Facilitating Classroom Re-entry for Syrian Children of Refugee Status in Lebanon
Combatting Armed-Conflict Trauma with Resilience-Focused Psychosocial Education Interventions in a Country of Immediate Refuge

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Abstract:

This capstone examines education humanitarian aid responses serving Syrian youth of refugee status in Lebanon. In particular, the project addresses two questions: 1. *What are some of the most prevalent behaviors that Syrian children and youth displaced to Lebanon exhibit that inhibit successful classroom re-entry?* 2. *What constitutes a meaningful education in emergency intervention that can facilitate classroom re-entry by addressing the needs of this specific population?* Particular exhibited behaviors were identified via a synthesis of empirical studies and reports concerning the target population of Syrian youth of refugee status located in Lebanon. General behavioral regulation, aggression, anxiety, and withdrawal were identified as key themes. An in-depth review was then conducted concerning particular in-country challenges which may further exacerbate these behaviors (bullying, discrimination, corporal punishment, strained parental relationships, child labor, and no space to play) as well as population-specific resilience factors (parental relationships, play, social networks, and school environment) and these resilience factors’ site-specific obstacles. The compiled research informed the creation of a guide which re-framed identified site-specific challenges under a narrative focused on facilitating classroom re-entry for Syrian youth of refugee status by outlining interventions which support population-specific resilience factors (social cohesion, parent-child relationship, trauma-informed teaching, and room to play). The project aims to address gaps in scholarship by modeling a methodology for education intervention design which is based on site-specific data with a framing that focuses on resilience factors. The research process for this capstone also made apparent the lack of both population specific literature and a standardized organization of what little exists. Therefore, a categorized appendix of sources which concern Syrian youth of refugee status in Lebanon is included.
# Table of Contents

An important note...........................................................................................................4

I. Introduction ..................................................................................................................5

II. Background .................................................................................................................7
   A. War in Syria .............................................................................................................7
   B. Displacement Settlements in Lebanon .................................................................7
   C. Refugee Education in Lebanon a Two-Shift System .............................................8
   D. Impacts of Armed Conflict and Displacement Trauma on Learning Readiness Behaviors ..........10
   E. The Field of Education in Emergencies and the Challenge of In-Country Specificity ..........11

III. Key Definitions .......................................................................................................13

IV. Purpose of the Capstone ........................................................................................14

V. Methodology .............................................................................................................16

VI. Literature Review of Population-Specific Behaviors and Identified In-Country Challenges ....21
   A. Section Introduction .............................................................................................21
   B. Externalizing Behaviors – General Behavioral Regulation and Aggression ...............23
   C. Internalizing Behaviors – Anxiety and Social Withdrawal .......................................25
   D. In-Country Challenges Potentially Exacerbating or Causing Reported Behaviors ....27
      D.I. Parent-Child Relationship ..............................................................................27
      D.II. Bullying ...........................................................................................................28
      D.III. Corporal Punishment in Schools ...................................................................29
      D.IV. Perception of Community Safety ....................................................................30

VII. Population-Specific Resilience Factors and Corresponding In-Country Challenges ..........30
   A. Section Introduction .............................................................................................30
   B. Parental Relationships ..........................................................................................31
   C. Social Networks ....................................................................................................33
   D. Play .........................................................................................................................35
   E. School Environment ..............................................................................................37

VIII. Brief Overview of General Intervention Tools ......................................................39

IX. Existing Established Psychosocial Education in Emergencies Programming in Lebanon ....40

X. Guide to Resilience-Focused Interventions to Facilitate In-Classroom Learning ...............44
   A. Encouraging Social Cohesion .............................................................................47
   B. Teacher Training ....................................................................................................48
   C. Room to Play ........................................................................................................50
   D. Parent-Child Relationship ...................................................................................50
   E. Creating the Capacity for Individualized Intervention ..........................................52
An important note

Around the world, youth of refugee status already face the results of extreme out-group bias in the form of xenophobia. In their 2013 study, Lebowitz and Ahn concluded that discussion of psycho-symptomatology, especially using neurobiological terms, can facilitate “outgroup” categorization and result in lower levels of empathy towards those being described.¹ In an effort to avoid exacerbating outgroup sentiments towards youth of refugee status, the capstone incorporates direct quotations from interviews as much as possible in an attempt to humanize the presented facts and figures. Following the model of Heba Gowayed’s methodology used in her book, Refuge: How the State Shapes Human Potential, the writing in this capstone also uses the terminology “of refugee status” to indicate that “refugee” is solely a legal distinction as opposed to an identity.² This capstone aims to provide a resilience centered as opposed to deficit narrative. Its primary focus is on resilience factors because children should not be defined by trauma they have experienced. Finally, when reading the capstone’s content, the reader should take the time to be aware of any biases they may hold. Above all, those of refugee status are a part of their host community and should be treated as such.

I. Introduction

When I began this capstone, I envisioned a final product that was clear-cut with black and white directives. I wanted to create a guide with rigidly defined behaviors that children and youth exhibited mapped on to their corresponding universal interventions adjusted for in-country limitations. However, through both my research and conversations with the professionals kind enough to work me into their busy schedules, it became clear that my hasty desire for simplicity would only contribute to existing problems within the field of education in emergencies. The intent of this project was first and foremost an exercise of self-education in order to enter the professional world with knowledge of how to approach a humanitarian intervention with integrity. Standing by this priority, the included guide thus shifted from focusing on behaviors to highlighting the promotion of population-specific resilience factors.

Overall, the capstone adheres to the following structure:

- Background on the war in Syria, displacement settlements in Lebanon, and the field of education in emergencies.
- Background on the impact of trauma on learning readiness behaviors.
- A population-specific literature review of Syrian children and youth’s behaviors as well as in-country challenges.
- A guide focused on these in-country challenges reframed as the facilitation of identified population-specific resilience factors.
- Acknowledgement of the capstone’s limitations.
- Suggestions for future research.
- Conclusion.
The background information aims to provide a general overview of the many and nuanced ways in which trauma can impact behavior in children and youth. Although the population-specific literature review does detail what behaviors appear to be most observed, it does not suggest immediate remedies or insinuate the causations or manifestations of these behaviors to be uniform. Trauma should first and foremost be considered on an individualized basis.

It is my hope that this capstone addresses a gap in current literature by providing the preliminary outline of an education in emergencies intervention informed primarily on population-specific research and framed in such a way that the focus is centered on the positive lens of resilience rather than victimization or maladaptive behaviors. Finally, given the lack of resources in the field of education in emergencies research, I have also included an appendix of population-specific sources organized by subthemes. Ultimately, both the main content and the appendix of the capstone, bring together a body of research concerned with Syrian children and youth of refugee status in conversation focused on shared themes such as classroom re-entry and resilience, which can serve as a helpful reference for future research.
II. Background Information

A. War in Syria

In 2011 the murders of pro-democracy student protesters catalyzed an uprising against the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria. A full-scale civil war soon developed in which civilians became the direct target of heinous war crimes including chemical attacks. From 2011 until now, the country of Lebanon has accepted 1.5 million people of refugee status escaping the violence of the war in Syria. The large number of people fleeing to Lebanon can be attributed to its shared border with Syria, which has made it a country of “immediate refuge” i.e. it was the first destination for those seeking refuge (contrasted with countries like Greece or Germany).

Although Lebanon has a relatively small population, it adopted an open borders policy in 2014. As a result, it is now the country with the largest number of refugees per capita and per square kilometer in the world. Of the 1.5 million Syrians who migrated to Lebanon, close to 522,000 are school-age children, defined by the UNHCR as being between 3 to 24-years-old.

B. Displacement Settlements in Lebanon

By April 2014 around 900,000 school-age Syrian children were estimated to be living as people of refugee status. 522,000 migrated to Lebanon. Upon arrival, the majority of Syrians were housed (and remain) in tents in the Bekaa valley with some later moving on to main cities, such as Beirut. It is worth noting that unlike Jordan (home of the Za'atari and Azraq camps),

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Lebanon does not have a formal camp, so those of refugee status must pay rent to remain in the
tented communities. Exacerbating this issue is the practice of *shaweesh*, which involves
landlords taking advantage of displaced peoples’ precarious legal status and asking for more rent
or more work in exchange for rent. In Lebanon, nine out of ten Syrians of refugee status are
living in extreme poverty.

**C. Refugee Education in Lebanon a Two-Shift System**

In 2013, the government of Lebanon announced the implementation of a two-shift
system in their public school day. The first shift is reserved for Lebanese students only, and the
second shift (referred to as the Reach All Children through Education initiative) is for Syrian
students. The two-shift divide was implemented as a direct response to the growing
number of youth of refugee status enrolled in Lebanon’s public schools and the resulting issue of
overcrowding. The second shift’s theoretical purpose was to improve access to formal education
and to provide a classroom pace that created the opportunity for any necessary remedial
instruction. In the past year, the Government of Lebanon has also admitted that it is a

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8 Sender, Hannah, Miriam Orcutt, Rachel Btaiche, Joana Dabaj, Yazan Nagi, Ramona Abdallah, Susanna Corona,
Henrietta Moore, Fouad Fouad, and Delan Devakumar. "Social and cultural conditions affecting the mental health of
Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian adolescents living in and around Bar Elias, Lebanon." *Journal of Migration and
Health* 7 (2023): 100150.

9 “LEBANON - NEEDS AT A GLANCE - 2022.” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees The UN Refugee
Agency, n.d.

10 Beals, Emma. “Second Shift Schools Offer Hope to Young Syrians.” UNHCR. United Nations High


12 “Reaching All Children with Education: RACE II (2017-2021) August 2016.” Beirut: Ministry of Education and

13 Pezzani, Karine M. “Lebanon - Reaching All Children with Education (RACE) Support Project (English).”

prevention method for “disguised settlement” in support of a national education policy which “requires returning the displaced to safe areas in Syria.”

Although the two-shift system is in place, there is still a lack of overall accessibility to school in Lebanon for Syrian children. In addition to the challenges brought on by exposure to armed conflict and displacement (e.g., poverty and psychological wellbeing), legal documents such as certified education records and official recognition of residency (which are difficult for families of refugee status to obtain), are required for enrollment. These restrictions have resulted in approximately 60% of Syrian children in Lebanon not being enrolled in school, with 30% having never been to school at all.

For the select group of Syrian children who are able to gain access to the classroom, Lebanon’s schools rank the lowest in reported teacher friendliness and equal opportunities for Syrian students of refugee status when compared to Turkey and Australia. Additionally, Koomen et al.’s (2017) interviews with Lebanese and Syrian teachers of refugee status revealed the suboptimal conditions of the second-shift learning environment, “[...] 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.” In their article, al-Issa (2022) revealed that many of the second-shift teachers are “contractors” with

less professional experience. For the professional classroom teachers who are employed during this shift, Adelman (2018), reported second-shift teacher exhaustion, “patterns in classroom observations were similar across all three schools. A competent teacher observed in the morning became a tired but well-intentioned teacher in the afternoon while an ineffective teacher in the morning became an exhausted and often careless teacher in the afternoon.”19 In his interview with journalist Samira Shackle (in a 2017 New Humanitarian article), these feelings were echoed by the co-Director of Seeryano (a non-profit which works to facilitate communal play-based learning for Syrian and Lebanese students). “There are not always new teachers in the second shift, and core staff like heads and senior leadership have to stay all day.” 20 In 2022, due to the worsening conditions brought on by the ongoing economic crisis, it was reported that many second-shift teachers began to strike and refused to teach their second-shift classes.21

D. Impacts of Armed Conflict and Displacement Trauma on Learning Readiness Behaviors

There is also little way to track if students of refugee status are regularly attending and staying in school. The lack of accountability measures means that any behavior posing challenges to classroom conduct has an even greater risk of leading to higher attrition rates among Syrian students.22 Behavior which could lead a student to eventually disenroll or prevent enrollment to begin with, may include the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and accompanying emotion dysregulation. Khamis (2019)23 found that of a sample of 1000

Syrian children of refugee status resettled in Lebanon and Jordan, 45.6% have PTSD with an increased risk of accompanying emotion dysregulation. Children of refugee status resettled in Lebanon exhibited the highest rates of PTSD and emotion dysregulation. Specifically, they were 3.31 times higher than those who resettled in Jordan.\textsuperscript{24} A 2020 study conducted by New York University’s (NYU) Global TIES for Children, found that many Syrian children of refugee status enrolled in Lebanese public schools had poorer executive functioning and behavioral regulation than their peers.\textsuperscript{25} In a separate study published through Global TIES, in addition to poorer executive functioning and behavioral regulation, it was reported that Syrian students in Lebanon had lower literacy, and numeracy skills than children who were a typical age for their grade.\textsuperscript{26} The study concluded that in order for children to catch up, significant social-emotional learning was required.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{E. The Field of Education in Emergencies and the Challenge of In-Country Specificity}

Education in emergencies is a term broadly used to describe learning opportunities in situations classified as crises. Learning opportunities include: early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocational, higher and adult education. Emergencies

themselves can be any type of “crisis” such as natural disasters, man-made disasters, war, forced displacement, etc. Programs are often focused on academic remediation and support.

Education in emergencies initiatives to reach children of refugee status include services offered by: Save the Children, Sesame Workshop, and the Norwegian Refugee Council. For example, Sesame Workshop’s partnerships with organizations like the International Rescue Committee (IRC), BRAC, and World Vision has led to early childhood programming in play-based learning and caregiver support services. Sesame Workshop’s largest program (which is what Lebanon receives) is a broadcasted television show, entitled “Welcome Sesame”. Characters in the show explore themes and feelings associated with leaving home. To actively develop and research its curriculum, SesameWorkshop consults with NYU’s Global TIES for Children.

One challenge that international organizations’ broad-intervention designs cause, however, is the loss of programming informed by population-specific and site-specific input. For example, the International Rescue Committee’s Healing Classroom Initiative (which is now implemented across a wide variety of countries including Lebanon) does involve collaboration with a country’s ministry of education as well as the facilitation of active research concerning teachers in non-Western countries. However, the programming materials were developed based off a model piloted in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, as opposed to

interventions tailored to country and population specific level analysis. Ultimately, there is a gap in the field, and even more so in academic literature, concerning processes for site-specific intervention design which primarily relies on direct testimonies and empirical evidence from the affected population itself.

III. Key Definitions

By using population-specific literature, this research project aims to address the gap in knowledge about the specificities of psychosocial programming particularly targeting behavior inhibiting classroom readiness for school age Syrian youth of refugee status in Lebanon. The term “population-specific” indicates that sources explicitly concern Syrian youth living in Lebanon. “Site-specific” and “country-specific” refer to the fact that the difficulties mentioned are those reported about the particular areas of Lebanon where interviewed Syrians of refugee status have resettled. “Classroom inhibiting behaviors” refer to behaviors children display, such as trouble with emotion regulation and/or executive functioning (e.g., difficulty staying focused on a task) which can hinder their success in the Lebanese classroom environment and thus contribute to a risk of high dropout rates. The American Psychological Association defines psychosocial as, “describing the intersection and interaction of social, cultural, and environmental influences on the mind and behavior.” I classify the discussed interventions in this paper as psychosocial, because they focus on building social emotional skill sets in the communal context of an intervention program with the motivation of facilitating success in an environment integral to a society, a public school classroom. Finally, the capstone is considered to be “resilience-focused”, because the final key recommendations focus on further encouraging

identified population-specific factors which act as important buffers of both the effects of armed conflict trauma as well as ongoing site-specific challenges.

IV. Purpose of the Capstone

School enrollment is important because it aids in psychosocial adjustment.\textsuperscript{35} It can provide a sense of routine and stability. In an extensive review, school connectedness and peer support was found to be one of the primary buffers against development of psychological disorders due to post-migration stress.\textsuperscript{36} Education also plays a significant role in the protection of children against crime recruitment and human trafficking\textsuperscript{37} and can give hope for social mobility and future economic stability. Of notability are the cognitive impacts that educational programming can provide. School contributes to broader feelings of wellbeing\textsuperscript{38} and educational programming can be used to buffer the impacts of violent events on the cognitive capacity of young children.\textsuperscript{39} For example, even activities such as reading have been suggested to aid in processing trauma.\textsuperscript{40} As much as school can prove beneficial, it must be qualified that without trauma-informed approaches a school may also exacerbate existing or contribute to newfound trauma. This is especially true when harsh disciplinary measures are taken against students with

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{39} Bragin, Martha. "To play, learn, and think: Understanding and mitigating the effects of exposure to violent events on the cognitive capacity of children and adolescents." \textit{Journal of Infant, Child, and Adolescent Psychotherapy} 4, no. 3 (2005): 296-309.
\end{thebibliography}
behavioral difficulties (which as discussed throughout this paper are often the result of pre-existing trauma).41

The hope of this project is that the in-depth analysis and guide developed based on the particular circumstances of Syrian youth of refugee status in Lebanon, can contribute to modeling an approach to a site-specific, resiliency-focused development process for programming in other countries of immediate refuge with humanitarian aid operations serving children who have been exposed armed-conflict. The desired impact is to encourage the creation of responses that are embedded in a research process which is informed by and conscious of population-specific needs and limitations. In addition to the research method, what sets the focus of this study apart is the targeted topic of the accompanying guide. The guide is written under a resilience framework. Its specific goal is facilitating learning readiness behaviors, in the hope that this will help Syrian youth successfully enter the Lebanese public school system and benefit from the protective factors of schooling described in the paragraph above.

Developing this guide relies on the exploration of the following research questions:

1. What behaviors do school-age Syrian children affected by armed conflict and displacement exhibit that inhibit successful classroom re-entry in Lebanon?
2. What constitutes a meaningful resilience-focused, population-specific intervention that can facilitate classroom re-entry?

While unfortunately, this research is unable to primarily rely on the input of firsthand interviews with Syrians of refugee status and teachers directly impacted by the crisis in Lebanon, it hopes to acknowledge the importance of this approach by compiling an extensive synthesis of the findings of interviews and empirical studies that are both country and population specific.

Overall, the capstone aims to address current gaps in scholarship in two key ways: (1) utilizing a population-specific methodology to inform intervention development and (2) creating a resilience-focused guide of interventions focused on the outcome of facilitating learning readiness behaviors and classroom re-entry.

The topic of this capstone was also chosen for my own learning purposes. I felt that the process behind how education in emergency programs are developed is often obscure. I wanted to use my remaining time as an undergraduate to sincerely dive into the literature concerning how education humanitarian aid projects are implemented in an effort to gain an informed understanding of the sector as a whole. Furthermore, I want to be able to engage in this field of work with integrity. As such, I am using the capstone as an opportunity to explore a methodology in intervention design that centers the needs of those directly impacted by an event of armed conflict and displacement and does not define them as victims.

V. Methodology

A synthesis of literature specifically concerned with the psychosocial health and resulting behavior of school age Syrian youth in Lebanon was conducted. I collected all texts through Google Scholar which included the specific topic and sample of “Syrian children in Lebanon”. Overall, 160 sources pertaining to Syrian children in Lebanon were identified with 32 specifically pertaining to psychology and behavior. Reading through the literature revealed the following central behavioral themes: general behavioral regulation, aggression, withdrawal, and anxiety. I also discuss both specific in-country challenges (bullying, discrimination, corporal punishment, strained parental relationships, child labor, and no space to play) and the factors contributing to resilience (parental relationships, play, social networks, and school environment) identified across the literature. Throughout the capstone, direct quotations are taken from the
following interview-based studies: Adelman, 2018; Alhajji, 2020; Davison et al., 2020; El Gemayel, 2020; Gonzales, 2021; Hanna, 2022; Koomen, 2017; Sender et al., 2023; Shackle, 2017; Sim, 2018; and Sim et al., 2018.

### Interview-Based Studies Directly Quoted

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Abstract and Methods Summary</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adelman, Elizabeth. &quot;Challenges of integration, obligation and identity: Exploring the experiences of teachers working to educate Syrian refugee children in Lebanon.&quot; PhD diss., Harvard University, 2018.</td>
<td>This dissertation investigates the role of teachers within refugee education from three different perspectives, each framed within the context of Lebanon. The first paper explores how proposed global and national-level strategies for integrating students of refugee status into public schools compare with experiences of integration from the perspective of teachers and school leaders. The second paper considers how teachers understand their educational, social, and emotional obligations towards children of refugee status in their classrooms and whether these understandings vary between host-country teachers and teachers of refugee status. The final paper focuses on the experience of Syrian teachers living under refugee status in Lebanon and how their personal and professional identities intersect. The author conducted semi-structured interviews with education experts (n=26), observed meetings hosted by international and national actors (n=19) and reviewed national and global frameworks for refugee education (n=5).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alhajji, Yehya. &quot;Early childhood education of refugee students in Lebanon: Teachers’ perspectives.&quot; (2020).</td>
<td>This study attempts to understand the integration process for students of refugee status into the Lebanese curriculum, through early childhood education, based on teachers’ perspectives. Interviews were conducted with teachers (n= 10) who were directly contacting refugee students, within an early childhood education care program in January 2020 at three different schools in Northern of Lebanon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Davison, Colleen M., Hayley Watt, Saja Michael, and Susan A. Bartels. “I Don't Know if We'll Ever Live in Harmony”: Exploring the Unmet Needs of Syrian Adolescent Girls in Protracted Displacement in Lebanon.&quot; (2020).</td>
<td>This qualitative study focuses on the unmet needs of adolescent girls and is part of a larger research project on child marriage among Syrian migrants in Lebanon. Participants (n=188) were Syrian adolescent girls who chose to tell stories about their own experiences. Using handheld tablets and an application called “Sensemaker” stories were audio-recorded and later transcribed. Participants were asked to then self-interpret their stories by answering specific quantitative survey-type questions.</td>
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<td>El Gemayel, Sandra Marie. &quot;Childhood and play ‘in-between’: Young Iraqi and Syrian child refugees’ play following armed conflict and forced displacement to the northern suburbs of Beirut, Lebanon.&quot; PhD diss., UCL (University College London), 2020.</td>
<td>Through ethnographic case studies of four young Iraqi and Syrian children of refugee status in a northern suburb of Beirut, Lebanon, this thesis presents insights into the children’s family lives, their play and the violations of their rights in Lebanon. The thesis theorises how the concept of ‘childhood’ is being constructed in Lebanon during the global refugee crisis. It identifies possible ways to improve play opportunities for children of refugee status who are living ‘temporarily’ in the northern suburbs of Beirut. The study follows a ‘day in the life’ methodology with four Iraqi and Syrian case study children of refugee status (4-8 years old) and their families, supplemented by questionnaire data from Iraqi, Syrian and Lebanese adults (n=100), semi-structured interviews with professionals working with children of refugee status in Lebanon, and an observation in a school for children of refugee status in Beirut’s Northern suburbs.</td>
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<td>Author(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hanna, Estefania</td>
<td>&quot;Predictors of Pretreatment Dropout in a Sample of Syrian Refugee Children and Adolescents with Mental Health Difficulties in Lebanon: A Mixed Methods Study.&quot; PhD diss., 2022.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koomen, Sasha Hilde</td>
<td>&quot;The working conditions and motivation of teachers of refugees: A comparative study of host country teachers and Syrian refugee teachers in Lebanon.&quot; Master's thesis, 2017.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sender, Hannah, Miriam Orcutt, Rachel Btaiche, Joana Dabaj, Yazan Nagi, Ramona Abdallah, Susanna Corona, Henrietta Moore, Fouad Fouad, and Delan Devakumar</td>
<td>&quot;Social and cultural conditions affecting the mental health of Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian adolescents living in and around Bar Elias, Lebanon.&quot; <em>Journal of Migration and Health</em> 7 (2023): 100150.</td>
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This DPhil thesis is comprised of three interrelated papers from a mixed methods study examining the intergenerational impact of war. The qualitative component of the thesis (DPhil Paper 1) consists of group and individual interviews with Syrian parents of refugee status (n=39) and children (n=15) in Lebanon. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using a grounded theory approach to examine the pathways linking the effects of war and displacement to parenting and child adjustment.


This study tests a conceptual model linking past war trauma and current displacement-related stressors to maternal mental health, parenting behavior, and child psychosocial problems. Cross-sectional data were collected in 2016–2017 from a sample of 291 Syrian refugee mothers in Lebanon. Structural equation modeling was used to examine associations between war trauma, daily stressors, mothers’ general psychological distress and post-traumatic stress, negative parenting, and child psychosocial problems.

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<th>Table 1. Studies from which direct interview quotations were cited.</th>
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<td>Based on a synthesis of the literature concerning reported behaviors, resilience factors, and in-country challenges to these factors, a comprehensive guide was drafted. In direct response to each in-country challenge, the guide outlines resilience-focused interventions which have demonstrated empirical validity specifically with displaced Syrian children and youth.</td>
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<td>An appendix was also created which organized source material concerning Syrian youth of refugee status specifically displaced to Lebanon. The subcategories include: relevant public policy, psychological studies, resilience factors, and current education and intervention programming. The purpose of creating this supplementary material is to encourage population-specific intervention design from future researchers.</td>
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VI. Literature Review of Population-Specific Reported Behaviors and Identified In-Country Challenges

A. Section Introduction

It is widely documented that traumatic experiences can impact neural functioning in areas such as cognition\(^{42}\), decision-making\(^{43}\), and emotion processing.\(^{44}\) Betancourt et al.’s (2012) analysis of the National Child Traumatic Stress Network’s Core Data Set concluded that children who had been impacted by armed conflict suffer from higher rates of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and general behavioral problems.\(^{45}\) Associated factors include cumulative traumatic pre-migration experiences and post-migration stressors.\(^{46}\) Children of refugee status are often exposed to events such as witnessing violence and death and being separated from parental figures. These adverse experiences can have neurobiological implications\(^{47}\) impacting cognitive functions such as working memory and emotion regulation.\(^{48}\)

This trauma and resulting neurobiological impacts associated with armed conflict and the refugee experience, can potentially have behavioral manifestations which are considered


maladaptive in a classroom setting. War affected children and youth in particular, often suffer from PTSD, generalized anxiety, traumatic grief, and/or general behavioral problems. Additional factors such as forced displacement and dealing with the conditions of extreme poverty can exacerbate stress.

The part of the brain most impacted by stress is the prefrontal cortex which plays an important role in self-regulatory behavior. For example, exposure to trauma, especially during childhood, is associated with stress dysregulation in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis. Trauma’s impact on the neurological structures of the prefrontal cortex affects executive functioning. Executive functioning is defined by the American Psychological Association (APA) as higher-level cognitive processes such as self-regulation, organization, planning, and problem solving which generally rely on skills like language, judgment, abstraction and concept formation, and logic and reasoning. One example of trauma’s impact on these processes, is the finding that the greater a child’s life event stress, the poorer their working memory performance.

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Reviewing the body of literature identified as related to behavioral findings (32 studies), three common behavioral manifestations were identified among Syrian youth of refugee status in Lebanon: Lack of general behavioral regulation (i.e., executive functioning difficulties), aggression, anxiety, and withdrawal. While in the following section, I designate these behaviors as externalizing or internalizing, these categorizations are merely to give the reader insight into how behaviors may manifest. Externalizing refers to behaviors which have an outward manifestation (such as conduct towards others or in social settings) and internalizing refers to behaviors that do not impact others and are focused more on inward state of mind, such as withdrawal, depression, anxiety, etc.\(^56\)\(^57\) However, the classifications themselves are not definitive and the reader should take into consideration that each individual case needs to be treated as such.

**B. Externalizing Behaviors – General Behavioral Regulation and Aggression**

In a study involving 448 primary school-aged Syrian children of refugee status in Lebanon, Kim et al. (2020) measured behavior by using the behavioral 13-item version of the Preschool Self-Regulation Assessment–Assessor Report.\(^58\)\(^59\)\(^60\) Each child was rated according to specified displayed behavior generally related to attention/impulse control and positive emotion such as “pays attention to instructions and demonstration,” and “remains in seat


appropriately during test.” The sample of Syrian students of refugee status examined in the study had a general low score on the assessment, with higher scores being more associated with academic success. The study found that behaviors were directly linked to academic outcomes (numeracy and literacy).

Additionally, Kim et al. (2020) reported age for grade as a significant covariate.61 This was also mentioned in Sender et al.’s (2023) interviews with students, such as, Jahid, “I did go to school [in Bar Elias], I studied here about five months, they placed me in the sixth grade although I should have been placed in Grade Seven.”62 Jahid’s frustration eventually led him to drop out. There is some circular logic here in the form of two explanations. Children who were placed in significantly lower grades than their age had poorer behavioral regulation, and the idea that being placed in a lower grade leads to discouragement which in turn may exacerbate classroom behavior issues.

Aggression was a recurring topic in numerous teacher interviews with both Lebanese teachers and teachers of refugee status. A Lebanese teacher interviewed by Adelman (2018) stated, “I can’t keep saying ‘stop talking, don’t hit him, don’t do that, don’t do that’…most of them didn’t listen.”63 In El Gemayel’s (2020) study of play, a teacher cited aggressive behavior such as, “they had bought toys the previous year such as [...] LEGO blocks but ‘they started building guns and throwing pieces at each other’.64 Similarly, in one of Alhajji’s (2020)

interviews a teacher mentioned, “Children used to start fighting in the classes, and if there is no reason for the fight. They feel that they need to be in an aggressive state, and it is hard to stop them [...] it is hard to engage them in the learning activities.”

Outside of the classroom, interviewed parents also tended to describe their children as having become more aggressive. Commonly used descriptors reported in Sim et al. (2018), included, "difficult," "stubborn," "aggressive," and "irritable," as well as "sad," "nervous," "agitated," and "lonely." Children also self-admitted to having become more aggressive, Sim (2018) noted one of the children confessing, “Mister, when I’m angry at school, I break things.” The testimonies from teachers, further supported by the families and children, validate the concern that externalizing behavior associated with exposure to adverse events, poses a significant challenge to classroom success.

C. Internalizing Behaviors – Anxiety and Social Withdrawal

Anxiety was also widely identified as a challenge for Syrian youth of refugee status. Sim (2018) reported, “Children themselves described having high levels of anxiety, which manifested in nightmares and bedwetting, as well as fears about the dark, leaving the house, and being separated from parents.” A common symptom of anxiety is social withdrawal. Social withdrawal is defined by the APA as retreat from interpersonal relationships, usually accompanied by an attitude of indifference, detachment, and aloofness. It is also listed as a

common symptom of depression and adjustment disorder. In addition to being a symptom, social withdrawal may exacerbate these conditions. Children and youth who are socially withdrawn are at higher risk academic struggles, negative relationships with peers, and socio emotional difficulties. Social withdrawal, self-criticism, and resignation positively correlated with PTSD symptoms. Social withdrawal was described by several family members and students interviewed by Sender et al. (2023), such as Hussein, “I get exhausted, I stay at home contemplating the walls[...].”

Similarly, Omar, age 17, stated, “The curriculum in Lebanon is with a foreign language and not Arabic so this is why I didn’t learn. This is why I didn’t continue [my education]. [...] I didn’t learn anything and I didn’t benefit from anything. I sit doing nothing and I’m not happy with that and I’m not happy with the whole world. You know I regret everything, I regret not continuing my education, I regret.”

These quotes find empirical support in Khamis’ (2019) study of PTSD and emotion dysregulation, one of the most prevalent coded sub themes for behavior among Syrian youth of refugee status resettled in Lebanon was “withdrawal.” The desire to socially withdraw actively discourages youth from attending school, and the association of poorer academic performance

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with both anxiety and withdrawal renders internalizing behaviors a particular concern when trying to encourage classroom re-entry.

D. In-Country Challenges Potentially Exacerbating or Causing Reported Behaviors

In addition to the direct psychological impacts of the war in Syria, one also needs to consider current host-country factors which may act as exacerbating factors or even causations of classroom entry-inhibiting behaviors.

D.I. Parent-Child Relationship

Children’s relationship with their parents (described in further detail in resilience factors) can play a significant role in how adverse experiences are processed. However, research in the field of psychology demonstrates that if the relationship is abusive in nature this can lead to attachment disorders and aggression transference. In interviews, parents themselves openly admitted to resorting to more frequent and severe beatings as a result of their own personal stress caused by displacement and poverty. One mother immediately reflected on the transference she has observed in her child during her interview with Sim (2018), “My son has become aggressive all the time because of the beating. When he cries over something I didn't buy, I beat him. As a result, he becomes angry, and breaks whatever he sees in front of him, even if it is a chair.” A widespread theme among interviews with educators was observing aggravated symptoms which pose a significant challenge to classroom success (e.g., greater withdrawal, anxiety, and aggression) from children who faced severe punishments and beatings in their home environment.

D.II. Bullying

One mother interviewed by El Gemayel (2020), attributed the change in her child’s behavior to when he started school, “The Lebanese children bully him. They come out of their morning school session and taunt my child. They beat him.”

Staff at an aid center for people of refugee status also commented to Alhajji (2020) on the issue, “We have experienced bullying between children in the centre. Other children have been exposed to bullying in the streets from other children, based on their background as refugees. Thus, we lost some children due to these phenomena. Thus, the learning process was affected negative which led to such an impact on the integration process.”

Refugee aid center staff reported similarly,

“Bullying is becoming very common between children in this area. Their families are not cooperative to stop this phenomenon, as teachers we met some of the hosting families and tried to explain to them through awareness session the consequences of bullying on refugee children who are already troubled with traumatic cases due to the civil war that they have witnessed.”

Children also directly testified about the maltreatment to Sender et al. (2023), Akif, age 15, stated,

“Lebanese sometimes they are intrusive when we walk on the streets [...] They tell us bad words when we walk on the streets, I don’t answer them, if I reply back there will be a fight, right? [...] Sometimes we want to play together, and Lebanese people come and they want to play

with us, by force and they are older than [us], we don’t have the same level of fighting skills. I wish I have fighting skills, so I can defend myself.”

Jahid, age 17, explained, “I didn’t like [the school], it was full with hitting and things like that. I turned my back and walked away.”

Davison et al. (2022) reported a similar testimony, “I would cry a lot, especially from the insults. ‘You, Syrians, are coming to rob us’ or ‘You, Syrians, are coming to torture us.’ These curses and insults bother me a lot, and I’d feel choked, then I’d cry. I was going through a huge psychological pressure, and I wasn’t feeling comfortable.”

Verbal or physical bullying victimization proved one of the most significant predictors of complex PTSD in Biazoli and Pluess’ (2022) multivariate regression using data from 1007 Syrian youth of refugee status living in Lebanon’s informal settlements. Both the presented qualitative and quantitative input, further make the case for bullying to be addressed in any classroom-reentry intervention with aspirations of success.

**D.III. Corporal Punishment in Schools**

There were also wide reports of corporal punishment being used in school. As stated by one mother, “They don’t like going to the school anymore because of the many things that happen to them there. They are beaten all the time by the teachers or the Lebanese students… My 9-year old son came home yesterday crying. He told me, ‘The teacher hit me on my eye’.”

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The same ethnographic study (Sim et al., 2018) also reported a 9-year old’s experience, “If one of us forgets a pen or a notebook at home, Miss Fatimah either beats her with the stick or she will be sent to the headmaster.” Even in a United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)-run school, in an interview detailed by Estefania (2022), a student whispered his story and stated that “the verb ‘hit’ is not enough.” Illustrating the relevancy of this issue to school enrollment, as a result of the principal’s abuse, the aforementioned student dropped out.

D.IV. Perception of Community Safety

Parents' perception of community safety was found to be a positive predictor of working memory in children. Most parental safety fears were related to bullying and abuse from Lebanese teachers and schoolmates, making these important factors not only in the context of potential motivators of aggressive behavior, but also in the motivations of parents keeping their children out of school.

VII. Population-Specific Resiliency Factors and Identified Specific In-Country Challenges

A. Section Introduction

An important approach to have emerged in the field of education in emergencies, is conducting research and designing/implementing subsequent interventions under a “resilience framework”. A resilience framework identifies existing factors within a community, which if properly supported can serve as greater trauma buffers. This approach is meant to serve as an

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alternative to the negatively framed typical “deficit approach” which may overly stress symptomatology, maladaptive behaviors, and leaves less space for the integration of communal knowledge. The final product of this capstone utilizes a resilience framework in an effort to avoid exacerbating out-group bias towards people of refugee status, as well as, to best facilitate a population-specific and country context-specific intervention design. Reviewing the body of population-specific literature identified as related to resilience factors (15 studies), three factors were identified: Parental relationships, play (including a safe environment to do so), social networks, and school environment. This section also includes the site-specific challenges these identified resilience factors face.

**B. Parental Relationships**

In general psychological literature several empirical studies have concluded that parental relationships are a key buffer to the stressors of poverty. For example, Evans and Schamberg (2009), found that the amount of time spent in poverty was predictive of a child’s score on a working memory assessment. More time in poverty meant a higher allostatic load (defined as the cumulative burden of chronic stress and life events)\(^8\), which in turn translated to a poorer score on the Simon (working memory) test.\(^9\) In the same year McGowan et al. (2009), published the finding that adverse parental relationships and physical abuse can switch off the DNA coding for

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healthy stress response.\textsuperscript{90, 91} Conversely, Blair et al. (2011) wrote that when mothers scored high on responsiveness the impacts of poverty seemed to disappear.\textsuperscript{92}

These findings were supported in literature concerning Syrians of refugee status resettled to Lebanon, depressive symptoms in a parent were a significant covariate in multivariate regressions related to manifestation of complex PTSD.\textsuperscript{93} Additionally, it was found that negative parenting had an additive impact on the pre-existent association between maternal general psychological distress and child psychosocial problems in Syrian families of refugee status who lived in Lebanon.\textsuperscript{94}

An additive strain on parent-child relationships is the stress brought on by extreme poverty. The data reveals that the families of Syrian students of refugee status in Lebanon struggled the most to pay their bills compared to Syrian families of refugee status in Turkey and Australia. Sim (2018) included firsthand reports of parents becoming overwhelmed by the poverty-induced stress, which led them to more harshly punish their children. As one mother admitted, “I became so unfair with my children, nothing is suitable for us here because we're not in our country and so I vent my anger on my children, I hit them, I suffer so much. When I send them to school, I feel more relieved and relaxed, but I feel angry when they return.”\textsuperscript{95} Sender


(2018) concluded that poverty negatively impacted parent-child interactions in three key ways: parents are unable to meet their children’s basic needs, parents may resort to harsher parenting as a result of their own psychological distress, and increased parental control due to perceived unsafety of the community.96

The impact of parental relationships however means that positive relationships and attachments can make a significant difference. In the same general study above, it was found that children of parents with a positive relationship and better stress response did not show the same poverty stress markers. As such, this lens can be applied to the preliminary empirical conclusions concerning the relationship between Syrian parents in Lebanon and their children. The statistically significant impact of parental depression symptoms suggests an important attenuation of the child to their parent. Therefore, parent-child intervention which works on parental stress response and the encouragement of relationships characterized by healthy attachment would serve as an important resilience factor.

C. Social Networks

Habib et al. (2020) surveyed 4,090 Syrian children of refugee status working in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon in 2017 (8-18 years of age) and conducted a logistic regression of self-reported social capital, social cohesion, health, and emotional well-being. Statistically significant associations were found for both higher levels of self-reported optimism and lower levels of self-reported loneliness with the factors of greater social support (e.g., having good social relations),

family social capital (e.g., discussing personal issues with parents), and neighborhood attachment (e.g., having a close friend).  

The importance of the support provided by social networks was described by one of the children interviewed by Sender et al. (2023). The child directly spoke about his use of social networks to process trauma, “I speak to him [cousin in Beirut], like 2–3 h. I put my headphones on, talk to him on the phone, and speak to him [...] He’ll ask me ‘Are you still having nightmares?’”  

However, safety concerns coupled with the coping strategy of withdrawal have led to widespread isolation. One interviewee from Alhajji’s (2020) ethnography stated, “Refugee students face some psychological and social issues, due to the lack of friends in the community. Life is becoming harder for them, especially that racism is playing a role in this, and thus, some of the hosting families would not allow children to meet others whom refugees are taking into consideration some cultural differences.”

Similarly a teenage girl interviewed by Davison (2020), stated, “Sitting and being trapped inside the house is not a good situation. You feel the atmosphere is sickening. It is such a big difference from our life in Syria. We were living in big homes, a cleaner atmosphere, cleaner water, and lots of differences. Even the social relations or social environment in Syria was a lot better; you were with your family, your uncle’s family, your

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friends – anywhere you go you would find people around you. But here, if you become sick, no one will come to your door. No one will even feel for you or notice.”

An additional challenge to the formation of social networks in Lebanon, is the presence of child labor which disproportionately impacts children of refugee status. Child labor was one of two (the other being age for grade) statistically significant risk factors associated with academic performance. Habib et al. (2020) found that 67.5% of the 4,090 Syrian refugee children working in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon, reported feeling lonely.

An interviewee stated to Alhajji (2020), “Due to the fact, that they working in the agriculture, and they usually take their children with them, in order to help them, and learn how to work in this field in the future. They do not believe in education as they are supposed to be, which affect the learning process of their children.” Child labor directly takes time away from academic engagement as well as social networks. It also takes time away from play (the importance of which is described in the following section).

D. Play

The neurological findings of the effects of play indicate that it has a significant positive impact on executive functioning and social-emotional awareness. Play not only contributes to processing trauma in its medium as a form of expression, but also in the fact that it is often an indicator that a child feels safe within an environment. A sense of safety is critical to any


intervention and is also paramount to building social relationships.\textsuperscript{105}

Play can also be an important behavior in processing trauma. The Trauma Research Foundation asserts that being able to engage in healthy play can help with the processing of trauma. Play can provide a medium of communication that is non-verbal. This is especially important since young children often do not have the words to express their feelings. Play can create distance between the child and their traumatic experience.\textsuperscript{106} Children who have experienced particularly adverse experiences may engage in post-traumatic play.\textsuperscript{107}

This appeared true when reading through population-specific literature. Children reported that participating in activities as had a positive impact on their mental state. For coping strategy, aside from withdrawal the other most commonly coded subtheme was “participating in activities.”\textsuperscript{108}

However, there is often little to no space for play. Parental figures may be too exhausted from work or general resettlement stress to play with their children. Many families live together in poor conditions. As illustrated by a pediatrician’s interview included in El Gemayel. (2020), “We are back to overcrowding. I am not in Europe where I have a public garden. Where are they playing? They are sitting in their houses on top of each other, there is no space no space, [...]


they don’t have the freedom to play anymore like before. They feel like they are suppressed (مکبوتین/مکبوتین) they feel like something is wrong.”

For students, schooling in Lebanon is less able to facilitate play (an important resilient factor described above) due to poor facilities. Koomen (2017) interviewed the Education Director of Safro (a Lebanese nonprofit which provides numeracy and literacy lessons to Syrian youth of refugee status), who stated, “52 schools and facilities are very bad. If you want to organize any extracurricular activities, that is the challenge. There are no playgrounds, there is no area for PE, for football for baseball.” In addition to the act of play being its own important resilience factor, inability to play further contributes to the lack of peer-interaction (as described previously when elaborating on the resilience factor of social networks).

E. School Environment

In the specific case of Lebanon, Khamis (2019) reported that one moderator for variance in PTSD and emotion dysregulation was the school environment. Additionally, out of the three group-based interventions across a synthesis of six studies, Alzaghoul et al. (2022) reported that “Teaching Recovery Techniques” to Syrian students of refugee status was the only intervention programming associated with a statistically significant reduction in PTSD score in children and adolescents, thus supporting the need for psychosocial programming. Having access to school and the social cohesion fostered through language-learning activities in school was credited with

109El Gemayel, S. M. (2020). *Childhood and play ‘in-between’: Young Iraqi and Syrian child refugees’ play following armed conflict and forced displacement to the northern suburbs of Beirut, Lebanon* (Doctoral dissertation, UCL (University College London)).


developing individual resilience in Syrian students of refugee status. Finally, schooling was listed as a primary protective factor that can significantly reduce the impact of the stressors attributed to resilience in Syrian youth of refugee status in Lebanon.

However, there are several factors which pose a challenge to the existence of an ideal school environment in Lebanese public schools. Additionally, as highlighted by Adelman (2018), many teachers are exhausted by the time they work the second shift. Language barriers also pose a significant issue for Syrian students (lessons in the first shift classes are conducted in French and English, whereas second shift classes are conducted in Arabic).

There is also the existence of corporal punishment and discriminatory attitudes held by figures of authority within the public school system. Spencer et al. (2016) and Wasserberg (2014) defined stereotype effect as the anxiety of being judged in accordance with a stereotype that leads to performance interrupting anxiety. Furthermore, general literature in psychology suggests that stigmatization can lead to belonging uncertainty. Numerous studies have also established that a sense of belonging within a school environment is critical to academic success. For example, a sense of belonging can lead to goal driven behaviors and

conversely when the need goes unmet can result in maladaptive psychological effects like ostracization, general withdrawal, and depressive symptoms.\textsuperscript{121} \textsuperscript{122} The second-shift structure itself also undermines the role schools can play in establishing social networks and a sense of belonging by consistently separating students who are Lebanese nationals and students of refugee status.

**VIII. Brief Overview of General Intervention Tools**

Currently, the National Child Traumatic Stress Network has two interventions specifically for children and youth of refugee status. The first is the International Family Adult and Child Enhancement Services (IFACES). IFACES provides community-based mental health services by assigning participants in the program to multidisciplinary teams to allow coordination with family, neighborhood, school, and ethnic community systems.\textsuperscript{123}

The second is Trauma Systems Therapy for Refugees (TST-R) which focuses on stress experienced both prior to and during resettlement. Contrasting with the individual case focus of IFACES, the goal of TST-R is to address the “social environmental/ system-of-care factors that are believed to be driving a child’s traumatic stress problems.” To accomplish this, TST-R relies on three components: community and parent engagement, skill-based groups, and intensive interventions.\textsuperscript{124}

IX. Existing Established Psychosocial Education in Emergencies Programming in Lebanon

Current psychosocial support programs implemented for Syrian children of refugee status include the Norwegian Refugee Council’s learning centers. Established in 2015, the centers run non-formal education programs and school retention support in the cities of Tyre, Saida and Nabatiyeh.\(^{125}\) 563 children already enrolled in the public school system were selected for the learning support program based on their lower scores on a Lebanese curriculum test. The description of the program’s development states that recruited staff were given the instructions to supplement children in the areas of Arabic, English, and mathematics.\(^{126}\) However, psychosocial support is not mentioned. Additionally, children recruited were already enrolled within the Lebanese school system.

A similar program is Healing Classrooms which is implemented in a partnership between the IRC and NYU’s Global TIES for Children research center. Healing Classrooms is a general curriculum guide developed by IRC based on prior field operations as well as general trauma-informed approaches suggested by the NYU Global Ties for Children research center. It consists of a 6-day training program for instructors in supplemental practices to aid students such as identifying student wellbeing, setting a routine, and mindfulness exercises.\(^{127}\) In the context of Lebanon, Healing Classrooms has been adapted to a “Social-Emotional Learning Tutor Program.” The standard Healing Classroom curriculum is utilized in the context of a two-year remedial program for Syrian students enrolled in Lebanese schools. Interventions include: 1) mindfulness activities, 2) brain Game activities, and 3) a 5-component Social Emotional

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Learning (SEL) curriculum. The program, however, only applies to students actively enrolled in Lebanon’s public schools. Although the intervention was tested for validity within the Lebanese school system with positive results, the design process is rooted in generalizability (evidenced by the program’s additional implementation in both Niger and Sierra Leone). This general application warrants the question of how the program could be better informed by insights from Syrians themselves and the content better adapted to the more specific challenges this population faces.128

A more localized learning readiness program is also run by the Lebanese organization, Jusoor. Founded in 2011, Jusoor is an international NGO based in Lebanon serving Syrian children and youth. Its Back to School Primary program delivers a one year course to Syrian children at the primary school level which aims to help them catch-up on numeracy, literacy, and life skills determined to be necessary for a successful transition into the Lebanese public school. The program operates at all three of Jusoor’s Centers (Beirut Center, Jurahiya Center, and Jeb Janine Center) and works with over 800 students annually. The program also mentions providing psychosocial support to the children, parents, and teachers.129

There has been an assessment of some of Jusoor’s interventions. A study of Jusoor looked at what influences the learning achievement of Syrian children of refugee status. The study reports that violent behaviors pose a major issue for education. The existing case study of Jusoor mentions maladaptive behavior and violence but never codes for specific behavior. Additionally, its recommendations are to "provide psychosocial support" and "design programs that aim to channel the violence of the children through appropriate means of expression", but

what this actually means (in terms of effective psychosocial activities which are correlated with learning readiness behaviors) is never explored.\textsuperscript{130}

There are also a substantial number of guides that currently exist in the field when it comes to planning education in emergency responses. For example, the Education For All Coalition’s guide\textsuperscript{131}, UNESCO’s Safety, resilience, and social cohesion: a guide for curriculum developers\textsuperscript{132}, the World Bank’s Resilience in Education System Toolkit\textsuperscript{133}, and UNICEF’s Learning Passport\textsuperscript{134} all include suggested activities, lesson plans, and coping strategies. However, these toolkits are meant for general consumption and do not include regional specifications, constraints, or cultural contexts. Additionally, none specifically target classroom re-entry.

The literature most relevant to this capstone, was Brown et al.’s (2020) published proposition to adapt the World Health Organization’s Early Adolescent Skills for Emotions (EASE)\textsuperscript{135} intervention (a group-based intervention with adolescents and their caregivers focused on emotional health) to the context of North Lebanon. Brown et al.’s research method was reliant on a population-specific literature review on mental health as well as focus groups with adolescents, caregivers, community members, and health professionals, and active feedback.

\textsuperscript{131}“Fostering Refugee Resilience to Trauma, Conflict, and Climate Change - Workbook & Toolkit.” Education For All Coalition, July 1, 2022.
gathering at each step of the process. A subsequent table of recommendations to the existing intervention was created based on these community-identified concerns. However, the focus of the table was primarily on challenges (e.g., literacy and poor attendance) as opposed to resilience factors. The following guide, hopes to accomplish a similar result however it differs in its wider scope i.e., multiple intervention suggestions (of which Brown et al.’s modifications are referenced) targeting a variety of in-country challenges, specific goal (classroom re-entry), and focus on resilience factors.


X. Guide to Potential Resiliency-Focused Interventions to Facilitate In-Classroom Learning:

While the product of this study is a guide (p.44-p.54), I understand that childhood trauma is complex and nuanced. The guide does not discuss behaviors as a direct result of particular trauma (since many different behaviors may be utilized as coping mechanisms), rather the guide identifies psychosocial interventions that have shown association with promoting population-specific resilience factors. What follows is the distillation of my research into recommendations for interventions to support children, teachers, and parents in engaging to create a community environment which acts as a support for school enrollment.

Overview of Cited Existing Resilience Factor Focused Interventions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peace Education Projects (International Alert and local partners) such as “Building Bridges”</td>
<td>Educators and support workers at partner agencies are trained to deliver 24 weekly sessions in schools and community centers on social cohesion. Sessions aim to build respect for diversity, promote agency, and raise awareness about ways to take action.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seenaryo</td>
<td>The non-profit provides both theater (participants write their own scripts) and play-based learning interventions (which include a Playkit phone app as well as play-based learning support materials for parents and teachers).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding Each Other</td>
<td>A social cohesion intervention which consists of activities (e.g., games, reading, and animated videos) developing children’s ability to understand each other’s perspectives and to make inferences about others’ intentions, goals, and motives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teach for Lebanon supplemental training</td>
<td>Teach for Lebanon is a national teaching fellowship for recent university graduates. However, after the port explosion, the</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Adolescent Skills for Emotions (World Health Organization) with Brown et al.’s (2020) modifications</td>
<td>The intervention consists of seven 90-min group sessions for adolescents and three 90-min group sessions for their caregivers. Adolescent sessions involve the following strategies: psychoeducation, problem solving, stress management (slow breathing), behavioral activation, and relapse prevention. The caregiver sessions involve psychoeducation, active listening, quality time, praise, caregiver self-care, and relapse prevention.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother–Child Education Program (Yale Child Study Center’s Early Childhood Peace Consortium)</td>
<td>25 sessions through group meetings that each last approximately 3 hours. The core curriculum includes the following topics: child development, the importance of play in development, parenting practices, health and hygiene, and maternal empowerment. The program combines lectures, practical demonstrations, and assignments to be completed in the home. The group meetings are the Mother Support Program (MSP) component. The second component is the Cognitive Training Program (CTP), which provides mothers with techniques and activities they are requested to implement at home.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caregiver Support Intervention (War Child Holland)</td>
<td>A nine-session group intervention delivered by non-specialist providers. It aims to strengthen parenting by lowering stress and improving psychosocial wellbeing among refugee parents, while also increasing knowledge and skills related to positive parenting. Sessions one through four focus on caregiver wellbeing. Sessions five through eight focus on strengthening parenting under conditions of adversity. Session nine is a review and closing of the intervention. In each session participants are introduced to a new relaxation or stress management technique. These techniques are also provided to</td>
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Participants in Arabic on mp3 files. Participants are encouraged to practice any relaxation or stress management activity at least three times each week.

| **Child Family and Traumatic Stress Intervention (Yale Child Study Center)** | A five- to eight-session evidence-based, peritraumatic mental health treatment model. With careful attention to structure and pacing, CFTSI aims to replace the chaos, dysregulation, and isolation of the posttraumatic experience with structure, language, and an opportunity for recognition from, and close connection with, caregivers. Implemented with the child and the non-offending caregiver, CFTSI focuses on increasing communication between child and caregiver about the child’s traumatic stress reactions, providing clinical strategies to reduce traumatic stress symptoms and increase self-regulation. CFTSI also provides an introduction to longer-term treatment and other mental health interventions when needed. |

Table 2. Existing resilience factor focused interventions cited in the guide.
A. Encouraging Social Cohesion (a direct response to the in-country challenge of bullying)

A powerful buffer for displacement trauma as well as a facilitator of learning, is a sense of social belonging. One way to facilitate a welcoming environment, is to implement social cohesion interventions with both children of refugee status and members of the host country. Encouraging social cohesion in Lebanon should be a priority considering the wide reports of bullying as well as the overall high percentage of hostile attitudes towards Syrians. A small pilot study run by International Alert revealed positive results. Activities included: “the creation of safe spaces, training educators and support workers to deliver regular sessions in schools and community centers to promote peaceful interaction, providing outreach, mentoring, as well as, referral services for children and young people.” Another program is an integration program run in collaboration between the Beirut Art Centre and the arts and education charity, Seenaryo. The program includes pairing Syrian and Lebanese children in groups and having them work on theatrical projects together such as creating a skit.

Some of the more extensive social cohesion interventions with Syrian children and youth were conducted in Turkey. The validation investigation of the intervention, Understanding Each Other, found that bullying decreased. Activities included theory of mind exercises such as a guessing game where children try to determine their friends’ mental state or reading a diary excerpt from another child who writes about a new friend’s arrival from another country.

A significant challenge to the implementation of a social cohesion program with these activities, is the current two-shift school system. The elimination of the two-shift system has been advocated by the co-director of Seeryano who stated to Shackle (2017),

“Below a certain age, I really don’t think there’s a reason to have children in separate classes [...] I’ve seen the level of English and French in a Lebanese public school and it is very low. Until [age] six, seven, eight, Lebanese teachers tell you, they’re speaking loads of Arabic.”

Therefore, the ultimate goal should be the elimination of the two-shift system and the integration of Syrian students. At the very least social cohesion programs should be utilized as a first step in the eventual abolishment of the two-shift division.

B. Teacher Training (a direct response to the in-country challenge of school environment and corporal punishment)

While the literature on trauma-informed teacher training in Lebanon is scarce. Gonzales’ (2021) dissertation from the University of Oxford published the results of 17 interviews with educators in Lebanon from May to June of 2021. The publication specifically investigates the need for a trauma-informed education approach in Lebanon’s public schools and goes a step further by critiquing Western trauma theory in non-Western educational spaces. It further supports the case for the need for population and country-specific interventions which support local communal resiliency factors as opposed to a generalized, Western-standards based “Trauma Informed Education Approach.”

Teachers interviewed by Gonzalez did express the need for “professional development in psychosocial protection strategies” for students. The main training programs cited as being helpful were the Teach for Lebanon training and an unspecified

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social emotional curriculum training created by Yale University. Additionally, the vast majority of interviewees cited trouble with their own mental state and stress and struggle with the expectations that in addition to their capacity as a teacher they should also serve as a therapist to students. The effective classroom support strategies described by these educators included: reducing academic workload during stressful times, avoiding sensitive topics, and establishing routine.

Therefore, an intervention should entail trauma-informed teacher training that is rooted in community knowledge (i.e., incorporating the elements teachers have been finding to be successful mentioned above). For example, the previously mentioned social cohesion program in Lebanon which reported success relied heavily upon educator training.\textsuperscript{146} It is also necessary that teachers have access to a strong support network of peers in addition to greater institutional resources.

Given reports that much of the hostility from Lebanese nationals towards Syrians of refugee status is often motivated by “jealousy of the additional benefits and resources they receive”\textsuperscript{147}, critical to the success and longevity of this type of intervention is to emphasize how trauma-informed teacher training is something that will benefit all children. This could especially be achieved if the two-shift system were eliminated. Ultimately this intervention would help any child whether Syrian or Lebanese, especially considering the recent adverse events of the Beirut explosion, COVID-19, and the ongoing economic crisis (\textit{thawra}).

\textbf{C. Room to Play}

As previously discussed, play has an important role in healthy development. For both


Syrian children of refugee status and their Lebanese peers, establishing a safe area to play with age-appropriate materials can potentially help foster a greater sense of psychological safety. A shared play space also ultimately allows children to form strong social networks, which is an important resilience factor on its own. Finally, the creation of play spaces (such as better constructed playgrounds within school settings) can increase positive contact between Syrian and Lebanese children which further encourages social cohesion efforts. In addition to their theater activities, Seenaryo also has a “Playkit” (a collection of digital materials sent via WhatsApp) to foster both in school and at home play-based learning and activities for educators to administer.\(^{148}\) Play-based activities should be implemented in addition to the construction of safe play spaces.

**D. Parent-Child Relationship** (a direct response to the population-specific challenge of strained parent-child relationships)

Both in broader literature and in population-specific literature, parental relationships show empirical evidence as a buffer for stress reaction. Several parental-child intervention studies have taken place with Syrians of refugee status in Lebanon.

The EASE works with adolescents and their caregivers. The intervention consists of seven 90-min group sessions for adolescents and three 90-min group sessions for their caregivers. Adolescent sessions involve the following strategies: psychoeducation, problem solving, stress management (slow breathing), behavioral activation, and relapse prevention. The caregiver sessions involve psychoeducation, active listening, quality time, praise, caregiver self-care, and relapse prevention. Brown et al.’s (2020) extensive cultural adaptation recommendations to the tool based on population and country-specific research, enhance the

intervention’s credibility for general distribution to Syrian families in Lebanon. Brown et al.’s modifications included recommendations, such as: changes to example stories and problem solving strategies to make them more relevant (such as added content on aggression and bullying, changing the content of healthy food education to food that is actually available, changing a story about chores to have more tasks Syrian children do such as sweeping outside areas, etc.), more detailed training for EASE facilitators (such as training on parenting strategies and behavior management in a group setting), more interactive child sessions, caregiver sessions which primarily rely on the caregiver’s lived experience rather than a lecture, mixed groups of Syrian and Lebanese children, and adaptations to the EASE manual such that it is accessible for caregivers with low literacy and education.¹⁴⁹

Another intervention Mother–Child Education Program. Supported by the Yale Child Study Center’s Early Childhood Peace Consortium, the Mother–Child Education Program (MOCEP) was piloted in Beirut with two communities of refugee status. MOCEP is a group intervention. In the pilot study, participants completed twenty-five sessions of three-hour group meetings focused on the topics of: child development, the importance of play in development, parenting practices, health and hygiene, and maternal empowerment. The intervention was split into two general parts: Mother Support Program (group meetings) and Cognitive Training Program (mothers were taught techniques to implement at home). Overall, the delivery method of course content included: lectures, practical demonstrations, and assignments to be completed.

in the home. Among the mothers who completed the program, there was a decrease in harsh parenting practices and level of parenting stress.  

Finally, a validation study of War Child Holland’s nine-session group intervention, Caregiver Support Intervention (CSI), was conducted with a group of Syrians of refugee status in Lebanon. Overall, retention and intervention completion were high. CSI appeared to significantly increase parental warmth and responsiveness, decrease harsh parenting, lower stress and distress, improve psychosocial wellbeing, and improve stress management. CSI parents reported increased child psychosocial wellbeing. In a later study, the same intervention was also tested with a different group of 240 families. Participants described improvements in their psychological wellbeing and parenting as a result of the CSI. Changes in parenting included a reduction in harsh parenting and an increase in warm and responsive parenting. Given its population and location specific empirical validity, the CSI intervention should be incorporated into organizations who work directly in Syrian settlements (like Jusoor and the Norwegian Refugee Council’s).

E. Creating the Capacity for Individualized Intervention

As a part of the research conducted for this capstone, I was able to interview Dr. Steven Marans the Director of the National Center for Children Exposed to Violence/Childhood Violent Trauma Center at the Yale Child Study Center about intervention design. Throughout our

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conversation, Dr. Marans emphasized that when designing a psychosocial intervention, it is important to keep in mind that it should have two distinct branches. The first being public education. Important questions to ask for this branch include, how is the importance of the issue being communicated? How is the community being actively worked with (in this case collaborating with Lebanon’s department of education such as their initiative TFL)? And what large group initiatives (i.e., social cohesion exercises, the construction of safe play spaces, teacher trauma-informed training) are taking place? Local community knowledge as well as resilience factors should be a centered focus in public education.

The second branch is the important capacity to execute individualized intervention, which directly supports the important view that every case and manifestation of trauma is different. Individualized interventions were described as having taken place in better-resourced Lebanese schools where parents, teachers, and an assigned counselor met together. In addition to allocating aid funding to enable greater in-school support. One example of a potential program that a holistic intervention could better resource is the Child Family and Traumatic Stress Intervention (Dr. Marans is one of its creators). The Child Family and Traumatic Stress Intervention (CTSI) is a caregiver-child intervention conducted on a case-by-case basis. The CTSI is currently being piloted with a group of clinicians in Lebanon.

### Summary of implementation recommendations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resilience factor</th>
<th>Possible means of implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social cohesion</strong></td>
<td>In-school social cohesion exercises between Syrian children and Lebanese children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive school environment</strong></td>
<td>Trauma-informed training for Lebanese public school teachers coupled with both colleague support and professional development resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Play</strong></td>
<td>The creation of safe places to play, namely the construction of developmentally appropriate recreational structures in Lebanese public schools and in displacement settlements (e.g., gyms and playgrounds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive parent-child relationship</strong></td>
<td>Parent-child group programming offered in displacement settlement community centers and in public schools to both Syrian and Lebanese parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual strengths</strong></td>
<td>Creating the capacity for individualized care by separating public education about an issue from specialized psychological intervention (which looks different for each individual). Examples include: dedicating greater resources to school counselors and psychologists who can work with students on a case by case basis as well as dedicating greater resources to the training of clinical professionals directly involved in parent-child interventions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Summary of school enrollment intervention guide focused on population-specific resilience factors.
XI. Limitations of this Capstone

The greatest limitation of this capstone is the lack of original interviews. Interviews were included in the initial design of the project, however, due to the current situation in Lebanon organizations became unavailable and a literature review synthesis was necessary. That being said, the consultation of existing interviews is an important step in any study to avoid the re-narration of trauma. The primary use of resources should be in an effort to address a problem, rather than resources continually being expended to prove the existence of a problem, which the impacted population has already extensively identified.

However, there is only a certain extent to which a literature review synthesis can provide an accurate picture. For example, this capstone acknowledges that the psychosocial needs of children vary by age group and across development. The general lack of research with this specific population meant that information such as age group distinctions was not available. This recurring limitation made apparent the need for a centralized database (described in more detail in suggestions for future research), interagency communication, and coordination with host country institutions such that representative data can be effectively distributed.

It is also necessary to acknowledge the reality that those working in the field must operate under crisis-induced time constraints and responses cannot necessarily be initially informed by thoroughly designed site-specific field research. However, the opportunities should be made for the establishment of feedback networks from the population and site-specific data collection to enable the proper contextual adjustment and adaptations of interventions.
XII. Suggestions for Future Research

This capstone provides population-specific source material to design more impactful interventions. It is the hope that future researchers (especially those involved in humanitarian intervention design) will use population and site-specific research methodology.

The capstone also highlights a wider problem: a need for a database organized based on factors such as age group, region, etc. Compiling this database in emergency contexts as empirical research emerges would allow for more efficient specialized intervention development. A suggestion for a future direction in the field more broadly, is a crisis search tool on the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) homepage. The tool would allow users to filter published research by emergency (e.g., Syrians of refugee status displaced to Lebanon). As a preliminary contribution, the appendix of this capstone is not only location and population specific but also organizes abstracts by theme, so that other researchers can have quicker access to country-specificities.

XIII. Conclusion

On January 10 of 2023, Lebanon’s Ministry of Education announced the discontinuation of education for Syrians of refugee status entirely. The Ministry revealed that the current economic conditions in Lebanon mean that they are unable to continue both classes for Lebanese and Syrian students.\textsuperscript{155} \textsuperscript{156} Although this capstone concerned the now non-existent second-shift system, the issues this project highlighted can still be used to analyze what went wrong. Additionally, the end result of the second-shift system can be used as further evidence for the

importance of partnerships in intervention design. Specifically, education interventions should prioritize supporting existing institutions (e.g., providing better resources within the public school system) so that efforts are able to continue in the long-term. Finally, the complete closure of the second shift, means there is now an even greater void for other education in emergencies organizations to fill. This capstone can be viewed as a useful tool in helping to inform both the ideal focus of action as well as recommended interagency partnerships.

In conclusion, the situation on the ground is full of complexities and nuances which one singular guide could not possibly answer. Above all, for true, long-term success, policy change is needed. Anti-discrimination efforts at every level (not just in schools), access to safe shelters and community environments (i.e., community infrastructure), and facilitating greater accessibility to services like healthcare, are all steps that must be taken for Syrians of refugee status. Other necessary actions include accessibility to government information as well as services and policies actively discouraging child labor (e.g., stricter laws against and conditional cash transfers) such that from the start Syrian children can enroll in school. Finally, a commitment is needed from international non-governmental organizations to reframe their mission operation structures towards population-level and site-specific analyses. This paradigm shift should involve active collaboration with countries’ public education systems in addition to receiving and incorporating feedback from the affected population, to ensure long-term sustainability.
XIV. Appendix of Population-Specific Sources

A. Relevant public policy:


B. Psychology studies:


Kyrillos, Vanessa, Tania Bosqui, Patricia Moghames, Nicolas Chehade, Stephanie Saad, Diana Abdul Rahman, Elie Karam et al. "The culturally and contextually sensitive assessment of


C. Resilience factors:


Greaves, Morten, Mona Nabhani, and Rima Bahous. "Shelter in a storm: A case study exploring the use of psycho-social protection Strategies in non-formal refugee education in Lebanon."


D. Current education and intervention programming:


XV. Acknowledgments

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XVI. References


Bragin, Martha. "To play, learn, and think: Understanding and mitigating the effects of exposure to violent events on the cognitive capacity of children and adolescents."


“Fostering Refugee Resilience to Trauma, Conflict, and Climate Change - Workbook & Toolkit.” Education For All Coalition, July 1, 2022.


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