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Rebuilding Needs of the Education Sector During the Political Transition

Policy Paper

الباحث:

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اختصاصي وباحث في علم الاجتماع وعلم النفس الاجتماعي

فريق دودري:

صبيحة خليل

خبيرة الجندر، المديرية التنفيذية

أليس مفرج

مديرة البرامج

Executive Summary

Rebuilding Needs of the Education Sector During the Political Transition Phase

POLICY PAPER

This paper is an extension of the first research published by the "Duderi" organization, titled "Dynamics of Exclusion and Violence in Education and their effects on Peacebuilding in Syria," in partnership with the EuroMed Initiative in September 2023. This paper was based on several basic results issued by the aforementioned research, which covered Idlib, Raqqa, and Suwayda. This paper is based on several key findings from the aforementioned research, which covered Idlib, Raqqa, and As-Suwayda. Building on these findings, the sample which studied the Syrian community has been expanded by adding three new areas: Daraa, Afrin, and Qamishli. Studying these three new areas aims to further verify the validity of the previous results on one hand, and to reach more comprehensive, broader, and more accurate recommendations on the other hand, especially regarding transitional justice, early recovery, reconstruction, and sustainable development. A focused discussion session was held in each of these areas in April-May 2024, with each session including 10 participants who were either working in the educational sector or were community leaders with an interest in education. The total number of participants was evenly split between men and women, amounting to 60 participants.

The paper addressed four main topics as follows:

I- Educational Subjects and Curricula and Psychosocial Recovery, which includes the following points:

- The current Syrian curricula and educational process shall meet the foundations of building a modern, pluralistic, democratic country.
- Independence and neutrality of curricula.
- Developing the curricula.
- Mental health and psychosocial support.
- Benefiting from the experiences and lessons learned from societies that have undergone conflicts and rebuilt themselves through education.

2- Social Capital, Coordination, Support, and Infrastructure:

- Current coordination between organizations and educational entities.
- Addressing the issue of school dropouts.
- Teaching methods and tools.
- Sustainability of education quality.
- Enhancing the role of education in building social capital.

3- Syrian Social Diversity and Involving International Organizations in the Education Sector:

- Linguistic and ethnic diversity in Syria.
- The role of international organizations in the issue of recognizing certificates.

4- The Role of the Political Process and the Constitution in the Educational Process:

- Transitional justice and the educational process.
- The role of the future constitution in promoting gender equality and the educational institution.
- The educational institution and political transition.
- Participating in Syria's reconstruction through early recovery and sustainable development.

Methodology:

The approach to analyzing the sessions was conducted based on geographical, cultural, and political proximity, as well as, the similarity of human component, and control forces in every group.

The work was based on the principle: what is and what ought to be; that is, starting from understanding and analyzing the existing tangible reality, towards constructing a vision of what it ought to be in the future ⁽¹⁾. Subsequently, a special analytical tool was designed for the tables, and it was used to write session reports, and to extract results and recommendations.

(1) According to the principle of "Immanuel Kant" in his understanding of theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge, as stated in his book "Critique of Pure Reason."

The sessions concluded with the following recommendations:

A- Educational Subjects and Curricula and Psychosocial Recovery:

The paper recommends that principles related to equal citizenship, pluralism, Syrian diversity, gender equality, and equal opportunities between genders should be integrated in response to the process of democratic transformation of Syrian society. This should be done without perpetuating discriminatory and violent practices present in the societal culture, aiming to improve society to enhance security, peace, and stability as a foundation for democracy, rather than deriving from hegemonic agenda of a ruling authority. Thus, "these concepts should be established in their structural meaning rather than an ideological one" ⁽²⁾.

To achieve this, gradual community awareness should be conducted to make these principles fundamentally valued by society, because, "in some places, ideological change and ideological imposition is more important than the entire educational system"⁽³⁾. Stereotypical points in education, such as considering industrial secondary education is exclusive to males and Women's Arts Secondary School ⁽⁴⁾ is exclusive to females, should be changed to break down misconceptions about feminism and probably changing the whole name when it is necessary.

The educational system requires also monitoring the students' interests from early grades and developing them, without imposing them forcefully, and guiding them towards suitable specializations. It is also necessary to ensure salary equity between jobs to prevent income from influencing students' interests. Moreover, the specificities of each area should be considered when developing programs for early recovery and reconstruction. The necessary infrastructure should be provided, and teachers should be supported financially, socially, and psychologically.

(2) One of the attendees at Raqqa discussion session pointed out that society is a key player that cannot be excluded in the acceptance of these concepts by schools. For society to accept them, the concepts should not be imposed by a hegemonic authority but should derive from genuine needs and become an integral part of the culture rather than an imposition.

(3) Raqqa's session.

(4) Women's Arts Secondary School: Secondary schools typically designated for girls, focusing on reinforcing gender roles related to females and teaching skills such as sewing, embroidery, cooking, and child care. These schools are mistakenly called 'women's arts,' as if art could be associated with a specific gender, and they deviate from the concept of feminism towards a completely opposite social philosophy

The recommendations also call for:

1. The separation of politics from education and the establishment of educational goals that are equally distant from all, includes all categories of Syrian society. Therefore, curricula should be unified across all regions and represent everyone. Developing curricula requires forming a development committee that is neutral, objective, politically independent, and has integrity, long experience, and represents both genders and all components of Syrian society. The committee should also consider the psychological, social, and cultural aspects of students, and involve experts, parents, and students in the development process. Moreover, the committee should implement a pilot model for the proposed plans before it is fully adopted. The committee must have complete independence, and no one should be allowed to interfere with it. The committee should consider the pluralistic state objectives and its interests and the interests of the people, and take into account labor market needs, economic conditions, and environmental differences."
2. Supporting psychosocial counselors by training them during university, providing periodic training courses, providing the necessary supplies for their work, and enhancing their importance in schools. Moreover, counseling groups should work in schools, and the group should include therapists and psychiatrists in each complex, and referrals should be activated between them. Furthermore, it is necessary to reduce paperwork in schools, and focus more on the practical side.
3. Benefiting from the experiences of similar countries, such as South Africa, which added lessons on reconciliation and peaceful coexistence to its educational curricula and organized awareness campaigns to promote values of tolerance, justice, and citizenship. Moreover, Rwanda, which focused on strengthening the social cohesion through educational and cultural programs aimed at promoting national unity and mutual understanding ⁽⁵⁾. Both countries have undergone long conflicts that reached the level of genocide.

B- Coordination, Support, and Infrastructure:

The paper recommends establishing an education council whose role will be advisory in setting education policies during the reconstruction phase. The council should be responsible

(5) Mazen Naqasha, *Rebuilding Syrian National Identity in the Post-Conflict Phase: Analyzing the Role of Culture with Education, Reconciliation, and International Experiences*, Master's thesis, Higher School of Journalism and Communication Paris, International Relations Division, Paris, 2024, pp. 58-59.

for coordinating with local and international organizations to ensure continuity and provide educational needs, which would lead projects towards integration and sustainability.

It is also necessary to collaborate with international organizations to develop temporary and neutral curricula during the transitional phase, and to implement accelerated and compensatory education models to address dropout phenomenon.

Part-time attendance for dropouts could be implemented, either in schools or specialized institutes for teaching basics such as reading, writing, and mathematics for two hours a day. "It is also necessary to financially support the families of dropped-out students if the children fulfill a certain attendance period, to provide educational requirements to ease the burden on families, and to encourage dropouts to return to school. Moreover, to provide qualified teaching staff to deal with dropouts, and to focus on the priority of building and furnishing schools in general, especially in remote areas, and to renovate damaged schools, because some people "focus on increasing the number of mosques rather than schools" ⁽⁶⁾.

The paper also recommends the following:

- Combating early marriage.
- Combating child labor and addiction.
- Conducting awareness and home visits campaigns.
- Reactivating the compulsory education law.
- Appointing an assistant teacher in large classes.
- Training teachers in modern and diverse teaching methods, such as interactive and participatory education based on critical thinking.
- Implementing educational programs suitable for the reconstruction ⁽⁷⁾ phase in collaboration with the local community.
- Establishing a training committee to communicate with experts and update the training programs regularly.
- Raising teachers' salaries and promoting them on the basis of competence, achievement, and professional advancement, not only on the basis of the duration of teaching.
- Teaching ethics subject at schools.
- Linking educational outcomes to the needs of the labor market.
- Activating the students' school card to monitor their interests and guide them.

(6) From Afrin's session, where participants highlighted a defect in the prioritization of the needs of the community".

(7) When necessary, it is possible to benefit here, for a temporary period only at first, from the educational tools, projects, and programs that were previously used to treat urgent matters or resulting from the past period.

C- Syrian Social Diversity and Involving International Organizations in the Education Sector:

The paper recommends that the curriculum remain in Arabic with dedicating classes for teaching the languages of Syria's other ethnic minorities. It also suggests establishing private institutes, at the country's expense, to teach the curriculum in different languages. Syria's cultural and ethnic diversity must also be recognized in the constitution, in addition to recognizing Arabic and Kurdish as official languages. "International organizations should pressure for the recognition of academic certificates by establishing methods for certificate recognition across different regions, through the standardization of assessment exams and the adoption of neutral, non-politicized curricula that are universally accepted. Some, particularly in northwestern Syria, have insisted on either recognizing the administration's curriculum or agreeing on a consistent educational curriculum with optional languages, and to provide financial and technical assistance for curricula and the quality of educational content, and monitoring the education process ⁽⁸⁾.

It is worth noting that teachers' recommendations regarding early recovery programs in education mainly focused on two points: first, that these programs should take into account Syria's social and political condition, and second, that they should involve local expertise and management to balance urgent needs with building a solid foundation for long-term sustainable development, infrastructure repair, and the restoration of essential services, with education being a top priority."

D- The Role of the Political Process and the Constitution in the Educational Process:

Education is considered as a counterpart to the constitution, so, the existing politicization based on exclusionary ethnic singularity, represented by Arabism, is exclusionary. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize Syrian diversity to enhance a country of law based on equal citizenship. Additionally, it is necessary to activate the role of civil society organizations in social cohesion, ensure the independence of education in the constitution's content and laws ensuring gender

(8) From Alqamishli's session, where the attendees insisted on finding a solution to address the issue of diverse educational curricula and the problem of non-recognition of certificate issued by their universities. The attendees emphasized the need to give importance to the linguistic rights of ethnic minorities within the educational process.

equality and eliminating all forms of gender-based discrimination in both content and discourse. The paper also recommends removing education from non-national agendas, rejecting all forms of discrimination, ensuring justice for teachers who are marginalized legally, financially, and morally, and supporting absentee and dropped-out students and addressing their situations. It is also necessary to add lessons on respecting the culture of others, promoting openness among Syrians based on rights and duties, and combating extremism to enhance social cohesion. Some opinions have indicated a misunderstanding of the role of transitional justice, leading to rejection based on concerns about the outcomes of the transition process, particularly regarding the potential for dropping accountability and prosecution of war criminals in Syria. "Transitional justice means the victim remains silent about his rights. We pressure the other to give up his rights for the benefit of all"⁽⁹⁾

In conclusion:

In conclusion, it is clear that there are many similarities across the six regions. The most important points include ensuring education maintains equal distance from everyone, emphasizing early recovery as an essential step in revitalizing the educational process, and establishing a mutual advisory council to manage this process during the transitional period.

The paper also highlighted several problematic issues in the education sector that, if not addressed, they could deepen divisions among the Syrian segments. because they will create generations unable to integrate and live with the rest of society segments in the country. Therefore, it was necessary for us to take action to resolve these issues alongside the recommendations from previous discussion sessions. This indicates the necessity of accelerating the Syrian-Syrian dialogue and placing the problematic issues related to the educational process on the dialogue table.

(9) From Idlib's session, where one of the participants expressed her concern that transitional justice, based on some international experiences, might be like this, and therefore she expressed her rejection of this type of justice if it was so.

Rebuilding Needs of the Education Sector During the Political Transition Phase

Policy Paper

First - Introduction:

The results of a previous research conducted by "Duderi"⁽¹⁰⁾ Organization showed a series of differences and similarities between Syrian regions under different controlling forces regarding educational curricula and the educational process. However, the differences and discrepancies indicate that the current educational process and curricula, in some of their details, will create differences in the structure and cohesion of society. These differences are likely to contribute to fuelling future conflicts in all areas under the control of the three de facto forces, due to the severe disparities among them resulting from extreme ideological indoctrination that has politicized the curricula. If we assess the development of this case among the areas of control and the ongoing educational process within them, we find ourselves at a critical stage in the evolution of the conflict in societies, according to the sequence of the conflict from the perspective of social psychology, at the penultimate level ⁽¹¹⁾.

The current educational curricula will lead the region to an explosion stage after generations, which was clear in some of the surveyed areas in Syria.

(10) "Duderi" organization, "Dynamics of Exclusion and Violence in Education and their effects on Peacebuilding in Syria," in partnership with the EuroMed Initiative in September 2023.

(11) The first stage: it begins with speaking negatively about other groups implicitly without showing it to them, and is called the hidden conflict with relationships - The second stage: it is negative discrimination and lack of communication with others, and is called the stage of hidden conflict with severed relationships - The third stage is negative discrimination against others such as not employing them or communicating with them and depriving them of their rights, and is called the stage of semi-declared conflict - The fourth stage: it is physical and verbal abuse and theft from other groups and is called the declared conflict with abuse - The fifth stage is genocide or annihilation.

Education is considered as a cornerstone of peacebuilding and stability supporting during and after the democratic transition process. It plays a role in resolving social, civil, and political conflicts, and developing communities. This means that the education sector is essential for country building, especially in the post-conflict period, which highlights its importance in civil peace programs ⁽¹²⁾. One research, conducted by the Syrian Women's Network on the needs of Syrian women in 2023 ⁽¹³⁾, showed that women's general interest in eliminating discrimination against them in the education sector and that education's role in peacebuilding was at its lowest levels in all areas covered by the study across Syria and in countries of asylum. This is an important sign that can explain the current interest in the role of education in peacebuilding. It is known that eliminating discrimination against women in educational curricula and the educational process contributes to building societal peace ⁽¹⁴⁾ as it is based on promoting tools, techniques, and ideas that can eliminate divisions among different segments of society.

Second - Problematic Issue and Objectives:

Based on the recommendations and results of the study conducted by "Duderi", indications emerged that it was necessary to seek the viewpoints of experts to obtain more precise, comprehensive, and inclusive recommendations. This is crucial for advancing the educational process practically towards building peace in the society associated with the political transition and early recovery process, by eliminating differentiation and discrimination in curricula and the educational process.

This includes integrating human rights principles, considering them as a base of citizenship values and gender equality. The study identified four essential axes including 16 points, highlighting the necessity of consulting specialists in various regions.

Consequently, consultations were conducted with specialists in six regions within Syria, considering the distribution of control forces and Syrian demographic diversity in each area: Southern Region – Suwayda /Daraa, Northwestern Region - Idlib/Afrin, and Northeastern Region - Raqqah/Al-Qamishly.

(12) UNICEF, The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: Literature Review, New York, May 2011, P.p 17 . 19 . 22 . 25 .

(13) Safwan Qassam, The Main Women's/Feminist Needs in Syria and Some Asylum Countries, Syrian Women's Network "Unpublished Research", November 2023.

(14) Inter-Agency Network for education in emergencies, education for peacebuilding, <https://inee.org/collections/education-peacebuilding>, April 2017.

This paper aims to consider the following four axes:

First Axis: Subjects, Educational Curricula, and Psychosocial Recovery, which includes the following points:

1. Current Syrian curricula and educational process shall meet the following principles on which modern democratic states are built:
 - Equal citizenship.
 - Syrian pluralism and diversity.
 - Gender equality.
 - Equal opportunities for both genders.
2. The independence and neutrality of the curricula.
3. Curriculum development.
4. Mental health and psychosocial support.
5. Learning from the experiences of nations that have undergone conflict and recovered through education.

Second Axis: Social Capital, Coordination, Support, and Infrastructure:

1. Current coordination among organizations and educational frameworks.
2. Addressing dropout's issue.
3. Methods and tools of education.
4. Ensuring the sustainability of education quality.
5. Enhancing the role of education in building social capital.

Third Axis: Syrian Societal Diversity and involving International Organizations in the Education Sector:

1. Linguistic and ethnic diversity in Syria.
2. The role of international organizations in recognizing certificates.

Fourth Axis: The Role of the Political Process and Constitution in Education

1. Transitional justice and the educational process.
2. The role of future constitution in promoting gender equality and educational institutions.
3. The educational institution and political transition.
4. Contribution to building Syria:
 - Sustainable development.
 - Early recovery.
 - Reconstruction.

Third - Methodology and Framework:

The study was conducted in three areas based on the distribution of the de facto control areas in Syria:

- Areas under the control of the Syrian government in the southern region Daraa and Suwayda.
- Areas under the control of the Autonomous Administration in northeastern Syria Qamishly and Raqqah.
- Areas under the control of opposition factions/the National Army and Hayat Tahrir al-Sham in the northwestern region Idlib and Afrin.

The work lasted from February to August 2024.

The research sample included a group of civil society leaders and individuals working in the educational field at senior and mid-level administrative and technical positions, as well as educators working directly with students.

The study followed a descriptive-analytical methodology and used a social survey method to reach the required sample from the civil society, people who are interested, workers, and influential individuals in the educational process. The tool used was focus group discussions, which is a deliberate standard sample.

Criteria for participants in the focus group discussions:

Each session included 10 individuals:

- 6 individuals from the educational sector as follows:

3 men and 3 women, to be:

1. Teachers working in educational staff.
2. Possessing teaching experience extending from before the conflict in Syria.
3. At least 2 of them should be school principals or mentors.

- 4 individuals from the community in which the study conducted, as follows:

2 men – 2 women, to be:

1. Community leaders interested in education or organizations working in education in senior positions.
2. 2 of them or less from relative minorities according to the region.

The sample was selected according to the following table:

Discussion Area		Educators - men	Educators - women	Leaders - men	Leaders- women	Total
Regime Area	Suwayda	3	3	2	2	10
	Daraa	3	3	2	2	10
Autonomous Administration Area	Raqqah	3	3	2	2	10
	Qamishly	3	3	2	2	10
Opposition Factions Area	Afrin	3	3	2	2	10
	Idlib	3	3	2	2	10
Total		18	18	12	12	60

Fourth - Research Implementation:

Focused discussion sessions were conducted on the following dates:

- Idlib Session April 7th
- Suwayda Session April 13th
- Daraa Session April 16th
- Afrin Session April 19th
- Qamishly Session May 10th
- Raqqah Session May 18th

The distribution of attendees according to the relative majority and relative minority within each region was as follows:

Participants	Teachers		Leaders		Total
	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority	
Men	8	7	7	7	29
Women	8	12	5	6	31
Total	16	19	12	13	60

Fifth - Methodology for Analysing Discussion Sessions:

The methodological approach relied in analysing the sessions on classifying the six regions into three groups: Idlib – Afrin, Qamishly – Raqqah, Suwayda – Daraa. This classification was based on geographical proximity, cultural and political closeness, as well as similarities in the human component and controlling forces within each group. Consequently, the arrangement was as following:

1- Idlib: Approximately 5.1 million citizens live there, 3.4 million of whom have been displaced from various Syrian regions. Their living conditions are poor, and they have no opportunity to move elsewhere. 2 million of them live in camps, and 1 million children are out of school ⁽¹⁵⁾. The controlling forces are radical Islamic groups, alongside with the presence of Druze and Christian minorities but almost invisible and facing difficult conditions. Generally, the society in Idlib is facing conditions like those in Afrin, militarily, politically, and ideologically. The controlling forces have intervened radically in the educational process in this area based on their ideological background.

2- Afrin: Previously, most of the population was Kurdish, reaching 95% ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Currently, there are no accurate statistics about this area since Turkey occupied it in 2018 in collaboration with some extremist factions. The controlling forces now are directly affiliated with Turkey specifically, and the radical Islamic factions affiliated with it, under the name "National Army". Its society now includes a Kurdish minority that was previously a majority before being displaced, and their homes and properties were confiscated. This former majority and current minority are like Qamishly in terms of ideology and population ⁽¹⁷⁾.

The controlling forces have intervened radically in the educational process in this area based on their ideological background.

3- Qamishly: Since the outbreak of the Syrian revolution, regime forces withdrew from Qamishly, leaving security points there. The region then experienced conflicts with ISIS, and the Autonomous Administration took control. Its society is composed of diverse ethnic and religious groups, with Kurds being the majority. Despite Raqqah being under its control, it does not share much similarity in its society. The controlling forces have intervened radically in the educational process in this area based on their ideological background.

4- Raqqah: it witnessed the fiercest battles fought by the international coalition against ISIS,

(15) OCHA, A report about the situation on northwest Syria, 16 May 2024. <https://reports.unocha.org/>

(16) Hosain Naaso, Demographic Change in the Afrin Region Legal Perspective, February 2019. <https://yek-dem.net/>

(17) HRV, Syria Events of 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/> January 2022.

leading to the displacement and killing of many of its inhabitants before the Autonomous Administration took control with the help of the international coalition in 2017. Most of its population is Arab, aligning with the general composition of the broader Syrian society. The controlling forces have intervened radically in the educational process in this area based on their ideological background. The educational experience in Raqqah has been the most volatile due to the alternating control by different forces since the beginning of the revolution, as well as educational marginalization before the revolution.

Control shifted from Baath Party to the Free Syrian Army, then Jabhat Al Nosra, followed by ISIS, which led to the displacement of skilled individuals and significant changes in population and ideological orientation until the Autonomous Administration imposed its educational policies.

5- Suwayda: This region is under the control of the Syrian regime, with local opposition factions protecting the ongoing daily protests against the regime since August 17, 2023. It currently hosts hundreds of thousands of displaced people from other Syrian regions. The local majority's composition is larger than the prevailing majority in the broader Syrian society, and it is geographically and circumstantially close to the community in Daraa. The official education system is still prevalent there, despite the local community's reservations about some topics related to Baath Party's policy there.

6- Daraa: This region is also under the control of the Syrian regime, with a degree of autonomy due to the presence of opposition forces that controlled the province for many years. The majority of inhabitants is similar to the prevailing majority in the broader Syrian society, and it shares circumstances with other regime-controlled areas. The official education system is still prevalent there, despite the local community's reservations about some topics related to Baath Party's policy there.

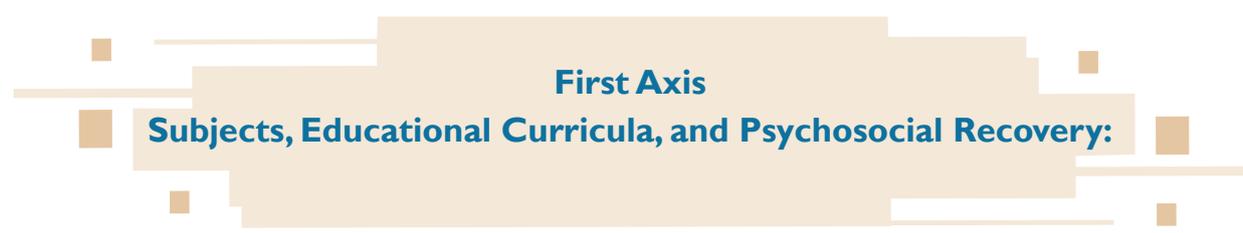
Sessions Coding:

- Idlib Session: S.I
- Afrin Session: S.A
- Qamishly Session: S.Q
- Raqqah Session: S.R
- Suwayda Session: S.S
- Daraa Session: S.D

In terms of content analysis, the sessions were transcribed. After rereading and identifying the important ideas mentioned in them, we returned to the four analytical axes and the 16 key topics under them. These topics were then searched for in the discussion session transcripts according to two main axes: what is and what it ought to be ⁽¹⁸⁾.

This approach moves from understanding and analysing the existing tangible reality towards constructing a vision of what it should be in the future. Subsequently, a special analytical tool for tables was designed, and the session report was written using this tool, leading to the extraction of results.

Sixth - Session Results: "What Is":



Educational subjects and curricula play an important role in the peacebuilding process by promoting awareness and mutual understanding among individuals and communities. Psychosocial recovery provided by social and psychological counsellors in schools contributes to the psychological and emotional stability of students and teachers affected by conflicts, which create a supportive educational environment that helps to build more tolerant and stable communities:

I- Regarding the extent to which the current Syrian curricula and educational process meet the foundations of modern democratic states:

These foundations are:

- **Equal Citizenship:** This means ensuring that all Syrian citizens have the same rights and obligations without discrimination based on race, gender, religion, or any other factor. This concept enhances equality in legal protection and full participation in social, political, and economic life ⁽¹⁹⁾.
- **Syrian Pluralism and Diversity:** Syria has a rich mix of cultures, religions, and ethnicities that have historically lived together within a complex society reflecting ethnic and religious diversity,

(18) According to Immanuel Kant's principle in his understanding of theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge as stated in his book "Critique of Pure Reason".

(19) Hassan Alaswad, Equal Citizenship, Harmoon Center, November 5, 2021. <https://www.harmoon.org/>

such as Arabs, Kurds, Assyrians, Armenians, Druze, Alawites, Christians, and others. Understanding and accepting pluralism in Syria helps to enhance them and contribute to strengthening social ties, encouraging understanding, and cooperation among different groups despite the political and economic challenges facing the country ⁽²⁰⁾.

- **Gender Equality:** it is part of international law as represented by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948. In 1979, the General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW ⁽²¹⁾, which the Syrian government signed in 2002, with reservations on several articles that emptied the convention of its content. Syrian laws remain lagging in this context.

- **Equal Opportunities Between Genders:** it is a fundamental principle of gender equality in all fields, including education. Moreover, it is an integral strategy to mainstreaming the gender-social perspective. It also reflects the level of enhancement of women's status in society in general and in education in particular ⁽²²⁾.

The sessions showed that there is a similarity between Idlib and Afrin, that the controlling powers in both regions have deleted anything that might hint at or refer to these concepts from their curricula, with a deliberate obfuscation regarding Syrian groups. They justified this deletion, for example: **“Salih alali’s ⁽²³⁾ mission was to displace as many Syrian Sunni citizens, ‘Kurds and Turkmens,’ from Alawite mountain range to make it a homogenous area” ⁽²⁴⁾**, meaning that the population would be entirely Alawite. Thus, mentioning Salih Alali was deleted based on this justification! Teachers' rejection of this policy was implicit, criticizing the curricula of the controlling powers in different areas that politicize the curricula according to their interests ⁽²⁵⁾. However, this criticism might be a form of justification for the policy in Idlib and Afrin on the principle: **“As long as everyone else is doing this in their regions, why shouldn't I do it too?!”**

(20) Ahmad Korabi and Nawras Alabdullah, Insights on Diversity Management in Syria - The Necessity of National Awareness with Citizenship, Syrian Dialogue Center, September 11, 2023. <https://sydialogue.org/>

(21) United Nations, Global Issues: Gender Equality. <https://www.un.org/>

(22) 22- ESCWA, Gender Parity, ESCWA, 2022. <https://www.unescwa.org/ar/sd-glossary>

(23) 23- Saleh Alali: One of the Syrian revolutionaries against French colonialism, he led the Syrian Coastal Revolution in the Alawite Mountains starting in 1918. His name was deleted from the educational curricula in northwestern Syria because he belongs to the Alawite sect, which is considered to be on the side of the Syrian regime, with the justification for this deletion being that it was a historical fallacy. This justification applies to many of the changes that were introduced in history books based on sectarian backgrounds.

(24) I.S

(25) I.S.A.S

In Idlib, the disparity between accepting and rejecting these concepts was apparent due to the varying societal stance on the controlling powers and their radical Islamic background, which opposes these concepts. In contrast, Afrin calls for and demands to implement it due to the society's acceptance of these concepts, unlike the controlling powers in Afrin who

Some attendees in Idlib justified that discussing plurality is currently out of the question: **“How can I convince the student of plurality when he sees all kinds of torture from a specific sect”** ⁽²⁶⁾, because the country's violence, primarily from the “regime,” has tied itself to a particular sect, a matter that society will not accept unless regime figures and war criminals are prosecuted. They believe that these needs should arise from the original society, provided that they do not perpetuate a culture of violence, especially against women.

Participants in the Afrin session see plurality from a different perspective related to Kurdish nationality: **“As a Kurdish person, I don't find myself in the national education subject at all; I am entirely marginalized and overlooked. Our curricula only have Arabism and Arab heroes”** ⁽²⁷⁾.

In Qamishly, some considered these items as political items and not reflecting the community's needs or education and learning. One participant noted: **“Syrian curricula since my childhood have lacked internationalism... They elevate one nationality over other nationalities, and does not recognize nationalities and components other than the Arab component”** ⁽²⁸⁾ He called for the politicization of education to achieve the ruling authority's interests ⁽²⁹⁾.

Another opinion believed that the politicization of education as a gateway for extremist forces, because it gives them legitimacy. At the same time, others argued that politicization should be prohibited in education to ensure its neutrality ⁽³⁰⁾.

Another participant distinguished between policies that serve the country and those that serve the authority, considering that policies advocating such needs serve the country, not the authority ⁽³¹⁾.

The situation was not much different in Raqqah regarding these points the foundations of modern democratic states. Participants in Raqqah session considered them detached from the

(26) I.S

(27) A.S

(28) Q.S One of the community leaders interested in education.

(29) The politicization here is exclusively from the speaker's point of view according to the “Stalinist-internationalist” opinion.

(30) Q.S The speaker is a representative of one of the important minorities in the northeastern region of Syria.

(31) Q.S

community or following a specific political agenda. This view was expressed in Suwayda and Daraa sessions. In contrast, other opinions called for them and considered them urgent and necessary for building the country and peace.

It was clear that the imposition of these ideas in the curricula and education by the authorities played a role in some people's rejection of them. As in the Suwayda and Daraa sessions which questioned the plurality, citizenship, and equality promoted in the curriculum because it was issued by Baath and the Syrian regime, some participants in Raqqah session criticized them as they are ideological “intellectual course” imposed by the authorities on teachers and the community, and they are not appropriate for them.

Some attendees from Suwayda pointed out that these concepts are devoid of their content and do not reach the students in the right way; some said they do not exist at all, as the current curricula perpetuate the stereotypical role of women and do not refer to Syrian diversity. In Daraa, some noted that the curricula include these points and that the law is fair to men, women, and minorities. They stated that women have taken their chance in work due to current circumstances, as the community currently lacks men due to security conditions: **“We have forced gendering; the majority of country’s employees are women because of the circumstances.”**

2- The Independence and Neutrality of Curricula:

The sessions unanimously agreed that the educational curricula taught in their areas are politicized. Some responses avoided the question about the mechanisms of the entities practicing political influence in the educational process, which aims to represent the ruling authority’s background in the educational process. This politicization takes the form of complete separation between boys and girls, men and women in educational field, from first grade to higher educational institutions, or changing in certain curriculum details, additions, and deletions based on the political relevance of the information. In Northeastern Syria, the situation is different, with policies enforcing the integration of males and females in schools even if this contradicts the community’s culture, changing the language of teaching from Arabic to Kurdish in some areas, and changing history and geography curricula according to the policies of the de facto authority.

In Suwayda, teachers stood against the politicization of the official educational process. However, the recognition of certificates by the Syrian regime forced students to study the national education subject for their exams. Teachers found ways to teach this subject that limited Baath

Party's influence on students ⁽³²⁾. The recognition of academic certificates remains a leverage point for the regime over areas outside its control.

3- Curriculum Development:

Committees in all regions work on curriculum development, each according to its area. There are entities that dominate this process and the committees, leading to a gap between the curriculum and reality, and errors in the curriculum. Some people suggested that educational federalism may be inevitable in Syria, with maintaining key central points to preserve the cohesion of the country and the people.

4- Mental Health and Psychosocial Support:

The importance of activating the role of the social and psychological counsellor in schools lies in following up the psychological and mental recovery of students, especially those suffering from psychological disorders resulting from conflict and trauma and contributing to the implementation of psychosocial support and social integration programs.

The sessions showed that the role of the psychological and social counsellor in schools is currently superficial and ineffective, depending on the capabilities of the counsellor and the school's circumstances and the cooperation of teachers and administration. School administrations, teaching staff, and even parents sometimes do not accept the interventions of counsellors, who generally lack the necessary techniques, tools, and equipment to practice their profession. Some people consider the counsellor's role as a position given to someone from Baath Party to take a long rest, with a weak understanding of the social and psychological counsellor's role in the school and the limits of their authority.

In Idlib and Qamishly, there are no counsellors in schools, but schools supported by organizations, have a child protection specialist who has been appointed instead; this is generally a temporary position tied to continuous funding and does not require academic specialization to practice it. In Afrin, some schools employ counsellors without their university degree being suitable for this work ⁽³³⁾. In Qamishly, there was no psychology department at "Rojava" University to produce counsellors ⁽³⁴⁾. In Daraa, the effectiveness of this role is limited due to the weak counselling tools that are unsuitable for the difficult reality and complex problems ⁽³⁵⁾.

(32) S.S

(33) A.S

(34) Q.S - R.S

(35) D.S

5- Learning from the Experiences of Nations that have undergone conflict and Recovered through Education:

The experience of Rwanda was mentioned, where the educational system was rebuilt with a focus on society rebuilding through educational and cultural programs aimed at promoting national unity and mutual understanding. This included enhancing curricula that encourage peace and tolerance, teacher training programs, non-formal education programs, and community participation in education. Moreover, South Africa's experience which added lessons on reconciliation and peaceful coexistence to its educational curricula and organized awareness campaigns to promote values of tolerance, justice, and citizenship after the civil war, and promoting inclusive education for all with community participation, and training teachers on new, reformed curricula to promote national reconciliation ⁽³⁶⁾ ⁽³⁷⁾ ⁽³⁸⁾.

The sessions also mentioned Japan's experience where teachers granted the immunity of an emperor and the salary of a doctor. Moreover, in Poland, where education was transformed into a practical rather than a theoretical one. Furthermore, in some German states, the community appoints the principal and teachers, and they are not appointed by administrative decision. The sessions also mentioned the experiences of Malaysia, Poland, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Second Axis

Social Capital, Coordination, Support, and Infrastructure

Social capital allows individuals to easily resolve their social problems, facilitates opportunities for advancement and development, and contributes to raising social awareness levels among individuals. Three elements contribute to the formation of social capital: social organization, social structure, and human development ⁽³⁹⁾. The issue is that the current education system does not contribute to building social capital in Syria.

(36) Mazen Naqasha, Rebuilding Syrian National Identity in the Post-Conflict Phase: Analysing the Role of Culture with Education, Reconciliation, and International Experiences, master's thesis, Higher School of Journalism and Communication Paris, International Relations Division, Paris, 2024, pp. 58-59.

(37) UNESCO, Education for All 2000-2015: achievements and challenges; EFA global monitoring report, 2015, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org>.

(38) World Bank group, Republic of South Africa Systematic Country Diagnostic, April 30, 2018, P - p 53 - 57. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/>

(39) Dr. Alaa Ali Ali Alzaghaf, Measuring Social Capital, Studies in Social Service Magazine, Issue No. 55, Vol. 3, June 2021, p. 767-774. <https://jsswh.journals.ekb.eg>

6- Current Coordination Between Organizations and Educational Frameworks:

Organizations generally play a negative role in education because their project sustainability is temporary and dependent on donor funding, and their policies do not consider local needs. Additionally, they have brought educational staff from official schools due to offering excellent salaries to teachers in their schools, unlike the official teacher salaries, which has left teachers in the official sector feeling disadvantaged. The coordination of these organizations with authorities in Idlib and Northeastern Syria is weak ⁽⁴⁰⁾. In contrast, their coordination with the regime's government is very strong, as they do not take action without its approval. One participant in Idlib session expressed the lack of coordination in his region by saying: **"The main problem is that we have two ministries and two governments, and we have a third tyrannical government in Damascus, and we have people controlling us from UNESCO, and we have chaos"** ⁽⁴¹⁾.

Among the positives of the organizations' work is that they provided support for education that is no less important than official education, by supporting schools and students with supplies,

rehabilitating infrastructure, following up dropouts, literacy courses, educational support courses, and following up the education of those with disabilities, as well as educating a wide segment of society everywhere.

UNESCO and UNICEF could play a role in pressuring the regime and countries to recognize academic certificates issued by Idlib and Northeastern Syria regions ⁽⁴²⁾.

7- Addressing the Issue of Dropouts:

sessions showed that the work on the issue of dropouts is generally weak in all areas of control, and it is left to organizations to handle it. the organizations' role is more than the educational authorities under the de facto authorities. The educational needs in both Idlib and Northeastern Syria indicated that coordination between the de facto authorities and organizations is necessary to accomplish this work ⁽⁴³⁾. In regime areas, a segment of a generation is cut off from education due to the circumstances has emerged and placed in advanced classes with an educational gap. This segment is threatened with dropping out soon ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

(40) Although they often receive approval and also pay taxes.

(41) I.S

(42) I.S + Q.S + R.S

(43) I.S + Q.S

(44) S.S

8- Teaching Methods and Tools:

The most common teaching method is lecturing sometimes interspersed with some dialogue. This is reinforced by the high number of students in classrooms, which makes using other teaching methods difficult and time-consuming, without completing the curriculum. The limited experience and capabilities of teachers, the lack of tools and resources in schools to purchase teaching aids, and the absence of infrastructure such as electricity, laboratories, and devices, further reinforce the lecturing method in the educational process.

Some people argue that this dependent on the de facto authorities, where **"there is no priority for learning new methods; the priority is for ideological courses and the process of ideological change. For the de facto authorities, ideological imposition is more important than the entire educational system"** ⁽⁴⁵⁾. It appears that all methods focus on teaching healthy children and rarely directs to the education of those with disabilities.

Punishment and physical discipline have decreased in all schools ⁽⁴⁶⁾, Some methods, such as intelligence games and construction toys, are sometimes used but are more prevalent in private schools.

9- Sustainability of Education Quality:

There is no proper and regular training for educational staff, except when there is a new curriculum or a modification to the old one. The topics of these courses often follow the policies of the de facto authorities. The current level of teachers is very weak, and few are working to develop their skills.

10- Enhancing the Role of Education in Building Social Capital:

The current education system does not focus on building human capital because it is currently disconnected from reality. Its goals generally differ from development goals that serve the community, as development has been harnessed in all areas to serve the de facto authorities and the prevailing direction, including the community direction: **"It does not focus on increasing the number of schools, but rather on increasing the number of mosques"** ⁽⁴⁷⁾.

This general direction contributes to emptying Syria of its human capital because it does not provide a suitable ground to benefit from it economically, especially with the lack of strategic planning to link education outcomes with the labour market. Students are lost and confused between reality, school, family, and the future: **"It seems to me that the student is like**

(45) R.S The speaker was criticizing the situation in which ideas different from those of society are imposed through these courses instead of improving other conditions.

(46) Although there are other forms of violence, including psychological violence.

(47) A.S.A criticism from the speaker of the spread of the extremist religious movement.

a point of attraction; the principal attracts them from one side, the secretary attracts from another, the teacher attracts from another side, and the guardian attracts from another... in the end, you see them torn apart, distracted, not knowing where the path is”⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Third Axis

Syrian Social Diversity and the involvement of International Organizations in the Education Sector

Syria is characterized by linguistic, ethnic, and religious diversity, reflecting its long history and the various cultures that have settled there. Its inhabitants speak Arabic, Kurdish, Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, Circassian, and other languages, in addition to other local languages. This diversity is part of the complex Syrian identity that has been formed over centuries of migrations and different cultural interactions⁽⁴⁹⁾. It was essential to consider this diversity in the educational process in Syria and to examine the mechanisms of international organizations' intervention, both humanitarian and civil, to solve the issue of recognizing academic certificates issued by various educational institutions:

11- Linguistic and Ethnic Diversity in Syria:

Students in some areas study Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish, English, and sometimes French, which can be overwhelming for them. In Northeastern Syria, efforts are being made to issue three educational curricula in Arabic, Kurdish, and Syriac, allowing students and their families to choose which curriculum their children will study. There is support for teaching non-Arabic languages in Syria's official education system, despite some disapproval to teaching the Kurdish language⁽⁵⁰⁾.

12- The Role of International Organizations in the Recognition of Certificates:

There is no international recognition of the educational curriculum in Idlib and Northeastern Syria, nor is there recognition of the certificates issued by these areas⁽⁵¹⁾, as recognizing them might imply indirect recognition of the de facto authorities that issue them. The lack of recognition of these certificates has led students in those areas to drop out of the educational process, given the uncertainty of the value of education tied to unrecognized certificates. Although UNESCO

(48) D.S this phrase was said by a principal of a school in Daraa.

(49) Ahmed Korbi and his colleague, previous reference, September 11, 2023.

(50) A.S + Q.S + R.S

(51) I.S + Q.S + A.S

intervened in developing the curriculum for the Coalition Government the Syrian Interim Government, it did not recognize the certificates issued by it. Qatar used to print schoolbooks for Idlib and Aleppo's countryside, but today Turkey prints them without the donor being known (52).

The current educational policy of the Autonomous Administration may be a reason for the failure of education and the displacement or migration of students and their families to other provinces or abroad, to safeguard their children's future, as the certificates issued by the administration are not recognized, neither in Syria nor in neighbouring countries.

The Forth Axis

The Role of the Political Process and Constitution in the Educational Process

The legal and regulatory frameworks governing the educational system determine the curricula and allocate the necessary financial and human resources to ensure high-quality education for all citizens. Constitutions often guarantee the right to education and outline the country's responsibilities in this regard. Political processes contribute to the development and reform of educational policies based on social and economic changes and the evolving needs of society.

13- Transitional Justice and the Educational Process:

In the Syrian case, transitional justice includes some measures such as prosecutions, establishing truth commissions, compensation and reparation programs, reform the institutions, disclosures, social reconciliation, the release of detainees, and the revelation of the fate of the disappeared. The educational process is linked to transitional justice in various ways. Education can be an essential tool in achieving the goals of transitional justice by focusing on equal and inclusive education, teaching history transparently, training teachers, considering the situation of students, etc. (53) (54) (55).

Some attendees rejected the concept of transitional justice, as it meant to them, according to their understanding: **"Pressuring the other side to give up his rights for the benefit of**

(52) A.S + I.S

(53) Alice Mifrej, Accountability for All and Transitional Justice, Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Beirut, Lebanon, May 27, 2022.

(54) Noha Abu Aldahab, Creativity in Transitional Justice: Experiences from the Arab Region, 24 November 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/>

(55) Salam Mohammad, Transitional Justice, Terminology, Objectives and Implementation Mechanisms, With Justice, April 6, 2021. <https://pro-justice.org/>

everyone" ⁽⁵⁶⁾. As involving the educational process in transitional justice is a form of intervention, they believed: **"The issue of transitional justice is right from a legal and emotional perspective, but in practical terms, it is futile. Therefore, education must be entirely neutral regarding all political, ideological, and religious matters and should be free from any restricting background"** ⁽⁵⁷⁾. Conversely, some others had little information about this concept.

14- The Role of Future Constitution in Promoting Gender Equality and the Educational Institution:

Some participants suggested benefiting from the old Syrian constitutions before Baath Party rule. **"The Syrian constitution was good, but the single-party's interventions with exceptions and the introduction of theoretical premises into the Constitution, emptied it of its content, unfortunately. However, the constitution in the 1950s and early 1960s was among the best"** ⁽⁵⁸⁾. The current constitution is not sensitive to gender equality in substance or speech and does not mention minorities and Syrian diversity. **"When there is recognition of national, religious, and linguistic diversity... schools will naturally reflect this law"** ⁽⁵⁹⁾.

Additionally, the current constitution is not suitable for building comprehensive educational curricula for all segments of Syrian society, as it relies on Islamic law and jurisprudence ⁽⁶⁰⁾. In contrast, according to some participants in Qamishly and Raqqah, women under control of the Autonomous Administration have gained more rights than men, especially in education which is guaranteed by the constitution, unlike other Syrian regions. However, there are other implications of this equality they did not mention, such as the recruitment of minor girls and the lack of acceptance of differences.

15- Educational Institutions and Political Transition:

There is no clear perception among attendees in all the areas, where the study was conducted, about the fate and role of education during the political transition process, despite general pessimism about its possibility. Some participants in Raqqah have called for distancing from ideologies related to Kurdish parties to reach a balanced state, although others in Raqqah and

(56) I.S misinformation about transitional justice has led many people to form inaccurate opinions about it; this can be generalized to other political, intellectual and organizational terms, and therefore it was necessary to educate teachers about these terms.

(57) S.S

(58) A.S although the previous constitutions were not without gaps that led to the problems we have today as well.

(59) Q.S

(60) S.S Because the constitution has a role in formulating education policy within the country, and thus the bias in the current Syrian constitution towards Islamic jurisprudence and law was an obstacle to enacting an educational policy that could formulate an educational curriculum that includes all segments of Syrian society.

Qamishly believe that the state of education in northeastern Syria will be the same during the political transition: **"There is no difference; the difference is that the Arabic language here will be Kurdish... and history will be about the Rojava region"** ⁽⁶¹⁾.

16- Contribution to Building Syria:

A- Sustainable Development:

it is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It assumes the preservation of natural resources for future growth and development purposes ⁽⁶²⁾.

B- Early Recovery:

In humanitarian response, early recovery refers to the transitional period between emergency response to a crisis such as natural disasters or conflicts and long-term reconstruction and development. The main goal of early recovery is to restore basic livelihoods, provide essential needs, rebuild vital infrastructure, and improve resilience to future disasters. In the Syrian case, it includes providing temporary shelters, rebuilding homes, repairing essential infrastructure, restoring basic services like education, and supporting economic recovery and local capacities ⁽⁶³⁾.

C- Reconstruction:

Medium- and long-term rebuilding or reconstruction involves the sustainable restoration of infrastructure, services, housing, facilities, and resilient livelihoods necessary for the full functioning of a community or society affected by a disaster. This aligns with the principles of sustainable development and "build back better" to avoid or minimize future disaster risks ⁽⁶⁴⁾.

All discussion sessions agreed that the current curricula and educational process in Syria, in various areas of control, cannot contribute to development, early recovery, and reconstruction even before the crisis. This is due to issues related to student's acceptance at the secondary level, whether in commercial, industrial, women, religious, telecommunications, literary, or general secondary schools, and even in university specializations. The ultimate goal of education has been to "create an employee," which is a mechanism that does not support creative education

(61) Q.S Speaking about the educational situation in northeastern Syria, "Rojava," she pointed out that Arabic has become a subject in their educational curriculum, and that the subjects of history and geography are also concerned with this region, and thus it is no different from the education that will be in the transitional phase.

(62) ESCWA, Sustainable Development, 2022. <https://www.unescwa.org>

(63) Ayman Aldasouki, Early Recovery Fund: Latent Opportunities and Existing Risks, Omran Center for Strategic Studies, May 15, 2024. <https://www.omrandirasat.org>

(64) UNSRR, Reconstruction, United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2015. <https://www.undrr.org/>

or creativity. Additionally, vocational and industrial schools are not given attention despite their essential role in early recovery. The society generally prefers the idea of children holding socially prestigious and well-paid positions in the future, such as doctors, lawyers, and engineers, without considering the children's true interests.

These ideas are instilled in children's' minds due to the high financial return of these jobs: **"If the income of an industrial worker was like that of a doctor, everyone would go into industry"** ⁽⁶⁵⁾. Current education does not consider the specific needs and environment of each region. Northeastern Syria needs specializations in agricultural engineering, water and irrigation engineering, transportation engineering, veterinary, and petroleum, and development should take into account the capabilities of students in the region. Furthermore, children will not prefer a future in teaching when they see teachers in poor conditions due to their financial circumstances. Additionally, the control of de facto forces allows them, in the absence of law, to interfere in schools and the teacher-student relationship, which will have effects later on the educational process ⁶⁶(⁶⁶). There is a significant lack of infrastructure, a small number of teachers, a lack of their competence, and weak salaries and motivation to work ⁶⁷(⁶⁷). The current curricula, due to their difficulty and disconnection from reality, contribute to the deteriorating situation, driving students away and leading students to drop out, with no sign of employment based on these curricula after graduation ⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Some noted that before starting development, early recovery, and reconstruction, three demands must be met: political solution, security, and infrastructure; without these, we are burning stages ⁽⁶⁹⁾. Since Syria is divided, the political solution comes first, and it is a temporary process: "Except for development, I think the other concepts are temporary and depend on the political situation" ⁽⁷⁰⁾.

(65) I.S

(66) A.S

(67) R.S

(68) D.S

(69) Q.S

(70) S.S

Seventh – Recommendations of the Sessions “what ought to be”:

A- Separating politics from education and guaranteeing equality and pluralism:

1. Reforming the educational system in Syria requires separating politics from education by setting educational goals at the same distance from all categories of society without exclusion.
2. The constitution must guarantee the methods of education, the independence of its institutions through supra-constitutional clauses, and canceling all types of discrimination against women and all their rights to education in substance and speech.
3. Ministry of Education must attach great importance to the issue of teachers' salary.
4. Concepts related to equal citizenship, pluralism, the Syrian diversity, justice, and the equality of opportunities between genders must be derived from society's needs in order to accept and adopt them. Therefore, community awareness campaigns must be gradually organized for these principles to make them a basic value until they are felt as a need.
5. Benefiting from similar peoples' experiences, especially South Africa and Rwanda.
6. It is possible to remain the curriculum in Arabic, with adding dedicated classes to teach the languages of other Syrian categories for non-Arab students. And it is possible to establish private institutes, at the country's expense, to teach the curriculum in different languages.
7. Arabic must be recognized as an official language along with Kurdish in the educational field, and Syrian cultural and ethnic diversity must be recognized in the constitution.
8. Eliminating the stereotypic roles of both genders in education, for example, the Industrial Secondary School is exclusive to males, and the Women's Arts Secondary School is exclusive to females.
9. Adding ethics lessons about tolerance, openness to others, community cohesion, and combating extremism, in order to advance society and human capital, and not differentiate between male and female students and teachers.

B- Conditions of curriculum reformulation:

1. Unifying curriculum in all areas of control into one comprehensive and acceptable curriculum for all categories of the Syrian people.
2. In order to develop the curriculum, the selected committee must have the following characteristics: neutrality, objectivity, political independence, integrity, specialization, long

experience, avoiding favoritism, representing both genders, representing all categories of Syrian society.

3. The recommendations that the committee must take into consideration: taking into account the psychological, social, and cultural aspects through experts and specialists in these fields - the suitable aspect of the students' cognitive, cognitive and cultural development should be regarded- involving experienced people- involving groups of parents and students- applying an experimental model to a group of male/female students- involving local community leaders- benefiting from international experiences- involving all social, cultural, and ethnic, categories-separating politics from education. These committees must have full independence and no one may interfere with them. It must take into account the objectives and authority of the country and the authority of the people and take into consideration the needs of the labor market, the economic situation and environmental differences.

C- The role of education in developing social capital:

1. Monitoring student's interests from early grades and developing them, not controlling them, and guiding them towards the appropriate specialization for them through the student's school card and guides.
2. Taking into account the specific characteristics of each region to develop and implement a tailored program for early recovery and reconstruction.
3. Rehabilitating and expanding infrastructure, especially in remote areas, and providing the teachers with physical, social and psychological support.
4. Ensuring fairness in the issue of jobs salaries to prevent income from influencing students' preferences.
5. Linking educational outcomes to the needs of the labor market in quantity and quality.

D- Revitalizing the education sector:

1. Opening teacher training institutes, increasing the number of teachers, and training them in modern teaching methods.
2. Placing an assistant teacher in large classes in order to help in activating various teaching methods.
3. Promoting teachers on the basis of competence, achievement, and professional advancement, not only on the basis of the duration of teaching.
4. Ensuring justice for teachers who are oppressed legally, financially, and morally.

5. Establishing a committee for continuous communication with experts and specialists around the world, reviewing educational researches and modern training, and providing teachers with them regularly.

E- Requalifying the field of school Psychosocial counseling:

1. Providing psychosocial counselors with professional training during the university, and with appropriate courses on a regular basis afterward.
2. Providing the necessary supplies for counselors work at school, enhancing their importance and role, and facilitating their work requirements there.
3. Working as a counseling team in the educational complex, appointing a therapist and a psychiatrist in each complex, and activating referrals between them.
4. Reducing paperwork in schools, and focusing more on the practical side.

F- Tackling the issues of school delay and dropout:

1. Reactivating the compulsory education law and ensuring its free provision and implementing “popular education” programs in collaboration with civil society, using television, social media channels, and others, such as models of accelerated education, compensatory education, remedial education, or the UNICEF curriculum for dropouts, in order to handle the dropout phenomenon.
2. Implementing part-time attendance for dropped-out students either in schools or specialized institutes for teaching basics such as reading, writing, and mathematics.
3. Supporting the family of dropouts financially if the child fulfills the attendance for a certain period, and providing education requirements for students.
4. Organizing campaigns to visit the homes and workplaces of dropped-out children to raise awareness, encourage the dropped-out students to return, and provide incentives.
5. Providing qualified teaching staff to deal with dropouts.
6. Addressing the issue of early marriage, child labor and addiction, and raising awareness among parents about it.
7. Addressing the situation of absentee and dropped-out students.

G- The role of organizations in supporting education sector:

1. Creating a department or council of education responsible for coordinating with organizations

in order to guarantee continuity, providing educational needs and following its policies, and ensuring financial, expert, scientific and practical cooperation with organizations.

2. Concerned international organizations must establish a vision for the transitional phase in which curricula are temporary, appropriate for all, and neutral.
3. International organizations should pressure governments and the Syrian regime to recognize certificates issued by educational directorates in Idlib and northeastern Syria if they meet the conditions.
4. International organizations can provide financial and technical assistance in curricula, educational material quality, and monitor education progress.
5. Organizations must hold political awareness courses for teachers in order to be aware of the sensitivity of their role in the country-building process.
6. Donor organizations should take into account the specialization of the local organizations they fund for education programs and projects, by reviewing the files and licensing of local organizations to ensure that they are specialize in this field.

H- Implementing future researches:

1. This study showed a number of essential contradictions between the Syrian groups' visions, which could impact the unity of the country and its social structure. This underscores the necessity of further studies based on constructive dialogue in order to come up with recommendations that address these issues.

Eighth - Conclusion:

It was obvious from the conducted sessions that there is a profound disparity in visions regarding the same educational issues, even among attendees within the same session, which indicates the necessity of accelerating the Syrian-Syrian dialogue process, and addressing the problematic points related to the education process on the dialogue table, because the current situation will perpetuate the existing divisions and gradually transform them into permanent obstacles, leading to mini-states.

The political solution is always considered as the key to the rest of the proposed solutions; however, education that comes with early recovery under the current situation in the absence of a solution, presents itself as a compelling option.

Despite these differences, there was significant common ground cross all regions, especially in the shared vision among teachers concerning the future of generations and rebuilding the country as the economic, educational and logistical conditions grow worse. And their desire

to rebuild what was destroyed and compensate what was lost. They collectively emphasized the necessity to establish a modern country based on civilization standards, ensure educational neutrality, prevent its politicization, and provide a comprehensive and equitable education for all people. Moreover, they agree that education has a role in reconstruction and should be focused on during the early recovery phase, and that it is a key component of social and human capital, a guarantee for sustainable development, also plays a role during the period of transitional justice, and it must be constitutionally guaranteed to be free from discrimination based on gender, religion, sect, race, ethnicity and language.

International organizations should pressure to recognize the Syrian certificates, enhance teachers and provide them with training with modern education methods, support infrastructure, and address the issue of dropout.

They should also focus on the experiences of other nations and countries that benefited from education during the phase of reconstructing the country and the social construction. Additionally, there is a consensus on the necessity to reformulate new, inclusive, non-politicized curricula that accommodate the linguistic diversity in Syria.

The consensual and controversial points are considered strategic points. However, in the long term, they could deepen divisions among the Syrian segments. because they will create generations unable to integrate and live with the rest of society segments in the country, or they could bridge these gaps if we respond to these demands early on. Therefore, it is necessary address these points alongside the recommendations from previous discussion sessions.