BEYOND PROVISION

A comparative analysis of two long-term refugee education systems

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Chapter I
REFUGEE CAMP EDUCATION

For over 50 years, there have been Tibetans and Palestinians living in countries they do not call home; they are the dispersed, the dislocated, and the exiled.

In 1950, with the continued hopes of solving the refugee problem in Europe fairly quickly, the United Nations General Assembly established the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The following year UNHCR produced the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which defined the 'refugee' as:

> *Any person who, as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.*[1]

[1] UNHCR. *Convention Relating to the Status of refugees*. 1951. http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/.

There has been considerable debate over this definition of refugee, much of which has stemmed from the phrase 'a well-founded fear of being persecuted' and from the fact that, in order to qualify as a refugee, one must be 'outside the country of his nationality'. Neither the Tibetans nor the Palestinians are deemed to fit these criteria.[2] This study focuses on these two refugee groups. It addresses these two refugee populations in two of their hosting nations: Tibetan refugees in India, and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Although reference is made to UNHCR, the analysis here is one which deals with refugee assistance and education as a concern of the broader international aid community, while addressing both refugee populations through the lenses of quality education, aid and development, and internationalism.

Over the past five decades, the Tibetan and Palestinian refugee populations within India and Lebanon have grown and the camps where they settled have become communities and shantytowns. Although they are not regarded as refugees under the mandate of UNHCR, the Tibetans in India, and Palestinians in Lebanon are consistently referred to in this paper as refugees, and as living in refugee camps. This categorization is made consciously in an effort to ensure that the realities of both groups are presented justly.

This paper is an assessment of the quality and effectiveness of the education systems of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugees in their respective host countries of India and Lebanon. In bringing attention to these two refugee situations, the intent is to shed light on an often-overlooked aspect of the refugee education experience: the long-term

[2] The Palestinians in Lebanon receive aid from UNRWA, the Tibetans in India receive assistance from the Central Tibetan Administration, the government of India and Non-Governmental Organisations.

nature of many refugee situations. There is a wealth of information that has been presented by refugee experts and education specialists which attends to 'emergency education'. That education in a refugee setting is relevant is universally accepted within the international assistance community. It is accepted that once a system for provision of immediate necessities has been established, education becomes of vital importance within camp settings. It is not only the learning that takes place which is important, but also the established psychosocial benefits that regular classes bring to children and youth, and their families. Indeed, the reestablishment of formal and/or non-formal forms of education is a great achievement, and may provide tremendous benefits in refugee settings.

Provision itself, however, often does not lead to long-term improvement of quality of life within long-term refugee populations. The aim of this paper is to gaze beyond the initial emergency phase and into the realities of such refugee camp 'education systems' and the outcomes of such systems vis-à-vis host nation and international aid community response to the long-term nature of these camps.

Presenting what is known about both the Tibetans and Palestinians within their respective host nations, in relation to the education they receive, assists in furthering discourse beyond provision to the quality of education available to refugee populations. There is a dearth of research that analyses refugee camp education from a long-term perspective. What is known is that there are many examples of refugee situations which last into the decades: Bhutanese refugees in Nepal, over 15 years; Eritrean refugees in

Sudan, over 30 years;[3] Afghan refugees in Pakistan, over 25 years. The largest refugee populations in the world are the Palestinians, numbering 4 million, and the Afghans, about 3.6 million. These refugee populations, established for more than 50 and 25 years respectively, account for half the world's refugees. These realities present a clear need for further recognition and understanding of the long-term nature of displacement, and the necessity of ensuring more than 'emergency education', more than provision.

Statement of problem: *Education in long-term refugee settings does not effectively provide refugees with the opportunities to improve their lives*. In order to better ensure sustainable benefits education systems in refugee settings need to address quality and outcome concerns within a developmental and integrationist approach. Such an approach demands much greater cooperation and coordination between aid agencies such as UNHCR, UNICEF, UNDP, and international non-governmental organisations need greater cooperation among each other and with refugee hosting nations, in order to assist in improving outcomes.

It is intended that through documenting the situations of Tibetan refugees living in India and that of Palestinians living in Lebanon it will be made apparent that refugee populations would be at an advantage if: They were to have more autonomy and decision-making power in the governance of social structures such as education; Assistance were tied to host country development strategies; Aid agencies improved coordination; Refugee hosting nations provided improved support.

[3] Since 2000, 119,000 Eritrean refugees have returned to Eritrea from Sudan, while another 147,000 remain in 23 camps in Sudan, and a further 195,000 live in urban areas but are not registered refugees. Global IDP Data Base, *Returning refugees from Sudan need assistance for reintegration* http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/IdpProjectDb/idpSurvey.nsf/wViewCountries/B6C3B111A7A15869C1256D7A00499865, July 2004.

The selection of these two refugee populations was simply personal interest of the author. It was presupposed that both refugee groups would be found to suffer relatively equally from similarly inadequate education systems and unsupportive host nations. However, it is the similarities and differences between the situations that provide greater insight into refugee situations. The characteristics of each situation provide a general framework of knowledge where it may be stated that if implemented or avoided such features may benefit or hinder the success of education programmes and ultimately the futures of refugees living in long-term settlements.

The paper begins with an examination of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugee education systems in India and Lebanon. This is followed by an exploration into the theoretical concepts of education provision in refugee camps, and the theoretical approaches to the development of refugee camp education. The findings of the paper are brought together in a comparative framework, which focuses on the implications of educational structures and quality, host nation policies, and international response and coordination, to assess the achievements of long-term intervention on the refugee populations.

This assessment is presented in six chapters. Following the current introductory chapter, the second and third chapters focus on the available literature concerning the education structures of both refugee populations. Chapter two addresses Tibetan refugees in India,[4] while Chapter three looks at Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.[5] Chapters two and three are comprised of four main focus areas: An Historical Overview, Education

[4] Although the focus is Tibetan refugees in India, the 12-13% of refugees in Nepal and Bhutan will receive limited attention.

[5] Comprising close to 400,000 refugees, and relegated to the fringes of Lebanese society as well as Palestinian Authority and international attention, the educational situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon deserves independent analysis, outside of other Palestinian refugee areas.

Structure, Host State and the International Community, and Outcomes and Future Projections.

Chapter four defines approaches to the implementation of refugee camp education, and the need for ensuring 'quality' education. This is followed by an in depth analysis of refugee-related development theory. An analysis of education as our backdrop allows us to better understand the system of refugee aid. Current approaches to the methods of refugee assistance are challenged as being institutionalised, and as such refugee situations are maintained indefinitely. This results in the entrenchment of the refugees' dependence on aid and creates a deteriorating cycle of dependence.

A refugee aid and development approach, brought forward by a number of refugee experts, is examined in detail. This approach to refugee aid focuses on the need to view refugee populations and refugee-hosting communities as mutually inclusive, rather than exclusive. It puts forth the notion that while relief aid for the refugees is necessary, and development aid for most refugee hosting nations/communities is necessary, it is also prudent to have additional refugee-related development programmes which encourage the development of the hosting communities and integration of the refugees. As a result, the refugee aid and development approach reflects the realities of the long-term nature of many refugee situations.

Chapter five presents a comparative analysis of the systems of education of the two groups, and addresses potential future developments. The chapter summarizes the findings from the previous chapters and attempts to draw conclusions for the improvement of quality and outcomes of refugee camp education systems.

In this chapter it is shown that overall the education of the Tibetan refugees is more relevant and effective than that of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. A variety of indicators are addressed in an attempt to bring out some of the more prevalent factors contributing to the differences in educational 'success'. Numbers of schools, education funding and the impact of political resolve are pointed to as key factors affecting access. Beyond physical access to education, control over curriculum is shown to be a crucial element in teacher, parent, and student satisfaction with the quality of the education systems. While the lack of a Palestinian curriculum in their schools has contributed to educational apathy throughout the refugee camps in Lebanon, the presence of the Tibetan Department of Education in India, by ensuring a strong focus on Tibetan culture, traditions and language in the Tibetan refugee schools, has played a significant role in ensuring near full enrolment.

The host states have also played significant roles in the development of the respective education systems and in providing quality education to students. The Government of India has supported the educational development of all Tibetan refugees since the arrival of the Tibetans. In stark contrast, the Lebanese Government has implemented policies which have further entrenched the hardships and suffering of the Palestinian refugees.

Nonetheless, for both the Tibetan and Palestinian refugees, there remains much uncertainty in regard to their future socio-economic and educational development within their host states. Both populations suffer from high unemployment rates, and the seeming inability of education to provide 'a better life' has contributed to increasing disillusionment with education among both refugee populations.

Chapter five concludes by exploring further the importance of cooperation and coordination between agencies and the need for a refugee aid and development approach to assistance, as brought forth in the previous chapter.

The final chapter reviews the previous chapters and concludes by calling for a coordinated and collaborative approach to education, which is relevant to the needs of individual refugee populations, and which takes into account the long-term nature of many refugee situations.

Gaining an understanding of these two refugee situations, through the lens of education, allows for further analysis into the system of refugee aid. Uncovering and comparing the realities of the education systems in these two differing refugee situations illuminates certain realities within refugee settings that need to be addressed by aid agencies, the international community, and the refugees themselves. Employing a comparative assessment of two long-term refugee situations, this thesis attempts to address some of the more prevalent structural boundaries that refugees confront and which stack the odds against their attempts to gain an education and improve their life situation.

Chapter II
TIBETAN REFUGEES IN INDIA

An Historical Overview

> *The very survival of Tibetans as a distinct people is under constant threat.*[6]

The following two chapters present a review of current literature available on the Tibetan and subsequently the Palestinian refugee populations. These chapters provide the base that allows for critical analysis of approaches to refugee education, and to which comparisons may be drawn regarding quality of education available to both groups of refugees.

In 1949, Tibet was an independent nation with its own government, economy, language and culture. Following the rise to power of the Communist Party in China, the

[6] The Dalai Lama, http://www.gotaro.homestead.com/.

country prepared to engulf the nation of Tibet, which the party saw as rightfully belonging to China. In September of that year,[7] the People's Liberation Army Commander in Chief, Zhu De, received the National People's Congress unanimous approval calling for the 'waging of the revolutionary war to the very end and the liberation of all the territory of China, including Formosa…Hainan Island and Tibet'.

By October 1950 the People's Republic of China launched into a full-scale military invasion of Tibet. In establishing its power, the Chinese government imposed the '17-Point Agreement' on Tibet in 1951, in which Tibet would become part of China but maintain its political and religious freedom. The agreement is often pointed to by Beijing as legitimising China's control over Tibet, and disregarded by Tibetans as an agreement forced upon the country.

> *On September 9, 1951 thousands of Chinese troops marched into Lhasa. The forcible occupation of Tibet was marked by systematic destruction of monasteries, the suppression of religion, denial of political freedom, widespread arrest and imprisonment and massacre of men, women and children.*[8]

Although Tibetans began fleeing before 1950, their large-scale flight occurred in April 1959, following the failed uprising in Lhasa a month earlier. The Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, and over 85,000 Tibetans fled into India, Nepal and Bhutan. While in Southern Tibet, not far from the Indian Border, the Dalai Lama announced the formation of the Tibetan Government-in-exile.

The Government of India received the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees but did not recognize the Government-in-exile. Although the international community also

[7] There is some debate over whether the first communist China incursion into Tibet was in September 1949 or October 1950.
[8] Subba, Tanka. *Flight and Adaptation: Tibetan Refugees in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalaya*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1990, p.17.

has not recognized the Tibetan Government-in-exile, in 1991 the United States Congress declared that 'Tibet…is an occupied country under the established principles of international law whose true representatives are the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in exile as recognized by the Tibetan people'.[9]

Officially, Tibetans are not deemed refugees as determined by UNHCR, but rather as asylum seekers or simply pilgrims. If Tibetans make it across the border into Nepal or India, they are to be detained and then taken to the Tibetan Reception Centre where they are to be interviewed by UNHCR to determine if they are deemed *'people of concern'*, meaning UNHCR attempts to establish why they are seeking asylum. Since it does not recognize the Tibetans as Convention Refugees,[10] UNHCR does not interview for 'refugee status determination'. Thus, in viewing the Tibetans as in-transit asylum seekers, UNHCR sees its role primarily as assisting in this transit with the coordination of Nepali and Indian authorities.[11]

The Refugee Community

Today there are over 125,000 Tibetans in exile, the majority of whom live in India. The Dalai Lama resides in Dharamsala, a small town in the northern Indian state of Himachal Pradesh, where he heads the Tibetan Government-in-exile, known as the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA).

Upon arrival in India, the need expressed by the Dalai Lama was to have the refugees resettled in compact homogeneous communities where they would be able to preserve their culture and traditions, while at the same time enabling them to work and

[9] Planning Council: Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. *Tibetan Refugee Community Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000*. Dharamsala, 1994, p.2.
[10] UNHCR Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951. http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/.
[11] *Tibetans Struggle with Rights in Nepal*, December 2000, http://www.savetibet.org.

become self-sufficient. With the assistance of the governments of India, Nepal, and Bhutan, UNHCR and international donors, fifty-four agricultural, agro-industrial and handicraft based refugee settlements have been established gradually since 1959.[12]

Population of Tibetan Refugee Community[13]

Country		*Settlements/ Communities*	*Population*
India	Settlements	37	62,885
	Scattered Communities	70	41,801
			104,686
Nepal	Settlements	10	5,086
	Scattered Communities	15	9,914
			15,000
Bhutan	Settlements	7	1,457
	Scattered Communities	--	--
			1,457
Abroad		--	**4,634**
Total		--	**125,777**

For the most part, the refugee settlements in India have been considered successful. The dramatic increase in the number of new refugees arriving from Tibet in recent years has put a heavy strain on the resources of the Tibetan refugee community. From 1986 to 1993 over 15,000 new refugees arrived from Tibet, increasing the total refugee community by more than 10 percent. It is also expected that there will be greater numbers of refugees arriving each year. With almost 50% of these new arrivals being under the age of 25, the subsequent increase in school enrolment has led to serious strain on the education system.[14]

[12] Planning Council: Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. *Tibetan Refugee Community Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000*. Dharamsala, 1994.
[13] Ibid.
[14] The Dalai Lama. *Cultivate the Buddhahood Within: Buddha's Words*. http://www.gotaro.homestead.com.

Education Structure

> *When we look back into our history we find that we have neglected many things. Our goal for now and the future should be to keep abreast with other peoples of the world in all aspects of educational progress and development.*[15]

Upon arrival in India, one of the main priorities of the exiled government was to provide education to Tibetan children, many of who were orphaned.

Requested by the Dalai Lama, the Government of India responded with resolute humanitarian support by establishing the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA)[16] to ensure that the educational needs of Tibetan refugee children would be met. With this assistance from the Government of India, Tibetan schools were established to provide a modern secular education while also emphasising the Tibetan language and literature, history, culture, religion, arts and crafts. Today, there are 85 Tibetan schools throughout India(68), Nepal(13) and Bhutan(4) with a total enrolment of 27,585.[17] The focus on ensuring a secular education was initiated by the Dalai Lama, who believed that it was necessary to move away from the traditional Tibetan theocracy in an attempt to provide an education that would be more beneficial to the Tibetan people in the 'modern' world.

The Department of Education (DOE), established in 1960 by the Central Tibetan Administration, is responsible for the education and welfare of Tibetan refugee children. The Tibetan Children's Village and the Tibetan Homes Foundation, the core autonomous schools, were established in order to provide homes and education for the many orphans and displaced children. The Department of Education is responsible for all education

[15] Ibid.
[16] Originally named the "Tibetan Schools Society."
[17] The most recent in-depth data available is through the most current Development Plan, 1995-2000.

other than the autonomous schools; Tibetan Children's Village and Tibetan Homes Foundation.

Summary Data on Tibetan Refugee Schools[18]

School Category: All Primary and Secondary	*Total Schools*	*Total Enrolment*	*Total Teachers*	*Student: Teacher Ratio*
Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA)	30	11,607	530	22:1
Department of Education, India	17	2,075	138	15:1
Nepal	13	2,536	139	17:1
Bhutan	4	174	6	29:1
Autonomous Schools				
Tibetan Children's Village	15	8,410	450	19:1
Tibetan Homes Foundation	2	1,447	65	22:1
Private Schools	4	971	55	18:1
Total	**85**	**27,220**	**1,383**	**20:1**

Note: Although 62 pre-primary schools with 1,997 students exist, these schools will not be dealt with here.

Thirty of the 68 schools in India come under the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA), which is primarily funded by the Government of India. The Tibetan Department of Education (DOE) oversees the education in all schools and directly administers 34 schools itself, for which it receives a grant from CTSA for teachers' salaries.

There are three types of Tibetan schools, noted in the chart above, based on their source of funding and administrative body. The Central Tibetan School Administration (CTSA) schools are primarily administered through the Indian government, while the Central Tibetan Administration (the Tibetan Government-in-exile) governs the Department of Education (DOE) schools and Autonomous Schools.

[18] Planning Council: Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. *Tibetan Refugee Community Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000*. Dharamsala, 1994.

Distribution of Tibetan Schools in India by Level[19]

School Category	*Level of School*			
	Primary grade 1-5	*Middle grade 6-8*	*Secondary grade 9-10*	*Senior Secondary grade 11-12*
Central Tibetan Schools Administration	8	9	5	8
Autonomous				
Tibetan Children's Village	11	2	2	2
Tibetan homes Foundation	0	1	0	1
Sambhota Tibetan Schools Administration[20]	6	4	0	1
Others	2	1	0	1
Total	**27**	**17**	**7**	**13**

Both the DOE and the CTSA share responsibility in administering the CTSA schools. The DOE appoints the Tibetan administrators and teachers for Tibetan language and cultural classes, while the CTSA selects and appoints the Indian administrators and teachers for all other school subjects in the CTSA schools.

It is also important to note that while almost all of the students in Tibetan schools are Tibetan,[21] many of the teachers in these schools are Indian. In 1992, in the CTSA Schools alone, there were 304 Indian and 162 Tibetan teachers. This number may have changed since the introduction, in 1994, of Tibetan as the language of instruction for all courses in all Tibetan primary schools.

[19] Ibid.
[20] The Department of Education set up *Sambhota Tibetan Schools Administration* (STSA) in 1999, to attend to the school administration of the 16 DOE directly run schools in India and 4 in Bhutan. http://www.tibet.net/eng/sambhota/.
[21] The government decided that the overall maximum percentage of Indian students should be kept at ten percent of the total enrolment and that no Tibetan child should be denied admission.

Central Tibetan School Administration (CTSA)

The CTSA schools are large boarding and day schools located in the bigger refugee settlements. While assisted financially by the government of India, in 1975 the government established school fees, stating that children born in India could not be deemed refugees.

The administration operates 5 lower secondary schools, 9 middle schools and 8 lower primary schools, mostly in Tibetan Settlements. There are also 8 Senior Secondary Schools. Six of these are residential schools providing facilities for board and lodging for Tibetan students. In these residential schools, students are admitted as free and paid boarders, based on the family's ability to pay. The CTSA schools are administered by both Indian and Tibetan school officials.

Department of Education Schools

There are 34 schools directly funded and administered by the Department of Education. Five of them are residential and 29 are day schools. Most of these schools are lower primary and middle schools, and students who graduate must transfer to CTSA schools in order to enter the secondary level. The necessity to transfer to the CTSA at the secondary level, and therefore pass the CTSA examinations, makes clear a dilemma currently faced today in the refugee education system. A criticism of the focus on Tibetan culture and language in schools has been that it does not adequately prepare Tibetan refugee students for the realities of living in Indian society.

The schools run by the Tibetan Department of Education charge minimum fees in an effort to cover some of the education costs. The fees are minimal, which is good for the families, but also not sufficient to provide for adequate materials such as teaching

aids or to provide a good selection of books for school libraries. In an attempt to provide greater access to books and materials for children, The Department of Education requests that schools be open before and after school.

Autonomous Schools

These schools are self-generating and receive no regular support or government funding. They include the Tibetan Children's Village (TCV), the Tibetan Homes Foundation School, the new Transit School at Sogar[22], and the recently established Sambhota Tibetan Schools Administration (STSA).[23]

Tibetan Children's Village Schools, HQ, Dharamsala

One of the largest Tibetan school communities, it provides orphans with a home, education, clothes, food and health care. Administered by Mrs. Jetsun Pema, the Dalai Lama's sister, today TCV runs four main children's villages and five residential boarding schools, with over 14,000 children in need. Also, the children's village consists of eight day schools, ten day care centres, five vocational training centres, one teacher training centre and three youth hostels, with a total of 8391 students.

TCV has two senior secondary schools with streams in art, commerce and science. In addition, the TCV supports a large number of students with scholarships. The Handicraft/Vocational Training Centre at TCV, Dharamsala, offers three-year diplomas in various Tibetan handicrafts. The Centre is fully self sufficient through the export of 95% of its production. A Head Office based in Dharamsala oversees the functioning of the schools.

[22] The Transit School was established by the CTA in an attempt to deal with the increasing numbers of refugees crossing the border from Tibet.
[23] Financial support comes from philanthropic individuals and non-governmental organizations world-wide.

Tibetan Homes Foundation Schools, HQ, Mussoorie

Founded in 1962, Tibetan Homes Foundation (THF) started with three homes for 75 kindergarten children, but now runs 39 homes and a youth hostel for over 1,588 children. The THF runs a senior secondary school with streams in arts, commerce and science, and also runs a vocational training centre for 60 trainees in various Tibetan handicrafts. The THF also runs a middle school in the town of Rajpur, with a current enrolment of about 250 students. The two THF schools (senior secondary and middle school) are run almost on the same pattern as any other Tibetan school system. The General Secretary appoints all staff members and oversees the overall administration of the schools.

Funding and Expenditure

Both the Department of Education and the autonomous schools are supported through donations from individuals, NGOs, philanthropic organizations, and through sponsorship programs. Also, through the improvement in the socio-economic conditions of the Tibetans over the years, middle class families have begun to contribute towards their children's education in all these schools.

The sponsorship programmes of the DOE and the autonomous schools provide free education to all orphans and destitute children. With the termination of free education in the CTSA schools in 1975, parents and the DOE have had to cover the education costs of their children in these schools at the secondary level.

The total annual expenditure on education has been increasing every year. In 1996, 480 million Indian Rupees, approximately 11 million U.S. dollars, was spent on educating Tibetan refugee children. The main sources are the Government of India, the

Central Tibetan Administration, international non-governmental aid organizations, individual donors and parents. Today, the total annual expenditure on education is about half the financial resources of all central institutions of the Tibetan refugee community, clearly reflecting the Central Tibetan Administration's education priority. However, the Tibetans are still highly dependent on financial help from outside their community, and the government of India remains the largest funding source for Tibetan schools.

Enrolment

The enrolment of twenty seven thousand children accounts for 88% of the total Tibetan refugee children of school age. The remaining children are either enrolled in monastic institutions or attend Indian public schools. Barring a few extremely remote border areas, the entire child population attends school. As a result, the literacy rate of the Tibetan refugee community is stated to be 93%.[24] Average male/female student enrolment ratio is currently around 100:95 and the average annual school dropout rate is estimated to be 9%.

Female and Male enrolments, 1998[25]

Age/school level	*Male %*	*Female %*	*Total %*
4-5 (pre-primary)	86	86	86
6-10 (primary)	98	96	97
11-13 (middle)	82	98	90
14-15 (secondary)	90	90	90
15-17 (senior secondary)	69	83	76
18-25 (college/vocational)	38	42	40

[24] Rinchen Khando Choegyal. *Education in the exile Tibetan community: The past, present and the future*. http://www.tcewf.org/presentations/ca4.html.
[25] Planning Council: Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. *Tibetan Refugee Community Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000*. Dharamsala, 1994.

Curriculum

Tibetan schools follow the school curriculum approved by the Board of Education of the respective host nation. In India this means Tibetan schools are affiliated with the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) in New Delhi, and follow the 10+2 education system.

The schooling structure consists of 10 years (age 6 to 15) of general education: primary school (grade 1-5), middle school (grade 6-8) and lower secondary (grade 9-10). General education includes the study of Tibetan, English and Hindi languages along with mathematics, general science and social studies.

The two years of upper secondary (grade 11-12, age 16-17) offers four fields of study in Tibetan schools: arts, science, commerce and vocational studies (business studies, secretarial and bookkeeping).

The learning of the Tibetan language, literature, history, performing arts and Buddhist scriptures has constituted a major part of the regular school curriculum, and in 1994 the introduction of Tibetan as the medium of instruction was added to science, mathematics and social studies in all Tibetan primary grades (1-5) in India. Textbooks for these subjects were developed in Tibetan, and special two-year Primary Teacher Training Certification courses have been organized to train primary teachers to teach effectively in the mother tongue. Nearly two hundred teachers have so far completed the training and are currently teaching in the schools.

Host State and the International Community

> *I would like on behalf of the Tibetans in and outside Tibet, to sincerely thank our supporters and friends. We are going through immeasurable hardship and suffering that is unprecedented in our history. The sympathy, support, and help that the people of the world, led by India, have accorded to us will forever be remembered and recorded in history.*[26]

The Indian government's policy on the Tibetans has not changed much since the majority of Tibetans first came to India in 1959. The government of India officially does not recognize the Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala as a legitimate Tibetan government-in-exile, but it does not object to its existence and function as the representative of the Tibetan communities in India.

China's control over Tibet, and the refugees' absence from their country, cannot take away the fact that these people are Tibetan. In order to maintain their identity, the Dalai Lama and most Tibetans in India have chosen not to acquire Indian citizenship, although under the Indian Citizenship Accord, the Tibetans are ensured the right to do so. Not being citizens, Tibetans in India do not have the legal rights to vote or own property, and therefore, have limited opportunity to participate in affecting change in the policies that govern their lives.

The refugees have the right to work in India, but due to a lack of employment opportunities many refugees regularly migrate out of their settlements in search of income, either on daily commutes to nearby towns, or for longer stretches of a few

[26] The Dalai Lama. http://www.gotaro.homestead.com/.

months to the large Indian cities. The migrants, 43.4 percent of which are women, are mainly involved in sweater selling.[27]

> *The lack of livelihood opportunities in the Settlements is also reflected in the fact that 30.0 percent of the population of the Settlements between the age 16 to 50 years migrates regularly in search of work.*[28]

Agriculture continues to be the primary occupation for 45% of the working population, while sweater selling and carpet weaving make up around 13 and 9 percent of the total working population respectively. The unemployment rate is estimated to be around 20%.[29]

In terms of education, Tibetan language and culture are a part of the school curriculum implemented in Tibetan schools, and each school sets primary school graduation requirements. However, if students in Tibetan schools intend to continue onto higher secondary, and post secondary, they are required to take the Indian government's entrance examinations (designed by the Central Board of Secondary Examination, CBSE) at the end of the tenth and twelfth grades. In both examinations, Tibetan language competency is not required, while English language competency is necessary. [30]

It is perhaps interesting to note that although refugee schools were established separately for the education of Tibetan children in India, there have been increasing numbers of local Indian students admitted. This may represent a reputation for quality education in these schools, or more likely, the lack of school facilities for Indian children in the region. The Indian government has stated that an overall maximum percentage of

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[27] *Tibetan Refugee Community Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000*. Dharamsala, 1994.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Tashi Norbu Rikha. Education in exile: A brief report on the education of Tibetan refugee children in India,Nepal and Bhutan**.** http://www.tcewf.org/presentations/ca6.

Indian students should be kept at ten percent of the total enrolment and that no Tibetan child should be denied admission.

Regardless of India's lack of assistance to the refugees' struggle for independence, its moral response to the refugees has been crucial to their survival and overall well-being. Despite its border disputes with China, India provided the refugees with large areas of land in its Himalayan borders. And although itself a highly populated country, India has continuously provided support to the refugees since their initial dislocation from Tibet.

> *In every sense of the word 'moral' India and her peoples have always stood by their side. Nothing has ever been closed for them: its educational institutions, religious institutions, market or industry, health institutions or social welfare organizations, are all open for them too.*[31]

Furthermore, the Government of India granted 'special status' to the refugees, stating that they are allowed to stay in India as long as they wish or until they reach a settlement with the Chinese Government. The participation of international organizations in providing support for the refugees began as early as 1965. Over the years these organizations have provided personnel and resources to the Tibetan refugees in India. Currently, there are no less than 50 organizations actively supporting the refugees.

In fact, while the ultimate beneficiaries of foreign assistance have been the refugees, the injection of foreign currency into India, led by international aid organizations and voluntary groups as well the ever-increasing tourist industry, has been a financial benefit to the Government of India and, in particular, the communities within and around the refugee settlements.

[31] Subba, Tanka. 1990, p. 46.

Outcomes and Future Projections

> *In the present circumstances, no one can afford to assume that someone else will solve their problems. Every individual has a responsibility to help guide our global family in the right direction.*[32]

Between 1989 and 1999 about 32,000 new refugees arrived in India from Tibet. It is estimated that 3,000 new refugees arrive from Tibet each year. The arrival of thousands of new refugees from Tibet over the past decade, 50 percent of whom are under the age of 25, has stretched the education system to its limits.

New arrivals are placed into different schools according to their age. Children under twelve join the Tibetan Children's Village and Tibetan Homes Foundation Schools. Those 12-18 years of age enter a special school where they take part in an accelerated academic program, in an effort to 'catch them up' to their peers. Those above 18 enter into a three-year adult education program at a Transit School called 'Sogar'. At Sogar they learn basic language as well as vocational skills. Furthermore, there are a number of new refugees who join the clergy and enrol in the monasteries and nunneries which are located within the settlements.[33]

Recent years have seen the refugee community face a constant shortage of trained teachers for school subjects such as science and mathematics. Effort is being made, through the provision of incentives, to encourage Tibetan students to take up careers as science and math teachers. The Tibetan exile community is also aware of the need to improve the quality of education provided to the children. The community's future will largely depend on the knowledge and skills imparted in its schools. However, the

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[32] The Dalai Lama. http://www.gotaro.homestead.com/.
[33] Rinchen Khando Choegyal. *Education in the exile Tibetan community: The past, present and the future*. http://www.tcewf.org/presentations/ca4.html.

outcome of schooling does not seem to be addressing the problem of high unemployment among refugees, and the refugee community has found itself locked in a demoralizing cycle of high aspirations and diminishing resources.

With the constant need for upgrading school facilities, improving teacher education programs and increasing further education opportunities for Tibetan refugee children, there is always a great crunch on the community's financial resources, which are increasingly inadequate to meet the increasing needs.

There is a general belief among the Tibetans that the present students are not performing as well in school as compared to earlier generations of Tibetan refugee students. Lack of parental interest and involvement in the education of their children, along with poor teacher-student communications, especially in the CTSA Schools where the majority of teachers do not speak Tibetan, and teacher shortages have been pointed to as some of the main causes.

Career opportunities within the Tibetan community itself are both limited in number and scope, and this lack of career opportunities is a further de-motivating factor for students' interest in study. Furthermore, the teacher shortage has been hampered by the classic refugee camp phenomenon of 'brain drain', where the highest educated refugees are often those selected to immigrate to western nations.

It has also been stated that no matter how convincing it might be to uphold the use of Tibetan as the language of instruction in Tibetan schools, it cannot be denied that the refugees have to live and operate within the larger Indian society. The 100,000 member Tibetan community in India is a tiny group among India's large population, and the harsh realities of life in India demand that the Tibetans become more actively involved in all

spheres of life in the country, and not alienate themselves from the mainstream. In so doing, Tibetan schools must enable their students to acquire both a good basic education and language proficiency beyond Tibetan.[34]

In the fifty years spent in exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan, the Tibetan community's commitment to the education of its children has remained strong, and as a result modest achievements in providing opportunities in all levels have been actualised. And in fact, to a large extent, the educational objectives of the Central Tibetan Administration have been met. Tens of thousands of Tibetan children have benefited from secular education while at the same time Tibetan culture and traditional values have been passed on to the children. The continual uncertain political future of the refugees, however, leads to questions regarding the current economic situation of the refugee communities in India. If improved economic development is to occur, more emphasis may have to be placed on providing an education which 'fits', or adapts better into Indian society and labour markets.

[34] Nangsa Choedon. *Tibetanization Program: A proposed change in the language of instruction in Tibetan Schools in India.* http://www.tcewf.org/presentations/ca7.html.

Chapter III
PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN LEBANON

An Historical Overview[35]

The history of the Palestinian people is synonymous with displacement, dislocation and above all, dispossession.[36]

The declaration of a Jewish state on May 14, 1948, led to the first Arab-Israeli war, 1948-49. By the end of the fighting, the Israeli controlled area had expanded to cover 78 percent of Palestine, and the Arab areas shrank to the West Bank of the Jordan River, controlled by Jordan, and the area around the city of Gaza, controlled by Egypt. The new demographics of the region left about 170,000 Palestinians in the new state of Israel, and over 700,000 Palestinian refugees homeless, which amounted to 75-80 percent

[35] Portions of this section have been adapted from a paper co-written with Denise Silverstone, in December 2001, *Refugee Education: A Comparative Study of Education in Refugee Camps in Thailand and in the Middle East*. A copy of this paper is available in the CIDEC Resource Centre, OISE/UT.
[36] Edward Said, President's Lecture: *Edward Said on the Tragedy of Palestine*, speech at Rice Memorial Centre, Rice University, March 26, 1998.

of their population. This event in the history of the Palestinians is forever remembered as *al-Nakba* – the catastrophe.[37]

The displacement of three-quarters of a million Palestinians in 1948 became known as the Palestinian refugee problem. The refugees from the central regions scattered into the West Bank and Jordan, those in the south crowded into the Gaza Strip, and those in the north fled to Syria and southern Lebanon.

Initially, private voluntary organizations (PVOs) supplied emergency aid to the refugees, but they were concerned that their efforts could turn into a long-term commitment and sought to turn responsibility over to the United Nations. Under a sense of obligation for the failure of its partition plan and ultimate eviction of the Palestinians, the UN created the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR) to pay for the PVOs services, and it established the Palestine Conciliation Committee (PCC) in an attempt to gain peace in the region. At the same time the UN passed Resolution 194, which has become the most significant document concerning the Palestinians right of return to their land:

> **UN Resolution No. 194 (III), 11 December 1948**
> *Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under the principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible.*[38]

[37] It deserves mentioning that discrepancies of refugee numbers exists. Estimates range from 700,000-1,000,000 initial refugees. Today, with the Palestinian refugee birth rate among the highest in the world it is impossible to have firm counts or precise population outlooks.
[38] Palestine Liberation Organization. *The Palestinian Refugees Factfile*. Department of Refugee Affairs, April 2000, p. 10.

Of the most contentious issues concerning any peace agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians, only the status of Jerusalem is as disputed as the Right of Return. When reading reports of the refugee situation written prior to the 1987 intifada, there is a sense of hopelessness, a sense that the refugees will ultimately have to settle for some form of naturalization within their host countries, or under the state of Israel. The intifada of the late 1980's, if anything, showed the resilience of the Palestinians in their determination for their rights, and that resilience was reflected it later writings concerning the refugees. However, as the decade of the nineties wore on and the Palestinian Authority began to distance itself from the refugees in Lebanon, financially as well as politically, hope for a better future, to return to Palestine, began to fade.

The assistance of the private voluntary organizations contributed to the survival of the refugees through the winter of 1948/49, but the gravity of the situation led them to announce an end to their operations by late 1949. In response, the UN created the United Nations Relief and Works Agency[39] (UNRWA) to take over refugee relief aid. It is still operating today.

The Refugee Community

Today, the total Palestinian refugee population consists of just over 5.1 million. Approximately 70% are registered refugees (3.8 million). Roughly 40% of the registered refugees live in the West Bank and Gaza, while another 40% live in Jordan, 10% in Syria, and 10% in Lebanon.

[39] Original named the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWAPRNE), and later shortened.

Total Palestinian Registered Refugee Population by Region[40]

Field of Operations	*Official Refugee Camps*	*Registered Refugees*	*Registered Refugees in Camps*
West Bank	19	583,009	157,676
Gaza	8	824,622	451,186
Lebanon	**12**	**376,472**	**210,715**
Jordan	10	1,570,192	280,191
Syria	10	383,199	111,712
Agency Total	**59**	**3,737,494**	**1,211,480**

Since the late 1960's and before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), more so than UNRWA, had been a major provider of social services to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. During these years, with support from the PLO, UNRWA, and remittances from family members working in the Gulf countries, the refugees in Lebanon were able to survive.

The PLO's presence in the Lebanese civil war instigated local anger toward the refugees, and when the Israelis ultimately forced the PLO out of Lebanon in 1982, the situation of the refugees began to deteriorate. With recurring Israeli bombing attacks on the refugee camps and the collapse of the Lebanese economy, things could not get much worse. Until, of course, the PLO backed Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War. This resulted in the Palestinian workers being expelled from all Gulf states, and those states halting their financial support of the PLO. The resulting loss of remittances from relatives, and the final collapse of PLO services to the refugees in Lebanon combined to sink the Lebanese refugees further into a state of crisis.[41]

[40] UNRWA. *UNRWA In Figures: As of June 30 2000.* http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/pdf/uif-july00.pdf.
[41] Haddad, Simon. *Palestinians in Lebanon: Towards Integration or Conflict?* May 2000, http://www.arts.mcgill.ca.

Education Structure

> *The problem with UNRWA is that, for the most part, its educational cycle ends with grade nine, after which students have to transfer to local secondary schools, which in the case of Lebanon is not possible either now or ever due to Lebanon's hostile attitude to the Palestinian refugee.*[42]

In comparison to their Arab neighbours, Palestinians were traditionally well educated. However, the refugees believed that they had failed to hold on to their homeland in part at least due to their inadequate education, and felt a need to 'catch up' to high Israeli educational standards.[43] From the beginning of their exile, before aid groups arrived, the refugees focussed on educating their children.

The major player regarding assistance to the Palestinian refugees over the past fifty years has been the UNRWA. UNRWA's operational definition of a 'Palestine refugee' is its stated attempt to determine who is entitled to its assistance, not, as it clearly states, to determine who is a refugee. It states that a Palestinian refugee shall be understood as: "Any person whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 and 15 May 1948 and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict."[44] The agency's definition of a refugee was extended in the 1960's to cover the descendants of persons (fathers) who became refugees in 1948.

UNRWA's implementation of basic elementary and preparatory schooling for nine to ten years is available to all Palestinian refugees registered with the agency. In the

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[42] Zakharia, Leila, *The Situation of Palestinian Refugees."* A paper delivered to the June 1995 NACC, and posted to *FOFOGNET Digest,* 5-7 July 1996. http://www.arts.mcgill.ca.
[43] Graham-Brown, Sarah. *Education, Repression & Liberation: Palestinians*. London: World University Service, 1984, p.25.
[44] Palestine Liberation Organization. *The Palestinian Refugees Factfile*. Department of Refugee Affairs, April 2000, p. 2.

1998/99 school year, the 73 UNRWA pre-secondary schools in Lebanon accommodated 39,445 pupils in the six-year elementary and three-year preparatory cycles.

Enrolment by Level and School Administration[45]

	Elementary	*Preparatory*	*Secondary*	*Total*
UNRWA	30,540	8,905	1,367	40,812
Government	2,459	1,638	116	4,213
Private	4,302	4,601	840	9,743
Total	37,301	15,144	2,323	54,768

Provision of Secondary Education

Secondary education, a prerequisite for access to university, was never considered to be within UNRWA's temporary mandate. Until 1982, the PLO used to fill this gap by running secondary schools and by securing university scholarships in Lebanon and other sympathetic countries. This PLO policy contributed to ensuring a high level of educational attainment among young Palestinian women and men until the mid 1980s.

Following the PLO's forced departure from Lebanon in 1983, the unilateral revocation of the Cairo Accord by the Lebanese government in 1987,[46] and the expulsion of Palestinians from Arab Gulf countries, access to secondary and higher education became increasingly difficult for the refugees in Lebanon.

In 1993, UNRWA established its first secondary school in Lebanon to address the problems of restricted access for Palestine refugees to government schools and the prohibitively high cost of private schools.

At the end of school year 1998-1999, there were three secondary schools with a total of 1,367 students. *The Galilee School* accommodated 478 students in grades 10, 11

[45] UNRWA, 1998.
[46] The 1969 Cairo Declaration gave Palestinians a free hand to establish organizations and institutions without having to obtain a license to function. Palestine Liberation Organization. *The Palestinian Refugees Factfile*. Department of Refugee Affairs, April 2000.

and 12, exceeding its capacity of 300 and necessitating the operation of the school on a double-shift basis. *The Bissan School* accommodated 477 pupils in grades 10 and 11, and *The Al Aqsa School* accommodated 412 students in grades 10, 11 and 12.

UNRWA Secondary School Enrolment in Lebanon[47]

School	*Enrolment*	*Shift*	*Grades*
Galilee School	478	Full double shift	10-12
Bissan School	477	Single shift	10-11
Al Aqsa School	412	Single shift	10-12

Enrolment

Despite the availability of free UNRWA education, growing numbers of young children are staying out of school in Lebanon. In the 1998/99 school year just 61% of primary and preparatory school age children attended schools, as compared to an 82% attendance for all Palestinian refugees. Clearly, as seen below, cohort survival rate is a serious problem in refugee schools in Lebanon with only 1 in 30 students "making it" from primary to secondary school.

Enrolment Distribution in UNRWA Schools by Gender and Level, 1998/9[48]

	Elementary	*Preparatory*	*Secondary*	*Total*
Females	15,081	4,865	782	20,728
Males	15,459	4,040	585	20,084
Total enrolment by Level	30,540	8,905	1,367	40,812

Although UNRWA maintains an automatic promotion policy, schools in Lebanon have the highest repeater and dropout rates among all of its fields. UNRWA dropout rates between 1990 and 1994 diminished at the elementary level from 7.7% to 5.9%, but they increased at the preparatory level from 14 to 16%, mainly due to a rise in girl

[47] UNRWA. Total Refugee Pupil Enrolment distributed by Level of Education and School Authority, 1998-199. http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/pdf/education.pdf.
[48] Ibid.

dropout rates from 13% to 17.3%. These rates (5.9% elementary and 16% preparatory drop-out) are nearly double the current Agency-wide ratios of 2.5% and 9.1% respectively.[49] In fact, other surveys have indicated that the real Palestinian dropout rates in Lebanon are much higher, affecting 22% of all pupils and 33% of girls attending preparatory school.[50]

Furthermore, as part of UNRWA austerity measures, which began in the mid-1990s, all children enrolled in pre-school grades in 1998 were required to skip first grade in 1999, and are currently studying the curriculum of the second grade. The students are moved on to the next grade until many of them decide to leave school for a variety of socio-economic factors, and amid a general sense of the irrelevance of education to their future. Child labour among 10–17 year old refugees in Lebanon has been estimated at some 12 percent.[51]

UNRWA Schools[52]

	Elementary	*Preparatory*
Number of schools	36	37
Student/teacher ratio[53]	34.5	24.7

Adding to the difficulties in providing education to refugees in Lebanon is the fact that fifty percent of schools are run on a double shift system, with the school day split into morning and afternoon sessions.

[49] UNRWA operates in 4 fields outside of Lebanon: West Bank, Gaza Strip, Jordan, Syria.
[50] Leila Zakharia. *Poverty Intensification Strategies: The Case of Palestinian Refugees* January 1997 http://www.arts.mcgill.ca.
[51] *Palestinians in Lebanon – A Struggle for a Future with Hope.* http://www.badil.org/Publications
[52] UNRWA. Total Refugee Pupil Enrolment distributed by Level of Education and School Authority, 1998-199. http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/pdf/education.pdf.
[53] Other estimates put student/teacher ratios much higher, at 40-60.

UNRWA Schools by Shifts[54]

	Elementary	*Preparatory*	*Total*
Single shift	13	23	36
Full Double shift	23	14	37

Lack of UNRWA funding to build new schools, or hire new teachers, who are now hired on an on-contract basis, has increased classroom overcrowding throughout the past decade, and consequently led to further student demoralization with the education system.

Curriculum

UNRWA schools use the same curricula and textbooks as the host government schools. School examinations are identical to those in local schools, and, where applicable, students take part in national exams at each stage of the education cycle.

The primary reasons for the decision to follow local curricula stemmed from practical and financial considerations. It had been decided, for financial reasons, that the agency would maintain six-year elementary schools and three-year preparatory schools. Since the agency does not provide secondary education, other than the three secondary schools in Lebanon, it had to be ensured that the students would be prepared to enter and to meet the requirements of the government secondary schools. Although there may definitely be relevance of an Arab curriculum to the Palestinians, such curriculum does not directly address the history and culture of the Palestinian people. It would be more advantageous if the curriculum were two-way. That is, if the curriculum addressed the cultural needs of the Palestinian people, as well as, in the higher grades, preparing the students for entry into Lebanese secondary schools and universities. Of course, such a

[54] UNRWA. Total Refugee Pupil Enrolment distributed by Level of Education and School Authority, 1998-199. http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/pdf/education.pdf.

structural change would be contingent on the Palestinians being allowed to enter the Lebanese secondary school system.

The fact that the Palestinian refugees have been unable to gain more control over the education system, and are ultimately dependent on UNRWA provision, has undoubtedly affected student enrolment. Parents and teachers are frustrated with the lack of Palestinian content and control over school curriculum. This frustration has led to teacher apathy in the classroom, parent lack of confidence in the education provided and a consequent student lack of attendance.

UNRWA Funding

UNRWA is funded completely by voluntary donations. The United States has been its main donor since its inception, and continues to be, although its funding of Israel far exceeds its donations to the refugees.[55]

In its first decade of existence education played a secondary role in UNRWA's plans. UNRWA, being steered by U.S. and British interests, focused on the 'reintegration' of the refugees into the Arab world. What this meant was that the agency's main donors and the UN recognized that Israel was not going to allow the refugees the right of return, and thus turned their efforts toward resettling the refugees. There were efforts to repatriate the refugees, or at least some of the refugees, but the Israeli Government primarily ignored them, and the fact remained that the agency's main donors were sympathetic to Israel. Although it was never explicitly stated, the effort was then turned to 'resettlement'.

[55] The U.S. has provided around a half a billion dollars to the Palestinian refugees over the past 50 years (Schiff, Benjamin. *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to the Palestinians*). At the same time, it has provided Israel with over 194 billion dollars. (Edward Said, President's Lecture: *Edward Said on the Tragedy of Palestine*).

In spite of the reluctance of the Palestinian refugees to be drawn into resettlement projects far from home, UNRWA followed this path well into the 1950s. The economic reintegration plan came primarily in the form of large-scale water-projects in the region, of which the Palestinians were to take part, and ultimately settle in one of the Arab nations. This came in the form of educating an underclass of workers to work within their current host country in positions that would be acceptable by the host country citizenry and state.

In its 1950 annual report to the United Nations, it is clear that UNRWA officials held out little hope for repatriation of the refugees.

> *In addition, some 2,100 boys are being trained in carpentry, shoemaking, weaving, tinsmithing, agriculture, broom-making, poultry-raising, bookbinding and mechanics. The agriculture classes are perhaps the most important as over half the refugees used to earn their living from the land in Palestine**, and will probably have to do so in the countries where they settle.***[56]

After the second Arab-Israeli war in 1956, the realization set-in with UNRWA officials that economic incentives could not create the vital regional cooperation needed in order to fulfil the plan of economic integration. At the same time, the costs of attempting to reintegrate the refugees and still maintain relief aid were bankrupting the agency. Furthermore, it is crucial to make clear that the Palestinians had 'dug their heels in', still proclaiming their right of return. The refugees were cynical of UNWRA and while adhering to the hope of being able to return home did not want to take part in any programmes which may cause them to lose their right of return. At this point the agency abandoned their large development schemes and focused on relief aid, health and education.

[56] UNRWA yearly report to the UN, 1950, http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/me.html (Bold added).

For its part, the United States was in support of the agency focussing on its humanitarian mandate; 'based on the ideas that happier, healthier refugees would be less likely to become Communists or terrorists'.[57] It was intended that the United States' donations would be seen as a token of its support for the Palestinian refugees.
The agency never fully recovered the confidence of the Palestinians after its resettlement attempts in the 1950s. It did, however, begin to focus on the relevant needs of the refugees. In fact, as it turned towards ensuring the opportunity for all school age children to receive schooling, and consistently earmarking more of its budget to education, UNRWA eventually became known as *'the education agency'*.

The education and training programmes have come to be accepted by the Palestinian refugees as an opportunity for individual incentive. Ironically, through subsequent migration to labour markets, these programmes have led to the resettlement of refugees away from their land of origin, thus partially achieving the aim originally set out in the 1950's.

Between 1994 and 1995, despite a 4% increase in school enrolment, UNRWA froze its expenditure in Lebanon, while increasing its education budget in Syria and Jordan, both areas in less serious crisis than Lebanon. Furthermore, between 1992 and 1995, representation of refugees from Lebanon in UNRWA in-service teacher training programmes[58] dropped by 40 percent.[59]

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[57] Schiff, Benjamin. *Refugees unto the Third Generation: UN Aid to the Palestinians*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995, p. 8.
[58] UNRWA/UNESCO Institute for Education has been responsible for pre-service and in-service training since 1964. There is also a 2-year pre-service teacher-training programme in Lebanon. In school year 1998/99 refugees from Lebanon accounted for 221 of 2,169 students in UNRWA teacher training institutes. http://www.un.org/unrwa/#TOP.
[59] Haddad, Simon. *Palestinians in Lebanon: Towards Integration or Conflict?* May 2000, http://www.arts.mcgill.ca.

Host State and the International Community

> *A few months ago, a number of Palestinian physicians were asked to stop working as it became illegal for them to practice medicine under the current laws*[60]

With the emergence of the Oslo Accords donor nations began to reduce their assistance to UNRWA, which has dealt with the continuous reduction of its budget by reducing services to the refugees in Lebanon. Furthermore, the Palestinian Authority and UNRWA have devoted more effort and funds into the development of Gaza, while the refugees in Lebanon feel forgotten, and for all intents and purposes are forgotten. Current estimates place Palestinian refugee numbers in Lebanon at over 375,000, with almost two-thirds of the refugees living in camps, and the vast majority of the rest living in the environs of the camps.

Living in Lebanon has never been easy for the Palestinian refugees. Unlike nearby host nations Jordan and Syria, the Lebanese government has, since the refugees arrived in 1948, explicitly forbidden the permanent integration of the refugees. Lebanese refugee law states that 'foreigners', the Palestinians, are not permitted to work unless the Ministry of Employment and Social Matters authorizes it, which it rarely does. 'At least 20 to 30 thousand work permits were issued to foreigners in 1993, just 193 given to resident Palestinians.'[61]

Following through with their denial of all rights to the Palestinian refugees, the government of Lebanon does not allow the refugees to attend its secondary schools or universities. Since 1993, due to Lebanese law and the absence of PLO assistance,

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[60] Zakharia, Leila, The Situation of Palestinian Refugees." A paper delivered to the June 1995 NACC, and posted to *FOFOGNET Digest,* 5-7 July 1996. http://www.arts.mcgill.ca.
[61] Zakharia, Leila, The Situation of Palestinian Refugees." A paper delivered to the June 1995 NACC, and posted to *FOFOGNET Digest,* 5-7 July 1996. http://www.arts.mcgill.ca.

UNRWA has stepped in to open three secondary schools, but this does not come close to providing adequate access.

Severe poverty has forced many larger refugee families to choose which of their children will attend school because they cannot afford to purchase the necessary stationary and UNRWA does not provide enough for all students. Furthermore, as a consequence of the structural barriers erected by the Lebanese government, increasing poverty due to the reduction in UNRWA and PLO/Palestinian Authority aid, and traditional societal norms which value an educated son over an educated daughter, there has been a recent decrease in the numbers of girls attending schools.[62]

INGOs

Not until the 1990's, due to the peace process and due to the fact that restrictions became tighter on Palestinians themselves to establish local organizations, did international organisations become involved in aiding the refugees in Lebanon. Today, there are twenty foreign organizations existing in Lebanon that extend direct or indirect support to Palestinian and other local institutions serving the Palestinian refugees. Moreover, several local NGOs receive assistance through direct bilateral relations from other international organizations who have no physical base in Lebanon.

The main contribution of foreign organizations is in financing various projects, programmes, and services. Of the above twenty foreign organizations, twelve provide financial assistance and support to local organizations. The remainder provide direct services to the refugees through their own projects.[63]

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[62] Nahr El Bared refugee camp, Lebanon, http://www.acrossborders.org/.
[63] Ajial Center: Statistics and Documentation Office. *Non-Governmental Organizations in the Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon.* November, 2001.

Unfortunately, few programmes appear to be responding to local need. Lina Abu-Habib notes that training of young women in 'traditionally feminine skills' such as sewing and hairdressing is unlikely to lead to either economic benefit or an improvement in status. Short-term vocational training for young men has a slightly better prognosis, mainly through them gaining construction skills and the demand for the cheap labour they provide. Overall, however, the impact of foreign-funded vocational training programmes is minimal at best, if gauged by social improvement.[64]

The current situation of Palestinians living in Lebanon is ominous. The Lebanese government has initiated a series of restrictive policies and regulations aimed at encouraging as many Palestinians as possible to leave the country'.[65] Not only are the Palestinians denied basic refugee or immigrant rights, but they have also been victims of official discrimination. Palestinians are marginalized, excluded from Lebanese society and social structures. Not surprisingly, they are held in low regard by Lebanese and are the subject of negative stereotypes, hatred and hostility. Since the government has not shown the slightest interest in integrating the refugees, Lebanon remains the only host country where the number of Palestinians living in camps is still higher than 50 percent.

[64] Abu-Habib, Lina. *Education and the Palestinian refugees of Lebanon: A lost generation?* Refugee Participation Network, 21, 1996 http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/.
[65] Haddad, Simon. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon*. UK: Sussex Academic Press: 2003. p41.

Outcomes and Future Projections

> *My father had no education, and he was able to feed the family well, even to provide me and my brothers with higher education. As an engineer, I cannot even afford to live in a proper place, or to marry.*[66]

The irony, as Rosemary Sayigh points out, is that the current generation of employable youth have had greater opportunities for education than generations before them, the *al-Nakba* generation, yet they are unable to provide for their families.

Government laws that restrict access to secondary and tertiary education, unemployment rates estimated between 30 and 60 percent,[67] the decline in external aid and post-Oslo development concentration on Gaza, have been intertwining factors contributing to the grim reality of the current state of life and education of refugees in Lebanon. Many young Palestinians in the camps do not see the purpose of attending school when all around them they see that having an education does not lead to improved employment opportunities.

Refugees in Lebanon experience the highest dropout and repetition rates among all Palestinian refugees. Those students who do manage to gain a post-secondary education rarely find work because of the restrictions imposed by the Lebanese government, and in part due to the education provided not adequately preparing them for positions available.[68]

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[66] Sayigh, Rosemary. *No Work, No Space, No Future: Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon*. Middle East International, August 2001, internet site*: Palestinian Refugee Research Net* http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/. Quoted by Bendik Sorvig in "Exile Without Refuge, MPhil thesis, University of Oslo, 2001.

[67] Edminster, Steven. Fifty Years in the Wilderness: Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon. *World Refugee Survey*, U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1999.

[68] For example, Lina Abu-Habib's point regarding the case of women traditionally being taught hairdressing and sewing, which are insufficient for the refugee women's needs. Abu-Habib, Lina. *Education and the Palestinian refugees of Lebanon: A lost generation?* Refugee Participation Network, 21, 1996 http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/.

Structurally, the education system has been suffering from budgetary cuts in recent years, which have added to overcrowding in classrooms, and consequently, fewer overall services. Furthermore, as the refugee population growth in Lebanon continues at 4.5 percent per year, UNRWA schools are becoming increasingly unprepared to provide an adequate schooling.

Social, economic and political factors have weighed heavily on educational provision and enrolments. Poor living conditions, overcrowded schools, double shifting in schools, staff shortages and the lack of opportunity to secure work upon graduation combine to significantly reduce the refugees' outlook on education. Current research into the life in the camps has shown that the young refugees feel trapped in the camps and have little hope for the future.

In quantifiable terms, it can be asserted with conviction that of all Palestinian refugee areas, the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon face the most severe hardships. Their lack of rights to work, to enrol in post-primary institutions, and the denial of the right to build or reconstruct in the camps all combine to create a sense of suffocation amongst the refugees. In the current political climate, the refugees in Lebanon find themselves increasingly isolated. As evidenced by the fact that aid and assistance from traditional sources has become more difficult to secure, the political and economic recognition of the rights and needs of the refugees in Lebanon has been further reduced. With few opportunities to work, decreased assistance from the Palestinian Authority and the international community, the situation of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon is disastrous.

Summary of Literature Review

The preceding literature review of both the Tibetan refugees in India and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon has focussed on presenting the most up to date and relevant material regarding both refugee groups in relation to the education systems available to them in their host nations. Both refugee groups have been residing in their host nations for five decades, and it is the long-term nature of their education experiences and the themes that have emerged from the examination of both refugee groups and their education systems which are the basis for the subsequent chapter, *Approaches to refugee Camp Education*.

The first major theme that has emerged is that of the structures of each system. Within the structures it becomes evident that a certain level of autonomy over the type of education programmes, or control over the curriculum being taught in the schools, is necessary to ensure that the socio-cultural and linguistic needs of the refugee community are met. This control over curriculum, or participatory approach to the development of an education system, invariably contributes to the levels of enrolment, and indeed the ultimate 'success' of the school system.

A second theme that has emerged is that of the role of the host state. The dichotomy between the Indian and Lebanese governments is quite evident. The approach taken by either government pertaining to the refugees has been quite opposite to the earliest days of the refugee settlements. While the approach taken by the Indian government has not led to the development of thriving Tibetan communities, its approach has allowed the communities to develop. In fact, refugee experts point to the Tibetan refugees in India as a relatively successful example of the incorporation and support for

refugee communities. Conversely, the Lebanese government's approach has left the Palestinian communities in despair. The government has not simply denied the provision of any support, but has actively worked toward the denial of any rights to the refugees. And while the Tibetan communities have been praised, the case of the Palestinian refugees is routinely acknowledged as the prime example of 'what not to do' with a refugee population.

The following chapter begins by addressing the notion of quality education within a refugee camp setting. This section presents necessary characteristics needed to ensure the development of an education system that encourages community participation and is relevant to the needs of refugee communities. Subsequently, there is an investigation and challenge into the manner in which refugee aid is structured internationally. This section challenges the separation between 'relief aid' and 'development aid' and calls for a more integrated approach to dealing with refugee situations. Following this, a refugee aid and development approach is presented as an alternative means to improve the structures and processes of refugee aid. The importance of greater organisational cooperation and coordination regarding refugee assistance and the development of refugee education systems are further dealt with in the concluding section of this chapter.

Chapter IV
APPROACHES TO REFUGEE CAMP EDUCATION

> *To my big surprise, the research showed that in many ways those living outside the umbrella of assistance--outside the UNHCR refugee camps--were actually better off than those living under it. According to the self-settled refugee, a refugee is someone who accepts assistance. The able refugees stay away from the camps, which consequently become little welfare communities of the temporarily and permanently disabled. They have entered the black hole of relief aid.*[69]

The previous two chapters have presented a review of the available literature regarding the situation of both Tibetan refugees in India and Palestinian refugees in Lebanon vis-à-vis educational quality and opportunity afforded to them within their respective host nations. It has been made evident that the Tibetan refugees residing in

[69] Barbara Harrell-Bond, interview with Martin Stolk, Cairo Times 24.08.2000, www.martinstolk.nl/engels/barbara.

India are experiencing a more effective, and culturally relevant, system of education in comparison to that of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.[70] It is such differences within these two long-term refugee situations that direct the manner of the current chapter.

Initially, to discern the roles of education in a camp setting, this chapter deals with issues regarding quality characteristics of education provision within refugee camps. Secondly, current modes of aid delivery are presented and their effectiveness is challenged, with a particular emphasis on the division between 'relief aid' and 'development aid'. Finally, an alternative approach to refugee assistance, the 'refugee aid and development' approach, is presented as a more responsible and effective method for meeting not only the short-term provision of education, but also in recognising and addressing the long-term realities of refugee situations.

In an effort to gain a deeper understanding of the roles of education in a refugee camp setting, with the focal point being 'long-term refugee situations', the immediately following section, *Quality Education*, explores currently acknowledged definitions of quality education. The section commences with a discussion surrounding the necessities of building strong and valuable education systems within refugee camp settings, and is followed, by an examination of current perceptions of quality education within a refugee camp context. This analysis into international refugee camp education systems employs the findings of refugee education experts Margaret Sinclair, James Williams and Graca Machel. The findings of these researchers act as a guide to the kinds of achievements aid agencies, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and local NGOs, and refugee hosting governments ought to be striving toward.

[70] The following chapter provides a detailed assessment and analysis of the differences and similarities between the education systems of both refugee populations.

The opening section is followed by two sections which study the theoretical and practical approaches brought forward by Barbara Harrell-Bond and Robert Gorman, both of whom present refugee assistance theories through the lens of 'refugee aid and development'. The section, *Challenging the Approach of Relief Aid*, presents the dichotomy of 'relief versus development aid', and challenges aid organisations to adopt a more effective and responsive approach to refugee assistance. Following this, the section *Refugee Aid and Development* probes further into the link between 'relief' and 'development' aid, presenting the theory of Refugee Aid and Development as a more effective and responsible approach toward national and international support in refugee situations.

The chapter concludes with a discussion concerning the necessity and practicality of greater interagency cooperation and coordination. Interagency cooperation and coordination, which rests within the core foundation of a refugee aid and development framework, is presented as a fundamental operational shift needed to be taken by all agencies and governments concerned with refugee assistance. A restructuring of relief and development aid policy and practice is necessary in order to deal with the long-term realities of most refugee situations, and ultimately to prevent the development of an indefinite and inadequate long-term basic survival aid structure, as observed with the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. A cooperative interagency approach requires structural improvements to the delivery of education within camps. It becomes necessary that education systems go beyond basic provision and toward a system that provides significant educational quality and opportunity for refugee students.

Quality Education

> *UN agencies and NGOs should collaborate to ensure that children are provided with educational materials and opportunities, at both the primary and secondary levels, as a priority throughout and after periods of armed conflict; with especial attention to displaced children, adolescents, girls, disabled children, former child soldiers and victims of sexual violence.*[71]

Policy issues or system-level factors weigh heavily in refugee contexts, as has been shown in the examples of the Palestinian and Tibetan cases. Questions relevant to refugee education include decisions about language of instruction: Whose language should be used for instruction and for what grades? What curriculum should be used, that of the host country, the country of origin, or another curriculum? Is education intended to integrate children into the economic and social life of the host country, or to prepare children for life in the country of origin, or some form of a combination? Does the education system provide appropriate opportunities for children and adults to pursue schooling if they have missed out on opportunities at an earlier point?

Refugee hosting governments are obliged to permit the education of child refugees within their borders. In many countries governments support refugee education programmes. Others, however, as evidenced in Lebanon, place restrictions on the education of refugees.

In her article *Education in Emergencies,* Margaret Sinclair identifies the importance of education in emergency situations. She refers to education as the fourth pillar, or central pillar of humanitarian response, alongside the pillars of nourishment, shelter and health services.

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[71] Sinclair, Margaret. *Education in Emergencies*. www.unhcr.ch/pubs/epau/learningfuture/ch02.pdf, 2001.

Refugee camp education is seen to, or hoped to, provide opportunities for children, families and communities to begin the healing process, and to learn the skills and values needed for a better and more peaceful future, locally and nationally. It is well established that refugee situations are insecure and often harm children's physical, intellectual, psychological, cultural and social development. Therefore, it is imperative to recognise that the well-being of children is as important as the nourishment and health care they receive. Sinclair states that the benefits of education go beyond the basic notion of learning to read and write; there is a need not only for formal education, but also informal education, such as structured recreational activities where children and youth interact in a safe setting. Education in refugee camps has been seen to be somewhat of a substitute for poor child-adult interactions in the family, where it is common for parents and relatives to be unable to support a child's emotional needs due to the high levels of stress and depression they may be under.[72]

UNICEF has stated that *long-term educational development* objectives should guide even the earliest phase of emergency education response. UN aid agencies such as UNHCR and UNICEF often refer to 'durable solutions' to refugee problems, which means working toward the repatriation, local settlement or resettlement of refugees in a third country. However, opportunities for local settlement and, moreover, resettlement are limited. Furthermore, it is almost always the case that refugees would prefer to return to their homeland as soon as possible. The problem is that in many situations it has taken years and decades before refugees have returned home – if they have returned home at all.

[72] Ibid.

After 1990 and the Jomtien Conference on Education for All, UNHCR focussed on the concept of *'education for repatriation'*, which is, in essence, the use of the home country curriculum. It is intended to prepare children for re-entering school in their home country, and has the added benefit of employing refugees as teachers. The most important part of the curriculum is the use of the refugees' language as the language of study. This approach has its benefits, no doubt, including a sense of national pride through the use of the home curriculum, and self-reliance through the use of teachers from within the camp, as well as avoiding the negative effects of disempowerment of refugees who would not be able to teach if schools used the host nations curriculum. However, in the case of very long-stay refugees, as Sinclair states, 'there is some rationale for following the host country curriculum'. [73]

Both the Tibetans and Palestinians, quite clearly long-term refugees, have been using the curriculum of the host nation throughout their stays. Structural implementation of the use of their own curricula, language, and cultural teachings in a formal education setting continue to be significant issues for both refugee groups. The Tibetans, however, have been making changes to their education system, as seen in the recent introduction of the Tibetan language at the primary level. This further development of their education system has proven quite popular among many within the Tibetan refugee community. At the same time, questions have arisen regarding the practical need to learn the local Indian language, which is necessary to facilitate entry into Indian high schools and, eventually, employment. It is the evidence of such discourse and decision- making power in the hands of the Tibetan refugee community that is of great importance here. The Tibetan refugees themselves have been aiming toward providing the best possible education

[73] Ibid. p.25.

system for their communities, ensuring their cultural survival while also recognising the realities of their lives within the larger context of residing in India.

Sinclair, and UNHCR, is correct in supporting an approach to education that is intended to provide opportunities upon return to their home countries, yet such an approach does not adhere to the realities of many refugee situations. More relevant to refugees, especially at the secondary school level, and in longer-term refugee situations, would be the implementation of a curriculum that 'faces both ways'. This is a system whereby curriculum focuses on the linguistic, socio-cultural, and historic aspects of the refugees, yet also implements language learning of the host nation and is designed to meet the requirements of further education within the host nation.

The principles presented above are mainly centred within the context of early emergency for displaced populations, and need to be augmented so as to adequately support long-term refugee situations. There needs to be a requirement, which recognises the often long-term nature of refugee situations, for progressive improvement in the quality and accessibility of education in refugee camps, and concurrently an upgrading of the capacity of local refugee professionals to manage education programmes. Programme development needs to be supported through national and international assistance, to provide teacher training, to better equip teachers and create resource centres open to students and teachers. In turn, schools need to be supported in developing the means for gradually collecting textbooks, supplementary reading materials, education aids, basic science equipment, sports equipment and so on.

Sinclair, along with most other researchers on refugee camp education, repeatedly states the necessity for more cooperation and coordination between agencies and

organisations that are working within refugee camp education. Communication between different aid agencies and organisations at field level is notorious for being poor. [74] There is too often a lack of dialogue between organisations working for refugees, the 'relief agencies', and those working to support national and local development programmes of the host country, the 'development agencies'. This lack of communication can be a deliberate policy of the host country if there is a fear that refugees may not repatriate, as has been the case in Pakistan, and Lebanon.

Ensuring Quality Education

Refugee education researcher James Williams states that the evidence regarding school quality improvements in developing countries presents four basic lessons relevant for refugee education.

The first point presented is that educational quality is understood in different ways and, as such, the values and priorities of the refugee community must be clarified so as to determine and establish an education structure that suits the needs of the people.

Second, educational quality improvements do not necessarily require large investments of resources. It is the organisation and management of inputs including the participation of parents, teachers, principals and others within a community that help create a situation where educational quality improvements are possible. The primary constraint is not necessarily cost, although quality improvements would likely require more 'organizational capital' than the simple provision of inputs.

Third, education improvement strategies become more effective when they are developed on-site and in collaboration with the stakeholders (community members) and

[74] The coordination of efforts is dealt with further in Chapter V.

implementers. While external expertise may be valuable in providing a broader perspective on school quality, as well as needed resources, the stakeholders and implementers need to work together and participate to ensure that local realities are recognised and needs are met.

Williams' final point states that school quality can be understood through a number of interacting factors, all of which must be attended to, including: capacity of learners, supportive learning environments, appropriateness of content, effectiveness of learning processes, and the achievement of outcomes.[75]

Collaboration is the key theme running through Williams' first three lessons for education in refugee camp settings. The support for, and level of, collaboration strongly affects the fourth point, 'education quality factors'. The encouragement and development of a community participatory approach, in conjunction with the aim of collaboration, is not only to create the necessary conditions whereby problems are identified and solutions planned, but also to ensure that quality improvements are sustained and local capacity for continued implementation is developed. It is the absence of such community participation in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon that has ultimately led to the establishment of a poor quality education system. Conversely, it is the presence of such community involvement among the Tibetan refugees that has facilitated the establishment of a system of quality: a system deemed relevant and acceptable to the refugee community, and a system that is influenced by the refugee community.

The presence or absence of certain factors within a refugee camp education system weighs heavily on the resulting quality of the system. Williams' first three points:

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[75] Williams, James H. *On School Quality And Attainment,* 2001, p.106. www.unhcr.ch/pubs/epau/learningfuture/ch02.pdf.

the values and priorities of the refugee community, participatory management of inputs, and collaboration (international organizations and host nations in consultation with refugee communities), directly affect school quality. Quality is most often referred to in terms of inputs and resources provided, such as buildings and textbooks. Resources are necessary for quality, yet are insufficient for ensuring outputs like student achievement, and longer-term outcomes such as employment.

The quantifiable nature of inputs make them a more attractive form of defining quality, and therefore processes and outcomes, which are not as easily measured, do not get fully scrutinized. Essentially, Williams is stating that the quality of inputs is less useful in understanding school quality than considering the usage of inputs vis-à-vis desirable outputs and outcomes. At the same time, it is important to emphasise that quality improvement factors intertwine. Teacher training, for example, is unlikely to improve the quality of education if appropriate materials and equipment are not provided.

The fourth point within Williams' lessons for refugee education is that of determining these intertwining characteristics of school quality, and ensuring that they have the opportunity to be met.

> *To improve quality, the role of central authorities is less one of providing quality than of fostering environments that support site-based improvement*[76]

UNICEF emphasizes five desirable dimensions of quality: learners, environments, content, processes and outcomes. These dimensions of educational quality recognized by UNICEF, and also adhered to by UNESCO[77], are drawn from the philosophy of the

[76] Williams, James H. *On School Quality And Attainment,* 2001, p.106. www.unhcr.ch/pubs/epau/learningfuture/ch02.pdf.
[77] EFA (Education For All) Global Monitoring Report 2005, http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/.

Convention on the Rights of the Child,[78] which has embedded 'the rights of all children to survival, protection, development and participation.'[79] They include:

• Learners who are healthy, well nourished, and ready to participate and learn, and supported in learning by families and communities;

• Environments that are safe, protective, and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities; these supporting inputs are community and system-level factors, which include community support, material inputs and government policies;

• Content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials used in the classroom to facilitate effective teaching and learning;

• Processes include classroom level factors that directly affect learning including time spent learning, teaching approach: are teachers trained, is learning child-centred, are classrooms well-managed classrooms, how is student assessment conducted?

• Outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills, and attitudes, and are linked to national goals for education and positive participation in society.[80]

UNICEF's five-points of quality factors: learners, environments, content, processes, and outcomes are the leading examples of recent understandings of the essential components of quality education. Raising the quality of education requires political support for refugee communities and their participation in the development of the education system, as well as sufficient investment for the sustainability of policy

[78] The Convention on the Rights of the Child has been ratified by all but two countries worldwide: Somalia, which does not have a government, and the United States.
[79] UNICEF. *Quality Primary Education: The Potential to Transform Society in a Single Generation*, http://www.unicef.org/dprk/qpe.pdf.
[80] UNICEF. *Quality Primary Education: The Potential to Transform Society in a Single Generation*, http://www.unicef.org/dprk/qpe.pdf.

interventions. But as Williams notes, 'Acting in these ways, however, requires different modes of operation than are common in many relief and development agencies.'[81]

Through the use of the above characteristics of quality education as a framework, this section now turns to approaches for improving the effectiveness of *refugee camp education*. The following sections draw together prevailing approaches to education in refugee situations and subsequently provide analysis from the perspective of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugees.

Improving Effectiveness

Graca Machel states that relief programmes direct most of their attention to the education of refugee children. This is partly because it is relatively easy to access children amassed together in camps. Non-refugees during emergencies, however, are often overlooked as aid agencies must follow their mandates and thus work exclusively with refugees. There is a concern among donors with using 'emergency funds' for what may be interpreted as 'long-term development activities', and as such, a clear but often disruptive divide between 'relief aid' and 'development aid' has developed. Although attempts are made to ensure that aid reaches refugees, the separation of relief and development aid has had a detrimental effect on both refugees and refugee-hosting communities. A common example is that refugees are negatively affected by host state policies, which become geared toward keeping refugees out of the economic system in an attempt to protect the host community citizens. As a result, host communities, most often poor third world communities themselves in need of development aid, are denied possible

[81] Williams, James H. *On School Quality And Attainment,* 2001, p.85. www.unhcr.ch/pubs/epau/learningfuture/ch02.pdf.

benefits from both refugee integration and refugee infrastructural aid, such as health centres and schools, which are usually destroyed when the refugees return to their home countries.[82]

Machel also cautions that modern non-competitive learner-centred western approaches, intended to help foster self-confidence in children, are still unfamiliar in many countries and must be introduced carefully in programmes so as not to disempower local teachers or confuse pupils. Special care should also be taken to adapt the methods and content of education to the social context and culture of refugee populations.

It need also be recognised that host states may be reluctant to allow refugee education, fearing that this will encourage refugees to remain permanently on their territory. The denial of education contravenes both article 22 of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which require that refugee hosting states provide refugee children with the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education. Despite active intervention and strong protests, UNHCR has sometimes proven unable to prevent governments from denying refugee children access to education.[83]

When international agencies and NGOs operate programmes for refugees in remote locations, their presence brings with them the real danger that the education provided will be 'better' than that of the local population, since these organisations bring with them funding for the establishment of infrastructure. Obviously, children in host countries should also be educated to at least a similar standard as refugee children. Rather than enforcing a division between refugees and hosting communities, and

[82] The importance of these points is addressed further in a discussion of the research of Barbara Harrell-Bond, seen below in *Challenging the Approach of 'Relief' Aid.*
[83] Machel, Graca. *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*. http://www.unicef.org/graca, 1996.

consequently encouraging host states to establish policies that actively work against refugees, refugee situations require greater cooperation and coordination among international agencies, NGOs and host governments.[84]

Machel, along with Sinclair and Williams above, also strongly encourages host governments, international agencies, INGOs and other educational providers to improve cooperation and coordination in an effort to ensure that long-term educational development objectives are focus on from the earliest phase of refugee assistance. Furthermore, Machel also focuses on the importance of avoiding the isolation of the refugee community from the host community, which is often the result of strict divisions of relief and development aid, and consequently the development of anti-refugee host nation policies.

The following section takes the above discussion on quality and effectiveness issues to the next step. It examines current modes of refugee aid provision, and presents an alternative approach, one that emphasises the need for refugee-related development assistance, and that requires interagency cooperation and coordination. The research of Barbara Harrell-Bond and Robert Gorman are employed to facilitate the presentation of refugee assistance theories through a *refugee aid and development* approach. To begin with, *Challenging the Approach of Relief Aid* presents the intense dichotomy of 'relief aid versus development aid' and challenges aid organisations to adopt a more effective and responsive approach to refugee assistance.

[84] Ibid.

Challenging the Approach to Relief Aid

> *Rather than money being put into the local health services, we build these parallel systems and then we destroy them. But the problem is that funders only fund UNHCR under their 'emergency' budgets, and therefore [as] 'relief', and they are not for 'development'. So, for example, if you go with an application to ECHO [the European Commission's Humanitarian Aid Office] that smacks of development, you won't get money, and unfortunately, the strict division of budgets for 'development' and for 'relief', with refugees being on the 'relief' side, are continuous. So, UNHCR is motivated to maintain an emergency, even if it goes on for ten or fifteen years.*[85]

The previous portion of this chapter has dealt with the need for education in refugee camp settings, and defining quality education. It has presented some of the concerns within refugee education structures, and provided recommendations necessary for the improvement of education in refugee camps.

In the mid nineteen-eighties Barbara Harrell-Bond, in her book *Imposing Aid*, challenged the way that relief programmes dealt with the world's refugees.[86] Her critical assessment of both international aid agencies and non-governmental organisations that provide relief aid, rather than being an impetus for organisational self-assessment, brought about defensive and hostile reaction. Aid agencies, continually trying to provide the best possible assistance under difficult circumstances, found it difficult to hear such strong criticisms. In an interview in 2000, Harrell-Bond lamented that humanitarian relief had 'become worse than ever'.[87] For Harrell-Bond, the ever prevalent notion that forced migrants are a burden, is not only false but it causes nations to miss an opportunity to take advantage of the refugees' skills, knowledge and survival energy.

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[85] Professor Barbara Harrell-Bond, interviewed by Sally Gainsbury, BBC, Cairo, January 22, 2003 http://www.id21.org/id21-media/refugees/bhbtranscript.html.
[86] Harrell-Bond, Barbara E. *Imposing Aid*. Oxford University Press, 1986.
[87] Interview with Martin Stolk, Cairo Times 24.08.2000, www.martinstolk.nl/engels/barbara.

Since the end of the Cold War, the approach of dealing with forced migrants has completely turned away from resettlement[88] and turned to 'voluntary repatriation' to the country of origin, or integration in the country of first asylum, most often a neighbouring country. The possibility of integration into the country of first asylum, however, is often not feasible, as evident in the Palestinian example. Furthermore, since the modus operandi over the past fifteen years has been 'repatriation', refugees have become forced, more than ever, to stay within the camps in host nations so as to receive aid. Such a situation has always been the case with the Palestinians in Lebanon, and is well known within the aid community to be a failure over the long term. Moreover, the focus on repatriation has led to donor funds and aid efforts becoming increasingly geared toward 'relief aid'. Although the process of relief aid delivery is made much more expedient and definable by maintaining the refugee population within set boundaries, such an approach undeniably entrenches a cycle of refugee dependency on aid. Any integration of refugees into host communities that does occur is often accomplished through refugees leaving the camps and living within host communities, which is often illegal.

As Harrell-Bond and others make clear, refugees are viewed as a problem to host nations. Most refugee situations occur in the third world, with refugees being forced into neighbouring third world countries. These often poor host nations and their governments do not want their towns and cities 'flooded with migrants', or see jobs 'taken away from

[88] Resettlement refers to 'third country settlement', such as the Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s and 1980s who entered the United States and Canada. For further information regarding the Vietnamese refugee experience see: Hawthorne, L. *Refugee: The Vietnamese Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982, Hitchcox, L. *Vietnamese Refugees in Southeast Asian Camps*. London: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1990; Knudsen, J. *Boat People in Transit*. Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 1983; Ranard, D. and M. Pfleger (Eds). *A Fifteen-Year Experiment in Refugee Education*. McHenry, Illinois: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems Co., Inc., 1995.

local people', which can be politically disastrous. As well, host nations do not want their citizens to perceive that the refugees, through the provision of relief aid, are better off than they are. Therefore, keeping the refugees in the camps serves the interests of the host state, as well as the distribution of relief aid. But this approach does not effectively contend with the often long-term realities of refugee situations, and is, in fact, detrimental to the long-term well-being of refugee populations.

However, it is also clear that UNHCR has yet to make any serious strides in changing the current mode of refugee assistance, even though the agency is well aware of the limitations and short-sightedness of isolating refugees. In 2003, the head of UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit recognized that relief aid could be used more effectively to better address the long-term realities of refugee situations:

> *To be very honest, in those early days of a refugee influx, relatively little thought is given to the long term future of those refugee camps and settlements…and perhaps that is one of the lessons that the UNHCR and other agencies need to learn, is that refugee emergencies may last for a while, but that eventually they will come to an end, and we need to think more proactively about how those assets could be used to contribute to the development of the country of asylum and to meet local needs.*[89]

Refugees in long-term camps are often confined to those camps. They do not have freedom of movement, which is a fundamental right enshrined in international human rights law, and they most often do not have the prospect of a solution to their plight. As seen in Lebanon with the Palestinian refugees, isolating refugees in camp life for years and generations has devastating effects.

[89] Crisp, Jeff. Interview with Sally Gainsbury, March 11, 2003 http://www.id21.org/id21-media/refugees/bhbtranscript.html.

What Harrell-Bond and Robert Gorman (below) are arguing is that the separation of relief and development aid is short-sighted. The question raised is: Would it not be more prudent to tie refugee aid to development aid? The proposal then, as presented in the *refugee aid and development approach*, is to establish aid programmes which address the reality that displacement often lasts for decades, seen in examples worldwide: Tibetans, Palestinians, Afghans, Eritreans, Somalis, and Bhutanese, among other refugee populations. Within such a framework, support is also to be provided to the refugee hosting communities, which remain after the refugees have returned home.

> *Why help refugees to survive in their host country, send them back as poor as they came and then bestow development projects on them there? Why not make it a community affair? If the host area as a whole would somehow benefit, refugees could be looked upon as an opportunity rather than a burden. And when the refugees return, the host community still benefits from the relief/development assistance.*[90]

As the structure of relief aid stands currently, if and when refugees depart their host nation, all relief inputs will be destroyed, such as health centres, schoolrooms, and water facilities. Infrastructure that could be of enormous benefit to the host nation will be bulldozed into the ground.

There is plenty of evidence showing that refugee camps are not good for anyone. They are socially, physically and psychologically detrimental to adults, youth and children. It is also known that where refugees can get land, or are not restricted in movement and are able to find employment, they are better off than those living in camps. Wherever possible, such refugees have become integrated into their host societies. Moreover, refugees who gain the opportunity to live outside of the camps are

[90] Interview with Martin Stolk, Cairo Times 24.08.2000, www.martinstolk.nl/engels/barbara.

not simply relying on the resources of the host nation, as is feared, they are contributing to the host nation's economy.[91]

In the mid 1980s, when it began to be recognised that relief aid was not working, initiatives such as 'refugees as resources for development' and the 'refugee-affected area approach' were discussed among refugee assistance organisations. These potential approaches brought to the forefront a discourse that centred on refugee-related development aid, in an effort to address the realities of refugee situations through broadening the relief aid structures. At the time, UNHCR was reluctant to hand over responsibility to UNDP for financial investment into local institutions, or a host country's infrastructure, even though the intent was to benefit both hosts and refugees. Although there was support for such an integrated approach among many in the refugee aid community, and mounting evidence against the effectiveness of relief aid programmes, UNHCR baulked at the possibility of a new approach. It seems to have taken a protectionist stance regarding its roles and responsibilities toward refugee assistance. It may have seemed more straightforward from a practical standpoint to maintain the division between relief aid and development aid since there is not much danger of the lines of responsibility becoming blurred. But as refugee researcher and advocate Gil Loescher notes, the ability to generate funds is often at the root of the matter:

> *The UNHCR like all organizations perceives that co-ordination blurs its individual visibility and identity, thereby reducing its ability to generate funds. This constitutes a powerful reason for the UNHCR not to fully participate in international co-ordination efforts.*[92]

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[91] Harrell-Bond, Barbara E. *Are refugee camps good for children?* In The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance, http://www.jha.ac/articles/u029.htm, 19 September 2001.
[92] Loescher, Gil. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*. Oxford University Press, 2001, p.354.

Ultimately, instead of the beginnings of a more integrated approach, a new, different rationale emerged. The assertion has been that refugees are a temporary phenomenon, and that UNHCR provides relief aid until the refugees' eventual return home. Despite the evidence that refugees often cannot return home for many years, the response of the international refugee aid community has reinforced the view among donors and host nations that refugees are merely temporary guests who should and will repatriate as soon as possible. This approach ensures that refugees live in camps for undetermined periods of time, without any community benefits or integration within host communities. This structural approach of refugee relief aid operates in contradiction to decades of established research that has consistently demonstrated the negative impacts of camp life, and the imperative need to integrate relief and development aid programmes.

Harrell-Bond presents plainly the dichotomy between relief and development aid. Rather than working toward integration by means of camps, refugees are kept in camps, surviving on assistance provided by international donors. In the end, as refugee situations turn from short-term stays into long-term communities, refugee populations that have had to rely solely on relief aid for survival become faced with the disintegration of their social system. These social systems, at one time self-reliant, become reduced into a cycle of dependence. Refugees become forced to rely on the support of international aid that is completely undependable, erratic and inadequate. The system of support is structured in such a way as to maintain their subsistence survival, but not much more. As the years pass, refugee communities such as the Palestinians in Lebanon find that education is merely a token; it is provided at primary levels but opportunities for

further education are scarce. Furthermore, they find that they are living lives where movement is restricted, land cannot be tilled, unemployment is rampant, and the entire community dependent on the provisions of aid organisations.

Concurrently, the common argument against the provision of secondary education is that if refugees were given access to secondary education they would not repatriate. Education is one part of a belief that aid and assistance ought to avoid making things 'too comfortable for refugees or they will not want to go back.' Yet, the desire to return home is hardly the problem. Almost all refugees throughout the world say that their desire is to return home at the earliest possible moment.

The Palestinian example demonstrates quite clearly that keeping refugees confined to camp life is inhumane and ineffective. Harrell-Bond raises the point that there could be advantages to governments that find better uses for international refugee aid than current relief programme structures. Aid would be more productive if, for example, host nations and aid agencies attempted to operate aid programmes through such government institutions as health and welfare, so that some benefits for refugees remain behind for the host nation's people.

To put her view of refugee aid into context, Harrell-Bond cites the instance of the arrival of the Tibetan refugees in India:

> *When the Tibetans arrived in India, they went to work building roads. India decided to give Tibetans total autonomy as a government-in-exile. The refugees live in villages that are under the authority of the Dalai Lama. International assistance must go through this government-in-exile, which decides on priorities and is responsible for its own population.*[93]

[93] Harrell-Bond, Barbara E. *Are refugee camps good for children?* In The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance, http://www.jha.ac/articles/u029.htm, 19 September 2001.

The Tibetan example reinforces the fact that a level of autonomy is required in refugee situations. Only through decision-making power, participation in all areas of community, and ownership over programmes and ultimately their lives, can refugees ever attain a hopeful situation.

Over the past decades, powerful bureaucratic and institutional interests have developed, at the international and national level, in keeping refugees in camps and dependent on relief. The result is that international aid available for refugees is primarily for 'relief aid', or mere survival. Consequently, relief programmes by-pass local institutions; they set up expensive parallel systems to deliver services targeted solely to refugees, and then dismantle them when they go away. Continuing the current approach to refugee assistance does little to improve the lives of refugees, and as it continues to overlook the long-term realities of refugee situations does a disservice to both refugees and refugee hosting nations.

Refugee Aid and Development

> *There is a growing realization that refugee assistance activities and development programming cannot be done in isolation, and that the respective assistance activities of these two bodies of institutions are linked in several important ways by the realities of simultaneous poverty and political instability in the Third World.*[94]

The current section of this chapter analyses the Refugee Aid and Development approach put forward by Robert Gorman and others in the field of refugee assistance. Harrell-Bond reveals the current predominately prescribed separation between relief and development aid as an inadequate approach that neglects the opportunity to positively affect both refugee populations and host nation communities, and fosters subsistence dependency among refugees. Following the same premise, Robert Gorman addresses the twin predicaments of underdevelopment and refugee movements, stating that neither can be resolved without taking account of the other, and that there is a need for a cooperative interagency approach with the intention of more effectively assisting refugees.

There is a clear division between 'relief aid', which is solely for the use of the displaced, and development aid, which is for development projects within countries. Refugee Aid and Development, as a theoretical approach to refugee assistance, counters this division and states that: rather than separate approaches of refugee assistance to refugees, and development assistance to poor host nations, there is need for a connection, a link in assistance. The development approach to refugee situations, as mentioned, is not a new approach; refugee experts in the 1980s, who were documenting the lack of effectiveness of refugee aid, presented and encouraged it as a viable option to improve intervention. Although avoided by agencies at the time, this approach has not fallen

[94] Gorman, Robert. *Refugee Aid and Development.* Greenwood Publishing Group, 1993, p.03.

completely by the wayside. It has again emerged as a potentially more effective methodological approach to assisting refugee populations.

Refugee and development experts have long been aware that refugee populations could have significant development implications on host nations. In fact, it was noted above that UNRWA attempted to engage Palestinian refugees in work projects. The efforts toward a long-term development solution for the Palestinians failed, however, in part due to the refugees' belief that they would soon be repatriated, and their refusal to accept the work projects, which the refugees deemed to imply their exile might be permanent. In the end, aid provision to the Palestinians has turned out to be a long-term relief effort, particularly in Lebanon. The lack of a development approach has resulted in a cycle of dependence on relief aid which, combined with the inability to find a resolution to the long-term status of Palestinians, has generated feelings of alienation, resentment, and exasperation among the refugee community. The Palestinian case is a prime example of how *not* to assist a refugee situation. Refugee experts refer to the term 'Palestinization' of refugees, a negative connotation referring to the failure in dealing with the refugee situation. In order to avoid the Palestinization of refugees, experts have repeatedly argued that from the earliest phases of a refugee situation it is necessary to encourage self-reliance among refugees. Moreover, where a host nation supports the progressive integration of refugees into local economies, the success of self-reliance programmes is distinctly increased and dependency reduced, as evident within the Tibetan refugee communities in India.[95] In turn, the economic development of host states is influenced when aid organisations and host governments attempt to promote the

[95] Integration of refugees will be further explored in the following chapter, which compares the integration of the Tibetan refugee community in India vis-à-vis the near absence of Palestinian integration in Lebanon.

economic integration of refugees, including the provision of vital tools such as education and training.

The primary objective of donors for refugee-related development activities has been the achievement of 'durable solutions'. That is, integration of refugees into the economic life of their host communities or, as returnees, reintegration into their countries of origin. The objective of the 'durable solutions' focus is to reduce the long-term costs of care and maintenance assistance to both donors and host nations.[96]

The first attempts at initiating a refugee aid and development approach came in the 1980's through the urgent need to address donor failure to keep pace with the growing numbers of refugees. The second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II) was held in July 1984, and laid out a framework of principles for the implementation of refugee-related development projects. Gorman calls the *Final Declaration and Program of Action* 'the most important international document concerning the linkage of refugee aid and development'.[97] The principles centred on the burdens felt by the populations and economies of poor refugee hosting nations, including:

1. Even in the earliest stages of refugee emergencies, the UNHCR and the international community as a whole should orient assistance in such a fashion that longer-term development implications are anticipated.

2. In seeking durable solutions for refugees, whether voluntary repatriation or local settlement, the UNHCR should coordinate and cooperate with the development agencies of the host country and its sister agencies in the United Nations to ensure effective integration for refugees and returnees with the host or home country population.

3. Development assistance should take into account the effect of refugees on the host country economy and population. To this end, refugee-related development projects should be undertaken to address infrastructural burdens.

4. Assistance for infrastructural and refugee-related development projects should be additional to that provided for a country's regular development programming.[98]

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[96] Gorman, Robert. *Refugee Aid and Development.* Greenwood Publishing Group, 1993, p.70.
[97] Ibid. p.64.
[98] Ibid. p.65.

In essence, the ICARA principles recognised the need to link aid to long-term development. The principles call for interagency cooperation to assist in the process of refugee integration (or returnee reintegration). Through establishing the link between relief and development aid, and acknowledging the strains refugee populations can have on host nations, the principles call for refugee-related development projects that are in addition to existing projects. Ultimately, however, the ICARA conferences failed to establish a new mode of operation. The concept was never fully supported by the donor community, which felt that host nations were more concerned with 'being compensated for the burden of hosting refugees than they were in using the funds to promote local integration'.[99] Furthermore, when famine struck many nations in Africa, donor governments used the funds earmarked for refugee-related development projects for large-scale emergency relief projects.

Refugee Aid and Development (RAD) is presented as the alternative to traditional relief aid approaches. Its aim is the achievement of two intertwining goals: to ensure that the international community assists host nations with the challenges of supporting refugees, and to ensure the provision of additional resources for development projects with the aim of benefiting both refugee and local populations. The refugee aid and development approach acknowledges the host nation perspective of the challenges of hosting refugee populations and agues that such challenges may present a threat to the protection of refugees and their asylum. It is known that impoverishment among local populations may produce resentment toward refugees, especially if the refugees are perceived as having preferential access to assistance.[100] In an effort to address the

[99] Loescher, Gil. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*. Oxford University Press, 2001, p.228.
[100] Gorman, Robert. *Refugee Aid and Development.* Greenwood Publishing Group, 1993, p.148.

concerns of refugees and their hosting nations, the refugee aid and development approach necessitates that assistance be provided to both refugees and host nations. A RAD approach calls for programmes to be participatory in both planning and implementation, in an ultimate effort to integrate refugees into host societies, while promoting self-reliance and local development.

Gorman states that the assumptions and propositions essential to RAD theory are primarily a set of 'normative and empirical assertions, policy-based and prudential judgements, and common sense predictions'.[101] The crux of RAD theory states that:

1. Refugees and returnees reside primarily in poorly developed Third World countries. As such, they place significant strains on the host country's economic infrastructure and on the indigenous population.

2. When these strains on the host country and local population become too great, asylum and protection for the refugees are threatened.

3. Assistance benefiting both the refugee and the host country/population should be provided to reduce such strains, thus preserving refugee asylum and enhancing refugee protection.

4. Assistance programmes failing to incorporate refugees and local populations as participants in the planning and implementation of projects are less effective than those that do incorporate such participation. For maximal positive effect, local resources should be marshalled rather than relying solely on external inputs.

5. Integration of refugees into the economic life of the host country is desirable, both to ensure refugee self-reliance and to promote local development.

[101] Ibid. p.148.

6. Refugee and development assistance can be made compatible provided careful coordination is pursued by relevant agencies.

7. Resources provided to meet refugee-related development needs should be additional to those provided for refugee or for existing development programs.

8. From the earliest date of a refugee emergency, aid should avoid counter-development outcomes.

9. Investment in RAD obviates future problems in coping with emergencies by developing infrastructure.[102]

An important component of the refugee aid and development approach is that such projects be *in addition to emergency relief aid and existing development programmes*. It is intended, and essential, that in this manner relief aid would be ensured for refugees and ongoing development projects within host nations would not be affected. Host government development agencies are reluctant to give priority to such connected programmes if they believe donors are likely to shift aid funding away from existing development plans to fund projects in refugee-affected areas. Thus, only if RAD projects represent truly additional assistance will host nations have the incentive to give such projects serious consideration.[103]

Within a refugee aid and development framework, projects have the aim of developing infrastructure, promoting self-reliance and integration, strengthening local economies, and as a result contributing to the prevention of future problems in coping with emergencies. Furthermore, the RAD approach proposes that the principles that apply to refugee aid in developing countries also apply when refugees repatriate to their

[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid. p.161.

country of origin, or when internally displaced persons (IDP) return to their original communities. In such cases, assistance should target the rehabilitation of areas where refugees and internally displaced persons return, rather than providing assistance solely to repatriating refugees or to returning IDP populations as separate and distinct groups.[104] Refugee aid and development primarily forms the understanding that in order to improve its effectiveness, refugee aid must have a long-term developmental outlook, and furthermore, that development aid must recognise and attend to the effects refugee populations have on host nation communities.

The dilemma is that the RAD approach, through its basic premise of combining aspects of both relief and development assistance, falls between the mandates of UNHCR and UNDP, the major United Nations agencies engaged in relief and development assistance. As it is a combination of refugee and development assistance activity, the refugee aid and development approach necessitates strong cooperation between aid agencies and organisations involved with refugee assistance programmes, including UN agencies UNHCR, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF as well as international NGOs, and local NGOs.

Cooperative and Coordinated Efforts

Scholars and advocates of refugee aid frequently refer to the need for improvements in cooperation and coordination. From the type and quality of education needed, to the challenges of traditional aid methods, and the appeal for the implementation of a refugee aid and development approach, *cooperation and coordination* are repeatedly acknowledged as critical for the improvement of the current

[104] Ibid. p.164.

structures of refugee assistance. As the number of forced migrants, whether they be refugees or IDPs, increases, and the duration of their dislocations lengthens, there has become a greater need than ever before for a cooperative and coordinated approach to refugee assistance between UN aid agencies, international and local NGOs. The basis of the RAD approach also states that where additional resources are not available for specific RAD projects, strong interagency cooperation could be utilized to ensure that development planning recognises the effects of refugees on host communities, and that refugee assistance ought to be applied more developmentally through the promotion of community participatory approaches and the building of local capacity for continued programme implementation.

It is important that, while refugee-related development projects have had limited opportunity to be implemented on a wide scale, there have been significant developments over the past decade within the UN system, as it has begun to recognise the need for improved interagency cooperation and coordination. One of the main impetuses for the developments within the UN has been the long saga of the Palestinian refugees, which has demonstrated that continual displacement cultivates the maintenance of conflict and fosters dependence for generations.

The 1990s saw a more holistic view enter into the discourse of refugee assistance within the UN system, a view which acknowledged the important links between relief and development, and a view that began to address the divide between relief and development agencies. The UN General Assembly passed resolution 46/182 in late 1991,[105] with the intent of providing a clear directive for relief assistance to become more geared towards recovery and long-term development. The resolution focused on the

[105] OCHA. http://ochaonline.un.org/.

establishment of a link between relief and development activities within UN agencies and organizations within the refugee assistance community. It established OCHA, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, to be responsible for the coordination of humanitarian operations in the field and for strengthening coordination between the humanitarian agencies. The resolution also created the Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC) position, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA), and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). [106] Secretary-General Kofi Annan has stated that:

> *In practice, coordination requires cooperation among humanitarian partners. It should lead to concrete benefits: agreements among members of the IASC on the roles, policies, procedures and institutional mechanisms which constitute a working framework for coordination; the provision of useful services; and a genuine climate of cooperation among humanitarian partners. While involving more humanitarian partners can sometimes make decision-making more complicated, coordination efforts must be as inclusive as possible.*[107]

Although there is a growing consensus that international assistance ought to bridge the twin objectives of emergency relief and economic and civic development, the 'gap' between relief and development agencies has yet to be bridged in practice. There continue to be significant divisions at the field level between relief and development agencies, which hamper attempts at coordinating efforts. A serious challenge to coordination is the competition for donor funding, which has traditionally separated 'relief' from 'development' aid. One of the foremost concerns is that while relief aid is

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[106] The Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC) develops humanitarian policy to ensure a coordinated response to complex emergencies and natural disasters. It is a round-table that includes UN and non-UN humanitarian agencies including NGOs and the Red Cross. http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iasc/.

[107] OCHA. *Humanitarian Coordination in Complex Emergencies and Natural Disasters*. In, Humanitarian Report 1997: Continuing challenges for humanitarian coordination. http://www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/pub/humrep97/coord.html.

usually provided without conditions, development aid is increasingly becoming earmarked for specific objectives, or to areas of geo-political interest such as Afghanistan and Iraq. It also appears that RAD projects do not attract a great deal of donor support, which is still inclined to be set aside for 'relief' or 'development' but not for refugee-related development projects. This is a crucial point since donor support has declined in real terms in the post-cold war era, leading to a further increase in competition for resources among the assistance community.

Ultimately, traditional separations between relief and development approaches to assistance, and continuous competition for resources have created long-lasting divisions between relief and development agencies. And while an integrated and coordinated approach becomes touted more often from within relief and development aid agencies, the realities on the ground, in the field, regularly show up such statements, reports and speeches on the importance of interagency cooperation and coordination as toothless rhetoric. In March 2004, UNDP Assistant Administrator and Director, Julia Taft stated the need to ensure interagency cooperation:

> *We all know about the "gap between relief and recovery effort". Twenty-three years ago UNHCR hosted ICARA I. Special attention was given to the plight of refugees and the impact on countries of asylum or resettlement and to assist affected countries to strengthen social and economic infrastructure for return. The development nature of aid was highlighted (not just basic needs) and gave attention to local community impact. Here we are in a new millennium twenty-three years later with similar challenges. Let us build on our new sense of direction and collaboration to get it right: for the refugees; the host communities; and the countries that need to embrace the talents and energy of all their citizens. We in UNDP look forward to taking this journey with you, together.*[108]

[108] Taft, Julia, UNDP Assistant Administrator and Director. http://www.undp.org/bcpr/pubinfo/speeches/mar_2004_repatriation.htm, 8 March 2004.

Indeed, the world is over 20 years past the first and second ICARA conferences, both of which promoted integrated and coordinated approaches lauded by many within the aid community, and now more than a dozen years beyond the development of a litany of new UN offices and committees designed solely for the improvement of coordination. Yet there continue to be minimal structural changes at the field level.

While spending a year and a half in east Africa recently, the author took part in what would be considered, at the headquarters in Geneva or New York, the much talked about 'coordinated efforts'.[109] In essence, what took place generally were meetings, led by OCHA, the body charged with coordinating the humanitarian agencies and NGOs. These meetings included UNHCR, UNDP, UNICEF, ICRC (Red Cross), as well as a handful of prominent NGOs, and consisted of each group briefing the others on their programming efforts. This may be viewed as a step in the right direction, and there are advantages for conducting such meetings no doubt, but there was also a complete absence of organisational integration. These meetings were basically briefings. The major development seemed to be that there was now OCHA in the mix, another component of the UN system, with ever more offices, vehicles, and international staff, carrying the label of 'coordination'.

[109] The author spent the first half of 2003 working with refugee returnee populations under the UNHCR umbrella in western Eritrea; and the latter part of 2003 and most of 2004 working in IDP camps in southern Eritrea with War Child. During both endeavours, the author took part in a number of inter-agency-organisation meetings.

Summary of Approaches to Refugee Camp Education

This chapter has aimed to shed light on approaches to refugee camp education specifically, and refugee assistance in general. Clearly, refugee camp education cannot be discussed within a vacuum; it is part of an entire system of refugee relief aid that includes tens of millions of people worldwide. As a result, this chapter has employed the research of a number of refugee experts and advocates in an effort to form a clearer picture of the challenges involved in refugee camp education.

The themes that emerged out of the Literature Review, education structures within refugee settings, and the role of the refugee hosting state, have been explored within this chapter through the use of current research and theoretical methodologies.

The opening section, centred on the theme of education structures, utilized the realities of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugee education structures to facilitate theoretical discourse concerning quality education in refugee camps. Through this framework, the presentation of approaches to quality improvements examined the need for an approach to refugee aid assistance that requires political support for refugee communities, adequate financial investment, and refugee participation in the development of education systems. Interagency cooperation within the development of refugee education structures was also presented. Cooperation is a vital component needed to create the necessary conditions for problem identification and solution planning, and to ensure that quality improvements are sustained and local capacity developed.

The theme of host state and international community response has been considered further through the presentation of Harrell-Bond's research on the current

structure of the refugee support system. While the literature review examined direct influence of host state practices and policies toward refugees, this chapter has explored the current international system of response to refugee situations, and the impact of the international response on the refugees as well as the host nations. It has been made quite evident that the current international response system overtly discourages refugee integration within host communities. As a result, the system of international refugee support ultimately contributes to host state animosities toward refugee populations, and subsequently leads to anti-refugee policies within the host nation.

The final section of this chapter brought together the approaches to quality education in refugee settings, and the challenges to current refugee assistance approaches. A Refugee Aid and Development approach was employed to provide a comprehensive analysis of education quality and refugee assistance. The RAD approach presented the framework for the implementation of an integrated approach to refugee assistance, which has been shown to be a more effective and responsible approach toward refugee aid assistance. From this, a third theme, cooperation and coordination, emerged. Cooperation and coordination, at the heart of the refugee aid and development approach, is a fundamental ingredient absent from the current mode of refugee assistance. A restructuring of relief aid and development aid policy and practice at the organisational and governmental levels is required to deal with the long-term realities of most refugee situations. In order to avert an indefinite and inadequate long-term basic survival aid structure, as exists amid the Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon, there is a fundamental need for a coordinated refugee aid and development approach.

. From a comparative perspective, the following chapter explores the major themes that have emerged within the chapters on literature review and theoretical approaches. It begins with a comparison of the Tibetan and Palestinian education systems, and addresses the need for cooperation efforts among organizations and governments assisting refugees. Subsequently, the chapter compares the Indian and Lebanese responses to the long-term presence of the refugees, and discusses the impact of each state's policies and practices vis-à-vis the lives of the refugees. Finally, examples of international efforts toward the improvement of refugee assistance, and cooperation and coordination are presented within a Refugee Aid and Development framework. The chapter concludes with a summary of characteristics and approaches necessary to ensure the improvement of refugee camp education.

Chapter V
A Comparative Approach To Refugee Camp Education

> *Education cannot be considered in isolation from other sectors, or in isolation from economics, religious and traditional beliefs, social practices, political and security factors, coping mechanisms or anticipated future developments.*[110]

The situation of the Tibetan refugees in India and that of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon run parallel through the fact that both populations have been stateless for the better part of half a century. Throughout the decades, both refugee populations have remained steadfast in their struggles for repatriation to their homelands; the majority of each population has settled together and built 'temporary' communities out of their refugee camps; and within these communities an essential element has continually been

[110] Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies, *Working group on Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies*, http://www.ineesite.org/standards/default.asp, 2004.

to teach their culture heritage to the children in an effort to ensure its survival. At the same time, there have been considerable differences between the Tibetan and Palestinian refugees' possibilities for self-determination, integration within their host nations, and access to education institutions, to labour markets, and overall opportunities for improvement of the lives of each refugee population. These similarities and differences have been alluded to within the literature review, as well as in the chapter on theory. In this chapter, these similarities and difference will be drawn out and analyzed further in an effort to illustrate the critical need for improvement to the current mode of refugee education structures in particular, and assistance to refugee populations on the whole.

Through presenting an assessment of the quality and effectiveness of the education systems of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugees within their respective host nations of India and Lebanon, the intent of this chapter is to shed light on the importance of effective education within refugee situations. The importance of establishing quality education systems in refugee settings is viewed as not only for the sake of provision itself, but also as a recognition of the often long-term nature of refugee situations – a reality which has seen generations of refugees living in camps. Thus, quality improvements in education are necessary in an effort to provide opportunities for improvement of the lives of refugees.

The previous chapter presented the structural inefficiencies within the current method of refugee assistance, the resulting dependency on aid, and lack of integration, which the international approach has fostered for decades. As a result, an alternative approach was presented, the Refugee Aid and Development approach, which calls for the implementation of refugee-related development assistance. This approach recognises the

long-term realities of refugee situations and the strain they can put on host nations. This approach promotes integration within host communities, and requires greater organisational cooperation and coordination.

The current chapter brings the findings together in a comparative framework, centred on three specific themes: the implications of educational structures and quality; host nation policies and international assistance structures; and the need for a refugee-related development approach that encourages integration and requires coordination among aid organisations.

Analysis of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugee education systems demonstrates that in order to better ensure sustainable benefits, education systems in refugee settings need to address quality and outcome concerns, and be maintained within a developmental and integrationist approach. Furthermore, assistance demands greater collaboration and coordination between aid agencies and international non-governmental organisations, and with refugee hosting nations.

Conclusions are drawn through the examination of these themes, the presentation of the education systems, and effects of host state and international refugee assistance structures on the lives of Tibetan and Palestinian refugees. The summary finds that refugee populations would be at an advantage if: the refugee community had more autonomy and decision-making power in the governance of social structures such as education; assistance were tied to host country development strategies; aid agencies improved coordination; and refugee hosting nations provided improved support.

Initially, this chapter presents a comparative analysis of the systems of education of the two groups. A variety of indicators are addressed in an attempt to bring out some

of the more prevalent factors contributing to the differences in educational 'success'. Numbers of schools, education funding and the impact of political resolve are pointed to as key factors affecting access. Beyond physical access to education, curriculum use is shown to be a crucial element in teacher, parent, and student satisfaction with the quality of the education systems.

Following this, the roles of each host nation is presented and juxtaposed to the role of the international aid community. The host nations have played significant roles in the development of the respective education systems and in the provision of quality education to students. It is shown that while the Government of India has supported the educational development of all Tibetan refugees since the arrival of the Tibetans, the Lebanese Government has implemented policies which have further entrenched the hardships and suffering of the Palestinian refugees. At the same time, the current international aid agency policies toward refugee assistance contribute to the dependence of refugees on aid, and moreover encourage host nations to deny refugee integration.

The chapter continues with an exploration into the need for a refugee aid and development approach to assistance, and the necessity of collaboration and coordination between agencies. This section calls for a coordinated effort in order to ensure that refugee communities develop quality education; that host states offer adequate support and gain benefit from the presence of the refugees; and that the international community takes up its responsibility to assist refugees equally, responsibly and effectively.

Education Structure

> *Effective emergency education programmes are based on a thorough understanding of the crisis-affected community and its active involvement in the design of the programme. The term 'community participation' refers to both the processes and activities that allow members of an affected population to be heard, empowering them to be part of decision-making processes and enabling them to take direct action on education issues.*[111]

Determination to ensure the survival of their cultures has made the provision of education a vital component of the social structure in both the Tibetan and Palestinian refugee populations since the first days of their dislocation. Over time, the Tibetan education system has established itself to be more effective and of greater value to its refugee population than the education system available to the Palestinian refugees.

There are a number of characteristics that, when present, support the development of an effective refugee education system, and when absent, foster the development of an inadequate education system. One of the most important characteristics necessary for effective refugee camp education is the encouragement and development of a community participatory approach, in an effort to realise the values and priorities of the refugee community. The aid community and host nation need to collaborate with the refugees and local communities. It is also necessary for assistance to promote programme sustainability through capacity building, so as to assist the refugees in becoming increasingly self-reliant in the programming and development of the education system. Furthermore, from the earliest possible stage of the implementation of education in refugee camps, the focus must be on long-term educational development objectives.

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[111] Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies, *Working group on Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies*, http://www.ineesite.org/standards/default.asp, 2004.

In the Palestinian camps in Lebanon there is an absence of such community participation. This has contributed to the deterioration of the system and the population's confidence in the system. Conversely, it has been the presence and influence of community involvement among the Tibetan refugees in India that has facilitated the establishment of a system relevant and acceptable to the refugee community.

Enrolment

In terms of the numbers of schools and enrolment, the Tibetan education system is more able to deal with its school age population than the Palestinian system. Within India there are no fewer than 64 schools providing education from primary to senior secondary, for a total enrolment of less than 30,000 students and at least an 88% enrolment level of school age children.

A major concern presently for the Central Tibetan Administration is the ever-increasing number of refugee youths arriving from Tibet. These 'new arrivals', estimated at 3000 per year, are rapidly filling up the available school space. They often arrive with minimal education, and having been parted from their families, have a difficult time adjusting to their new surroundings. Consequently, the CTA has found itself needing to find ways of dealing with the psychological well-being of these youths, and in need of securing more funding to establish schools for the growing need.

Without a doubt, the situation of refugee education within Lebanon is in crisis. In Lebanon, where merely 61% of school age children attend schools, UNRWA is still unable to provide enough schools. Presently UNRWA provides 73 three to six-year elementary schools, and just three secondary schools, for an enrolment of over 40,000 students. Access to secondary education is a serious problem facing the Palestinian

refugees in Lebanon, and refugees worldwide. Without access to secondary education, refugees in long-term situations are further disadvantaged. This concern has become so widespread that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Ruud Lubbers, was led to acknowledge the lack of secondary education available to refugees by stating that aid agencies 'must overcome the gap between emergency and development aid. At present post-primary education for refugees is a casualty of this gap. We must find a solution for this.'[112] Of the 1.5 million refugees of secondary school-going age worldwide, a mere three per cent are in secondary school. The United Nations, more than a decade ago, officially recognised the gap between relief and development aid: however, so far little has been attempted to address the lack of secondary school access.

Even though the Palestinian refugees have lived in Lebanon for many decades, the education system has not developed to reflect the needs of the population, and in fact the system is currently at its worst in its history. Over the decades there have been constant disruptions to the education of children through continual wars with Israel and through the Lebanese Civil War. The PLO's participation in the civil war, its subsequent ouster from Lebanon, the losses of remittance from husbands and sons working in other Gulf nations, and the virtual political and economic abandonment of the refugees in Lebanon over the past decade has left the refugees with little hope for the future. With school enrolment rates dropping, UNRWA funding being frozen and reduced, the possibility for repatriation slipping further away, there is a sense of hopelessness among the refugee youth, which may ultimately lead to the collapse of the education system.

[112] Lubbers, Ruud. UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Speech read on behalf of Lubbers by UN Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, Mary Anne Wyrsch. http://www.reliefweb.int/, 19 Sept 2002.

Curriculum

A serious issue for both the Tibetans and the Palestinians has been that of curriculum. Both refugee populations have followed their host country's curriculum guidelines, but each has had different levels of control, input and influence over the development of the education system.

For the Tibetans, ensuring a curriculum that focuses on their history and culture has been of utmost concern in the development of their education system, and essentially they have succeeded in this goal. One concern has been introducing the use of the vernacular in classrooms, and in 1994 Tibetan was introduced as the mode of delivery for all subjects in all Tibetan primary schools, with English and Hindi being taught separately. While this has been a success and supported by the community, there is also concern that the strong focus on Tibetan culture and, in particular, language, is not adequately preparing students for the realities of living in Indian society.

For the Palestinian refugees, the absence of a Palestinian curriculum in schools has been the primary issue with the education system. Palestinian women are often noted as the primary source of passing down the history and culture of their people. The absence of a Palestinian education for Palestinians has been a cause of student, teacher and parent apathy toward the education system.

The fact that the Tibetan refugees were able to establish a separate Department of Education, whereas the Palestinian refugees have been forced to rely on UNRWA for education, is a significant factor regarding their current educational circumstances. The Tibetans are secure in the knowledge that their children are receiving a Tibetan

education, whereas the absence of administrative power in the Palestinian camps has resulted in greater dissatisfaction with the education provided.

Ultimately, the impact of having more control over their education system, and a greater commitment by the Government of India toward the Tibetan people, have combined to provide a Tibetan refugee education system superior to that of the Palestinians. While the lack of a Palestinian curriculum in their schools has contributed to educational apathy throughout the refugee camps in Lebanon, the presence of the Tibetan Department of Education in India, by ensuring a strong focus on Tibetan culture, traditions and language in the Tibetan refugee schools, has played a significant role in ensuring near full enrolment. The Tibetan refugees themselves have contributed great amounts of effort in the development of their education system; as thus, that system is recognised and valued by the people.

Cooperation

Agencies and organizations that are working within refugee camp education are renowned for lacking cooperation and coordination efforts. Quite recently, however, there has been an interesting development in regard to the issue of interagency cooperation vis-à-vis refugee camp education. In December 2004, the *Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies* (INEE),[113] a coalition of U.N. agencies, NGOs, governments and consultants introduced a handbook on the subject of interagency educational coordination. The guidelines highlight issues that aid agencies need to

[113] Interagency Network for Education in Emergencies, *Working group on Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies*, http://www.ineesite.org/standards/default.asp, 2004. INEE's Working Group on Minimum Standards is made up of CARE Canada, CARE USA, Catholic Relief Services, Foundation for the Refugee Education Trust, the International Rescue Committee, Norwegian Church Aid, Norwegian Refugee Council and the Norway United Nations Association, Save the Children UK, Save the Children US, UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF and World Education/The Consortium.

address when initiating emergency education programmes. These are the first-ever global standards for education in crisis situations. The handbook, *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies*, is intended to facilitate coordination among education partners and to provide a 'universal framework for ensuring the right to education for people affected by crisis. It is a tool for raising the quality of education in emergency situations and a lever for improving the accountability of the humanitarian actors who provide it'.[114] The minimum standards cover five categories: Community participation; Access and learning environment; Teaching and learning; Teachers and other education personnel; Education policy and coordination. It is hoped that the use of the standards will facilitate a strong and positive step toward greater coordination among partners.

Importantly, the INEE recognises the long-term nature of many refugee situations and asserts that emergency education programmes are to be planned and implemented in a manner that provides for their continuation and development as education systems move into the into longer-term.

Essentially, the development of an effective refugee education system requires refugee participation; collaboration between aid organizations, host nations and refugees; refugee capacity building; long-term educational development objectives. It is evident from the Tibetan and Palestinian education systems that a system responsive and relevant to the needs of the refugees, and influenced by the refugees, is more effective and ultimately more highly valued by refugee communities than the majority of refugee education systems, which fail to ensure the existence of such qualities.

[114] Ibid.

Host State and the International Community

> *The idea that refugees are a problem is in everybody's head, while in fact they can be a true advantage. They bring skills and knowledge, and they bring true survival energy.*[115]

The roles of the Indian and Lebanese host states, regarding the respective refugee populations, have been pivotal in the provision of refugee access to education, and the overall development of a refugee education system throughout the preceding decades.

On the one hand, the Indian state has been the quintessential model, throughout the world, of supportive and effective host state responses to the presence of the Tibetan refugees. The Indian state has shown empathy and compassion to the Tibetan refugees, and has provided continued support and assistance, for over half a century.

On the other hand, short of a country not abiding non-refoulement, the Lebanese nation's responses to the presence of Palestinian refugees epitomises the worst characteristics existing in refugee crises throughout the world. It is regrettable, for the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, dislocated for such a lengthy period of time, that the Lebanese state and indeed, the society as a whole, has displayed the antithesis of the support shown to the Tibetans by the state of India and her people.

India

Although falling short of politically recognizing the Tibetan Government-in-exile, the Indian Government has supported the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration fully, and its assistance has encouraged the development of effective schooling for the refugee children. At times there has been a level of mistrust between

[115] Interview with Martin Stolk, Cairo Times 24.08.2000, www.martinstolk.nl/engels/barbara.

the Tibetan Department of Education and its Indian counterpart regarding curriculum issues in the Indian administered schools, and particularly the implementation of school fees in 1975, but for the most part the two ministries have worked admirably together toward educational development.

On the whole, the Settlements have been very successful: to a great extent they have achieved their objectives, as envisaged in the early days of dislocation when the rehabilitation program was conceived. Essentially the goals were to ensure the survival of all aspects of the Tibetan culture, and to educate its people. It is rather important and relevant that the supportive role of the Indian host state be mentioned. It is not that the Indian state has provided all things for the Tibetans, but rather, and more importantly, that the Indian state has provided the refugees space for agency, the space and opportunity to build something for themselves.

The Tibetan Government-in-exile, researches and makes available for their communities the developments, issues and concerns within the camp settings, and it has been doing so for decades. For example, it has recently documented the connection between education opportunities and employment: 'Today, there is a lack of adequate employment opportunities, especially for the educated young people, and more and more settlers have tended to depend on sweater-selling, other petty business and employment outside the Settlements; and one of the main problems facing the education sector is that there are very few opportunities for Tibetan refugees graduating from schools to attend further education'.[116] It is quite relevant and important here that there is a presence of discourse within the Tibetan refugee community. The refugee community has decision-

[116] Government of Tibet in Exile. http://www.tibet.com/.

making power, the ability to affect change. It maintains a broad sense of self-reliance, a crucial ingredient in all societies, and one that has been absent in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

Lebanon

In terms of the Palestinian refugees, one of the most disturbing facts of their plight has been the treatment toward them by the Lebanese state. It can be argued that the Lebanese state is looking after its own interests, namely its people. In a relatively poor country, how does a government justify providing any forms of support to non-citizens, non-Lebanese?

In order to protect its people, 'the Lebanese government has initiated a series of restrictive policies and regulations aimed at encouraging as many Palestinians as possible to leave the country'.[117] Palestinians are excluded from the legal rights and protections of the state; they are not provided naturalization; their movement/travel is restricted; they are considered 'special case' foreigners, or 'imported working class' and must attain work permits, which need to be renewed when laid off, and which were denied to Palestinians between 1982-1992.[118]

Although disadvantaged as non-nationals, Palestinians have traditionally been well-educated, which has long been a source of collective pride and individual motivation and has allowed them to compete for jobs. But today, Palestinians in Lebanon are facing an educational crisis, which has been encouraged by the state as a method to discourage Palestinian refugees from remaining in Lebanon. 'Official policy has made it difficult for

[117] Haddad, Simon. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon*. UK: Sussex Academic Press: 2003. p41.
[118] Ibid.

the younger generation of Palestinians to continue post-compulsory school studies.'[119] Normal public schools are closed to them, and they cannot afford private schools. The resulting lack of education is having devastating effects on the Palestinian refugee community.

Not surprisingly, many young Palestinians in the camps do not see the point of attending school when all around them they see that having an education does not lead to improved employment opportunities. The fact is that of all Palestinian refugee areas, the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon face the most severe hardships. Their lack of rights in all aspects of their lives, from the right to work, to enrol in post-primary institutions, or to reconstruct in the camps, all combine to create a sense of suffocation amongst the refugees.

Host Nation Rationale

It is evident that one of the reasons for the difference in approach toward the refugees may be refugee host population numbers. A Tibetan population of 125,000, in a nation of 1 billion, is not seen as a threat to the vast majority of its citizens and as such, the government may have more political leeway in supporting the refugees. The Palestinian refugee community, which comprises between 10 to 12 percent of the entire Lebanese population, and is growing at 4.5 percent per year, is clearly a socio-political problem for the Lebanese government.

It is important to note that the delicate confessional balance in Lebanon has affected what citizenship rights have been granted to migrants. After over fifty years, the mostly Muslim Palestinians have not been accorded the legal rights enjoyed by the rest of

[119] Ibid.

the population, and the permanent settlement of the refugees is forbidden under Lebanon's constitution. In contrast, Christian Armenians have been given citizenship.

Since its independence in 1943, Lebanon has had the ongoing challenge of attaining a delicate sectarian balance. 'The main element of heterogeneity of Lebanese society is its subdivision among religious groups, six of which are of major importance. Three are Muslim (Shi'ites, Sunnis and Druze); three are Christian (Maronites, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics).'[120]

In an effort to ensure peaceful coexistence, Lebanon has followed a system of power sharing between Muslims and Christians, in which the three highest offices are reserved for members of specific religious groups: The president must be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister must be a Sunni Muslim, and the speaker of the legislature must be a Shi'a Muslim. 'This arrangement is part of the National Pact, an unwritten agreement established in 1943 between Lebanon's first president (a Maronite) and its first prime minister (a Sunni).'[121] The pact, based on religious representation, has attempted to ensure stability through cooperation between and representation of the different groups. Although intended to be an interim compromise, this confessional system of allocating power still exists.

The matter of religious balance is such a sensitive political issue that a national census has not been conducted since 1932, before the founding of the modern Lebanese State. Nonetheless, the United States Government estimates that 60 percent of the resident population is Muslim. The worry of government officials, and citizens, is that

[120] Haddad, Simon. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon*. UK: Sussex Academic Press: 2003. p.05.
[121] Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon#Politics.

the permanent settlement of the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon will further erode the country's unstable demographic structure, and in essence tip the demographic scales.

Indisputably, a consequence of the political nature of the Lebanese system has been the lack of rights for the Palestinian refugees. In public statements, Lebanese officials have repeatedly made clear the state's support for the continued socio-political isolation of the refugees. Such a statement was made by the former Education Minister Michel Edde, who linked the integration of the refugees to the breakup of the nation: 'Lebanon refuses the implantation of the Palestinians on its territories, since this foreshadows the country's division.'[122]

Additionally, the geographic location of the refugees may also play a role in the host nations' treatment toward the refugees. The Tibetans, for the most part, are settled in the far northern reaches of India, and in agricultural settlements in central and south India. In contrast, the Palestinians, three times greater in population than the Tibetan refugees, in a physically smaller nation, are extremely visible, with many of the refugees living on the fringes of largely populated areas such as Beirut and Tripoli.

Political motivations also play a major role in the host nations' dealings with the refugees. It is worthy of note that the Indian response to the refugees is one of inclusion, an acknowledged showing of its dissatisfaction with China, whereas the Lebanese response is severe exclusion, continually pointing to Israel and the international community for being responsible for the refugee situation.

An additional entirely opposed characteristic of the two refugee populations has been the socio-political path that the leadership of each society has chosen to follow in an

[122] Haddad, Simon. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon*. UK: Sussex Academic Press: 2003. p.02.

effort to regain their homeland. The leader of the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama, chose to struggle through peaceful means, while his counterpart, the late Chairman Arafat chose to use force in the Palestinian struggle for the establishment of a state. It may be viewed that both the Dalai Lama's 'peaceful path' to negotiation and settlement, and that of the PLOs 'freedom fighter' approach, have accomplished little toward the ultimate goal of statehood, but their choice of approach has unmistakeably affected the political responses of the host nations of India and Lebanon toward the refugee populations.

The Refugee Burden

The common perception among refugee hosting nations is that refugees are a problem, a burden to host nations. And while it is true that refugees add stress to host nation communities, Harrell-Bond has established that rather than isolating refugees, host nations would be more prudent to consider avenues that take advantage of possibilities for mutual aid and development programmes. Moreover, money spent on building parallel systems within the camps could be better used, in a sustainable way, by improving the existing local infrastructure and welfare services, which could be to the benefit of both refugees and host communities.

Refugee hosting nations, primarily located in the third world, often want refugees placed in camps because they are concerned that the refugees will negatively affect local economies, and they do not want their citizens to perceive that the refugees, due to the provision of relief aid, are better off than themselves. Therefore, keeping the refugees in the camps serves the interests of the host state.

> *But I think we also have to take into account again that often this is very much the desire of the refugee hosting governments themselves, and it's often been a condition of providing asylum to large numbers of refugees that UNHCR creates parallel structures for those refugees so that they do not place burdens on the local infrastructure.*[123]

It is also true that for the basic purposes of delivering aid, confining refugees to camps serves the interests of relief aid organisations, as any organisation will freely acknowledge. This aid, however, as previously discussed,[124] is habitually and strictly 'relief aid' – and not for 'development' purposes. As such, it is required by donors to be completely for refugees, and therefore, in order to ensure that the aid ends up where it has been intended, which satisfies donors and legitimises the aid organisation, the continuance of the camps becomes a priority. So, when UNHCR states that it is the desire of the refugee hosting nations to keep refugees in camps, away from local populations, it is not the entire explanation for the maintenance of refugee camps over the long-term. Regenerating its budget and ensuring its position within the UN system ultimately play quite large motivating factors for UNHCR.

Although the majority of refugees around the world continue to be confined to camps, the case of the Tibetan refugees in India has shown that the injection of foreign currency into India, through the presence of international aid organizations, has proven to be of financial benefit to the Government of India, and in particular to the communities within and around the refugee settlements.

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[123] Crisp, Jeff. Interview with Sally Gainsbury, http://www.id21.org/id21-media/refugees/bhbtranscript.html March 11, 2003.

[124] See Chapter IV, *Challenging the Approach of 'Relief Aid', and particularly* the discussion on pages 63-65, and is continued in the section on *Refugee Aid and Development*, which begins on page 68.

Refugee advocates and researchers have raised the practical possibilities of host governments finding better uses for international refugee aid than current relief programme structures. The aim is to prevent the waste of relief aid inputs, which commonly are destroyed when refugees are repatriated, maintain the isolation of refugees and foster dependence.

If relief and development aid organisations were to coordinate efforts, and operate aid programmes for the benefit of not only the refugees but also the local community, local communities as well as refugees would benefit from inputs, such as sanitation facilities or schools. Furthermore, these benefits would last long after the refugees have been repatriated. In the meantime, such coordination promotes social harmony and integration, which are necessary when, as often happens, refugees and host communities find themselves living side-by-side for many years.

Refugee Aid and Development

> *We found that many refugee populations are kept in conditions where it is essentially impossible for them to make an economic contribution to the country of asylum where they have settled. It is impossible because they do not have access to land, it is impossible because they do not have freedom of movement, they are confined to camps, it is impossible because they do not have access to credit for example, so all of these limitations have locked ourselves into a position where refugees become so-called 'dependent' and are unable to contribute to the local economy and are unable to become self-reliant themselves.*[125]

This statement, by Jeff Crisp, the head of UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, recognizes the trouble with the current mode of refugee assistance practices. The implementation of a Refugee Aid and Development approach to refugee assistance counters the division between 'relief' and 'development assistance' and attempts to bridge the gap between the two. Through the linkage of relief and development processes, refugee-related development assistance offers enhanced possibilities of refugee integration into the economies of their host communities or, as returnees, reintegration into their countries of origin. As a result, durable solutions are met, the long-term objective of donors, the international community and host nations, which is essentially to reduce the long-term costs of care and maintenance.

The refugee aid and development approach proposes that while the international community supports refugees, to facilitate responsible assistance it also must provide additional resources for development projects with the aim of benefiting both refugee and local populations. In order to assist the integration of refugees into host societies, and to

[125] Crisp, Jeff. Interview with Sally Gainsbury, March 11, 2003 http://www.id21.org/id21-media/refugees/bhbtranscript.html.

promote self-reliance and local development, refugee-related development projects call for programmes to be participatory in both planning and implementation. Furthermore, to improve its effectiveness, refugee aid must have a long-term developmental outlook, and it requires strong cooperation and coordination between aid agencies and organisations involved with refugee assistance programmes.

Throughout the past decade refugee-related development projects have begun to be implemented, albeit on quite a limited scale. As mentioned, with the passing of resolution 46/182 in 1991 the United Nations acknowledged the need for greater interagency cooperation and coordination, and provided a directive for relief assistance to become more geared toward recovery and long-term development.

Although coordination between relief and development organizations is hampered by the traditional separation of their approaches at field level, and continuous competition for resources, there have been some tangible movements toward refugee-related development programming in the UN and also within the NGO sector.

UNESCO PEER

A well-known UN intervention programme over the past decade, in response to the education needs in emergencies, is the UNESCO created PEER (Programme for Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction). PEER began in Somalia in 1993, and established similar programmes in Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Angola, Mozambique, Haiti, Yemen, Afghanistan and Iraq.[126]

Through the use of education interventions UNESCO responds to the absence of standardized curricula, destroyed school infrastructure, need for re-establishment of

[126] http://www.ginie.org/ginie-crises-links/peer/.

teachers and educational administrators, and the need for peace, tolerance and reconciliation education and teacher training.

PEER has identified several principles and policies for the establishment of refugee and IDP education systems. They include re-establishing basic education; providing remedial training in the areas of teacher training, vocational training and secondary education; building local capacity though skills training, with the aim of ensuring the long-term continuation of education programmes; community participation and ownership, through the establishment of Community School Committees and administrative coordination and supervision; ensuring sustainability by establishing adequate salary scales, low-cost production of curricular materials and increasing levels of community support to schools; coordinating efforts with other organisations in the field-level; and ensuring repatriation-oriented education in the refugee camps, in order to better support refugee repatriation.

The use of PEER is determined by the DHA (Department of Humanitarian Affairs) in consultation with the IASC (inter-Agency Standing Committee). It is used as an initial, emergency effort, 'in the relief phase and not fully in the development phase. When the fully developmental stage is reached, it would be time for the PEER operation to cease, yielding place to a more traditional and permanent UNESCO presence.'[127]

The PEER programme contains many positive aspects. It recognises the essential needs of community participation, sustainability, and capacity building. These characteristics are critical components of the RAD approach. But PEER, however, is still primarily focussed on maintaining a firm separation between relief and development. PEER emphasises a repatriation-oriented curriculum: 'Rehabilitation of the educational sector in country cannot be complete without ensuring simultaneous provision of repatriation-oriented education in the refugee camps'.[128] This focus fails to recognise

[127] Ibid.
[128] *The UNESCO PEER Experience (Program of Education for Emergencies and Reconstruction)*. 1996.

what 'long-term' often means in refugee situations. As an initial programme, PEER would not have the perception to consider the benefits or practicalities of a two-way curriculum because its aim is hand-over to the next phase, programme, or organisation.

Notwithstanding its positive intentions, the programme maintains a system that ensures that refugees are kept in the camps and that they do not integrate with host communities. In due course, if repatriation has not occurred, any gains originally established in the development of a community-centred and supported education system will likely be lost due to the fact that there has not been a change in the status quo - that refugees are still in tents, and still completely reliant on aid for basic survival.

Refugee-Affected Areas Rehabilitation Programme in Nepal

The Bhutanese refugees began to arrive in eastern Nepal at the end of 1990, and although they desperately want to go back home, their situation lingers on into its fifteenth year.[129] At a population of almost 100,000, the arrival of Bhutanese refugees had a significant impact on the economic and physical environments and general living conditions of the local rural communities.[130]

Although government policy in Nepal has been for refugees to remain inside the camps, in practice the camps are open. Since they speak the same language, it is easy for the refugees and Nepalese to associate with one another, and, not surprisingly, some refugees go outside the camps to work for Nepalese citizens on farms or building sites.

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[129] Rizal, TN. *Bhutan is no Shangri-La.* In, View Nepal. January 27, 2005. 'In separate letters written to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, senior Bhutanese refugee leader, Tek Nath Rizal, has said Bhutan is no Shangri-la and has warned that the 15-year-old Bhutanese refugee problem, if left unaddressed could pose new security challenges in the region'.

[130] Brown, Timothy. *Improving Quality and Attainment in Refugee Schools: The Case of the Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal*. 2001. 'They are mostly of Nepalese ethnic origin and come from southern Bhutan. Many of them claim that they were compelled to leave their homeland due to the Bhutanese government's introduction of discriminatory and sometimes persecutory measures against the Nepalese-speaking southerners'.

Relations between the refugees and local communities have generally been harmonious, but there have been complaints of unfairness when refugees have found work while some local citizens are unemployed. Also, local citizens have been upset because the international assistance provided to the refugees, which by-passes the local communities, offers better services than the host communities have: access to safe drinking water, health, and balanced diet.

The government, in order to provide compensation to the local communities, requested UNHCR to implement some form of development assistance for the refugee-affected areas. The idea of a Refugee-Affected Areas Rehabilitation Programme (RARP) emerged in 1992. It was accepted and since then UNHCR has been assisting the local population with basic infrastructure such as schools, health posts and road maintenance under the Refugee-Affected Area Rehabilitation Programme.

To implement RARP, UNHCR has been working on the ground with partner organizations, including the Canadian Centre for International Studies and Cooperation (CECI) and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). Since 1994 both CECI and LWF have been involved with the coordination and implementation of RARP.

The program has attempted to contribute to sustainable development efforts of the communities surrounding the refugee camps through the creation of employment opportunities, and promotion of harmonious relations between refugees and local communities. The local host communities take the lead in identifying, planning, mobilizing local resources and implementing small projects in the areas of education, sanitation, health service, water, irrigation and income generation, among others, through the guidance and technical support from CECI and LWF.

These projects are community-based and focus heavily on participation at the local level. It is necessary that there be a balance between infrastructure development and implementation, and the importance of local capacity building through training and economic activities.

The village of Madhumalla, surrounded by four large Bhutanese refugee camps, has experienced development since the arrival of the refugees. All four schools in the area have constructed additional classroom blocks and water supply improvements. Besides the construction schemes, the villagers have also begun educational programmes including legal issues, street theatre, cooking and hygiene awareness. Furthermore, waste disposal bins have been installed in the market area and 12 hand pumps provide drinking water. The villagers of Madhumalla have taken advantage of the Refugee-affected Area Rehabilitation Programme (RARP), and they have developed a high level of community participation, which is a decisive factor in the progress and success of the programme.

The investment and development progress in Madhumalla was made possible precisely because of the presence of the refugees. The goal then, as Madhumalla village demonstrates, ought to be to turn the threat of the refugees' presence into a development opportunity.

Both the UNESCO PEER and the Refugee-Affected Areas Rehabilitation Programme are projects that have developed over the past decade in recognition of the need to improve refugee situations within and surrounding the camps. It is encouraging that community participation is a major component of both programmes. In particular, the success of RARP provides a solid illustration of the effectiveness that can be achieved when projects support not only refugees, but also host communities. And it is the

promotion of participation and decision-making among community members that cultivates relevance and improved possibilities for programme successes.

While the PEER programme focuses inward on the camp, RARP appreciates the reality in Nepal of the effects of the refugees on the refugee hosting community. Furthermore, the Bhutanese camps are well organized and maintained by the refugees themselves through elected camp management committees, with help from the government of Nepal, UNHCR and its implementing partners. When visiting a Bhutanese refugee camp in 2000, then High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata said she 'thought that it was one of the best refugee camps in the world'.[131] There is a good level of cooperation between the different agencies working in and around the camps, which includes an inter-agency meeting that takes place each month between the government, UNHCR and partner agencies, including CECI and LWF, responsible for specific sector activities.

In terms of education, the Bhutanese refugees follow a two-way, or mixed system, ensuring elements of both Bhutanese and Nepalese curricula, so that they can be prepared for their repatriation, or settlement in the host country. In the lowest grades, education focuses on Bhutanese traditional values and culture, while in the middle grades it combines Bhutanese and Nepalese curricula.

The example of the Bhutanese refugee situation, educationally and socially within their host communities is encouraging. In this case the international aid agencies, NGOs, and host state cooperate in their efforts to assist local communities as well as the

[131] Brown, Timothy. *Improving Quality and Attainment in Refugee Schools: The Case of the Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal*. 2001. p.113.

refugees. At the same time, the education in the camps is relevant to and supported by the refugee community.

Certain characteristics of the Tibetan and Bhutanese refugee communities accentuate the argument for the international refugee assistance community to implement a refugee aid and development approach to assistance, as well as the necessity for cooperation and coordination between agencies. International refugee assistance must begin addressing the reality that refugee situations are often long-term, and that the presence of refugee populations has an affect on host communities.

Findings and Recommendations

This chapter has employed a comparative approach to the analysis of the major themes that have emerged throughout the paper. From a comparative framework, Tibetan and Palestinian refugee camp education systems have been discussed. This was followed by a comparative analysis of the roles played by the host nations and international community vis-à-vis the two refugee populations. Subsequently, efforts to improve refugee assistance, including cooperation and coordination, have been compared through a refugee aid and development approach. The implementation of a comparative approach has contributed to the drawing of certain general conclusions that are relevant to refugee assistance approaches in general, and refugee education systems in particular.

These conclusions fall into two distinct, yet integrally connected arenas of refugee assistance: the need to assist refugees within the camp setting, and the need to assist communities that are affected by the presence of refugees. Within these two arenas there are two overriding characteristics that are essential for refugee assistance to be responsible and effective: the need for refugee aid agencies and organisations to improve cooperation and coordination, and the necessity of a supportive response from refugee hosting nations.

In terms of the camp setting, refugee communities have been found to be in need of greater autonomy and decision-making power within camp structures, including education systems. Successful support systems are seen to include a community participatory approach, which ensures that the values and priorities of the refugee community are present in programme development. Concurrently, there is a need to promote programme sustainability through capacity building, with a focus on assisting

the refugees to become increasingly self-reliant in the programming and development of the education system. Furthermore, it is important that the education system recognises the need for a strong focus on long-term educational development objectives at the earliest stages of education programme development.

Educationally, the fact that the Tibetan refugees were able to establish a separate Department of Education is significant. The Tibetans maintain a level of autonomy over their education system and are thus able to provide their children a Tibetan education, whereas the absence of such autonomy among the Palestinians has resulted in greater dissatisfaction with the education provided. The control over their education system, and support from the Indian state toward the Tibetan refugees has resulted in the development of a Tibetan refugee education system that is far superior to the Palestinian system.

For the Palestinians, the outlook is bleak. The refugees continue to lack input in the development of the education system, and can only watch as education funding continues to be reduced. Moreover, as structural boundaries within Lebanon become more severe, including the denial of access to secondary school and more restricted access to employment, the refugee communities are witnessing increasing school dropout levels. Finally, the structure of international aid delivery ensures that the refugees are kept in the camps, maintaining a cycle of dependence, with the consequence of fuelling hopelessness and resentment.

While residing in a refugee camp has been the primary basis for determining who is a refugee, and thus who may receive aid, this structure of aid delivery has the result of ensuring that refugees are confined to the camps, however long that may be. In addition, the past fifteen years have seen the approach of international assistance organisations,

primarily UNHCR, shift to focus more heavily on the 'voluntary repatriation' of refugees to their countries of origin. Since achieving repatriation requires access to easily definable refugee groups, the condition of living in the camps has become the enforced basis, more than ever, in order for refugees to receive aid.

Consequently, this structure of aid delivery has resulted in refugee populations being forced to stay indefinitely in camps. While maintaining the refugee population within camps makes the delivery of relief aid more convenient, as the months turn into years, this approach ultimately results in the establishment of a cycle of refugee dependence on aid. Furthermore, the focus on repatriation has led to donor funds and aid efforts becoming increasingly geared toward 'relief aid', ignoring the reality that refugee-related development projects would be of added benefit to refugees than a solely a system structured on the isolation of camp life and handouts.

The provision of aid based on camp residence has always been the case with the Palestinians in Lebanon, and is well known within the aid community to be a failure over the long term. It must be acknowledged that, as evidenced in Lebanon with the Palestinian refugees, isolating refugees in camp life for years, and generations, has devastating effects on refugee populations.

In terms of host nation and international support, the Tibetan refugee settlements are viewed as being among the most successful in the world. To a great extent they have achieved their objectives to ensure the survival of Tibetan culture, and to educate its people. It is important that the supportive role of the Indian host nation be recognised. The unwavering support of the Indian state has provided the refugees the opportunity for

input, dialogue, ownership and overall self-reliance. These are key characteristics necessary for the success of any programme intervention.

Not surprisingly, all of these characteristics are glaringly absent throughout the Palestinian camps. The Palestinians are denied citizenship, they are denied free movement within and outside the camps, and they must obtain employment permits. At the same time, construction work in the camps is banned, which has resulted in severe overcrowding. Commenting on the fact that any kind of building materials have been banned from the camps, one camp official lamented, 'not even stones to cover our graves.'[132] Unquestionably, camp life for the Palestinians in Lebanon is severe. It is among the worst in the world. Under such severe hardships the education system has suffered greatly.

The prevailing perception, not only in Lebanon, but also many refugee-hosting nations, has been that refugees will negatively affect local economies. Governments are concerned that refugees will 'get a better deal' than their own citizens if refugees receive aid and also have access to host community economies and social structures. Yet, both the Tibetan and Bhutanese refugee cases have proven to be of benefit to the communities within and around the refugee settlements.

Rather than exploiting the successes of the Tibetan and Bhutanese refugee situations and encouraging the development of similar programmes, refugee aid structures have maintained a system that has continually failed to provide effective education systems to refugee communities, specifically from a long-term perspective. The current system not only lacks the ability to assist in the improvement of the lives of

[132] Haddad, Simon. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon*. UK: Sussex Academic Press: 2003. p 43.

refugees, but also is found to be detrimental to the well-being of refugee populations, particularly over the long-term.

The traditional separation of relief and development aid has resulted in the virtual internment of refugees within camps, and this, in turn, has inevitably produced dependence on aid. This approach to refugee assistance is strongly challenged, and aid organisations are encouraged to adopt a more effective approach, one that supports refugee integration within host communities. Development researcher Jerry Buckland has stated that the process of international assistance needs to focus on the long-term, and therefore view assistance as progressing from relief and development to assisted self-reliance.

> *Development agencies concerned with the short and long term consequences of their operations need to carefully balance various programmes to meet acute and chronic physical need, but within an approach that does not create dependency, but extends indigenous social capital necessary for long-term self-reliance.*[133]

It is crucial that assistance does not create dependency, but rather that it supports the development of social capital. Ultimately, the international refugee assistance community must move toward a system that requires refugee participation, collaboration between aid organizations, host nations and refugees, refugee capacity building and long-term educational development objectives.

[133] Buckland, Jerry. *From Relief and Development to Assisted Self-Reliance: Nongovernmental Organizations in Bangladesh*.http://www.jha.ac/articles/a052.htm.1998.

Chapter VI
BEYOND PROVISION

> *For their own self-esteem, refugees need to show to the rest of the world that they are not completely hopeless. They may have lost most things in life but knowledge and skills once acquired can never be taken away. Education is therefore a priceless commodity for refugees to cling on to. Indeed, it holds the future of their very existence – for the individual and the community as a whole.*[134]

This thesis has presented the realities and challenges facing both the Tibetan and Palestinian education systems as these refugee populations move closer to their sixth decade of dislocation.

Through the lens of education, the preceding analysis of the Tibetan and Palestinian refugees has provided a number of understandings evident within the

[134] Brown, Timothy. *Improving Quality and Attainment in Refugee Schools: The Case of the Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal*. www.unhcr.ch/pubs/epau/learningfuture/ch04.pdf, 2001.

international refugee aid and education structures. Employing a comparative assessment of these two long-term refugee situations has resulted in the more prevalent structural boundaries of refugee assistance becoming apparent.

The plight of both refugee peoples has been one of survival. They have struggled for international recognition of their situations, and have lived for generations in severe poverty. Throughout their struggles education has always been a motivating factor. Education was, inevitably it seemed, to bring an improvement to their lives, to provide a future less dependent on aid, and to be a force to help lead them back to their homelands.

The fact is, however, that the provision of education has not had a significant impact in terms of improving the living standards of either refugee population. It has, however, in the Tibetan's case, been a tremendous institution devoted to the refugee communities, while in the case of the Palestinians, education has traditionally been a driving force in the refugees' mobilization. But with repatriation a distant dream, and enrolment beginning to decrease, what stands out is the lack of improvement in the lives of the refugees.

The Tibetan and Palestinian refugees have suffered from a lack of employment opportunities. With estimates of Tibetan refugee unemployment near 20 percent, and of Palestinian refugees estimated between 30 and 60 percent, the belief in education to improve their lives, among both youth and their parents, is disintegrating. Many feel that there is simply no point in obtaining higher education.

While the future economic prospects for the Tibetan refugees are unclear, the overall educational perspective from a Tibetan refugee standpoint is much brighter than that of the Palestinians. As Tibetan refugee researcher Tashi Norbu Rikha states:

> *Tens of thousands of Tibetan children have benefited from a modern secular education while at the same time the transmission of the rich cultural heritage and traditional values of Tibet to the younger generation of Tibetans has been achieved.*[135]

Nonetheless, while education has traditionally been a tool to ensure the survival of their cultures, and the hope for a future with more opportunity than the generations past, it is clear that there is a need to go beyond the basic provision of education. Long-term refugee situations need not only an education system in place that is relevant to the cultural needs of the community, but also an education system that provides students with opportunities to develop relevant skills for their long-term socio-economic benefit.

This situation is more critical with the refugees in Lebanon, through the strain placed on them by their host nation, their political isolation from Palestinian refugees inside Israel and the lack of international financial support. The result is noted by a teacher in Nahr El Bared refugee camp, just outside of Tripoli:

> *This cycle is only getting worse with each new generation. Children are needed to bring money in for the family and are thus forfeiting their education to work in the fields. In the end this will result in a future of more poverty and a lower literacy rate.*[136]

Moreover, the absence of a curriculum that is relevant to the lives of the refugees ensures that the education system will ultimately run its course and fall apart, as is currently being witnessed in Lebanon. Refugee advocate Gil Loescher addresses the need for aid agencies to plan beyond emergency situations, and to develop programmes that focus on the long-term realities of refugee situations. Loescher states that:

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[135] Tashi Norbu Rikha. *Education in exile: A brief report on the education of Tibetan refugee children in India,Nepal and Bhutan.* http://www.tcewf.org/presentations/ca6.
[136] *Nahr El Bared Camp – Lebanon*, Across Borders. http://www.acrossborders.org/.

> *The future success of international responses will depend on more proactive and comprehensive policies and on improved mechanisms for international coordination. A coherent action programme for UNHCR in the future would address the following interrelated problems:*
> *1. Well-planned and focused advocacies that more adequately spells out the responsibilities of states in providing asylum and in dealing with refugee problems;*
> *2. More effective co-ordination with other agencies;*
> *3. Strong financial support; and*
> *4. A coherent and more accountable institutional culture and staff system.'*[137]

The example of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal shows how comparatively high-quality education can be achieved at a relatively low cost to the international refugee aid community. It also illustrates how the implementation of refugee-related development projects can have a positive and lasting developmental impact of host communities. Such progress subsequently leads to improved social harmony between refugee and host populations.

Although the system in Nepal is definitely a bright spot to point to, as the years go by and a resolution to their status does not arrive, it is quite likely that their successful primary education programme will become a source of problems within the refugee communities and also the host communities. Today, as more children reach the secondary school level, the system is unable to meet demand and there is a shortage of space for students, and a lack of funds to curb the problem. This concern has been witnessed in both the Tibetan and Palestinian refugee education systems. And while it is too early to predict, what will almost certainly occur in Nepal, over time, is that the Bhutanese refugees will lose their motivation for schooling.

[137] Loescher, Gil. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*. Oxford University Press, 2001.

Alongside international and host nation refugee support, there is a need for refugee-related development projects, or RAD projects. RAD projects take into consideration the impacts of refugee influxes on host communities and are based in a long-term developmental outlook. The implementation of such refugee-related development projects requires community participation to facilitate assistance to both refugees and host societies, and support for local development and integration.

Throughout the implementation of refugee assistance programmes it is crucial that efforts of organisations and governments are coordinated in order to ensure that refugee communities develop quality education; that host states offer adequate support and gain benefit from the presence of the refugees; and that the international community provides responsible and effective support. The United Nations has acknowledged the need for improved interagency cooperation and coordination, and the necessity for relief assistance to become more geared toward long-term development. The UN's acknowledgement is a step in the right direction, but it needs to be brought in at the field level. While there have been a few programmes implemented with part recognition of the need for refugee-related development programming, for the most part the traditional mode of operation has continued.

Ultimately, maintaining the current approach of isolating refugees in camps for indefinite periods of time, actively circumventing integration, avoiding the realities of the long-term nature of refugee situations, and separating relief and development programming practices will continue to fail in adequately assisting refugees.

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