The Working Conditions and Motivation of Teachers of Refugees

A Comparative Study of Host Country Teachers and Syrian Refugee Teachers in Lebanon

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Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education

Institute for Educational Research

University of Oslo

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Abstract

The outburst of the violent conflict in Syria since 2011 has produced an unprecedented crisis of refugees and internally displaced people, with an entire generation of Syrian children and youth living through war, many have lost access to their right of education. The quality of education depends predominantly on the quality of teachers; this is even more evident in conflict-affected education emergencies. The purpose of this study was to gain a greater insight into the role of teachers of refugees within Lebanon and to establish the working conditions of host country teachers (HCTs) and refugee teachers (RTs) within the system and the benefits of using both sets of teachers.

This study adopted qualitative empirical methods to investigate the working conditions and motivations faced by teachers working in Syrian refugee communities. Habermas provides the overarching structural theoretical framework for this study, particularly his system-lifeworld dichotomy. During the fieldwork in Lebanon, the methods used to gather the data included semi-structured interviews, focus groups and unstructured observation, participants comprised of MEHE, UN and NGO officials for the systems perspective and teachers for the lifeworld perspective.

Overall, the findings indicate that both HCTs and RTs are integral to the learning process for refugee students. HCTs have the right to work as both employees and volunteers, however, legally RTs can only be engaged as volunteers to support non-formal learning spaces and are not truly welcome in the system. Both teachers face immense challenges within the classroom, HCTs more often struggle with student’s accents, cultural differences, distrust from parents and no support from community; many of these issues could be resolved by the engagement of RTs and the Syrian community. In contrast, RTs distinctive challenges were primarily based around legal issues, labour laws, accreditation, security and an unambiguous future.

In regards to teacher motivation, both groups showed distinctive responses, HCTs responded as the main motivators were ‘love for the children’ and ‘monetary incentives’, while RTs collectively described the major motivation for teaching refugee students as ‘hope’, the belief that by educating these children they would one day rebuild Syria. The major benefit of using both RTs and HCTs within the system is that it promotes involvement and trust from within the community, which would conceivably resolve the issue of enrolments within the formal system. Additionally, a combination of HCTs and RTs could assist with language and cultural barriers and could create a safe and protective learning environment for students. Finally, engaging both groups of teachers could create a more skilled teaching force, who could continue to learn and grow together, so when these students and teachers do return home, they have the opportunity to rebuild Syria.
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Thank you, for looking out for our children.

Sasha Koomen

Melbourne, August 2017
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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

At virtually every point in the growth and development of any education system, there is a reminder that the quality of education depends principally on the quality of teachers. This is evident in conflict-affected education emergencies, as these systems are often underprivileged, with limited access to infrastructure and learning resources; in some cases, teachers may be the only source of education. In countries that host refugees, both host country teachers (HCT) and refugee teachers (RT) may be involved in the education of refugee students. However, very little research exists on teachers within refugee contexts; specifically the distinctive roles they play within the system, and the factors that motivate them to teach. This study investigates how HCTs and RTs have been engaged to teach Syrian refugee students in Lebanon, with a particular focus on the motivations and challenges both have experienced.

The outburst of the violent conflict in Syria since 2011 has produced an unprecedented crisis of refugees and internally displaced people, leaving millions in desperate need (3RP, 2016). The five major host countries, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt, which initially opened up their borders for support, however, the huge influx of refugees in these neighbouring resource-constrained countries resulted in enormous pressure on the public systems to accommodate and integrate refugees in all public services, especially education. Preceding the Syrian conflict, Syria boasted high education rates with 95% of children enrolled in primary education (Charles & Denman, 2013) and high literacy rates of 95% for 15-24 year olds (Education Cluster, 2015). As of August 2016, there were close to 48 per cent of Syrian school-aged children with no access to formal education in the host countries (3RP, 2016).

Since Lebanon is a direct neighbour of Syria and a relatively small country geographically in comparison with the other host countries, Lebanon has been inundated with refugees, who now represent more than 25 percent of Lebanon’s population (UN New Centre, 2015). Prior to the Lebanese civil war, Lebanon already grappled with depleted infrastructure and inadequate public services. Through decades of conflict and ongoing political turmoil, the pressure of over a million Syrian refugees seeking employment and public services has been
exceedingly difficult and destabilising to the Lebanese state (Theirworld, 2015). With the unparalleled surge in the number of refugee students trying to access education, the Lebanese public education system has not been able to cope, consequently over 250,000 Syrian refugee students currently do not have access to education in Lebanon (3RP, 2016). The capacity of the education system of any country would be justifiably challenged when dealing with a response of this magnitude, and although strong efforts from Lebanon’s Ministry of Education (MEHE) have caused changes within the system for refugees to gain access to formal schools, more needs to be done to reach all students.

The issue of teacher engagement remains a highly contested political and economic issue, with the question of whether or not RTs should be involved in the education of Syrian refugee students. The Lebanese Ministry of Labour restricts the ability of non-Lebanese residents to work in many areas. During the period of this research, Syrian refugees could only be legally employed in the fields of construction, agriculture and environment (Janmyr, 2016). Additionally, Syrians are generally paid only a third of that which Lebanese are paid. This remains a social issue also, since refugees are reportedly destabilising the labour market and taking the jobs of the poorer Lebanese (World bank, 2013). To introduce the Syrian teachers into the formal education system is problematic, as Lebanese unemployment rates in general remain high in the region. Lebanese law does not allow the government to employ foreign teachers (specifically refugees who are themselves teachers), however, Syrian teachers are intermittently hired in private education institutions. More commonly, RTs are used as ‘volunteers’ to support non-formal learning spaces, including community centres and informal tent settlements. Both HCTs and RTs play exceedingly important roles in education emergencies, this thesis aims to examine some of the factors affecting teacher motivation for both HCTs and RTs.

1.2 Statement of the problem

By the end of 2015, 6.7 million school-age refugee children were living in protracted conflict situations around the world. Of these, over half had no access to education (Drysden-Peterson, 2017). The failure to provide education for over 3.7 million refugee children globally remains a major international concern. Education is one of the most important instruments that enables refugees to positively shape the future, for both their host countries, and upon return to their home countries. The enormity of the current refugee crisis in the
Middle East is unprecedented and indicates the largest distribution of refugees and IDPs since the Second World War (European Commission, 2017). The protracted nature of the Syrian conflict has focused international attention upon the ‘lost generation’ of school-age Syrian refugee children, with greater emphasis upon access to education than quality of education. While it is widely understood that teachers are fundamental to the delivery of high-quality education, limited studies have examined the role of teachers in refugee contexts (Penson, Yonemura, Sesnan, Och & Chanda, 2011). A dearth of literature exists on teacher motivation in refugee contexts and the important role refugee teachers play in emergency contexts. There are limited (if any) comparative studies focusing on HCTs and RTs, which is acknowledged by Ring and West (2015), who recommend further research which specifically focuses upon the differences in motivating factors for refugee and national teachers (p. 117).

1.3 Purpose of the study

Within the education sector, teachers are critical to removing challenges of inequitable access and protecting education for all. The purpose of this study is to gain a greater insight into the role of teachers of refugees in emergency education, with a particular focus on the Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon. Initially, this thesis will explore how teachers are ‘engaged’ to teach Syrian refugees in Lebanon, in order to establish the teaching opportunities within formal and non-formal education for HCTs and RTs. Additionally, this study will compare the different challenges and motivations experienced by HCTs and RTs.

This thesis seeks to elucidate aspects of the humanitarian crisis that have not been systematically examined previously by recognising that both HCTs and RTs are essential human resources within refugee contexts. As DESO (2000) states ‘Teachers, themselves can be products of a poor education system, they are often seen as obstacles to educational change rather than key human resources’ (as cited in VSO, 2002, p. 5). With a focus on teachers as important human resources, this study aims to identify barriers and solutions to finding viable solutions in education emergencies. Through the comparison of teachers’ motivations and the challenges they experience, there is an opportunity to recognise strengths and areas for improvement, which could be used to guide policy on a local or national level. Finally, the audience is also given the unique opportunity to understand the experiences of two distinctive sets of teachers (HCTs and RTs) in a complex education emergency.
1.4 Research Questions

To achieve the overall goal of understanding a comparative study of RTs and HCTs, the following research questions were investigated:

- How do national and regional authorities engage teachers to provide education for refugees in Lebanon?
- What are the differences between challenges and motivating factors experienced by refugee and host country teachers?
- What are the benefits of engaging both sets of teachers in refugee contexts?

1.5 Conceptual Clarification

1.5.1 Formal and Non-Formal Education

Within education in emergencies, generally, both formal education and non-formal education are used to accommodate refugee students. ‘Formal education’ is defined as the traditional structured system of education guided by a curriculum, leading to a formally recognised qualification, found in primary and secondary schools (Deane, 2016). Within crisis settings, formal education is the foundation of regular education provisions, which last between three and six months, generally, in normal school settings (Hetland, 2015). ‘Non-formal education’ is organised with or without a curriculum and refers to educational activity that takes place outside the formal education system (Deane, 2016). It is usually the foundation of any early response, and a part of the long-term response, to a refugee crisis and early reconstruction (Hetland, 2015). To gain a greater insight into the educational responses in Lebanon and to gain a larger sample of respondents, this research focused on both formal and non-formal education systems.

1.5.2 Different categories of teachers

Teachers are often defined as those persons in schools or other learning sites who are responsible for the education of children or young people in pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary education (UNESCO/ILO, 2008). This study focuses upon teachers who are teaching refugee students, both host country teachers (HCT) and refugee teachers (RT). HCTs are teachers who possess Lebanese citizenship and have been involved in teaching refugee students, in both formal and non-formal education settings. RTs refer to those Syrian refugee teachers who have been involved in teaching refugee students in
Lebanon. In Lebanon the formal primary education level goes up to age 15 (MEHE, 2016). This study focuses on teachers involved in education up to this level.

1.5.3 Terminology behind ‘engaging’ teachers of refugees

Terminology surrounding ‘engagement’ of RTs is complex and needs to be noted. RTs are those teachers who are classified as refugees in Lebanon (and in refugee contexts in general). RTs cannot be officially ‘employed’ on the same basis as HCTs, they are often engaged on a ‘volunteer basis’ and are not ‘formally’ hired. While HCTs are officially paid by the government, this study will use the term ‘engaged’ with this terminology for both categories of teachers.

1.6 Significance of the study

Studies on motivation in refugee crises and its adaptation to conflict-affected environments have rarely been conducted from the perspective of teachers. The significance of this study is that it may contribute to alleviating the dearth of literature currently available in this field, by achieving an in-depth understanding of the experiences of teachers of refugees and the organisations within which these teachers work. Additionally, the analytical framework and conclusions established in this study may have relevance for generating hypotheses or framing analyses in similar studies of different refugee crises. In this manner, this thesis relates to a larger set of literature focused upon responding to refugee education. Research focused upon the motivations of teachers, and recognition of the challenges they face, may contribute to an understanding of why teachers remain in or leave the teaching profession.

The importance of teacher motivation research is closely interrelated with a number of variables within education. These include: educational development, pupil motivation, teaching pedagogy, psychological fulfilment, and well-being for both students and teachers. This study could benefit education stakeholders, and govern how they attract and retain teachers in refugee contexts and make informed decisions for future policy and research concerning conflict education (Han & Yin, 2016). Finally, Kirk (2009) recommends that, with the ongoing influx of crisis and refugee contexts, the diverse experiences of educational reconstruction must be more thoroughly documented and analysed before they disappear.
1.7 Outline of this thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters; the current chapter has presented the background, purpose, and significance of research in refugee education. Chapter 2 contains a literature review that explores the context of the Lebanese education system and the role of RTs and HCTs in emergency education within Lebanon. Following this detailed theoretical foundation, chapter 3 presents the analytical framework of the study, with an overarching structural theoretical framework from Habermas (1985), and an exploration of motivational theories, which finally draws on Ring and West’s (2015) structure of seven major motivational factors effecting refugee teachers. Chapter 4 presents the overall research strategy and methodology, and explores underlying assumptions of the social sciences, procedures for data collection, fieldwork, and analysis. Chapter 5 presents findings from a structural ‘systems Perspective’, and focuses upon the views of government, UN agencies and NGOs towards the education system for refugees. Chapter 6 provides an account of the ‘Lifeworld Perspective’ findings from teachers themselves, regarding the challenges and motivations of HCTs and RTs. Finally, chapter 7 summarises the major findings, discussions and recommendations for education stakeholders and policy makers.
2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review aims to both assist in the development of an understanding of the current refugee crisis in Lebanon, and to explore how national and regional authorities are engaging teachers to provide education for Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Initially, an exploration of the important roles teachers play in education emergencies is presented, investigating the concerns surrounding HCTs and RTs in conflict settings. Second, a more in-depth focus on Lebanon’s refugee crisis is presented, with emphasis upon the education system and the role of RTs and HCTs within the system. Following this the role of RTs is explored within the host countries and how they have been engaged in the past globally. Finally, the literature review will conclude with an exploration of the importance of teacher motivation.

2.2 Education in emergencies

An educational emergency is defined as a natural or conflict disaster that impairs or violates the rights to education, impedes the development of education or holds back realisation of education (Harber, 2006). United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2005) describes education as one of the building blocks of human development, not only as a basic right, but a foundation for progress in areas outside of education. Donors recognise that education provision for refugees serves many purposes, not only is it a learning and capacity-building tool for society, it also provides structure, purpose and dignity in situations that may breed desperation (Hannah, 2008). Coinciding with this argument, Sommers describes how boredom and absence of education creates dangerous outcomes for refugees. ‘It produces unstructured days where traumatizing memories linger, fears thrive, and violence is always possible. One method that refugees employ to address these problems is to start schools’ (Sommers, 1999, p. 3). Incorporating well-planned educational programmes into emergency relief efforts enables long-term benefits for societies in crisis. Education has proved to be a major agent of change to both the short term and permanent solutions for improving the successful reintegration of refugees (Crisp, Talbot & Cipollone, 2001).
2.3 Two faces of education debate

Whilst education has the ability to act as a force for peace, it can also be manipulated to emphasise the social divisions, intolerance and prejudices that lead to war. This is commonly recognised as the double face of education (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). This theory demonstrates the susceptibility of education systems to the influence of political regimes, it is specifically relevant for refugees whose flight from their country of origin may be part of a complex political story of persecution or conflict with the new host government (Kirk, 2009). If learning centres are not run appropriately, they can become spaces for bullying, ethnic and gender discrimination, and child recruitment into armed forces (UNHCR, 2016). The UNHCR priorities for refugee education are to increase access, improve quality, and enhance protection. It must be acknowledged that education can only be protective if it is of a high quality. The protective role of education involves the ability of schools to provide a safe and secure space to promote the well-being of both learners and teachers. As schools are often at the heart of a society, and symbolise opportunity for future generations, schools need to be protected and welcoming for the whole community (INEE, 2009).

2.4 Education for refugees in host countries

Providing education for refugees on their arrival in host countries is not a simple task, and may not always be a priority. Often, when refugees arrive in a host country, they may be perceived as a burden on national resources, and governments may have trepidations connected to security, economy, stability and resources. It is common that host governments are reluctant to support any connections with the national education system, for both students and teachers, out of concern that this may protract the period of displacement (Kirk, 2009). In these cases, the host government may refuse to provide their own curricula and examinations to refugee children to encourage return to the countries they are fleeing from. If accreditation and certification of refugee students and teachers are given to the whole refugee population, this may lead to rivalry in the host country’s employment market. This means that curriculum and examinations are key tools for nations to control not only the content of the education system, but also its outcomes. The willingness and capacity of host authorities to respond to the needs of refugees into their territory also depends on the ‘relative size of the displaced population and the length of time it is expected to stay’ (Kirk, 2009, p. 70). Approval and registration of refugees in education, both as students and teachers, relies not only on political
will and inclusive refugee policies, but also on the capacity of the host government and international stakeholders to provide provision, both financially and with human resources.

2.5 Teachers in emergency education

Quality teachers underpin the success of education systems. In emergency education, they also play a transformative role and are key facilitators in change within the society (Horner, et al. 2015). In conflict-affected situations there is often a shortage of trained and experienced teachers (IIEP, 2010, p. 2). Decisions about the recruitment, contractual status and compensation of those who teach refugees can be challenging, and can have lasting effects, both within the country of asylum and, upon return, in the country of origin (UNICEF, 2014). When government systems and education budgets break down, many teachers are left with no form of compensation, a lack of resources and no form of accreditation (IIEP, 2010, p. 26). The workload for teachers of refugees can be very demanding, with large class sizes, a lack of management, a lack of infrastructure, and many students with learning, language and psychosocial issues.

The enormous responsibility of educating refugee students generally falls onto the HCTs, RTs or determined and educated members of society. In refugee populations, there are often knowledgeable and highly motivated educators and support staff, who are deeply aware of the importance of education for refugee children and youth, and realise that education is key to ensuring the safety and rebuilding their communities. As previously mentioned governments are not always eager to employ RTs, as there are political and economic issues surrounding teacher management, including economic resources, distinctive accreditation issues, differences in training, curriculum and languages. Host governments may also claim to have an adequate supply of HCTs in their workforce. Predictably, host governments are keen to maintain a high value on their own human capital investments, by guaranteeing job opportunities for their own populations and accepting refugees only to fill the gaps in the workforce that their own citizens do not wish to fill (Kirk, 2009). Regrettably, employment opportunities are usually denied to refugee teachers. In many cases this is to discourage them from residing permanently in host countries.
2.6 Lebanon’s refugee crisis

The Syrian conflict is now entering its seventh year and is one of the most critical social and political matters facing the Middle East and the international community. The total number of displaced Syrians in Lebanon since the eruption of the civil war in 2011 has reached over 1.5 million, which is equivalent to about a quarter of Lebanon’s population (Worldbank, 2013). This has strained the public financial capacities and the provision of its services, especially education. The crisis is also increasing the poverty gap among the lower socio-economic group, with an estimate that 200,000 Lebanese nationals have descended under the poverty level (Al-Araj, 2016). Tensions within society have been fuelled by perceptions around biased aid delivery, concerns over Syrians ‘stealing’ Lebanese jobs and substantial damage to public services (Worldbank, 2013).

Refugees are not a new occurrence in Lebanon. Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Lebanon has hosted Palestinian refugees. In addition to the large number of Syrian refugees, Lebanon has also received an estimated 500,000 Palestinian refugees and 50,000 Lebanese returning from Syria, which makes Lebanon the country with the highest refugee-per-capita globally (MEHE, 2016). Palestinians are registered by The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which provide social services for the Palestinian population. Andersen (2016) claims that, even after 50 years since the Palestinians arrived, they remain tolerated, but not completely integrated into Lebanese society.

For many Lebanese nationals, the influx of Syrian refugees represents a threat to the sectarian equilibrium that the state is founded upon. Syrian refugees are now hosted in over 1,400 cadastral localities across the country, the majority of the displaced continue to seek shelter in the traditionally deprived Northern (30 per cent) and Beqaa (34 per cent) regions of Lebanon (MEHE, 2016). Ferris, Kirisci and Shaikh (2013) argue that the Christian community feel threatened as they see Lebanon leaning towards a Muslim-dominated majority. Moreover, a large percentage of the refugees who are settling in the Hezbollah-controlled Beqaa region are Sunni refugees, which has instigated fears of increased sectarian violence (UNICEF, 2015). At the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the Lebanese government declared a policy in the Baabda Declaration (2012) of ‘neutralism and disassociation’ to maintain its security...
(Perelli, 2014, p 6). However, the steady influx of refugees has created difference of opinion among political leaders and international agencies, particularly regarding education.

2.7 The Lebanese education system

An illustration of the segregated society within Lebanon exists within its education system, which is based on sectarian divides, exacerbated communal tensions, exclusion and discrimination (Novelli and Smith, 2011). When compared with other Middle Eastern countries, Lebanon’s public expenditure on education is considered to be low (Bankmed, 2015). According to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE, 2016) 70% of remaining the Lebanese children attend private schools, while public schools cater for thirty percent who are the most underprivileged children. Generally, the Syrian refugees are residing in the underprivileged and least-served communities, are trying to gain access to the already strained public education system. Consequently, children who are enrolled in basic education in public schools receive an education of lower quality (MEHE, 2014). According to Chami (2016) the success rates of students in intermediary exams stood at 64.4% for public schooling and 83.1% for students at private schools. A major political and national challenge that both the Lebanese and Syrian population face is that Lebanon has not opened formal, serviced refugee camps; instead refugees live in either host communities or in informal tented settlements (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). It has been argued that living in urban settings is better for the longer-term integration, livelihood and dignity of refugees. Alternatively, it presents greater difficulty in supplying education, as there is less control and accountability for schooling when there are no barriers (REACH, 2014). Although the majority of Syrians remain in the public system, depending on the location or socio-economic status of Syrian families, Syrian refugees may also be attracted to the other private or local non-formal settings in the area (refer to Table 2.1 adapted from MEHE, 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School types in Lebanon</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free public schools:</td>
<td>This caters for 30% of the population and is run by MEHE. Education is basically free, however there are still education fees mainly for registration, textbooks, school uniforms, transportation, and food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free private confessional schools:</td>
<td>They are generally free and provided by non-profit generally religiously affiliated organisations. Some of them are subsidised by the state (semi-private) for each student enrolled (up to a maximum of 600 per school). Subsidised schools should not be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The MEHE and education providers are working systematically, trying to find solutions to increase the enrolments of both vulnerable Lebanese and refugee students. One solution has been to reduces school hours and creates double and triple shifts to provide for the huge influx of new students (Culbertson & Constant, 2015). Additionally, accelerated learning programmes (ALP) have also been implemented since, with a more intensive learning program, students can gain a level in as little as four months, designed for children older than 10, whose primary school years have been interrupted by the civil war (MEHE, 2014). Both of these solutions have been somewhat successful and have increased accessibility. The extra shifts have also contributed to a shortened school day, which may have impacted the quality of education the students receive. The language of instruction in Lebanese schools incorporates English, French and Arabic, which is generally taught from early years in schools, with English and French mandatory for Science and Maths. Language appears to be problematic for Syrian students as schooling in Syria is predominantly taught in Arabic (UNICEF, 2015). It appears that in some classrooms students are being taught in Arabic in the early years as this is makes it easier for them to adapt to learning the other languages taught in Lebanese schools (REACH, 2014).

### 2.8 RACE strategy

Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) is a strategic approach to the education sector response led by MEHE which is focused on enabling vulnerable school-aged children (3-18 years), affected by the Syrian crisis, to access formal and non-formal learning opportunities in safe and protective environments (MEHE, 2016). Although MEHE and international

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-free private schools</td>
<td>They are generally requesting high fees and are provided by for-profit organisations. They can teach specific curriculum and there is little monitoring by MEHE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNRWA schools</td>
<td>They mainly cater to Palestinian children at the primary level, are free and teach the Lebanese curriculum. Because of the scarcity of available public secondary schools, UNRWA has also recently started providing secondary education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Formal education centres</td>
<td>Usually run by NGOs and UN agencies, with some monitoring provided by the MEHE. May teach basic literacy and numeracy in hard to reach places.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.1: Types of Schools in Lebanon (MEHE, 2014, p. 38)**
organisations are working towards solutions, there is a recognition of major difficulties within the system. MEHE (2016) outlines some of the major concerns including the high drop-out rates among the Syrian refugee population as well as low enrolments. Research suggests that the reasons for this is a lack of awareness on the provision of free educational services in Lebanon. Alternatively, the low economic status of some of the parents may be an issue (REACH, 2014). Reports also exist of Syrian students feeling discriminated against and excluded by their classmates and teachers in public schools, with a lack of training and awareness regarding psychosocial needs (UNICEF and Save the Children, 2012 as cited in UNICEF, 2015).

Unsupportive school environments, accreditation issues and different curricula with unfamiliar teaching methods have also surfaced as underlying obstacles among parents and students. Whilst difficult and unsupportive home environments are often hidden causes for low enrolment, high dropout and low learning achievement (MEHE, 2016). Moreover, although public schools are free of charge, they still have associated costs (transport, registration, etc. outlined in figure 2). In some instances, this is enough the deter families from sending their children to school. Poverty has increased children’s entry into the labour market at a school-going age, and has obstructed demand for education. Reports suggest that many children prefer to gain a wage for their families, instead of going to school (Save the Children, 2014). Children have also been associated with early marriage, crime and recruitment into armed violence, as a result of a lack of education opportunities (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

MEHE (2016) recognised in RACE II: that a strategic shift needs to occur towards longer term approaches that cater for the prolonged nature of the Syrian crisis. This report makes well-defined suggestions and is critical of the past oversights and errors. The document contains a major focus upon improving the availability and quality of education services in public schools and non-formal education centres, outlining that the education interventions need to be more systematically linked to child protection systems and livelihoods

1 ‘RACE II seeks to build on RACE I, envisaging now a more strategic approach to the education sector response, on the premise of a stabilization and development agenda through these key strategic shifts’ (MEHE, 2015, p 3)
opportunities for youth (p. 3). Convincing recommendations from the report included community mobilisation and raising awareness by creating positive behavioural changes in individuals and communities. Additionally, output 2.2 focuses on ‘enhancing teacher capabilities and the role teachers play in providing inclusive, healthy and protective environments’ (p. 20). Although the report makes some very strong recommendations, there is no acknowledgement or focus on teachers who are refugees (RTs). Kirk and Winthrop (2007) argue that refugee teachers have a distinctive understanding of the community and the children’s psychosocial needs as well as a strong responsibility to the community. With close access to the community, and by understanding culturally relevant strategies to help the students’ well-being, RTs may be the key human resource absent, to help find a solution for the refugee children residing in Lebanon.

2.9 Importance of engaging the refugee community

Education can provide an opportunity to foster social cohesion and mitigate rising social tensions between refugees and host communities (World Vision, 2015). As mentioned through the literature review social tensions have emerged between refugee and host communities and between local communities and administrative authorities. However, when education is available, ‘it can influence governance by enabling an informed citizenry, a sense of inclusiveness and economic equality, which can reduce political instability and recurring violence’ (ibid).

Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory demonstrates how an individual is influenced by the different types of environmental systems, including the micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono systems (refer to figure 2.2 below). In outlining his ecology of child development, Bronfenbrenner (1979) points out that priority need to be placed on building relationships with the child, parents and people who work with children. It is important to understand how children and family are treated as these shapes interactions across ecological settings. According to Bronfenbrenner's theory, the ability of parents to care for their children is embedded in and influenced by ‘stresses and supports emanating from other settings’ (1979, p. 7 as cited in Betancourt & Khan, 2008). The family has a significant impact on the refugee child’s development. The family can support the goal of education and socialising the child, and can act as a support network from the harmful events of society (Learning Wales,
This can affect the teaching and learning environment of both the students and teachers, and may impact teacher motivation.

Research has demonstrated that the active involvement of parents and caretakers in their child’s education has a substantial positive result on refugee students (CMY, 2015). Parental engagement can lead to students feeling more comfortable in their learning environments which can lead to ‘higher academic success, improved attendance, more time spent on homework, increased school retention and fewer discipline problems’ (ibid. p. 6). As home life can be increasingly difficult in refugee contexts, it important to engage refugee parents in education as this can ‘bridge the gap’ in family and cultural values between home and school life for refugee, improving the level of family connectedness (CMY, 2015). Building connectedness to family, friends, community and school have been shown to be the most significant factors underpinning a child’s resilience (ibid). When communities and schools work together, education centres can play an important role in the settlement process for refugees in supporting both students and their families, to ensure a sense of belonging and to make a meaningful contribution society.
2.10 Teachers of refugees in Lebanon

Currently the Lebanese public education system only engage Lebanese national teachers (HCTs) to aid in the role of teaching refugee students in formal education. According to the reports HCTs in the second cycle must possess a university degree, preferably linked to instructional pedagogy or an education degree. MEHE (2016) report suggests that with weaker admission requirements (only a basic degree is required) and decrease in financial incentives on the recruitment of contractual teachers, there is now an over-supply of under-qualified teaching staff in public schools for basic education (MEHE, 2016, p. 8). This has impacted on the learning outcomes of children in the public-school system, creating disparities in learning outcomes amongst different regions and populations.

Currently a dearth of literature exists on the status and the role that refugee teachers play in Lebanon. In the RACE I (MEHE, 2014, p. 38) refugee teachers are mentioned as having the ability to take part as facilitators and educators among non-formal education centres. However, in the 2017-2022 RACE II strategy there was no mention of RTs, the only reference of Syrian adults within this strategy was the Community Liaison volunteers who would be appointed to ‘take on the responsibility of providing personalised follow up to refugee students and address issues’ (MEHE, 2016, p. 5). The Ministry of Labour restricts the ability of the Syrian refugees to work in most fields. During the time of this research, Syrians could only be legally employed in the fields of construction, domestic services and agriculture (Al-Ajar, 2014). Syrians were described as being underpaid, only receiving almost a third of that of the Lebanese, ostensibly undercutting and taking the jobs of the Lebanese (ibid). To introduce the Syrian teachers into the workforce remains problematic, as average Lebanese unemployment rates remain high compared to the global average.

Lebanese law does not allow the government to employ RTs, however, they are intermittently hired in private education institutions (UNICEF, 2015). In Lebanon, civil society and NGOs have previously taken a strong role, as a result of the protracted civil war and the lack of an executive government for long periods. Most commonly RTs have been utilised as volunteers to support non-formal learning spaces, including community centres and informal tent settlements (ibid).
2.11 RTs in neighbouring host countries

The major host countries of Syrian refugees have all made different agreements regarding the use of refugee teachers within their own countries. In a report by UNICEF (2015) named Curriculum, Accreditation, Certification of Syrian Refugee Children there appears to be no consistent policy or guidelines regarding the recruitments of RTs, they remain a contentious political issue. In Egypt and Jordan, Syrian teachers have not been recruited to teach Syrian children in public schools for several reasons. Initially, Egypt had reservations regarding their 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees regarding the access of refugees to public services and employment (ibid). Although Syrian children have been granted the right to access public school and follow the Egyptian curriculum which is in Arabic, therefore no adjustments have been made to the language, however different Arabic dialects have been cited as an issue (ibid). Similar to Lebanon, Egypt claims to have an excess supply of teachers, therefore, no RTs have been officially engaged within the system. In Jordan, public schools do not generally employ Syrian teachers but, similar to Lebanon, a significant number of them are engaged with NGOs for education programmes. Recently an agreement between the MOE (Jordan) and the UNICEF Country Office resulted in 260 Syrian teachers being appointed as ‘assistants’ to support Jordanian teachers in the schools set up in the refugee camps, RTs were also paid with incentives. In Iraq’s case, language remains a concern. In response to the increased number of Syrian refugee students, the government was forced to hire more Arabic speaking teaching staff for this purpose. Syrian teachers have been engaged to teach in Jordan, however, only on a temporary contract basis (ibid). Turkey has a unique policy towards refugee teachers, which is distinct from those of its neighbouring countries. In Turkey, the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) plans and monitors all education and training activities, working together with the Syrian Education Commission to manage the education of Syrian children. One of the most effective responses from MoNE was that it agreed to the mobilisation of Syrian volunteer teachers, in the camps and host communities from 2013, when they also decided that they could teach the Syrian curriculum, with some adjustments to political subjects (UNICEF, 2013). Furthermore, MoNE and NGOs have begun implementing programmes to provide training and support to Syrian teachers living in refugee camps, with a focus on basic teaching methods in camp settings and teaching children who have witnessed war (European Union, 2015). While the Syrian situation, and all refugee situations are unique, many of the particular challenges faced in the Syrian education crisis have also been faced in other refugee crises.
2.12 How have teachers been used in past refugee crises?

Refugee teachers are not a new phenomenon. Focus on past refugee crises and case studies presents many examples of how RTs can be utilised as critical human resources. A very relevant case study is the establishment of UNRWA, operating in the areas of Gaza, the West Bank, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, which has enrolled over half a million Palestinian children. UNRWA was established in 1953 and has been providing social services, including the provision of education for Palestinian children. Currently providing 9 to 10 years of free basic education, in Lebanon alone it has recently introduced secondary education (UNRWA, 2016a). UNRWA has claimed that there have been issues recruiting qualified teachers in Lebanon, because of a lack of trained teachers (ibid). To address this, UNRWA introduced a two-year training diploma, where teachers are first trained to teach the first three grades of elementary school (ages six to nine). Using the Palestinian refugee teachers and well-organised training programs, the organisation has created a successful, full-functioning education system, using each host country’s own curriculum. Recently, UNRWA created a successful Education in Emergencies (EiE) programme, which has helped teachers develop awareness and increase their capacity on safety and security. It has also ensured that teachers are trained to provide students with equitable and quality education with a focus on psychosocial development (UNRWA, 2016b). Through building the capacity of these communities, UNRWA and the international community have been able to develop a fully functioning and successful education program for over 500,000 children and 22,000 teachers (UNRWA, 2016a). With a systemic approach, innovative programmes and dedicated education staff, they have been successful in strengthening the resilience of both parents and children, which is evident from low dropout levels, convincing academic results and positive perceptions of the education system through the community (UNRWA, 2017).

An alternative example provided by Kirk (2009) is the illustration of the Liberian refugees displaced in Ghana. Liberian refugees fled Ghana after the beginning of the Liberian civil war in 1989. On arrival, the physical absorption capability of the schools in Ghana were overwhelmed by the number of refugee students. As a result, passionate refugee community members established refugee schools, originally as private educational settings. However, later they were formally assessed by the Ghana Education Services (GES). Although many of the Liberian teachers were not trained as teachers or qualified, GES provided teacher training and development opportunities in teacher training colleges and the Cape Coast University.
Teachers capacity was strengthened and the education authorities formally recognised learning and exams in the refugee schools (Kirk, 2009). This example demonstrates that, with motivated refugee teachers and support from the host government, the suitable training and capacity building of teachers can end with a successful outcome.

Another example is the use of Afghan refugee teachers in Pakistan. Basic Education for Afghan Refugees (BAFARe) provided basic education on a national and regional level to the identified vulnerable and disadvantaged groups of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. In 2002-3 BAFARe coordinated the development of a database of refugee teachers in Pakistan (with UNESCO and Pakistan’s Educational Ministry). The ministry successfully employed over 3,000 refugee teachers and ran a program for over 330 primary schools for over 100,000 primary school pupils. The program created teaching education courses for HCTs and RTs, using the Afghanistan curriculum and taught to students in their home language. The goal was to harmonise refugees’ education with the education in their home country, thereby facilitating the processes of return and reintegration. Hetland (2006) argues the importance of serving refugees on their own terms, and the process should involve staff and community from both host and refugee status populations, as this is integral for integration and peace building. Hetland also describes the significant role of the refugee teacher as the most effective communicator with the refugee children.

Experienced refugee teachers have a specialized advantage teaching and managing schools in these difficult circumstances, including how to deal with loss, grief, trauma and psychological problems. Having been victims of wars they have learned how to solve problems that go beyond the comprehension of most other people. ‘These unique experiences, which will be of a great help in the immediate and longer term building communities. (Hetland, 2006 p. 151)

2.13 Why is teacher motivation important?

Improving teacher motivation critically improves the overall quality of the education system. Research indicates that the value of student learning is increased in classrooms with highly motivated and committed teachers (IIEP, n.d). Teacher motivation develops from the teachers’ attitude towards their work. It focuses on the teachers’ desire to participate in the pedagogical processes within and outside the classroom. A motivated teacher can facilitate an enjoyable and safe learning environment, with clear knowledge, passion, discipline and control (ibid). It is integral to study the motivation of refugee teachers as motivation is strongly connected to many other education variables which are exceedingly valuable in emergency education, including student motivation, teaching practice, educational
performance, professional development and both students and teachers’ psychological fulfilment and well-being (Han and Yin, 2016).

IIEP (n.d.) argues that increased teacher motivation can affect the quality of candidates seeking the profession, which contributes to a better focus on the teaching and learning process by increased time spent preparing lessons or supporting students most in need. Furthermore, teachers with high motivation are more likely to be present, punctual and well-prepared for their lessons, and the likelihood of attrition decreases. Low motivation is prevalent in situations where the living or teaching conditions are challenging, such as rural areas. Inversely, there is also the issue of unmotivated teachers remaining in the workforce due to a lack of other employment opportunities. This can be detrimental for an education system. Although well-intentioned, some educational policies and programmes can undermine teacher motivation. There must be a focus on the improvement of highly motivated and properly trained teachers in refugee contexts, and an understanding what factors motivate them which will be explored in the analytical framework.
3 Analytical Framework

3.1 Habermas’s structural framework

This study explores the motivations and challenges experienced by teachers who are members of the Lebanese and Syrian refugee communities and who work with Syrian refugee children within the sovereign jurisdiction of Lebanon. This study adopts qualitative empirical methods to investigate the motivations and challenges faced by teachers working in Syrian refugee communities. Habermas (1985, 1987, 1992/1998) provides the overarching structural theoretical framework for this study, particularly his notion of the objective, social, and subjective worlds, and his system-lifeworld dichotomy. Habermas (1985) considers “the three world-relations of actors and the corresponding concepts of the objective, social, and subjective worlds” (p. 137) to be central to validity claims with respect to propositional truth, normative rightness, and sincerity or authenticity. For Habermas’ (1985), these three, “taken together … form a reference system that is mutually presupposed in communication processes” (p. 84). It is through communicative action in these worlds that background understanding of the lifeworld is established. Habermas’ (1987) lifeworld can be considered as “the complex of (often only implicit) shared norms, expectations, and practices of social actors that enables them to communicate and coordinate their conduct” (Baynes, 2016, p. 222). This lifeworld is:

at first “given” to the theoretician (as it is to the layperson) as his or her own, and in a paradoxical manner. The mode of preunderstanding or of intuitive knowledge of the lifeworld from within which we live together, act and speak with one another, stands in peculiar contrast, as we have seen, to the explicit knowledge of something. (Habermas, 1987, p. 400)

Habermas (1987, 1992/1998) considers the system as consisting of steering media that abstractly take over communicative functions when the lifeworld communication gets overloaded. Administrative media and money are the two key steering media. While developed in the context of stable advanced economies, Habermas’s framework provides a sound basis for exploring this refugee context, mainly the integration of the lifeworld of the Syrians, with the lifeworld of the Lebanese. Further, this integration occurs in a context where the systems of Syrian society are destroyed, and therefore is colonised by the system of Lebanese society. That is, Habermas (1987) considers that:

systemic mechanisms suppress forms of social integration even in those areas where a consensus-dependent coordination of action cannot be replaced, that is, where the symbolic reproduction of the lifeworld is at stake. In these areas, the mediatisation of the lifeworld assumes the form of a colonisation. (p. 196)
The dynamics underpinning this study is illustrated in figure 3.1

![Figure 3.1 Dynamics within Society](image)

**Figure 3.1 Dynamics within Society**

The framework for this study can then be described as in figure 3.2

![Figure 3.2 Habermas’s Analytical Framework](image)

**Figure 3.2 Habermas’s Analytical Framework**

From this framework, the following four tensions emerge:

1. The affordances and demands of the Lebanese Financial system affects teachers of refugees
2. The affordances and demands of the Lebanese Administrative systems affect teachers of refugees
3. The extent to which Syrian teachers’ lifeworld understanding are able to be integrated into Lebanese systems and how they affect Lebanese teachers
4. The extent to which Syrian teachers’ lifeworld understandings are able to be integrated in the Lebanese lifeworld coinciding with Lebanese teachers
Claims made by teachers of refugees about these tensions can then be explored through Habermas’ three worlds. The objective world: how do these claims relate to objective realities, such as physical and legal facts, and norms. The social world: how do these claims relate to social norms, in either Syrian or Lebanese societies. Finally, the subjective world: understanding how these claims express the personal and cultural desires of the speaker. I contend that understanding the text through the three worlds of Habermas identifies the social barriers that teachers face and how these affect the motivation of teachers.

3.2 Relevant theories for motivation in refugee contexts

3.2.1 Maslow’s hierarchy of needs

Theories of motivation are imbedded in psychology, and have been rigorously studied regarding teachers. Two of the classic theories of motivation, which are both relevant to refugee education, are Abraham Maslow’s ‘Hierarchy of Needs’ and Frederick Herzberg ‘Two-factor theory’. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs justifies motivation through organisational and behaviour theory, discussing that individuals can only be motivated to work if their basic physiological and psychological needs are met. The foundation of Maslow's motivation theory considers that human beings are motivated by unsatisfied needs, and that certain lower factors need to be satisfied before higher needs can be satisfied (Figure 3).

Maslow’s hierarchy of needs is particularly relevant in relation to the refugee context, as teachers of refugees may struggle to receive their basic needs, specifically the physiological and safety requirements (Maslow, 1943). Maslow focuses on the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual qualities of an individual and how this may impact their learning and teaching (Mcleod, 2007). If this is put into the refugee context, many RTs and students are living in unsafe environments: their safety has been demoralised and many have lost family and close friends. Before a refugee’s cognitive needs can be met they must first fulfil their basic physiological needs. For example, if a teacher is tired, hungry and feeling unsafe they will find it challenging to focus on the teaching and learning process. Teachers and students need to feel emotionally and physically safe and accepted within the classroom to progress and reach their full potential.² Two of the major concerns with Maslow’s theory: 1.

² It is important to note that Maslow’s (1943, 1954) five stage model has been expanded to include cognitive and aesthetic needs (Maslow, 1970a) and later transcendence needs (Maslow, 1970b).
incorporate the individuality of the person, and 2. that everyone has unique personal needs. In this sense the hierarchical structure is subjective, yet Maslow claims that needs are interdependent and overlapping (Gawell, 1997). Alternatively, researchers also advise that there is a lack of a direct cause and effect relationship between need and behaviour. Even with its shortcomings, Maslow’s theory proposes an interesting concept for educational stakeholders by providing an understanding of the motives or needs of individuals, and of what should be prioritised to motivate employees.

![Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs](image)

**Figure 3.3** Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (McLeod, 2016)

### 3.2.2 Frederick Herzberg’s two-factor theory

Arguably the most influential theory of motivation is Frederick Herzberg’s two-factor theory. In his model, he distinguishes between hygiene factor (extrinsic motivation) and motivators (intrinsic motivation). Extrinsic motivation is a conceptual construct that pertains whenever an activity is done in order to attain some separable outcome. Hygiene factors include: status, job security, salary, fringe benefits, work conditions, good pay, paid insurance, and vacations. These do not give positive satisfaction or lead to higher motivation, though dissatisfaction results from their absence (Boundless, 2016). These are extrinsic to the work itself. Extrinsic motivation contrasts with intrinsic motivation, which refers to doing an activity simply for the enjoyment of the activity itself, rather than its instrumental value (Riley, 2005). Intrinsic motivation can be defined in the following manner: the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separate consequence. When intrinsically motivated a person is moved to act for the fun or challenge entailed by the action itself, rather than because of external rewards consequent to the action. Motivators include challenging
work, responsibility, opportunity to do something meaningful, involvement in decision making, sense of importance to an organisation. These give positive satisfaction, arising from intrinsic conditions of the job itself, such as recognition, achievement, or personal growth (Boundless, 2016). According to Herzberg, intrinsic motivators and extrinsic motivators have an inverse relationship. Intrinsic motivators are inclined to stimulate motivation when they are present, whereas extrinsic motivators tend to decrease motivation when they are missing. The reason for this is expectation (ibid). Extrinsic motivators are expected and are less likely to increase motivation when they are present, however they will produce dissatisfaction when they are absent. Intrinsic motivators, on the other hand, can be a source of additional motivation. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivators for teachers vary significantly across developed and developing systems, and in refugee and emergency contexts.

Teachers who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to complete their duties (i.e. lesson planning and extra-curricular activities) because of the personal satisfaction it provides, it may be the feeling of accomplishment or that they are motivated by their love for their students. On the other hand, an extrinsically motivated teacher may perform their classes in order to obtain compensation. The goal of education stakeholders should be to enhance the intrinsic motivation of teachers. For this to occur there is need to create an environment where teachers are given a voice, hold positions of responsibility, and are supplied with room for personal growth and development. Furthermore, there is a need to supply adequate extrinsic motivation to ensure that teachers do not feel demotivated, and provide appropriate policies, procedures, supervision, and working conditions. To ensure that teaching staff are motivated and productive, administrators must pay attention to both sets of job factors.

Further research that focuses specifically on the motivation of teachers of refugees, includes a Ring and West (2015) study, which incorporated an extensive literature review. With a focus on education in emergency agencies. Ring and West filtered through 175 secondary source materials and grey literature and interviewed 13 international education experts. From this research, they established seven major compounding motivational factors present in refugee and emergency settings, which included:

1. Teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment;
2. The teaching environment;
3. Certification;
4. Professional development;
5. Incentives;
6. Management structures;
and
7. Status and social recognition.
3.3  Ring and West’s seven factors of motivation

Understanding experiences on a social and personal level from both teachers and education stakeholders provides an opportunity to identify the challenges teachers face in the lifeworld, and the motivations behind their teaching. To ensure the structure of the results, the motivations framework provided by Ring and West (2015) using the ‘seven major motivational factors’, will be used to understand the findings. The first overarching classification of ‘challenges’ will serve as the backdrop against which the seven remaining categories operate.

3.3.1  Teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment

For motivation to exist, the initial phase of recruitment, selection and deployment must be clear and fair for those teachers in the workforce. For teacher management to be effective data collection systems need to exist, in order to track categories of teachers, ethnic/linguistic/religious backgrounds, subject specializations, experience and motives for entering and leaving the profession. Without this governments know very little about teacher motivation and how to effectively recruit, select, and deploy teachers in any setting, and especially in emergency settings (Cooper & Alvarado, 2006). To ensure that teachers understand their rights and feel motivated to access recruitment, there needs to be an institutional framework for regularising the legal status of teachers, which clearly states their employment rights which is clear, predictable, consistent, accessible, rules-based, fair, and in the interests of the teacher (Ring and West, 2015). Selection processes and deployment need to be fair to ensure teachers remain motivated to enter the workforce, with hiring choices based on experience and skill, before networking and nationality. Additionally, deployment choices should be based on skills, to ensure that there are quality teachers in all areas, especially in rural areas (Penson, et. al., 2011, p 19). There is difficulty identifying enough qualified teachers who are willing to teach in relatively inaccessible refugee camps, even if paid and supported by the ministry of education (Kirk, 2009, p 155).

3.3.2  The teaching environment

The teaching environment is fundamental to both teacher and student motivation. If teachers experience learning environments as safe and positive spaces, with supportive resources and appropriate facilities for teaching and learning, they may feel more motivated and contribute more than expected to the overall improvement of the school. Ensuring safe schools with
solid infrastructure can be difficult in refugee contexts, and this can influence teacher motivation. The challenges that impede the formation of effective teaching environments are widespread in refugee and emergency settings (Ring and West, 2015, p 110). Lack of available and safe infrastructure, insufficient resources, public threats from military or different actors, all of which can affect teacher motivation.

3.3.3 Certification
Certification is a critical issue for programme quality, impact and sustainability (Crisp, Talbot & Cipollone, 2001). Certification of both students and teachers may impact teacher motivation. The capacity and motivation of teachers is difficult to sustain without official recognition of their own qualifications, but also without the recognition of the grades completed by their students’ teachers can feel undermined, especially if there is no acknowledgement or further opportunities after the education they are providing. For refugee communities, certification may be difficult, since important documentation may be lost in the process of fleeing countries, in these contexts it is important to find solutions which may test RTs skills and abilities. Certification and accreditation programmes need to be established for both students and teachers to maintain motivation, especially for long term refugee communities. Knowing that their teaching achievements will be recognized gives teacher’s confidence, which increases their motivation to perform and strengthens their resilience and self-reliance, which further contributes to community well-being. While the transferability of student credentials in refugee and emergency settings has been studied in detail, very little research has been conducted upon the cross-border transferability of teacher credentials (Penson et al., 2011).

3.3.4 Professional development
All teachers, whether they are experienced or not, need coordination and training on how to manage complex, refugee classrooms. Effective professional development which can improve teachers’ skills and improve learning outcomes, such as pre-service and in-service training, can effectively create a motivated teaching force (INNE, 2009, p. 16) The motivation to continue to learn and develop as a person can be crucial for those in education emergencies and becomes a non-monetary incentive. It is important to ensure that professional development, training, and support contributes to a motivated teaching force.
3.3.5 Incentives

Both monetary and non-monetary compensation are vital to ensure both a safe and positive educational environment and an educational environment that contains motivated teachers (INEE, 2009). Monetary compensation can be difficult without funding from governments or international agencies, Sommer’s (2004) argues that finding affordable payment structures for education staff is the most complex operational challenge. Although it is important, teachers are also motivated by non-monetary incentives, these may include: food, water, accommodation, healthcare, personal items, transport, or maybe strategies for personal growth, including professional development or teaching for the classroom. Low monetary incentives combined with an arduous workload of teaching large groups of refugees can attribute to low teacher motivation (Ring and West, 2015). However, teacher motivation does not rely on monetary compensation alone, so policy makers and host governments need to establish policy regarding non-monetary incentives that may keep teachers in the workforce.

3.3.6 Management structures

Schools must have appropriate and efficient management in place, to ensure high standards and motivation for teachers. Learning spaces must identify the leadership team, including managing teachers and apply clear expectations and consistent standards. Leadership should be in place to re-establish a predictable professional education environment for teachers in order to keep them motivated. This can be challenging in emergency settings as refugee education centres may sit outside the host education system, therefore management structures may be distinctive and inadequate to create a motivated teaching force.

3.3.7 Status and social recognition

The professional status of teachers remains a contested issue all over the world, however in emergency contexts, where teachers may receive little or no remuneration, the status and recognition they receive from the community for their important work can meaningfully increase motivation (INEE, 2009). Those who feel recognised and valued by their community are more likely to be dedicated to their work and develop great resilience and self-worth in very difficult circumstances. Attitudes and behaviours toward teachers, both from the community and students themselves correlates directly with teacher motivation and satisfaction (Ring and West, 2015). Although these are not the only factors and determinants of teacher motivation, they have provided a unique lens from which to view the issue of
teacher motivation in refugee contexts. Habermas’ structural theory and Ring and West’s seven factors of motivation, will be used to structure the outcomes of the thesis, looking through both a structural perspective (Chapter 5) and lifeworld perspective (Chapter 6).
4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This research aims to better understand the different roles, challenges and motivations of teachers of refugees in Lebanon, with a comparison of HCTs and RTs. This chapter will outline the research design and methodology that was selected, justifying the research design, methodological considerations and decisions made in each stage of the research process. Furthermore, practical implications of the fieldwork are also explained, with clarifications on the validity and reliability of the study, concluding with a reflection on some of the limitations the research faced.

4.2 Research design

The research design adopted a qualitative research approach, as it was primarily exploratory in nature. Since there was little prior literature from which to draw central ideas, a quantitative strategy was not suitable. Thus a qualitative research strategy was chosen since it is associated with the generation of theory rather than the testing of it. Because of the sensitivity surrounding the legality of ‘refugee teachers’, it was important to adopt a methodology capable of understanding the entire story. This allows the flexibility to explore the natural setting and gain an in-depth view of the participants. The social world was interpreted from the perspective of the individuals being studied, as opposed to those subjects who were incapable of their own reflections on the social world. A comparative case study design was chosen to compare the experiences of ‘host country’ and ‘refugee teachers’. The choice of this study is motivated by the kind of study it is: an extension of a case study design, which provides the ability to draw theoretical comparisons from HCTs and RTs, and facilitates enquiry into whether or not there are distinguishing characteristics between motivation and challenges of the two groups (Bryman, 2012). Since little research has been conducted regarding refugee teachers, the aim of this research study was to seek explanations and gain a greater understanding of the importance of HCTs and RTs social realities and experiences of education within the national context of Lebanon.
4.3 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was completed in two phases. The initial stage of the empirical data was collected on the basis of an internship with a UN agency in Paris, France. During the practicum in Paris, UN officials and experienced educational consultants, who were integral for the sampling process, were interviewed. The core of the fieldwork was completed between November 1 and December 2, 2016, in Lebanon. The initial base of the research was in Beirut, the capital city of Lebanon. Travel by car and bus was needed to reach key organisations and respondents in different areas, including the Beqaa Valley (where the bulk of the Syrian refugees are located) and the Chouf District. Interviews with officials were generally completed in the first two weeks of fieldwork, before interviewing teachers who provided significant insight on the Lebanese education crisis from the top down. The field visits were logistically constrained by army check points and there were strict rules regarding particular education settings and camps. It was only possible to observe in formal schools after receiving invitations from head teachers and formal permission from the Lebanese Ministry of Education (MEHE). Permission was given in the last week of research and observations were made. The non-formal education and camp settings were only accessible after establishing contact with individual organisations. This proved problematic with UN agencies, however, local non-formal education organisations welcomed the research and allowed observations.

4.4 A significant alteration to the research

The research proposal and design changed significantly during the fieldwork. Prior to the internship, the research focus was on the motivations and experiences of RTs alone, with a comparative design focusing on experiences in Lebanon and Turkey. However, because of the political instability following the military coup in Turkey during August 2016, it was almost impossible to get in touch with integral stakeholders who had previously responded to email correspondence willingly. With news of over 21,000 teachers and government officials losing their jobs (Weise & Ensor, 2016), and many government officials unwilling or unable to deliberate on issues with the international community, I made the decision to eliminate Turkey from the research and focus the research solely on Lebanon. This changed the focus of the comparative analysis from national countries to groups of teachers in Lebanon, with specific focus upon RTs and HCTs teaching refugee students.
4.5 Data Collection Methods

The decisive outcomes of research are highly determined by the type of data collected during the research process. Correspondingly, suitable qualitative data collection methods were chosen to understand the experiences from both structural and individual perspectives of education stakeholders and teachers. The data collection methods chosen to most accurately answer the research questions and respect the research design, were semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and unstructured observations in order to gather data from the selected samples. The following section outlines how each data collection method was chosen, created, and utilised for the duration of field work.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews was the method of data collection utilised for the majority of time during field work. This was a preferred method since semi-structured interviews are less structured, and more flexible and descriptive than structured interviews. A benefit of using semi-structured interviews: they allow a greater flexibility of responses from both the respondents and the interviewer, which could lead the interview in any direction and adjust the emphasis of the research as a result of significant issues that emerge throughout the interviews. After an extensive literature review, interview guides were created with reference to the motivating factors of HCTs and RTs in refugee contexts created by Ring and West (2015). The interview guides varied slightly, for government officials (Appendix D) and UN and NGO officials (Appendix C), which all focused on more structural factors. Alternatively, the interview guides for Lebanese Teachers (Appendix F) and Syrian Teachers (Appendix E) focused on the lifeworld experiences of teachers, including their challenges and motivations. Interview questions were framed in a manner that avoided any explicit reference to sensitive topics, the interview guides and the consent letter were translated into Arabic, and the participants were asked if they preferred to conduct the interview with an interpreter. Many teachers chose this option, as they stated that they were able to express themselves more freely in Arabic. The interview questions did not always follow their predetermined order, yet this flexibility allowed the respondents to emphasise areas that they found important. This flexibility enabled the interviews to take on an easy flow, which consequently enabled the expression of improvised follow-up questions which were appropriate to the research. The duration of all the interviews with organisations was between 45 and 60 minutes. The duration of most of the interviews with teachers were usually between 45 and 60 minutes.
However, because of the at times unpredictable nature of school environments, a limited number of the interviews only lasted 25 minutes. The most integral questions in these interviews focused on teacher motivation and challenges, and were addressed first. Respondents were consistently positive with their responses. Many respondents valued the interview process, since it was an honest reflection upon the factors that motivate them to teach. After completing several interviews respondents offered me new connections with fellow teachers or organisations working with Syrian refugee students.

4.5.2 Focus Group discussion
The focus group was not essentially planned, however, after organising an interview with one of the NGO officials, who had over ten enthusiastic teachers willing to participate in a morning session. Because of the programming, it was more efficient to complete a focus group rather than individual interviews. The focus group ran for over 80 minutes and was one of the most significant recordings, as both Syrian and Lebanese teachers were involved in the process allowing a more in-depth reflection. Because of the limited time frame, the most important questions focusing on motivations and challenges were asked first, additionally there was an opportunity to ask about the benefits of both sets of teachers working together. The focus group approach offered the opportunity for teachers to probe each other’s reasons for holding a certain view (Bryman, 2012). As respondents listened to others’ replies, they qualified or modified their view; or alternatively voiced agreement to the views of others, which generated of a wide variety of different views in relation to a challenges and motivation. This whole recording was spoken in Arabic and an experienced interpreter was present for the process.

4.5.3 Unstructured observations
As Maxwell states (2005 p. 79), ‘you are the research instrument in qualitative study, and your eyes and ears are the tools you use to make sense of what is going on’. To understand the social and lifeworld perspectives of teachers, unstructured observations were conducted throughout the fieldwork experience, not only within the schools and camps, however within the whole society. This provided the researcher with a deeper understanding of what the respondents experienced daily in regards to their teaching environment and communities. Unstructured observations and photos were taken, with a focus on (although not limited to) the quality of the learning facilities within both formal and non-formal settings, and the
unique classrooms set ups: within conventional schools, apartments, shipping containers and tents. Observations were also made inside the classrooms, focusing on the resources available, the sizes of the classes, pedagogical practices, relationships and teaching methods.

4.5.4 Document reviews

During the literature review and composition of the final transcript ‘‘teachers in emergency education’ and ‘refugee teacher’ were analysed, as well as a wide range of relevant documents produced by academic researchers, UN agencies, MEHE, and many other relevant NGOs and humanitarian actors. The document samples include UNICEF’s Curriculum, Accreditation and Certification for Syrian Children (2015), Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan (2016), INEE Guidance notes on Teacher Compensation, and the Reaching All Children with Education Strategy 2017-2022 proposal written by MEHE (2016). Academic articles were accessed through the following servers: UiO Library, Research Gate, UNESCO IIIEP Library and Google Scholar.

4.6 Research sites

The research and meeting sites varied, depending on what was most accessible for the respondents. Many interviews were completed in Lebanon’s capital city Beirut, in various locations, including coffee shops and plazas, central areas which were easy to access and where both the researcher and interviewee felt comfortable. Additionally, interviews were completed at government, UN and NGO buildings, depending on the preference of the respondents. Four key organisations were essential to the study, they allowed observation of classes and access to all of their teaching staff, which became the major resource sites. The areas sites can be viewed on Figure 4.1 below.

A variation of sites in which research and meetings with respondents took place were used, depending on the level of accessibility of these sites for the various respondents. Many interviews were completed within various locations of Beirut, including coffee shops, plazas, and central areas which were both easy to access and where both the respondent and researcher felt comfortable. Additionally, interviews were completed at government, UN, and NGO buildings, depending on the preference of the respondents. Four key organisations were essential to the study, they enabled the observation of classes and access to all of their teaching staff. The areas sites can be viewed in Figure 4.1.
4.6.1 La Public School (HCTs)
As a formal government school, it was a primary and secondary school located in Mount Lebanon, a rural school in the Chouf District which has received large numbers of Syrian students. The school worked in both first and second shifts teaching the official Lebanese curriculum, with over 800 students attending.

4.6.2 The Hope Foundation (RTs)
The Hope Foundation has nine teaching centres in the Beqaa Valley, who are implementing the Lebanese curriculum. They had about 3,500 students, all of them aging 5-13 years old, learning in two shifts, the morning shift is from 8-12 and the second shift is from 12-4, five days per week. The organisation taught the basic subjects, Arabic, English, mathematics and science, in addition to recreational activities, such as sports, arts and an alternative humanities subject. At the time of the interviews, the Hope Foundation had 190 Syrian teachers working for the organisation, they were all classified volunteers and were given minimum compensation. Although the school functioned as a well organised school setting, it was a non-formal organisation as it was not receiving recognition and accreditation from the government.

The Hope Foundation has nine teaching centres in the Beqaa Valley that implement the Lebanese curriculum. These teaching centres cater for roughly 3,500 students aged between 5 and 13 years of age. These students are taught in two shifts per day, five days per week: the morning shift, from 8AM until 12PM; and the afternoon shift, from 12PM until 4PM. The nine teaching centres of The Hope Foundation teach basic subjects, Arabic, English, Mathematics, Science, in addition to recreational activities, sports, arts and an alternative Humanities subject. At the time of the interviews the Hope Foundation utilised 190 Syrian teachers, who were all classified as volunteers and were given minimum remuneration. Although the school functioned similar to a well organised forma school, it was still a non-formal organisation, since it received neither recognition nor accreditation from the government.
4.6.3 **Prosperity Association (HCTs and RTs)**

The Prosperity Association is a non-formal education provider which is primarily located in the Beqaa Valley, with a major focus upon child protection, basic literacy, and numeracy. During the fieldwork of this research project, The Prosperity Association had 17 Educational learning centres throughout Lebanon. However, some of their funding was to be discontinued from November 2016. The Prosperity Association employs both Syrian and Lebanese teachers who are classified as volunteers and compensated with incentives.

4.6.4 **Junior education programme (HCTs)**

The Junior Education program is a local NGO in Beirut who commenced a makeshift education setting in a three-bedroom apartment. Over eighty children, the majority of whom were at the kindergarten level (the year prior to formal education), attended this program and seven teachers supported the children. Both Syrian and Lebanese students attend The Junior Education Program, however the majority are Syrian students. The Junior Education Program employ one Syrian teacher in a volunteer capacity, who is a well-established artist that teaches the students healing through art.
Figure 4.1 Population Data and Research Sites in Lebanon (UNHCR, 2016)
4.7 Sampling procedure

Since the target sample of this study was specific and located within hard-to-reach populations, snowball sampling was used to locate the sample. Snowball sampling is a sampling technique in which the researcher initially samples a small group of people relevant to their research questions, and then these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research (Bryman, 2012). As previously mentioned, the initial groundwork research with the UN provided a list of central education officials who shared multiple contacts within the field of refugee education, including contacts with MEHE and UN agencies in Beirut. All of these contacts were contacted via email or phone, wherein both the research focus and the academic nature of the prospective interviews were indicated. Noy (2007) suggests that one of the advantages of snowball sampling is its capacity to simultaneously capitalize upon and reveal the connections of individuals within certain networks. This proved to be the case in this research study, since most of the initial contacts provided by the UN offered additional contacts, which enabled insight into how various organisations were linked to other organisations within an emergency crisis setting. Establishing communication with the Syrian teaching population was initially challenging. Yet after linking with specific organisations through intensive networking, both the Lebanese and Syrian community of teachers were exceedingly willing to share their respective experiences.

4.8 Participants and sample size

It was problematic to establish at the outset of the research the number of respondents who would be willing to participate in the study, since, in accordance with Snowball sampling methodology, this number would be based upon the connections made during the fieldwork itself. Sample sizes in qualitative research should not be small enough to impede data saturation. Conversely, sample sizes in qualitative research should not be large enough to impede deep, case-oriented analysis (Onwuegbuzie and Collins 2007, p. 289). Thus, an appropriate sample size, neither too small nor too large, was attained through persistent emails and phone calls. A total of 32 individual interviews and one focus group which included ten teachers took place throughout the duration of the fieldwork. Nine education officials were interviewed, which included: one MEHE official involved in the RACE program, four UN officials working on various programs in Lebanon, and four local NGO officials (managers of the education programs themselves). The responses of the nine
education officials are available in Chapter 5 in relation to the Systems dichotomy. Furthermore, 23 teachers were interviewed, of these 11 were Lebanese teachers (HCT) and 12 were Syrian refugee teachers (RT). Additionally, ten teachers (5 Lebanese and 5 Syrian) took part in a focus group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-structured Interviews (Organisations) Respondents</th>
<th>Semi-structured Interviews (Teachers) Respondents</th>
<th>Focus Group (Teachers) Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MEHE official</td>
<td>11 Lebanese Teachers</td>
<td>5 Lebanese Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 UN officials</td>
<td>12 Syrian Teachers</td>
<td>5 Syrian Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 NGO officials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Interview respondents</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1 Focus Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Sample of participants

4.9 Data analysis procedures

Bryman (2012, p. 289) defines content analysis as any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages. After completing individual interviews and focus group discussions the data analysis process began; each audio recording was listened to in detail and was transcribed in English. During and proceeding the lengthy transcribing process, the data was coded in order to generate categories based on ideas and issues conveyed by respondents. The interviews were grouped into organisations (systems perspective) and teachers (lifeworld perspectives), then broken down into the type of organisation (government, UN, local) and types of teachers (HCT and RT). Two main phases of coding were used in reviewing the results: initial coding and selective coding. The initial coding was very detailed and on each of the interview a code was assigned to every line or paragraph of text which provided initial impressions of the data (Charmaz, 2006). At this stage the coding was very broad to generate as many new codes were required to encapsulate the data. Following this, focused coding was used to establish if the results from the focus groups and interviews, incorporated with Ring and West’s (2015) framework of the seven motivations in refugee contexts. Many categories and codes fitted with the analytical framework, however, new themes and categories were also generated complementing to the current theory and framework. The connections between ideas were placed into tables, charts and boxes, and cross tabulations on excel spreadsheets and word
were created so that visual aids could be easily understood to identify the connections and draw conclusions.

Bryman (2012, p. 289) defines content analysis as any technique to make inferences by objectively and systematically identifying the specified characteristics of messages. After the completion of the individual interviews and focus group discussion, the data analysis process commenced with detailed translation and transcription into English of each audio recording. During the transcription process the data was coded in order to generate categories based upon the ideas and the issues raised by respondents. The interviews were placed into two categories, organisations (systems perspective) and teachers (lifeworld perspectives), and then respectively subcategorised into types of organisation (government, UN, local) and types of teachers (HCT and RT). In order to review the results, two main phases of coding were used: initial coding and selective coding. The initial coding was detailed and assigned a code to every line or paragraph of text within each individual interview which provided initial impressions of the data (Charmaz, 2006). At this stage, the coding was very broad to generate as many new codes as were required to encapsulate the data. Following the initial coding, focused coding established for the results from the focus groups and interviews, incorporated with Ring and West’s (2015) framework of the seven motivations in refugee contexts. Multiple categories and codes fitted with the existing analytical framework. Yet new themes and categories were necessarily generated to complement this existing analytic framework too. The connections between ideas were placed into tables, charts and boxes, and cross tabulations within excel spreadsheets and word documents were created, so that visual aids could be easily understood in order to identify the connections and draw conclusions.

4.10 Ethics

Prior to departure, the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) approved the research project its data collection upon the condition of a few minor research changes, which were simple and easy to adjust. During the research process, consent was obtained from each participant before the administration of the interviews and the focus group. Each participant received a letter of reference which outlined the academic nature of the research, their ethical rights and the contact details of the researcher and supervisors. The letter and consent form was available in both Arabic and English, the respondents were provided adequate time to carefully read through both the letter and consent form, and the contents of both the letter and
consent form were explained verbally by the interviewer, if the respondent was comfortable to communicate in English, or interpreted and explained verbally by the translator, if the respondent was only comfortable to communicate in Arabic. In addition, any further questions the respondents raised were answered prior to which each participant was asked to sign their consent within the consent form (Appendix D). The data of all the respondents was handled with the highest level of confidentiality, and due to the sensitive nature of the research respondents were provided with pseudonyms with which they were referred to in all electronic and hard copy documentation. Some respondents did not request anonymity, and they preferred to use their real names. However due to the ethics agreement, all respondents were given pseudonyms. Additionally, respondents were asked for consent to the use of a recording device and were informed of both their withdrawal rights and right to access the final results of the study.

4.11 Reliability and validity

The concepts of reliability and validity are conceptualisations of the quantitative paradigm, since they are both rooted in the positivist perspective, a different method is needed in the naturalistic approach corresponding to this study. Golafshani (2003) argues that reliability and validity in qualitative research are linked with the trustworthiness, rigor and quality of the research design. There is a need to eliminate bias in the perspectives of the qualitative researchers, to increase the researcher’s truthfulness of the proposal about the social phenomenon (Denzin, 1978). Thus, the researcher used the triangulation method to maintain the validity and reliability of the data by triangulating the data sourced from different key informants using different methods of data collection instruments. Triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data to study social phenomena. The term is employed more broadly by Denzin (1970) to refer to an approach that uses ‘multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies’, but the emphasis tends to be on methods of investigation and sources of data (Golafshani, 2003). Throughout this research study, triangulation was used to cross-check multiple data sources, numerous groups of respondents and various collection procedures to evaluate the extent to which all evidence converges. The interviews of two different groups of teachers (HCTs and RTs), head teachers, a MEHE official, UN officials, and NGO education directors, created credibility within the research that would not have been possible with the of a single informant or group of informants. Similarly, the application of different data collection methods – including
semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion and observations – increased the representation of the study.

The concept of reliability signifies how representative the conclusion of the study will be to the sample of the study. Since snowball sampling utilises a small sample of the population who are marginally connected it is improbable that the sample will be representative of the entire population relevant to the study. This research study enquired into subjective issues, and thus each of the individual respondent’s perspectives on issues that orbit the motivations and challenges of teachers may differ, depending on the variety of skillsets each individual possesses within the classroom, and the varying environmental configurations that determine those classrooms within emergency settings. That being considered, this research study provides insight into teachers’ perspectives of the current situations that they and many other teachers of refugees in Lebanon encounter.

External validity deals with the potential for generalising findings made in one study to a larger group of the population researched. However, in a comparative study, such as this research study of two different groups ‘RTs’ and ‘HCTs’, the unit under focus may not be representative of the larger “population” of cases and the potential for generalisation may be inadequate (Gerring, 2007, p. 20). However, this study can be used as a comparative case study for ‘teachers in refugee contexts’, which will contribute to the dearth of existing literature within the field of refugee education and augmenting the capacity of the field of refugee education to comprehend the current situation encountered by these groups of teachers. What the comparative case study design neglects in its possibility for generalisation, it counteracts through its unlimited potency for further research and understanding.

4.12 Limitations

The purpose of this study was to gain a greater insight into the challenges and motivations of teachers working with Syrian refugee students within Lebanon. Because of the complexities involved with fieldwork in refugee contexts, limitations within the research were inevitable. Completion of observations and establishing a suitable sample size was somewhat affected by the matters of time, cost and security blocks during the fieldwork. With just over a month in the field, I was able to find a suitable sample of respondents, however, the findings cannot be said to represent infallible empirical evidence. A larger sample may have enabled more in-depth comparisons between HCTs and RTs. Additionally, the snowball sampling approach
may have influenced a skewed sample of respondents which may pose a threat to the reliability of the data. Respondents may have recommended individuals with similar characteristics to themselves, therefore creating a sample with a similar set of attitudes, which may not be representative of the whole sample.

The flexibility of the semi-structured interviews proved beneficial for the range of responses, however this may also pose a threat to reliability and validity of the data collected. Measurement validity is concerned with whether the measurement tools, including the interview guides, actually measure the underlying phenomenon under study. Even though informants at large were asked the same open-ended questions, there is a risk that respondents might have understood concepts differently than intended, thus jeopardizing the measurement validity. This is even more relevant in this study as a language barrier exists between the participants and myself, the research became a cross-language qualitative study with unique challenges related to language (Temple & Young, 2004). Through the services of translators and interpreters, I was able to communicate with the respondents. However, this may have affected the results from particular respondents.

Another possible shortcoming of the thesis is that students were not included as participants. Students were not at the core of this study, therefore not well-matched for the particular focus of the study. Including students would have required a significantly bigger sample, however, student perspective would be noteworthy for future studies as it provides new insights to the quality a motivation of HCTS and RTs. Due to the scope of the study and limited time and resources, this was not feasible, however should be considered for future research.
5 Systems perspective

5.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the qualitative data gathered through the semi-structured interviews and unstructured observation, completed by a MEHE official, four UN officials and four NGO directors for Syrian refugee education in Lebanon. In terms of Habermas’ framework (1987), the interviews covered in this chapter describe the systems perspective. This chapter explicates how Lebanese laws, regulation, and government policy, as well as the policies and work of NGOs, shape the work of HCTs and RTs. This chapter provides a descriptive analysis to continue to answer the research questions by presenting the data with a focus upon the structure of the system. This chapter begins to answer the first research question: How are national and regional authorities engaging teachers in providing education for refugees in Lebanon? To supplement the research found in the literature review, the thesis is given a structural perspective of the roles HCTs and RTs play within the Lebanese education system. This chapter also begins to answer the second research question: What are the differences in challenges and motivating factors experienced by RTs and HCTs? In this chapter, this research question is answered by education officials, however this very research question will be further analysed in Chapter 6 through the teachers’ lifeworld perspectives. As previously stated in the third chapter which focused upon the analytical framework of this study, this fifth chapter will be broken up into Ring and West’s (2015) seven factors effecting motivation, and then will be separated into additional challenges and motivations experienced and recognised by respondents. Finally, this chapter considers the responses from the systems perspective in the final research question: What are the benefits of engaging both HCTs and RTs in refugee contexts?

5.2 The engagement of HCTs and RTs in Lebanon

5.2.1 Formal education
Throughout the research it became clear that only HCTs were involved in the formal education of the Syrian refugee students in Lebanon. This was supported by interviews with officials from both MEHE and UN agencies, who confirmed that the labour law restricts the employment of Syrian refugee teachers. In the initial interviews, the MEHE official, employed as part the RACE program, specified the strict labour laws surrounding the use of RTs.
Lebanese law does not allow the government to employ foreign teachers (specifically refugee teachers). The ministry of labour only allows Syrians to work in specific areas, including construction, domestic (housekeeping) and agriculture (Interview MEHE1 Official, 09/11/2016).

The stated motivation for this law suggested a complex set of issues regarding employment. With such an enormous influx of refugees, two of the respondents stated that the labour market would not be able to handle the influx of RTs into the system.

Talking about it in a bigger picture Syrians are taking over the jobs of the Lebanese. Lebanese youth already did not have any job opportunities, now they are struggling even more. It is a systematic issue, that deals with employment. This is because Syrian are paid much less than what Lebanese expect. A job that Lebanese may take $800 USD, Syrians are doing the same thing for $200 which effects the labour market (MEHE1)

The issues surrounding RT employment was confirmed in the interviews with UN officials, though the reason behind not engaging RTs was claimed to be upon the basis that Lebanon already has a suitable labour force of teachers.

In our work with the government and the public sector, basically our work is with Lebanese teachers. This is mainly due to the demand from Lebanese teachers to get into the public teacher workforce. This is what the government says, that there is a lot of Lebanese who are already on the waiting list to get in, so they are not opening this for refugee teachers (UN2 Official, 16/09/2016).

This is confirmed in the RACE 2017-2022 report (MEHE, 2016), which states that there is an over-supply of under-qualified teaching staff in public schools for basic education (p.8), and suggests that although there may be high demand for employment within public education, the HCTs were not always properly qualified. A complementary observation from UN1 described how he was unconvinced with the opinion that the ministry had adequate numbers of trained HCTs within the public system to provide for the crises. He described that the public system had overstrained the capacity and working hours of HCTs whilst they had overlooked the idea of engaging RTs, and consequently, he inferred, the public system had not considered the best recruitment practices for quality education.

Because the Ministry of education did not want to hear about using them, they used to tell us ‘No we can handle this’. They used to say that the Lebanese teachers can handle it. For example, they used to say that the Lebanese teachers had 20 hours to teach, and as a matter of fact, they are teaching only 15, so they have 5 more hours in which they can use. They were trying to use this kind of rationality. The situation was very complex (UN1 Official, 16/09/2016)

Respondents suggested that from a political perspective there was a reluctance to engage RTs since the Lebanese wished to reduce the social influence of Syrians on the Lebanese education system:
They [the Lebanese] wanted to limit any influence from the Syrian systems into their society, including the education system. They wanted their teachers (HCTs), to deal with the situation’ (UN Official 4, 10/11/2016). Research emerged that family influence was also being constrained within formal schools; one of UN staff stated ‘that the Syrian refugees are also not allowed to be part of the parent teacher association (UN2).

By excluding family and friends within education settings, disengaging community is potentially counterproductive regarding the increase of the reenrolment of refugee students. Yet the Lebanese ministry of [x] had suggested an alternative notion at the time of this research. The ideas the ministry recommended were the use of Syrian refugees as volunteer liaison officers.

The minister himself has requested to make use of Syrian refugees (not necessarily teachers), to come to school, to have at least one focal point liaison officer who understands the cultural context of the children and who can be the liaison between the school’s communities and the families. … It still has not been implemented (UN2)

Although this recommendation by the Lebanese ministry of [x] would only allow a small number of refugees to become involved as community liaison officers that volunteer within public schools, this may be a somewhat restricted step in the right direction regarding the community engagement of Syrian refugees in Lebanon (MEHE, 2016). That being said, the question remains whether refugee teachers should be given a more substantial role within the Lebanese education system.

5.2.2 Non-Formal Education

The interviews confirmed the findings of the literature review which concluded that both HCTs and RTs are engaged in the non-formal education of refugee students. HCTs have the right to work as both employees and volunteers, however, RTs can only legally be engaged as ‘volunteers’ to support non-formal learning spaces, including community centres and informal tent settlements (UNICEF, 2015). ‘The majority of RTs were involved in non-formal education. Meaning in classes that were conducted out of the official structures. All of them were voluntary, because there is no recruitment system in Lebanon’ (UN1).

Recruitment and selection processes vary among local and international NGOs and educational centres. Each organisation utilises distinct approaches regarding the kind of teachers they employed. Those with close connections to the Lebanese government principally engage HCTs, while local Lebanese and Syrian NGOs engage both RTs and HCTs as ‘volunteers’. Safro is an education organisation that is closely linked with MEHE and UN agencies and provides basic literacy and numeracy lessons to underprivileged Syrian
refugees. The education director of Safro described the reasons why Safro only engaged HCTs as curriculum related:

[First] we do not employ Syrian teachers because it is against the labour law. Second, from our experience is that these children need to get a certificate that is valid and helpful for them and the certificate should be issued, if they are following the Lebanese curriculum. (Safro, NGO Educational Director, 11/11/2016)

This description of the education director of Safro contends that HCTs are more capable because of their capacity to provide the children they teach with adequate certification by following the Lebanese curriculum. Although Safro did not employ RTs, the organisation did allow the Syrian community to become involved as unpaid volunteers, but this was an uncommon phenomenon.

We as a program always welcome any volunteer. Whether they are Syrians, whether they are Lebanese, they are whatever. We have worked, although rarely with some refugees that are in camps in partnership with another NGO who are inside camps, but we are just giving them consultancy training and for the teachers training. But we do not ‘employ’ any of them. We never ‘employ’. (Safro)

Alternatively, two substantial programs illustrate the importance of the engagement of RTs within education programs as teachers, since these RTs were skilled individuals who were able to build capacity both individually and within the community. One of these programs is the Hope Foundation who exclusively engage RTs, while employing Lebanese consultants to support RTs in implementing the Lebanese curriculum. The education director at the Hope Foundation states:

The Syrian staff are hired, because one of our objectives is to build the capacity of the Syrian community in Lebanon, so that they can go back to Syria and participate in the rebuilding process. … Our staff are staying in Lebanon because they have found their own potential. And they are studying at university, maybe their postgraduate degree or even to complete their certificate. (Education Director, The Hope Foundation, 23/11/2016)

The Hope Foundation’s teaching workforce of RTs possess high skill levels, and are comprised of teachers from many different fields, including but not limited to: doctors, lawyers, chemical engineers and trained teachers. All the Hope Foundation's RTs are involved in educating refugee students. The strict labour laws in Lebanon may have contributed to the immigration of many of the highly skilled Syrian refugees to Europe or the Gulf States. This phenomenon of skilled immigration has resulted in a serious ‘brain drain’ for both refugee communities in Lebanon and for the future of Syria, if and when refugees return home and rebuild their country (IRIN, 2013). Governments and aid agencies need to make use of the skills of educated refugees through community mobilization, so that they can address the needs of refugee children both within Lebanon and in their own country when
they return. UN officials state that the Syrian communities themselves prefer the involvement of RTs in the education of their children: ‘parents themselves, found it not only convenient, but also the parents prefer that the kids are educated by the Syrian teachers’ (UN1). Reasons for the preference of RTs include trust, deeper understanding of the refugee children, the culture and their community, as well as an appreciation and empathy towards the experiences and hardships that refugee children have been subjected to, and an awareness of the potential psychosocial consequences because of these experiences and hardships. UN3 states that ‘the students were actually very comfortable working with refugee teachers, because these teachers were also very familiar with the community, the backgrounds and families, they were happy with them with the school environment’ (UN3 Official, 10/11/2016).

Both RTs and HCTs of are utilised by an NGO referred to as the ‘Prosperity Association’ to provide education to refugee students, and focus on the protection and psychosocial support of refugee children. The educational director of the Prosperity Association described the importance of using both RTs and HCTs for building relationships and growth within communities.

At the beginning of the program there was over 80 percent Syrian teachers and 20 percent Lebanese. But since then it has changed a lot. More and more Lebanese teachers have wanted to get involved in the program. For them, it is a chance to learn first-hand what is going on in the Syrian communities, as well as providing for their families, they are given a chance to grow. It is very much about capacity building for themselves. (Prosperity Association, Education Director, 23/11/2016)

Organisations that engage RTs seem to have a greater focus on capacity building for both teachers and students within underprivileged Lebanese communities. Organisations with strong links to MEHE and UN organisations are restricted in their capacity to employ RTs because of the Lebanese labour laws, and there is also a belief amongst these organisations that HCTs are more capable of to provide the children they teach with adequate certification by following the Lebanese curriculum. However, during the observations of the fieldwork of this research study, within both formal and non-formal education settings, there were skilled teachers within both groups of HCT and RT teachers.

5.2.3 The Secret Schools

Because MEHE policy hampers opportunities for RTs, new schools emerged outside of the formal Lebanese education system, sometimes referred to as either ‘Syrian schools’ or the ‘public secret’ (UN2). These schools outside the formal Lebanese education system were by default illegal, since they were run by Syrians, utilised either the Syrian or the Lebanese
curriculum, and employed mainly Syrian teachers. Some of these schools were funded by the Gulf states or different international entities, and at times they were linked to the civil war, as either for or against regime schools (UN3).

We also hear of Syrian schools, but we don’t have much information about these, but what we know is that they are functioning. We don’t have much information on these, part of it is left on purpose not to explore, because these schools are illegal. So, there are schools who are completing the Syrian curriculum, employing Syrian teachers and only teaching Syrian students (UN2).

Little research exists into schools outside the formal Lebanese education system and they are viewed by many Lebanese citizens with suspicion. However, with the Lebanese government’s restriction of a group of educators from teaching, RTs, the emergence of these schools seem like a direct result of this restriction. When this kind of phenomenon occurs, the formal education system loses control of the education processes that are occurring in these centres.

5.3  Ring and West’s seven factors effecting motivation

5.3.1  Teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment

Teacher recruitment, selection and deployment policies differ among formal and non-formal education settings, within both sectors there are no clear policies and guidelines available on how teachers are recruited and selected. In the formal education system, the RACE official stated that the recruitment process was distinctive between the first and second shifts. In the first shift HCTs are contracted by the MEHE, while in the second shift, schools either contracted teachers from the first shift, or other contractual teachers from Lebanon. Teaching positions are advertised either through job advertisements, social media, word of mouth or local connections, however a clear recruitment structure did not appear to be in place. The RACE official stated that more experienced teachers are used within first shifts, while the teachers in the second shifts are employed on a contract and are required to hold a university certificate. One UN official described how many of the HCTs were not properly trained:

This is for the record, that the second shifts that have been established, the quality was very low, they (the teachers) were compensated for sure, but they were not trained to deal with the Syrian students. Because the second shifts were mainly for Syrians. We are not only talking about access here we are talking about quality (UN1)

This statement is supported in the MEHE RACE (2017-2022) documents, describing Legislation passed in 1985 and 2002, which enables the recruitment of “contractual teachers”, and generates fewer benefits and less employment security for teachers. With
meagre recruitment policies and performance standards, weaker entry requirements, and decreased salaries, the recruitment of contractual teachers has turned into reliance upon an under-qualified and unskilled teaching force (MEHE1). This was also revealed in interviews with another local UN authority:

I don’t know how the government recruit for the second shift, but I know they are recruiting a lot of contractual teachers. They are not using their own teaching staff. This is an issue in Lebanon, the issue of hiring teachers, fixed term teachers, who do not have the proper certificates. Some of them when they were recruited did not have the proper teaching diploma, or these things. Mainly this issue of contractual teachers. (UN3)

This may be of consequence to the real learning outcomes of children in the Lebanese public school system, and especially among the refugee communities. Within non-formal education settings there are distinctive policies for the recruitment of teachers, yet these policies depend upon the learning centre itself. The distinctive policies within non-formal education settings rely upon the specific program that engages teachers: early childhood, primary or secondary education, remedial, homework support, or in basic literacy and numeracy. Non-formal settings appeared to select teachers based upon their capabilities and subject proficiencies, with preference for those with experience within the program’s curriculum of choice, regardless of whether the teachers’ nationality was Syrian or Lebanese. The non-formal education settings use different recruitment techniques which often involve communities. The Hope Foundation has a systematic and organised recruitment and selection process of RTs, and the first phase of this process consists of selection via advertising and the use of social media:

Before launching the programs, two months earlier, we announce on Facebook, on our website on other social media that we are recruiting. They apply either online or offline, they can come to the office and apply. They fill in the application form, and of course it does not include and sensitive information, like what religion or what religion did you come from. To overcome the problems, the segregation and the stereotyping. After doing the filtration for the first step, we try to choose those who are living in the camp with more priority than others, then we complete the needs. (Hope Foundation)

The Prosperity Foundation uses a different technique for its recruitment. It raises awareness of its education centres by directly approaching local communities and settlements, and both HCTs and RTs:

When we decide to start our educational centres, we do a survey around the area and make people aware of what is happening. We recruit teachers and locals from the area, as they are the ones who know the kids the best. Within the communities these teachers are very much respected by all of the other people within the community. (Prosperity Association)
The recruitment process of the Hope Foundation contained the following step, and a similar process is taken by the other NGOs for suitable staffing within their respective programs:

The next step is the interviews with the consultant, he is Lebanese. Then we have the final decision, the second filtration. We call them and each one of them comes, we show them the rooms, what is allowed and what we are not allowed to do. We have Saturday professional development, it’s for free we don’t pay for the teachers. (Hope Foundation)

Through the facilitation of such a serious and comprehensive recruitment and selection process the Hope Foundation acquired a highly capable teaching force comprised of refugee teachers from many different backgrounds from within the local community. Deployment was only briefly mentioned during one of the interviews with an NGO director, who stated that teachers were generally sent to education centres that suited the individual teacher’s specific skillset, and further he claimed that deployment ensured that there was a diverse population of teachers from different backgrounds at the centres. The Hope Foundation ensured teachers were deployed based upon the needs of the population of the refugee settlements.

So, we are trying to hire, to grow the capacity, or the competencies improved of those teachers living in the camps, to encourage them so they can create a better atmosphere within the camp and raise the awareness of others. But of course, not giving up the standards that we have. When we have five out of ten teachers within the camp, we try to get other teachers from outside the camp. We try to get teachers from nearby, so it is not risky for them to come back and forth (Hope Foundation).

Although education directors and UN officials described slightly different recruitment procedures, it is clear that a more effective teacher management system is required to track teacher experience and subject specialisations. This would enhance recruitment processes for both HCTs and RTs, to ensure that the most talented teachers are within the classrooms, regardless of nationality.

5.3.2 Teaching environment

From the system perspective, there is a clear consensus that the teaching environment within refugee education in Lebanon is challenging, and education centres themselves having poor facilities. There are also concerns about psychosocial issues, physical and verbal violence. INEE (2009) describes that the teaching environment in refugee contexts in general is considerably difficult since the reality of these contexts includes scarce resources, insecurity, and violence which are connected with poor teacher motivation. This was supported by interviews which described the physical school environment as poor, within both formal and non-formal settings. Education Director of Safro described:
Schools and facilities are very bad. If you want to organise any extracurricular activities, that is the challenge. There are no playgrounds, there is no area for PE, for football for baseball. The conditions are very bad. Even if you want to implement a hand and hygiene program, the conditions of the bathrooms are very bad. The need is very big. Many schools, not only public schools, some of the private schools are also in terrible conditions. They provide them with sufficient stationary, and some educational kits. The problems are the whole structure of the schools. (Safro)

The facilities of the schools teaching refugee children in Lebanon varies from normal school buildings, makeshift apartments, to classrooms in shipping containers and tents. Due to the weak infrastructure, many respondents raised complaints about the suitability of classroom conditions to withstand weather conditions, especially in winter. Some of these schools do not have the proper insulation in the winter, this effects teacher performance (Prosperity Association). There is also an issue with basic needs such as water and proper sanitisation to maintain adequate hygiene. One of the UN officials explained:

In regards to infrastructure, maintenance is needed in many schools. The conditions of the toilets are not good, drinking water is not good, which is an issue again in all of Lebanon. The water that reaches the schools is not always drinkable water. (UN2)

The MEHE official recognised these issues within the public schools, especially within the second system, describing a need for extra support, ‘the government cannot handle it all, from the grants, to enrolment, construction, buying whiteboards. There is a need for further support’ (MEHE1). Inversely, almost all of the interviewees within formal settings recognised that education centres were receiving enough resources from both UN agencies and international donors. When prompted the interviewers stated that their organisation was providing ‘School in a Box’, an initiative that included teaching materials, whiteboard, dusters, journals, pens and stationary to the education centres (UN2). Most NGO education directors and UN officials agreed that there were enough resources being supplied to the learning settings.

This year teacher resources and materials are being provided. Like we said before, every year it is getting better. Even now in the second shift schools, there are donors who are funding the learning materials, it is already covered. I believe in the beginning there was some shortage. It is being provided by (UN agency) for teaching resources and learning materials for the students. In the primary level, we have not heard of any issues. Text books are not provided at the secondary level. For teachers, it hasn’t been an issue raised by them. (UN3)

The World Bank (2010) links teaching environment directly with motivation, and state that “teacher motivation is strongly related to working and living conditions’ (p.22). When teachers work and live in an environment where they consistently have sufficient resources to accomplish what is expected of them, their motivation increases. Although the resources supplied seemed to be adequate in regards to quantity, emphasis should be place upon the
physical environment of schools, as well as the physical environments in which the students live. In all interviews, a common theme emerged of verbal and physical violence among the public schools, which was contributed to a negative teaching environment. This was supported by a statement in the RACE II document ‘It is often reported that children experience bullying and corporal punishment in Lebanese schools’ (MEHE, 2016, p. 9). In an interview one of the UN officials stated that bullying and stigmatization was prevalent in many of the public-school environments.

We hear that there is a lot of violence in the public schools, this is not anecdotal evidence, we don’t have the real evidence. This is most likely very stressful for students and for teachers. If you see this happening in the yard every day, this is also very stressful, but there is also a lot of violence from children to teachers, and teachers to students, and also from parents to teachers. There is a lot of violence within schools and that this is not contributing to the reduction of their workload (UN2).

This violence within schools is a demotivating factor for both students and teachers and has a negative impact on the teaching environment. One of the reasons why refugee parents are not sending refugee children to formal public schools is this negative learning environment which was also reported by UNICEF (2015), wherein it is stated that Syrian parents are often fearful that teachers and classmates will attack their children.

Immediately, if it comes to a lot of Syrian parents and children, one of the reasons that they don’t want to enrol children, or kids dropping out, very often you hear it is because of bullying, discrimination, stigmatization against the Syrians. Because all of that violence also towards the teacher, verbal and fistful, this is very de-motivational, for teachers as well. The violence that they are perceiving, is also demotivating. (UN 2)

Other NGOs have taken forceful approaches against any form of violence and discrimination within their education centres. The Hope Foundation that only employs Syrian refugee teachers has a strong policy regarding the violence and bullying of its students. To sanction these rules, the non-formal education setting would dismiss any teachers if any incident occurred involving violence towards a child. It is clear in the job description that any physical or even verbal violence will not be tolerated, that immediately teachers would be dismissed.

We had some cases of this, like 2-3 cases of this within two years. But when you dismiss someone on the very same day that he hits for example or calls the student names, you will not see the same case like within several months, it will not be repeated. Luckily, we do not have any physical violence. Whenever we hear about any incident or case that happens. It is part of their voluntary contract. They are aware of this. (Hope Foundation)

This kind of strong policy should be utilised in all schools both within the public and the private sector, as in the UNHCR (2003) field guidelines there needs to be a clear code of conduct in which ‘all teachers and education personnel should understand and sign a “code of
conduct” to ensure that schools are “safe havens”, (...) that children are safe from harassment and sexual exploitation and that the teachers behave in a professional manner at all times’ (p. 12).

5.3.3 Certification

Certification is crucial for teacher motivation within refugee contexts, and although cheap to produce, certification can be integral to teacher motivation and training. Brown (2001) claims that although a certificate may only be a piece of paper ‘because of what it represents, it can have an enormous effect on the recipient, in terms of self-esteem, motivation and hope for the future regarding job prospects’ (p. 153). According to MEHE official, the ministry was ‘very strict with degree and certifications within the second shifts. Teachers who teach a particular subject, must have a degree within this subject’. Bankmed (2014) research on the distribution of primary and secondary teachers in Lebanon by the highest degree earned, suggests that not all teachers have university degrees within the system. In the report is stated

‘about 48% of these teachers hold a Bachelor’s degree, 6% hold a Master’s degree. Moreover, a significant 26% share of teachers hold only a school degree. Meanwhile, 10% of the teachers hold an education diploma, and 8% hold a technical and vocational degree’ (p. 15)

This emphasises the point that the certification and qualifications required for teaching positions vary from one school to another, and consequently there is a lack of consistent structure and regulation among teachers in private and public schools. In an interview with a UN official there was uncertainty regarding which specific qualification and certificates were actually required from teachers.

I know that it is a university degree the teachers need, and I think that it is also an education degree. This is what we hear. In practice, I am not sure what is happening. Usually in higher classes they take teachers who have the degree in the topic of instruction. So, you will have math’s graduates, or English, etc. But for basic education I think they require the teaching degree. They teach all subjects in the junior school. In the middle school in 7-9 usually they teach per subject, but I am not sure how strict this requirement is. (UN4)

Problems transpire within non-formal education settings for teachers since some particular organisations only recognise physical evidence of certification. This creates a discernible obstacle for refugee teachers in emergency settings who may have earned acceptable qualifications in their home country, but did not have the opportunity to transport the physical copies when fleeing their country (Penson, et. Al., 2011). To counteract this issue many of the NGOs require teachers to present a class in order to observe the teachers level of experience, pedagogical practices, and educational skill set, which is a respectable practice for recruitment in any educational setting globally.
Teachers generally will have a teaching degree or have finished their BA, or Masters. Some of course have fled from the war, sometimes without their certificates. In all cases we ask teachers to present a class, so that we can see their experience and teaching abilities. If they are sufficient we take them on to teach. However, if they show they do not have adequate skills we will find someone else. (The Prosperity Association)

The issue of student accreditation is also a concern within the non-formal education centres, NGO education directors are frustrated by the limitations placed upon them by the Lebanese education ministry regarding what they are permitted to teach, and whether the students would receive accreditation from what is taught. Certificates received through other NFE programmes are not recognized in Lebanon because there is no legal framework for their recognition (UNICEF, 2015, p. 66). The government’s lack of recognition of the certificates or exams from the non-formal settings has produced a significant concern which has become a de-motivational factor for teachers working in non-formal settings. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter considering the teacher’s lifeworld perspective.

5.3.4 Professional Development

Throughout the interviews, professional development and capacity building became one of the most important themes raised from a systems perspective, in both formal and non-formal settings. As a UN official clearly acknowledged: ‘The teacher is the pillar of quality education, if you do not train them and empower them, then you will have no quality education at the end of the day’ (UN1). Many respondents described promoting access, quality, and system strengthening, as the three key pillars to improving the system. ‘Professionals is one of our major goals, because if we build the capacity of teachers, they can impact more children’ (Safro). Both in formal and non-formal settings respondents claimed there were opportunities for professional development. In public education, there was a yearly survey completed to look at areas with the most need.

Every year there is a teacher association with MEHE, what they do is they do a kind of survey, to see their own capacity development needs. Areas in which they want to be trained. Subject related issues, i.e. teaching maths or specific concepts, they range from classroom management, etc. Teachers are invited to register and attend, the times are set from the start. (UN3)

Within both non-formal and formal settings UN agencies and NGOs worked with the government to provide training for both HCTs and RTs. A respondent stated that ‘a lot has been done on psychosocial support and language of instruction, classroom management’. Many of the training sessions were run out of school hours, and consequently many teachers were not trained. Some of the training sessions took part on weekends and were part of
teachers volunteering contracts. The Lebanese education system saw this as a way of self-improvement and an incentive in itself. The Hope Foundation stated that their RTs were now staying Lebanon because they had realised ‘their own potential’ through the professional development that was being provided.

I think that many of them work to improve themselves as people. To grow while the war is going on. Many of them are academics and educators and will not work in construction, domestic or agriculture as the government only allows them to do. For them it also brings back a sense of dignity and they are contributing to the future generations of Syria. (UN1)

5.3.5 Incentives

Incentives comprise of both monetary and non-monetary support: the latter encompasses a very broad range of in-kind payment and includes a range of other arrangements to help support and motivate teachers (INEE, 2013). In Lebanon, the major incentives received by teachers are monetary per hour payments to HCTs within formal education, and small monetary incentives to HCTs and RTs who volunteer within NGOs. Monetary payments to the MEHE official stated that HCTs working in the second and third shifts were paid 18,000 Lebanese Pounds per hour which works out to be $USD 12 an hour, (2-3 dollars more than it used to be). ‘Everyone is paid the same, no matter how much experience they have – so there are no problems’ (MEHE Official). Since these teachers are employed on a contractual basis, they payment is based on the hours they work and they do not receive holiday payment.

Teachers working for non-formal education centres receive less pay in general, those working with HCTs who work for the Lebanese education ministry are paid about 15,000 LP ($10 USD) per hour (Safro). While refugee teachers working in non-formal education settings receive quite a bit less in ‘incentives’, this varies within NGOs from approximately $5-7 per hour, depending on what the NGO can afford.

Refugee teachers are not officially paid or on contract, however they are called volunteers and are paid incentives. This is to avoid any confusion from the government. Furthermore, they are no longer called teachers, but we call them animators. Each ‘animator’ is paid $5 an hour for the work that they do. Although it is not so much money, this is what they use to support their families. (Prosperity Association)

It is essential that governments have an established system for teacher compensation where teachers are paid on time to increase teacher motivation; this also helps to ‘stabilise the education system thus effecting control, professionalism and accountability of teachers’ (INEE, 2013, p. 2). Nevertheless, it is clear that within the Lebanese public school system, many teachers were not being paid on time in their second shifts.
What is very demotivating is that they get paid their salaries very late, irregularly, sometimes they have to wait for months and months before they receive their salary, which is a very big factor effecting motivation. (UN2)

This problem appears to be within the system itself, as it appears to be a consequence sometimes associated with issues from higher levels of government. The state of Lebanon has remained in political instability for many years, recently without a president, which also effects the mechanisms capable of producing a solid structure. One UN official explained:

Issues with payment is related mainly to the second shift teachers. Two years ago, there was no president for a long time, the cabinet wasn’t meeting for a long time, so there were operational issues. The second shifts were being covered by some international agencies and because of this lack of cabinet meetings and all that, and this money that was supposed to be paid to teachers, there was no mechanisms to get the money to them through the different structures of the ministry. They were not paid their salaries for a year from 2013-2014, so the economic year ended and the teachers were still not paid. (UN3)

This effects teacher motivation, which will be further considered in the following chapter. As the refugee crisis has continued, education stakeholders have learnt to manage as best as possible with the systematic complications that occur with such a large-scale refugee crisis.

I think as time goes by, problems are being resolved every year, structures are becoming clearer, the finding mechanisms, it is becoming smoother every year. Definitely when the second shift was new, there were many issues and payment was one of them. (UN3)

The issues of non-payment were not reported among the non-formal NGOs in the interviews, although, since they receive funding from different stakeholders, finance can be an issue. Although payment remains important it is not the only form of incentive that motivates teachers in Lebanon. Although non-monetary incentives of accommodation, food, etc. were not mentioned, both NGO education directors and UN officials claim that one of the most important incentives for teachers is training, both for professional development and capacity building: ‘Many of them are here because they want to gain knowledge and improve themselves as people’ (Safro). This idea of capacity building appeared even more prevalent within the Syrian refugee communities, wherein the incentives of training may not only be motivating but also life sustaining, since they are able to keep their minds busy and improve themselves as people.

The Syrian teachers are here because they need to build their own capacity and they need to develop their own skills. They need to develop themselves and depend on their selves rather than waiting in the settlement, waiting for the aid or food baskets. To be aware of their own potential and to develop their own skills. To achieve some academic degrees which is available for most of our teachers. So, they can enable both themselves and others to reach their full potential. (Hope Foundation)
5.3.6 Management structures

Effective systems of management, supervision and accountability are vital for providing professional support, maintaining teacher motivation, and upholding the quality of teaching (INEE, 2013, p. 3). The management structures surrounding staff appear to be somewhat frustrating from both a systems and lifeworld perspective. The centralisation of education refers to the condition whereby administrative authority for education is consigned to a central body, rather than the local community (Brennan, 2002). The problems of a centralised system exist within both formal and non-formal education within Lebanon. Within the public sector, UN official 2 cited the centralized education system as a factor that affects teacher motivation, since educators and head teachers do not have a platform from which to share their own voices regarding decision-making that affects their schools, classroom and students.

That they are in very centralised education system so that all the decisions, about their schools, their class, their students are taken here at central level instead of them. Including that is also school itself. Whatever little influence the school director has is not rippled down to the teachers. This is absolutely demotivating. (UN2)

World Bank (n.d) states that in secondary and primary education, the system should be devolved as much as possible, requiring local participation in school management to improve the accountability and responsiveness of teachers and the community. This issue of lack of community involvement appears often within public education within Lebanon. Frustration towards the centralized management structure also permeates down to the non-formal education settings, as the Lebanese ministry of education was trying to control what was being taught to the students, possibly to slow down the influence of refugee communities.

One of the biggest problems with our association is that we are an informal educational setting, who is funded by a UN agency. However, because of their link with the ministry, we are not allowed to teach literacy and numeracy to the students. It should only be focused on child protection and psycho-social support. But we see a big need for improving basic numeracy and literacy, so we have also implemented this into the curriculum. (Prosperity Association)

5.3.7 Social Status and Recognition

Community involvement can be fundamental in shaping community perceptions of the role and status of teachers, and can increase teacher motivation (INEE, 2013, p 2). From an objective perspective, teaching within the education system in Lebanon did not appear to be an attractive career option: ‘Teachers in general in Lebanese society are not really valued highly, they have low pay, and it may not be the ideal career’ (Prosperity Association). Hall and Langton (2006) describe that teaching as a profession globally does not usually receive
high status, despite the fact that it is a career that influences the lives of others and necessitates important skills and training, it does not have the ability to deliver the extrinsic essentials of status, including: fame, fortune or power. Although the status of the teaching profession was not high in Lebanon, teaching still seemed to be a moderately attractive career.

In general, I would say it is not a very attractive career option, but also, we hear of big numbers, at the same time there is a high demand like we said before. I heard there is around 3000 teacher graduates every year. So, it is a really big faculty, and this creates a big demand on the public sector. (UN 3, 2016)

There is an understanding that most teachers want to move into the private sector, which indicates that the public sector is not valued as highly and does not attract the most effective teachers. This may also suggest that the public system loses their best teachers to the private system after they have expended time and resources into training them, as suggested by one UN official:

Their status is not very high in general. But what is even worse is that public school teacher’s vs private school teachers, there is a huge difference as well. (...) As a teacher this is what you aim to go for, you go to the best schools if not in any other private schools. Public schools are really the last resort. Very often you deal with very junior teachers who want to gain experience in order to apply for jobs in the private school in the year after or your dealing with people for very clear reasons were not accepted or were fired from the private system. So that says a little bit of how they are viewed and valued. (UN2)

Teachers within non-formal education centres seem to have higher status and are recognized by their communities. This theme of community recognition appears to be even more prevalent amongst Syrian refugee communities, possibly as part of the intrinsic incentive of joy in building the community. Capacity building within the communities, is a major factor for both HCTs and RTs.

People are appreciating the work that they are doing within the community. From the beginning, we tried to build the capacity of the Syrian community in general and of course the most sensitive place is the camp/ the settlement. (Hope Foundation)

Alternatively, effective feedback and appraisal practices can lead to teacher recognition and promotion of innovative teaching practices (OECD, 2012, p. 1). A reliable method to improve teachers’ self-efficacy and motivation is to value teachers’ hard work and to publicly recognise teachers (ibid). In an interview with the UN agency, who described how recognition is one strong factor effecting teacher motivation.

I truly believe that the actual appreciation and acknowledgement for the hard work that they are doing is extremely important factor for every professional, especially those that are working with refugee students. I honestly think that being acknowledged for the hard work that you are doing and the result that you are achieving despite all these challenges, is
Although the overall status of teachers may not be highly desirable in Lebanon, it is still an attractive profession. From the systems perspective, there is a need to improve the status of employment within the public education system, while also creating an effective appraisal and feedback system for teachers in both formal and non-formal systems. Moreover, it is important to ensure that the best teachers are recruited and barriers are reduced to ensure that those potentially attracted to the profession are encouraged rather than discouraged from entering the system – this includes qualified Syrian refugee teachers (Hall & Langton, 2006).

5.4 Major Challenges

When asked to elaborate on possible challenges faced by teachers within the system many issues were raised during the focus question, including issues within the teaching environment that referenced violence and infrastructure: issues with certification, lack of funding for incentives, and poor recognition, were all challenges that the system recognised. However, the following five additional challenges were mentioned as factors effecting teacher motivation that had not been mentioned in the above seven factors effecting motivation. They include: differences in curriculum and languages, legality issues, home environment, workload and transport.

5.4.1 Differences in Curriculum and Languages

Differences between the Syrian curriculum and the Lebanese curriculum deters some children from going to school, or in other cases these differences cause children to leave school. Differences of language is one of the major challenges for both HCTs and RTs, since the Syrian students were taught in a solely Arabic curriculum in Syria, while in Lebanon various subjects (including science and maths) are taught in English or French, depending on the school and area. This creates serious issues in the classroom management, and specifically how a classroom setting can attend to the needs of students from so many different variations and levels of education. This proved to be a greater problem for older students, as language extraction is easier for younger students since their classmates are not as far ahead (UNHCR, 2013).

As you might know here the curriculum is mainly in English or French. So, on top of everything they are also struggling with academic challenges, including language barriers’. They are suddenly in a class where everyone is speaking French, so on top of teachers need to
deal with the psycho social needs of children, very specific and huge academic needs of children as well. (Safro)

5.4.2 Legality Issues

Refugees are vulnerable and likely to encounter legal problems in the civil, family, criminal and immigration domains. This challenge is often mentioned by NGOs working with refugee teachers. These legal and political issues are recognised as a major obstacle for refugee teachers, which may affect teaching and motivation, since teachers are constantly under stress because of the uncertainty of their jobs and their future.

The Syrian community is suffering in all countries, but the Syrians are suffering in Lebanon more than in other places. It is not easy for anyone to not be legal and to feel comfortable that he is a real respected human being. You are not able to do your papers, even if somebody is to get a child it is not easy to register his/her birth. Security reasons are also a serious issue. (Hope Foundation)

5.4.3 Home Environment

The needs of Syrian children and their families are great, with immense trauma from the civil war, and many live with uncertainty and fear within their family environments. If parents are constantly afraid, worrying, or grieving family members, this may impact their children and may also effect the classroom environment for both children and teachers.

There is constant tension when it comes to money, effects of where they are living, how can I pay the rent? Most of the Syrians have debts here, trying to make ends meet. This is an extremely stressful situation which is not the ideal/ conducive learning environment that we hope that ever child has. Children bring this to school, it is really up to the teachers to deal with this in a very effective way. (UN2)

The possibility of harsh home environments also creates challenges within classrooms, since there are some cases of violence towards the teacher, both verbal and physical, which could be de-motivating for teachers (UN 2). Discrimination is sometimes also fuelled by the parents of Lebanese children, who fear that Syrian students are either lowering the standard of education or putting their children’s health at risk (UNHCR, 2013).

5.4.4 Workload (Second Shifts)

All the respondents from a systems perspective acknowledged that teachers of refugees faced a very demanding workload. In consultations that organisations had completed, teachers complained of large class sizes, different learning levels and varied student backgrounds as a cause of increasing challenges and greater stress. Within the public system this was even worse because of the implementation of the second shifts, the notion ‘that contact hours are even less than before, has compromised the quality of teaching and forced the teachers under
even more pressure’ (UN1). As well as negotiating classroom practices, respondents described that the second shifts may also create tired teachers and less acceptable learning environments.

Even the schools, the condition in the afternoon, so you have the first shift students go and the second shift students come, the teachers might be tired, the bathrooms might be dirty, there are many unexplored issues related to the quality of the second shift. Even breaks are really short, they don’t get the breaks, it is not the most ideal circumstances. (UN2)

Enrolment in second shift is improving every year. So, the number of students that are being reached and enrolled increases every year, however more research must investigate the quality of the second shifts.

5.4.5 Transport and Security

Even when teachers find employment, additional problems exist in modes of transportation. Interviewees suggest that transportation remains a major barrier, with distance and safety considerations keeping numerous teachers and children out of the classroom. This is a particular issue in Lebanon where the population is extremely dispersed, and this is a more prominent issue in the winter. There can be problems with how students come and get to school.

We ensure that our educational centres are close to the camps. So that it is possible for them to come even when there is lots of snow. Some of the formal educational settings are more than 6 kilometres away, which makes it very difficult for teachers and students to get there without any form or transport. (Prosperity Association)

In addition, RTs face ongoing problems with security, and are subjected to strict security checks within some areas. If staff are recognised as not having the correct certification, they could be sent back to Syria or face violence on the way to work. ‘Security issues are better than they used to be, however if there is a checkpoint between the place that they live in and the school, it is too risky for them to move from the home to the centre’ (Hope Foundation). This is an additional barrier for RTs which may prevent them from working as volunteers.

5.5 What motivates teachers of refugees?

When education stakeholders were asked the question ‘What motivates teachers of refugees?’ The major responses from management was that they believed the major factors that kept HCTs and RTs motivated were monetary incentives (extrinsic) and professional development opportunities (intrinsic). These answers insinuate that monetary incentives are fundamental to ensure that staff can provide for themselves and their own families. The appreciation of
professional and personal development, and the willingness to keep on learning and growing as people. The intrinsic motivation of personal growth was mentioned in interviews almost as much as monetary incentives, and can be interpreted to recognise how important it is both for teachers and students to continue to learn. Alternative responses included the communal recognition that teachers receive for their role and the recognition teachers receive from their students. An original and distinctive response from an education director suggested that RTs are motivated to teach through hope:

   The main word and the main thing that keeps all of us alive is hope. Hope is the most important motivation for all of the teachers, supervisors, janitors, admins, everyone. Maybe because of our regular meetings with the teachers, we believe that one day they will be able to return to Syria (The Hope Foundation).

Many of the responses had only witnessed HCTs in action, as RTs were only in a few non-formal environments. However, one UN official was very unwavering in his confidence in the suitability of RTs for a more prominent role within the Lebanese education system. He described them as exceptionally motivated and capable teachers:

   The Syrian teachers are very motivated. They are people who are putting education highly, they were motivated, they knew education was very important, they knew it was a right, they knew it was quality education that needed to be given. We did some teacher training, there were some Syrian teachers there too. They were very motivated; they knew exactly why they were there. The Syrians when they are engaged are doing the utmost to deliver. (UN1)

5.6 The benefits of engaging both HCTs and RTs

Through this research and the interviews conducted within it, it is evident that HCTs are involved in both formal and non-formal education settings. While officially RTs can only be engaged as ‘volunteers’ to support non-formal learning spaces. However, with so many issues within the system for refugee children, including violence, discrimination and language issues, do education stakeholders believe there is room for RTs to play a bigger role within the system? Perspectives on this question varied. The MEHE respondent described that there was no room for this, as the Lebanese already had a sufficient teaching force to educate the students and it would be detrimental for the labour force if RTs were to be employed within the public system.

   If the Syrians take these jobs, it means that they would take the jobs in these poorer areas. This populistic perception ‘they are stealing our jobs’ would be most felt and reflected in these poorer areas. This will eventually not work towards a social cohesion in classrooms either. So no, if the law would change here in Lebanon, it would have a huge impact on the labour on the poorest Lebanese. The perception of their refugee neighbours, in the long run I do not think it would be as beneficial. (UN2)
However, this respondent also recognised the issues of enrolments and dropouts, generally because of bullying, stigmatisation and discrimination against the Syrians. She believed that ‘the Syrian community should be part of the solution in order to prevent this from happening. Therefore, apart from the parents the best people to prevent this from happening is the Syrian teachers as well’. (UN1)

Maybe indirectly, absolutely. I think that the co-system of an assistant teacher and a teacher of both would be ideal, or to have certain areas, like the psycho-social counsellor, that would really benefit from having the background from Syria. (UN2)

Although there was recognition that RTs may be useful in certain areas, the efficiency of engaging Syrians was questioned, particularly because RTs do not have a strong understanding of the Lebanese curriculum, and they have limited working knowledge of English and French.

Of course, you need them, they are very useful. Maybe they might be even more useful in certain areas. I am not against that Syrian teachers teach, as there are many similarities, the Arabic language is the same. I am afraid that if they really want to follow the proper curriculum, that would need to be recognised. It should be Lebanese teachers who teach refugee students, who have proper accreditation. (Safro)

Although this is a valid opinion, there is still an unanswered question of what Syrian teachers should do if there are no alternative opportunities within the labour force, and hundreds of thousands of students are being left out of education systems? Within the NGOs that engaged RTs the main objective was to build the capacity of the Syrian community in Lebanon, so that when they arrived back in their home country they would be able to contribute to the rebuilding process, and as Syria is a well-educated society that prioritises education, it is important that they are involved with this education process.

To be a teacher is not an easy task, for a teacher of a refugee is more problematic, but to be a refugee who is teaching refugees is even worse. Because you are a refugee teacher, you have been exposed to trauma, psychological issues, you have been diminished, suffer from a lot of social and psychological issues. Those teachers may have all or none of the ingredients to be with the refugee children, and to be a good teacher. Nevertheless, they were doing a tremendous job, because a good thing with the Syrians is that they were a very well-educated society, this is important. This means that the people are engaged, they are considering education as their priority as their pride. (UN1)

5.7 Concluding Remark

The research into the systems perspective that both HCTs and RTs plays an important role within the education system. The first research question was resolved, since it is clear that HCTs are involved in both the formal and non-formal education of refugee children, while RTs are only engaged as ‘volunteers’ within non-formal education settings. Explanations for
why Syrians are not given a greater role within the system, include: that the labour force would crumble if teachers were employed, the formal education system had an oversupply of HCTs, the Lebanese wanted to reduce the influence of Syrian’s upon Lebanese society, and finally that RTs did not have the appropriate accreditation and training to teach the Lebanese curriculum and languages. While the formal system may have an oversupply of HCTs, it was also suggested that this teaching force may be underqualified. Although RTs may not have had the explicit language skills in French and English, respondents still saw them as useful within the Lebanese education system, especially to potentially reduce some of the challenges that HCTs encounter regarding community engagement, student enrolment, language issues, and violence. Although flooding RTs into the system would be problematic, the idea of a co-system comprised of an assistant teacher RT working with a HCT would be ideal. The major factors affecting motivation for both HCTs and RTs are presumed to be monetary incentives and professional development. This thesis will now attempt to analyse these findings further with greater focus upon the teacher’s lifeworld perspective.
6 Teachers lifeworld perspective

In this chapter, the qualitative data through the perspective of the teachers’ lifeworld is presented through both the viewpoints of HCTs and RTs. The data collection methods used to gather this information were semi-structured interviews, unstructured observation and focus groups. These methods were used to gain an in-depth understanding of the lifeworld of the teachers. In terms of Habermas’s framework (1987), the data within this section describes how the structure of the Lebanese education system has impacted the teaching experiences of HCTs and RTs, with a particular focus on the challenges and motivations the teachers have experienced. This chapter continues to address the second research question: What are the differences in challenges and motivating factors experienced by RTs and HCTs? As the data is presented, both sets of teachers are compared simultaneously to enable a comparative analysis, and an understanding of the relationships between HCTs and RTs. Initially, the perspective of the teachers will be viewed through Ring and West’s (2015) seven major factors effecting motivation, this allows for triangulation and comparison between the system and lifeworld perspectives. Next, the major challenges faced by the two sets of teachers will be presented, followed by their underlying motivations to teach refugee children, theories from Hertzberg, Maslow and Bronfenbrenner, which were presented in the analytical framework. Each of these provide insights into the lifeworld perspective. Finally, the findings from the third research question will be discussed: What are the benefits of using both sets of teachers in refugee contexts? The final two research questions are presented separately, each followed by a comparative analysis, summary of the findings and concluding remarks.

6.1 Ring and West’s seven factors affecting motivation

6.1.1 Teacher recruitment, selection, and deployment

In past research it is recognised that there needs to be transparency in the processes of teacher recruitment and selection to motivate teachers, otherwise this could demotivate potential teachers from applying for positions (Bennell, 2004). The process of recruitment was found to be inconsistent, as teachers described different recruitment processes; some described online applications, while others were recommended by friends or had approached the educational centres personally. The process of recruitment was simpler for HCTs, two respondents described that they were employed through their friendship network. One HCT within a formal public school described:
A friend of mine, contacted me and told me that there is a vacancy for an English teacher, teaching refugee students. I was like okay, I will go for it. I had an interview with the principal and everything went well. They asked me for my certificate and a copy of my ID and my bank details so that they can transfer the salary. (HCT7)

This suggests that there is not a systematic approach and clear policy within this formal education centre in regards to recruitment, as the job should ideally be advertised to the whole community to ensure the most suitable candidates are chosen. HCT1 described that when she approached the non-formal education centre, she was not even aware she was being interviewed.

You know when I did the interview, I didn’t realise I was even in an interview. He didn’t have any relation to a teacher, later I realised he was an Arabic teacher. So just I did an unformal interview and later I did a written test and an oral test. (HCT1)

INEE (2009) suggests teacher recruitment and placement can create or exacerbate tensions if not performed in a non-discriminatory, participatory, and transparent manner. These tensions became evident with the RT population, as many respondents described the recruitment process as frustrating.

It is so difficult to find a job. The hardship in this is that most NGOs are not willing to sign a contract, we are not contracted employees and will not get paid, that is why many of us work as volunteers. (RT2)

One qualified RT with over six years of experience described how he had not been able to find formal employment and had lost his passion for the career, suggesting that the recruitment process in itself is not attracting teachers, but deterring potentially strong candidates.

I am not motivated any more to teach. If the only jobs I can get here are in construction, sales, etc. Maybe I need to quit being a teacher, and start my career in something else. To be honest I don’t think I want to be a teacher anymore. This experience has sucked it out of me. (RT1)

Other HCTs had been able to find volunteer positions within education centres and had described the process as quite straight forward.

Last summer I heard about a scholarship about the Hope education centres, so I called them and I told him that I wanted to study in this scholarship. He told me that I needed to be registered within these schools, so I registered, I had an interview. It was easy to get a job. All the people were very helpful and helped me. They checked my teaching qualifications. (RT 11)

The interviews suggest that recruitment is much simpler for HCTs than RTs, and also that a better policy needs to be created in order to ensure stronger, consistent and transparent recruitment and selection procedures within education settings, to ensure the most qualified teachers are engaged to teach in classrooms.
6.1.2 Teaching environment

The physical structure of the school and classroom is a critical variable affecting student (and teacher) morale (Phillips, 2014). With corresponding views with the systems perspective, most of the teachers described the physical working environments for refugee education, within both the formal and non-formal education settings, as poor.

I am working mainly in a public school, as host country teachers are working in the public sector in the public schools. In Lebanon sadly public schools, are less taken care off. As private school’s intake more money, and renovate the infrastructure, the stationary. They have more abilities, to come up with better overall systems than the public schools. (HCT2)

HCT10, working within the formal education, system described how classrooms were often very dirty and how children were in very bad learning environments, while the children themselves also required cleanliness and resources, creating a less than ideal learning environment.

Can I be honest with you, the smell of the class is not really good, I feel that I have to keep hygiene tissues, sanitizers, wet wipes in my bags. I feel that I am not in a clean area. The classroom is not clean; it is very average. It needs to be cleaned more. Public schools are not being taken care of in a very good way. Second you can see that the students are not clean, their clothes are not clean, their hands are dirty. Their shoes, sometimes they keep on wearing sandals in the winter when they don’t have something else to wear, even in cold weather. This makes me think always, why am I here? This makes me demotivated sometimes. I have my own things, I have my own space, that is different than theirs. I respect them of course, but the hygiene within the class is demotivating. (HCT10)

Similarly, RTs working in non-formal settings generally acknowledged the difficulties of working in tents and shipping containers as problematic for the teaching environment, mentioning that in the winter it could often be very cold and it took time for refugee students to adjust to these new learning environments.

Here when they came to Lebanon after the war, it was very difficult for the children and parents to accept they will have education in tents. So, it was a new idea for them, so that’s why it was very difficult for us to let them love and like the centre and send their children to the centre. (RT10)

Phillips (2014) describes that students’ involvement in the process of creating their environment can empower them, develop community and increase motivation. With respect to resources, teachers within formal and non-formal education centres were in agreement with the systems perspective, generally suggesting that there were enough resources. HCT3 stated, ‘Yes, they have enough resources, it was a normal class, pencils, crayons, sharpeners, paper to use. They each have a bag, with their books, their copy books their agenda, everything’. However, contrary views were given by other HCTs working within the formal education sector, who described that, in some situations, the teachers had to purchase
materials themselves. Four respondents described that students were missing textbooks. With respect to the learning environment, teachers were doing their best to create positive learning environments, however, the memory of the war was lingering within the student’s minds. This was generating violence between some students, while other students used isolation as a coping mechanism and would not speak to fellow students or teachers, which fostered a complicated learning environment for teachers. When asked about the learning environment, HCT5 described a particular incident of violent outburst.

We have had a couple of incidents, the teacher once asked a student, ‘Please sit down’, and he said ‘I am going to slaughter you’. You know after seeing these horrors, what he experienced in Syria. (HCT5)

HCT5 then described how having a RT working as a volunteer had created a more constructive learning environment and was helping with the students healing process.

But with the help of Anas (RT) and my family as well, they started to behave normally. You know there is a lot of incidence, like this with the kids. They use a lot of terms related to war, the horrors that they saw. (HCT5)

The data on learning environments suggest that the both the physical and psychological environment within refugee classrooms are challenging. UNESCO (2016) described that children from war zones pose particular challenges because they may have been separated from their family and traumatised as a result of violent occurrences. Consequently, these children are unable to learn without support. Because of this, trained and motivated teachers are critical in refugee contexts as they move quickly to handle such situations and take on a counselling role.

6.1.3 Certification

Within the interviews, two types of certification were brought up as increasingly significant for the motivation of teachers, both teacher and student certification. In regards to teacher certification it became clear that it was preferred that HCTs and RTs had a university degree, qualifications and experience. HCT2, who was working within a formal school environment, suggested that this was integral for recruitment.

Okay let me tell you something. Recruitment is based upon the certificate. As soon as I finished my BA and got my certificate, I applied to the school and I presented my grades primarily and my certificate, I then had a job. (HCT2)

Alternatively, HCT1 demonstrated some frustration with the inconsistency in certification that was required. Whilst some education institutions required university degrees, others employed students directly from secondary education.
In the schools and educational centre, they can accept any application received, even if the applicant does not have a BA from the university. Now they can take someone who has finished school only, and will train him to be a teacher. (HCT1)

This appeared to be the case with the RTs also. For instance, RT6 claimed, ‘some places want the certificate, others do not. I had an interview and they asked about certifications, although they didn’t receive it, I told them about it’. Kirk (2009) recognises that certification is an increasingly important for the education to be of high quality, make impact and to be sustainable. The data suggests that there needs to be a more targeted approach for certification requirements in both formal and non-formal education to ensure high motivation among both teachers and students. RTs and HCTs working within the non-formal education settings, commonly brought up frustrations surrounding student certification. Since the government did not allow certification of formal exams within the non-formal education institutions, this was creating decreasing motivation for both students and teachers, as they could not see a clear outcome for their hard work. Instead the non-formal education centres would refer students to public schools, so that they could be certified. This proved difficult in some circumstances when public schools could not be accessed by transport, or teachers and parents were fearful to send the children to formal education because of the poor reputation in regards to discrimination and violence.

The students don’t receive a result or gain accreditation. So, they are studying just because it is better than to do nothing. So, some of them are not responsible and are not taking it seriously. They are using it as a form of entertainment, laughing and playing around. It is an ambiguous future; we don’t have a clear future. We can’t say to the student, please do this, because when you have a certificate you can move to another class. This a real problem. (RT8)

Certification is also important to provide feedback to the teachers and institutions for continuous improvement, and provides opportunities for self-definition and self-reflection. Without these, teachers within non-formal settings were becoming increasingly demotivated with the certification process.

The Syrian students are not treated fairly. They are treated underneath the Lebanese students. In the non-formal education students are not getting any accreditation. Even if we have high schools they will not be able to enrol at university or continue in education and that is frustrating. (RT5)

Again, research suggests that policies regarding accreditation need to be more coherent and accessible for non-formal education settings, particularly the refugee students, to ensure that non-formal education is being recognised to increase accessibility to all students across Lebanon and to recognise the work teachers are doing in non-formal settings.
6.1.4 Professional development

Providing teachers with professional development has lasting impacts for both teachers and students. Not only does it help in creating a more proficient and motivated teaching force, it enables teachers to continually develop their pedagogical practices to best suit their students’ needs. As an alternative motivation to monetary incentives, teachers frequently reported receiving professional development in regards to psycho-social support and safety within the classroom. Two of the HCTs within the formal education system described that they were aware of professional development occurring at other schools, but they had not experienced it yet themselves.

They have undergone a professional training sessions, that was supervised by the ministry of education. But at our school this didn’t happen yet. But I think that it is on the way because it is obligatory. But there is, I haven’t encountered it yet, but it does happen. (HCT2)

The teachers unanimously agreed that professional development was exceedingly important, as it gave them an opportunity step out of their routine and improve themselves as professionals and people. In a non-formal setting known as the Hope Foundation every Saturday the teachers completed professional development.

Every week we go to the centre and we do training, with different professionals. Every Saturday a class during the day. All of our teachers, every day is a training day. The training and the scholarships are very motivating. Now we are studying with the laureates, this is a good opportunity to gain more certificates. (RT11)

Weekly professional development is motivating for all teachers, as education is a never-ending process, and many have found a greater purpose to live from professional development. Although RTs were not paid for these weekly training sessions, this intrinsic form of motivation was important for them personally and also for the community, suggesting that increased professional development opportunities may be a strong enough incentive to motivate RTs.

What keeps me motivated is the development of myself and of society together, if the society rises, I rise with it. So, it’s like a mutual benefit, it is a boost for me to benefit from society. (RT2)

6.1.5 Incentives

Monetary incentives can effectively improve teacher performance if they are consistent, clear and punctual. HCTs employed in formal education, in the second shifts in the public schools, all described the hourly rate of 18,000 LP ($15US) as adequate, many describing that this was much more than they had earned in their previous jobs both in the public and private
centres previously. Although, the most prevalent issue was not in the salary itself, but the inconsistency of the payments. HCTs working in the public sector described the following challenge when asked about payment.

Okay, that is a problem. They pay every three months, and it is something awful. Really, but the salary is pretty good. ... I heard that it was maybe 18000LP, but it is a really good salary. I only get paid every three months and this is frustrating. I should be getting paid monthly as I need to pay bills (HCT7).

HCTs described the inconsistencies in the payments, ‘I know that last year they were only paid their salary twice in the whole year. We are supposed to earn in January, which is a big salary combined altogether. But this isn’t enough’ (HCT2). These issues with payment proved to be very demotivating, as teachers were not able to make ends meet within their personal lives. This inconsistency in pay was only mentioned by one RT, however, RTs generally reported receiving their voluntary incentives monthly.

Sometime we will be late for maybe one week or 10 days; it is not always at exactly or at the same time. It really depends on the funds coming in. Although they try it is not always at the first day of the month (RT8).

The motivation for the monetary incentives is that it comes on time and it fulfils the sessions the teachers are completing, to ensure that teachers can provide for themselves and their families. The RTs reported incentives of $5 or $7 US an hour, and although this was not enough to live, it did give them some income, it is some income in a difficult situation. At the end of the month, with no salaries, many of the HCTs reported feeling demotivated in their jobs. Both HCTs and RTs reported picking up second jobs, which could impact the quality of classes as teachers were overwhelmed with work.

I also work as a freelance designer and writer; this is what helps me live. I work as a research assistant too. This is a better case, it makes me overloaded with so many jobs, just so that I can gain an income on a weekly basis. This demotivates by the way. (HCT2)

While teachers in the non-formal settings reported the salary was not high, most described factors, other than money, as more important for keeping them motivated. Although money was necessary to live, many described intrinsic motivations including passion for the job, love of the students and personal development as the major motivational factors.

In Lebanon, the prices are all the time high. It was not the salary that I took in regards to my work. All the time you feel that these refugees need more energy from you, and you have to take care of them, it is not all about the salary (HCT1).

6.1.6 Management structures
Within the formal public education sector, many of the HCTs and RTs reported strong management structure and decent leadership within education centres. Teachers were held
accountable, with supervision from school leadership, regulation and inspections from the MEHE in both formal and non-formal settings.

Yes, sometimes the principal checks on me, sometimes the coordinator from the Ministry. She come like every month, twice a month, she checks on teachers and the students on the performance (HCT7)

Within non-formal settings, HCTs and RTs also reported strong leadership and support from educational directors, head teachers and co-workers, as they were part of a close community who would help each other move forward. RT10 described that ‘each week the teacher coordinator would come to the school to observe classes’, while others described the staff leadership and administration as very supportive.

The good thing in our work that we could approach the administration easily and we can discuss with them all the difficulties or problems that we have with students specially the refugees (HCT3)

Although there were also challenges and frustration with leadership in other areas, as teachers were not continually supported in the work that they did, even though very often the RTs had more experience, some described that they did not really have a clear voice as they were looked down on by Lebanese staff.

One of the difficulties that I encounter, is that people without experience, maybe above me, telling me to do things, which I have to take and absorb. Sometimes this is down putting, it puts down my work (RT2).

Although management structures varied among formal and non-formal settings, mostly teachers reported strong management structures within their school environments and felt that they were given a voice. RTs working in non-formal settings, as unpaid volunteers, described more dissatisfaction with the school management.

6.1.7 Status and social recognition

Social recognition for the work teachers do is incredibly important, according to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, in regard to motivation, as one needs self-esteem and a sense of belonging within their work environment. At the basic level, individuals need to feel that they are accepted and recognised as employees and community members, to feel appreciated and motivated. The Lebanese teachers unanimously reported that teaching was not a high status job and was not highly valued within their society, however individual communities respected the work they did for their children. One HCT described the reaction he received
when he went into teaching, defining it as a career of low status, with low pay and only a small percentage of society appreciated the work the teachers did.

Really? English? You are going to end up a teacher. It doesn’t even pay the bills. But I was like, I want to be a professor. People don’t value it highly. You know 70 per cent of the people underestimate it and 30 per cent they support it (HCT7)

One female HCT described that it was perceived as a job more suitable for women, so that they could stay home with their children, describing her reaction when she told her family she wanted to be a teacher.

You want to be a teacher? Will you go to school, have your kids come with you, so you can be the perfect mother? Oh My God, being a teacher is perfect because you will get paid at summer even if you don’t work. Wow this is great, you will come at 2, while your kids will come at 3. So, you will be able to cook well and you will be able to sit up with your kids. This is the typical way and the ironic that the society and the public perceives teachers (HCT2)

The RTs also reported very low status and recognition from the Lebanese community, both as teachers and as community members. The Syrians felt that they were perceived as interlopers and felt unwelcome in Lebanon. This in itself can be demotivating and, according to Maslow, would limit motivation. ‘The Lebanese society looks at the Syrians like less educated people. Even if we are educated they look at us like less educated people’ (HCT1). Alternatively, the Syrians believed that their own community really appreciated their work with students as they were building the capacity of their children and the community, many of the RTs reported this as a motivating factor.

The Syrian community here, they recognise the work that we are doing. It is already a success that you keep on going. You keep working. This idea is a success in itself. Despite the successful things that we have done here. The competition we won in the USA, (..), we are empowering the community. By showing them that, we are not going to just stay in our home, this is in itself a success. All the Syrian people they appreciate this, as they know how difficult it is to reach this point. (ST7)

There is a lack of recognition of teachers’ statuses in host country rules and regulations, which should be focused on in more detail. Although teaching was not perceived as a high-status career, both HCTs and RTs reported of recognition of their work by their own communities.

6.2 Challenges

Although many challenges faced by HCTs and RTs were mentioned in the seven factors effecting teacher motivation, additional challenges emerged throughout the interviews. Many of these describe the very critical circumstances in which refugees and their families live, creating new challenges within the school environment.
6.2.1 Language and curriculum

It was clear in all the interviews that the new curriculum and languages were a challenge for students in both HCT and RTs classrooms. Most teachers reported that students were facing challenges, not only in belonging to society but also with the new curriculum and the new languages of English and French.

It is the hardest work that you can do. You know the refugee has lost everything, he lost his home, he has lost maybe his family and he came to a place that he didn’t know. He has trauma, he has difficulty being involved within society, and he has difficult being involved in the Lebanese curriculum, especially that we take our lessons in English and in French, it is not all in Arabic. The Syrian refugee are very good students, in Arabic but not in English and French. (HCT1)

HCTs described that it was difficult to teach some of the content within the curriculum to students were used to different programs and pedagogical practices, while the curriculum was not adapted to meet the needs of the refugee students.

You know that MEHE all the time represent the best picture of education in Lebanon. They refuse to talk that are abuse in the school, or the curriculum doesn’t meet the needs of the children. There are problems in the curriculum, and you know all the time, in our situation. (HCT2)

HCTs described individually adapting the curriculum to be more Arabic based to suit the student’s needs, while they started to adapt to the English and French languages. While RTs reported that they were also developing proficiency in English and French language. Alternatively, HCTs also reported issues understanding the refugee students’ Arabic accents and dialects, as it is not what they were used to.

At the first I am Lebanese, so I have another accent than the Syrian one. Another totally different accent, when I first entered the class, they did not understand me and I did not understand them. So, it was very difficult, I did not listen before. Now I understand their language and I begin to give the lesson in their language too, and give them the Arabic formal language. (HCT9)

With respect to language and curriculum, both sets of teachers reported challenges with students understanding languages. It was clear that both sets of teachers would benefit from having the each other within the classroom, so that RTs could learn the curriculum and languages from HCTS, while RTs could assist with understanding Syrian accents and the Syrian curriculum.

6.2.2 Different levels

As a result of missing years of school because of the war, the differences in curriculum, language and culture, many of the refugee students were at varied levels, which was creating
significant challenges in the classroom for teachers, on top of an immense workload. Serious differentiation of learning materials was required for students’ learning.

As you know, not all students are at the same level, some have missed school for some time coming from Syria. Some students have not been in school for 2-3 years because of the situation in Syria. They have not all came at the same time; this is the reason for the gap between them. The age is different; there are also very different cultures and abilities between the different children and different groups within Syria, in order to improve the situation. (HCT7)

RTs reported similar issues within the non-formal education settings. Also, since there was a lack of space and resources, it was impossible to break up the levels into separate classes.

Some of the students have been attending the schools for two years. So, they reach level 4, in the same class is a new student, who has not completed these levels. So how can we combine new students in Level 1 with students who have complete level 4. So, there is gaps between the students and this is very hard. You can’t divide them in 3 or 4 classes because we only have one lab. It has come hard for the trainer or teacher to work with all of these levels. (RT9)

These difficulties with respect to different levels of understanding are prevalent amongst refugee schools. To ensure that all students are gaining appropriate attention for their levels, it would be beneficial for a co-system to exist, to ensure that more than one teacher was present in the classroom, and team-teaching to different levels, to ensure education was reaching each student.

6.2.3 Legal Issues and uncertainty

Refugee students have faced dramatic changes to their personal environments, and they no longer have stability in their lives. Moreover, the lives of the parents are not stable, families are constantly moving and fighting for basic needs, so many children do not have the opportunity to continue with their education. This uncertainty is felt by the students and the teachers alike, that is, RTs who are experiencing similar fears about their future and HCTs who are uncertain of their student’s futures.

You know with refugees you can’t know what will happen with them. This day they come to school, the second day they may not come, because maybe they are preparing their papers to immigrate to Canada to Australia, to another country. Maybe their parents, especially the girls, the girls get married at 14. She is big, she has her period, she can get married, so the husband can take care of her and the family. (HCT1)

Teachers found this extremely difficult, seeing their students forced into child labour and marriage, becoming increasingly frustrated with the system. Teachers also described that many of the students lacked motivation to learn in Lebanon, as they were expecting to go back to their homes.
Then each day they came before saying that no we are not coming tomorrow because we are going back to Syria, so they have the hope that they are going back each day to Syria. But after that I tell them, Okay, now you are here, you have to make yourself stronger with the education, and then go back to build Syria. This hope made them very strong to continue within the classes and to come every day, to make the children happy to come. (RT10)

The refugees also described the feeling of insecurity, that is, nobody knew what was going to happen next or what regulations would be announced. For example, ‘you are not allowed to come here anymore, the centre is not going to be able to continue, the centre is going to be closed down’ (RT7). With all these strict rules, regulations and policies, the Syrians reported that it was very difficult to fit in.

Sometimes maybe you have lost of experience, you are a Syrian in Lebanon, but you do not have the same rights as the Lebanese. They do not ask any thing; they do not ask if you are doing good within society. You left your country and you are in a new country and all you want to do is to be part of a new society. With all of these rules it is so difficult to fit in. (RT12)

### 6.2.4 Home environment

In addition to difficult learning environments, refugees face harsh home environments. Teachers described that the students were constantly moving from house to house (or from tent to tent). Home life is reported to be testing, as many families often live in one room, with insufficient resources. Both parents and children face physical and psychological difficulties after the war, mourning family members and dealing with physical and psychological scarring. There may be lack of parental support if parents are too busy working to look after their children or, alternatively, if children are forced into the workforce by their parents, as they are more employable and their basic need for food, safety and shelter are perceived as more important than education, which is consistent with Maslow’s hierarchy of needs theory.

They prefer to send their children to the field, to work in agriculture and they will be productive, it is better than education where they will study so much, and then nothing. Because they have seen many cases where people had a Masters in computers for example, and then they are sitting in the tent doing nothing. There is no place to work and they don’t have legal paper to work. So that’s why for them now it is better that the children go to work, and bring for them some money instead of taking so much education for nothing (RT9).

Because of the poor home environments, it was almost impossible for teachers to send homework back with the students, ‘[the teacher] knows that they are living in a very small place, just like this classroom, while all of his brothers and sisters and the whole family are squeezed in. So they cannot do their homework at home in their tent’ (RT10).
6.2.5 Parents

Teachers often reported that the parents were a major barrier to education, as they were often anxious about sending their children to school or did not understand the importance of education, ‘They prefer to leave them at home, because they have heard that it is not safe’ (HCT1).

And after spending 5-6 years with their mum, it is difficult for them to leave the house and not stay with their mother. At the beginning, they don’t like the centres, they don’t want to the classes, they want to stay at home, they want to sleep, it’s like a new life for them. But after when they begin to come, they love the centres, they want to come to the centre always. (RT12)

The teachers also described that some of the parents were suspicious of sending their children to Lebanese schools because of the different cultures and religions, including the differences between Christians and Muslims or Shia and Sunni Muslims.

The challenges were not with the kids themselves it was with the parents. It is the mentality they have. They don’t want their kids learning, from a person who is from a different faith/sect. They don’t like the concept of someone else helping them from different religions, they do not always accept other religions (HCT2)

An unfamiliar learning environment and a lack of appreciation of education was also mentioned, as sometimes the parents were themselves not educated and could not assist students with their homework, ‘sometimes the parents are not educated or don’t know English so they can’t help them. Sometimes if they are educated they have no time to help them, to teach them at home’ (HCT10). These findings suggest that more focus needs to be put into building the relationship between parents and schools, to ensure that parents will send their children to school, and support the child’s development within education. Bronfenbrenner’s theory suggests that, when parents and teachers communicate directly and work towards shared goals, children can rely on their support system and feel more confident in creating and pursuing goals, which would improve quality of the education system.

6.2.6 Psycho-social needs

Crisp, Talbot, and Cipollone (2001) describe that ‘teachers are also affected by the chaos and turmoil of refugee life, and may need psycho-social work in addition to more conventional pedagogical training’ (p. 100). RTs are not only suffering psychological disruption or trauma themselves, they also face the added challenge of teaching students in serious emotional pain. Both HCTs and RTs reported that they were not properly equipped in dealing with the psychological issues of the students. ‘To begin with a child that they have problem, that he
saw their home destroyed, that he has some psycho social problems, it was very difficult for me to know how to treat these children and how to teach this child’ (HCT7). In turn the students may have been disrupting the classes or becoming violent or withdrawn have not been taught psychological coping mechanisms to deal with such horrific experiences. ‘The children have so much violence between them, and some of the children sit down alone and they don’t like to be with the others’ (HCT8). This was creating ‘hyperactive and naughty students’, which was impacting classroom management and learning (ST6). Teachers also reported that often memories of the war would be transferred into the classroom which would impact on student concentration and could also create violence between the students.

Sometimes if we have a subject like family, some students say ‘I lost my father or my brother’. They say it like this, so it can be a bit sensitive. From this point, the children are psychologically ineffective, so sometimes they work less than they did in Syria (RT6)

The use of RTs could be beneficial in this area as they often know the communities, psychological needs and are aware of the hardships these children have faced. One incredibly talented art therapy teacher was working as an unpaid volunteer, and described how he was able to help them deal with these issues.

All children need is a platform in which they can express themselves. Whether it is through there traumas, or anything they need to let out. Through art I can transform the violence that they’re facing into something positive and creative. I give them the methods, the outlet to express their situation. Their pain. And during the process I feels like a child himself, because they bring him back to his child (ST2)

6.2.7 Cultural and gender differences

Another major challenge perceived by teachers was convincing students to adapt to the new environment and to accept the new teachers. The cultural differences have been mentioned previously regarding religious differences and understanding. Alternatively, HCTs also reported issues regarding gender differences between the societies, both among the students and the teachers.

There are gender issues between the girls and the boys (..) This is because they are living in an environment where they do not accept the children, for the girls to sit down with the boys. And it was very difficult for us to change this behaviour, where the girls don’t accept the boys, and the boys don’t accept the girls. At the beginning, we began this with football, where the girls can play football. Now they are living together, sitting together, laughing together, this is it. (HCT 11)

Female HCTs also described how the differences within the cultural dress was a challenge at the beginning of the educational process, for the students to accept them as their teachers.

The second challenge is about clothes, I am Lebanese and I have another traditional style of clothes, first when they entered the kids looked at me like ‘Oh. She is not like us. She is a girl,
she does not where a scarf on her head’. It’s different and then now slowly they begin to accept me, and I change to respect their traditions too, because I want them to accept me in their environment. (HCT9)

However, with time and support from the RTs, and with the two groups of teachers modelling positive relationships, students have been able to accept their teachers and their peers regardless of gender and cultural differences.

6.3 Summary and comparison of challenges

In summary, both sets of teachers faced immense challenges teaching refugee students within the Lebanese educational system. Although teachers generally reported similar challenges, there were differences between HCTs and RTs. A comparison of challenges between HCTs and RTs can be viewed below in figure 6. Both sets of teachers described language and curriculum as one of the major challenges for students and teachers. While HCTs struggled to understand the accents of the Syrian students, RTs and refugee students were still struggling to adapt to the languages of English and French within the Lebanese curriculum, which indicates that the use of both sets of teachers could be ideal in opening up language and curriculum barriers. School facilities and workload were also mentioned as overall challenges affecting motivation for both groups of teachers, however, these could only be improved if governments and international agencies allocated further resources to support an improvement for the schools. Because of the unforgiving experiences of war, teachers were dealing with many classroom management issues, including psychosocial demands and topics related to violence that decreased students’ concentration. Teachers also faced barriers from parents and unsupportive home environments, which are affecting the number of students attending school. The pressure of war and poverty on families was also forcing students into child labour and child marriage, which was affecting the motivation of both students and teachers. The social issues within the formal education system could be addressed by integration of RTs into formal education settings. This may help parents gain more trust in the system and start building the relationships of parents, teachers and caregivers, by creating more positive interactions between school and home, which will create balance for the refugee students’ growth and learning.
The distinctive challenges for the HCTs revolved around support from the Syrian community, issues with parents, accents and cultural differences. The reports of distrust from the parents was a serious barrier for access, and could be a result of prohibiting any real involvement from the Syrian community in formal education. Differences regarding culture and language were reported to improve when both sets of teachers worked together to model correct behaviour for the students. Alternatively, RTs faced challenges similar to students, including issues of accreditation, legality and security, which were all directly related to the system and the strict labour laws impacting on refugees living in Lebanon. Transport and resources were also issues that were reported by RTs.

6.4 Motivating factors

During the interviews teachers were asked: What are your major motivating factors for teaching refugee students? The responses for this question within the interviews were extremely important and were differing factors to Ring and West’s (2015) framework. As
these responses were quite powerful and varied among the two sets of teachers, the table below is useful to compare the different responses from the teachers. These will be further discussed and analysed below.

## Major Motivating Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host Country Teacher</th>
<th>Refugee Teacher</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HCT1:</strong> You know when I started, I knew from 9 years old that I wanted to be a teacher. And when I started volunteering with an NGO I realised that I won’t be able to work anymore in a private school or a private company. I have this combination between the work and the humanitarian field. It gives you the pleasure to go every morning to work. When you hear the word thank you from someone very in need, and just it is a thank you for giving some bread, it makes you feel proud of yourself. That is how it started, why I wanted to work with refugees.</td>
<td><strong>RT1:</strong> The feeling that you are a person, enlightening the minds of generations to come. This is a great feeling, not only does it keep you doing yourself in teaching, but one that satisfies you, in all senses of the word. It is not an easy thing to have that feeling. You are enlarging capabilities, the mind capabilities of the cognitive functions of some creatures, some kids who are going to be the future leaders/ key figures, within society. It is such a great thing. Teaching will always be a great thing. I cannot even imagine a society without any education, any teachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Enjoyment for Teaching and Recognition)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Passion for education and Gaining knowledge)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HCT2:</strong> First of all I have passion for English language, passion for linguistics, and passion to deliver what I know to people. You notice that I elaborate fondly in what I have been asked. Secondly, I realize that when I am teaching, whether it be Syrian refugees, or other students with higher schemata, this reflects on my skills and my knowledge.</td>
<td><strong>RT2:</strong> The development of myself and of society together, if the society rises, I rise with it. So it’s like a mutual benefit, it is a boost for me to benefit from society. I do it for the love for the children and their innocence. The war happened and it is not their fault, they have no idea what is going on, so I just want to be on their side. I see it as a duty for myself.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(Love for subject, gaining knowledge)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Developing society and love for children)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HCT3:</strong> I always feel very motivated when I see the result of my work and feedback from the students, that’s always give me the power and motivation.</td>
<td><strong>RT3:</strong> When I saw the war, the people leaving their houses, I felt it was my responsibility to help and he could actually contribute, so that was the major reason. As I had also been studying law, for me it felt like it was the people’s right and he wanted to help in giving those rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(Recognition and Achieving results)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Responsibility and human rights)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HCT4:</strong> It starts with a hobby, when I learn and teach, it is a hobby for me. This hobby continues. She doesn’t have any problems teaching refugees. I want to give back to the community. The message is teaching, not nationality. It is a job, it is not a problem if it is Syrian’s or Lebanese. Money is of course a motivating factor, for me I don’t have a problem whether it is Syrian, Lebanese or Palestinian.</td>
<td><strong>RT4:</strong> STS She is saying that what is happening in Syria is enough. We have to be sure the destruction that happened in Syria will not happen inside our students. To make sure that by teaching these students, they will survive from inside and they will not be destroyed as like some of those students who are still living in Syria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(Giving back to society and monetary incentives)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Rebuild Syria, love for children)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HCT5:</strong> She wants to help actually, she believes there is not difference between Syrian or Lebanese students, she just wants to give back to the community and there are no differences. If they are Lebanese or Syrians they are exactly the same students.</td>
<td><strong>RT5:</strong> We have lost a whole generation within the war, we need to gain a whole generation of learners. I feel very happy when I am teaching as I will be able to rebuild Syria, I am part of rebuilding Syria. I have two main motivations inside. The first one is the happiness that I feel when I teach, I feel very convinced that by doing this I am saving a whole generation from being lost, or maybe begging on the streets or doing something that is not appropriate. The second one is by doing this he believes that it is something crucial and necessary for the future of Syria when we go back.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(Giving back to society)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Rebuild Syria, love for children and monetary incentives)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HCT6:</strong> Every child has to learn; every child has the right to learn. She likes young children.</td>
<td><strong>RT6:</strong> We have lost enough and we mustn’t lose our own children. So we need to make sure that by educating our children we will not lose another generation.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(Love for children and right to learn)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(Rebuild Syria)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HCT7:</strong> Two things. Because first off is that they need that and because I am educated and I have knowledge and I reached high</td>
<td><strong>RT7:</strong> To explain to the students the lessons, to see them learning and ensure that they will have a future.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
levels so why not? I feel like I should help them, that’s way. And the second reason, is I have to pay bills. *(Gaining knowledge and monetary incentives)*

RT8: The Syrian community here, they recognise the work that we are doing. It is already a success that you keep on going. You keep working. This idea is a success in itself. By showing them that, we are not going to just stay in our home, this is in itself a success. All the Syrian people they appreciate this, as they know how difficult it is to reach this point. *(Rebuild Syria, student’s future)*

HCT8: As a teacher of Arabic language I feel with beauty toward education, the education is a message of creating and creativity, and I like to plant the interest in the minds of emerging and stay up on the development of learners’ abilities and provide them with human values and social because the purpose of education is a human construction which provides conscious moral values . *(Enjoyment of subject and teaching)*

HCT9: My point of view that I teach in the centres for refugees is from the humanitarian point of view, I look that they are in need for me. I think that I will give them anything they want, they are not only in need of a teacher, they are also in need of someone else to support them, from the education part and then from the protection part. It’s a good job that I like. *(Enjoyment of teaching and recognition)*

RT9: I feel happy when I see their happy faces. Number one I don’t want to see my students in the street. I don’t want to see them working as a seller, I don’t want it. I don’t want to see them on the streets wasting their time, I want to see their smiles and happy. I would prefer to see them looking after themselves in education, teaching and learning. I would like to be able see them all on the right path. *(Love for children, Rebuild Syria)*

HCT9: Beyond Association to have an income and experience. I entered in this department, and I began to teach, and in one hour I wanted to give them all and everything he had, to change this level of education. *(Love for children)*

RT10: As a teacher of refugee students, I feel that we need to work hard to give them all of the information. Because most of the students lost years off their education, so we must work hard to support those children for them to continue to student, so that they are not a lost generation. *(Love for children, Rebuild Syria)*

HCT10: She said at the first it was a normal experience for me. I entered Beyond Association to have an income and experience. I began to work with them and now I cannot leave these children. There is a good relationship between me and them. Now it is not about the experience, now it is about responsibility. I have something I have to give it for this generation, and I will do my best to continue this work. *(Monetary Incentives, gaining experience, Love for children)*

HCT11: I think at first, I came to Beyond to have money. Because I was a student in the university, I cannot stop working with these children. If I have another job, I cannot stop going to see these children or to work with these children. Now I am sure that I will never stop working with these children or to change my job. It is not about only changing my job, it is about responsibility, about good relationship between me and these children, I like them so much. *(Monetary Incentives, gaining experience, Love for children)*

RT11: He said that I am Syrian, and I have lived the war the same as the children were living in Syria. When I came to Lebanon I began to think I have to do something for the Syrian children, I have to do something for my country. And I think that this is a very good job that I choose to do a good thing for my country, as part of the education that will build Syria after. *(Rebuild Syria)*

HCT12: So I entered in this department, and I began to teach, and in one hour I wanted to give them all and everything he had, to change this level of education. *(Love for children)*

RT12: He said that as a Syrian, we are not staying here, sure we are going back to Syria. After ten years after five years, we are going back to Syria. How can we go back to Syria with a generation that is destroyed? We have people who are illiterate, they don’t know how to read, they don’t know how to write and literacy. That is why I am motivated to do my job, I want to be part of, a teacher that is working towards building a new generation. All of us going back to rebuild Syria, this is our main objective to learn and to teach how education and how they have to be a good generation, they will be the most important generation in rebuilding Syria *(Rebuild Syria)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.2 Major Motivating Factors</th>
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### 6.4.1 Summary and Comparison of Major Motivating Factors

Teachers responses to the question varied among respondents and the two groups of teachers, each providing predominantly intrinsic motivations, as well as some forms of extrinsic motivators including monetary incentives. A tally of the responses can be compared in table 6.3 below.
Table 6.3 Comparison of Motivating Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host Country Teacher Motivation</th>
<th>Refugee Teacher Motivations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Love for Children 4</td>
<td>Rebuild Syria 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monetary Incentives 4</td>
<td>Love for Children 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion for Teaching 3</td>
<td>Passion for teaching 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition 3</td>
<td>Gaining Knowledge 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaining Knowledge 3</td>
<td>Developing Society 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love for Subject 2</td>
<td>Responsibility 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving back to Society 2</td>
<td>Human Rights 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Right to learn 1</td>
<td>Students future 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieving Results 1</td>
<td>Recognition from community 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most prominent responses from the HCTs was intrinsic motivator ‘love for the children’ and the extrinsic motivation of ‘monetary incentives’. Although HCTs more commonly mentioned the income, they spoke passionately about their intrinsic motivations, including love of the job, their subjects and the children. Two of the HCTs described how their motivation had shifted since beginning the work, initially beginning the job for an income, yet after building relationships with the children, they felt responsibility for the children and greater passion for their job.

I entered ’Prosperity Association’ to have an income and experience. I began to work with them and now I cannot leave these children. There is a good relationship between me and them. Now it is not about the experience, now it is about responsibility (HCT10)

RTs responses were distinctive from the HCTs as their major motivation strung from hope and the future of Syria. Collectively, the RTs described the major motivating factor for teaching refugee students was the belief that these children would be the generation who would rebuild Syria.

The first one is the happiness that I feel when I teach, I feel very convinced that by doing this I am saving a whole generation from being lost, or maybe begging on the streets or doing something that is not appropriate. The second one is by doing this I believe that it is something crucial and necessary for the future of Syria when we go back (RT5)

Living through the war, and witnessing the destruction of their country, it was clear that RTs could not bear to watch refugee children go through any more suffering. The hope that ‘the destruction that happened in Syria will not happen inside our students’ (RT7) was deep in their motivations, demonstrating the deep empathy the RTs have for the students. The common theme of hope was evident within both RTs and students, which created a new sense
of energy within the classrooms, and focused the Syrian’s mind-sets on the future instead of the harsh environment within Lebanon. In comparison with HCTs of which four mentioned monetary incentives, RTs did mention this as a major motivating factor. This may have been because RTs were working as ‘volunteers’ and some were not being paid at all. Both HCTs and RTs described the love for children and their passion for teaching and learning as integral motivating factors. It was encouraging to observe that teachers’ motivations were majorly intrinsic, as these are more enjoyable for the teachers and also facilitate better practices in teaching and learning to reach objectives.

6.5 The benefits of engaging both sets of teachers

Through this research, it is clear that both groups of teachers face difficult circumstances when teaching refugee students. However, their skillsets, challenges and motivations are unique and there are benefits in engaging both sets of teachers. HCTs and RTs described the benefits of engaging both groups of teachers within refugee education.

6.5.1 Community involvement and trust

The major benefit of engaging both RTs and HCTs is that there is a greater involvement from the refugee community within education. The involvement of parents in their child’s education is crucial for academic success and community development (Ennab, 2017). School policies need to foster an environment that welcomes and supports families. When parent involvement is supported by school communities and encouraged by the understanding and experiences of refugee communities, ‘it can mobilize transformative local resources and become powerful tools of school reform and family and community engagement’ (Jasis & Ordoñez-Jasis 2012, p. 86). Within non-formal settings, the engagement of RTs in education created further trust between the parents and the schools, which meant that parents felt more comfortable sending their children to school.

When the parents heard about the Syrian teachers within the centres, they feel more comfortable to send their children to the centres. They think that the Syrian teacher can take more care of Syrian students than the Lebanese. This was before, but now they know that the Lebanese and Syrian teachers both want to achieve the same objectives. (HCT13)

Within the Prosperity Foundation, the teachers described the importance of building a relationship between teachers and parents, ‘because if you don’t have a relationship with the parent they will not accept to send their children to the centre’ (HCT12). With limited parental involvement and supports, it is harder for parents to ensure the success of their
schools and teachers should work to support the primary relationship and to create an
environment that welcomes and nurtures families. The benefit of involving RTs within the
formal education system could be essential in improving school enrolments of refugee
children in formal education. By utilising both HCTs and RTs parents also start forming
stronger bonds with the host country community, as they begin to acknowledge they are all
critical within the schooling process.

It is very good to have both Lebanese and Syria teachers working together for the same
objectives, because now the Syrian students know it is not only about the camp environment,
it is about outside, it’s in Lebanon, it is the country that they are living. The Lebanese
teachers give them some more information about Lebanon, where they can go out, they have
a good relationship with the Lebanese teacher. So now when the child talks about this
relationship with their parents, the parents feel like more comfortable to live in this
environment, because they start to develop a good relationship between the Lebanese and the
Syrian communities. (RT11)

6.5.2 Language differences

language barriers for both Syrian students and teachers were observed from both the system
and lifeworld perspectives. The HCTs commonly described difficulty in understanding the
accents of the Syrian students, while RTs had difficulty with the English and French
languages in the Lebanese curriculum. The benefits of using both sets of teachers are that
they could assist each other to overcome language barriers, both as interpreters and to
develop the language skills as a workforce of teachers. Throughout this process, teachers and
students can continue to build positive relationships and RTs can pass their language skills
onto their students and communities, creating easier communication between the cultures.

It is very good to have both sets of teachers, because as a Syrian teacher we do not have much
information about the English and French language. The Lebanese curriculum and teachers
do have this, so it is very good to exchange this experience and now have some base in
English. For the children, it is very good to have both of us, because the Syrian children have
our Arabic language, as Syrian the Bedwin one, but the Lebanese don’t understand this very
good. So, we work together as translators and we help each other to work towards the same
objectives. (RT10)

6.5.3 Understanding of the different cultures

An alternative benefit of engaging both HCTs and RTs is that cultural differences become
evident so that stereotypes can be broken and cultures can be celebrated. As both Lebanon
and Syria comprise of different religions, values and beliefs, there is an important lesson for
children when their teachers can model positive relationships with different cultures.

There are many types of Lebanese and Syrian teachers, some of them are from different
religions, some of them are from different parts of Lebanon and Syria, they are living all
together, this is a good idea and good point for the children to change, as the teachers are good role models on how we should live together. (HCT8)

Refugee students may also feel more comfortable when teachers have an understanding of their own traditions and, when RTs are involved within the education process, these traditions can be shared with the whole school community. It is critical that schools respect the differences in cultures amongst their students, so that the students feel safe and valued.

He said that what is very good, is that the Syrian teachers have the same traditions as the Syrian students. This is what helps the Syrian students to be comfortable within the centres. At the same time between the Syria and Lebanese to exchange information and experiences, and live together. It is a good experience for us to live together, even within this small centre, but after we will start to live together in this centre. (HCT10)

Also, when different cultures and traditions are celebrated, children have the opportunity to build their understanding of their host country, and they can also learn to respect and celebrate this new culture. Through engaging both HCTs and RTs, an education centre can become a bridge for teachers and students to exchange experiences, exchange relationships and to live together.

6.5.4 A talented workforce of teachers

Finally, by engaging both HCTs and RTs, the system benefits from a larger selection of skilled teachers and the teachers can learn and develop from each other. It is rare in any country to find doctors, engineers, lawyers, artists and university professors in primary classrooms. However, this is not unusual within the classrooms in the non-formal centres where the RTs are working in Lebanon. In conducting this research, it was observed that many skilled refugees were volunteering within non-formal settings, including a famous artist engaging students in art therapy lessons, lawyers were instructing English, maths professors were teaching numeracy and engineers were conducting science experiments. Within the Hope Foundation, chemical and robotics engineers were teaching students practical science skills which they were using to develop informal camp settlements within their communities; installing heating, electricity and light into the tents. Both RTs and HCTs acknowledge gaps within their own curriculum and appreciate learning from the other group of teachers. The benefits of engaging both groups of teachers will ensure a more skilled workforce, which can continue to learn and grow so, when these students and teachers do return home, they will be able to rebuild Syria.

We work as refugees, working with refugee children, we stand again and we teach again. We can teach in any conditions and situations. We must be strong to stand up again, to give the students the confidence and hope and let them feel safe, both physically and psychologically.
We need to give them more evaluation and be educated, so that they can one day rebuild Syria. Until then we are good role models for them in their communities (RT11)

6.6 Concluding remark

In this chapter, the findings of the study have been presented on the bases of the data that were collected using different qualitative data from HCTs and RTs and the final two research questions were answered. 2. What are the differences in challenges and motivating factors experienced by RTs and HCTs? Overall, the findings indicate that both HCTs and RTs are facing immense pressures in the classroom. The major challenges faced by both groups of teachers include language barriers, poor teaching environments, and different levels of the students. Differences between challenges faced by HCTs include students’ accents, cultural differences, distrust from parents, and no support from community. In contrast, RTs’ distinctive challenges were primarily based around legal issues, labour laws, accreditation, security and an unambiguous future.

The major factors that motivate teachers to teach refugee students provoked powerful responses from both HCTs and RTs. The most prominent responses from the HCTs was the intrinsic motivator ‘love for the children’ and extrinsic motivator of ‘monetary incentives’. The most prominent responses from the HCTs was intrinsic motivator ‘love for the children’ and the extrinsic motivation of ‘monetary incentives’. RTs responses were distinctive from the HCTs as their major motivation strung from hope and the future of Syria Collectively, the RTs described the major motivating factor for teaching refugee students was the belief that these children had the skills to rebuild Syria.

Lastly, the final research question was answered: 3. What is the effectiveness of using both sets of teachers in refugee contexts? From the research, it became evident the major benefit of using RTs is that it promotes involvement by, and trust from, the community, which could contribute to more supportive learning environments. With RTs involved in the education process this would likely increase the number of students attending both formal and non-formal settings, as parents would develop trust towards the system. Additionally, a combination of HCTs and RTs could assist with the language barriers, RTs could support with issues of accents, while HCTs could promote the development of languages with RT and the Syrian community. Finally, the benefits of engaging both groups of teachers would ensure
a more skilled teaching workforce, which could continue to learn and grow so, when these students and teachers do return home, they have the opportunity to rebuild Syria.
7 Conclusion and Recommendations

Throughout this thesis I researched the working conditions, challenges, and motivations of HCTs and RTs within the Lebanese education system. The Lebanese education system is vital to the educational quality of refugees within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. My research illustrated that both HCTs and RTs are paramount to the best possible delivery of education within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. Therefore, for the best possible education to be delivered in the refugee context, the Lebanese education system must utilise both HCTs and RTs.

The Lebanese education system has been overwhelmed by the huge influx of Syrian refugees who now make up over a quarter of the population (MEHE, 2016). The Lebanese government has been and is keen to maintain a high value on their own human capital investments by guaranteeing job opportunities for Lebanese citizens. However, the Lebanese governments strict policy for RTs has created tension within the Lebanese education system, and has resulted in limited involvement from the Syrian refugee community in their own education. The lack of community participation in public schools has been reported to directly influence increasingly high dropout rates and low enrolment levels of Syrian refugee children in education with formal accreditation within the refugee contexts of Lebanon, which has resulted in over 250,000 refugee children unable to access education within Lebanon (3RP, 2016). As a consequence of this, Syrian run ‘Secret Schools’ have emerged and gained popularity, which has subsequently limited the Lebanese government’s control of education within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. The lack participation by the Syrian refugee community in their own education, and the high number of dropout rate and unenrolled children in the refugee contexts of Lebanon, implies that something must change to solve these problems. Through this research I concluded that change requires initiatives to ensure that both the Lebanese population and the Syrian refugee population within Lebanon work together to improve the social cohesion and working environments of teachers within the schools located in refugee contexts.

Overall, the findings of my research indicate that both HCTs and RTs are integral to creating quality working environments for refugee students within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. HCTs have the right to work within Lebanon as both employees within formal and non-
formal settings. However, RTs within Lebanon are only engaged as volunteers who can support non-formal learning spaces, and thus they are neither efficiently nor effectively utilised by the educational system within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. Both HCTs and RTs encounter challenging work environments within classrooms in refugee contexts in Lebanon. HCTs often struggle to comprehend their refugee students, due to a variance in accent and culture, which is also further exacerbated by the distrust of refugee parents and lack of support from community. I contend that many of these challenges encountered by HCTs can be resolved through the increased engagement of both RTs and the Syrian refugee community. In contrast to the challenges encountered by HCTs, the challenges encountered by RTs include legal issues, labour laws, accreditation, security, and the ambiguous and uncertain future that all RTs face by themselves being refugees. I contend that all these challenges faced by RTs can be resolved if clear policies are created by both the host government (the Lebanese government) and international agencies to include RTs in formal education in some capacity.

The findings of my research illustrate the difficulties of recruiting, efficiently training, deploying and retaining strong teachers in the refugee contexts of Lebanon, which are nothing short of a multifaceted and protracted education-emergency. Because of the immense size of this education-emergency, with over 250,000 refugee children unable to access education within Lebanon (3RP, 2016), the poor working conditions for teachers within this education-emergency, and the low standard of accreditation that is currently requested of HCTs working within this education-emergency, both violence and discrimination toward Syrian refugees is prevalent within the formal education centres within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. I contend that stricter policies and codes of conduct need to be implemented to ensure that these education centres become safe learning environments for both refugee children and their teachers. Further, I contend that teachers with both a higher standard of accreditation and hence the capacity to deliver a greater quality of education needs to be addressed within the refugee contexts of Lebanon.

Both HCTs and RTs displayed distinctive motivations for teaching refugee students. HCTs were primarily motivated by the intrinsic motivator of ‘love for the children’ and the extrinsic motivator of ‘monetary incentives’. Whereas RTs were collectively motivated by the intrinsic motivator of ‘hope’: this hope is based upon the belief that by educating their own refugee children the RTs would be educating those who would one day rebuild Syria. Intrinsically
motivated teachers are usually more effective and likely to complete their teaching duties for the personal satisfaction those duties provide. The objective of education stakeholders should be to harness greater intrinsic motivation within the classroom by increasing the involvement of RTs within the education being provided within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. There is also a need to supply adequate extrinsic motivation to ensure that teachers do not feel demotivated. Although a host government, such as the Lebanese government, may not be able to offer monetary incentives, the government should still ensure that appropriate policies, procedures, supervision, and working conditions, are put in place.

Another reason to increase the involvement of RTs within the education being provided within the refugee contexts of Lebanon is to increase their professional development whilst they are in a host country for their return to their home country, to ensure that their lifelong learning as teachers is not disrupted. This requires an environment where both HCTs and RTs are provided with a platform from which they can equally communicate their ideas, and hold positions of responsibility which supply opportunities for personal growth and development.

The findings of my research illustrate that even though the formal education system of the Lebanese government claimed that they had an oversupply of HCTs, many of these HCTs were underqualified within the formal education system. Whilst this claim was made by the Lebanese government, many RTs who had teaching qualifications and other relevant university degrees were excluded from the formal education system of Lebanon, and were subsequently utilising their expertise within non-formal education settings. Although RTs may not have had the explicit language skills in French and English required of HCTs, my research illustrated that respondents saw RTs as useful assets within the Lebanese education system, for, but not limited to, the following reasons: to potentially reduce some challenges HCTs encountered with community engagement, student enrolments, language issues and violence within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. Although the extreme case of overcrowding the formal education system of Lebanon with RTs would be problematic, this extreme case does not discount the benefits of a co-system wherein an RTs are employed as assistant teachers to HCTs within the refugee contexts of Lebanon. I contend that this co-system is an ideal solution to the problems faced by both RTs and HCTs.

A major benefit of using both RTs and HCTs in a co-system within the formal education system of Lebanon is that it promotes involvement and trust from within the refugee
communities, which would conceivably resolve the issue of enrolments within the formal system. In addition, the combination of HCTs and RTs could assist with language and cultural barriers and create a safe and protective learning environment for refugee students. Finally, engaging HCTs and RTs would create a more skilled teaching force, who could continue to learn and grow together, and when the RTs and refugee students return home, they have the opportunity to contribute to rebuilding Syria.

Although it is understandable that introducing RTs into the formal education system of Lebanon would be problematic, since the Lebanese unemployment rates in general remain high. Yet, as a country hosting refugees, Lebanon also needs to provide some support of the refugee communities living within Lebanese borders. Through the interviews I undertook as part of this research study it is clear that the majority of Syrian communities are educated and motivated, and that the community are committed to educating refugee students with or without the support of the Lebanese government.

This is reality, we can’t ignore the other community, we can’t ignore this government. Even if they do not like us, we are encouraging them to break these barriers. Now we have to work with them, we need to learn and teach in the formal schools, because if we are studying in the Syrian schools we cannot get the certificates. We need governmental changes so that Syrians can work more freely. We have to change this picture of the Syrian people, that is what we are working on. We are not bad people. Although we have suffered in the past, some bad things have happened. (RT5)

7.1 Recommendations

The findings of my research have led to a number of context-specific recommendations of cost-effective interventions that would support teachers in the refugee contexts of Lebanon and ultimately strengthen the quality of education available to refugee children. Succeeding the results of this study will be some policy recommendations to strengthen the future alignment of UN policy with what is occurring on the ground in Lebanon

- Government and international NGOs should consider using RTs within formal education. The idea of a co-system that constitutes of the pairing of an assistant teacher (RT) with a HCT within formal education.
- Collaborative partnerships need to be established between schools, host country community organisations, and refugee communities since all three are critical to successfully engage refugee families.
• Governments need to increase community involvement: teachers who feel recognised and valued by their community are more likely to be dedicated to their work and develop great resilience and self-worth in very difficult circumstances.

• Stricter policy and codes of conduct should be implemented to ensure safe learning environments that eliminate violence and discrimination within schools.

• Selection processes and deployments need to be fair and consistent to ensure teachers remain motivated to enter the workforce, with hiring choices based on experience, qualifications and skills, rather than networking and nationality.

• An institutional framework needs to be implemented to regularise the legal status of teachers, which clarifies their employment rights, both for HCTs and RTs, to ensure that teachers do not become demotivated.

• Certification and accreditation programmes need to be established for both students and teachers, both in non-formal and formal education.

• To improve motivation of HCTs and RTs, MEHE, international agencies and NGOs should ensure teachers are paid on time (preferably monthly) to retain teacher motivation.

• If governments cannot pay monetary incentives, then RTs may be motivated by the non-monetary incentives, which may include: food, water, accommodation, healthcare, personal items, transport, or perhaps strategies for personal growth, such as professional development

Teachers are vitally important to educational quality. In refugee and emergency settings, it is critical that more research focuses on teacher motivation, particularly further comparisons between HCTs and RTs in different refugee contexts. In refugee contexts with tough and demanding working and home environments education needs to be dedicated to developing and supporting teachers, children and communities, to ensure supporting healthy and productive lives despite the protracted nature of their circumstances, one solution is to engage RTs as well as HCTs.
References


World Bank. (n.d). Education and Decentralisation, Retrieved from *The Online Sourcebook on Decentralization and Local Development*  
https://www.ciesin.columbia.edu/decentralization/English/Issues/Education.html

8 Appendices

8.1 Appendix A Consent Form

Request for participation in research project

The motivations and experiences of teachers of Syrian refugees in Lebanon

Background and Purpose
This research is being completed for a Master’s program at the University of Oslo, titled Comparative and International Education. The focus of this research is to explore how ‘host country teachers’ and ‘refugee teachers’ are being engaged to teach refugee students in Lebanon, with a major focus on motivation. The purpose of this research is to add to the dearth of literature on refugee teachers, and gain a greater understanding of how teachers are being engaged and motivated to teach within formal and non-formal education systems in Lebanon, with a distinct comparison between ‘host country teachers’ and ‘refugee teachers’.

The initial phase of the study will interview policy makers, UN and NGO staff focusing specifically on how teachers have been engaged, and their perceptions on what motivates/demotivates these teachers. The second phase of the research will focus on teacher motivation and their experiences, by the means of semi structured interviews with teachers in the field.

The sample will include interviews with:
- 8 staff in different aid organisations.
- 3 UN agency staff
- 2 policy makers in MEHE (the ministries of education in Lebanon and Turkey)
- 20 Syrian refugee teachers (10 in each country)
- 20 host country teachers (10 in each country)

Participants will be acquired using both purposive and snowball sampling.

What does participation in the project imply?
Data will be collected mainly through extensive research and interviews. Utilizing interviews for this study will help the interviewer and the interviewee to openly communicate ultimately helping give adequate information to the developed research questions. The interviews will be completed individually, in person or over the phone. All interviews will be audio-recorded once approval is given from the participants.

The initial phase of research will involve interviews with aid organisations and governments. Questions will concern, how refugee teachers are being engaged, what programs are being used and questions about factors affecting teacher motivation. The second phase will include adapted interviews, with ‘refugee teacher’ and ‘host country teachers’ in Lebanon and Turkey. Teachers will be asked questions about factors that affect motivation. Interviews will be transcribed for further data analysis, but all personal information from participants will be confidential and will be assigned fictional names in order to fully protect the confidentiality of participants.
What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data will be treated confidentially. Additionally, all data will be stored and saved on the researcher’s personal computer that will be with them at all times. The computer has a set password for login to ensure all information is safely stored and inaccessible from outside parties.

The project is scheduled for completion by August 2017. Once the project is complete, the data will be anonymised and all personal information will be discarded. All personal data will be treated confidentially.

Voluntary Participation
It is voluntary to participate in this project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be made anonymous.
If you would like to participate or if you have any questions concerning the project, please contact:

Researcher: Sasha Koomen, sashahk@student.uv.uio.no +4746583025
Main Supervisor: Tove Kvil, tove.Kvil@norad.no +4741204422
University Supervisor: Fengshu Lieu, fengshu.liu@iped.uio.no

Furthermore, if you have any colleagues, friends or acquaintances who may be willing to participate in this project, please email Sasha or forward on their contacts.
The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study
I have received information about the project and am willing to participate

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------
(Signed by participant, date)
طلب مشاركة في مشروع بحثي
اشتراك للمعلمين اللاجئين في لبنان مع التركيز على العوامل المحفزة

- معلومات عن المشروع و الغرض منه:

يتطلب إجراء هذا البحث لبرنامج ماجستير في جامعة أوسو بعنوان "الممارسات والتعليم الدولي". نحاول التركيز في هذا البحث على معرفة كيفية اندماج "المعلمين اللاجئين" مع "المعلمين الاجنبيين" لتدريس الطلبة اللاجئين في لبنان مع التركيز على أعمالي التحقيق.

الغرض الأساسي من البحث هو الحصول على فهم كافي وكبير لكي تتمكن اندماج المعلمين والاحتفاظ بالتركيز في داخل النظم التعليمية الرئيسية. والغير رسمية في لبنان. مع مقارنة واضحة بين "معلمين البلد المضيف" و "المعلمين الاجنبيين".

في المرحلة الأولى من الدراسة من يقوم بمناقشة صناع القرار. موطني الأم المحدودة والمنظمات غير الحكومية والتركيز بشكل خاص على الطريقة التي ينتمي في المعلمين وتصرفاتهم حول ما يمكن أن يخفق أو يجبر هؤلاء المعلمين. المرحلة الثانية سوف تركز على دوافع المعلمين بالإضافة إلى التعرف على خبراتهم من خلال تنظيم مقابلات مع معلمون لديهم خبرة في المجال.

سوف تشمل العينة مقابلات مع:

- (8) موظفين من مجموعات إثنية مختلفة.
- (3) موظفين من وكالة الأمم المتحدة.
- (2) من صناع القرار في وزارة التربية والتعليم في لبنان (MEHE).
- (10) معلمين لاجئين سوريين.
- (10) معلمين من البلد المضيف.

سوف يتم اختيار مشاركيان محددين و و أيضاً عن طريق الانتقاء العشوائي.

كيف ستتم المشاركة في المشروع؟

سيتم جمع كافة البيانات بشكل أساسي عن طريق إجراء البحوث والمقابلات الشخصية على نطاق واسع. استخدم المقابلات في هذه الدراسة سوف يتم الحصول على الشخصي والضيفي حيث كاملاً في التواصل مما سوف يساعد في النهاية على إعادة معلومات كافية للإجابة عن بحثنا. سوف يتم إجراء المقابلات بشكل فرد من خلال المقابلات الشخصية أو عن طريق الهاتف.

سوف يتم استخدام الشكل التصويري في جميع المقابلات بشكل مختلف. تمثل المرحلة الأولى من الدراسة مقابلات مع منظمات الإرادة والحكومات. سوف تتم الاستفادة من بحث المعلمين الأولي في جميع المقابلات. المرحلة الثانية سوف تشمل مقابلات مخصصة وتاقل مع "المعلمين اللاجئين" و "معلمين البلد المضيف" في لبنان. سوف يتم التواصل مع الاتصال المصور في المرحلة المؤثر على التحقيق.

سوف يتم نسخ المقابلات لإجراء المزيد من تحليل البيانات و لكن جميع المعلومات الشخصية للمشاركين سوف تكون سرية.

و سوف يتم استخدام أسئلة ووجوهية و ذلك لضمان السرية الكاملة للمشاركين.

ماذا سوف يحدث لمعلوماتك الشخصية؟

سوف يتم التعامل مع كافة البيانات الشخصية بسرية كاملة. بالإضافة أنه سوف يتم تحويل وحفظ كافة البيانات على كمبيوترات شخصية خاصة بالمعلمين و الذي سوف يجوزهم. سوف يتم تعزيز كلمة مرسوم الكليات الشخصية للأكاديمية من أن البيانات تحتفظ آمن ولا يمكن الوصول إليها من قبل أطراف خارجية من المقرر الإنتهاء من المشروع في شهر أب من عام 2017. فور الإنتهاء من المشروع سوف يتم تبادل جميع البيانات و سوف يتم مسح جميع المعلومات الشخصية.

سوف يتم التعامل بسُرية ثانية مع كافة البيانات الشخصية.

المشارة النظيفية:

105
تتم المشاركة في هذا المشروع بشكل تطوعي. كما أنه يمكنك سحب الموافقة على المشروع في أي وقت من دون إعطاء أي سبب لذلك. فحال قررت الإسحاب من المشروع سوف يتم تجاهل ومسح كافة المعلومات الشخصية.
في حالة الرغبة في المشاركة أو لديك أي أسئلة تتعلق بالمشروع يرجى الإتصال على:
المؤتمرة السابقة: sashahk@student.uv.uio.no / +4746583025 / Sasha Koomen
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بالإضافة إلى ذلك، في حال وجود أي من الزملاء أو الأصدقاء الذين على الاستعداد للمشاركة في المشروع يرجى إرسال معلوماتهم عن طريق البريد الإلكتروني إلى (Sasha) أو إرسال الإيميل لـ (NSD) المركز النرويجي لبيانات البحث. قد تم اختيار مركز حماية البيانات الرسمية للبحوث مسبقًا بالدراسة.

الموافقة على المشاركة في الدراسة
لقد تلقيت معلومات كافية عن المشروع وأنا على استعداد للمشاركة

(توقيع المشارك / التاريخ)
8.3 Appendix C Interview Guide for UN & NGO officials

1. How is your organisation engaging ‘host country teachers’ and ‘refugee teachers’ in providing education for refugees?
   - What kind of formal and non-formal educational opportunities are available for qualified HCTs and RTs in teaching refugee students in your organisation?

Factors impacting Motivation

1. How would you describe the workload for HCT and RT teaching refugee students? “in terms of hours per week”, “do they teach single, double or triple shifts?” “how many students per teacher”, or, “how many students in each classroom on average”.

2. What are the major challenges that HCT and RT of refugees face? (security, compensation, workload, etc.)

3. Can you please describe the ‘remuneration and incentives’ packages you provide for both HCT and RTs. How are these similar or different?
   - What other forms of incentives are offered in addition to monetary compensation? Are these regularly available?

4. How would you describe the status and recognition for teachers currently in your organisation? Do you think this is similar recognition for HCT and RT teaching refugee students?

5. What are the existing recruitment and selection processes for HCTs and RTs in your organisation?
   - What certifications and qualifications do teachers need?

6. What techniques do you use within your organisation to ensure the accountability of HCTs and RTs?

7. Describe the opportunities for career development within educational sector for HCTs and RCTs. Describe the opportunities for professional development for HCTs and RTs? Describe management structures (including guidelines and policies) that HCT and RT can access in regards to teaching Syrian refugee students (curriculum, code of conduct, etc.)

8. How are HCTS and RTs engaged in voicing- actively sharing their opinions in regards to school management and policies by the ministry for refugee children

9. What kind of learning materials and facilities do HCTs and RTs have access to? How is this impacting teaching and learning?

10. Which factors are the most important in motivating HCTS and RTS?

11. Which factors are the most important in de-motivating HCTs and RTs?
8.4 Appendix D Interview Guide for Government Officials

Engagement
1. **How are national and regional authorities (government) engaging ‘host country teachers’ and ‘refugee teachers’ in providing education for refugees in Lebanon?**
   - What kind of formal and non-formal educational opportunities are available HCTs and RTs in teaching refugee students? How is the government responsible in providing this?

Factors impacting Motivation
1. **Which factors are the most important in motivating HCTS and RTS? Which factors are the most important in de-motivating HCTs and RTs?**
2. How would you describe the workload for HCT and RT teaching refugee students? “in terms of hours per week”, “do they teach single, double or triple shifts?” “how many students per teacher”, or, “how many students in each classroom on average”.
3. What are the major challenges that HCT and RT of refugees face? (security, compensation, workload, etc.)
4. Can you please describe the ‘remuneration and incentives’ packages that the government provides for both HCT and RTs. How are these similar or different?
   - What other forms of incentives are offered in addition to monetary compensation?
5. How would you describe the status for teachers currently in Lebanese society? How are they recognised by their communities? How is this similar/different for HCT and RT teaching refugee students?
6. What are the existing recruitment and selection processes for HCTs and RTs to teach refugee students?
   - What certifications and qualifications do teachers need?
   - How important are these in the eye of the government? i.e. is the govt. willing to make exceptions for formally under-qualified teachers, and if yes on what grounds?
7. What mechanisms exist to create accountability at what levels in the education system ensures that HCTs and RTs are educating refugee students appropriately? (head teachers, supervisors, opportunities for feedback)
8. Describe the opportunities for career development within educational sector, in government in both non-formal and formal education for HCTs and RCTs.
9. Describe the opportunities for professional development for HCTs and RTs? Is the government able to offer non-formal training as a compensation/incentive
10. Describe management structures (including guidelines and policies) that HCT and RT can access in regards to teaching Syrian refugee students (curriculum, code of conduct, district education officers, etc.)
11. How are HCTs and RTs engaged in voicing-actively sharing their opinions in regards to the government’s school management and policies, for refugee children?
12. What kind of learning materials and facilities do HCTs and RTs have/do not have access to? How is this impacting teaching and learning? (infrastructure, books, stationary, etc)

13. Does a local or national incentive system exist, overseen by the Ministry of Education & Higher Education, to sustain teachers and their motivation? If so, describe. If not, how can this be developed to be more effective?
8.5 Appendix E Interview Guide for RTs

1. Please give a brief summary of how you ended up in Lebanon (where you are from? What you were doing in your home country before you arrived?

2. How many years have you been teaching in Lebanon? How would you compare the experience teaching refugee students in Lebanon compared to back at home (Syria)?

3. Describe what kind of educational setting you are currently working in. How have you engaged in teaching refugees? Is teaching your only professional activity / job?

Factors impacting Motivation

4. How would you describe your current workload?

5. What are the major classroom challenges that you face teaching refugee students? If applicable: How do these compare to teaching in your home country?

6. Can you please describe the ‘remuneration and incentives’ that you currently receive as a teacher of refugee students? Are these enough to live? Describe how it motivates you to teach?
   - What other forms of incentives are offered in addition to monetary compensation? Are these regularly available?

7. As a teacher of Syrian refugee students, how do you feel about your status in society?

8. What recruitment and selection processes did you go through to teach refugee students?
   - What certifications and qualifications did you need? How important were these?

9. Do you feel there is high accountability within your educational setting that ensures that you teach to a certain standard?

10. Describe the opportunities for career development within your current role.

11. Describe the opportunities for professional development within your current role.

12. Are there clear management structures (including guidelines and policies) that refugee teachers? Curriculum, code of conduct, etc.

13. Do you feel you have a clear voice into school management and policies by the ministry for refugee students, describe why/ why not?

14. Describe the learning materials and facilities used within your classes. Are there appropriate resources to teach you lessons, how does this impact on your teaching?

15. Describe the relationships within the school system, do you work closely with other teachers (including host country teachers)?

16. As a teacher do you feel motivated to teach? Why/ why not?

17. What are the most motivating and demotivating factors? Why?
8.6 Appendix F Interview Guide for HCTS

1. Please give a brief summary of your teaching career, how you started teaching refugee students.

2. How would you compare teaching refugee students than those of your own?

3. Describe what kind of educational setting you are currently working in. How have you been engaged to teach refugee students?

4. How would you describe your current workload?

5. What are the major classroom challenges that you face teaching refugee students? If applicable: How do these compare to teaching students from your regular classes in Lebanon?

6. Can you please describe the ‘salary or incentives’ that you currently receive as a teacher of refugee students? Are these enough to live? Does this effect your motivation?

7. What other forms of incentives are offered in addition to monetary compensation? Are these regularly available?

8. As a teacher of Syrian refugee students, how do you feel about your status in society?

9. What recruitment and selection processes did you go through to teach refugee students? What certifications and qualifications did you need? How important were these?

10. Do you feel there is high accountability within your educational setting that ensures that you teach to a certain standard.

11. Describe the opportunities for career development within your current role.

12. Describe the opportunities for professional development within your current role.

13. Are there clear management structures (including guidelines and policies) that refugee teachers? Curriculum, code of conduct, etc.

14. Do you feel you have a clear voice into school management and policies by the ministry for refugee students, describe why/why not?

15. Describe the learning materials and facilities used within your classes. Are there appropriate resources to teach your lessons, how does this impact on your teaching?

16. Describe the relationships within the school system, do you work closely with other teachers (including refugee teachers)?

17. As a teacher do you feel motivated to teach? Why/why not?

16. What are the most motivating and demotivating factors? Why?
8.7 Appendix G Arabic Questionnaire for Teachers

1. Please give a brief summary of your teaching career, how you started teaching refugee students.

لاجئين؟ التعليم بتعلم بدأ كيف و التعليم في مهنتك عن صغير ملخص إعطاء اءالرح

2. Describe the kind of educational setting you are working in. How have you been engaged to teach refugee students?

لاجئين؟ التعليم بتعليم انخرطت كيف و الحالي التعليمي لبرنامجك وصف إعطاء الرجاء

3. How would you compare teaching refugee students to teaching Lebanese students?

الخاصين؟ بتلاميذك اللاجئين تعليم تقارن كيف

4. How would you describe your current workload?

هل الخاص العمل ضغط تحصص كيف

5. What are the major classroom challenges that you face teaching refugee students? If applicable, how do these compare to teaching students from your regular classes in Lebanon?

كيف المقارنة صحت إذا و اللاجئين؟ التلاميذ تعليم في تواجهها التي التحديات اسم هو ما لبنان؟ في المعتادين تلاميذك بتعليم تنطلق التي تلك درياباتهذه تقارن

6. Can you please describe the ‘salary or incentives’ that you currently receive as a teacher of refugee students? Is this enough to live on? Does this affect your motivation?

هل اللاجئين؟ التلاميذ تعليم مقابل حاليا لتلافيا التي المحفزات أو العلاج وصف بإمكانك هل حوافزك؟ على ذلك يؤثر هل ه معيشتك تكاليف لتحمل كافية هي

7. What other forms of incentives are offered in addition to monetary compensation (if applicable)? Are these regularly available?

بانتظام؟ متوفرة هي هل و المال؟ إلى بالإضافة المعروضة الأخرى المحفزات كالأس هي ما

8. As a teacher of Syrian refugee students, how do you feel about your status in society?

الاجتماع؟ في مركزك تجاه تشعر كيف يسوريين لتعليم معلم بصفتك

9. What recruitment and selection processes did you go through to teach refugee students? What certifications and qualifications did you need? How important were these?

هي ما اللاجئين التلاميذ لتعلم لها خضعت التي الاختبارات و التوظيف خطوات هي ما الشهادات؟ هذه أهمية مدى ما مثلت التي العلمية التحصيلات و الشهادات

10. Do you feel there is high accountability within your educational setting that ensures that you teach to a certain standard.

ما ؟ لدرجة التعليمي نظامكم في مشهد محاسبة و رقابة نظام هناك أن تشعر هل

11. Describe the opportunities for career development within your current role.

الحالي مجالك في الترقية فرص وصف الرجاء

12. Describe the opportunities for training and professional development within your current role.

الحالي دورك في الاحترافي المهني النمو فرص وصف الرجاء

13. Is there clear management structures (including guidelines and policies) that refugee teachers abide by? Describe what these are (Curriculum, code of conduct,
التعامل في اسلوب ومنهج؟ اللاجئين التعليمي اساتذة به يلتزم واضح إداري نظام هناك هل (الخ، محمد

14. Do you feel that you have a clear voice into school management and policies by the ministry for refugee students, describe why/why not?

هل هناك/ لماذا واضح الوزارة؟ في اللاجئين التعليم تنظيم في مسموع رأي لديك أن تشعر هل

15. Describe the learning materials and facilities used within your classes. Are there appropriate resources to teach your lessons, if not how does this impact your teaching?

الرجاء وصف الرجاء: لتعليم كافية مصادر هي هل. صفوفك في المستعملة التعليم مواد وآليات. كيف، للتعليم؟ في اساليب؟

16. Describe the relationships within your school, do you work closely with other teachers (including refugee teachers) and the rest of the community?

من) أخرين اساتذة من يمكنك مقرب أنت هل، التعليمي النظام في العلاقات وصف الرجاء؟ (اللاجئين اساتذة ضمنهم

17. As a teacher do you feel motivated to teach? Why/why not?

لا؟ لماذا/لاذا التعليم؟ تجاه بالحماس تشعر هل، استاذ يصففتك

18. What are the most motivating and demotivating factors? Why?

لماذا تحفيزك؟ عدم في تساهم التي هي ما و تحفيزك في تساهم التي العوامل هي ما