Examining the Challenges to Refugee Education: A Case Study of the Syrian

Refugee Crisis in Jordan

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This dissertation is dedicated to all of the teachers on the frontlines.

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Abstract

Background: Since 2011, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has hosted approximately 1.4 million displaced Syrians (GOJ, 2017). Nearly 83% of Syrian refugees in Jordan reside in host communities (Betts & Collier, 2017). One-third are children between five and 17 years (UNHCR 2020). The influx of school-age refugees from Syria has created unprecedented challenges for teachers, schools, and host communities in Jordan.

Purpose: This three-paper dissertation addresses the challenges to refugee education through a case study of the Syrian Refugee Crisis (SRC) in Jordan. Paper one assesses the relevance, progress, effectiveness, and impact of emergency education responses (EER) the Government of Jordan implemented in the years immediately following the Crisis's start. The analysis provides insight into these interventions, the consequences of which have not been sufficiently addressed by existing research. Paper two explores the impact of the SRC on Jordanian teachers' professional and personal experiences and, subsequently, their ability to provide quality education for their students. Themes detailed in this chapter will help policymakers better understand the implications of EER interventions for the teachers involved. Paper three considers how the refugee experience shapes identity and affects sense of belonging. It also posits that consideration of refugee identity as a form of social identity deserves recognition in student development theory and proposes a universal approach for understanding refugees' identity formation and sense of belonging. The literature review reveals a critical gap in the research on refugees and higher education. Collectively, these studies highlight some of the challenges to refugee education that host countries and communities face. These studies have important implications for refugee students' ability to get to and through higher education.

Methods: Paper one uses a systematic literature review approach and Collins' (2005) framework for qualitative policy analysis. Paper two is an interview-based, exploratory case study of teachers working in public, host-community schools. I used a grounded theory strategy for data analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Paper three is a synthesis of extant qualitative research (Timulak, 2009). **Results:** The EER interventions in Jordan allowed the Ministry of Education to hire more than 7,000 teachers and open 205 double-shift schools. These additions gave Syrian students access to formal school but also created serious unintended consequences, e.g., overcrowded classrooms, shortened teaching times, learning deficiencies, and declines in teachers' physical and mental wellbeing. Teachers innately turned to Al-Ghazali's Master-Pupil Relationship and Islamic Educational Psychology principles to support refugee students' individual, educational, and psychological needs. Their practices highlighted how refugees' unique backgrounds play a critical role in how students adapt and develop. Through intentional behaviors, teachers helped the refugees feel like they belonged. Belongingness requires inclusion, membership, and empathy. Inclusive school environments provide settings where refugee students can escape from trauma and migration stressors. The sense-of-belonging construct supports a holistic approach to student development that Western theories often overlook. Research suggests students with a developed sense of belonging have higher academic achievement and better overall wellbeing. **Conclusion:** This research has implications for educational policy and the effects of particular interventions on teachers and their refugee students, while also demonstrating the need to revisit student development theory in light of refugee identity.

Keywords: refugee education, sense-of-belonging, EER interventions

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Chapter I

Introduction

Since the onset of the Syrian conflict in 2011, Jordan's refugee population has increased exponentially, with the largest wave of asylum seekers entering the country in 2013 (GOJ, 2017; UNHCR, 2021). Although the number of Syrian refugees officially registered in Jordan currently stands at more than 665,000 (UNHCR, 2021), the Government of Jordan (hereafter, "Government" or GOJ) estimates upwards of 1.4 million reside in the Kingdom (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; Ghazal, 2018a; GOJ, 2014b, 2016d, 2017; The Rockefeller Foundation, 2017). This number includes some 750,000 Syrian seasonal workers who lived in the country before the war, as the GOJ considers these individuals as seeking refuge (GOJ, 2013, 2014a, 2014b).

In 2019, Jordan's population reached a peak of approximately 10.1 million (Worldometer.info, 2020; WorldPopulationReview.com, 2020); the number of displaced Syrians alone represented an astounding 13.9% of Jordan's entire population, up from the 11% reported in previous research (Betts & Collier, 2017; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2017; The Rockefeller Foundation, 2017). The vast majority of Syrian refugees in Jordan—roughly 83%—reside in host communities, not camps (Betts & Collier, 2017; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2017; Shah, 2018; UNHCR, 2020c, 2021). Moreover, one-third of Syrian refugees in Jordan are children between ages five and 17 (GOJ, 2017; UNHCR 2021). The resulting strain placed on Jordan's infrastructure, economy, and social services is at a critical breaking point (Ghazal, 2018b; GOJ, 2014b), especially given the fragile state of these domains in the years leading up to the Syria Crisis (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2013, 2017). Consequently, host

communities in Jordan, specifically those in the north and the capital city of Amman, "feel acutely the impact of the crisis on their daily lives … and its pressure on local service delivery, natural resources and the labour market" (GOJ, 2017, p. 7; see also Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016).

In response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis (hereafter, "Crisis" or SRC), Jordan's Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC) has, since 2013, annually compiled and published copious data on the impact of the Crisis on "public service sectors such as education, energy, justice, health, municipal services, transport and WASH [Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene]" (GOJ, 2017, p. 17). Initial assessments also addressed the Crisis's impact on housing (GOJ, 2013, 2014a). MOPIC's seminal document for response and resilience design—the Jordan Response Plan to the Syria Crisis (JRP)—is

> a three-year plan that seeks to address the needs and vulnerabilities of Syrian refugees and Jordanian people, communities and institutions affected by the crisis. It incorporates refugee and resilience responses into one comprehensive vulnerability assessment and one single plan for each sector. The JRP 2018–2020 fully integrates the most recent policy decisions taken by the Government of Jordan on livelihood and education issues, thereby becoming the only national document within which international grants for the Syria crisis should be provided. (GOJ, 2017, p. 1)

Among the critical issues in education, the JRP 2018–2020 includes the following: "poor learning environments, insufficient and underqualified teachers, inadequate teacher training, and outdated curriculum and pedagogy" (p. 56) and "further accelerated depreciation of infrastructure and equipment" (GOJ, 2017, p. 44).

Jordan's Refugee Dilemma: History and Background

The current refugee situation in Jordan developed through the convergence of three principal factors. First, political unrest in the region culminated in a bloody civil war in Syria and a jihadist takeover in Iraq—the Kingdom's closest neighbors in terms of both geography and trade. Second, marred by an ongoing economic crisis, the middle-income country could no longer shoulder the weight of an additional 1.4 million inhabitants without making marked and extreme changes in its domestic policies and public infrastructure. Third, as a country exiguous in natural resources, save the untapped potential for human capital, Jordan's ability to provide sufficient and quality social services swiftly came under threat. The following section offers a glimpse into each of these critical issues and addresses the strain the Crisis has placed on host communities.

The Syrian Civil War

The Syrian Civil War began as a direct result of uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) aimed at overthrowing corrupt and autocratic regimes (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014; Gelvin, 2015; Romero, 2018; Telegraph, 2011). Following protestors' successful ousting of despotic rulers in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, waves of demonstrations broke out in succession across the region, with the most violent events in Libya, Syria, and Yemen, respectively (Blight et al., 2012; Gelvin, 2015). While each country boasted individual grievances against their respective governments, the uprisings' cumulative goal remained a unified one. The people demanded change, "political freedoms" (Calamur, 2019, para. 15; see also Gelvin, 2015), and dignity vis-à-vis economic opportunity for the millions of unemployed youths (Gelvin, 2015; LaGraffe, 2012; Tabler, 2018).

What began in February 2011 as peaceful protests against a harsh and corrupt government quickly escalated as the regime cracked down on demonstrations (Salloukh, 2013). The armed uprising in Syria began in March 2011, when the national army fired on unarmed protestors in the city of Deraa. Demonstrators were decrying the arrest of teenage boys accused of painting anti-government graffiti in a public space. The army killed several citizens, which ignited public rage (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014; Romero, 2018; Tabler, 2018; Telegraph, 2011). Thousands took to the streets in Deraa, demanding the resignation of President Bashar al-Assad, and burning to the ground the local headquarters of the Ba'ath Party—the constitutionally-backed political bloc that rules over the country (BBC News, 2012; Gartenstein-Ross, 2014, Romero, 2018; Telegraph, 2011). The regime's army again responded by firing upon hordes of citizens, this time at the Omari Mosque, the provisional hub of the anti-government movement (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014; Gelvin, 2015). By October 2011, security forces had killed an estimated 3,000 civilians (Telegraph, 2011).

Thus, what began with the peoples' mild dissent was quickly escalated by a fire-and-fury response from the authoritarian regime. The attack on the Omari Mosque set into motion a tailspin of events. Some "soldiers began to defect rather than following orders to shoot protestors" (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014, p. 4; see also BBC News, 2012), while still others themselves became targets of attack (Black, 2011; Marsh, 2011). Subsequently, Syria's political alignment with Iran left the regime isolated from neighboring Sunni states, which "helped the opposition find sponsors" (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014, p. 4). The internationally recognized Syrian National Coalition (SNC)—formed in opposition to the Assad regime and its benefactors—gained the "political and material"

support of Qatar, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014, p. 4). Both the SNC

and the Free Syrian Army (FSA), the "embryonic military opposition," established a base

in "Turkish territory" (Phillips, 2017, p. 4).

Even before the Arab League voted to suspend Syria's membership in December

2011—a move brokered by Qatar with Saudi Arabia's blessing (Phillips, 2017)—several

world leaders expressed concern that Assad should step down (Bakri, 2011; Muir, 2011;

Ukman & Sly, 2011; VOA News, 2012). Instead, the regime doubled down on its

"Machiavellian strategy" (Gartenstein-Ross, 2014, p. 3). Within a few months, the

country was embroiled in a grisly civil war between the government and no less than a

half-dozen different factions (BBC News, 2013; Romero, 2018). In 2015, to secure its

military presence in Syria and cement its position in the region, Russia joined the fray on

the Assad regime's side (Calamur, 2019; Manlove, 2018; Sladden et al., 2017).

On March 6, 2014, Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, a senior fellow at the Foundation

for Defense of Democracies, warned the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the

spillover effects posed by the ongoing war in Syria, a battle he foretold would not see its

end any time soon. Among these threats was the potential crisis in Jordan, a country

that—at the time—had provided the FSA with the highest number of foreign fighters.

The issue, he claimed, lies in the return of the jihadist army's men once the war died

down. Specifically, he argued, as Jordan was and is custodian to a significant number of

Syrian refugees, animosity and "the potential for radicalization within the refugee

problem is a real concern" (p. 14). Gartenstein-Ross's fears were not unfounded. As the

birthplace of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an alleged former al-Qaeda assassin and high

school dropout (Gettleman, 2006), Jordan as a country is indeed a historical hotbed for

jihadist recruitment. In a 2016 study, the National Bureau of Economic Research found Jordan ranked fifth in the world in terms of contributing fighters to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (hereafter, "Islamic State" or ISIS), behind Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Russia, and Turkey (Benmelech & Klor, 2016; Bremmer, 2017).

What Gartenstein-Ross accurately described in 2014 as a "stalemate" (p. 3) between the Assad regime and Western-backed insurgents quickly morphed into a fight against the newly-formed Islamic State, and a proxy war between Russia, Iran, China, Lebanon's Hezbollah; Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar; and Israel for a foothold in the Middle East (Manlove, 2019; Salloukh, 2013), in arguably one of the most historically significant countries in the region (Gearon, 2016). Years later, the bloodiest war in the region's modern history (Ray, n.d.) has entered the next phase but continues nonetheless. Meanwhile, Jordan remains saddled with the responsibility of housing and caring for over a million refugees. As previously stated, over one-third of these individuals are school-aged children (GOJ, 2017; UNHCR, 2021). Regrettably, as extensive research has suggested, out-of-school refugee children are particularly susceptible to recruitment by extremist forces, making the task of educating Syrian refugee children in Jordan an ever more important one (de Silva, 2017; Idris, 2018; Jenkins, 2007; Qablan, 2014; UNHCR, 2016; van der Heide & Geenan, 2017).

Jordan's Economic Woes

Exacerbating the Syrian Refugee Crisis is Jordan's precarious economic situation (Karam & Zellman, 2017). Before the signing of the Jordan Compact in 2016 (hereafter, "Compact"), national law prohibited refugees from working, although many sought low-skill, low-paying jobs in the informal market (Betts & Collier, 2017; Brandt & Earle,

2018; GOJ, 2016b). Still, unemployment rates continue to grow, especially among Syrian refugees and Jordan's most impoverished citizens (Alhajahmad et al., 2018; Ajluni & Lockhart, 2019; Faek, 2018; World Bank, 2018). With Syrians specifically, mounting economic disparity has led to increased occurrences of child labor and early marriage (GOJ, 2017; Qablan, 2014; UNICEF, 2015; Washington et al., 2015), keeping children out of school, and thus perpetuating a cycle of poverty (GOJ, 2017; Tabazah, 2017; UNHCR, 2016). High rent prices driven by inflation have only added to the financial burdens both created by and imposed upon the hundreds of thousands of refugees living in host communities in Jordan's urban areas (GOJ, 2014a, 2017).

The Jordan Compact 2016 offered hope to the economy and refugees alike in that it removed some of the legal barriers to employment that Syrian refugees previously faced (GOJ, 2016b). In a pivotal deal between the GOJ and the European Union (EU), the latter promised grant-based investment aid for host communities in exchange for "incentives to businesses" (GOJ, 2016b, p. 1) by the former. The GOJ agreed to "undertake the necessary administrative changes to allow Syrian refugees to apply for work permits both inside and outside of the [development] zones" (p. 2) delineated in the agreement (GOJ, 2016b). Both parties aimed to increase economic development opportunities in Jordan while also helping to alleviate record unemployment and minimize the reliance on the informal market (Barbelet et al., 2018; GOJ, 2016b; Mellinger & van Berlo, 2016). Nevertheless, complaints about a lack of access to certain professions and accusations of Syrian refugees being "steered into illegal jobs" (Faek, 2018, title) continue to plague the labor market and threaten economic growth and "political stability" (Faek, 2018, para. 8; see also Ajluni & Lockhart, 2019; GOJ, 2018).

As of October 2019, the GOJ had issued just over 153,000 work permits of the 200,000 promised (Husseini, 2019).

Additionally, four months after the Compact's enactment, escalating danger at the Jordanian-Syrian border prompted the GOJ to prohibit further entry of refugees and asylum-seekers (Specia, 2018; Sweis, 2016), a decision long overdue in the minds of Jordanian nationals (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; Ghazal, 2018c; Proctor, 2014). With countless unregistered and undocumented individuals consuming public goods— individuals effectively unable to contribute to supporting government services via payment of income taxes—the Kingdom's limited resources have dwindled substantially (Shah, 2018). Factoring in the added effects of trade restrictions due to closed borders with Syria and Iraq, the country's already weakened economy inevitably began to buckle (Abu Nimah, 2018; Ellyatt, 2018; Wells, 2015).

As a result, Jordan has been forced to rely on the donations of neighboring states—many of whom refused to receive refugees altogether—to cover necessary operational costs (Al-Damaa, 2018; Ellyatt, 2018; GOJ, 2017; Malsin, 2015; Surana, 2017; The Rockefeller Foundation, 2017; Wells, 2015). Even though pledges of financial support flowed heavily at the start of the Crisis, the payouts making good on them diminished over time, as many countries began to experience refugee fatigue (Bar'el, 2018; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2017; Harper et al., 2016). Furthermore, recent cuts to United Nations' funding by the US (Deen, 2018; HuffPost, 2018; Keller, 2019) and other governments (Briggs, 2018) have contributed to a deficit in the quantity and quality of services refugees receive by the very intergovernmental organization

(IGO) that, by design, serves displaced-person populations worldwide (UNHCR, 2020a, 2020b).

Jordan's dependence on external financing is so high, in the first quarter of 2018, public debt accounted for a record 96.4% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP; Hmaidat, 2018). For comparison, in 2011, public debt stood at 65.4% of GDP (GOJ, 2013). Remarked His Excellency Imad Najib Fakhoury, minister of planning and international cooperation, on foreign aid:

> critical financial and technical support of the international community … has provided actual contracted grants to the JRP for about USD 1.7 billion, corresponding to 65% of funding requirements in 2017. Although this is a record amount in the JRP history, unfortunately the needs and requirements of Syrian refugees and Jordanian host communities still vastly outpace the financial support received, in addition to the fact that recent increased financial assistance never compensated Jordan for prior years when support was much lower. This implies that any deficit in financing the JRP has been borne by the Government of Jordan, hence worsening our fiscal space, which has in turn negatively affected the life quality of Jordanians and Syrians alike. (GOJ, 2017, p. iv)

Still, the Syria crisis is not solely to blame for the Hashemite Kingdom's economic woes (Ajluni & Lockhart, 2019). The economy had been at risk of collapse for many years prior, for myriad reasons dating back to and including the Great Recession (Alshoubaki & Harris, 2018; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; Ellyatt, 2018; GOJ, 2013).

Nevertheless, the added financial strain on a country that historically has relied heavily on tourism and foreign direct investment (FDI) to subsist (Ellyatt, 2018; Singh, 2020) forced the GOJ to "reallocate scarce capital to meet the sudden and growing

demands necessitated by the Syria crisis" (GOJ, 2017, p. 41). According to the GOJ, areas most impacted by indirect costs "may include ensued costs associated with the effect of conflict, like the loss of welfare; loss of human capital; *educational opportunities*; capital flight; reduced production; trade and investment and declined tourism" and "may entail macroeconomic effects, such as inflation, unemployment and finally diminished economic growth" (GOJ, 2017, p. 50; emphasis added). Consequently, the Government claimed that, in 2017, indirect loss equated to approximately USD 3.1 billion, not counting capital expenditures. Additionally, the direct cost—including providing social services and subsidies to refugees and accounting for "transport losses and security costs" (p. 7)—was estimated at an astonishing USD 10.3 billion (GOJ, 2017).

A Land Lacking in Resources

As a country, Jordan is severely "lacking mineral resources or other natural advantages" (GOJ, 2016a, p. 16). Despite being located in a region replete in oil and natural gas, Jordan claims no natural energy resource supply. Remarkably, 94% of the country's required energy reserves come from external sources (GOJ, 2019; p. 12). Demand spikes associated with the refugee-population influx affected individual households and the provision of public services, including services to healthcare facilities, schools, and even water delivery (GOJ, 2017, 2019). According to recent MOPIC data, energy consumption in the northern-most governorates, where refugee populations are highest, has increased by 2.08% (GOJ, 2019, p. 12). Part of this surge in demand pertains to operational costs, e.g., in refugee camps and double-shift schools, which are expensive to operate and consume high levels of energy (GOJ, 2017, 2019). As

a result, the GOJ has been forced to subsidize energy costs, which during 2011–2015 alone amassed sums exceeding USD 7.1 billion for electricity and petroleum (GOJ, 2017). Ironically, rising prices related to the increased demand for energy have caused a decrease in consumption levels in some economically vulnerable areas (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016), suggesting that some sections of the population cannot afford the cost of electricity.

The energy predicament has negatively impacted the environment. High energy prices have led to "illegal wood cutting" and "degradation" (GOJ, 2017, p. 22) of what little greenspace Jordan does have (Weir, 2016). Waste management services and facilities have maxed out and desperately need an overhaul (Weir, 2016); pharmaceutical waste has reached dangerous levels (GOJ, 2017; Weir, 2016). Water and air quality have suffered due to pollution (Weir, 2016); overgrazing and over-cultivation of farmlands have led to increased production difficulties (GOJ, 2017; Weir, 2016). To boost agricultural output, Jordan recently opted not to renew its lease to Israel for a small patch of arable land near the southern border (Al-Khalidi, 2018; Al Arabiya English, 2018). This move marked a partial breaking away from the two countries' 25-year-old peace treaty and subsequently increased political anxieties (Al-Khalidi, 2018; Al Arabiya English, 2018).

Arguably, Jordan's biggest resource quandary concerns water scarcity. To put the issue into context, Jordan ranks second in terms of the world's most water-scarce countries (GOJ, 2017). Additionally, leaks and problems with overstressed pumping systems in urban areas frequently render rural and outlying areas "unserved by [the] public water network" (GOJ, 2017, p. 36). Increased demand for water in host

communities, especially in the northern-most governorates and the capital city, is often met by supply shortages (Proctor, 2014). In some neighborhoods, water availability has dwindled in frequency from once-weekly to once-monthly (GOJ, 2017; Proctor, 2014).

In general, access to public water services has decreased, with as much as 56% of surveyed households in affected areas reporting reliance on delivery from private vendors (GOJ, 2017, p. 37). On the post-consumer side, increased wastewater levels have outpaced the country's capacity for treatment (Weir, 2016). At the residential level, "scarcity of quality and quantity [of water] is aggravating social tensions between refugees and host communities" (GOJ, 2017, p. 36), as theft and misuse remain among the most problematic concerns (Laub, 2017; Proctor, 2014). During the country's comprehensive curfew—an effort at combatting the spread of COVID-19 (Akour & Karimi, 2020)—residential water consumption increased by 40%, further threatening the country's capacity to safeguard public water supplies (Namrouqa, 2020).

Consequently, sanitation issues abound (GOJ, 2017). As recently as December 2018, nearly five years after the National Resilience Plan's introduction, only about one-third of Jordan's government schools met even the minimal "basic sanitation" requirements (UNICEF Jordan, 2018, para. 1). In 2015, roughly 40% of schools lacked the recommended 10 liters of potable water per student per day (GOJ, 2016c, p. 33). Many schools lack running water altogether, while others struggle with only "3 liters per pupil per day for drinking and handwashing" (GOJ, 2016c, p. 33). An astounding 95% of rural schools have no connection to public sewer lines, thus having no way to dispose of wastewater (GOJ, 2016c, p. 37). Overcrowding in schools has only exacerbated these pre-existing issues (GOJ, 2017).

Increased Pressures on Host Communities

Jordan ranks second globally in terms of refugees-to-nationals ratio, surpassed only by Lebanon (3RP, 2015; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; Weir, 2016). Culbertson, Oliker, et al. (2016b) describe the Crisis as "largely urban" (p. xi); approximately 83% of refugees live in Jordan's host communities (Betts & Collier, 2017; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2017; Shah, 2018; UNHCR, 2020c, 2021). This model of "urban refugee" integration has indeed become the worldwide norm (Anderson & Brandt, 2018, para. 1). Universally, refugees seem to prefer living in host communities over camps, viewing it as a way to expand their economic opportunities (3RP, 2018; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Research also suggests that residing in host communities may offer refugees a better chance of persisting with daily life than they might otherwise have in camps (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; Jacobsen, 2006; Loschman et al., 2019).

Paradoxically, often "there are several barriers to providing quality education to urban refugees," including a lack of "national policies … to support the integration of refugees into urban government schools" (Anderson & Brandt, 2018, para. 3). In Jordan, locals increasingly view refugees as a threat to their stability (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; Doucet, 2016; ILO, 2014; Proctor, 2014). Perceptions of unfairness in between-group opportunity distribution have only worsened the feelings of anxiety in host-community residents and translated to resentment against refugees (3RP, 2018; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2017). Since these communities fall under the purview of governorates, municipalities, and line ministries, UN Agencies and other NGOs/INGOs could only provide support services, not the elevated level of managed relief that the local governments needed (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Thus, as is

often the case with emergency response initiatives, at the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, stakeholders such as the UNHCR geared response efforts toward the short-term, with the assumption that the Crisis might last a year or two, as had previous revolts in the region (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016).

However, by 2013, as the war entered its third year, it became clear to policymakers in Jordan that the Crisis had entered a protracted state (3RP, 2017; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2013, 2014a). The costs of such coordination efforts grew rapidly and exorbitantly. Continuous endeavors with no real, perceivable, long-term solutions drained coffers and depleted valuable funds that might have been better utilized elsewhere (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Ultimately, waning patience for refugee support services, as well as mounting civil discontent in local neighborhoods, forced the GOJ to think longer-term and to focus relief efforts more on host communities and less on stop-gap fixes geared toward refugees' needs alone (3RP, 2017; Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2013, 2014a).

Therefore, in concert with UN Agencies, donors, INGOs, and NGOs, the GOJ sought to establish a "strategic partnership and coordination mechanism" (GOJ, 2014a, p. 27) for organizing services and addressing the emergency. The resulting enterprise, the Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis, introduced to the public wide-sweeping policy designs and changes in 12 sectors: education, energy, environment, health, justice, livelihoods and food, local governance services, shelter, social protection, transport, WASH, and management (GOJ, 2014b). Yet, managing nationals' and refugees' unique needs can prove tricky for local service providers, frontline workers, and municipal governments. Policymakers consistently struggle with finding ways to serve the

community-at-large, regularly juggling disparate programs that deliver services to specific groups, and all the while attempting to maintain community cohesion.

In his opening remarks to the JRP 2018–2020, Fakhoury underscored the dire situation of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan:

> The Syria crisis, including its unprecedented refugees' odyssey, has been globally recognized as the worst humanitarian disaster the world has faced since the Second World War, posing an increasing threat to human security, development and economic growth. Seven years into the crisis, the prospects of an impending return home for the 5.5 million Syrian refugees displaced in neighboring countries are still remote. Even if a peaceful solution materializes, it will take years to rebuild Syria and for its people to resettle. This means that host countries like Jordan will have to continue bearing the mounting costs of the crisis and facing the ever-increasing challenges to their social and economic fabric for 2018 and beyond. (GOJ, 2017, p. iii)

The Jordan Response Plan details the Hashemite Kingdom's strategy for addressing the burden that refugee swell has placed on social services since 2012. Although the JRP 2018–2020 reports commendable gains in some areas—access to education has increased, as has access to health care, cash assistance, and "non-food item kits" (p. iv)— the overall problem persists with no clear end in sight. Whether the policies implemented in response to the Crisis will have positive, long-term effects remains unclear.

Meanwhile, the SRC continues to place widespread burdens on Jordan's host communities. The education sector has been hit particularly hard, not only in terms of volume of students but also concerning resource capacities. Jordan's predicament

represents but one of many concurrent humanitarian crises worldwide. Understanding the impact of its response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis may provide helpful insight into the many challenges host countries, especially in the developing world, face in providing quality education to refugee and host community students during protracted crises.

Purpose and Design of Study

This three-paper dissertation addresses the challenges to refugee education through a case study of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan. Through the research and context presented in this dissertation, I elucidate: (a) the conditions that led to the SRC in Jordan (Introduction), (b) the Government's response to the influx of refugee youths entering the education system (Chapter Two), (c) teachers' experiences providing education services to refugee youths in Amman (Chapter Three), and (d) how refugees' experiences shape identity and belongingness (Chapter Four). This research has implications for educational policy and the effects of particular interventions on teachers and their refugee students, while also demonstrating the need to revisit student development theory in light of refugee identity.

To that end, I conducted three separate but related studies. Paper one, titled "Assessing the efficacy of emergency education response interventions in Jordan: A qualitative policy analysis," assesses the relevance, progress, effectiveness, and impact of emergency education response interventions the GOJ implemented in the years immediately following the Crisis's start. In this chapter, I explore: (a) How and over what period did education-oriented interventions implemented to address the crisis in public K-12 schools within refugee host communities in Jordan become the status quo? and (b) How did these interventions affect teaching and learning in Amman? The analysis

provides insight into these interventions, the consequences of which have not been sufficiently addressed by existing research.

Relatedly, Jordan's teachers are expected to manage refugees' psychosocial needs, yet there is insufficient research examining teachers' needs. Paper two is titled "Examining the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on teachers' experiences in Jordan." Appropriately, it explores the impact of the SRC on Jordanian teachers' professional and personal experiences and, subsequently, their ability to provide quality education for their students. The themes detailed in this chapter will help policymakers better understand the implications of EER interventions for the teachers involved. The paper addresses the following research questions: (a) How did the Crisis impact teachers' personal and professional experiences?; and (b) In what ways did the Crisis affect their teaching?

Paper three considers how refugees' unique experiences and backgrounds influence identity formation. Inspired by interview responses from paper two, I posit consideration of refugee identity as a form of social identity. I also propose sense-of-belonging as a universal construct that deserves recognition in student development theory. This literature review— "Refugee identity and sense of belonging in student development"—reveals a critical gap in the research on refugees and higher education. Collectively, these studies highlight some of the challenges to refugee education that host countries and communities face. Study results may help other governments better prepare for future education emergencies, including natural disasters and a variety of forced migration or humanitarian situations. These studies may also have important implications for refugee students' ability to get to and through higher education.

Chapter II

Assessing the Efficacy of Emergency Education Response Interventions in Jordan:

A Qualitative Policy Analysis

By March 2012, events tied to the Syrian Civil War had caused more than 5,000 men, women, and children to flee south into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (UNHCR, 2012d). Six months later, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) logged the total number of Syrian refugees residing in host communities, transit sites, and camps at just under 100,000 (UNHCR, 2012c). Still rebounding from previous global and regional crises (GOJ, 2013b), the financially strapped Kingdom relied heavily on response efforts and resources from the United Nations (UN), local and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs and INGOs, respectively), and other members of the international community, such as neighboring countries' financial support (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016).

Specifically, the UN coordinated services using an "off-the-shelf toolkit" known as a cluster system (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016, p. 40). This model applies turn-key, non-customized response plans across the multiple sectors routinely impacted by humanitarian crises (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Typically, each area becomes the responsibility of a UN agency, NGO, INGO, community-based organization (CBO), or other entity to whose mission it most closely aligns. For example, the UNHCR directly assists refugees with registration and resettlement; the World Health Organization, health initiatives; the World Food Program, food security issues; etc. (UNOCHA, 2020). Clusters operate under the oversight of a central managing body, such as the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA, 2020). In larger-scale crises, a

UN regional humanitarian coordinator collects data from affected countries and disseminates findings to the international community (UNHCR, 2012d; UNOCHA, 2020).

Cluster systems such as these are designed to allow host governments to work alongside external agencies and UN coordinators in developing frameworks for longer-term measures for crisis management (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; UNOCHA, 2020). They are by design short-term, emergency-response systems. Since the UN's mandate does not include navigating complex, protracted displacement situations (Betts & Collier, 2017), smaller branches of governments typically take the lead in one or more sectors (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Despite this cluster system approach, however, relief workers in Jordan frequently confronted debilitating obstacles, including a lack of organized, response-centered leadership by the Jordanian government itself (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). The Kingdom has had a long-standing reputation as a haven country that meets all of the requisite conditions favorable to refugees: proximity; secure, stable government; duty of non-refoulment; and shared language, religion, and historical ties (Chatelard, 2010). Yet, in reality, the Government of Jordan (hereafter, the "Government" or GOJ) proved unable to effectively manage the worsening situation (Betts & Collier, 2017).

A series of initial missteps left the government scrambling. From the outset, the issue of what to do with the rapidly increasing number of registered refugees weighed heavily on all parties involved. The Government, well aware of the abject failure of refugee camps dating back to the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, initially disallowed any plan that did not involve resettlement in host communities. As a result, through March 2012,

the UNHCR registered Syrians who entered Jordan at authorized border locations and placed them with host families or in rental units (UNHCR, 2012d). Individuals who entered through illegal border sites remained at transit facilities in Ramtha to await processing (UNHCR, 2012b).

The plan began to unravel when increases in daily arrivals at authorized border locations proceeded at an unmanageable rate (UNHCR, 2012b). To relieve the pressure on host families and communities, the Government pivoted, creating camps to house, educate, and otherwise care for Syrian refugees. With the help of INGOs, the Government erected these camps in northern governorates nearer the border between Jordan and Syria.

Jordan currently maintains three official and two unofficial camps, all of which operate at varying capacities (UHNCR, 2020b, 2020c). Za'atari, the country's first Syrian refugee camp, remains the world's fourth largest refugee camp (WFPUSA, 2020). Nevertheless, some 83% of Syrian refugees live in urban, peri-urban, or suburban areas (Betts & Collier, 2017; GOJ, 2017; Shah, 2018; UNHCR, 2020b, 2020d). Over one-third of Syrian refugees in Jordan are school-aged children (GOJ, 2017; UNHCR, 2020d).

Facing a refugee crisis in host-community schools, the GOJ employed two aggressive emergency education response (EER) interventions for educating Syrian refugee children. The first temporarily eliminated mandatory pre-service teacher training (GOJ, 2013b), and the second established over 200 double-shift schools (Leahy & Richard, 2013). These interventions, instituted in 2012 and announced in the Needs Assessment Review 2013, had an immediate effect on the 2012–2013 school year. Still, their lasting impact has yet to be fully assessed and understood. What is clear is that both

interventions, though well-intentioned, reversed goals that the GOJ had outlined in the National Education Strategy 2006 and the Education Reform for a Knowledge Economy (ERfKE) II project. As a result, both interventions effectively undid years-long progress that the Ministry of Education (hereafter, the "Ministry" or MOE) had achieved in K-12 education reform (GOJ, 2006, 2013b).

This study addressed the following research questions:

1) How and over what period did education-oriented interventions implemented to address the crisis in public K-12 schools within refugee host communities in Jordan become the status quo?

2) How did these interventions affect teaching and learning in Amman?

The paper is presented in two sections. For research question one, the literature review provides a timeline and context for policy development in Jordan in response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis (hereafter, the "Crisis" or SRC). It also details how the GOJ progressed through response and resilience planning and how this process led to the inclusion of long-term refugee education policies in the country's national development plans. For research question two, I used qualitative policy analysis to identify relevant interventions and examine their potential impact on education in Jordan. The following evaluative criteria guided the analysis:

(a) Relevance—do the interventions contribute to the needs of teachers in addressing the education of Syrian refugees?

(b) Progress—do the outcomes of the interventions have the expected results?

(c) Effectiveness—to what degree do the interventions attain their objectives? and

(d)   Impact—what is the effect of the interventions on teachers' overall ability to

teach (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2000, cited in Collins, 2005)?

I further explain these criteria in the Methodology section.

<div align="center">**Syrian Refugee Education in Jordan**</div>

When the Syria crisis erupted, national policies and plans for formal refugee

education did not exist in Jordan. Instead, as part of the cluster system response, the

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) initially took charge

of this task (UNHCR, 2012d). In December 2011, the organization negotiated a deal with

the GOJ allowing Syrian children living in host communities to enroll in public schools

up through the secondary level (grade 12), "regardless of their status in the country"

(UNHCR, 2012d, p. 14), provided they possessed the appropriate legal documentation

(UNHCR, 2016). This agreement was of critical importance for two reasons: (a) by law,

primary education (up through grade 10) in Jordan should be free and compulsory for

nationals; and (b) non-nationals are not permitted to attend public schools (GOJ 1952,

1994). The accommodation immediately gave more than 4,000 Syrian youths access to

education, although an estimated 3,000 children remained out of school (UNHCR,

2012d).

Despite these comparatively low early enrollment numbers, Jordan's already

overstretched public education system faced overcrowding in 36% of schools, unsafe

learning spaces, inadequate resources, and underqualified teachers (GOJ, 2006, 2013b).

As the population of Syrian refugee children increased, the GOJ found itself confronted

with the threat of either completely overwhelming the country's public K-12 education

system or creating a lost generation of out-of-school children (Qablan, 2014; UNHCR,

2016). This section follows the development of Jordan's refugee response. It explains how the Government's adaptation of longer-term resilience planning led to establishing a national refugee education strategy.

From Response to Resilience Planning

Transitioning from an urban-to-camp-to-urban model caused massive confusion, made refugee care challenging to monitor, and required hundreds of stakeholders and millions of dollars (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Although the Government wanted to maintain control of services, outsourcing management to NGOs seemed inevitable due to bandwidth issues (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016). Service provision depended heavily on donor funding and international support (Culbertson, Oliker, et al., 2016; see also the Jordan Response Plans, 2015–2019 and the Syria Regional Response Plans 1–6, 2012–2014). Since 2012, external organizations—primarily UN agencies, NGOs, and INGOs—have produced copious regional synopses of the Crisis. Broadly oriented, many of these reports addressed topics ranging from protection and security to medical needs and economic impact, and more, both in Syria and neighboring countries. Most propositioned the international community for desperately needed funds to maintain the camps, schools, clinics, and other social services the UN and its partners delivered.

One such example, the UNHCR's Syria Regional Response Plan (SRRP), debuted in March 2012. The document provided a situational analysis of critical sectors. It formally introduced the Syria Humanitarian Response Framework, a multi-country action plan developed to "ensure a coherent response to humanitarian needs" (p. 4) in Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, and Iraq (UNHCR, 2012d). It also detailed per-country budgetary needs, broken out by sector (UNHCR, 2012d). Accordingly, the first SRRP signified a marked

shift in how the UN assessed the "preparedness measures" (p. 4) of countries in the

region in dealing with asylum seekers from Syria. This initial report mapped out a 6-

month response plan whose renewal depended heavily on "developments inside the

Syrian Arab Republic, and in the neighbouring countries covered by [the] plan" (p. 4).

Due to the rapid escalation of displacement, the agency revised the strategy twice within

that same time frame, then twice more before the end of 2013 (UNHCR, 2012b, 2012c,

2013b, 2013a). With each revision, it became ever more apparent that Jordan severely

lagged behind other countries in developing a response plan of its own.

Toward a National Response Plan to the Syria Crisis

The Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis (JRP) details the Hashemite

Kingdom's strategy for addressing the burden that refugee swell has placed on social

services since 2012. Therefore, it serves as the seminal document for response and

resilience design under the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC).

The genesis of the JRP involved a multi-stage process (GOJ, 2013b, 2014a).

The Needs Assessment Review, 2013. In stage one, the Government created the

Host Community Support Platform (HCSP), a coordinating body commissioned to

"initiate policy dialogue, provide strategic discourse, and to develop a new National

Resilience Plan (NRP) that addresses the emerging needs of host communities" (GOJ,

2013b, p. 2; see also Majali, 2014). The HCSP comprised the Minister of MOPIC, a

Secretariat, and five taskforces: "Employment and Livelihoods; Municipal Services;

Education; Health; and Water and Sanitation" (GOJ, 2013b, p. 2). Similar to the cluster

system, taskforces included a representative from the "corresponding line ministry,"

MOPIC, "a UN agency, a donor and a national and international NGO" (GOJ, 2013b, p. 2).

From October–November 2013, the HCSP conducted a full-scale sector-by-sector Needs Assessment Review (NAR) across all governorates. The NAR 2013 provided pre-crisis analyses that delineated major pre-existing issues within each sector, described the current situation, and mapped out objectives for both short- and medium-term response and resilience efforts. The inevitably of the NAR 2013 stemmed from the realization of the protracted state of the Syrian Crisis and was of particular importance in Jordan's objective of maintaining gains already made toward achieving the Millennium Development Goals, as wells as aiming to prevent further economic and social collapse (GOJ, 2013b, 2014a). Almost peripherally, the NAR addressed the need to provide humanitarian care in a more thoughtful, forward-focused manner (GOJ, 2013b).

Where previous research independently undertook analysis "on either a geographic or sectoral basis," the NAR 2013

> generated a knowledge bank of critical data, pooled in one place, which for the
> first time since the Crisis had begun helped to generate an overall picture of the
> most critical tangible, and some of the more subtle effects of the Syrian Crisis on
> Jordanian host communities and central services. (p. 16)

The HCSP, alongside 80 members of the donor, humanitarian, and international community, ratified the NAR on November 28, 2013 (GOJ, 2014a). At that same meeting, the HCSP immediately launched stage two: drafting a National Resilience Plan (NRP) aimed at mitigating "the impact of the Syrian crisis on Jordan and Jordanian host communities" (p. 11, GOJ, 2014a; see also GOJ, 2013b). By the end of the third quarter

in 2013, Jordan had absorbed nearly 550,000 Syrian refugees—roughly 8.5% of the country's then total population—in host communities in just four of its 12 governorates (GOJ, 2013b).

The National Resilience Plan 2014–2016. The NRP 2014–2016 was the first GOJ-owned attempt at alleviating strain on host communities. The 3-year design ensured that projects geared at medium-term planning to strengthen coordination; avoided parallel or overlapping programs, such as some initiated under the fifth and sixth iterations of the SRRP (UNHCR, 2013a; UNHCR, 2014); and allowed for flexibility due to the fluid state of the Crisis (GOJ, 2014a). Through the NRP 2014–2016, the Government embraced projects that helped "households, communities, and institutions to 'cope' and 'recover'" (p. 6) and exhibited sustainable results. Lower-cost, quick-impact projects took precedence over drawn-out, long-term policy reform. The NRP 2014–2016, as the NAR 2013 before it, introduced incremental policy changes across all sectors, including education. The NRP 2014–2016 also drew attention to the need for massive policy reform in cross-cutting issues such as gender parity, fiscal responsibility, environmental protection, and society's advancement through human resource development. Combined, the NAR 2013 and NRP 2014–2016 effectively served as precursors to future response and resilience plans; among these was The Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis (GOJ, 2014b).

The Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis. In September 2014, the Jordan Response Platform for the Syria Crisis officially replaced the HCSP and subsumed all ongoing standing task forces (GOJ, 2014b). With this move, the Government formally assumed responsibility for refugee response strategies (3RP, 2015; GOJ, 2014b;

UNHCR, 2014). The JRP 2015 "consolidates humanitarian and development responses under one comprehensive and nationally-led framework in accordance with Paris Declaration principles" (GOJ, 2014b, p. 8). The hybrid format allowed the GOJ to "implement sustainable service delivery systems that meet the needs of both refugees and vulnerable host communities" (GOJ, 2014b, p. 10).

The transition to a response-and-resilience model empowered the Government to prioritize projects that promoted infrastructure and economic development (GOJ, 2014b; OECD, 2005). To that end, each sector analysis identified needs and vulnerabilities, as well as a proposed budget for achieving sector-specific objectives. The JRP 2015 also proffered suggestions on how donors might fund projects, which now must be GOJ-vetted and approved, with the intended goal of eliminating duplicate programs and parallel efforts. Such overlap historically resulted in wasted money, donor fatigue, and the potential for bias in granting project contracts (GOJ, 2014b).

Since the publication of the JRP 2015, the Plan has evolved from a framework for planning response and resilience projects to a platform through which the GOJ introduces, reports on, and updates sector-specific policies and interventions (GOJ, 2014b, 2016c, 2017a, 2019a). The JRP is a living document. With each annual publication, the goals and objectives have expanded and contracted in conjunction with Syria's fluid situation and its effect on Jordan's refugee population. Over the last five years, the JRP has been published only twice as a one-year strategy, in 2015 and 2019 (GOJ, 2014b, 2019a). Editions published in interim years each presented a 3-year rolling plan for mitigating the impact of the Crisis on host communities in Jordan (GOJ, 2014b, 2016c, 2017a).

Refugee Education and National Development Plans

For a country whose only natural resource is the potential for human resource development (GOJ, 2016a), Jordanian government officials understood the economic value of educating refugees (Karam & Zellman, 2017). Typically, response efforts do not address mid- or long-term refugee education plans, nor do national development plans include formal policies on refugee education (Anderson & Brandt, 2018; Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; UNHCR, 2016). As a result of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan, several education policy goals emerged, especially in the Jordan Response Plan and its predecessors, the Needs Assessment Review 2013 and National Resilience Plan 2014– 2016; the National Strategy for Human Resource Development 2016–2025 (NSHRD); and the Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022 (ESP). Each of these plans dedicated entire sections to refugee education. Together, these documents inform education policy in Jordan; however, most of the longer-term policy changes proposed in these documents have yet to advance to the implementation stage.

Methodology

This study employed a systematic literature review approach. The documents surveyed collectively illustrated circumstances and events that came as a result of the SRC in Jordan. The consolidation of qualitative data illuminated various stakeholders' decisions that amounted to education-oriented policy change and implementation in Jordan. Policies and practices reviewed were limited to those made directly to the upsurge of Syrian refugees integrating into host communities between 2012–2018. The study followed Collins' (2005) framework for qualitative policy content analysis, which

uses Rodriguez-Garcia's (2000) evaluative criteria: relevance, progress, effectiveness, and impact.

Why Use Qualitative Policy Analysis?

Qualitative studies offer a subjective perspective (Cassell & Symon, 1994). They also allow for consideration of the situations and circumstances that surround what is being studied; are useful when quantitative data is either not available or not an appropriate measure of outcomes; and serve as a tool for assessing the process and purpose of policy changes, not just statistical outputs (Kohlbacher, 2006). For this reason, qualitative research may be of value in understanding the actions of the MOE. It may also help policymakers recognize which environmental factors had the most significant impact on teaching and learning. Specifically, the systematic literature review—a form of qualitative content analysis (QCA; Kohlbacher, 2006)—served to "synthesize qualitative evidence" (Lorenc et al., 2013, p. 2). This approach helped craft a historical narrative that identified education-oriented policy changes in Jordan, defined their purpose and need, and conveyed their implementation method.

Data Collection and Analysis

Documents used in this policy analysis came primarily from the Government's websites, specifically those of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. Examples of GOJ documents include copies of legislation; statistics published by various line ministries; the Jordan Response Plan's multiple iterations, from the NAR 2013 to the JRP 2019; the NSHRD 2016–2025; and the ESP 2018–2022. Additionally, data garnered from US government entities, such as the

Department of State, the Department of Defense, and USAID, also provided a bank of contextual evidence for the study.

Non-government documents included reports, fact sheets, and other analyses published by NGOs, INGOs, and UN Agencies serving and surveying Jordan and the MENA region; news articles from local and international outlets; and other forms of related media. Database searches for "challenges to education in Jordan," "refugee education in Jordan," and "double-shift teaching in Jordan" also provided a wide variety of historical information. A list of Boolean searches may be found in Appendix B.

Procedures

The document search began on the MOPIC website. As the body charged with collecting data on refugee populations in the Hashemite Kingdom, MOPIC's Department of Statistics seemed the logical choice for acquiring information on demographics and locations of Syria's displaced persons residing in and near Amman. MOPIC also produces the JRP.

Although several dozen reports from government institutions, intergovernmental agencies, and national and international NGOs informed the literature review, the Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis 2018–2020 decidedly served as the seminal document for the situation analysis. From the JRP, the search extended further by "citation chasing" (Lorenc et al., 2013, p. 2) many of the documents referenced throughout the report. Notably, a significant portion of the references utilized in formulating the JRP were products of the Jordanian government, across all sectors. The JRP aimed to inform the international community of what the Kingdom had planned or already implemented in response to the Crisis, and promote updated needs assessments. Therefore, to ensure the

analysis presented here portrayed a nonbiased overview of the situation, where possible, data culled by independent sources supplemented GOJ data. Most documents came from online sources that are part of the public domain.

Online Data

Online repositories such as ReliefWeb and Squarespace served as a vital launching point in uncovering research publications from independent organizations. Policy-oriented institutions (e.g., Brookings Institute, RAND, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) also provided copious publications and references for more in-depth investigation. Additionally, UN agencies produced additional data, including the UNHCR, UNICEF, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Citation chasing continued with these reports and documents to the point of overlap and saturation.

From there, the investigation then focused on internet-based search engines, using a combination of terms. Searches took the following form:

(a) various phrases, including "challenges to education in Jordan," "refugee education in Jordan," "double-shift teaching in Jordan," "refugee teachers experience," "Jordan Syrian refugees," "nongovernmental organizations Jordan," "refugee camps Jordan," "refugee AND teacher," "number of Syrian refugees in Jordan by year," and "Jordan economic collapse" (see Appendix B for a complete list of Boolean searches);

(b) notifications for "related research" from public research sites (Academia.edu and ResearchGate); and

(c)   information requests from members of the academic community in Jordan
(e.g., suggestions for websites from which to cultivate data).

I selected documents that fit within the following inclusion criteria:

Round One – Does the document:

- discuss the SRC in the context of Jordan,

- contribute to the broader timeline for the SRC in Jordan, or

- serve as a means of crafting the narrative of the SRC in Jordan as it pertains
  to education?

Round Two – Does the document:

- provide information on education issues related to or caused by the SRC in
  Jordan;

- address education-oriented policies, practices, or strategies that pertain to
  the SRC in Jordan; or

- provide contextual information relevant to the current study?

Materials that met the criteria were sorted by topic: background of SRC in Jordan;
timeline; education issues; education policies, practices, and strategies; assessments
(several reports drew analytical conclusions on curriculum, class size, resources, etc.);
and case studies/empirical research.

Data Extraction

Data that contributed to creating an overall narrative of the impact of the SRC on
education in Jordan were extracted as timeline data points, direct quotes, or summaries.
For findings presented in studies and reports focusing broadly on multiple issues, citation
chasing helped track down sources (e.g., field reports, meeting notes, other sector-

specific assessments, etc.). Documents produced by external organizations but funded by the GOJ were not considered government reports but were viewed as on par with these docs, as the Government may have reviewed them before publication.

Data Synthesis and Quality Assessment

Synthesized data from the documents created an overview of education issues that existed before the SRC, those identified during the peak SRC years, and the GOJ's response to these problems. Primary data from statistical reports produced by the MOE substantiated some information, such as the number of double-shift schools and non-qualified teachers, teacher-to-student ratios, and other non-qualitative information. Where possible, data and analyses found in other non-GOJ sources triangulated data presented in GOJ studies and reports (e.g., the JRP, NSHRD 2016–2025, ESP 2018–2022, etc.). Likewise, I used GOJ documents to confirm data presented in reports by NGOs, INGOs, and other sources. I then sorted data into five categories: background and composition of public K-12 educations system, pre-existing issues with education and goals of reform, education issues created or exacerbated by SRC, GOJ response, and reported outcomes of GOJ response.

Theoretical Framework Guiding the Analysis

Collins' (2005) framework for qualitative policy analysis is appropriate for studies interested in examining a policy issue's origins and outcomes through a historical or situational lens. Specifically, this framework relies heavily on extant literature in building contextual versus statistical evidence. Collins refers to this as a "cause and consequence approach," where "analysis is focused on intended or unintended impacts of governmental decisions or non-decisions" (p. 193). For this study, addressing the

research questions took two forms. In step one, a synthesis of pertinent documents identified the EER interventions and presented evidence of how they came to pass. Step two applied Rodriguez-Garcia's (2000, cited in Collins, 2005) evaluative criteria in weighing intervention outcomes. These criteria are:

(a) Relevance—do the interventions contribute to the needs of teachers in addressing the education of Syrian refugees?

(b) Progress—do the outcomes of the interventions have the expected results?

(c) Effectiveness—to what degree do the interventions attain their objectives? and

(d) Impact—what is the effect of the interventions on teachers' overall ability to teach?

In addition to measuring policy outcome efficacy, the criteria may also help determine the effects on the people involved (Collins, 2005), in this case, teachers. Knowing these effects can help policymakers decide whether the interventions positively or negatively impact teaching and learning and whether to explore further alternative options. Finally, these criteria can also help identify the unintended consequences of EER interventions.

Findings

Gaining a better understanding of the impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on public K-12 education in Jordan during peak-Crisis years requires examining the education policies and interventions the GOJ introduced during this same timeframe. The most prevalent and potentially consequential intervention temporarily did away with the mandatory 6-month pre-service training program required of all newly recruited teachers

(GOJ, 2013b). What unintended consequences, for better or worse, resulted from that change? An equally contentious intervention was the introduction of double-shift teaching in hundreds of schools, affecting scores of teachers (Leahy & Richard, 2013). Did the practice achieve its intent to alleviate overcrowding issues? Moreover, to what extent did these interventions impact teaching and learning quality and environs in Jordan's public K-12 schools?

Intervention One: Elimination of Compulsory Pre-Service Teacher Training

> *The Ministry of Education has had to recruit additional teachers on contract to respond to increased levels of demand. Unfortunately, as a result of expenditure reprioritisation, it was not possible for these teachers to be included in the six-month induction programme offered to newly-appointed teachers by the [MOE].* (GOJ, 2013b, p. 61)

Managing education-in-emergency (EIE) and emergency-education-response (EER) situations requires extensive training (Cambridge Education, 2017; Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; Sommers, 2004). Mendenhall et al. (2017) noted that teachers juggle demands from students, parents, and administrators; they serve as mentors, educators, and confidants. In times of crisis and conflict, teachers become frontline workers, surrogate parents, and weekend tutors (Cambridge Education, 2017; Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; Kirk & Winthrop, 2007). Zakharia and Bartlett (2014) added that "teachers play an important role in exacerbating or mitigating the impact of conflict or crisis on learners" (p. 22). The UNHCR (2012a) underscored the importance of both pre-service and continuing education in creating and maintaining quality learning environments, especially in cultural sensitivity, psychosocial support—for students and self—and

building confidence in the classroom. Ultimately, quality education is fundamental to keeping academically, psychologically, and economically at-risk students in school. Having "motivated and well-trained teachers" (p. 11) better equips schools in regions affected by conflict to achieve and maintain high standards (UNHCR, 2016).

Relevance

This policy change allowed the MOE to provide an essential EER to sudden teacher supply shortages. By removing the 6-month pre-service training requirement, the Ministry expedited the process of getting newly hired teachers into rapidly swelling classrooms at a much faster rate (GOJ, 2013b). In urgent cases, the MOE did not even oblige applicants to sit for interviews (GOJ, 2018a). Shockingly, for positions in schools with persistent teacher shortages, the Ministry allowed for exemptions that permitted community college graduates to enter the teaching field (GOJ, 2018a). Typically, this profession requires a bachelor's degree or higher (GOJ, 2018a). Thus, although the policy change may have addressed Syrian refugee students' educational needs by immediately injecting more teachers into the workforce, the shortage of qualified teachers threatened to dilute the overall quality of education.

Progress

The MOE defines "non-qualified teachers" as those who do not possess a BA or higher (GOJ, 2013c, p. 167). According to OpenEMIS data, for the 2011–2012 academic year, the MOE employed 73,613 teachers, of which 9.9% were considered non-qualified (GOJ, 2012). In 2012–2013, directly following the intervention, the number of teachers increased to 75,401, with 12.1% defined as non-qualified (GOJ, 2013c). For the 2013–2014 academic year, the numbers were 78,706 and 12.9%, respectively (GOJ, 2014c); the

academic year 2014–2015 data shows comparatively smaller increases in overall numbers, with 78,746 teachers and no increase in those considered non-qualified (12.9%) (GOJ, 2015b). Similarly, in 2015–2016, of 79,079 teachers, 12.8% fell in the non-qualified category (GOJ, 2016d). These statistics suggest that, at least in the immediate term, the intervention allowed the MOE to hire underqualified (or non-qualified) teachers more readily. In a system that directly ties pay to degree-type attainment first and seniority (years taught) second, teachers holding diplomas earn substantially lower wages than those with university degrees (World Bank, 2016). A summary of hiring data and non-qualified teacher ratios can be found in Appendix A.

Indeed, the problem the intervention created did not go unnoticed. The NSHRD 2015–2026 lists explicitly under critical challenges to education a decline in "teacher quality … due to a lack of targeted recruitment and inadequate pre-service training" (GOJ, 2016, p. 18). More recent OpenEMIS data indicated a significant jump in the number of teachers working in MOE schools occurred for the 2016–2017 academic year, with 83,653 total teachers (12.3% non-qualified) servicing public K-12 education schools, followed in 2017–2018 by 86,627 teachers, only 11.0% of whom were non-qualified (GOJ, 2017b, 2018b). This notable decrease may have tied to a concerted effort to improve teacher training and recruitment practices that began in earnest in 2015, aligning with the UN's adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2020). That same year, the Queen Rania Teacher Academy (QRTA) introduced the Blended Approach to Teacher Training program as part of a massive bilateral EU-Jordan agreement on promoting the quality of education and opportunities for refugees (UNESCO, 2015). The QRTA also hosted the Teachers Skills Forum, which covered

topics ranging from Early Childhood Development to Differentiated Teaching and Learning (QRTA, 2015).

Effectiveness

The policy's primary objective was to increase MOE teachers' numbers and, subsequently, improve access to education for Syrian refugee children. According to the Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022, 8,758 MOE teachers worked in Syrian-serving schools in 2017 (GOJ, 2018a). Entering into the 2018–2019 year, the MOE had reportedly hired approximately 7,100 teachers for public K-12 schools in response to the SRC (GOJ, 2019a). These teachers' addition has helped increase access to education in Jordan for more than 130,000 Syrian refugees throughout the Crisis (GOJ, 2017a, 2019a).

Impact

In the months immediately following this policy change, the National Center for Human Resource Development (2012) found that most teachers hired through this process lacked critical classroom management skills. Some reported using "corporal punishment" because they did "not know how else to handle classroom management in the situations that they face[d]" (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016). Later studies corroborated these reports, with some students directly connecting their decision to drop out to their teachers' alleged abusive behaviors (Salem, 2018; Sieverding et al., 2018).

Teachers also reportedly struggled with applying the student-centered teaching methods used in all Jordanian schools, public and private (NCHRD, 2012). The Needs Assessment Review 2013 (GOJ, 2013b) emphasized that differences in the Syrian and Jordanian curricula required teachers to adapt to various teaching strategies to accommodate different learning styles (see also Sieverding et al., 2018). The NAR 2013

further noted that the insufficient availability of professional development programs, paired with the bypassing of preparatory training, left teachers ill-equipped to provide "structured support in the classroom" (p. 64). Sabella and Crossouard (2018) suggested that the lack of pre-service training, paired with the large class sizes in Syrian-refugee-saturated schools, forced teachers to revert to less student-centered teaching methods, such as rote learning and lecture systems. There was also some indication that teachers struggled with the concepts of critical thinking and active learning (Sabella & Crossouard, 2018).

Importantly, teachers stated they felt wholly unqualified to deal with "children with psychosocial and behavioral problems" (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016). Ironically, the MOE typically placed teachers with little or no experience in double-shift schools. Generally, children in the second shift classes required more attention and psychosocial care, for which contract teachers did not receive training (Karam & Zellman, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2016). Not surprisingly, Salem (2018) found that most Syrian students felt psychologically unsupported by their teachers.

As previously noted, teacher training and professional development opportunities have become more readily available. At least some training completion has since become compulsory, especially for individuals hired to teach in camps (GOJ, 2018a; UNICEF, 2015b). In 2014, as part of the ERfKE II reform initiative, "around 3,750 teachers (22% male and 78% female) who work in schools that have a large Syrian refugee presence received training on student-centred teaching and learning strategies as well as on life skills" (Sabella & Crossouard, 2018, p. 5). Likewise, a 2015 study conducted by the MOE, UNICEF, and the Japan Emergency Network (JEN) reported that teacher training,

primarily on teaching methods, had been completed in 94% of the schools included in the

sample (n = 3,681) (GOJ, 2016b). Still, the study recommended increasing the number

and types of peer-to-peer education activities to improve the quality of education.

Additionally, in 2017, the World Bank Group's Board of Directors approved the

US$200 million Education Reform Support Program, which promised training for 30,000

teachers (Al-Saeed & El-Khalil, 2017). On a much smaller scale, at five MOE schools

that receive financial support from the Norwegian Refugee Council, 19 teachers took part

in a week-long boot camp on training methods (Shah, 2018). Overall, "according to [the]

MoE for the school year 2017–2018, a total of 69,641 teachers, counselors, facilitators,

MoE staff and other educational personnel were trained through [the] MoE Training

Program and [the] Queen Rania Training Program" (GOJ, 2019a, p. 8).

Intervention Two: Double-shift Schooling for Syrian Refugee Children

> *The Government of Jordan responded to the increased demand for access to*
>
> *schooling, by opening … additional … double-shift schools as well as …*
>
> *prefabricated units* (GOJ, 2013b, p. 61)

The practice of operating double- or separate-shift schools in Jordan did not begin

with Syrian refugees. The second shift's implementation dates back to the 1960s, with the

rapid influx of students related to the Palestinian refugee crisis and the Arab-Israeli War

(Double Shift, 2017; Venture, 2017). Since then, the GOJ has scaled down and reinstated

its use as needed in response to other shocks, including the Iraqi refugee crisis of 2005

(Brown, 2016; Kiser, 2017). OpenEMIS data for 2017–2018 reveals a total of 746 MOE-

run double-shift schools in operation, including those attended by Jordanians only (GOJ,

2018b). Previously, the National Education Strategy 2006 delineated as a primary goal

the phasing out of double-shift schools altogether (GOJ, 2006; UNICEF, 2015b), an objective the MOE restated in ERfKE II (2013). Before the Syrian Crisis, the MOE made significant progress toward this end (Ababneh et al., 2012; GOJ, 2013b, 2018a; Save the Children, 2015). For now, however, the double-shift system remains a relatively cost-efficient strategy for educating the more than 130,000 Syrian children currently attending formal school in Jordan (Bray, 2008; Double Shift, 2017; GOJ, 2017a).

Relevance

To be clear, double-shift schools respond to the needs of refugee students, not teachers. MOE officials have even referred to the practice as "ineffective" (Al Jazeera English, 2013, 1:54). These schools require additional resources that most directorates cannot afford—e.g., new desks, more locker space, second sets of textbooks—and accelerate strain on other shared tools that are subject to wear-and-tear (Al Jazeera English, 2013; Bray, 2008; Double Shift, 2017; GOJ, 2017a; UNICEF, 2015b). Operational costs run higher for double-shift schools than single-shift schools, especially in terms of electricity, cleaning, and procuring sufficient water supply (Bray, 2008; Al Jazeera English, 2013; Double Shift, 2017; GOJ, 2017a). These additional expenses cut into budgets and detracted from funds that the MOE could otherwise allocate for teaching supplies (GOJ, 2018a). Worldwide, double-shift schools are repeatedly linked with more inferior quality education (Human Rights Watch, 2016; Sieverding et al., 2018).

Progress

The introduction of Jordanian/Syrian (J/S) double-shift schools started small, with just five makeshift learning spaces opening in the first quarter of 2012 (UNHCR, 2012d). These additions helped alleviate some of the pressure on schools in directorates with the

highest concentrations of Syrian refugee children (UNHCR, 2012d). Within a few months, the number quadrupled to a total of 20 rented buildings and double-shift schools; some institutions extended school hours into the weekends to meet the demand for additional classes (UNHCR, 2012b). In 2013, the MOE added 78 new J/S double shift schools (GOJ, 2013b, 2014a). By 2017, another 107 J/S schools had opened, bringing the total number of J/S schools in host communities to 209 for the 2017–18 academic year (GOJ, 2017a; JT, 2017; Sieverding et al., 2018; Theirworld, 2017), although the JRP 2019 refers to only 204 J/S double-shift schools. Tangentially, 45 Syrian-only double-shift schools provide education to children residing in refugee camps (Sieverding et al., 2018). These schools follow MOE governance and curriculum under the supervision and financial support of various stakeholders, primarily UNICEF, Caritas, and Save the Children (Caritas Jordan, 2014; Qablan, 2014; Save the Children, 2015; UNICEF, 2015a).

Effectiveness

The introduction of double-shift schools for Syrians seemed to provide the MOE with a quick and comparatively inexpensive way to increase refugee students' access to education in host communities (Double Shift, 2017) and reduce instances of overcrowding in host community schools (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2014a, 2017a). To the extent that the intervention moved Syrians off waiting lists and into classrooms (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2014a), it achieved its goal. In 2012, 4,000 Syrian students had enrolled in Jordan's public K-12 schools (UNHCR, 2012d). By 2015, Syrian enrollment had increased to over 90,000 students (GOJ, 2016b). At last

report, the number of Syrian children receiving free education in Jordan exceeded

130,000 (GOJ, 2017a).

While double shifts have reduced overcrowding in some schools (Culbertson,

Ling, et al., 2016), class sizes in the Zarqa governorate still average 33.23 students (GOJ,

2018b). The Amman governorate ranks second highest, with an average class size of

31.03 students (GOJ, 2018b). Nationally, the mean class size is 27.11 students, with girls'

schools generally having larger classes than boys' schools (GOJ, 2018b). A joint study of

overcrowded and underutilized schools in Jordan highlights how these numbers compare

to pre-crisis data. During the 2010–2011 academic year, crowded classes had an average

of 36.5 students per classroom and student-teacher ratios of 24:1 (Ababneh et al., 2012).

The MOE estimated in the ESP 2018–2022 that an additional 300 schools and 28

classrooms were needed to address the issue even minimally (GOJ, 2018a).

Impact

For teachers working in double-shift schools, the longer-term impact remains

unknown. In the shorter term, there are arguments for both positive and negative effects.

Proponents of a two-shift system point out that this type of arrangement creates new job

opportunities for previously unemployed or underemployed teachers (Bray, 2008). In

some directorates, double-shift schools have led to increased wages and even overtime

pay (Al Jazeera English, 2013). Early on, the international donor community funded

educational expenses in double-shift schools, with some groups agreeing to pay teachers'

wages outright (Al Jazeera English, 2013; GOJ, 2013b). The MOE continued to manage

general operational costs (UNICEF, 2015b).

With Syrian students, for whom child labor presents a common barrier to education (Qablan, 2014), attending afternoon-only classes may encourage parents to let children pursue an education. Students could still contribute to family incomes by working in the morning (Bray, 2008; UNHCR, 2016). Furthermore, Culbertson, Ling, et al. (2016) found that Syrian children's parents preferred keeping students separated by nationality, claiming it allowed teachers to focus on one curriculum at a time. Such separation might also help regulate classroom schedules according to each cohort's capacities. The same study established that due to cultural differences, segregation into two shifts helped decrease between-group violence and created a sense of security for Syrian youths (see also Sieverding et al., 2018).

On the other hand, opponents of the double-shift system claim that contract positions created in response to the increased demand for teachers do not pay well and offer no job security (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; Karam & Zellman, 2017; Sabella & Crossouard, 2018; UNICEF, 2015b). Hiring bodies regularly assign less experienced or underqualified teachers to the second shift, often viewed as the "weaker shift" (Karam & Zellman, 2017, para. 4; Sieverding et al., 2018). Teachers who work both shifts face extended workdays (Azzeh, 2016; Al Jazeera English, 2013; Double Shift, 2017; Sabella & Crossouard, 2018). Factoring in work taken home, the potential for burnout and fatigue significantly increases as days commonly exceed 12 hours in length (Bray, 2008).

Additionally, despite being introduced to combat overcrowding, two-shift schools, especially in neighborhoods with lower socioeconomic status, tend to have higher student-to-teacher ratios (Kiser, 2017). Throughout peak crisis years, classes topped out at 50 students per teacher (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016). Imbalances such as

these decrease teachers' one-on-one time with students, make classroom management difficult, and threaten to leave students who require special attention behind (Human Rights Watch, 2016). As such, double-shift schooling has impacted afternoon shift teachers at a higher level, as they must also contend with students' different curricular and learning-style backgrounds (Sieverding et al., 2018). Moreover, since each shift runs for approximately four or five hours, teachers have less time to spend on each subject (Al Jazeera English, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2016; Sabella & Crossouard, 2018; Sieverding et al., 2018; UNICEF, 2015b). Teachers frequently have to decide between what subjects are critical and what they must omit from the lesson plan (Bray, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2016; Sabella & Crossouard, 2018; UNICEF, 2015b).

Finally, multiple reports by the Government and NGOs indicate the double-shift system in Jordan has fostered a culture of segregation and bullying (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016; GOJ, 2014b, 2016c, 2017a; Karam & Zellman, 2017; Salem, 2018; Sieverding et al. 2018; UNICEF, 2015b). Studies reveal that transition periods create high-stress situations as hundreds of students from both shifts flood school courtyards, creating opportunities for taunting and other types of quarrels (Double Shift, 2017; Salem, 2018; Sieverding et al., 2018). Unfortunately, these discriminatory attitudes and behaviors are not limited to students. Reports of teachers stereotyping refugees and showing bias toward students of their nationality have repeatedly surfaced in Amman schools (Karam & Zellman, 2017; Mixed Migration Report, 2017; Salem, 2018; Sieverding et al., 2018).

Similarly, research suggests that double-shifting has created a hierarchy amongst coworkers (Karam & Zellman, 2017; Salem, 2018). As Bray (2008) noted, the practice may contribute to a lack of cohesion between morning- and afternoon-shift teachers.

With tensions among teachers in Jordan already running high due to labor and fair-wage issues (Nusairat, 2019), resentment could easily lead to increased competition for higher-paying opportunities or general strife between peers, even down to jockeying for the more desirable of the two shifts (Bray, 2008).

Discussion

The interventions the Ministry of Education introduced in response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis effectively served one purpose: to increase access to public K-12 education for refugee children in Jordan. Under the existing system, host community schools in directorates with high Syrian-student concentrations could not accommodate the influx of school-aged youths wanting to enter formal education. Like most emergency education responses, the interventions proved to be student-centric and addressed an immediate need. Arguably, the interventions did not factor in the long-term impact on the quality of education nor the personal or professional well-being of the individuals providing it: teachers. Relatedly, as Qablan (2014) suggested, and Sieverding et al. (2018) and Salem (2018) underscored, low education quality contributed to higher dropout rates. As indicated numerous times in this study, out-of-school children, especially those from vulnerable populations, pose a threat to economic development and national security.

Admittedly, one would be remiss in faulting the MOE for the hastiness of these interventions. Presumably, based on the plethora of needs assessments conducted on— and strategic plans designed specifically for—this sector, the Government should have been acutely aware of the potential long-term damage these two strategies could impose on public K-12 schooling in Jordan. For decades, education has been a point of pride

throughout the country and a model of success across the region (Al-Wazani et al., 2015).

In prioritizing refugees' right to education, the GOJ not only acknowledged the economic

value of investing in human resource development, but it also reinforced the

humanitarian cornerstone of the country's public education system's foundation (GOJ,

1994; Karam & Zellman, 2017). And although the execution may not have been perfect,

the purpose remained valid by a large margin, and the mission, mostly fulfilled. In sum,

the interventions did increase access to education for Syrian refugee youths, but at the

risk of diluting education quality.

Limitations

The GOJ publishes a vast majority of its documents in English, including

information presented on the various line ministries' websites. However, some

documents (e.g., legislation and other internal documents and websites) are produced in

Arabic. Since the researcher does not read Arabic, some reports and sites required the use

of either an online translation service or a third-party translator. In these cases, the

possibility exists that some phrases and contexts could be misconstrued or quite literally

lost in translation. When such incidents arose, I attempted to support the analysis with

additional sources where possible or noted it in the discussion when supplemental

documentation was unavailable. I maintained a record of all English translations with the

original Arabic-language documents.

Moreover, I recognize that, in working with analyses put forth by host-community

governments, there may be incidents of inherent bias in the presentation of policy or

program outcomes and effects. That does not assume that this is the case in Jordan;

however, given the copious financial support the Kingdom receives from the international

community, the pressure to produce results exists. Whenever possible, and especially

with statements from various reports that lacked even minimal citations, I made every

effort to corroborate such remarks with other sources for validity.

Finally, substantial inconsistencies between the number of UNHCR-registered

Syrian refugees residing in Jordan and the GOJ's repeated reference to 1.4 million

Syrians make accurately measuring the impact of the SRC on any sector in Jordan

challenging. The use of the higher number first appeared in the JRP 2015: "With the

conflict in Syria entering its fifth year in 2015, Jordan is hosting 1.4 million Syrians, of

whom 646,700 are refugees" (GOJ, 2014b, p. 8). The document later rationalized the

discrepancy: "Syrians living in Jordan before March 2011 are 750,000. The

overwhelming majority were seasonal workers commuting to Syria periodically, but as a

result of the Crisis, they live in Jordan on [a] permanent basis" (p. 142).

The GOJ's claim is noteworthy but misleading. In including pre-war residents

with total displaced persons, the GOJ may have altered how the donor community

responded to fundraising appeals. It also diminished the fair assumption that these

individuals may have been at least somewhat established: Many would have had a place

to live, might have already had children in school, would have been contributing to GDP,

etc. Conceivably, their permanent presence in Jordan adds to the strain on infrastructure

and services but understanding to what end would require specific macro- and micro-

level analyses well beyond this study's scope.

Implications

The expectation of host countries to educate refugees and asylum seekers causes

significant financial strain. Most resettlement efforts occur in developing countries

(UNHCR, 2020a), many of which may not have the capacity, infrastructure, or income to handle these additional costs. As with Jordan, dependency on the international community for coordinating and funding response efforts can stifle pre-existing national economic and human resource development plans. This predicament is incredibly real for haven countries, which repeatedly deal with hosting displaced persons for protracted periods. Building policies for refugee education into national strategies, as Jordan eventually did, is one means of better preparing countries for potential future shocks.

In the shorter term, increasing the availability of pre-service and continuing education and professional development opportunities for teachers may also ensure that students already in the system are receiving a high-quality education. Jordan made a concerted effort to promote training programs available to teachers through the Queen Rania Teaching Academy but assessing these programs' efficacy requires further research. Future studies focused on how or if teachers took advantage of these courses could prove beneficial. Likewise, an inquiry into how the interventions described in this study affected teachers would be prudent.

Conclusion

The Syrian Refugee Crisis placed a substantial burden on Jordan's education sector. This research emphasized how the historical and situational events surrounding the Crisis may have influenced the Government's response. The literature review provided a multi-faceted glimpse into how two emergency education response interventions the Ministry of Education implemented came to pass. These interventions aimed to increase Syrian refugee youths' access to formal education in host community schools in Jordan. Analysis findings suggest that the interventions contributed to a

decline in teaching and learning quality and environs. Impacting factors included overcrowded classrooms, underqualified teachers, mismatches in curricula, outdated pedagogy, and infrastructure degradation. This study addressed a gap in the literature on how the impacts of those interventions are fully understood. This information may encourage policymakers faced with similar humanitarian crises to think about long-term response initiatives for refugee resettlement, including how to educate school-aged children seeking refuge in their respective countries.

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Appendix A

MOE Teachers by Year with Qualification

Table A1

MOE Teachers by Year with Qualification

Academic Year	MOE Teachers	Year-Over-Year Change	Percent Non-Qualified	Year-Over-Year Change
2011–2012[a]	73613	-	9.9	-
2012–2013	75401	1788	12.1	2.2
2013–2014	78706	3305	12.9	0.8
2014–2015	78746	40	12.9	-
2015–2016	79079	333	12.8	(0.1)
2016–2017	83653	4574	12.3	(0.5)
2017–2018[b]	86627	2974	11.0	(1.3)

Note: The Ministry of Education defines "non-qualified teachers" as those who do not possess a BA or higher (GOJ, 2013c, p. 167). Dashes indicate no change.

[a]Base year

[b]Most recent year for which data is available.

Appendix B

List of Boolean Searches

List B1

Boolean Searches, Google

2016 London Compact (Jordan Compact)
3RP Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan
Aid Co-ordination and Effectiveness Report in Jordan, Assessment, Framework and Plan
   of Action – Final Report – February 2013
Arab Peace Initiative
Azraq Refugee Camp
Challenges to education in Jordan
Donations to Jordan cut
Double-shift teaching in Jordan
Emergency education response
Government of Jordan Ministry of Education budget
HCSP Jordan
History of double shift school in Jordan
Host Community Support Platform (HCSP)
How many international NGOs are there in Amman?
How many Syrian refugees are in Jordan?
JHCO
Jordan economic collapse
Jordan education law
Jordan Education Reform for a Knowledge Economy
Jordan ERfKE
Jordan IMF Report
Jordan Ministry of Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022
Jordan Ministry of Labor VTC
Jordan Ministry of Transport
Jordan Official Gazette education
Jordan percentage public debt 2018
Jordan reinstates double-shift school policy
Jordan Resilience Plan
Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis
Jordan Syrian refugees
Jordan unemployment rates continue to grow among poor and refugee
Jordanian laws in English

Appendix B (cont.)

List B1

Boolean Searches, Google (cont.)

JordanTimes teachers adapt to online learning
Legal and psychological support to Syrian refugee women and their children
Ministry of Education Jordan
Needs Assessment Review Jordan
Nongovernmental organizations Jordan
Number of Syrian refugees in Jordan by year
Out of school children susceptible to recruitment by terrorists
Out of school children Za'atari refugee camp
Policy to end double shift schools in Jordan
PsychData surveys QDR main collection refugee children
Public schools in Jordan
Refugee camps Jordan
Refugee education in Jordan
Refugee teachers experience
Rukban Camp
UN cluster system Jordan
UNHCR RRP
UNOCHA
What is the CRF Jordan?
Za'atari Refugee Camp

Chapter III

Examining the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Teachers' Experiences in

Jordan

The Syrian Refugee Crisis (hereafter, "the Crisis" or SRC) in Jordan has caused a strain on the Hashemite Kingdom's social services provision. The education sector, specifically the public K-12 system, experienced significant disruptions to teaching and learning as the government tried to accommodate more than 130,000 Syrian youths into its already overwhelmed schools. At the primary and secondary levels, particularly in the governorates of Amman, Mafraq, Irbid, and Zarqa, government-run educational institutions are fraught with overcrowded classrooms and underfunded budgets (GOJ, 2018a, 2018b, 2018d; Shah, 2018).

Although many of the structural and financial disparities that schools currently face existed before the upsurge in student enrollments (Culbertson et al., 2016; Ababneh et al., 2012; GOJ, 2006; K12 Academics, n.d.; USAID, 2019), the introduction of additional students into directorates with little-to-no resources has translated into many teachers working longer hours, often in double shifts, to meet the demand for more classes geared toward Syrian students (Karam & Zellman, 2017; Karkkainen, 2015; Shah, 2018; UNICEF, 2015). Furthermore, the increase in student populations in many public schools located in these four governorates occurred at a rate too fast for absorption (GOJ, 2017). In the most affected schools, the situation has created several critical issues in teaching and learning quality and environs (GOJ, 2014b, 2016b, 2017; Shah, 2018; UNICEF, 2015).

At the beginning of the Crisis, many teachers were pulled from pre-service training to meet the increased need for instructors (GOJ, 2017; Myrick, 2021a; UNICEF, 2015). Some were not qualified to teach the coursework or levels to which administrations assigned them, primarily due to a lack of sufficient preparation in the subject matter (e.g., history and social studies) (UNICEF, 2015). In some cases, due to the variance between the Syrian and Jordanian curricula, teachers proved ill-equipped to effectively educate incoming refugees, as the students' prior schooling often did not align with their grade-level placement in Jordan (UNICEF, 2015; Sieverding et al., 2018). Differences in instruction language also created difficulties in teaching and learning (UNICEF, 2015).

Likewise, overcrowding in classrooms and "a slowdown in typical classroom learning" contributed to a decline in education quality (GOJ, 2017, p. 56). To ameliorate overcrowding issues, the Ministry introduced more than 200 double-shift schools and Saturday teaching practices to address Syrian students' education needs (GOJ, 2017; Leahy & Richard, 2013). In these schools, Jordanian students attend in the morning, and Syrians, in the afternoon (GOJ, 2017; Karam & Zellman, 2017; UNICEF, 2015). In some schools, this design fostered a culture of segregation and bullying and made classrooms feel less safe, "with an increase in violence reported in schools, especially in highly vulnerable areas" (GOJ, 2017, p. 56; see also Washington et al., 2015). Issues specific to Syrian refugee children included "lack of documentation, distance to school, lack of recognition of prior learning, increasing financial vulnerabilities, school violence, child labour and child marriage" (GOJ, 2017, p. 56; see also Washington et al., 2015).

Accordingly, these students tend to have an increased risk of dropping out and higher repetition rates (GOJ, 2017; UNICEF, 2015; Washington et al., 2015).

Jordan has committed to improving education for both its national and refugee populations, as is evidenced through the "sector specific objectives" (p. 57) delineated in the Jordan Response Plan (GOJ, 2017). To that end, the Government of Jordan (hereafter, the "Government" or GOJ) has provided copious quantitative data on quick impact projects proposed, conducted, and evaluated through JORISS, the official platform for response and relief efforts in Jordan. However, there is a significant need to better understand, from the perspective of teachers, the realities of the impact of the crisis. To better understand the long-term repercussions of the Crisis on host-community education in Jordan requires an assessment of all affected parties, especially those charged with carrying the brunt of the burden in the Kingdom's efforts to "ensure sustained quality educational services for children and youth impacted by the Syria crisis, through a holistic, inclusive and equitable approach" (GOJ, 2017, p. 56).

For this reason, I designed an exploratory study in which educators provided firsthand accounts of how teaching experiences and environments may or may not have changed since the Crisis began. Specifically, I sought to discover how teachers' experiences related to the Ministry of Education's double-shift teaching plan for Syrian refugee children in Jordanian public schools. Teachers responded to prompts about their professional history, classroom setting and resources, double-shift teaching and workload changes, physical and psychological effects, job satisfaction, and overall thoughts on the GOJ's response to the Crisis. The purpose of these discussions was to address the following research questions: (a) How did the Crisis impact teachers' personal and

professional experiences? and (b) In what ways did the Crisis affect their teaching? This qualitative study fills a critical research gap on the relationship between the Syrian Refugee Crisis and teachers' professional and personal experiences. It also helps policymakers better understand the implications of emergency education response interventions.

<center>**Education in Jordan**</center>

Since its independence in 1946, the Hashemite Kingdom has emphasized the right to education as immutable and imperative (Aljaghoub, 2012; State University, 2019). The 1952 Constitution guarantees, and the Education Law of 1994 reasserts, compulsory primary education up through age 16 should be free and accessible for all Jordanian citizens (Al-Dabbas et al., 2018; Aljaghoub, 2012; GOJ, 1952, 1994, 2018a, 2018c; State University, 2019). Nonetheless, enrollment in Jordan's public schools requires an annual fee of 40 JOD ([56 USD] Mixed Migration Report, 2017; see also GOJ, 2013b).

The country's education philosophy draws heavily on the "Jordanian Constitution, Arab-Islamic civilization, the principles of the Great Arab Revolution and the Jordanian national experience" (GOJ, 1994, p. 2). In general, education objectives center on developing individuals of sound, moral character who understand the intellectual, national, humanitarian, and social foundations upon which the education system and society-at-large rest (Aljaghoub, 2012; GOJ, 1994). Since the mid-1990s, when significant, sweeping educational reforms began in earnest, the country's education system has continually been recognized as one of the best in the MENA region (Al-Wazani et al., 2015). Notably, Jordan boasts one of the world's highest literacy rates,

especially among youths aged 15–24 (Country Meters, 2019; MacroTrends, 2019; UNESCO, 2019).

At present, three documents concomitantly inform education policy in Jordan: the Jordan Response Plan; the Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022; and the National Strategy for Human Resource Development 2016–2025, supported by the residual priorities of the Education Reform for a Knowledge Economy (ERfKE) I (2003) and II (2013) and the National Education Strategy 2006. Collectively, these plans work side-by-side in helping line ministries align goals and promote economic development opportunities. As such, the GOJ sought input from the Cabinet, members of the public and private sector, and the academic community in their development (see original documents for a list of their respective contributing members).

Structure and Function of K-12 Education

Across all levels, Jordan's complex education system requires the governance of multiple line ministries and a multi-tiered administration. The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MOHESR) directs postsecondary education. The Ministry of Labor (MOL) manages Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in secondary schools and administers "applied vocational education" through the Vocational Training Corporation (VTC) (Al-Wazani et al., 2015, pp. 47–48). The Ministry of Education (hereafter "the Ministry" or MOE) oversees all institutions—public and private—responsible for providing the first three stages of schooling: kindergarten, basic (or primary), and secondary education (GOJ, 1994).

Other government entities (e.g., the Ministries of Health, Defense, and Social Development) operate a small percentage of schools that specialize in, among other

things, armed forces training and education for students with mental or physical disabilities (Aljaghoub, 2012; GOJ, 2018d, 2019b; UNESCO, 2011). Christian schools under the Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican churches' supervision also provide alternative learning environments, such as special schools for the blind, deaf, and gifted (Aljaghoub, 2012). These schools are open to all students, regardless of religious affiliation (Aljaghoub, 2012). The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)—the UN branch charged with Palestinian refugees' care—also has a role in education (GOJ, 2018d; UNRWA, 2020).

Ministry of Education

The Education Law of 1994 and Regulation No. 1 of 1995 define the "function" and "organization," respectively, (Aljaghoub, 2012, p. 3) of the Ministry of Education (GOJ, 1994; UNESCO, 2011). Through a central unit, the Ministry conceives education policies and the plans for enacting them (Aljaghoub, 2012; GOJ, 1994). The 12 general directorates of education administer these policies across the country's 12 governorates (similar to counties or provinces). Managers supervise each of the 42 district directorates (GOJ, 2019c), but these local-level administrators have no executive authority (GOJ, 2019c). Each district directorate comprises one director of education, several technical and field directors, and administrative staff (Aljaghoub, 2012; GOJ, 2019c). Two advisory bodies—the Council of Education and the Planning Committee—assist the Ministry (UNESCO, 2011).

The MOE also maintains oversight of all academic institutions through the secondary education stage (GOJ, 1994). The Ministry determines budget line items and funding, which field directorates pass down to school principals (Aljaghoub, 2012).

Individual institutions have little-to-no flexibility in budgetary allocations; furthermore, even in times of financial shortfalls, schools may not independently fundraise (Aljaghoub, 2012). In 2017, 90.3 % of MOE total expenditures (874.3M JOD/1.2B USD) went to kindergarten (0.52%), basic (78.68%), and secondary education (11.10%) (GOJ, 2018d, p. 13).

Finally, the National Curriculum Development Center housed within the MOE drafts a national curriculum in concert with the Education Council and a panel of "educational experts" (UNESCO, 2011, p. 7). Historically, pre-service training for teachers included curriculum and teacher-centered teaching methods (UNESCO, 2011). However, the Ministry briefly eliminated this training due to financial constraints and the need to get more teachers into classrooms quickly (GOJ, 2013a; Myrick, 2021a). The MOE has since reinstated compulsory training for all newly hired teachers and offers free training programs on student-centered methodologies through the Queen Rania Training Academy (GOJ, 2018a; Myrick, 2021a; QRTA, 2019).

Teachers should have at least a bachelor's degree to work in primary education (UNESCO, 2011; GOJ, 2018a), although the Civil Service Bureau (CSB) briefly reduced this requirement to a community college diploma during the early years of the Crisis (GOJ, 2013a; Myrick, 2021a). Secondary teachers must complete at least one year of graduate study, while supervisory positions require a postgraduate degree (UNESCO, 2011). The CSB assigns teachers to posts, and school principals have no authority to hire or fire (UNESCO, 2011; GOJ, 2018a). Promotions tend to be based on length of service, performance, or degree achievement. Still, teachers remain among the lowest-paid tier of civil service employees (UNESCO, 2011).

Early and primary education

Children may enter kindergarten at age four and stay enrolled for up to two years (GOJ, 1994). Most instruction at this stage occurs in the home, with only a tiny percentage of students attending school: 13% for K1 and 59% for K2 (UNICEF Jordan, 2019, para. 3). Primary education spans 10 years, typically beginning at age six (GOJ, 1994). Students may not be "dismissed from education before the age of 16," except in the instance of a documented "special health condition" (GOJ, 1994, p. 10). The MOE also includes provisions for students with proof of coursework completed in a "foreign program" and for the advancement of "outstanding students" by up to two academic grade years (GOJ, 1994, p. 8). The Education Law of 1964 made basic education compulsory up through the 9th grade; the Education Law of 1994 extended this to the 10th grade and designated secondary education as free-of-charge (GOJ, 1994; UNESCO, 2011).

Secondary education

Secondary education should occur in the last two years of K-12 and aims to prepare students for university studies, vocational training, or entrance directly into the workforce. By and large, fewer male students than females enroll in secondary schools (UNICEF Jordan, 2019). Variables contributing to this imbalance may include intrinsic factors such as "poor academic achievements, violence, bullying and labour" and extrinsic factors "tied to teacher quality, availability of male teachers, violence in schools, availability of quality school environments and student-teacher ratio" (UNICEF Jordan, 2019, para. 4). The non-compulsory nature of secondary education, combined with the generally low availability of highly sought-after jobs in the public sector post-

graduation, may negatively affect males' motivation more readily than females. Gaining a better understanding of these variables' relationships requires further research outside the scope of this study.

The Education Law of 1964 also introduced two sequences for secondary education (UNESCO, 2011). Track one prepares students for a general postsecondary education centered on "a common cultural base and specialized academic or professional culture" (p. 12). Students following this course typically plan to enroll in university after completion of the 12th grade. In 2016, roughly 10 out of 11 students advanced along this path (GOJ, 2016a, p. 29). A second track offers an applied approach for practical education "based on preparation and vocational training" (p. 13). Students who pursue this path begin their technical training as early as 11th grade through the Initial Vocational Education System (IVET) in comprehensive secondary schools (Karkkainen, 2015). Students in IVET programs may train in four fields: "industry, hospitality, agriculture, and home economics" (Karkkainen, 2015, p. 13). The Ministry of Labor's VTC represents the second-largest subsector of the TVET system (Karkkainen, 2015). It offers specialized training in a broader range of fields (e.g., machinery, electronics, plumbing, and air-conditioning) to students between ages 16–18 years (Karkkainen, 2015).

Tawjihi

Students' "abilities and inclinations" (GOJ, 1994, p.11) and performance on the General Secondary Education Certification Examination (Tawjihi), taken any time after completing the 10th grade, determine the track they may follow and where they pursue postsecondary education (Freij, 2015; Karkkainen, 2015). High-achieving certificate holders may choose whether to attend a public or private university or a technical college

(Kanaan et al., 2010). However, the high cost of university education often proves prohibitive for low-income students. Conversely, students who fail to receive their certificate may only enroll in VTC institutions, with no future access to university (Karkkainen, 2015).

In recent years, Tawjihi reform initiatives have provided low-performing certificate holders the option of pursuing a two-year diploma, then progressing along a TVET-to-community college track (Karkkainen, 2015). However, less than 4% of students routed through TVET in secondary school make it to university through this path (Karkkainen, 2015, p. 5). Subsequently, students who score poorly on or outright fail Tawjihi commonly get stuck in the VTC pipeline with no opportunity for progression toward advanced studies (GOJ, 2014a; Karkkainen, 2015). It stems from this system that the stigma and "culture of shame" (Alshyab & Abulila, 2018, p. 59) surrounding TVET arose, namely that technical education and low achievement are synonymous (Karkkainen, 2015).

Students' test scores also determine the type of subjects they may study (Freij, 2015). Many students frequently opt to supplement or replace traditional school training with exorbitantly priced private tutoring (CRP, 2018). In 2018, only 60% of test-takers remained in school while undergoing exam preparations (CRP, 2018). Still, the test fee can prove costly for refugees and Jordan's economically disadvantaged populations (CRP, 2018). Syrian students' pass rate on Tawjihi remains incredibly low, hovering around 33% in the 2014–2015 and 2015–2016 academic years (GOJ, 2014a, 2016a).

Distribution and Characteristics of K-12 Education

In 2017–18, approximately 67% of all students in Jordan attended MOE-operated public (hereafter "government") schools (GOJ, 2018d, p.66). Government schools accounted for roughly 53% of all K-12 institutions in the Kingdom (n = 3,835 of 7,262) (GOJ, 2018d, p. 24). Of these schools, 1,391 were male-only, 496 female-only, and 1,948 co-ed (GOJ, 2018d, p. 24). Of the remaining schools, 3,211 (44%) were private, 171 fell under the purview of the UNRWA, and 45 were categorized as "other government" (GOJ, 2018d, p. 24; UNRWA, 2020). Despite being amongst the most populous in terms of refugee youths, the Capital governorate (Amman) had the lowest concentration of government schools with 36% (GOJ, 2018d, p. 24). Comparatively, Mafraq governorate boasted 84% public institutions, followed by Irbid (52%) and Zarqa (47%) (GOJ, 2018d, pp. 19–20).

Although rural schools outnumber urban institutions, students often travel long distances to attend classes (Aljaghoub, 2012; GOJ, 2018d). Transportation costs are among the biggest impediments to education for refugees and low-income families (Ajlaghoub, 2012). Individuals from these backgrounds—and Syrian students, in particular—already have an increased risk of dropping out for various reasons, some of which are economically motivated, such as child labor and early marriage (GOJ, 2017; UNICEF, 2015; UNICEF Jordan, 2019; Washington et al., 2015). Additional financial impediments may further limit their prospects by adding to the numerous obstacles many already face in pursuing education (Ibrahim & Nassar, 2019).

Rationale for Study

Building off previous research on Jordan's response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis (Myrick, 2021a), this qualitative, phenomenological study aimed to discern, from the perspective of teachers, the impact of the Crisis on Jordanian teachers' professional—and sometimes, personal—experiences and, subsequently, their ability to provide quality education for their students. Thus, data analysis centered on challenges to teaching. I was especially interested in examining a phenomenon in the hopes of understanding "the interrelationships among conditions, meaning, and action" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 25) tied to the SRC-related emergency education interventions implemented by the Ministry of Education. Hartley (1994) emphasized the importance of exploratory studies like these as being foundational for larger-scale projects. This case study aims to prompt further investigation into teaching conditions in Jordan's government-run double-shift schools. The study's findings bolster the argument for more profound research into the psychosocial needs of teachers who work with refugee populations.

<div align="center">

Methodology

</div>

In this section, I discuss the process I used in collecting, organizing, and analyzing data as it pertained to answering my research questions. Qualitative inquiry was the appropriate approach for discerning "the meaning of a phenomenon for those involved" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). This type of research involves a process of inductive analysis of qualitative data applied through a series of iterative coding procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I sought to determine recurrent patterns and themes in the data that may help understand the circumstances surrounding the phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In this sense, qualitative research helps explore "areas not yet thoroughly

researched" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). This process may lead to the generation of theory or, as in the case of this study, may help the researcher in "portraying people's experiences in specific social contexts" (Merriam, 2009, p. 6). Given that I had a particular group of people and a unique social context I wanted to explore, I decided on the case study as the most suitable method (Yin, 2018).

Data Collection

The study's primary data source was semi-structured interviews with nine teachers. These interviews provided personal insight into participants' perceptions that surveys or questionnaires could not capture (Brinkman & Kvale, 2018). Conducting in-person meetings helped alleviate mistrust and skepticism on the part of interviewees by creating a physical space in which participants and I relied on interpersonal relations to further the conversation (Brinkman & Kvale, 2018). These meetings took place on-site in Amman, Jordan.

Procedures

Before recruitment and research began, I obtained permission from the university's Institutional Review Board and the Government of Jordan's Ministry of Education. For interviews held in a school setting, the Head of School also granted written permission. These meetings took place in a private office, away from any student interaction. I conducted the remaining interviews in a closed setting at a location of the participant's choice.

Sample Selection. I included participants based on their willingness to participate. The target population comprised teachers working in public primary and secondary double-shift schools in East Amman that served Syrian refugees and Jordanian

nationals. Some participants also worked or had prior experience working in government-run schools colloquially known as "Syrian Centers." In this paper, the use of "government schools" collectively refers to traditional schools and Syrian Centers. Interviewees did not receive compensation for participating and had the option to leave the study at any time.

This study had a target sample size of 9–12 participants; enrollment continued on a rolling basis via snowball sampling. Requests to participate were made in person, through email, and by word-of-mouth, which included posts about the study shared via groups on social media platforms. I invited individuals who self-identified as fitting the specified criteria to join the study.

The recruitment process drew responses from 20 teachers. Of this group, four mistook the social media posts for job adverts. The remaining group consisted of five women and 11 men. Two male respondents did not meet the criteria of teaching in government schools. One female could not participate due to scheduling conflicts; the remaining four females pulled out of the study the morning of their scheduled interviews. They expressed that they felt uncomfortable participating unless a Ministry of Education representative would be present during meetings. Because I firmly believed that having a Ministry official present might inhibit participants' candid responses, the study proceeded without any female volunteers.

Ultimately, nine males took part in the study. Participants ranged from 23–49 years of age and had between 2–20 years of teaching experience. Four taught math, and one each taught geology, Arabic literature, English, and computer. One teacher taught four subjects: Islamic studies, history, geography, and social studies. All teachers worked

at the primary-school level; only one did not have experience with Syrian students. Finally, two teachers taught Tawjihi prep, either formally or in private lessons. Following Craig's (2007) example, I note in parenthesis each teacher's subject matter and years of experience in their first introduction in the analysis section.

Interviews. Initial interviews were limited to approximately 60 mins in length. Only Karim sat for a second interview, which was 45 mins. I asked open-ended questions intended to invite narratives, while follow-up questions kept the interviews on target. Participants received copies of the interview protocol and discussion topics in both English and Arabic. I offered all interviewees the services of an interpreter, which only Karim and Badr declined since they were both fluent in English. A copy of the interview protocol and discussion topics may be found in Appendix C.

Data Analysis

This study used a grounded theory approach. This method of analysis is appropriate for research where the aim is to "provide detailed descriptions of the [case] and phenomenon" (Flick, 2018, p. 115). In particular, my goal was to highlight human experiences associated with a phenomenon (Vivar et al., 2007).

Coding

Analysis followed an iterative process that separated data into concepts, categories, and subcategories through open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Pandit, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin, 2018). Separating data into these elements helped me discern common, recurring themes and patterns in the data that highlighted causal relations between the phenomenon's conditions (Pandit, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

To enhance study dependability, I employed a code-recode system (Krefting, 1991) that continued to saturation (Pandit, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I used Dedoose (www.dedoose.com) coding software to track and store data analysis. For trustworthiness purposes, I employed two different professional services to transcribe and translate audio recordings. GoTranscript (www.gotranscript.com) performed the original transcriptions into English and Arabic; I then verified and corrected the English dialogue. Abdeldaym Arabic Transcription Services (www.sonix.ai) provided corrections to the Arabic transcriptions and translated them into English. Having interviews transcribed in English and Arabic helped ensure that what the interpreter described aligned with the participant's actual response. Coding followed the Arabic translations, except in the few cases where the interpreter's summary offered clarity to the dialogue. Coding along one language also prevented double-coding of data, which could have potentially skewed the analysis.

Ensuring validity and reliability

In addition to interview data, I compiled a database of other narrative material (Yin, 2018). These items included field notes outside of actual interview time and a reflexive journal that cataloged the coding process and my overall thoughts on data analysis as it progressed. Other notes incorporated post-interview observations about specific sessions (e.g., participants' mannerisms, topics that might need further unpacking, etc.). Upon revisiting interview recordings post-transcription, I added any additional notes that became visible at that time.

Results

This study's results characterize the teachers' perspectives of events, experiences, and conditions within their respective schools and communities. Participants took different approaches to the interviews and how they answered questions. Some discussed their overall teaching experiences; others focused heavily on teaching Syrian refugees. Yusuf (Math, two years) discussed his knowledge of working with the morning shift but shared anecdotal information based on his observations of his colleagues' interactions with both cohorts. Most participants who started teaching before 2011—specifically, Abdel (Arabic literature; 20 years), Tariq (Math; 14 years), and Zameer (Computer; 19 years)—took a more comparative approach than those who began their careers after the start of the SRC in Jordan. Karim (Math, seven years), Hassan (Islamic Studies, Social Studies, Geography, History; 15 years), Waleed (Geology, three years), Badr (English, six years), and Salem (Math, nine years) toggled back and forth freely between specific situations with each cohort.

Dominant Themes

Several recurrent topics emerged during data analysis. This paper explores six dominant themes: physical spaces, learning environments, interpersonal relationships, student-centered problems, physical and mental fatigue [burnout], and sense of duty/job satisfaction. Some of the challenges to teaching identified within these core concepts included: difficulties with classroom management, uninvolved or disengaged parents, a decrease in some students' desire to learn, the physical and psychological effects of teachers working multiple jobs, and feeling unappreciated. Several issues addressed under these themes came as a direct result of the Crisis; others existed already but were

exacerbated by the Crisis's circumstances. Others became more obvious to teachers in the wake of the Crisis and the associated increase in workload.

Physical Spaces

This study confirmed problems with overcrowded classes, poor and overstressed infrastructure, and insufficient critical resources, in line with previous reports. These issues have been well documented (see The Jordan Response Plan, years 2015–2022; Myrick, 2021a). Therefore, I have chosen to include them in the analysis only insomuch as they offer context to later problems and how they affected teachers' personal and professional experiences.

Overcrowding. In the early years of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan, overcrowding—defined by the MOE as classrooms with 36 students or more (Ababneh et al., 2012)—occurred in both the morning and afternoon shifts. Badr, Zameer, and Hassan recalled class sizes jumping from 25 students to, at peak Crisis, topping out at 50, even 60, students each. Karim best summarized the group's collective frustration with the situation, commenting that "crowded classrooms because the refugees … has affected my uh, my duties to teach" (Interview 1). Now, perhaps as a result of a slowdown in the number of Syrian refugees entering the Kingdom, some youths aging out of primary education, and high instances of dropouts among Syrians (see GOJ, 2017), "the number of students … in the morning shift, which is reserved for Jordanians, the number of students is greater. This problem [of overcrowding] does not exist in the Syrian afternoon shift" (Tariq). The MOE launched a mass-hiring initiative to outfit the additional double-shift and temporary schools (Myrick, 2021a; GOJ, 2013), which created hundreds of new teaching positions for those in desperate need of employment (Karim, Interview 1).

Unfortunately, due to the immediate need to get teachers in classrooms, the CSB exempted most new hires from critical training programs (Myrick, 2021a; GOJ, 2013).

Infrastructure. Infrastructure issues predated the SRC. In 2012, the Ministry conducted a Kingdom-wide assessment of overcrowded classrooms to determine space needs (Ababneh et al., 2012). Follow-up studies were carried out as part of the Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022 (GOJ, 2018a). The Jordan Response Plan (years 2015–2022) indicated multiple areas within the education sector that needed significant physical improvements (e.g., bathrooms and other WASH facilities, buildings in disrepair, etc.), as well as a report of updates to infrastructure that the MOE had already implemented. Among the critical issues identified in this study, the lack of heating and air conditioning in classrooms, insufficient physical resources, and maintenance of shared spaces were the most prevalent.

Regarding classroom temperatures, complaints varied according to the season. Hassan noted how, in warmer times of the year, poor circulation and not having air conditioning made learning spaces uncomfortable: "We don't have a fan in the classes, and in the summer, it's very hot. And smells." Zameer pointed out that overcrowding only added to the issue: "I mean, 50 students who enter class, I tell them to open the window to get the smell out [of] the classroom." During winter months, schools in Amman's mountainous regions became unbearably cold, as Karim observed: "We don't have a central heating. So, I explain in my lesson, in my class, and my students, they are shaking" (Interview 1). He further commented on how the extreme temperatures affected his students:

I made like a survey or like, uh, just studying like the eff- effecting [*sic*] of, uh,

cold in the students. How does it affect the students or their studying? … And so,

I conclude that in the winter, uh, the grades—and for the students in whole

[school], it's not in only Math—they- they got a bad, uh, marks and grades in the

winter…. But after a few months in the summer or the spring, so the weather is

good, yeah, I- I took a look in [*sic*] the grades for the students. I saw they got high

grades. (Interview 1)

Resources. A shortage of computer labs/equipment in schools was of primary

concern for math and computer teachers. With only one computer lab and 15 computers

for 1,300 students, Zameer frequently taught his computer lessons using books alone. In

the following discussion, he shared a typical scenario of bringing his students down to the

lab for a scheduled session only to find another teacher and class using the computers.

When asked how he managed the situation, he lamented, "I return my students to the

class. I do not have an alternative. I cannot tell the teacher, 'Leave the lab; I want to

explain to my students here.' We have a shortage of computer equipment." Yusuf stated

that the shortage of equipment in his school caused problems with keeping his class on

schedule. He worked around the issue by creating other ways for students to learn. Tariq

also utilized "a diversity of strategies" to fill the gap created by lost lab time. Still, he

added that the more prominent issues were the small classrooms and not having enough

desks for the students: "Seats are every two students with the same seat." Poor

maintenance of these shared spaces created cleanliness issues for morning and evening

shifts (Yusuf, Tariq, & Zameer).

Learning Environments

This theme centers on two definitions of learning environments. First, it describes a temporal setting, or how the change to double-shift schooling affected teaching times. Second, it considers the psychological aspects of teaching, or how teachers created positive spaces and supported their students' learning. Some teachers imagined themselves in their students' shoes and tried to utilize strategies "appropriate to their level of understanding" (Badzis, 2020, p. 27). Others researched instructional methods they thought might make learning fun.

Shortened Teaching Time. Another critical challenge to teaching related to the amount of time allocated for lesson delivery. Before the Crisis, a typical class period averaged about 60 mins. Double-shifting made teaching days longer and class times shorter (Azzeh, 2016; Al Jazeera English, 2013). Under this schedule, "in the morning shift, we have 45 minutes each class but in [the] Syrian [shift], 30 minutes" (Hassan). Salem explained in detail how this arrangement proved tricky:

> We have a problem in the Syrian shift. For me, I teach senior students, I mean the ninth, eighth, ninth, tenth grade. They had a little time, half an hour. In that time, I cannot explain or complete the curriculum. The student takes five minutes to fit into the class, ten minutes to fit into the class, so these ten minutes were lost, and 20 minutes remained from the class. The class here, as a level of students, as a level of thought, I have to keep explaining. I need not less than 45 minutes to 60 minutes, and I am explaining in the classroom in order to communicate the information to the students. The class bell rings, and I am still with [*sic*] the middle of the question explaining. So, when did I complete this? I started taking

from the class after it to complete what? Complete the explanation of the previous question.

Hassan expanded on how having additional students in each class aggravated the issue: "You know, the class is 50 [minutes] or 45 [minutes]. So, if you want to give e-every, uh, student one minutes [*sic*], you don't teach, I mean, very good." As a result, teachers fell further behind on meeting the requirements for keeping students on track for their grade level. This inability to meet the schedule prescribed in the curriculum while also attending to the students' individual needs was a source of "conflict" in the teachers' care ethics (Noddings, 2012a). Often the teachers were left feeling powerless, as Hassan implied when he said, "I have a curriculum and other students. I can't stop."

Supporting Learning/Positive Reinforcement. Prior research has positively linked learning environments and student achievement (Stockard & Mayberry, 1985), ability (Opdenakker et al., 2011), and motivation (Baeten et al., 2013). Despite the difficulties associated with shortened class times, the teachers made a concerted effort to create supportive learning environments. For some, this meant utilizing positive reinforcement methods. Badr, in sharing a story about a Syrian student who could neither read nor write, told of how he kept the student motivated when other students began to tease him:

I put him in the first desk, and anything that he do [*sic*], anything, anything that he did, I clap to him; I motivated him. I put some stars on his head, on his face. I tried to encourage him to do his best to learn. And after the school year finish, he can read and write, and he-- I motivate him to be good to other subjects, like Arabic language, mathematics. And some of the teachers told me that this student

is good. He is start [*sic*] to participate in the class, uh, start to-- there is some self-

confidence, it's appear [*sic*] to him.

Watching the student evolve made Badr feel "special." Abdel, Waleed, and Yusuf

also made it their goal to build students' confidence. They made it their practice to have

students come to the board to work out problems or give short speeches about their

weekends in front of their peers, which they believed helped with self-esteem. Badr and

Abdel had their students cheer each other on when someone attempted to answer a

question in class. Getting the answer correct was irrelevant; the attempt deserved

recognition.

Paige (1993) stated that "almost all learning activities have the potential to

embarrass participants" (p. 15). Students who think they will get an answer incorrect may

be less likely even to try. But, as Paige further remarked, "a supportive, cooperative

learning environment can … help by removing the sense that every learning activity is a

win-lose situation for the learner" (p. 14). The teachers encouraged autonomous

academic motivation by giving the students the right amount of direction and guidance

(Opdenakker et al., 2011), effectively minimizing the risk of embarrassment typically

connected to a student's fear of failure (Paige, 1993). This type of motivation "is likely to

be promoted when students experience sufficient provisions of involvement (feel related),

feel more secure about the learning environment, and engage in more challenging tasks"

(Opdenakker et al., 2011, p. 21). Opdenakker et al. (2011) found that positive learning

environments and academic motivation were essential to student development, as were

strong teacher-student interpersonal relationships (TSIR).

Seeking New Ways to Make Learning Fun. Despite their best efforts, and almost always due to the large class sizes and short class periods, participants sometimes struggled with lesson delivery modes. To keep students engaged, teachers sought out student-centered instructional methods that they hoped would make learning fun. For Yusuf, this meant getting on the students' level and incorporating "things that I would have liked to do in school. Yes, these students benefit from them because I think they have an impact, especially as it is life skills. So, I'm trying it 90% math and 10% life skills." For example, if a student mentioned he had gone to the grocery store to buy food, Yusuf challenged the student to solve a word problem based on what they purchased.

Several teachers expressed a passion for learning new pedagogies and getting creative with their applications. About the opportunity to enroll in professional development courses, Karim pronounced, "I love to take courses, uh, to grow myself" (Interview 1). Hassan also shared his enjoyment of continuing-education opportunities, adding that he frequently sought them out on his own:

> I read it on the internet and searching [*sic*] about things like that. If there is a new lesson– How I can present that to the students? Especially in the subject of [social studies], which is my class…. I am exciting [*sic*] about the new thing to read and to know another thing.

Teachers tried to diversify teaching methods by using "learning by playing, learning by using auxiliary aids, whether they are visual, audio, or such" (Abdel). Yusuf tried to relate to how his students might think: "I try to find new ideas for the lesson and compare them with the old ideas. I try to find what [is] suitable with the class, with the

ideas or thinking style of the students." Concerning the new-hire training traditionally

offered by the MOE, Karim had this to say:

> [The Ministry of Education] offer[s] us like a free- free courses. But it's not …
>
> capable of technologies or, uh, it's just one course for six months for new students
>
> of teaching quiz and, uh, some are modern methodologies. Some models, like, old
>
> way, yeah. They don't have like, uh, updating- updating for the new things about
>
> education and, uh, teaching, studying, you know. Uh, so this is one of the
>
> teachers' challenges. (Interview 1)

Badr also acknowledged that teachers did have access to professional

development opportunities at the Queen Rania Teaching Academy. Yet, he went on to

say that it was really up to him to create engaging, student-centered teaching methods in

the classroom. When asked about the MOE's decision to pull teachers from pre-service

training at the beginning of the Crisis (Myrick, 2021a), he replied, "I think for

[accommodating] Syrians they- they give some special decisions of [policy]. But [it]

doesn't work. Doesn't work. [It] doesn't touch the fact [that] the decision is something

else and the reality is something else." More clearly stated, the idea of that intervention

and its impact did not align.

Interpersonal Relationships

The majority of the teachers relied on TSIRs in their classrooms. Students seemed

to feed off of positive connections and wanted to perform well to please their teachers. In

this sense, the teachers and students engaged in "reciprocity" (Noddings, 2012b, p. 53),

or reciprocal giving. The more teachers gave to the students, the more the students

wanted to give to the teachers. Notably, the word teachers in this study used the most to

describe teaching or delivering a lesson was "give." The practice of fostering TSIRs (Opdenakker et al., 2011) was not learned through professional development or teacher training, as most of the teachers had not participated in formal programs. Those that had described the programs offered as lacking in functional or new pedagogical enhancements.

These behaviors, therefore, seemed to be innate, grounded in the deep-rooted sense of family, respect, friendship, and hospitality ingrained in Jordanian (and Arab) culture (Alon, 2009; Barakat, 1993). They are also in accordance with the foundations upon which the Kingdom's "Arab Islamic civilization" (GOJ, 1994, p. 2; see also Alon, 2009; Barakat, 1993) is built. Medieval Islamic philosopher Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazali, whose teachings "still influence the education systems in many Islamic countries" (Alkanderi, 2001, p. 7), famously centered his recommendations on the understanding that "education is a reciprocal arrangement" (p. 3). This exchange is reflected in his concept of the Master-Pupil Relationship (MPR; Alkanderi, 2001; Badzis, 2020; Halstead, 2007), which helped shape the modern-day tenets of Islamic Educational Psychology (IEP; Badzis, 2020). This theme identifies areas where the dependence on MPRs, or TSIRs, became evident during interview data analysis.

Guiding Students' Behavior. One of the challenges teachers faced pertained to classroom management, as Karim summarized: "[Teachers] cannot control the crowded classroom, crowded schools…" (Interview 1). Techniques varied broadly, but reliance on the MPR proved helpful. For example, Waleed maintained order by gaining students' respect. He emphasized the importance of supporting students emotionally and harnessing "kindness" (Badzis, 2020, p. 27) in education:

You know, 45 students means 45 problems, 45 personality [*sic*]. But around the

year, and thanks God, we can solve all of these 45 problems. And you can make

the students love the school through their loving me. There are students [who]

learn sciences because they love me. I also focused on the relation- the relation

between me and the students. This is how I control on the 45 students.

The approach differed significantly for Zameer, who managed his classes by being firm

with his students. In the morning shift, he often dealt with what he described as

"violence" and "aggression." He explained:

If you are a professor and your personality is strong, you can rule the class with

50 students entering the classroom. The laws tell us that beating is forbidden, but I

say to any supervisor that beating is allowed. The first working week, if you did

not get on your nerves in the morning shift and hit two students in the class, the

classroom will not be disciplined.

Here, "beating" referred to using a stick to make an example out of students who

talked back or acted out. His approach seemed not to come from anger but instead

frustration—a behavioral lesson bent on teaching the students to show respect. Zameer

perceived this behavior as unique to Jordanian students and did not apply the same

sternness with Syrian refugees in the afternoon. He claimed that with

this kind of students, you do not need to hit them, just warn them, in the evening.

Unlike the morning shift, [where] there are students you have to hit in order to be

able to control the class and make him pay attention to the lesson.

This observation stands in alignment with IEP's philosophy on punishment: It is a tool

employed only to fulfill a psychological need, educate, or mold behavior, not as a form of

abuse (Badzis, 2020). Most importantly, punishment should never occur while "in the state of anger" (Badzis, 2020, p. 20).

Kindness, Empathy, and Mutual Respect. One point made evident throughout the interviews was that the teachers and students treated each other with unwavering mutual respect. Karim repeatedly boasted that his students, past and present, held him in high regard. He remarked on how much he enjoyed reuniting with former pupils with whom he had forged a special bond. This mutual admiration reflects Al-Ghazali's belief that students should "respect their teachers" and teachers ought "to be kind to the students" (Alkaderi, 2001, p. 7). Al-Ghazali also advised teachers to approach MPRs "as if [the pupils] were your own children" (Badzis, 2020, p. 27). In describing their relationships with their students, the teachers all noticeably referred to them using familial terms. Yusuf, Waleed, and Karim saw their pupils as "brothers." Yusuf took pride in his daily practice of examining the boys' hygiene at the beginning of each day. The following excerpt reveals his attention to detail in caring for the children in his class:

Yusuf: If there are students who come to me before the school radio, and during the morning queue, I [examine] for the students, for example, how is his hair? His nails, his clothes, before--

Interpreter: (*clarifying*) Are you responsible for those [tasks]?

Yusuf: No. Every student who I teach them, they are [*sic*] know me-- I love these things. I am volunteering to do that [*sic*] things.

Badr, along with the other teachers, invoked the term "sons," adding that "as a teacher, we want to do the best for the students, and we treat them as our sons. Our sons." That he repeated the words "our sons" gave the statement a notably emphatic tone—he

truly meant what he said. Similarly, Abdel glowed over how "Some students consider me as his father. So, one of them on the Facebook write this thing: 'Now my father is Abdel teacher, teacher Abdel.'" This relationship was meaningful to him and, he believed it better allowed him to "take their problems, deal with them, solve it if I can." Although he faced seemingly insurmountable challenges and frustrating conditions, he never took out his feelings on his students. Even when he struggled to keep the students on track with curriculum or simply lacked the energy to give his best efforts in class, he never became impatient with them, claiming, "I hate to treat the students badly, or get angry with them, or something like that. I feel that the student is my son no matter what."

Teachers also expressed a high level of empathy in addressing refugee students' needs. When problems arose with a particular young man who had fallen behind in his studies, Salem implored his colleagues to rally around the boy to get to the heart of the matter. As it turned out, the student spent his evenings working—he was the primary income-earner in his family—and did not have time to do homework. The following longer narrative provides intimate insight into how the incident unfolded:

> Teaching in Syria was very strong. When [the Syrian students] came to us, even when they had the right thing and had ideas, I mean, these students could be half of them excellent students. But [because he works after school] there is no possibility that he learns; there is no possibility that he develops himself. … And, um, [the teachers] started to gather together … and try to, to understand, listen, from the student, and see what's going on with him, or like, value him. Just to see if … he [is] just a lazy student or not. And then they discovered that there's a lot of them, like, it's a human- human matter, like, [for] some of the students.

Then we met with the teachers, and we told them: "Try to deal with the student as a friend, improve your teaching method for him, and you will find the student has information, he has ideas."…

Even at the end of the year, when we gave their reports, other teachers … wanted to fail some of the students who doesn't [*sic*] give any results at [*sic*] their classes. But we supported them and told the teachers, "No, the student is good, his personality is good. He can give, but he cannot afford to give in his school. But he's a good student." But this is because of the conditions of life that did not allow him to learn or reach this stage.

In this example, Salem served as the carer in a situation where it became necessary to listen to and act upon the student's direct, expressed needs (Noddings, 2012a). The cared-for responded by working harder during school hours: "So, we became working on them … they solve the homework, they solves [*sic*] in school, not outside of school." The teachers did not solve the student's problem of working after school, nor did they simply excuse him from completing his assignments. The simple fact that teachers listened and the student responded in turn "complete[d] the caring relation" (Noddings, 2012a, p. 773; see also Noddings, 2012b). Moreover, they showed "kindness and empathy" (Badzis, 2020, p. 27), both of which are at the heart of the Master-Pupil Relationship.

Student-Centered Problems

Participants focused heavily on how student-related problems further complicated teaching. Primarily, issues pertained to students' backgrounds (e.g., psychological state, family situations, and socio-economic status), preparedness, and performance. These

problems persisted with both cohorts, although the Syrian refugee students tended to face additional education barriers (Myrick, 2021b). Examples included gaps in learning and coping with the loss of a parent or other close family member. Syrian students also came from different curricular backgrounds and were typically placed in the wrong grade for their learning level. For Jordanian students, the most significant problems stemmed from a lack of parental involvement in student learning, which negatively impacted their desire to learn and led to low engagement in the classroom.

Students' Backgrounds. Students' backgrounds seemed to feature more prominently with Syrian students than with Jordanians. Although teachers tried their best to accommodate students' psychological states, they did not feel qualified to manage students' needs. Karim stated plainly: "Like most of [the teachers], I taught Syrians, refugee students. They were talking about their story in the war, and they say that we just want, uh, our parents. … I'm not a specialist and psychiatrist or something" (Interview 1). Nevertheless, he believed that his own experiences of having a "bad childhood" and "suffering" helped him connect with students (Interview 1). He felt that his background prepared him for handling some of the psychosocial problems his students faced and made it easier to relate to them. Even if he did not share in their same trauma, his ability to empathize with their distress seemed to be central to their shared mutual respect. By practicing empathy and meeting the students where they were emotionally, Karim was cultivating their sense of belonging (Myrick, 2021b).

Several teachers remarked how students' prior experiences carried over into the classroom. Abdel shared:

> I find many students of them suffer from problems because of the circumstances in Syria before they come to Jordan, [and] after they came to Jordan. Before they came to Jordan, they have problems. … In one lesson last year, I give the students a poem about love [of] life, or about smiling for the life. One of the students start crying or started crying. I said to him: "Why are you crying?" You know, he said to me that, "I lost my father in the war in Syria, and I didn't feel the care of smiling in our life."

Often, the loss of a parent, the cost of relocation, or both, had forced Syrian students into dire financial situations. As a result, many worked before and after school and on weekends. Frequently, students could not complete assignments outside of class due to work obligations. Salem recounted a story of a student who had fallen behind in his studies and risked failing his classes. When asked why he had not completed any homework, the student revealed that he left school every day and went straight to work, where he stayed until the late evening. Speaking in broader terms, Salem recalled:

> Because of the war conditions in Syria, they came here as refugees, and their situation is very bad, and their financial situation is weak. I entered a house- From their homes, their financial condition is zero, there is no financial condition in it. So, he is forced to work this [job], in order to spend on his family. I mean, [students] whose father is dead, whose father is incapacitated, whose mother is dead, I mean, we try to support them in order to make them succeed.

These circumstances were not unique. Zameer observed similar situations playing out with his students:

There is another thing from the things that we were suffering from—not as

suffering, as problems—with the Syrians. He comes from the workshop outside to

the school directly; he is not ready to open a book. This is the case of some

students, also students in the ninth or tenth grade. … He and his father, in order to

provide for their children, to provide for their family. He would come with his

father to work. We saw his clothes. Every day, he comes from the workshop with

his father, showing [stains on] his clothes. He comes straight from the workshop

to the school.

Students' inability to devote time to their studies paired poorly with gaps in

learning. Karim referred to these gaps as "a hole in their studying because- because [of]

the war." Illiteracy seemed to be a chronic issue. Hassan confessed that in "every class,

you can take from him, from the class, five to seven students—they can't read. They

don't [know] how to read. You can find five or six students in each class." For Badr, that

number was much higher: "Can't read? Okay, inside one class, for example, we have 44

students; there is [*sic*] 15 [who cannot read]." Lack of fundamental knowledge extended

to Math studies as well. In a story about a student taking private lessons, Salem revealed:

"I taught a student, a senior student. This student was unable to read and write. She

doesn't know addition, subtract. She does not know the positive from the negative

because of [her] weak level in mathematics." When possible, teachers tried to help

students stay on track with learning by giving "intensive lessons" during class to avoid

assigning homework. This technique involved resorting to rote learning and repetition.

Still, over time, learning deficiencies accumulated:

Now, as far as mathematics is concerned—I [teach] mathematics—I am facing a problem that my subject requires that the student not forget what he previously learned; it is a cumulative subject. The subject is cumulative, such as how does one learn [the] English language. He must know the letters A-B-C. If he doesn't, he can't take a step forward. The subject of mathematics, the student does not retain the information previously learned. I am struggling that I have to remind the student of the previous information. I am not talking about a third grade. I am teaching a seventh, sixth grade, seventh. This is a problem. Students do not have the previous information, except for a few smart students. (Tariq)

Finally, Syrian students who came to Jordan without any documentation frequently had to repeat grades they had already completed back home. Badr, Karim, and Zameer told stories of students who had attended high school in Syria being placed in the fifth and sixth grades in Jordan, some as old as age 15. Salem could think of several of his students who had simply spent too much time out of school and could not keep up with their lessons during the years they awaited getting out of Syria. He knew them to be bright and their potential to be "excellent students," but their circumstances held them back. Badr mentioned that Syria's school system offered instruction in French; Jordan schools teach primarily in Arabic. Together, these issues seemed to place Syrian students at a critical disadvantage and created additional challenges for the teachers.

Parental Involvement. Despite their many barriers to education, Syrian students now consistently outperformed their Jordanian peers. The teachers agreed that Syrian students seemed more engaged and motivated and attributed their high achievement, in part, to parents taking an interest in the daily lessons. With Jordanian students, teachers

found fault with parents' apparent disinterest in their child's schooling. The teachers believed that how parents viewed education impacted students' desire to learn, particularly because students are allowed to continue to the next grade regardless of academic achievement. Hassan characterized how these problems compounded:

There is a wrong strategy in the Ministry of Education that they are saying, just keep going and let the students pass. … The students is [*sic*] careless- [They] don't care. And the families now don't care also…. Before, like, [the] family [would ask] what you studied, and they set [*sic*] with the child and make review and explain. Most of the people [now] didn't ask their children, "What did you learn?"… The first thing, the children, guaranteeing the success … And the second thing, the families, they didn't have any feel of responsible [*sic*] for their kids.

Yusuf added:

Students do not like learning as they used to before. We used to like to go to school. Now the student is—his goal—he goes to school to satisfy his family. There are students who do not have a love or passion for learning.

Although in some instances, parents could not help their students with at-home lessons due to work obligations, Tariq claimed the issue ostensibly stemmed from sheer disinterest. He provided the following example:

Regarding the issue of parents, a large percentage of the parents do not follow their children. Okay. If you open the student's notebook, you will find there is no … follow-up from the parents; there aren't notes from the parents. I'm writing notes for the parents; parents never pay attention to it. At home, there is no study

at all. Parents do not follow the student. When you ask for a student's guardian to

come to school, he will not come to school. This is a problem.

Typically, the burden to fully develop students often fell on teachers, which led to

additional pressure and stress:

The families want the school [to] give everything, and that is impossible,

impossible. Even [in] the international school, the parents have to set [*sic*] with

their children and teach them. We are still talking about the primary stage, forget

the adults. The parents have to set [*sic*] with kids, and they review, teach the

lessons. The school- [it's] impossible [to] make the students ready in 100%. The

parents have to do that to make sure their kids will be success[ful]. (Hassan)

This lack of parental involvement runs counter to traditional Arab culture and the

function of the family unit (Barakat, 1993). It also has the potential for long-term

consequences to student achievement (Opdenakker et al., 2011).

Physical and Mental Fatigue/Burnout

The change to double-shift teaching took a physical and psychological toll on the

teachers. The most common complaints centered on long workdays, heavy workloads,

external demands, and mental wellbeing.

Physical Effects. All of the teachers described feeling "exhausted" (Waleed,

Badr, Tariq, & Zameer) or "tired" (Karim, Abdel, Waleed, Salem, Tariq, & Zameer) at

the end of the day. In some cases, fatigue came from standing for long periods: "I'm very

exhausted when I finish work and, uh, sometimes you don't feel with your feet because

always you are standing" (Badr). Mental fatigue also seemed to have a physical effect, as

indicated by Tariq: "Honestly, at the end of the afternoon shift, the second shift, I cannot

speak." Increased workloads, which included taking work home every night and working on Saturdays, also accounted for a general decline in participants' physical health. One teacher remarked, "The problem here is that we take work to our home, and this affects us and exhausts us" (Waleed). Salem added:

> The problem is that we worked daily, even on Saturday, which is a day off; sometimes we work on it. And if there was no work in the school, I would give private lessons. I do not have a day off other than Friday.

Several participants claimed they taught better in the morning shift, when they had more energy. They admitted to, at times, feeling as though their lessons in the afternoon lacked the same effort and spirit they had earlier in the day. Tariq claimed he could feel the fatigue kick in during the midday break, as the morning shift ended and the second shift began. Zameer also observed a midday change in his mental energy, stating, "after 1:00 p.m., my mind will be exhausted. My effort in the Syrian period is less than the morning shift." Both lamented not being able to teach at their best.

Managing the demands of life outside the school seemed to add to some teachers' overall exhaustion. Each of the participants had external commitments, whether pursuing graduate studies, attending to family life, or working extra jobs. Karim summarized how these challenges affected his teaching:

> So, I have to work extra jobs. So, uh, when I finish my school, I go to work in another job, right? And, in the night, I didn't have enough time to sleep well. So, in the morning, I feel sleepy when I teach my students. Uh, this affect[s] them negatively, and I'm honest in that. If I have just one job teaching, I think, uh, my ability to teach- I will teach better with one job. Yeah. So, uh, and I'm not the

only one. Maybe around 90% of teachers in the government schools they have,

uh, another job. (Interview 2)

Physical effects frequently carried over into psychological effects that negatively

impacted teachers' mental wellbeing.

Psychological Effects. Generally, the challenges detailed here caused immense

stress on the teachers, which manifested in different ways. Some teachers experienced

stress or "self-pressure" because of the increased workload. Salem also taught Tawjihi

prep outside of his regular teaching schedule; working 14–15-hr days became the norm.

After completing his classes in the afternoon shift, he "used to wash in school and go to

private lessons directly," returning home as late as 10 p.m. on some nights. Salem

emphasized how the extra work had also impacted his time with his family, which caused

him even more stress. He added: "The requirements of life are many. I have a house; I

have a family. I have to sit with them and talk to them, even if I am tired, I keep staying

awake until 1, 2 a.m., sitting with them." Tariq also saw how his stress spilled over into

his family life. For him, the difficulty lies in his

head, with the sound, [it] exhausts me at the end of the work [day]. Honestly, I

shut myself up in the room; there is no light, there is no sound. … My wife

doesn't feel happy. She wants to speak to me, but because of the pressure, I need

to have a quiet one hour. So, it's affecting [my family] in some way. …

Especially the kids**,** the kids.

Mental fatigue seemed to be a significant problem. Salem reported feeling burned

out, while others sometimes felt "angry at the situation" (Karim, Interview 1). Salem, in

particular, had a lot to say about his frustration regarding students' not retaining what he

felt were the most basic lessons. He commented that, at times, the fault might be the

student's:

> And this thing causes us to physiological stress: You explain, explain, explain-- In
>
> the end, the student comes and tells you, "Teacher, I did not study, I failed in the
>
> exam." You are physiological [*sic*] tired that everything I did, [it did] not help.
>
> Everything I did, [it did] not work.

Other times, he blamed the shortened class times that double-shifting created:

> Even the level that we got with the students, it took us time to improve the
>
> students, and it is still weak. I am talking about myself, that I am busy and tired of
>
> trying to develop them. But their level is not adjusted to the level I want or the
>
> level of the ninth grade. [The Ministry of Education] didn't let me give the class
>
> its due.

In any case, Salem began to doubt his skills as a teacher:

> Even we have reached a stage that if you want you to see your competence in
>
> teaching, I mean, we have reached a stage that you become the teacher [who]
>
> doubts that he is-- does he know [what] he is [teaching], or he does not know
>
> [teaching]? Because the students are not beneficiaries. What do we do now?

> Instead of letting these situations break him down, Salem altered his teaching

style. For students who could not study outside of class, he offered lessons based on rote

learning. To accommodate less classroom time, Salem prepared question-and-answer

study sheets in advance of exams. Although he knew this was not the type of teaching the

students deserved, he decided this was the only way they would have a chance to learn

anything at all. Still, he continued to doubt his abilities as a teacher, which ultimately caused him to feel depressed.

Coping mechanisms for dealing with depression and stress varied. The younger teachers found spending time with friends, working out, and playing sports therapeutic. Yusuf frequently met with other teachers his age at coffee shops or on his graduate school's campus to talk through their more challenging days. Waleed thought it best not to think about the bad but instead, look ahead to future summer plans. Compartmentalizing, or leaving work at work, worked best for Zameer, who refused to bring any negativity home. Mid-career teachers tended to devote their free time to family, making a point to get out in nature, either for walks in local parks or by visiting some of Jordan's many tourist attractions. Others believed serenity could be found by looking inward. For them, setting aside time for meditation and prayer played a crucial role in stress management.

Sense of Duty and Job Satisfaction

The teachers expressed a strong sense of duty to their work and their students. They used the words "proud" and "love" more than any other when describing how they felt about teaching. They universally agreed that working in public schools kept them grounded in their communities. Many found teaching Syrian refugees rewarding. Salary was a chief complaint with all participants. Despite the challenges, the teachers shared a high level of job satisfaction.

Sense of Duty. Badr, Karim, and Salem all specified that their preference for public versus private schools came from seeing themselves in their students. Salem

further articulated that, while he felt a sense of duty to his Jordanian students, he felt an

emotional connection to his Syrian students. As he saw it,

> the first shift is a shift that we must give and teach [the Jordanian] students. We
>
> must teach them—100%. Because they are students from the same country like
>
> us. Their financial situation and their living conditions are like us. The thing that
>
> attracted us to the Syrian [students in the afternoon] shift—the most to them—is
>
> the emotional matters. And that we wanted to develop them and welcome them
>
> here, more than we hate them in the country. Enough problems they have. Our
>
> situation in the second shift was psychological and educational, but more
>
> psychological than educational.

Tariq, Badr, and Zameer shared this sentiment, noting that the Syrian students seemed to

have a higher appreciation for learning.

Zameer enjoyed that students in his afternoon classes took the time to engage with

him on a personal level. In one example, he recalled a student noticing his haircut, which

made him feel special. In another instance, a group of four Syrian boys offered to share

their lunches with Zameer. This experience resonated with him for two reasons: first, this

type of exchange did not happen with his Jordanian students; second, he knew the boys

could not afford to give away their food. But as the teachers repeatedly observed, the

Syrian students seemed to exhibit an overall feeling of gratitude and excitement for

school in general and the normalcy and stability it brought to their lives. To promote the

students' sense of belonging, the teachers made a point to treat the refugees as they did

their native students.

Several teachers saw education as a moral imperative and a meaningful way to serve their country. Karim and Zameer revered teaching as a "respectable" and "very high-end" profession, respectively. They both connected their feelings about teaching to its historical significance in the Islamic faith. Waleed emphasized that through education, children gained valuable insight into right and wrong. He understood the primary role of teachers as one that prepared students to be productive members of society. When asked about his biggest challenge to teaching amidst the Syrian Refugee Crisis, he replied flatly: "The challenge is the student." He elaborated:

> Because he is the backbone of our job—is the student—it is the challenge. How do you want to make this student useful for society? This is not difficult in [developed] societies. In countries that are not developed, because we have a harmful societal environment for wrong ideas, wrong habits […] your job is to change a mentality, and this [is a] difficult thing.

Previous research (de Silva, 2017; Idris, 2018; Jenkins, 2007; Qablan, 2014; UNHCR, 2016; van der Heide & Geenan, 2017) has well-documented the potential risk economically-disadvantaged, out-of-school, and refugee youths face for recruitment into extremist organizations. Jordan's historical reputation as a source for terrorist recruitees makes this risk an even more significant threat (Benmelech & Klor, 2016; Bremmer, 2017; Gartenstein-Ross, 2014).

Tariq also emphasized the importance of education and teaching but felt that his efforts went unappreciated by the Ministry of Education. He pointed out that

> if you want to advance in a country, with a nation, you must focus on education. Otherwise, the country collapses. The teacher must be comfortable; his

psychological [*sic*] is comfortable. He goes to his classroom, does not think about

the burdens of life, does not think about how to provide an allowance for his

family.

He later added:

As for the teaching career, it is a mission, … regardless of the current bad

conditions of the teacher. [Teaching] is a message that the teacher performs

regardless of the salary. If we work according to salaries, we will not make an

effort. But in the end, it is a mission that we do so that a generation arises.

Tariq's response addresses a crucial contradiction in IEP. On the one hand, Al-Ghazali

and the teachings of Islam "advised teachers to teach not for the salary, but for the glory

it brings to God" (Alkanderi, 2001, p. 3). His understanding of this direction is apparent

in the second part of Tariq's comment. Yet, like the teachers, Tariq seemed to tie

appreciation to salary.

Salary came up in every single interview. Each of the teachers volunteered that

they earned, on average, at or slightly above the absolute poverty line set by the GOJ's

Department of Statistics—approximately "340 [Jordanian] dinars ($479) a month for a

family of five" (Vidal, 2019, para. 12). When the SRC hit, and teaching shifts doubled,

and workloads increased, salaries did not. As a small country suffering through an

economic crisis (Karam & Zellman, 2017), Jordan simply did not have it in the budget to

offer additional pay (Vidal, 2019). Teachers, to make ends meet, frequently took on

outside work. Zameer shared that

any employee we have, any teacher we have, if he does not work [the shift] in the

afternoon, in order to live a decent life, they work as drivers on taxi and drivers on

tuk-tuk. Drivers with Uber and Careem. A teacher working on a car, I ask him, "You are a teacher, why do you do that?" He told me, "What should I do? I want to feed my children." The salary that the Ministry of Education gives us is very weak. I want to tell you something. The annual increase they give us as teachers, I am ashamed to say how much. I swear, it's 3.5 dinars [$5], is the annual increase.

Salary had long been a source of contention for teachers, as Yusuf revealed here:

Imagine a teacher with twenty years of experience, comparing him with another teacher whose experience is only one year. After 20 years of teaching, you ask the teachers if there is an impact on the salary. Because salaries do not increase, then you get the idea that you are- your effort, not appreciation [*sic*]. This matter has an effect.

But these concerns over income did not come from a place of greed. The effect to which Yusuf referred and other participants repeatedly mentioned pertained to dignity and living a "respectable" life. Multiple teachers explained that providing for one's family is a point of pride in Jordanian culture. In recent years, the country has seen a pattern of delayed marriage coincident with increased unemployment (Ajaka, 2014). Karim, who at the time of our meetings worked six different jobs, spoke candidly about why:

In the government schools, we have like a low salary. Very low salary. It's not enough for like- uh, for example, I'm 30 years [of age]. I'm still single because I'm poor. I don't have like a good salary to do that.

On September 8, 2019—mere weeks after our interview sessions—Jordan's teachers went on strike (Vidal, 2019). They demanded two things: salary increases and "dignity"

(Vidal, 2019; title). The Ministry of Education and the Jordan Teachers Association's stand-off lasted four weeks; it was the longest in the Kingdom's history (Al Jazeera, 2019; AP News, 2019).

Job Satisfaction. Of the nine teachers I interviewed, eight expressed an overwhelming sense of job satisfaction. The joy they found in getting through to even one student out of 50 well outweighed the daily frustrations they felt in class and the fatigue that carried over into their personal lives. They firmly believed in the longer-term difference they made in their students' lives and the difference their students made in their own lives. The outlier, Zameer, seemed not to be dissatisfied with teaching but with the politics of administration. With frustration in his voice, he proclaimed, "if you asked most of the teachers, 'If you went back in time 20 years, are you working as a teacher?' He says, 'No.' I am the first person to say no." He continued,

> The problem is in people who [do not] appreciate this work. We have a school supervisor who does not understand the difference between programs such as Word, Excel, Access, and these are basic things in computers. Why are you becoming our supervisor?

With 19 years of experience behind him, Zameer struggled with understanding how administrators with what he viewed as less knowledge than his own could relate to his professional needs. Although he enjoyed his students, the resentment he felt about low pay, the education system's function, and feeling unappreciated had reached peak boiling point. At the end of our visit, he said this:

> I tell you a sentence in parentheses: I wish I was not a teacher. I swear, this is the first time I said that. I wish I wasn't a teacher; even though my father was a

teacher, my brother was a teacher. I say I wish I was not a teacher, not because the teacher—no. The teacher is decreed, the days of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, the first verse in the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet is "read"; education. Education is very important, but … I say we [as a country] haven't [any] appreciation for that.

Meanwhile, Yusuf, the newest of all the teachers, described each day as an opportunity to improve his teaching skills. He often arrived at school early and sat in the teachers' lounge to interact with his colleagues. Salem simply described teaching his Syrian students as "fun." His prior years working in Syrian centers contributed to his outlook. As he saw it, the experiences Syrian refugees endured before and during flight made them more mature; despite their young age, they "are adults." He enjoyed his job because of his connection with the students. Badr, too, credited the students for his love of teaching: "I love to, love to work. I can't miss any, any day. I can't, because I like the teaching. I like to- I like my students. I want to see the students every day." Abdel responded in more detail:

> [W]hen I find a student overcoming a problem, this is a delight for me. Not [as] a teacher; as a father. When I see any student solve his problem and feel of the safety, of- of the hope, … I am very happy. … Yes, I love my work. … I feel that when you love something, you will make more efforts. In order, [to] develop your- yourself. I mean, improve yourself, learn the most beautiful ways and the best ways to deal with students.… I am not a prophet; I am a teacher. But I work very good [*sic*] for my [community]. To serve our people. For the people, not for me, in anywhere. … When you love your work, you taste the value of it. (Abdel)

In his case, watching his students succeed despite facing their current personal issues and historical traumas added to his satisfaction. This feeling of pride and knowing that he made a difference is the "point" and purpose of teaching (Waleed). After all, "a teacher is like a stamp to clay and a student is like clay. If the stamp has no character, there is no impression on clay" (Al-Ghazali, 1977, Vol. 1, p. 70, as cited in Alkanderi, 2001, p. 11). Or, as Waleed eloquently summarized, "the teacher is the only one who leaves an imprint in a person's life."

Discussion

Many of the findings in this study corroborated prior research on emergency education response (EER) interventions implemented by the Ministry of Education in the early years of the Syrian Refugee Crisis (Myrick, 2021a). Specifically, these EER policy changes 1) eliminated pre-service teacher training and 2) reinstated the use of double-shift schools to accommodate Syrian students (Myrick, 2021a). The policies set out to increase "access" to refugee education—and did. But until now, the longer-term effects on teachers have not been sufficiently examined.

The six themes discussed here illuminate some of the problematic complications or "side effects" of these two interventions. One consistent complication was overcrowded classrooms. Overcrowding in Jordanian schools is not a new problem. Its existence dates to the introduction of formal education in the 1930s (Alon, 2009). The double-shift system exacerbated overcrowding, and when combined with additional stressors such as shorter class times, extended workdays, and increased workloads, overcrowded classrooms created an additional barrier to teaching. They also had physical and psychological consequences for teachers.

The themes also reveal that teachers responded to students' learning and psychosocial needs in a variety of ways and took pedagogical approaches that differed from standard methods and from each other's. One telling teacher response is Karim's description of the methods courses offered by the MOE as "old ways." Other teachers admitted to resorting to independently researched techniques to make learning exciting and fun. While the teachers did not take the same approaches to learning, they did share an underlying foundation. They turned to Islamic Educational Psychology (IEP) principles, built largely on Imam Al-Ghazali's model of the Master-Pupil Relationship (MPR). Teachers relied on these relationships and principles to help create positive learning environments where students of all backgrounds felt supported.

Interestingly, the concepts of the MPR also closely align with the basic understandings of teacher-student interpersonal relationships (TSIRs; Opdenakker et al., 2011) and Noddings' concepts of care ethics and the caring relation (2012a, b). Western philosophy has a long and storied history of attending to and incorporating Islamic thought (Gearon, 2016). Western student development theories, on the other hand, have not considered Islamic principles and practices when addressing the needs of refugees in educational settings (Myrick, 2021b). This study foregrounds the importance of a deeper consideration of non-Western ideologies in tracking student development.

Several matters arose with Syrian refugees that did not surface with Jordanian students. Primarily, these issues centered on repercussions of students' PTSD that the teachers were not adequately trained to navigate or address. Other problems were related to refugee students' adultification (Robbins et al., 2011), or filling the role of a lost or otherwise incapacitated parent. Exhausting child labor posed a significant threat to their

educational development. Teachers responded by adapting the in-class lesson to fit a rote plan, intending to help Syrian students pass exams through sheer memorization of test material. The short-term effects of these measures, such as students passing through grade levels without actually acquiring the requisite knowledge and skills, created a cumulative effect that threatens their prospects for postsecondary education and their likelihood of success. The consequences of these deficiencies were beyond the scope of this study but are likely to have a significant and detrimental impact on refugee students' academic performance.

Overall, most teachers felt the situation in schools had improved since the start of the SRC, although some still felt powerless in addressing the psychosocial needs of refugee students. Several expressed that they wished they had been prepared with the necessary training to manage the students' needs but did the best they could with empathic responses. They provided emotional support to the extent they could and tried to make refugee students feel at home in Jordan. They viewed their students as family, often referring to them as sons. This finding follows the Master-Pupil Relationship model and might also indicate that these teachers served as emotional surrogates for fathers who were not present, whether because of work or the war. Or this familial empathy could simply be cultural (Barakat, 1993). Regardless, the teachers genuinely cared for the refugee students and expressed high levels of job satisfaction. Salary was a chief complaint, but the teachers did not articulate resentment or other Crisis-related negativity.

Nonetheless, the accommodations made by the teachers came at a personal cost. Administrators and policymakers should find the persistent, elevated stress in teachers working in crises, such as those interviewed in this study, of grave concern. Constant

stress carries with it the potential for long-term effects on mental and physical health. With education in emergency (EIE) situations, the emphasis tends to be exclusively on the students. The focus on students' welfare is clear in EIE handbooks produced by UNESCO, the UNHCR, Plan International, and others who respond to humanitarian crises (Plan International, 2021; UNHCR, 2021; UNESCO, 2021). The teachers in this study also seemed to put their students' needs ahead of their own. But research has suggested a positive correlation between the mental well-being of teachers and student performance (Henderson, 2020). Henderson (2020) argues that "increasing teacher wellbeing increases student motivation, self-esteem, attitudes, and overall learning" (para. 1). The findings of this study reinforce the identification of teachers as frontline workers when there is a crisis.

Limitations of Study

International studies inherently generate some necessary "cross-cultural concerns" (Knox & Burkard, 2008, p. 573). In this case, some teachers were non-English speaking (Arabic-speaking). An interpreter fluent in English and Arabic was employed to ensure participants understood all forms and questions. All participants, including those proficient in the English language, were offered the interpreter's use to ensure that context was not lost or meanings misinterpreted. They were also offered a choice of a male or female translator, depending on their comfort level. All documents were drafted in English and Arabic, including informed consent, institutional contact information, study purpose, and interview protocols.

In addition to language constraints, there existed complications with the scheduling of interviews. Issues included factoring in four sets of calendars: two

academic calendars (US and Jordan) and two national and religious holiday calendars (US and Jordan). In the former's case, Tawjihi prep and testing prohibited some scheduled participants from fulfilling interview commitments. Likewise, school breaks in the respective countries did not align. In August, scheduling needed to work around the Islamic holiday, Eid al-Adha.

Lastly, and perhaps of most importance, all study participants were males and taught at boys' schools. Therefore, results do not reflect the population of schools that government data suggests were the most affected by the Crisis—girls' schools (Myrick, 2021a). Previous research has found that males and females have different approaches to teaching, classroom management, and interpersonal relationships (Opdenakker et al., 2011). Therefore, future studies would benefit from having female participants.

Implications and Conclusion

This case study reveals that teachers working with refugee students, in this instance from Syria, face additional, specific challenges in their efforts to provide quality education. First, the refugee students' unique backgrounds and individuated experiences directly and negatively affected their academic performance. Although the students had the aptitude to do well academically, they did not have the time or the energy to prepare and complete work outside of school. Teachers responded by bringing homework assignments into class, a necessary move that resulted in less time to complete the expected curriculum. When the students still did not perform well academically, the teachers began to doubt their techniques and abilities. The sense of inadequacy created a cascade of negative feelings, perpetuating increased stress and self-doubt.

Secondly, the teachers used empathy to support the refugee students. While the teachers could not identify with the individuated trauma that the students had experienced, they connected with the students in other ways. The teachers described their relationship to the refugee students as familial, and the students also viewed the teachers as family. This reciprocity and empathy created a foundation for strong interpersonal relationships. As a result, the teachers expressed a high degree of job satisfaction and identified their students as the reason they loved their jobs. These two crucial findings of this study—the importance of flexibility and the value of empathy to educational situations—may provide insight into the needs of teachers who work with students from immigrant and other diasporic backgrounds.

A thorough examination of the situation in Jordan's public K-12 schools far exceeds the scope of this study and requires further empirical research. Again, this study included male participants who taught male students. There would be significant value in replicating this investigation with female teachers at girls' schools and males and females working in co-ed schools. Principals and school counselors of both genders could also be added as participants in the study. Expansions of the study's scope could address the types of teacher training currently available, how or if teachers take advantage of specialized training and professional development opportunities, and the efficacy of these programs in preparing teachers to work with refugee student populations. Looking beyond Jordan, research in developing nations where the language of instruction creates additional barriers to education, e.g., Syrian refugee students in Turkey, would contribute to understanding the experiences of educators who work with students from refugee backgrounds.

Refugee crises are a global issue. The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan is just one of the many ongoing humanitarian emergencies throughout the world. Currently, there are more than 26 million refugees under the protection of the UN, the highest number in history (UNHCR, 2020). Approximately half of these refugees are school-aged children (UNHCR, 2020). Most refugees will resettle in developing countries, such as Jordan, which do not have adequate structures to provide vital social services, including education. Governments seeking to accommodate refugee youths in schools may be forced to respond as Jordan did, by introducing double-shift schools and staffing them with teachers who have not been sufficiently trained. My research in Jordan has shown that such well-meaning response measures can have adverse effects on the physical and mental health of teachers, and ultimately, on the quality of education.

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Appendix A

Participant Information

Table A1

Participant Information

Participant	Years Teaching	Years Teaching D-S	Subject	Grades Taught
Karim	7	2	Math	4–10; Tawjihi
Hassan	15	3	Islamic Studies; Social Studies; Geography; History	4, 6, 9
Abdel	20	3	Arabic literature	9, 10
Waleed	3	1	Science (Geology)	7–10
Yusuf	2	-	Math	5
Badr	6	3	English	5
Salem	9	2	Math	8–10; Tawjihi
Tariq	14	3	Math	6, 7
Zameer	19	3	Computer	6–10

Note. D-S: Double-Shift

Appendix B

Coding Process

Figure B1

Coding Process

Level 5:
Concept Development

Level 4: Selective Coding / Re-parenting / Consolidating

Level 3: Axial / Thematic Coding

Level 2: Focused Coding / Category Development

Level 1: Initial Coding / Open Coding
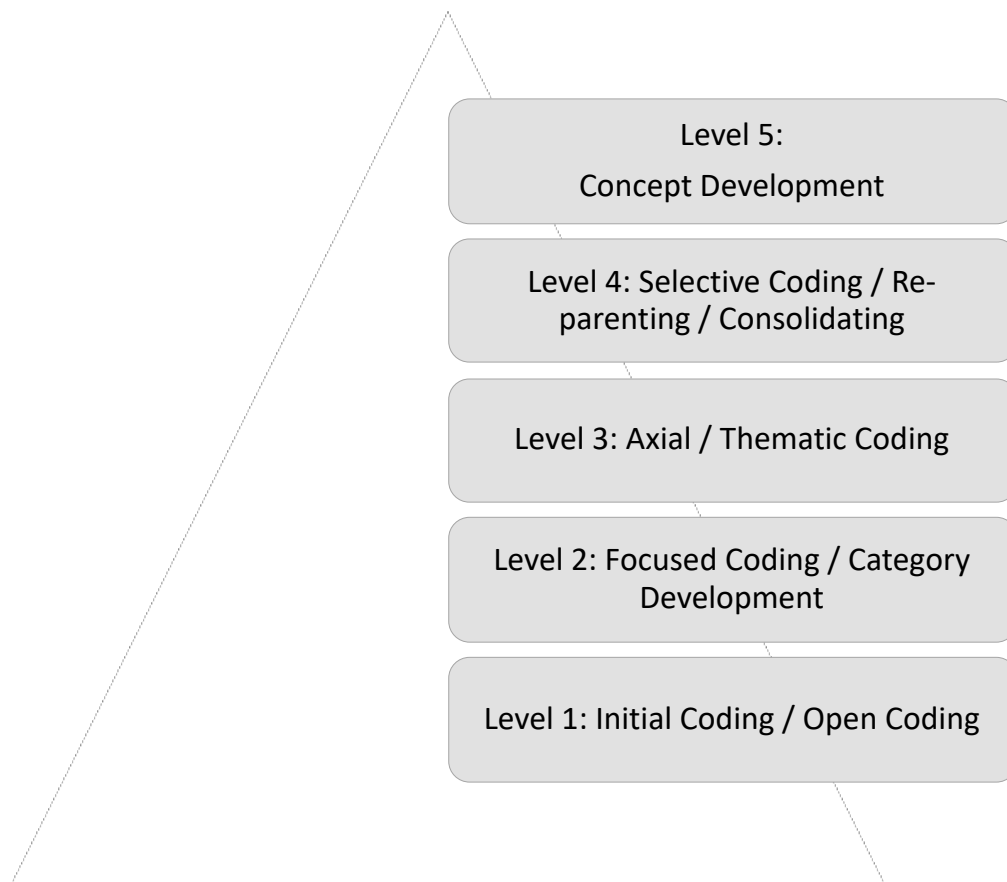
Note. (Adapted from Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1990)

Appendix C

IRB Approvals

UNIVERSITY of
HOUSTON
DIVISION OF RESEARCH
Institutional Review Boards

APPROVAL OF SUBMISSION

March 20, 2019

Keri Myrick

kdmyrick@uh.edu

Dear Keri Myrick:

On March 20, 2019, the IRB reviewed the following submission:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title of Study:	Examining the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Teachers' Experiences in Jordan
Investigator:	Keri Myrick
IRB ID:	STUDY00001491
Funding/ Proposed Funding:	Name: Unfunded
Award ID:	
Award Title:	
IND, IDE, or HDE:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Myrick.TranslationAssurance.pdf, Category: Translation Assurance; • Myrick.Email Thread for Interview Permission, Category: Correspondence (sponsor, IRB, misc.); • CITI Program Course Completion for Keri Myrick.pdf, Category: Other; • Myrick.IRB Script, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Myrick.HRP-502a, Category: Consent Form; • 3.3.19 Myrick Research Approval from MOE.pdf, Category: Letters of Cooperation / Permission; • Myrick.Interview Questions and Discussion Topic.pdf, Category: Study tools (ex: surveys, interview/focus group questions, data collection forms, etc.); • Myrick.HRP-503, Category: IRB Protocol; • Myrick.IRB Cover Letter.UH.pdf, Category: Other;
Review Category:	Expedited
Committee Name:	Not Applicable
IRB Coordinator:	Danielle Griffin

Page 1 of 2

IRB Approvals (cont.)

UNIVERSITY of
HOUSTON
DIVISION OF RESEARCH
Institutional Review Boards

The IRB approved the study on March 20, 2019 ; recruitment and procedures detailed within the approved protocol may now be initiated.

As this study was approved under an exempt or expedited process, recently revised regulatory requirements do not require the submission of annual continuing review documentation. However, it is critical that the following submissions are made to the IRB to ensure continued compliance:

- Modifications to the protocol prior to initiating any changes (for example, the addition of study personnel, updated recruitment materials, change in study design, requests for additional subjects)
- Reportable New Information/Unanticipated Problems Involving Risks to Subjects or Others
- Study Closure

Unless a waiver has been granted by the IRB, use the stamped consent form approved by the IRB to document consent. The approved version may be downloaded from the documents tab.

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the IRB system.

Sincerely,

Research Integrity and Oversight (RIO) Office
University of Houston, Division of Research
713 743 9204
cphs@central.uh.edu
http://www.uh.edu/research/compliance/irb-cphs/

IRB Approvals (cont.)

UNIVERSITY of
HOUSTON
DIVISION OF RESEARCH
Institutional Review Boards

APPROVAL OF SUBMISSION

July 15, 2019

Keri Myrick

kdmyrick@uh.edu

Dear Keri Myrick:

On July 15, 2019, the IRB reviewed the following submission:

Type of Review:	Modification
Title of Study:	Examining the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Teachers' Experiences in Jordan
Investigator:	Keri Myrick
IRB ID:	MOD00002087
Funding/ Proposed Funding:	Name: Unfunded
Award ID:	None
Award Title:	
IND, IDE, or HDE:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Myrick.Approval.AbdeenSchool.pdf, Category: Letters of Cooperation / Permission; • 6.19.19 Translation Guarantee No. 2.pdf, Category: Translation Assurance; • Myrick.HRP-503.2, Category: IRB Protocol;
Review Category:	Expedited
Committee Name:	Not Applicable
IRB Coordinator:	Danielle Griffin

The IRB approved the following revision on July 15, 2019.

Summary of approved modification(s):

Adding additional permission documents, specifically authorization to interview in schools.

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the IRB Library within the IRB system.

IRB Approvals (cont.)

UNIVERSITY of
HOUSTON
DIVISION OF RESEARCH
Institutional Review Boards

If your study meets the NIH or FDA definitions of clinical trial, or may be published in an ICMJE journal, registration at ClinicalTrials.gov is required. See the UH ClinicalTrials.gov webpage for guidance and instructions.

Sincerely,

Research Integrity and Oversight (RIO) Office
University of Houston, Division of Research
713 743 9204
cphs@central.uh.edu
http://www.uh.edu/research/compliance/irb-cphs/

Appendix D

Interview Protocol with Teachers

This Interview Protocol will be used in interviewing 12–15 teachers in host-community schools in the Amman area. This exploratory study aims to identify common, recurring themes and patterns in the experiences of teachers working in host-community schools that have been adversely affected by the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan. This study uses a grounded theory approach and semi-structured interviews. Interview questions are open-ended and intended to invite dialogue and narrative. The researcher is amenable to sharing raw data with the Ministry of Education prior to analysis for the purposes of the MOE gleaning important information related to teachers' perspectives. This data may be vital in the MOE's ability to ascertain where it has been successful or needs improvement in terms of the Jordan Response Plan and the Syrian Refugee Crisis. Participants' identities and school names will be safeguarded. The researcher proceeds with the intent to "Do No Harm." Participants may opt out at any time.

The below questions will be made available in English and Arabic.

Background
- Please give your pseudonym (the name assigned to you prior to the interview).
- Please describe your teaching history. (Prompts: How long have you been teaching? Have you taught anywhere other than in Jordan? What certifications were you required to obtain? What is your highest education level attained?)

Classroom Setting
- Describe your school, starting with the number of classrooms and teachers.
- What grade levels do you teach?
- How many students are in your class this academic year? Last year (if applicable)?
- What is the age range of your students?
- In your classroom, what is the ratio of Jordanian nationals to Syrian refugees?
- How has this number changed over the last five years (if applicable)?
- What is the relationship between Jordanian students and Syrian refugees?

Resources
- Describe the types of resources provided to you by your school.
- By external organizations (for example, UN Agencies, INGOs, NGOs, line ministries).
- Discuss how these resources impact your teaching (meeting the need, supplemental, non/consequential).
- What has the refugee crisis meant for educational resources in your classroom/school?
- What do you think are the biggest priorities for your school?

Discussion Topics to Guide the Conversation

Topic Domain 1: Ability to provide quality education to all students

Lead-Off Question:
>   Describe a typical day in your classroom. Perhaps you might begin by sharing
>   how you set up for class upon entering the room and walk me through the flow of
>   the morning and afternoon sessions.

Follow-Up Questions:
- Tell me about how your school day has changed in the last year. Two years. Five
  years.
- You mentioned earlier that you have *[more/fewer]* students in your classroom now
  than last year. Can you share with me how this has affected your teaching?
- Has your school participated in double-shift teaching? If so, for how long? In
  what ways has this impacted you as a teacher?
- Does your school offer a modified curriculum for Syrian refugee children? If so,
  how has this affected teaching and learning?

**Topic Domain 2: Examining the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on teachers'
experiences**

Lead-Off Question:
>   How has the Syrian refugee crisis directly impacted you as a teacher? As an
>   individual?

Follow-Up Questions:
- Think back on one incident that occurred in your classroom within the last year.
  What happened? Why does this incident stand out?
- Describe how you feel at the end of a school day.
- What are your biggest frustrations?
- How might you be better served as a teacher? How might you better serve your
  students?
- What are the biggest challenges for teachers in host-community schools?

Closing
- How has the administration responded to the crisis?
- In what areas might there be room for improvement? What are the most
  substantial achievements?
- What additional thoughts, points, or comments would you like to add?
- Would you be amenable to a follow-up interview?

بروتوكول المقابلة الشخصية

برتوكول المقابلة الشخصية هذا خاص بالمقابلة الشخصية التى ستجرى مع عدد 12 – 15 من معلمي مدارس المجتمع المضيف في عمان. تهدف هذه الدراسة الاستكشافية إلى تحديد الموضوعات الشائعة والمتكررة والأنماط التى يتعرض لها المعلمين الذين يعملون في مدارس المجتمع المضيف العامة والذين تأثروا سلبيا بأزمة اللاجئين السوريين في الأردن. يستخدم في هذه الدراسة منهج نظرية الأرض والمقابلات شبه المنظمة. أسئلة المقابلة مفتوحة وتهدف إلى دعوة الحوار والسرد. يمكن للباحث أن يتبادل البيانات الأولية مع وزارة التربية والتعليم قبل تحليلها من أجل مساعدة الوزارة في تجميع المعلومات الهامة المتعلقة بوجهات نظر المعلمين. قد تكون هذه البيانات حيوية لوزارة التربية والتعليم حيث تجعلها قادرة على تحديد النقاط التى حققت فيها نجاحا والنقاط التى تحتاج للتطوير فيما يتعلق بخطة استجابة الأردن وأزمة اللاجئين السوريين. ستبقى هوية المشاركين وأسماء المدارس موضع السرية. يعمل الباحث في الدراسة بقصد "عدم إلحاق الأذى". ويمكن للمشاركين الانسحاب في أي وقت.

ستكون الأسئلة المذكورة في الأسفل متوفرة باللغتين الإنجليزية والعربية.

الخلفية:

- يرجى ذكر اسمك المستعار (الاسم المخصص لك قبل المقابلة).

- يرجى وصف تاريخك المهني في التدريس (المطلوب ذكره: كم سنة تعمل في مجال التدريس؟ هل قمت بممارسة مهنة التدريس خارج الأردن؟ ما هي الشهادات التى طلب منك أن تحصل عليها؟ ما هو أعلى مستوى تعليمي وصلت إليه؟)

إعداد الفصول الدراسية:

- صف المدرسة التى تعمل بها بدءا بأعداد الفصول الدراسية والمعلمين
- أي مرحلة تقوم بالتدريس لها؟
- كم عدد الطلاب داخل الفصل لديك في هذه السنة الدراسية؟ والسنة الماضية (إذا كان ينطبق)؟
- ما هو متوسط أعمار الطلاب لديك؟
- ما هي نسبة الطلاب الأردنيين الجنسية إلى نسبة اللاجئين السوريين في الفصل لديك؟
- كيف تغيرت هذه النسبة على مدار الخمس سنوات الماضية (إذا كان ينطبق)؟
- ما هي العلاقة بين الطلاب الأردنيين واللاجئين السوريين؟

المصادر:

- صف أنواع المصادر التى توفرها لك مدرستك
- والتى توفرها المنظمات الخارجية (على سبيل المثال: وكالات الأمم المتحدة والمنظمات الدولية غير الحكومية والمنظمات غير الجكومية والوزارات التنفيذية)
- ناقش كيف تؤثر هذه المصادر على أسلوبك في التدريس (تلبي الاحتياجات ، إضافية ، غير مترابطة)
- ماذا تعني أزمة اللاجئين بالنسبة للموارد التعليمية في الفصل/المدرسة؟
- في رأيك ما هي أهم أولويات مدرستك؟

مواضيع المناقشة لتوجيه الحوار

مجال الموضوع الأول: القدرة على توفير التعليم الجيد لجميع الطلاب

سؤال استهلالي:

صف يوما نموذجيا داخل الفصل. يمكنك البدء بالحديث عن كيفية إعداد الفصل الدراسي عند دخوله وانتقل بي بالحديث عن المحاضرات الصباحية وما بعد الظهر.

الأسئلة المتابعة:

- اخبرني كيف تغير يومك الدراسي خلال السنة الدراسية الماضية. خلال السنتين الماضيتين. خلال الخمس سنوات الماضية.
- ذكرت في البداية أن لديك في الفصل حاليا عدد من الطلاب (أقل/أكثر) من العام الماضي. هل تستطيع أن تخبرني كيف أثر ذلك على أسلوبك في التدريس؟
- هل تتضمن مدرستك فترتين دراسيتين في اليوم؟ إذا كانت تتضمن كم مدة الفترة؟ وكيف أثر ذلك عليك بصفتك معلما؟
- هل توفر مدرستك مناهج تعليمية معدلة خاصة للأطفال السوريين اللاجئين؟ إذا كانت توفر فعلا هل أثر ذلك على طرق التدريس والتعلم؟

مجال الموضوع الثاني: دراسة تأثير أزمة اللاجئين السوريين على خبرات المعلمين

سؤال استهلالي:

كيف أثرت أزمة اللاجئين السوريين بشكل مباشر عليك بصفتك معلما؟ وبصفتك فردا؟

الأسئلة المتابعة:

- هل تتذكر حادثة وقعت داخل الفصل لديك في السنة الماضية؟ ما الذي حدث؟ ولماذا وقعت تلك الحادثة؟
- صف شعورك في نهاية اليوم الدراسي
- ما هي أكبر الإحباطات التي أصبت بها؟
- كيف يمكن أن تقدم لك الخدمة بشكل أفضل بصفتك معلما؟ كيف يمكنك أن تقدم خدمة أفضل لطلابك؟
- ما هي أكبر التحديات التي تواجه المعلمين في مدارس المجتمع المضيف؟

الخاتمة

- كيف استجابت الإدارة لتلك الأزمة؟
- في أي المجالات قد يكون هناك إمكانية للتطوير؟ و ما هي أهم الإنجازات؟
- هل لديك أية أفكار أو نقاط أو تعليقات تريد أن تضيفها؟
- هل ستكون متاحا لمقابلة أخرى متابعة؟

Chapter IV

Refugee Identity and Sense of Belonging in Student Development

The 20th-century refugee crisis began during World War I as millions of Europeans fled war-ravaged homelands (UNHCR, 2011), with some seeking refuge as far away as the United States (Handlin, 1979). By the end of World War II in 1945, an additional 11,000,000 displaced persons (DPs) were scattered around Eastern and Western Europe, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Middle East, and the Soviet Union (Carlin, 1982). A simmering feud between the Soviet Union and the United States had already begun (Britannica, 2021). Over the next few years, tensions between the two superpowers rapidly escalated (American Foreign Relations, n.d.). By 1948, the Marshall Plan's implementation and the Soviet occupation of Eastern European countries had solidified the Cold War (Britannica, 2021).

Although the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), one of several precursors to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), had successfully managed to repatriate roughly two-thirds of the 11,000,000 DPs, those whose homelands now fell under the control of the Soviet Union felt a reluctance to return (Carlin, 1982). Fearing persecution, even more individuals sought to escape the Soviet Union's influence. Elsewhere another refugee crisis emerged with the creation of the State of Israel, which quickly displaced approximately 650,000 Palestinians. The United Nations (UN) abruptly found itself overwhelmed with major refugee crises. The UN desperately needed a plan.

In December 1949, the United Nations General Assembly formed the Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA). In December 1950, the Assembly

reconvened in Geneva to address the worsening Eastern European refugee situation. At that moment, resettlement was not an option, and refugee camps served as the only means available for housing asylum-seekers (Carlin, 1982). Furthermore, the UN had multiple disparate agencies focused on refugee care, with no uniformity between operations or mandates (Carlin, 1982). Finally, and most importantly, international law had not developed a definition or legal status for individuals forcibly displaced by war or other political actions (Carlin, 1982). This December 1950 meeting addressed these critical issues and concerns about both the refugees' and the host countries' rights and responsibilities (UNHCR, 2011).

Since 1950, refugee populations worldwide have continued to swell at an alarming rate due to political and religious persecution, civil and regional military conflict, and, more recently, climate change. As of May 31, 2020, the UNHCR reported 79.5 million forcibly displaced individuals worldwide (2020b, Figure 1), including 26 million refugees. Approximately half of these refugees are school-aged children (UNHCR, 2020b). With the mounting number of refugee youths expected to enter school systems in industrialized and developing nations, student affairs officials and educators are now forced to consider the challenging circumstances that have shaped the unique and unfamiliar social identity of refugee youths.

This paper purports to help educators better understand a) how the refugee experience shapes students' identity and affects their sense of belonging and b) why the social identity of refugee students deserves recognition in student development theory. The literature review reveals a critical gap in the research on refugees and higher education. Therefore, I propose several potential studies that may help educators better

assist this extraordinary cohort of students to navigate challenging developmental processes. I present this paper in three parts. Part one gives an account of the refugee experience based on a synthesis of extant qualitative research (Timulak, 2009). Part two visits the concept of refugee identity in relation to other social identities. Part three presents a brief critique of traditional student development theories and describes how achieving a sense of belonging can help refugee students persist throughout their academic careers.

The Refugee Experience

Refugees often arrive in their host countries because of extreme circumstances in their country of origin, and many never return home (UNHCR, 2020a). Unlike voluntary emigrants—those who migrate away from their native land by choice—refugees usually experience forced migration due to war/armed conflict or fear of persecution (Collet, 2010; Giovetti & McConville, 2019; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; UNHCR, 2020a), which have historically been the main drivers of flight (Giovetti & McConville, 2019). Economic collapse in one's country of origin remains a chief contributor as well, as does famine (Giovetti & McConville, 2019). Increasingly, environmental causes such as earthquakes, drought, and flooding have led to forced migration or displacement, both internationally and internally, i.e., within one's home country (Giovetti & McConville, 2019; Internal Displacement, 2019).

Refugees often endure violence, witness unspeakable crimes, and suffer psychological trauma during flight (Driver & Beltran, 1998; Henry, 2009; Phan et al., 2005). For many, this means losing family members or falling victim to rape, torture, and other heinous crimes (Henry, 2009; Phan et al., 2005). This "transitory lifestyle" (Lerner,

2012, p. 10) promotes uncertainty and can impede developmental progress in children and adolescents. Further, migration stress, paired with the pressure of pursuing refugee status, can exacerbate the feelings of fear and insecurity that refugees experienced in their homelands, which persist throughout the acculturative process (Bal & Perzigian, 2013).

Defining Refugee Status

Seventy years ago, delegates from 26 nation-states signed into effect the 1951 Refugee Convention (the Convention)—the "key legal document" (UNHCR, 2020a, para. 1) that delineates the status qualifications for refugees and the protection and rights they receive. The lengthy doctrine, borne as a response to the post-World War II European refugee crisis, addresses events occurring before January 1, 1951, limiting refugee status allowance to persons displaced before that date (Collet, 2010).

As global conflicts rapidly multiplied, the rising demand for refuge resulted in drafting the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (the Protocol) (Collet, 2010; UNHCR, 2020a). The Protocol's provisions and clauses amended the Convention to include events occurring after 1951, expanded the scope of origination beyond European countries, and marked a shift from refugee "group" to "individual" status (Collet, 2010; UNHCR, 2020a). Together, these articles define the "rule of customary international law" (UNHCR, 2020a, para. 2) on refugee status and rights; today, 148 States are party to the Protocol (UNHCR, 2011). The world currently has more protracted refugee crises than ever (Abdullah, 2020; Betts & Collier, 2017), e.g., Syrian refugees spread across the Eastern Mediterranean region (Myrick, 2021b), displaced Yemenis living in the Horn of Africa (Fenton-Harvey, 2020), and more recently, Uyghur refugees in Chinese camps (Hill et al., 2021), to name but a few. Under these doctrines, the UN drafted a response

intended for assisting in "the short-term emergency phase of a crisis" (Betts & Collier, 2017, p. 8). There has been a call to revisit and revamp the international system to address long-term humanitarian situations (Betts & Collier, 2017).

Integration Process

For many refugees, the integration process can be long and cumbersome. At present, scant research focuses on the specific adjustment needs of refugees, and few, if any, theories directly frame the developmental processes of forcibly migrated groups.

Acculturation

Acculturation describes the changes in a person or group's cultural values and beliefs in response to contact with an external person or group's cultural values and beliefs (Berry, 1984, 2005; Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005; Nwosu & Barnes, 2014; Patton et al., 2016). Social scientists and student affairs theorists have for decades subscribed to Berry's (1984, 2005) acculturative process, which designates four non-linear strategies: (a) separation, or hanging on to one's cultural practices and disavowing those of the host country; (b) marginalization, or rejecting both native and host values; (c) assimilation, or fully assuming the beliefs and ideals of the host country and shedding one's own; and (d) integration, through which an individual balances aspects of both societies (Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005; Patton et al., 2016; Schwartz et al., 2010). Subsequent research on forced migration has built upon, or in some cases, sought to improve, Berry's strategies when considering refugee integration (e.g., Nwosu & Barnes, 2014). I discuss Berry's model in more detail in part three of this paper.

Biculturalism/Multiculturalism

Over the past few decades, social scientists increasingly favor a bicultural approach to integration. Biculturalism, also knowns as bicultural identity (Phinney, 1998; Zou & Trueba, 1998), multiculturalism (Berry, 2011), cultural pluralism (Gordon, 1964; Kallen, 1915), and bicultural socialization (DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Felix, 2016; Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005; Robbins et al., 2011; Schwartz et al., 2010; Zhou et al., 2008), perceives the integration process as refugees identifying with the ethnic and cultural identities of both their home and host countries. Ideally, in this perspective, refugees gradually gain bicultural competence—the "integration of two cultures without feeling the tension between the two" (Domanico et al., 1994, as cited in Yeh & Hwang, 2000, p. 423; see also DeCapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Mosselson, 2006; Robbins et al., 2011).

Individuals who integrate through biculturalism adapt by shifting between the host and native societies' cultural and behavioral values, depending on social situations (McBrien, 2005; Mosselson, 2006; Robbins et al., 2011). Mosselson (2006) referred to this process as "cultural hybridization" (p. 22; see also Hope, 2008). In the long-term, hybridization encourages members of the dominant culture to accept the addition of other ethnic communities. This outlook on multiculturalism exhibits just one way society begins viewing ethnic and cultural identity differences as the norm (Nwosu & Barnes, 2014).

Still, traditional models of biculturalism fail to consider another important aspect of acculturation: time. Galan's (1978, 1990, as cited in Robbins et al., 2011, p. 147; see also Raedy, 2017) Multidimensional Transactional Model of Bicultural Identity viewed

bicultural socialization as "a process that incorporates the elements of person-in-situation-across-time." In other words, native culture and behavior occur along an *x*-axis, while dominant culture and behavior occur along a *y*-axis; Galan viewed these as independent values (Robbins et al., 2011). Further, Galan envisioned time on a *z*-axis, adding contextual and temporal attributes to a framework supporting and promoting personal and cultural adaptability (Robbins et al., 2011). Galan's model is neither widely known outside of social work nor typically cited in student development. Notably, Chen and Schweitzer (2019) did speak to the importance of space-time considerations in refugee integration.

Discrimination and Barriers

Despite the growing recognition of bi- and multiculturalism, refugees still encounter discrimination and barriers to integration. Unlike traditional immigrants, refugees are susceptible to refugee stigma, oppression, and bias (Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Caxaj & Berman, 2010). Refugee stigma includes, among other things, assumptions of subpar intelligence, underdeveloped social skills, and psychological instability (Bal & Perzigian, 2013). Likewise, refugees are more prone to integration barriers, e.g., cultural dissonance and forced assimilation, than are voluntary migrants (Bash, 2005).

Discrimination

Refugees, like other minority groups, often experience discriminatory behaviors on the part of the dominant culture. As with other forms of discrimination—including racial and ethnic—some members of the dominant culture exhibit a lack of empathy and demonstrate an unwillingness to exert effort in understanding the refugee experience, which often translates to resentment on the part of these individuals (Caxaj & Berman,

2010; Myrick, 2021b). Host communities with scarce resources, such as access to social services or opportunities for gainful employment, summarily view refugees as competition (Culbertson et al., 2016; Myrick, 2021b). In more pointed attacks, host communities blame refugees' "supposedly flawed characters" for their "failures" at "rehabilitation" (Sen, 2014, p. 43). This section examples some of the discriminatory behaviors described in recent literature.

In the Classroom. Refugee youths, in particular, are susceptible to "multiple forms of marginalization as both children and refugees" (Nwosu & Barnes, 2014, p. 437; see also Oikonomidoy, 2009). McBrien's (2005) review of refugee students' educational needs and barriers in the US highlighted situations of school-based discrimination toward refugees by both teachers and administrators. The most commonly observed behaviors included placing students in lower-level classes based on perceived learning disabilities and enrolling students into special education or English Language Learner classes, regardless of educational or linguistic ability (see also Baker et al., 2018). Myrick's (2021a) research with teachers in public schools in Jordan revealed how significant gaps in Syrian refugees' learning also contributed to grade-placement mismatches.

Additionally, Bal and Perzigian (2013) found that administrators often made assumptions that refugee students were of lower intelligence levels due to their varying cognitive styles (see also Baker et al., 2018). Bal (2014) and Bal and Perzigian (2013) observed incidents of teachers repeatedly sending refugee students to the principal's office rather than addressing allegedly destructive behaviors head-on. Ironically, in many cases, the students perceived as acting out were practicing group-learning methods in situations where teachers in Western schools did not commonly utilize them. Similarly,

Taylor and Sidhu (2012) determined that refugee students often fell victim to exclusion, marginalization, and stigmatization by teachers and administrators—practices that ultimately led to educational disadvantages in the classroom (see also Baker et al., 2018; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Chen & Schweitzer, 2019; Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Bullying by peer groups also presents an issue in schools' common areas and during class transition times (Myrick, 2021b; Salem, 2018).

Refugee Stigma. Societal reception and treatment of refugee populations play a crucial role in shaping an individual's sense of self. Sen (2014) indicated that apparent government bias and public perception of Bengali refugees affected their self-perception, especially concerning grit and resilience (these terms are discussed later in further detail). Behaviors characterized by victimization and othering contributed to a negative self-image, e.g., doubting their worth or feeling like a burden. Conversely, embracing an empowered-survivor stance promoted a positive self-image, i.e., *My story is unique,* and *I am strong* (Sen, 2014, p. 67).

Unfortunately, and despite a lack of research or supporting evidence, refugee youths are often perceived as psychologically unstable (Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Myrick, 2021a). This assumption may be because children tend to benefit from constancy, through which they develop a view of the world as being stable and safe (Lerner, 2012). As Hope (2008) pointed out, and Correa-Velez et al. (2010) underscored, refugee youths frequently experience detachment and instability, resulting in them viewing the world as harsh and volatile. Yet, Lerner (2012) believed that this notion of a potentially skewed worldview is unfounded, arguing that refugees often incorrectly appear as a threat, "damaged," or easily triggered (p. 11). Nevertheless, Caxaj and Berman (2010) stressed that most

dominant-culture members continue to perceive refugees as fragile. In such cases, majority groups ignore the resilience and grit required to survive such an extraordinary journey. Stigmas also encourage "benevolent othering," an attitude that views refugees as "lacking agency and needing assistance" (Koyama & Chang, 2019, p. 149). Thus, the discourse on stigma then becomes one of what Keddie (2012) referred to as "refugee student lack" (p. 1297).

Barriers

Barriers to integration, acculturation, and resettlement can be internal, external, or both simultaneously (Baker et al., 2018; Beirens et al., 2007; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2010). This section addresses a few examples of the most prominent types of barriers.

Migration stress

As detailed here below, migration, particularly forced migration, can cause additional stress during already traumatic times. It can alter perspectives, affect one's ability to adapt as readily, and instill fear and a sense of insecurity in adults and children alike.

Altered Perspectives. During flight, refugees may develop a feeling of impermanence or instability (Hope, 2008). Attempts to resettle may fail as families seek better economic opportunities in their host country (Schwartz et al. 2010). Periodically, parents exhibit fear or question their ability to provide for their families (Bal & Perzigian, 2013). Consequently, children begin to question their safety and the adults' ability to protect them (Henry, 2009). Family roles change as refugee youth take on several tasks generally attended by adults—for example, becoming interpreters and learning to pay

bills and sign checks—in a shift known as *adultification* (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Henry, 2009; Robbins et al., 2011). Myrick (2021a) found that child labor, especially with male children who have lost a male parent, only exacerbated this role transference. Similarly, *spousification* occurs when a child of one sex develops an unusual closeness with the parent of the opposite sex, thus separating from the traditional parent-child relationship (Robbins et al., 2011). As a result, children may feel concomitantly deprived of their former lives and their youth (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Henry, 2009).

Overcoming Trauma. Often unsure if or when they will return home, refugees exist in a mental and physical limbo state, especially in cases of protracted displacement (Baker et al., 2018). Lerner (2012) claimed that this type of transitory living causes immense psychological trauma on refugees, specifically school-aged children. Refugee youth may have trouble letting go of the hope of returning to their former home (Chen & Schweitzer, 2019; Hart, 2004). In many cases, the trying circumstances of pre-, mid-, and post-flight conditions exacerbate these feelings (Betancourt & Khan, 2008; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Driver & Beltran, 1998). Trying events may include loss of family (Myrick, 2021a); bearing witness to, or being a victim of, violent crimes (Hill et al., 2021); eradication of their country of origin; and more (Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Driver & Beltran, 1998; Henry, 2009; Phan et al., 2005).

Likewise, refugees face bereaving their culture and their relationships at once. Forced migration strips away valuable friendships and kinships that lent structure to social support systems and helped scaffold identity development. As a result of these many shifts, refugee youth may exhibit Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder symptoms (PTSD; Myrick, 2021a), manifesting as depression, delusions, and behavioral problems

(Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Collet, 2010; Driver & Beltran, 1998; Henry, 2009). Among common PTSD symptoms, Driver and Beltran (1998) and Phan et al. (2005) also included culture shock, depression, and stressed-related illness. Driver and Beltran (1998) also found linkages between refugee trauma and academic performance (see also Myrick, 2021a).

Nevertheless, Taylor and Sidhu (2012) warned that belaboring trauma, fragility, and stigma can impede educational growth. In Myrick's (2021a) study, Jordanian teachers utilized the intentional practice of treating Syrian refugees as they would nationals. By specifically not dwelling on negative experiences from their students' past, they instead helped them focus on their present positives. These efforts improved the students' outlook on the future and centered their attitudes toward what they could achieve. It also helped create a culture of belonging in the classroom.

Resettlement. Finally, migration stress is tangentially associated with attempts at resettlement. Refugees may have problems relating to the dominant culture due to language barriers (Baker et al., 2018; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Correa-Velez, 2010; Nwosu & Barnes, 2014). Cultural and ethnic differences and religious beliefs may also be a source of unease when seeking a suitable living community (Collet, 2010). Moreover, low socioeconomic status often prohibits access to good neighborhoods and schools, placing refugee students at an added educational disadvantage, chiefly because access to vital school services and resources can significantly enhance refugees' "attitudes about self, belonging, and agency" (Nwosu & Barnes, 2014, p. 435). In protracted crises, resettlement in host communities may not be an option for many years, if ever. Often, refugee youths find themselves attending a series of temporary, NGO-funded, or camp

schools before entering the public-school systems in their final country of resettlement (Myrick, 2021b). Even then, education options may be limited to double-shift schools that further invite "othering" practices (Myrick, 2021b).

Politics, Policies, and Perceptions in Receiving Countries

Upon entering their host country, asylum-seekers must undergo intensive scrutiny before being fully recognized as refugees. The process can take years (Kagan, 2006), during which time applicants in some countries may not work or attend formal school (Betts & Collier, 2017; Loescher & Milner, 2003; UNHCR, 2020a). Fluctuations in geopolitical relationships (Strang & Ager, 2010) and aftermaths from global events have also played a role in sudden changes to host countries' refugee policies (Kagan, 2006; Loescher & Milner, 2003). Slowdowns in UNHCR refugee-status-determination applications stem from, among other things (Loescher & Milner, 2003), backlogged, overwhelmed, or understaffed registration sites (Myrick, 2021b); and the significant drop in funding and financial support from UN nation-states (Briggs, 2018; Deen, 2018; HuffPost, 2018; Keller, 2019). Attempts at asylum sought outside the purview of the UNHCR often meet with "harsh asylum and immigration detention policies" (Correa-Velez et al., 2010, p. 1399; see also Terrio, 2015). The resurgence of nationalist/populist ideals in the last decade (Serhan, 2020) continues to fuel these discriminatory practices. Unnecessary prolongation of the transition phase negatively affects the integration process, delaying resettlement and complicating identity development in children and adults alike (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

Acculturative Stress. Acculturative stress occurs when refugees have difficulty adapting to a new culture or environment (Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Correa-Velez et al.,

2010; Schwartz et al., 2010). This type of stress often accompanies depression or anxiety (Schwartz et al., 2010). Common causes relate to perceived negative judgments by the dominant culture or from internal personal frustration. Caxaj and Berman (2010) illustrated the negative connotation associated with refugee status; for example, one participant in their study cited their "wariness of being portrayed as the parasitic 'free loader'" (p. E26).

Cultural Dissonance. While younger refugees frequently feel economic frustrations or social isolation, older refugees may face pressure from the host country to learn the language (Schwartz et al., 2010). Cultural dissonance can emerge when children learn the host country's language faster than older family members (Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005). Although this pattern may make it easier for children to integrate, it can lead to conflicts in the home (Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005). As children seek to fit in with the dominant culture, they begin to reject the culture of their native land, and with it, older members of the family who are firmly rooted in their ethnic identities (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; McBrien, 2005). Cultural dissonance may perpetuate a state of financial decline, usually when adults cannot acculturate at a rate fast enough to find work (McBrien, 2005).

Forced Assimilation. Studies have shown that retaining the "cherished values" of one's home while "adding the language and some customs" of the host country leads to healthy acculturation (McBrien, 2005, p. 331; see also Schwartz et al., 2010). With forced assimilation, refugees cannot retain—or are encouraged to abandon (Yam, 2020)— elements of their heritage or culture for various reasons. Root causes can be economically or socially driven (Henry, 2009). Refugee adults may feel that they must assimilate to

succeed in the workforce. Likewise, refugee youth may have difficulty achieving in schools bound to Western curriculum and interests, including religion, language, and heritage (Baker et al., 2018; Collet, 2010). Peers may tease them for retaining aspects of their heritage that do not fit in with the dominant culture, such as religious dietary restrictions or cultural adornments (Caxaj & Berman, 2010). Rules and regulations may prohibit them from wearing their native dress (Bash, 2005). Some refugee students endure the trauma of forced assimilation to gain a sense of belonging (Caxaj & Berman, 2010), as with anglicizing names in Western nations (Haiyun, 2016; Penick, 2019; Yam, 2020).

Self and Society. The shift between one's national identity to refugee identity can also cause anxiety and stress (Baker et al., 2018), especially in adolescents, who are also undergoing another, more personal transition—puberty (Bash, 2005; Correa-Velez et al., 2010). During this transition, adolescents gain a heightened awareness of their bodies and become particularly vulnerable to external influences on identity development. Yeh and Hwang (2000) emphasized the role of "social pressure" in conforming to "dominant social norms" for "students from interdependent cultures" (p. 427). A similar occurrence takes place as refugees become more status-conscious. Refugee adolescents may harbor a greater need to belong, all the while suffering feelings of alienation and isolation (McBrien, 2005). For example, Berman et al. (2009) established a correlation between displacement and uprootedness in adolescent refugee girls in Canada that contributed to feelings of marginalization and "not belonging" (p. 423).

Transition also occurs at a psychological level. Bash (2005) described a parallel evolution of "psychological positioning" (p. 360) that occurs in conjunction with physical

positioning. This type of shift aligns the past, present, and future—time—with the physical location of where one was, is, and will be—space (Chen & Schweitzer, 2019). Bash (2005) referred to this consideration of "space, place, time, and boundary" as the "quantum theory approach" (p. 352). For many refugees, space and time are disjointed due to the uncertainty of what is to come and how long they will remain in any place. Thus, the concept of identity remains fluid out of necessity rather than by choice (Mosselson, 2006).

What is Refugee Identity?

Academic institutions often incorrectly categorize refugees as voluntary migrants, immigrants, or international students (Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Felix, 2016; Mosselson, 2006). However, refugee students' stories bear more complexity than typical international students' do. The use of "umbrella" terms oversimplifies refugee identity's unique characteristics (Baker et al., 2018, p. A-66). It ignores the dangerous situations refugees endure before and during flight, in addition to the complex tasks they face when attempting resettlement (Baker et al., 2018; Mosselson, 2006). Failure to recognize these characteristics further alienates an already marginalized and socially stigmatized population and increases healthy-integration barriers (Bal & Perzigian, 2013; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Lerner, 2012; Keddie, 2012). This section discusses various social identity types and how refugee status may promote identity loss or formation, depending on individual circumstances.

Erikson and Identity

Erik Erikson's (1959, 1968) use of the term *identity* was informed by contemplating his own experience as a German Jewish refugee at the outset of World War

II and later, his clinical work with children (Cherry, 2020; Gleason, 1983). Erikson considered at length the effects of historical events, such as war and mass forced migrations, on identity formation (Gleason, 1983). He sought to understand the factors that define a person's identity, including place, community, and self. Ultimately, Erikson concluded that *identity* develops through individual personality and its interaction with "communal culture" (Gleason, 1983, p. 914). Gordon W. Allport (1955) later expanded on culture's influence and linked *identity* to ethnicity (Gleason, 1983).

Refugee, Ethnic, and Cultural Identity

Forged by political constructs of the post-World War II and postcolonial eras, refugee identity is multifaceted and spans social, psychological, and economic disciplines. Whereas ethnic and cultural identities tend to be inherited (Patton et al., 2016), refugee identity typically results from a triggering event and carries legal, political, and social contexts. Historically, refugee identity referred to an individualized legal status unlinked to race, religion, heritage, or culture (Stevens, 2014; UNHCR, 2020a). In the political sphere, certain populations have become synonymous with refugee identity, e.g., post-1948 (and 1967) Palestinians, whose refugee status remains supported by intergovernmental structures that both: (a) ensure that they as a group are viewed differently from other refugees—and perhaps further marginalized as a result, and (b) center policies and practices on the idea of the right-of-return (Hart, 2004; Fincham, 2012). For Palestinians born into camps, their national, cultural, ethnic, and refugee identities develop in tandem, often through oral tradition (Hart, 2004; Fincham, 2012). Tully (2002, p. 161) refers to this type of post-national identity development as "imposed."

From a social position, refugee identity connotes something different. Similar to other social identities (Tajfel, 1974, 1981), its adoption supports connections through shared experiences (Patton et al., 2016), often "of struggle" (Hart, 2004, p. 172). It underpins an individual standing in a collective narrative, defined and bound by unique histories with a common thread. Like other social identities, refugee identity has its origins in oppression and privilege (Patton et al., 2016). In some cases, refugee identity can usurp other social identities, eroding the cultural ideals and norms of refugees' ethnic heritage and contributing to isolation and identity loss (Bash, 2005; Phan et al., 2005). Whereas ethnic identity relies heavily on one's connections with the culture, shared values, and traditions of an ethnic community (Patton et al., 2016; Yeh & Hwang, 2000), refugee identity results from *dis*connections with a place and typically pairs with complex, traumatic events (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

Identity Loss

Often during flight, ethnic communities are disrupted or dissolved, causing feelings of alienation, anxiety, and rootlessness (Yeh & Hwang, 2000). Refugees may feel "stripped of [their] national identity" (Bash, 2005; p. 351), especially when the country from which they have fled ceases to exist or is not uniformly internationally recognized (Fincham, 2012). Examples of such states include several member republics of the former Soviet Union and occupied Palestine. Moreover, refugees may experience identity loss through the broad replacement of ethnic or national identity with inaccurately perceived religious identity—for example, when the majority group of a host country identifies all Arabs as Muslims or all Israelis as Jewish (Gleason, 1983). Likewise, members of the dominant culture may ignore refugees' diverse historical and cultural backgrounds due to

cultural misrecognition (Keddie, 2012). This type of identity loss intensifies when the ethnic or cultural majority downplays "cultural particularity" (Collet, 2010, p. 191) or erroneously groups ethnicity and cultural identities by race (Keddie, 2012; Phan et al., 2005).

Identity Formation and Intersectionality

Henri Tajfel's (1974) social identity theory introduced psychologists to the relationship between identity and prejudice and defined the between-group (us/them) divides in race, gender, class, et al., positioned against historical systems of oppression and privilege. A Jewish refugee from Poland, Tajfel lived and studied in France during World War II (Vaughan, 2020). He assimilated quickly, even assuming a French identity and serving in the French armed forces until being captured by Nazi forces (Vaughan, 2020). He remained a prisoner of war and—concerned that his status as a Polish Jew might lead to his peril—a "Frenchman" until the War's end (Vaughan, 2020). His fears were not unfounded. In Poland, Tajfel's entire family and nearly all of his friends perished in the Holocaust (Vaughan, 2020). These experiences and his work after the War in repatriating and resettling other refugees shaped his understanding of between-group discrimination and prejudice, specifically regarding ethnicity and nationality (Vaughan, 2020).

To this day, discrimination, racism, and systemic oppression inherently contribute to stigmas and shame that haunt marginalized populations (Patton et al., 2016). Recognizing refugees as a unique category can help foster feelings of empowerment, remove stigma and shame, and "catalyze resistance and agency" (Patton et al., 2016, p. 86). Healthy refugee identity formation follows individualized self-realization processes

grounded in social constructivism, not determinism (Robbins et al., 2011) or reductionism (Tully, 2002). It challenges power dynamics by encouraging individuals to take ownership of this part of their overall identity. How refugee identity and other social identities intermingle plays a role in how refugees interact and integrate, learn and develop. National, cultural, and ethnic identities contribute to this progression, as discounting who individuals were pre-flight counters the goal of holistic identity development.

Rooted in bringing together the aspects on which racism and discrimination are based—e.g., gender, ethnicity, race, class—Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) notion of intersectionality conceptualizes the overlap of various social identities at the center of student development theory (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Patton et al., 2016; Steinmetz, 2020). Educators can help refugees move through this transitory stage of life and into a long-term state of well-being. However, little is presently known on how these intersections affect refugees in higher education settings (Unangst & Crea, 2020).

Identity and the Diaspora

Refugee identity comprises one category within a larger diasporic community. Other forms of multi-national (Pföstl, 2013, p. 96) and performed (Joseph, 1999) citizenship include asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and the post-national self (Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002). This group also includes global nomads, transnational migrants, and the non-citizen citizen, such as East Asians in Africa (Joseph, 1999), ethnic Kurds in Turkey (Benhabib, 2002), tribal indigenous peoples (Tully, 2002), third culture kids (Mayberry, 2016) and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) students (Singer & Svajlenka, 2013). Additionally, it includes economic migrants who

uphold ties with their home country through maintaining their citizenship while working abroad and sending funds back to family members, a common practice in Arabian Gulf countries (Bisharat, 1997; Kawar, 2000; Malecki & Ewers, 2007; Roy & Irelan, 1992).

These varying forms of nomadic identity, characterized by "cataclysmic dislocations" of diasporic communities searching for a permanent home, depict displaced persons caught between host nations (Joseph, 1999, p. 69). Many global nomads suffer internal contradictions when "the correlation between national identity and country of citizenship … shatter[s] irrevocably," causing "dramatic reconfigurations of ideas about homeland, nation, and adopted country" (Joseph, 1999, p. 69). Joseph referred to these post- and transnational circumstances as "dilemmas of postcolonial citizenships" (p. 9) following the rise and fall of nation-states throughout the 20th century. Taylor and Sidhu (2012) blamed the unstable relationships between host countries and global nomads, including the stratifications that allow for the exclusion of some and inclusion of others in the cultural-political sphere, on the "symbolic" role and function of the international declarations intended to provide "rights" to displaced and vulnerable persons (pp. 41–42). Their reference included the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol.

Whatever the cause, for those living in "migrancy and exile," the "diaspora is the location where … background finds meaning" (Soysal, 2002, p. 137)—a permanent psychological home outside of the transient physical realm. These connections provide crucial emotional support in a world rife with anxiety typified by border crossings (Löfgren, 2002). Fear of judgment, trustworthy-deviant dynamics, and the reception-rejection conundrum of migrants from "low-ranking nations" (Löfgren, 2002, p. 272) looms large and is a constant reminder of immigration's internal hierarchy. Historically,

countries in the Global North have embraced economic migrants much more readily than refugees and asylum-seekers (Schwartz et al., 2010; Taylor & Sidhu, 2012). And White European refugees have been perceived as more desirable to host countries than refugees from the Global South (Loo et al., 2018; Schwartz et al., 2010). In the last decade, migrants of all sorts have met challenges due to isolationist policies designed to keep out any version of The Other. Looking at the US alone, examples include the Trump administration's "Muslim ban" (ACLU Washington, 2020), attempts at reversing DACA (NILC, 2020), and freezing H1-B visas (Ordoñez, 2020). In the middle of a global pandemic, the administration also sought to limit international students' options for remaining in the country by adding cumbersome restrictions to the Optional Practical Training (OPT) program (Anderson, 2020) and declaring that they must take in-person classes or face deportation (Strauss, 2020).

Refugee Identity and Student Development Theory

Copious literature explores refugees' access to higher education, community college, and even online learning. However, in-depth investigations of how refugees experience higher education have only recently begun to emerge (Ramsay and Baker's [2019] meta-scope of empirical studies in camps and host countries offered insight into the scale of this gap in the literature). Even fewer studies consider the challenges to identity formation in college for refugees and other diasporic identities. As previously stated, refugee students do not fall under traditional identity categories (Baker et al., 2018). Outmoded developmental models founded in psychology fail to factor in the emotional circumstances specific to individuals recovering from catastrophic,

dehumanizing situations, nor do they consider the effect of cross-cultural contact on students from various types of conflict-affected backgrounds.

Whereas Soyal (2002) characterized theory as "stubborn" (p. 149), Patton et al. (2016) rightly noted that it is also "always growing" (p. 399). Previous modifications to social identity concepts—a cornerstone of student development theory (Patton et al., 2016)—have failed to keep pace with student bodies' changing demographics, especially in the face of the social justice reckoning reinvigorating historically oppressed voices worldwide. The civil rights movements of the mid-20th century influenced how social scientists thought about gender—e.g., Bem's (1983) "gender schema theory"; race—e.g., Cross's (1971, 1991) "theory of psychological Nigrescence" (Patton et al., 2016, p. 96); and sex—e.g., Cass's (1979) model of "homosexuality identity development" (Patton et al., 2016, p.158).

Similarly, this paper responds to the call for new approaches to thinking in the wake of the postcolonial era's epic refugee crises, most notably in the 21st century. Requisite action includes updating older theories to reflect the needs of refugees and other diasporic identities. Increased forced migration instances—propagated by protracted states of political and religious conflict, climate crises, and health issues—justify these modifications and entreat social scientists and student affairs administrators alike to reevaluate previous definitions of social identity categories. This section delivers a brief critique of some of the go-to models utilized in Western student development theories centered on acculturation, ethnicity, and ecology. A discussion of the role of the sense of belonging construct in refugee student development rounds out the paper.

Berry's Acculturative Process: Four Strategies

Psychologist John Berry conceived of his acculturation process as centering on the interplay of aspects of cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation (Felix, 2016). The 2x2 model positioned individuals as high in maintenance and low in adaptation, low in maintenance and high in adaptation, or high or low in both. This design yielded four possible strategies of acculturation (Berry, 1984, 2005). The first strategy, separation, occurs when a person or group refuses to interact with the dominant culture and clings to the values, beliefs, and norms of their native culture. Several reasons contribute to why individuals might utilize this strategy; however, as Schwartz et al. (2010) noted, it commonly appears with older, first-generation immigrants.

A second strategy, marginalization, occurs by minimizing one's native culture while rejecting the dominant one's behaviors or ideals. Researchers increasingly question this strategy's cultural and personal effectiveness (Schwartz et al., 2010; Zhou et al., 2008). Nevertheless, marginalization can result from prolonged stays of asylum, post-traumatic stress disorder, or situations where the host community rejects or resents refugee integration (Schwartz et al., 2010; Williams & Berry, 1991). A third strategy, assimilation, requires the complete discarding of native ideals and beliefs for those of the dominant culture. Social scientists consider this strategy the most disruptive to personal development (Collet, 2010; Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005).

The final strategy, integration, describes how immigrants adapt to the dominant culture while maintaining elements of their native culture (Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005; Patton et al., 2016; Schwartz et al., 2010). Some research suggests this strategy provides a positive context for healthy acculturation (Henry, 2009; McBrien, 2005; Schwartz et al.,

2010; Zhou et al., 2008). Although Berry's model delineates a baseline of acculturation, contemporary scholars tend to view the categories as outdated and limiting (Nwosu & Barnes, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2010; Zhou et al., 2008).

Berry seemingly understood the limitations of his model. His later research examined the role of acculturation in refugee resettlement in camps and enclave settings and re-acculturation in repatriation instances (Doná & Berry, 1994, 1999; see also Beiser et al., 1988; Berry, 1991). Doná & Berry's (1999) work with refugees offered a limited investigation of refugees' views of the strategies themselves, but not necessarily their application. Berry et al. (1987) acknowledged refugees' elevated level of "psychosomatic stress" (as cited in Doná & Berry, 1999, p. 175). But Beiser et al. (1988) later suggested that the potential for mental health concerns may be negated through one's constitution. Berry (1997) further intimated that forced migration does not have to yield harmful effects.

Still, these studies typically came from a purely psychological perspective, not an educational or developmental one. Moreover, by and large, Berry's model assumes integration occurs under normal circumstances, without confounding factors that may inhibit refugees' well-being in their new environment. Its design seems to favor voluntary migrants by not addressing the role of choice in migration (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). As written, the strategies have a reactionary nature, requiring individuals to respond to cues from the receiving community (Nwosu & Barnes, 2014) rather than allowing them to define their own proactive parameters of societal inculcation. Fully understanding what modifications might make these strategies applicable to and approachable for refugee

students requires further empirical research (see Mosselson, 2006; Nwosu & Barnes, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2010).

Likewise, integration frameworks assume refugees want to integrate, where, in truth, the hope of returning home may preclude integration. Furthermore, acculturation and assimilation models put an additional, unnecessary onus on the individual. They create a space where host community rejection further promotes marginalization by viewing refugees' acculturative processes as unsuccessful according to local cultural standards ("Why can't you just learn English?"). The sense of belonging construct requires a deeper understanding and increased effort toward empathy. It also necessitates a responsibility by the majority group to create a *culture* of belonging.

Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development

Like Erikson, Jean Phinney took an interest in identity development, and, similar to Allport, she focused her work on ethnicity. Grounded in psychology, Phinney's (1989, 1993) model perceived ethnic identity as realized in three stages: unexamined (diffusion/foreclosure), search/moratorium, and achievement. In stage one, individuals either lack interest in their ethnic identity or commit to understanding their ethnicity as whatever an authority figure ascribes to them. This stage includes a risk of capitulation to majority group opinions. Stage two provides a space for individuals to challenge these assignments and independently explore their ethnic background. Feelings of anger or shame may accompany this stage. By stage three, the achievement of a bicultural identity becomes possible. Yet, the confidence associated with valuing one's ethnic identity may also mean recognizing their membership in a historically "minoritized" or marginalized group (Patton et al., 2016, p. 136). Supplementing her developmental model, Phinney

envisioned the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) as a tool for examining students' "sense of belonging, identity achievement, and ethnic practices" (Patton et al., 2016, p. 151). Its application has given way to the advancement of other research on healthy acculturation.

A couple of critical issues come to mind when trying to apply Phinney's model to refugee students. First, stage theories are inherently problematic, as they remove the individual nature of development by assuming all students follow the same process and aspire to the same outcomes (Patton et al., 2016). Tully (2002) argued that "no identity is ever quite identical to itself" (p. 159); refugees are a far from "homogenous group," having different backgrounds, circumstances, and experiences (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012, p. 43). Second, the linear nature of Phinney's model leaves no room for emotional responses to everchanging political landscapes (see Mosselson [2006] for a discussion of "identity constructions in exile" [p. 20] based on a *roots*-and-*routes* approach). For example, some students may choose to hide their refugee status, especially given the recent heightened periods of xenophobia and populism. They may also feel that only through suppressing this attribute of their identity can they escape judgment and shame or be seen as whole. Holistic identity development requires recognizing and accepting all aspects of identity; inclusive educational environments can assist with the process.

Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory

Ecosystems theory models have their origins in sociology and social work. They view adaptative processes as the product of personal constitution and environmental influences (Robbins et al., 2011). Environments have physical, social, temporal, and spatial attributes (Robbins et al., 2011). Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory

posited that human development occurred through "proximal processes" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, p. 996; as cited in Tudge et al., 2009). Like Phinney, Bronfenbrenner repeatedly revisited and modified his original concepts (Härkönen, 2007). This paper contemplates the process-person-context-time (PPCT) version (Tudge et al., 2009).

Proximal processes describe interactions with social and contextual factors in a given space over extended periods. Person refers to the genetic, experience- and resource-based, and personality traits of a particular individual. Context relates to environmental factors with which the individual comes into contact, i.e., home and school, parental affect, and culture. Time considers both historical aspects and the length of interactions. In the last decade, Bronfenbrenner's theory has re-emerged in several studies on children's exposure to violence (Boxer et al., 2013), "displacement (Betancourt, 2005), terrorism (Hendricks & Bornstein, 2007; Moscardino [et al.], 2010), and … resilience in human development (Masten & Obradovic, 2008)" (Correa-Velez et al., 2010, p. 1401). Tudge et al. (2009) highlighted how research based on parts of this theory—or utilizing different iterations without clearly stating which—created inconsistencies in its application and scholarship.

Bronfenbrenner's model, designed with young children in mind, held familial relationships at its core (Tudge et al., 2009). For refugees, dangerous circumstances encountered during unplanned migration may disrupt domestic structures (Betancourt & Khan, 2008). In some situations, student-teacher relationships may mirror student-parent or student-sibling ones. Myrick's (2021a) research uncovered how male Jordanian schoolteachers served in surrogate familial roles with adolescent Syrian refugees in Amman. Relational teaching methods (Noddings, 2012) can be crucial when family

structures are not intact, but these bonds do not replace the deep connections typically provided by the nuclear family. Additionally, higher education settings, particularly in large, urban institutions or online environments, may not always offer appropriate avenues to intimate, one-on-one opportunities in which mentorship roles flourish (Earnest et al., 2010). Students may then necessarily turn to and find success with peer groups for seeking emotional support, guidance, and a sense of belonging (Vickers et al., 2017).

Finally, critics of ecosystems theories view their transactional positioning as oppressive (Robbins et al., 2011). Like Bronfenbrenner, Lerner (2012) identified a connection between culture and development: (a) history demarcates culture, (b) culture sways behavior, and (c) behavior affects development. That is, time and place (historical ties) influence development. Following this logic, refugees' psychological growth may be stunted, as they exist in a space removed from historical and cultural time and place. Here, Correa-Velez et al. (2010) warned that "construct overlap is a problem for many studies as causation is difficult to prove. Ecological models of refugee adaptation are by their nature 'interactional, with multiple causally reciprocal relationships existing simultaneously between domains' (Porter, 2007, p. 429)" (p. 1406).

Sense of Belonging Construct

In recent years, the sense of belonging construct has gained traction in social science research. Still, defining belonging remains a complicated matter. For example, some researchers describe the sense of belonging as "feeling 'at home'" (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 948), where one's identity is inexorably linked to place. Through this lens, one might experience feelings of "homeness" or, conversely, "homesickness" (Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002, p. vii). A broader swath of research recognizes belonging as a

psychological or social construct (e.g., Baker et al., 2018; Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Chen & Schweitzer, 2019; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Faircloth & Hamm, 2005; Hagerty et al., 1996; Kastoryano, 2002; Tully, 2002), In relation to the *post-national self* (Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002)—be that as a product of global nomadism, or the adoption of nomadic identity (Joseph, 1999); becoming part of the diaspora (Soysal, 2002); or the result of post-political exile or involuntary migration (Hannerz, 2002; Herf, 2002)—belonging may be marked [or marred] by measures of social inclusion [or exclusion] (Caxaj & Berman, 2010; Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

Sands (2019) summarized that "diversity is a fact (the numbers are what they are), inclusion is a choice (you decide whether to include someone or not), but belonging is a feeling that can be enforced by a culture that you can purposefully create" (para. 10). Put simply: Inclusion is admittance, but belonging is membership (Benhabib, 2002)—it requires recognition (Tully, 2002). Although Sands' definition is grounded in organizational theory, its implications are transferable to education, if not society-at-large. Myrick's (2021a) findings suggest that creating a culture that fosters a sense of belonging may be particularly important to students from refugee backgrounds. Environments constructed on the foundations of belonging support "empowerment, acceptance, and community building" (Koyama & Chang, 2019, p. 144) and lessen the chance of benevolent othering. Importantly, belonging bridges the distance between "home" and "away" (Hannerz, 2002).

Inclusive environments can also promote proactive coping (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2008). International and immigrant students, in general, depend heavily on coping mechanisms and resilience when adapting to their new, culturally different environments.

Hagerty et al. (1996) promoted a sense of belonging as "an important resiliency factor" (p. 243). Myriad research has examined the relationship between well-being and resilience (e.g., Førde, 2007; Khawaja et al., 2017; Ruiz-Casares et al., 2014; Whittaker et al., 2005). Refugees exhibit tremendous resilience and grit, from the circumstances of their exit to the dangerous journeys they undertake to survive. However, the determination it takes to persevere under duress does not end with arrival in a host country. Refugees must also maintain the ability to remain positive in the face of physical or "psychosocial adversity" (Betancourt & Khan, 2008, para. 2). Felix (2016) referred to this ability as *resilience*. Refugees must also develop a long-term perspective—set goals that allow for personal achievement and pleasurable experiences—and focus on the future (Betancourt & Khan, 2008). Similarly, using *grit* as a coping mechanism means refugees see themselves as successful in their future (Felix, 2016). Both resilience and grit have proved helpful as positive coping mechanisms for refugee youths, specifically in school and academic achievement (Felix, 2016; Mosselson, 2006; Myrick, 2021a). Visualizing positive outcomes, such as achievements in school, can help refugee students push through difficult times while also ameliorating migration and acculturative stress (Bash, 2005; Felix, 2016; Mosselson, 2006).

Harnessing belonging can help better assist refugees in coping by creating robust social support systems (Hagerty et al., 1996). Zhou et al. (2008) foregrounded the relationship between "stressful life changes" (p. 65), such as moving away from one's country of origin, and culture shock. Schwartz et al. (2010) asserted that proactive coping methods assist ethnic minority groups with the acculturative process. Preserving the cultural aspects of an ethnic community is arguably one of the most successful ways of

practicing proactive coping (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Feeling free to maintain a connection with one's religion and practices provides comfort to displaced persons, especially when the dominant culture's religious beliefs do not align with those of the refugee community (Collet, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010). Sharing in ceremonial practices can provide a feeling of home, even when home no longer exists (Collet, 2010). Also, refugees that prioritize language preservation tend to deal with migration stress more readily than those who do not (Collet, 2010, p. 198). Moreover, language preservation that continues into second generations and beyond eases acculturation and limits the types of barriers that typically inhibit healthy adaption and integration (Collet, 2010). Finally, the majority community's acceptance of these practices helps refugee youths connect to both the host and native cultures (Collet, 2010).

This connection between host and native cultures is crucial since "bridging relationships with the broader host community are essential for youth in their belonging—being at home—in their new country" (Correa-Velez et al., 2010, p. 1406). Refugees navigate a space defined by social exclusion, risking daily the loss of belonging at the micro and macro—familial, communal, national, and economic—levels (Beirens et al., 2007; Correa-Velez et al., 2010). The constant fear of rejection, an inability to experience relatedness, and a low sense of belonging can negatively impact both short- and long-term psychological functioning (Gopalan & Brady, 2020; Hagerty et al., 1996). The relationship between mental health and belonging remains pivotal to persistence and success in school, especially in underrepresented minority students, who already experience lower feelings of belonging at traditional four-year institutions (Gopalan & Brady, 2020).

Further, Correa-Velez et al. (2010) asserted that "establishing a sense of belonging … is essential for well-being" (p. 1399). For many refugee youths, school—when accompanied by the feeling that one belongs there—functions as both a coping mechanism and a place of refuge (Collet, 2010; Keddie, 2012) and affords a distraction from the difficulties associated with resettlement and integration. It provides a site for connecting with social networks that are otherwise inaccessible (Beirens et al., 2007). Schoolwork and downtime with peers offer a break from migration stressors (Bal & Perzigian, 2013). In supportive, positive classroom environments, refugee students can feel normal and relate to individuals their age (Mosselson, 2006). Belonging, then, stands in opposition to othering and alienation, a realization that may help recenter the power dynamic in educational institutions. Schools, therefore, become a place to escape labels like "foreigner" and "exotic" (Mosselson, 2006, p. 26). Most importantly, schools deliver a safe space where the world feels stable.

Implications and Conclusion

Refugee populations around the world continue to grow at a rapid pace. Little research focuses on refugees in tertiary education environments, the developmental challenges of refugees, or the effects of refugee experiences on access to and success in tertiary education (Yi & Kiyama, 2018). Educators, theorists, practitioners, and policymakers must develop ways of meeting the developmental needs of refugee students. The concept of refugee identity is not new and has been well-documented in the legal, political, and educational domains (see Bal, 2014; Hope, 2008; Mosselson, 2006; Phan et al., 2005; Sen, 2014; Stevens, 2014). This article calls for recognizing, considering, and responding to the concept of refugee identity, which may trigger protests

from scholars who do not acknowledge or qualify social identity theory (Hart, 2004; Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Black, 2001). Still, my assumption here is that "one cannot help but have identity" (Soysal, 2002, p. 142) and identity—in all forms—"demand[s] recognition and protection" (Tully, 2002, p. 159).

I am positing refugee identity as a significant factor in student development in the spirit of the theory expansions of the late 1990s (Patton et al., 2016). The concepts and constructs I propose here are intended to supplement or expand upon models that focus on minority identity, ethnic/multiethnic identity, and ecological development, such as Berry's Acculturative Process, Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development, and Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory. These models have been beneficial for their contributions to student development theory and research on acculturation. My analysis complements and extends these models by focusing on displacement, trauma, and resettlement. Resettlement includes the experience of integration but is complicated by uncertainty—being delayed or lost in the system, moved from place to place, or confined for prolonged stays of asylum, for instance—that contribute to stress and emotional discord and can foster anxiety and a sense of rejection (Strang & Ager, 2010).

It is a fact that most of the core student development theories used today were not designed with refugee students in mind and fail to factor in refugees' unique circumstances. The models explored here stemmed from psychological, sociological, and anthropological tenets (Patton et al., 2016) of the Western world. Indeed, theories and models based on acculturation and social identity are rooted in Western ideology and practice. Most of the studies featured in this literature review examined non-Western refugee students' experiences integrating into schools in the US, UK, Australia, or other

Western countries. In reality, of the top 10 countries in the world that host refugees, only two are Western: Malta is #7; Sweden is #9 (Christophersen, 2020). The pacific island of Nauru, where Australia sent refugees it refused to accept, came in at #6—ahead of both Western countries (Christophersen, 2020). The remaining seven countries are in the Middle East and Africa, with Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey at the top (Christophersen, 2020). More than a quarter of the world's refugees come from Syria (6.6M) alone (Szmigiera, 2021). Together with Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar, these five countries account for more than two-thirds of the refugee population worldwide (Amnesty International, 2019). The top three receiving countries host more refugees than all of the other hosting countries in the world combined (Christophersen, 2020). In Lebanon and Jordan, two countries with the highest concentration of refugees per capita at 1:5 and 1:10, respectively, Syrian refugees share historical, cultural ties, a common language of Arabic, a majority religion of Islam, and Arab ethnicity. Yet still, they struggle to adapt, to belong.

I argue that student development theories based on attributes—e.g., culture, ethnicity, religion, race, etc.—are limiting because they fail to factor in a crucial element of refugee identity: individuated experience. With the primary goal of acculturation in mind, Berry's model disregards the role of "choice" in migration. For example, many Syrians did not choose to leave. They forcibly migrated due to war. Many have no desire to resettle in Jordan permanently; children, especially, wish to return home (Myrick, 2021a). Their parents know that being registered with the UHNCR means they risk losing their historical homes, seized by the Assad regime (al-Zarier & Limoges, 2018).

Again, acculturation and assimilation models put the onus of integration and adaption on the individual to identify cues from the host community. Displaced and forcibly migrated persons already face myriad challenges. Reading and interpreting cultural cues in a majority society with whom they may be unfamiliar only adds to migration stress. Receiving countries should work to create a culture of belonging, where refugee students feel welcome and valued. My research makes it clear that it is incumbent on student development theorists to reevaluate the current understanding of identity and consider how these models might be adapted to include the social identity of refugee students. Theories of student development, not to mention refugee students themselves, would benefit from further and more recent case study research on how refugee identity complicates current student development theory.

Considering the sense-of-belonging construct when applied to [refugee] identity and student development theory leads to several future research possibilities. Deeper investigations of Western and non-Western student development theories should derive from research based in education environments with refugee students. For example, Myrick (2021a) documented the influence of Al-Ghazali's (1058-1111CE) Master-Pupil Relationship in the educational approaches Jordanian teachers applied when working with Syrian refugee students. Specifically, there is a critical need to examine refugees' experiences in higher education (Yi & Kiyama, 2018) in Western and non-Western societies. Comparative studies of long-term asylum-seekers, IDPs, and other non-citizen citizens and resettled refugee youths would be prudent. Relevant inquiries here might address whether the cause of status affects one's sense of belonging.

Further work could explore a potential correlation between sense of belonging and refugee identity ownership. How might other intersectional or confounding factors—e.g., regional differences (place of origin, resettlement, or both), gender, religion, SES and social class, personal affect—contribute to identity formation, a sense of belonging, and student development? Finally, what role do institutional settings play in scaffolding belonging in refugee students?

Studies such as these give way to changes in practice that center on creating a culture of belonging. One recommendation would be developing empathetic literacy in educators and administrators, focusing on privilege, oppression, and power dynamics (Calloway-Thomas et al., 2017; Paracka & Pynn, 2017). For example, discussions that contemplated positive versus normative attitudes toward adaptation might help identify areas of inherent bias. As Bennett (1993) explained, even well-intentioned attempts to connect with students who have "experienced disjunction from constantly shifting cultural frames of reference" can trigger "encapsulated marginality"(p. 114).

Educators should also work with refugee students to identify areas where inclusion and belonging are lacking. A promising first step would be increasing opportunities for refugee students to share their stories (Robertson & Breiseth, 2014), which could help combat stigma and reduce discriminatory feelings and behaviors. Holding conversations in a "safe space" would ensure "authentic dialogue" (Heleta & Deardorff, 2017, p. 59). At a policy level, reimagining core curricula with a multicultural focus would promote more cross-cultural understanding (Calloway-Thomas et al., 2017; Gay, 2004; Heleta & Deardorff, 2017). Constructive changes would address both course content (Heleta & Deardorff, 2017) and pedagogical methods that promote intercultural

competence (Gregersen-Hermans, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1995). For instance, an

introduction to global engagement or approaches that promote social justice and diversity

education could be integrated into curricula. In our theories and practices, refugee

students should be recognized and embraced as a unique, important, and welcome cohort

(Yi & Kiyama, 2018).

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Appendix A

List of Boolean Searches

List A1

List of Boolean Searches

Educators' experiences migrant and refugee backgrounds

Out of school children susceptible to recruitment by terrorists

Refugee AND coping

Refugee AND teachers

Refugees AND school

Teacher refugee experience

Chapter V

Conclusion

When the Syria Crisis began, no one expected it to last more than a year or two. More than ten years and 11,000,000 displaced persons later, the rumble of war rolls on. Experts approximate the cost and time it will take to rebuild the Republic will be, on the low end, USD 250 billion (Daher, 2019). Structural and economic recovery will undoubtedly take years, even decades. Prospects of return for the more than 6.6M Syrians who sought international refuge are grim (Daher, 2019). Conceivably, children who fled in 2012–2013, when the Crisis took an increasingly violent turn, may not return to their home country until adulthood, if ever. Many will choose to remain elsewhere. Those who had positive experiences in their host country may even someday go on to be teachers, an homage to those that helped them feel stable and conveyed a sense of belonging when they were the world's most vulnerable outsiders.

This three-paper dissertation addressed the challenges to refugee education presented by the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan. Paper one assessed the relevance, progress, effectiveness, and impact of emergency education responses (EER) the Government of Jordan implemented in the years immediately following the Crisis's start. The analysis provides insight into these interventions, the consequences of which have not been sufficiently addressed by existing research. Paper two used interview-based data to explore the impact of the SRC on Jordanian teachers' professional and personal experiences and, subsequently, their ability to provide quality education for their students. The themes detailed in this chapter will help policymakers better understand the implications of EER interventions for the teachers involved.

Paper three considered how the refugee experience shapes identity and affects sense of belonging. It also posited the claim that a consideration of refugee identity as a form of social identity deserves recognition in student development theory and proposed a universal approach for understanding refugees' identity formation and sense of belonging. The literature review also revealed a critical gap in the research on refugees and higher education. Collectively, these studies highlighted some of the challenges to refugee education that host countries and communities face.

In the following section, I briefly discuss some of the critical findings and why these studies offer essential guidance for educators, administrators, and policymakers, especially in developing countries.

Summary of Findings

At the start of the Crisis, the Government of Jordan relied heavily on the United Nations and its many branches to coordinate emergency response efforts. The situation was challenging, and the rollout, clunky and ill-conceived. When the protracted state of the Crisis became apparent, the Government began working in concert with UN agencies, international community members, and local organizations to rapidly address the problem of how best to provide vital social services, including education.

Paper One: EER Inventions and Unintended Consequences

Although the Kingdom was already in the throes of an economic crisis, the Ministry of Education faced an immediate need to hire thousands of teachers. To accommodate the crush of Syrian youths rapidly entering Jordan's public K-12 system, the Ministry made a tough call and decided to eliminate costly pre-service teacher training programs and to lower degree requirements for teachers hired in the emergency's

first few years. To ensure they could find classrooms to school these children, the MOE reinstated a previous EER that switched some schools in lower-income areas—the neighborhoods where Syrians had resettled—to a double-shift system.

This latter choice was not their first choice, but it seemed the best option available at the time. Initially, the Ministry tried to mix Jordanians and Syrians in the same classes. Class sizes jumped to, in some cases, 60 students per teacher; fighting and bullying became rampant. Many Syrian students had been out of school for years, and gaps in learning led to students' incorrect grade placement or the determination that grade levels needed to be repeated. Teachers had to contend with students of different learning levels and curricular backgrounds in one class. The solution: divide the students by nationality. Jordanian students attended classes in the morning; Syrian students learned in the afternoon.

The two-shift system not only did not solve but, in fact, exacerbated the problems teachers faced. The MOE typically placed newly hired, underqualified, and inexperienced teachers in the second shift with the students who most needed critical psychosocial support. Schools that had previously been designated as double-shift for Jordanians now had to fit both shifts into one half-day session. As a result, the morning shift became too crowded, and even the experienced teachers lost control of their classrooms. In short, the interventions allowed Syrian students to attend school but at the same time created serious unintended consequences.

Paper Two: A Case Study of Teachers' Experiences

Throughout the Syria Crisis, countless organizations have operated outposts in Amman, Jordan. Many, including various UN agencies, have conducted studies on

vulnerability assessments (Washington et al., 2015), refugee care in camps (UNICEF, 2015a), curriculum and education gaps (UNICEF, 2015b), and out-of-school refugee children (UNHCR, 2016). One critical group, however, was noticeably underrepresented in the research: teachers. Among frontline workers, teachers remain the least understood in terms of how the Crisis impacted them, professionally and personally. How had the transition to the double-shift system changed their lives and their ability to perform their duties? How were they managing instruction, refugee mental health care, and their own? Seven years into the Syria Crisis, how were they coping with living in an extended state of EER and EIE?

The teachers I interviewed all worked in double-shift schools. They had a broad range of years of teaching experience, covered various subjects, and all but one taught Syrians and Jordanians. The outlier, who was also the youngest and newest to teaching, offered an interesting contrast in perspective. Where he mostly felt energized, they felt exhausted. Where they turned to family and meditation for escape, he played sports with his students, went to the gym, and met with friends—often other teachers his age—and talked about work. Yusuf, in a sense, provided a glimpse into what teaching may have looked like before the Crisis hit. Paradoxically, his rare and unusual perspective underlined the debilitating effects of the Syria Crisis on the vast majority of teachers working with refugees.

The study also illuminated how, despite not receiving any standardized training, the teachers all seemed to use similar techniques for classroom management, advising, mentoring, and accommodating students' individual needs. They accomplished these tasks by forging deep and meaningful interpersonal relationships with their students. For

example, the teachers all referred to students using familial terms, e.g., sons and brothers. This type of inclusive language helped prevent "othering" and made the students feel "at home," like they belonged. These nurturing behaviors were apparently innate rather than the result of training.

In the process of interviewing teachers and reflecting on their behaviors and practices, I recognized some of the tenets of Islamic Educational Psychology and Al-Ghazali's Master-Pupil Relationship. Indeed, the interdependence of education and Islam repeatedly surfaced in interview responses. That the teachers instinctively drew on their faith to guide their teaching and mentoring is not surprising: The Kingdom's educational philosophy derives from the "Arab-Islamic civilization … and the Jordanian national experience" (GOJ, 1994, p. 2). Even before the first school opened in the 1930s, religion played a prominent role in education (Alon, 2009), as is common in Islamic countries (Alkanderi, 2001). Notably, some of these principles have since appeared in Western concepts, specifically Opdenakker et al.'s (2011) teacher-student interpersonal relationships and Noddings' concepts of care ethics and the caring relation (2012a, b).

Unfortunately, the teachers did not extend the same ethic of care to themselves as they did to their students. Physical fatigue and mental burnout posed a persistent threat to their overall wellbeing and effectiveness. Added stress from heavy workloads, extended workdays, and tasks spilling over into weekends also negatively affected teachers' families. Coping mechanisms came in many forms, including prayer and meditation, compartmentalizing work and home lives, and turning to friends, sports, or other external sources for cathartic distractions.

Paper Three: Refugee Identity and Belongingness

The Jordanian teachers did not attempt to support Syrian students through developmental models based on acculturation or ethnic identity attributes. These types of models feature prominently in the literature on immigrant and international student integration and social identity formation but would not have been appropriate in this or similar situations. Syrians and Jordanians shared their Arab ethnicity, Arabic language, Islamic religion, historical and cultural ties, and—with this case study—gender. Between-group differences derived from individuated experience. Simply put, Syrian refugee students had endured traumatic circumstances that their Jordanian counterparts had not. Likewise, their encounters with war, whether directly or through adjacent environments, presented them with educational and developmental challenges that traditional international and immigrant students do not face. The unique, individuated backgrounds of refugees have lasting effects on their social identity formation.

The teachers' reliance on their common religious tradition and non-Western educational concepts underscored the need for considering different theoretical approaches to refugee education. Theoretical models have not considered how refugees' experiences shape their social identity or how refugee identity affects student development. My synthesis of extant research on refugees' experiences exposed gaps in the literature on refugee identity formation and student development, especially in higher education settings. To address this gap, I used the examples of Berry's Acculturative Process, Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development, and Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory as foundational models that could be further modified or supplemented to support refugee students' unique backgrounds and experiences. Among

my chief areas of concern were the models' failure to account for the impact of displacement, trauma, resettlement, and uncertainty. Acculturation models, consciously or unconsciously, expect refugee students to recognize cues of acceptance from the host community. The resulting pressure on already disoriented students unnecessarily increases anxiety, promotes othering, and fosters stigmatization and marginalization.

The majority of the world's refugees come from and resettle in non-Western countries. Yet student affairs theorists think of refugee student development in Western terms using Western theories. Rather than thinking in terms of acculturation and attributes, educators should focus on a universal measure: student belongingness. The sense-of-belonging construct supports a holistic approach to development that Western theories often overlook. Belongingness requires inclusion, membership, acceptance, and empathy. Inclusive school environments provide settings where refugee students can escape from trauma and migration stressors. Educators and administrators who strive to create a culture of belonging ultimately provide refugee students a place to feel normal and to belong. Research has shown that students with a developed sense of belonging have higher academic achievement and better overall wellbeing.

Tying It Together: Examining Challenges to Refugee Education

A common thread binds the three papers presented here: Each revealed serious but insufficiently accommodated challenges to refugee education. Host communities in countries with limited resources are expected to resettle and educate overwhelming numbers of refugees. Nations that can afford to take in more refugees—such as the US— have implemented policies that make resettlement difficult, if not impossible (Allyn, 2019). Although the current administration had committed to increasing the number of

refugees the US will accept (Moore & Ullom, 2021), an immediate about-face further complicated the matter (Simon, 2021). Regardless, refugees who wish to pursue higher education may not realize the effects of any policy change for many years. In the meantime, countries such as Jordan are shouldering the burden and responsibility.

It may appear a far leap from a study of refugee K-12 education to higher education, especially when thinking only in terms of the US or other Western countries' higher education systems. The fact is, only 1 % of refugees matriculate into higher education worldwide (Touchberry, 2017). The number of international students in general that the US receives has plummeted in the last several years due to a combination of unfriendly national policies established by the prior administration (ACLU Washington, 2020; Anderson, 2020; NILC, 2020; Strauss, 2020). Pandemic-related restrictions have further complicated the issue (Schwartz, 2021), making the odds of refugees matriculating into US higher education systems slim indeed.

With this knowledge, those of us in the Comparative and International Education field need to focus the efforts of our specialization on how we might better assist refugees who have been resettled in developing nations to make it to-and-through higher education. Regardless of where students study, higher education attainment, is crucial to further global improvements (Chankseliani et al., 2021). We are facing a critical point in world history. Globalization has increased access to systems that used to be weeks, even months apart. Technology has linked the world in such a way that the students I teach in Houston can simultaneously attend classes in Tunisia and Jordan—and do. They can supplement their in-class learning with co-curricular trips to the countries they have studied—and do. They can become familiar with the geopolitical positionings that make

critical refugee care possible or, in some cases, complicated—and do. And they can be on-the-ground, working with the organizations that provide vital services to refugees in Amman—and they are.

With the positive advancements of globalization also comes the potential rise in global threats. Climate change has resulted in massive ice melts in the Arctic, making it possible for Russia to set up ballistic missile test sites in an area previously too frozen for such bases even to be conceived of (Walsh, 2021). A global pandemic has disrupted even the most stable economies (Lederer, 2021; World Bank, 2020), caused the death of millions of people (Johns Hopkins, 2021), and fueled uprisings worldwide (Haddad, 2021). Economies that typically depend on tourism, foreign direct investment (FDI), global trade, and other international movements of peoples have faced near collapse (Hidalgo, 2020; Older, 2021; UNCTAD, 2020a, b). Unemployment has reached peak heights (Quin, 2021; Ventura, 2020); high unemployment can fuel instability and further propagate civil unrest (Gelvin, 2015; LaGraffe, 2012; Tabler, 2018). As I have demonstrated through the example of the Syria Crisis used in this dissertation, a dose of turmoil can lead to years, even decades, of civil war.

All of these situations present new potential opportunities to create or exacerbate crises of refugee and displaced persons. I hope that my research on the Syrian Refugee Crisis in the tiny Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan sets a prominent example for the rest of the world. Studies such as these should prompt further investigation and help other governments better prepare for future education emergencies, including natural disasters and a variety of forced migration, displacement, or humanitarian situations.

Benefits of the Three-Paper Approach

I decided to use the three-paper dissertation format because I wanted to examine a central issue—challenges to refugee education—from three different angles. This investigation necessitated the use of multiple methodologies. In paper one, I identified EER policy changes by conducting a systematic literature review and document analysis. In assessing the impact and unintended consequences of those policies, I utilized a qualitative policy analysis framework. With paper two, I employed a case study approach to discover how those policies might have affected teachers' professional and personal experiences. The use of qualitative coding and analysis procedures helped reveal patterns and themes in interview data that contributed to my overall understanding of the situation. Finally, in paper three, I synthesized extant literature, including insights gleaned from paper two, to formulate a comprehensive description of refugees' experiences and postulate refugee social identity. Drawing on Western student development theory concepts, I then proposed a more inclusive, universal paradigm for supporting refugee students as they progress through their academic careers.

Through these separate but related papers, I provided a multifaceted view of how policy, theory, and practice all uniquely impact refugee education. I also exampled some of the many ways qualitative research methods may help understand the meaning, context, and outcomes of a phenomenon. Thus, from a methodological stance, I learned that educators, administrators, and policymakers must take a multidimensional approach to address critical education issues. Furthermore, qualitative methods and case study research, in particular, tend to be viewed as a "'soft' form of research" (Yin, 2018, p. 2).

This dissertation challenges that notion and advocates for the role of qualitative analysis in education-oriented studies.

Pursuing and completing a three-paper dissertation—qualitative or quantitative—requires an immense amount of work, patience, and emotional fortitude. I sought to "connect with [the] research participants and to see the world from their viewpoints" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 5). Achieving this goal with an international study meant clearing numerous hurdles, including gaining approval from a foreign government. This process took months; traveling to-and-from Amman also required precise timing and added time to the data collection period. Although I was familiar with my host country's customs and culture, I needed to gain the host *community's* trust and the respect of various members of the Jordanian government, NGOs, and INGOs, not to mention teachers, who aided me in recruitment for the study.

Despite the challenges, the three-paper dissertation format allowed me to follow where the research leads; a single study might have circumscribed my inquiry. The multi-paper strategy kept me from being constrained by one hypothesis when approaching a complicated and unexplored situation. There is much more left yet to study, and I discuss potential future directions in the Implications section. In terms of my process, the first step was an examination of policy. I needed to know the origins—the why and how—of the interventions' rollout before I could discern which questions I needed to ask in interviews. The emic nature of paper two gave me valuable inside knowledge of practice through the perspectives and experiences of the teachers themselves. From these experiences came the inspiration for paper three—an etic, research-based recommendation for updating student development theory. This organic process resulted

in a three-paper dissertation that helps identify areas for future research, policy, and practice.

Implications for Future Research, Policy, and Practice

The research conducted for this dissertation serves several purposes. First, paper one helps policymakers understand the longer-term impact of applying EER interventions. Second, paper two lays the groundwork for larger-scale studies on meeting the psychosocial needs of teachers working in crisis-affected or adjacent environments. Finally, paper three prompts conversations on social identity formation and belongingness in refugee students. Collectively, these studies provide insight into promoting refugee students' ability to persist to-and-through higher education, and the findings are transferable across a broad range of humanitarian situations.

These studies also highlight gaps in the literature and present areas where future research is needed. First, the case study with Jordanian male teachers should be replicated with females at girls' schools and males and females working in co-ed schools. Additional study participants could include principals and school counselors of both genders. Expansions of the study's scope could address the types of teacher training currently available, how or if teachers take advantage of specialized training and professional development opportunities, and the efficacy of these programs in preparing teachers to work with refugee-student populations. These expansions would provide a comprehensive picture of the experiences of educators who work with students from refugee backgrounds.

Other opportunities for further understanding refugee identity and belongingness should include research based in education environments with refugee students. Here

again, I stress the need for more empirical research on the experiences of refugees in higher education, both in Western and non-Western societies. I recommend that comparative studies include members of various diasporic communities, such as IDPs, non-citizen citizens as defined in paper three, and other long-term asylum-seekers alongside resettled refugee youths. It would be helpful to know whether and how *status* affects one's sense of belonging. These findings might help delineate correlations between the sense of belonging, identity formation, and ownership. Research of this type should consider intersectional and confounding factors. These factors could include country of origin, resettlement, or both, and attributes typically studied in student development, e.g., gender, race, and religion. Results of these studies would provide a strong foundation for constructing theories focused on refugee student development.

In our educational practices, we should be asking what role institutional settings play in supporting both teachers and their refugee students. The first step is ensuring that teachers have the appropriate tools—physical and emotional—that they need to ensure that students already in the system receive a high-quality education. One way of achieving this goal might come through increasing the availability of pre-service training, continuing education, and professional development opportunities with instruction in pedagogical methods that promote intercultural competence (Gregersen-Hermans, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Maintaining an open-door policy so that teachers feel heard could also assist the creation of a culture of belonging that starts at the top.

A next step might be to offer workshops that help educators hone empathetic literacy with a specific focus on privilege, oppression, and power dynamics (Calloway-Thomas et al., 2017; Paracka & Pynn, 2017). Conversations should contemplate positive

versus normative attitudes toward integration and identify factors of inherent bias. Including refugee students in peer-to-peer or student-to-administrator/educator talks could prove illuminating in identifying areas where belonging could be better cultivated and supported (Robertson & Breiseth, 2014).

Finally, policymakers should work with educators in developing long-term response initiatives for refugee education of school-aged children seeking refuge in diverse, varying countries (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016). In developing and industrialized nations alike, national education plans should address the specific needs of refugee students in a manner that does not create debilitating strain on host communities (Culbertson, Ling, et al., 2016). The development of long-term strategies may help prepare nations and regions for potential future shocks, such as global pandemics and other unpredicted crises. Finally, at the institutional level, modifying core curricula to include globally-oriented courses with a multicultural focus would promote cross-cultural acceptance and understanding (Calloway-Thomas et al., 2017; Gay, 2004; Heleta & Deardorff, 2017). In advancing these critical changes to our theories, policies, and practices, we can begin to address the many systemic challenges facing refugee education. At a human and individual level, we can help our teachers working at the frontline feel supported, and our refugee students feel like they belong.

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Appendix A

Abbreviations

Table A1

Abbreviations

3RP	Refugee Response and Resilience Plan
CBO	Community-Based Organization
DOD	Department of Defense (US)
DOS	Department of State (US)
EER	Emergency Education Response
EIE	Education in Emergencies
ERfKE	Education Reform for a Knowledge Economy
ESP	Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022
EU	European Union
FSA	Free Syrian Army
GOJ	Government of Jordan
HCSP	Host Community Support Platform
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IVET	Initial Vocational Education System
JEN	Japan Emergency Network
J/S	Jordanian/Syrian
JRP	Jordan Response Plan to the Syria Crisis
MENA	Middle East North Africa
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOHESR	Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
MOL	Ministry of Labor
MOPIC	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
NAR	Needs Assessment Review 2013
NCHRD	National Center for Human Resource Development
NES	National Education Strategy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRP	National Resilience Plan 2014–2016
NSHRD	National Strategy for Human Resource Development 2016–2025
OpenEMIS	Open Data Source for Education Management Information System
QRTA	Queen Rania Teacher Academy
SCW	Syria Civil War

SNC	Syrian National Coalition
SRC	Syrian Refugee Crisis
SRRP	Syria Regional Response Plan
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
VTC	Vocational Training Corporation
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization