-formal education is valuable for this research as it puts the qualities of both forms of education in perspective. The authors’ views on both forms of education are undoubtedly regarded in this research, mainly the idea that formal and non-formal programmes can place themselves on a spectrum, rather than to be categorised in a box. I believe this is a reflection of real life, as non-formal, as well as formal organisations, can differ amongst each other. Aspects that play a role in where one would place itself on the spectrum include the extent to which a non-formal organisation links to a state, how and by whom funds this organisation, and subsequently, whether conditionality plays a role in the workings of a non-formal organisation.

However, this thesis critically engages with the ‘centre of gravity’ that Dib outlines. Formal programmes are to shift their gravity slightly from the professors to their students, in order to sustain. As it is vital for formal education to have high passing scores, and as much power a professor may have, in the end, it is the student who has to do the test. Therefore, I believe that if students are not passing tests, professors are to alter their actions to fit the way students learn. Dib writes, “A rather extensive literature currently emphasises how inadequate formal systems are to meet – effectively, efficiently – the needs of individuals and of the society. The need to offer more and better education at all levels, to a growing number of people, particularly in developing countries and, the scant success of current formal education systems to meet all such demands, has shown to a growing number of researchers the urgent need to provide alternatives that escape from the formal standards, in order to solve these problems.” (1988, p. 11). The question is, does the non-formal sector meet the demands that the formal sector is not able to reach, taking into account the non-formal education’s inability to provide accredited diploma’s? Moreover, in Lebanon’s context, the influx of displaced non-Lebanese comes with needs different from
the needs of Lebanese pupils. Meeting more diverse needs from a sudden immense group of school-aged children may be tricky.

On a final note, the formal schools regarded in this research are public schools. I followed the definition of UNESCO (1999, p. 118) for public schools that categorises schools by how one manages them. If a school is managed by the public, i.e. by the state, it is a public school. It is essential to clarify this, as English courts have ruled schools to be public when public revenues provide for the schools’ funding. For the Lebanese public schools, some receive revenue of the international community, blurring their definition as being public schools. I have chosen UNESCO’s definition as it is globally adopted and used in statistics of education.

The following section, revolving around Tomaševski’s work of 2001, illustrates how a shift has emerged to expect the same qualities, i.e. the focus on the individual, from both formal and non-formal education.

2.2 INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND THE 4AS

In this section, I elaborated on inclusive education. As demonstrated earlier, international commitments established the right to education, which in turn links with inclusive education. As the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) states, “human rights are universal and inalienable; indivisible; interdependent and interrelated.” (2005). Therefore, human rights are entitled to all people everywhere in the world. Furthermore, denial of one right compromises other rights, as one should not position human rights in a hierarchical order. Realising one right thus affects the realisation of other rights positively. Therefore, we should not see the right to education on its own. Instead, we should also be concerned with the right to participate in the cultural life of a community freely, an adequate standard of living, freedom of thought and speech, et cetera.

Katerina Tomaševski (2001) stresses the need for governments to ensure education as a civic and political right, but also as a cultural, economic, and social right to and in education. She has developed the 4As framework to instantiate the obligations that ensuring the right to education entails. The 4As comprise Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability, and, Adaptability.

2.2.1 AVAILABILITY

Firstly, Availability “embodies two different governmental obligations: the right to education as a civil and political right requires the government to permit the establishment of educational institutions by non-state actors, while the right to education as a social and economic right requires the government to establish them, or fund them, or use a combination of these and other means so as to ensure that education is available.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 13).

Tomaševski (2001) points out how the right to education generally focuses on children, which is fair. However, she also stresses the importance of respecting teacher’s rights, which is needed to realise
children’s right to education properly. “[T]eachers have to be educated and trained to teach, and there has been no hesitation on the part of courts to affirm that teachers ought to be qualified to teach, including perfect command of the language in which they are expected to teach” (Tomaševski, 2001, pp. 23-24).

2.2.2 ACCESSIBILITY

Access, according to Tomaševski (2001), is concerned with different levels of education, to which the government is obliged to ensure access for children within the compulsory education age-range. Furthermore, this compulsory education ought to be free, while post-compulsory education should be affordable. Tomaševski states that domestic law regards the compulsory age range from six to fifteen, whereas the compulsory school age in Lebanon is from six to eleven or twelve.

Another principle of importance to Accessibility is non-discrimination, “Access to public schools should be guided by non-discrimination, the overriding principle of international human rights law, which applies to civil and political, and economic, social and cultural rights, as well as to the rights of the child. Non-discrimination is not subject to progressive realisation but has to be secured immediately and fully.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 27). Progressive realisation may not apply to non-discrimination, as well as to parental freedom of choice of education, but it does apply to the right to education, which falls under the economic, social and cultural rights. Progressive realisation of rights takes into account the resource availability of a state and recognises for some states that the realisation of these economic, social and cultural rights is simply impossible to achieve over a specified period. However, as the OHCHR mentions, it is not an excuse to disregard the protection of these rights in full. “On the contrary, the treaties impose an immediate obligation to take appropriate steps towards the full realisation of economic, social and cultural rights. A lack of resources cannot justify inaction or indefinite postponement of measures to implement these rights.” (OHCHR, p. 14). When Tomaševski mentions non-discrimination, she mainly aims at gender discrimination. However, for this thesis, the principle of non-discrimination will apply to a broader field that includes gender, nationality, special needs, and other areas where discrimination may occur. These possible grounds of discrimination may obstruct the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese, and both formal and non-formal sectors should work towards eradication discrimination in the education realm.

2.2.3 ACCEPTABILITY

Tomaševski’s notion of Acceptability of education mainly aims at its quality. She argues that governments must set and ensure minimum standards for professional requirements of teachers, health, and safety. In addition, the language of instruction plays a role if it is foreign to young children. States are challenged explicitly for providing acceptable education for mother tongues of a minority language. Furthermore, Tomaševski states, “The emergence of children themselves as actors vindicating their right to education and rights in education promises to endow the notion of acceptability with their vision of how their rights should be interpreted and applied.” (2001, p. 15). Seeing children as actors vindicating
their rights is not in line with Dib’s previously mentioned “centre of gravity” where the power mainly lies with the professors of formal education.

Furthermore, Acceptability involves “[r]espect for parental freedom to have their children educated in conformity with their religious, moral or philosophical convictions has been affirmed in all general human rights treaties and is continuously subjected to litigation.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 29). Nonetheless, Tomaševski claims that making education acceptable goes beyond the instruction language and respect for parental freedom of choice. The restriction of school discipline, as Tomaševski exemplifies, is an issue that is subject to litigation. For some parents corporal punishment is not only in line with, but also demanded because of their religious convictions, leading to friction. The Constitutional Court of South Africa, like many other courts, has ruled on friction like previously described. The court ruled against the parents stating “the broad community has an interest in reducing violence wherever possible and protecting children from harm” and “[e]veryone has the right to be free from all forms of violence” (Constitutional Court of South Africa, 2000, p. 14). The South African Constitutional Court is one of the many that ruled in favour of non-violence in schools. However, the considerable amount of parents that took legal action due to the absence of corporal punishment in schools shows that not all parents may accept it. The issue of corporal punishment well exemplifies how Acceptability of education can go back and forth by different stakeholder’s interests.

2.2.4 ADAPTABILITY

The last and likely most important concept for this research is Adaptability. This concept distances education even more from Dib’s view on formal education, by arguing that “schools ought to adapt to children” as decided by a uniformly held decisions of domestic courts following the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Tomaševski, 2001, p.15). Adaptability relates well to inclusive education in a way that the latter revolves around a welcoming, supportive learning environment that values diversity and promotes participation and a sense of belonging. As Ainscow states, “essentially [inclusive development] is a process of challenging exclusion in schools and communities and of being vigilant about whatever threats to equity arise” (2004, 615). Adaptability, likewise, focuses on the inclusion of children with disabilities, but also children deprived of their liberty, working children, and refugee children. These groups of children often are out-of-school or require special needs. Tomaševski (2001) acknowledges that the challenge of adapting the education system to each individual child is immense, if not impossible. However, we should strive for passing by the historical heritage that excludes all children deemed not suitable for the education system. Besides literal exclusion from schools that some children may face, the images and contents of school books can also exclude certain groups. Tomaševski (2001, p. 31) outlines how children with disabilities are absent from schoolbooks, whereas political figures may be overly present. Furthermore, schoolbooks may be biased when discussing neighbouring countries and history, and stigmatisation of particular groups may occur.
For the latter, Tomaševski gives the example of domestic servants who encounter categorisation as 'non-educable', a fluid term that does not attribute in one particular manner. Tomaševski (2001), “some of this exclusion has followed stereotyped features attributed to people who are female, or non-white, or foreigners, or indigenous. Another track, not much different substantively, has followed a division of humanity into able and disabled, excluding those classified as disabled from education.” (p. 31). Many courts have agreed that it is the schools that have to adapt to children with special needs, not the other way around. However, is it feasible? The Federal Constitutional Court of Germany ruled, “The education should be integrated, providing special support for disabled pupils if required, so far as the organizational, personal and practical circumstances allow this.” (1997)

Concerning working children, education should be adaptable and brought to where the children are. Getting education to where children are, proves to be a challenge, “Creating opportunities for working children to ‘learn and earn’ have been grounded in the necessity for poor people – including children – to work in order to be able to survive. Full-time education then appears to be a luxury rather than a fundamental right of the child, and changing that cruel reality requires a great deal of political and financial commitment.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 34).

Tomaševski (2001) also stresses the fact that schooling has contributed to the militarisation of children. This militarisation of boys mainly can be related to the previously discussed contents of books. The possible glorification of war in books, and for some, even a practical military training is obligatory while attending school. The history of the militarisation of boys under the influence of schools shows what a powerful medium it is. However, in humanitarian crises, education is often not prioritised, “In providing humanitarian aid, an important obstacle to including education is a view that education is not indispensable for human survival nor required for subsistence.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 35).

The introduction of this thesis outlined the positive implication for a country’s economy and well-being. Education is a crucial change driver to improve lives to self-sustenance from generation to generation, and therefore should be prioritised more in humanitarian aid. “Including education in this [survival] package is a development of the 1990s, but overcoming the previous ‘ideology of survivalism’ has yet to become institutionalised.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 35). It is fair for humanitarian agencies to think short-term in crises, but with this mindset, they do not diminish the need for themselves in the future, which is what their end goal ideally should be. However, one should not think lightly of providing education. Its power can turn out in either a positive or a negative sense:

“Where schooling is available, it can deny rather than promoting the best interests of each child. Educational curricula can be designed with a view to those children who will continue to higher education, thus failing those who cannot do so. The contents can be imported from far-away countries and be incomprehensible in the local circumstances. Methods of teaching can rely on force and violence. In the worlds of Peter Newell, “discipline, at home or at school, which deliberately hurts or humiliates children, especially from adults they love and respect, teaches first the acceptability of violence.” (Tomaševski, 2001, p. 35; Newell, P., 1994).
In Lebanon’s crisis of providing for displaced non-Lebanese, education has an urgent priority. The crisis has been lasting for around seven years, and still demands more efforts to realise rights of displaced non-Lebanese. As mentioned before, around half of the school-aged Syrians in Lebanon enrolled in schools. This enrolment is admirable but far from sufficient, notwithstanding the quality issues that are present in Lebanese public schools for the children that are enrolled. We must not forget that enrolling children in school does not mean they are receiving an education. As Tomaševski (2001) writes, “An assumption that getting children to attend school equals the realization of their right to education thus often conflicts with reality.” (p. 43). The 4As that this section outlines will contribute to exploring how the right to education can be better ensured for children inside and outside of school. However, Tomaševski mainly explores the right to education from a formal perspective. As Nelson (2006) outlined, non-formal education is becoming more prominent and widespread, even though it is still far from foregoing formal education. As the non-formal organisations are part of an important sector that provides education for displaced non-Lebanese, this thesis aims to also apply the 4A framework to non-formal sectors.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL SCHEME

The conceptual scheme above shows how the government, along with the international community, funds and implements formal education. UNICEF is mentioned on its own next to the international community, as it is a key actor in the provision of education in Lebanon. The Lebanese government and its partners implement formal education in the local reality, and we can assess the quality of this
implementation through Tomaševski’s 4A framework. On the left, the upward arrows represent the feedback loop, feedback that the government and partners can adapt to or not. On the right-hand side, there is non-formal education that usually is not tied to or conditioned by governmental actors. Non-formal education projects may receive funding from governments in the way of subsidies but are not managed by them. The downward arrow stemming from non-formal education represents the education’s implementation of which, like formal education, Tomaševski’s work can assess the quality. The local reality reflects what happens on the ground, that is, in and around school buildings, when doing homework, when registering for a school, social relations influenced by schools, and so forward. The feedback loop of the local reality to non-formal education is pictured stronger than the one of formal education, which reflects the literature. The arrow reflects the literature in the sense that non-formal education is only legitimate when it meets real social needs, as Dib argued.

2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS & SUB QUESTIONS

Non-formal education through NGOs is common in Lebanon to try to ensure that children not enrolled in any formal schooling obtain primary education skills such as reading, writing, and mathematics. Essentially, a properly functioning public education system would prevent the need for NGOs like 26 Letters. However, their pupil registry seems to be growing by the day. This research aims to find (dis)connections between the formal and non-formal education in Lebanon, by looking at examples from both sectors using the 4A framework by Tomaševski.

This leads to the following research question:

- How can the high demand for non-formal education projects like 26 Letters be explained and, what lessons can be learned to improve formal education, notably in ensuring the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese children in Lebanon?

Sub-research questions include:

- What are the reasons for displaced non-Lebanese children to enrol or not in a public school?
- If so, what is their main reason for enrolling in a non-formal education project instead or simultaneously?
- With respect to Tomaševski’s 4A framework, what are the qualities of both formal and non-formal education in Lebanon, and what are their deficiencies?
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH LOCATION

I conducted research for this thesis in the capital of Lebanon, Beirut. Although I do not wish to disregard rural areas from education research, for practical reasons, these are not part of this thesis. Some participants do touch upon aspects of transport that relate to remote areas, but I conducted the research itself in the city of Beirut. I consider the non-formal education project 26 Letters in chapter four, which was the leading example and starting point for the research related to non-formal education. All the participants were interviewed and located in the same area, except for one. I also researched formal education in the same area. After several visits to the Ministry of Education and Higher education, I received access to research public schools. Subsequently, I observed classes in two formal settings that are both located in neighbouring areas to the Ministry as well as the non-formal projects. The specific areas of Beirut in which the research took place include Hamra, Mar Elias, Ras Beirut, and Manara. I conducted interviews in offices, cafes, non-formal project settings, formal schools, and inside classrooms.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

The research took place between 17 January and 26 March 2019. Three data collection methods constitute the complete data in this thesis: interviews, field notes, and observation.

3.2.1 INTERVIEWS

First, I conducted semi-structured interviews. These interviews aimed at exploring motivations, beliefs, experiences, and views of participants to provide a deeper understanding of the issue at hand. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews has allowed information to be discovered or elaborated upon, and to be shared even though it was not asked for specifically. Especially when searching for a local reality, these semi-structured interviews adequately guided the conversation and gave space at the same time. The interviews took around one hour per participant, starting with more general and straightforward questions, and leading up to questions that needed more elaboration. I tailored the questions to the participant’s expertise. In total, I conducted fourteen interviews. The participants include pupils of the age of around seventeen, non-formal education specialists, teachers, officials of the Ministry of Education and Higher Education, a director and a volunteer.

3.2.2 FIELD NOTES

Concerning the quality of the data, the data section treats the field notes with special care due to possible bias. While conducting research, I have, at the same time, tutored children between six and seventeen years old in English, as well as provided homework support. In total, excluding extracurricular activities, I have spent 192 hours tutoring. The tutoring took place at 26 Letters, the main non-formal project at hand.
of this research. The empirical context section explains the organisation more specifically. Initially, tutoring was a side act to my research, though it has turned out to be very insightful. It became clear to me what they struggled with in English, and in what levels they were. Also, domestic and social issues came to light. However, my pupils were underage, and I do not have their consent nor their parents'. Therefore, I did not use these insights directly for this research. Instead, these insights have guided me in which questions to pose to experts, as well as while analysing their answers that I acquired with consent.

3.2.3 OBSERVATION
After two interviews with officials of MEHE, I was granted access to observe in two public schools. One of them involved an Accelerated Learning Program (ALP) school, which aims at pupils catching up to the level of their peers after having missed school for several years. Even though ALP is categorised as a non-formal setting according to MEHE, following my categorisation, it is a formal program as discussed after the conceptual scheme. The other public school observed also falls within the formal categorisation of both the MEHE's and this thesis' theoretical framework. For both schools, my observation method was the same. I would sit in the corner of a classroom and take notes of everything that happened. A challenge was to engage with the pupils as little as possible, as I aimed to avoid being distractive. All of the classes I attended, ten in total, were English taught. The subjects involved math, science, and English for grades between four and nine. I have chosen these grades as at this point in my research curriculum related issues became prevalent, which are prevalent in grades involving children that are ten years and up.

3.2.4 RESPONDENTS
This research has aimed to involve a wide variety of stakeholders. Representing the non-formal sector, I have interviewed three founders of 26 Letters, one ex-founder, three pupils enrolled in 26 Letters, one volunteer as well as teaching student, who has been an active volunteer in several non-formal education projects. Finally, for the non-formal sector, I interviewed three directors of non-formal projects. Representing the formal sector, I interviewed two ministry officials and one public school director. I acquired experience in the field through tutoring and observing at the non-formal education project 26 Letters and by attending ten classes at two different public schools while making observations.

Before gathering data, I aimed to include as many stakeholders as possible, in order to include a wide variety of perspectives on this topic. In practice, I found an imbalance between the access to data for formal and non-formal education, the latter being more accessible than the former. This imbalance of access also reflects in the gathered data, where most of the participants in interviews are related to non-formal education. The imbalance is somewhat relieved by the observations in public schools, but not entirely. The sampling strategy includes the use of personal connections and its snowball effect. After every interview, I asked whether the participant knows anyone else of interest in this research, which proved successful.
Of course, children are central to this research. The children are the ones whose right to education is at stake. The age group that this research considers involves children from the age of six until fifteen. The age until when education is compulsory in Lebanon, at least for Lebanese children, is the age of twelve. However, the scope of this study includes children until the age of fifteen, as in the ninth grade, children take their first national exam, the Brevet. Another national exam, the baccalaureate, takes place at the age of eighteen. I decided to mainly focus on the age group to the Brevet exam, as high dropout rates are taking place especially in the grade of the Brevet exam.

3.3 UNIT OF ANALYSIS
The central unit of analysis for this research is on an individual level, for a wide variety of stakeholders. By considering a broad spectrum of individuals with different beliefs on the issue at hand, the research aims to provide a full and coherent picture. These include government officials, headmasters of schools, teachers, parents, and pupils. Participants were selected by availability, notwithstanding the attention that I paid to gender, age, and socio-economic class.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS
By the use of framework analysis, I analysed the gathered data. The framework analysis fits this research properly as the aim is to search for a (dis)connections between formal and non-formal education. The matrix has helped to find a hierarchy of themes and sub-themes that can play a role when taking a theme-based approach. The following steps have been taken to analyse the data: familiarisation (data management), identifying a thematic framework, indexing (coding), charting and summarizing. I familiarised myself with the transcripts and conducted preliminary coding. After the first few interviews, I established codes, and the coding started for all transcripts, including the ones used to establish the codes. After following these steps, I created a matrix that contains themes and fragments. From this matrix, I interpreted descriptions, where after I created case-based typologies, followed by categories that are theme-based.

After these steps, I mapped linkages and developed explanations. For all the data, including the observations and field notes, I conducted the framework analysis by manual familiarisation and summarizing, after which I used ATLAS.ti qualitative management software for further steps (Moerman, G., 2016).

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS
During my fieldwork, I have adhered to the no harm principle. I take full responsibility for the research I conducted, having signed the personal declaration of responsibility, which you can find in Appendix II.
Furthermore, I made use of verbal consent for the interviews and official permission for the observations. I also ensured anonymity for all participants included this research.

3.5.1 INTERVIEWS

For each interview, I started with establishing verbal consent. The verbal consent entails an explanation of the research, the option to opt out or stop the interview whenever desired, assuring the participant that the interview will be fully anonymised and that they are free not to answer questions at any time. Furthermore, I asked them if they had any questions or needed extra reassurances concerning verbal consent before starting the interview. I find it essential that besides verbal consent, these matters are also discussed informally to safeguard that participants understand it correctly and ensure that participants feel at ease. The interview questions were not sensitive in general, but it was possible that participants would have difficulties sparked by the topics raised in interviews. As soon as I detected any sensitivity, I followed the participant’s lead after reassuring the participant that sharing experiences is voluntary. For the ones that agreed to record, I promised to keep the recordings in a secured electronic space, with an anonymised title. Some of the participants disagreed with being recorded, which would be accepted by me immediately.

3.5.2 OBSERVATIONS

For the observations in two public schools, the Ministry of Education and Higher Education granted access. Before each class, I would explain to the teacher the reason I was there and ask for their permission. My observations’ focus centred on teaching techniques, teaching content, class atmosphere and interaction between teachers and students.

I kept my observations fully anonymous and general and did not focus on the pupils as individuals, but on the class as a whole. During my observations, I would avoid contact with the pupils during the class, and keep my distance outside of class as well. Afterwards, I would share my general findings with the staff and director, disclosing only general, anonymised information.

3.5.3 CONVERSATIONS

The daily conversations were most challenging for me concerning ethical considerations. I had a great deal of explicit and implicit conversations that related to my topic, both with adults and children. The explicit conversations involved opinions and perspectives on the education system, whereas implicit conversations instead revolved around talking to pupils and finding out what they are lagging. For the explicit conversations, I would remind myself to ask if I could use the information for my research. The implicit conversations mainly occurred with minors, so I would have to ask their parents for consent. After being in touch for a more extended period, the children started to trust me, a trust I do not want to endanger. I did not ask them nor their parents for consent, as I did not want to complicate what we were doing: teaching and learning. However, I believe that some of their cases gave me valuable insights into
my research, which is eventually focusing on improving their situations. In the end, I decided not to use this information directly. Instead, the contact I had with the children brought me insights and led me to questions that have come to light in the interviews. In this manner, I can use the insights I received without breaking the trust of my pupils by converting our contact into data.

3.6 POSITIONALITY

Concerning positionality, as a light-skinned blonde female in her mid-twenties, I was aware that I stood out in a country like Lebanon. Having travelled to the country before, I prepared for the proper way of dressing to avoid attention as much as possible. Though specific dress codes need regard, I resided most of my time in Beirut where society can be said to be more progressive compared to inland. I considered this when leaving town. Moreover, I was very aware of a possible power imbalance that I could create, following “[t]he privileged position of the researcher vis à vis the researched” (Råheim et al., 2016).

Moreover, possibly my Western appearance could influence this power dynamic. I was aware of this and put considerable effort into creating an environment where the individual and I were on an equal level. To meet participants in this situation, I took a course in Levantine Arabic. By opening the conversation in Arabic, I hope they felt a sense of respect and see me less as an intruder. As a form of reciprocity, I opened up to questions from the participants after finishing the interview or discussion. Furthermore, I shared my findings with the participants and was open to criticism. For the children included in the research, this was a bit more complicated. I shared my findings with their teachers. During the research, I was at any time open to receive advice and criticism regarding my way of conducting the research. I hope that this way, I did no harm and conducted research that is not only beneficial for the participants and myself, but also the broader education system.
CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT

In this chapter, specific contextual issues are stipulated, that are important to this research. I first address the RACE program's history, objectives, challenges, and accomplishments. After that, I shed light on an education project that is entirely different from public schools but has the same goal: providing education. Both programs face their challenges and have their benefits, and are different to the extent that it might be problematic to compare them as equals, as they, to begin with, are not equal. What I intend to achieve by addressing both is to broaden the horizon of innovative teaching and see how one can complement the other.

4.1 THE LEBANESE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The following section is based on an interview with a MEHE official in which the Lebanese education system was explained to me (participant 6). Further info can be retrieved from MEHE’s report on RACE II’s final narrative.

Lebanese public schools consist of twelve grades. When entering grade one, a child usually is around six years old. The child is expected to be able to read and write before entering the first grade. Through Early Childhood Education (ECE), children below the age of six can achieve these essential skills. ECE is offered by public or private kindergartens, or by parents themselves. Before entering public schools, most of the time, one has to do a test to prove their level. If a child’s age corresponds to grade four, they have to do an entrance test before the public school accepts the pupil. You can only enter public schools above grade one if you have proof of previous education and you pass the entry test. In grade nine and twelve, there are national exams, the Brevet and the Baccalaureate, respectively. The state accredits these national exams, and neighbouring countries recognise the diplomas. A vital pathway of RACE that I will elaborate on later is the ALP. ALP consists of four cycles per year, each cycle lasting three months. For every cycle, a pupil can catch up one year of missed schooling. This program also makes use of tests at the beginning and the end of the cycle. When one has reached the level in ALP of the grade that corresponds their age, the ALP schools transfer the pupil to regular public schools.

Another program of RACE is Basic Literacy and Numeracy (BLN), which aims at children with no prior education experience and teaches them the basics of education, such as reading, writing, and math.

4.2 THE RACE PROGRAM

In 2013, Lebanon initiated the Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) program. This initiative aims to address the lack of access to formal education for Syrian refugee children, as well as underprivileged Lebanese children. The international community, as well as bilateral donors, support this program. Amongst the most significant donors are the Department for International Development (DFID), the European Union, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, the United States Agency for
International Development (USAID), UN agencies and the World Bank. Implementing the RACE program requires US$ 350 million of funding per year.

Since its initiation, RACE has known two phases: phase one lasts between 2013 and 2016, and phase two lasts between 2017 and 2021. The second phase prioritises the following issues: “scaling up equitable access to educational opportunities in the formal public system, improve the quality and inclusiveness of the teaching and learning environment, and strengthen the national education system, policies, and monitoring, by redoubling its efforts and providing additional financial support.” (World Bank, 2016, p.2). The program was and is a means to ensure the right to education, not only for Lebanese children but also for the approximately 250,000 displaced non-Lebanese children, at the beginning. As of now, that number has doubled.

RACE exists of formal and non-formal structures. The formal structure involves the public schools which teach the national curriculum. The non-formal education structure, though highly regulated, can be explained by the use of the following scheme:

*Scheme 1: non-formal education pathways of the RACE program, leading to formal education that are the marked red boxes*

(MEHE, 2016, p. 26).

In scheme 1, the several pathways for children become visible, depending on their prior learning and age. Like the before mentioned ALP, the other non-formal pathways are used as facilitators to catch up to speed with the grade corresponding your age, after which the child will be able to enrol in formal education with children of the same age. The non-formal programs of RACE and MEHE are highly regulated. They take place inside public schools or buildings that are similar to them. Furthermore, the states recognise the diplomas acquired in national exams.
MEHE has opened up to the help of NGOs to implement the programs mentioned in scheme 1. However, an NGO first has to express its interest, suffice several requirements and pass a test. Also, MEHE gives training to the NGOs connecting to MEHE. Once an NGO is accepted, the NGO will receive the teaching materials from MEHE. To avoid confusion, I refer to the non-formal programs shown in scheme 1 as ‘regulated non-formal education’, because MEHE’s non-formal programs have many common characteristics as formal education. These characteristics include the value of certification, the location (often in public schools), and the great scale. Thus all programs tied to MEHE are in this research seen as formal education, despite MEHE’s different label.

The following sections focus on the challenges and successes of RACE I, followed by the goals and strategy of RACE II, as outlined by the World Bank and the Ministry of Education and Higher Education.

4.2.1 SUCCESSES OF RACE I

The World Bank (2016) identifies the substantial success of the first phase of RACE but outlines concerns as well. Between the years of 2011 and 2013, the enrolment of displaced non-Lebanese has tripled from 27,000 to 103,000 (MEHE, 2016, p. 5). This success mainly attributes to the introduction of a second shift: as there are capacity constraints in accommodating such numbers of children, a second school shift has been opened in existing public schools, after the regular classes have finished. The introduction of a second shift involves that the displaced non-Lebanese go to school in the afternoon between approximately three and seven o’clock. The Lebanese children have classes between eight and two o’clock. The afternoon shift is shorter than the morning shift. In 2014, the enrolment of Lebanese children going to public schools had declined by around 11,000 pupils, leading to a new total of 238,000 (MEHE, 2016, p. 5). The decline in enrolment of Lebanese children, according to MEHE attributes to the fact that parents do not want to enrol their children together with a high number of refugees, as well as that private education has higher quality. In the year after, that is the 2015-2016 scholastic year, the enrolment of Lebanese children returned to its pre-crisis level after the partial waiver of school fees (MEHE, 2016, p. 5). Besides the introduction of the second shift, other reasons why the enrolment of displaced non-Lebanese has increased to such a high level include the waiving of documentation requirements. A further 11,878 displaced non-Lebanese were enrolled in the Accelerated Learning Program to support their enrolment into regular public schools (MEHE, 2016, p. 5). These were the main successes of the first phase of RACE. The following sections will outline the challenges that the second phase of RACE builds on, and still, are to overcome.

4.2.2 CHALLENGES OF RACE I

The World Bank has identified several areas of caution that the second phase of RACE bases itself on, and that require further attention. One crucial issue is that even though enrolment rates are on the rise,
mainly the primary level only is improving. The pre-primary and secondary level is lagging, both having an attendance of lower than ten per cent. The pre-primary level is an essential factor as children start school at six years of age. In grade one, pupils are expected to be able to read and write. One can obtain these reading and writing skills either by home-schooling or attending kindergarten. If one lacks these skills but attends grade one, the pupil falls short from the start, which puts a strain on teachers as well as the confidence of parents to enrol and keep their children in school. The secondary level also requires more attention, as this is the phase where one receives “adequate preparation for an active participation in society and the labour market, and the protective environment against recruitment and radicalization” (World Bank, 2016, p. 3). Furthermore, withstanding the fact that data is limited, studies indicate that around eighty per cent of Syrian children with special needs is not enrolled in any formal schooling (Koplewicz, p.1). We should consider the fact that Syrians are amongst the most vulnerable communities in Lebanon, and having special needs exacerbates this vulnerability. Therefore, a stronger focus on making education inclusive is needed.

The World Bank has identified quality as another severe concern: ensuring the right to education does not stop at enrolment; it also requires great efforts inside classrooms. Overcrowded rooms, fewer hours to teach the same curriculum, and highly diverse backgrounds of pupils pose serious threats to the quality of education for displaced non-Lebanese. According to the World Bank, learning and teaching materials have been made available without cost throughout the country, which is an excellent step in the right direction. However, the World Bank also raises issues of language barriers, and the lack of monitoring progress, and the negative effect of access on quality, that may relate to the high dropout among displaced non-Lebanese. In addition, entry requirements for teachers have become weaker, as well as the capacity to compensate teachers for their work adequately. “[R]eliance on an under-qualified and unskilled teaching force has important consequences on the real learning outcomes of children in the public school system, with important disparities in learning outcomes amongst different regions, and further differences among nationalities” (MEHE, 2016, p. 8).

Some final concerns that are raised in the World Bank’s report preceding RACE II involve supply-side constraints. The RACE program works through public schools, which mainly enrolls children of families that are of lower economic status. Most Lebanese families opt for private schooling when they have the resources: in 2016, 72 per cent of the total enrolled pupils in the primary sector went to private schools (CEIC, 2017). There are several ways in which a lower economic status influences perception and demand for education. Firstly, the opportunity cost of foregone income is, according to MEHE, of significant influence on the lack of enrolment or dropout. “Parental and children’s negative perception of the value addition of education to income-earning potential also leads to low demand for education” (MEHE, 2016, p. 7). Child marriage or early marriage is also more and more considered to be a coping mechanism when in a financially distressed position, which makes the chance of enjoying education smaller, especially for girls. The education-related costs contribute to this train of thought: learning
materials, uniforms, transportation and the loss of potential income combine to deter access to education (MEHE, 2016).

According to interviews gathered by MEHE in 2014, “[n]early 60% of refugee working children interviewed in 2014 indicated that the choice to work was their own and that their desire to support their families was more compelling than attending school” (MEHE, 2016, p. 7). The notion that children choose to work over attending school shows the complexity of the challenge to ensure the right to education for children. Moreover, other reasons for children to have a negative attitude towards education includes that “there is anecdotal evidence that fear of violence and challenges of social acceptance, as well as difficulties in providing the required registration and residence permits impede school registration.” (World Bank, 2016, p. 3). Reports show that children experience bullying and corporal punishment in Lebanese schools. (MEHE, 2016, p. 8).

Systematic issues encountered in RACE I include the limitations to data collection due to underfunding. Furthermore, the curriculum was last updated in 1997: “the Lebanese curriculum and correlated pedagogical standards are not as learner-centred as industries require, lacking a life-skills base or a gender-appreciation lens” (MEHE, 2016, p. 10). Moreover, MEHE acknowledges the lack of national standards for measuring learning achievement, and the insufficient as well as inefficiently implemented policy frameworks (MEHE, 2016).

Altogether, mainly the quality and inclusiveness of learning are at stake, and especially the gap of quality between public and private schools is severe and possibly on the rise. Data on learning outcomes of refugee children is limited, needed to assess RACE’s accomplishments accurately. Furthermore, low quality is one of the drivers of dropout rates among Syrian and Lebanese children (World Bank, 2016, p. 3). The increased access mainly revolves around primary education, with pre-primary and secondary education lagging notwithstanding the lack of access to education for children with special needs. In the following section, you can see how the second phase of RACE has adapted to these issues and aims to move forward.

4.2.3 RACE II

The second phase of RACE, called RACE II, has estimated its cost to approximately US$2.1 billion from 2016 through 2021 (World Bank, 2016). This phase aims to build “on the successes and lessons of the first phase” and broadens the scope to focus on issues of quality and systems strengthening. Serious commitments to improvement are needed, as, in the school year 2015-2016, 59 per cent of the pupils in Lebanese public schools were displaced non-Lebanese. (World Bank, 2016, p. 2). As the population of Lebanese pupils remained stable, this implies on average double the pupils per public school, which requires considerable effort in organisation and quality control. Besides the capacity constraints, the challenges laid out in the previous section play an essential role.

After the awareness of these issues, the objectives of RACE II involve “expanding equitable access to schooling, improving conditions for learning, and strengthening management of the education...

The first pillar, equitable access, revolves around increasing the demand for formal education as well as to non-formal education that is regulated. It starts with the Back-to-School (BTS) initiative, which runs throughout the whole phase of RACE II. “It will have four key components: a mass media campaign at the national level, outreach and mobilisation at the community level, case management at the family level, and increased management and readiness of public school administrators” (MEHE, 2016, p. 12). Besides the BTS campaign, financial barriers are aimed to be lowered or overcome by a range of subsidies. Enrolment fees are subsidised either partially or wholly when attending formal education or regulated non-formal education. Vulnerability-criteria determines the extent of the subsidy. Textbooks and stationery are subsidised and disseminated to all pupils without cost. Transport subsidies again depend on vulnerability-criteria. Finally, public schools are equipped adequately to retain dropout. “Rehabilitation of schools is regulated by MEHE’s Effective School Profile (ESP) framework that dictates regulations for water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) standards, structural integrity, gender neutrality standards, and accessibility for students with special needs” (MEHE, 2016, p. 13). Moreover, qualified schools will be equipped with materials for arts, music, sport, sciences, IT laboratories, as well as furniture (MEHE, 2016).

The second pillar involves enhanced quality of education services aims to deliver “quality education services and learning environments throughout the continuum of formal or non-formal schooling pathways, to support meaningful and grade-appropriate learning for children and youth” (MEHE, 2016, p. 13). The RACE program stresses the importance of teachers, educators, school governance, and community engagement in reaching enhanced quality. The Centre for Educational Research and Development (CERD) would design teacher training based on the content of the new curriculum, which is currently in development. Moreover, RACE II aims to make teaching materials and guides wider available and base recruitment on specific competencies. Observation tools will be developed to assess the quality of teachers.

Furthermore, RACE II aims to increase teacher agency, which, according to them, will result in improved accountability and governance at a local level (MEHE, 2016, p. 14). Moreover, RACE II sets a more in-depth focus on health, safety and protection, and inclusion, for which training becomes available for school staff. In addition, RACE II aims to monitor the pedagogical performance of teachers inside the classrooms of second shift schools, and academic counsellors conduct this monitoring process. A final focus of the second pillar of RACE II involves an active community and parenting to support the learning of children. Dropout risks will be able to attend a remedial support program, homework support, strengthened by community liaison volunteers.

The third pillar aims at strengthening the education system’s capacity. This pillar “seeks to highlight the importance improved institutional technical capacity, a strengthened policy base, durable partnerships, and a coordinated platform have on the delivery of education programming” (MEHE, 2016,
Through effective education data management, and revised curricula both for formal and non-formal education programs, RACE II aims to reach this pillar's aims. In order to improve national standards, a national learning assessment strategy will be developed, likewise for teachers. Moreover, standard operating procedures that are already existent will be applied more thoroughly to second shift schools. Special attention is paid to policy and mechanisms to monitor violence towards children that are attending schools (MEHE, 2016, p. 17). The policy gaps with regard to special needs education are already under assessment. The results will hopefully inform the ministry of the action that it needs to take. In addition, RACE II aims to set standards for learning spaces and educator profiles.

The three pillars combined make up the second phase of the RACE program. Several monitoring and evaluation strategies follow the pillars.

4.3 26 LETTERS

The following section is based on personal observations, an interview and a document of 26 Letters that is not available online. I can provide the document upon request. In contrast to the RACE programme, the education project 26 Letters is not affiliated with the government, nor with international organisations or bilateral donors. This education project started with a Spanish exchange student that became friends with a child that sold roses, and she started tutoring him. When the exchange student, eventually the first founder, finished her studies she was so touched by the child’s situation that she felt the need to stay around. She started tutoring more working, displaced non-Lebanese children and decided to dedicate all of her time to an education project. After her popularity grew, she asked family and friends to join. Together with three other founders, 26 Letters came into existence. All founders are Spanish and between 25 and 30 years old. They did not have any teaching experience but now, after four years of running the project, know a lot about the Lebanese education system.

26 Letters is a non-formal education project that tutors children in English, mathematics, Arabic, ethics and history. The project aims to support children in their formal education by teaching them the basics of English, after which it will be easier for the children to follow the classes taught in English in public schools. The project has developed to be a family, where pupils and educators become friends, calling one another brothers and sisters. On the weekends, several extracurricular activities include dance, movies, and trips to other cities. The founders arrange regular visits to parents in order to establish a safety net to ensure the children’s well-being. The children and educators attend classes voluntarily. Even though the state does not recognise the project as an official education activity, its popularity has grown enormously over the past years resulting in a waiting list of around 150 families.

The pupils that attend the project are between three and seventeen years old. Some of them attend formal education, whereas others of them do not go to school at all and work. Some of them do well in school, whereas others of them do not. The door of 26 Letters is open to every pupil, no matter the nationality or socio-economic background. The founders believe that every pupil that wants to join 26
Letters has a reason for it. It does not matter if it has to do with performance in school or for social reasons. Every day, there are five shifts. The first shift is for children that go to public schools in the afternoon. The second and third shift are kindergarten, in order to make sure the younger children are at the right level before entering the first grade in public schools. The fourth shift is for children that are able to attend the morning shift in public schools. Finally, the fifth shift is for children that work and only have free time in the evening.

The curriculum of 26 Letters is self-created and based on the level of English that a pupil needs to know for the national exams. Books adapt to the way pupils learn. For visual learners, there are more pictures and graphs. For pupils that are easily distracted, the books incorporate the pupil’s name and hobbies. For very active pupils, the class will be adapted to use physical exercises.

The founders fund the project themselves and through gofundme.com. The funding is unstable, which is a recurring issue faced by the founders. Without recognition of the state, and in a long dreading process of becoming registered, it is challenging to attract subsidies. The educators are mostly internationals that stay in Beirut for studies, internships or travel to Beirut solely for volunteering. Some volunteers stay for around a year, but most stay shorter periods, which is another constraint for the organisation. People residing in Beirut also volunteer at 26 Letters. However, these stable volunteers are rare, as the concept of volunteering is often not fully understood or attractive for the inhabitants of Beirut.

As the following section shows in more depth, 26 Letters also faces many challenges. The organization only operates on a small scale, which safekeeps quality but limits impact. Moreover, 26 Letters has to deal with limited power to accredit, and the struggle to attract funding. The latter partly ties to the lack of recognition by MEHE of this non-formal organization. Besides the funding, also the volunteers are unstable, and these volunteers are most of the time not properly educated on how to teach. In chapter five I provide first hand quotes of participants on 26 Letters, but mostly Lebanon’s formal and non-formal education in a more general sense.
CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In the following section, I have organised the main issues raised in the interviews. The data gathered is limited, and the statements made are not generalisable. However, participants raised many issues that are valuable to dive into deeper. Furthermore, I applied the concepts of Tomaševski’s 4As to the data; Appendix I lists the operationalisation of these concepts. Not all variables fitted the data directly; therefore, I highlighted the variables that were important with regard to the data.

Concerning the composition and professional backgrounds of the participants, participant 1, 3, 5 and 10 belong to NGOs that are not related to the earlier mentioned 26 Letters. Participant 2, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are involved in 26 Letters. Participant 4 is the director of a formal school, and participant 6 and 9 are employees of MEHE for the cause of RACE. Participant 7, 8 and 11 are pupils of 26 Letters, the former two did not ever attend formal schooling, and the latter did. Of all participants, there is no recording of participant 4, 6, 9, and 14. For the non-recorded interviews, I created sentences from my notes of the interview. Therefore, the quotes of these participants are not literal quotes. For the rest of the participants that did agree to the recording, the quotes correspond with their exact words. An overview of the participants and general information about them can be found in Appendix II. The reference of the quotes refers to (participant number : quote number).

5.1 TO ENROL, TRY TO ENROL, AND NOT TO ENROL IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In the following sections, I outlined what the data reported on enrolling in public schools.

5.1.1 TO ENROL IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Displaced non-Lebanese enrol in public schools throughout Lebanon for many reasons. Besides the obvious, that involves having a sense of normalcy and that going to school is an unquestionable activity for many, there is a practical and straightforward reason, mentioned in the data: namely obtaining a diploma that is accredited by the state and recognised by neighbouring countries. The only schools that offer these diplomas in Lebanon are formal schools, which are either private or public. As mentioned before, the target group of this thesis mainly involves impoverished families, whose option for education is limited to public schools. Obtaining an accredited diploma through formal education positively affects your future in the sense of your position in the job market and subsequently, a stable income that suffices your basic needs. Participant 3, who is a volunteer and teaching student, said: “it is proven that students who fail the Brevet and then end up dropping out, like, their lives just deteriorate.” (3:24). It is also convenient that one can translate the diplomas in a way that they are recognised in Syria, as mentioned by participant 6, a MEHE official (6:4). Of the children that the Lebanese public schools did not accept, for various reasons, some even travel to Syria to participate in national exams, according to participant 10, who is a founder of a non-formal school (10:9). Participant 12, engaged in a different non-formal project, stresses the requirement of, amongst others, vocational study programmes to have obtained the Brevet,
the Baccalaureate, or both (12:24). Altogether, passing national exams is beneficial for future studies and career as was the participants’ general opinion.

According to MEHE officials, participants 6 and 9, MEHE had a crucial role in enrolling displaced non-Lebanese. “MEHE is unique in their experience of bringing children to school. It is a unique model that is self-created. They are not just numbers, but embrace of a crisis. We don’t want them to lose the right of education as well, as they have lost a lot of rights already. It is really a great achievement.” (6:17). Participant 15, a non-formal expert, on ALP: “ALP did a great job to contain a lot of huge numbers” (15:20). Another great help to improving access to public schools carried out by MEHE includes the waiving of document requirements, such as residency, according to MEHE officials, participant 6 and 9. Moreover, the public school fee, which is of 160 dollars per year, has been subsidised in full by the international community through funding the RACE program.

5.1.2 TRY TO ENROLL

Despite MEHE’s efforts to increase access to public schools by waiving requirements and fees, some participants describe situations that reflect a different reality. Participants 10, 12, 14 and 15 (non-formal education sector) did stumble upon documentation requirements (10:9, 12:8, 14:3, 15:32, 10:9).

Participant 9 (MEHE) mentioned that public schools do not require documentation (9:8). The data shows that participants experienced the registration process in different ways. The previous quotes show that participants related to MEHE discussed several regulations that other participants did not encounter in practice. Besides this discrepancy between policy and practice, participants related to the non-formal sector also gave other reasons that concern obstruction to the registration and enrolment procedure such as chaotic organisation and overwhelmingly high demand for public schools.

Participant 12, founder of a non-formal school, described the situation of a child that has to repeat the year. When they have to repeat it for the second time, they have to go to another school. According to participant 12, schools hardly accept children that have repeated classes before (12:10). Also, capacity constraints are a reason for schools to reject children, as stated by participant 10, 13 and 15 that all engage with the non-formal education sector (10:2, 13:14, 15:8). Furthermore, participant 15 described denial of access for a different reason: “she's a very smart kid, she knew the letters, she knew the numbers, she just wrote in a very slow way. and how they judge her is how she grab the pen or pencil. no, no this kid is illiterate. no I know she's not. (...) She knows how to speak English, she knows how to write Arabic. but they just said no, she's too slow to learn” (15:13). “They’re just being picky and selective” (15:33).

Another issue faced when registering is discrimination, according to the non-formal education-related participants 12, 13, 14, and 15 (12:21, 13:11, 13:14, 14:1, 15:33). These participants mentioned having experienced better treatment due to being a European or Lebanese as opposed to Syrians. Even though the second shift is exclusive for people of the Syrian nationality, these participants feel like Syrians receive unequal treatment as compared to Lebanese or other nationalities. Participant 12 finds the second
shift problematic as according to them, the non-Lebanese children will experience differences between non-Lebanese and Lebanese from a very young age (12:22). Besides discrimination, participant 14 pointed out the lack of organisation while registering a child:

“We entered in a huge crowd, just trying to gather at the door, and it would be the guarder of the school holding the door. So it cannot get open. Then the director of the school would come, shout stuff. Normally it would be like go to there, try to make a queue or whatever. No. Shouting at them, and then they would let the families that payed money, the first ones. So they would shout the names of the families that payed money to get in the first. Even though that at the end they would, it would take them hours to register the kids” (14:2).

Participant 13 describes a similar experience of a public schools’ registration process, with more focus on the lack of information:

“We felt like animals. We went to a school, they closed the door, we could not enter. Of course it was done in an unorganised way, as it is. Uhm, no communication they use no computers. It was really chaotic. For us maybe, because we are foreigners, but you’re Syrian you’re trying to register your family, first to know that you have to register your family, they have a paper in Arabic, trying to explain the times. If you don’t read then how are you going to know the hours. You get there inside, no one really tells you what to do, you’re supposed to suddenly know what table to go, or how to do it. There is no information of when the class starts. So there is information online of what to do if my kid is out of school and I want to register them, there is some information. Though they tell you: this information may have changed and is not this one. But I found it in English, so it is also not accessible for people” (13:15).

Besides participant 13, also participant 14 and 15 described challenges caused by the lack of communication from schools to parents (13:22, 14:4, 15:2, 15:10), which may cause obstacles to the registration process.

5.1.3 NOT ENROL

Some families decide not to enrol their children for various reasons. The main one, according to the data, is the opportunity costs faced when the children work instead of going to school. Even though the MEHE has put considerable effort into improving access in the financial sense by providing books for free (6:13), and subsidizing tuitions (6:12), some families still cannot afford to send their children to school, because most of their budget is dedicated to provide food and housing. The mandatory school age runs between six till twelve, but some of the following cases involve children up to the age of eighteen, as at eighteen children are eligible to do the final national exam: the baccalaureate. Participant 7 and 8, now enrolled in non-formal education, both described how they had no money to go to school because they had to work and support the family (7:1, 8:1). Participant 1 and 15, both founders of different non-formal education projects, confirm this (1:10, 15:1). Participant 15 told me about convincing families to send their children to school: “to be honest, the challenge with their parents is
more difficult. Because not only the kids are used to working and making money, the parents are also used to working, having less problems. So what they hear you saying is you're going to have to suffer more.” (15:25).

Besides the missed out income that families have to face, the lack of prioritisation of education can also be an obstacle to enrolment. As participant 12, founder of a non-formal education project, said: “For the girls, it is more in the way of stay at home, you know this idea of, keep them safe. But it's not this. It's more of taking the freedom of the person. And for boys it's like, they should work. Because studying, sometimes the families they don’t really believe that the kid is going to be an engineer or a lawyer. But also, important is the point that it depends on the family” (12:18). Participant 12 maintains close contact with families, that include many family visits. I joined participant 12 on several family visits. One time we went to a family that included three sons and two daughters of school age. The three sons attended classes at participant 12’s non-formal project, but this participant tried to convince the father to also send his two daughters. I tried to understand this conversation with my very limited skills in Arabic. I saw how at some point the father started laughing and thought things were going well. Afterwards I asked participant 12 how it went. Participant 12 told me how he tried to convince the father by telling him that his daughters have ambitions to become an engineer and doctor, but that the father started laughing and said that his daughters are dumb and should do work in the house. Participant 12 was very frustrated, but after a few more visits, the girls attended the non-formal school daily, together with their brothers.

The situation encountered by participant 12 ties in with participant 13 views, both founders of the same non-formal project. Participant 13 stresses the need to educate the families: “You don’t need to educate the children but also the families. We work with families that don’t come from big cities but from villages. So education was never a really important thing for them there. So if you don’t educate the parents you don’t teach them how important it is to learn something or to get to go to university. They will never send their kids there” (13:3).

5.1.4 REFLECTION ON 4AS

This section reflects on the data of the enrolment process, obstructions to the enrolment process and reasons to not enrol in public schools. The whole of this section 5.1 relates best to Tomaševski’s concept Accessibility.

The data was, in general, very critical of the registration process of public schools. The registration process lacks communication and is unorganised. The data also reflects references to discrimination based on ethnicity and capabilities. Moreover, there are cases where parents that paid a certain amount of money received priority. The acceptance of new pupils, as discussed by the participants, shows a discrepancy between MEHE’s general policies and local practice in public schools.

On the positive side, MEHE and partners subsidise the tuition of displaced non-Lebanese in full, and MEHE subsidises the tuition for Lebanese children for 2/3rds. The tuition of the displaced non-Lebanese and Lebanese is subsidised by different parties, though this difference may come across as
unfair and further the lack of social cohesion. What concerns this thesis the most is that public education is free for displaced non-Lebanese.

Furthermore, the enormous influx of displaced non-Lebanese caused an immediate need for expansion of building capacity. As this was not realisable in the short-term, and as there were limitations with funding, MEHE opened a second shift system in existing buildings. Opening the second shift proved not to be enough expansion of capacity, as participants referred to the denial of access based on capacity constraints. However, the expansion did work for around 250,000 children, and which shows the great success of MEHE’s pioneer program.

Finally, MEHE waived entry requirements. However, this does not cover previous education experience. Without any proven experience in education it is, according to the rules, not allowed to enter public schools in grades higher than grade one. What a child should do is enrol in MEHE’s regulated non-formal programs and catch up to the level that corresponds to its age. When a child has reached that level, it does an exit exam at the non-formal program and takes its certificate to a formal public school. At the formal public school, children usually do the entrance exam, and if they pass, they can join their age-appropriate level. That is when all goes according to the rules. The data shows several instances where, like several other areas, the local reality does not correspond with the official regulations.

Mainly the section ‘Not enrol’ links to Adaptability. The data reflect opportunity costs as a significant reason for children to be out of school or drop out. Child labour is a complex issue that requires complex solutions, and major political and financial commitments. The data also shows how some working children went to school but dropped out for several reasons. We must distinguish between working children of impoverished families that work as an act of ‘survivalism’, and children that did not succeed in school so their parents, and perhaps themselves, figured work would be a better alternative. Where the former will most likely be challenging to address by MEHE on its own, the latter situation leaves more room for actors in the education field to influence a child’s course of life. RACE does not account for parent's education, even though, according to the data, parents are often the ones deciding to take their child from school and send it to work when it is not performing well.

Even though participants were not fond of the atmosphere of the registration process, MEHE’s efforts did show. For Accessibility, MEHE’s policies positively impacted a great amount of families. The waived entry requirements, the second shift and the subsidised tuition are great steps towards the enhancement of Accessibility. The Adaptability to working children is challenging, but requires more attention.

5.2 WHY ENROL IN A NON-FORMAL SCHOOL?

In the following section, I first addressed the struggles faced by children in public schools according to the data, deficits which may or may not have positive effects on the choice to enrol in a non-formal education program. After every struggle I briefly reflect on the relation to Tomaševski’s 4A framework.
Overall, Acceptability and Adaptability are the main As that relate to the deficits which the following sections outlines. Subsequently, an explanation of contextual issues, mainly regarding funding and thus Availability, sheds light on the challenge MEHE is facing while aiming to resolve these deficits. Finally, I addressed the deficits of non-formal education.

5.2.1 STRUGGLES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This section outlines six struggles that displaced non-Lebanese can encounter in public schools. The struggles are as follows: minimum standards, language of instruction, imbalance of capabilities and level, curriculum, discrimination, and the capabilities of teachers. After each struggle I briefly reflect on Tomaševski’s 4A framework.

**Struggle 1: minimum standards**

Firstly, concerning the minimum standards, that are part of Acceptability and include regulation and supervision, the length of the afternoon shift is argued to be inadequate. Participants 1, 3, 5, 12, and 13, all active in the non-formal sector, made comments on the shorter timing of the second shift as compared to the first shift (1:3, 3:7, 5:5, 12:13), and that it doesn’t start on time (13:18). Participant 5 said the following on the timing of the afternoon shift: “it’s from two to seven. But it’s included the bus trip. So they have four hours but it’s not enough” (5:5). Another issue related to the timing is the overcrowdedness of classrooms, which was mentioned by participant 1, 10, and 4, of which the former two are founders of non-formal projects and the latter is a director of a public school (1:20, 4:2, 10:3). From my own observations of both an ALP and a public school, the buildings were well-kept, had a good atmosphere, and were spacious. Also, all students seemed provided with learning materials, some visibly sponsored by Saudi-Arabia or UNICEF. Concerning safety, I did observe quite an amount of violence among the children in the break, in combination with an overcrowded playground. There were around five teachers supervising the playground, who tried to keep the place peaceful. Unfortunately they were not able to keep the situation under control.

To reflect on the 4As, the Acceptability of formal schools, in my observations, scores high on the provision of materials and condition of the building. However, an important deficit includes the duration of the afternoon shift. The second shift’s duration is shorter than the first shift’s, which could relate to the Availability of teachers. Teachers start teaching at eight o’clock, and their day ends at seven if they agreed to cover the second shift. Every extra hour added to a working day will increasingly be more tiring for teachers as they are already working overtime. If the second shift were to be the same length as the first shift, it would end at 20.30. Parents may be reluctant to send their children to school till this time of the day, as it is already dark, and for some of the children this may even be bedtime.
**Struggle 2: language of instruction**

The second difficulty that displaced non-Lebanese face in formal schools is the language of instruction. The courses mathematics, science and English, are fully English-taught. Geography, civics and Arabic are fully Arabic-taught. Data showed that children struggle not only with English but also with Arabic. The Arabic in the books is ‘fuṣḥā’ Arabic, also called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). MSA differs vastly from the spoken dialect in Lebanon, as well as Syria. Half of the participants mentioned this language barrier. Participant 2, tutor at a non-formal project said: “Because they are supposed to know how to resolve math when the headline is in English. So they may know how to do it but they don’t understand what they are asked to do” (2:9). Participants 1, 12 and 13 made similar comments, and all work in the non-formal realm (1:2, 12:33, 13:1). Participant 12 added on the challenge with Arabic:

“The Arabic from Lebanese dialect, or the Syrian dialect, the Levantine dialect, is different, even the grammar is different. So, it’s a different language they have to learn how to write a different language. Because something that you say every day, like, I don’t know. Like, ‘I drink water’ you don’t say in the same way when you write, it’s in classical Arabic. Like in modern standard Arabic. So yeah. It’s another difficult point, Arabic” (12:12).

This quote shows how the language barrier goes beyond the bilingual curriculum, though the difference between spoken and written Arabic is pervasive throughout all Arabic-speaking nations, even with different dialects. Participant 4, of the formal sector, described how they deal with the English language barrier, in their ALP program “we go back to the basic level. We conduct a pre-test and start from the basis” (4:5). When providing homework support, they first give English classes and afterwards turn to the homework. MEHE official, participant 6, explained their approach to the language barrier inside public schools: “The first year of the afternoon shift we taught the keywords together with an Arabic explanation. In year 2, grade 1 was taught in English, grade 2 and onwards were taught the keywords with Arabic explanation. The year after we taught grade 1-3 in English and onwards in Arabic. This way we try to gradually teach everyone in English. These are tricks to adapt for caliber” (6:11). However, participant 13, of the non-formal sector, problematised this approach:

“So some teachers, they help with the Arabic thing, they speak Arabic in class, they explain everything in Arabic. And then the exam comes and they would translate the exam to Arabic. For the kids in the exam. Now this doesn’t happen with all the teachers, so you may go to the next grade and then they would stop helping you. And then the parents don’t understand why are you not passing the subjects anymore. So it’s when the parents think oh maybe you’re stupid and it’s better for them to work. Or, uhm, imagine that kid gets help all through, but then they have to do the Brevet exam, no one helps you so if you never understood anything in English then now you are not going to understand” (13:6).

Both participants have the same goal: for students to overcome the English language barrier. Participant 6 outlined a sensible plan to help the older pupils with their English level, and for the younger ones to follow the standard curriculum. Here, participant 6 shows that it is possible for formal education to adapt
their programs, even on a big scale. Adaptability is one of the areas where formal education is lacking, but participant 6’s plan for the language barrier is a good step in the right direction. However, participant 13 is positive of MEHE’s approach, though problematises the lack of unifications of teachers. This lack of unification is again an issue that shows a gap between policy and practice.

**Struggle 3: imbalance capabilities and level**

Thirdly, six of the participants, all active in the non-formal sector, mentioned that children are in the wrong level, and have issues with reading and writing (2:10, 10:7, 12:16, 13:7, 14:11, 15:23). Participant 15 commented: “even though they are enrolled in school they still need it, they need support either in education wise or they're like in 4th grade, they don't know how to read or they cannot write properly, they're really confused about a lot of things. so they need a lot of reinforcement” (15:2). The question is, how does one pass to the next level, without having the abilities? Participant 12: “I mean since the system is in English or in French, if you don’t know how to read and write properly, you are stuck in grade one. Or you pass, I don’t really know how, but I have seen many kids in grade four, five, that don’t really know how to read and write” (12:7).

Still regarding data of non-formal specialists, participants themselves gave several possible explanations for this occurrence. Participant 15 mentioned transport: “so levels are not reflecting their actual abilities. absolutely not. absolutely not. I think it's more based on the last name and transportation. so these kids they come together, carried by Caritas--thank you Caritas. but still it's not the level. you cannot base it on transportation” (15:23). So transport influenced the level of the children in the way that it is convenient for schools to have children of the same family in the same schools and levels. Three participants mentioned how, in first grade, they expect you to be able to read and write (2:6, 13:4). Participant 2 said:

“one of the reasons why you have a kid in fifth grade that doesn’t know how to read or write is because they don’t go to a kindergarten that is good. So you can also go to a public kindergarten, but they won’t teach the kid how to read or write. So at some point in Lebanon you are expected to know how to read and write when you are in first grade. So when you don’t go to a kindergarten, or to a private kindergarten, then you arrive to the first grade with less level than the rest of the kids. So they grow and you are still stuck in kindergarten” (2:11).

Participant 12, as well as two other participants, mentioned another possible factor that could have caused this imbalance of capability and level:

“I hear that sometimes the teachers they help in the exams. Because, there is not another answer. How can you find a kid in grade four, like grade one, two and three, they have to learn a lot, like it’s everything in English, math, science, the English itself, is in English. But I don’t get the point where they pass the exams. It doesn’t make any sense. But I think it’s also, imagine a thousand kids in grade one, then the next year if they don’t pass they are going to have two thousand in
grade one, so they just pass pass pass, and when they arrive to grade six, seven, they cannot pass anymore and they drop out” (12:11).

So according to participant 12, teachers have an incentive to let children pass. If their pupil’s do not pass, they have to repeat the year, and their classes will be more crowded. Participant 13 has a slightly less critical outlook on the situation: “So you’ve seen how chaotic Lebanon is, so at some point I think that it could be a good point of view that teachers try to help them and maybe next year they understand, or the second part of, okay they’ve done this year twice, I don’t want to have this kid in my class anymore, they’re annoying. I just let them pass” (13:9). According to participant 3: “they’re not actually testing their knowledge because everyone cheats. And the teachers, the instructors, people that are checking, they give them the answers” (3:25). Participant 13 puts more focus on the pupils themselves: “So I think it’s first that kids are really good at cheating and then pretending they know” (13:8). The latter brings us to another topic that has been mentioned by participant 3, 12, and 15 (3:26, 12:34, 15:18), that is memorisation. “Which is not the point at all. Also, most of the exams in Lebanon are based off of memorisation. Which is completely incorrect, it is not a way to test knowledge at all because like, the second after you finish the exam, it’s gone. The knowledge is gone” (3:26). As participant 3 explained, the focus on memorisation may also contribute to the imbalance of capabilities and level in public schools.

All participants that commented on this struggle, which involves an imbalance of capabilities and level in public schools, are active in the non-formal sector. I believe that this struggle is one where non-formal projects can mean the most to their pupils. If pupils cannot keep up with the classes in formal institutions, it could be a reason to turn to the non-formal sector. The reasons that the participants outlined for this imbalance of capabilities and levels, relate to Acceptability and Adaptability. The most prominent operationalisation of Acceptability, related to this struggle, is standards of supervision.

Whether or not the teacher’s manner of supervision, such as aiding in exams and translating, is wishful, what we can focus on for now is that there is a lack of unification. This lack of unification can derail a pupil’s performance when assistance is high in one grade and low in the other. The reference to extra assistance of teachers does show some Adaptability of teachers that formal education usually lacks.

**Struggle 4: outdated curriculum**

Fourth, the participants have outlined curriculum-related issues as a factor that clouds the possibility of succeeding in public schools. Participant 1, founder of a non-formal education, argued that the curriculum is tough (1:21), and participant 4, director of the ALP, argued that the books are “simple and suitable” (4:6). Participant 2 and 14 of the non-formal sector, would not agree, as they stressed how the children do not relate to the books, and they involve implicit sexism (2:6, 14:15). Participant 12:

“The national curriculum doesn’t change since 1991 or 1992 or something like this. So in math for example you have coins, for example, to give examples of uh, numbers and stuff. They use coins that don’t exist anymore. There is money that don’t, doesn’t exist anymore. And then I don’t think the national curriculum is, is a good curriculum to follow to have a good level in
Participant 1 argued that a reason for the books to be inadequate is that the translation from French to English was not well executed, and “during the translation it lost a lot of its personality” (1:28).

Participant 6 mentioned a plan for revision: “There is a plan for the curriculum to be changed and increase the education quality” (6:14). The World Bank provided 28 million dollars of funding for the revised curriculum (World Bank, 2016). The World Bank states:

> “MEHE and CERD are committed to revise the curriculum under RACE 2 so that it is competency-based, learner-centered, and relevant for the 21st century needs of the workforce. In addition to the formal curriculum, MEHE and CERD will develop and roll out additional non-formal education programs that could work as pathways to formal education, particularly for children who have been out-of-school for a period of time” (World Bank, 2016, p. 28).

Reports of MEHE reflect the World Bank’s view on the revised curriculum (MEHE, 2016). MEHE and partners planned to complete the curriculum’s revision by the end of RACE II, that is in 2021.

The current Lebanese curriculum scores very low at Acceptability and Adaptability at the moment. These low scores can mainly be attributed to the curriculum’s outdatedness in societal standards and pedagogical techniques. I have high hopes that the revised curriculum will score much higher in these sections. Accessibility may be trickier; the books are of low cost at the moment and it is necessary for the new books to be likewise. However, revising and printing new books is costly so the possibility exists that Accessibility is at stake.

**Struggle 5: discrimination**

Fifth, according to six participants that are again all active in the non-formal sector, children and their parents have to face discrimination when going to public schools (3:8, 11:3, 12:22, 13:13, 14:5, 15:3).

Participant 12 and 13 mention discrimination in daily life:

> “Just having a shift only for Syrians is a big point. And even though they are small kids, they know that they are not with Lebanese kids. So since they are really young, they are seeing a huge difference between Syrians and Lebanese. They are not just kids, they are in their daily lives, they are seeing a lot of differences. For Lebanese and for Syrians. And they hear many comments, I’ve heard many comments, also in the streets” (12:22).

Inside the public schools, the situation is not different according to the earlier mentioned participants, as regards both principals and teachers. Participant 15: “actually these kids who are going to the first shift I don’t support it. they're being discriminated against, they have absolutely no friends, they get really beaten up a lot, a lot” (15:3). The vast majority of the non-Lebanese go to the afternoon shift; however, the
morning shift does include some non-Lebanese. The displaced non-Lebanese that enrolled in first shifts enrolled when the second shift was non-existent. Public schools allowed for some of these non-Lebanese pupil's to stay in first shifts, even after the instalment of the second shift. Moreover, according to participant 3, the situation for parents is not any better. Participant 3 described how she was perceived as Syrian “So she thought I was a Syrian mom when she was yelling at me. I don’t know why, but she is yelling at me extremely disrespectfully and as soon as she found out I’m Lebanese she was really nice, very kind, “Oh thank you so much for your service” (3:11). Another experience of participant 3:

“the next day I saw her yelling at a Syrian mom because she got her kids to school early because she had work. She brought her kids outside school early and she was literally yelling at her like “It’s none of my business if your children get killed on the streets” something like that. So they’re very racist and I think that’s where the education problem happens” (3:12).

Participants 4 and 6 of the formal sector would disagree on this issue. Participant 4 said: “The Syrian children are not treated differently here. They are always welcome, as well as their parents. We do treat them sensitively because we know they have gone through a lot. We respect all people in this school” (4:11). Furthermore, participant 6 stated the more general regulation around discrimination:

“Regarding social cohesion and racism, we aim not to generalise. There are 60,000 non-Lebanese in the morning shifts. We aim for no racism and to teach respect and accept each other. After racism occurs, we start an investigation. We are just doing our duty. Racism is there anyways. We try to do as much as we can and to teach respect. You cannot cancel all of it out. We try to raise awareness as much as we can” (6:16).

Therefore, views of the formal sector’s participants vastly differ with those of the non-formal sector’s participants. Discrimination is a serious issue, and I think that participant 6’s approach was a bit too soft. The fact that there are non-Lebanese in the first shift, does not automatically mean that discrimination is absent. My worries of discrimination were not fully eased by the formal sector participant’s words and it felt like a sensitive topic to discuss. In order for Acceptability to be improved, the formal sector needs to assess the level of discrimination on the ground to identify the level of its presence. Moreover, the investigation that participant six mentioned, could work as a good deterring mechanism when installed properly and possibly enhance Acceptability.

Another note on Acceptability, and specifically its respect for diversity, is the relatively high separation of nationalities in the two shifts. The second shift includes predominantly children of the same nationality, i.e. Syrian. They are, besides the few displaced non-Lebanese in the first shift, not mixed with Lebanese. There is no separation based on gender, which is for some parents a reason to keep girls at home. Some of these parents are used to separation on gender, which is pervasive in Syria. This thesis' data showed no reflection of non-gender separation as a barrier; however, the literature mentions it.

Furthermore, the second shifts in Lebanese schools are relatively homogenous, as besides a common nationality the children often also belong to the same socio-economic group. Moreover, a participant
remarked the denial of access for children with special needs, which could result in a homogenous class with respect to capabilities. No special measures are taken to diversify the classes.

Struggle 6: capabilities teachers
Participants 3, 7, 8, 12, and 13, of which 7 and 8 are students of non-formal education and the rest founders of non-formal projects, made comments on the quality of the teachings and the lack of emotional engagement of the teachers (3:10, 7:2, 8:3, 12:14, 13:16). Participant 3 said: “there is no emotional intelligence in the teachers. The teachers are seen as this, like, there is a barrier between the students and the teachers” (3:22).

For the children that have special needs, to go to school is even more of a challenge according to participant 1, 3 and 15, all active in the non-formal sector (1:25, 3, 15:15). Participant 1 stated: “the ones that are slower, or weaker or the ones that need special needs etcetera, our program doesn’t cater for this” (1:25). Participant 3 mentioned how there are no schools for deaf people in Lebanon, and lip-reading pupils often look at the backs of their teachers so they cannot follow the lesson (3:2). The target group of this thesis, that is displaced non-Lebanese, often need emotional support, according to participant 4 (formal school director) and 15 (founder non-formal project) (4:8, 15:2). Participant 4:

“Some problems we have with this group is that the students have psychosocial problems, and lack discipline. They hit to kill, and they know where to hit. This stems from social stress, they have been through war, and what they have seen. They need psychosocial support” (4:8).

Participant 3 and 12 (12:38) mention how both formal and non-formal schools have difficulty to account for these needs: “If you look at one of the best universities in Lebanon the program for learning disabilities and giftedness is weak, essentially. The teachers are weak; no one is specialised in this field here” (3:4). All of these factors combined could influence the drop out, according to participant 12:

“The families believe the grades, the paper. So they say openly in front of the kids also, that the kids are stupid, they are not made to study. And it’s not because they are not able to study, it’s because they were involved in a system that doesn’t teach them properly. So uhm, at some point the families, they give up because they don’t know how the system works, they think that if a kid is in the school, they should, he should pass or she should pass the exam and continue. But they don't pass it because of the system and they think that they are stupid, the families think that they are stupid and they drop out and challas [done] they start working or doing something else” (12:17).

Participant 12 made a comment alike earlier in section 5.1.3. Here they focus on the role of public schools and mainly its teachers to the issue. The grades of students and its implications are also tied to the struggle of imbalance of capabilities and level. However, it is possible for pupils to receive a bad grade because they did not pay attention or study well, instead of blaming all bad grades on teachers. Still, teachers have great influence on pupil’s grades as they may also be able to motivate them to pay attention or study more.
It is fair to say that teachers in Lebanese public schools face enormous challenges. The curriculum they have to teach includes little teaching instructions, and especially without proper teacher training it can be challenging to teach the curriculum's contents. Teachers face overcrowded classrooms, with children of extremely diverse backgrounds, and are not trained to deal with special needs. Above all, their students are expected to pass to the next year or pass national exams. Altogether, the responsibilities of teachers are high, and they should be provided with the right means to perform adequately.

After discussing the struggles in formal education, as identified by the participants, it is necessary to dive deeper into the possible causes of these struggles to better contextualise issues and formulate suitable recommendations.

5.2.2 EXPLANATIONS FOR STRUGGLES

Several factors are likely to relate to or explain the above-mentioned struggles according to the respondents. In this section I outlined funding, salaries, working hours, and regulations as possible explanations for struggles displaced non-Lebanese may face in public schools. After each explanation, I briefly reflect on the As that link to the explanation.

**Explanation 1: Funding and salaries**

Firstly, there is the factor of funding which relates to the struggles mentioned in the previous section. Participant 6 (MEHE) gave a useful insight into how the RACE program allocates its funding:

“The money goes through an agency but comes from donors. We cannot commit to the cause without paying. Though, agendas differ, and the time funding is insecure. The funding realm is really tense, and priorities differ. As Lebanon is a pioneer, the priorities of MEHE and the donors/agencies differ. The aid is not conditioned, though the focus lies mostly on enrolment and less on retention” (6:18).

Also participant 4, director of a formal program, mentions that the funding is lacking for formal programs (4:4). This data shows how besides non-formal projects, also highly institutionalised education programs struggle with funding, though on a different scale. Another issue related to funding concerns the salaries of teachers. Participants 1, 3, and 5 of the non-formal sector stated that they are underpaid (1:19, 3:19, 5:4). Participant 5 also draws upon the long working hours:

“The problem here they push the Lebanese teachers to complete the first shift for the Lebanese kids, and keep him for the second shift for the Syrians, so they will lose their power. And they give him the half price of the morning. And if you work overtime you should have a double price. So of course the Lebanese teacher they will not work” (5:4).

MEHE and, subsequently, RACE have received a considerable amount of funding from international organisations and bilateral donors. This funding covered most, but far from all costs. In general, the funding of RACE was not conditional, but agendas of MEHE and donors differ and priorities of donors were pervasive. Even though the aid is untied officially, according to the data, donors insisted that the
program’s focus lies on enrolment rather than retention. As RACE is a pioneer program, the process involves learning while doing. Therefore, these ‘unofficial ties’ can eventually hinder progress. Moreover, the funding for RACE is insecure. These issues do not provide a solid base for the public education system to build on.

For funding and salaries, Availability clearly links. In general, the formal sector scores high on Availability due to the introduction of the second shift but there are also parts of Availability where public schools score less well. However, this section shows how funding even though available, may come with ties. Furthermore, this section shows how even though teacher forces are available (to some extent), their full energy is not. The following section focuses more on the latter.

**Explanation 2: Working hours and training of teachers**

Participant 1, founder of a non-formal project, also mentions that teachers work the second shift for less and that the working hours are long (1:1). However, participant 6, who is a MEHE official, outlined that there is a choice: “The teachers of the morning shift have been asked to also teach in the afternoon but it is up to them if they do it” (6:7). Therefore, the long working hours are a choice that is often taken, according to the data. Moreover, in the previous section, we already spoke of the lack of specialisation and training for teaching children with special needs. Additionally, participants 1, 3, and 4, of both the formal and non-formal sector, mention the lack of teacher training in general (1:17, 3:6, 4:7). Participant 3 elaborated on this:

“Our public school teachers, they are under so much stress and everything like that, and you know. Like as teachers you need to constantly adapt to the changing concepts around the world. They used to think that students need to learn in a very strict way and now it’s like they can work in a more lenient way but you have to be strict at some point like a lot of new ideas and theories are coming up but public school teachers, their schools are not working on the teachers and that is a main thing that schools need to be doing. They need to be working on the teachers, they need to be working on sending them to conferences, sending them to workshops, giving them like, having them update their credentials” (3:6).

Participant 4, of the formal sector, mentioned how they get help from undergraduates in public schools (4:3). However, participant 6 and 9, also with a formal background, do mention the occurrence of training, but these are mainly for teachers of ALP and NGOs that affiliate with MEHE (6:6, 9:4).

Participant 1 now works in the non-formal sector, but had been a teacher in private institutions for years. They stressed the need for training as the teaching materials have limited instructions:

“I had to uh, I had to sweat, and rewrite my, uh, the whole curriculum on my own, in order to make the students understand. You know, by exploiting the documents given to me. And talk about them, because there was so much, so little information that I have to put, to place all the information that I want the student to get from this document. It was very difficult for the teachers, mainly the public school teachers because they were not trained enough” (1:30).
There have been several remarks on the inadequacy of teachers in general. Particularly teachers that know how to deal with special needs are rare in the Lebanese education system. Possibly related to this issue, the number of teachers trained annually is low, and teachers often have very long working days. According to participants, public schools or regulated non-formal programs also employ undergraduates. Moreover, teachers receive less salary for teaching the second shift than for the first, and the hours they work in the second shift is overtime. Teachers are central to the quality of education and providing for special needs requires appropriate training, salaries and working hours, which is not the case at the moment.

So even though the long working hours are a choice, it is common for teachers to work long days. These days are extra tough as the curriculum gives teachers little guidance. Not only is this exhausting for teachers, it can also result in a deterioration of quality and unification of the teachings. These points again tie in with Availability in terms of teacher’s labour rights and professional responsibilities.

**Explanation 3: Regulations**

With regard to regulation, participant 4, director of a formal program, made a serious comment, saying: “I have no one to report to if I suspect or have been told about abuse, rape, or situations alike. There is no training, policy, or law for abuse or rape, and I cannot go to the home of the students” (4:9). Other factors that could influence the obstacles in public schools is the regulation surrounding becoming a partner of MEHE as a non-formal organisation. Participants 5, 9, 10, and 12 mentioned how the standards of MEHE were high and hard to reach (5:2, 10:8, 9:9, 12:31). Participant 10:

“Okay, even if you have an NGO, and even if you want to have an official school. To register it in the education, ministry. It's not allow you to… it’s not easy. You need a lot of papers, a lot of stuff from Lebanese, teachers, you should have a building, it's like the rules in Europe. It has to be designed as a school. So even for the non-formal school in the camp, it’s not available to use it as a school. Or to have official registration as a school. It’s very complicated. There is many NGOs here they have a fund, they have a good building, and they can pay salaries, for a good Lebanese, but at the end they cannot have a register. For the school” (10:8).

However, without this registration, participant 9, the MEHE official, said: “NGOs can be registered in Lebanon. Though without the [registration] MEHE doesn’t accept or approve them, nor share materials” (9:9). And the latter point makes it difficult for non-registered NGOs to contribute to the support system of displaced non-Lebanese. Especially participant 10 and 15 of the non-formal sector are bothered that MEHE does not share their materials with non-registered NGOs (10:6, 15:36). Participant 10 stressed the situation of non-formal schools in refugee camps, which are not eligible for registration with MEHE:

“[the Lebanese curriculum] is not available. And there are like control and follow this non-formal schools to stop me to use the Lebanese curriculum” (10:6) Here we find some tension between formal and non-formal education, which should be cooperation as both have the same goal: providing education.
Another issue that I found outstanding when looking at the relationship between formal and non-formal education, regards follow-up. Follow-up, in this context, involves taking further action when a pupil is absent or cannot keep up with the classes. This follow-up can involve calling or visiting families, or giving a short extra conversation after class. The participants of both formal and non-formal education anonymously agreed on the importance of follow-up and retention (6:10, 13:4, 15:2). Participant 9 (MEHE) explains what retention support is: “retention support is also very important and consists of academic support, recreational activities in summer, and homework support” (9:3). Even though there is agreement on the ends, that is retention and follow-up is lacking and essential, both parties believe it is the other’s responsibility. Participant 6 (MEHE) said: “NGOs are the one to follow up after drop out” (6:19) and participant 9 stated, “NGOs not following up on children that have completed their non-formal project. This causes dropout after CBE. The follow-up is the NGOs responsibility” (9:12). On the contrary, participant 12 of the non-formal sector said: “I think [follow up] should be part of the system but they don’t do it. They just give the classes and then the kid is alone” (12:28). What the exact regulations on follow-up are, is unclear.

This section on regulations shows how the presence of regulation that is meant to unify, such as linking non-formal projects to MEHE, can have negative implications. Contrarily, the absence of regulation, such as follow-up, creates even bigger problems. Regulations tie in best with Acceptability and its minimum standards.

One regulation related issue I want to comment upon is that the public education system requires immediate improvement when dealing with reports of rape and abuse. Children spent a relatively big amount of their day at school, and school staff can play a critical role in signalling misconduct. It is necessary for the education system to be able to process these signalments properly in order for adequate action to be taken by other instances. Other regulations that are in place involve how a non-formal organisation can affiliate itself with the government. By expressing interest and meeting specific standards, these non-formal organisations can do a test. If they pass, the organisation receives training and the curriculum. Most importantly, after passing the exam, the non-formal organisation is registered with MEHE. This affiliation works towards the unification of education in Lebanon and increases the likelihood of receiving funding from donors. However, I encountered several instances in the data, where participants argued the standards of MEHE impossible to reach.

On the one hand, it is fair for MEHE to set certain standards on non-formal organisations to ensure unification. However, if a non-formal organisation does not meet MEHE’s standards, this organisation is regarded as illegal. This legal/illegal classification excludes many good non-formal organisations even though they may be providing valuable education. Take, for example, a refugee camp, where children face denial at all surrounding public schools due to capacity constraints. The camp’s inhabitants have the initiative to start a school inside the camp despite a lack of resources. The education provided in the camp does not meet MEHE’s standards, but for all attending there is no alternative. The result of MEHE’s regulation on affiliating the non-formal sector must take into account more strongly the
Overall, MEHE has created impressive regulations to provide education for displaced non-Lebanese. Take the RACE framework with all its non-formal programs that provide pathways for every child’s educational background. However, like this section shows, education and practice are still too distant which makes the education in public schools for displaced non-Lebanese less acceptable. The struggles mentioned in previous sections as well as their possible explanations may serve as a push factor towards non-formal education. In the following section I outline families’ and pupils’ reasons to enrol in a non-formal project instead.

5.2.3 THE DEMAND FOR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

According to the data, what explains the demand for non-formal education best is the limitations of public schools that serve as push factors. Participant 3, 12, and 13, of the non-formal sector, agreed that non-formal organisations try to fill the gaps that public schools leave. As participant 3, a teaching student, said: “There is an NGO that takes care of child abuse and women abuse, and all of these things. And this is all the job of the government” (3:14). Participant 12, founder of a non-formal project, stated: “Yeah but what we do, these points that we think are not working properly in the system, in our capacities, we try to fix it” (12:19). Finally, participant 13, also a founder of a non-formal project, said: “if they have support at home, or they have a good NGO that is also hard to find, then they get to have good grades and pass the exam. If they don’t like most families, but not only Syrian families, also Lebanese families, they just, they won’t learn anything” (13:4).

The data gathered from participant 3, founder of 26 Letters, forms the basis of the contents of the following two paragraphs. Of non-formal education, I researched the education project 26 Letters in most depth. The project showed several features that include not saying no to any pupil; however, there is a waiting list of 750 children. The founders of 26 Letters have created their curriculum, which they print for every pupil. They adapted the file to the pupils’ needs and interests and accounted for ethics and women empowerment. The tutoring sessions at the non-formal education project are small; one educator educates between one and three pupils per session. The groups are divided by level and pace. Besides the regular shifts, 26 Letters organises workshops that are relevant to the pupil’s interests and situations that occur inside the school. Some workshops involve how to build positive relationships as well as discrimination and occurrences in history. For example, in February, the students replayed what happened to Rosa Parks on the bus. The founders discourage hierarchy, in the sense that conversations on behaviour are more desired than punishments.

The founders have close relations to the parents of their pupils; if the founders have suspicions of undesired situations at home, they will get in contact with families or visit them. If needed, the founders seek psychosocial support for pupils. Psychosocial support has come in forms of workshops or visits to the psychiatrist; the latter is with support of the UN. The founders organise flexible shifts for
working children and adapt the classes to the goals of the pupils that are either entrance to public schools or gaining a certain level in English. All of the lesson plans are taking into account pupils’ future careers to the extent that visions of the future are present. For example, if pupils aim to attend university or pass national exams, or gain a certain level in English. The rules of the project are made by the students and for the students and educators. The founders stress how being Syrian is just another nationality in the room, and the aim is to celebrate diversity.

26 Letters is only one of the many non-formal education projects. It is assessed to show alternative ways of teaching next to formal education. The following paragraphs outline 26 Letters relation to the 4As

Concerning Availability, 26 Letters faces many constraints. The funding is insecure and lacking, partly due to the lack of ability to register. Teachers are volunteers that often stay for short periods of time, and lack stability. Also, educators are not accredited or trained. However, educators receive one training session at the beginning of their teaching and daily feedback conversations take place. They are responsible for teaching one up to three children per shift and have considerable freedom to design the class.

26 Letters does not say no to any student; however, they need to manage a waiting list to avoid over-crowdedness. The waiting list is extremely long but is needed to secure the quality of the teaching in the classes. Attending 26 Letters is free of charge. With regard to assured attendance, the education project follows up when a child is absent. The managers of the project contact the parents or siblings, and with lengthy absences they will visit the families and have a conversation to ensure a child’s attendance in the classes. Parents are free to choose to send or not send their children to the schooling project, but once they are involved, they will encounter follow-up and stimulating conversations in favour of sending their children to the classes. There are no discriminatory denials of access but as mentioned before, the waiting list is extremely long. There are no criteria for admission of a pupil.

The facilities of 26 Letters are limited, likewise is funding. The necessary facilities are in place, and the pupils cheerfully decorate the learning spaces. The shifts are two hours each, which is not very long, but because of the individualised classes, the sessions are productive. In regard to diversity, nationality or capabilities do not play a role at entry. However, most of the children are of the same nationality, which attributes to a similar situation the children are in, and the needs they share. The language of instruction is either English or Modern Standard Arabic. In English classes, no Arabic is allowed. One of the main aims of 26 Letters is for pupils to learn English, enabling them to better follow the classes in public schools, later on.

Because of the individualised classes, the Adaptability of 26 Letters is high. Classes adapt to the way of learning of the pupils, whether they prefer physical exercise, are visual learners, or have a slow pace. I have not observed children with physical disabilities at 26 Letters, so in this section, I aim at children with special needs in the mental health realm. The project has flexible hours of class for working children. Also, founders take children that live with traumas to psychiatrists.
This section clearly describes an instance of a non-formal project that is high in its Adaptability. Unfortunately, one can also tell a lack of Availability from it as the founders had to create a waiting list. The project does not have the materials, teachers and capacity in general to account for all children and their families that are interested. The lack of capacity, or funds in general is only one of the non-formal sector’s benefits. The following section outlines other deficits that the non-formal sector encounters.

### 5.2.4 DEFICITS NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Among the deficits of non-formal education are unstable funding, unstable volunteers, not being able to register, and subsequently, the lack of accreditation. As participant 12, of the non-formal sector, said: “we cannot prove anything. We teach them, but then they have to do well in the public schools in the ones that they are. If it is not for nothing, I mean, it is for them to know, but they will never have a certificate or something like this” (12:25). We have already discussed the importance of certificates, which is considerable. Participant 15, also of the non-formal sector, on the role of non-formal education: “I think [the government] is doing a great job in containing, but they should rely on projects like 26 Letters to raise the quality” (15:35).

Limitations also arise in the broader non-formal education realm according to the data. First and foremost, participant 1 (non-formal) stated, “Now some NGOs are trying, but NGOs cannot replace a government. They cannot replace, you know, the capacity of an NGO cannot be nation-wide, with whatever it can grow, it cannot replace the government” (1:11). Participant 15 stressed the high dependence on volunteers (15:39). Participants 12 and 13 also doubt the quality of NGOs. Participant 13, founder of a non-formal project, said, “even if you go to an NGO, NGOs don’t really have a good education, so even if you go to an NGO you may have problems in the school” (13:5). Participant 12 stated, “I do believe in the project that I am in, but I’ve seen other projects that the kids, they stay for a short period and then they stop going and they don’t learn anymore, but they are numbers in this project. Like they count: ‘this many kids pass by our center’. But how many of them did something after, related to education?” (12:27). Finally, participant 14, active in non-formal education, mentioned the possible confusion of public schools and non-formal schools:

“NGOs do not help in this. They actually exacerbate the problem. You know, because there are also a lot of families that they’re not informed at all. So when they send their kids to NGOs they actually believe that they’re going to school. Like nobody tells them, we tell them from the very beginning, this is like a marcas, this is like a centre for education. We don’t provide them with a certificate whatsoever. If you need information, we will tell you about everything. But they don’t, they don’t communicate with the families. So parents relax, they’re like okay, my kids are going to get education. But they don’t really know that they are not” (14:10).

Even though we discussed the non-formal sector’s high level of Adaptability, this section shows great concerns with regard to the 4As and thus the right to education. For Availability, mainly capacity, funding and accredited teachers lack. For Accessibility, tangled with Availability, not all students can be access
non-formal education due to over crowdedness. Finally, for Acceptability, non-formal institutions cannot give certified diplomas and may cloud parents view of educational institutions.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

For the following section, I analysed the data with regard to the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 2. Firstly, I tied broader links to the theoretical framework, including Dib’s centre of gravity, and the notions of formal and non-formal education (1988). Moreover, I will conclude whether in Lebanon defomalisation of formal- and reformalisation of non-formal education have taken place that Nelson (2016) outlined. Afterwards, I drew more general conclusions of Tomaševski’s 4A framework that follow the in-depth remarks that are spread around in chapter five. Furthermore, I answered the research questions by using the links made between theory and data. All statements made in the following sections are based on the gathered data, and are thus not meant to generalise. Finally, I give policy recommendations, and discuss the limitations of this research.

6.1 FORMAL VERSUS NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

In this research I looked at formal and non-formal education. As discussed in the theoretical framework, the concepts of formal and non-formal education are not mutually exclusive and can be better regarded on a spectrum. Dib’s idea that either form of education is able to, to some extent, adopt features of the other became visible in the data analysis. Likewise, Nelson’s notion of deformalisation and reformalisation.

RACE implemented several programmes, among which ALP, BLN, and ECE. According to MEHE, these programs are non-formal because they deviate from the formal curriculum. However, they do provide certification that is accredited by the government, but this certification is mainly useful to register at public schools rather than apply for a job. Furthermore, these programs often take place in buildings that belong to public schools. This research refers to RACE’s programs as “regulated non-formal”, and categorises these programs towards formal on the spectrum. For non-formal organisations, I encountered the establishment of ties with the government, shifting other non-formal organisations towards the formal spectrum as well. Thus, the data shows that formal organisations can move towards non-formal on the spectrum, and the other way around.

In the theoretical framework, I outlined how and why I expected Dib’s centre of gravity to not correspond with the formal education sector. I expected the formal sector to also have a focus on its ability to meet social needs in order to sustain. The formal sector’s role as credential agencies is legitimate only when students are able to pass exams. If formal schools do not meet social needs, the students will struggle to pass, which in turn has a negative effect on drop-out and rates of failure. The RACE program did commit to meet real social needs when designing the regulated non-formal framework. For every student, from any background, there is a pathway in RACE that fits. These pathways, however, are not visible in the local reality. The framework exists, but the implementation is lacking. ALP is the only RACE program that my participants encountered in their daily lives. ECE, BLN, and the pathways for children above twelve are at this point merely theoretical.
Formal sector
Altogether, the efforts made by MEHE to improve the public education system in Lebanon are clear and impressive. Especially for Availability, with the second school shift, and Accessibility, by waiving school fees and subsidising tuition, MEHE and partners made significant steps. Unfortunately, more effort is needed to ensure the right to education in full for displaced non-Lebanese. The registration process can be obstructive, or the belief that work has priority over education remains. Moreover, the data mentions quality constraints concerning curriculum and the language of instruction. Adaptability is the area where MEHE and its RACE program have the most room for improvement.

Non-formal sector
Non-formal education shows many barriers at the Availability level. Accessibility is closely related to Availability in the sense that accepting students can only be done within the limits of resources. Concerning Acceptability, non-formal education mainly shows limitations with regard to the accreditation of diplomas. For Adaptability, non-formal education scores high, due to their close link (in the case of 26 Letters) with the local reality.

6.3 ANSWER TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS
In this section I first address the sub-research questions, after which I address the central research question. The answers are brief, as they are merely a short summarisation of the previous section. The answers given are based on the data gathered and analysed for this research and are not suited for generalisation to the entire education system in Lebanon.

Sub-research questions:

What are the reasons for displaced non-Lebanese to enrol or not in a public school?
Displaced non-Lebanese children enrolled in formal education to learn necessary skills and obtain an accredited diploma. They may not enrol due to barriers of access or prioritising work or cultural values over education.

If so, what is their main reason for enrolling in a non-formal education project instead or simultaneously?
Displaced non-Lebanese seek the support of non-formal education when they are not able to keep up with the formal program or are not able to enter at all. Moreover, the pupils may seek non-formal education programs for social reasons: to make friends and overcome social exclusion.
With respect to Tomaševski’s 4A framework, what are the qualities of both formal and non-formal education, and what are their deficiencies?

Again, this question aims not to compare formal and non-formal side to side but instead, I employ the question as a way to broaden the scope of possibilities of education. Formal education has made significant improvements in the last seven years by expanding Availability and Accessibility. Unfortunately, Acceptability is the victim of these improvements. Adaptability is the area that could use the most improvement.

Non-formal education varies immensely among its many projects. For the main project at analysis, the scores were highest on Adaptability. Acceptability and Accessibility have room for improvement, and Availability was most troubling.

After establishing the answers to the sub-questions, we can answer the central research question: How can the high demand for non-formal education projects like 26 Letters be explained and, what lessons can be learned to improve the formal education, notably in ensuring the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese children in Lebanon?

MEHE has faced incredible challenges during the influx of displaced non-Lebanese the past seven years. Building on a public education system that was already weak, MEHE had to provide for a sudden immense number of school-aged displaced non-Lebanese. MEHE received much support from the international community, but with funding came nudges in specific directions. Even though the aid was not conditional, donors put certain agendas on the table that MEHE had to take into account. Besides the different agendas, MEHE and its RACE program had no example to follow, calling themselves pioneers. RACE’s first focus was on expanding capacity and increasing access and thus enrolment. This focus worked considerably well: MEHE enrolled almost half of the school-aged non-Lebanese.

However, this thesis deals with the right to education, and as the RACE program is called, Reaching All Children with Education, half is not enough. Moreover, the focus on access was at the expense of quality. For the second phase of RACE, MEHE targeted important sectors such as the children under six and above fifteen years of age. Unfortunately, the data does not reflect any outcomes of these efforts just yet. However, I am hopeful as the second phase of RACE is ongoing.

Despite MEHE’s efforts, many displaced non-Lebanese are not enrolled in school, or cannot keep up in class, and therefore seek non-formal education projects for support. This support can be educational or social. The high Adaptability of non-formal programs described previously, ties to their link to reality. Even though non-formal education projects may be indispensable to the Lebanese education system, non-formal education projects face many deficits. MEHE tries to rule out these deficits by unifying the non-formal sector, but doing so MEHE’s policies might be excluding valuable providers of education.

The non-formal education sector cannot replace the government nor the formal education sector. Likewise, the formal sector, in these desperate times needs the support and Adaptability of non-
formal projects to work towards ensuring the right to education. I believe that the formal sector should open up more to the non-formal sector, and cooperate not only under very stringent conditions. I do not aim to disregard the importance and use of high standards, but it is important to contextualise these conditions and be aware that for some children education under these special circumstances may be the sole option. The formal sector should focus on controlling not only the current non-formal sector but also its formal public schools. The public schools are the basis of the education system for displaced non-Lebanese that are in lower economic realities. One could reason that if the formal system worked perfectly, there would be no need for non-formal projects. Therefore it is essential for MEHE to be aware of the local reality within and around its formal schools.

6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the start of Syria’s conflict, MEHE faced enormous challenges with regard to the provision of education for displaced non-Lebanese. Notwithstanding, as MEHE acknowledged itself already, weaknesses of the public education system were already existing before the massive influx of displaced non-Lebanese. MEHE received immensely needed support from the international community and bilateral donors, to ensure the right to education for all children in Lebanon. With the support of the innovative RACE program, MEHE and its partners enrolled almost half of the approximately 500,000 displaced non-Lebanese children. The most important measures taken were the waiving of school fees, subsidising tuition, distributing school materials without cost, and opening a second school shift.

MEHE has formulated an innovative program, RACE, which finds pathways for all the diverse situations that children find themselves in after displacement. The RACE program entails a combination of regulated non-formal and formal education to ensure the fundamental right to education. Despite immense efforts of MEHE and the international community, MEHE and partners have difficulty to ensure the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese in full. Almost half of this group is out of school for various reasons, and the ones that are enrolled face major quality barriers. The formal sector also lacks inclusiveness with regard to working children and special needs. Of the 4A framework, MEHE scored lowest on Adaptability, the A where non-formal education scored highest. MEHE scored highest on Availability, which is the one where non-formal education scored lowest. Both forms of education have their own qualities and are that different in a way that they are incomparable. What we must focus on is both education forms’ strengths, and in which ways we can facilitate their cooperation and complementarity to ensure the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese children.

To conclude, this research investigated the right to education for displaced non-Lebanese, and how a combination of formal and non-formal education ensures this. Even though there are many non-formal institutions present in Lebanon, formal education proved to be the main actor in ensuring the right to education. The capacity and ability to accredit are vital characters that make formal education attractive. The role that non-formal education plays in Lebanon is merely supportive.
6.5 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

**Availability**
I identified several recommendations that stem from the discussion on the data above. As regards Availability, MEHE could increase its capacity of teachers by allowing people with Syrian nationality to teach in public schools. The employment of non-Lebanese teachers would require a change in the law that most likely transcends MEHE’s authority. Another issue that this recommendation faces is the translation of non-Lebanese's credentials. In order to strengthen MEHE’s base of Lebanese teachers, teachers require better and appropriate training.

**Accessibility**
With regard to Accessibility, I would also propose to not limit the spread of the Lebanese curriculum in any way. Even without reaching minimum standards set by MEHE, education projects and their pupils may find positive effects of access to the Lebanese curriculum. By making the curriculum available online, for instance, this increased access would be without cost. Furthermore, increasing access to national exams would be beneficial for many children and adults. However, implementation of these recommendations may face rather troubled practicalities: if the access would be open and free to all, the government may receive many participants, of whom it needs to check all responses. This checking process can be costly, and it is possible that a large percentage fails, as their exam does not follow formal education on which the national exams are based.

**Acceptability**
Concerning Acceptability, the recommendation is to revise the curriculum as fast as possible. It is fair to say that revising the curriculum is more comfortable to recommend than to put it into practice, though we should consider it as the data showed its high priority. Another recommendation, requiring fewer resources, is to tone down the use of Arabic in English-taught classes. When translating becomes a habit, and teachers use Arabic unnecessarily in English-taught classes, it may obstruct a pupil’s acquirement of the English language. Moreover, to counter the possibility of pupils passing end-of-year exams that they do not possess enough knowledge for, I propose for teachers to conduct these exams for each other’s classes. In this manner, the switching of teachers during exams lowers the incentive for teachers to help students, as teachers personally do not gain by the passing of pupils. Instead, the only way to pass is for a pupil to have reached the right level of knowledge.

On another note, the staff of public schools have the freedom and local authority to possibly abuse their positions. Staff could, for example, take bribes or put their personal values over MEHE’s overall values. The checks that MEHE conducts on affiliated non-formal projects could also cover their formal public schools, to secure the public school’s quality. Moreover, a system to adequately deal with suspicion or the occurrence of abuse or rape needs instalment in public schools. The presence of confidential counsellors may also be a valuable asset for public schools in Lebanon. Pupils of the
afternoon shift are displaced which is likely to bring out difficulties in many areas such as the lacking sense of feeling at home, possible trauma, and social exclusion, therefore a confidential counsellor may be of especially good use.

**Adaptability**

Concerning Adaptability, MEHE needs to focus on educating teacher students in a way that they are aware of the basics of children with special needs. Moreover, public schools may use their local authority to inform the relevant teachers with basic instructions when the school accepted a child with special needs. For example, if a deaf child joins a class, a simple instruction to the teacher to not turn his/her back to this student when speaking, could already make a significant impact. The spectrum of special needs is broad and far from all individual needs can be accounted for in this way, but it could make a difference. Perhaps if every public school employed a ‘special-needs expert’, this person could inform the teachers with the right instructions and have support sessions with the child at hand.

Furthermore, the education of parents on the benefits of education may improve the situation of working children. Solving the problem of child labour is hugely complex, and the issue is widespread. I am aware that this recommendation does not solve the issue, but educating parents could contribute to improvement.

### 6.6 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Several limitations tie to this research. Firstly, the main limitation includes that the participants of the data mainly represent the non-formal education realm, as I experienced the non-formal sector as more accessible than the formal sector. The sample of this study does not reflect the general population, which must be taken into account when considering the results. Furthermore, I conducted this research within the bounds of Beirut and it, therefore, ties to a specific geographic scope. Hence, the results do not account for issues that may be present in rural areas. Furthermore, the data analysis bases itself on fifteen interviews and two days of observation inside public schools. Even though a sample size does not define the research, a larger sample size is definitely wishful.

Time constraints that I faced while gathering data influence all of these factors. In total, I spent around three months in Beirut. These months flew by, and I could have continued researching for a much longer time if it was at all possible.

Another main issue that I need to address is my personal bias. Due to my close involvement with 26 Letters, I very much respect their approach. It is obvious that this influenced my sample, as I made use of personal connections. In my data analysis, I aimed to provide a complete picture which reflects the data. My personal bias may have influenced this process, even though I am very much aware of the bias’s existence. I tried to be as transparent as possible about my research methods for readers to gain knowledge about the research process.
My recommendations for future research involve more interviews with experts of the formal sector. Especially teachers and headmasters, as they are close to the local reality. It would be useful to verify or refute the claims made in this research and explain the divergence as participants often seemed to have strong opinions that did not always match. Especially the issue of follow-up lacked consensus and requires further exploration. Also, an important topic that I stumbled upon in this research was the discrepancy between policy and practice. One could research the reasons behind this discrepancy, and explore both formal and non-formal organisations in this sense.

Furthermore, it was a great opportunity for me to have access to classes in public schools, and it would have been valuable to observe in many more classes. Another interesting issue that I did not look deeper into is the design of the curriculum and the teacher’s instructions. For this research, I solely engaged with participants ideas on the curriculum, but not the curriculum first-hand, except for a few hours of skimming books. Another recommendation, that is at the same time a limitation, is the fact that I am not an expert on education. It would be of enormous value to involve education experts that assess teacher’s techniques and the curriculum first-hand with greater expertise.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


## APPENDIX

### 1. OPERATIONALISATION OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Availability</strong></td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Funding for public schools</td>
<td>Amount of funding that school receives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where the funding comes from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ties attached to funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers</strong></td>
<td>Criteria for recruitment</td>
<td>Process of application</td>
<td>Demanded skills/ experience/ accreditation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Labour rights</td>
<td>Rights that teacher is entitled to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professional responsibilities</td>
<td>Daily responsibilities of teacher</td>
<td>Long-term responsibilities of teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Academic freedom</td>
<td>Freedom to design class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accessibility</strong></td>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td>All-encompassing</td>
<td>Process of accepting new pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free-of-charge</td>
<td>Amount or absence of tuition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assured attendance</td>
<td>Ways in which attendance is assured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parental freedom of choice</td>
<td>Parent’s influence on children attending school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-compulsory</strong></td>
<td>Discriminatory denials of access</td>
<td>If access denied, on what grounds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Criteria for admission</td>
<td>Criteria for admission pupil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acceptability</strong></td>
<td>Regulation and Supervision</td>
<td>Minimum standards</td>
<td>Regulation standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td>Supervision standards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respect of diversity</td>
<td>Attention to diversity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language of instruction</td>
<td>Language of instruction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Language of instruction that pupils are used to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School discipline</td>
<td>Manner of school discipline</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rights of learners</td>
<td>Rights of learners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Special needs/reason</td>
<td>Children with disabilities</td>
<td>Presence of children with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Out-of-school education</td>
<td>Working children</td>
<td>Amount of working children in classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Measures taken to meet working children’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Refugee children</td>
<td>Amount of refugee children in classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Measures taken to meet refugee children’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Children deprived of their liberty</td>
<td>Amount of children deprived of their liberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Measures taken to meet this group of children’s needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal/Non-formal education</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Curriculum</td>
<td>Which curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tests/grades</td>
<td>Frequency of tests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weight of grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hierarchy</td>
<td>Organisation structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Certification</td>
<td>Recognition of certification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Criteria met to obtain certification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td>Adaptation to level of pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adaptation to needs of pupils at the moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pupils</td>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>Reasons to go to school (disregarding formal or non-formal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Amount of school hours attended per week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## List of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Function, sex, age, location in Beirut</th>
<th>Recorded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>30-01-19</td>
<td>President NGO, female, around 40 years old, Hamra</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31-01-19</td>
<td>Founder NGO, female, around 25 years old, Mar Elias</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18-02-19</td>
<td>Volunteer/teaching student, female, around 25 years old, Mar Elias</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19-02-19</td>
<td>Director public school (ALP), female, around 35 years old, Chbaklo street</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>26-02-19</td>
<td>NGO employee, male, around 30 years old, Riwaq Mar Mikhael</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>03-03-19I</td>
<td>Field coordinator, MEHE, government official, female, around 30 years old, Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>03-03-19II</td>
<td>Student non-formal education project, male, 17 years old, Mar Elias</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>03-03-19III</td>
<td>Student non-formal education project, male, 17 years old, Mar Elias</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>04-03-19</td>
<td>Non-formal education specialist, MEHE, government official, female, around 30 years old, MEHE</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>09-03-19</td>
<td>Founder non-formal school camp Bekaa valley, male, around 40 years old, Geitawi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>14-03-19</td>
<td>Student formal and non-formal education, male, 17 years old, Hamra</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>16-03-19I</td>
<td>Founder non-formal education project, male, around 25 years old, Furn al-Shabbak</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>16-03-19II</td>
<td>Founder non-formal education project, female, around 25 years old, Furn al-Shabbak</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>16-03-19</td>
<td>Founder non-formal education project, female, around 25 years old, Furn al-Shabbak</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>13-03-19</td>
<td>Ex-founder non-formal education project, male, around 30 years old, Hamra</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two days of observation have taken place:

1. 18-03-2019
   ALP School: Ershed Public School – CERD 26 (Afternoon Timing 2:00pm-6pm)
2. 19-03-2019
   Second Shift School: Banet Second Public School – CERD 17 (Afternoon Timing 2:30pm-6:45pm)