LEARNING AND SOCIAL COHESION IN SCHOOLS IN JORDAN

Four working papers have been produced as part of this project:

- Working Paper 1: Delprato, M., Morrice, L. and Al-Nahi, S. (2020) *A Summary of Key Patterns in the Jordanian Education System by School Type, Gender and Region.* Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK.
- Working Paper 2: Younes, M., and Morrice, L. (2019) *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Issues of Access and Quality. A review of policies and initiatives (2012-2018)*. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK.
- Working Paper 3: Younes, M., and Morrice, L. (2019) *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Summary of demand-side constraints and interventions*. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK.
- Working Paper 4: Salem, H. and Morrice, L. (2019) *A Review of Social Cohesion Initiatives and Challenges with a Focus on Jordan and Education*. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK.

Policy briefs produced as part of this project:

1. *Educational interventions in Jordan as a response to the Syrian crisis: learning and social cohesion for all?*
2. *Education interventions in Jordan as a response to the Syrian crisis: learning and social cohesion for all? (Executive summary)*

3. *Jordanian and Syrian students' learning outcomes in camp, second shift and integrated schools.*
4. *Access, equality and social cohesion for Syrian refugees: What teaching and learning processes are effective?*
5. *Teaching and learning approaches promoting access, equality and social cohesion for Syrian refugees: How are teachers and school leaders supported?*
6. *Building acceptance and improving social cohesion between refugee and host populations: What formal and non-formal education and protective strategies are effective?*

All project publications are available at: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cie/projects

Reference suggestion:

Morrice, L., Salem, H., Al Nahi, S. and Delprato, M. (2021) *Learning and Social Cohesion in Schools in Jordan.* Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, UK.

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List of Abbreviations

EGMA	Early Grade Mathematics Assessment
EGRA	Early Grade Reading Assessment
EMIS	Educational Management Information System
MoE	Ministry of Education
NFLC	Non-formal Learning Centres
PTA	Parent Teacher Associations

Overview of Research

This is the final report of a multi-phased, eighteen-month-long research project assessing how educational interventions in Jordan have enabled access to quality education for Syrian and Jordanian students. The final report examines social cohesion in Ministry of Education (MoE) formal schools[1] and non-formal settings in Jordan.

Social cohesion in schools is understood as a multi-dimensional concept which includes the nature of relationships within schools, the extent to which students feel that they are included, safe, and active participants in their learning. Safe access to education has been identified as a particularly important element of social cohesion in contexts affected by conflict, and is linked to whether students persist in school or drop out. The research examines the teaching and learning processes in classrooms, the wider school environment, and the MoE initiatives to support teachers and schools that were introduced in response to the crisis in Syria. The approach taken recognises the home environment and the role of the family in promoting values and attitudes which support social cohesion in schools.

Box 1. Research Methodology

Survey data were collected from over 3,000 students at 32 formal MoE schools (15 host-community, ten Syrian second-shift, three shifted regular and four camp schools), and eight non-formal learning settings (NFLCs). The following qualitative data were collected:

      29 principal interviews
      20 teacher interviews
      20 classroom observations (grades 6 and 9)
      15 student focus groups (13 at formal schools and two at NFLCs)
      Five parent focus groups (three with Syrian parents, one with Jordanian parents and one with both Jordanian and Syrian parents)

Full details of the research methodology are given in Annex 1

The findings of this research demonstrate the strengths of current initiatives, as well as key gaps that challenge these initiatives' objectives. Crucially, the findings of this research show how the factors presented are intertwined and therefore each have an influence on whether initiatives are able to enhance access, learning, and social cohesion for all. Key findings are set out below.

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[1]The following categories for formal schools were used: regular schools– majority Jordanian students with fewer than 10% Syrian students; host-community schools– mostly Jordanian students with between 10-50% Syrian students integrated in the school; Syrian second-shift schools – majority Syrian students attending schools that have been divided into two shifts: the morning shift which serves Jordanian students and the evening shift serving Syrian students; camp schools – Syrian students in Azraq and Zaatari camps. In camp schools, the morning shift typically serves female students, while the second shift serves male students.

Key Findings

KEY FINDING 1. Teaching and Learning Processes: Group, Creative and Practical Activities Were Cited as Most Important for Promoting Social Cohesion, but Were Not Necessarily Implemented at Schools.

- Given the importance of creative and interactive activities, which encourage participation and team-building, greater importance should be placed on their availability across all school types.
- Although teachers tended to follow teacher-centred approaches with high levels of rote learning, they still recognised the value of group activities and active participation to foster social cohesion in classrooms.
- There was a gap between what teachers wanted to do, and what was implemented in practice. This was particularly evident in overcrowded classrooms and double-shift systems.
- Sports were more likely to be encouraged than creative activities in schools. Other extended learning activities were limited across all school types in the sample, especially among Syrian second-shift schools.

Teacher training and support to develop and implement more inclusive and engaging classroom practices in the Jordan context would be beneficial to enhancing social cohesion. Support to develop and implement pedagogical methods such as scaffolded group work, opportunities to examine views through classroom discussion, and the use of open questions to encourage dialogic interactions would be appropriate.

There may be great value in supporting extended learning opportunities such as school trips, visits to school libraries, and sporting and creative activities, particularly in second-shift Syrian schools, as the study suggested such activities were not as frequent in this school type. Such activities provide safe and fun spaces for student interaction, can be an important starting point for breaking down barriers between students, and provide opportunities for consolidating and enriching learning.

KEY FINDING 2. Positive Relationships Between Teachers and Students are Key to Promoting Social Cohesion.

- Students in focus groups identified their relationship with their teacher as a key determinant of their enjoyment of and sense of attachment to school. Care, patience, engaging pedagogy, and repetition of information were some of the most important values according to students.
- Teacher interviews revealed that teachers recognised the importance of establishing strong and positive relationships with their students, and identified the importance of building respect, trust, acceptance, and tolerance in the classroom.
- Perceptions of teacher equity and care were higher in host-community schools where nationalities were mixed, compared to Syrian second-shifts and camps.

Fostering greater support for teachers to develop positive classroom management and discipline strategies could also strengthen the relationships with their students. The expansion of the successful efforts of the Ma'an and Nashatati programmes, which aim to reduce violence through teacher training, could support adopting a more positive relationship between teachers and students.

KEY FINDING 3. More Teacher Training and Support Is Needed, Particularly for Teachers at Syrian Second-Shift and Camp Schools. Areas to Be Addressed Include Classroom Management, Supporting Students to Catch Up, and Provision of Psychosocial Support.

- Teachers' reports revealed that their biggest challenges were (i) high levels of student absenteeism and missed schooling and their inability to effectively support these students to catch up with the curriculum, and (ii) providing psychosocial support to students. This was common across all schools, but especially in Syrian second-shift and camp schools where teachers faced greater additional responsibilities and challenges.
- Attention to teacher well-being and to supporting teachers who teach Syrian refugee students emerged as an important consideration. Teachers noted the impact on their own well-being of the additional responsibilities incurred by working with refugee students.
- Teachers reported considerable variation in their access to training to manage these challenges. Most teachers reported that they would like more training and support.
- Teachers valued opportunities for training relating to trauma and loss, especially as applied to working with refugee students.
- In Syrian second-shift and camp schools, teachers and principals reported that increasing focusing on the well-being and emotional support of students would be of great value. The use of Syrian classroom assistants in Zaatari camp was reported to have been beneficial for both teachers and students.

The need for more training and support in three areas was identified: classroom management skills; working with different abilities; and supporting students with psychosocial needs. The use of Syrian classroom assistants is a model which could be considered in schools where students are likely to require more psychosocial support, or to support teachers with large class sizes.

KEY FINDING 4. School-Level Environmental Factors, Including Space and Facilities, and the Shifted System, Present Barriers to Social Cohesion.

- Factors including overcrowded classrooms and availability of school resources contributed to teachers' difficulties in promoting more activity-based and participatory approaches to learning. This was especially true in Syrian second-shift and camp schools.
- School spaces and resources limited schools' abilities to hold events which could bring students together in more playful practices, or bring families and communities to the school. These factors may influence social cohesion among students, and it would be essential to find ways to promote such activities given current resource and space capacities.
- Relationships between Jordanian and Syrian students in the sample were positive and generally lacked tension in host-community schools. Tensions between nationalities were more prevalent in shift schools. Such problems influenced students' sense of attachment to school and their safety across shift schools in our sample. This suggests the MoE's efforts in integrating students in host-community schools is successful to build social cohesion, and should be considered moving forward for all schools.
- Improvements to the school infrastructure may support teachers and principals in implementing activities which enhance social cohesion; the Madrasati programme has been important in creating additional spaces for students and communities to come together.

The shifted system may contribute to the lack of opportunities for positive social interactions between Jordanian and Syrian students. In order to ensure contact between nationalities as a starting point for breaking down barriers, consideration should be given as to whether Jordanian and Syrian students could be educated together.

KEY FINDING 5. Socio-economic and Cultural Factors Impact Social Cohesion.

- Relationships between Syrian students in the second-shift and host-community schools were characterised by teachers, principals, and students as strong bonds between some students, particularly those from the same areas of Syria. However, the student survey found quarrels existed among students at camp schools. Student focus groups highlighted such quarrels stem from regional, socio-economic, and cultural differences.
- Marginalisation and tensions stemming from socio-economic differences were found to weaken social bonds between students across school settings in the sample; a finding which highlights the importance of recognizing other axes of differences which might cause tension and weaken social relationships in schools.
- Poverty intersects with displacement, creating particular challenges and hardships for Syrian children and families. The student survey found higher levels of reported poverty among Syrian families; Syrian students were less likely to have three meals a day, were more likely to be engaged in paid work, more likely to be living in a female-headed house and have an absent father. This rate was particularly high for Syrian students at second-shift schools. Teacher and principal interviews highlighted the impact that strained and difficult home circumstances can have on students' ability to engage with school, participate in learning and social activities, and to build positive relationships with other students.
- Syrian students were more likely to expect to drop out of school than Jordanian students, and at an earlier age. The reasons for not continuing with education were highly gendered. For Syrian females, key reasons identified were marriage, safety concerns on the journey to school, and parental attitudes; for males the key reason was pressure to find employment. Both males and females cited lack of educational opportunities post-school as disincentives to persist in school.
- The student survey found strong gender differences in students' beliefs about their ability to pursue their educational and career goals. Across all school types in our sample, females expressed higher aspirations to persist in education and go to university than males.

Enabling equitable participation and continuation in education for all students also requires strategies which are beyond education and which tackle broader factors such as poverty and inequality, including gender inequality. The high incidence of marriage among Syrian female students in Jordan points to the importance of initiatives which challenge cultural practices within some Syrian communities. Availability of vocational and higher-education opportunities for Syrian students would provide hope for their future and could encourage them to persist in school.

Across the sampled schools, more MoE initiatives designed to support social cohesion were found in regular and host-community schools compared to camp-setting and Syrian second-shift schools. This may be because camp-setting and Syrian second-shift schools tend to generally host one nationality of students. This study has shown that there may be other axes of issues contributing to a lack of social cohesion, as discussed above. Therefore, focusing more on initiatives for Syrian students in

camps and Syrian second-shift schools would promote social cohesion among students of the same nationality, provide them with more opportunities for interaction, and reduce tensions among them.

KEY FINDING 6. Parents and Communities Play a Key Role in Supporting Social Cohesion, but avenues to further develop their roles can be considered.

- The study found that effective strategies to develop and strengthen the relationship between parents and schools included volunteering, skill sharing, topic-based lectures, and providing spaces for events which bring communities together.

- Specific challenges may limit Syrian families' engagement with schools, as teacher and principal reports suggest they were the least likely to be able to engage with schools.

- Discrepancies between teachers' and families' perceptions of the level of responsibility and involvement of each party existed.

There is a need to understand the inconsistency between the conflicting perspectives of schools and parents. Further research to examine the perspective of parents and how more positive parent-school relationships could be developed would be valuable in informing the ways forward to support social cohesion.

Teachers and principals recognised the hardships endured by many Syrian families and spoke with care about the Syrian students in their schools; there was an expressed desire to engage with Syrian families on issues related to children's progress, including at PTAs.

KEY FINDING 7. MoE Initiatives to Promote Social Cohesion are Beneficial, but Wider Implementation and Better Coordination and Communication with Schools are Needed.

- Principal interviews revealed that MoE initiatives to support social cohesion in schools were present across some school types more than others. Some schools were involved with multiple initiatives, while some schools reported no programmes. The non-formal learning centres in the study sample were not involved in any programmes, but were involved in initiatives of their own or with NGOs.
- Principals were not always aware what initiatives were implemented in their school, or what the names of initiatives were, and often only parts of initiatives were implemented, or only parts of a school were involved (a small number of grades, teachers or students).
- Principal and teacher evaluations of programmes showed that assessing several factors prior to implementing initiatives would be beneficial: the timing in the school year, the availability of spaces to implement initiatives, and whether schools are already involved in other programmes.

The various MoE programmes would benefit from a more coordinated and consistent approach whereby initiatives and their anticipated outcomes are clearly delineated, and more clearly communicated to schools. Principals can play a greater role in familiarizing themselves with the initiatives implemented at their schools, and ensuring that they are effectively implemented. This was evident in the principal interviews conducted as part of this study, which showed that the principals interviewed had limited knowledge of the objectives of these initiatives and the extent to which schools were involved with each. A clearer rationale as to how schools are targeted for particular initiatives, and greater involvement of principals in decision-making, would be beneficial.

The effectiveness of initiatives was restricted by limited implementation (to a small number of grades, teachers etc.); greater capacity would enable a whole-school approach to social cohesion, thereby maximising and reinforcing the benefits.

KEY FINDING 8. Students at NFLCs Reported Positive Relationships with Teachers and Strong Levels of Attachment to Centres.

- The ethos and pedagogy of NFLCs which emphasise dialogue and activity-based approaches, respect, and trust between students and teachers appear to have enhanced some aspects of social cohesion. Stronger levels of attachment to centres and to teachers were reported than at formal schools, and students were less likely to report corporal punishment. However, in contrast to strong vertical social cohesion with their teachers, relationships between students appeared to be weak.

Further research is needed to examine the relationships between students at NFLCs, and between parents and communities and NFLCs.

1.1 The Jordan Context

After more than nine years, the Syrian civil war has generated the displacement of over 5.5 million refugees, almost 12% of whom live in Jordan.[2] The government of Jordan estimates the total number of displaced Syrian nationals living in the country, registered and non-registered, to be approximately 1,364,000.[3] As of August 2020 the majority, an estimated 537,120 UNHCR-registered refugees, live in non-camp urban and rural settings in the host community.[4]

Adjusting to long-term social, economic, and demographic pressures associated with the scale of this displacement has posed new and diverse challenges for the host society. The protracted nature of the conflict in Syria and of the displacement of so many Syrian nationals also makes the challenges facing refugees themselves more acute as their assets and resources become exhausted, increasing their vulnerability. A joint study by the World Bank Group and the UNHCR highlighted how Syrian refugees in Jordan

> … have experienced shock after shock, pushing them into destitution. A majority are living in poverty now, and are likely to stay poor in the future, with added psychological and financial stresses that compound what they are already facing.[5]

As the crisis has deepened, concerns about social tensions and lack of social cohesion in communities struggling to absorb large numbers of displaced people have grown. Social cohesion and the mitigation of social tensions between refugees and host communities have become a key strategic objective of the government of Jordan.[6] In education, as in other sectors, policy focuses on longer-term development actions, which aim to meet the needs of vulnerable host communities as well as refugees, and prioritise stability, build resilience, and promote social cohesion.[7]

1.2 Aims of Study and Conceptual Framework

The aims of this study were twofold. The first was to assess social cohesion across Ministry of Education school types (host-community, regular, Syrian second-shift, camp) and non-formal learning centres in Jordan, and the second was to assess the effectiveness of MoE interventions designed to promote social cohesion. This final report is the culmination of a larger study which has considered the extent to which education interventions in Jordan have resulted in learning and social cohesion for all (Box 2).

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[2] UNHCR (2020) Operational Portal. Refugee Situations. Syria https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria

[3] MOPIC (2019) *Jordan Response Plan 2019 Plan Final*. Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis (JRPSC) http://www.jrp.gov.jo/

[4] UNHCR (2020) Syrian Regional Refugee Response https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36

[5] Verme, P; Gigliarano, C; Wieser, C; Hedlund, K; Petzoldt, M; Santacroce, M. (2016) *The Welfare of Syrian Refugees: Evidence from Jordan and Lebanon.* Washington DC: World Bank. © World Bank, P. XI. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/23228 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

[6] E.g. MOPIC (2019) *Jordan Response Plan 2019 Plan Final*. Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis (JRPSC). http://www.jrp.gov.jo

[7] Ibid.

Box 2. Overall Aim of the Study and Research Questions

The aim of the study was to assess how education interventions introduced in Jordan as a response to the Syrian crisis have ensured equitable access to quality formal and non-formal education for refugee children, and resulted in learning and social cohesion for all. This broad aim was broken down into the following research questions:

> How do Jordanian and Syrian students' learning outcomes vary between camp settings, second-shift schools and host community schools?
> How are teachers and school leaders supported to provide access and equality and social cohesion for Syrian refugees?
> What are the teaching and learning processes which promote access, equality, and social cohesion for Syrian refugees?
> What formal and non-formal education and protection strategies build acceptance and improve social cohesion between refugee and host populations?

Research question 1 above was addressed by Working Paper 1, *A Summary of Key Patterns in the Jordanian Education System by School Type, Gender and Region.* This report drew on quantitative evidence from the Education Management Information System (EMIS) and the Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) and Early Grade Maths Assessment EGMA) results (2016/2017), to summarise key patterns in the education system and assess learning across different types of MoE schools.

Research questions 2 and 3 were addressed by a number of working papers. Working Paper 2, *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Issues of Access and Quality. A review of policies and initiatives,* focused on issues of access and quality, and provided an overview of past and latest policies regarding the education of refugees in Jordan. Working Paper 3, *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Summary of demand-side constraints and interventions*, provided a review of barriers and challenges Syrian families and their children face in accessing formal education. A fourth Working Paper, *A Review of Social Cohesion Initiatives and Challenges with a Focus on Jordan and Education,* provided in-depth analysis of the range of Ministry of Education (MoE) initiatives to promote social cohesion. The report identified a lack of data on assessment of social cohesion and on the effectiveness of initiatives as key challenges.

Research questions 3 and 4 were addressed by Working Paper 4 and the current, final report, *Learning and Social Cohesion in Schools in Jordan.* The empirical phase of the study assessed social cohesion across MoE school types and the effectiveness of interventions designed to promote cohesion.

Although concerns relating to social cohesion are critical in settings of protracted conflict, the concept remains poorly defined, contested, and open to interpretation.[8] This report draws on the definition of social cohesion proposed by World Vision (2015) and derived from UNDP and USAID analysis. It is defined as:

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[8] OECD (2011) *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Perspectives on a Shifting World*. OECD publishing. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/perspectives-on-global-development-2012_persp_glob_dev-2012-en

> ... the nature and set of relationships between individuals and groups in a particular environment (horizontal social cohesion) and between those individuals and groups and the institutions that govern them in a particular environment (vertical social cohesion). Strong, positive, host community relationships and inclusive identities are perceived as indicative of high social cohesion, whereas weak, negative or fragmented relationships and exclusive identities are taken to mean low social cohesion. Social cohesion is therefore a multi-faceted, scalar concept.[9]

In addition to vertical and horizontal social relationships, the UNDP (2020) identifies a number of elements to social cohesion which are generally recognised in the literature as pertinent. These include equity and social inclusion, safety and security, participation, respect and tolerance for difference, and feelings of belonging. Attention is drawn to the impact of structural factors such as economic inequalities which undermine social cohesion along both vertical and horizontal axes.[10] This report draws on these interrelated and overlapping understandings of social cohesion and applies them to schools in Jordan. The nature of relationships between students in schools (horizontal social cohesion), and the nature of relationships between teachers and students (vertical social cohesion) are examined, and areas where more support on social cohesion is needed are identified. Social inclusion is examined through the extent to which students feel they are treated equally and are able to participate actively in the classroom and in school activities which support social cohesion.

The report adopts a learner-centred and holistic understanding of quality education,[11] which encompasses not only cognitive learning, measured by academic performance and test results, but also social learning, which includes learning for social cohesion.[12] The pedagogies which support social cohesion include the use of scaffolded group activities and the use of open questions to create dialogues which encourage student reflection, deepen understanding, and in which student views are valued. This approach positions the student and learning for social cohesion at the heart of a nested approach. The school environment (teacher attitudes and values, differential treatment of students, school governance, culture, and school leadership) are crucial, but so too is the home environment (parental attitudes, values, and resources). The study draws on the perspectives of parents, teachers, students, and principals to examine the relationships between home and school.

Alongside enabling school and home environments, an enabling policy environment is also key to quality education.[13] The Jordanian MoE has developed a number of policies and initiatives to promote social cohesion across Jordanian schools; these are outlined in Working Paper 4. This report

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[9] World Vision (2015) *Social Cohesion Between Syrian Refugees and Urban Host Communities in Lebanon and Jordan,* P. 9 https://www.wvi.org/disaster-management/publication/social-cohesion-between-syrian-refugees-and-urban-host-communities

[10] UNDP (2020) *Strengthening Social Cohesion. Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications*. https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/conflict-prevention/strengthening-social-cohesion--conceptual-framing-and-programmin.html

[11] UNESCO (2006) *Cross-national studies of the quality of education: planning their design and managing their impact* (Eds, Ross, K. and Jurgens Genevois, I.) Available: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/search/81ae8f7f-d058-472e-a33d-ca1e66097d64

[12] Sayed, Y. et al. (2017) *Engaging Teachers in Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Context: Evaluating Education Interventions in South Africa.* South Africa Country Report, ESRC/DFID Research Report, University of Sussex, UK.

[13.] Tikly, L. (2011) "Towards a framework for researching the quality of education in low-income countries." *Comparative Education*, 47(1), 1-23, DOI: 10.1080/03050068.2011.541671

explores both the extent to which these initiatives have been implemented in the sample schools, and perspectives on their efficacy.

1.3 Structure of Report

Chapter 2 focuses on learning and social cohesion within classrooms and in schools. Two key areas are explored: (1) the relationship between teachers and students, which includes student perception of teacher attitudes, whether students feel teachers treat them equally and care about them, discipline and corporal punishment; (2) pedagogical approaches, including opportunities for engagement in learner-centred activities, creative and sports activities. The challenges to promoting social cohesion and reducing marginalisation in the classroom are discussed. Chapter 3 considers two interrelated and overlapping dimensions of social cohesion in schools: relationships between students, and perceptions of safety at school and on the journey to school. Important gender differences relating to safety and perceptions of safety are highlighted. Chapter 4 illuminates the role of family and community in enabling and supporting social cohesion. The chapter examines parental attitudes and parental engagement in schools. It draws attention to the mismatch between parent and school narratives about parental engagement with school, and also to how challenging circumstances in the home lives of students weaken social relationships in school. Chapter 5 focuses on MoE initiatives to promote social cohesion in schools. It draws on school principals' perspectives to examine the impact of different initiatives and challenges with implementation. Due to the specific characteristics of Non-Formal Learning Centres (NFLCs), the findings from these settings are presented in Chapter 6. Throughout the report, where the qualitative or quantitative data indicated gender-based differences, these are drawn out and data on gender are presented. Where findings did not indicate gender differences, the data are not disaggregated.

Annex 1 provides details of the research methodology and the limitations of the study. Annex 2 comprises a descriptive overview of the characteristics of the formal and NFLCs sampled for this study. This breakdown includes school type, gender of students, and nationality of students. The analyses indicate, by school type, household characteristics including parental education, student working, and poverty. These background characteristics provide important contextual information which has been drawn upon, where relevant, to add depth to the findings presented.

2.1 Introduction

The definition of social cohesion adopted in Chapter 1 emphasises strong and positive social relationships as indicative of high levels of such social cohesion. Two aspects of social cohesion are identified – vertical and horizontal – which relate to the nature and sets of relationships. In schools, the relationships students have with their teachers and their feelings of attachment to school represent vertical social cohesion. In this chapter we explore this dimension of social cohesion in relation to student perception of teacher attitudes: whether students perceive their teachers as caring about and treating them equally. We also examine student reports of corporal punishment as the threat or fear of physical punishment can be taken to indicate negative relationships and lower social cohesion.

A further dimension of social cohesion identified in the literature is student participation. In examining social cohesion in schools, this is interpreted as the opportunity for students to actively participate in the learning process, to critique and examine points of view through dialogue, and to contribute to decision-making.[14] Social cohesion in schools can be supported and promoted through engaging and interactive pedagogical approaches. Examples of these include the use of open questions to create a dialogue which encourages student reflection, deepens understanding, and in which student views are valued, as opposed to more teacher-centred approaches where the student is more passive, copying from a board or repeating sentences after the teacher. Practical activities such as sports, games, and creative pursuits are recognised as enriching the quality of learning and can also support and promote positive relationships between students. The student survey examined student-reported opportunities to engage in more active and participatory styles of learning. The chapter ends with a discussion of the challenges to promoting social cohesion in classrooms.

2.2 Relationships between Teachers and Students

2.2.1 Teacher Perception of their Role in Building Social Cohesion

Building positive relationships between teachers and students is a core element of positive learning. This study found that many teachers reflected on the importance of cultivating positive relationships, linking these with building 'respect', 'humility', 'empathy', 'trust, 'cooperation', 'tolerance', and 'acceptance'. Many of these words link with some of the values that are central to definitions and understandings of social cohesion.[15] One teacher defined social cohesion in classrooms as follows:

> It's the relationship between students and teachers. It's important for us to be friends with them and to be good with them.

The study found that many teachers were able to reflect on how positive dialogue can contribute to positive relationships. In some examples, teachers mentioned the importance of being agents of

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[14] Akar, B. (2016). "Dialogic Pedagogies in Educational Settings for Active Citizenship, Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding in Lebanon." *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 11(1):44–62.

[15] Novelli, M. and Sayed Y. (2016). "Teachers as Agents of Sustainable Peace, Social Cohesion and Development: Theory, Practice & Evidence." *Education as Change* 20(3).

social cohesion, such as by seeking to advocate for equality between students. A participating teacher noted:

> I always tell the girls that we are all the same. No one is better than the other (host-community, girls' school).

Some teachers focused on using positive words to encourage students:

> In my class they respect me and I respect them, and I am comfortable with them. I always try and thank them at the end of the lesson, so they know I appreciate their hard work, and they thank me too (host-community, girls' school).

Another teacher reflected similarly, noting:

> I'm not mean and I always encourage them to answer in class, even if their answers are wrong, because then at least they can try (Azraq, boys' camp school).

Classroom observations confirmed that some teachers used positive words to encourage their students, such as in praising students who answered questions correctly, or using comforting words such as "don't worry or be sad" when students responded incorrectly. During the interviews conducted as part of this study, a few teachers' definitions of social cohesion, however, focused on the level to which teachers were respected and listened to, rather than on notions of participation and equality between all present.

Finally, despite outlining some of the important elements of social cohesion, some teachers in our sample appeared to struggle to conceptualise the mechanisms and teaching approaches which strengthen positive classroom relationships. Studies outline the importance of teachers being equipped with practical approaches and strategies that enable teaching which enhances these relations[16] but teachers in this study did not, for example, elaborate on the importance of listening to students' voices, allowing for dialogue as part of learning, and ensuring equitable participation in classrooms. The importance of encouraging participation, peacebuilding, and dialogue may also be less central to teachers' teaching approaches if they are not engrained in official curricula.[17] Thus, while the study found that some teachers had appropriate perceptions of the importance of respect, equality, and positive exchanges with students, more practical tools are needed to apply these to enhance participation, dialogue, and active learning.

2.2.2 Students' Perceptions of their Teachers and Teacher Relationships
The student survey explored students' perceptions of their teachers' attitudes and behaviour toward them. Figures 1 and 2 highlight perceptions of equity and care experienced by students across school types. Students at camp schools gave the lowest percentage of the "strongly agree" or "agree" responses to the statement "My teacher treats everyone equally regardless of their background (e.g. different nationality and other things)". Students' sense of teacher equity was particularly low in Zaatari camp school, where students were least likely to agree that teachers treated students equally. On the other hand, students at host-community and regular schools reported the highest perceptions of teacher equity at 70% and 67% respectively. Interestingly, it was in host-community

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[16] Phillippo, K.; Levine Brown, E.; and Blosser, A. (2018). "Making Sense of Student–Teacher Relationships: Teacher Educator and Candidate Engagement with the Relational Practices of Teaching." *Action in Teacher Education* 40(2):169–85.

[17] Halai, A. and Durrani, N. 2018. "Teachers as Agents of Peace? Exploring Teacher Agency in Social Cohesion in Pakistan." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 48(4):535–52.

schools, where student nationalities were the most mixed, that perceptions of teacher equity were highest.

Figure 1. Proportion of Students Who Agreed or Disagreed that their Teacher Treats Everyone Equally Regardless of Background, by School Type[18]
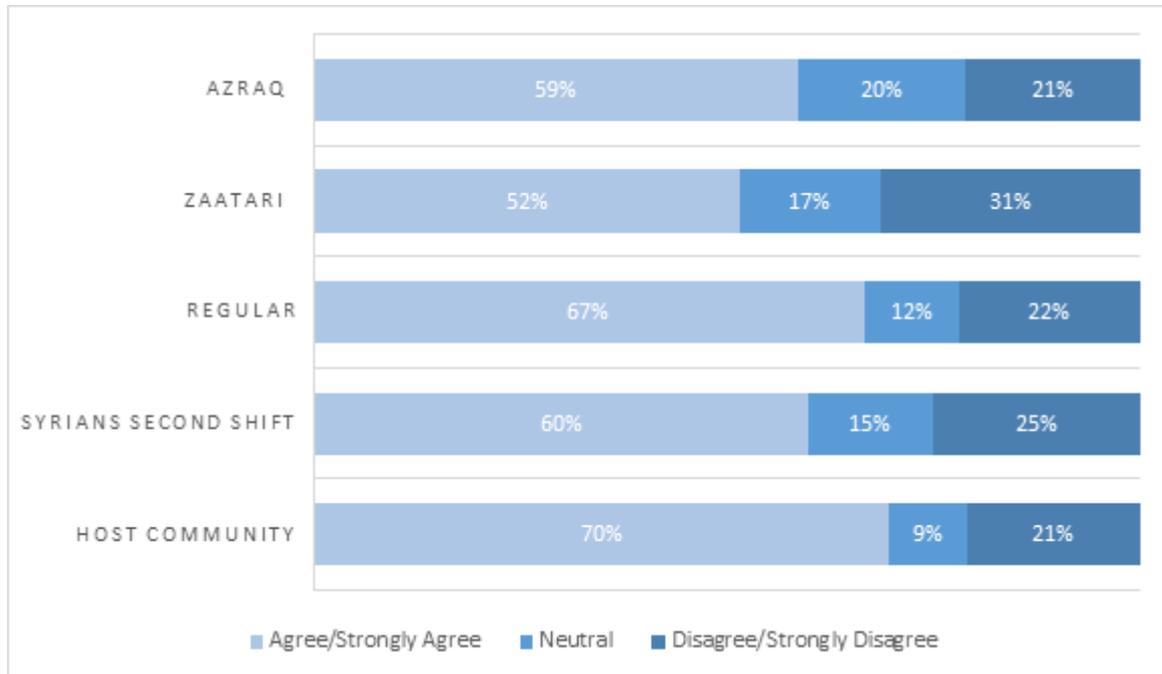
Note: Student perception of teacher equity was measured using a five-point Likert scale. Two smiley/frowning faces indicated strong agreement or disagreement, one smiley/frowning face indicated agreement/disagreement, and an expressionless smiley face indicated neutrality. The two "agreed" and two "disagreed" responses have been combined in this analysis. Students responded to the following statement: "My teacher treats everyone equally regardless of their background (e.g. different nationality and other things)".

Students' sense of teacher care was also greatest at host-community schools and marginally better for regular schools than other school types, as shown by Figure 2 below. The findings suggest that there was a lower percentage of students in Syrian-only schools (second-shift and camp schools) who perceived that teachers treated their students with care and equity than there was in host-community and regular schools.

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[18] Blank responses and no responses were removed in the analysis. "Don't know" responses were included in the analysis where assessed to be relevant. Results throughout the report are rounded and may not add up to 100 but are within 1% of the actual percentage.

Note: Student perception of teacher care was measured using a five-point Likert scale. Two smiley/frowning faces indicated strong agreement or disagreement, one smiley/frowning face indicated agreement/disagreement, and an expressionless smiley face indicated neutrality. Students responded to the following: "My teacher really cares about me".

Focus groups asked students to reflect on what they enjoyed and disliked at school. The discussions highlighted positive relationships with teachers as a key determinant of whether students enjoyed school and their sense of attachment to it. Students identified the attitudes and behaviours which supported strong and positive relationships with teachers; these included being respected by their teachers, feeling supported and encouraged, and the lack of use of negative language. In some cases, students felt that some teachers used positive words and engaged them through respectful approaches; this was teacher-dependent rather than related to school type.

Some students in the sample also reported examples of teacher behaviour which weakened the teacher-student relationship. These included teachers discouraging the students, and not explaining lessons comprehensively. Many students who felt they could not understand their lessons also felt they could not ask for further support or clarification. Students' reflections also illuminated the challenges that may face teachers, and how these issues can hinder positive engagement with students. For example, students who reported weak and negative relationships with teachers often also reported that their teachers were not able to manage the classroom and effectively discipline students. At these schools, some students felt that teachers did not enjoy teaching and appeared sedentary in classrooms, or chose to skip lessons. These findings raise numerous issues which could be addressed through the strengthening of opportunities, incentives, and accountability. In particular, further training opportunities to enhance teachers' capacities of classroom management using positive language and strategies can be of great value. Accountability systems to ensure that teachers are fulfilling their work duties are also needed. However, these measures must coincide with appropriate incentive systems that motivate teachers.

A second effect of poor teacher-student relationships is on students' learning, motivation, and aspirations to remain in school (issues which are considered in more depth in Chapter 3). Students in focus groups who reported not being able to enjoy their schools also said that they struggled to

understand their lessons, and felt that they were not able to receive extra support. Negative interactions between teachers and students reduced students' sense of attachment to school.

In contrast, there were examples in focus groups across all schools of students reporting being able to form strong and positive relationships with their teachers. In these examples, students reaffirmed the importance of their teachers being able to enjoy their jobs and their dedication to their work. They also underlined the relationship between teacher treatment of students and student enjoyment of school and desire to continue their education. Such positive relationships were particularly apparent at camp and Syrian second-shift schools, where students in focus groups stated that they "consider some teachers like friends". Students across schools identified the characteristics which are found in good teachers, describing these teachers as ones who were organised, enjoyed teaching, understood them and respected them, practised patience, and repeated lessons when they were not understood by students. Positive relationships with teachers were seen as important, and students expressed the view that:

> When a teacher is like a friend, there are no limits, you don't feel scared to ask anything, you feel comfortable.

The focus groups at one of the case-study schools, a regular school for female students, provided a particularly rich and positive example of positive classroom interactions. At this school, students noted that their teachers cared for them, treated them kindly and with patience, and explained things to them until they understood. This allowed students to feel comfortable asking questions and being engaged in the classroom. Student perceptions were supported by classroom observations, and the interviews with teachers and principals which indicated that a range of MoE initiatives were implemented. Students also highlighted the importance of respect between teachers and students. For example, one student stated that:

> Respect is the most important element [of social cohesion]. When you stop respecting the teacher, you lose the learning.

In addition to respect, many students used the word "love" to describe their feelings about their teachers and learning. Only a small number of students noted that some teachers were less attentive and did not explain things. During school observations, the observer found that teachers appeared to encourage engagement through positive practices, and that these teachers were also supported by facilities such as security cameras, posters, digital clocks, good lighting, open spaces, and cooling facilities.

Finally, students' relationships with their teachers were a key determinant of whether they enjoyed school, their sense of attachment to school, and their motivation to continue with their education. Students in regular and host-community schools were more likely to report that their teachers treated them equally and cared about them than Syrian students in camp and second-shift schools. However, across school types, responses in relation to equity and care were generally positive with more students agreeing that they were treated equally and cared for by their teachers than disagreeing with these statements. Students identified a number of factors which were conducive to positive teacher-student relationships and learning; these included additional support and reinforcement of learning, teacher encouragement, feeling respected and able to ask questions. This finding reinforces the importance of accountability systems, incentive structures, and training opportunities to enhance values that are central to definitions of social cohesion. Equipping teachers with practical strategies that strengthen participation in classrooms is needed. Furthermore,

curriculum is also responsible for helping teachers promote positive values in classrooms, and must thus be shaped around these values.[19]

2.3 Pedagogical Approaches to Support Social Cohesion

Social cohesion teaching pedagogies encompass a range of methods such as scaffolded group work, dialogic interactions with opportunities to examine views through classroom discussions, critical questioning, and lived experience simulations. These methods are designed to be pedagogically inclusive and engaging.[20] Active participation in the learning process, and extended learning opportunities such as school trips, sporting and creative activities are recognised as promoting social cohesion as well as enhancing the depth and quality of learning.

2.3.1 Teaching Methods and Participation in the Classroom

Several teachers during interviews emphasised the importance of group-based learning activities to encourage tolerance and acceptance, and build awareness between students through dialogues and participation. For example, one teacher at an Azraq camp boys' school referred to group work, noting that:

> The most important thing that supports social cohesion are activities and parties that unite students together.

During the interviews, teachers who reflected on the importance of inclusion in schools cited examples of how they brought students together through classroom activities and ensured that even those who seemed excluded and isolated were integrated into group activities in the classroom.

Despite the positive views that teachers expressed towards social cohesion activities, classroom observations found that very few teachers sought to engage students through activities, with teaching largely drawing on teacher-centred pedagogy where the teacher conveyed knowledge which students copied down and repeated. The use of external material such as props, or the engagement of students beyond responding to closed questions, could be really helpful to engage students. In all observations, the classrooms were arranged with desks in rows with the focus on the teacher at the front. Better seating arrangement could encourage student dialogue, collaborative learning, and foster interactivity which can build social skills. While in some cases the possibilities for arrangement appeared to be restricted by the number of students and the classroom size, seating arrangements in spacious classrooms also followed a similar style, suggesting a missed opportunity. These findings suggest that teachers should be supported in implementing more participative and learner-centred teaching approaches, thereby expanding teachers' knowledge of different types of activities that can support social cohesion through discussion, group work, and examination of different viewpoints.

Teachers seem to be implementing a range of positive and less positive practices in the classroom. For example, student reports revealed they were encouraged to participate in class by means such as answering questions. Additionally, more than 68% of students agreed or strongly agreed that they contributed to making decisions with regard to activities and rules. However, across all school types in the sample, more than 55% of students reported that they spent most of their class time

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[19] UNESCO (2014) Teaching Respect for All: A New Implementation Guide to Stop Discrimination in and Through Education.

[20] INEE. (2013). *INEE Guidance Note on Conflict Sensitive Education*. http://s3.amazonaws.com/inee-assets/resources/INEE_CSE_Guidance_Note_EN.pdf

repeating sentences after their teacher (Table 1). These findings are encouraging, and highlight that teachers may have some knowledge of ways to engage students in their learning, but may still be implementing rote learning activities to a large extent. Indeed, the focus groups suggested that some teachers in the sample may not be engaging them highly in their learning, stating that classes were "very rigid". These results may suggest that pedagogical approaches in schools depended on the teacher rather than on the school type, and that across school types, more could be done to ensure teaching and learning is more engaging.

Table 1. The Percentage of Students Who Agreed or Strongly Agreed with the Following Statements Regarding Activities in the Classroom, by School Type

SCHOOL TYPE	I contribute to making decisions with regard to things such as activities and laws in the classroom or school		Teachers encourage me to participate within the classes, such as answering questions		We spend most of class time repeating sentences	
	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Neutral	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Neutral	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Neutral
HOST COMMUNITY	77%	13%	87%	7%	58%	18%
SYRIAN SECOND	66%	16%	82%	10%	52%	21%
REGULAR	71%	15%	84%	8%	53%	23%
ZAATARI	72%	11%	83%	6%	54%	19%
AZRAQ	61%	22%	81%	12%	60%	19%

Note: The survey used a five-point Likert scale. Two smiley/frowning faces indicated strong agreement or disagreement, one smiley/frowning face indicated agreement/disagreement, and an expressionless smiley face indicated neutrality. This table combines "agree" and "strongly agree" into one category. "Disagree" and "strongly disagree"' were excluded from this table. Students were asked whether they agreed with the following questions: "I contribute to making decisions with regard to activities and rules in the classroom or school", "Teachers encourage me to participate within classes, such as answering questions", "We spend most of the class time repeating sentences after the teacher".

2.3.2 Extended Learning
A curriculum which provides opportunities for students to engage in practical activities deepens and enriches learning and can support positive relationships between students. The student survey measured these opportunities across two domains: creative (such as art or music) activities, and sports activities within a school team as reported in the figure below (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Student-Reported Frequency of Creative and Sport Activities by, School Type
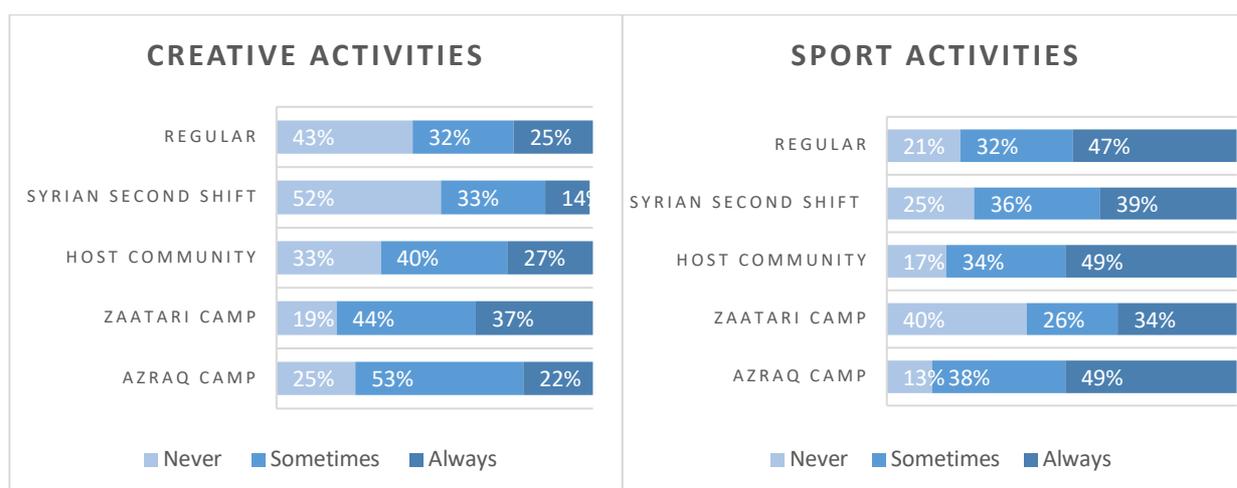
CREATIVE ACTIVITIES	Never	Sometimes	Always
REGULAR	43%	32%	25%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	52%	33%	14%
HOST COMMUNITY	33%	40%	27%
ZAATARI CAMP	19%	44%	37%
AZRAQ CAMP	25%	53%	22%

SPORT ACTIVITIES	Never	Sometimes	Always
REGULAR	21%	32%	47%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	25%	36%	39%
HOST COMMUNITY	17%	34%	49%
ZAATARI CAMP	40%	26%	34%
AZRAQ CAMP	13%	38%	49%

Note: Student experience was measured using a 3-point scale. Students were asked: "In your school, how often do you participate in the following activities?"

The survey findings, in addition to the qualitative data, suggest that several factors may contribute to activity implementation in schools. In particular, student-survey data show that sports activities are more likely to be encouraged across all school types than creative activities. The discrepancy between these two forms of activities may relate to whether teachers and principals perceived certain activities to be more easily implemented at schools by teachers.

This is especially clear when noting that while teachers, parents, and students expressed concern about the short school hours and lack of sufficient time for engaging learning, sports activities appeared to be prioritised over creative activities. These findings suggest that sports activities may be deemed more easily implementable, such as during breaks and through the availability of outdoor space. On the other hand, creative activities may require further tools, designated spaces and times, and the leadership of teachers. In addition to these findings, it is important to note that Syrian students were less likely to experience exposure to other forms of creative learning opportunities. There may be great value in supporting extended learning opportunities such as school trips as expressed by the Syrian students in the sample, especially since there are regulations set by the MoE that prohibit Syrian students from participating in school trips. Teachers, principals, and students commented on how this reduced students' opportunities to consolidate and enrich their learning, and also led to a sense of marginalisation. In camps this was felt to be detrimental to students' well-being as the following quote by a student shows:

> they don't let us go out and discover nice things, I mean some people came straight to the camp and have never been out of it.

While sports were more frequently available across all school types, students at Azraq camp and host-community schools were most likely to engage in sports activities as part of a team, whereas students at Zaatari were the least likely across all school types to participate in team sports. The relatively high participation in sports activities in Azraq camp was surprising as recreational spaces in both camps were not as frequent.[21] However, as the survey only included two schools in each camp (a male and female school, co-located), this finding could relate to the availability of sports facilities

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[21] NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council) (2018). *Evaluation of NRC's Education Programming in the Camps of Jordan*; Younes and Morrice (2019) *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Issues of Access and Quality. A review of policies and initiatives (2012-2018).*

at or near to the particular school in Azraq. The principal at one of the Azraq camp schools also indicated that students participated in athletic events organised by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GiZ), through a project that organises sports activities in refugee camps, which could have contributed to this high figure. Outside of the camp setting, Syrian students at second-shift schools were the least likely to engage in sports activities, with 25% of students reporting that they never participate in sports at school.

Despite the relatively high levels of creative activities reported at Zaatari schools, female students at a focus group at the camp felt that they did not participate in enough activities, and that there was a lot of "pressure" due to a focus on exams and homework, leaving very little time for extended learning. They stated that they were allowed one day a week for extracurricular activities, such as play, to "release our energies". However, students noted that the short duration of classes was one of the causes for the lack of time for engaging in group work or learner-centred activities. Students pointed out that if classroom time was extended, some of it could be used so that "we could have activities and learn by ourselves".

At host-community schools, particular policies may also encourage engagement. One teacher at a host-community girls' school noted that the school organises two activity classes during the week, designed to promote interactive learning, teamwork, and positive relationships between students. This may be a result of the 2018 MoE decision to allocate 20% of school time in host-community and non-shifted schools to extracurricular activities. [22] Further research into whether and how schools are implementing this relatively recent MoE decision would be useful.

2.4 Challenges to Promoting Social Cohesion in the Classroom

2.4.1 Teaching and Learning Environment

School infrastructure and physical environments may have a major influence on students' enjoyment of school, as reinforced by the findings of this study. Many students at Syrian second-shift and camp schools stated in focus groups that they would enjoy school more if the institution's appearance and environment were in better conditions, including classrooms and bathrooms, facilities, size of the classroom, and external sounds outside of the classroom walls. Classroom observations found that schools other than Syrian second-shift and camp schools had better facilities. For example, there appeared to be issues of hygiene, broken desks, and bare arrangements at the observed Syrian second-shift schools for male students. However, the characteristics of school spaces such as the sizes of classrooms, hygiene levels, desk safety, the colour of the walls, and the general care for schools varied across schools. Observers found that female students had access to more hygienic bathrooms, security cameras, improved lighting, and sufficient chairs at host-community schools compared to other school types.

The necessary equipment to engage in more practice-based learning was not always available or accessed across school types in the sample. Figure 4 below indicates the frequency with which students reported accessing computers and school libraries across school types.

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[22] USAID (2020) *Extracurricular Activities Within the Jordanian Ministry of Education: Rapid Review of Needs, Gaps, and Opportunities. USAID.* https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/76620.pdf

Figure 4. Student-Reported Frequency of Using Facilities, by School Type
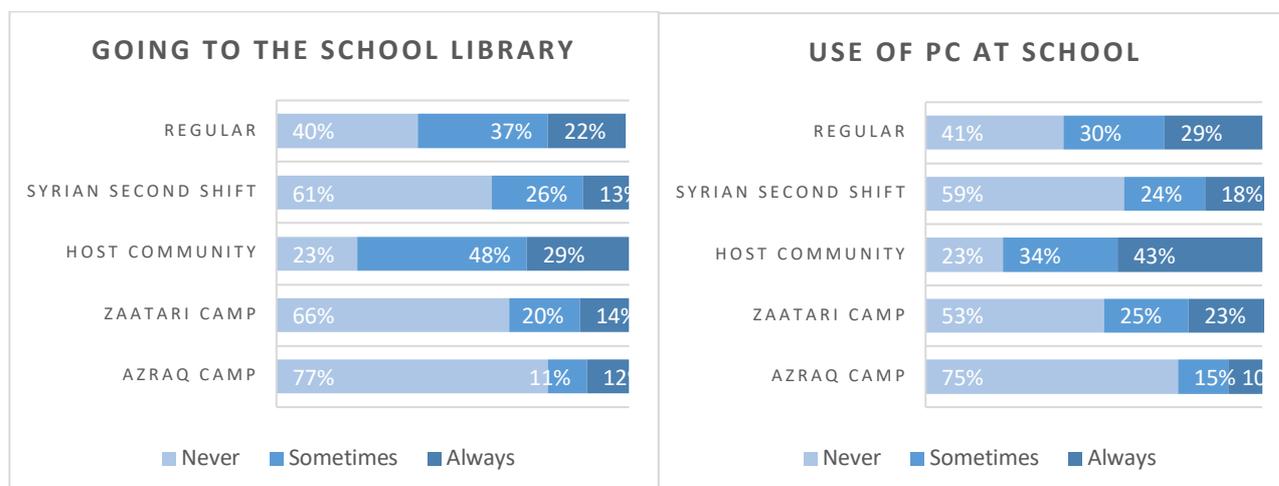
GOING TO THE SCHOOL LIBRARY		USE OF PC AT SCHOOL	
REGULAR	40% / 37% / 22%	REGULAR	41% / 30% / 29%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	61% / 26% / 13%	SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	59% / 24% / 18%
HOST COMMUNITY	23% / 48% / 29%	HOST COMMUNITY	23% / 34% / 43%
ZAATARI CAMP	66% / 20% / 14%	ZAATARI CAMP	53% / 25% / 23%
AZRAQ CAMP	77% / 11% / 12	AZRAQ CAMP	75% / 15% / 10

■ Never   ■ Sometimes   ■ Always

 Note: Student experience was measured using a 3-point scale. Students were asked: "In your school, how often do you participate in the following activities?"

Data indicates that use of computers and libraries was highest among students at host-community and regular schools with respectively 29% and 22% of students reporting that they always visited the school library, and 29% and 43% respectively reporting that they always used PCs at school. Opportunities to access learning equipment were lower for Syrian students at second-shift and camp schools, and lowest at Azraq camp schools. Male students in a focus group at Azraq camp school noted that they did not engage in any practical forms of learning because the school lacks laboratories and tools. For example, a student reflected: "we are supposed to learn about solutions and mixtures, but we don't have a laboratory for biology or chemistry".

While public data suggests that camp schools struggle to provide basic infrastructure, such as library and computing facilities, and the electricity to power PCs,[23] the student survey found similar reports of usage of computers and libraries as students at Syrian second-shift schools. Given that libraries and computer rooms were used at regular shift-schools, which are colocated within the same buildings as Syrian second shifts, further examination of the barriers to using these facilities at Syrian second shifts is needed to explain why they are not using such facilities to a greater degree.

Classroom observations also revealed that the demand on school facilities may reduce opportunities for practical learning. For example, at a host-community school when students were moved to the computer lab for practical lessons, there were not sufficient seats, preventing some students from participating. The presence of appropriate facilities, spaces, and capacities would allow for activities and creative learning approaches as voiced by the principals in our sample. In addition, teacher interviews, and parent and student focus groups all reported that schools across the sample were overcrowded.[24] Overcrowding was reported to be less prominent at host-community and regular

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[23] NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council) (2018) *Evaluation of NRC's Education Programming in the Camps of Jordan*

[24] The issue of overcrowding in both camp schools and schools in the host community have been noted in multiple reports. See for example, Younes, M., and Morrice, L. (2019) *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Issues of Access and Quality. A review of policies and initiatives (2012-2018)*. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex

schools, compared to second-shift schools for Syrian students. These results are unsurprising; the MoE in Jordan aimed to limit the learning losses of Syrian refugee students, and ensure they are receiving education at schools, which has meant that some schools are overcrowded. Expanding the number of schools to support the MoE in taking in the refugees from neighbouring countries would be beneficial to tackle overcrowded classrooms.

The aforementioned is especially important considering the MoE has been planning to move away from the double-shift system, considering their recognition of its limitations for student learning. Indeed, our study showed that sharing of classroom spaces between different shifts was a factor that reduced attachment to schooling. Focus groups with female students showed that the shared classroom space made it difficult for students to form an attachment to their classroom as any wall displays or pictures were removed by the next shift. This finding was echoed by principals and teachers at shifted schools. Additional issues arose from the shifted system because students had to clean up after each other, which caused feelings of unfairness. A wider course for students on keeping their schools clean and maintaining the state of their learning spaces to a specific standard may be beneficial to avoid such issues. The effects of the shifted system are discussed further in Chapter 3.

2.4.2 Student and Teacher Support Needs

Syrian refugee students require additional support due to previous and ongoing disruptions to their learning. The student survey showed that Syrian students were more likely to report missing school for longer periods of time when compared to their Jordanian counterparts (Figure 5). Students at Syrian schools (camp and second-shift) reported missing longer periods of schooling than students at regular and host-community schools. Students at Azraq camp schools reported the longest periods of missed schooling, with students in grade 6 reporting missing an average of just over 12 months of school. Students at Syrian schools have therefore experienced the greatest interruptions to their learning, which will impact on their ability to keep up with the curriculum, and they are likely to require additional teacher support to catch up.

Figure 5. Average months of missed schooling as reported by students, by school type and grade
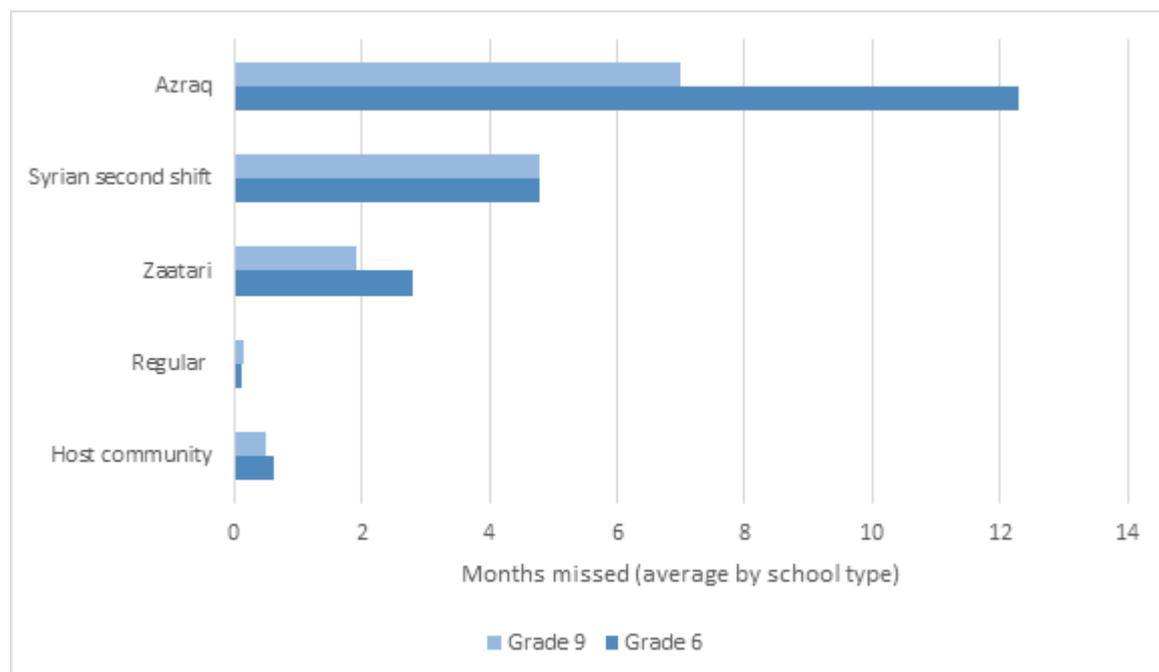
Note: The survey asked students whether they had dropped out of school, and if so to provide the number of months or years.

Many teachers noted that the biggest learning challenge for students was the high level of absenteeism and students' inability to catch up with the curriculum because they had missed out on key learning. Principals and teachers reported missed schooling and student absence as a common problem across all schools in the sample. However, as observed in the student survey, teacher and principal reports revealed these issues were especially prominent in Syrian second-shift and camp schools.

Teachers highlighted that greater support should be put on students who show weaker progress in learning. Across all schools in the sample, teachers found that they struggled to engage some of their students and to address different learning needs and styles in the classroom. A teacher at a host-community girls' school noted that "there are students you can't get through to [to help]". She also added that teacher training on how to help students achieve and be successful was essential.

The challenges of supporting students to remain in school intensify as students get older and face additional pressures in their lives. In an interview with a teacher at a Syrian second-shift boys' school, the teacher remarked that Syrian students are less focused on their education, stating:

> The older they get, the less they care about learning and school... I can't really think of any values that can be promoted about social cohesion. I can only think of advising them and talking to them.

These examples point to the numerous challenges that face teachers and learners. Teachers across all schools in the sample, especially those who teach all nationalities need more support in terms of training to engage in more learner-centred pedagogies that may help different learner needs and hence enhance students' engagement capacity. Teachers who teach Syrian refugees face additional responsibilities, including the need to be aware of Syrian refugee students' circumstances, to support students who have missed out on education, and to address some of the reasons for absence and lack of focus relating to challenges at home (poverty, engaging in informal labour, mental health, and familial issues). These teachers are in need of further help to be able to better support their students. This need was explicitly pointed out by teachers and principals in this study, who expressed that the two main forms of training that are essential to them are in classroom management skills and in understanding how to support students' needs, circumstances at home, and mental health. Evidence has shown that teachers who teach refugees commonly face additional pressures and require particular support and incentives to ensure the retention and well-being of students.[25] Further research on ways to alleviate the pressures experienced by teachers in Jordan is necessary.

2.5 Summary of Findings

Findings highlight a gap between what teachers want to do, and what apparently happened in practice. Teachers spoke of the importance of group activities and active participation in learning. However, classroom observations and student data revealed that activities to promote social cohesion and enhance engagement were not as frequent. A number of challenges and barriers to promoting social cohesion were identified, spanning school types; however, the challenges were found to be most prevalent at the Syrian second-shift and camp schools in our sample. These were overcrowding and the lack of appropriate space and facilities to implement more participative approaches; the additional support needs of students who were falling behind with their learning, often because they had missed key elements of the curriculum; the shortened school day which limited opportunities to engage in extended learning activities, such as creative and sporting

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[25] Richardson, E. and Naylor, R. (2018) *Teachers of Refugees: A Review of the Literature*. Education Development Trust.

activities, going to the school library, and using PCs. Focusing on increasing Syrian students' opportunities in school trips would provide them with more opportunities to consolidate and enrich learning through activities.

Relationships with teachers and the ways in which teachers treated students were cited by students as key determinants of whether or not they enjoyed and felt attached to their school. Most teachers recognised their role in supporting social cohesion and stated the importance of building positive relationships with students. Perceptions of equity and teacher care were highest in mixed-nationality schools. Students in Syrian-only schools (second-shift and camp schools) were not as likely to report that they felt their teachers treated students equitably regardless of background, and not as likely to report that their teachers cared about them. Within shifted settings, students also appeared less able to form attachments to schools due to reduced ownership of spaces. These findings show that more positive experiences of schooling are prevalent in integrated settings compared to segregated shifts.

In the following chapter the lens is widened to consider social cohesion from the perspective of the broader school environment. The chapter considers the impact of school safety and further develops some of the findings in this chapter about relationships between students and students' persistence at school.

3.1 Introduction

In diverse communities, schools have a critical role in strengthening social cohesion by ensuring that students feel safe at school.[26] This chapter examines relationships between students (horizontal social cohesion) and identifies where more support should be put in building social cohesion. Related to relationships between students are student perceptions of safety at school and on their journey to school. The findings are discussed in relation to school type and setting to illustrate the complexities that are specific to each. Additionally, the findings illuminate important gender dimensions to safety and how the experiences of male and female students differ.

3.2 Relationships Between Students

The student survey did not directly ask students how they felt about students from different nationality backgrounds; this aspect of social cohesion was explored in focus groups through broad discussions about student relationships in school, friendships, and socialising generally. The survey asked one question about the frequency of quarrels between students of different nationalities which is reported in this section. Interesting differences emerged based on nationality and socio-economic disparities; these are presented below as relationships between Jordanian and Syrian students, and between Syrian students. A cross-cutting theme in all school types was the impact of socio-economic background on relationships between students.

3.2.1 Relationships Between Jordanian and Syrian Students at Mixed-Nationality Schools (Regular Schools and Host-Community Schools)

The student survey asked how often there were "quarrels between students of different nationalities" (possible answers being "always", "sometimes", or "never"). The results for regular and host-community schools are presented in Figure 6 below. The responses indicating that quarrels always or sometimes occurred between students of different nationalities were slightly higher at host-community schools where there is a higher proportion of Syrian students. The relatively high reports of quarrels always occurring at regular schools (21%) might reflect the presence of other migrant students in schools; however, the findings from the student focus groups discussed below suggest that tensions between nationalities also result from the shifted system.

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[26] UNICEF (2014) *Peacebuilding and Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts Programme: A Compilation of Tools for Measuring Social Cohesion, Resilience, and Peacebuilding*. New York: UNICEF.

Figure 6. Frequency of Reported Quarrels Between Students of Different Nationalities at Regular and Host-Community Schools
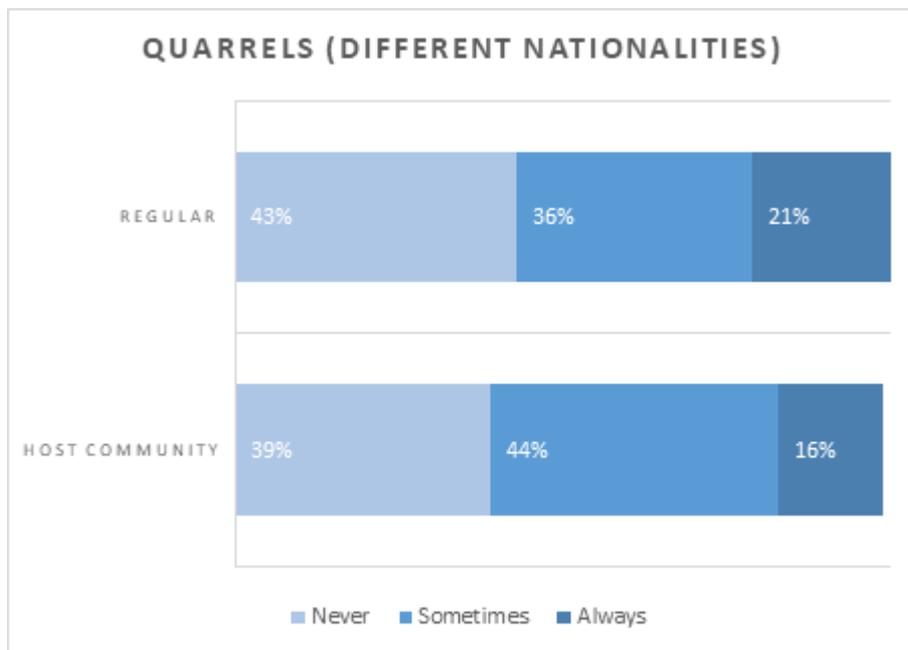
Note: Student experience was measured using a 3-point scale. Students were asked: "How often do quarrels between different nationalities occur at your school?"

The focus groups with students explored how students perceived each other, and whether they identified points of difference or tensions between nationalities. There were a total of five group discussions at regular and host-community schools, which drew on the experiences of Jordanian as well as Syrian students: two host-community girls' schools (Syrian and Jordanian students) and three regular schools (with Jordanian students only) which included two schools with female students and one with male students. At the host-community schools, students felt that there were little or no differences across nationalities, and very few mentions were made of tension between students of different nationalities. In one focus-group discussion at a host-community girls' school in which both Syrian and Jordanian students participated, all students reported that there were no issues, tensions, or points of difference between them. Jordanian students said that "we do not like to ask if there are differences between us, we are the same". However, it is important to note that children of different nationalities may not have felt comfortable commenting on any tensions within schools between students. This suggests that future research should seek to explore perceptions through additional approaches.

Students at regular schools, where there were fewer Syrian students, but the school space was shared between morning and afternoon shifts, were more likely to highlight tensions. There were discrepancies between Jordanian and Syrian students' perceptions of discrimination in these schools. While some Syrian students felt they were discriminated against by Jordanian students, Jordanian students felt that Syrian students were praised and treated more favourably. For example, Jordanian students at a regular girls' school felt that "Syrian students receive more compliments than we do", "their cafeteria is nicer than ours" as more items were sold in the afternoon, and that teachers supported Syrian refugees more. At the same school, Jordanian students felt that they had welcomed Syrians, but that certain Syrian students did not behave well towards Jordanians. Results suggest that tensions among Jordan and Syrian students were more likely to happen in shifted

schools, which influences the engagement between these students. Opportunities for both communities to engage in safe spaces and navigate these perceptions through well-established peacebuilding approaches are important for building social cohesion.

3.2.2 Relationships Between Syrian Students in Syrian-only Settings (Syrian Second-Shift and Camp Schools)

Interventions in Jordan may have focused on schools with students of mixed nationalities, and less so on schools with students of the same nationality. It may be essential to expand social cohesion interventions to single-nationality settings, as findings from the student survey and the student focus groups suggest intra-nationality tensions exist in Syrian-only settings. While more than half of students in camp schools reported that quarrels between students never happened, it is apparent that they still exist in some form among more than two in five students (Figure 7). Similarly, 60% of students in Syrian-second shift schools reported quarrels sometimes or always occurred. This suggests that while there is benefit to investing in social cohesion interventions in mixed schools, there is also benefit to expanding such programs to single-nationality schools.

Figure 7. Frequency of Reported Quarrels Between Students of Different Nationalities at Syrian Second-Shift and Camp Schools
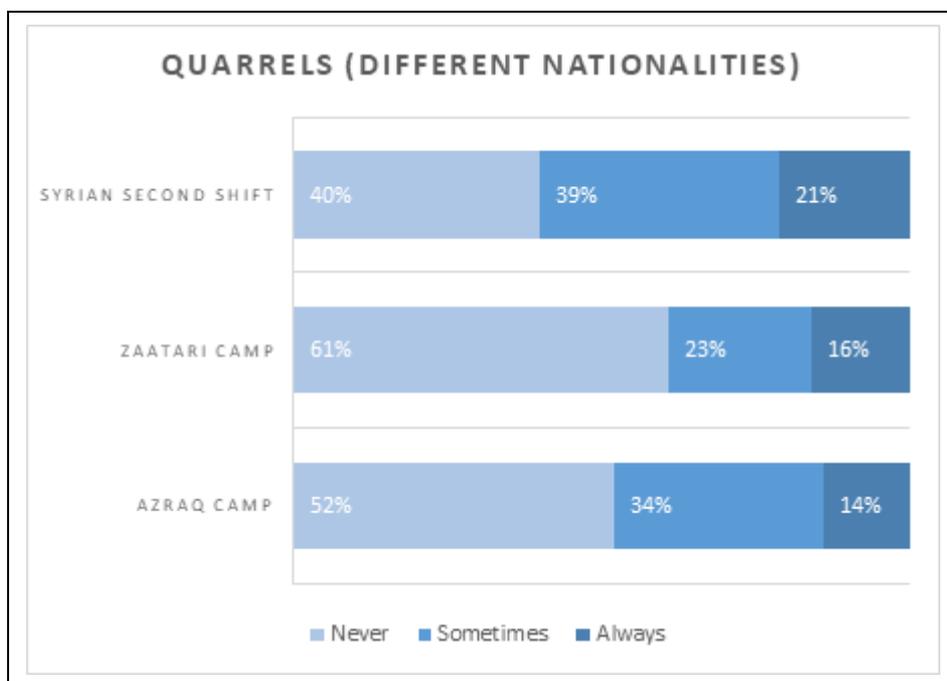
Note: Student experience was measured using a 3-point scale. Students were asked: "How often do quarrels between different nationalities occur at your school?"

Syrian-only settings at which focus-group discussions with students took place included two Syrian second-shift boys' schools and three camp settings (one Azraq girls' school, one Azraq boys' school, and a Zaatari camp girls' school). Three of the five group discussions were in boys' schools and therefore their voice is amplified here. The focus-group data support the survey results that relationships between Syrian students were stronger in Syrian second-shift schools than in camp schools. Syrian students at the two second-shift schools felt that they were "like brothers" and that friendships in the classroom were one of the best parts of school at the Syrian second-shifts. The boys in these focus groups stated that they were there for each other, helped each other through their studies, and had formed strong friendships. Students felt that there were no differences between them, and no tension existed between them at all. According to teachers at these schools,

Syrian students often formed strong bonds with each other due to their shared experiences; they did not believe there was any discrimination between them. However, one teacher at a second-shift boys' school noted that students from the same geographical area in Syria were often closer.

However, the importance of regional and related socio-economic differences, and possibly also ongoing tensions originating in the conflict in Syria, appeared to play out strongly among students in Azraq camp schools. At an Azraq camp school for boys, students did not express strong bonds and friendships between each other and noted that their friends were those they had met outside of school "on the streets." A discussion with female students at an Azraq camp school revealed that many of them felt "estranged" and "uncomfortable" in their classrooms due to students' differences in cultures, practices, and attitudes. They noted that students from distinct parts of Syria were very different, including in their practices and culture, and the ways in which they dressed, talked, and acted. While students noted that they did not mind engaging with all students, some believed that their parents would not support this interaction. However, this was not the case at the Zaatari camp girls' school, where female students stated that they did not differentiate between accents or locations in Syria.

The finding of intra-nationality tensions highlights the importance of recognising other potential axes of difference, including regional and socio-economic differences, and not reducing understandings of social cohesion to nationality alone. Thus, social-cohesion interventions should also be considered and implemented in single-nationality schools of refugee students.

3.2.3 Socio-economic and Regional Differences Impacting Social Cohesion

Alongside the regional differences noted above, an important finding of this study across all school types was tension between students based on socio-economic differences unrelated to nationality. When asked about priorities for enhancing social cohesion, teachers and principals mentioned the importance of addressing structural issues of poverty and the financial hardships of displacement. During focus-group discussions, some students commented on how a number of females felt "jealous" that some students could afford to dress in a certain way. Others noted that certain students displayed "arrogance" due to having more secure financial backgrounds. These differences and tensions appeared to impact relationships in schools as well as social cohesion. During interviews, teachers also reflected on how socio-economic differences impacted classroom cohesion. Teachers stated that these issues led to some form of exclusion in the classroom due to differences in clothing, attendance, and ability to engage in social activities. For example, it was noted that some students wore the same clothing all winter, something especially noticeable where uniforms were not worn. Issues relating to poverty and marginalisation were also commented on by classroom observers who noted signs of financial hardship, such as a student wearing home slippers to school. Although socio-economic differences emerged as points of fragmentation across all schools and all nationalities, there were factors which more clearly affected refugees, such as donated school bags being of a particular colour and shape, and therefore clear markers of family poverty. Teachers at many schools commented on the schools' efforts to donate money to help students purchase bags, stationery, and other school-related equipment to support students who suffer from financial pressure and to mitigate such discrepancies between students. The study thus identified interesting and complex factors that show that tensions between Syrian communities due to cultural, geographical, and socio-economic differences existed within schools, highlighting the importance of ensuring that interventions and practices do not treat Syrians as a homogenous group.

3.3 Student Perception of Safety in School

Access to safe and protective education is crucial to social cohesion. The student survey asked a number of questions designed to assess how safe students feel in school. The results show that the rates of students feeling safe at school were generally very high across all school types, and highest at Zaatari camp and host-community schools (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Percentage of Students who Agree or Strongly Agree that they Feel Safe in School, by School Type
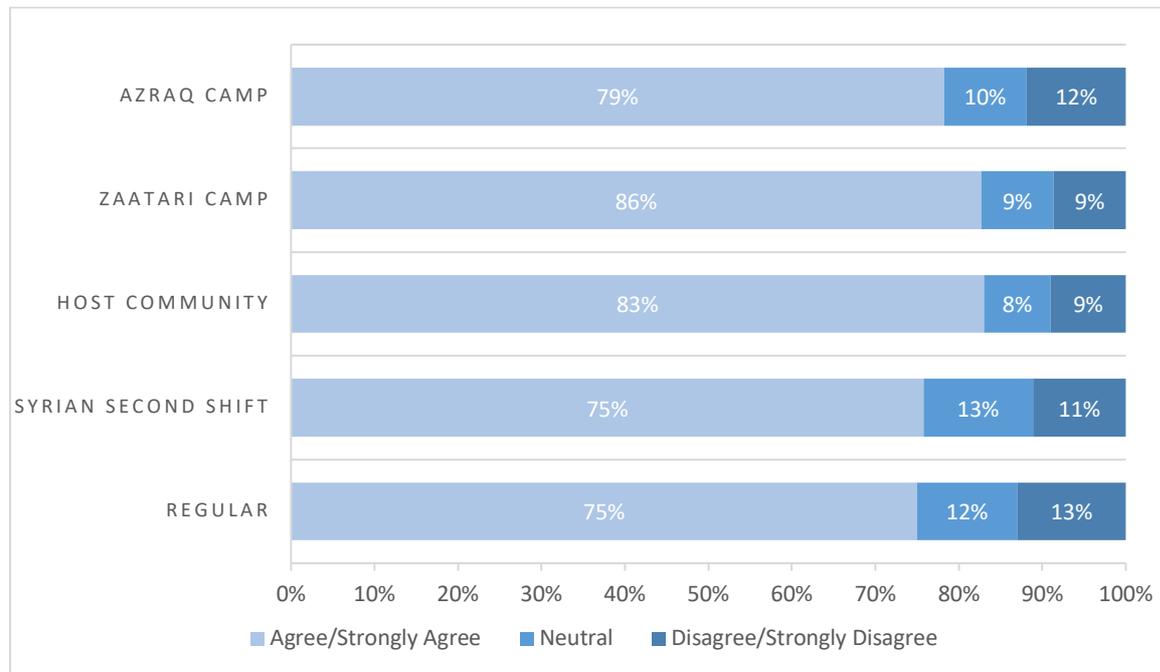
Note: Student perception of safety in school was measured using a five-point Likert scale. Two smiley/frowning faces indicated strong agreement or disagreement, one smiley/frowning face indicated agreement/disagreement, and an expressionless smiley face indicated neutrality. Students responded to the following: "I feel safe at school".

When Figure 8 is broken down by gender (Figure 9) the survey results show that gender was an important element in student experiences of safety. Across most school types the survey results showed that females were more likely than males to report feeling safe at school; the only exception was at host-community schools where boys reported feeling safer at school than did girls.

Figure 9. Percentage of Students who Agree or Strongly Agree that they Feel Safe in School, by School Type and Gender
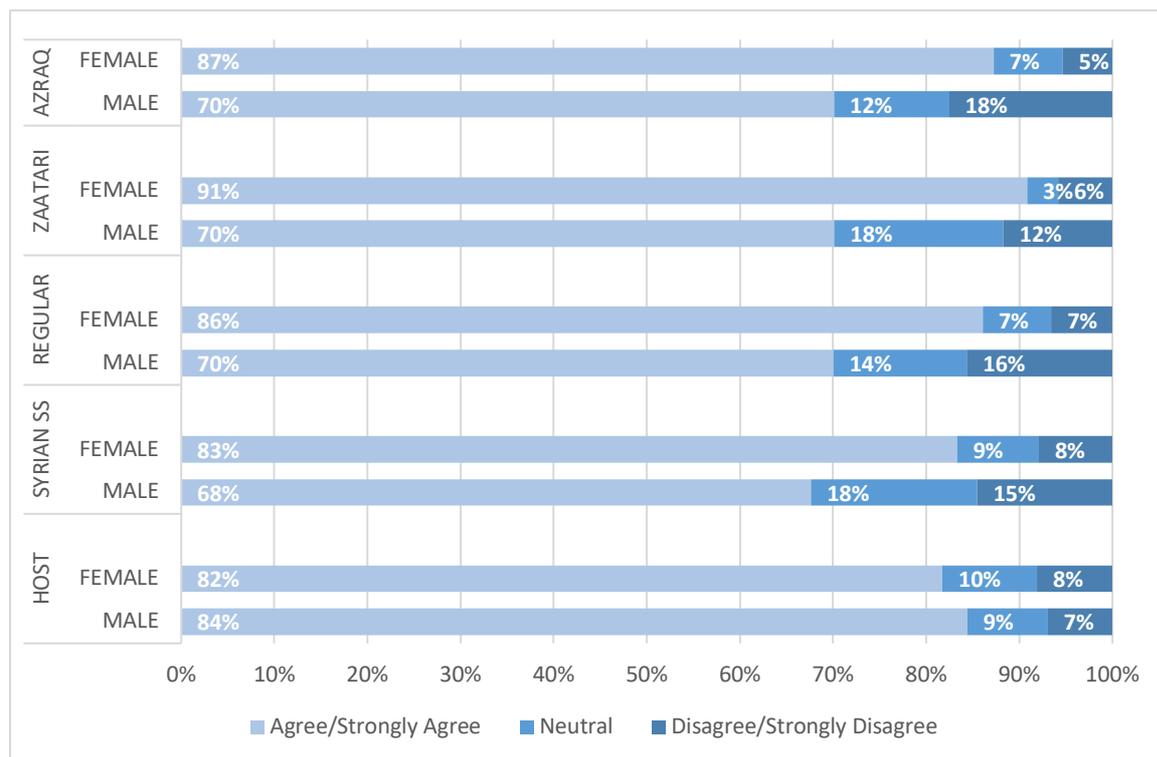
Note: Student perception of safety in school was measured using a five-point Likert scale. Two smiley/frowning faces indicated strong agreement or disagreement, one smiley/frowning face indicated agreement/disagreement, and an expressionless smiley face indicated neutrality. Students responded to the following: "I feel safe at school".

3.4 Student Perception of Safety on their Journey to School and Around the School

Distance to school and safety have been identified as key barriers to students continuing in school in contexts affected by conflict or displacement.[27] The study found that all school types in the sample generally provided safe and protective spaces for students, although there were important gender differences in student experiences. In the student survey there were higher levels of female students reporting feeling safe in school than there were of male students. However, discussions with students revealed that male and female students experienced different forms of fear and levels of safety. Furthermore, female students may be more likely to report feeling afraid due to social norms and gender-based expectations. However, the findings point to the importance of understanding students' experience through in-depth qualitative data and of examining protective strategies that are gender-based and comprehensive, in order to address violence both within classrooms and around school spaces.

3.5 Summary of Findings

This chapter has examined two interrelated and overlapping dimensions of social cohesion in schools: relationships between students and perceptions of safety at school. Relationships between Jordanian and Syrian students in the classroom were reported as generally tension-free at host-community schools. There appeared to be fewer incidents of tensions in and around host-

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[27] Burde, D.; Amy Kapit, A; Rachel L.; Wahl, R.L.; Ozen Guven, O.; and Igland Skarpeteig, M. (2017) "Education in Emergencies: A Review of Theory and Research." *Review of Educational Research* 87(3):619–58.

community schools, as compared to the shifted-school system. Most of the tensions between nationalities stemmed from these schools as a result of the sharing of classroom space between morning and afternoon shifts. These findings indicate the importance of integrating Syrian students with Jordanian students in formal schools, in order to prevent or minimise these tensions, as recent agendas, including the Refugee Education Strategy 2030,[28] have noted. Jordan has recently committed to reducing double-shift systems as part of its most recent Jordan Response Plan; in order to prevent the implications on communities and learning from parallel systems and segregation.[29] This commitment should be continued and progress must be assessed.

Relationships between Syrian students were characterised as strong bonds between some students, particularly those from the same areas of Syria. However, regional and cultural differences led to some students feeling uncomfortable in class in Syrian second-shift and camp schools. High levels of quarrels among students at Azraq camp school highlight the importance of recognising other axes of differences which might cause tension and weaken social relationships, and of not reducing social cohesion to nationality. This finding also suggests the importance of recognising ongoing tensions within communities displaced by conflict, and the potential for initiatives being able to support students and families in building positive relationships. Across school settings in the study, it was also evident that issues stemming from socio-economic differences including marginalisation and tensions were influencing social relationships even among students of the same nationality.

Perceptions of safety in school were high across all school types and differed along gender lines. Female students reported higher levels of safety in schools than did male students.

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[28] UNHCR (2019) *Refugee Education 2030. A Strategy for Refugee Inclusion* https://www.unhcr.org/uk/publications/education/5d651da88d7/education-2030-strategy-refugee-education.html

[29] Dryden-Peterson, S.; Adelman, E.; Bellino, M.J.; and Chopra, V. (2019) "The Purposes of Refugee Education: Policy and Practice of Including Refugees in National Education Systems." *Sociology of Education* 92(4):346–66.

4.1 Introduction

The understanding of social cohesion set out in Chapter 1 recognises students as being at the heart of a series of concentric circles with the school, family, wider community, and policy context radiating outwards. In this conceptualisation the home environment and parental attitudes are important enablers of social cohesion among students and at schools. Including family and community perspectives recognises studies in other fields which have shown how familial attitudes may impact on the formation of students' perceptions, behaviour, and opinions, particularly in the early years.[30] [31] One of the most evident and clear findings of this current research is the importance of family and community in either supporting or undermining social cohesion. The role of family and community was seen by teachers, principals, and families as a key element of social cohesion. However, challenging family circumstances, particularly related to poverty, trauma, and loss, were seen as weakening social relationships in school. Family circumstances also affected students' opportunities to continue in education and whether or not they were likely to drop out of school. The ability to remain in school reflects dimensions of social cohesion such as social inclusion, equity, and participation. Inequalities in persistence at school and in the ability to achieve aspirations are examined and differences across school type and gender are illuminated.

4.2 Family Social Attitudes

This study was able to shed light on the importance of the impact of familial attitudes on students' relationships in schools, contributing to an understudied area of research. This section explores student perceptions of family attitudes towards interaction with others to seek to understand what might be learnt at home about relationships with students from different backgrounds.

The student survey asked students about their families' views on having friends of other nationalities and from other socio-economic groups (Table 2). Responses indicated that, across school types, students believed that there was strong familial support to having friendships across different nationalities and socio-economic groups. Statements of having been taught to respect everyone despite their differences had the highest rates of agreement and the lowest rates of disagreement across all school types in the sample. Male students at Azraq camp schools reported the lowest levels of agreement to the statement around learning respect at home, but were still very high at 90%. Reporting of families being happy with inter-nationality friendships was slightly lower than the dimension of respect, but still very high for students across all school types. Again, we observe that male students at Azraq camp schools reported the lowest levels of parental approval for friendships with other nationalities and with people who were poorer than them, with 78% and 80% respectively agreeing with the statements. Female students across all school types were more likely

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[30] Whitebread, D. and Bingham, S. (2013) *Habit Formation and Learning in Young Children*. London: University of Cambridge.

[31] Hellmich, F. and Loeper, M. F. (2019) "Children's Attitudes towards Peers with Learning Disabilities – the Role of Perceived Parental Behaviour, Contact Experiences and Self-Efficacy Beliefs." *British Journal of Special Education* 46(2):157–79.

than their male counterparts to report that their parents would be happy for them to have friends from other nationalities or socio-economic backgrounds.

Table 2. Student Perception of Family Attitudes to Interacting with Others, by School Type and Gender

	My family is happy because I have friendships with people of my age from other nationalities		My family is happy because I have friendships with people of my age who are poorer than us		My family teaches me to pay respect to everyone, even if they are different from me	
	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	Strongly Agree/ Agree	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	Strongly Agree/ Agree
HOST COMMUNITY						
mean	9%	91%	9%	91%	3%	97%
Male	10%	90%	11%	89%	5%	95%
Female	8%	92%	7%	93%	1%	99%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT						
mean	13%	87%	11%	89%	2%	98%
Male	14%	86%	14%	86%	2%	97%
Female	13%	87%	8%	92%	1%	99%
REGULAR SHIFT						
mean	11%	89%	14%	86%	3%	97%
Male	12%	88%	19%	81%	5%	95%
Female	9%	91%	6%	94%	0%	100%
ZAATARI CAMP						
mean	14%	86%	6%	94%	3%	98%
Male	15%	85%	9%	91%	3%	97%
female	13%	88%	4%	96%	2%	98%
AZRAQ CAMP						
Mean	16%	84%	14%	86%	7%	93%
Male	22%	78%	20%	80%	10%	90%

Female	10%	90%	8%	92%	3%	97%

Note: Student perception of family attitudes was measured using a four-point Likert scale. Two smiley/frowning faces indicated strong agreement or disagreement; one smiley/frowning face indicated agreement/disagreement. The neutral category was not presented in this survey question.

In line with the findings from the student survey, parent focus-group discussions across school types did not find negative attitudes towards their children mixing with children who were different from them. Most Jordanian parents stated that they did not object to their children interacting with others. In some of these discussions with Jordanian parents, there were particular cases where parents said that they deliberately sought to encourage their children to engage with children of different nationalities and socio-economic backgrounds. For example, at a regular girls' school, a parent elaborated on this further to say:

> I encourage my daughter to interact with students from different nationalities. I don't like racism, whether it's Syrian, Jordanian, it doesn't matter.

Additionally, parents claimed that they had always engaged with different nationalities in Jordan, and one parent gave an example of a recent event: "at my kid's birthday party, all the girls attending were from different nationalities". Two parents also felt that they did not like the concept of segregation, and believed that Jordanian students should not be separated from Syrian students in the shifted-school system.

While Jordanian parents were able to reflect on the importance of children of different nationalities engaging together, the number of opportunities for social interactions more generally appeared to take precedence in Syrian parents' discussions in camps. In parent focus groups at Zaatari and Azraq camps, parents were more concerned about their children's engagement with people beyond the camps, compared to interactions within the camp. Parents thought it would be of great value for their children to engage with people who are "educated" and "active" in society, as this could lead to more integration. They also expressed a strong interest in opportunities allowing their children to interact with people, spaces, and activities that ensured that their children's social and cognitive development was not restricted to the boundaries of the camp. One parent noted that their child became frightened when he saw a car for the first time due to the isolation experienced at camps, and that concepts of electricity and buildings were unfamiliar to them. As a result of living in camps, Syrian parents did not have frequent discussions around nationality and engaging with Jordanians appeared to be influenced by not being integrated into the broader society.

While interactions between nationalities appeared to be encouraged by some Jordanian parents, the effects of integrating Syrian refugee students into formal schools on the quality of the education system emerged as a point of tension in focus-group discussion with Jordanian families. At a regular girls' school in the sample, parents made references to the shortened school hours. In these discussions, it was evident that parents felt frustrated by the implications of the second-shift system, but did not appear to object to integration and continued to stress on the effects of the double-shift system. Some parents seemed to have strong views regarding the shortened class time resulting from the double shift system; with some expressing that the time was not enough. These results highlight the concerned attitude some parents have, and may suggest that parents are not fully aware of all the initiatives that MoE has undertaken to provide equitable access to both Jordanian and Syrian students in Jordan. Raising awareness among both Jordanian and Syrian communities on the extent to which the MoE has aimed to address inequities would be essential to minimise negative attitudes, and support social cohesion in the wider community. Some Jordanian parents

from the host-community girls' school in the sample also mentioned during a focus-group discussion that the Syrian crisis "has affected the level of education but it's not their [Syrians'] fault". One parent remarked on the benefits of integrating Syrian refugee children, noting that "Syrian children are very good at Arabic for example". At this host-community school, parents also noted that integration is important, and that "all of them should be learning at the same time rather than having two shifts". Thus, Jordanian parents seemed to be concerned about the reduction in learning time and education quality as a result of the Syrian refugee crisis, but did not appear to blame the refugees themselves.

The findings from both the survey and the focus groups suggest that Jordanian and Syrian children were generally learning respect and tolerance in their home environments, and believed that their parents would be happy for them to have friendships with children who were poorer than them, or of a different nationality from them. The findings emphasise the implications of the double-shift system. From the parents interviewed in the sample, they did not appear to hold negative views towards refugees or integration; they were mainly concerned about the quality of education as a result of the reduction of school hours in the double-shift system.

4.3 Teachers' Perceptions of the Role of the Family and Home Circumstances

While the above section focuses on parents' attitudes towards social relations between nationalities, this section explores teachers' perceptions of parental attitudes and circumstances at home, and of their influence on social cohesion and learning within schools. This study found that numerous teachers stressed the role of family in supporting social cohesion. While some teachers viewed the role of family as one element of many for social cohesion, several teachers saw it as the main predictor of whether social cohesion can be achieved in schools. During interviews, teachers reflected on the link between parenting approaches at home and the influence of these on the state of social cohesion within classrooms. Several teachers felt that parents were responsible for children's negative behaviour towards others in school. For example, a teacher at an Azraq camp boys' school believed that values of respect, tolerance, and good behaviour are rooted in how parents raise their children, for:

> The family plays a big role. If they don't plant this seed in them to respect and be good with others and treat others well, they don't do it. But if they are raised with this seed, then they know how to treat and be good with others.

Interestingly, all teachers who discussed parenting practices at home in relation to discipline and respect felt that these two characteristics were integral to social cohesion. In these examples, teachers appeared to relate these factors to being better able to manage classrooms, noting that respect and discipline helped reduce the levels of noise in classrooms and disruptive behaviours of students, and consequently the need for negative disciplinary approaches. While these examples demonstrate the importance of parental practices, they also shed light on the importance of teacher training to support teachers with strategies and approaches to manage classrooms and respond to particular student behaviour.

Teachers also highlighted how difficult circumstances at home can determine the level of support for education and care available to children. Due to the financial challenges and lack of parental support experienced by students, some teachers in the sample felt that these students struggled to catch up on learning. Studies have shown that poverty and family circumstances widen gaps between students' achievements in schools, with students from low socio-economic backgrounds more likely

to fall behind and struggle to achieve the same academic success as students from higher socio-economic backgrounds.[32] [33] The challenging circumstances Syrian refugee students faced as a result of displacement and financial hardship seemed to influence students' abilities to attend class, to focus in the classroom, and to engage positively and actively in the classroom. Syrian students at double-shift and camp schools in the sample were more likely to report working outside of the home, and more likely to report that they did not receive three meals a day, indicating that they were more likely to be living in poverty and juggling competing demands.[34] The incidence of female-headed households and missing fathers was also relatively high among Syrian families in Jordan, and particularly high among Syrian students at second-shift schools. 19% of students at Syrian second-shift schools reported that their fathers were missing and 32% reported that their house was headed by a woman. In Azraq and Zaatari camp schools, 8% and 13% respectively of students reported that their fathers were missing, and 19% and 16% respectively reported living in a house headed by a woman.[35] Several teachers at a Syrian second-shift boys' school related issues of social cohesion to death in the family, divorce between parents, or missing parents. This was also noted by a teacher at the Azraq boys' school who stated that:

> If a student is going to be marginalised, it mostly has to do with the relationship of the parents at home. Nobody at home takes care of him because the parents are divorced, or one parent is dead.

The impact of displacement on students' mental health was also highlighted as a distinct challenge faced by refugee students and their teachers. Teachers reported that the implications of trauma, loss, and/or absence of carers or parents contributed to poor mental health, students' ability to participate and learn, and their active engagement with other students and their teachers. For example, one teacher at a Syrian second shift boys' school commented:

> Some students are depressed. I tried to sit with a student and understand why but I was not able to get through to him. He's always depressed this semester. I asked him why he was so sad, and he said, "my dad is in Syria and I wish I could hold his hand''.

An important finding in the study is that teachers of refugee students took on additional responsibilities, often trying to provide emotional support and create a nurturing space that students might not experience at home. For example, during an interview, a teacher at an Azraq camp girls' school stated that:

> Our role is different compared to regular teachers. We are therapists. We don't just teach, but we help the students get through problems they face.

The teacher went on to provide examples of a student she was supporting, who experienced post-traumatic stress due to the war in Syria. A teacher who was now working at a regular school described the impact of these responsibilities on teachers' own well-being, stating that she had previously taught Syrian refugees and was not able to continue doing so due to the adverse impact on her own health:

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[32] Liu, J.; Peng P.; and Luo, L. (2020) "The Relation Between Family Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement in China: A Meta-Analysis." *Educational Psychology Review* 32(1):49–76.

[33] Buckingham, J., Wheldall, K. and Beaman-Wheldall, R. (2013) "Why Poor Children Are More Likely to Become Poor Readers: The School Years." *Australian Journal of Education* 57(3):190–213.

[34] Details of students' socio-economic backgrounds are summarised in Annex 2.

[35] Details of household composition are summarised in Annex 2.

> I was emotionally impacted by teaching them. I wasn't able to finish teaching them. Their academic achievements were limited because of what they experienced. And it really impacted me so I couldn't keep teaching them. It made me cry and depressed. I taught refugees for a month but then I had to leave.

This finding shows the importance of protecting teachers' well-being and ensuring they have appropriate resources and spaces to discuss these challenges.

Additional support for teachers to enable them to support students was found to be crucial for enhancing social cohesion. In Zaatari camp schools, principals and teachers referred to a UNICEF-funded scheme in which Syrian classroom assistants had been employed to support teachers with classroom management and provide extra support to students. This was reported to be highly beneficial for both teachers and students.[36] Teachers commented on the importance of training to help them to support students with challenging home circumstances and also mental health needs; these responsibilities were seen as important to reducing marginalisation and to enhancing students' active participation and engagement. A discussion with a teacher at Azraq camp girls' school showed that teacher training through Mercy Corps had allowed her to better understand how to address refugee students' needs:

> I learned a lot from these training sessions. I came to the camp school and I hadn't taught before, so it was a shock for me. I thought that I would go in the class and teach them normally, I didn't consider that they just came out of war and had problems. After I had these training sessions, I was able to learn about the signs and issues that the students might go through, and how to help them go and deal with these problems.

The training that teachers received varied according to school type and context. At camp schools, some of the teachers stated that they had received training related to supporting Syrian refugees and addressing poor mental health, understanding circumstances at home, and how to address students' needs. In another example, a teacher stated that learning about learner-centred and interactive teaching was important for enhancing engagement and social cohesion. Teachers at camp schools appeared to have more access to training than teachers at Syrian second-shift, host-community and regular schools, and many teachers in the sample reported not having received training since their initial teacher training.

Where teachers reported that they had received training that focused on social cohesion, including on trauma and the challenges faced by displaced families, teachers demonstrated greater awareness of the importance of supporting students, and felt better equipped with strategies to deal with students. These teachers were more likely to share positive anecdotes and attitudes about these responsibilities. For example, one teacher spoke of the benefits of teaching Syrian refugees:

> It makes me very proud. To be able to interact with these students and live through this experience is great. It's one of the best experiences of my life. We aren't just teachers. We are put in situations that we have to solve immediately. We work on one hundred sides, not just the side of the teacher. Sometimes we fill out medical records.

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[36] See Younes, M. and Morrice, L. (2019) *The Education of Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Issues of Access and Quality. A review of policies and initiatives (2012-2018)*. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex.

The study shows that while teachers may wish to respond to the needs of their students, training emerged as important, especially in contexts where teachers were forced to respond to students' trauma. Discussions with principals in the sample also revealed that children were likely to be impacted by circumstances at home, including poverty, work responsibilities, and unavailable parents, all of which reduced parents' involvement in their learning and affected the forms of support available. These findings show that Syrian students may have varying requirements, highlighting how the focus on interventions and formal support for children through school counselling, as well as training for teachers to help identify and address students' needs would be of great value.

In conclusion, teachers identified circumstances at home, adverse backgrounds, students' mental wellbeing, and parental practices and attitudes as key factors that influenced social cohesion within schools, especially in relation to children's behaviour there. While some of these challenges may impact all students, teachers focused on the distinct hardships that Syrian refugee families and students faced; these included separation, loss, financial hardships, and trauma. Teachers felt that these factors impacted student discipline, participation, and engagement in learning. The strains that some displaced children and families were enduring underscored the importance of schools and teachers being able to provide a nurturing, safe, and supportive space for children. Further teacher training and support may help both teachers and students to better respond to these circumstances.

4.4 Family Circumstances and Student Persistence in School

In addition to parental practices and attitudes influencing students' learning and behaviour within classrooms, this study found that family circumstances played a key role in whether students were likely to continue with their education. This section explores students' perceptions of their educational outlook and their futures, examining factors which students identified as affecting their futures. Findings from the student surveys and focus-group discussions with parents and students are drawn on.

4.4.1 Student Perspectives on Futures and Aspirations

The student survey asked "What is the highest grade/education level you would like your education to end?" (Table 3). This was broken down by school type and student gender. Male students were more likely to report that their education would end earlier than female students, while female students were more likely than their male counterparts to report aspirations to go to university. Male students at Azraq camp and Syrian second-shift schools were the least likely to report aspirations to attend university. Syrian students, and in particular male Syrian students, were among the most likely to report that their education would end at grades 7–10.

Table 3. Student Aspirations of Educational Attainment, by School Type and Gender

	Grade 7 - 10	Grade 11-12	University*
HOST COMMUNITY			
Mean	6%	6%	88%
Male	12%	10%	78%
Female	1%	4%	95%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT			
Mean	9%	10%	81%
Male	12%	12%	75%
Female	6%	7%	87%
REGULAR MORNING SHIFT			
Mean	2%	6%	93%
Male	3%	7%	90%
Female	0%	3%	97%
ZAATARI CAMP SCHOOL			
Mean	7%	5%	88%
Male	8%	5%	87%
Female	7%	5%	88%
AZRAQ CAMP SCHOOL			
Mean	9%	9%	83%
Male	13%	13%	75%
Female	4%	5%	90%

Note: Students were asked when they would like their education to end and presented with 7 options: Grade 7, Grade 8, Grade 9, Grade 10, Grade 11, and University Education. In this analysis Grade 7-10 and Grades 11-12 were grouped together. *The survey question grouped higher education as 'university' and did not ask about Master or Doctoral level study.

4.4.2 Female Students' Perspectives on Futures and Aspirations

Students in this study expressed high levels of aspiration and desire to continue learning. 97% of female students at regular schools and 95% at host-community schools reported that they would like to continue their education to higher-education or university level. Lower levels were reported at Syrian second-shift and camp schools, with just over 87% reporting that they would like to continue their education to university level. Female students at Syrian second-shift and camp schools were more likely to report that they would like their education to end at grades 7 to 10 than

female students at host-community and regular schools. Findings from the student focus groups highlighted differences between nationalities and reasons why, despite high aspirations, students might not continue with their education.

In the focus groups, many female students described having high aspirations and the intention to pursue higher education, including Masters- and Doctoral-level studies. Students wished to "become someone special in the future" (host-community girls' school). Across all school types, female students expressed the desire to achieve their dreams, pursue careers, travel, and be successful. However, many female Syrian students in the sample also stated that they were unlikely to be able to continue school in Jordan. Many felt that they would drop out between grade 10 and grade 12. One student commented that:

> Life is unfair when it comes to education. When students complete secondary school, only those with money can go to university.

Another student raised their concern about the financial aspect of continuing their education, by saying "there are no opportunities or scholarships for us to continue our education". Many female Syrian students felt that they may have been able to pursue higher education in Syria, but this would be more challenging in Jordan due to financial hardships and the lack of post-school opportunities for them.

Nearly all principals, teachers, and students of both nationalities believed that Syrian female students were more likely to get engaged and drop out of school. This was evident in focus-group discussions with female students at the Azraq camp school, where many students said that they were currently engaged to be married. Regardless of these perceptions, female students themselves still expressed their desires to become doctors, engineers, lawyers, complete their education, be able to travel, learn new languages, and experience new cultures and places.

The drivers of early marriage were a combination of gendered norms and the experience of being a female refugee. While a small number of students mentioned that early marriage was due to gender-based norms, or "close-minded communities" as stated by one female student, many students felt that early marriage was more specifically related to being a female refugee. These students felt that they were likely to be married in order to help reduce financial pressures facing their families in Jordan. When discussing marriage, many students felt that they were too young to be engaged and that they had other dreams, but were aware that there was little alternative for them. The majority of discussions with parents and female students in the sample showed that while cultural norms and traditions drove decision-making in families, the experience of becoming refugees and the anxieties that followed amplified the prevalence of these practices. For example, some Syrian parents in focus groups expressed strong views regarding their concern for their daughters' safety, as stated in one of the mothers' comments that she would allow her daughter to be married at a young age:

> I got married when I was 13 and now we live in another country so I have to be more careful. I stay with her and drive her to school. She is also tall and looks older than her age. If we were in our country, maybe it would be different.

Discussions with Syrian parents also suggested that even if cultural norms around early marriage had changed, they were not able to afford to send their daughters to universities. The effects of these dual drivers, cultural norms and circumstances caused by displacement, resonated with some of the statements made by female students. For example, a female student noted that "life is different

now. Getting married isn't the only dream". However, in other discussions, students also noted that "most of them do it because we have no money" or:

> Some parents make their daughters get married because they can't do it anymore. Like my mother, who is alone and has to work to support all of her children by herself, so I know I won't be able to stay in school.

These discussions revealed that while some parents may have wished to shift previous gender norms, the effects of becoming refugees, including financial hardships, safety, and uncertainty about the future, have reinforced acceptance of this arrangement.

At the Azraq camp school for girls, a few female students in the sample also noted that their opportunities were even more limited, such as in a student's statement:

> If I stay in the camp, I will never be able to achieve my dream. If I go back to Syria for example, I will definitely continue my education.

Some Syrian students at the camp school felt that they would be able to continue their education because their parents might be able to support them financially. Interestingly, there were rich discussions among females at the Zaatari camp school. Many students noted that cultural norms, limited or complete lack of access to opportunities outside of the camp, and financial issues stood in the way of them pursuing careers and higher education. As a result, they described feeling that there was probably no point to school attendance; however, they also expressed hope and the possibility that their circumstances would change as an incentive to continue to study, just in case. Several students also stated that they were determined to defy expectations and to access university, and some also noted that their parents, and especially mothers, were supportive and encouraged them to continue learning. In one example, a student wished to drop out and get engaged, but her mother refused her decision and encouraged her to stay in school. These findings suggest that although there are shared challenges faced by female refugees in Jordan, continuing education also depended on individual cases and what parents perceived as the right decision in terms of their daughters' futures.

4.4.3 Male Students' Perspectives on Futures and Aspirations

The survey findings indicated that, across all school types, male students were more likely to report wanting to drop out at 7th to 10th grade than their female peers. Wanting to leave school between these grades was more often reported at Syrian second-shift and Azraq camp school. Focus groups with Syrian male students revealed the unique challenges that these students faced. Many students expressed an eagerness to pursue careers as engineers, medics, programmers, mechanics, pharmacists, chefs, and to complete university, but they also described doubts and uncertainty about whether they would be able to continue at school. Syrian students believed that they would drop out after grade 10 in order to pursue work and help their families. Some of these students also believed that dropping out after grade 10 would be necessary as it would become too difficult to prepare for the Tawjihi exam while working. This is supported by the contextual data in Annex 2 which indicates that Syrian students, particularly those in second-shift schools, were more likely to be engaged in paid work outside of the home than any other group.

A common theme of Syrian male students' aspirations related to helping Syria, and to pursuing careers that might allow them to return to Syria, and to "help the community" (a Syrian second-shift boys' school). This reflects Syrian students' sense of national attachment to Syria and their desire to

return. This was reiterated by a teacher who noted that Syrian students did not just want to study, they wanted to become something useful and productive particularly in relation to re-building Syria.

At a camp school in the sample, a few students discussed how some of their classmates had already left school in order to help their parents who were in need, while others simply did not enjoy studying. One student at the camp raised concerns about how Jordanian school certificates were not recognised in Syria, so their schooling would not be of value when they returned. Furthermore, efforts to simplify the curriculum, making it easier to understand and to keep up with, would limit the likelihood of Syrian students dropping out. Some students expressed worry about this happening; a student noted that if he failed the year, he would pursue a vocational job such as training to be a barber. MoE initiatives already in place aim to support the continuation of school for Syrian students, taking into account the challenges they might be facing outside of school.

4.4.4 Student Persistence in School and Reasons for Dropping Out

The effects of displacement and family circumstances in Jordan are seen in Syrian students' and families' attachment to schools and in students' ability to continue with their education.

Teachers across schools reported that Syrian students were frequently absent from school, and that families were less responsive to issues raised by schools. For example, a teacher at an Azraq camp boys' school noted that when the school tried to communicate with parents regarding their child's learning progress and absence,

> They'll tell you that their kid doesn't care about school, so they don't either. Their purpose is to learn to maybe read and write, but other than that, it doesn't matter.

Teachers and parents also alluded to other issues which may impact the value that Syrian families were able to attach to their children's schooling, including Syrian citizens' concerns on access to employment and further post-school educational opportunities. It would be beneficial to focus on initiatives that highlight some of the opportunities available for refugee families, in order for families and the students themselves to be aware of them and to have more incentive to go to school.

In order to explore possible reasons for students not continuing in school, the student survey asked students if they had friends or siblings who had dropped out of school and, if so, to give the three most important reasons they believed their friend/sibling had left school early. Figure 10 indicates that across most school types in the sample, female students reported that the most common reason for dropping out was marriage, the only exception being at regular schools where the most common reason was lack of enjoyment of school. Females in Syrian second-shift and camp schools were more likely to report marriage as a reason for school drop-out, with the highest rate (49%) reported at Zaatari camp schools.

A similar pattern for drop-out –but for different reasons-- emerged for males where across all school types the most common reported reason for dropping out was employment, with the lowest figure observed at regular schools (51%). The highest rates for employment were reported for males at Zaatari and Syrian second-shift schools, with 67% and 64% respectively.

Figure 10. Student-Reported Reasons Given for Siblings and Friends Leaving School, by School Type and Gender
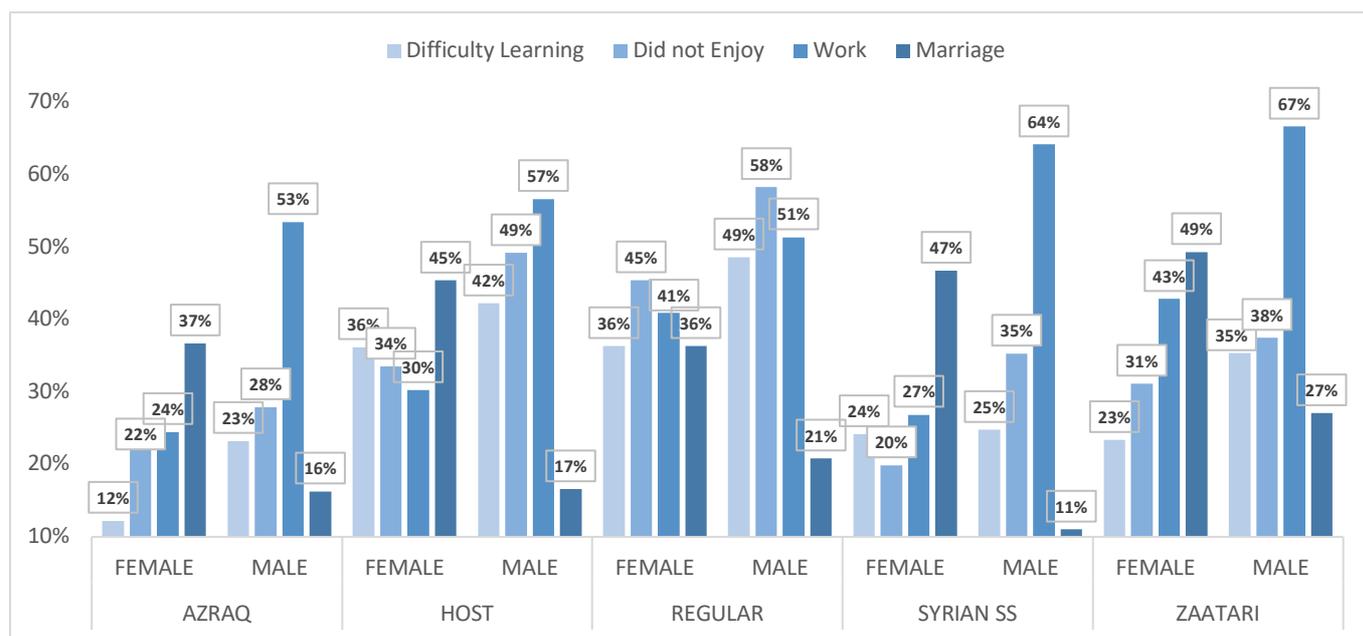
Note: Students were asked if they had siblings or friends who had dropped out of school. Those who indicated they had were given a list of possible reasons why they had dropped out from school, including: having to work, not enjoying school, marriage, having to help with the household, difficulty learning, being bullied, or not enjoying the journey to school. Students were also able to fill in an "other" category. This chart reflects the top reasons by school type. The axis for this figure starts at 10%.

The study highlighted important findings on persistence in school, and the links between drop-out and structural factors such as economic inequalities, instability, and cultural norms and expectations. The findings from both the quantitative and qualitative elements of the study point to strong gender and nationality differences, with students at Syrian second-shift and camp schools facing particular challenges in their ability to continue in school. At these schools, marriage and work were more likely to be cited as reasons for drop-out than at regular schools. This study's findings align with most recent reports that show that Syrian refugee students in Jordan are particularly at risk of dropping out of secondary education due to financial hardships, gender-based differences, and lack of stability.[37] Furthermore, while cultural norms may encourage child marriage, studies have shown that child marriage in contexts affected by crisis are greatly heightened as a result of fear and economic hardship.[38] These findings suggest the need for in-depth research around what kind of multi-layered interventions would improve the situation, including aid to refugees, work permits, and more engagement with communities to prevent drop-out. Furthermore, emphasising the MoE initiatives that increase safety at and around schools, particularly for female students, is essential in order to address parental concerns.

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[37] Small, B. (2020) *"I Want to Continue to Study": Barriers to Secondary Education for Syrian Refugee Children in Jordan*. Human Rights Watch.
[38] Pereznieto, P.; Magee, A. with Fyles, N. (2017). "Mitigating Threats to Girls' Education in Conflict-Affected Contexts: Current Practice." *UNGEI* 52.

4.5 Summary of findings

Social cohesion in schools can be understood in relation to the wider family and home context in which children are growing up and learning about people who are different from them. Family circumstances can also determine the support that children have and whether they are able to continue with their education. This chapter has identified findings in relation to family attitudes and the availability of family support.

The research has identified a strong perception among students at all school types that their parents were happy for them to mix socially and have friendships with children from different socio-economic and nationality backgrounds. The research also found that students believed they learnt respect for others from their families. However, strained and difficult home circumstances were found to impact on students' ability to build positive relationships with other students, and to participate meaningfully in learning. The contextual data about Syrian families and the reports from teachers and principals indicated that Syrian refugee students who were struggling with the effects of poverty, loss, and trauma required additional support, and needed the school and the classroom to be a safe and healing space.

Syrian students (males and females) were more likely than their Jordanian peers to report that they wanted their education to end between grades 7-10. Students in Syrian second-shift and camp schools were more likely to report school drop-out due to marriage and work than students in regular and host-community schools. The higher levels of drop-out at Syrian schools are likely to be related to the higher levels of poverty and challenges facing displaced Syrian families, combined with post-school educational opportunities.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the interventions that have been implemented by the MoE, with the support of non-governmental organisations and partners, to promote social cohesion in schools, enhance relationships between schools and parents, and to strengthen relations in schools. Five MoE programmes were examined (Table 4): the Nashatati and Ma'an programmes which primarily aim to enhance social cohesion by supporting teachers and teaching practice; parent-teacher associations and student parliaments which focus on providing spaces to give a voice to parents and students; and the Madrasati initiative which focuses on improving the school environment.

This chapter mainly draws on interviews with 29 formal school principals who provided insights on these initiatives and activities, but it also brings in findings from interviews with teachers. Opportunities to engage in activities and initiatives that enhance social cohesion and belonging in school were seen across all school types, although the type, objective, structure, and extent to which these were implemented depended on the school type and location.

5.2 Implementation of MoE Initiatives Across Sampled School Types

The first part of the interview with principals was a survey which aimed to quantify the extent to which MoE initiatives designed to promote social cohesion were implemented across the school sample. The survey section revealed general uncertainty among principals about the names of different initiatives and the initiatives implemented in their school, suggesting the need to ensure that principals are involved and accountable for the implementation of initiatives to be able to speak more about the impact of these initiatives to promote social cohesion. Often principals responded in the survey that they did not have an initiative, which they then went on to talk about during the interview, sometimes when a colleague joined the conversation and confirmed that the initiative did exist. Some principals also seemed uncertain as to the intended outcome of some programmes in their school. As with the teachers, principals who had been more closely involved in the implementation of initiatives supporting social cohesion appeared better able to elaborate on social cohesion and the different dimensions. The data in Table 4 are based on the information collected during the interviews with principals, rather than responses to the survey. Three of the regular-school principals were also principals at the co-located Syrian shift schools, therefore the interviews did not always make clear which schools the principal was referring to.

Table 4. Principals Reporting Implementation of MoE Initiatives in Schools

Initiative	Regular schools n=3	Host community n=15	Syrian second shift n=10	Camp Azraq n=2	Camp Zaatari n=2	Total no. of each initiatives
Total no. of initiatives per school type:[39]	**13**	**36**	**23**	**2**	**5**	**79**
Nashatati	2	4	2	0	0	**8**
Ma'an	2	8	5	1	2	**18**
Parent-Teacher Association	3	11	4	1	2	**21**
School Parliament	3	11	4	0	1	**19**
Madrasati	3	2	5	0	0	**10**

The three regular schools appeared to report higher numbers of initiatives (if the average number per school is considered) than the other school types, followed by the Syrian second-shift and host-community schools. Other activities relating to social cohesion either in cooperation with an NGO, or through teachers' and principals' own initiatives, were identified. A summary of each of these initiatives is provided in Annex 1. Full details of each of the initiatives can be found in Working Paper Four.[40]

5.3 Nashatati

Nashatati is a relatively new programme which is a collaboration between the Ministry of Education, UNICEF, and the Generations for Peace programme, designed to foster social cohesion in classrooms through after-school activities that build tolerance and acceptance between students. An element of the programme also aims to support classroom management skills and reduce the use of corporal punishment. Many of the principals interviewed seemed to be unfamiliar with the name of the programme, and several principals expressed interest in participating in such a programme. Eight schools were currently participating in Nashatati although in three schools it had only been implemented in the past few weeks or month, and therefore principals were not able to report on

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[39] Three of the principals interviewed were the same for co-located regular morning-shift and Syrian second-shift. They answered questions about both schools, which is why the number of schools in this table (n=32) is greater than the number of principal interviews (n=29).

[40] Salem, H. and Morrice, L. (2019) *A Review of Social Cohesion Initiatives and Challenges with a Focus on Jordan and Education*. Centre for International Education, University of Sussex, UK. http://www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cie/projects

the longer-term benefits or on how training might be cascaded through the school to other teachers within the school, given the short period of time.

Participating principals agreed that the lectures provided as part of the programme had supported teachers to address issues around bullying and social cohesion by learning how to reduce tensions between students through dialogue, and that teachers perceived the focus of the training to be important. Principals appeared to be very satisfied with the programme and agreed that it had helped to improve relationships between students by providing opportunities to engage in activities together, as well as teachers' abilities to mediate positive dialogue between students. At one Syrian second-shift school, the principal stated that as a result of the programme,

> teachers have the ability to resolve disputes between students, to instil in them the idea that all students are brothers and sisters, that there is no difference between students, that there is no discrimination based on race or gender, that the Syrian student has a right to an education in a safe school environment just like the Jordanian.

However, several principals across all school types in the sample also reflected on how this programme could be improved, which mainly related to the capacity of the programme and its implementation. For example, a principal at a Syrian second-shift school stated that the programme in his school only targeted grades 1-3, as instructed by MoE. At a regular boys' school, the principal stated that the programme only applied to Jordanian students from grades 6 to 10, and that it was not accessible to younger students or Syrian refugee students. At a host-community school, the principal stated that the programme was implemented for grades 3 to 5 only, and that the programme's scope was specific to Jordanian students only and did not target Syrian students. The targeted groups appeared to vary across schools. While the rationale for the programmes was that those most at risk in schools should be targeted, it was evident that principals felt the school would further benefit from the programme being expanded to include both more grades and Syrian students. This kind of implementation could suggest that specific groups were targeted for specific goals and reasons. In-depth review should be completed to further understand the various target groups addressed in the schools mentioned above.

An additional element of the Nashatati programme was the support and training provided to teachers, which aimed to equip them with skills to build cohesion between students, such as through mediating dialogue and positive communication between students. The principals expressed that the Nashatati programme was a useful initiative that benefited both students and teachers. Given its effectiveness, principals also agreed that expanding the programme to reach more teachers (more than two or three) and increasing the time allocated for activities implemented after school would be of great value for reaching the full capacity of the programme.

5.4 Ma'an

The Ma'an programme, also known as the Ma'an (Togetherness) towards a Safe School Environment programme, is implemented by the Ministry of Education with the support of UNICEF. The programme focuses on reducing violence by teachers and educators through online surveys to be filled out by students and through teacher training on violence.

Eighteen schools were involved in some aspect of the Ma'an programme. A key goal of the Ma'an programme is to increase students' sense of safety by allowing them to share their experiences, which in turn helps to inform the MoE about the level of violence in schools.

The principal interviews revealed that schools were more likely to be involved in the online violence survey than the teacher training. The effects of the programme were greatest in the schools which participated in both the online survey and teacher training. Amongst the eight host-community schools participating in the programme, five were only implementing the online survey and had not participated in the training. The benefits of the programme varied across schools, depending on the length of time, and extent to which it had been implemented.

Where the programme had been implemented for some time, principals felt that the programme had yielded more positive results. According to principals, they witnessed less violence within schools and a reduced use of corporal punishment by teachers as a result of the programme. Many principals reported that the training element helped teachers feel more confident in managing the classroom and addressing tensions. At a host-community girls' school, a principal stated that the teacher training had helped teachers respond to students' needs through more positive practices. In particular, the principal felt that training aspects which focused on health, violence, and safety, had helped the school recognise the importance of providing secure routes to school and safe common spaces for students to engage with one another.

At other schools, the programme also appeared to help enhance relationships between students and teachers by raising teachers' awareness of social tensions and the important role that teachers play in enhancing social cohesion between students. Principals and teachers agreed that more opportunities for supporting teachers with classroom management skills would contribute to the success of the Ma'an programme. Expanding this particular training element to reach more individuals in the schools (more than the school counsellor and one or two teachers per school) would also influence the effectiveness of the programme. Overall, principals felt that that the programme could add additional value if it was expanded to equip all teachers with skills to help manage their classrooms through positive practices, which might in turn reduce the use of corporal punishment.

Schools which were involved in the online survey and the teacher training benefited more from the Ma'an programme, compared to schools which were only involved in the only survey. At schools which were only involved in the online survey, principals reported that the programme did not help teachers to manage their classrooms or address violence and tensions in schools. Many of these principals stated that this programme had not led to any change or had any benefit. These findings are justified given that these schools did not participate in the two components of the programme. Therefore, being involved in the teacher training aspect would contribute to the positive change overall. Importantly, the online survey also appeared to be commonly conducted either by the educational counsellor, by a teacher, or by only a small group of students. This suggests that the aims and importance of the programme were not fully understood in all schools and highlights the great value of expanding the training and awareness-raising elements of the programme. A few principals stated that students were the ones to participate in the online survey, and that they were taken in a small group to a computer lab. At a host-community boys' school, the principal said that only five students participated in the survey. Additional challenges included power outages at camps, which were an important barrier to completing the survey. In order to ensure that the aim of this programme is fully realised, a higher number of students should participate in the survey, and fewer instances of the staff at the school completing the survey should occur.

5.5 Madrasati

The [Madrasati](#) initiative was launched by the Office of Her Majesty Queen Rania, with the support of the Ministry of Education. The initiative focuses on renovating schools that are most in need of enhanced facilities, to create spaces that enable extracurricular activities, large classrooms for groups to come together, adequate hygiene facilities, and additional spaces for learning. As part of the Madrasati programme, teacher development through training is also provided.

Schools which reported involvement in the Madrasati programme praised it highly for creating safe spaces that enabled extended learning experiences. Principals noted that the programme was excellent as it helped achieve improvements to schools' learning environment and opportunities for extracurricular activities. For example, at a regular girls' school, the programme helped build infrastructure that created shade from the sun, which allowed the school to implement outdoor activities together more safely, avoiding excessive heat. The Madrasati programme was found to help integrate Syrian and Jordanian students, through enabling sports activities and reinforcement classes which brought students together. At one of the shifted schools, Madrasati had enabled the principal to bring together Jordanian students from the morning shift and Syrian students from the second shift to participate in additional after-school classes; this was felt to be particularly helpful to social cohesion. Other benefits of the improved school environment included students' enhanced computer and sports skills and teachers' strengthened capacities to teach through play and extracurricular activities. Expanding the initiative to reach more teachers would further contribute to the overall benefits of the Madrasati programme.

5.6 Parent-Teacher Associations

The Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) is one of the initiatives encouraged as part of the Ministry of Education's Strategic Plan 2018-2022. Schools are expected to follow the Ministry of Education's regulations in implementing its initiatives. PTAs were found to be very widespread amongst the schools in the sample. They aim to bring together parents and school staff to foster an enhanced sense of community, working together to support the school and its students through organising events and fundraisers, encouraging meetings to discuss and inform parents about any issues, and creating opportunities to receive feedback from families.

Many principals noted the importance of PTAs, and teachers in interviews also noted that opportunities to engage with parents were valuable for schools. Principals listed the purpose of the PTA as providing opportunities to discuss issues and needs of students, absenteeism (which was reported to be a common issue across all schools), upcoming events, students' progress, and issues that arose at schools. Principals stated that such discussions could help build trust between schools and parents. For example, the principal at a Syrian second-shift boys' school stated that "the school is a circle, and the parents are a complementary part to the work of the school. If parents are separated from the school, the school will lose its role".

Many principals discussed how the organisation of events to bring together schools and parents was valuable for enhancing relationships within the community. As part of PTAs, parents attended lectures and awareness seminars relating to their children's behaviour or needs. These lectures appeared to cover a wide scope of subjects such as drug use, health, and nutrition, though many principals also focused on the importance of promoting seminars that raised awareness about the implications of early marriage. Schools also noted that celebrations and joint parties were very important for social cohesion, and several schools organised events each year that brought together students of all nationalities and backgrounds. Many principals stated that events which included

donations to help raise money for children to purchase stationery was important for social cohesion, as they reduced marginalisation and promoted a caring attitude towards students from different backgrounds. The limited spaces in schools to hold large groups of individuals affected hosting meetings or organising events as part of PTAs. Virtual events or dividing parents into groups may offer solutions to the limited space.

In describing the challenges principals faced in maximising the effects of PTAs, all the principals discussed the management of and attendance levels at meetings. These complaints appeared to combine issues relating to both PTA meetings and general parent-teacher meetings. Many principals noted that parents were not able to stay long at meetings, and that other responsibilities and pressures prevented parents from attending. Some principals also felt that Syrian refugee parents were less likely to be able to attend and engage fully with PTA meetings, as a result of the particular challenges and circumstances they faced. One principal shared an example of Syrian mothers having to bring their younger children to meetings, stating that this caused disruption to meetings. However, without an extended-family support system, Syrian families may not have any other option if they wish to attend meetings at the school. Providing options could enhance the engagement between parents and teachers, such as communicating over the phone or one-on-one rather than group meetings. Considerations for how young children could be accommodated during meetings would also contribute to the success of the programme.

In discussing the value of PTAs in enhancing communication between parents and teachers, principals felt that some improvements could be done to allow for more effective communication with parents. Principals stated that social events organised through PTAs were very successful in bringing communities together. However, principals interviewed in the sample suggested that PTAs should allow for more open dialogue and address difficult subjects, such as concerns relating to children's behaviour. Several noted that parents might not share information for fear of stigma. For example, a principal at the Azraq camp girls' school noted that some parents did not share details about their child's illnesses or needs due to stigma, such as in the case where a student had epilepsy. In-depth research should be completed in this area to find ways to encourage parents to speak about such topics more openly and comfortably.

The effectiveness of PTAs in seeking to foster stronger communication between parents and schools would be improved if parents' and teachers' perceptions of good practice were more aligned. Principals in the sample reflected on discrepancies between teachers' approaches to classroom management and parents' opinions. For example, a principal stated that parents criticised teachers' decisions and methods of disciplining students "without trying to understand the context behind the teacher's actions". The perspectives of principals contrasted with those of parents highlighted in focus-group discussions; parents reported feeling that schools should keep them more informed about their children's progress and behaviour in schools. The different statements from principals and parents in the sample illustrate the need to understand these gaps further in order to further improve the implementation of PTAs.

5.7 Student Parliaments

Like PTAs, Student Parliaments are established with the guidance of the Ministry of Education as a target of the Education Strategic Plan 2018-2022. They are designed to provide students with effective roles and agency within schools.

The principals interviewed mainly viewed these parliaments as valuable in helping students' concerns to be expressed, in enhancing student autonomy, and in addressing students' demands, such as facility requirements and additional school activities. Some principals also stated that student parliaments helped to build students' confidence, ensured that they were treated equally, and provided a communication channel between teachers and students.

Interestingly, however, some of the principals in the sample had strong views about student parliaments and did not always see the value in them. They reported feeling that student parliaments were not as beneficial, and that they were taking up valuable time and teacher resources. Such findings require more in-depth research about why these principals felt this way when the parliaments seemed to have positive results on students.

Student parliaments were more likely to be implemented in host-community schools, compared to Syrian second-shift and camp schools. This led to findings including Syrian students having less opportunities to voice their concerns and participate in school decisions. Principals gave a number of reasons for this. In one Syrian second-shift school, the principal said that there "was no law" stating that Syrian students should have a student parliament or engage in extracurricular activities. Other principals reported the lack of time at second-shift schools as the key reason. Only one of the three camp schools implemented parliaments; at some of the camp schools, principals felt that elections for student parliament would encourage students to compete with one another. Principals in the sample felt that due to tensions within communities, this sense of competition might not contribute to enhancing social cohesion. Another principal also felt the parliament would not be helpful for Syrian refugees because there were other priorities that might be more beneficial for the students, though examples of these were not given.

Principals at non-camp schools in the sample also raised concerns relating to student parliaments. For example, one principal at a regular girls' school noted that parliament obligations could lead to students missing out on classroom time, though the reasons for and frequency of students engaging in student-parliament-associated activities during teaching time were not elaborated on. Some principals in the sample were concerned that elections had introduced students to methods of corruption and to an unhealthy sense of competition. Some of the principals reported that students appeared to have offered financial incentives, sweets, and food to other students who agreed to vote for them. It is important to dig deep into such findings in order to understand the nature of this happening in some schools, but not others. This would contribute to reaching more positive outcomes for schools that seemed to benefit less from student parliaments.

5.8 Other Initiatives in Schools

In addition to the above programmes, many schools appeared to have implemented their own initiatives, often with the guidance of NGOs, to enhance learning and social cohesion within their schools. This section describes some of the programmes implemented and the ways in which principals felt they helped contribute to enhanced social cohesion, in order to provide further insight into initiatives that may have valuable impact.

Many of these programmes were implemented in collaboration with NGOs, such as Basma, Mercy Corps, Save the Children, UNICEF, and World Vision. For example, an initiative by World Vision appeared to be common in some of the schools sampled in this study. Several principals recounted the importance and benefit of this initiative, which brought together Jordanian and Syrian parents and students for Iftar during the holy month of Ramadan, helping to enhance social cohesion

between the two communities. At a regular boys' school, the principal described this to be one of the most successful and impactful initiatives, bringing together 75 Syrian and 75 Jordanian students and their families to celebrate.

Other initiatives mentioned included "The Little Teacher", where students were allowed to act as teachers in the classroom. Another initiative brought together a Jordanian soap-maker and a Syrian wool-crafts designer, helping children view a positive relationship between different nationalities. Furthermore, a principal mentioned the programme "Universal Generations", which helped facilitate discussion and enhanced the acceptance of different opinions and backgrounds in school.

Principals also sought to organise events that reduced financial burdens on parents, finding that many parents relied on schools as a source of support, or a "saviour" as stated by the principal at the host-community girls' school. For example, some parents relied on donations either to help with Ramadan and Eid, or for winter clothes. Some parents visited the schools to talk about their harsh living conditions and to see if the school could support their families in any way. In return, schools also invited parents to engage with the school. This involvement might provide an incentive for parents to become more involved with the school. For example, at the host-community girls' school, mothers were invited to teach students to make soap and candles. Additionally, at a host-community boys' school, the school allowed parents to use the school grounds free of charge to host events such as weddings. This exchange also appeared to benefit schools, as numerous principals noted that they strongly relied on the help of families to help maintain the school grounds, such as relying on a father's carpentry skills to help fix the schools' doors. Thus, this form of collaboration between schools and parents fostered positive engagement which alleviated financial pressures and also involved parents more directly with schools.

Principals also added that they sought to overcome barriers to communication with parents and carers and to improve dialogue with those unable to join PTAs or attend other meetings. For example, some schools drew on innovative and creative methods to help engage parents, such as using social media to speak to parents who were not able to attend meetings. One of the host-community girls' schools had also tried to engage parents by inviting parents of children in grades 1-3 to sit in on and observe their children's lessons. Some schools had created WhatsApp groups between parents and teachers in order to discuss issues and enhance parental engagement with the school. A principal reflected on the importance of recognising social and cultural norms which might prevent parents from engaging more frequently with teachers and staff, giving an example of mothers who had declined invitations to parents' meetings which included males, or who did not join mixed-gender WhatsApp groups.

While the combination of initiatives was seen positively by principals, some principals also felt that there was room for initiatives which focused on social cohesion between nationalities to be implemented, in order to change negative perceptions.

A couple of principals in the sample mentioned the importance of integrating students into one shift, rather than having two shifts according to nationality, as a way to enhance social cohesion.

One important finding relating to the number of initiatives implemented in schools, both as part of MoE's initiatives and through NGOs, was the level of responsibility that these initiatives imposed on teachers and school staff. A number of principals felt that their school was involved in many active programmes at the same time. Some of the principals felt that being heavily involved in multiple programmes placed pressure on teachers to learn to adapt to new programmes, while also maintaining their usual teaching responsibilities. Principals also noted that the limited space and

facilities in schools was challenging the goals and the extent to which schools could participate in these initiatives. Principals also stated that the timing of the initiatives was important, and felt it to be problematic that some programmes were implemented towards the end of the year "when the school has many burdens and required deliverables" (host-community boys' school). To avoid introducing new responsibilities and administrative preparations at exam times towards the end of the year, a few principals suggested that initiatives could be implemented over the summer, in order to be utilised more efficiently.

5.9 Summary of Findings

Overall, the initiatives outlined in this chapter showed clear benefits to schools they had been implemented in. Some problems also came to light. Principals were not always aware of what initiatives had been implemented in schools, and often only parts of initiatives were implemented, making it difficult to quantify the findings or accurately assess the impact of different initiatives. In some cases, it appeared that initiatives had successfully targeted those schools in most need, especially in providing support for school infrastructure. However, some schools appeared to benefit from one or two initiatives for a shorter period of time compared to others. More research in this particular area would allow for understanding on how targeting and duration were determined in these schools. Many principals expressed interest in the various initiatives, and reported that they would be willing to participate if they were contacted.

Where MoE initiatives were implemented, benefits were reported, particularly where schools were involved in all parts of an initiative, where there was a whole-school approach, and where teacher participation was involved. The study found that teacher training on social cohesion and positive practices to enhance dialogue in classrooms was important, as well as training on classroom management as part of Nashatati and Ma'an. Furthermore, initiatives seen through Madrasati, which helped teachers expand learning opportunities through activities, outdoor spaces, and safe spaces, were seen as particularly effective and valuable.

However, principals reported that reaching more teachers would contribute to the success of the programmes, particularly Ma'an and Nashatati. Many principals, while expressing high enthusiasm for these initiatives, felt that engaging all teachers and students in all the elements of the programmes would be of great value to their implementation. Teachers who are trained could also be supported to share their knowledge and training with other teachers, to ensure a wider reach and shared understanding of strategies in schools, as a more sustainable and cost-effective way to scale the implementation of programmes. Additional limitations noted by principals included short school days and limited school spaces, which prevented initiatives from bringing as many students together as they would have liked, despite the evident effectiveness of programmes.

The study found that initiatives to support associations between teachers and parents (PTAs) and students (student parliaments) proved to be valuable when they were implemented effectively. However, some challenges emerged in these associations, highlighting the need for further research to better understand the current situation. For PTAs, meeting management and alternative forms of communication to improve accessibility for parents should be further analysed to maximise the effects of the programme. For student parliaments to be fully effective, schools should ensure they are conducted through ethical and non-corrupt models that focus on the benefits for the students. Furthermore, the election of student parliaments in Syrian shift-schools appeared to remain less frequent than other schools in the sample. Although teachers provided some reasons behind this,

further examination is still required to understand the nature of elections in Syrian shift-schools compared to other schools.

Finally, an important finding of this study was the burden caused by the level of responsibilities that the number of initiatives placed on teachers and principals. In some cases, schools were involved in multiple initiatives and programmes, including NGO programmes, and this had a transactional cost. To ensure that initiatives are effectively implemented, the timing and number of active programmes within the schools and the spread of initiatives across schools should be further considered and weighed. The findings suggest that it would be of great value to carefully understand the nature of how different schools work, in order to target their various needs with particular initiatives.

6.1 Introduction

Non-Formal Learning Centres or NFLCs are a partnership between the MoE and Questscope for Social Development in the Middle East (hereafter referred to as Questcope). NFLCs provide MoE-certified programmes for out-of-school youth (males 13-18 and females 13-20) who are no longer eligible to access formal education. Grade-level analysis conducted for formal schooling was not possible for NFLCs as these programmes provide two years of curriculum in one year, ideally preparing students to re-integrate into the formal system.

Teaching at NFLCs is underpinned by participatory pedagogies which encourage active engagement, democratic decision-making, and critical dialogue between students and "facilitators" (teachers). Questcope identifies three key components of the methodology at NFLCs: (i) creating an environment where youth can feel respected and safe; (ii) fostering trusting relationships between facilitators and youth that enable personal growth; and (iii) facilitating dialogue and activities in which youth can engage in a meaningful learning process.[41]

These three components should be expected to result in relatively high levels of social cohesion at NFLCs; this chapter provides a comparison with some of the key dimensions of social cohesion discussed in the previous chapters in relation to formal schools. These are: relationships between teachers and students, relationships between students, pedagogical approaches and activities to support social cohesion, persistence, and aspirations to continue in education.

Only one MoE initiative designed to support social cohesion, the Makani, is implemented in NFLCs. Out of the eight non-formal schools in the sample, only one reported having implemented the Makani programme, and the initiative had ended in 2018, reportedly due to financial constraints. This chapter is therefore not able to report on the effectiveness of MoE initiatives at NFLCs.

## 6.2 Pedagogical Approaches and Activities to Support Social Cohesion

Effective and positive learning pedagogies were reported by most participants in NFLCs. The methodology at NFLCs explicitly aims to engage students in meaningful learning processes through participatory pedagogies. The study found that principals, teachers, and students at NFLCs reflected more positively on pedagogy and opportunities to be active in learning processes than those at formal MoE schools. In interviews, principals and teachers emphasised the importance of engagement in practical and learner-centred activities, and of the personal and social development of students. The student survey found that reported opportunities to engage in creative activities, sports activities, to use computers and visit the school library were all higher at NFLCs than at formal schools (Figure 11).

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[41] Final Evaluation Report of USAID NFE Program (June 2018). Downloaded: http://www.questscope.org/sites/default/files/Final%20Evaluation%20Report%20of%20the%20USAID%20NFE%20Project%20June%202018.pdf
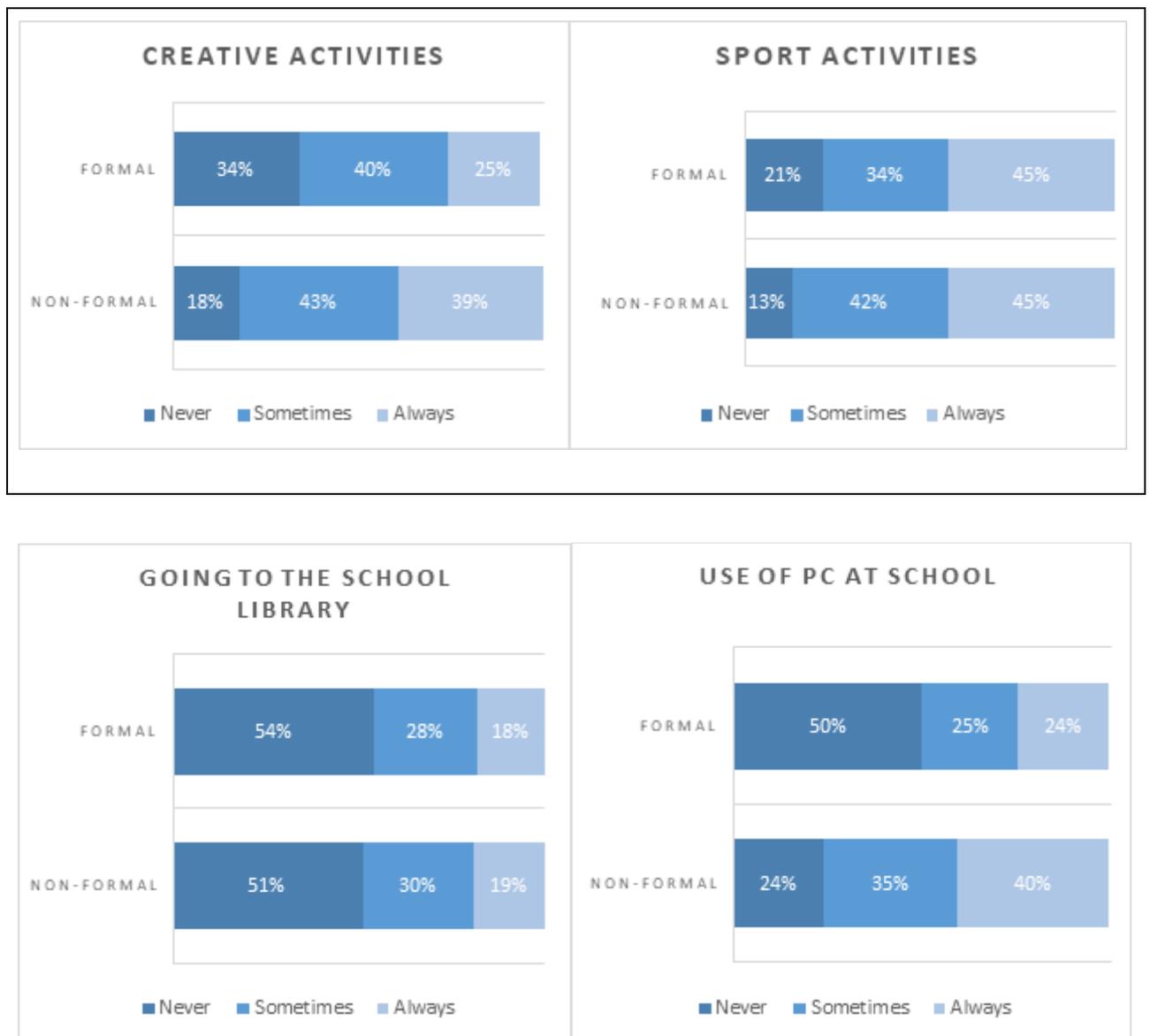
Note: Student experience was measured using a 3-point scale. Students were asked: "In your school, how often do you participate in the following activities?"

This finding on levels of activities was supported by the two student focus groups (one with boys at Azraq camp and one with girls in an urban centre). Students in both focus groups expressed their enthusiasm and appreciation for the pedagogy used at their schools, noting that "it's not all talking and just books. She [the teacher] teaches us through play and discussion, and everyone has to participate" (non-formal girls' centre). Students at NFLCs were more likely to describe their classes as engaging and "fun", and reported enjoying subjects such as mathematics, science, and Arabic. It appeared that students at NFLCs were more likely to learn through using tools and engaging in practical activities. For example, a student at the non-camp girls' NFLC mentioned that she enjoyed science because of the activities involved. Students also described enjoying extracurricular creative activities, such as ceramics at this centre. The Azraq camp NFLC students stated that they used outdoor spaces for football and activities such as group games, and also enjoyed using computer and science labs for their lessons. However, some resources appeared to be used less frequently; some

students commented that they "never" used the library despite seeing it at their school. Furthermore, in all focus-group discussions, the word "sometimes" was frequently used to describe whether students engaged in extracurricular activities, and some students felt that they had no hobbies. Thus, despite the generally positive student response to questions about teaching and learning approaches, there appeared to be room for further use of resources to engage students in different forms of learning and to expand students' skills and interests.

6.3 Teacher-Student Relationships

Teacher-student relationships were also more positive at NFLCs than at formal schools. In focus-group discussions, students reflected positively on the relationships between teachers and students at their centre. Students also reported very positive interactions with their teachers. This was especially prevalent at the girls' non-camp NFLC, where students felt that they were made to feel comfortable by their teachers, were encouraged in their learning, and were treated equally. A female student, for example, stated that "we love the way we deal with each other, and the way the teachers deal with us". Students stated that they felt that teachers were sociable and open to discussing topics relating to life, rather than lessons only. Furthermore, students stated that teachers allowed for play and participation which enhanced their sense of feeling cared for and engaged.

Male students at the Azraq camp NFLC also expressed a higher level of positive relationships with their teachers than was found at formal schools. At a boys' school, a student stated that:

> I like how the teachers treat us. They respect us a lot, like they're our parents. They don't discriminate between students.

Other male students expressed a similar level of feeling cared for and respected, including: "Teachers motivate me to come to school because they respect us a lot" and "when I graduate, I will visit them because they are cooperative". Students also felt that teachers cared for their personal circumstances, as found in a student's statement:

> When I skip school, they call me and ask about me. Sometimes the teacher comes to my place to make sure I'm okay.

Another student also reaffirmed that teachers call students to ask them to come to school if they are absent. Students made positive remarks such as "we love everything about this school" and "everything is nice here" when they were asked to give three examples of things they liked about their school. When asked whether students could identify elements of schools they did not like, a few students said "nothing" and another student remarked "I hate when I don't come to it". Throughout focus-group discussions, it was evident that teachers invested additional time and effort to engage students and to ensure good results with regard to school attendance and learning. This enhanced students' sense of being understood and respected.

6.4 Relationships Between Students

While this study found there to be strong and positive reported relationships between students and teachers, the two student focus groups revealed areas of tension that impacted cohesiveness between students. In focus-group discussions, some students made positive statements such as "we are all together and there are no strangers" and commented that there were general low levels of

reported bullying or violence. However, when asked more closely about friendships in classrooms, mixed responses and comments on differences between students appeared to suggest tensions. For example, in a focus-group discussion with male students at Azraq NFLCs, students made explicit comments on differences between students' Syrian accents depending on their cities of origin, as well as differences between religious groups and teachings. Students also said they did not feel comfortable answering questions in class due to feeling embarrassed and uncomfortable with their classmates. Thus, this group discussion with male students revealed nuanced points of tensions relating to differences in culture and accents, and socio-economic backgrounds, rather than nationality; this is broadly similar to the findings among Syrian students in formal schools in Azraq camp. There were also similar findings from a focus-group discussion with female students in a non-camp setting, which hosted both Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanian students who were out-of-school. Students felt there were tensions between classmates due to socio-economic backgrounds, including tensions reflected in jealousy about clothing; cultural differences; and differences in accents.

It is important to remember that only two focus groups were conducted at NFLCs and therefore it is not possible to generalise across all NFLCs. Other possible factors which could impact relationships among students include the time spent together in school. NFLCs have short school hours (just two hours a day) and high levels of student absence (annex 2). The student survey found that only 46% of students in the NFLC sample had been at the centre for more than a year, and 24% had been there for fewer than six months. Short lengths of time spent together might affect the ability of students to build strong and cohesive relationships with other students.

6.5 Persistence in NFLCs and Student Aspirations

Table 5 represents educational aspirations by recording responses to the question "What grade/education level would you like your education to end?".[42] This has been broken down by the school type and gender of respondents. NFLCs, like formal schools, show higher levels of female students' aspirations to continue their education. However, overall, reported aspiration to continue in education beyond grade 10 is much lower at NFLCs than at formal MoE schools.

Table 5. Student Aspirations of Educational Attainment, by Formal and Non-Formal Setting and Gender

	GRADE 7-10	GRADE 11-12	UNIVERSITY
FORMAL			
Male	10%	10%	80%
Female	3%	5%	92%

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[42] NFLCs are not organised in grades; therefore, students were asked what level of education they would like to achieve.

NON-FORMAL			
Male	51%	14%	35%
Female	30%	19%	51%

Note: Students were asked when they would like their education to end and presented with 6 options: Grade 7, Grade 8, Grade 9, Grade 10, Grade 11, and University Education. In this analysis Grade 7-10 and Grades 11-12 were grouped together. *The survey question grouped together different forms of higher education as "university" and did not ask about Master or Doctoral level study.

Despite the high levels of reported aspiration expressed in the survey, the majority of male and female students noted during focus groups that they would not be able to complete high school or pursue a university degree. Like formal school students, male students cited financial hardship, and being responsible for supporting their families, as the main reason. Female students mentioned helping at home, marriage, and cultural norms as reasons for not continuing with their education.

6.6 Initiatives to Support Social Cohesion at NFLCs

MoE initiatives are not as frequent at NFLCs. One initiative, Makani, appeared to be implemented at one of the NFLCs visited according to a principal interview. Other forms of initiatives appeared to be organised through non-governmental organisations.

For example, one principal stated that every three months, Questscope engaged students in activities that enhanced skills like sewing and knitting; another mentioned teacher training provided by Questscope to support the use of engaging forms of learning in the classroom. All other initiatives appeared to be through other NGOs. For example, a principal noted that a programme, "My Centre is More Beautiful", had been implemented years before to help renovate the school and was very valuable as it helped provide students with safe and clean learning spaces. Other initiatives included engaging students in practical skills, such as ceramics and accessory-making; awareness lectures by the Red Cross on violence; and one visit organised by the Ministry of Tourism involving traditional Jordanian garments being brought for Syrian and Jordanian students to wear and take photos in. Thus, while there did seem to be initiatives to support NFLCs, these initiatives appeared to be short and limited, and did not appear to seek to enhance social cohesion through comprehensive and specific targets.

Principals pointed to ways in which they aimed to support parents' and students' engagement with centres through their own initiative. For example, some centres reported developing "parent committees" through which parents could express their views and be informed of developments and issues at the centres. Issues of poverty were commonly mentioned in relation to social cohesion and inclusion in interviews with principals. One example of this was the issue of schools being able to provide transportation costs to a student who was at risk of dropping out. A principal at the Azraq camp boys' NFLC stated that through CARE international, which delivers relief projects, aid budgets had been assigned to families if students consistently attended school; the principal believed there is a need for more incentives like this to ensure that parents and children were attentive to the issue of school attendance. Principals noted the importance of being flexible and adjusting their classroom time to meet the needs of students. For example, at the Azraq camp boys' NFLC, school hours were from 5pm to 7pm to allow students to engage in work earlier in the day. During the summer, the

hours changed to later in the day, to allow students to complete their work in the agriculture fields and picking fruit. Despite the short school hours and flexibility, principals noted that there were high levels of absence.

Interviews with principals revealed that further support for staff at NFLCs may be valuable to enhance social cohesion. Principals felt that having more events at centres would help enhance social cohesion in the community, and parents and teachers will be provided with guidance to develop plans. One centre noted that, through the help of UNICEF, they organised events in Ramadan to bring together community members. Principals also mentioned that organising national celebrations to integrate communities would also improve social cohesion. However, in contrast to student focus groups, principals reported that there were no tensions at the centres, and that there was "harmony" and cohesion between students. As seen in previous chapters, principals who had worked more closely with initiatives supporting social cohesion appeared better able to elaborate on social cohesion and its different dimensions, suggesting a link between programmes and their ability to inform and raise awareness among teachers and principals.

6.7 Summary of Findings

It would be of great value to improve the presence of MoE initiatives supporting social cohesion at the centres in the sample, as they were not as frequent. The Makani initiative implemented had supported the development of personal and life skills among participating students. Given that this initiative had finished in 2018, there was no additional data on its results. A number of NGO initiatives were cited by principals as supporting social cohesion; initiatives which mitigated against the effects of poverty on students' ability to attend the centre were reported as being particularly important.

Those NFLCs which emphasised dialogue and activity-based approaches, respect, and trust between students and teachers as part of their ethos and pedagogy, appeared to have enhanced social cohesion in some respects. Stronger levels of attachment to centres and to teachers were reported than at formal schools. However, in contrast to strong vertical social cohesion with their teachers, the two student focus groups indicated that relationships between students appeared to be weak. Focus groups with parents were not conducted at NFLCs and we cannot comment in this report on relationships between the centres and community. Further research is needed to examine the relationships between students at NFLCs and between parents/community and NFLCs.

Mirroring findings at formal schools, females expressed higher aspirations to continue with their education. The reasons students noted for ending their education were primarily related to needing to work for males, and the need to help at home and for marriage for females.

7.1 Introduction

This multi-phase research project has sought to assess how educational interventions in Jordan implemented as a response to the Syrian crisis have enhanced equitable access to quality education for Syrian and Jordanian children. This final report has assessed social cohesion across MoE school types, and examined the interventions designed to promote social cohesion. The report is accompanied by four working papers which address complementary elements of the research project.

The study involved collecting qualitative and quantitative data with principals, teachers, and students in grades 6 and 9 across all MoE school types in Jordan: host-community, Syrian second-shift, regular and camp settings, and non-formal learning centres. Uniquely, the study has included the perspective of parents, and examined how home circumstances influence learning and social cohesion at school. The findings of this research demonstrate the strengths of current initiatives, as well as key areas that need improvement. Social cohesion is shown to be an important concept, with clear pertinence to school access, learning continuity, and community cohesion and stability. The findings also show how the factors presented are intertwined and therefore how each has an influence on whether initiatives are able to enhance access, learning, and social cohesion for all. Based on the findings presented in this report, the following recommendations are made.

7.2 Teaching and Learning Approaches which Support Social Cohesion

- The contexts in which teachers were working influenced their ability to adopt more participatory approaches. Further teacher training and teacher support to develop and implement more inclusive and engaging classroom practices in the Jordanian context would be beneficial to enhancing social cohesion.
- Well-designed and inclusive extended learning opportunities strengthen and complement classroom teaching. More emphasis should be put to support extended learning activities, particularly in second-shift Syrian schools, and to enable Syrian students, including children within camps, to participate in school trips.
- More opportunities to engage in activities, and more dialogic and student-led pedagogies adopted at NFLCs appeared to support both strong and positive relationships between students and teachers, and student attachment to school. Further examination of parent/community perspectives is needed.
- Teachers working with refugee children often faced particular challenges and took on additional responsibilities for the well-being and emotional support of students, especially in Syrian second-shift and camp schools. The use of Syrian classroom assistants in Zaatari camp was found to be beneficial for both teachers and students; this model could be considered in schools where students are likely to require more psychosocial support, or indeed to support teachers with large class sizes.

7.3 School-Level Environmental Factors

- School facilities and space contributed to teachers' and principals' difficulties in promoting inclusive practices and effective learner-centred pedagogies. The development and expansion to more schools of programmes such as Madrasati, which aim to improve the school environment, would be beneficial.

- Consideration should be given as to whether Jordanian and Syrian students could be integrated into the same shift, as host-community schools tended to have higher levels of social cohesion among students.

7.4 Implementation of MoE Interventions

- MoE initiatives seemed to be more effective when the anticipated outcomes were clearly communicated to schools and a clear rationale as to how schools are targeted for particular initiatives was addressed. Involving principals in the decision-making and implementation of initiatives were also seen to positively influence the effectiveness of the initiative. A database that collates which schools receive which kind of support, and for what ages, could be beneficial.
- The expansion of the training element of Ma'an and Nashatati through a Trainer of Training Model could help ensure that more teachers are trained in an effective and practicable process. This would enable a whole-school approach to social cohesion, thereby maximising and reinforcing the benefits; it would also provide a baseline for more accurate assessment of the initiatives.
- A crucial finding of this study was that tensions also existed within the communities of the same nationality, and that tensions appeared to be particularly high between students in camps. More efforts should be made to ensure that initiatives in camp and Syrian second-shift schools are promoting social cohesion and that opportunities are made available to these schools.

7.5 Social Cohesion, the Family and Community

- There were many positive examples of initiatives reported in schools which could be transferred to other schools (e.g. lecture programmes focusing on topics including avoiding early marriage and health and well-being issues; sporting events; community celebrations; WhatsApp groups; charitable events etc.). On a practical level, suitable spaces and resources to enable schools to host events which bring different communities together would contribute to the success of improving social cohesion. Creative approaches could also help overcome the impacts of limited spaces, such as encouraging schools to hold more small but recurring events that invite specific groups (such as by grade level). Furthermore, there is a need to understand the conflicting perspectives of schools and parents. Further research to examine the perspective of parents would be valuable in informing how more positive parent-school relationships could be developed.

- An open dialogue about how refugee families are viewed and strategies for the development of more positive discourses which disrupt stereotypes about refugee families would support efforts to develop more positive parent-school relationships.

7.6 Socio-economic Factors

- Promoting social cohesion in Jordan's schools stretches beyond education; factors such as socio-economic issues and inequalities, including gender inequality also influence the process. Poverty intersects with displacement, creating particular challenges for Syrian children and families.
- Alongside initiatives to tackle poverty and inequality, and early marriage among some Syrian communities, Syrian students would benefit from having vocational and higher-education

opportunities available to provide hope for their future and to encourage them to persist in school.

7.7 Conclusion

The relationship between education and social cohesion is multi-faceted and complex. Education can both reflect and exacerbate social tensions; it can also be used to promote shared values and respect for diversity and provide opportunities for friendships across differences. This research has highlighted a number of interacting and overlapping factors that are important for enhancing social cohesion: inclusive teaching and learning approaches which are accessible to all; well-designed extended learning activities; positive relations within school; and a safe and protective school environment. However, it has also emphasised the importance of a broader approach which recognises the family and community and the fact that further research in this area is required. Finally, the research stresses that social cohesion is threatened by inequalities, and cannot be achieved without equality across multiple levels in society.

1.1 Research Design

The research design drew on the findings from the four working papers and a scoping visit to Jordan in October 2018. The scoping visit included interviews with three school principals, three school counsellors, a Syrian parent, a classroom assistant, three MoE officials and four non-governmental organisations (Norwegian Refugee Council, UNICEF, World Vision, and Questscope). It also included visits to three schools (one regular school and two camp schools), and a presentation and discussions with donors.

The research adopted a mixed-methods approach to examine social cohesion across different MoE school types in Jordan.[43] A sample of 32 MoE schools was selected across area types, including rural and urban. Schools that had both grades 6 and 9 were selected, so larger schools are over-represented in our sample. Regular and host-community schools which had larger numbers of Syrians in grades 6 and 9 were selected. All regular schools in the sample were shifted schools, co-located with a Syrian second shift. Within this sample we aimed to achieve a broadly balanced sample of gender and school type, which included:

- Regular schools: majority Jordanian students with fewer than 10% Syrian students. These schools may be shifted;
- Host-community schools: mostly Jordanian students with between 10-50% Syrian students;
- Syrian second-shift schools in the host community: majority Syrian students;
- Camp schools: Syrian students in Azraq and Zaatari camps. In camp schools, the morning shift typically serves females, while the second shift serves males.

In order to enable us to compare schools in Azraq and Zaatari camps, this school type is slightly over-represented in our sample, but only two schools were selected per camp (one boys' school and one girls' school in each camp). Using these selection criteria, all the schools in our sample were located in urban areas or camps. In addition, we sampled eight non-formal schools, seven in urban centres and one in Azraq camp.

1.2 Data Collection

The research instruments developed were based on UNICEF's approach and tools for measuring social cohesion in conflict-affected contexts.[44] Members from the Ministry of Education and the Queen Rania Foundation reviewed the instruments to ensure cultural appropriateness. Prior to data collection, the survey instruments were piloted and updated. The school sample was selected with guidance from the team at Queen Rania Foundation who also provided oversight of data collection. In each formal MoE school, students in grades 6 and 9 were asked to complete a survey (N= 2,884). In addition, we sampled eight Non-Formal Learning Centres (NFLCs). As teaching is not organised

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[43] The MoE further subdivides school types to include non-shifted schools and second-shift schools with mixed nationalities. See for example the Education Sector Plan 2018-2022. Due to the size of this study, we limited the school types to four.

[44] UNICEF (2014) *Peacebuilding and Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts Programme: A Compilation of Tools for Measuring Social Cohesion, Resilience, and Peacebuilding*. New York: UNICEF.

into grades in these centres, the sample consisted of a mix of ages between grades 6 and 9 (N= 174). Table 6 presents the sample breakdown by school type, gender, and grade.[45]

Table 6. Breakdown of Student Responses Achieved by School Type, Gender, and Grade

	# OF SCHOOLS	GENDER		GRADE LEVEL		TOTAL (BY SCHOOL TYPE)
		MALE	FEMALE	GRADE 6	GRADE 9	
HOST COMMUNITY	15	569	707	647	629	1,276
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	10	453	427	504	376	880
REGULAR	3	207	128	179	156	335
ZAATARI CAMP	2	79	120	103	96	199
AZRAQ CAMP	2	100	94	140	54	194
NON-FORMAL LEARNING CENTRES	8	97	81	n/a	n/a	178
CUMULATIVE TOTAL	**40**	**1,505**	**1,557**	**1,573**	**1,311**	**3,062**

The principals of all schools were interviewed. At formal schools, three principals were the same for the morning and second shifts, giving a total of 29 school-principal interviews. At NFLCs one principal was the same for male and female centres, giving a total of six principal interviews at NFLCs. The interviews focused on the relations between the school and parents/community, and interpersonal relationships in the school (between teachers and students and between students). Interviews explored views on specific MoE initiatives designed to promote social cohesion in schools (Nashatati, Makani, Madrasati, and Ma'an, student parliaments and parent-teacher associations), and any other initiatives implemented in the school aimed to foster and promote social cohesion. Below is a summary of these initiatives:

- Nashatati: This initiative is supported by Generations for Peace, UNICEF, and the MoE, and involves teacher training as well as spaces and opportunities for Jordanian and Syrian students to meet through after-school activities, to increase social cohesion and reduce violence in schools.

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[45] Four students at Zaatari camp students did not disclose their gender; these students have been excluded from the analysis.

- Makani: Funded by UNICEF and with the support of the MoE, Makani seeks to protect vulnerable children through safe and interactive spaces for learning, helping students develop life skills. This is the only initiative implemented within non-formal learning centres.
- Madrasati: The programme supports Jordan's most disadvantaged public schools to improve physical and socio-emotional features in schools such as infrastructure, equipment and supplies, and support for teacher development.
- Ma'an: This initiative targets teachers, counsellors, and school principals and aims to reduce violence and tensions in schools. The Ma'an programme includes a monthly online survey that allows students to report incidents of violence, as well as teacher training.

1.2.1 Case-Study Schools

Six case-study schools were selected for more in-depth qualitative exploration. The qualitative data aimed to provide insights into classroom practices and the perspectives of teachers, students, and parents. Selection of the case-study schools was done during the quantitative phase of data collection. A school from each of the four school types --host-community, Syrian second-shift, regular, and camp-- was selected. In addition, the selection included two further schools which field researchers suggested would be interesting: one because students there expressed concern at the quality of the education they were receiving; and another because the school principal reported interesting activities and initiatives in the school that could represent examples of good practice. In order to maintain a gender balance in the case-study schools, qualitative data collection in the camp school was split between the morning shift (girls) and second shift (boys). All schools have been anonymised to protect their identity. An overview of the qualitative data collected is provided in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Summary of Qualitative Data Collected

School type	No. of schools	Principal interview	Classroom observation	Teacher interview	Student Focus group	Parent focus group
Host community	15	15	4	4	3 female	1
Syrian second-shift	10	10	8	8	4 male	2
Regular	3		4	4	2 female 1 male	1
Zaatari camp	2	2	0	0	1 female	0
Azraq camp	2	2	4	4	1 female 1 male	1
NFLC	8	6	0	0	1 male 1 female	0
TOTAL	**40**	**35**	**20**	**20**	**15**	**5**

Classroom Observations

In each of the case-study schools, two grade 6 and two grade 9 classes were observed and the teachers were invited for an interview afterwards.[46] In large schools where there were more than two grade 6 and 9 classes, the selection of classes to be observed was made at random by the field researchers. Classroom observations were structured and followed an observation guide. They aimed to develop first-hand rich insights into the level of social cohesion within classrooms through a careful documentation of the atmosphere in the school and classroom, the amount of time spent on different activities, and the nature of interpersonal interactions (between students, and between students and teachers). They also offered an in-depth understanding of student access to quality learning, including the layout of the classroom, teaching resources available and used, and student access to materials (books, pens, etc.). This instrument was intended to corroborate data gathered from the interviews and the focus groups so that the overall research captures "theory in use" as well as "espoused theory". In other words, the research aimed to reflect any possible differences between the approaches which teachers said that they followed, and what could be observed in practice.[47] Twenty class observations were conducted in total.

Teacher Interviews

The teacher interviews explored teachers' understanding of social cohesion and the values they believed it was important for students to learn in relation to social cohesion; how these values could be promoted in class; and what activities and practices could promote social cohesion. Teachers were also asked about relationships and interactions in the classroom and the challenges they faced in promoting social cohesion. Twenty semi-structured teacher interviews were conducted in total.

Student Focus Groups

In order to understand students' experiences and perspectives about school, two student focus groups were conducted with Grade-9 students in each case-study school. Grade 9 was selected as we believed the older age group had the potential to provide deeper and more reflective insights. Three additional student focus groups were conducted in response to feedback from the field researchers during the quantitative data-collection phase. The first was at a large host-community school which had a high number of students from different nationalities; the second was at a regular boys' school with a high number of students absent on the day of the survey; the third was at a girls' camp school in Zaatari where again there was a high number of students absent on the day of the survey. Three broad topics were addressed in all of the focus groups: students' experiences of teaching and learning, their relationships in school (with teachers and other students), and friends and socialising generally. The additional focus groups included explorations of absenteeism. Two student focus groups were conducted at NFLCs; one at a NFLC for boys in Azraq, and one at a centre for girls in an urban context. The centre for girls was selected as it had a large and mixed-nationality population. Fifteen student focus groups were conducted in total.

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[46] Except in one school where one of the grade-6 teachers declined to be observed and interviewed. In this school an additional grade-9 class observation was made. Also, in the morning-shift camp school it was not possible to observe a grade-6 class, so again a grade-9 class was substituted.

[47] Espoused theories are those that an individual claims to follow. Theories-in-use are those than can be inferred from action. See: Argyris, C. and Schön, D. A. (1974) *Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Parent Focus Groups

Recognising the importance of home-school relationships, and of families as enablers of social cohesion, parent focus groups were conducted in the case-study schools. Five parent focus groups were conducted in total. Two focus groups were conducted with Syrian parents who had children in Syrian second-shift schools, and one with Syrian parents who had children in a camp school. Two focus-group discussions were held with Jordanian parents, one with parents who had children at a regular school, and one with parents at a host-community school. One Syrian parent attended the latter focus group.

1.2.2 Data Analysis and Language Considerations

Issues related to language and translation were considered throughout the research. Several Arabic speakers worked on this project from methodology design to the analysis stage, and on both the quantitative and qualitative components of the research. In collaboration with the data-collection vendor, a carefully tailored research-methods training was delivered in Amman (31 March - 3 April 2019) on the use of qualitative and quantitative instruments. The training was facilitated in Arabic, and the instruments were amended based on feedback from the data-collection team - mainly independent research supervisors and enumerators. The survey instruments were piloted in a girls' school and a boys' school with students in grades 6 and 9. The outcome from the pilot led to further amendment of the instruments. The final (Arabic) instruments were then checked and approved for use by the Jordanian Ministry of Education, and back translation was carried out for the research team at the University of Sussex.

The team put in place a robust process to assure the quality of the quantitative data analyses and the results reported. This involved the following processes:

i. First, a member of the team with the required expertise in quantitative data analysis produced a proposed data analysis and report map. This report was reviewed by the entire team to assess the rigour of the methods, classifications, and analytical process. Following this, an initial report was produced using the analysis frame and output format agreed.

ii. Second, the output produced by the first team member was re-run by another member of the team to ensure that the method of analysis was correct and that the reported results could be replicated.

iii. Third, both the first and second team member's analysis and data output were analysed by a third expert team member to identify any inconsistencies and inaccuracies. Where differences and errors were noted, this was corrected.

iv. Additional quality assurance was provided by the team at Queen Rania Foundation.

The above processes ensured that the team put in place a rigorous process of data-checking and triangulation.

All data were collected in Arabic and translated into English. All interviews with teachers and all focus groups with parents and students were audio-recorded and fully transcribed. Six school principals declined to have their interview audio-recorded and the field researchers made written notes of their responses. At several points during the analysis stage, the original survey questions were examined by analysts in order to ensure that they accurately reflected the sentiments of those surveyed or interviewed. The transcripts of interviews and focus groups were analysed in English and at key points cross-referenced to the Arabic to check the accuracy of translations and intended meaning.

1.2.3 Limitations of the Study

The school sample was not representative of MoE schools in Jordan as it excluded smaller schools and schools with few or no Syrian students; there were no schools from the Southern governorates in the sample and camp schools were over-represented. The sample size was small, meaning that the findings cannot be generalised. In particular, it should be noted that just two schools in each camp were part of the sample; this should be borne in mind when considering the findings. The research design assumed that MoE initiatives would be more widespread across schools and more firmly embedded throughout a school than they were. The student survey was used with two grades (6 and 9) with a view to measuring changes in social cohesion across grades for those attending the same school setting and exposed to the same MoE initiatives. However, as reported, initiatives often only reached a few grades or a few teachers and some initiatives were too recent to enable measurement of their effect.

Finally, NFLCs in this study were selected on criteria of size, and in non-camp settings the mix of nationalities, and not according to whether they were known to have implemented MoE programmes. It has not therefore been possible to assess the effectiveness of the Makani programmes. Furthermore, the scale of the project did not enable either interviews with teachers or parents or classroom observations at NFLCs. A more holistic approach, similar to the approach with formal schools, would complement the findings presented here.

2.1 Introduction

This Annex provides a descriptive overview of the characteristics of the 32 formal MoE schools and eight NFLCs sampled for this study. This breakdown includes school type, student gender, and nationality. The analysis highlights differences in household and demographic characteristics, parental education, work, and poverty. This contextual information provides insight into the wider factors which can impact on learning and social cohesion in schools. Unless otherwise stated, all the data in this chapter are self-reported by students in the student survey.

2.2 Distribution of Schools by Descriptive Characteristics

Figure 12. Distribution of the Achieved Student Sample in Formal School Sample, by School Type
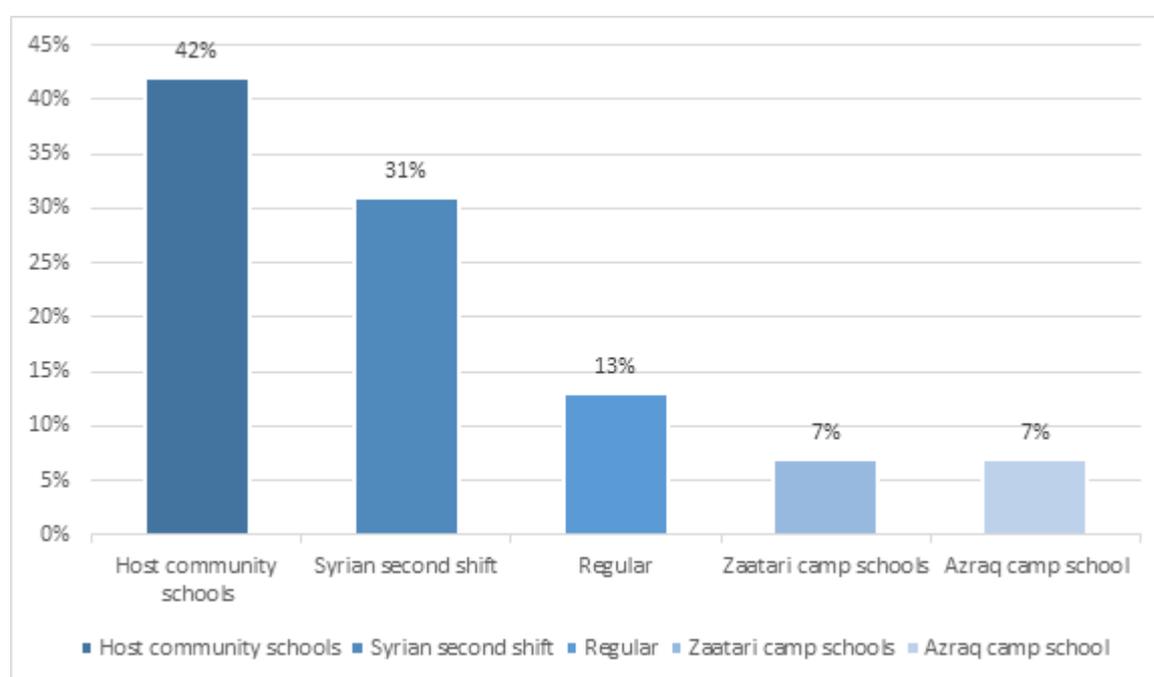
Figure 12 highlights the distribution of the achieved student sample in the formal-school sample, by school type. Figure 13 shows the distribution of the achieved student sample by gender across formal school types.

Figure 13. Distribution of Number of Students Sampled within each School Type, by Gender
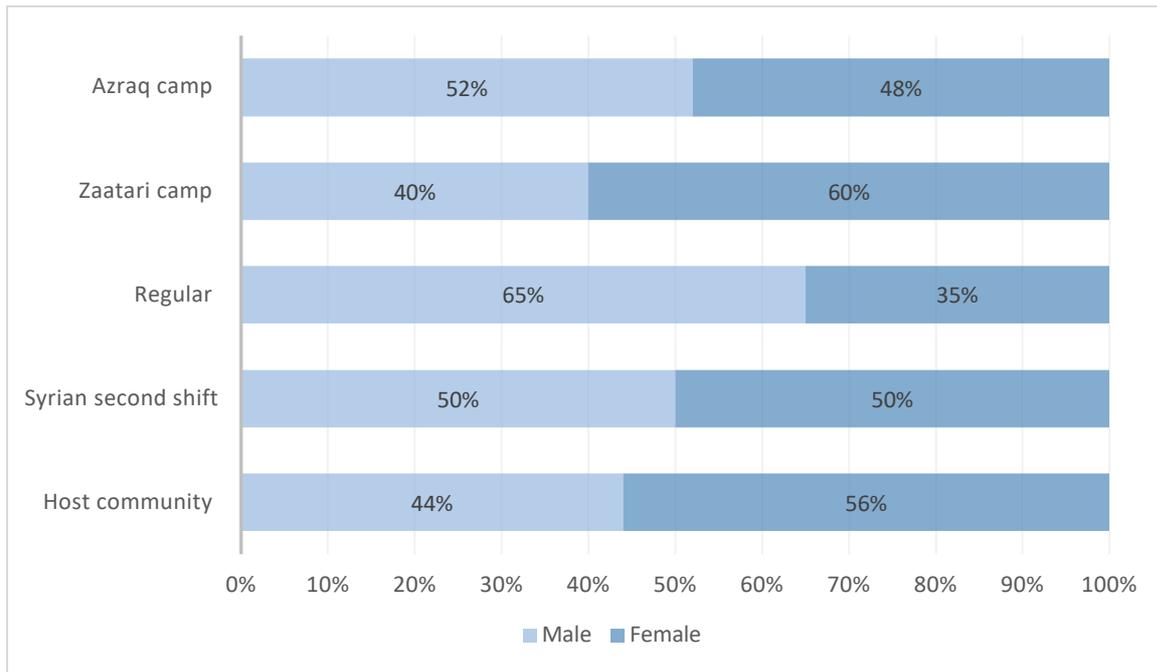
At regular schools the sampled data has a higher representation of males than all other school types. This reflects the sample of regular schools which consisted of two boys' schools and one girls' school.

After Azraq and Zaatari camp schools, the second highest percentage of Syrian students attended Syrian second-shift schools (Figure 14). Whereas Jordanian students made up more than 50% of students in the formal school sample, they made up 75% in the NFLC sample, while Syrian students made up just 21% (Figure 15).

*Figure 14. Distribution of Student Sample Achieved in Each School Type, by Nationality*
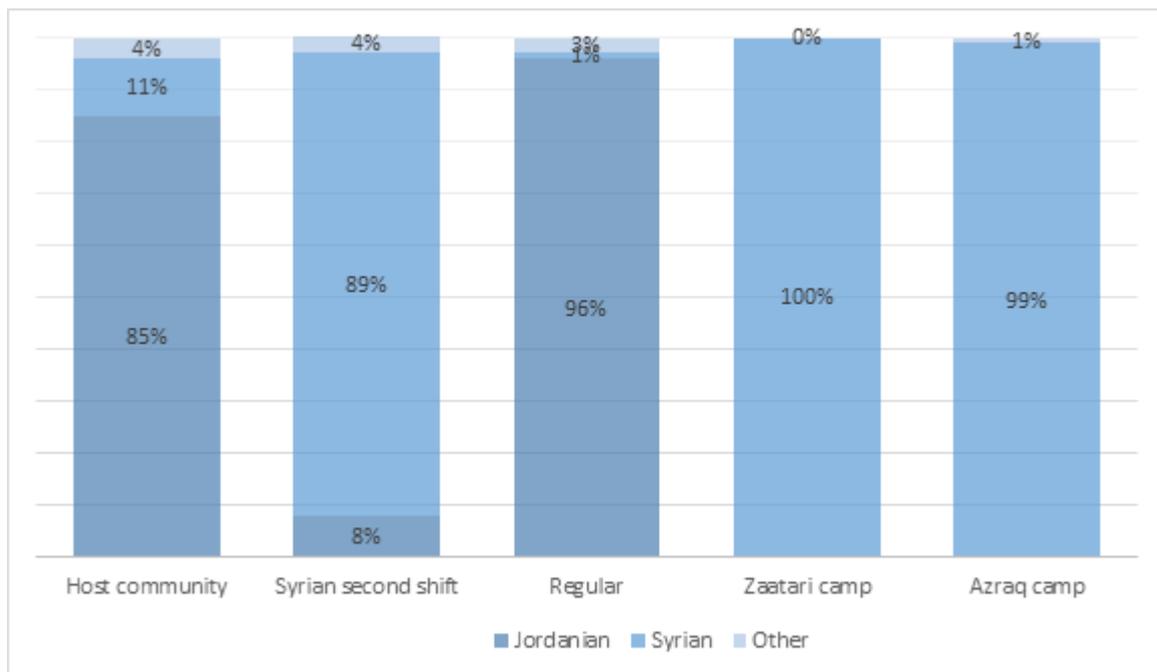
Figure 15. Distribution of Student Sample Achieved in Each School Type, by Nationality
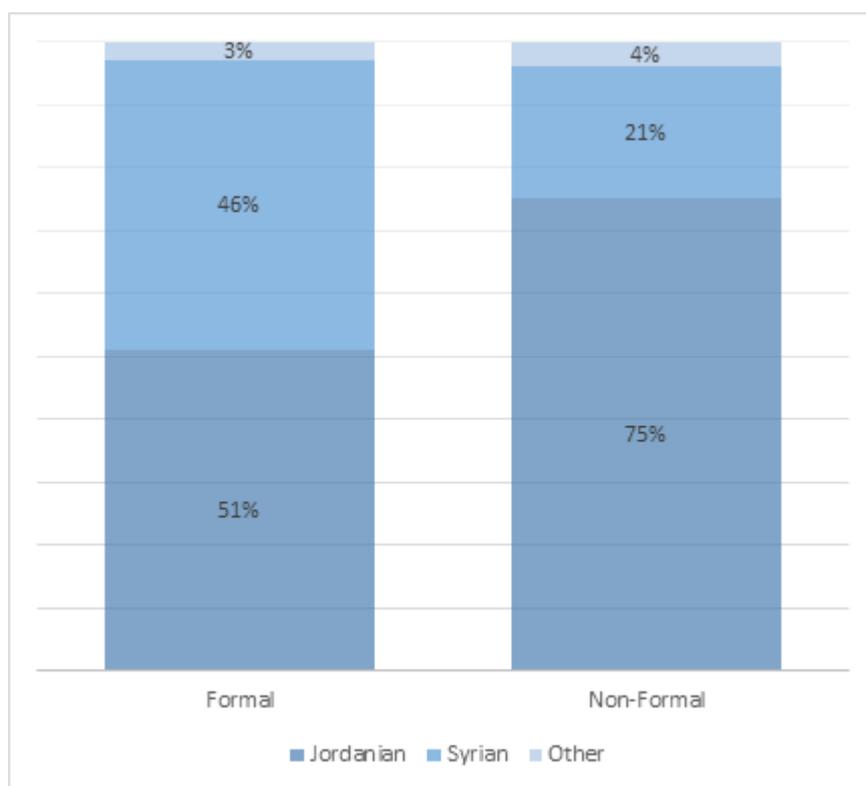
2.3 Household Characteristics in Formal Schools

The student survey measured the demographic characteristics of households, including the size of the household, division of labour between parents, and the educational background of parents. Table 8 indicates that there was little variation in household size and the number of children at home across the different school types represented in the survey. Syrian second-shift schools experienced the highest rate of missing fathers (19%), and 32% of these households were reported to be headed by a woman (Table 8).

Table 8. Demographic Characteristic of Households, Based on Students Within Different School Types

	AVERAGE # PEOPLE AT HOME	AVERAGE # CHILDREN AT HOME	WOMEN IN CHARGE OF HOUSEHOLD (%)	FATHER MISSING (%)
HOST COMMUNITY	6.70	3.46	11%	4%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	6.95	3.80	32%	19%
REGULAR	6.46	3.16	10%	4%
ZAATARI CAMP	7.48	4.60	16%	13%
AZRAQ CAMP	7.42	4.57	19%	8%

HOST COMMUNITY (BY NATIONALITY)	AVERAGE # PEOPLE AT HOME	AVERAGE # CHILDREN AT HOME	WOMEN IN CHARGE OF HOUSEHOLD (%)	FATHER MISSING (%)
JORDANIAN	6.69	3.45	10%	3%
SYRIAN	7.02	3.71	15%	6%
OTHER	5.98	3.10	20%	2%

2.4 Parental Education Across Different School Types

The survey asked students about the educational background of their parents. Parental education is recognised as a key indicator of children's likely achievement in education, the level of support for learning they receive at home, and the likelihood of persevering in education. The educational background of the mothers of students from the different schools is shown in Figure 16. Data showed that mothers in Azraq camp were the least likely to have received a basic education, followed by mothers in Zaatari camp. The mothers of students at host-community and regular schools were more highly educated and were more likely to have received a university education. Overall, the number of uneducated mothers was higher in schools with high percentages of Syrian students (second-shift, Zaatari, and Azraq schools).

Figure 16. Student-Reported Highest Level of Mother's Education for Students Within Different School Types
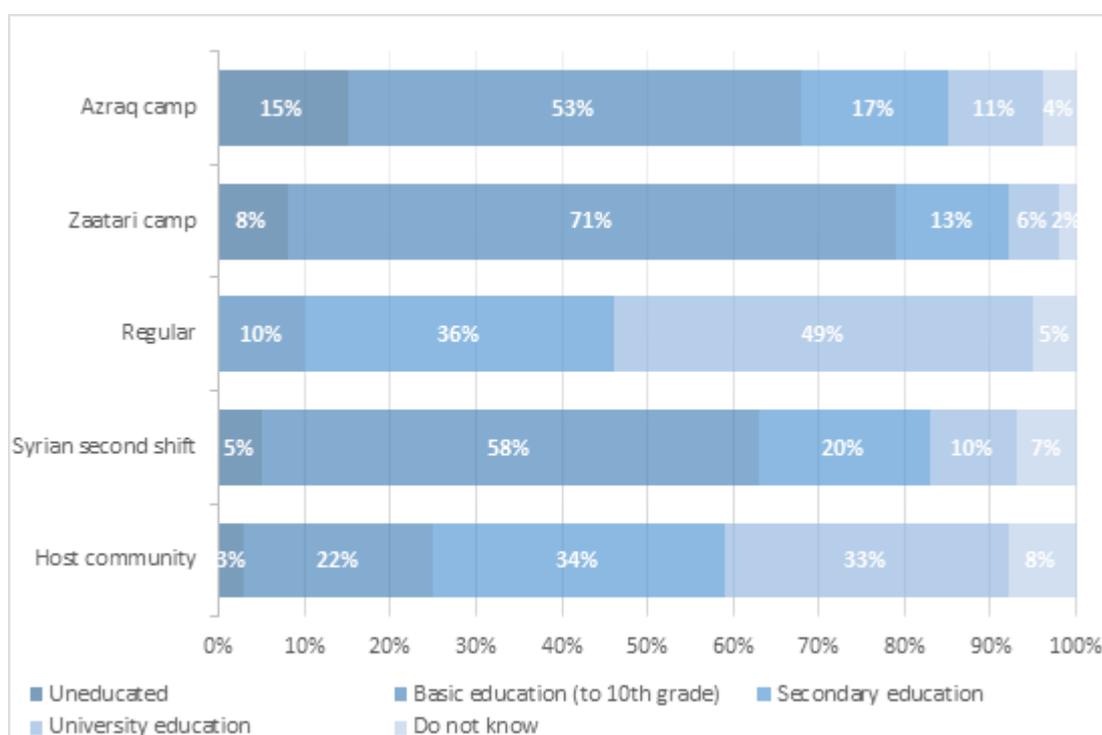
The same pattern held for the educational background of fathers (Figure 17). We observed lower levels of educational background among fathers in schools with higher ratios of Syrian students. Schools with parents with lower levels of education are less likely to be able to depend on parents to

support their children academically, and greater levels of support are likely to be required by the school.

Figure 17. Student-Reported Highest Level of Father's Education for Students Within the Different School Types
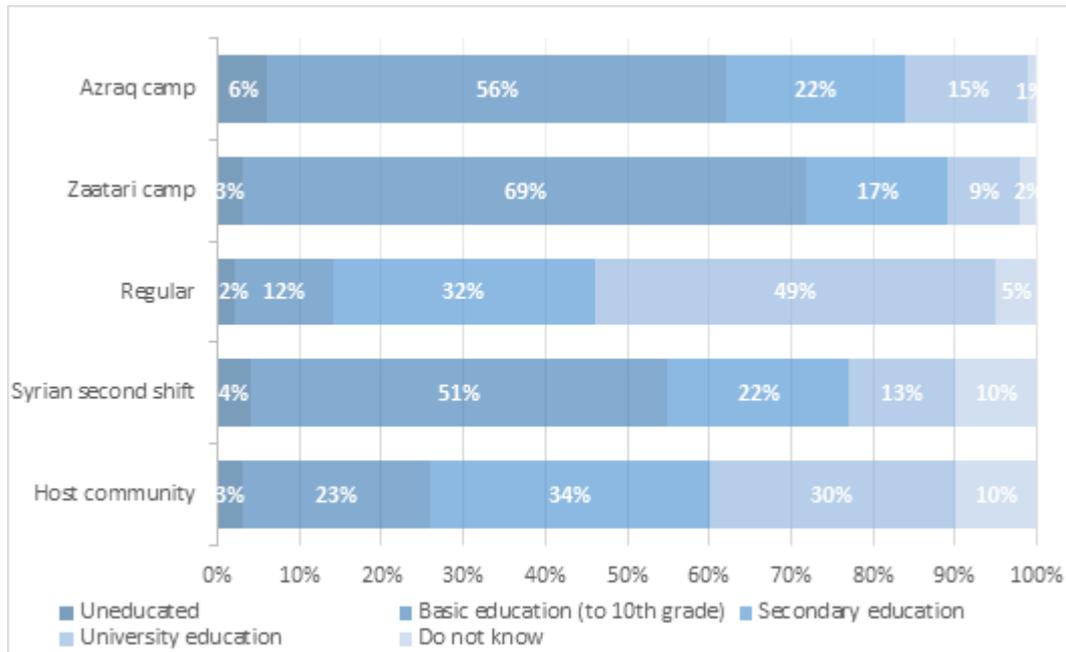
When parental education was compared with NFLCs we observed that mothers at NFLCs were more likely to be uneducated than mothers at formal schools, and levels of university education were 15% lower for mothers at NFLCs (Figure 18). A similar trend was observed across fathers' education (Figure 19).

Figure 18. Student-Reported Highest Level of Mother's Education. Comparison Between Formal and NFLCs
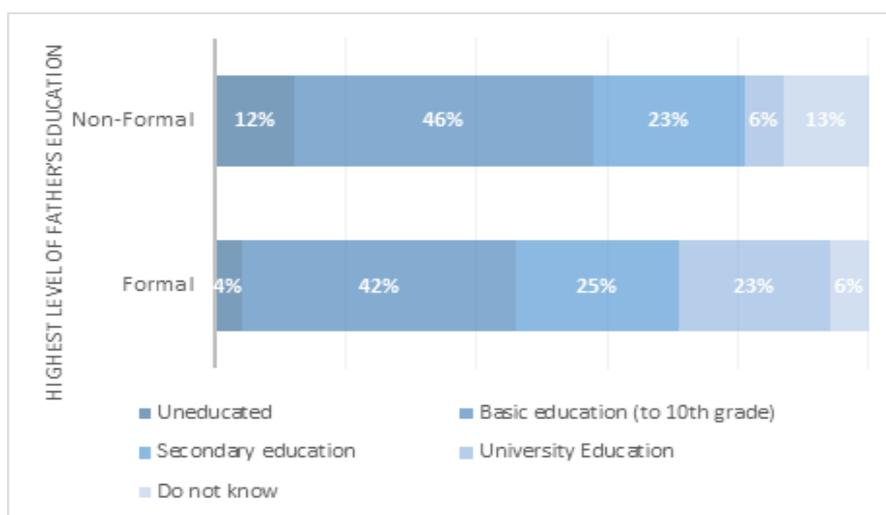
2.5 Poverty and Work Outside of the Home

Students were asked how often they did paid work outside of the house, and how often they received three meals a day (Table 9). Students at Syrian second-shift schools and Zaatari were slightly more likely to report that they worked outside of the home, and students at second-shift, Zaatari, and Azraq schools reported higher levels of not receiving three meals a day This would suggest that Syrian students in second-shift schools and camp schools were more likely to be living in poverty and facing challenging circumstances at home, which might impact their learning in school.

Table 9. Percentage of Students Who Work Outside of the Home and Receive Three Meals a Day, by School Type

DO YOU HAVE PAID WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR?	YES	SOMETIMES	NO
HOST COMMUNITY	6%	9%	85%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	7%	11%	82%
REGULAR	8%	5%	87%
ZAATARI CAMP	9%	8%	82%
AZRAQ CAMP	6%	9%	85%
DO YOU GET THREE MEALS A DAY?	YES	SOMETIMES	NO
HOST COMMUNITY	76%	17%	8%
SYRIAN SECOND SHIFT	60%	27%	13%
REGULAR	75%	18%	8%
ZAATARI CAMP	67%	24%	9%
AZRAQ CAMP	75%	14%	11%

2.6 Summary of Findings from the Contextual Data

A number of findings from this contextual data are relevant to understanding social cohesion in schools.

2.6.1 Family Poverty and Challenging Home Environment

Syrian refugee students were more likely to be living in a female-headed house, and to have an absent father. This rate was particularly high for Syrian students at second-shift schools where 32% of families were headed by a woman, and 19% of fathers were reported to be absent from the home. Syrian students at second-shift schools were also more likely to report that they only sometimes received three meals a day and were more likely to report employment outside of the home. These findings suggest that Syrian students in second-shift schools were more likely to be living in poverty and facing challenging circumstances at home, which in turn were likely to impact their learning and engagement with school. Teacher interviews highlighted the challenges for students who faced poverty and difficult circumstances at home, noting that these issues led to marginalisation and tensions due to differences in clothing, attendance, instability at home, ability to engage in social activities and to form positive relationships at school.

2.6.2 Levels of Parental Education

Levels of parental education were lowest at schools with high proportions of Syrian students. Parents with low educational levels are generally less likely to be able to support their children with academic work at home, and greater levels of support from teachers and schools are likely to be required to support children to achieve and progress in education. The level of parental education was lowest at NFLCs.