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Language as a tool for marginalization of disadvantaged students in

Lebanon

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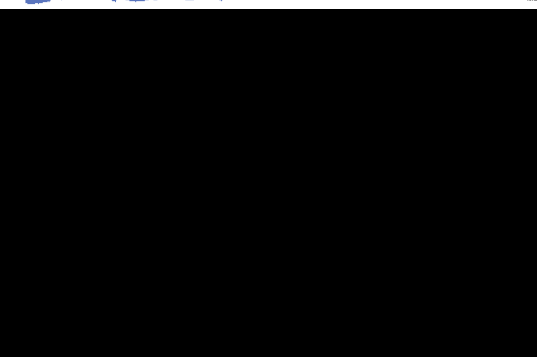MA in the major of Education

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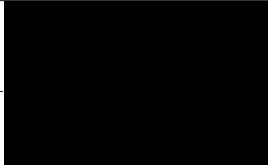
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Language as a tool for marginalization of disadvantaged students in Lebanon

Samira N. Chatila

ABSTRACT

With the influx of Syrian refugees to Lebanon, the attention of research has focused on the marginalization and vulnerability of these children including their access to school. A lot of the discussion in this field has focused on the inability of Syrian refugee children to enroll in mainstream public Lebanese schools due to the language challenge, in particular learning mathematics and sciences in English and French. This has resulted in segregating Syrian children in afternoon school shifts. However, this discourse overlooks the effect of the colonial practices on the Lebanese educational system and how it has marginalized a large sector of the vulnerable Lebanese children attending public schools since Lebanon's independence in 1943. The study investigates the interplay between the colonial history of Lebanon, today's educational policies and practices, and school outcomes of children from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds. It shifts the debate from the discourse of refugees being the problem to the inherited structural inequalities of the Lebanese educational system. The study follows a mixed method design with qualitative and quantitative components. It comprises a survey with students in addition to interviews with Lebanese and Syrian children, school principals, teachers, and parents. Classroom observations were also conducted. Mentors and trainers from the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education were also interviewed. Research findings revealed that foreign language was experienced as a barrier to learning and a source of marginalization by both Syrian and Lebanese students. The thesis raises questions concerning the language policy in Lebanon. It also questions the call to segregate and "dumb" down the curriculum for Syrian refugees in afternoon shift. Finally, it highlights the quality of teaching foreign languages in public

schools and its effect on the attainment of children from disadvantaged socio-economic background.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUB: American University of Beirut

AUST: American University of Science and Technology

BAU: Beirut Arab University

CERD or CRDP: Center for Educational Research and Development (*Centre de Recherche et de Développement Pédagogique*)

CLS: Centre for Lebanese Studies

CRI: Consultation and Research Institute

DOPS: Department of Orientation and Guidance (*Direction d'Orientation Pédagogique et Scolaire*)

EI: Education International

FES: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

GS: General Sciences

H: Humanities

HU: Haigazian University

IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies

ILO: International Labour Organization

IRB: Institutional Review Board

LAU: Lebanese American University

LIU: Lebanese International University

LS: Life Sciences

MEHE: Ministry of Education and Higher Education

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

OECD: Office of Economic Cooperation and Development

RHU: Rafik Hariri University

ROAS: Regional Office for the Arab States

SE: Sociology and Economics

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UL: Lebanese University (*Université Libanaise*)

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

UNRWA: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

USJ: Université Saint-Joseph

Chapter One

Introduction

"بحكيك من الشرق،

Bitrid min al-Gharb."

– A Lebanese proverb, which translates to "*I speak to you from the East, and you answer me from the West*."

Statement of the Problem

As a child, I was always fascinated by the conversations that took place on my family's Eid meetings. I remember that as of first grade in school, my cousins and I used to gush at the strange terms our parents used while talking to each other and also to us, as we never encountered those words at school. I remember we used to meet at my grandparents' house on the first day of Eid al Fitr after the holy month of Ramaḍān, knowing that neither my grandfather nor my grandmother used to fast. We used to break our fast with a sweet and savory Knāfa breakfast, the housekeepers would brew the Turkish coffee on the stove as they would fire up some charcoal for the shishas, and our parents would prepare the tops of their 'ajamī shisha to begin their Eid conversations. My grandfather used to always ask my father and uncles the following question: "*shū ḥa t'amlū bil a'ranib lammā yṣīro m'akun?* (*What will you do with the rabbits once they are with you?*)." *What else can someone do with a rabbit other than feed and play with it?* I thought to myself. To that, my grandmother would say: "*baddak ta'rrish kil shī qabil mā tis'al hayk su'al. Yimkin raqmak ykūn mish daqīq. Wlik al yawm al offī ma bt'arif qaddaysh mumkin tjiblak* (*You need to know the exchange value of everything else before you ask such a question. Your number might not be accurate. In these days, you cannot even predict the value of a stack of rugs*)," as she examined the knots at the backsides of some Persian carpets and looked for patterns of fauna, flora, and Persian print at the rims of their front sides. My uncle would jokingly comment at the conversation: "*kattir khayr Allah mā 'am nkayyil bi al-shamlat* (*Thank God we are not allocating the price using belts of cloth*)."

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Little did I know that the word "*a'rnab*" (*rabbit*) was another way of saying *one million dollars*; "*shamlat*" (*belt of cloth*) was a word that had a dual meaning: it was a piece of cloth that men in Ras Beirut used to wrap around their waists to tuck their bellies in; and that the cloth was also used as a metric unit to measure the size of lands; and "*ta'rrish*" (*exchange value*) was a verb that meant converting the item of value (i.e., real estate, jewelry, antique, etc.) with its monetary exchange value. Had I not asked my parents about the meanings of those words, I would have never known that the *rabbits* my family talked about for many Eids were not essentially little bouncy fuzzy animals.

Trying to remember the word problems I used to encounter in my mathematics classes, which were in English, made me realize that rabbits and belts were never used in word problems beyond objects of a counting problem. Baseball cards, marbles, and lots of pizza slices dominated the word-problem discourse instead. I could not help but wonder, what did I lose by learning mathematics and Sciences in foreign language (i.e., English or French)? Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1994), an African writer, academic, and social critic, has written on language the following: "The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe" (p.4). This statement is central to the linguistic manifestations and effects of foreign language in the identity of the Lebanese people in postcolonial Lebanon.

In Lebanon, the majority of disadvantaged families who have a low socioeconomic status choose to enroll their children at public schools because of the cheap tuition fees. Another group of students who form a substantial part of the Lebanese public school student body are Syrian students. A contemporary concern that floods the literature on Syrian refugee students in Lebanon postulates that often, Syrian refugees attending public schools in Lebanon perceive foreign language as a barrier to their educational attainment (Burde, Guven, Kelcey, Lahmann, & Al-Abbadi, 2015; EI & FES, 2016; Inter-Agency Coordination Lebanon, 2016; Mendenhall, Garnett-Russell, & Buckner, 2017; Shuayb, Makkouk, & Tuttunji, 2014; UN, 2014a; UNICEF, 2015a, 2015b; UNICEF, MEHE, & CRI, 2013). While this may be true, there is a dearth of literature on the effect of having foreign language as the language of instruction in

Lebanese formal schools, particularly in the sciences and mathematics classes, on Lebanese students attending those schools.

Coloniality of power, a concept developed by sociologist Anibal Quijano (2000), is a concept that looks at the remaining legacies of European colonialism and their integration to the currently-existing forms of knowledge, social orders, and practices in contemporary societies. He maintains that racial classification is what links former colonialism to modern globalization. As such, globalization, which is today's model of power, maintains an element of colonialism (Quijano, 2000). Knowing that French is the language of the former colonizer in Lebanon, and English is the language of globalization (Cenoz & Gorter, 2019), and knowing that Lebanese and Syrian students who attend public schools are considered by UN's (n.d.) definition of vulnerable groups as disadvantaged since the former are from a low socioeconomic background while the latter are similarly poor but also displaced, one cannot help but wonder: how differently do those disadvantaged Syrian refugees and vulnerable Lebanese students enrolled in Lebanese public schools perceive foreign language? In other words, how does a foreign language of instruction affect students from disadvantaged backgrounds attending public schools? How do parents, teachers, principals, and CERD and DOPS trainers perceive the effects of foreign language on the educational attainment of Syrian and Lebanese students today?

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The study investigates the interplay between the colonial history of Lebanon, today's educational policies and practices, and school outcomes of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. The purpose of this study is to find out whether foreign language in Lebanon is a barrier to educational attainment of children from disadvantaged backgrounds from the perspectives of the students, teachers, school principals, parents, DOPS counsellors, and CERD trainers. It will shift the debate from a refugee-specific problem to a structural problem that precedes the Syrian crisis in the Lebanese educational system. This structural problem is that of the unequal distribution of education in Lebanon, which manifests itself in the difference of quality of foreign language in private and public Lebanese schools. The quality of education is influenced by a number of factors that render it the way it is, either of high or poor quality. Quality

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education is the kind of education that develops students' skills and equips them with the attributes that make them reach their full potentials as individuals (Education International, n.d.). Among the factors that contribute to the quality of education at a school are the teacher qualifications, professional development, curriculum in use, teaching methods and strategies, educational resources, the school's climate, the school's size and the corresponding student intake, and the decentralization of the education system. In this study, I examined the quality of education based on the aforementioned factors in addition to performance on national exams. This study attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Lebanese and Syrian children in public schools experience learning in a foreign language?

2. Is foreign language of instruction a learning barrier experienced only by Syrian refugee students in Lebanese public schools?

3. How do parents, school principals, teachers, and MEHE trainers and mentors perceive and experience foreign language instruction in Lebanese public schools?

Importance of the study

This study explored whether and how Syrian and Lebanese students perceive Lebanon's language of instruction as a barrier to their learning outcomes. In doing so, the study shed light on the post-colonial legacies that continue to affect the provision of education in Lebanon at the levels of policy and practice to date. The study posits an economic argument by showing that the main beneficiaries of the public-school system, who are often disadvantaged students (Lebanese or Syrian), are receiving low quality education and thus perceive foreign language as a barrier to their educational attainment.

Having presented briefly the objectives, the problem statement, purpose, and significance of this study I examine in the following chapter the literature pertaining to the study's theoretical framework, the history of language provisions in Lebanon, and the effects of learning in a non-native language on student academic performance.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Lebanon is often described as a multilingual country. There is no general consensus as to what multilingualism means, as it is defined in a number of ways. Some define it as the use of three and more languages, others define it as the presence of three or more languages in a country, and a third group defines it as mastering the ability to speak three or more languages (Aronin, 2019). Interestingly enough, almost 40% of the world population does not have access to education in their main language (Walter & Benson, 2012). Those who do not have access to education in their native language are from the Global South, and Lebanon is one of the countries from this part of the world. Heugh (2013) stated that underachievement of students can be largely attributed to the fact that teaching is not conducted using the language that is best understood by the learner. As such, and from a pedagogical perspective, teaching in the student's native language is better than teaching in a non-native language (BouJaoude & Sayah, 2000), otherwise the learner will face varying learning challenges and difficulties (Bunyi, 1999; Curtis & Millar, 1998; Lee, 2005; Rollnick, 2000). Literature also emphasizes the learning challenges that emerge by virtue of the alienation between the student's everyday language and the language that s/he encounters in the science field (Gee, 2005; Wells, 1999). This sociocultural discourse angle also promotes the idea that students who come from a home background that is similar to that of the scientific discourse face less learning challenges and are therefore more successful in school (Gee, 1990, 2005; Henderson & Wellington, 1998; Jarret, 1999). This is especially true because language is a crucial predictor of students' success in science (Henderson & Wellington, 1998).

Cenoz and Gorter (2019) differentiate between majority and minority languages. The majority language is the dominant language and the minority language is the heritage language or the language used by nationals or immigrants, refugees, and indigenous people. The linguistic interdependence hypothesis postulates that while majority language children successfully acquire second languages with no harm to their native language, minority language children sometimes lose their first language because

of the poor exposure to their first language and in turn fail to successfully acquire a second language (Amin, 2009; Cummins, 1979). Learning challenges often arise because in a multilingual context, students are more concerned with cramming instead of learning (Suaalii & Bhattacharya, 2007).

Fishman (1991) finds that the intergenerational mother tongue transmission is the most important strategy to maintain a language, and this is how some minority languages continue to exist to date. He designed a diagnostic outline of eight distinct stages that examine the extent of language disruption or loss, whereby Stage 1 indicates least disruption and Stage 8 indicates a high likelihood of language extinction. Based on this gradient, Lebanon's Arabic language is on its way to disruption, as public schools offer some instruction in Arabic, while conduct the substantial other courses in English or French. The Arabic language is decreasingly used in education, in some work areas in the private sector, and in mass media. However, Arabic continues to be the dominant language in the private sphere and governmental institutions excluding the education sector.

Aronin (2019) emphasizes the need to examine the societal dimensions surrounding multilingualism to better understand individual multilingualism. As such, it is quintessential to note that colonization and globalization have led to the emergence of multilingual societies (Cenoz & Gorter, 2019). To better understand where Lebanon gets the multilingual identity from, it is vital to revisit a historical timeline of language-related policies from the turn of the twentieth century in Lebanon to this date.

Historical background of education in Lebanon

Schools at the turn of the twentieth century in Lebanon had a religious defining identity; Muslim schools had mosques and Christian ones had churches on their school premises (Bashshur, 1978). Higher education, however, was less accessible as it was reserved to those who were willing to follow a track of priesthood, particularly to enroll in the Maronite school that was established in Rome in the mid 1600s. The students of this school spent a period of ten years in Rome and received education pertaining to Semitic languages, Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, in addition to training in logic and theology. Upon their return to their countries, they established schools that were more

prestigious and delivered higher quality education than other schools in the region (Hatti, 1972).

In the twentieth century, education in Lebanon witnessed a number of educational enhancements including an increase in the number of schools in addition to the event of bringing the American printing press from Malta to Beirut (AUB, n.d.a; Bashshur, 1978). The region's openness to Western influence paved the way for large numbers of missionaries in Lebanon, most important of which were the Catholic (French and Italian Jesuit missionaries) and the Evangelical (mostly American with a few British) ones (Bashshur, 1966). There was a sectarian difference between Francophone and Anglophone missionaries, however, that led the French and English missionaries to target Maronites and Druze in the Lebanese mountains, respectively (Makdisi, 2000). While some perceived this openness as a step forward towards enlightenment, the relocation of the American press from Malta to Lebanon is more of a classical Trojan move, for the newly-established schools and the printing press were run and controlled by the missionaries, rendering them in total control of publishing and disseminating mass media on a wider scale among nationals. This imperialistic role was also evident in a statement on textbooks that was issued in 1936; the statement stipulated that French books published in France were allowed to be used freely whereas French or Arabic books published in Lebanon were prohibited unless the council on school textbooks issued a statement permitting otherwise (Bashshur, 1966).

During the Ottoman era, sectarianism emerged as an idea and practice (Makdisi, 2000), and the educational system was rather decentralized (Bashshur, 1978). To account for religious minorities (i.e., Non-Muslims), the Ottoman Empire formally adopted the "*Millet*" system, which recognized their independence in personal matters, particularly issues of marriage, divorce, inheritance, adoption, and education (Hatti, 1972). The Ottoman allowed each local and foreign sect to design a policy model of its own. In turn, each sect designed a policy model that was either inspired from a foreign country or the community that it was associated with. As such, belonging to one sect or the other was not strictly a matter of religious faith; rather, it had implications at the political and national levels. While the *Millet* system granted minorities a sense of freedom in their own affairs, it reinforced their dissociation from other religious

minorities and from the religious majority. The Ottoman Empire was preoccupied with having an army and it was only until later that the Ottoman Empire had realized the significance of education with regards to civil progression (Bashshur, 1966). Upon this realization, the Ottoman Empire created a centralized education system and established a number of public schools (Bashshur, 1978).

The *Millet* system subscribed European countries, especially France (the 1535 and 1673 Conventions), to privileges that were not offered to local communities. Among the institutionalized privileges of the French were the Franco-Ottoman agreement in 1901 that permitted French schools to expand their premises and administration without referring back to the Empire, as was required by other private schools (Bashshur, 1978). In 1913, a new premise was added with regards to the privileges that the French-affiliated schools were entitled to; and this premise stipulated that French schools should not be established in areas in which most or all inhabitants were Muslim (Ghosseini, 1964). As such, the Empire established a few public schools in these Muslim-dominant areas. The language of instruction in the newly-established Ottoman public schools was Turkish, and it should be noted that this language was not taught in private schools (Bashshur, 1966). Arabic and foreign languages were only used in private schools, and Arabic was used to attract locals and to influence them more easily. As such, mass education starts in late Ottoman period and then grows during the French Colonial Era. The religious identity affiliated with missionary schools attracted a non-Muslim student body rather than a Muslim one, which made the Arabic language more widespread among non-Muslims rather than Muslims (Bashshur, 1978), though it is often believed that Muslims were more adept in Arabic than non-Muslims because of the language of the Holy Book (Akl, 2007). This finding was reflected in the high number of non-Muslim writers, preachers, and authors who appeared in the Arab states in the Ottoman Era despite the fact that Muslims outnumbered non-Muslims back then (Al-Hossari, 1949).

During the decline of the Ottoman Empire (1881-1922), the Ottoman authorities ruthlessly slaughtered millions of Armenians, and the survivors of this genocide have spread throughout the globe with the diasporic epicenter in the Middle East. The Armenian identity, inspired by the Ottoman *Millet* system, was preserved through the

governance of their various Armenian identity gatekeepers, one of which is language. Traditional institutions, such as schools, churches, and other groups were the transmitters of the diasporic identity (Tölölyan, 1996). In those schools in particular, Armenian is the first language, English or French are the second language, and Arabic is the third language (Kasbarian, 2013).

The educational policy during the French Colonial Era (1920 – 1943) did not differ much from that of the Ottoman period, as the institutionalized Franco-Ottoman agreement tells us the extent to which the French government already had an effective impact in Lebanon under the Ottoman rule. With the arrival of the French army in 1918 to Lebanon, the former French colonizers made three prominent decisions with regards to education: The colonizers emphasized the French language and culture, standardized the curricula and official examination, and established a central administrative system while maintaining partnerships with the private sector (Bashshur, 1978). Sectarianism, which according to Makdisi (2000) is "an expression of modernity" (p. xi), was invigorated during the French Colonial Era, and the French language of instruction in education "quickly came to represent 'enlightenment' and 'modernity'" (Sbaiti, 2011, p.60), as it allowed colonial peoples to become French only upon understanding the language, which was tied to a high social class (Sbaiti, 2011). From this, it is important to understand that foreign language has been a site of contestation for colonial and sociopolitical struggles (Zakharia, 2008).

The most important documents or institutionalized decisions during this period were the Mandate Act "*Saq al Intidab*" in 1922 and the Lebanese Constitution "*al Dostour al Loubnani*" in 1926. The Mandate Act recognized the right of missionaries and local communities to establish their own schools but issued two texts that address the language of instruction that limit this freedom: those two texts maintained that: the delegated authority (i.e., the French government) encouraged public education and that education should be taught in the local language of Syria and Lebanon provided that the educational goals were in alignment with what the government finds appropriate; and that schools established by missionaries have a freedom in policy-making as long as this freedom is practiced in alignment with the French government's policies and decisions (Longrigg, 1972).

Two important premises in the Lebanese Constitution maintained that education is unrestricted as long as it does not negate the public system or offend religions and / or sects; and that the Arabic and French languages were the official languages to be used in the different faculties of the government (Bashshur, 1978; Sbaiti, 2011). It should be noted that while the Lebanese Constitution emphasized Arabic as an official language, nothing was stated with regards to Lebanon being an Arab country. Those two documents showed that the French colonizers were continuing what was initiated during the Ottoman era. The French and Arabic languages were recognized as the official languages in Lebanon in general and in the Lebanese educational system in particular during the period of the French Colonial Era extending from 1920 to 1943 (Jarrar et al., 1988; Sbaiti, 2011).

In the first curriculum that was issued during the French Colonial Era in 1924, it was stated that mathematics and sciences were to be taught using the French language and that this language was mandatory across all private educational institutions (Bashshur, 1978). In 1928, the French colonizers stipulated that the Arabic language should be the language of instruction for early years and that children should be trained to communicate in French whenever possible. As for elementary education, the French colonizers selected certain subjects to be taught in French while others in Arabic. Mathematics was taught in both, Arabic and French. The number of sessions that were taught in French increased in number with each grade promotion. Around 55% of the hours allocated for elementary education were for French-taught subjects, and the remaining 45% of the hours were for Arabic-taught subjects. Regarding exams at the elementary level, 43% of the points were delegated to Arabic-taught subjects, 43% of the points were delegated to French-taught subjects, and 14% of the points were delegated to the mathematics exam, which can be taken either in French or in Arabic.

As for secondary examinations, Arabic and French literature were scored with the same weight, and the remainder of the score was given to history, geography, mathematics, and sciences, and in those four subject areas the student was free to choose between the Arabic and French languages. In the 1929 curriculum, the content of the geography and history subjects looked at Syria, Lebanon, and France. As for Philosophy, Arab scholars in addition to European ones were studied, and it should be

noted that majority of the European scholars were French. Further, in 1931, the French colonizers added a premise or a condition for establishing schools stating that each educational institution should submit a document on the number of hours allocated for each of the French and Arabic languages per week. The French colonizers' insistence on French as an official language was to perpetuate the language of the "civilized" human (Bashshur, 1978), which is a concept that is in alignment with Frantz Fanon's (2001) description of how colonialism infiltrates the minds of the colonized. Fanon was a psychiatrist and a revolutionary writer in the field of post-colonial studies. In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, he discusses the dehumanizing effects of colonization on both, the individual and the nation, through psychologic and psychiatric analyses. In his book, Fanon provides a four-step description of how colonialism permeates the minds of the colonized: first, the colonizer colonizes a country; second, the colonizer criticizes what is native to the colonized country; third, the colonizer presents itself as an alternative; and finally, the colonizer justifies its colonization of the country as a benevolent act for the sole purpose of civilizing the uncivilized country.

English was only introduced as a mobilizing language of globalization following the country's independence in the year 1943 and as such, the number of students with English as a foreign language has significantly increased (Atiyeh, 1970; Kobeissy, 1999; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2002; Thonhauser, 2001). Following independence, the Lebanese government invested sedulously in education (Farha, 2012). This is interesting to point out because according to Fanon (2001), upon the independence of a country, the interests of nationalists and ex-colonial propagators are sought after. The interests in this case would be the French language. In 1946, the new educational curriculum mandated the learning of Arabic but equipped the Lebanese student with the freedom to choose between the English and French languages. As such, all subjects except foreign language were taught in Arabic. As for the secondary stage, History and Geography were to be taught strictly in Arabic whereas the language of instruction of mathematics and sciences were optional, and it was up to the student to decide on which language s/he prefers to use. It should be noted that in both history and geography, the examinations were only oral ones with no written counterparts, as opposed to other subjects such as philosophy, mathematics, and sciences, which were written. This meant that a student at

the secondary level could sit for examinations and submit all exams in French or English with nothing in Arabic. This curriculum remained the same until the year 1968. While the new Lebanese curriculum attempted to add a national layer to the official educational system, it failed to eliminate some of the privileges that were essentially imposed by the French government during the colonial period.

Upon the creation of Israel in the year 1948, the Arab League boycotted all forms of Israeli goods, Israeli companies, and relations with Israel and with non-Israeli companies that conduct business with Israel, which led many to seek refuge in Lebanon's free-trade economy (Kubursi, 1999; Weiss, 2017). Though Lebanon was prosperous at the time, its wealth was unevenly distributed, particularly at the level of education (Traboulsi, 2007). The accumulation of these inequalities widened the socioeconomic disparities and paved the way for the civil war to take place. As such, the Lebanese economy was booming until the year 1975, the year the Lebanese civil war started (Eken et al., 1995). During the civil war (1975 - 1990), public institutions, including schools, were deteriorating (Zakharia, 2008) as the state's investment in public education declined sharply (Shuayb, 2016). As such, private schools were gaining momentum and made a linguistic and cultural presence (Shaaban & Ghaith, 1999). Consequently, private schools marketed foreign languages as a guarantee of relief from the conflict. During the period of the war, the teaching diploma was no longer a condition for employment and as such, the practice of contractual employment began to emerge. The centrality educational decisions in the public-school system rendered school principals powerless with respect to the teachers, as the decisions of hiring and firing have to come from the ministry. This, in addition to the demotivating work package that public-school teachers receive have rendered the majority of teachers in public schools uncritical about their teaching practices (UNICEF, MEHE, & CRI, 2013).

Following the Lebanese civil war, which ended with the Taef Agreement in 1989, Lebanon attempted to promote social cohesion through planning an educational reform (Shuayb, 2016). While the Arab identity of Lebanon was still ambiguous in the Lebanese Constitution, a clear statement stating the Arab identity of Lebanon was added at the beginning of the Taef Agreement (The National Accord Document, 1989). The two educational reforms that took place since then were the 1994 and the 2010

educational reforms (Shuayb, 2016). During the 1994 curriculum reform, two opinions surfaced the debate on the language of instruction: one group advocated for a multilinguistic Lebanon, and the other favored the Arabic language in support of the Arab identity (Amin, 2009; Shuayb, 2016). In a study conducted by Karam, Monaghan, and Yoder (2016), the study showed that there was a third, but less popular opinion held by some teachers, whereby they perceive English as a 'global language' that is capable of bridging the gap between Lebanese and Syrian students. The two main opinions led to a compromise whereby sciences and mathematics are taught either in Arabic, French or English up to sixth grade. However, after sixth grade, the Arabic language in mathematics and sciences textbooks is no longer offered; French and English languages take the lead from there. The removal of Arabic as a language of instruction option for mathematics and sciences had a grueling effect on Lebanese students' dropout rates, which were as high as 24.2% at the shift from the elementary level to the intermediate one (Shuayb, 2016).

Dryden-Peterson (2011) explains how language of instruction is a preoccupation of policymakers, because it has the power to benefit some and marginalize others. Currently, in the public system, the subjects taught in Arabic are Arabic, geography, history, and civics, whereas subjects taught in foreign language are English, French, biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics (Yaacoub & Badre, 2012). Arabic language in addition to the first foreign language are taught for a total of six hours per week each, and the second foreign language is taught for two hours per week (Bacha & Bahous, 2011). This shows that while the foreign and Arabic languages are being taught in equal numbers of hours, the number of foreign language hours still outnumber those of Arabic because sciences and mathematics are also taught in foreign language. The unequal distribution of Arabic and foreign language hours shows the inconsistency between what foreign language means in the Lebanese national curriculum.

The education system in contemporary Lebanon

In 2011, the Syrian War broke and led to the influx of around 5,000 Syrians to Lebanon (UNHCR, 2013). By the end of 2013, there were slightly less than one million Syrians in Lebanon (ILO & ROAS, 2013). In response to the crisis, the Government of Lebanon, with the support of UN agencies, opened the doors of 90 of its public schools

to displaced Syrians in Lebanon through the provision of an afternoon shift (Mendenhall, Garnett-Russell, & Buckner, 2017). In Lebanon, the majority of public and private schools use French or English as the language of instruction (CRDP, 2017a). While the Lebanese government welcomed displaced Syrians in its schools, it stood just short of providing them with an adequate education because unlike Lebanon, Syria follows a unilingual system and has Arabic as its only language of instruction (Immerstein, 2016; UN, 2014b). As such, Syrian children are in front of but a few options: they can either learn a new language (i.e., English or French), drop out of school, or remain out of school. To date, there are only 197,538 out of 488,832 school-aged Syrian children enrolled in Lebanese formal public schools (UNESCO, 2017). The fact that more than half of school-aged Syrian children in Lebanon are out of school despite all the efforts initiated by MEHE's partnerships with United Nations (UN) agencies and international non-governmental organizations raises concern. However, studies on the academic achievement and performance of Lebanese students before the year 2011, the year of the Syrian crisis, showed that Lebanese students enrolled in public schools were not fond of the language of instruction (i.e., English or French) of sciences and mathematics in their classrooms; in fact, they were struggling with it (Amin, 2009; Bahous & Nabhani, 2008; Bahous, Bacha, & Nabhani, 2011; Esseili, 2011). This shows that the quality of education in public schools, I contend, is essentially an issue of foreign language of instruction, i.e., a structural problem that has to do with the curriculum, more than it is a problem unique to refugees.

From 1973 to 2018, the percentage of students enrolled in Lebanese public schools has gradually dropped from 39.6% to 30.7% and was complemented with an increase of student enrollment rate in private ones from 60.4% to 65.9% instead (see Table 1). This could be attributed to the common assumption held by Lebanese people: it is often assumed that the quality of education in private schools is better than that of public schools, thus students enrolled in private schools achieve more than those enrolled in public schools (Bahous et al., 2011; UNDP, 2009). In fact, the low quality of education in the public-school system can be attributed to its traditional pedagogy, whereby the teachers mostly use rote learning teaching methods (Bahous et al., 2011; MEHE, 2016; UNICEF, MEHE, & CRI, 2013). Further, the legislatures passed in 1985

and 2002 that replace tenured teachers with contractual ones have cost the public-school system quality educators, particularly because those latter are not expected to have several degrees or certifications and consequently are paid less and generally have less employee benefits (MEHE, 2016). Table 1 shows that the demand for private schools, regardless of the cost of their fees, is increasing (CRDP, 1995, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017b).

Table 1 Percentage of students enrolled in public, private, and UNRWA-led schools in Lebanon from the scholastic year 1973-1974 to 2016-2017.

Scholastic Year	Student Enrollment Rate in Each Type of School (%)		
	UNRWA	Private	Public
1973-1974	No data available	60.4	39.5
1977-1978	No data available	55.1	44.9
1981-1982	No data available	61.8	38.2
1988-1989	No data available	67.1	32.9
1993-1994	No data available	69.4	30.6
1994-1995	No data available	70	30
2011-2012	3.4	67.4	29.2
2012-2013	3.3	66	30.7
2013-2014	3.2	65.9	30.9
2014-2015	3.6	68	28.4
2015-2016	3.4	66.3	30.3
2016-2017	3.3	65.9	30.8
2017-2018	3.4	65.9	30.7

While public schools are required to follow the curriculum developed by the ministry of education, private ones have the luxury of adding to it. Arabic is often taught in traditional ways that are highly-dependent on rote learning and memorization, whereas English and French are taught actively or innovatively (Bahous et al., 2011). This, in addition to the perception of higher attainment that is associated with learning at private schools, can be visualized numerically in Table 2: The Brevet official exam is conducted at the point of transition from intermediate to secondary school and covers the subjects of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and life sciences in a foreign language; English or French and Arabic languages; and history, civics, and geography in Arabic. At the level of Baccalaureate official exam, students enroll in one of four tracks: The General Sciences (GS) track, the Life Sciences (LS) track, the Sociology and Economics (SE) track, and the Humanities (H) track. The heavier bulk of subjects taught in foreign language are found in the GS and LS tracks, whereas the SE and H are much less

dependent on foreign language, as the majority of their courses are taught in Arabic (El Masri, Harvey, & Garwood, 2013; Shuayb, Makkouk, & Tuttunji, 2014; Zakharia, 2008). Table 2 shows that the percentage of students enrolled in private schools who passed the brevet exam have exceeded those enrolled in public schools by almost 15%. At the level of the Baccalaureate, the percentage of students enrolled in private schools have outperformed those enrolled in public schools in the GS and LS tracks, but not in the SE and H tracks.

The table below (Table 2) shows that private-school students performed better than public-school students in academic tracks that had courses that were highly-dependent on foreign language (Brevet, GS and LS tracks), but this was not the case for tracks that were not highly dependent on foreign language (SE and H tracks). The fact that public-school students perform better in SE and H tracks shows us that public schooling is not necessarily of lower quality than private schools, particularly at the level of all factors (i.e., quality of teachers, curriculum content, school environment) except foreign language. Had this not been the case, public-school students would have scored lower than private-school students in all tracks. This indicates that public schools are more likely to provide lower quality of foreign language compared with private schools. In Lebanon, apart from the school environment, the quality of teachers, and curriculum content, foreign language is an extremely important factor in schooling quality as it is a gateway to learn mathematics and sciences, both of which are taught in English and French, in both publics and private schools. Foreign language is an overlooked yet underrated factor that determines this difference in quality of education, which in Lebanon might play an even bigger role than the aforementioned factors.

Table 2 The Percentage of students who passed the Lebanese Brevet and Baccalaureate Official Exams in public and private schools of the 2017 – 2018 scholastic year.

Official Exam	Track	Percentage (%) of students enrolled in different types of schools (Public and Private) who passed the official Brevet and Baccalaureate Exams of the scholastic year 2017 – 2018	
		Public School	Private School
Grade 9 – Brevet	-	73.32 %	87.77 %
	LS	91.77 %	94.64 %
Grade 12 –	GS	87.09 %	96.07 %
Baccalaureate	SE	87.87 %	85.83 %
	H	85.61 %	83.09 %

Skimming through the language requirements of a few private universities in Lebanon revealed that students were conditioned to show evidence of language proficiency either in French or English, but not in Arabic, by taking certain standardized tests and meeting specific test scores (AUB, n.d.b; AUST, n.d.; BAU, n.d.; HU, n.d.; LAU, n.d.; LIU, n.d.; RHU, n.d.; USJ, n.d.). Interestingly enough, the only public university in Lebanon, the Lebanese University, does not directly require language prerequisites, but requires a certified copy of the Lebanese Baccalaureate (UL, n.d.), which can be only be earned if students demonstrated a certain level of proficiency in foreign language at school where the majority of subjects, particularly mathematics and sciences, are taught in either French or English.

A survey of job posts on a popular Lebanese job-hunting website, *Daleel Madani* (n.d.), on the 26th of January 2019 revealed that for most job vacancies posted on that day, only 2 out of the 260 job posts did not require English as a language, whereas 4 job posts did not require any level of Arabic. At the level of fluency, however, 165 job posts required Arabic fluency whereas 129 posts required foreign language fluency. A total of 167 out of 260 job posts required an excellent, very good, or good proficiency in either English or French languages, as opposed to only 84 out of 260 job posts required an excellent, very good, or good Arabic language proficiency (see Table 3).

Table 3 Language Proficiency Requirements as described on job posts found on Daleel Madani website on January 27, 2019.

Languages	Reading and Writing Proficiency					Speaking Proficiency	Total
	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Basic	None	Fluent	
English	65	47	26	7	2	113	260
French	5	6	18	27	188	16	260
Arabic	37	37	10	7	4	165	260

The numbers show that employers tend to favor a candidate who can write and read using the foreign language but speak the Arabic one. The current structure promotes the hybrid meta-human that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1994) vividly talks about in his description of the human product of *colonial alienation*: "It is like separating the mind from the body so that they are occupying two unrelated linguistic spheres in the same person. On a larger scale it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies" (p.28).

As such, this means that the trademark of the language legacy of colonialization is the separation between what is read and written on one hand, and what is spoken, on the other. In other words, the final product is a colonially alienated being. What is left of the native language is housed not on paper, but in the evaporable memory of a human. In other words, the lifespan of the native language is equivalent to the lifespan of its users, but the foreign language is made to be atemporal, as it depends not on man's tongue, but on its independence from it. The independence of foreign language, or its archival, makes it available for access and use by anyone. The challenging traceability of the native language makes it even much more convenient for people to go to the language that is readily available for them.

According to Fanon (2001), the participation in governance can be moderated by investing in education, as it enlightens people and paves the way for them to interpret and understand what is happening around and to them. However, the Lebanese education system did exactly the opposite of that: it denied Lebanese people the right for political participation by virtue of the foreign languages that were characteristic of this education. The foreign discourses of history, instead of an authentically Lebanese one, is the discourse which people are listening to.

In the same survey of jobs posted on *Daleel Madani*, it was also evident that having an excellent English or French language proficiency is three times more likely to secure a Lebanese person a job with a salary that exceeds 3,000$ per month than it is to secure it for someone with an excellent Arabic language proficiency (see Table 4). Further, for jobs with a salary less than 800$, the likelihood for persons with either an excellent English or Arabic proficiency to secure them are almost equal. Having a fluent Arabic, and not an excellent technical proficiency of it, however, is three times more likely to secure a Lebanese person a job with a salary that is less than 800$, but almost equally likely secure a person with an excellent English or Arabic proficiency a position (see Table 5). As such, the legacy of former colonialization, or its remaining language, is determining social class in Lebanon, as it is language that determines career lives, university admittance, school performance, educational achievement, and symbolic capital in Lebanon.

Table 4 Salary ranges (In USD) for excellent reading and writing language proficiencies in English, French, and Arabic as described on Daleel Madani website on January 27, 2019.

Language	Salary Ranges (in USD)						
	>3K	2.5-3K	2-2.5K	1.5-2K	1.2-1.5K	800-1.2K	<800
English (Excellent)	15	7	4	21	3	10	3
French (Excellent)	2	0	0	1	0	2	0
Arabic (Excellent)	6	4	3	13	3	6	2

Note. Language proficiency appears in parentheses next to the language.

Table 5 Salary ranges (In USD) for language fluency in spoken English, French, and Arabic as described on Daleel Madani website on January 27, 2019.

Language	Salary Ranges (in USD)						
	>3K	2.5-3K	2-2.5K	1.5-2K	1.2-1.5K	800-1.2K	<800
English (Fluent)	15	12	15	30	18	14	5
French (Fluent)	6	1	1	4	2	2	0
Arabic (Fluent)	16	13	16	42	24	29	18

Note. Language proficiency appears in parentheses next to the language.

A study by the CRDP was conducted in 1973 to examine the socioeconomic background of students, the study shows that the majority of mothers and fathers were either illiterate or have a primary education degree. While this study was the only study on the socioeconomic background of students in Lebanon (CRDP, 1973), the fact remains that students enrolled in private schools are often from a higher socio-economic background than those enrolled in public ones (Bahous et al., 2011). Based on studies by Bosetti (2004) and Goldring and Phillips (2008), families that come from a low socioeconomic background tend to place their children at schools with lower tuition fees, thus rendering fees as an indirect proxy determinant of the socioeconomic status of families. In Lebanon, public schools are known for their low cost, as opposed to private schools that are often not free of charge. As such, public schools and semi-private free schools attract students from a lower socioeconomic background, whereas private ones attract students from a middle to a higher socioeconomic background. Given the high value of foreign language in the job market, the differentiated quality of foreign language provisions between public and private schools further deepens the gap between those of lower and higher socioeconomic statuses.

The experience of language in education policies in other post-colonial societies around the world

Having discussed the evolvement of language education policies and practice in Lebanon, it is only meaningful to look at the experiences of other post-colonial societies around the world. In this brief review, I will look at the examples of Lebanon, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Zimbabwe, Hong Kong, Pakistan, and Ghana, as they are all post-colonial states that have inevitably debated language policies in their educational system. Of course, I did not cover all post-colonial societies because there are a plenty of them. However, I discussed each country to varying degrees depending on the relevance of the debate.

Lebanese students who come from a lower socioeconomic status experience difficulty in reading and writing in English and in translating from colloquial Arabic to English. They find it difficult to express themselves because of their lack of familiarity and comfort with the language, since they have poor vocabulary and find the words abstract. These students also face difficulty in Arabic because parents do not communicate with their children in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) nor do they encourage reading and writing in Arabic at home. Despite the perceived difficulties in foreign language, they are becoming more popular among Lebanese students because of standardized tests that secure them a seat in university (Bahous et al., 2011).

Language teachers in Lebanese schools often complained that they did not have the sufficient time nor resources to complete the curriculum, and their classrooms were overcrowded with more than 30 students in class (Bahous et al., 2011). Other teachers were teaching the way they did because they were doing what the scripted curriculum has asked them to do (Abu El-Haj, Kaloustian, Bonet, & Chatila, 2018). In middle to upper class schools, the kind of issues reported by teachers differed qualitatively from those reported by teachers who work at lower SES schools, and these issues included varying levels of language proficiencies within one classroom, and the ability to cater for the different needs of students. In those schools, parents were able to afford private tutors at home (Bahous et al., 2011). Lebanese students found a strong relationship between the notion of foreign languages and good education, and the notion of Arabic and identity (Zakharia, 2008).

In Algeria, the Arabization and the de-Frenchification of the Ministry of Education and other ministries is almost complete, with very positive results that include an increase in the functions that require institutional Arabic. However, while at the school level the Arabization was successful, it did not continue to higher education and the elites are to blame for that. Algerian elites and policymakers engage in a process of "elite closure" (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p.149), whereby they create and sustain social differentiation and stratification by promoting the Arabization of the curriculum and enrolling their children in Francophone schools. This way, they decrease the competition that their children might face by granting them access to symbolic power while preventing the masses access to such curricula. By Arabizing the curriculum, they are segregating their children from the masses. As such, in Algeria, foreign language marginalizes disadvantaged students. A study by Euromonitor International (2012) showed that while 86% of affluent respondents were able to manifest an intermediate proficiency of English, only 15% of lower socioeconomic status respondents were able to manifest the same level of proficiency. It is believed that the most affluent, educated, elite, and linguistically-sophisticated Algerians are those who have competence in English (Belmihoub, 2018). Many Algerian elites who were trained by the French find it extremely difficult to believe that there is an equally good and possibly better alternative to the French civilization (Gordon, 1962).

Several studies show that the majority of Algerian school-aged students perceive the Arabic language as the language for poetry and spiritual practices, and French as the pragmatic language for development and modernity (Benrabah, 2007, 2014). Students believe that they have better living standards and educational opportunities abroad if they learn English (Belmihoub, 2018). This is particularly true because at the level of university, the disciplines of science and technology are taught in French, and not Arabic (Benrabah, 2014; Roux, 2017). In 2005, the Ministry of Education reported that 80% of first-year university students have failed their tests because of their linguistic incompetence (Hamzaoui, 2017).

While some scholars promote the Arabization of the Algerian curriculum, some scholars warned against this, as it might have a reverse effect and thus scare away students due to the difficulty and abstraction of the Arabic language, which will make

students want to study in French instead (Benrabah, 2007, 2014). Algerian scientists and researchers struggle when attempting to publish their studies in English, despite their proven reading knowledge. This is because they find it difficult to express themselves in writing, since colloquial Arabic varieties are what is used in the private sphere, French is used heavily in the business and education spheres, but English is the language of professionalism in the research sphere (Belmihoub, 2018). Another debate upon the Arabization of the curriculum was the view that Arabization is a way of Islamization, whereas Francophonie is tied to secularization (Benrabah, 2014). A final discourse on Arabization distinguishes between two types of Arabization, ideological Arabization and linguistic Arabization. Linguistic Arabization entails the strengthening of the Arabic language through evidence- and research-based methods; ideological Arabization, on the other hand, disregards the need to improve a language and may lead to de-Algerianizing the population. Arabization has failed because it is being used not for the linguistic restoration of the language, but as a means to repair a shattered identity. As such, the procedure has failed because of its intentions (Roux, 2017).

The situation was not too different in Morocco, whereby Arabization took place through the use of MSA in teaching sciences, mathematics, and technology to reduce the influences of the former colonial powers and to reclaim the Arab identity (Alalou, 2018). While the Arabization policy was effective at the elementary and secondary levels of school education, it was never applied at the pre-primary and post-secondary or university levels, which led to the same kind of alienation experienced by Algerian students when shifting from school to university. There is a discontinuation between the use of Arabic at school and university, whereby students are satisfied with an average Standard Arabic proficiency, as they will not be using it at university (Zakhir & O'Brien, 2017). Faculties of Humanities and Islamic Studies are the only university-level faculties that employ the Arabic language. Other faculties use French instead. University-level professors who teach mathematics- and sciences-related disciplines have criticized high school graduate students' French competencies and complained about having to correct their students' reading and writing skills rather their content knowledge and understanding of those subjects (Hammoudi, 2005). In fact, even teachers complained that even their teaching training was conducted in French, which

rendered their own MSA proficiency extremely weak. They only improved their MSA once they became adults and made a conscious decision to work on improving their Standard Arabic through practicing and reading in MSA (Zakhir & O'Brien, 2017).

Similar to the case of Algeria, Arabization in Morocco has led to the social stratification among classes in the country, whereby the rich enrolled their children in private francophone schools and the poor enrolled their children in the public schools which are now Arabized. The private schools led to the reproduction of an elite class that was aligned with former French colonizer's interests. As such, language polices created a host of inequalities among different classes in society and marginalized students through privileging some students by giving them access to French schools and discriminating against others through granting them access to Arabic schools. As such, the Arabization policy made French and English languages much more positively viewed by the public than the Arabic one, which is a fear that Algerian scholars warned against. Arabization was looked-down on particularly because it emphasized one language and one culture while overstepping multilingualism and multiculturalism. As such, it led to the orientation of students toward more traditional values and less constructive criticism (Alalou, 2018).

Two main opposing views in the language debate in Morocco were the romanticization and glorification of the Arab-Islamic past and the view of Western civilization as the model for modernity, progress, and fields of sciences and technology (Ennaji, 2010). Moroccan students, just like the majority of Algerian students, tend to associate MSA with religion and identity, and French with progress and modernity. Further, while some perceive the French language as the language of the ex-colonizer, they also see it as the language of choice for social promotion, since it allows its users to secure a job and attain high social status. They also view their constant code-switching as a reminder of their colonialization and their lack of mastery in both Arabic and French. While some scholars in Morocco and Tunisia find that the students' low levels of academic achievement may encourage the discontinuation of the Arabization policy and the re-instilment of French as a medium of instruction (Daoud, 2001), others find that the problem is not with the Arabization per se; those latter argue that it is more of the variety of Arabic for this Arabization that is problematic. Modern Standard Arabic

should be discontinued, and mother tongue Arabic should be used instead (Alalou, 2018). To conclude, Moroccans are rather rightfully ambivalent about their preferred medium of instruction.

In Hong Kong, when the decision to use the mother tongue language as a medium of instruction instead of English came out, all students and parents broke into tears and started looking for schools that would continue using English as a medium of instruction. An assessment study right after the decision came out showed that students who were taught in their mother tongue (Chinese) outperformed their counterparts who were learning in foreign language (English) (Hong Kong Government, 1990; Hong Kong SAR Government, 1997). Despite that, students from Hong Kong find that English language has both a cultural and symbolic power, as it gives them this unique identity by distinguishing them from their counterparts in People's Republic of China (Chan, 2002). They also liked to learn in their native language but still found the English language to be better in terms of symbolic and economic capital and thus wished to develop their English proficiency further and to stick to the speaking proficiency when it comes to their mother tongue (Chan, 2018).

The ability to read and write in English in post-colonial Ghana has become a gateway to prestigious well-paid jobs and public positions. There is an economic motivation for Ghanaian publishers to publish in English rather than Ghanaian. English literacy in Ghana equips the language users with privileges that speakers of other languages are not entitled to. The English educated Ghanaian, just like in Pakistan (Mansoor & Malik, 2016), is perceived by society and him/herself as the one with power, knowledge, and elite. In many Ghanaian schools, students are punished whenever heard speaking the Ghanaian language on school premises. Main functions are conducted in English whereas indigenous Ghanaian languages are used for minor discourses, such as at home (Edu-Buandoh, 2016). The example of Ghana shows that there are two sides of globalization, one side promises education, development, and life success to individuals and institutions, and the other side unequally distributes power in the hands of some institutions at the expense of the grand exclusion of others by recognizing some languages while rejecting others (Stromquist, 2002).

Upon the independence of Zimbabwe from colonial powers, the new elites who ruled the country directly sent their children to the schools that the whites used to exclusively send their children to. As such, the children of black elites were getting their education with white children that still went to those schools and accordingly learned their foreign language from white first-language speakers of the English language, as opposed to their poorer black counterparts who did not afford to go to those schools. Those who study their mother tongue as a first-language are usually from the lower working class, whereas those who study the mother tongue as a second language and English as the first are often part of the elite class. In Zimbabwe, the mother tongue is used as a medium of instruction in the lower primary schools (Grades 1 till 3) because the majority of teachers at this level are not competent in English (Makoni, Dube, & Mashiri, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

In this study, I used two theoretical frameworks through which I analyzed my findings. I used Ngugi wa Thiong'o's theory of colonial alienation (1994), and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital (1991).

In his book *Decolonising the mind*, which was also his last English book, wa Thiong'o (1994) presented a collection of three anti-imperialist essays that invite African writers to stop expressing themselves using the languages imposed on them by their colonizers and to go back to their native languages instead. In his book, he argues that imperialism has destroyed the identity of African cultures; not only, but it has destroyed a quintessential component of identity: language. Culture cannot be communicated properly, he contends, except through a country's native language. He argues that the bourgeoisie class enables cultural genocide through the use of non-native languages, or the colonizers' languages, such as those of English and French. As such, most African literature is inaccessible to the peasant audience, since the majority of it is written in English, which creates a language barrier for such audiences. From here, wa Thiong'o continues to describe language as culture. Colonial alienation, as defined by wa Thiong'o, is the result of the dissociation between any of the three elements of language: the first element is Karl Marx's notion of real life, whereby this language element is concerned with mental or thought-production. The second element of

language is the imitation of real life, which is manifested in the form of speech or communication. The third element of language is the representation of the spoken word; i.e., the written sign or word. He outlined two ways in which this dissociation, or colonial alienation, can actively and / or passively occur: it can either occur through distancing oneself from the natural environment or the real world, or through identifying oneself to what is unnatural or external to one's environment.

In a study discussing the impact of multilingualism on education in Lebanon, Thonhauser (2001) describes the ways in which Lebanese participants described the Arabic language in Lebanon: "[my Lebanese interviewees] describe written Arabic as a very difficult, distant language, a language you have to learn like a foreign language" (p.54); a statement which is rather ironic yet clearly exemplifies the dissociation and consequent colonial alienation wa Thiong'o warned about. As such, to get a realer understanding of how either forms of dissociation can take place, we have to think of spaces in which we use foreign language instead of our native one, and these include: formal education, workplaces, interaction with the community, thinking, etc. Lebanese and Syrian students in both public and private schools highly depend on foreign language in most domains of life, particularly with regards to access to high-ranking universities and well-paying jobs. wa Thiong'o (1994) goes on to explain how imposed languages can never entirely permeate the spoken native language and as such, it best manifests itself in the written form, which perhaps explains why the majority of job posts from *Daleel Madani* required a fluent Arabic language whereas for the written part, the majority required an English or French language proficiency.

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1991), linguistic exchanges operate in a system of sanctions and censorships. This system operates by means of official institutions (e.g. schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.) and teachers who regulate students' linguistic performances and sanction their academic qualifications. For Bourdieu, linguistic exchange is not merely an instrument of communication, but often an economic exchange that incurs a certain material and symbolic profit to its exchangers. In line with his call to break with what he calls "the intellectualist philosophy which treats language as an object of contemplation rather than an instrument of action and power" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.37), this study investigates the

economic value of foreign language in Lebanon and the differentiated distribution of foreign language in the Lebanese educational system. The job market in Lebanon often demands foreign language abilities, and therefore the educational system in Lebanon is attuned to service this demand. As such, both public and private education in Lebanon compete to produce multilingual labour, thus making foreign language an essential factor in educational distribution and access to the job market. Individuals and institutions engage in process of conversion of capitals from inputs to outputs. If we increase our cultural capital through acquiring that kind of education that can get a high-paying job, then we are converting cultural capital into economic capital, and often people are interested in this conversion (Bourdieu, 1984). To go up the socioeconomic ladder, one should accumulate convertible capitals, as opposed to stagnant ones. Such convertible capital includes linguistic or cultural capital, which can both be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Knowing all that, it is therefore not surprising that my parents' language is not celebrated in the different social settings in Lebanon. In fact, the Arabic language is actively being suppressed, and hence oppressed, by the bureaucratic etiquette of leading institutions locally and globally. Today, people in Lebanon identify themselves as "multilingual" because of the language tripartite in our country. This pacification with foreign language, however, is not integrated in the experience of the Syrian refugee student attending a Lebanese public school. Syrian refugees who have fled their country after 2011 and have enrolled in Lebanese public schools have stirred up an academic conversation that attempts to answer the following question: is the foreign language of instruction in Lebanon a barrier to the educational attainment of Syrian refugee students? While the question is important to ask, another one hangs still: is foreign language a barrier to vulnerable Lebanese students attending public schools in Lebanon?

To conclude, for a child, Arabic remains packed behind the walls of their parents' house. The legacy of colonialization – its remaining language – is to a certain extent determining social class, educational attainment, career advancement, and symbolic capital in Lebanon. This is reflected in the language requirements that prestigious schools and universities in addition to job market employers' request prior to considering a person into their institution. From the aforementioned evidences, we can

realize that the school is the main distributor of foreign language in Lebanon. The higher the socioeconomic status of the individual, the more likely it is that s/he will gain quality education that will allow him or her to succeed in all fields requiring foreign language proficiency.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The following chapter includes the design of the study, the participants and sampling method, and the instruments used for data collection. Further, issues pertaining to data validity or credibility and trustworthiness or reliability, ethical aspects of this study, and study limitations are addressed.

Design of the Study

The study is based on a secondary dataset obtained from the Centre for Lebanese Studies (CLS) at the Lebanese American University (LAU). As a researcher at CLS and a graduate student at LAU, it was convenient for me to work with a dataset that addressed my research questions, particularly because I do not have to grapple with seeking permission to visit schools, nor do I have the financial means to cover the fees of the fieldwork. As such, the study follows a mixed method design because the dataset has both a quantitative component as well as a qualitative one (Creswell, 2015; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). It followed an exploratory sequential design in its initial phases to inform the selection of the sample. It is convergent in design because I analyzed both sets of quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously.

Participants and Sampling Method

To better understand the experience of Syrian refugee and vulnerable Lebanese students, six public schools were selected based on nonprobability, purposeful and convenient sampling. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), sampling is convenient when the researcher gets to save time and money while having access to the appropriate sites in which respondents are available. To account for the geographic distribution of the sample and the convenience of transportation, three schools were chosen from areas in Greater Beirut, one school was chosen from the area of Mount Lebanon, another school was chosen from South Lebanon, and the final school was chosen from North Lebanon.

The criteria established for choosing the schools entailed the following: first, the schools had to be representative of Syrian refugee in addition to the Lebanese middle to

low socioeconomic class (i.e., vulnerable) students. For that purpose, the schools chosen were intentionally public and not private ones. Second, to ensure a representative number of Syrian refugees and to account for the morning and afternoon shifts that some schools had, three schools had double shifts whereas three had morning shifts only. Finally, the chosen schools had to have elementary (Grades 3 till 6) and / or intermediate (Grades 7 till 9) divisions.

Due to the study's limited human and financial resources, in addition to time constraint, not all research activities were possible within the same school or across participants. For every school visit, the research activities included the following: classroom observations, interviews with teachers and school principals, focus group discussions with students and parents, in addition to a quantitative survey for Syrian refugee and Lebanese students, and interviews with DOPS counsellors and CERD trainers. Further, while interviewed teachers taught Grades 1 till 9, students who took the questionnaire were only in the Elementary (Grades 3 to 6) and Intermediate (Grades 7 to 9) divisions.

The student sample that took the quantitative survey consisted of 107 Lebanese students and 116 Syrian students, all attending public schools in Lebanon. They ranged from 9 to 17 years old and were enrolled in grades 4 to 9. All of the Lebanese students attended morning shifts, whereas Syrian students were split almost equally between morning (48.7 %) and afternoon (51.3 %) shifts. The qualitative data consisted of 5 interviews with school principals, 9 interviews with foreign language teachers (i.e., English, French, mathematics, and sciences), 4 interviews with CERD trainers, 10 interviews with DOPS counsellors, 6 focus group discussions with parents, 9 qualitative focus group discussions with students, and 9 classroom observations.

The student focus group discussions were distributed between morning and afternoon shifts, the latter having only Syrian students, while the former a mixture of Syrian, Lebanese and other nationalities. The CERD mentors and DOPS trainers were among the most highly-educated participants, since the majority of those held either Master of Arts and Philosophy Doctorate degrees either in education or in literature. Around half of interviewed teachers held a Bachelor of Arts degree either in education or in literature. The remaining half either have a degree in an irrelevant field (for e.g.,

musicology degree for a French teacher, or a chemistry degree for a mathematics teacher) or have not completed their undergraduate degree, and a few others seem to have only attained their training from Dar al-Muallimeen. All of the interviewed teachers have teaching experience that exceeds four years and teach Lebanese and Syrian students either together or in separate shifts.

Data collection

The data used in this study were collected using both, obtrusive and unobtrusive methods.

For the obtrusive component (i.e., the available dataset), a total of seven instruments were used, six of which were qualitative, and one was quantitative. The quantitative instrument was a questionnaire for students in the Elementary and Intermediate divisions. The qualitative instruments were (1) qualitative focus group discussions with students, (2) face-to-face semi-structured interviews with school principals, (3) face-to-face semi-structured interviews with experts from MEHE, (4) face-to-face semi-structured interviews with teachers, (5) qualitative focus group discussions with parents, and (6) semi-structured classroom observations. The dataset was selected in alignment with (1) the purpose of the study, which is to examine whether foreign language is a barrier for Syrian refugee and / or vulnerable Lebanese students' educational attainment, and (2) the addressed research questions, which were concerned with education stakeholders' perceptions of foreign language.

Quantitative Instrument

1. Questionnaire for students:

The instrument looked at Lebanese and Syrian students' background information (i.e., age, gender, school shift, nationality, etc.), their experiences with foreign language teaching, their perceptions of their language teachers' teaching methods, and their overall perception of their schools and schooling experience. The quantitative student questionnaire comprised of a total of 12 short-answer question items and 46 3-Point Likert-Type scale question items (Certainly True, Somewhat True, Certainly Untrue). The data collected from the questionnaire allows the researcher to measure the intensity or level of the participant's agreement or disagreement with a given premise. The questionnaire was written in Arabic only to make sure there was no ambiguity or unclear

terms for students. The table below (Table 6) summarizes the breakdown of surveyed students by nationality and grade level. The total number of student participants was 227 (107 Lebanese, 116 Syrian).

Table 6 Numbers of students enrolled, by nationality and school division (i.e., elementary and intermediate)

School Division	Number of Students		
	Lebanese	Syrian	Total
Elementary (Grades 3 to 6)	50	92	142
Intermediate (Grades 7 to 9)	57	24	81
Total	107	116	223

Qualitative Instruments

2. Qualitative focus group discussions with students:

The purpose of this focus group discussion was to access data that was not accessible through individual interviews or questionnaires with the students. While it addressed the same issues of the quantitative instrument (i.e., students' schooling experience and their perception of foreign language and corresponding teaching methods), the interactive nature of this research activity allows for data to be constructed and reconstructed as participants share their views and hear others' views. As such, the constructionist perspective of focus group discussions allows for the obtained data to be socially constructed. Each focus group included up to 8 students of various nationalities and aged between 8 and 14 years.

3. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with school principals:

The instrument looked at the school principals' knowledge and perceptions of students' performance in FL, the reasons for grade repetition and dropout, the difficulties that students face at school in general and more specifically in foreign language classes, and their perception of the role of DOPS counsellors in supporting teachers.

4. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with experts from the MEHE that work closely with public-school teachers:

DOPS is a department within the MEHE that provides instructional, health, and psychosocial counselling to public-school teachers and students. CERD is a governmental institution that reports directly to the MEHE and is responsible for the

education sector's various educational, developmental, and technical aspects. Trainers from CERD are responsible for "preparing the educational staff for all stages of education, its branches and fields, except for the secondary level" (CRDP, n.d.). As such, the purpose of interviewing DOPS counsellors and CERD trainers is to understand how they prepare and support foreign language teachers, the activities they conduct, their methods for assessing teachers, and their perspective of the challenges in teaching foreign language.

5. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with teachers:

The purpose of this instrument was to assess teachers' perception of teaching foreign language to Syrian refugee and vulnerable Lebanese students. The questions of the interview looked at teachers' backgrounds (i.e., years of teaching experience, subject(s) taught, etc.), classroom practice, incorporation of similar or different multilinguistic teaching methods and approaches with Syrian and Lebanese students, the language they permit themselves and their students to use in their classrooms, teaching material and resources they use, and the extent to which the school fostered diversity. The interview was semi-structured because the questions were used flexibly, thus inviting open-ended responses on behalf of the respondent (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The student and teacher interview questions and the student questionnaire were piloted for the sake of validity and credibility. The word choice was given special attention: no fancy words were used and words that had more than one meaning were avoided or replaced with accurate terms. The questions were not double-barreled; in other words, each question item was designed to solicit a response regarding a single idea.

6. Qualitative focus group discussions with parents:

The purpose of this instrument was to understand the general experiences of both Syrian and Lebanese students from the points of view of their parents. Further, parents were asked questions about (1) their children's' academic performance in general and specifically in foreign language, (2) their children's' learning difficulties (i.e., speaking, understanding, writing, and reading) and non-learning difficulties (i.e., bullying, violence, discrimination), and (3) their relationship with the school through the parents' council, meetings with teachers.

7. Semi-structured classroom observations:

The purpose of this instrument was to examine classroom practice (i.e., teaching methods, materials and resources used, etc.) in addition to the interaction between teachers and students. The observation was structured so as to limit researchers' subjective judgement and reduce it to a rubric or a checklist. In this type of observation, though there was no seal to separate the observer from the observed, the observer was a complete observer with minimal interaction between the observer and the observed, in this case the classroom. The tables below (Table 7 and Table 8) summarize the types of instruments used and the numbers of research activities conducted with each participant.

Table 7 Number and types of research activities conducted at six Lebanese public schools

Instrument	Participant	School Number						Total
		School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4	School 5	School 6	
Interviews	Principal	1	1	1	1	1	0	5
	Teachers	2	2	2	1	2	0	9
Focus group discussions	Parents	1	1	2	1	1	0	6
	Students	1	1	2	1	4	0	9
Questionnaires	Students	18	25	43	54	14	69	223
Classroom Observation		1	1	2	3	2	0	9

Table 8 Number of interviews conducts with CERD trainers and DOPS counsellors

Interview Participant	Number of Interviews
CERD Trainers	4
DOPS Counsellors	10

For the unobtrusive component of the study, I collected data from university websites, job hunt search sites, and statistics from the Centre for Educational Research and Development site. Unobtrusive methods are ways in which the researcher could assess human traces without intrusion (Berg & Lune, 2018). It should be noted that the data that was obtained from unobtrusive research methods is considered as primary data (Berg & Lune, 2018). According to sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (2000), it is meaningless to separate history from social sciences, as social sciences can only be

historical. As such, to understand the relationship between disadvantaged students'
academic performance in an educational system that is largely built on the linguistic
remnants of colonial legacies, it is necessary to have a historical prelude on the
evolvement of language policies and practices in Lebanese public schools. Additionally,
I used archival strategies, particularly the public archival records, which are records that
are publicly available for assessment and evaluation by those who are interested in the
data (Denzin, 2017). Further, I used official documentary records (Bogdan & Biklen,
2003), which offer data that is intended for specific audiences but round up publicly
available (Berg & Lune, 2018). I assessed foreign language in different areas,
particularly related to education and employment, by mining data on student outcomes
(i.e., enrollment rate and performance) over a period of time, university language
policies for student admission, and language requirements for available job posts with
the respective salary rates.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process in which the researcher makes meaning out of his / her
raw data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I analyzed the qualitative data collected from the
student focus group discussions, parent focus group discussions, classroom observations,
and interviews with the school principals, teachers, DOPS counsellors, and CERD
trainers thematically with the use of Microsoft Excel. First of all, I read all transcripts of
all interviews and took note of reoccurring themes. These themes included (1) teachers'
demographics, (2) teachers' motivations and challenges at work, (3) teachers'
professional development and follow-up, (4) the challenges related to the Lebanese
curriculum, (5) school- and ministry-level policies, (6) parents' involvement in their
children's education, (7) students' disadvantaged backgrounds, (8) students' academic
performance, (9) recommendations to improve foreign language learning, and (10)
students, parents, school personnel (i.e., teachers and principals), and MEHE trainers
and mentors' (i.e., CERD mentors and DOPS trainers) perceptions of their own and the
students' use of foreign language in different spheres (i.e., at school and at home). After
developing those themes, I created an excel sheet with the themes distributed across the
columns and the different participants distributed across the rows. Whenever a

participant said something that met a theme, I would cut and paste that segment into the right place in the grid.

Similarly, I ran basic frequency tests and some cross-tabulations with the data from students' quantitative survey using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software to get an idea about the most prevalent responses and attitudes. All the data from the quantitative instruments fit three themes only, (1) students' academic performance, (2) students' perceptions of and attitudes toward foreign language, and (3) recommendations to improve foreign language learning.

To be able to answer my first research question, "how do disadvantaged students, parents, school principals, teachers, language trainers, and mentors at MEHE perceive and experience foreign language instruction in Lebanese public schools?," I selected the themes that had to do mainly with perceptions on foreign language and students' academic performance. To answer the second research question, "is foreign language of instruction a learning barrier exclusively for Syrian refugee students? And for vulnerable Lebanese students? Why, or why not?," I had to construct my argument to first of all show that the quality of foreign language education at the level of Lebanese public schools weak, and I was able to do that using the themes on teachers' demographics, teachers' motivations and challenges at work, teachers' professional development and follow-up, the challenges related to the Lebanese curriculum, and school- and ministry-level policies. Next, I used the themes on students' disadvantaged backgrounds and their parents' involvement in their education to link the quality of education to the conditions of people who have access to this type of schooling, and those people come from disadvantaged families, regardless of their nationalities. I also used the themes on students' academic performance, cross-tabulations from the quantitative data, and the recommendations to improve foreign language so that I could answer the second question and highlight what existing inadequacies problematize students' foreign language learning.

As such, I managed to divide the data that I have in such a way so as to answer each of my two research questions. Then, to better understand the relationship between my findings and my main argument, which is related to a historical structural legacy in Lebanon, I read the classroom observations, revisited my theoretical framework and

attempted to interpret my data to find extrapolations of the key theoretical concepts that would help explain why students behaved in certain ways in the classroom. I followed the logical flow of the theoretical arguments and reinterpreted both my findings and what was observed in the classrooms into the conceptual understanding that I derived from the frameworks that I have adopted for writing this study.

Validity and Reliability; Credibility and Trustworthiness

There are at least four ways to achieve data triangulation or validation: obtaining information from multiple data resources, using various instruments, employing multiple investigators, or using multiple theories to endorse emerging data (Denzin, 2017). Credibility and trustworthiness of the study were maintained through the use of multiple methods for data collection: observations, interviews, focus group discussions, and questionnaires. The data collected from the interviews were checked with the data obtained from the questionnaires, the observations, and the interviews. This way, I achieved triangulation since at least three methods of data collection were used (Denzin, 2017; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Further, all instruments were piloted to further endorse credibility. Additionally, inter-item reliability was established by repeating question items in different ways within the same instrument.

Transliteration and Translation

All Arabic words in this paper have been transliterated following the system used in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) for Arabic language (see Appendix A). As for the instruments, all instruments items were written and conducted in Arabic because it is the native language of the study participants.

Ethics

Prior to conducting this study, I sought the Centre for Lebanese Studies' permission to use this dataset (see Appendix B). The dataset I used for my study was initially approved by the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education (see Appendix C). Next, I applied to the Lebanese American University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and got their approval as well (see Appendix D). As such, the study follows and respects the IRB's ethical guidelines, and was reviewed and approved for analysis and write-up as it respected the principles of the Belmont Report.

Assumptions and Limitations

The methodology of the study was limited by time constraint. As such, it was not possible to organize and implement fieldwork; instead, I had to use a preexisting dataset. This resulted with a small size sample that is not representative of the Syrian and Lebanese students in public schools in Lebanon and consequently, the results of the study are not generalizable. I also initially wanted to use Nvivo software for the qualitative data, but my license expired, and I ended up using Microsoft Excel instead.

To conclude, this chapter has presented the design of this study, the participants and sampling method, and the instruments used for data collection. Further, issues pertaining to data validity and reliability, credibility and trustworthiness, ethical aspects of this study, and assumptions and limitations were addressed.

Chapter Four

Findings

   The following chapter includes the findings of this study. After reading the responses of all respondents from all instruments, I inductively built concepts and came up with themes through which I could categorize my data in. The themes I came up with were inspired by the theoretical framework through which I want to understand my data, and from the preponderance and frequency of certain responses that participants have shared. As such, I used the themes I came up with as an analytical framework that would lead and inform my discussion.

Language in different spheres

Language at school

   Foreign language teachers reported using Arabic with their students to give them instructions and to explain difficult terms to them. Otherwise, and particularly when it comes to technical terms, they use English or French throughout the session. Both, teachers and CERD mentors also reported that in turn, their students predominantly respond to their questions in Arabic, particularly when the topic is new or difficult to them, or when they want to express themselves. When they become acquainted with the subject, however, they start to use foreign language. When students use foreign language, observations showed that they were almost always using single words instead of sentences to express themselves. The only way for them to use sentences was when teachers allowed them to mix between Arabic and foreign language while expressing themselves. While more than half of both Syrian and Lebanese students who took the quantitative survey understood the teachers' instructions (60.4 % of Lebanese and 57 % of Syrians), students from the focus group discussions reported that they feel more comfortable expressing themselves in Arabic and are mostly capable of understanding the questions they hear in foreign language only when their teacher translates them to Arabic.

   The majority of students in focus group discussions, Syrian and Lebanese, reported that they had difficulties in expressing themselves in foreign language in

written and spoken forms. They reported finding it difficult especially because they lacked vocabulary and proper pronunciation. Further, observations showed that students were best able to express themselves in Arabic. If they were to use foreign language, they would not be able to formulate sentences and would only use words instead.

While a minority of teachers reported allowing the use of Arabic in their mathematics, sciences, or foreign language class, they also reported that they frequently encouraged their students to use foreign language and censoring the use of Arabic in class by either completely ignoring the students who speaks in Arabic and not responding to him/her until s/he uses the foreign language instead. This was somewhat truer for secondary-level Syrian students (54%) than their Lebanese counterparts (31%) (see Table 9), since teachers falsely assume that Lebanese students are better at foreign language than their Syrian counterparts. Teachers perceived the students' use of Arabic as a challenge that needs to be attended to. Some students in the focus groups reported that they do not know how to read in foreign language and yet their teacher shouts at them whenever they stutter in foreign language, which is almost the entire time.

Table 9 Statements reflecting all surveyed Lebanese (L) and Syrian (S) students' perceptions of their teachers' practices (in percentage).

Statements	Not True		Somewhat True		Very True		p
	% L	% S	% L	% S	% L	% S	
(1) My foreign language teacher prohibits the use of Arabic language in the classroom	46.6	30.7	30.1	53.5	23.3	15.8	0.002
(2) My foreign language teacher explains lessons to us in Arabic	21.7	19.3	49.1	47.4	29.2	33.3	0.787
(3) My foreign language teacher reformulates our answers in foreign language	7.5	12.1	22.6	21.6	69.8	66.4	0.530

Some mentors stated that even they were forbidden to speak in Arabic while mentoring, as the inspection team would take note of their use of Arabic and instruct them not to use it. While some were forbidden to use Arabic, the majority of DOPS trainers were not in favor of the use of Arabic language in foreign language classes. One trainer said that "it [was] not professional or educationally acceptable to promote the use

of Arabic." When asked about how DOPS's role can be more effective, the majority of teachers highlighted the need to motivate students to use the foreign language instead of the Arabic one. Classroom observations showed that the majority of teachers strictly use foreign language in their classrooms and only reverted to Arabic whenever they wanted their students to grasp an important idea, particularly an idea that students will potentially encounter in their official exams.

Language at home

None of the interviewed parents reported reading stories in foreign language to their children at home. In fact, the only stories they read to them were either in Arabic or from the Qur'an, which is also in Arabic. Further, only one parent out of all those interviewed across all six focus group discussions has heard his kids speaking in foreign language at home. School principals reported that parents were either educationally and financially incapable of or simply uninterested in helping their children with their studies at home in general and in foreign language in particular. Financial restraints, reported school principals, prevented parents from hiring private tutors.

Students' perception of and attitude toward their academic performance in foreign language

The interviewed principals agreed that their students, both Syrian and Lebanese were weak in language. In fact, while one principal said that success rates in French, English, and even Arabic are not reaching 50% at his school, another principal reported that students who are doing well do not exceed two per cent. Further, a third principal said that failure rates among the Lebanese students in the morning shift were higher than those of Syrians in the afternoon shift. Similarly, teachers share the principals' opinion, and one teacher summarizes the situation as follows: "The Syrian student [is at] the same level [with] the rest of the class, who are all weak." In fact, teachers see that some Lebanese students perform better than their Syrian colleagues only because they have access to private tutors or to after-school centres. The school principals and teachers' statements can be complemented with the fact that there were no statistically-significant correlations between the Lebanese and Syrian students and the extent to which they (1) liked foreign language classes, (2) experienced difficulty while learning foreign

languages, or (3) were able to perform better in mathematics and sciences if those were taught in Arabic (see Table 10).

Table 10 Statements reflecting all surveyed Lebanese (L) and Syrian (S) students' school experiences and perceptions of foreign language (in percentage).

Statements	Not True		Somewhat True		Very True		*p*
	% L	% S	% L	% S	% L	% S	
(1) I like foreign language class	14.6	9.6	23.3	26.3	62.1	64	0.517
(2) Learning foreign language is difficult	45.7	38.3	41.9	47.8	12.4	13.9	0.534
(3) If mathematics and sciences were taught in Arabic, I would pass easily	32.1	20.9	16	24.3	51.9	54.8	0.100

Approximately 42% of Syrian students said they had good grades in foreign language classes compared to around 49 % of Lebanese students (see Figure 1), which shows no significant difference between the academic performance of Lebanese and Syrian students. This is important because one would expect someone who had studied mathematics and sciences in a certain language from early years would not face difficulties in subsequent years, as opposed to someone who is suddenly introduced to those two disciplines in advanced years and in a language different than the one that they were initially used to. As such, one would expect Lebanese students to perform better than their Syrian colleagues in mathematics and sciences, but results showed that Lebanese students did not significantly perform better than Syrian students.
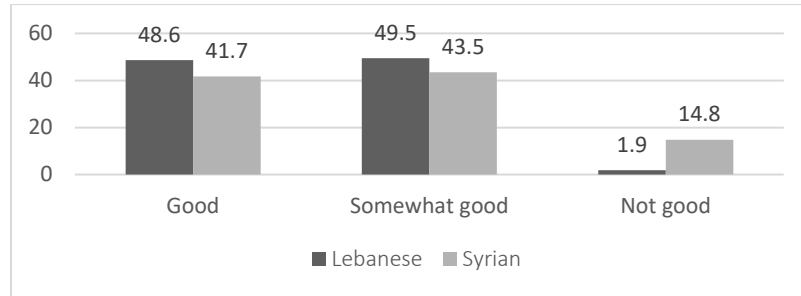
Figure 1 Lebanese and Syrian students' perception of their grades in foreign language classes

In the quantitative survey, almost equal percentages of Syrian and Lebanese students liked foreign language classes (62.1 % of Lebanese, 64 % of Syrians); however, Lebanese students were less likely (14.6 %) to like those classes than their Syrian colleagues (9.6%). Similarly, almost equal percentages of Syrian and Lebanese students found learning foreign languages to be difficult (12.4 % of Lebanese, 13.9 % of Syrians). However, a slightly higher percentage of Lebanese students did not find it difficult (45.7 %), compared to 38.3 % of Syrian students (see Figure 2).
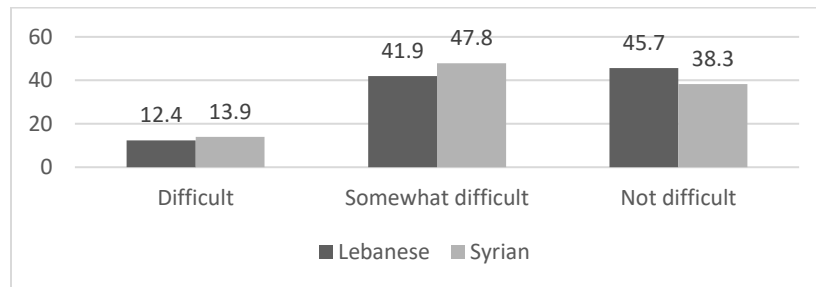

Figure 2 Lebanese and Syrian student's perception on the difficulty of learning foreign language

Finally, almost equal percentages of Syrian and Lebanese students who took the quantitative survey said that if sciences and mathematics were taught in Arabic, they would have passed more easily (54.8 % of Syrians, 51.9 % of Lebanese). However, a bigger percentage of Lebanese did not agree with the statement (32.1 % of Lebanese compared to 20.9 % of Syrians who did not agree) (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 Opinions of Lebanese and Syrian students on whether they would have passed more easily if mathematics and sciences were taught in Arabic
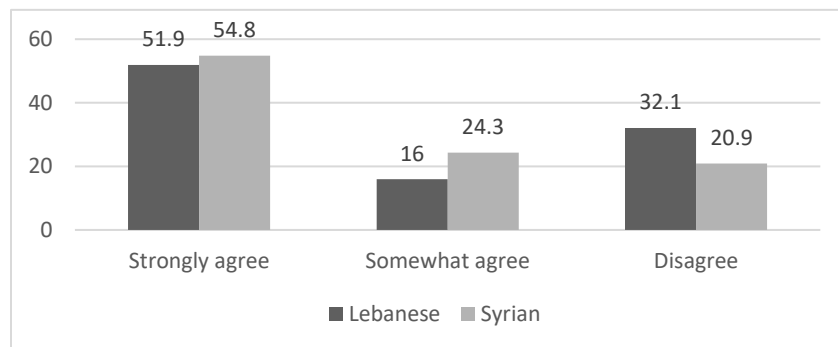
When students in focus group discussions were asked about what could make the language classes more enjoyable, many of the students said they would enjoy them more if they knew the foreign language better. Others gave ideas about activities and teaching methods that could make them more interested such as using songs, pictures, movies and games. Some blamed the teachers and asked to receive better treatment from their side. The answers of the students to the question about what could help them learn English or French better reflected two important aspects that lacked in the teaching of foreign languages: one aspect has to do with the daily routine and casual activities for which foreign languages would be used, and the other aspect has to do with explaining ideas said in foreign languages with reference to Arabic. Students claimed that using more Arabic for explanations, or translation activities could help them understand better the ideas in foreign languages. But more than that, they referred to the use of readings, movies and songs in foreign languages (with the support of subtitles, translations, parents or teachers) as ways to help them learn the language better. A number of students mentioned looking up words in dictionaries and extra language classes, as well as help in doing homework as ways to support their learning of foreign language.

Among the recommendations that school principals suggested for improving the quality of foreign language education were teaching resources, including classroom resources and teacher trainings. The classroom resources that the principals proposed were stories and technological resources such as active boards and videos.

Quality of teaching in public schools

All CERD mentors criticized the time constraint that the curriculum posits on teachers; it is dense with material that leaves little to no time for teachers to support the students who are not doing as well as others, nor to be creative in teaching lessons. Further, school principals found that the curriculum is especially weak when it comes to language, as it utilizes outdated methods and focuses much more on mathematics and sciences rather than languages. Classroom observations showed that the curriculum left no room for students to reflect on their learning nor for teachers to make sure that their students have grasped the key ideas of the lesson. As such, lessons are conducted at an extremely quick pace, which means that the overloaded curriculum focused on content rather than skills.

While all CERD mentors reported that they were not allowed to follow up with the teachers they have trained, DOPS trainers follow up with teachers around two weeks after their initial visit. However, while allowed to follow up with their trainees, some DOPS trainers do not follow up because of their strict schedules. Further, some CERD mentors reported that there are two key issues that render their efforts unnoticed: the unalignment and even contradicting teaching pedagogies and philosophies held by CERD mentors and DOPS trainers, and public-school teachers' disinterest in their professional development. This can be best captured in one mentor's statement: "DOPS and CERD trainers speak different languages and have contradictory theories of teaching."

DOPS trainers, CERD mentors, and school principals reported five main teacher-related challenges that led to a poor quality of education at Lebanese public schools: teachers' resistance to change because of their perceived competence, their stereotypes and negative attitudes towards students' capabilities, their demotivation and lack of interest in professional development, their lack of teacher qualifications, and their inexperience. Similarly, some principals do not find CERD mentors qualified and

believe that they have their current jobs only because they were able to pull some strings, and not by virtue of their merit. As such, the perceived lack of qualification in trainers rendered some school principals hesitant to send their teachers to said trainings.

The majority of teachers had a tendency to attribute students' weakness in foreign language to their disadvantaged background, which included poverty, family issues such as divorce, parents' weak educational background, and their inability to hire tutors or attend remedial centres. One teacher explicitly stated, "I think the students we receive are not the good ones." Another one stated that "the problem with language is not related to whether you are Syrian or Lebanese. [It] all depends on the parents and the child." Similarly, principals also find that the low culture that students come from, which does not provide a learning environment that nurtures reading skills among students, contributes largely to their difficulties in foreign language. One principal stated, "[p]ublic schools suffer the consequences of the violent environment in which their students grow, particularly with their parents at home." As such, there is a tendency for school personnel to perceive the family background of students as a major factor that negatively affects their performance in foreign language.

The majority of teachers reported that they barely have any resources to use primarily because of the centrality of the education system in Lebanon, whereby teachers are obliged to follow and abide by the state's book, which is poor in aligning teaching methods with intended learning objectives. The majority also reported that they do not change their teaching methods because of the centralized structure of education. Further, DOPS trainers criticized the large number of students and the wide variation among ages per classroom. CERD mentors found that the teachers who should attend those sessions are not attending whereas those who do not as urgently require such trainings are attending them. As such, they suggested that principals should reprioritize which teachers should attend, and which should not. Another major issue reported by CERD mentors was the fact that the ministry of education does not allow the transfer of knowledge into the classrooms when the training resources are non-governmental; as such, many trainers and even teachers prefer not to use what they have learned or the resources they were provided with, since they were not enlisted in the official curriculum. This means that most trainings that are not governed by the ministry of

education are going to waste, and teachers are using this as a reason for not attending such sessions.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The following chapter brings the findings of this study into conversation with both the theoretical framework and the literature. To better understand the significance of the findings, I discussed them in three parts: the first part looks at the factors that impede the quality of foreign language education in Lebanese public schools, the second part explains how language is being used in the public-school system as a tool for segregation and marginalization, and the third and final part addresses and interprets the trends of colonial alienation that I was able to elicit from my findings.

Factors that impede the quality of foreign language education in Lebanese public schools

Lebanese and Syrian families who cannot afford the high costs of education at Lebanese private schools go to public ones instead. This study, similar to other studies (Bahous et al., 2011; EI & FES, 2016; UNICEF, MEHE, & CRI, 2013), indicates that public-school education in Lebanon is of poor quality, particularly at the level of foreign language classes, mathematics, and sciences, because of a host of barriers that impede students' academic performance.

Some of the teachers and even mentors are in fact unqualified, as they hold degrees in irrelevant fields, and in some cases, they have not completed their bachelor's degree. This means that they do not hold the minimal qualifications, which is basic exposure to the field they claim expertise in. However, there was a consensus among school principals, CERD mentors, and DOPS trainers that many teachers, particularly at the secondary level of education, resist professional development and often assume they need no further training. Teachers especially resist professional development when the mentors are younger than them in age. While this may be true for some teachers, other teachers reported that they were not able to change their teaching methods due to the rigidity of the curriculum. The centralization of the Lebanese education system renders teachers as mere technicians with very little to no agency with regards to how they conduct their lessons. As such, teachers are obliged to use traditional methods and no

external resources when giving a class, and to dismiss their use of any teaching methods or educational sources provided by trainings from non-governmental bodies, such as private or international organizations. In other words, there were both structural constraints from the MEHE level policies and resources and constraints at the level of the individual. This suggests that the intersection of these two-leveled constraints create powerful barriers that policies alone cannot resolve; rather, multifaceted approaches are necessary to address them.

Further, a public-school classroom bears more students in it than its infrastructure allows it to. As such, the large size of a classroom makes it difficult for all students in that class to engage in a discussion and to do group work, and for teachers to manage the class. Apart from the centralized educational system, this could be another reason that prevents teachers from changing their teaching methods.

The interplay of all of these factors together produce a poor quality of education, whose beneficiaries – or victims – are disadvantaged Lebanese and Syrian students. In terms of class dynamics, the Lebanese public education system is very much geared to an internationally-looking bourgeoisie, whereas these kids do not come from – and will probably never access – this social stratum. Vulnerable Syrian and Lebanese students in public schools are excluded from the Lebanese society; the low quality of foreign language in public schools acts as a form of an excluding power that deprives those vulnerable individuals from access to resources and power. This is important to note because the socioeconomic status of parents is among the strongest factors that determine students' academic achievement (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2016). In fact, classrooms highly concentrated with students of disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds have a much higher negative effect on their academic achievement than multilingual students whose language of instruction is different than their native one (Herzog-Punzenberger, 2016; OECD, 2015). This suggests that Lebanese students attending private schools have the language of instruction as a barrier, but in addition to that, public school students also have their disadvantaged socioeconomic status as a second and even more important barrier. In addition to those two barriers, Syrian refugees attending Lebanese public schools have their refugee state as a third barrier. As such, the issue of language of instruction is not a stand-alone challenge; rather, it is

nurtured within a structural political context of a centralized system, lack of support and proper training, and challenging working conditions (for e.g., classroom capacity, time constraints, low wages, job precarity, etc.).

Language as a tool for segregation and marginalization

While the foreign language of instruction is a barrier for the academic achievement of Lebanese and Syrian students equally, it is not necessarily a permanent problem because there are more layers that make it look like a prominent barrier. For example, policymakers in education are segregating and marginalizing disadvantaged students in Lebanese public-schools by creating the second shift for Syrians and keeping the morning one for Lebanese. Similar to Dryden-Peterson's (2011) findings, the results of this study show that language of instruction proved to be powerful enough to segregate marginalized groups while benefiting privileged ones. In Lebanese public schools, the rationale behind the segregation of Syrian and Lebanese students into two separate shifts was initially two-fold, the first reason was the assumption that Lebanese students have an advanced proficiency in foreign language compared to their Syrian counterparts, and the second reason was the large number of students that led to an overcapacity in the morning shift. Syrian students are placed in separate shifts because of their weakness in subjects taught in foreign language only, and not in Arabic-taught ones. As shown in this study, Lebanese students do not find foreign language any easier than their Syrian counterparts, since both of them equally perceive it as a barrier. Further, the second shift is two sessions shorter than the first shift, which shows that if indeed the rationale behind creating the second shift was to help those students learn language more effectively, they are now taking two sessions less than their Lebanese counterparts. What is also interesting is that some CERD mentors said that foreign language teachers themselves are sometimes weak in foreign language, which was similar to the case of Morocco (Zakhir & O'Brien, 2017). As such, the quality of foreign language taught at public schools is questionable since even the teachers find it difficult. Further, and as reported by CERD mentors, the curriculum has its own deficiencies, whereby it places a lot of emphasis on writing in foreign language but completely ignores the spoken aspect of the language. This is important to note because speaking is how we express ourselves; so, if we cannot speak properly, it is only normal to fail to

adequately express ourselves. Interestingly enough, even foreign language teachers find it difficult to

While the results of this study showed that there were no significant differences between Lebanese and Syrian students' perceptions of their grades in foreign language and the extent to which they find those subjects difficult, afternoon shift teachers allowed students use Arabic to some degree in class while morning shift teachers prohibited the use of Arabic, falsely assuming Lebanese students are performing better in foreign language. According to the linguistic independence hypothesis (Amin, 2009;), since Syrians are more adept in Arabic than Lebanese students, the former have much higher chances in performing much better than the latter once they learn the second language. As such, the already-weak structure of language in Lebanon is temporarily marginalizing the progression of disadvantaged Syrian students in education in Lebanon, but permanently doing so in the case of Lebanese students. Consequently, it is inaccurate to perceive foreign language policy as a permanent disability in the student per se, when in fact, the issue is in the structure of the educational system that is inadequate in providing quality foreign language education. This, I contend, is what gives permanence to the perceived difficulty of subjects taught in foreign language, and not the students' presumed weaknesses or learning difficulties. The implications of this segregation are the marginalization of disadvantaged students and their inevitable exclusion from employment and opportunities for continuing their education, just like in the case of other postcolonial societies who have experienced and are still experiencing elite closure (Belmihoub, 2018; Euromonitor, 2012; Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Teacher practices that are selectively prohibiting and allowing the use of Arabic in the classroom are causing a dissociation of what is natural (i.e., the Arabic language) from the student while encouraging them to associate what is unnatural (i.e., foreign language) to their realities. As such, those teaching practices are bringing rise to colonially alienated students.

Colonial alienation in Lebanese public schools

According to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, language is composed of three elements: thought, communication, and symbolic representation. Any dissociation between the three elements of language leads to colonial alienation. This dissociation can happen

actively or passively through distancing oneself from what is natural to the self, or through identifying with what is unnatural. Following wa Thiong'o's categorization of ways in which one can become colonially alienated, this study shows that public school students in Lebanon, both Syrian and Lebanese, are being actively and passively alienated at school and at home. Further, this colonial alienation has taken shape in two forms: students' acquired speechlessness and their possession of two or three underdeveloped languages. These manifestations create among students the fears of losing and using the Arabic language.

Teacher practices and the production of colonially-alienated public-school students in Lebanon

This study suggests that two processes are occurring simultaneously: the in-sync foreignization of Arabic and the internalization or nativization of foreign languages. Students operate on different linguistic frequencies when in public (i.e., school subjects) and private spheres (i.e., home, playground, conversations).

At home, students rarely use foreign language, as their families either cannot afford foreign-language educational resources or do not have an adequate educational background that allows them to support their children's foreign language learning. Interestingly enough, instead of supporting disadvantaged children in their education, the majority of teachers and school principals blame the students' background of poverty and their perceived low socioeconomic status for their low academic achievement.

At school, however, foreign language teachers communicate with their students in class primarily in English or French and only revert to Arabic when they lose hope of communicating an idea to a student in foreign language. Teachers are not to blame for that, since they are merely following what the curriculum asks them to do, which was in alignment with Abu El-Haj, Kaloustian, Bonet, and Chatila's (2018) findings on teacher practices at a Lebanese public school, whereby the authors rejected labeling the teachers as "bad," because they had to abide by the strict curriculum, which assessed their teaching practices based on the extent to which their classrooms were silent and orderly. Further, teachers only used Arabic as their last resort; this is especially interesting because it shows how teachers are willing to bend the rules only when official exams are at stake but are not willing to do so for real teaching and understanding. As such, the

dissociation between the three elements of language takes an active form in mathematics, science, and foreign language classes through linguistic exchanges that occur in the public classroom. These linguistic exchanges take place through the censorship of Arabic and the praise of foreign language, just like in the case of Ghana whereby students are punished whenever heard speaking in Ghanaian and are only praised when they use the foreign language (Edu-Buandoh, 2016). As such, the students' native language, which is natural to them, is being separated from themselves and replaced with foreign language, which is unnatural to them. This suppressive behavior of teachers and trainers is due to the perceived superiority of the foreign language over the Arabic one, and the condemnation of Arabic in mathematics, sciences, and foreign language classes. Students are constantly made to and even forced to abandon their native language in the name of learning. One of the differences between the private and public sectors, then, is that the former nativizes foreign language more effectively.

While colonial alienation may take numerous forms, two forms dominated in this study, namely students' acquired speechlessness, and their half-language proficiencies. With those manifestations of colonial alienation comes a paradox: a fear of losing the Arabic language accompanied with a contradictory fear of using it.

Students' acquired speechlessness

This study shows that the majority of Lebanese and Syrian students who participated in the quantitative survey and in focus group discussions hesitate to and stutter when using foreign languages, and generally cannot provide anything beyond one-word responses, unless allowed to use both, Arabic and foreign languages when responding. This was in alignment with several studies that showed that students find it extremely difficult to express themselves in foreign language since they lack the vocabulary (Bahous et al., 2011; Zakharia, 2008). As such, some students may appear too silent in class but that is not because they have nothing to say, rather, it may very likely be because what they are thinking of in Arabic may be extremely difficult to spell out in foreign language, hence they were put in a situation that rendered them speechless. Interestingly enough, teachers are highly aware of students' comfort with Arabic and communicate key messages to them, such as concepts or ideas for the official exams, in Arabic and not in foreign language.

This suggests that students consume the foreign languages, but they do not produce with them. Hence, and as per Bourdieu's notion of convertible capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), foreign language in Lebanese public schools is not of valuable symbolic capital, as the students' inability to produce with them means that there is a high chance that they will not be employed in high-paying jobs due to their lack of foreign language proficiency. This means that they will not be able to convert this capital into an economic capital.

Students' half-language proficiency

Interviews with school principals showed that not only are public-school students weak in foreign languages, but they are also weak in Arabic. This finding suggests that students are incapable of reaching their full potential in any of the three languages particularly because of their split employment of language: colloquial Arabic at home, standard Arabic in Arabic classes and to a lesser extent in humanities and social sciences, and English or French in language classes in addition to mathematics and sciences. As such, and as opposed to the perceived multilingual identity of Lebanese people because of their exposure to all three languages, like the Syrians in Lebanon as well, the term "multilingual" should be replaced with "semilingual," as they have two or three underdeveloped languages, which renders "multilingual" and inaccurate descriptor of the reality. In fact, the findings of this study are in harmony with: (1) local studies that show that Lebanese students perceive foreign language as a barrier to their educational attainment (Amin, 2009; Bahous & Nabhani, 2008; Bahous et al., 2011; Thonhauser, 2001); (2) international and local studies that show that Syrians perceive foreign language as a barrier (Burde, Guven, Kelcey, Lahmann, & Al-Abbadi, 2015; EI & FES, 2016; Inter-Agency Coordination Lebanon, 2016; Mendenhall, Garnett-Russell, & Buckner, 2017; Shuayb, Makkouk, & Tuttunji, 2014; UNICEF, 2015a, 2015b; UN, 2014a; UNICEF, MEHE, & CRI, 2013); and (3) international studies that show that students who study mathematics and sciences in a language other than their native one will inevitably face varying learning difficulties (Bunyi, 1999; Curtis & Millar, 1998; Lee, 2005; Rollnick, 2000).

Lebanese and Syrian students, while separated by nationality, have a lot more to share in common than what the literature suggests, for both groups are disadvantaged

and thus receive the same poor-quality of foreign language education from Lebanese public schools. As such, Syrian refugees are not the only group of individuals who find foreign language as a barrier to their educational attainment, vulnerable Lebanese students are equally victims of the same system.

The paradox: the fears of losing and using Arabic

While semilingualism may come with a negative connotation, the reality of the matter is that this is what employers demand when advertising for job offers. As shown in the *Daleel Madani* survey, and other studies (Thonhauser, 2001; Zakharia, 2008), employers request an individual who speaks Arabic fluently, but writes and reads in foreign language with an excellent proficiency; in other words, they prefer a person who has been successfully colonially alienated. As such, two complementary processes are taking place: the job market is effectively cementing school-level language policies and practices, and the pressure that the job markets poses has perhaps infiltrated the minds of educators in Lebanon, who seem to view education as a means to an end and thus cater for those markets. Hence, I contend that the education system and the job market are co-creating the reality of colonially alienated individuals. As such, we can find some teachers and even students who think of the Arabic language as a part of their identity that they should forever preserve in certain parts of their private sphere such as in informal face-to-face conversations or at home, but are also hesitant to employ it in other also private but functional parts, such as in emails, texting, professional resumes, or even in academic writing. To truly decolonize the education system and its consequence on the job market, work conditions need to be reconfigured.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

It is clear that foreign language, which is a particular historical and structural legacy in the Lebanese public-school system, is a tool for the marginalization of disadvantaged students who have no alternatives to that system. The purpose of this study is to shed light on the importance of the colonial history of Lebanon in relation to students' school outcomes, particularly disadvantaged students who attend public schools. As such, the study took into account different perspectives of key actors: students and their parents (Lebanese and Syrian), school teachers and principals, and MEHE trainers and mentors. The results showed that foreign language education offered at Lebanese public schools is of low quality, and that the students attending those schools suffer from this incompetent educational system that teaches students mathematics and sciences in a language that is foreign to them, thus creating some form of colonial dissociation or alienation that leads to a complete separation between the thinking and expressing spheres of language. Also, the study showed that not only do Syrians suffer from foreign language in their educational journey in Lebanon, but Lebanese students have been equally suffering from the same issue for a longer span of time that predates the Syrian war. To decolonize the education system, the government should create an Arabic track for students to follow.

Limitations

I faced a number of challenges in writing this thesis particularly at the level of using a pre-existing dataset, which was convenient for me due to time constraint, but also problematic because the sample was small and restricted to public schools only, and not all of the question items in the instruments used for this study tackled the themes of employment and employability, nor did they tap on questions that would elicit responses with regards to the socioeconomic status of children. As such, I had to find literature that supported the notion that students enrolled in Lebanese public schools were vulnerable. Further, the qualitative data was not thick enough, which rendered it difficult for me to pluck out quotes from participants that give depth to the study. Finally, my moderate

Arabic language proficiency made it difficult for me to access statistical data that could have informed my literature review beyond the qualitative level; while I understood some Arabic-written texts and articles, it was challenging to understand the technical Arabic statistics jargon.

Implications for practice

Knowing that the study suggests that learning mathematics and sciences in foreign languages makes it difficult for students to be competent in those subjects, the obvious but uncritical solution would be to teach them mathematics and sciences in Arabic. However, this solution is problematic because we also learned from this study and the experiences of other Arab-speaking post-colonial societies that not only are students weak in mathematics and sciences now, but they are also equally weak in Arabic. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, mathematics and science textbooks in Arabic are available only up till sixth grade. So, what I suggest is to continue the production of Arabic textbooks beyond the sixth grade. It would be wise, then, to continue creating Arabic textbooks till the twelfth grade. As such, students who are learning their mathematics and sciences in Arabic have the opportunity, if they wish to, continue learning those subjects in Arabic. The type of Arabic is another layer to think about, because the literature has shown that the use of MSA was equally alienating to Arab-speaking students, since they do not use it in their everyday lives. It would be necessary once and if this happens to document the academic records of those students until their enrollment to university and even graduation from it, to compare their success rates to their peers who had to shift from sixth to seventh grade from Arabic to foreign language, and to their peers who have always learnt mathematics and sciences in foreign language. It is necessary to do that so that we could test and validate the hypothesis that suggests that students who learn mathematics and sciences in Arabic will do better than those who used to study those subjects in Arabic but switched to foreign language and those who have learned them in foreign language from the start. This will inform new decisions, should those be made, on the language of instruction in Lebanese schools. Further, this will better guide the directions in which funding should be made, such as in supporting the continuation of a full K-12 Arabic curriculum.

Recommendations for further research

This study put separate seemingly-unrelated components into conversation with each other. There is a language component, a historical and structural component, a schooling experience component, a socioeconomic component, and an educational attainment component, which is the most branched of components, as it included admittance to university, passing official exams, and landing high-paying jobs. For future research, I recommend looking into those different components separately and cumulatively, as both the isolation and interplay of those components can help researchers and educators better understand what the current practice does and is doing to the beneficiaries of the public-school system, particularly because there is a lot of investment going into those schools with very little evidences of their success in teaching disadvantaged children. Further, I would recommend a systematic comparison between the official exam scores of Lebanese and Syrian students attending public schools from 2012 till this date, to test the validity of the linguistic interdependence hypothesis in the Lebanese-Syrian context, which suggests that because Syrian students have mastered their Arabic language, they might outperform their Lebanese counterparts, which in turn suggests that if foreign language is a barrier to anyone, it is more so of a barrier to vulnerable Lebanese students than Syrian ones. Another recommendation would be establishing pilot schools and conducting ethics-abiding quasi-experimental studies to test the success of an Arabized curriculum. The results of such studies will guide and inform policy-level evidence-based decision-making.

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Appendices

Appendix A

IJMES Transliteration System for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

Consonants

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

A	P	OT	MT
	ʾ	ʾ	—
b	b	b	b *or* p
	p	p	p
t	t	t	t
th	s̱	s̱	s
j	j	c	c
	ch	ç	ç
ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h
kh	kh	h	h
d	d	d	d
dh	ẕ	ẕ	z
r	r	r	r

A	P	OT	MT
z	z	z	z
	zh	j	j
s	s	s	s
sh	sh	ş	ş
ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	s
ḍ	ż	ż	z
ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	t
ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	z
ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	—
gh	gh	g *or* ğ	g *or* ğ
f	f	f	f
q	q	ḳ	k

A	P	OT	MT
k	k *or* g	k *or* ñ *or* y *or* ğ	k *or* n *or* y *or* ğ
	g	g	g
l	l	l	l
m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n
h	h	h[1]	h[1]
w	v *or* u	v	v
y	y	y	y
a[2]			[3]

[1] When h is not final. [2] In construct state: at. [3] For the article, al- and -l-.

Vowels

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN		OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH	
Long ‏ا‎ or	‏ىٰ‎	ā	ā	words of Arabic and Persian origin only
	‏و‎	ū	ū	
	‏ي‎	ī	ī	
Doubled	‏ـيّ‎	iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)	
	‏ـوّ‎	uww (final form ū)	uvv	
Diphthongs	‏وَ‎	au *or* aw	ev	
	‏ىَ‎	ai *or* ay	ey	
Short	‏ـَ‎	a	a *or* e	
	‏ـُ‎	u	u *or* ü / o *or* ö	
	‏ـِ‎	i	ı *or* i	

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

Appendix B

Permission from CLS to use dataset

PERMISSION TO ACCESS A DATASET

To whom it may concern,

The Centre for Lebanese Studies at the Lebanese American University gives Samira Chatila the permission to access, and use the dataset on foreign language in Lebanese public schools for her thesis. As such, she may use the entire dataset as it is, or choose to use some of the questions and exclude others.

_____   _____

Director's signature   Date 27/2/2019

Appendix C

Permission for the initial study from MEHE

Appendix D

LAU IRB Approval

LAU
الجامعة اللبنانية الأميركية
Lebanese American University

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

لبنان أولاً

NOTICE OF IRB EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

To: Ms. Samira Chatila
Dr. Maha Shuayb
Associate Professor

NOTICE ISSUED: 14 March 2019
EXPIRATION DATE: 14 March 2021
REVIEW TYPE: EXEMPT CATEGORY D

Date: March 14, 2019
RE: *IRB #:* LAU.STF.MS1.14/Mar/2019
Protocol Title: Language as a tool of marginalization of disadvantaged students in Lebanon

Your application for the above referenced research project has been reviewed by the Lebanese American University, Institutional Review Board (LAU IRB). This research project qualifies as exempt under the category noted in the Review Type

This notice is limited to the activities described in the Protocol Exempt Application and all submitted documents listed on page 2 of this letter.

CONDITIONS FOR ALL LAU NOTICE OF IRB EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

LAU RESEARCH POLICIES: All individuals engaged in the research project must adhere to the approved protocol and all applicable LAU IRB Research Policies. PARTICIPANTS must NOT be involved in any research related activity prior to IRB notice date or after the expiration date.

EXEMPT CATEGORIES: Activities that are exempt from IRB review are not exempt from IRB ethical review and the necessity for ethical conduct.

PROTOCOL EXPIRATION: PROTOCOL EXPIRATION: The LAU IRB notice expiry date for studies that fall under Exemption is 2 years after this notice, as noted above. If the study will continue beyond this date, a request for an extension must be submitted at least 2 weeks prior to the Expiry date.

MODIFICATIONS AND AMENDMENTS: Certain changes may change the review criteria and disqualify the research from exemption status; therefore, any proposed changes to the previously IRB reviewed exempt study must be reviewed and cleared by the IRB before implementation.

RETENTION: Study files must be retained for a period of 3 years from the date of project completion.

IN THE EVENT OF NON-COMPLIANCE WITH ABOVE CONDITIONS, THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR SHOULD MEET WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE IRB OFFICE IN ORDER TO RESOLVE SUCH CONDITIONS. IRB CLEARANCE CANNOT BE GRANTED UNTIL NON-COMPLIANT ISSUES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED.

If you have any questions concerning this information, please contact the IRB office by email at irb@lau.edu.lb