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SYRIAN REFUGEE APPRENTICES AT LEBANESE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS: INTEGRATION CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT: The conflict in Syria has been going on for eight years, and this led, according to UNHCR, to around 488 thousand school refugee children in Lebanon, nearly 2,000 of them are enrolled at Lebanese vocational schools. This paper shows the effect of enrollment of Syrian refugee trainees Lebanese vocational education's public schools in term of access, and reveal the factors that hinder or encourage children refugees' registration in vocational schools. This study evaluates the reasons behind successes and failures to register or dropout and tests further hypotheses related to links between vocational education and child labour, gender equality and early marriage. Data were collected among 200 refugees aged 15-20 enrolled at VET schools in Lebanon. Findings reveal that vocational education helps to control early marriage, child labour, and lack of social cohesion. The Lebanese Ministry of Education's needs to create a refugee training policy to be ready to host more refugee trainees at the Public VET schools. An occupational, vocational training enrolment campaign and a national strategy for vocational education must include other initiatives related to child marriage and child labour.

KEYWORDS: Refugee integration, vocational education, early marriage, child labour

INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Syria has been going on for eight years, and this led, according to UNHCR, to around 488 thousand school refugee children in Lebanon (UNHCR, Education, 2019). The ministry of education and higher education may receive international donor support provided through UNHCR, UNICEF, UNESCO and bilateral donors. Referring to the ministry of education and higher education (MEHE), more than 221 thousand Syrian refugee children aged 3 to 18 years old are involved in both morning and afternoon shifts in 2017-2018 (Batakji, 2019).

Because of this reality, "[t]he education ministry said that it was obliged to limit enrolment and cut costs due to insufficient funding from international donors" (HRW & UNICEF, 2018). In addition, "Lebanon is not a State Party to the Geneva conventions of 28 July 1951" (Janmyr, 2017) regarding the status of refugees which defines the rights and obligations concerning refugees for the host country and the international community; that's why the Lebanese government considers that Lebanon is not the final destination or a state of asylum. Hence, "The Lebanese government refused to grant the international refugee status to Syrians fleeing the war to Lebanon" (Geha, 2018). Accordingly, they call them displaced. It should be also noted that Lebanon has the highest number of refugees, in their capital, in the world: "The estimated 1.5 million Syrian refugees and almost 175 thousand Palestinian refugees amount to over 1/4 of Lebanon's total population" (NRC, 2019) putting intense pressure on public services and threatening to impact Lebanon's own socio-economic stability. "Lebanon's economy has paid a significant price for the ongoing war in Syria" (Nemeh, 2017) since its infrastructure has not fully recovered after decades of wars.

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The result, thus, is that Lebanon, like many other refugee-hosting countries, always has concerns about the long-term settlement. Under this complicated situation, national and international humanitarian NGOs supported the refugees taking into consideration Lebanon's sovereignty and the refugees' needs. Officially, the Lebanese government is exclusively supporting humanitarian assistance and rejecting any form of social-economic integration of any of the refugees (UNHCR, 2019).

Taking into consideration the above points, this article will try to investigate the situation in-depth, mainly focusing on the challenges that the Syrian apprentices face in Lebanese vocational schools.

Research questions

In this article, the researcher will try to study the professional school integration challenges that Syrian students are facing in Lebanon. Hence, the researcher's primary concern is to answer the following questions:

- 1. What are the effects of the enrolment of Syrian refugee trainees in public vocational schools in terms of access to the 2018-2019 school year?
- 2. What are the factors that hinder or encourage children refugees' enrolment in vocational public schools?

Consequently, the researcher will also try to depict the reasons behind successes, failures to register, and dropouts.

Purpose of the study

The Syrian refugee vocational education survey will be a chance to better understand Syrian children refugee's integration in Lebanon and to investigate the different aspects and challenges of resilience for both host society and the refugee community. The specific purpose of this study is to test further hypotheses related to links between:

- 1. Vocational Education and child labour
- 2. Vocational Education and gender equality
- 3. Vocational Education and early marriage

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Vocational Education in Lebanon

Since the end of the war in 1990 after Taef agreement, technical and vocational education has experienced a growth in terms of the establishment of several schools and students in the public sector and a slight decrease in the number of schools and students in the private sector.

More specifically, "the number of students in the public sector grew from 7,451 in 1990, up to 38,020 in 2012-2013." (CRDP, Al Nachra Al ehsaiyat , 2013) And "approximately 83,168 students were registered in such programmes in the 2016–2017 academic year" (ILO, 2018). This resulted in a considerable increase in the share of the public sector in this field and a slight decrease in the private sector's predominance at this level. The number of teachers and the administrative body affected by technical public education has sharply risen, from almost 1,303 in 1990-1991 to 3,443 in 1999-2000, reaching approximately 13,776 in 2012-2013. Between 1990 and 2013, this increase attained 1057% while the inflation of students achieved 513%; i.e. the enhancement of teachers is more than proportional compared to the number of students. Also, in 2012-2013, the average number of students per teacher (and the administrative body) was 2.75 while in 1999-2000 it was 5.36 and 5.7 in 1990-1991. Concerning public schools in this field, their number

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was 28 in 1990-1991 and reached 40 schools in 1999-2000 than 64 in 2003-2004, 124 in 2012-2013 and "162 public and 398 private vocational and technical schools in Lebanon offering TVET" (ILO, 2018).

The latest progress was a consequence of the government's reconstruction policies and more specifically, the five-year plan developed during the 1990s. The latter consisted of creating 130 vocational schools, more than 23 technical schools, and 11 higher technical institutes. This plan was supposed to absorb 28,000 new students, with a cost of around US\$223 million.

Moreover, the Ministry of Education launched in 1999 the creation and equipment of 31 new schools thanks to financing provided by the World Bank, the Islamic Bank for Development, the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development, and OPEC's funds, in addition to the funding provided by the government. During the period 1992-2003, approximately US\$62 million were invested in this sector, and construction and equipment contracts of US\$59 million were in preparation. The table below summarises the primary statistical data (2016-2017) covered by this sector.

Parameter	Public	Private	
Schools/Institutes	162	398	
Mount Lebanon	25.90%	40.24%	
North Lebanon	31.65%	24.70%	
Bekaa	21,58%	10.36%	
South Lebanon	7.91%	9.96%	
Nabatieh	12.95%	6.77%	
Number of Students	38020	52208	
Share of Sectors (%)	58.83%	41.17%	

Table 1 VET schools in Lebanon (Source: Educational Research and Development Center-CRDP)

Even with all the changes cited above, the TVET remained confronted with the same problems. The significant issues can be summarised as Gebran Karam quotes them in the following:

- (1) Inadequate financial resources, funding mechanisms and an over-dependence on government funding;
- (2) Lack of coordination between various government departments involved in VTE;
- (3) Lack of liaison between industry and educational institutions resulting in low external efficiency;
- (4) Lack of relevance of curricula to job market requirements;
- (5) Inadequate human resources both quantitatively and qualitatively, poorly equipped and maintained workshops, and insufficient administrative infrastructures resulting in low internal efficiency;
- (6) Weak institutional capacity for planning and development at the DGVTE level and lack of relevant data since the planning, management and organisation of the VTE revolve around central supply-oriented planning that has not kept pace with the needs of the labour market; and
- (7) Poor coordination between the Ministry of Education and other government agencies and the public and private sectors resulting in low efficiency in the use of resources and weak linkages between the provider and users of VTE." (Karam, 2006)

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Lebanese TVET qualifications and classifications

The Lebanese TVET curricula are offered in public and private schools and institutions. "Private schools accommodate 57.8% of TVET students" (UNEVOC, 2019) while the number decreased to "41.17% in 2018" (ILO, 2018), (CRDP, 2017). "The private sector is divided into schools run by non-governmental organisations (NGO), and schools run by an investor looking for profit" (UNEVOC, 2019). Apart from NGO's, TVET curricula provided by the private sector "mainly take the form of specialised courses in the service sector since the investment required is lower than that for the directions in the industrial sector" (UNEVOC, 2019). TVET qualification and classification system goes in parallel with general education and consists of two primary fields: Technical Education and Vocational Training.

Referring to the presidential decree issued on August 2012, the Lebanese TVET comprised of two primary fields, namely, vocational training and technical education. Each domain has several levels.

First, vocational training focuses on the jobs and occupations which do not require extensive theoretical knowledge. It addresses practical and manual competencies and skills. The vocational training field includes three levels, which lead to the award of a formal qualification.

- "The equivalent level ends up in the vocational intermediate level BP (Brevet Professional): The students enrolled at this level must have completed the seventh grade or secured the CAP certificate. The study duration is two years.
- The execution level leads to the vocational secondary certificate (DS Dual System). The study duration is determined by three years.
- "The middle level ends in the Meister degree (vocational supervisor). The study duration is determined by two years." (Karam, 2006)

Second, technical education relates to jobs and occupations requiring a thorough knowledge of the theory and a solid scientific and technological base. Professional training also requires a thorough grounding in general education. This field comprises three levels:

• The execution level leads to The BT qualification (*Baccalauréat Technique*).

Level	Certificate	Field	Pre-requisite
Complementary	BP	Vocational	-EB7 (completed)
Execution	LP (DS) First year	Vocational	-BP (passed) -Brevet (completed) -EB 9 (completed) -Official sealed school attestation

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Execution	ВТ	Technical	-BP (passed) -EB 9 (passed) -EB9 (completed) + 1BT and PTROfficial sealed school attestation
Middle	Meister	Vocational	-General Education Certificate + 5 years experience -BT+3 years experience -LP (DS) + 2 years experience
Middle	TS	Technical	-General Education Certificate -BT
Higher	LT	Technical	-TS
Higher	LET	Technical	-General Education Certificate -BT -TS -Engineering Diploma

Table 2 Lebanese TVET Certificates, Field, Entry conditions

Level	Number of Specializations	% of graduates	
CAP (Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnel)	6	2%	
BP (Brevet Professionnel)	15	22.5%	
Dual System Professional Baccalaureate	7	2.2%	
BT (Baccalauréat Technique),	23	49.2%	

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TS (Technicien Supérieur)	27	17.4%	
LT (Licence Technique)	10	6.7%	
LET (License d'Enseignement Technique)	6	0%	
Total	94	100%	

Table 3 Specialisation and percentage of graduates

METHODOLOGY

Data about refugee vocational education was collected among refugee children aged 15-20 through a survey and focus groups. The researcher visited four vocational schools in different Lebanese districts, two in Bekaa (North Bekaa and west Bekaa), one in Mount Lebanon and one in Tripoli. Two hundred questionnaires were filled measuring the access to vocational education and the reasons behind successes and failures to register or dropout, child labour, early marriage and gender differences.

The sampling was done according to the directorate general of vocational and technical education (DGVET) data (February 2019) as respondents were Syrian refugee trainees at the Lebanese public vocational schools.

District	Area	Number	Males	Females			Female dropouts
Bekaa	Al Kaa	32	12	19	3	3	0
Bekaa	Kheyara	142	45	97	14	11	3
North	Tripoli	37	8	29	7	6	1
Mont Lebanon	Mtein	15	10	5	7	3	4

Table 4 Survey Areas

The respondents were Syrian refugees' students registered at the Lebanese public vocational schools, reflecting unequal proportions of girls and boys.

The questionnaire covered the following:

- Gender and age
- Access to different school areas
- Distance and transportation
- Relationships with Lebanese and Syrian students/teachers/administration
- Foreign language barrier

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- Child labour
- Early marriage

RESULT/FINDINGS

The first step in the analysis of data is the number of enrolled Syrian students in the VETs studied across Lebanon. It gives an estimated number of enrolled students in different levels of the VET schools studied.

Enrolment in VET schools

Broken down by vocational and technical education levels, majorities of the Syrian refugees are enrolled at the BT level with 54%, followed by the BP level with 25% and LT with 1%, which can show that the Syrian students try to join the labour market as soon as they have any opportunities and they do not enter the higher technical education.

The enrolment of the Syrian refugees is the highest in the North (37.66 %), Bekaa (25.75%), Mount Lebanon (20.19%) and the South (16.40%), where access to public VET schools is the lowest. Syrian refugee students chose this VET school since they are close to the area of their residence or because of the difficulties of learning at general education schools.

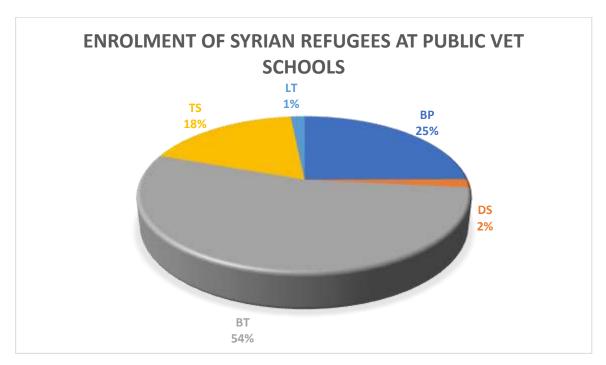


Figure 1 Enrolment of Syrian refugees at public VET schools

Access to VET schools

The survey allows us to estimate the socio-economic impact of the public vocational schools on the Syrian youth attending the training at these schools, which can be broken down by various socio-economic variables, especially area and gender.

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By area

When asked if they were attending daily the vocational school, 91.5% of the students said they were going daily to school, 8.5% said they were not going every day, and the dropped-out rate was only 11.11%. This percentage did not change across surveyed VET schools. The highest percentage of girls' enrolment is at Mtein VET school (80%), followed by Tripoli VET school in north Lebanon (78 %), then the VET school of Kheyara (68%), and the northern Bekaa vet school, Al Kaa (60%).

It is important to note here that not all those going to VET schools are supported by the same vocational education program. 20% of refugees' trainees at Kheyara VET school said they are receiving 200 USD as a monthly donation from an NGO which created jealousy between the Syrian trainees themselves and the Lebanese students as well.

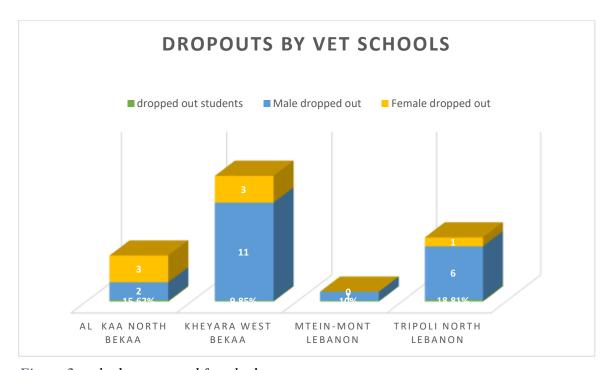


Figure 2 male dropouts and female dropouts

By gender

Another new breakdown is by gender, which reveals a serious problem with boys' enrolment while 71% of the enrolled Syrian trainees are girls aged over 15 years old and attending the VET school.

The focus group revealed a high enthusiasm and motivation for learning even with existing problems of catching up with foreign technical languages, mainly French and English.

The above numbers show that boys are not having the same chances like girls to be enrolled at VET training schools since they are pushed by their parents to join the labour market early due to the unfortunate livelihood situation, only boys of families with higher income are slightly more likely to go to VET schools.

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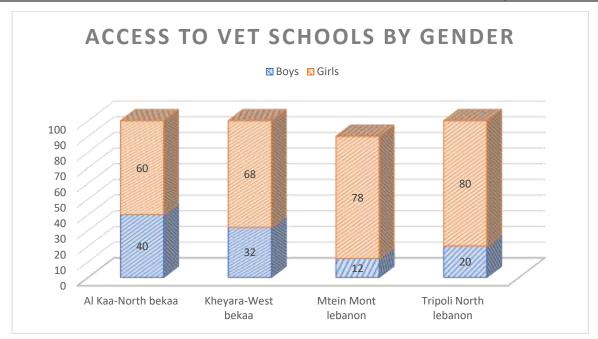


Figure 3 Access to VET schools by gender

Conditions at VET schools

After having a look at the number of enrolled students at VET schools and the access to these schools defined by gender and area, it is interesting to look at some conditions at these VET schools. The main variables studied in this paper that may affect enrolment and dropout numbers are a) distance and means of transportation and b) relationships with teachers and administration and language barriers.

Distance and means of transportation

With regards to range from VET school, 15% of students are 0-10 minutes away from school, 61.25% are 10-30 minutes away, and 23.75% are 30 minutes to one hour away from school. Besides, 59% go to school by bus, and 31% walk to the VET school and 10% go by cars.

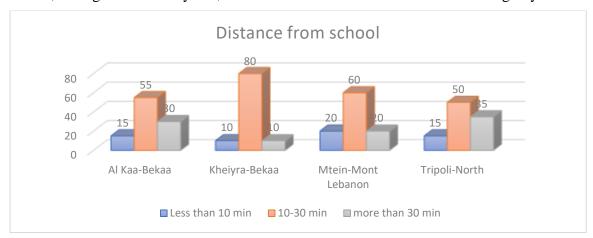
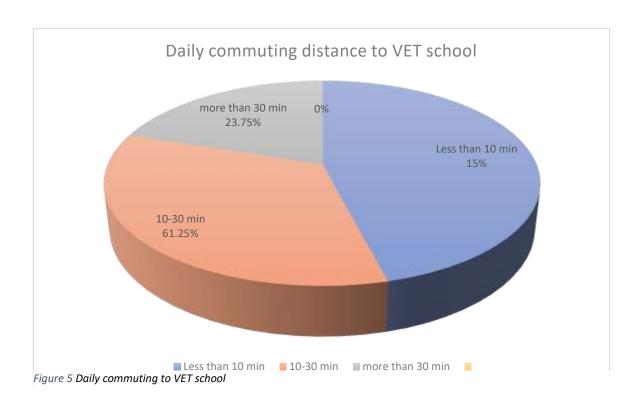


Figure 4 Distance from school



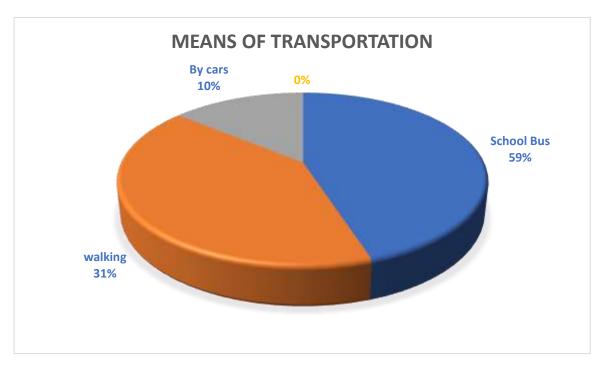


Figure 6 Means of transportation

Relationships and the language barrier

With regards to class composition, 24% of refugees said they have only Syrian students in classes. Interaction with teachers and administration is considered good or very good by most students. 17% say it is "average". 13% say they have problems at school all the time or sometimes.

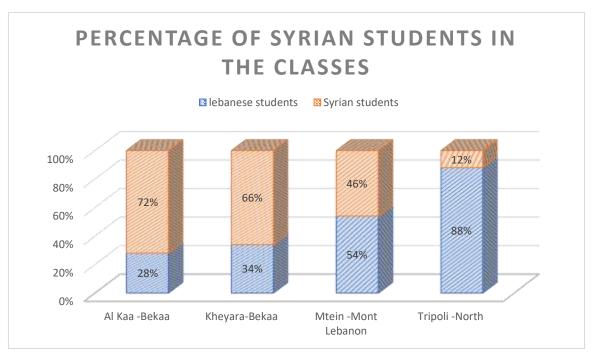


Figure 7 Percentage of Syrian students in the classes

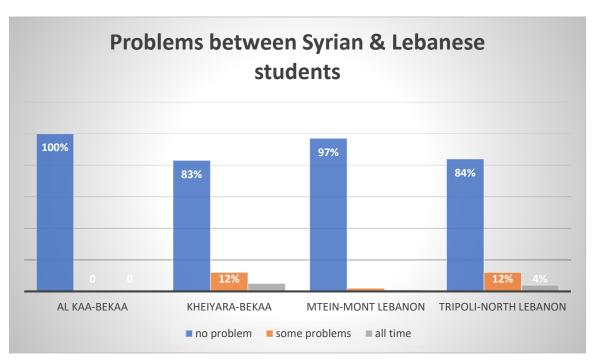


Figure 8 Problems between Syrian & Lebanese students

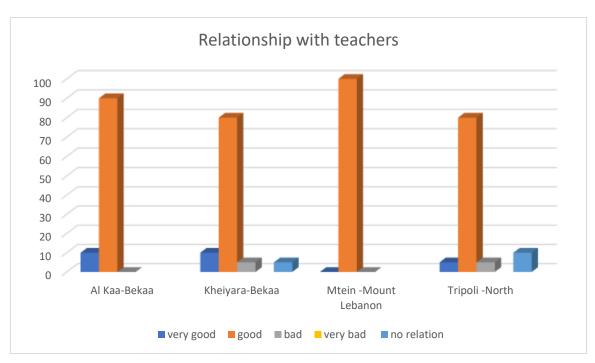


Figure 9 Relationship with teachers

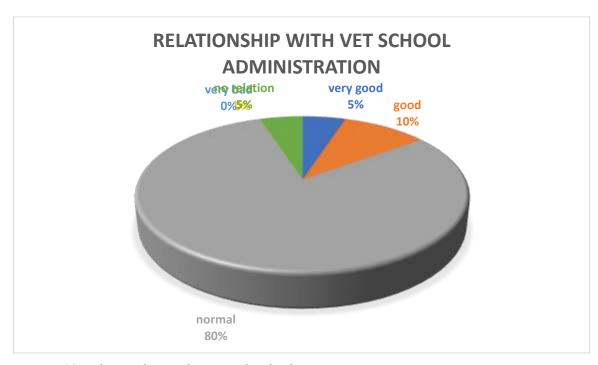


Figure 10 Relationship with VET school administration

With regards to relationships with the Lebanese classmates, the survey shows that around 65% of Syrian children consider their relations with Lebanese students outstanding and kind, while 15% face difficulties in dealing with classes.

Regarding difficulties in class and training workshops, the most significant proportion of Syrian students say they have a problem with the French language only at the abstract classes, and less as the situation becomes more comfortable at the practical training since teachers train all the time in Arabic and use only the technical terms in French or sometimes in English.

Analysis of data

The factors that impaired or promoted vocational training

Many factors are behind access to professional training, including transportation, job opportunities, and scholarships. Focus groups and survey data provide us with a lot of parameters, open the perspective of analysis and reveal the challenges associated with refugees concerning vocational training.

The first chart assessed the effect of vocational school distance and time spent to go to the VET school on drop-out rates. It is clear from the survey outcome that students who live far from the vocational school are more likely to drop out. As distance goes up, drop-out rates increase from 5% to 8% approximately.

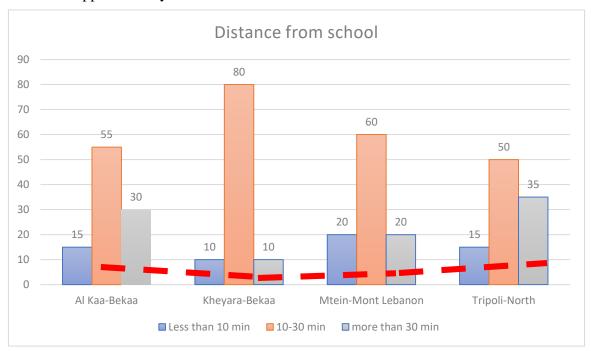


Figure 11 Dropouts relation to VET school distance

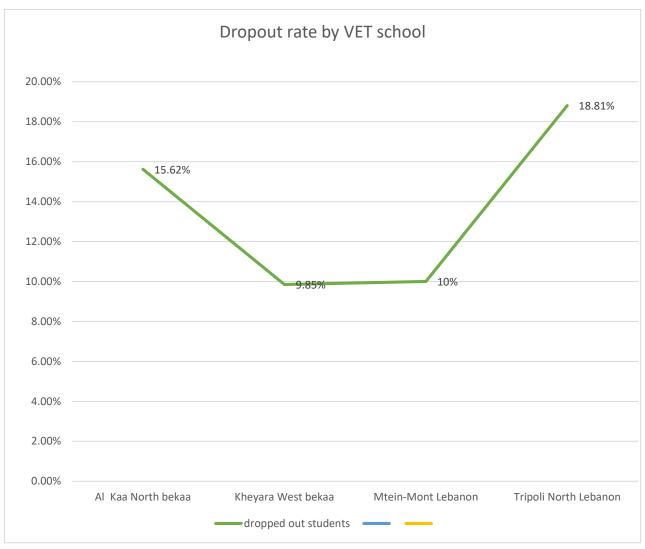


Figure 12 dropout rate by VET school

Clustering down the VET public school's enrolment by regions revealed that 37.66% of the enrolled at these schools are in the North, and 35% of the trainees live in the distance far away more than 30 minutes from the VET school. It also reveals that the lowest enrolment is in Mount Lebanon with a rate of 20.19% even with a smaller school distance over 30 minutes with a rate of 20%. It seems that the cause of low enrolment in Mount Lebanon is not distance, but rather other socio-economic reasons. Distance is an essential variable in some regions while in other districts the dropout rate is related to inside schooling dynamic as liking teachers or students' relations.

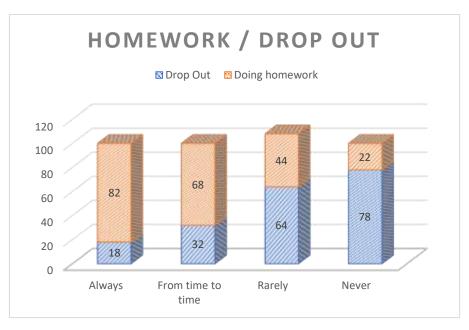


Figure 13 Doing homework vs dropout rate

Impact of VET

This section analyses the relation between schooling and social behaviour as child labour, education and work, which turns out to be highly correlated. The survey data shows that 73.47% of the VET trainees are not working while the others are working and going to school.

The dropout rate is much higher for working students 80.24% of the 15.62% dropout in Al Kaa and 72.46% out of the 18.81% dropout in Tripoli which reflects the fragility of those in need of income and their temptation to drop school to go to work. Finally, 95.61% of the children who work during vacation go to school; those have found a balance between study and seasonal work.

71% of the enrolled Syrian trainees are girls aged over 15 years old and attending the VET school.

Moving to another big social issue, early marriage, 96 % of all trainees questioned are not married, and this revealed that education is an essential factor of awareness against the likelihood of initial engagement.

Limitations

The findings of this study have to be seen in the light of some limitations.

First, sampling errors occur when a probability sampling method is used to select the samples which do not reflect the general Syrian refugees' students in Lebanese public vocational schools. The researcher had limited ability to gain access to all the geographic scope of participants due to the limited financial resources.

Second, there is no prior research that targeted explicitly the topic at hand. This opens a significant opportunity to identify new gaps in the previous literature and present the need for further development in the area of study.

Third, there is a need for future research to try to cover a more significant number of refugees all over Lebanon so that the collected data would have more scientific value.

CONCLUSION

The study shows that the access of Syrian refugee's trainees to VET schools helped them to be more prepared to join the Lebanese labour market with the necessary skills; thus 25% of Syrian refugees enrolled at BP level, 54% at BT level, 18% at TS level, only 1% at LT level.

Only 4% of the registered Syrian trainees at vocational schools are married what prove that vocational training help to control early marriage and give the teen-refugees chances to be better prepared for a sustainable socio-economic integration and reduce the child labour rate at least during academic years. The study numbers show that boys are not having the same chances like girls to be enrolled at VET training schools since they are pushed by their parents to join the labour market early due to the unfortunate livelihood situation; only boys of families with higher income are slightly more likely to go to VET schools. The research finds that sharing training classes between refugees and the host community reduce the social tension and discriminations among the trainees and give the refugees trainees the feeling that they are equal in chances with others and improve their social cohesion, and build enthusiasm and hope among refugee youth in Lebanon. The leading figures discussed concerning the Syrian refugees' enrolment in terms of access, admission, and conditions show that the highest subscription is the in the North (37.66 %), followed by the Bekaa (25.75%), Mont Lebanon (20.19%) and the South (16.40%), where access to public VET schools is the lowest. The highest drop-out rates are in the Bekaa (18.81%). And figures tell that transport support offered by NGO's helped the refugee's trainees to join the VET schools. As to distance from VET school, 15% of students are 0-10 minutes away from school, 61.25% are 10-30 minutes away, and 23.75% are 30 minutes to one hour away from school. Refugees trainees who live far from the vocational school and do not have transportation support, are more likely to drop out. As distance goes up, drop-out rates increase from 5% to 8% approximately. Dedicated buses are the primary means of transportation to school: 59% go to school by buses and 31% walk to school.

Recommendations

First, to increase access to vocation school, transportation and distance should be addressed. It is necessary to increase support to DGVET to equip more vocational schools, increase training resources and expand training centres' capacities.

Second, enhancing the frame conditions of extracurricular activities are strongly recommended to positively develop the relations with vocational teachers and Lebanese and Syrian friends, supporting the assignment of homework, and psycho-social support. Additional support by NGOs must back vocational education without being a substitute. This also brings up the importance of the national professional teacher training centre (IPNET) to offer a particular training program to the trainers to deal with the refugee's study environment in all aspects, and to provide professional support for trainers and counselling. Third, it might be interesting to offer students, during the summer, short and intensive English/French language, and soft skills training. The Ministry of Education's "VET directorate" needs to create a refugee training policy to be ready to host more refugee trainees at the Public VET schools. The number of enrolments has more than doubled between 2017 and 2018 academic year. However, this progress needs to take place within the more accessible segment of the youngest, and they dropped out refugee students from the general education schools. The efforts need to be oriented to enrol the more vulnerable groups, including older refugees' children in remote areas. It is crucial to offer psychosocial support to the Lebanese and Syrian refugee adolescents who are at risk of dropout, or who have dropped out recently, and provide them with proper counselling, academic support and alternative options for education. The increase access to VET schools,

transportation and school distance should be addressed. Safety is also a key factor for school access and legalisation of residential papers will help in this regard.

Furthermore, it is necessary to increase support to DGVET at MEHE to better equip the training vet schools, increase teaching resources and expand capacity. Quality relations with teachers and friends, practical training, and psychosocial support are all essential. Additional support by NGO must back vocational education practical training which should focus on studying the environment, professional support for teachers, and counselling services for both host society and refugee community to mitigate social tensions and favour less segregated classrooms. It might be interesting to offer students, during the summer, short and intensive practical English and computer training courses. An occupational, vocational training enrolment campaign and a national strategy for vocational education must include other initiatives related to child marriage and child labour. A holistic approach to vocational education is essential to break the vicious circle of pessimism and reach out for the unreachable.

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