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Kiwan, Dina

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Inclusion and citizenship: Syrian and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

Abstract
This article critically explores how laws and practices of states and international organisations attempt to control refugees, drawing upon conceptions of 'biopower' and 'technologies of anti-citizenship' (Foucault 1972; Lan 2008). This is examined in the Lebanese context, which has an estimated 1.5 million Syrian refugees (HRW 2016a; HRW 2017; UNHCR 2016), and an overall population of approximately 6 million (Worldometers, 2018) - including approximately 500,000 long-term Palestinian refugees (UNRWA, 2018). Firstly, I consider how 'embodiment' and 'vulnerability' relate to constructions of the 'citizen' in law, where refugees are constituted as vulnerable bodies 'out of place'. Secondly, I examine how public, legal and policy constructions affect the lived experiences of refugees in Lebanon. This entails a recognition of the multiple axes of exclusionary intersectionalities, where the ideal citizen is constructed as adult, male, heterosexual, able-bodied, 'intellectually competent', economically productive, as well as holding a legal status as a national of the state. Thirdly, I examine two refugee initiatives that aim to address the discriminations faced in education and society. Drawing on these different sources of evidence, the article advances the argument that through global technologies of 'human security' promoting (neoliberal) individual self-reliance, exclusion is nevertheless perpetuated through depoliticised discourses and practices of vulnerability and (non-)citizenship.

Keywords
Citizenship, education, inclusion, Lebanon, refugees, vulnerability

Introduction
This article examines the inclusion of refugees in education in Lebanon. Lebanon is a theoretically and practically important site for the critical investigation of the inclusion of refugees in education for a number of reasons. Firstly, there are significantly greater numbers of displaced populations in the Global South compared to the Global North, with 84% of displaced populations in the Global South (WEF 2017). Secondly, with a history of armed conflicts and as a site of displaced populations, Lebanon is characterised by sectarian divides with further differences along axes of age, gender, sexuality, disability and national legal status. Wealth inequalities are stark, with the population living below poverty line having risen by 66% since 2011 (Oxfam 2011), although this is masked by Lebanon being defined as a middle-income country (World Bank 2018). Lebanon is also ranked as having the third highest wealth inequality in the world (Blog Baladi 2013). This poverty further compounds these intersecting vulnerabilities. Thirdly, the ongoing Syrian crisis has resulted in an estimated 1.5 million Syrian refugees having entered Lebanon since 2012 (HRW, 2018). This is in addition to a pre-existing Palestinian refugee population (some now third generation) of approximately 450,000 with curtailed civil, economic and political rights and no route to legal citizenship (Author 2017). As such, Lebanon hosts the largest number of refugees in relation to its national population in the world (UNHCR 2016). Finally, demographically, these displaced

populations have large youth populations, with 54.9% of Syrian refugees under the age of 18 (UNHCR 2018). This also reflects demographics of the region and the developing world.

With regards to educational provision in Lebanon, 70% of students are privately educated (CAS 2012). Lebanon's public expenditure is amongst the lowest in the region at 1.6% (BankMed 2014). The United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has responsibility for Syrian refugees, whilst the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) is responsible for Palestinian refugees, including their education. For Syrian refugees, public schools in Lebanon provide a second shift in the afternoon or evening, or students learn through informal education. However, it is estimated that between 250,000 - 300,000 Syrian refugee children are out of education in Lebanon (HRW, 2016a; Watkins, 2013) - approximately half of the school aged Syrian children in Lebanon (HRW 2016a). Older Syrian refugee children between the ages of 15-18 are particularly severely affected with less than 3% in this age group being enrolled in public secondary school during 2015-2016 (ibid 2016a). Whilst inclusion in education has received attention with some legal developments incorporated into law in 2000, there has been little implementation of inclusion in practice, whether in terms of the most basic access to education, to inclusive pedagogic practices and school ethos. Furthermore, exclusion along a range of intersectional axes, with legal status (refugees) and disability being the most significant exclusions, from both public as well as private schools (HRW 2016b; Khochen and Radford 2012). According to Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2016b), there has been little accommodation or provision for Syrian refugee students with disabilities. According to UNESCO (2009), only 1-2% of refugee children with disabilities are in education in the developing world. This is likely to reflect the situation currently in Lebanon.

Methodology

Through the theoretical lens of 'vulnerability' and 'citizenship', this article examines how laws and policies of inclusion in education exclude Syrian and Palestinian refugee children in practice. 'Vulnerability' is typically framed as a condition resulting from economic marginalisation, intersectional in its gendered nature of physical and/or sexual insecurity, with respect to age – whether children or the elderly, and through disability. Yet what is less emphasised in humanitarian organisations' discourses of vulnerability is the vulnerability due to a lack of legal recognition per se (Agamben 1998; Douzinas 2000). Douzinas (2000) argues that it is through being recognised politically as part of a political community that we become human, that we can embody our humanness, and thus claim our human rights. Therefore the refugee's vulnerability comes from the lack of being a recognised member of a political community and its legal protections. Informed theoretically by these constructions of 'vulnerability' and 'citizenship', a critical analysis of public, legal and policy discourses of the multiple axes of exclusionary intersectionalities with respect to legal status, as well as gender, disability and social class will be conducted. This will be followed by the examination of two case studies – the first, *Basma wa Zeitooneh*, a refugee-led initiative with a number of projects including the establishment of a school set up by a Syrian Palestinian woman in the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut, and the second, Unite Lebanon Youth Project (UYLP) is a Lebanese non-governmental organisation with various educational initiatives aimed at promoting the inclusion of Syrian and Palestinian students. Semi-structured

interviews and observation were conducted with the school director in the first case study, and with the NGO director in the second example. In addition, website materials of initiatives were analysed, with coding drawing on an inductive grounded theory framework (Strauss & Corbin 1994), structured through the themes of 'vulnerability' 'embodiment' and 'citizenship'.

Theoretical frameworks: vulnerability, and the non-citizen

This section critically examines the key concepts of 'vulnerability' and the 'non-citizen, drawing on interdisciplinary literatures of human security and international development, affect and the body, 'biopower', 'precarity' and agency. Through the lens of these concepts, the paper illustrates through examining the lived experiences in education and society for refugees, that traditional understandings of vulnerability are challenged through 'acts of citizenship' as resistance, despite global technologies of 'human security' perpetuating exclusion through depoliticised discourses and practices of vulnerability and (non-) citizenship.

Vulnerability

The focus on 'vulnerability' is central to discourses of 'human security', which reflects a shift in security discourses since the 1990s from a state-centred security paradigm to a person-centred security paradigm, notably with a concern for the most 'vulnerable' (Author 2018). Whilst 'human security' can be analysed and contested as a 'concept', it can be recognised more holistically as a 'discourse' (Author 2018). Discourse refers to ways of constituting knowledge through ideas, attitudes, social practices and power relations, and can be seen to produce meaning (Foucault 1972). Discourse, in addition to being an effect of power, is also an instrument of power, enabling resistance (Foucault 1976). Of relevance to this article, Foucault's conception of 'biopower' denote regulatory mechanisms used to manage human life processes, located within broader discourses of power and governmentality. Yet biopower is fundamentally about relations of power, and a reflects a shift towards rationalised discourse of the protection of life: as such 'a power that exerts a positive influence on life' (Foucault, 1976, 137), in contrast to legal conceptions of coercive or 'disciplinary' power (Foucault, 1975); yet there is a recognition that these forms of power co-exist. Understanding power beyond the singularity of state power enables the broadened recognition of the multiplicities of forms of power that can co-exist and are necessarily relational. This problematisation of the nature of power and its necessary sittuatedness within relationships is explored in the case studies that follow.

Whilst still recognising a central role for the state, a person-centred approach to security acknowledges a range of actors, including individuals, families and their communities, invoking notions of agency and empowerment (Author 2018). Discourses of human security entails a focus on stability, and not only achieving a threshold of acceptable levels of well-being (Duffield 2010). In this way, movement and migration are conceptualised as instability, in a paradigm that presumes and universalises a sedentary world; vulnerability and lack of 'human security' are linked directly to the problematisation of such movement. Maalki (1995, 512) argues that this 'naturalises the need to control the movement of people through such 'technologies of power' as sealing the borders, the 'refugee camp', the 'transit camp' and reinforces the nation-state order of sovereignty and citizen's rights'. The human security paradigm has been adopted by the UN and international organisations. However, there has been a range of critiques of human security. Not only is the

concept underspecified and difficult to operationalise, but there is also the methodological problem that it is both a means and a goal, and hence there is a lack of clarity with regards to its 'measurement'. It has also been critiqued as a way for stronger states to intervene in the affairs of weaker states, with in fact the reverse effect of making the lives of people in the developing world less secure and exacerbating inequalities (Duffield 2010; McCormack 2011).

There is a sizeable literature on the mental health of refugees, including the mental health of child refugees. This psychological 'vulnerability' ensuing in mental health problems can be situated in the broader theoretical debates of dichotomies between emotion and cognition, and the 'affective' turn of the last few decades in the social sciences and humanities (Author 2017). Hemmings (2005) argues that this turn to affect enables an emphasis on the body where the body can be understood not as single or bounded, but as open to being affected and affecting others, and therefore relational. In other words, it is the idea that the 'social world is experienced through the body and that emotion mediates this experience'; these embodied experiences can result from a range of 'difficult' experiences including domestic violence, political oppression, conflict, sexual abuse etc (Niner et al., 2014; 363). Similarly, vulnerability has been informed by the focus on the body, where the body is conceived of in relation to others rather than as an atomised, bounded being. Ahmed (2014) has also discussed how there is a dominant Western conception that emotions are 'primitive', with an implied hierarchy between cognition and emotion. In contrast, she argues that emotions are social, political and cultural practices, rather solely an individual's psychological state; as such it necessitates recognition of relations and dynamics of power, and the 'public nature of emotion and the emotive nature of publics' (Ahmed 2014, 14). It also leads to a deconstruction of mental health as 'emotions' and 'behaviour' out of control. Not only are emotions feminised and othered, but also are often presented as something undesirable to be controlled, with the expression or 'leakage' of emotion constructed as unintended consequences of this lack of control coming from 'vulnerability' and lack of 'rationality'.

Hemmings (2005) proposes that the affective turn reflects a response to dissatisfaction with poststructuralists' accounts of power as negatively hegemonic, and in contrast, illustrates a focus on interpersonal dynamics as constitutive of the subject (as opposed to social and institutional structures). This focus on the relationality of power echoes Foucault's conceptualistion of power as relational, and biopower specifically defined in relation to the human body. Yet, paradoxically, the acknowledgement of the relationality of power can support the neoliberal drive towards the self-responsibilisation or self-reliance of individuals and communities in that it can lend to an embracement of a celebratory illusion of 'affective freedom' over 'social determinism' as a means of transformation. Duffield (2010) further argues that by culturing 'self-reliance' in the Global South, this responsibilisation of vulnerable individuals maintains their survival whilst protecting the Global North from perceived security threats from the potential south-north migration.

The non-citizen

Vulnerability and movement are linked through discourses, practices and laws that assume a functionalist model of society as sedentary. Maalki (1995) has argued that the 'refugee camp' reinforces the nation-state order and 'citizens' rights'. Identity and movement are also linked in discourses that have an implicit understanding of identity

as fixed in place and which is lost through movement. These discourses are both legal, embedded in the laws of citizenship, humanitarian practices and in the public imagination through media representations as well as in literature historically and the notion of the psychologically tortured exile severed from the 'homeland'. This contrasts with mobile individuals and populations as a norm throughout history, predating legal contemporary bordering mechanisms. This presumed 'identity loss' from being out of place legally, is assumed to further compound psychological vulnerability in addition to the legal vulnerability that comes from such movement. This psychological vulnerability is gendered and literally 'embodied' in discourses of 'survival sex', prostitution, early marriage and domestic and gender-based violence exacerbated through migration (Author 2018). The vulnerability of children is also a dominant discourse – entailing both physical and psychological vulnerability. Furthermore, there are tensions between migration and asylum regimes which sit in tension with nation states' human rights obligations towards 'non-citizen' refugee children's rights to education (Pinson, Arnot and Candappa 2010). As noted in the introduction, this 'vulnerability' ensuing from the lack of legal recognition per se has been relatively neglected in public and policy discourses, and in particular educational policy.

The non-citizen, and more specifically the 'refugee' been constructed as a domain of knowledge through international law, UN agencies, NGOs, as well as in the academic literature (Maalki 1995). Although recognisably a legal category, Maalki (1995) argues that our common construction of the 'refugee' as a depoliticised, ahistorical body, physically and psychologically vulnerable and in need of humanitarian rescue is a fairly recent modern construction. She further argues that by utilising a functionalist (and idealist) model of society as stable and sedentary, this legitimises the need to police the control of movement of people, reinforcing and further consolidating state power, as explicated in Foucault's accounts of biopower.

There is a sizeable literature on how the nation state controls its citizens conceptualised from the perspective of 'governmentality' studies, influenced by Foucauldian conceptions of power, and the notion of 'biopower' in particular. International refugee organisations and humanitarian aid agencies have been critiqued for separating humanitarianism from politics, and depoliticising the 'refugee', reducing the human being to its 'bare life' (Agamben 1998). This 'bare life' results from, or is exacerbated by the 'state of exception' that refugees and asylum seekers find themselves living in as outside of the law, and arguably outside of society, given they are not recognised as part of the political community (ibid, 1998). For immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers, the notion of 'technologies of anti-citizenship' supports a discourse of these 'others' as irrational, unethical subjects (Lan 2008). Techniques to exclude these others include criminalisation or restriction in movement, which will be elucidated in the following section on the Lebanese context.

The conception of the citizen entails participation and agency in a political community. Can the 'vulnerable' non-citizen be conceived in terms of agency and participation within a political community? According to Butler (2009), performativity is an account of agency. Linking the notion of 'precarity' – the political conditions whereby certain populations are at heightened risk of violence, injury or death – with performativity, she asks: 'How does the unspeakable population speak and make its claims? What kind of disruption is this within the field of power?

And how can such populations lay claim to what they require?' (Butler 2009; xiii). Isin's (2008) conception of 'acts' of citizenship responds to this conundrum through the argument that certain 'non-routine' acts in the political space constitute a political subjectivity for the non-citizen. Isin challenges traditional constructions of citizenship in terms of legal status or in terms of routine civic participation (e.g. voting or volunteering), arguing that this does not reflect the reality of the world we live in with so many people excluded from legal citizenship (Author 2017). To the contrary, those who are deemed to be socially and legally excluded, such as refugees and illegal immigrants can and do 'act politically', illustrating Foucault's account of power as relational. Paradoxically there is a potential to constitute themselves as 'citizens', in a construction of citizenship as agentic and communal as opposed to traditional constructions of citizenship as legal status (Author 2016). This demand for recognition through agency is typically emotive, rendering the silent and invisible by contrast, audible and visible. Theorisations of citizenship have tended to neglect a consideration of the 'emotional' nature of citizenship (Author, 2018), and in turn, how this emotive visibility can potentially lead to legal visibility.

Public, legal and policy contexts of inclusion/exclusion

Societal context

Lebanon is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, so Syrians entering Lebanon would apply for a 6-month residency which would subsequently be renewed for a fee of $200 for an additional 6 months.[i] Since January 2015, the introduction of new residency regulations have made it very difficult for many Syrian refugees to renew their residence (HRW 2016b)– in effect rendering them 'illegal' and unable to work, thus heightening their vulnerability. In addition, since May 2015 the Lebanese government instructed UNHCR to cease registration of Syrian refugees, so it is estimated that more than two thirds of Syrian refugees lack legal residency. The fear of arrest and lack of legal work has heightened both economic and psychological insecurity and has resulted in increased levels of child labour with children as young as 6 years of age (HRW 2016b). So whilst the Lebanese authorities have allowed Syrian refugee students to enroll in school without proof of legal residency, the lack of legal residency for their parents is often a barrier to Syrian children enrolling from school and also high drop-out rates (HRW 2016a).

These policies illustrate the themes of criminalisation and restriction of movement for refugees. This is further evident for those children born to Syrian refugees in Lebanon, the process by which births can be registered is extremely difficult, resulting in most of these children living in a legal limbo. It is estimated that as many as 30,000 Syrian children have been born in Lebanon who are not registered; this constitutes 70% of the total number of Syrian children born in Lebanon who are therefore stateless and without documentation (AP 2014). This is a consequence of the practical difficulties in registering newborns, which includes having little money to travel to the different locations for required for registration and registration fees, little time off work, parents not having legal documentation themselves (citizenship or marriage certificates), as well as the multiple steps within the process required from the state authorities. In addition, if a child is born without the presence of an 'authorised' midwife or doctor, it is not possible to authentically verify the birth. Furthermore, if the parents married within Lebanon without the marriage being registered, this also makes impossible the registering of the birth (ibid 2014). These

bureaucratic barriers render these children invisible, unrecognised - with the legal-medical documentation literally representing the 'tenuous thread on which hangs the entire existence.. of the asylum seeker' (Fassin and D'Hullein 2005, 606). So too does the lack of documentation make impossible basic things in life – such as getting a job and getting married. The biopower of the state is implicated in regulating and legitimating marriage and birth – embodiments of the human condition, and hence refugees' lived experiences in most domains of their lives are mediated through this form of, (or lack thereof), legal recognition. The Foucauldian biopower of the state is clearly implicated in its exercising of technologies of anti-citizenship, rendering possible a rationalizing discourse placing the refugee as outside of society.

As Lebanon has been reluctant to set up formal refugee camps for Syrian refugee camps, given its negative experiences in its recent history with the Palestinian refugee camps, a number of informal settlements have emerged. However, these informal settlements have been identified as risk factors for violence. This is in part, because of the physical limitations of space in such camp settings, where there is overcrowding and lack of privacy, and no separate toilets or showers for women (El Helou 2014). In addition, camps physically isolate refugees from the rest of the host society, heightening refugees' vulnerability through internal structures of power relations within such settlements (ibid 2014). El Helou (2014) describes the phenomenon of the 'Shawish' or camp landlord, who exerts significant power over the camp inhabitants. The Shawish is designated this role by the landowner, and controls who settles in and who is evicted from the camp, humanitarian access and distribution within the camp, who goes to school, and even who gets married.

Looking at the conceptual framing of the 'refugee' and their role and needs in society in UNHCR documentation, the Community Development Briefing Note (UNHCR 2013) describes basic demographics relating to the Lebanon host population and the number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon (Author 2016). It notes that over three quarters of this population are women, children and the elderly, which it characterises as 'at elevated risk of exploitation and abuse' (UNCHR 2013, 1). It focuses on the high levels of needs for humanitarian assistance, noting psychological dimensions of trauma on the one hand, and financial hardship in providing for basic needs on the other (Author 2016). It positions the strategic objectives of UNHCR's community development in 2013-2014 as aiming to 'empower and promote self-management in communities' (UNHCR 2013, 2) with a target of increasing the number of NGO and government-run community centers during this period. This reinforces the UNHCR document, *A Community-based Approach in UNHCR Operations* which advocates a rights-based approach of partnering with communities, and where it sees its role 'to empower all the actors to work together to support the different members of the community in exercising and enjoying their human rights' (UNHCR 2008; 15).

Educational context

Education is a critical site – not only in functionalist terms of preparing youth for employment and contribution to their societies, but for their own personal, social and cognitive development. It is also clear that education is site for socio-political transformation, not only in the context of the uprisings across the Arab World, but also especially significant given its large youth populations, with over 40% of the population being under the age of eighteen (Faour and Muasher, 2012). Furthermore, the growing presence of refugee populations in the Arab world – also predominantly

young populations - has important implications, not only in terms of the practicalities of the provision of education, but also with regards understanding citizenship through the curriculum, both formally and informally.

The Syrian refugee population poses a significant theoretical and practical challenge for inclusion in education as well as in society of the large refugee community. Many Syrian refugee children in Lebanon have already lost at least two years of schooling, and the educational system is under-resourced and under strain, with the setting up of a double shift system in schools to accommodate Syrian refugee students (HRW 2016b). Education has been neglected by the international community in its humanitarian response. Watkins (2013) reports a funding gap of 40%, with the international community giving the equivalent of only $60/child. Despite the 5-year plan to enroll 44,000 Syrian children in formal education by 2020-2021 (HRW 2016b), it is estimated that 300,000 refugee students are out of school (Watkins, 2013), exacerbated by the punitive legal residency policies introduced in 2015.

Many Syrian refugee children have been identified as traumatised by the violence they have witnessed (Watkins 2013). The rationale of the psychological benefits of being in education is a dominant discourse used by NGOS, constructing a de-politicised conception of the school as a 'safe space' where vulnerable children and young people can return to the daily lived experience of a 'normal' life'. In reality, Syrian refugee children face a range of instrumental, psychological and political barriers in education. One key barrier is the difference in the language of instruction and curriculum. The Syrian curriculum is typically delivered in Arabic, unlike in Lebanon where the educational provision is in French and English. As a consequence, this is leading to high drop-out rates. For those students following the Syrian curriculum offered informally through NGOs in Lebanon, they face the problem of the lack of certification for following a Syrian curriculum. Other practical barriers include expenses: transportation costs, the pressure for children to support the family household income through labour, and child marriage for girls (HRW 2016b). Other difficulties include an under-resourced and insecure educational environment, including a lack of qualified teachers, bullying and discrimination from peers, teachers, parents and the wider community, and corporal punishment by teachers (Watkins 2013; HRW 2016b).

In addition to the Syrian refugee population, educational provision for the long-term Palestinian refugee population – who have lived for several generations in Lebanon as stateless refugees with curtailed civic, political, economic and social rights – is largely through the UNRWA schools using the Lebanese curriculum - whereas humanitarian provision for Syrian refugees is through the UNHCR. This is supplemented by NGOs and well-established Palestinian foundations (Author et al. 2014). Palestinians are invisible in the Lebanese curriculum, in a context where they cannot achieve integration or equal rights as attaining Lebanese citizenship is for the most part unattainable (Fincham 2013).

The Syrian and Palestinian refugee populations highlight the evident intersectionality of inclusion – by legal status, religion/ethnic group, disability, gender, age and social class. In Lebanon, education is considered to be critically important in addressing sectarian division and promoting social cohesion and a common sense of identity (Shuayb 2012). There is a significant gap in the academic literature on inclusion with

respect to disability in educational provision in Lebanon, and the further intersectionality of citizenship status and disability has received even less attention in Lebanon. The concept of inclusive education internationally has gained significant prominence especially since the UN's 1990 conference 'Education For All', as well as the Salamanca Statement in 1994 on the inclusion of students with special needs, and the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Lebanon launched the National Inclusion Plan in 2000 for the inclusion of students with disabilities, and the introduction in law for such inclusion (Law 220/2000). It states in article 59, that 'every disabled person has the right to get an education, as the law guarantees equal educational opportunities for all disabled persons, children and adults, in all kinds of educational institutions,.'. Yet despite this legal provision, there is no legal requirement for schools to accept students with special educational needs (Khochen and Radford 2012) or indeed other diverse needs - such as the needs of refugees. According to UNESCO (2013), many public schools refuse to accept students with disabilities. Inclusion has developed from a conception of those who are marginalised as the recipients of a charity or welfare-based model, rather than in terms of entitlement to educational provision as a basic human right. In addition, the Lebanese definition of disability is based on a medical model, influenced by the World Health Organization (WHO) definition (UNESCO 2013). This medical model of disability is evident in Lebanese law 220/2000, where a disabled person is defined as a:

"person whose capacity to perform one or more vital functions, independent secure his personal existential needs… is reduced or non-existent because of a partial or complete, permanent or temporary, bodily, sensory or intellectual functional loss or incapacity, that is the outcome of a congenital or acquired illness or from a pathological condition…" (Article 2).

This contrasts with the Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disability (CRPD) that also acknowledge social attitudes and societal barriers in the construction of our understandings of 'disability'. As such, the attitudes to inclusion within society and of educational providers are filtered through a medical model of disability.

For Syrian refugees with disabilities, due to resource limitations and humanitarian provision framed in terms of its 'emergency' nature, only 'urgent and life-saving procedures' are covered (Women's Refugee Commission 2013). In addition, disabilities are conceptualised through a medical model. Having conducted an assessment of disability inclusion in the Syrian refugee response in Lebanon, the Women's Refugee Commission (2013) report that approximately 80% of refugee children between 6 and 17 are out of school. Lebanese children with disabilities legally have access to public schools, although there is a significant gap between policy and practice (ibid 2013). UNICEF and UNHCR, through partnerships with some local organisations deliver private special education, with some organisations including Syrian children with disabilities. Recommendations for disability inclusion specifically in education include that UNHCR and local disability organisations work with the Lebanese Ministry of Education to provide direct technical support to school senior management, provision of additional support for curriculum development, teaching training on inclusive education, and awareness-raising with parents on rights to education (Women's Refugee Commission 2013).

Educational Initiatives

This section critically examines two initiatives through the lens of 'vulnerability' and 'non-citizenship'. – The first is a refugee-led community development and educational initiative, *Basma wa Zeitooneh*, in the Shatila refugee camp, in Beirut, whilst the second entails educational initiatives of a Lebanese non-governmental organisation Unite Lebanon Youth Project (ULYP), aimed at integrating Syrian refugee children in education and society.

Basma wa Zeitooneh

Basma wa Zeitooneh is an educational initiative of a Syrian Palestinian women called Siham Abu Sitta, who lived and worked in the Shatila refugee camp, in Beirut, Lebanon. As a social worker from the Yarmouk camp in Damascus, she gained international public profile with her appearance in the powerful documentary film on Syrian refugee women in Lebanon, released in October, 2013, produced by Carole Mansour, 'Not Who We are'[ii]. Her story is one of psychological and physical trauma and hardship, where she came to Lebanon with her 6-year old twin daughters in early 2013 after her husband was shot in front of them as they were delivering aid in the Yarmouk camp. Her work in Shatila entailed establishing a school under the 'Basma wa Zeitooneh' organisation (Author 2016). Baswa wa Zeitooneh started as an informal group of Syrian and Syrian Palestinian volunteers working to help Syrian refugees in Lebanon, launched in September 2012 (Basma wa Zeitooneh 2014). In early 2014, it became registered as a Lebanese NGO (Author et al. 2014). It started in two locations – Shatila (which opened in May 2013) and Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camps and now covers four areas (Arsal, Tripoli, Bekaa valley and Beirut) in Lebanon and two areas in Turkey. Its work covers non-formal education, peace education, vocational training, relief, shelter renovation, provider of legal and practical information for refugees, protection, and women's economic empowerment through embroidery workshops. Basma wa Zeitooneh's vision is to challenge characterisations of refugees primarily as vulnerable, and as recipients of aid, and in contrast emphasising discourses of the dignity and agency of the refugee, and their active contribution to their local communities and beyond (ibid 2014). This vision resonates with Isin's (2008) conceptualisation of 'acts' of citizenship, whereby those who are legally excluded 'act', and through such acts, render themselves visible and heard, and thus constitute themselves as political actors. As such, they are claiming rights, acting at different sites and scales, which challenges traditional conceptions of citizenship understood in terms of legal status. Isin (2008) argues that such acts emphasises relationality rather membership in understanding citizenship.

In January 2014, Basma wa Zeitooneh opened a school, directed by Siham Abu Sitta, with a capacity for 300 Syrian children aged 6-14 years of age. Its aim is to meet the needs of children whose learning has been disrupted and it offers the Lebanese educational curriculum through an accelerated learning program, to address differences between the Syrian curriculum offered mainly in Arabic, and the Lebanese curriculum offered in either French or English. The aim is to prepare students to integrate into Lebanese public schools (Basma wa Zeitooneh 2018). This educational programme is run in conjunction with a Peace Education programme that focuses on the psychosocial well-being of children. The curriculum was designed by Basma wa Zeitooneh, and the sessions are described as helping "the children to express themselves creatively, release stress, and enhance their cooperation with their peers, aiming to increase their resilience." (Basma wa Zeitooneh 2018). Themes also

focus on "self-expression and self-confidence, personal identity, personal boundaries, social identities, communication and dialogue, conflict, the rights of the child, and gender equality." (ibid 2018).

Like Isin's 'acts' of citizenship illustrating discourses of agency, self-reliance and resilience in contrast to vulnerability, it can also be argued that such examples illustrate a challenge to poststructuralists' accounts of power as negatively hegemonic, and in contrast, illustrates a focus on interpersonal dynamics as constitutive of the subject (Hemmings 2005). However, Duffield (2010) would caution against such celebratory interpretations and instead argues that such examples illustrate neoliberal global technologies of anti-citizenship through the responsibilisation of the 'vulnerable' to be self-reliant.

Unite Lebanon Youth Project (ULYP)
The Unite Lebanon Youth Project (U.L.Y.P.) is a non-governmental organisation that was established in 2010, and run by Ms. Melek El Nimr with the remit to promote social cohesion between 'the Lebanese host community and its refugee populations' (UYLP 2018). It focuses on education in the broadest sense in addressing sectarianism, with a particular focus on promoting inclusion and life chances for women, children and youth. ULYP has a number of core programs that include sports, literacy, arts, academics and social media, which are run at a campus south of Beirut, in Dibbiyeh (Author et al. 2014). The curriculum of these programmes entail 'peace building' and 'conflict resolution'. Programs include 'RARE', which was launched in December 2013, for underprivileged Syrian, Palestinian and Lebanese students studying at vocational schools. These students have typically dropped out of mainstream academic education and this program provides skills training for accessing employment, as well as general empowerment through learning about human rights (Author et al. 2014). Another programme, entitled 'Rainbow' is specifically for Syrian children aged 6-16, focusing on English language skills and cultural trips. According to its mission statement, it refers to aiming "to empower the marginalized children, youth and women..with the skills and knowledge they need to change to become active agents.." (ULYP 2018).

UYLP differs from Basma wa Zeitooneh in that its remit has expanded since its establishment in 2010 to include Syrian refugee children in its programmes, as well as having specifically targeted programmes for Syrian refugees. In contrast, Basma wa Zeitooneh is a grass-roots refugee-led initiative, where the primary focus is meeting the needs of Syrian refugees, which are self-determined by the community. Nevertheless, both orgnisations illustrate notions of legitimate 'agency' for refugees, where the focus is on educational and economic agency, rather than political agency. This reflects discourses of vulnerability in humanitarian and international organisations, where vulnerability is primarily constructed in economic, psychological and physical terms, rather than the vulnerability due to the lack of legal recognition per se. Douzinas (2000) emphasises the embodied nature of this lack of recognition, where he argues that it is only through being recognised politically as part of a community that we actually become human, that we can embody our humanness and thus claim our human rights. This lack of recognition is in effect de-humanising: 'the loss of home and political status become identical with expulsion of humanity altogether' (Arendt 1967, 279, cited in Douzinas 2000, 144).

Final reflections

This article examines the inclusion of refugees in education in Lebanon, in a context where it is estimated that over 1.5 million Syrian refugees have entered Lebanon since 2012 (HRW 2016a; UNHCR 2016), in a population of approximately 6 million (Worldometer, 2018), including 500,000 long-term Palestinian refugees (UNRWA, 2018). In a region with over 40% of the population under the age of 18, a large and youthful Syrian refugee population and an educational system under-resourced and underfunded by the international community, an estimated 300,000 refugee children are out of school in Lebanon. This is compounded by restrictive legislation and policies for residency, resulting in pushing Syrian families into an illegal and more vulnerable status. This has economic implications, linked to higher rates of child labour to support families, and lower rates of school attendance and higher drop-out rates. There are very low rates of inclusion in education for Syrian refugees with disabilities illustrating the compounding of intersectional vulnerabilities.

Through the theoretical lens of vulnerability and (non)-citizenship, Basma wa Zeitooneh, and Unite Lebanon Youth Project (ULYP) illustrate how the laws and practices of states and international organisations attempt to control refugees, drawing upon the notions of 'biopower' and 'technologies of anti-citizenship' (Foucault 1972; Lan 2008). Whilst global technologies of 'human security' promote (neoliberal) individual self-reliance, such practices nevertheless perpetuate exclusion through the depoliticisation of the refugee. This is illustrated in the analysed initiatives examined in this article that focus on educational access and economic empowerment, in contrast to political empowerment. Yet with Basma wa Zeitooneh, being refugee-led entails a relatively greater agency for the community it serves. Furthermore, programmes such as 'peace education' provide a space for dialogue and action on such themes as identity and political /civic participation. In addition, Basma wa Zeitooneh explicitly challenges understandings of vulnerability, and problematises these dominant discourses. What is less problematised and largely accepted however, is the lack of legal recognition per se in the Lebanese context. The development of educational curricula in such non-formal educational settings outside of the Lebanese curriculum provides potential for development in this domain, both in terms of awareness-raising, and also in terms of developing political and moral agency.

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[i] Historically, there has been relatively free movement across the Lebanon-Syrian border, however this movement has increasingly been tightened because of the increased very high numbers of Syrians seeking refuge in Lebanon.

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