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The
Education Provided for Refugees
in Lebanon
by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency
for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

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UNRWA EDUCATION IN LEBANON

PREFACE

The fundamental goal in beginning this study was to gain, through a small window, a wide view of the Near East. The writer cannot claim to be an educator, so will not go into as great detail in that field as some might expect. But the refugee situation offers a means whereby the fundamental problems of the Middle East and the Arab world can be tackled in a situation somewhat like that of a laboratory. The refugees are, above all, Arabs and Middle Easterners. They ^{had} have the same social set-up and many of their problems are identical with those of their more settled neighbours. The greatest of these common problems is perhaps adaptation to a form of government different from that under which their fathers lived.

For a great many of the refugees, however, their education is in the hands of a common body, staffed at the policy making level by international experts with unusual (although far from unlimited) powers. These international workers are in a position to see the problems from a somewhat objective viewpoint, and they have knowledge of the means which were used to solve similar problems elsewhere. Their task has not been an easy one--there have been problems to solve in the social, economic and political fields. These problems have provided a challenge which UNRWA and UNESCO have taken up. We have to deal here with

their successes, their setbacks, and the goals which they still have to reach.

Only UNRWA/UNESCO schools have been dealt with, because they are the ones benefiting from this international assistance and relative independence.

The student cannot help starting his work with certain assumptions. Fundamental ideas which run through this study have sometimes been accepted on this basis. Among these is the assumption that some form of democracy, probably different from the ideal held either in the West or in the East, will finally prevail in the Arab countries. Another is that a modification of progressive education, which was planned with democratic government in mind, will be the best means of making that Arab democracy work.

The writer owes many thanks to all those who have made this study possible: to the members of the staff of the UNRWA Education and Training Division, both at Headquarters and at Lebanon Office, who have made every possible service available with much appreciated generosity; to Professor Jibrail Katul, her advisor, and former assistant Director of Education in Palestine, who has given invaluable advice and information, particularly on the specifically educational aspects of the study; and to her family, whose understanding and quiet teasing were required to supplement the modicum of self-discipline which had been built up by her educators, but which would not have been sufficient to carry the task through to completion.

ABSTRACT

UNRWA and UNESCO have been faced with the task of giving thousands of children an elementary education, providing vocational training for many hundreds of young people, and re-educating a vast adult population to help them combat the hopelessness and social disintegration caused by eight years of exile.

These international organizations are in a unique position. They can draw on the resources of seventy-five nations, choosing the theories and men most likely to produce good results among the Palestine refugees. Though UNRWA is not a "state within a state", and has to conform to local laws, it and UNESCO are less affected by political changes than the "host country" Ministries of Education; and their system, being newer, is more flexible.

UNRWA and UNESCO, then, are in a position to advance farther towards the educational goals of the Middle East than most government educators. Their system can be a pilot project to develop better methods and eliminate mistakes. It can train personnel for future Arab educational developments. Its success will facilitate the task of convincing governments and individuals of the benefits of similar changes.

Refugee education has not only the traditional tasks of education throughout the world, but also its own unique

tasks of resocializing the refugees and preparing them for an unknown future. It has, moreover, the much wider task of developing means of providing the refugees, and all Arabs, with equipment for self-government in the democracies introduced under British and French Mandates. The Arab world will doubtless develop its own type of democracy, but it will certainly demand of its citizens an ability to define, attack and solve problems and to take action, both independently and in cooperation with others. These must be the goals of Arab education if the Arab states are to remain democracies. If UNRWA and UNESCO strive for these goals, they will not only be preparing the refugees for citizenship in any democratic Arab state: they will also be solving the refugees' own particular problems and leading the way for education for democracy in the Arab world.

In some UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon there is evidence of efforts to reach these goals. In many the observer finds only the results of the struggle to provide sufficient shelter, equipment and teachers to reach the standards of the local educational system. Efforts are being made, and must be continued, to raise teacher qualifications and increase activity in the school. The ideal would be to introduce true progressive education, but failing this, progressive theories and methods could be adapted to the present subject-matter curriculum.

In the field of Fundamental Education, UNRWA and

UNESCO are trying, through literacy classes, crafts and social activities, to restore the refugees' self respect and help them improve their own conditions. The development, through these activities, of a nucleus of leaders will contribute to raising living standards and training democratic citizens throughout the Arab world.

To round off its educational activities, UNRWA provides Vocational Training facilities, both as a parallel to academic secondary education and to help combat refugee unemployment by providing training in skills vitally needed in the area, now and in the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I Background	1
Chapter II The Tasks of Education	12
Chapter III Academic Education	23
History and Development	23
Observed Conditions in UNRWA/ UNESCO Schools	45
Curriculum	68
Extra-curricular Activities	84
Teacher Improvement	101
Future of the System	117
Ideal Future	118
Practical Future	141
Chapter IV Fundamental Education	176
Chapter V Vocational Training	212
Chapter VI Conclusions	226
Bibliography	230

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Enrolment and Location of UNRWA/UNESCO Schools	xi
Education Expenditures 1950-1956	28
Enrolment by Class in Lebanon, 1954-55 and 1955-56	34
Percentage of Girls Enrolled, by area, 1952-53 and 1955-56	35
Comparison of UNRWA/UNESCO and Related Educational Systems	37
Distribution of University Students According to Faculties (All Areas)	44
Distribution of Time in Lebanon and Palestine Curricula	71
Teacher Qualifications and Salaries--UNRWA schools, Lebanon	107
Schedule for Training Teachers in Progressive Education	133
Attendance at Fundamental Education Centres	191

<u>Sidon Area</u>		<u>Enrolment</u>
1	Sidon Secondary	312
	Sidon Canal	322
	Sidon Town	409
2	Shihim	127
3	Ein-el-Hilweh	1263
	Preparatory	407
4	Mia wa Mia	466
5	Ghazieh	195
6	'Adloun	194
7	Ansar	28
8	Deir Mimas	closed
9	Taybeh	closed
10	Nabatieh	234
	Camp	99
11	Marjayoun	closed
12	Ibl Saki	closed

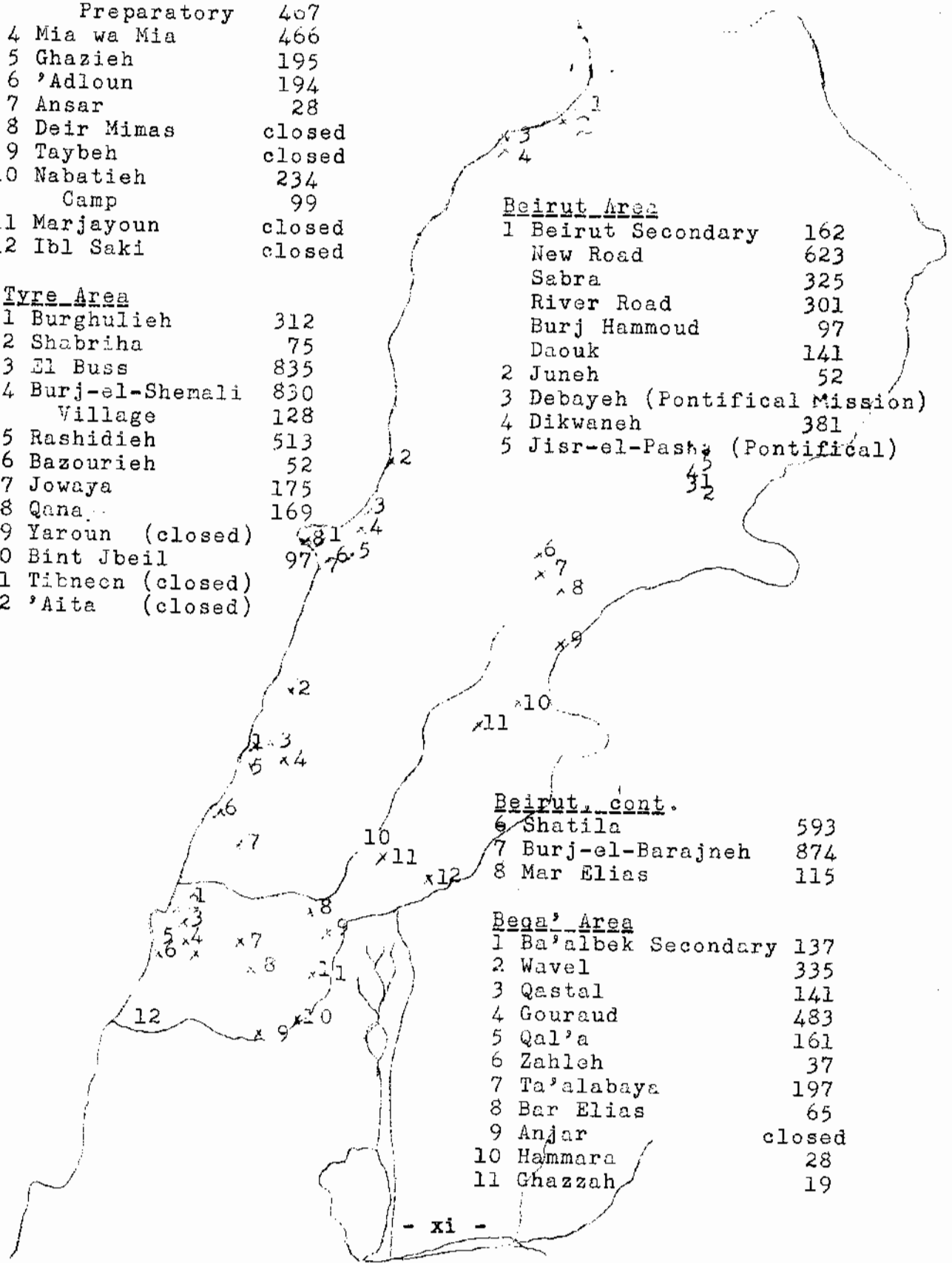
<u>Tyre Area</u>		
1	Burghulieh	312
2	Shabriha	75
3	El Buss	835
4	Burj-el-Shemali	830
	Village	128
5	Rashidieh	513
6	Bazourieh	52
7	Jowaya	175
8	Qana	169
9	Yaroun (closed)	81
10	Bint Jbeil	97
11	Tibneon (closed)	6.5
12	'Aita (closed)	

<u>Tripoli Area</u>		
1	Nahr-el-Barid	1257
2	Beddawi	145
3	Mina	251
4	Tripoli	147

<u>Beirut Area</u>		
1	Beirut Secondary	162
	New Road	623
	Sabra	325
	River Road	301
	Burj Hammoud	97
	Daouk	141
2	Juneh	52
3	Debayeh (Pontifical Mission)	
4	Dikwaneh	381
5	Jisr-el-Pasha (Pontifical)	312

<u>Beirut, cont.</u>		
6	Shatila	593
7	Burj-el-Barajneh	874
8	Mar Elias	115

<u>Bega' Area</u>		
1	Ba'albek Secondary	137
2	Wavel	335
3	Qastal	141
4	Gouraud	483
5	Qal'a	161
6	Zahleh	37
7	Ta'alabaya	197
8	Bar Elias	65
9	Anjar	closed
10	Hammara	28
11	Ghazzah	19



CHAPTER I - BACKGROUND

In 1948, just eight years ago, the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine was terminated. The British forces which had kept the peace to a greater or lesser extent, since the beginning of the establishment of the Jewish National Home following the First World War and the Balfour Declaration, were removed in May of that year. At that time, about 6% of the area of Palestine was owned by the Jews.¹ The United Nations partition plan gave them a little more than half of the country--in general the more productive half.

The Arabs, refusing to accept the United Nations decision,² declared war on the new state of Israel, for the homes of thousands of Arabs, situated in territory allotted to Israel, had suddenly been placed in a foreign and hostile land. At first the Arabs' offensive had a certain degree of success, but their forces were insufficiently prepared, equipped and backed. The psychological, technical and material advantages of the Jewish forces turned the tide. Further

1. Hidawi, Sami, Haga'iq wa Insa'at (Facts and Statistics). Jerusalem: Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Press, 1951, pp.4 and 6.

The author was formerly in charge of property valuation for taxation in the Lands Settlement Department, Palestine.

2. Arab disturbances in protest against this partition plan occurred as early as November 1947.

lands, which had been left in Arab hands by the United Nations partition, with the homes of the Arab inhabitants on them, were now lost to the new state, giving it a total of 77.4% of the former country.¹ In some cases the inhabitants left of their own free will, unwilling to become a minority in their own country. Others were forced out by violence or by the fears aroused by events such as those in Deir Yassin.

Nearly a million refugees are now existing in the neighbouring lands of Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. There are some who have been fortunate and have found jobs and homes and have been able to return to a mode of life not very different from that which had to be left behind. Many have found nothing but a tent in a camp of tents, where they are with their own people, but where their idleness and despair are reinforced by those of their neighbours.

Relief

The United Nations sent voluntary organizations to carry out the immediately necessary relief work, using supplies bought by the coordinating UNRPR (United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees). The League of Red Cross Societies was asked to assume the task in Lebanon, where it worked through the government's Central Committee for Palestine Refugee Affairs.² Later a General Assembly

1. Hidawi, op.cit., p.7.

2. Rapport concernant l'Activité de l'UNRWA au Liban du 1er mai au 31 décembre 1950. Beirut, le 14 février 1951, Lebanon Office.

resolution of December 8, 1949, created the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWAPRNE) to bring relief to the destitute and try to provide for the future. Food, clothing and medical care were the most pressing immediate demands on this Agency, but it was soon seen that education was a further essential "so that, whatever their future, the new generation (might) become useful members of society."¹

Present Situation

Before we can turn to the education being given these refugees, and to the theories behind it, it is necessary to find out what is the situation--economic, social and political--in which they are now living.

Some of the people who left homes that are now in Israel and might thus be loosely classified as refugees, were able to bring with them sufficient capital to allow them to form a new life for themselves in centres like Beirut. In many cases they lead a life not dissimilar from the one which they led in their own homes. Others, though unable to bring capital, had an education of a type that has enabled them to earn a normal wage in Lebanon. These again tend to live somewhat as they used to in Palestine.

The refugees who were the most affected economically,

1. United Nations Aid to Arab Refugees from Palestine. Beirut: Société Orientale de Publicité, 1954, p.30.

and to whom the Agency's definition of refugee¹ most frequently applies, were the fellahin and the unskilled labourers. The former have lost the lands from which they gained their means of livelihood and which were such an important psychological factor in their lives. The latter are faced by a situation where unemployment existed even before they arrived to swell the labour market. Even if they do find work, they dare not always take it, since it would mean the loss of their precious ration cards, which are not easy to obtain again if the job ceases to bring in the means of subsistence.

"Doubtless some of these homeless and unwanted folk in their despair lose all incentive to work, but the majority (whatever their political opinions) are only too ready to accept any offer of employment, if only they can feel sure that their ration card--their only form of security since their loss of home and property--will not be withdrawn until they have had time to establish themselves in comparative comfort."²

It is these, the poorer and less educated, who form the large majority of the inhabitants of the refugee camps of Beirut, the Beqa', Sidon, Tripoli and Tyre, and whose children attend the UNRWA/UNESCO schools. Theirs

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1. The Agency's working definition of a refugee, or a person entitled to relief, is one "whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum period of two years preceding the outbreak of the conflict in 1948 and who, as a result of this conflict, has lost both his home and means of livelihood." Special Joint Report of the Director and the Advisory Commission to the 9th Session of the General Assembly, Supplement 17a (A/2717 Add. 1), 1954, p.2.
 2. Coate, Winifred Zerka Relief and Industries: CMS Refugee Relief Centre, Zerka, Jordan. Report for the Year 1953. January 1954.

is not a normal life, for to many it is a life without hope. Some former camp-dwellers have found employment and housing outside the camps. On the other hand other refugees, who originally lived with relatives or managed on their savings, have since had to turn to the camps for help.

Bars to Reintegration

Since it does not appear to be feasible at the moment for them to return to their own homes and occupations, the logical solution for these people would appear to be their reintegration into the country which they have temporarily adopted. This solution is barred from within and without the camps.

Religio-political

Lebanon, in this connection, poses greater problems than the other "host countries". When its boundaries were set by the European powers in 1864, it had a Christian majority. The addition of the regions of Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli and the Beqa' to Mount Lebanon, by the French Mandate, increased the Muslim population. The comparative strength of the two religious communities is of prime importance in the country, since the government is decided on religious rather than political lines as they are conceived of in the West. The Muslim population showed a greater natural increase. More Christians than Muslims emigrated to the Americas and Africa. The margin became smaller between the religio-political factions. If

Lebanon is to remain a Christian country it cannot afford to accept a hundred thousand new inhabitants,¹ most of whom are Muslim.

Economic

Opposition in Lebanon to the settlement of Palestine refugees within its borders comes also from an economic source. Lebanon is not primarily a producing country, but gains its living at present from commerce and from the money sent by emigrants to their families. Such an economy cannot offer unlimited employment. The country does not provide sufficient employment for its own people. The refugees are regarded as competitors, and may often be willing to work for lower wages. They are, furthermore, an economic liability, having brought insufficient capital with them. If UNRWA were to stop supporting them, they would have to depend on the Lebanese Government and people for subsistence.

Nationalist

Another reason for opposition is shared by all of the members of the Arab League. The implicit purpose of

1. A proportion of about one refugee to every fourteen Lebanese. (L'Orient, April 28, 1956, p.2, and Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East Covering the Period 1 July 1954 to 30 June 1955. General Assembly Official Records, 10th Session, Supplement No. 15 (A/2978) New York, 1955, p.29.)

that pact, since its inception, has been opposition to the Jewish National Home, which has been considered the greatest threat to Arab nationalist ideals. After the partition of Palestine, the creation of the state of Israel, and the loss of the homes of nearly a million Arab "brothers", the League turned specifically to the task of righting Arab wrongs in Palestine. Its component states want to return to the boundary lines established by the United Nations in 1947, if not to abolish the state of Israel. They furthermore demand that Israel compensate those Arabs who left their homes, paying owners for property taken over by the Jewish National Home and compensating all for the loss of their home surroundings and livelihoods. The members of the Arab League believe that the refugees should not be reintegrated, however temporarily, for unless they are totally dependent upon international help, the claim that compensation and return to the 1947 lines are essential loses its force and validity and its "bargain appeal".¹ Resettlement of the refugees, it is believed, would be an indication of acceptance by the Arabs of defeat at the hands of Israel.²

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1. Craig, Kenneth, Lecture on Refugee Problems at Hartford Theological Seminary, 1953.
 2. This feeling appears to be particularly carefully maintained, in Lebanon, among the refugees themselves. (e.g. the strikes against the resettlement programme during the summer and autumn of 1955.)

In a state of war, controlled only by a frequently broken armistice, such an acceptance is inconceivable to the majority of Arabs.¹

Social

Opposition from another quarter is closely allied to that of Lebanon and the Arab League, but has somewhat different causes and results. Arab society everywhere is based on tribal and family patterns. Loyalty to state came after loyalty to the local group even before the refugees left their homes. Whatever national loyalty to the State of Palestine did exist is now without a concrete centre. In many cases the tribal and family ties have thus been strengthened, especially in those cases where these groups remained together even in flight.² Though desocialization has reduced the power of these ties to some extent,³ they still constitute the only social structure in evidence in many places.⁴

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1. Bruhns, Fred C., A Socio-psychological Study of Arab Refugee Attitudes. Mimeo-graphed report for Ph.D. October 1954, p.30.
 2. Bruhns, on the other hand, emphasizes the scattering of former communities, making group resettlement on that basis unfeasible. op.cit., p.31.
 3. In Jordan, the former leaders are losing their power to younger and more fanatical men. (Béguin, Bernard, "Tomorrow will be too Late: Palestinian Youth is in a State of Endemic Collective Delinquency". Journal de Genève, March 1956.)
 4. cf. Dodd's statement that loss of the home tends to lead to family break-up and weakening of such ties. (Dodd, Stuart Carter et al. Social Relations in the Middle East Beirut: American University, 1946, p.77.)

The mukhtars and sheikhs regard with suspicion anything that might reduce their power over their tribes, clans or families. Among such possibilities is that of gradual individual reintegration of their followers, independent of their authority, and away from the camps where they have their greatest power.¹

The leaders are not alone in regarding such a solution as undesirable. According to the findings of Fred C. Bruhns in 1953-54, social uprootedness was the greatest hardship to the majority of the refugees questioned - much harder than economic uprootedness.

"When the refugees' perception of the term "social uprootedness" was investigated and when they were asked what items of their pre-expatriation life, other than economic, they now missed most, it was found that social uprooting, to the refugees, means mainly the severance of personal and traditional ties connected with the concepts of home, family, clan and community. Individual resettlement, therefore, means to them a new job and a new house, not home, in a strange environment into which they might take the members of their immediate family but not the members of their clan, their village elders, their mukhtars, their intimate friends, their religious leaders, in short, the whole host of persons whom they knew intimately and trusted and who made up their life space and constituted the primary relationships on which Arab society, so much more than Western society, depends. Individual resettlement, to them, does not mean the reestablishment of ties which they cherished most in Palestine and then lost, and which constitute the main source of

1. According to William A. Darrity, W.H.O. Health Educator seconded to UNRWA, activities which can be undertaken with the concurrence of these leaders in the camps have been found to have better chances of success.

their psychological security and balance. Secondary relationships, on the other hand, are, in an unstable Arab society, infinitely less rewarding in terms of psychological security than they are in Western societies, and might be the source of great fear; many responses in this study attested to this fact. To a Westerner who can predict certain behavior of governments, institutions and persons unknown to him, the leaving of his home environment for economic reasons means one thing, and to him the attitude of the Arab refugee may well appear unrealistic. To an Arab, leaving his home means another thing, even with the prospect of economic betterment, and involves an infinitely greater risk. Resettling in Syria or Iraq does not mean that he is "going to live among his Arab brethren", in spite of similarities of language and culture. The many Westerners who use this phrase fail to consider the perhaps most prominent factor applicable to Arab society. This factor can perhaps be described best by the concept of "atomization", of lack of cohesiveness and stability in social relations, which manifests itself on all levels beyond that of the primary group (i.e. the home, family, clan and community)"¹

Thus the refugee, perhaps more than any other member of Arab society, is incapable of real citizenship as it is understood in the Western world, for citizenship is based upon trust as well as upon responsibility. For such a long time the Arab has been under the domination of an enemy country that he cannot become accustomed to the idea of respect for his own government, and therefore of trust in its agents rather than in his personally known leaders. The refugee is more than usually incapable of supporting a concrete, constructive measure rather than rejecting one which he feels to be contrary to his own interests.² Thus

1. Bruhns, op.cit., p.31.

2. Ibid, p.32.

he has difficulty "in finding psychological security in anything beyond primary group relationships."¹ He feels the need to "preserve the traditional patterns of trust within the community and to allay fears of a strange environment and of foreign and untested government officials."²

1. Bruhns, op.cit., p.33.

2. Ibid, p.35, his italics.

CHAPTER II - THE TASKS OF EDUCATION

In the face of such a situation, what are the primary goals of an educational system? The increasing numbers of children in the refugee camps cannot be allowed to run wild. They must be given, and are being given, some kind of education. Those who formulate the guiding policies of this education are faced with an unusually complex problem, or series of problems. In the area under study there are problems raised by the different systems of education introduced in Palestine by the British and in Lebanon by the French. There are problems raised by the impact of East on West and West on East. And there are problems connected with the introduction of democratic Arab governments into lands where foreigners and feudal lords have long held all control. These problems, in an area in a state of change, constitute both a burden and a challenge to all Middle East educators,¹ but are further complicated by the more particularly refugee problems of need for social roots, life purpose and economic independence. It is furthermore impossible to tell where these refugees will settle, and therefore for what type of life their education

1. Kurani, Habib, "Development of Education in the Arab World", A.U.B. Orientation Lecture Series, December 12, 1954.

should prepare them.¹

Previous Education in Lebanon

Lebanon has not been an educational vacuum. Local Muslim schools have taught many generations of children the rudiments of learning and the Qur'an. Christians provided some education for their children, seconded, especially under Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt and after 1860, by mission schools of American and British, as well as French, origin. Government schools were opened by the Turks after 1869.²

French Education

The widest impact has been through French systems of education, both via the Turkish and Egyptian government schools, which used the French system to produce government and military officials with a background in science, mathematics and languages,³ and through many of the Christian missions. The French Mandate strengthened this influence, and when the Palestinians arrived in Lebanon they found a society educated on a different basis from that to which they had been accustomed. The predominantly French education in Lebanon and Syria had emphasized literary and

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1. Although, as Dewey points out, education is not solely preparation for life, but life itself, it does play a role in preparing the student for the future. (Dewey, John, Democracy and Education. New York: Macmillan, 1920, p.63.)
 2. (In those parts of Lebanon that were under direct Ottoman rule.) Bowman, Humphrey, Middle East Window. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942, p.252-3.
 3. Kuran, lecture cited.

factual knowledge for all, and development and formal discipline of specific mental capacities (resulting in an abstract, refined mind),¹ while sometimes failing to instill comprehension of the knowledge taught. Emphasis on competition led to individualism, which was rarely adequately balanced through sports or other cooperative activities.

British System

The British system in Palestine, under which the older refugees had received their education, had emphasized education for practical living, reserving literary pursuits for those who could really benefit from them, and emphasizing dignified use of the hands. The education of the refugees should, ideally, fit them for life in either type of community, preventing parents and children from separating in such a way as to promote intra-family conflict through too great cultural differences, yet providing them with the mental equipment they would need in a French-oriented community.

Arab Education

Another contrast is the one formed by Eastern and Western concepts of education.² The roots of Arab education

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1. Kurani, Habib, "Education in the Arab Countries", Middle East Conference, Washington, D.C., March 1953.
 2. The following outline of Arab education is derived from information provided by Prof. Jibrail Katul and from the writer's studies in the seminar on Islam and Muslim Institutions, A.U.B., 1953-54.

go back to the time, before Muhammad preached, when the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, in most cases faced by unconquerable natural forces, led a poor but relatively idle life. With little chance of changing nature, they turned to mental pleasures and disciplines, and to the refinement of their language for discussions which often centered around religious and purely intellectual topics.

Education during the period of Arab power tended to continue along the same lines. Contact with Hellenism reinforced the original desert dweller's despising attitude toward manual work, which was largely left to the conquered nations, while action, thought and speech continued to be the most prized virtues and led to the Arabs' greatest contributions. The Arabs, especially at first, had a wide area in which to train their young men for action, and they also had chances for practising thought outside of the "school room", so the emphasis in education at this time was placed on rhetoric and the art of oratory.

During the period of decline, however, the loss of political power to Persians and Turks meant that the Arabs gradually stopped 'doing'. They ignored industry because of the attitude toward manual labour which Hellenism had reinforced, and for the same reason turned away from experiment in science. Learned men were discouraged from doing menial work to earn their living, this being considered beneath their dignity, and were supported by the endowments

made for such purposes by rich persons who hoped thus to increase their favour with heaven.

Then the closing of the doors of endeavour (the bab el ijtihad), caused by the pious but conservative view that all true knowledge had already been revealed, and that the world would never again produce men of such stature as to uncover anything new, caused a gradual stagnation of the powers of thought among the Arabs. Though at first it affected only religious thought, from which science had earlier been banished as too dangerous, this stagnation finally overcame all areas of learning.

As a result of the loss of action and thought, schooling turned more and more to the repetition of the glories of past actors and the thoughts of past thinkers, partly to compensate for the frustrations caused by their present loss of power by borrowing some of the nation's former self-respect.

The traditional Arab education of today, at its best, is turned towards the past, and exists largely for the preservation of past religious traditions. At its worst, it is mere verbalism--learning by heart great blocks of material that most pupils, who then must turn to life in the twentieth century, will have little occasion to use.

Unfortunately, the arrival on the scene of French educators of the Napoleonic system did little to change this situation. Because the teachers and their pupils here have

not had the appropriate background to assimilate, or make their own, what they learn in schools adapted to French but not to Lebanese needs, they miss its essence and their learning, once more, becomes little more than pure verbalism. The contact of these two systems has kept the attention of Lebanese educators away from the philosophies of education-through-action which are becoming more prevalent in all of the Western countries which Lebanon emulated in the past. Thus the trend toward books and memorization continues, and the student is likely to leave school with an education which does him little good in preparing him for economic efficiency in a country where all too many, already, know the literary and verbal arts but not the technical skills which are increasingly needed.

That this fact is recognized by Arabs and Lebanese themselves is indicated by an editorial written by Mr. Kamil Mroueh.¹ He points out that 90% of Lebanese pupils do not continue their education beyond elementary school, but that they are nevertheless prepared for a college education, which may be given to some--not all--of the remaining 10%. The majority of that 90% turn to hand labour, but they have not been given a chance in school to develop skills in this area of life, either in industry or agriculture.

East-West Contrast

Here we find, on the one hand, an education which is

1. Mroueh, Kamil "At-ta'lim al ibtida'iy 'indna", in his editorial column, "Qul kalimatuka wa amshi", Al-Hayat, No.2783, 1 June 1955.

intended to permit the Eastern student to read, write and add sufficiently for everyday life, and to make him learn the previously revealed knowledge which is basic to his religious and daily life. Closely connected with this education is pride in the glorious past of the Arab nation (which becomes perhaps an unsettling factor when Palestinians bring it too close to the present). The new educational ideas being brought from the West, on the other hand, aim at producing a student who can face the complex problems of a modern international community. He must have a wide range of knowledge, but he must also be trained to use that knowledge in new and ever changing situations. He must be capable of analysis and synthesis on a scientific basis, and he must think problems out for himself. Educationally, the difference is to be found in memorization and academic discipline on the one hand and, on the other hand, in active confrontation with difficulties requiring research and thought for their solution.

Results of Present Education

Not only is the education provided by these traditional Arab or French-influenced schools not adapted to modern life, but also it does not offer the preparation needed for life in a democracy, where concrete thought and action, and a spirit of cooperation, are necessary and even essential. In all of the Middle Eastern countries, furthermore, the mixture of cultures, with the resulting conflict between

national pride and Western ideas, has tended to leave a vacuum in the place of values, emphasizing the place of emotions in the making of decisions.¹ Education must try to give the children the values they will need for making judgements. The training for such independent thought and problem solving which Western education tries to give is necessary if democracy is to be a satisfactory form of government in the Arab countries.

Education for Democracy

This system of government was imposed from without in these countries, without gradual growth from the people upwards as in the West. To the average Arab the government is an alien body, to be hated and treated with bravado.² He must learn to realize that he is part of it, that if he and others, thinking for themselves but on similar lines, join together, they can change that government's direction by peaceful means. And he must learn to accept programmes and the State as centres of loyalty, rather than blindly adhering only to tribal or family leadership, or to individuals³ (no matter how much or how little they do for the people⁴). It should be noted here, however, that too great a swing in this direction may have even greater

1. Kurani, Lecture on 12 December 1954.

2. Craig, Lecture cited.

3. van Diffelen, Walter, Chief, UNRWA Education and Training Division, in interview on 23 February 1955.

4. See below, pp.208-9.

undesirable consequences. As Dr. Dodd pointed out, family loyalty is one of the best Arab characteristics, and one which has come to be almost completely eliminated in the West. His suggestion that the emphasis among Arabs upon obedience to the father or patriarch may be behind the lower delinquency rates prevalent in the Middle East, when compared with at least the United States, should not be taken lightly.¹ Education, then, must help produce people who can think independently while retaining some of their family loyalty.

Refugee Problems

These are problems which are common to the Arab world, in varying stages of acuteness. There are also certain problems specifically connected with the refugees' situation. UNRWA's educational system must help the children and adults to live a more normal life, and yet it must not be so remote from the life which they are actually leading that no transfer is possible. This problem, present whenever education is charged with the task of raising standards of living and culture, is more acute in a refugee situation where the tendency is to slip back closer to the life of the sub-human being.

Another refugee problem is posed by the impossibility,

1. Dodd, op.cit., pp.48 and 77. cf. the present situation in Jordan, where family and clan authority is being broken down by refugee demagogues, and where the refugee children are reported to be in an "endemic state of juvenile delinquency". Béguin, article cited.

for both practical and political reasons, of predicting accurately the type of life for which UNRWA education should prepare the refugees. They may stay in Lebanon, where they will need a certain modification of general education, or return to their homes, where they will need quite a different type of preparation, or they may emigrate to one of a vastly varying group of countries. Their training must therefore be adapted to camp, town, village or farm life. No matter where they are, however, they will need to be trained in independent judgement and problem solving.¹

They particularly need an education which will enable them to see their problems objectively, not putting all the blame on forces beyond their control (as is a usual tendency among Arab peoples),² but facing reality in such a way that they will be in a better position to meet it. This education will bring with it greater control over emotions, and will help to eliminate the morbid brooding over the past which is at present adding to the refugees' difficulties. They must learn to face life creatively and reconstructively, and not merely with nostalgia.³

1. i.e. Dewey's type of education, which has a more general scope than the "preparation" mentioned in the earlier part of the paragraph, which would train those being "prepared" in the skills needed in specific situations. See Dewey, op.cit., pp.63-78.

2. See Bruhns, op.cit., p.25.

3. Kurani, Lecture at Washington, 1953
Craig, Lecture cited.

These qualities and attitudes, however, are fundamentally the same as those needed for democracy, which requires preparation for independence and change, and objective judgement of problems. If the refugees can be educated for life in an Arab democracy and for participation in that democracy, they will learn the independence of thought which is the best solution to their own problems of purpose in life and ability to fend for themselves, without losing the family loyalty which is necessary to social integration. The aim is to create, not scholars, but useful citizens, whose education is good enough to give them a satisfying life, yet not so disproportionately advanced as to make them objects of jealousy on the part of other Arabs.

CHAPTER III - ACADEMIC EDUCATION

History and Development

The immediate problem, when the refugees first arrived, was to find them adequate food and shelter. It soon became apparent, however, that the refugees would not immediately be able to return. There was not sufficient employment for them in Lebanon, and their hope of a quick return prevented them from working for any permanent goals. Idleness set in, and not the least idle were the children. The refugees are reported to have asked:

"Take away our rations--but let our children go to school!"¹

Even the children themselves, when they were given a chance to go to school, preferred their lessons to a vacation--they had had enough vacations.²

Some educational efforts were made on a voluntary and private basis by teachers who had left their homeland at the time of the fighting.³ Some teachers gathered together the children of their old villages and resumed classes as normally as was possible under the circumstances. Some of

1. United Nations Aid..., p.20.

2. Une Cloche d'école dans le désert. Paris: UNESCO Publications No. 517, 1949, p.5.

3. cf. Mar Elias school.

these schools were paid for by selling "the empty containers in which the monthly rations reached the camps--gunny sacks, kerosene cans and containers of all shapes and sizes."¹

UNESCO Educational Efforts

The first official U.N. programme was begun by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). This body was holding its third General Conference in Beirut, in November and December, 1948, and requested the Director-General to pay special attention to the problems of the refugees. A resolution of November 11 (passed even before the U.N. General Assembly resolution 212:III, asking for the help of the Specialized Agencies in caring for the needs of the refugees from Palestine) authorized the UNESCO Director-General to cooperate with the other organizations which were giving assistance to the refugees, to make a study of the educational needs and to include the refugees among those entitled to receive aid from UNESCO emergency funds. All that could be made available, however, was \$15,000, and the organization realized, after the visit of one of its experts in December, that the task was too great for it to handle alone. It was decided that UNESCO should provide the programme of the schools, and some limited funds, but that the schools themselves should be run by the voluntary organizations

1. Winter, Myrtle, "Exiled in the Desert," The UNESCO Courier, 8th year, No.7, October 1955, p.5.

already in the field. At first this UNESCO aid was to cease on August 31, 1949. On June 4 the Executive Council extended the assistance until December 31. The fourth General Conference, held in Paris in September 1949, voted to double the previous amount.¹ It repeated its appeal for funds from governments, non-governmental organizations and national UNESCO Commissions, saying:

"These children will not be raised simply by preventing them from dying of starvation. They have, like all other children, the right to learn, the right to develop themselves, the right to become men. UNESCO wishes to assure them of the means by giving them, in the camps where they are obliged to live, the schools, books, materials and teachers which they need. It is for these means that UNESCO asks."²

The response was encouraging, bringing in goods and money to the value of \$76,000 during the year 1949.³ With this money and equipment, schools were opened by the League of Red Cross Societies in Mar Elias in March 1949, in Joffre and Furn el Shubbak in May, in Mia wa Mia, Ein el Hilweh, Anjar and the Mina, Tripoli, in July, in el Buss in October,

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1. The total UNESCO contribution in 1949 was \$38,000. (Assistance to Palestine Refugees: Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. General Assembly Official Records, 6th Session, Supplement No. 16 (A/1905), Paris, 1951, p.26.
 2. Rapport sur l'assistance éducative aux enfants réfugiés résidant au Moyen-Orient /
ler janvier 1949 - 31 juillet 1950,
UNESCO/Rec/1. (The quotation is translated from French by the writer.)
 3. Ibid.

and in Nahr el Barid in January 1950, i.e. in camps where no schools were available in the immediate vicinity.

UNRWA

By this time it had become apparent that it was necessary to create a more centralized and permanent organization for the care of the refugees, to replace the various voluntary groups which had been working for them in collaboration with UNRPR. On December 8, 1949, the 4th session of the United Nations General Assembly passed resolution 302:IV, providing for the creation of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, which took over from UNRPR in May, 1950.

UNESCO made its first formal agreement with the new UNRWAPR in August 1950.¹ UNESCO was to provide a total sum of \$63,000 for the year, and to continue its appeals for individual gifts.² One member of the UNESCO Secretariat was to be provided to assist in the administration of the educational system (and to act as Middle East representative of UNESCO),³ his salary coming out of the \$63,000. It was arranged that all other employees of the educational staff were to be Palestinians.⁴ UNRWA was to provide \$30,000 a

1. A/1905, (1951) p.17.

2. As it had done at its 5th session in May and June 1950 at Florence.

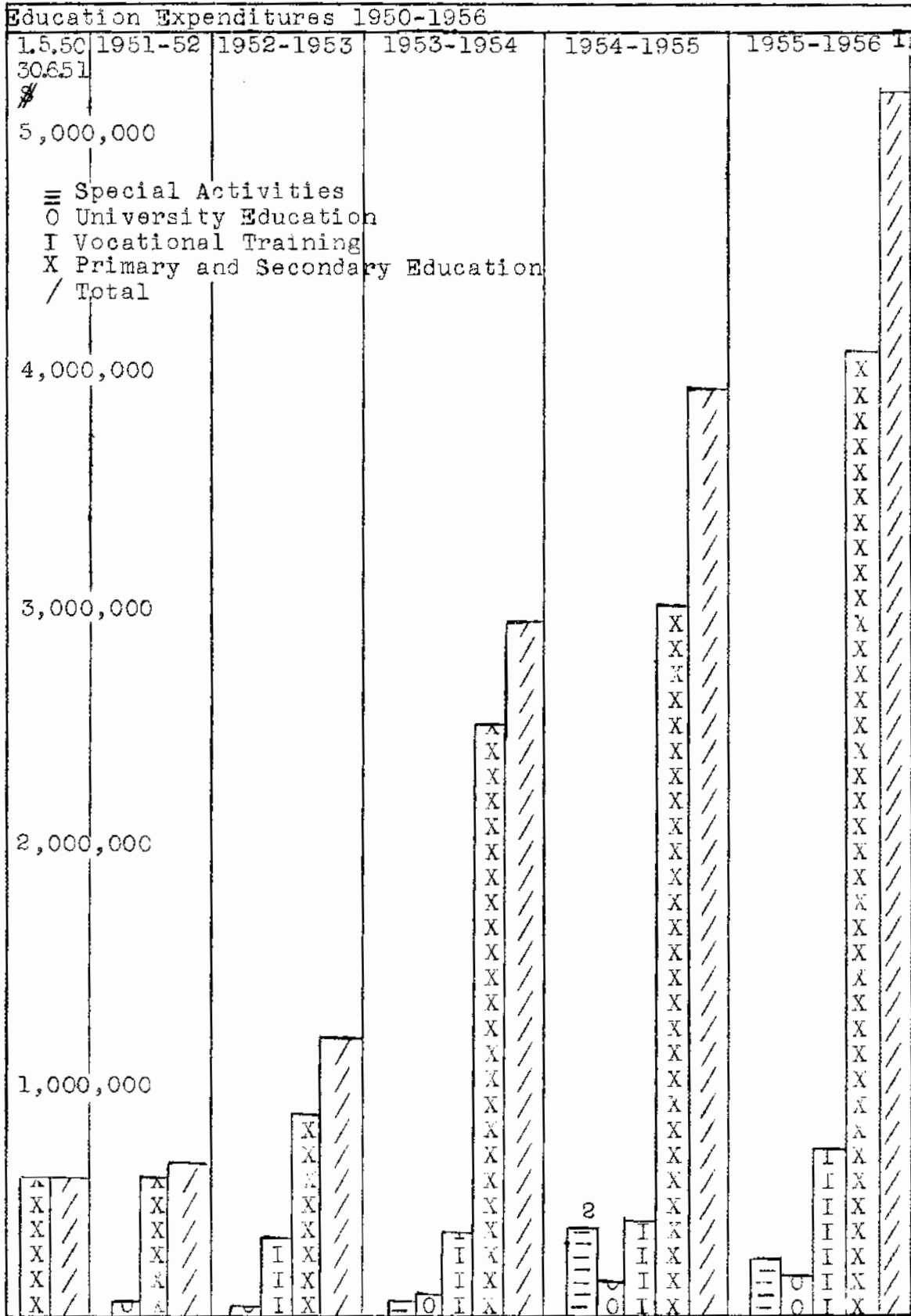
3. A/1905, p.17.

4. Annual Report of the Director of UNRWAPRNE Covering the Period 1 July 1952 to 30 June 1953. General Assembly Official Records, 8th Session, Supplement No.12 (A/2470) New York, 1953, p.18. (Including, of course, the teachers.)

month,¹ and assume the administrative responsibility for the schools, while UNESCO undertook to be responsible for them in technical matters. The curriculum of each host country was to be followed in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in its area, to facilitate transfers from one system to another within the country.

Since the Agency was expected to last less than one year, no new schools were to be opened.² At the time of taking over, there were, in the four countries of operation, 64 schools where 730 teachers were providing education for 33,631 children³-42% of the school-age refugees were receiving an education in the whole area, and 60.4% in Lebanon.⁴ Eight of these schools were in Lebanon, with 49 teachers and 1,800 children.⁵ By 1956, the enrolment in Lebanon had mounted to 14,294, studying in 46 schools under 367 teachers.⁶

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1. bringing the total budget for the period May 1950 to June 1951 to over \$500,000. UNRPR's education budget for 1949-50 had been \$262,000. (United Nations Aid..., p.21.) See Table p.28 for budget growth.
 2. A/1905, (1951) p.17.
 3. United Nations Aid..., p.21.
 4. A/1905, p.27.
 5. i.e. 36 pupils per teacher in Lebanon, as compared to 46 to 1 in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools as a whole. (Rapport concernant l'Activité de l'UNRWA au Liban...)
 6. Monthly Report to Headquarters Education Division from Lebanon Office, February 1956.



1. Estimate only.

2. Includes Handicraft programme, Gaza, which is incorporated in primary education in 1955-56.

Administration

The administrative staff of the educational system has also increased to meet the needs of such expansion. At Headquarters, where Education was for a time part of the Social Welfare Division, the education staff consisted at first of the Chief, seconded from UNESCO, and two assistants. The Education Division was later made autonomous, and in July 1953 was transferred from the Department of Relief to the Department of Rehabilitation, where it more appropriately belonged.¹ In 1954 its name was changed to Division of Education and Training, and its staff now consists of a Chief, Deputy Chief (Education), Deputy Chief (Training), Education Consultant, Teacher Training Advisor, Vocational Training Advisor, Fundamental Education Officer² with two assistants, Education and Training Officer (Statistics), and Education and Training Officer (Administration).³

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1. A/2978, (1955) p.22. (This was not a purely administrative change, as it resulted in a substantial increase in the Education and Training budget, since more funds are contributed to UNRWA for Rehabilitation than for Relief.)
 2. The post is unoccupied at the moment, and one of the assistants is Acting Fundamental Education Officer.
 3. The first five named are appointed by and seconded from UNESCO. (A/2978, p.37) The following two are UNRWA staff "internationals". The last four are classified as "area staff", i.e. not "internationals", and are Palestinians.

The expansion in the Field Office has been proportionally even greater. Beginning with one Officer in charge of both Welfare and Education, the staff now includes a Field Education and Training Officer, a Deputy Education Officer, an Education Assistant, four School Supervisors (Area Education Officers, formerly School Inspectors), a Fundamental Education Inspector, and a Vocational Training Assistant.

"This system might almost be described as a 'Ministry of Education', though it is difficult to conceive of a ministry that has heavy responsibilities without a shred of real power and that performs its international task within the framework of four different nations each with its own educational system."¹

The 'Ministry' also has its own advisory body--a Working Party which meets periodically, both to inform the Arab States of UNRWA/UNESCO progress in the field of their common activity, thus promoting good will, and to obtain the ideas and suggestions of the host countries and others interested in the problem.

This Working Party began as a subsidiary conference held during the meetings of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris, June 1951, in connection with the technical responsibility devolving upon UNESCO by virtue of its 1950 agreement with UNRWA. Here representatives of the governments of the countries where refugees had settled in large numbers

1. Walter, Felix, "Take Away our Rations, but Give us Schools," The UNESCO Courier, 8th year, No. 7, October 1955, p.9.

(Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) were asked to discuss the problems of refugee education, to give advice on programme and means, and to find ways for the governments to cooperate with UNESCO and UNRWA to provide education for the refugee children.

The delegates present at these meetings were appointed for general competence in all fields covered by UNESCO, however, and were not experts in education. It was therefore decided that the 1952 Working Party should take place independently of the General Conference, and close to the area concerned. In April, 1952, the delegates of the four countries, and of Iraq and the Arab League, met with representatives of UNRWA and UNESCO in Beirut. In 1953 they met in October and November in Jerusalem. As the Director-General of UNESCO pointed out,¹ the 1951 Party had had to deal with the very basic problems of what to do for the education of refugees. The 1952 Party had been more especially taken up with budgetary problems, since UNRWA's Relief budget had been drastically reduced, and education was still considered as relief. By 1953, the schools were fairly well established and the budget no longer offered great problems, and the Working Party could turn to the discussion of more technical problems such as the training of rural teachers and how to solve the problems of the education of

1. Evans, Luther, "Message of the Director-General to the 1953 Working Party," October 26, 1953.

children who had not been able to start their education at the normal age of 5, 6 or 7 years.¹

In 1954, the Working Party was incorporated in the Conference for Arab States on Compulsory and Free Education, held in Cairo in December 1954 and January 1955. In the recommendations of the conference was included the suggestion that UNRWA open its own teacher training facilities,² placing emphasis on practical as well as academic training for teachers and pupils alike. More closely connected with the subject of the Conference itself was the recommendation that compulsory education be extended to all Palestine refugees, as well as to nationals of the Arab States.³

The 1955 Party met in Beirut in November, and discussed education of girls, the special activities programme being introduced into the system, vocational training and fundamental education, and particularly recommended that more attention be now paid to improvement of the quality of the education being provided.⁴

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1. Report and Recommendations of the Conference of Representatives of Arab States, UNESCO and UNRWA, on the Educational Programme for Palestine Refugees, trans. from Arabic. Paris, 8 December 1953.
 2. Translation of the Recommendations of the Conference on Compulsory Education Concerning Refugees, 17 January 1955.
 3. Ibid.
 4. 'Recommendations of the 1955 UNESCO Working Party on the Education and Training of Refugee Children, November 28-30, 1955.

UNRWA Schools

The school system was at first housed in tents. Now only one permanent school is under canvas--Mar Elias--and other tent schools are so only temporarily, until buildings can be provided.¹ As it is the policy of UNRWA to keep at a minimum the plant expenditures on what is hoped will not be a permanent system, most of the other schools are in temporary buildings or in rented houses.

One indication of the growth of the system is to be found in the number of students at present in the various classes. The students who are now in the 2nd secondary class (the top class in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon) were just beginning their education in 1948 and 1949. It is likely that many of their classmates have dropped out of school, and others have probably remained in lower classes. Natural population increase would also contribute to such a trend, but these reasons alone cannot account for the steady increase in numbers of pupils, from each class to the next below and from one year to the next, which appears in the table on page 34.

Until the school year 1954-55, it was always necessary to refuse some of the applicants for lack of places in the schools. For this reason, the expansion which was possible up to that time was partly taken up by students left

1. In 1955, for instance, the Burj-el-Barajneh and Nabatieh Camp schools were in tents, as are the Burj-el-Shemali, Nabatieh and Beddawi Camp schools in 1956.

out in previous years whose education had been retarded. It is now reported, however, that all children in the whole area (including Gaza, Jordan and Syria) between the ages of 6 and 12 are in schools, with the exception of about 10,000 girls whose attendance is prevented by local prejudices.¹

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Enrolment by Class in Lebanon, 1954-55 and 1955-56

	2nd S.	1st S.	6th E.	5th E.	4th E.	3rd E.	2nd E.	1st E.	Total
54-55									
235	396	631	1086 ³	1354	1945	2646	5190	13482	
55-56									
403	569	949	1180	1669	2384	3048	4212	14414	

Although most UNRWA/UNESCO schools in the other three countries are segregated, all of the schools in Lebanon are co-educational, though in some cases individual classes are segregated "when their size justifies it"⁴ and often the top classes are entirely male. Generally there seems to have been little opposition to co-education in Lebanon, although the refugee population is largely Muslim and therefore traditionally opposed to allowing young boys and girls to remain together. According to a Gaza newspaper, however,

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1. Dr. van Diffelen, interview 23 February 1955. (In October 1955 there were an estimated 2,000 six year olds, mostly girls, who were not in school as their parents did not feel the need for it. van Vliet, W., "The Education of Girls." Address to the 1955 UNESCO Working Party on the Education and Training of Refugee Children, November 28, 1955.)
 2. Reports for January 1955, December 1955, Lebanon. Comparable figures for 1950 (November report):
46 142 308 460 755 976 2687
 3. There is a normal drop out at the age of about ten years. (Report of UNESCO Educational Working Party Conference of 28-30 April 1952) Fortunately, by this time most have received the minimum of 4 years of regular schooling considered necessary for permanent literacy. Dodd, op.cit., p.96, Kurani, Lecture Dec., 1954.
 4. Tripoli School Inspector, on visit to area.

"Refugees in Lebanon had complained that boys and girls were being taught in the same schools."¹

Officially there is no discrimination between girls and boys in the schools, although one or two teachers were heard to say that all of the girls were less intelligent than the boys; in many of the classrooms the girls sat farthest from the teacher, or were less frequently called on to recite because of their shyness.

In spite of these factors, which might act as deterrents, the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon had a relatively high percentage of girls in their enrolment earlier than any other UNRWA area except Syria, and still do not compare very unfavourably with Syria and Jordan:

Percentage of Girls Enrolled, by area, 1952-53 and 1955-56²

Year	Lebanon	Syria	Gaza	Jordan
1952-3	35.1	36	23.6	33.9
1955-6	36	37	34	39

At the secondary level, however, the difference becomes very marked: where there are almost 7 girls per 100 boys in all UNRWA areas, there are only a little more than 2 per 100 in UNRWA schools in Lebanon.³ There would thus appear to be

1. Ghazza, taken from UNRWA Public Relations Office Press Review, trans. from French by the writer. 23 May 1955.

2. Monthly Report on Education and Training, from Chief, Education Division to Director, UNRWA and Director-General, UNESCO, March 1953, and van Vliet, address cited, 1955.

3. See table, p.37.

greater objection to co-education at this level of schooling. The girls, in fact, tend to leave before the 6th elementary,¹ and only a small number of them sit for the Certificat examination each year.²

Grants-in-aid

Not all of the children receiving education have been enrolled in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools. Some are in other schools run for refugees by voluntary charitable organizations. Where there was place for them in private or government schools already in existence in Lebanon it has been the policy of UNRWA to give a grant-in-aid to each refugee pupil, to be used towards his books, paper, clothing, shoes and milk.³ During 1954-55, 56,000 refugee children of all ages were in local non-refugee schools in the four countries in which UNRWA operates. 10,300 of these were in Lebanon.⁴

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1. van Vliet, address cited, 1955.
 2. The 1955 Working Party recommended that all possible measures be taken to increase girl enrolment and to induce girls to stay until completion of the elementary cycle, especially through providing domestic science and home-making courses. (Recommendations of the 1955 UNESCO Working Party.)
 3. The 1955 Working Party recommended that this grant be increased and paid to the schools rather than to the pupils. (Ibid)
 4. A/2978, (1955) p.29.

Comparison of UNRWA/UNESCO and Related Educational Systems

Relationship Between Population, Enrolment and Teachers

	Refugees ¹		Residents	
	Lebanon 1954-55	Total UNRWA area	Lebanon ² 1954-55	Palestine ³ (Arab)1945-6
Population	103,600	905,986	1,416,520	1,250,000
Children of school age	(6-12) ⁴ 20,500	(6-12) ⁴ 199,000	(6-10) ⁵ 151,747	(6-11) 156,098
Children in school	(6-12) 22,462	(6-12) 149,161	(6-10) 142,437	(6-11) 96,000
	(Elem.-Sec.) 23,482	(Elem.-Sec.) 160,718	(K.G.-Bacc. II) 247,000	(5-15) ⁶ 119,000
% of school age in school	(6-12) 99.5%	(6-12) 74.8%	(6-10) 93.8%	(6-11) 62%
% of population in school	22.7%	17.7%	17.4%	9.5%
Number of teachers	349 ⁷	2,670 ⁷	8,977	2,156 ⁸
Number of teachers/100 pupils	2.6	2.5	3.6	2.6

1. Statistics in this column, unless otherwise marked, are from A/2978, (1955), pp.25, 29.
2. Statistics obtained in interviews with Mr. Halim Kana'an, Chef du Service de Statistiques Scolaires, and Mr. Khalaf, both of the Lebanese Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts.
3. Matthews, Roderic D. and Akrawi, Matta, Education in Arab Countries of the Near East. Washington: American Council on Education, 1949, pp.236-8, 544. (Statistics are for 1945-46, i.e. 9 years before those of the other systems.)
4. 22% of the total population are of school age, according to Tugan, Ahmad, "UN's Work Among the Arab Refugees," Lands East, Vol.I, No.2, February 1956, p.14.
5. Figure obtained from pilot study conducted by Mr. H. Kana'an.
6. There were 140,000 Arabs in Government and private schools in the Autumn of 1947 (ages 5-19). (Jibrail Katul, formerly Assistant Director of Education, Palestine.)

Comparison of UNRWA/UNESCO and Related Educational Systems

Distribution in Various Types of Schools

	Refugees ¹				Residents	
	Lebanon 1954-55		Total UNRWA area		Lebanon ² 1954-55	Palestine ³ (Arab)1945-6
	(Elem)	(Sec)	(Elem)	(Sec)		
Number in Government Schools	1,425	-	29,654	3,524	112,476	82,639
Number in Private Schools	8,470	400	21,080	1,709	134,524	(Mus)14,751 (Christ)25,619
Number in UNRWA Schools	12,567	620	98,427	6,324	-	-

Distribution in Levels of Classes

% of total in second.	(2 classes) ⁴ 4.7	(2 classes) ⁴ 5.5	(6 classes) ⁴ 14	(4 classes) ⁵ 2.2
% of total in upper elementary	(3 classes) ⁴ 22.7	(3 classes) ⁴ 26.9	(2 classes) ⁶ 21	(4 classes) ⁷ 35.2
% of total in 1-3 el.	72.5	67.7	65	62.5

Proportion of Girls in Each Level--Number of Girls/100 Boys

Total	48.9	48.3	64.8	25.7 ⁸ 55.7 ⁹ 68.3 ¹⁰
Secondary	2.3	6.7	53.4	21.7 ⁸
Upper elementary	21.5	21.9	62.4	20.9 ⁸
1-3 elem.	65.7	68.7	68.5	24.3 ⁸

1., 2., 3., See preceding page.

4. UNRWA/UNESCO Schools only.

5. Government Schools only.

6. Lebanese pupils sit for Certificat after 5th elementary.

7. There were 7 years in the elementary cycle.

8. Government Schools.

9. Assisted Private Schools.

10. Autonomous Schools.

7, 1st page of Table, UNRWA/UNESCO schools only.

8, 1st page of Table, Government schools only.

Secondary Education

This policy was continued and expanded with secondary education. Though it would have been impossible to send all of the refugee children to local schools already in existence in Lebanon, the much more limited number who at first were ready for secondary education and wished to benefit from it could be more easily accommodated in Lebanese schools. The grant-in-aid system was extended to these pupils in 1953. Admission to secondary schools under UNRWA auspices, as in Palestine under the Mandate, is selective, on the basis of ability to benefit from secondary academic education. Under the Mandate, agricultural, trade school or commercial training was provided for those who wished it among the remainder,¹ and UNRWA and UNESCO have made an effort, especially since 1952, to continue this practice. In this way, Palestinian and UNRWA educators have tried to prevent the preparation of large numbers of pupils for a college education which they would never obtain. The large numbers of students in academic secondary schools in Lebanon are frequently unable to enter university, and are further disappointed when they start searching for the white collar jobs for which alone they believe they are fit.²

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1. J. Katul. _____ ?
 2. Doxsee, Gifford, The Role of Fundamental Education in Rural Lebanon. (Unpublished)
The 1955 Working Party, however, recommended that the proportion of secondary to elementary pupils be raised to 20%, to parallel the host countries, in the absence of adequate vocational training facilities.

At the beginning of 1953, with the "growing awareness of the longer-term character of the refugee problem", UNRWA began to strengthen its role in the field of education and to pay greater attention to vocational training (see below p.213) and secondary education.¹ It was decided to start first secondary classes at two schools in Lebanon--Gouraud in the Beqa' and Ein-el-Hilweh in the Sidon district--for pupils who could not otherwise receive secondary education in these areas. In the following autumn the Gouraud classes were moved to a new secondary school in the town of Ba'albek itself, which offered the first two years, and another year was added for students at Ein-el-Hilweh. First and second secondary classes were added to the existing schools at Mia wa Mia and el Buss, and the first year initiated at Burj-el-Barajneh, Anjar and Nahr-el-Barid. There was then at least one secondary school available in each of the five districts. In the autumn of 1954 the classes at Burj-el-Barajneh were moved to Shatila, where another year was added, and the secondary students at Mia wa Mia were sent to Ein-el-Hilweh. Second years were added at Anjar and Nahr-el-Barid and first secondary classes were begun at Rashidieh and Ta'alabaya. In 1955 a secondary school was started in Beirut and secondary classes from

1. Thabit, Robert W. "United Nation's Aid to Arab Refugees During 1953-54," The Near East, vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1955, p.9.

Shatila moved to it. The Ein-el-Hilweh secondary school was moved to Sidon, and a second secondary class begun at Ta'alabaya, while the Anjar school was closed, as the refugees evacuated the camp.

Because of the principle of giving secondary education to only a selected few who could really benefit therefrom, and also because of the difficulty of finding space, funds and staff to set up the more specialized classes demanded by a secondary academic syllabus, UNRWA and UNESCO decided to limit their own secondary education facilities to the first two years.¹ In March 1953 the proportion of secondary to elementary pupils was set at 5%. This percentage was to be spread over two years at first, to allow the schools to be set up gradually.² The percentage planned for the 1955-56 school year was 12½% of the number of elementary pupils.³ In general, the first two years are provided by UNRWA/UNESCO schools, and the later years in private and government schools through grants-in-aid.⁴

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1. The 1955 Working Party recommended that the system be extended to complete the secondary cycle of the host country, which would imply its extension for 4 additional years in Lebanon. (Recommendations of the 1955 UNESCO Working Party..)
 2. Report for March 1953, H.Q.
 3. There were actually fewer than this (11.8%) in Lebanon. (Statistics obtained 1 June 1956.)
 4. Carver, Leslie, "Educational Budget Policy for 1955-56", Memorandum Ref: 451, 4 May 1955.

University Education

UNRWA's educational provisions do not stop at this level. For the first three years, grants were given out of a fund of \$15,000, devoted to university education at UNESCO's request,¹ to about 150 Palestinian students² attending universities in Beirut and Damascus, regardless of their ration-receiving status.³ In March 1953, this money was diverted to refugees who were still receiving rations, on the basis that "funds provided by many nations for the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees from Palestine cannot in fairness be used to support a student at the University if that student's family can possibly find the money".⁴ This policy was changed once again in January 1956, when it was decided that eligibility for university assistance should be separated from ration-receiving

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1. A/2171, (1952) p.38. (UNESCO made this request in response to a plea from the Universities themselves, J. Katul)
 2. 1950-51: 75 at AUB, 26 at S. Joseph
1951-52: 63 " " 26 " " "
1952-53: approximately the same, 90 in all
1953-54: 40 at AUB, - at S. Joseph
1954-55: 50 " " 2 " " "
1955-56: 71 " " 6 " " " , 6 at BQW.
(A/1905, (1951) p.28, Annual Report of the Director of the UNRWAPRNE Covering the Period 1 July 1951 to 30 June 1952. General Assembly Official Records, 7th Session, Supplement No. 13 (A/2171) New York, 1952, p.38, A/2470, (1953) p.18, interview with Mr. I. Shawwa, Education and Training Officer (Statistics), 1 June 1956.
 3. J. Katul
 4. "Magna Cum Laude Students from Arab Refugee Tents," The UNESCO Courier, 8th year, No. 7, October 1955, p.16.

status, but dependent upon high academic standing and financial need.¹

Under the first system the money was used to help about 100 students in Lebanon, most of whom came from families where higher education was a tradition. These families usually had retained some financial means, but were unable to completely finance a university education for their children. Under the system introduced in 1953, the money was used to completely finance the higher education of a much smaller number of students from families which were still on the ration rolls. These had to sign a declaration that they would obtain work after completing their courses, and not asked to be replaced on the ration rolls. This policy was to implement the Rehabilitation programme by removing a certain number of persons from the rolls and setting them on their feet. It had, however, some curious results. By removing the possibility of continuing their education from some young people of educated families, and giving it instead to students of families of lower educational status, it tended to cause a reversal of the social order. Furthermore, without the help provided by a reserve that had been built up by the Universities over the first three years, some students would have been obliged to interrupt their education at a mid-point,

1. de la Sablière, B. and Conrad, W. (Assistants to the Director of UNRWA in charge of Relief Services and Rehabilitation, respectively) Memorandum to Country Representative, Lebanon, 9 January 1956.

and it is recognized that a partial university education can be a great danger. Lastly, this policy caused a reduction in the number of people who were permitted to benefit from higher education.¹

In general, since 1953, only students who have been living in Lebanon have been eligible to attend universities in this country. Those in Syria attend the Syrian University and those in Jordan and Gaza go to Egypt for their higher education.² Certain students with exceptional records, however, are permitted to attend the university of their choice,³ and many of them prefer to come to the American University of Beirut, which enjoys a particularly good reputation among them, while some from Lebanon have gone to Egypt.

Some control is exerted over the type of studies which refugees can pursue with this scholarship assistance.⁴ Although the general purpose is "in order to develop among the Palestine refugees a cadre of trained and educated young persons who can be expected to become leaders of the community in future",⁵ some attention is paid to the supply

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1. J. Katul.
 2. Report for July and August, 1955, H.Q.
 3. Ibid.
 4. A student who transferred from Pharmacy to Law lost his scholarship because Law "is not a field recommended for scholarships".
(Report for November 1955, Lebanon.)
 5. Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East Covering the Period 1 July 1953 to 30 June 1954. General Assembly Official Records, 9th Session, Supplement No.17 (A/2717), p.19.

and demand within the professions. In the following distribution of the 300 scholarship holders studying throughout the Middle East in 1954-55, it can be seen that the primary emphasis is on training in the fields of technology, where qualified leaders will be in demand in the present economic and social development of the Middle East. The relatively high proportion of students in Arts and Sciences, it should be remembered, can be partially accounted for by the fact that in many cases it is not possible to begin specialization until after completing a regular Arts and Science course.

Distribution of University Students According to Faculties¹

<u>Faculty or School</u>	<u>Total Students 1954-55</u>	<u>Graduates 1955</u>
Agriculture	12	1
Arts	68	11
Commerce	14	2
Dentistry	1	
Education	4	
Engineering	35	1
Law	12	3
Medicine	63	9
Pharmacy	4	1
Sciences	47	1
Veterinary	4	1

Observed Conditions in UNRWA/UNESCO Schools

UNRWA, then, is providing the means of obtaining an elementary education for every child of school age who wishes, or whose parents wish him to receive one. A certain percentage of these are enabled to obtain a secondary education, and some of these, in turn, are given facilities to attend university level institutions, with as much emphasis as possible on training for professions which are or will soon be in demand in the Middle East.

Limitations of Observations

The skeleton of facts and figures must now be clothed with the human factors of teachers and pupils. On visits made to some of the UNRWA schools in each area of Lebanon, the writer was permitted to see both schools and inspectors in action. The picture thus gained cannot claim to be an entirely true one. No doubt there was some attempt to display the schools' best aspects. Probably there was some constraint on the part of both teachers and students, shy in the presence of a foreign (and thus perhaps hostile) stranger. The writer's knowledge of Arabic was of great help, but did not go far enough to make all lessons heard completely understandable. Partly for this reason, inspectors tended to pick out the classes which were at the time learning English for their visits, or even to ask the teacher to upset the normal schedule so that an English lesson could be observed.

In spite of these handicaps, the writer has had to assume that the picture formed is a relatively accurate one, and has had to draw conclusions from what was seen and heard.

Teaching Staff

The visitor to the schools run by UNRWA and UNESCO in Lebanon is immediately struck by the great differences to be found between individual teachers and between the schools. Some of this difference is perhaps to be traced to the fact that many of the good teachers, and especially the ladies, prefer to remain in the atmosphere of the city, and refuse to go to the more distant areas and to the camps, where more restrictions are placed upon them and less modern facilities are available. In the New Road and Sabra schools the men are in the minority, as is also the case at Mar Elias. Dikwaneh, Burj-el-Barajneh and Shatila camps are already farther from Beirut, and there are as many men as ladies. In the Beqa', where there are nine schools, there was only one lady teaching at the time of the writer's visit in 1955, and she was in the school in the town of Zahleh. There are now no women teachers in that area.¹ The same observation applies to the Tripoli area, where there are several ladies teaching in the Mina and Tripoli schools, but where men teach even those classes made up entirely of girls in the more

1. Report for February 1956, Lebanon.

isolated Nahr-el-Bared school.¹

This difference is made significant by the fact that almost all of the men who teach in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools regard their position as a temporary one which will lead to something better in Kuwait, Arabia or elsewhere. Their eyes are on the future and the better financial status which they wish to obtain. They have little interest in educating the children in their charge and regard teaching merely as a job, rather than as a vocation. As the UNRWA Education Division recognizes, "although, on the average, men teachers are more qualified than women teachers, the women are very often better and more devoted to their work than the men".² This is not true of all of the men--some of them have turned out to be good teachers and are interested in their pupils, whatever their ages: the two men in the Beqa' region who seemed to be most capable of holding the attention of their pupils by making the lesson interesting were teaching the first elementary and the first secondary classes, respectively.³

Training

Another factor which contributes to the variety

1. The same applies to the Christian teachers, who hesitate to make their families live in the predominantly Muslim camps and prefer to stay in the towns.
2. Report for February 1953, H.Q.
3. Gouraud and Ba'albek schools.

noticed among teachers is the range of training which they have received. The majority of the UNRWA teachers in Lebanon have gone only as far as 4th secondary (Palestine Level), or have not even reached that level. Six have received B.A.s, 2 have completed the sophomore year of college, 61 have passed the Matriculation examination, and 6 have been to the Womens' Training College in Palestine. On the under-graduate level (by U.S. academic standings), 4 have completed the first year of university, 28 the 5th secondary (Palestine Level), 66 the 4th secondary class (some of these have taken the General Certificate of Education, but the number of subjects is rarely mentioned in the records, making it impossible to use this as an indication of the level reached), 144 have completed the 3rd secondary, 32 the 2nd, 13 the 1st, while 3 have finished only the elementary cycle.¹ To the Western mind these qualifications may seem to be very low, but they do not compare unfavourably with the level of the teachers in other schools in the same country, where there are even some persons classified as teachers who have had only two or three years of education.²

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1. Tuqan, Ahmad, "Academic Qualifications of Agency Teachers," memorandum to Chief, Education and Training Division, 28 April 1956.
 2. Statistics on Education and Teachers in Lebanese Government, Private and Foreign Schools, 1953, provided by the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts to the Economics Research Institute, Beirut.

The results produced by the teachers are not always proportionate to their training or their experience. Two of the least imaginative teachers whose classes were visited¹ had received diplomas from the Womens' Training College, and had about twenty years of experience in teaching. They were among the oldest teachers met, which may account in part for their incapacity; they had perhaps "run dry". It happened that during both visits the subject being taught was English. One refused to show before a stranger how little English she knew, and had a pupil recite a poem of greeting. It was delivered in such a manner that it was obvious that the pupil did not comprehend what he was saying, and it was difficult even for one to whom the words were familiar to understand it. The other teacher happened to be teaching the third class, with the standard text-books, from which she never deviated. The pupils read the questions provided, and answered them in the words of the book. When the inspector asked the teacher to engage the pupils in conversation, she asked them questions which, again, could be answered by the direct quotation of complete sentences from the book, using those same words in the interrogative order, involving no test of their comprehension of the words or meaning. When the children were asked other questions, using the vocabulary of the book and concerning the passage

1. 1st-3rd elementary in Zahleh, 1st elementary in Dikwaneh Upper School.

just read, they were incapable of answering them.

On the other hand, some trainees who had not had previous instruction or experience were placed, last year, under the supervision of good teachers--in New Road and Mia wa Mia schools--where the unofficial training which they were receiving was making them into good teachers.¹ As the Beirut-Beqa' Inspector stated again and again, what makes a good teacher is not necessarily the training which he has received, though this may make a great deal of difference. The deciding factor rests with the teacher himself. He can be a good teacher only if he wishes to educate his pupils and if he has a personality which appeals to them. A contributing factor is a pleasing voice, though one of the teachers in Gouraud school, who had a relatively loud and harsh voice, had overcome this difficulty. The observer could easily see that the 1st elementary pupils liked him and that their interest was held by his teaching.

This young man had had little experience, although few who had joined the UNRWA/UNESCO schools as recently as he, had become as confident. In general, the best teachers had been with the system for two or three years, at the least, and some had had previous experience in Palestinian or Lebanese schools. The teachers at Sabra school offered a good example of the value of previous training. Two of them had taught at the Maqassid Orphanage school. They were confident, and used imaginative methods in their teaching.

1. This opinion is not universally held.

The other two were new and had started teaching only that year. One, though lacking in confidence, showed imagination in her work, and her class was attentive. The other, who was teaching Arabic spelling, was conducting the class on a purely oral basis, not giving the children a chance to write the words themselves. The inspector took over, and through the use of sounds familiar to the pupil, gave more vital meaning to the letters and showed the pupils how to write them. The teacher seemed to see the advantage of his method, but not to see how she herself could adapt or adopt it. In spite of the lack of confidence of these two newer teachers, the atmosphere of the school was a hard-working and orderly one. The inspector said that the discipline had been carried out on a basis of personality, where the pupils obeyed the teachers because they liked them, rather than through fear. (It appeared that this was not the general rule.)

Personality

Another great factor which causes differences between the teaching abilities of the teachers is the psychology of the individual teacher. This factor affects both the attitude of the pupils to the teacher and the teacher's attitude to his work or his pupils. A personality which repels the confidence of the pupils is not likely to help the teacher and pupils progress toward their goal. If this factor extends to his fellow teachers, the lack of confidence

will prevent the establishment of habits of cooperation among the staff of the school and the creation of a friendly atmosphere among pupils and staff alike.

On the other hand, the teacher's character may prevent him from enjoying his work and from understanding and liking his pupils. Here again the reason for which he has taken the job influences his attitude, for a person who has merely taken the only job he can obtain is less likely to enjoy it than one who has chosen teaching because he wants to teach.

But another factor, of equal importance, which cannot always be predicted, is to be found in the pupils themselves, or their ages. There have been several cases in the UNRWA/ UNESCO schools of teachers, both with and without experience and training, who did not at first adapt themselves to their work. A transfer to another school attended by pupils of a different type, or to another class consisting of pupils of a different age, has proved successful in some cases in arousing the interest of the teacher and bringing out his potentialities more fully. In one case the teacher told me that she loved teaching the 1st elementary class, but that she still disliked the work she had to do with the pupils of the upper classes whom she had taught the year before. She had come to the school with a diploma in teaching from the British Syrian Training College, Beirut, but had evidently not found it as easy to apply her training with the older

children as she later did with the youngest ones, perhaps because the little ones offered fewer obstacles, and needed less aggressiveness on the part of the teacher to maintain discipline and retain attention. The transfer to the lower class had been made against the teacher's will, but she was very glad of it when she became accustomed to the new work.¹

In some other cases one teacher in a school has not been able to maintain cooperative relations with his fellow staff members. In such cases the inspector often recommends a transfer to another school, and in most cases the transfer is reported to have been successful in restoring a friendly atmosphere in the one school without detriment to the new one.²

A teacher's political outlook, also, may affect his work and the spirit of the school. In Palestine, the government school teachers were bound not to express their political views in their teaching, and not to engage in political propaganda. In some of the UNRWA/UNESCO schools this attitude still appears to prevail, while in others the homeland is kept constantly before the pupils in a nationalistic, and not only patriotic, manner.³ There are

1. Burj-el-Barajneh Village school.

2. Beirut Beqa' Inspector.(1955)

3. N.B. Given the level of education of many of the teachers, which would give some indication of their intellectual immaturity, and the situation in which they find themselves, this attitude is understandable.

maps of Palestine made by the students in many of the classrooms, evidently on permanent display. In one school the pupils sang a patriotic song, composed by their teacher, about Palestine; the intensity with which it was sung appeared to indicate very strong feelings on the part of the boys who were present.¹ In another school posters could be seen in the main hall which were of a strong anti-Western character.² There was some evidence, then, in several schools, that teachers did not fulfill Saucier's requirement that the teacher assume responsibility for his personal bias, and express it, but only after helping the pupils see both sides of the question and interpret it.³ What such teachers were doing was inculcating or enforcing a prejudice, not a thought out attitude which could lead to rational action.

Head Teachers

Personality, then, had a great deal to do with the noticed differences between schools as well as between individual teachers. Though the responsibility for a friendly atmosphere lies with all of the teachers, the most important role here is that of the Head Teacher. His

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1. Gouraud School. (The girls were having their weekly bath.)
 2. Burj-el-Barajneh Village School. The Head Teacher of this school is now writing a column against UNRWA in a Beirut paper.
 3. Saucier, W.A., Theory and Practice in the Elementary School. Revised Edition. New York: Macmillan Co., 1951, p.498-9.

ability in commanding respect and in creating an attitude of cooperation among the members of his staff may be the decisive factor in making his school a success or a failure. If this ability is lacking, the staff tends to separate, each teaching in his own way, without consulting other teachers who teach the same pupils, trying only to make his own pupils succeed rather than all of the pupils of the school.

The Head Teacher's ability affects his school also in the area of teaching methods. It is his responsibility (and also, of course, that of his staff) to maintain the academic standard of his school. He must make sure that teachers continue to use their good methods, and help them to improve their methods when they are unsuccessful. He must prevent them from resorting to the method of having their pupils memorize whole passages without understanding the facts contained in them. In one school visited, the 6th elementary class was reviewing for the Lebanese national Certificat examination. The students were obviously reciting whole passages that they had learned. The inspector asked the students a question from another lesson in the book, and the students were unable to answer. As soon as he read out the first few words of the pertinent passage, the students were able to complete the passage and thus answer the question.¹ This memorization could be of no use

1. Qal'a school.

to them, even in a purely repetitive type of examination, as they could not answer the question until they had been given the key words.¹

In this and other situations, this Head Teacher seemed to realize that he had not fulfilled the requirements of his position, for he was constantly defensive in his attitude. His failure was evident both in the academic standard of many of the pupils in the two schools under his charge² and in the attitude of the teachers, who seemed incapable of taking any question seriously. The blame does not, of course, lie entirely on the Head Teacher, for his schools are in an area to which many of the better teachers refuse to go, but the attitude and methods of another school near by³ indicated that it was possible to attain higher standards.

Pupils

The contribution of the pupils themselves to the differences between schools is evident in a comparison between the schools in the towns and those in the rural areas. To a large extent, refugees who lived in towns in Palestine have centered around towns in Lebanon, such as

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1. This school sent 50 students to sit for the examination and 24 passed--the lowest percent of success in all of the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon. (Report for June 1955, Lebanon.)
 2. Qal'a and Gouraud.
 3. Ba'albek Secondary School.

Beirut and Tripoli. Those who were farmers at home are to be most frequently found in rural areas where they can find some seasonal employment in the only field of work in which they have experience. The difference between their children is partly external--the towns-people have often been able to provide uniforms for their children and their general appearance is neater. The children of the farmers often are barefoot or wear clogs, and a larger proportion of them still wear traditional rather than Western-type clothing. Few are in uniform and the girls always wear a scarf on their heads. Their habits are also affected by their home atmosphere, and the schools attended by farmers' and peasants' children have more trouble in instilling habits of cleanliness and tidiness and care of property among their pupils. Though it would be difficult to control this factor, since the type of teacher tends to vary with the type of pupil, the varying ability of town and farm children to assimilate what they are being taught into their own knowledge, which is affected by the knowledge they have previously obtained in their own homes as well as at school, may also affect the general level of the school.

Inspectors

Further differences between schools are caused by differences between the inspectors. Formerly, the inspectors rotated between the three school areas in Lebanon. According to one of them, this proved unsatisfactory because they did

not become really interested in an area from which they would be moved after three months. The responsibility for the success of the schools did not rest only with them, individually, so they tended to leave problems for their successors to handle. There was little incentive to start any improvement from which they would not see the benefits. At present, the policy is to have each inspector, or Schools Supervisor, responsible for an area, in which he lives (Beirut/Mountain, Beqa', Sidon, Tyre, and Tripoli).¹ The inspector comes to know the individual teachers better and is perhaps thus in a better position to help them improve the schools. He becomes genuinely interested in them and in their schools and can learn their problems and how to solve them more easily.

The personality of the inspector no doubt affects the attitude of the teachers in the area towards him, and thus affects their response to his advice and admonition. It is also to be seen in the different problems which attract his attention when he is inspecting, and causes a difference in emphasis from one area to another.

Unfortunately, the three areas were not visited under equivalent conditions. In the Beirut and Beqa' areas

1. Report for June 1954, Lebanon. (In 1954-5, when most of the visits were made, there were only three Inspectors: Beirut and Beqa', Tyre and Sidon, and Tripoli. There are now four School Supervisors, the Beqa' area being the responsibility of the Deputy Field Education Officer.)

the writer was fortunate enough to be able to make the visits in the company of the inspector only, while in Tripoli three other members of UNRWA's educational staff were also present. The size of this group tended to add to the artificiality of visiting conditions mentioned at the beginning of this section.¹ Furthermore, the inspector was not as free to do his work as he would have been in a smaller party.

In the Tyre area, some schools were visited in the company of the Tyre Area Officer, who was interested in education, but without the inspector.

The visits to schools in the Sidon area were made in the company of both the Sidon School Supervisor and the Deputy Field Education Officer. In this case the two inspectors normally spent the majority of the time conducting the class, in order to be able to test the knowledge of the pupils. Only in a very few cases did the teacher continue his lesson during the visit of the inspectors,² so it was not possible to see much of the teaching methods normally used, nor to see what methods the inspectors wished to improve, although it was possible to see the methods they themselves would use.

Much of the inspectors' time appeared to be taken up with the physical aspects of the schools. The inspection

1. p.45.

2. in fact, one teacher left the room.

reports at the beginning in 1950 were often largely concerned with the water supply and latrines system of the schools, and these aspects continue to occupy the attention of the inspectors, though to a lesser extent.

Another of the tasks is to inspect the cleanliness of the pupils, and their habits of tidiness and cleanliness around the school.

The inspectors are also expected to deal with the personal problems of the teachers, settling differences, trying to arrange transfers when they are really justified, and the like.

Not all of the inspectors' time, then, can be spent on the final aspect of their work, the teaching methods being used in the schools in their charge. This aspect drew much of the attention of the Beirut Beqa' inspector during his tour with the writer. Frequently, if the teacher was not making the class vital to the pupils, or if he or she were making some pedagogical mistake, the inspector would take the class for a moment and explain the difficult point in an amusing way, show the teacher how he expected him to teach, or test the pupils' comprehension of the material being studied. Once outside the classroom, he would explain to the teacher where the fault lay or how he could improve his method. This criticism often centred around the use of memorization without adequate comprehension in the preparation of the material, or around the lack of

conversation practice in the language classes. In the matter of discipline in the schools, what appeared most frequently to attract his attention was the means used by children to indicate their desire to be called on to recite. When the pupils were wild in their gestures, he would enjoin them to use the more polite method of raising the arm from the elbow up, with one finger extended. (This appeared to be the standard means in all UNRWA/UNESCO schools, but was not always enforced in the other areas.)

During the inspection tour in Tripoli, as mentioned above, the inspector had less opportunity to play his usual role. A few points could be noted, however, and would probably indicate the problems which he considered the most important, whereas the lesser points could be left for correction on a more leisured day. One of his points of emphasis appeared to be the presentation of the material to be learned in such a way as to make it as easy for the pupils to comprehend as possible. Thus, he asked one teacher, in an arithmetic class, to place numbers to be added one above the other, rather than side by side, so that the pupils might be able to understand better what they were doing, and keep the decimals in order more easily.

In another class, where the story of Hannibal was being taught, he asked that a map of the Mediterranean be brought so that the pupils might see for themselves the

route which the General had followed. In this class it was evident that the pupils had had little contact with maps in the past,¹ so could not obtain much immediate help from this one, but it would probably become more meaningful for them if the practice were continued.

This inspector gave evidence also of an interest in character development and discipline. In one school, a teacher had developed a method of arousing the interest of his pupils in their mathematics by pairing them off and asking them to see which of each pair could complete a problem first. The scramble which ensued was, in general, good-humoured, yet the inspector saw that this was encouraging a spirit of unconstructive and uncooperative competition, and not contributing much to the students' learning of mathematics, and asked the teacher to drop the method.² On several occasions he pointed out to the pupils that the cleanliness and tidiness of their schools were their own responsibility. He stated to the writer that he much preferred disciplinary methods which would arouse in the children a sense of responsibility and cooperation, rather than blind or unwilling obedience.

In the case of the Tyre inspector, the writer obtained his views in an interview, and gives them here with the recognition that such stated views are not necessarily comparable to observed actions. Asked what he

1. In this school, Nahr-el-Barid, visited in 1955, there appeared to be only one map for 1200 schoolchildren. Schools visited in 1956 were much better equipped in this respect.

2. Mina school.

first noticed when he went to a school, this inspector said that his first problem was usually the cleanliness of the pupils, school and surroundings. He then normally turned to the problems of the teachers, after which he would visit the classes and study the methods being used. What he best liked to see, he stated, was a teacher who was able to bring outside material to bear upon the lessons required of him in the curriculum. His influence in this field could be seen in his schools, where some teachers had cut out a great variety of pictures to illustrate the words and sentences learned in the set books.

The inspectors also gave the writer insight into what they considered to be the difficulties of the system. One inspector had had the same type of job in Palestine before the termination of the Mandate. In comparing the two systems, he stated that under UNRWA the inspector had less power over his teachers than did the Palestine inspector. This may have some good aspects, but he pointed out that for this reason the teacher tended to have less respect for his inspector, and to pay less attention to his advice and warnings, secure in the knowledge that the slow-working machinery of the large international organization would probably protect him from loss of position or lowering of salary.

The greatest problem to two other inspectors was that of ridding the schools of the poor teachers who had been

employed in early years, when salaries were low and high educational qualifications could not be required. The Agency now hesitates to terminate their services and thus return them to a ration-receiving status, but they reduce the general level of education in the schools.

A fourth inspector had quite a different problem to state. According to him, the pupils in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools had too much freedom to come and go. They could drop out of school for any reason whatsoever, and be sure of being reaccepted when they returned. Not only did this interrupt the learning process of both the intermittent student and the more steady attendants who had to listen to old points being repeated, but also it tended to reduce the pupil's respect for the school, since he did not have to regard it seriously.¹

Attitude of Refugees to Schools

This problem did not arise to any great extent when the UNRWA/UNESCO schools were first begun. The atmosphere at that time is reported as one of great gratitude on the part of the refugees for the provision of schools for their children.² The pupils themselves, as well as those children who were unable to obtain places in the schools, were deeply

1. c f., however, reference to pupils being readmitted only after they have been absent "for justified reasons", in Report for May 1955, Lebanon.

2. See Une Cloche d'ecole dans le désert, p.9 et passim.

interested in the schools' activities, classes were enthusiastic, and absenteeism virtually non-existent, except during harvest seasons, when every refugee who could do so worked in the surrounding fields to earn a little money for goods and foods not supplied to them through relief.

Now, with places available in the elementary classes for all children who wish to attend, the schools have lost some of the privileged status which they once had. If a pupil is absent, there is no longer another child, waiting to take his place, to remind him of the value that place has by preventing him from retaking it.

Another attendance problem which has been constant since the foundation of the UNRWA/UNESCO school system is that of strikes. When the refugee population has a grievance and resorts to a strike to make its voice heard, its protest cannot take the form of a refusal to work, since the majority of the refugees in the camps and many in the towns do not have any regular work. Their strikes therefore normally assume the aspect of a boycott of UNRWA services, such as refusing to collect their rations on the appointed day, or preventing the members of the Health Division from carrying out their duties.

Some strikes have been closely connected with educational affairs, as when the inhabitants of Gouraud camp refused to allow any children to attend the school

because they disapproved of a recent change in the teaching staff.¹ In another case students in many refugee schools went on strike in sympathy with students striking in other schools in Lebanon.²

At other times the connection is only indirect, where the children join in their parents' protest and refuse to attend classes. This occurs only infrequently in Lebanon, where the enforced idleness of whole families is somewhat less prevalent than in the over-populated areas of Jordan, for instance. There, not only has idleness broken down the old family patterns, leaving the children free of the discipline which might otherwise have kept them under control, but also the break-down of social patterns in general has provided a situation where demagogues, many of whom are reported to be teachers in the schools, have gained great power over the population, including the school-children. As a result, the refugees in general, and the schoolchildren in particular, form one of the most potent factors in a strike situation³ and, becoming conscious of their power, the children are in danger of turning into "collective juvenile delinquents".⁴

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1. Report for October 1951, Lebanon.
 2. In March, 1954, when the students of A.U.B. demonstrated against the Baghdad Pact.
 3. e.g. the disturbances in Jordan in December 1955 and January 1956.
 4. Béguin, article cited.

Yet this is not the only aspect of the attitude towards education among the refugees. In any situation, "public opinion" tends to fluctuate widely and become even contradictory, partly because different sections of the population become vocal at different times. Among the refugees, this tendency becomes more pronounced, since individuals are often themselves fluctuating and self-contradictory, out of frustration and ignorance. In a situation which has been close to deadlock for seven years, and where those concerned, for the most part, have received only a low level of education, if any, public opinion cannot be expected to be unified and positively in favour of a definite programme, either in education or in any other field.¹

Thus, while interfering with the educational system and sometimes preventing their children from attending or allowing them to absent themselves or join strikes, the refugees are at the same time constantly demanding higher standards of education for larger numbers of their children. As one UNRWA official states it:

"In present circumstances, the darker grows the future the more desperately do refugee fathers and mothers seek education for their children. This is true of all classes, including the Bedouins. Education has become part of the struggle for survival."²

1. See above, p.10.

2. Winter, article cited, p.7.

Curriculum

The main external, non-academic aspects of the schools having now been covered, it is time to turn to the specifically educational fields of curriculum, extra-curricular activities and teaching methods, before dealing with the future of the system.

In accordance with the emphasis in the Arab States upon unification of school programmes in order to build up national unity,¹ it has been the policy of UNRWA to follow the curricula set by the governments of each of the four areas in which the Agency runs schools.

"In each host country care is taken to adhere closely but not slavishly to the local curriculum. This entails the use of the same text-books as are used in the local government schools. Such a policy makes it easy for pupils attending UNRWA/UNESCO schools to sit for Government examinations and has the further merit of lessening the gap between refugee and local population."²

It further paves the way for pupils who wish to transfer from UNRWA/UNESCO schools to local schools of any type.

Lebanese Curriculum

The Lebanese curriculum³ is based on French educational ideas, and is closely linked to the examinations which must be passed at the various stages before students

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1. Kurani, Lecture on December 12, 1954.
 2. Walter, article cited, p.14.
 3. See Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., pp.428-438, for a very full treatment of the subject.

can continue their progress. The emphasis is very largely upon subject matter; the pupils must gain a certain knowledge in certain areas in order to be capable of answering the questions which were set, originally, to test the results of the Lebanese curriculum. Unfortunately, the reverse has come to be true. The curriculum tends to answer the requirements of the examinations, rather than of the students. Instead of setting the examination in the spirit of a good curriculum, the curriculum now appears to be set and carried out in the spirit of the examination. Little encouragement is given to the teachers to enlarge the necessary subjects in any way, since this will not be directly useful to the student in taking the examinations, and since it might even be argued that this may take the student's time away from the study of the subjects required.

Annex 2 of Lebanese Government Decree No. 6998, which contains the curriculum, begins with a preamble stating that "spiritual education is based on ... the hierarchy of values rising from matter to mind to spirit ..." and goes on to say that these values must be taught by tangible examples. Spiritual, intellectual and physical education must be combined for unity of being.¹

It then proceeds, however, to allot five periods a week to the learning of the foreign language chosen (either

1. Program of Studies: Lebanese Government Decrees Nos. 4119, 7002, 6998, and 7001. Trans. from original Arabic by Point IV Department of Education, Beirut.

English or French), five to arithmetic, and six to Arabic reading, memorization, penmanship and copying, and later grammar, composition and dictation, leaving only two periods a week set aside for physical education for most of the pupils, with $2\frac{1}{2}$ for the first year pupils. One period is always allotted for religion, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 for "moral and national studies". The 2 periods set aside for conversation in the first year (where these "tangible examples" might be introduced), are reduced to $1\frac{1}{2}$ periods of "object lessons", which become elementary science, in the second and third years, with hygiene added in the fourth and fifth.¹ Two periods of history and geography are added from the second year on. Drawing and the manual arts are given two periods a week, and music and singing are reduced from two periods in the first year to one in the later four.

The result appears to be a programme based on the 3 Rs, plus the foreign language, with a maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ periods each for the other subjects which might be expected to fulfil the aims of the preamble. In general, as can be seen in the table on page 71, this programme places less emphasis on Arabic, religion, manual and domestic science and drawing throughout, on the foreign languages and

1. Dodd, op.cit., points out the great need for health education in the Near East, through teaching physiology, habits of cleanliness, diet and exercise and prevention of infection, and through health check-ups. He even places health as the "first aim of education", since literacy is of little use when lack of health leads to premature death. p.94.

Distribution of Time in Lebanon and Palestine Curricula										
SUBJECTS	Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4
	Palestine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Arabic	6	6½	6½	6	6	6	6	6	5	5
English	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	5	5
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5
Aritametic	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6		
Conversation, Object Lessons, Hygiene and Nature Study	1	1½	1½	2	2	2	-	-	-	-
Physics, Chemistry ² Biology	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4
Religion	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
History and Geography	-	2	2	2	2	2	2½	2½	2½	2½
Moral and National ³ Lessons (Civics)	1½	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drawing & Manual Arts ⁴ Manual Training Domestic Science	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Music and Singing	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical Education	2½	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
TOTAL		27	27	27	27	27	30	30	30	30
		30	30	35	35	35	35	35		

1. Matthews and Akrawi, *op.cit.*, pp.242 and 429. (The Lebanese curriculum covers 5 Primary and 4 Higher Primary years, while the Palestinian covered 7 Elementary years.)
2. For purposes of comparison, Physics, Chemistry and Biology were assimilated into Hygiene and Nature Study.
3. Moral and National Lessons and History and Geography were combined in the comparison.
4. Though the practice differed, Drawing and Manual Arts are similar, in theory, in Lebanon, to Drawing, Manual Training and Domestic Sciences in Palestine, and they have been combined for the comparison.

mathematics in the higher grades, and on hygiene and nature study in the lower grades, than the Palestine curriculum offered to these pupils' predecessors before 1948, while it begins the foreign language earlier and gives greater time to physical education¹ and to sciences in the upper grades, and introduces music and singing.

The detailed suggestions for material to be covered each year appear to have been drawn up by a different person for each subject, with little regard to the philosophy stated in the preamble. Here are to be found the facts which the pupil must memorize in order to be able to pass his Certificat examination, when he is at least ten years old and has spent a year in the 5th elementary class.²

In some cases, such as in the Arabic and moral and national studies, and to some extent in French, there appears to be a relatively heavy emphasis on learning the meaning of isolated words, while in English, where even the text-book is prescribed in the decree, the emphasis is intended to be upon stories, songs, poems, dramatizations and conversation.

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1. The Palestinian male student also got some exercise in the school garden or shop.
 2. (6th elementary in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools as they do not have 2 years of kindergarten before the 1st elementary.) Program of Studies, Point IV trans.

In arithmetic the first elementary pupil is taught to add and subtract up to 100, and to multiply and divide by numbers from 1 to 5, going on to 6-10 in the second elementary.

History and Geography, according to the curriculum, are closely connected with Lebanon until the fifth year, when European history and geography, and the geography of North Africa, are to be studied.

In the case of "object lessons", or elementary science, the pupil is allowed to have some curiosity about the life he sees around him, for the first two years are to be devoted to conversation about observations of natural science. In the third year he is supposed to do some easy experiments, but in the fourth and fifth years alone, with two periods a week, he is expected to cover gravity, the three states of matter, the lever, scales, heat, meteorology, magnetism, electricity, chemistry, anatomy, comparative anatomy, biology and agriculture.

In physical education, the curriculum states that the youngest pupils should be made to imitate animals, dramatize stories with unison movements, and learn to form circles and cheer. In the second and third years, the time is to be used for games which develop observation, for local folk dances and for exercises. During the last two years the emphasis is placed upon exercises and accuracy, and on teamwork and competition in games.

In music the pupils must be taught to sing instead of shouting, and to breathe and pronounce correctly, using the words only after having learned the music by the solfège method. In the second year they learn the notes, in the third they learn about the various note time-values and start singing in parts after each part has been thoroughly learned. In the fourth year they must learn to keep time, and to take oral and written music dictation. In the 5th year they learn the major and minor keys. The curriculum should produce model musicians, but unfortunately the writer has seen nothing of the results.¹

In drawing, in contrast to the free-expression method used in many Western schools, the first year class learns to draw geometrical figures and still-lives. The second year, the pupil is allowed to draw from memory, and in the fourth year he studies colours.

The manual arts¹ prescribed are different for girls and boys. The boys graduate from paper and straw, in the first year, to claywork and cardboard geometrical forms in the second and third, and woodcarving and carpentry in the fourth and fifth, while the girls go from raffia work, knitting, weaving, embroidery and sewing in the first year, to special stitches, "English and ordinary cut work" and crochet in the second and third, and to dressmaking and the running of a sewing machine in the fourth and fifth.

1. See note 1, p.75.

The time set aside for manual arts is also intended to be used, in village schools, for a practical course in agriculture for the boys, with a compulsory garden in each school, and for housekeeping training for the girls. This part of the programme has never been enforced by the Lebanese Government.¹

Implementation of Lebanese Curriculum in UNRWA/UNESCO Schools

As mentioned above, it was not possible to follow closely the classes in Arabic reading, grammar and composition, but it could be seen that the reading was usually fluent, though with little of the voice modulation which would indicate, in the West, that the pupils were really conscious of the content. In one first year class, the pupils were retelling, with evident enjoyment, a story which the teacher had related to them.² The same technique was being used for written composition in a third-year class in another school, where the teacher was reading the compositions out aloud and correcting them before the class. Here the enjoyment of the earlier class was completely lacking, perhaps because the pupils had tired of the story after hearing it told, writing it down, and then listening

1. Religion, moral and national lessons, physical education, manual arts and music and singing are not included in the subjects for the Certificat examination, and therefore tend to receive less attention in many schools. (see Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., p.441.

2. Mina School, Tripoli.

to ten different versions of it.¹

The English² teachers appeared to stay close to the book (West's New Method Reader is used for all classes except the first, which is entirely oral) in most schools, though there was wide variety in the types of questions asked of the pupils in order to encourage them to form English sentences themselves. The technique used became apparent as soon as the pupils were asked a question phrased in a new way. In some schools the students would be perfectly capable of answering such questions, but in others they could only reply, in the words of the book, when questions printed in the book were asked. The first year classes, conducted orally, seem to consist almost entirely of "Where is your hand?" "This is my hand." "Where is the book?" "The book is under the desk." and the like, confined to the most prominent parts of the body and the equipment of the schoolroom, and the location of each. Here again, the pupils in some schools were able to cover a wider range of thought within these strict limits, while others were able only to restate the question in a positive form or to answer the questions in a standard order. In one school, however, the children were asked to take a ball from the teacher, to throw it to another pupil, to shut their eyes

1. Burj-el-Shemali school, Tyre.

2. The curriculum gives a choice of French or English as the foreign language, but only English is taught in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools.

and cover their faces while the teacher hid an object which then had to be found, each pupil accompanying his action with a statement in English of what he was doing.¹ In another school this class had been given more life by combining it with the singing class, and the pupils drew obvious enjoyment from even the rather complicated wording of English nursery rhymes, accompanied with appropriate motions, because they knew what the songs meant and probably felt they were learning something relatively meaningful.²

There is striking uniformity in the methods used in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools to teach the younger children the use of numbers.³ In many of the classrooms are to be found hand-drawn charts with diverse objects such as tea-cups, fruits, flowers, or animals in various sized groups, with the appropriate number written in Arabic, and sometimes in English, next to each group. In the class another standard method, which was also being used at the Teachers' Refresher Course which the writer visited in Tripoli, is to illustrate each problem with the same number of pencils, notebooks, marbles, or the like. When the mathematical process is completed, and at each stage on the way to the

1. Sidon Canal school.
2. New Road school, Beirut.
3. perhaps because many of the teachers were trained in this subject at the annual Teachers' Refresher Courses.

solution, the young pupils are instructed to count the objects used, so that they are at all times aware of what is being done and convinced of the truth of the answer. They do not count them, however, at the higher stages, until the answer has already been given. The effect of the personality differences of the various teachers became much more apparent in such classes, for the attention of the pupils was not equally held by the bored and by the enthusiastic teachers, although the method used was very much the same. The older classes had outgrown this counting method and were capable of more abstract arithmetic, but in many classes this was brought closer to real life situations by making the mathematical process the outcome of a situation such as the pupils or their parents might have to face in their present life.

In many of the history and geography classes visited, the main technique used appeared to be repetition and memorization, though in one or two classes the pupils were asked to re-tell the story contained in the day's lesson.¹ In this course most schools apparently added some Palestine history and geography to that prescribed in the Lebanese curriculum. Maps of Palestine, made by the pupils, were seen much more frequently than Lebanese ones.

The religion classes attended appeared to consist primarily of the formal reading and memorization of verses

1. e.g. Rashidieh school, Tyre.

from the Qur'an,¹ and there was no evidence of its explanation.

The remaining subjects of the curriculum are normally placed in the later part of the morning or in the afternoon, when the children are less alert and more easily aroused by their variety. Partly for this reason, as the writer's visits were usually made in the morning, and partly because they occupy a smaller place in the curriculum, it was not possible to visit enough classes to gain an overall impression. The following observations are therefore based on individual examples and cannot be considered as necessarily representative.

In the "object lesson" attended,² where the heart and lungs were the objects being observed, good but rather too technical diagrams were being used, and it did not appear that the pupils of the age being taught were capable of grasping the lesson until the inspector illustrated it even more graphically by means of breathing, etc.. (In this class a six year old boy had simply gone to sleep.)

The only occasions upon which the writer heard singing in the schools were those already described (pp. 54 and 77). In the latter case the singing was moderated and the pupils evidently regarded it as fun. In the former

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1. In most of the schools, with the exception of Mar Elias, Muslims are in the majority.
 2. Ta'alabaya school, first elementary.

case, the song was a patriotic Palestinian one, composed by the teacher in charge, and shouted with such intensity that it could hardly be said to have been fulfilling the Lebanese curriculum's requirements.

The majority of the drawing classes in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools appeared to spend their time primarily in copying the illustrations in their text-books. Often the subjects were ones with which the pupils had probably never come in contact. At other times they were instructed to draw, from a model or from memory, such everyday and isolated objects as chairs and tables. In one class visited,¹ where the teacher admitted that he had no knowledge of how to draw or how to teach the subject, the pupils had followed their own devices and some were producing some quite imaginative work. Another school was fortunate in having a teacher who was able to draw forth expressive work from the pupils.² In this case, the students had been taken to nearby spots and asked to draw them. (Few other drawing classes appeared to leave the classroom.) They were asked to put on paper their impressions of movies seen, or of scenes at home or at school. Maps of Lebanon had been made of a great variety of materials to illustrate many aspects of the country's life. The diversity of styles used pointed to individual work, guided, but not moulded, by the teacher. This subject

1. Zahleh school, Beqa'.

2. Shatila school, Beirut.

evidently was contributing to the development of observation among the pupils of the school, but in many other schools this conclusion could not be drawn as surely.

The Certificat examination (though not the official curriculum) offers sewing to girls as a substitute for drawing. This division has tended to be continued in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools, partly because few of the schools offer the boys' manual arts which, in the curriculum, are supposed to parallel the girls' sewing. In one school,¹ the boys did have some work with raffia and cardboard, but in most cases the girls sewed while the boys drew. The girls' sewing was usually embroidery of napkins and tablecloths or of purses. There was little evidence of any dressmaking--perhaps for lack of material to make up.

The general impression gained was that the Lebanese curriculum, as far as implemented in the Lebanese public schools, (i.e. with the exclusion of agriculture and domestic science) was being followed faithfully, with the addition of Palestinian history and geography. The most prevalent impression in the classroom was one of passive learning, where the teacher carried on almost the sole activity, and the pupils merely listened and then reproduced what he had said. During visits to twenty odd schools, only one student was ever heard to ask a question, and then it was merely to request a more explicit definition of a point which had just

1. New Road school, Beirut.

been introduced.¹ Originality of method and imaginative presentation were evidently the exception, rather than the rule. That the system is relatively successful, however, is shown by the high proportion of pupils who, since 1951, have passed the government Certificat examination, when compared with the pupils of other schools in the country.²

Secondary Classes

There appeared to be more originality in the secondary classes visited, though not enough could be seen to form a typical impression. This difference is perhaps due in part to the fact that the older students demand more variety to hold their attention. Probably a more important contributing factor is the higher level of education of the secondary teachers, more of whom have received specific pedagogical training. Furthermore, as only the best students are given a chance to continue their academic education beyond the Certificat level, the general standard of intelligence of the students is higher.

In one mathematics class visited,³ where the students were beginning the study of logarithms, the teacher gave an introduction to the subject, including the Arab origin of

1. Shatila school, Beirut

2. 72.5% of all UNRWA/UNESCO candidates passed in June 1955, (Report for June 1955, Lebanon) when 68.8% of the candidates from the whole country received their Certificat. (Statistics obtained from Mr. Kana'an of the Lebanese Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts.)

3. Shatila, first secondary.

the method and the purposes for using it. An indication of the greater alertness of the class was the fact that one of the students asked to have a point clarified: in no other class had any pupil spoken to the teacher without first having been asked a question.

Another striking example of originality witnessed was a secondary class in which the teacher was combining English and review of physics.¹ Here the boys were being required to adapt their English to a subject completely different from those covered in their language classes. Though it was evidently difficult, they found it challenging to be using the language for an external purpose, and not just to practise the language itself.

In other secondary classes visited, the students seemed much less bound to their text-books, and more capable of answering questions not directly connected with the lesson under study, than had been the case in the elementary schools--another indication that the teachers were more capable of using originality and change in their teaching.

1. Ba'albek Secondary School.

Extra-curricular Activities

There is more room for originality throughout the school in the extra-curricular activities, where no set curriculum exists to mould and confine the field of action. Some of the UNRWA policy makers are refugees themselves, and were formerly in the Education Department in Palestine under the British Mandate, and therefore familiar with the emphasis placed on activity in its schools. Some, also, of the international workers in the administration have been advocates of the activity type of curriculum rather than of the subject matter type. It has been necessary, because of Agency policy, to employ the Lebanese curriculum, but these administrators have further instituted a large programme of activities not directly included in the Government curriculum.¹

Gardens

Probably the most prevalent form this takes is the school garden, which is to be found in connection with nearly every school run by UNRWA and UNESCO--a carry-over from the Palestine Education Department system.²

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1. The usual time of day for inspection visits did not include these activities, so this section was gleaned primarily from reports and interviews.
 2. In Palestine, the Education Department had gained the confidence of the people, who willingly gave the land for the elementary school agricultural training programme, which included horticulture, cereals and bee keeping, depending on the locality. Produce was sold and the money used for the school. (J. Katul.)

Gardens have been planted and tended around each school, and teachers and students work together in them. Students see their teachers working with their hands, and see what they can themselves produce by doing likewise. They are thus weaned away from the prevalent attitude towards labour as unworthy of the dignity of educated men and women. As might be expected, the work varies considerably from school to school, depending upon the enthusiasm and persistence of the staff and their comprehension of the value of such activities in the total education of their pupils. The extent of the programme is further dependant upon the amount of land and water available for the project. Anjar and El-Ghazieh schools were especially fortunate, and began producing good quantities of fruit, cereals and vegetables as early as the spring of 1951, and soon started poultry raising. In these centres and at El-Buss, the programme took on the character of real vocational training.¹ In many other schools the main product is flowers, which can be grown on small plots in front of the schools.

In some cases each student is given a plot to tend by himself. Competition is high to see who can produce the most or the best. In others the students of the school combine their efforts and see the results of cooperation. Whatever the situation, they are learning about gardening and agriculture by engaging in them themselves, under the

1. Report for December 1951, Lebanon.

supervision of their teachers. They have to face problems and learn to put their ability to think and their learning to use in a concrete situation.

Pre-vocational Training

Closely allied in theory to the gardening programme was the pre-vocational training given as part of the curriculum¹ (as distinguished from that geared specifically to training older workers, covered in Chapter V). The special emphasis in this area has been on training of boys, and though there has been some training in sewing, knitting and embroidery for the girls, nothing has been done in the area of more complete domestic science training: cooking, cleaning, housekeeping, mending, nutrition or child rearing, for lack of the required facilities and because the numbers of girls old enough to benefit from such training were not considered large enough to justify the expense.²

UNRWA took over the refugee schools in May, 1950. By October the education administration was already thinking seriously about the need for pre-vocational training in the

1. This programme continued the vocational training given in town schools in Palestine from the 4th class up, to which the curriculum was adapted in such ways as teaching geometry as drafting, with no theory until the 7th class, to facilitate the teaching of light carpentry. (J.Katul.)
This and the agricultural training given in rural schools helped link home and school life by continuing the home environment. Girls, too, were given domestic science in the Palestine schools.
2. Discussion of van Vliet's address, already cited, at the 1955 Working Party.

schools.¹ By December, classes had been set up in some of the schools, in conjunction with the vocational training classes for young people who had been unable to receive an academic education, which were initiated by the Social Welfare Division.² The training was made available primarily to the boys who were already in the fourth and fifth elementary classes,³ who spent a certain time every week, in rotation,⁴ in the workshops. Carpentry classes were set up in Ein-el-Hilweh and Nahr-el-Barid schools, shoemaking in Mia wa Mia and Anjar, tailoring at Furn-esh-Shubbak, and tinsmithing at Burj-el-Barajneh. In many cases the activities of the classes centred around repairs needed by the students, by the schools, or for the welfare activities in the camps. The carpentry shops further supplied large quantities of the desks and benches, blackboards and lap-writing-boards of which the schools were in desperate need. The various programmes met with different degrees of success, partly owing to difficulties of personnel. The first tinsmith left for a better job in Amman, and the programme had to cease until he could be replaced. The shoemaker in Mia wa Mia was either unable or unwilling to do very much

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1. Report for September 1950, Lebanon.
 2. See below, p. 89.
 3. At Anjar, the third elementary were also given this training. (Report for February 1951, Lebanon.)
 4. Report for February 1951, H.Q.

with his students at first,¹ and Anjar's programme consequently got a better start. On the other hand, carpentry students in particular were found to be doing odd repair and manufacturing jobs in their own homes as a result of the training and initiative gained in their school shop work.²

While this programme was not directly intended to give pupils a trade which they would follow in later life, some students professed their intention to continue in the direction thus begun.³ The primary intention behind the programme was similar to the reason for the introduction of the gardening programme: to get the students used to manual work and to confront them with real situations and real problems to solve. The instructors of the programme, however, were usually simple craftsmen, having no previous training in pedagogical methods. They could not, therefore, be expected to carry out the basic ideas of the programme consciously. Its success had to rely on the fact that all male students in the fourth and fifth elementary classes of the schools were exposed to this type of work.

Another branch of the vocational training programme was the apprenticeship training provided by the welfare section of the Education and Welfare Division for older

1. Report for February 1951, Lebanon.

2. Ibid.

3. Report for May 1951, Lebanon.

"children" who had not had an earlier education, and were too old for the UNRWA/UNESCO schools.¹ These were to be taught the elements of the three Rs and to spend most of their time learning their trade. They were thus to be prepared, by more intensive training, for a more immediate and more specific future than the pupils of the regular schools. This type of training was offered in the same centres as the school classes, with numbers of apprentices ranging from 94 in the Nahr-el-Barid carpentry class to 24 taking up tailoring at Furn-esh-Shubbak.² There were also three dressmaking centres, two spinning classes, and eleven sewing classes for the girls of the camps who were in a similar situation with regard to age and education.³

Both for the school pupils and for the apprentices, a foundation was first given in the theory of the trade to be studied.⁴ For the tailoring and shoemaking classes, the students then turned to cutting on paper, after which they graduated to cutting the real materials to be used. Proper use of tools had to be taught, and also ways of estimating the cost of finished articles, using the arithmetic they had learned. In the school at Furn-esh-Shubbak, the apprentice or pupil had to pass a test at each stage before he was

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1. Report for February 1951, H.Q.
 2. Report for January 1951, Lebanon
 3. Report for February 1951, H.Q.
 4. Report for December 1951, Lebanon

allowed to continue to the next. The students who had best completed the series of tests were then given a length of material and allowed to cut and make themselves a pair of trousers.¹ Except in these cases, the garments produced in the classes were used for refugee relief.

In March 1952, however, it was decided to split vocational training, to be placed under the Rehabilitation programme, from regular schooling, which still remained under Relief, in order to be able to concentrate on producing artisans, at a higher age level, rather than merely young helpers.² By May 1953, the whole pre-vocational programme had been brought to a close in Lebanon.³

Handicraft Programme

An attempt is now being made to introduce elementary handicrafts into the schools, as a replacement for this pre-vocational training programme, as it was found that candidates for vocational training in the Agency Centres in Jordan and Gaza were completely ignorant of how to handle tools.⁴ It was carried out in Gaza, in 1954-55, on a pilot project basis (with a separate personnel and housing budget), but may not be extended to Lebanon until 1957-58.⁵ The

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1. Report for January 1951, Lebanon.
 2. Report for March 1952, Lebanon.
 3. Report for May 1953, H.Q.
 4. van Diffelen, Walter, "Tentative Budget of Education, 1955/56 and Later Years," memo to UNRWA Advisory Commission, 25 July 1955.
 5. Ibid. (The 1955 Working Party recommended that this schedule be speeded up.)

purposes of this programme can best be expressed by one of its founders, Dr. Westwater:¹

"The great majority of people in any country find their living in occupations requiring manual skills. The tremendous industrial development in western countries was responsible for a significant re-organisation of the educational systems in these countries during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. This resulted in a considerable decrease in the proportion of the population who were exposed to purely academic education. Unfortunately, an appreciation of the necessity for gearing the educational system to the economic needs of the country is only slowly being realised in the Middle East, and it is still all too true that education is identified with book learning which, desirable as it may be in widening the child's knowledge, does not equip the student, except in rare cases, to compete in the labour market. The academic secondary school has as its objective the preparation of its students for further, that is university, education, and it is quite obvious that only a small proportion of a country's population can practice the professions for which the university is designed to train. Therefore the emphasis on education provided beyond the primary school level should be on vocational training. Until now the curricula of the primary education systems of the host countries have been almost entirely confined to the three R's, so that even when vocational training facilities were provided following graduation from primary school, the selection of trainees was of necessity on an academic basis, the teachers having had no opportunity to judge the potential hand-skills of the pupils.

Recognising this defect in the primary school curriculum, the Agency proposes to institute on an experimental basis, and

1. Chief, UNRWA Education and Training Division (Dr. van Duffelen's predecessor).

confined for the school year 1954/55 to the Gaza Strip, a handicraft programme which may have a profound effect upon the school systems of the Middle East. It is planned, during the summer of 1954, to have forty Palestinian teachers trained by four international instructors. Out of some 2,400 children who are graduating from primary school at the end of the 1953/54 school year, those who have shown outstanding academic ability will be admitted to the academic high schools; the remainder, some 2,000, will be given half-time instruction in fundamental hand-skills in woodwork and metalwork shops. At the same time their academic education will not be neglected but as far as possible it will be integrated with the work being carried on in the work-shops. In the light of the experience gained during this programme, it is possible that the primary school programme in the schools of the Agency will be revised to include handicrafts in all grades. With such a programme in effect, it should be a comparatively simple matter for teachers to determine those pupils who show such outstanding ability in handicrafts that the continuation of their education into the field of vocational training will be justified. It is not necessary here to expatiate on the desirability of exposing pupils to an activity type of programme from the purely educational, as opposed to the purely utilitarian viewpoint."¹

During 1955-56, wood and metal work and drafting were introduced as part of the normal curriculum for pupils between the ages of 10 and 14 in Gaza. The programme is to be extended to Jordan in 1956-57, after teachers have been trained at the Qalandia Vocational Training Centre.

1. Annual Report of the Education and Training Division, 1 July 1953 to 30 June 1954.

Other Extra-curricular Activities

Through gardening (and through vocational training when it existed), the pupils are engaging in activities which set them problems in situations close to real life. Much emphasis has also been placed, especially in the larger centres where the pupils continue for a longer period in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools, on other extra-curricular activities of various kinds, with a view both to providing the pupils with ideas for "worthy use of leisure time",¹ both now and in the future, and to instilling in them concepts of independent action, cooperation, fair play and the like.

Sports

The first of these activities to become widespread was the promotion of sports. Football was the first to be introduced, but volleyball and basketball followed, and at the end of each scholastic year until 1955, there was a round of Field Days in each of the administrative areas in Lebanon (Tripoli, Beirut and Mountain, Sidon, Tyre and Beqa'). Some schools have as many as five football teams, and in some cases the staff have formed their own team and competed with the students.² This activity, as well as giving the children healthy exercise and opportunity for learning cooperation and control, furnishes entertainment

1. Dodd, op.cit., p.100.

2. Reports for February 1952 and January 1953, Lebanon.

for the residents of the camps, since teams visit and revisit each other at frequent intervals and competition is kept high.

Another activity, which combines sport and learning through new experiences, was introduced when the schools began sponsoring hikes to nearby places of interest. A certain number of days is set aside each year for picnics and trips, and the schools have not been slow to take advantage of them. In some cases buses have been used, when the distance to be covered is too great, but most trips are geared to the walking capacities of the pupils. For longer trips, too, students from one camp have spent the night as guests of the school in another locality, establishing new contacts and strengthening old ones.

Scouting

In some of the camps this type of programme has been more carefully organized, and scout and girl-guide troops have been formed. As Dr. Dodd points out, scouting can be educational not only in the traditional sense, but also in contributing to the training of the students in ethical character; such indirect training, since it is based on acting ethically rather than merely learning about ethics, is more likely to be effective than courses in religion or religious meetings,¹ and relatively easy to put into practice in a refugee situation, where there are no boarding

1. Dodd, op.cit., p.101.

schools to implement round-the-clock habit training as it is found in English Public Schools. Furthermore, they have provided a means to make lasting contacts outside of the camps which could be of particular value if they are developed.¹

Literary Activities

A different type of activity, which has so far been confined primarily within each school or between UNRWA/UNESCO schools only, tends more toward the direction of literature. This type was, with football, one of the first extra-curricular activities to be introduced into the UNRWA/UNESCO schools, as early as the spring of 1951. The first form which it took was the encouragement of correspondence between the pupils of the various UNRWA schools. One of the first-mentioned instances in the reports of the Education Division of the Lebanon district was an exchange of letters between the children of the schools in Nahr-el-Barid and Aleppo in March, 1951. Within the UNRWA/UNESCO educational system it is easy to exchange such letters through the headquarters of the area, but it should not be very difficult to extend such an exchange to non-UNRWA schools, and thus help to eliminate the differences that now exist or are felt between refugees and permanent residents.

A second form in which the literary type of extra-curricular activity appears is the oratory club or debate

1. See below, p.171.

society. It appears that this interest, which is particularly connected with Arab culture (but which should not be over-emphasized to the point of prejudicing real action by verbalism), has been carried on primarily inside the schools. It could, however, with caution, be extended, by organizing debates between schools, both refugee and otherwise, on topics set in advance to allow for preparation, or on surprise topics which would develop the ability of the participants to think fast and organize their minds other than on paper. By judging merit in such contests on the basis of logical and concrete reasons calmly given, this recreation could further be used to develop the emotional control to which reference has previously been made.

Another literary type of extra-curricular activity, but which does not appear to have become widespread, is the production of plays for the residents of the camps.¹

A much less organized literary interest which is encouraged within the extra-curricular programme is extended to the adults in the camps, as well as to the students. In several of the camps the schools started building up libraries soon after they were founded. Nahr-el-Barid school was among the first to open its library to the camp public,² at certain times of the day. Readers could come into the

1. Report for December 1951, Lebanon.

2. Ibid for March 1951.

school and read there, or in the shelter built outside, or could take books to their homes for a certain period. It was not long before the report came through that the library shelves were empty--all of the books were in circulation!¹ In some of these libraries a charge is made to those who can pay a few piastres, which is put towards the purchase of new books.²

Thus one of the most constructive uses of leisure time was introduced into the camps and full use has evidently been made of it, and would continue to be made of it if the libraries were enlarged and books exchanged from one area to another to prevent stagnation due to lack of selection. It would also be possible in this way to exert some control over the type of books selected for inclusion in the libraries.

In Burj-el-Barajneh school, a committee was formed to work for such a library and the following letter printed in Arabic and sent out:

"The UNRWA/UNESCO School for Palestinian emigrant children in Burj-el-Barajneh Camp invites you to contribute to the foundation of a cooperative library for the sons of Palestinians.

Generous Arab Brethren:

Arab Greetings. The emigrants are not in need of food and clothing alone, but their need for food for the spirit and sound knowledge is no less than their material need, and perhaps more valuable and effective in guiding them and taking

1. Report for March 1951, Lebanon.

2. Ibid for March 1952.

them by the hand towards retrieving their usurped rights.

In recognition of this situation, and endeavouring to arrive at the intended purpose, we have formed a cultural committee, entrusted with laying sound foundations which, in the committee's opinion, will develop patriotism and revive a nationalistic spirit, and among the committee's suggestions was the creation of a general cooperative library so that we may be able to present sound knowledge and guidance to our emigrant brothers. For this reason we have come begging you to help in the success of this project by supplying us with one or more scientific or literary books or magazines which you believe would be of the desired benefit to the readers. By doing so, you will place us and our emigrant pupils and brothers among the grateful."¹

The books so collected are lent out to pupils at certain times of the week and may be kept for a specific period. The Librarian stated that many of them were frequently read, though the more difficult or more 'pious' ones were taken less frequently than those with plentiful illustrations and amusing texts.

Community Service

A final area in which the schools have played a leading role in extra-curricular activities for their pupils is that of community service. It was recognized that the refugee children had responsibilities, perhaps even more than in normal communities, to their families and their

1. (Translation by the writer.) The letter is signed by the Secretary of the Cooperative Committee, the Librarian, and the Head Teacher of the School, on 12 February 1955 (29 Jamada-al-Thani, 1347 A.H.)

friends, and to their own school mates. The school of Gouraud started periodical clean-up campaigns in the camp, in which the students participated under the supervision of their instructors, and this practice has been followed in other camps.¹ The children of Nahr-el-Barid and Burj-el-Barajneh schools formed teams, each under a teacher, in the autumn and winter of 1951, to give emergency help with the tents of the camp in times of stormy weather, and to work on the general health and cleanliness of the school and camp. Some children in Nahr-el-Barid camp formed a committee to visit the sick in hospitals.² Until the autumn of 1952, when the literacy campaign was brought under the Fundamental Education programme, it was the students of the schools who did a great deal of the teaching and publicity for the literacy campaign in their areas.³

This community service activity overlaps, of course, some of those already mentioned. Though there seems to be no record of active acceptance of responsibilities by the scout troupes, 1500 children had become involved in the movement by the summer of 1954, and were potentially, if not actually, becoming responsible citizens. Through teaching safety techniques, this movement may also help to train children in a responsible attitude to situations of danger

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1. e.g. Nahr-el-Barid, Wavel. Report for December 1952, Lebanon.
 2. Ibid for May 1951.
 3. Report of the Literacy Campaign Leader to Lebanon Office, June 1951

where their actions directly affect their families and their communities. Even in sports the UNRWA/UNESCO schools can build up a sense of responsibility to the team which can be transferred to the activities of outside life.

An indication of the development of a sense of responsibility to their families is the way in which the boys in the carpentry classes at Anjar school put what they learned in school to use in improving their own homes.

Responsibility to the school was being built up in a variety of ways in Shatila camp school, Beirut area.¹ The students of the 4th elementary through 2nd secondary classes were formed into committees, headed by a secondary boy assisted by an elementary pupil. These committees were in charge of the cleanliness of the school, art life, literature, etc.. The literature committee produced a weekly paper for the students. The girls' sewing committee had provided embroidered curtains for the school office and staff-room, and had made a handkerchief for every member of the school, thus contributing to health education as well as carrying out a school-wide project.

1. The school is thus close enough to Beirut to have less difficulty than many in attracting and retaining good teachers. This type of activity is said to exist in most schools (Report for December 1954, Lebanon), and was evident in some other schools visited, e.g. Sidon Canal school.

Teacher Improvement

This type of education for and through real life situations and training for responsibility provided for in the extra-curricular programme, cannot be conducted, at the elementary and secondary level, by the pupils themselves. It requires a comparatively high level of initiative and training, as well as professional devotion, on the part of the teachers, which cannot be expected of all teachers in any system, nor of teachers who have never had any experience of such activities themselves.

Here, as in the case of the curriculum, the level of education that can be given to the pupils is heavily dependent upon the level of education and the professional calibre of the teachers. To have good schools, good teachers are required. In the case of the refugee schools, however, the teachers who were qualified and had had experience before the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine needed work before the UNRWA/UNESCO schools were set up. Many of them were able to find work in schools either in the host countries or in the less developed countries in Arabia, where their qualifications placed them above the standard of locally recruited staff. Positions in these remoter areas are still more lucrative than those in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools, and every year about 1/3 of the teachers employed by UNRWA leave.¹ According to present numbers, it is thus

1. Dr. van Diffelen, Interview on 23 February, 1955.

necessary to recruit about a hundred new teachers every year in Lebanon alone.

It is usually the better qualified teachers who are able to obtain positions elsewhere. The UNRWA/UNESCO schools are thus left in many cases with teachers who have had little experience and training, or who have lost their spirit of initiative,¹ and frequently students who have just finished secondary school have to be employed to teach the younger children.² The UNRWA schools are not alone in this respect. There are large numbers of teachers in Lebanon, in public as well as in private schools, whose education was not carried beyond the Brevet, or even the Certificat.³

A factor which accompanies such methods of recruitment, but which would be found to some extent among the majority of teachers in the Middle East, is the continuation of the clan-based social patterns referred to earlier.⁴ If the Arab states are to have stable democratic governments, the schools must assist in the substitution of civic responsibilities and allegiances for the present tribal

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1. A/2978, (1955) p.25.
 2. In 1951, in a school run at Nahr-el-Barid by the Save the Children Fund, the best-qualified teacher that could be obtained, to be Head Teacher, had completed the 7th elementary class. This is perhaps an extreme case, but is an indication of the problems faced.
 3. See Table, p.107. Out of 6,888 teachers employed in schools in Lebanon, 1952-53, 3,117 had only a Brevet or even less than eleven years of schooling (the maximum required for the Brevet, with 2 Kindergarten, 5 Primary, and 4 Higher Primary). (Ministry of Education statistics, obtained through Economics Research Institute.)
 4. p.19.

community organization, as the most obvious place for this substitution to take place is in the education of the new generations. In schools, however, which are staffed by teachers with a minimum of education, without training in teaching methods, and without experience of democratic values, this substitution can be only superficial, if it takes place at all.

One of the very basic problems, then, in the improvement of the UNRWA/UNESCO schools has been and still is the improvement of their teaching staff. At first, and this is still to some extent the case, many of the teachers were incapable of anything more than passing on, by rote, what they themselves had been learning by heart a few years before. For the majority of them, a self-instituted improvement upon the methods by which they were taught was impossible and hardly to be expected. In fact, since their teachers may have had a better grasp of the subject matter and of the goals of education than they had been able to gain, it is more likely that they teach less efficiently than their own teachers. It appears that under the methods at present in use in most schools throughout the world, subject matter taught in the elementary classes does not readily become coordinated and vital to the individual until he reaches high school or even college. If he has not, then, assimilated the meaning of the subject matter in the curriculum into his previous body of knowledge and experience,

there is little chance of his passing it on to his students in a meaningful manner when he is placed in a teaching position as soon as he has finished his elementary work.

There are two main methods by which teaching personnel can be improved: improvement of present staff, and better training of future recruits. While the educational system in Palestine was "essentially an elementary-school system to which (were) attached a few institutions designed to supply it with teachers",¹ UNRWA did not at first feel justified in taking such a direction, and the primary emphasis has been on the improvement of present staff.

Salary Improvement

One of the simpler means was the improvement of their teaching salaries, in order to attract and retain better-qualified teachers. "In the former emergency programme (before UNRWA was formed), much of the teaching was done either on a voluntary basis, or for such low wages that teachers were less well paid than the cleaners employed in the camps."² The usual salary for a headmaster in 1950, when UNRWA took over, was L.L. 100 a month. Since this was considered to give him a sufficiency for living for one person, his ration was suspended (though not that of his dependent/s if he had any), leading to a loss which was estimated at L.L. 20 per month. His real salary was thus

1. Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., p.230.

2. A/1905, (1951) p.27.

actually equivalent to about L.L. 80. The teachers received L.L. 75, but remained on the ration rolls as this salary did not come up to the income scale.¹

The directors of UNRWA education realized that with salaries at this level, they would not be able to retain good teachers, and they soon raised the pay (in October 1950), by 30 to 50%, after which it "approached local standards" when shelter, welfare and medical services provided were taken into account.² Even this level of pay, however, was low in relation to that for other services, yet there was a surprising degree of loyalty among the teachers. There were several cases of teachers who left for financially better positions, but who retained a feeling of fidelity to their schools, as in the case of a teacher who raised money in Saudi Arabia to send to his former school.³

Another form of financial inducement which was later introduced was a salary scale which provided for payment proportional to educational and experience qualification. Until this scale was introduced, all Head Teachers were paid one salary and all teachers another, regardless of age, education, or previous experience. Better teachers, seeing themselves treated on the same basis

1. A/2171, (1952) p.37.

2. A/1905, (1951) p.27. (One to three rations would be removed at this income level.)

3. Report for March 1953, Lebanon.

as novices, tended to lose interest in doing a good job. Poor teachers saw no reason for improvement, since it would not make any difference to their position.

The first scale, introduced in July 1952, was still only a relative improvement, as teachers were placed on various steps of the lowest Agency grade, and Head Teachers in grade 2, while medical orderlies, motorcycle messengers, and telephone operators were in grade 4, and drivers and typists in grade 5, with a salary just about double that of a teacher.¹ The teachers protested, and a new scale, introduced in December 1952,² provided that 1st secondary graduates would receive from L.L. 110-130, 2nd secondary, from 130-150, 3rd and 4th secondary graduates and those with experience, 150-170, those with Matriculation and Lower Teachers' Certificates, 180-200, and secondary teachers and those with university diplomas, 180-325. This "was believed to be generally in line with teachers' salaries in the area".³

Area salaries, however, did not remain stationary, and were much lower than those available in the oil-producing countries, so the Agency schools were still left with the elderly and the inexperienced teachers, while the good ones left for better jobs elsewhere. A new scale was therefore

1. Administrative Instruction No. 124, 1 July 1952.

2. Report for November 1952, H.Q.

3. A/2978, p.25. (See Table, p.107.)

Teacher Qualifications and Salaries--UNRWA schools, Lebanon						
Qualifications	November	July 1955	No. of Teachers & Year			
	'52 Scale	Scale	Jun	Oct	Oct	1 Feb
			52-3	53-4	54-5	55-6:52-3
Elementary	110-130	-	29	27	29	13: 925
1st secondary						
2nd Secondary	130-150	150-200	79	88	91	32:
Brevet (Leb.)			1	1	8	: 1152
3rd secondary	150-170	175-240	42	43	52	144:
(4th in Leb.)			1	9	3	:
GCE (4 subjects) ³					1	:
2nd secondary plus 1 yr. teacher training						:
TLC (4 subjects) ⁴			1			:
Kalandia or Haifa vocational training				1		:
4th secondary		200-270	34	42	49	66:
(5th Leb.)				5	4	: 507
Matriculation	180-200		5	7	11	61: 91
5th Sec. (6th Leb.)				5	23	28:
Baccalauréat			1	1	2	(5) 1076
GCE (5 subjects)				1	8	:
Kadoorie Agriculture						:
Ramallah Rural Women's						:
TLC (complete)				1		:
BSTC (with practical) ⁶					5	: 565
Centre Pédagogique (Leb.)					2	:
Kadoorie Teachers'		230-310				:
WTC ⁷			2	2	5	6:
Freshman				4	6	4: 33
Senior Training College		260-350				:
Govt. Arab College		275-325				:
Sophomore					2	2: 93
2ndary Higher Training Col.						:
Junior		310-410				:
B.A.		360-470		2	4	6: 155
M.A.		410-525			1 MD	: 37

1. Statistics for 1955-56 obtained from Tuqan, "Academic Qualifications of Agency Teachers". Remainder from Lebanon Reports for months given.
2. Given for comparison purposes only. Not all qualifications had an equivalent given in the UNRWA scale. Equivalences are only approximate. (Ministry of Education statistics, obtained through Economics Research Institute.)
3. General Certificate of Education
4. Teachers' Lower Certificate (Jordan & Palestine)
5. Included with Matriculation in Tuqan's study.
6. British Syrian Training College
7. Womens' Training College (Palestine)

introduced in July 1955, at the same time as a new one for the Agency as a whole, to bring UNRWA schools into line with teachers' salaries paid in the host countries,¹ and in recognition of the fact that "teachers are members of a professional corps, with possibilities of advancement based on qualifications, as well as on teaching experience."² Inspectors were raised from the former grade 8 to grades 9 and 10, and teachers with high qualifications and experience can reach grade 9.³ University graduates now receive a minimum of L.L. 360, and the minimum for any teacher has been raised from L.L. 110 to 150.⁴

The introduction of these scales made it advantageous to the teacher to raise his own educational level, and to remain with the system in order to benefit from advancement possibilities. Encouragement to improve standards was further offered by area examinations which permitted a comparison between schools, teachers and pupils. In some

1. A/2978, (1955) p.25.
2. Public Relations Division Press Release No. 35-120/55.
3. Administrative Instruction No. 124.3, 30 June 1955.
4. Ibid. (The immediate result of the new scale was an increase in the number and level of qualifications of the applicants for teaching posts, which made it possible to appoint only secondary school graduates. Report for July-August 1955, H.Q.)

cases, these examinations were for the pupils, in order to be able to judge the results of the pedagogical methods being used.¹ In other cases it was the teachers themselves who took the examinations to show their own knowledge of teaching methods and of the subject matter of the curriculum. It was partially on the basis of such examinations that the new salary scales were built in 1952.

In-service Study

In order to make possible such an improvement of qualifications for teachers already in the school system, it was necessary to provide opportunities for further training. Teachers had no books, in many cases, other than those from which they were expected to teach their classes. "General works on pedagogy (were) placed on the shelves of school libraries in nearly all schools" by the summer of 1954.² In many cases there were teachers in one school, or in the area, who could help their colleagues. Those with higher qualifications and greater experience could help in the training of those who had not had the same advantages as they. In some centres it was possible for teachers to attend regular secondary school courses in nearby schools. Thus in Sidon, the teachers of the Mia wa Mia and Ein-el-Hilweh schools for a time followed courses at the American

1. This method is extensively used, on a small scale, by the Sidon School Supervisor.

2. A/2717, (1954) p.19.

Mission schools in the town on Fridays, when their own schools were closed. By these methods, teachers can continue their own education while on the job, and an indication of the fact that they take advantages of what opportunities are offered is the fact that 45 UNRWA/UNESCO teachers from Lebanon alone sat for the London General Certificate of Education examinations in the spring of 1955, and one each for the first and second levels of the Lebanese Baccalaureat.¹

In-service Training

During the 1954-55 school year, "an experimental project was conducted in Lebanon whereby a small number of teachers in training (5)² were attached to a succession of experienced teachers and worked under their guidance throughout the school year."³ The writer was able to attend a class given by one of these in-service trainees and to see that, though not yet up to the level of the two teachers supervising her, she was able to keep the class's attention better than many of the teachers who had had only the training offered by the summer refresher course.⁴

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1. Report for May-June 1955, H.Q.
 2. Report for November 1954, Lebanon.
 3. A/2978, (1955) p.25.
 4. As noted on p.50, opinion as to the value of this training, given by teachers of the level employed in most schools, is not unanimous.

Refresher Courses

In the vacations, and particularly in the summer months, when teachers could get away from their schools, UNRWA organized summer courses for more intensive training, and sent a few teachers to centres such as the American University of Beirut, where special courses were given for them. The arrangement of these special courses was made necessary by the lack of adequate teacher training facilities, found throughout the Middle East and not only in Lebanon, demonstrated by the former Director-General of Education in Lebanon's statement that the Government primary teacher training school at Furn-esh-Shubbak graduated 60 teachers a year, while 300 were needed for the Government primary schools alone.¹ The Agency therefore "had to establish its own training facilities and these, of necessity, could be operated only during the summer vacations."²

The first of the UNRWA/UNESCO refresher courses was held in Bhamdoun in July and August, 1951 (2 shifts of two weeks each). The second shift included teachers from schools for Palestine refugees run by the Congregational Christian Service Committee and the Pontifical Mission. Lectures were given on practical teaching methods, class

1. "Sadaqa Explains and Justifies the Lebanon-Point IV Agreement," L'Orient, 27 December 1955, p.1.

2. A/2470, (1953) p.19.

management, use of apparatus for teaching, and the like. There was some discussion and demonstration of methods in simulated classroom situations, where one student-teacher "taught" his colleagues.¹

Improvement in teaching standards was noted during the subsequent school year, and further instruction was given in a circular letter on common teaching mistakes and how to correct them.² Some teachers used their summer training by making their own reading and arithmetic teaching aids.³

The following year, the course was repeated, and another for the women run at the British Syrian Training College in Beirut.⁴

In 1953, the course was run jointly by UNRWA, the Near East Christian Council and the Pontifical Mission, at Shweifat. There was some opposition among the students at this course, resulting in attempts to retard the work and a unanimous refusal to take a terminal examination, all of which led to the shortening of the course.⁵

The following year, the teachers were warned in advance of the conditions and nature of the course, and

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1. Report for August 1951, Lebanon.
 2. Ibid for November 1951.
 3. Ibid for September 1951.
 4. Ibid for June 1952.
 5. Ibid for August 1953.

spirit was better than in 1953. This time, as again in 1955, the course was held at the Greek Orthodox National School for Girls in Tripoli, with children from local UNRWA/UNESCO schools volunteering to form classes for practice teaching. The first year the education inspectors and department staff made up the main part of the faculty, but during the second year it was placed "under the supervision of educators from outside the Agency system",¹ although most of the Agency inspectors were also present and took part of the responsibility. This introduction of outside talent led to a level of instruction "considerably higher than in previous years."² Greater emphasis was placed on demonstrations and practice teaching, each student-teacher having at least three lessons to teach during the course, with only one lecture per day. The afternoons were devoted to recreation and special interest activities. In the case of some teachers, the course served as a period of probation, to determine whether or not they should be continued in their posts.

The corresponding course for women teachers was held at the New Road School in Beirut in 1954,³ and in Tripoli in 1955.⁴

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1. A/2978, (1955) p.25.
 2. Report for July-August 1955, H.Q.
 3. Report for June 1954, Lebanon.
 4. Ibid for July 1955.

During the writer's visit to the men's course in Tripoli in 1955, the methods being taught did not appear to differ radically from those being used by good teachers in the schools. Conditions were very similar, with up to five children at one bench-desk, making movement around the classroom very difficult. Pupils, again, did not ask questions of the student-teachers, and did not appear to be expected to do so. This attitude seemed to extend to the student-teachers themselves, who made criticisms of their own or their colleagues' methods when requested to do so, but who did not ask questions or request recommendations.

The majority of the student-teachers had already been teaching in UNRWA/UNESCO schools, and therefore had some experience and knew to a certain extent what they wished to get out of the course. The general level of training, however, could not be very high, and could not have been expected to come up to Saucier's ideal of a summer course: "to give teachers a chance to work intensively on their own problems with expert advice."¹

Limitations of Such Methods

By these means the intellectual level of the teaching staff of the UNRWA/UNESCO schools has been raised. It can be asked, however, if the value of their teaching has improved in proportion. Does the teacher who learns more about his subject in order to pass an examination that will

1. Saucier, op.cit., p.497.

raise his salary necessarily know how, or want, to give the benefit of his increased knowledge to his pupils? In order to do so, he must first have really grasped his new knowledge, rather than merely memorizing enough of what other people have said in order to be able to answer factual questions. He must, furthermore, have had time to develop an idea of the importance of this new knowledge for the education of his pupils. The training given in the Refresher Courses, being combined with true activity, has more chance of doing so than private academic study, but the course is too short to make a radical difference.

Even more vital, in view of the needs of schools in all of the Arab countries already referred to,¹ does the teacher himself develop the independence of judgement, the ability to solve problems, and the capacity for control of emotion by rational thought which it is the task of Arab education to develop in the pupils? A few individuals perhaps have, or gain, the maturity to develop these qualities, by themselves. For the great majority, however, their training is not long enough to build up such a basic capacity. These must have help from persons more independent and more self-controlled than themselves, who will remain with them over longer periods of time. The more mature may be able to grasp these qualities in the short periods of study at higher centres. A few may learn

1. pp. 21-22.

them from the more qualified teachers with whom they work. But it is probable that the majority of the teaching staff of schools throughout the Middle East, as well as in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon, do not themselves have the qualities which they should, ideally, be developing in their students.

Future of the System

There are two courses which UNRWA might take in the future in order to improve its schools system. The choice depends partially upon the governments of the host countries, although only the initiative of those responsible for refugee education will lead those governments to make the choice between the alternatives.

The first alternative would utilize the unique situation existing in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools system to meet the problems faced by the Arab world described in Chapter II above, but would necessitate a prior change in the relationship between UNRWA and the host governments. The second would have the same ultimate aims, but would work towards them in a more traditional and less spectacular way, and in closer cooperation with the governments of the Arab States.

The ultimate aims of refugee education, as stated in Chapter II, are to train the children in independent thought and problem solving, thereby building up in them a fund of values and an ability to trust, to make independent choices, to analyse and synthesize, to adapt themselves to new situations, to discipline themselves, to accept responsibility, and to act and do, while maintaining their ties of family loyalty and developing a spirit of cooperation. Essentially, as was said earlier,¹ these are also the aims

1. p. 22.

of education in the West, where each new generation of citizens must be educated for living in a complicated environment and for taking its part in democratic self-government. The educational system built up in the West to meet these aims, then, would appear to be the most logical basis from which to develop the system required to meet the needs of the refugees and of Arab democracy.

Ideal Future

The unique position of the UNRWA/UNESCO educational system, mentioned in the preface, makes that system an ideal starting-point for the introduction of such a type of education. It could be used as a pilot project to develop progressive curricula adapted to Arab needs, and to test and demonstrate the principles of this type of education for democracy in the Arab world. Government educators, who are responsible for much of the education in the other Arab countries, and private educators too, who play a prominent role in Lebanon, are often too bound by their own education to see the advantages of change in methods or curriculum.¹ UNRWA's educators, however, have many of them had more contact with educational systems which encourage originality and creativity, and are therefore more likely to be sufficiently free themselves to allow those implementing their system a greater degree of freedom.

Reservations: Academic Requirements of French-Type Community

Although this progressive type of education, adapted

1. Kurani, lecture at Washington, 1953.

to the Middle Eastern environment, and carried out well and in the right spirit, seems to be the answer to the problems of the Middle East in its progress towards its own type of democracy, there are many factors which must be taken into consideration before adopting it. If, as was suggested above, in Chapter II, the refugee is to be given the equipment he will need in either a French-type or a British-type community, he must be given a certain degree of the academic or intellectual discipline which is the basis of the cultural formation of the community educated along French lines. In such a community, an extreme form of progressive education would not be a sufficient preparation for a normal and integrated life, for the student would not have the specific knowledge which constitutes the basis of much communication in such a community.

Results of "Progressive Education" Elsewhere

On the other hand, it is necessary to study the results of progressive education elsewhere. Has it proved satisfactory in the United States of America, for instance? There are probably few educators who would give an unqualified affirmative answer to that question. The vagaries of public opinion in that country, and the resulting defects in the democratic system operating there, are frequently blamed on the educational system, which, it is said, does not adequately prepare young people for a responsible citizen's role, possibly owing to a misconception

of the progressive philosophy of education on the part of the teachers.¹

Individuality and Conformity

Another area where progressive education has taken a strange turn is that of individuality. For many years the stereotype of Americanism included the idea of marked individuality. Of recent years, with the introduction of what is understood to be progressive education along the lines prescribed by Dewey and his successors, it would be expected that that individuality would be emphasized. On the contrary, one of the most frequently used phrases in American life today--"keeping up with the Joneses"--is the expression of a common attitude in favour of uniformity. It is true that it implies ambition, but it is not an individualistic ambition. The ideal is to reach the same level as one's neighbours, and to surpass them a little, but not to distinguish oneself from them by doing anything extra-ordinary.

Even within the life of the school this attitude is very pronounced. Here, where the daily activities are intended to provide an outlet for individual expression, as soon as the child leaves the classroom his ideal seems to be to become an anonymous, or nearly anonymous, member of the group. If he has a different accent from his fellows, even if it is considered a better one by more mature people, he

1. J. Katul.

is teased until his accent conforms to the norm of the group. He wants to be dressed in the same way as his fellows, and to play their games in the same way in which they play them. He wants his family to treat him in the same way as theirs, and to do the same kind of things in leisure time and holidays. This desire for uniformity even extends to the classroom, where the pupil is often made to feel, by public pressure, that he should not work so hard that he will outshine his fellows. This uniformity may not in itself be a bad thing; it is strongly connected with American democratic ideas of equality,¹ which tend to imply equal achievement rather than equal opportunity in the minds of many. It is not the uniformity itself which is here criticized, but the educational system which allows it to develop while claiming to develop the capacities of the individual by following Dewey's philosophy of education.

Here, reference to British educational methods may be of help--in that country, primarily through traditions of social acceptance or rejection, the child is taught that though he must not, himself, vaunt his own abilities, they will be recognized by others and thus much more highly rewarded. Thus the British school carries out a double task of instilling both modesty and ability to recognize and reward achievement in others, tasks which have not

1. and has largely been responsible for making the country a homogeneous unity, in spite of the diversity of immigrant populations.

traditionally been given great prominence in the U.S.A. Instead of aiming at equal achievement, the British student is assured of an equal opportunity for recognition of achievement.

Discipline: U.S.A.

In the domain of discipline the "progressive education" practised in the United States has definitely been lacking. In spite of efforts on the part of educators to arouse the interest of the student in the particular activity in which he is expected to participate, the ultimate result has frequently been to allow him to confine his activities to areas which already hold his interest. It is in recognition of this wide-spread situation that Saucier has to remind educators that "of course punishment, wisely and justly administered, is still necessary occasionally in the classroom."¹ It is not doing violence to Dewey's philosophy of education to develop method and discipline in minor matters, where they are needed to save time and facilitate learning, in order to instill a sense of order, obedience and efficiency. Thinking and criticism, on the other hand, can still be allowed to remain free, to prevent them from becoming mechanized and unquestioning.²

At the same time, the literature on bringing up children provided for the child's parents has caused them to

1. Saucier, op.cit., p.482.

2. J. Katul.

allow him to indulge in any activity he pleased. Coercion has been reduced to the absolute minimum. "Modern" psychology has repeatedly pointed out the dangers of forcing a child to do something which he does not wish to do, and of punishing him for disobedience. Parents have been advised to base all of their control of their children on personal ties of dependence and love. These practices may lead to a closer family group (though this has yet to be proved to the writer's satisfaction), but the child does not continue to live only in his family. As he grows up, his contacts broaden, and he is brought into groups and situations where there is no love to cause him to do what is right. He will be given tasks to perform for which no skilful teacher has prepared him by arousing his interests. Either he will fail to complete the task, and will risk becoming a failure in the eyes of society, or he will find it necessary to set up ulterior goals, such as the material ones of financial gain or ambition for advancement. He is no longer doing his job because he sees the importance of that job and because of his interest in it, but because he desires the ends for which the job is nothing but an uninteresting means.

It is not always the most intelligent who can work for such goals. A person with a keen and active mind may see the futility of such meaningless activity. He needs to connect his goals more directly with the task to be performed and with the ideals which his reason or his training

have inculcated in him. He cannot use exterior, secondary goals to carry him through the drudgery that is a part of many generally interesting tasks. He, more than the person of average intelligence, needs discipline to carry him through the less interesting parts of his job and his life. With that discipline he will be a great asset to his community. Without it his tasks are left uncompleted, his efforts are diffused, and his contribution is smaller than that of the man of average intelligence or lower. Without discipline he is not truly prepared for life at any level, and he may even become a liability to society, unable to contribute his share to the welfare of the community.

The contemporary family in the United States has renounced its function of discipline. It no longer inculcates in its children respect for a job well done and disdain for a job not completed. The school system is expected to perform this task, but the school system has not yet fully accepted this responsibility. The main reason would seem to be that the teachers of the progressive schools have often failed to understand what Dewey and his associates really meant. They have taken the forms of his educational system--activity in the classroom, the study-unit, confrontation with problems, discipline through interest--but have tended to forget the content and goals. The development of the child's ability to face life's problems and solve them in an individual and reasonable way has not

always been the outcome of the forms that have been adopted. One of the basic characteristics which the school (and the home) must develop in the child if he is to be successful after leaving school, i.e. self-discipline, has been neglected. As a result, the teacher cannot control the class. The children take over and the teacher begins to be afraid of the pupils whose minds he was trying to develop. The pupils are conscious in many cases that, through their families, they can be influential in bringing about the teacher's dismissal if he does not meet with their approval. The teacher comes to be looked down on, while Dewey meant him to be the guiding equal of the pupils. Teaching, as a profession, has become a last resort for many Americans. It does not attract the young people whose intelligence is needed to make progressive education work.

It would seem, then, that progressive education has not achieved complete success in America because of lack of teachers who really understand it and are capable of putting it into practice. If an adaptation of Dewey's philosophy is to be put into practice in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools, to act as a pilot project for the rest of the Arab countries, the mistakes of American education must be kept in mind and avoided if at all possible. Loss of discipline, particularly, could be very harmful for the Middle East, where emotion has long been allowed to take precedence over rationalism.

Discipline: Arab

In the Middle East, the family is still fulfilling

many of the functions which it has renounced in the West. It is still the centre of the life of the child and of the adult. Discipline, however, has not been an important task of the family in the case of the boys. The normal pattern for the female child has been to take over part of the care of the younger children and of the home from a relatively early age. The young girl is brought up to shoulder the home responsibilities which will be hers when she is married, and to some extent, to subordinate her emotions to the wishes of others. The male child, however, is considered too valuable to risk in confrontation with such problems. He, like his father, is the object of constant service and attention from the women of the family. He tends to reach the age of "maturity" without having had to face difficulties.¹ What discipline is exerted is primarily an external conformity to norms of politeness and good manners, but not a discipline of the self.² The only motivation for this external discipline is social acceptance. When the person does not feel that his conduct will affect his acceptance by society, such discipline ceases to control his actions. When the source of authority which imposes the discipline is absent, the person feels free to do what he likes.

Discipline: British

Neither by the extreme methods at present in use in

1. W.A.Coate, CMS Refugee Relief Centre, Zerka, Jordan, in interview in December 1954.

2. J. Katul.

the United States, nor by traditional Arab methods, is the contemporary Arab student likely to receive training in self-discipline. For this it is perhaps necessary to turn once more to the middle-of-the-road methods used in the educational system of Great Britain, where self-discipline is one of the fundamental aims of the character training considered essential to English society. There, educators realize that the child is not a mature being who can control all of his own actions adequately, but rather that he needs guidance in order to obtain the most from his education and in order to form his character in an acceptable way. They realize that "harmless or passing frivolities of the child"¹ can be laughed at, and sometimes should be, but that "antisocial behaviour"¹ should be detected and checked immediately. They further recognize that it is essential to preserve and develop those characteristics which make up the individual's personality while at the same time developing his ability to cooperate with others to complete greater tasks, as in the case of sport activities, where he has to work with a team in order to reach the goal, and where exhibition of personal prowess is subjected to extreme social disapproval.

The task of the educator is thus recognized as a canalization of energies, without crushing the personality, in order to inculcate self-discipline and social control.

1. Saucier, op.cit., p.483.

Included in this canalization of energies is enough external discipline to compel the pupil to complete his tasks in order to experience the pleasure felt when a job is done and well done. Unless he has had this experience, he cannot be expected to develop the basic self-disciplinary motive of continuing his work until it is finished, no matter how dull some of the stages may be. In order for this training to take place, the child must therefore be given tasks which he can finish and will enjoy finishing for their own sake.¹

Needs of Education for Arab Democracy

If such training can be given to Arab students they will be gradually weaned away from what has been called the "ma'leish" attitude which is so prevalent in the Middle East. This is closely bound up with traditional ideas that man is incapable of completing and perfecting a task, that if the completion of the task is in God's plan for the universe He will take care of its completion, that the role of the individual man is insignificant, and that if one does not complete a task it does not make very much difference to the world or one's fellows. This "ma'leish" attitude, must be transferred from areas where a sense of duty is needed to

1. This is not contrary to true progressive education: "Those who have an unbiased conception of a flexible program of instruction know that in it every pupil is expected to engage in activities until they are completed. The standards of work and the particular tasks, however, are determined as far as possible by the nature and needs of the pupil." Saucier, op.cit., p.469.

produce good citizens, to areas where, applied to emotions, it will relieve the tensions which lack of self-discipline allows to build up.¹

Cooperation

Cooperation with others in order to complete a task that is too large for one person has never held a central place in the Arab world. On the contrary, personal merit has been cultivated, though not for the completion of a task, but rather to gain influence over others. The present efforts to unify the Arabs in order to achieve their common goals, however, prove that cooperation is not unacceptable to the Arab world, although the difficulties met in achieving that cooperation show the need for development of a spirit of give-and-take in working on a common task.

"For social solidarity the democratic educator advocates extensive provision for group activities in which each individual contributes his part (as in real life) and can succeed,"² although he may also sometimes fail.³

Social Confidence

Arab education must also build up an ability to develop new relationships based on ties other than those of clan or tribe. If the Arab countries follow the Western ones, a break-up of the present society based on primary relationships will inevitably occur. Through good education,

1. J. Katul.

2. Saucier, op.cit., p.469.

3. Ibid, p.473.

preparing people to work out the new relationships which will later be built up, some of the difficulties experienced in the West, caused by the break-down of the old without provision for a build-up of new ties, may be avoided. For this purpose, the student must learn enough about unknown peoples and governments to enable him to judge when to trust secondary relationships and when he must still rely on primary ones.

Responsibility and Freedom

It is important, then, if Arab education is to prepare citizens for real democracy and unity, that attitudes of independence, trust, self-discipline, social control, and cooperation be developed in the students through confrontation with problems, guidance, experience of success through perseverance, and experience in methods of cooperation for greater achievement. Democracy is itself a reconciliation of responsibility to others and freedom for all.¹ These two aspects of life must be included in the educational life of the student, as well as in his life after he leaves school.

True progressive education, including cultivation of individuality, self-discipline, social solidarity and cooperation, thus appears to be the answer to the problems facing Arab educators, including the non-Arabs who are helping to shape the UNRWA/UNESCO educational system.

1. J. Katul.

Obstacles to be Overcome

There are many obstacles, however, in the way of implementing such a programme, from both political and practical points of view.

Curriculum

It has been the policy of UNRWA and UNESCO so far to follow, in each host country, the curriculum set up by the local government. If progressive education were adopted in the refugee schools, this policy would have to be revised, as those curricula are based on a philosophy of education quite different from that of progressive education. If the host governments agree to the utility of a large-scale pilot project such as that suggested, and take the corollary step of recognizing the education provided by it as a basis for job selection, then the door will be open to the first of the alternative courses for the UNRWA/UNESCO schools.

The way will not yet be easy, however. Firstly, it would not be possible for pupils studying under the new system to transfer to other schools where the present subject matter type of education was being given. Pupils would therefore have to remain in UNRWA/UNESCO schools throughout their school years, no matter what changes occurred in the status of their families.¹ This would not

1. Under present regulations, refugees are not entitled to free education when the family income reaches a certain level, based on the number of children being educated, beginning with L.L. 120 for a family of two children. (New Income Scale for Lebanon, revised version as per AD/REF letter dated 31.10.55.)

necessarily be an impossible problem to solve, but it would at least need consideration.

Teacher Training

Secondly, as we have seen, progressive education has not proved entirely successful as it has been practiced in the U.S.A., because those putting it into practice have not always understood it well, and have therefore implemented only a warped image of Dewey's theories. To avoid the problems faced in the U.S., then, a major field of concentration of the administrators of the UNRWA/UNESCO educational system will be the formation of good teachers who really understand the aims of the system and know how to implement them.

The pupils themselves have to be trained to use the system to their advantage; they cannot do so if they are suddenly transferred from subject-matter education to progressive education. A change-over, therefore, should begin with a new 1st elementary class. Even if the administrators start with primary teachers only, and give them one year's training, the task is a vast one, for at the moment there are about 90-100 persons teaching the 1st elementary classes in UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon alone.¹ This number is more likely to increase than to decrease in the near future. To give adequate training to these teachers, they must be in a position to receive a great deal of individual attention,

1. Report for April 1956, Lebanon.

and there must be the opportunity for them to practice teaching under the close supervision and with the constant advice of their professors. In order to prevent crowded conditions from undermining the value of the training, it would take perhaps three years to train only the 1st elementary teachers, and the system would therefore have to be started in only a third of the schools each year.

In the meantime, teachers must be receiving training for teaching the second elementary class, in order that the promoted class may continue with the same type of education. This would continue throughout the elementary school until the first class had reached the 6th elementary grade. The following table (based on present conditions, without any increase of 1st elementary classes, nor any decrease in the size of present classes, which would probably be impossible to manage with progressive methods, and without consideration of the probable need to replace some teachers for reasons of health, marriage, etc., but also based on the assumption that, as transfer to other schools will be made difficult, the present rate of drop-out will be reduced, although remaining normal after the fourth year¹), gives some indication of the size of the task.

Year	1st El.	2 El.	3 El.	4 El.	5 El.	6 El.	Total
1	30						30
2	30	30					60
3	30	30	30				90
4		30	30	30			90
5			30	30	25		85
6				30	25	20	75
7					25	20	45
8						20	20
						Grand Total	495

1. See above, p.34, Table and note 3.

There may, of course, be some teachers available whose qualifications make them capable of carrying out a programme of progressive education without this year's training, but their number is not likely to make much difference to the task. Furthermore, even under the best conditions, there is little guarantee that all of the teachers will be really qualified for progressive educational methods after only one year of training.

If this specialized training is to be given to the large numbers that would be needed even for the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon alone, it will be essential for the Agency to set up extensive training facilities of its own. UNRWA is able, at least, to call upon UNESCO for help in providing professors for such a college. It can also use UNRWA schools for the practice teaching, thus keeping the training adapted to local social conditions and helping to alleviate the parallel difficulties of providing teachers to replace those who are at the time receiving training. The teachers, having already had experience with UNRWA/UNESCO schools, will know the problems to be faced, and will be in a better position to benefit from the training than new recruits, although it may be harder, in some cases, for them to adapt to the new ideas.

Furthermore, by setting up its own training system, the Agency may be able to encourage teachers, once trained, to stay in the system long enough to make it a success,

rather than accepting other jobs for which the UNRWA/UNESCO training might have qualified them. Some teachers are bound to leave the service for personal reasons or to be asked to leave it because of inability to teach well, etc., but probably only through some form of indirect control would it be possible to keep this number at a minimum and prevent losses of staff for reasons of ambition, financial or otherwise.

When UNRWA terminates its activities the teachers it has trained will not be unemployed. The children will still be there, and will still need teachers trained to continue the type of education to which they have been initiated. Until the Agency's schools have been fully staffed, however, the teachers should be kept in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools, wherever possible, in order that they may be able to take full advantage of their training in normally receptive surroundings. After a few years of service in an atmosphere where their new methods are at least accepted, if not taken for granted, they will have gained the genuine confidence that will be necessary for them to be able to introduce the new ideas and methods in other less advanced environments, carrying the results of the pilot project to other areas and other governmental systems of education.

Materials

The training of these teachers will have to be adapted, also, to local conditions of a material nature.

Progressive education implies that the students of a school have the means of finding out for themselves the answers to their questions. As long as their questions apply primarily to their own community surroundings, this information can to a great extent be gained by asking questions of older people and by personal observations. As soon, however, as the pupils begin to extend their horizons and to turn to questions which touch communities outside their own, these personal sources of information cease to be sufficient.

The progressive classroom then has to supply them with a large quantity and variety of materials from which to obtain the information they need in the solution of the problems which they have set themselves under their teacher's guidance. In addition to their own text-books (which they will use primarily as reference books), they must have other books, suited to their level of reading ability and maturity, which will provide them with the information they need and give them practice in finding it for themselves. There must be maps available to them in the classroom, and pictures illustrating the various topics which they are to study, so that the new material will be real to them and not confined to verbal knowledge.

For the sciences, much of the material which they will need for exploration and experimentation suited to their level will be available in the direct surroundings,

and well trained teachers will know how to make use of primitive equipment to show their students the basic ideas of science, as also to encourage them to manipulate objects, to become acquainted with them and to be able to use them creatively.

As soon, however, as the pupil has to go beyond his immediate environment, the problem of classroom equipment becomes acute in an area of the world where little material of this kind has been produced in the pupils' language, where the text-book has only just begun to replace the memorization of dictated notes, and where progressive education is still only a hazy idea.

At the present moment a UNESCO Technical Assistance Mission expert¹ and her assistants are working on the improvement of the Arabic text-books used by Lebanese Government schools. This is certainly a step towards solving this problem, and the UNRWA/UNESCO schools are likely to benefit from these improvements, both because of their connection with UNESCO, and because they at present follow the Lebanese curriculum and will probably adopt the new text-books when the Government schools do so.

However, if the UNRWA schools are to be used as a testing ground for progressive education in the Arab countries, more will have to be done to provide reference reading material, in Arabic, suitable for the mental level

1. Mlle. J. Granger, of France.

of pupils in the various elementary classes. To have a variety of different text-books available will be of help, but such books are not designed for the fairly intensive study of one topic which is normally undertaken in the process of the progressive "Unit". What is needed are books which treat, in a simple way, only a small part of the material covered in the year.

Also frequently used in progressive schools in the U.S.A. are simplified encyclopedias, produced specifically for children's use. The development of such source material in the Arab countries would greatly help in the furtherance of real activity in education in the elementary classes. Such a work, however, would be a large undertaking, and likely to last longer than the period in which UNRWA is expected to exist. It would involve the cooperation of many specialists in a large number of fields, which could be made possible probably only if it was given an international character rather than being organized by only one Arab state. UNRWA, in its international capacity, and because of its connection with UNESCO, is perhaps in a position to help promote such an organization, but its own educational policy cannot be founded on the availability of a children's encyclopedia in Arabic.

It would probably be more feasible to arrange for the production of smaller books on various subjects which would take less cooperation and could be produced with more

speed and less expense. In some cases, such books can be translated from other languages, but in most cases some adaptation will be needed in order that the resulting sources fit the needs of children brought up in the Near East. New texts will have to be developed for study of the Near East itself, since these children will be expected, and will wish, to know more about their own area than children in other regions do.

Continuity

The problems of teacher training and provision of classroom equipment and reading materials, then, if UNRWA is to introduce real progressive education into its schools, even in one country alone, are enormous. It will also take many years for the system to be fully implemented, before it will be possible to make a valid test of the curricula and methods as adapted. The present UNRWA mandate is for another four years only. It will therefore be necessary for arrangements to be made for some other organization to take over the task, in cooperation with UNESCO, to provide for the time when UNRWA ceases to exist. This might possibly be the present Education Division, made into an autonomous body attached to UNESCO, with technical responsibility still devolving upon the international organization, which might, together with the governments interested in the scheme, provide the required funds.

The enormity of this last problem, however, and the

pure idealism of the proposed solution, betray the lack of realism of the plan, and the unlikelihood of its ever being adopted, much less implemented to the best advantage. An attempt to foresee how UNRWA and UNESCOs' unique position with regard to the refugees might be used, under optimum conditions, to reach the goals laid down for Arab education, it is frankly an ideal, and like most ideals, unlikely to be feasible in the immediate future.

Practical Future

It is therefore necessary to turn to the second alternative mentioned above, "which would have the same aims, but would work towards them in a more traditional and less spectacular way, and in close cooperation with the governments of the Arab States."¹ If it is unlikely that an extreme form of progressive education can be introduced into the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in Lebanon on a pilot project basis, there is much which can be taken from it to improve the education provided by the schools, while remaining within the framework laid down by the local government curriculum. If this course is followed, there will be fewer difficulties arising out of desires to transfer between UNRWA/UNESCO schools and local schools. Students will still be prepared to sit for the government examinations which are the basis for much job selection in the Arab States. In Lebanon, the refugee pupils will have followed the same curriculum (although in some cases with a different foreign language), as that followed by Lebanese pupils. They will therefore be familiar with some of the bases of communication in a French-oriented community, in the event that they should remain in this country.

There are many practical advantages, then, in the plan of continuing to follow the Lebanese government curriculum in the refugee schools. The last six years, in

1. p.117.

the opinion of the UNRWA/UNESCO educators themselves, have been spent in setting up a factory for teaching this curriculum, in which the machinery remains far from perfect.¹ The basic elements of pupils, teachers and classrooms now exist, with which to carry out the curriculum, but it takes more than these elements to make a good school.

Limitations of Mechanical Implementation of Lebanese Curriculum

The aim of a good school is not to teach a curriculum, nor merely to prepare its pupils to succeed in examinations, but to "adapt the child to his environment according to his individual talents and abilities."² Blindly following any curriculum is unlikely to do this. When that curriculum is moreover based on the educational philosophy of a different country, with different needs, such blind adherence is likely to remain even farther from this aim.

Inadequacy for French Needs

The Lebanese curriculum is based on French ideas of education and the methods used to carry out those ideas over the past century. France, however, has become seriously concerned recently about the results which these methods produce in its own pupils in the present day. Two basic changes are being contemplated: to reduce the importance of the examinations, and to provide more openings, at an age when the choice can be made with some maturity,

1. Dr. van Diffelen, 23 February 1955.

2. Dodd, op.cit., p.88.

for entering different types of careers, by offering different types of training. From the age of 13, pupils who wish to do so may go on with academic education, prepare for long-term professional training, or round off their academic work with a view to entering professions requiring less training. Even the academic secondary training gives more choice of modern technical studies, rather than concentrating on purely theoretical education.¹

Failure to Meet Arab Needs

If a people finds that the educational system which was prepared specifically for its own needs has become impractical in the modern world, it seems likely that another system, based on the first, also has room for modification. In the case of Lebanon, as we saw in Chapter II,² the type of French-oriented education introduced by the Turks, the missionaries and the Mandate, had a tendency to reinforce the verbalism which had become an integral part of Arab education. The resulting educational system has relied to a large extent upon books and words, rather than activities, to instill the desired knowledge and attitudes in the pupils of the schools.

Improvement of Implementation

The relatively untrained teachers whom UNRWA and UNESCO have had to employ in their schools have not been

1. "Réforme de structure du baccalauréat," L'Orient, 28 July 1955, and "La France 'Rajeunit' le Baccalauréat," L'Orient, 2 August 1955.

2. p.17.

capable of making any radical changes in method to counter-balance this lack of activity in the curriculum. The administrators, however, are in a position to recognize and remedy those points at which such modification is needed. The Preamble to the Lebanese curriculum states the foundations upon which the following detailed subject-matter curricula are supposed to be based: "spiritual education is based on....the hierarchy of values rising from matter to mind to spirit...", which must be taught by tangible examples, combining spiritual, intellectual and physical education for unity of being.¹ If interpreted in this light, the detailed suggestions can be carried out in a relatively free manner, in the hands of well-trained teachers.

UNRWA's educational administrative staff realize that until now it has been impossible to prevent the education they offer from being carried on in a formal and rigid manner, with a minimum of explanation and a large amount of memorization. But, having reached the quantitative level needed, they are now turning to the raising of quality. This new policy is based on the fact that the same subjects, if they cannot be changed, can be better taught with more efficient methods and better adapted to the individual needs of the refugee children in the schools.

1. See above, p.69, note 1.

Raising Teaching Standards

To carry out such an improvement in methods, however, the schools must have better qualified teachers. First of all, some way must be found of vacating the teaching posts held at present by teachers who have not proved efficient, and of doing so without entirely depriving them of a means of earning their own living and that of their dependents, as this would run counter to general Agency policy.¹

Once this step has been taken, it will be possible to employ more of the better candidates who have applied for teaching posts since the introduction of the new salary scale in July 1955.

Reduction of Classes

Another means (of which the UNRWA/UNESCO administrators are already conscious)² of improving both teaching quality and the type of candidates willing to teach in the schools, is the improvement of classroom facilities. In this campaign should be included a reduction

1. An effort has already been made in this direction: in August 1955 it was decided to weed out teachers who, 1) had no qualifications, made no effort, or were unable to improve, and those who were qualified but not giving satisfaction, and, 2) those who were a nuisance and the trouble-makers, whether qualified or not. About 20 teachers have been discharged or given strong warnings, but there are still many teachers in the system who do not come up to even low standards, but who had to be employed in the early years of the system for lack of better candidates. (Report for August 1955, Lebanon)

2. A/2978, (1955) p.25.

in the number of pupils to be taught by each teacher, and a parallel reduction in the number of pupils in each classroom. Under present regulations, which provide for a "maximum" of 1.2 teachers per 50 pupils in both elementary and secondary classes in other areas, and 1.3 in Lebanon (the extra .2 elsewhere being to provide for Head Teachers, for splitting up of classes of more than 55, and for extra teachers for very small classes, etc., and the additional .1 in Lebanon because of the many small rented classrooms),¹ the teacher cannot be expected to pay much attention to the individual pupil.² Nor can such large classes be crowded into most classrooms in rented dwellings without assigning three or more children to a desk, which reduces activity to a minimum because the children cannot leave their desks without causing a commotion.

This change will involve budgetary increases, as more teachers and more classrooms will be required. However, the difference in quality of the education provided will be well worth the additional cost, in contributing to better

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1. Carver, Leslie, "Educational Budget Policy for 1955-56," and Dr. van Diffelen, 31 May 1956. (There are at present 1.28 teachers per 50 pupils in Lebanon schools, according to statistics from Report for February 1956, Lebanon.)
 2. The 1955 Refresher Course was reported to have placed special emphasis on attention to each child, but the writer saw no particular evidence of this during the visit paid to the course. (Report for August 1955, Lebanon.)

discipline, better adaptation of the pupils to the living conditions in which they will find themselves and better qualification for obtaining jobs and leaving the ration-recipient status which is one of the worst aspects of their psychological situation as refugees.

These improvements alone, however, are not adequate to raise the standards of the schools to a point where they can act as a pilot project for school improvement throughout the Arab Middle East. The discharging of bad teachers, the increase in the number of teachers and the reduction of the size of classes will not, by themselves, raise the level of teaching, although that level cannot be raised without them. It is also necessary to have better teachers, both by improving the methods of present teachers and by training better teachers for future employment.

Training of Leaders

One of the most effective areas for such improvement is the training of the Head Teachers¹ (of the bigger schools in particular), and perhaps, in some cases, of the inspectors;²

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1. UNRWA found, as early as 1951, that where there were good Head Teachers, the teachers under them improved during the year.
(Report for June 1951, Lebanon)
 2. Nine months' training is to be given to Assistant Inspectors in Jordan, in cooperation with the Pilot Teacher Training Project. (Rugh, A. Douglas, "Opening of the Assistant Inspectors Course, Jordan," memorandum to Chief, Education and Training Division, 12 April 1956.)

both present and future. If this training is concentrated in the area of helping others to improve their methods, the training of each individual will affect all of the other teachers placed under his authority. To give all of the several hundred teachers in Lebanon a university level education would be a practical impossibility. It is much more possible to give that education (specifically oriented to educational methods, administration and counselling) to a smaller number of head teachers and inspectors, and the 1955-56 scholarship programme included provision of university scholarships for 25 selected teachers (from all areas). Through their close contacts with the teachers when they return to their posts, they will be able to inculcate in them the essential characteristics of education which it is hoped that their university training will have given them.

If the candidates for such training continue to be chosen from present UNRWA educational staff, they will already be conscious of the problems and needs of the system, and will not only know what to look for in their higher training, but will be willing to undertake to return to fill the posts in the UNRWA/UNESCO system for which they are being prepared.

Through these key staff-members, with their additional training, it will be possible to develop in some of the present teachers the more efficient methods and attitudes required to fulfil the aims of a good school. As Saucier points out, personal counselling, of the type for

which these men and women will be trained, is often preferable to "refresher courses in subject matter and methods of teaching."¹

Increased Responsibility

The higher training provided for these leaders should also make them self-confident enough to be capable of giving added freedom and responsibility to the teachers under them, in such areas as development of new methods and helping in the formation of new educational policies,² for they must be trusted in order to build up their responsibility to earn that trust. Teachers given such responsibility and freedom would become more vitally connected with the whole educational programme. Perhaps even more essential, they would themselves be learning by doing, by facing the basic problems of their profession. The sense of responsibility given them would increase their interest in the system of which they were part. The more this plan is enlarged and emphasized, the more the present staff will improve themselves, under the guidance of the better trained inspectors and head teachers, and the less likely they will be to contribute to the annual problem of replacing one third of the UNRWA teachers.³

1. Saucier, op.cit., p.485.

2. See Ibid, p.497.

3. See p.101 above.

Teachers' Magazine

In addition, the initiative of the teachers could be encouraged by a regular report about teaching methods in use in Lebanon, in other UNRWA/UNESCO schools, and elsewhere. This might be in the form of a teachers' magazine, distributed to all UNRWA/UNESCO schools. Teachers would not only be able to profit by the methods of others, but if prominence were given to initiative taken by teachers in their own system, they would each be encouraged to develop their own new methods.

Development of Initiative and Curiosity

The higher training given the Head Teachers and Leaders would also enable them to encourage the teachers to raise their own pedagogical problems and discuss them with give-and-take, rather than waiting for the Inspector or Head Teacher to point them out. In the present situation, the writer has seen no evidence that the teachers are much more capable of asking questions than are their own pupils. Until they can develop this ability themselves, they cannot be expected to develop it in their students. And without asking questions and giving and taking in a discussion, it is impossible for the student to participate to the full in any active learning or to develop initiative and individuality.

All of these methods are aimed at developing, in teachers already in the system, the more basic characteristics of intellectual curiosity and self-realization which should,

ideally, replace the ability to pass exams and the financial ambition which are so often the main motives behind self-improvement. The knowledge gained for such higher motives and under such more highly trained guidance, would be better grasped and the teachers would be more likely to apply it to their daily work. The educational system would benefit greatly from such a change of motivation.

Recruitment

These methods, however, will not solve the problems of teacher recruitment. They may help to reduce the number of teachers who have to be replaced, but they will not eliminate the need for new teachers. As Saucier points out, recruitment is perhaps the crucial point of future teacher improvement, since it is recognized that teachers used to traditional or inferior types of education may not be capable of becoming good progressive teachers.¹

Improvement of Secondary Training

How are the new recruits to be trained? If the present situation continues, and the majority of teachers have to be chosen from secondary school students, what can be done to improve the training which they receive in the secondary schools? At present, the emphasis in the UNRWA schools tends to be placed upon the upper classes, but the reason for this is the necessity to prepare these students

1. Saucier, op.cit., p.477, and Dr. van Diffelen, 23 February 1955.

for the public examinations which they must take,¹ rather than the desire to prepare them for life or for any profession. Even if there is any preparation for teaching,² the emphasis is likely to be upon ability to pass another examination, which would test the qualifications of applicants for teaching positions in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools.

Emphasis should be placed on the fact that if enough activity and problem-solving can be included in the preparation for these examinations, not only will the students have grasped the material better for the purpose of the examination, but they will be in a better position to pass this knowledge on to others as teachers. According to Saucier, all secondary education should be planned in such a way as to produce teachers. The ideal qualities of a teacher for democratic education are breadth of outlook, scientific attitudes, good planning, social mindedness, enjoyment and knowledge of people, emotional balance, continuing growth, and the like.³ These are the characteristics which should be the aim of any education for democratic living. People who possess these characteristics will be good and successful citizens in an Arab democracy. And many of them will be good teachers. By preparing the

1. Dr. van Diffelen, 23 February 1955.

2. The 1952 Working Party Report contains a recommendation that secondary education be considered as part of the teacher training programme.

3. Saucier, op.cit., p.478 and final chapter.

secondary education of the refugees along such lines, UNRWA and UNESCO will better fulfil their educational task in preparing young refugees for life in an Arab democracy.

UNRWA and UNESCO do not, however, have control over all of the secondary education given to refugee students in Lebanon, as only 400 out of the 602 being given secondary education are in UNRWA/UNESCO schools, and all of these are in the lower secondary classes.

Furthermore, they may not be able to improve the calibre of secondary education in their own schools immediately, as it may not be possible to obtain teachers capable of carrying out the Lebanese curriculum through activity and problem-solving methods.¹

Teacher Training

For the present, then, they will have to concentrate on the training given specifically for teaching, once the students have completed at least part of their secondary education. Some of this training has been, and will probably continue to be, given in other teacher training institutions over which UNRWA and UNESCO have little control, such as A.U.B., the B.S.T.C., and the French Centre Pédagogique,² and even institutions in Iraq. But these institutions, it has

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1. although there seems to be some indication that those at Shatila school, for instance, might be capable of doing so. (See pp.80, 82, and 100 above.)
 2. At the Centre Pédagogique, their studies were supplemented by tutoring from a member of the British Council staff to improve their English.

been realized, cannot take unlimited numbers of trainees, and have other obligations to fulfil towards non-refugee schools. Furthermore, this training programme is based more on the Rehabilitation policy than on improvement of Agency schools. It is true that an unwilling teacher is not likely to be a good teacher, so UNRWA is wise in not forcing these trainees to return to the system. On the other hand, from the point of view of its desire to provide a good education for the children of Palestine refugees, some effort should be made to induce them to do so. These students receive the training which the education system needs and to a great extent lacks. If they return willingly to the system the quality of the schools can be raised, without running counter to the Rehabilitation programme.

The 1953 Working Party recommended that UNRWA and UNESCO set up their own rural or primary teachers' training institutes, in cooperation with local governments,¹ and the 1953-54 Annual Report of the Education and Training Division strongly supported this recommendation, stating that "there can be no question that well-trained teachers in the Middle East...or anywhere else...will find employment quickly."

Pilot Teacher Training Project

Plans for such institutions were already being made by the time the Conference of Arab States on Compulsory and

1. Report and Recommendations of the Conference of Representatives of Arab States, UNESCO and UNRWA, on the Education Programme for Palestine Refugees, 1953.

and Free Education met in Cairo in December 1954.¹ A teacher training officer was recruited, and seconded by UNESCO. He arrived in the summer of 1955, and, after numerous difficulties had been overcome, two experimental centres were opened, in Jerusalem for men, and in Nablus for women, on 28 January 1956. They are staffed by both "international" specialists and Arabs, the role of the "internationals" being to help the Jordanian, Lebanese and Egyptian staff members, through two-way conferences and seminars, to "arabicize" Western educational methods, and to combine child psychology and "the dynamic aspects of Arab culture", partly to meet the "attitudes and tensions" of the refugee pupils resulting from their "being socially uprooted and displaced," and partly to help improve teacher training for the public schools of the Arab countries.²

In this way, the Arab instructors, who themselves have, for the most part, been taught the traditional methods of teaching, are being trained to form the nucleus of teacher training faculties, while the internationals are gaining insight into local problems and will thus be of greater help to other UNRWA teachers in such activities as

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1. Tuqan, Ahmad, Memorandum on Education of Refugee Children, submitted to the Conference on Compulsory and Free Education held in Cairo, December 1954 to January 1955.
 2. Rugh, A. Douglas, "The Role of the Internationals in the Pilot Teacher Training Project," memorandum, 17 October 1955.

giving intensive training in certain subjects in connexion with the summer refresher courses.¹

This mixed staff has a student body of 20 in each of the centres, half of whom have already been teachers in UNRWA/UNESCO schools,² the remainder having partially or fully completed their secondary education.³ These are regarded more as "subjects" for the experiment than as true trainees, although they will doubtless benefit from the training received under the experimenting staff.

One of the reasons for choosing half teachers and half recruits was to find out which type responded better to training. According to present plans,⁴ future recruits are likely to be 3rd secondary graduates for the women's centre, and 4th or 5th secondary graduates for the men's centre. This difference is partly due to the fact that as there are few girls in secondary schools at present to provide future recruits, it would be difficult to find 100 girls each year with more than 3rd secondary training, who

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1. Rugh, A. Douglas, "The UNRWA-UNESCO Pilot Teacher Training Project, Jordan. Progress Report for the Period February to April 15, 1956."
 2. These trainees show the effect of their experience in recognizing, more readily than the fresh recruits, the reality of the problems under discussion.
 3. All are ration recipients.
 4. Dr. Rugh, Teacher Training Advisor, UNRWA HQ, in interview on 5 May 1956.

wished to join the course.¹ Moreover, it is more important, in Jordan, for men to have taken the Matriculation examination (after the 5th year) than it is for girls.²

The curriculum followed by these "subject" trainees places emphasis both on the subject matter of the Jordan Government elementary curriculum, and on teaching methods and observation of classroom procedures, which is already drifting into practice teaching, although this second aspect was originally intended to be reserved for the second year of the course, and may be confined to it when all of the trainees are fresh recruits without former teaching experience. Periods spent on various subjects in the first year are as follows: Arabic, 4; English, 3; Geography and History, 3; Science and Math, 4; Education and Psychology, 4;³ Religion, 1; Remedial Studies (individual tutoring in weak subjects), 4; Physical Education and Music, 2; Workshop, Domestic Science or Handicrafts, 2; Hygiene, 1; and Field

1. The course is planned to admit 100 students a year, each for a 2 year course, beginning in 1956-57 for the men and 1957-58 for the women.
2. The difference in attitude towards the profession noted in Lebanon (see above, p. 47) appears at the centres too. The women regard the training as an opportunity to enter one of the few careers open to them, while for the men it continues to be one of several possibilities, and they remain incompletely committed to it.
3. Thus, of Saucier's requirement that teacher education should not be just abstract subject matter, "but based on the teacher's study of himself, the child, and society," the first two at least are being met, and some attention is being paid to the third (see p.159). (Saucier, op.cit., p.491.)

Trips (observations), 2.¹ It should be remembered that these courses are in methods of teaching each subject, and are not, therefore, merely a continuation of a secondary school curriculum. Each teacher follows every subject, as it is planned that they should all be classroom teachers, rather than specializing in one subject, though the latter course may prove necessary in the case of English; classroom teachers can get to know their pupils better, and thus pay more attention to individual needs. Emphasis is placed on the use of teacher-made visual aids, such as charts and models, and greater use of the blackboard.

The aim is to improve the methods of teaching the present curriculum, "building on the strengths rather than concentrating on the weakness of traditional education,"² by making the teaching more meaningful and counteracting the stress on memorization. In this way, it is hoped that the time which has to be spent on the curriculum may be reduced,³ making place for more handicrafts, music, health education, and the like.

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1. Rugh, Douglas A. "The Pilot Teacher Training Project, Jordan. Report for the Period September 1955 to January 1956."
 2. Rugh, February-April Report.
 3. That this is possible has been shown in Lebanon, where in some schools the curriculum is completed long before the end of the year. (See Report for January 1955, Lebanon.)

The teachers are also to be given basic concepts of Fundamental Education and community relations, in order that they may be in a position to play an active role in the education of the whole community, and not just the children.

There appears to have been no problem due to lack of initiative on the part of the trainees in discussions¹- in fact the Teacher Training Advisor stated that the discussions had to be brought to a close before all questions were asked or answered²-but a considerable improvement has been noted, since the beginning of the course, in the level of questions asked and in the type of information or methods the trainees are looking for.

There are plans at present for some development of personal counselling, both to care for the needs of the trainees, and to train them for this aspect of their own work.³

It is hoped that when the Pilot phase of this project is completed, in 1957, this type of centre will be extended to the other UNRWA areas of operation. It was partly for this reason that some of the present instructor-trainees were recruited in Lebanon; when the Lebanon centre opens, they will form a nucleus of already-trained staff. At

1. See above, pp. 114 and 150.

2. Dr. Rugh, 5 May 1956.

3. Rugh, February-April 15 Report.

present, however, no definite plans can be made, as no site for the centre or centres has yet been found, and the Agency hesitates to start such a large-scale programme in temporary quarters without some guarantee of other quarters being provided.¹

Future of Trained Teachers

It is Agency policy, at present, to train these teachers primarily as a means of making them self-sufficient, as a part of its over-all training programme. In this way, it is hoped, these teachers will spread the results of the training centre to other schools, as well as those run by UNRWA and UNESCO.² From the point of view of the education of refugee children, this has obvious dangers: in spite of the present salary scale, it is likely that many of these trained teachers will be able to find more attractive positions in non-UNRWA schools, and will not thus contribute to raising the level of UNRWA/UNESCO schools. There is, moreover, another point that needs some consideration: would these teachers not find a more favourable atmosphere in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools in which to implement the newly developed methods? Would it not be better, therefore, for them to complete their 2-year training at the Centre with one or more years of "internship" within the system, considered, if necessary, as part of the course, which would

1. Dr. Rugh, 5 May 1956.

2. Walter, Felix, article cited, p.15.

enable them to become more fully experienced, before going to other schools where they would have the additional task of convincing fellow teachers of the utility of these methods, and, perhaps, of training the rest of the staff?

Adaptation of Curriculum

With a teaching staff improved by these various methods, it will be possible to implement the Lebanese curriculum in a more efficient and interesting way. It is at present hoped that the time saved will make it possible to introduce more special activities into the life of the school, such as singing, dancing, play acting, music and more sports, where both individuality and cooperation can be developed under the teachers' guidance.¹ Before the time devoted to the curriculum can be justifiably curtailed, however, it must be proved that these improved methods do actually reduce the time required to complete the course. During this first period, much can be done to introduce more activity and more cohesion into the present programme.

Bridging Home-School Gap

Some of these additions should, in fact, be introduced at the beginning of the course to lead into the curriculum as it now stands, in order to bridge the gap which at present exists between the refugee child's experience to date and the knowledge that he is expected to acquire in school. In this way, everything he learns will gain more meaning, as he

1. Dr. van Diffelen, 23 February 1955, and
Dr. Rugh, 3 May 1956.

will be able to connect it with experiences he has already had or with what he has already been taught on the basis of those experiences. Only when this bridge has been crossed can the text-book, in particular, have any vital meaning. When it has that vital meaning, it will not be necessary to memorize it in its entirety--facts will be remembered from interest, rather than by a succession of words.

Another means of bridging this gap would be the development of the imagination of the pupils through stories suitable for their age level, combining experiences familiar to them with others unfamiliar yet basic to their Arab heritage. Their supplementary reading and classroom oral practice, in both English and Arabic, depending on their ages, could thus be built around traditional fairy tales, anecdotes from their own history, games, short plays, and the like.¹

Integration of All School Activities

Others of these additions could be made to integrate the classroom with the pupils' extra-curricular activities. One of the basic ideas of modern education is that the curriculum includes all school activities. It covers not only the three Rs and text-books in History, Geography and Science, but also the garden cared for by the students, the handicraft training in which it is hoped they will again spend part of their time in future, the debating societies

1. Dodd, op.cit., p.88.

which they form, the sports in which they indulge, the way they act in and out of class, and the way they play. In this way the classroom loses its remoteness from the personal life of the pupils, and daily lessons take on more meaning for them. The activities which do not strictly fall within the curriculum set by the Lebanese Government can be used as a link between school and home life, and can serve as illustrations, in many cases, of what has to be studied in the curriculum.

The garden is the most obvious example of this, for through his work in it the student can observe the growth of plants, their means of reproduction, and what helps or hinders their growth. He is learning his science lesson without the help of text-books, and even, in some cases, without the indications of the teacher. What supplementary information his teacher gives him can immediately be used in practice--the student's behaviour will change as a result of what he is being taught. Gardening could be made into a "unit" (in the technical sense of the term)¹, with the students pooling their knowledge about plants and gardening, and stating the problems to be solved and planning the methods of study together. Once the assignment had thus been decided upon, the pupils would obtain their information from the teacher, from their parents, from farmers, and from whatever books were available to them. The new knowledge

1. See Saucier, op.cit., p.175 and passim.

having been pooled, the results could be tested and proved in practice in the school garden and the whole unit could become the topic of a really meaningful composition, either oral or written, in whichever of the languages being studied may be chosen.

In the case of the handicraft training to be given in the schools, such coordination will be facilitated by the fact that the teachers for this special activity programme, in contrast to the former pre-vocational instructors, will be trained teachers themselves, rather than merely craftsmen. They will thus be capable of coordinating the special activities in the woodwork, metal work and draftsmanship classes with the "object lessons", drawing and mathematics sections of the curriculum prescribed by the Lebanese Government. The materials and tools of the craft could be investigated, and the articles to be made planned by the whole group. Where necessary, planning of how to share the tools available, or how to cooperate in making the parts of a whole, could be done in the classroom, under the supervision of the teacher. This would emphasize cooperation and teamwork, and democratic ideas of equality.

The vocational training and gardening are "extra-curricular" only in the sense that this part of the curriculum is not enforced in the local schools in Lebanon. If they are reintroduced by the UNRWA/UNESCO schools on a sound basis, the parallel courses for girls included in the

Lebanese curriculum should also be introduced. Each year the girls form a larger proportion of the incoming class, and there will probably already be enough girls in the upper elementary classes of the larger schools in 1957-58¹ to warrant the introduction of domestic science and home-making classes, to be extended to the smaller schools as and when the proportion of girls in these classes has grown large enough. As the 1955 Working Party recognized,² the introduction of such courses would help reduce the number of girls who drop out, and the courses would thus justify their own existence.

To correlate this course with the academic curriculum, supplementary reading material in both English and Arabic might include stories illustrating such aspects of life as the role of the daughter and mother in the ideal home.

Debating societies appear to have been one of the most popular extra-curricular activities in some areas. Oratory and self-expression have long been cultivated among Arabic-speaking peoples and have become more of an art among them than among many other peoples. To keep up the ties with their cultural past, this art should be continued and it could easily be coordinated with the curriculum by the use of topics under study as subjects for debates, both

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1. There are presently 3rd elementary classes with 15-110 girls in 15 schools in Lebanon. (Statistics from Report for February 1956.)
 2. Minutes of the UNESCO Working Party on the Education and Training of Refugee Children, UNRWA HQ, Beirut, 28-30 November 1955.

within the school and between schools, since the curriculum will be the same as that of other UNRWA/UNESCO and Lebanese schools. In this way the knowledge gained would be put to immediate use and the debate could be incorporated in the original motivation for the study. The debate might in this way be centred around concrete facts, and steered away from the vague ideas and ideals which, particularly among children in the elementary classes, would be likely to become mere verbalism. Another means of coordinating this activity with the traditional classroom activities would be to make a study of great orators, both Arabic speaking and from other lands, in connection with the "moral and national studies" provided in the Lebanese curriculum. In this way the students could find out the techniques of successful oratory and public speaking.

In the area of sports and scouting there seems to be less that can be done towards coordinating them directly with the curriculum, partly because, in the case of scouting, it is to a large extent a complete unit in itself, with training in self-discipline, cooperation, and service, as well as in observation in such areas as natural science. However, here (as in all areas in which the students show interest), the history of their development and stories about good and bad sportsmanship and heroes of sport and the scout movement could be introduced into the curriculum as the subject of the material supplied for supplementary

practice in reading. In this way the student would not only be learning to read better, but would be learning more about activities in which he was already participating and which were therefore vitally interesting to him. This seems to be particularly called for in the case of readers supplied to teach the pupils foreign languages. Much of the material in the required texts seems to have little or no connexion with the life of an Arabic-speaking child living in a foreign land in a camp with his refugee parents and friends, and it therefore needs to be supplemented with other material closer to his own environment.

The cleanliness and health education campaigns in the camps could also be coordinated with the study of hygiene in the curriculum. Here it would be particularly useful for the children to make a study of the ideas prevalent in the camp about the means of spreading disease. These would be pooled in class, where the teacher could supplement and correct the prevailing conceptions, with the help of the medical staff of UNRWA. The preventive measures arising out of the class discussion could then be put into practice, first in the school, in the care of themselves and of the school facilities, and then in the camp in general and in their own homes. The students, knowing the reasons for such hygienic practices, would take pride in what they were doing for themselves, their classmates, their school, and their families, and would be learning to accept

their responsibilities toward their fellow human beings.

Development of Responsibility

They would thus be integrating their hygiene classes, their extra-curricular activities, and the life of the camp, while making a further type of addition to the curriculum as implemented at present--one designed to develop the responsibility of the pupil. One of the problems to be faced by the educator who wishes to instill in his pupils a sense of responsibility is to find out what the real responsibilities of the community are. UNRWA/UNESCO schools, as seen above,¹ have recognized some of the responsibilities of their pupils towards their own families and communities, and have helped them to organize themselves to carry out these responsibilities in the fields of health, assistance of those in need, and literacy.

In the absence of self-government in the camps, and of the possibility of playing any role in the government of the country in which they are at present situated, there seems to be little means in existence of extending the responsibilities of the students or their families in this direction. It might be possible, however, for some training to be given to the students in the running of their own affairs. This should begin, at least, in connexion with activities of relatively minor importance, such as their sports schedules, or the planning of the outings to be made

1. See above, p.98 f.

on the days set aside for picnics. Cooperative solution of problems whose financial and practical difficulties could be presented by the teachers would be good training in self-government and committee procedure, and if confined to this type of activity at first, would not get out of hand.

In the normal community the responsibilities of the citizen extend beyond the community itself. There are loyalties to the state and rights and responsibilities connected with it. The refugees, however, do not have such a state. There is among many of them a feeling that their state, the Mandatory government and the United Nations have not upheld their responsibilities towards them as refugees. One of the great problems which the UNRWA/UNESCO schools must face is how to give their students the chance to develop a sense of responsibility to some realistic body outside their own community. The children can be, and are being, taught how governments run, in the abstract and in the Arab and Western countries, but this is too remote for learning by doing.

Two concepts present themselves immediately. The first is that of Arabism. Here the student could be taught to see both the good and bad of Arab culture and Arab customs, through study of Arab history, reading about Arab heroes, acting out plays illustrating these, etc. They could also learn something about the possibilities for Arab

union.¹ If such questions are presented in the form of problems to be solved, it might be possible to encourage the students to look at them rationally rather than emotionally, and thus avoid the excesses which irresponsible nationalism has caused elsewhere.² Students might even be able to work out ways in which they could themselves help to work constructively for the ends which they have found to be valuable.

The existing practices among some scout troops and school sport teams will facilitate such an orientation outside the camp. The Nahr-el-Barid scout movement was started in connexion with the Muslim Scouts of Tripoli, who carried out all of their preliminary training. The Sidon scouts also cooperate with those of Ein-el-Hilweh camp. These contacts have not ceased with the preliminary training, but have continued to create a bond between native and adoptive residents which is likely to promote understanding between the present inhabitants of the country through showing each the problems of the other, and their common problems, and to

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1. The refugees are in a unique position in this respect as 2/3 of the children attend UNRWA/UNESCO schools, and are thus less subject to the divisions caused hitherto in the Middle Eastern countries by the diversity of school systems. (See Dodd, op.cit., p.104, and Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., pp.572-3.)
 2. For this purpose, the teachers must be mature enough to be convinced of these concepts (Arabism and internationalism) themselves, so that they may teach them intellectually, not emotionally. (Kurani, Lecture at Washington, 1953.)

strengthen, in both Lebanese and Palestinians, loyalty to the common Arab cause.

Such contacts will help to overcome the feelings of bitterness and suspicion which may be felt by members of both sides unless they are brought to recognize the common nation to which they all owe an even greater loyalty. The Palestinian students, especially, will directly benefit from such a change in viewpoint. It will tend to make them feel part of a more positive group than the one formed by the refugees. It will give them new primary relationships which will help them to get away from the feelings of despair and bitterness which are to be found in their homes in the camps. Thus many of the socio-psychological problems of the refugees could be at least alleviated by such contacts between refugees and local residents, if the contacts are of a type to lead to healthy, lasting friendships.

Further contacts with non-refugees are established in the frequent sport contests which are held between UNRWA and local schools, as well as between UNRWA schools of different areas, though these contacts are more likely to remain superficial than those made through scouting. Another area for contacts would be the debating activities mentioned above.¹

The second concept toward which loyalties and

1. See above, pp.165-6.

responsibilities could be built up in the schools is that of internationalism. If students study the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including UNRWA itself, they will be able to get a clearer idea of the difficulties under which these organizations work, and of the reasons behind what the refugees can otherwise only be expected to consider the failure of internationalism. Such questions would naturally raise discussions in the students' homes, so care would have to be taken in this case to ensure that the students did not become overwhelmed by the attitudes prevalent in their community. It might be possible to coordinate such classes in the school with the Fundamental Education programme,¹ so that the parents, as well as the children, would be in a position to find out the reality of the situation, rather than remaining under the influence of the prevailing prejudices.

Results of Improved Implementation of Curriculum

One of the basic changes that should result from such modifications in the way of implementing the curriculum would be in the ability of the pupils to take an active part in the learning process. The present role of the pupil is to assimilate knowledge, much of which is alien to his experience, and then reproduce it when asked questions, either orally or in examinations. If the curriculum is extended to cover his immediate surroundings and his own

1. See below, p.198.

experience, the gap will be bridged, and the material will become more meaningful. He will no longer have to be a passive receptacle of knowledge, but may use the knowledge he is given to change his behaviour, and may see areas about which he would like to know more, and ask questions about them.

Better trained teachers will have the greater confidence and knowledge which such active curiosity on the part of their pupils requires--not all of the present staff would be able to allow their pupils this freedom. Such freedom can further be developed by changed methods on the part of the teacher, just as these changes in method will be required to meet the growing curiosity and freedom of the pupils--the two aspects of the system developing simultaneously.

The changes brought about by all of these means may appear abstract: improvement of teaching methods to make place in the curriculum for additional activities planned to better adapt the refugee child to any environment in which he is likely to find himself. The change in the classroom envisaged in the writer's mind may perhaps be best illustrated by a comparison between old and new systems of class management, developed over a short period, in Thailand:

"No longer do (the pupils) sit in dull rows of desks, being talked to by teachers. They are divided up into groups, when this is beneficial to study. They do more and more talking themselves, as teachers encourage them to ask

questions (and) help them worry out the answers for themselves where this is feasible. This contrasts strongly with the old verbal and note-scribbling approach."¹

When the pupils in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools can thus change from sitting in dull rows to taking an active part in the learning process, asking questions and seeking the answers for themselves, they will be living in the classroom, rather than learning about the life of others. They will be learning about the world around them by interacting with that world, and will thus be learning to accept the freedom and responsibility which will be the essential aspects of life in that world under truly democratic government.

This change cannot occur, of course, from one school year to the next. It requires prior training of large numbers of teachers, which would have to be spread over a number of years for practical reasons. It requires expansion of present classroom facilities. It requires the creation and distribution of classroom equipment and supplementary reading material. Yet this course, although working towards ideal goals, uses means which can be put into practice if the UNRWA/UNESCO administrators take up the challenge raised by their unique position, and if local governments, seeing the benefits of such changes in terms

1. Stead, Ronald, "Education is Priority No. 1 in Thailand," in Men Against Ignorance, Paris: UNESCO, 1953, p.31.

of a pilot (and therefore experimental) project for the improvement of their own school systems, allow the two international bodies to take up that challenge.

CHAPTER IV - FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

There are two areas of the educational programme which remain to be dealt with (in which UNRWA and UNESCO have already, to some extent, taken up the challenge), as a study of the educational opportunities being given to the half of the refugees in Lebanon who are under sixteen cannot be considered as a complete study of the Agency's educational system.

One hundred years ago, an agency such as UNRWA would probably not have existed. People with a social conscience would have cared for the physical welfare of some of the refugees, but would not have thought very much about educating their children. Education of the adults would probably never have entered their minds. Adult education is the product of many modern circumstances and trends.

The Role of Education in Government

This has been found necessary in countries where modern forms of government have been introduced from the outside, rather than being evolved gradually by the inhabitants themselves. In such a situation the people have to be fitted to the government, while in the Anglo-Saxon countries, for instance, the form of government has grown out of the needs and aspirations of its citizens.

Wherever there is such a change in governmental forms, a great responsibility is given to education to prepare the

people for the role they are expected to play in their country. This is true whether the government is totalitarian (e.g. Nazi Germany, where education instilled the idea of submission to the State) or democratic (e.g. the United States of America, where education is expected to produce citizens who can think issues through and vote intelligently).

In a state where the forms of government have evolved slowly, it is assumed that the adult population is relatively capable of playing the role expected of it. Education is expected to train the new generation to take the same, or slightly advanced, responsibilities and exert the same, or slightly greater, powers. Theoretically, the educational system has carried out this training by the time the pupil can legally leave the school and start earning his living.

In countries where the governmental forms have been introduced from external sources, the educational system continues to bear the same burdens. It has been recognized, however, that its task does not end there. Training the rising generation is not sufficient, for until they have become old men and women, much of the power is going to rest in the hands of their elders, who did not receive their education with the same ends in view. In many countries the vast majority of this older generation is unable to read and write. These people have received no education as it is understood in the Western countries. Instead, they have learned to conform to the social patterns of their culture,

and to earn their living, often by the same means by which their fathers and forefathers earned theirs. Most have not had time, after their daily work, to think about ways of improving their lot, politically or economically. Such persons cannot live the full role demanded of citizens in a democracy. They may even obstruct the preparation of their children for such a role, by removing them from school too early and by ridiculing new ideas and denying the truth of what is being taught.¹

Education and the Standard of Living

The new role of education, then, is to train adults as well as children for intelligent political life. They must be taught to think, to judge, to reason and to choose wisely. But this is not enough. They must be given the time in which to participate in government. If a man spends his entire time working to gain the means of subsistence, he cannot be a real citizen. Education, therefore, has to give him the time, as well as the means, to enable him to accept his new role. He must be taught new methods whereby he can do his work in a shorter time. He must be taught to take full advantage of his surroundings to improve his life, and to cooperate with others so that all will work more efficiently. He must be taught how to keep himself, his

1. Steps were taken, in Palestine, by the Mandate government, to prevent this and to start educating the parents for citizenship through teamwork between Government officials and local educational committees. (J. Katul)

family (and his livestock and crops if he is a farmer), healthy so that no time, energy and money may be wasted through disease. And he must be taught how to use the time thus gained in the best, the most useful, the most helpful or most relaxing way.

Part of this education can be given to the younger adult through Vocational Training, which is studied in Chapter V. But primarily it is Fundamental Education which has to play this role in countries where new political, cultural and economic patterns have been introduced from outside and where the whole population has to be educated to take its part in the new life of the nation.

Special Role of Education Among the Refugees: Self-respect

Fundamental Education continues to have this role among the refugees from Palestine, particularly among those who have not found any new means of living in the host countries. But it has a further role in the refugee camps. It has to return to the men and women the self-respect which eight years of receiving relief has taken from them.¹ For eight years, they have not found work, and have been supplied with their needs by an Agency which represents, to them, the power that deprived them of their homes. They feel

1. The "izzat-un-nafs" mentioned in the Near East Relief "Social Survey of Syria", which the author feels is among the qualities of the Arab that should be preserved. Quoted in Dodd, op.cit., p.48.

this is only just. From the socio-psychological point of view, there is a result which goes deep. Since these refugees believe that they can receive all that they need from the same power which deprived them of their former livelihood, they feel no need to work for it. Before the termination of the Mandate and the partition of Palestine, they worked hard for an uncertain living. Now they receive their needs regularly, without toil, as a 'right'. "Why should we work," they say, "unless it will help us get back our old homes? If we get a job we are struck off the ration rolls and lose our security and our 'rights'."

Socialization

Not only have they lost the self-respect which comes in part from earning one's own living and providing for one's family by one's own effort, but they also remain in idleness. They do not see any way of using this idleness profitably. It turns into the idleness of a sub-human being, and encourages similar idleness in the children. The social patterns which might be expected to socialize the life of persons in their normal surroundings have largely been broken down. There seems to be some of the old loyalty to family, clan, and sheikh or mukhtar,¹ yet each unit remains isolated.² The organization of UNRWA services has not halted this

1. Dr. van Diffelen, Interview on 23 February 1955.

2. Bruhns, op.cit., pp.19,20,31, and Dr, Ibadour Rahman Khan, Interview on 25 April 1955.

trend. The unit for ration distribution is the individual and his family. There is no need for the head of one family to cooperate with the head of the neighbouring family in order to obtain adequate food, clothing or shelter. Rather than joining in the choice of their own leader, the people have a leader chosen for them by the Agency, which pays him a salary, and thus sets him apart from the refugees in his charge. He tends to forget that he, too, is a refugee. He tends to become an outside "government official", similar in the minds of the people (and in his own mind) to the officials imposed upon them by the Turkish and the Mandatory governments.¹

The picture thus obtained is one of a society broken down. The old society was built primarily on loyalty to primary relationships.² These primary relationships have to a great extent been broken by the move to a new environment. Where they do exist they seem to have little objective. In the future democratic-based society which is assumed as the goal in this study, new primary and secondary relationships will be built on work in common for self-government, where people have to trust men whom they do not personally know. As yet, however, self-government exists only to a very limited extent, and in a very few places. The refugees have no need for cooperation either for survival or for self-

1. Dr. Khan, 25 April 1955.

2. Bruhns, op.cit., p.31

organization. The new forms of social organization cannot therefore develop yet, without stimulation from outside.

The tasks of Fundamental Education in such a situation are enormous and varied. The inhabitants of the camps have to be returned to their former status as social beings and helped to build up new social patterns of loyalty and responsibility. They, like their children, have to be presented with problem situations which call for and develop cooperation, thought and judgement in their solution; but in their case, this consists primarily of helping them to face their own problems, instead of ignoring them. They must be helped, in order to build up satisfying social patterns, to regain their self-respect. As a means toward this end they must improve their environment and living conditions, irrespective of whether they will remain where they are, repatriate, or go elsewhere.¹ They must be taught new means of earning their living or of improving their old ways of breadwinning. And, as the basis of all of these aspects of Fundamental Education in a refugee situation, in the minds of the administrators of the programme, they must be given a chance to learn to read and write.

Need for Active Participation in Education

With adults, it is even more important than it is with children to use methods which induce active participation in the learning process. While the children may accept the

1. Dr. Khan, 25 April 1955.

truth of what they are taught and simply assimilate it, adults are likely to have formed their own definite ideas and to be unwilling to renounce them unless they have been thoroughly convinced. This kind of conviction comes from seeing the benefit of the new concept, either through watching it put into action by others, by trying it themselves on an experimental basis, or by personally or cooperatively working out the concept from its fundamental and accepted bases.

Past experiences have shown that merely improving peoples' living conditions will not necessarily improve their way of life. Some peasants who were moved to a newly built village in a more productive area¹ did not feel at home and did not know how to care for their new surroundings. After reducing these surroundings to a state similar to their old homes, they abandoned them and returned to their old area, which still seemed more secure to them. Left to themselves, they had no means of knowing how to benefit from and maintain these improvements.²

Similar results, more or less accentuated, depending upon the previous experience of the refugees, might easily occur in the case of any improvements carried out in the

1. The area is not specified, but was probably in Southeast Asia. (Jeunesse et Education de base. Paris: UNESCO, Monographies sur l'Education de base, 1954, p.27 f.)

2. Ibid.

living conditions in the camps. One indication of this is to be found in a comparison of the condition of two refugee camps visited in Lebanon--Khan el Askar in Tripoli, and Gouraud in the Beqa'. Both camps are housed in former army barracks. Khan el Askar is inhabited by refugees who lived in towns in Palestine, and were accustomed to caring for their surroundings. Those in Gouraud are fellaheen, whose life in Palestine had been less affected by modern ideas, and who did not know how to use their new surroundings to the best advantage. Khan el Askar is clean and tidy, while Gouraud's whitewash is blackened with smoke and the area in front of each family room is crowded with cooking utensils and clothes.

Another reason which makes it imperative that the refugees be convinced of the necessity of improvements is the state of mind, already mentioned, which has been brought about by eight years of living on relief. The self-respect which they have lost will not be regained for them by giving them more relief in different forms, but rather by helping them to improve their conditions through their own efforts.

Furthermore, only if they are convinced of the advantage to them of such help will they be willing to accept it as beneficial to themselves rather than as being merely part of the rejected Rehabilitation Programme. In this case they must see that the improvement could have some effect not only on their present life in exile, but

also on the life they would lead after the longed-for return to their old homes.

Literacy Campaign

The literacy campaign was, chronologically, the first part of the programme to be launched in Lebanon, in November 1950.¹ The methods of Dr. Laubach, and his books, were used. The campaign was carried on in close cooperation with the UNRWA/UNESCO schools. The pupils cooperated with their teachers in publicizing the campaign, in getting their elders to join the classes, and even in conducting lessons themselves. The teachers volunteered their evening hours to teach larger classes; the two methods--group, and "each one teach one", which helps "fix the lessons in the learner-teacher's mind"²--were thus used side by side. A Literacy Campaign Leader was appointed for each of the two main areas of Lebanon (Beirut, Beqa' and Tripoli, and Sidon and Tyre). From the winter of 1950 to that of 1952 this organization and activity continued.³

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1. With the visit of Miss H. Mikhail from Gaza. According to Dodd, op.cit., p.88, 80% of the fellaheen in Palestine were illiterate in 1946 (due mainly to the lack of girls' schools. J. Katul).
 2. A/2171, (1952) p.38.
 3. By 1952, 5429 had started to read in Lebanon alone, and almost 500, having completed the 4th reader, were considered literate. (Annual Report of the Education Division, July 1951 to June 1952, and A/1905, (1951) p.28.)

Fundamental Education Programme: History and Development

In 1952 and 1953, however, the major emphasis on adult education was placed on the experimental Fundamental Education Centre begun in November 1952, at Dikwaneh camp, by Dr. Ibadour Rahman Khan, an Indian specialist.¹

The inhabitants of this camp, most of whom are either bedouins or peasants, had "acquired a reputation for rough manners".² If the work of Fundamental Education succeeded there, it would be a real test of its applicability elsewhere. Furthermore, the camp was close to Beirut, which offered two very different advantages--it was easy to reach, and the inhabitants, settled in a region where there was already much unemployment, needed the centre more and would be more likely to attend it regularly. This was to be the proving ground for Dr. Khan's work. As he himself said, this was where he made his mistakes. It was also where he had his first successes, and his methods have been adopted by UNRWA and his trainees now run the other Fundamental Education centres which have since been started.

Dr. Khan's first step in setting up the Dikwaneh Fundamental Education Centre was to spend a great deal of

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1. Former Director of Education (P.U. India).
(Report for August 1952, HQ.)
Seconded to UNRWA under the UNESCO
Technical Assistance programme for 1952-53.
(A/2470, (1953) p.24.)
 2. "Education of Palestine Arab Refugees."
Information Document and Working Party
Document, July 3, 1953, UNESCO/Ed/131.

time in the camp simply getting to know the people and gaining their friendship and confidence. He stated that he never offered to help them, but waited for them to ask him for advice and assistance.¹ The initiative was always to be theirs. What he wanted to do for them could succeed only if they wanted it enough to work for it themselves. A few weeks after he had started coming, some of the men in Dikwaneh came to him and asked him to leave--they were suspicious of the purpose of this foreign man who came to the camp only to talk. Without a word, Dr. Khan left, but in a few days a delegation of camp residents came to ask him to return.² He did so, and in due time, with the assistance of the two Literacy Campaign Leaders and the teachers of the camp school, helped them to set up first a social centre with a library, then carpentry, shoemaking and tailoring shops, and a sewing and embroidery centre (under the supervision of Mrs. Khan), partly in premises which they built themselves, partly in the school classrooms. A cooperative bakery was organized, to help the refugees to save both fuel and labour in the baking of their flour ration. They also started sports activities on fields which they built themselves, and vegetable gardens around their own huts and tents.³ They made an effort to keep their own homes clean,

1. Dr. Khan, Fundamental Education Officer, in interview on 25 April 1955.

2. UNESCO/Ed/131.

3. Ibid.

tidy and hygienic. This aspect of the programme is now largely implemented through visiting the homes to give advice, follow up progress, and help the women regain their social consciousness and self-respect through pride in what they now have to regard as home.¹ These visits also help to introduce the programme to possible new recruits.²

All of these were activities which would have definite immediate appeal to the refugees, helping to improve the present situation, while at the same time preparing them for a better life by counteracting the demoralizing effect of idleness and by training them in new skills and attitudes which will serve them wherever they go. To the Agency, these activities were "considered necessary to maintain refugee morale and to prepare (them) for rehabilitation."³

By the summer of 1953, it was possible to say that "the experiment has now been in operation long enough to determine that the techniques employed are of considerable value and that the work should be extended to other camps."⁴ Accordingly, in November of that year (1953) the Head

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1. Information obtained during visit to the Dikwaneh Fundamental Education Centre, in the summer of 1955.
 2. Report for February 1956, Lebanon.
 3. A/2717, (1954) p.15.
 4. A/2470, (1953) p.19.

Teachers of Nahr-el-Barid and Gouraud schools were sent to Dikwaneh for a training period of a little more than a month before they set up Fundamental Education Centres in their own areas in January 1954.¹ At the same time, the Head Teacher of Ein-el-Hilweh school received similar training on the spot, starting a new centre under the supervision and with the advice of Dr. Khan.² At first, all centres were directly connected with the schools, as it had been observed that education was the least criticized and least suspected of all of the Agency's activities.³

The path was by no means entirely smooth, but in the summer of 1954 it was observed that "the resistance to Fundamental Education is disappearing, and during the coming year it is hoped to consolidate much of what has been achieved so far."⁴ In September, Fundamental Education was extended to Khan-el-Askar (Tripoli), Mia wa Mia, El-Buss, and Anjar camps. At the same time, many of the centres begun by the Agency's Social Welfare Division with similar activities and aims, were transferred to Fundamental Education.⁵

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1. Reports for November 1953, June 1954, Lebanon.
 2. Ibid for January 1954.
 3. Sakka, Hafs, "Fundamental Education: a Way of Raising Community Level," Beirut, 8 March 1956.
 4. A/2717, (1954) p.20.
 5. Report for September 1954, HQ.

Not all of the centres started have prospered, and even those which have continued have had slump periods. Two of the earliest, Ein-el-Hilweh and Gouraud, died out before they were a year old, and two of those begun the following September (Mia wa Mia and Anjar) were soon moved to other camps: the Anjar one was transferred to Ta'alabaya in December 1954, and as there was already some work being done by the YMCA in the Mia wa Mia camp, the centre there was combined with that of Ein-el-Hilweh, which itself later came to an end.¹ The centre at El-Buss functioned for about a year, and then was transferred to Rashidieh. New centres have been opened, partly in response to petitions,² at Sabra in March 1955, Nabatieh in April, Sidon in August, Rashidieh in September, and in the new Burj-el-Shemali camp, set up to accomodate refugees from the Southern border, in February 1956. All of these, with Dikwaneh and Khan-el-Askar (now in various centres in and around Tripoli, since the inhabitants of the Khan were moved to the new Beddawi camp just outside the town),³ are functioning at the moment, with increasing numbers of people participating in the various activities as can be seen in the following figures

1. Report for November 1954, Lebanon.
2. Report for March and April 1955, HQ.
(These petitions "show clearly that they (have) begun to realize the importance of this activity in their life.")
3. Report for January 1956, Lebanon.

for this year alone:

Centre	Attendance at Fundamental Education Centres											
	Literacy		Crafts		Needle		Sports		Library			
	Men	Women			Work							
	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.	Jan.	Mar.
Dikwaneh	43	47	-	24	21	16	30	35	27	59	29	36
Sabra	53	66	44	57	-	23	23	38	40	44	61	109
Sidon	70	79	35	30	-	-	-	-	36	36	55	66
Rashidieh	36	42	14	17	-	-	16	19	32	42	80	120
Tripoli	26	62	19	22	-	7	26	28	24	36	50	58
Ta'alabaya	51	60	-	4	-	-	67	67	19	36	70	76
Nabatieh	28	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burj-el-Shemali	-	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	307	483	112	154	21	46	162	187	178	253	345	465

In the new centres it has been a general policy to limit the activities more than was the case at Dikwaneh. The first centre was a pilot project, and everything had to be tried out. In the new ones the programme is being implemented by less long-trained leaders. They need to spend more time on each activity and in general only one craft is taught, although the other activities in literacy, sports, scouting and social activities are carried on as the centre develops and the refugees request them.²

In the new centres there has unfortunately been less

1. Reports for January and March 1956, Lebanon.
2. The supervisors are paid by the Agency, although their short-term contracts, combined with the low salary, did not give them much security. (Minutes of the Semi-Annual Meeting of Education Officers, UNRWA HQ, November 25, 1955.) The instructors, on the other hand, work on a voluntary basis, with a small amount of cash given them rather as a token than as a salary, as most of them are teachers or have some other paid work. (Visit to Khan-el-Askar, August 1955.)

emphasis on self-help, in that the club has not had to start by building its own quarters. In several cases, premises have been rented specially for the centre, rather than keeping it closely connected with the school. In Khan-el-Askar it was only necessary to decorate existing rooms in the Khan, which the members did not even have to keep clean until the payment for the hired attendant who did this job was stopped in the summer of 1955.¹ The members of the club thus lost this opportunity of learning to regard the centre as a home for which they have to care, just as they care for their own homes. This practice has also tended to reinforce the prevalent idea that some education, no matter how little, raises the individual above "menial" work.

Literacy and Academic Education

As could be seen from the figures on page 191, the Literacy Campaign still constitutes the basic activity of the programme.² It draws the largest attendance, though the Library, which is selected and run by the refugees themselves,³ appears to run a close second. This is one of the first activities to be introduced in a new centre (e.g. Nabatieh and Burj-el-Shemali), partly because it is one of

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1. Visit to Khan-el-Askar, August 1955.
 2. 5,000 former illiterates in all areas, having completed the fourth Laubach reader, are now considered to be literate. (Sakka, Hafs, paper cited.)
 3. Ibid.

the easiest to set up on a small scale without a large amount of equipment, and can be conducted in the evenings in the school classrooms, and partly because it is considered the basis of the other activities. Evening classes in English and other academic subjects are included under this heading, and enabled 5 attendants at the El-Buss Centre, for instance, to obtain the Lebanese Certificat in the spring of 1955, sitting for the examination with the children from the school.¹

Club

Aside from the literacy and academic classes in these centres, perhaps the most basic activity is the centre's club.² Here facilities are offered for playing indoor games, for reading magazines, papers and books chosen by those who attend the club, and for the simple social life which would have centred around the village café. At first, evidently, there was trouble with discipline in these clubs, but it was treated with a firm hand and they have become pleasant social gathering places.³ The refugees can there

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1. Report for May and June 1955, HQ. (In Gaza, at the same time, 339 persons who had attended the Fundamental Education classes, including 61 women, sat for the Government Elementary Certificate, and 93% of them passed.)
 2. Dr. Khan, 25 April 1955.
 3. Ibid.

meet each other on a social basis and lose some of the isolation which camp life has tended to impose on them. Here, discussions are held centring around common problems, sometimes aroused by films shown, radio programmes heard, or lectures given by outsiders, and culminating, in some cases, in simple dramatic performances which help spread the ideas to others not attending the centre.¹

Sports and Scouting

Other activities which have such socialization as their prime aim are the sports and outdoor games and the scouting movement. Most centres have their own football and basketball teams,² which play matches against other camps. Many have troops of Rovers. The men who join these groups come to know each other well and learn to cooperate and help each other in the activities in which they take part together. This spirit of cooperation and community aid has led, in at least one centre, to the establishment of a "charity fund" to which the refugees contribute to help even less fortunate neighbours.³

Crafts

The last aspect of the Fundamental Education Centres, which encountered much opposition at first, on the grounds

1. Sakka, Hafs, paper cited.
2. There are now 7 teams. (Report for December 1955, Lebanon.)
3. Visit to Khan-el-Askar, August 1955.

that it was part of the Rehabilitation Programme with which the refugees do not wish to cooperate,¹ is the crafts training offered to both men and women. Here an opportunity is given to the refugees for "self-expression, in addition to acquiring useful fundamental skills."² There are facilities in the various centres for the men to learn carpentry, shoemaking, and tailoring. The women are taught to sew and embroider; many of them had never known how to hold a needle, and are now capable of fine embroidery and simple dressmaking.³ Much of the clothing supplied to school children under a new programme introduced in 1955-56 has been sewed by the women in these centres. In some of the centres it is now possible to submit tenders for large-scale jobs which are carried out in the centre by the people who have learned the trade. Thus the Khan-el-Askar Centre made desks for a Tripoli school and the card-index files for the UNRWA School Health Team's records, while the men and women in Dikwaneh make baby layettes for the Social

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1. Actually, 7 Khan-el-Askar carpentry trainees have found work, as has one Dikwaneh shoemaker. Another shoemaker is setting up his own shop with an UNRWA grant. (Reports for July-August 1955, HQ, and March 1956, Lebanon.) The training has in reality assisted in their reintegration, although the aim of introducing the programme was not to compete with Vocational Training, but to educate all aspects of the person to improve morale and the standard of living in the camps.
 2. Annual Report of the Education and Training Division, 1 July 1953 to 30 June 1954.
 3. Dr. Khan, and Miss Miriam Za'rour, in interview on 17 March 1955.

Welfare Division.¹ In all these activities, use is made of writing and simple arithmetic in order to calculate the measurements correctly. Learners soon realize that they will not be able to proceed unless they learn to read and write and to add.² The motive of learning a new skill has proved strong enough to induce some illiterates to learn, who had previously been incapable of seeing the advantages of the Literacy Campaign.

Results

Every person who talks about Fundamental Education mentions its slowness and the need for patience in its judges. When its aim is taken into account, this slowness is easily understood; that aim is to completely change the outlook of the majority of human beings in a given society. Any change which took place overnight, or even over a period of a year, would run the risk of not being a permanent change. Furthermore, it cannot be attended by a great deal of publicity, as the urge for improvement must come from the refugees themselves--the Fundamental Education worker always remaining in the background. It has not, therefore, been possible for the writer personally to observe much in the way of results of the UNRWA/JUNESCO Fundamental Education programme among the refugees. It is possible, however, to

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1. Report for January 1956, Lebanon, and visits to Dikwaneh and Khan-el-Askar, August 1955.
 2. Miss Za'rour, March 11, 1955.

repeat a story told by several persons which shows its results in at least one area. When, as they all pointed out, the men of a camp which had "acquired a reputation for rough manners,"¹ and who are members of a society in which women receive little respect of this type, rise in a bus to give their seats to a lady teacher, something has indeed been accomplished.²

Another indication of the effect of the programme may be inferred from the number of people attending these centres, and perhaps even more, from the growth in this number. In February 1955, there were reported to be 800 people attending the centres in Lebanon (6,500 in all of the host countries).³ By April, there were 1,640 (24,886 in the other countries), of whom 574 were reported to be in re-education classes, 385 in re-training groups, and 681 in recreational clubs and teams.⁴ By December, there were nearly 50,000 enrolled in the 39 centres in the four areas of operation, of whom 10,000 were re-educating or re-training themselves in knowledges and skills either lost in eight years of idleness, or never learned.⁵

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1. See above, p.186.
 2. UNESCO/Ed/131, Mr. Khoury, Fundamental Education Inspector, Lebanon, and others.
 3. Report for January and February 1956, HQ.
 4. Ibid for March and April.
 5. "How the United Nations Helps the Palestine Refugees: UNRWA's Formidable Task," United Nations Review, Vol. II, No. 6, December 1955.

These increases are an indication of the growing influence of Fundamental Education in the camp life of the refugees, and show that about 5% of the refugees are already being reached by the programme.¹

Coordination with Schools

In any community, Fundamental Education ought to be closely coordinated with the educational system of the elementary and secondary schools. Much of what is taught in each system is basically the same, although methods differ in order to cater to maturation levels. While the child takes many years to learn the necessary attitudes and skills, the adult can fortunately absorb the training in a shorter time, although in his case there is likely to be more previous training to undo before the new attitudes can be learned. Where possible, a new fact or concept should be taught to the adults before the children learn it. The children will not then develop the impression that they know more than their parents, which would be likely to undermine the existing social patterns governing relations between the two generations. Furthermore, the parents will be in a position to help their children learn, rather than hindering the learning process by ridicule and denial of the truth of what is being taught to the younger generation. Each will reinforce the other's learning and attitudes, instead of

1. in addition to the 18% who are children in school. (see p.37 above.)

opposing them.¹

This discrepancy between adult concepts and what is being taught in the schools is commonly found in all societies, and is one of the reasons for the traditional inter-generational conflict. In a situation such as that prevailing in much of the Arab world, where the problems to be faced are already so vast, and the means with which they must be met are often inadequate, it is particularly fortunate that one of the bases of this inter-generational conflict can be tackled at the same time as some of the other problems.

At the present moment this coordination between the schools for the children and the adult Fundamental Education programme does not exist to a sufficient degree in some areas. Where personnel are involved in both programmes, the coordination is most likely to be found. Thus in Tripoli area, where formerly the Schools Inspector was also the Fundamental Education Inspector for all of Lebanon,² one

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1. This effect has already been noticed in some areas, where parents attending the Fundamental Education centres are more willing to see the advantages of education for their children, especially the girls, and are now sending them to school. (Sakka, Hafs, paper cited.) This may be a step towards the creation of a situation where the parents may take a constructive interest in the school and cooperate to improve this aspect of their community, rather than accepting it as relief, thus gaining practice in the role of a citizen. (Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., p.543.)
 2. The post was divided in the summer of 1955, so even this link has ceased to exist.

could expect to find the two programmes running together. In Nahr-el-Barid, for instance, the older boys in the school often spent part of the afternoon learning woodwork in the Fundamental Education carpentry shop.¹ In some areas, too, the Head Teacher of the school has been given supplementary training in order to be able to run the Fundamental Education Centre, as was the case in Nahr-el-Barid, Gouraud and Ein-el-Hilweh. Even when teachers have not been directly connected with the Centre, it has helped them become more interested in the community in which they are working.²

In some areas, however, there appeared to be almost a sense of rivalry between the two educational systems. On a visit paid with the writer to Sabra school in Beirut, the schools inspector noticed a sign over the inner door of the school which read "Sabra Fundamental Education Centre". His immediate reaction was to ask that the sign be removed, as this building was a school, not a Fundamental Education Centre--apparently regarding the latter as definitely inferior to the normal type of school.³

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1. This practice was frowned upon by the Field Education Officers (Minutes of their meeting of November 25, 1955), but in the absence of school training of this type, it could only be expected, and could be of great value in uniting various age groups of the community,
 2. Sakka, Hafs, paper cited.
 3. The Centre now has premises of its own. (Report for January 1956, Lebanon.)

Coordination with Social Welfare

There has also been some rivalry between Fundamental Education and the activities carried on under community service by the Agency Social Welfare Division. These included recreational facilities, clubs, sport groups, scout groups for all ages, the showing of films, lectures, theatrical shows, arts and crafts centres where the women were trained in dressmaking, embroidery, sewing, weaving, etc., both for their own use and for production for sale, and classes for instruction in domestic subjects, such as food preparation, first aid, and hygiene.¹ The primary purpose of these centres was to "create interests of some kind for the great mass of refugees who can find neither work nor other means of alleviating the deadening effects of years of idleness and frustration."² These had, in 1953, before the Fundamental Education centres were set up, an average daily attendance throughout Lebanon of 130 in the arts and crafts centres and 507 in recreational activities.³

In September 1954, it was reported that Fundamental Education was taking over and reorganizing these centres, but this change-over was a gradual process, and was as yet incomplete in June 1955, when the Rashidieh centre visited by the writer was still operated by Social Welfare personnel,

1. A/2171, (1952) pp.4, 28, 33, 34.

2. A/2978, (1955) p.16.

3. A/2470, (1953) pp.21-2.

though by September it was being mentioned in Fundamental Education reports.¹ By this time,

"all duplication of effort between Fundamental Education and Social Welfare was eliminated... and plans were completed for the establishment in 1955-56 of a number of community centres designed to embrace all the multiple refugee camp activities having anything to do with self-help for adults in any of its three main aspects of re-education, re-training or recreation."²

"This is not an entirely new programme, but rather a move to achieve greater efficiency and service by combining the existing welfare and fundamental education centres³ into a new amalgamated type of community centres."⁴

Care will have to be taken that Fundamental Education, under these new circumstances, remains closely coordinated with the school in each camp, for without this coordination it will lose much of its value. The basic idea of combining all in one centre, to establish a focal point for all community feeling can, however, make a great contribution towards combatting the present feelings of up-rootedness in the camps.

Health Education

The usual concept of Fundamental Education that has been formed in recent years covers all aspects of life, and specifically includes health. One of each five-member team trained at the UNESCO centres (such as the Arab States

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1. Report for September 1955, Lebanon.
 2. A/2978, (1955) p.27.
 3. and health education, according to Sakka, Hafs, paper cited.
 4. A/2978, (1955) p.16.

Fundamental Education Centre at Sirs-el-Layan, Egypt) is a specialist in health education.¹ Health is recognized as one of the basic aspects of life which must be improved if the general standard of living is to be raised.

Fundamental Education, as a general concept, has been moulded by UNRWA and UNESCO to fit the specific needs of a refugee population which has lived in camps for eight years, and who have during that time received, in the form of relief, the basic necessities of life. The worst problems of health were considered as taken care of by the Health Division of the Agency, and the Education Division, though not losing sight of its own role in this area, concentrated on other aspects of the refugees' problems.

The Health Education programme, begun in 1954, was therefore initiated by the Health Division, and it might be argued that as such it does not strictly fall within the province of this study, which has been concentrated on the activities of the Education and Training Division. It aims, however, at fulfilling a definite part of UNRWA's educational role in Lebanon, and at doing so in cooperation with the educational staff.²

1. The team includes an adult educator, a health and sanitation specialist, a nurse, a rural teacher and an agricultural expert.
Apprendre pour Vivre: la Croisade contre l'ignorance s'étend au monde entier.
Paris: UNESCO Publications No.517, 1949, p.8.

2. A/2717, (1954) p.25.

The scale of the programme has not permitted its effects to become obvious in so short a time. Ten persons were trained in the first course run by UNRWA and WHO,¹ and only two of these remained in Lebanon to complete the field-training part of the course.² The others were sent to the three other areas, where there are even vaster groups of people to work with.

The training course itself was an experiment in education, for the Division had to take young men and women with sufficient education to be able to follow a fairly technical scientific course in English,³ and mould them into people with sufficient humility and cooperativeness, coupled with initiative, to lead, rather than push, to advise rather than to lecture, and to demonstrate, themselves, good health habits and ways of preventing disease, rather than having "labourers" do these jobs that, without this training, might have seemed beneath their dignity as educated men and women.⁴

The WHO Health Education specialist furthermore had to train these people to change their own study habits. Educated in schools where the pupils were expected to learn what they were told to learn, and return it to their teachers

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1. World Health Organization.
 2. At Nahr-el-Barid and Ba'albek.
 3. Most had completed their secondary education. ("General Information Concerning Health Education Training," 20 July 1955.)
 4. Interview with William A. Darrity, WHO Health Education Specialist seconded to UNRWA.

in much the same form, these trainees had to be accustomed to the give-and-take of a discussion-type class. Furthermore, they had to learn how to run such a discussion themselves, for that was a technique which they would often use in their field-work as a means of arousing interest, raising support, and obtaining solutions of local problems from the refugees themselves. Thus the emphasis was

"not on achieving certain goals, but on building a philosophy of working with people and understanding certain customs and habits, thereby utilizing those customs and habits as a means of stimulating group action and group participation."¹

The academic training was given in 6 months spent at the Agency's Beirut HQ, and then another 6 months were spent in camps, when the trainees tried to implement what they had learned, under the supervision of the Health Education specialist and in cooperation with "all other professional health workers, school teachers, community and social service leaders, voluntary agency personnel and government officials."²

A second group of eleven was given a similar course, while the earlier group were offered jobs (with grade 7 on the UNRWA salary scale³) and have continued their work in

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1. "General Information Concerning Health Education Training."
 2. A/2717, (1954) p.25.
 3. A level equal to that of teachers who have completed the 3rd year of university.

the camps, often in close cooperation with the Fundamental Education programme, as well as with the members of the Health Division.

The Future of the Programme

The UNRWA Education Division is thus trying, through its Fundamental Education, and in cooperation with the Social Welfare and Health Divisions, to provide an opportunity for self-education and group education for the refugees, to enable them to find ways of improving their own situation, both now and in the future.

Extension

At present, however, not all refugees have such facilities available. Some are in centres which are so small that even the relatively small funds required for a Fundamental Education Centre have not been considered justifiable. Others have had the opportunity in the past but have rejected it, either openly, or tacitly by not attending. Yet Fundamental Education is an important enough aspect of refugee education to warrant making an effort to re-open such centres, after better preparation, and extending it to all persons who can be reached, for it will raise the level of living of the whole population only if it has touched at least a few people in every group.

Aside from this quantitative expansion, there are other areas to which UNRWA and UNESCO might profitably extend Fundamental Education in order to fulfil their leadership role more fully.

Cooperation with other Fundamental Education Programmes

One of these areas of possible expansion, which would benefit both the refugees and the Arab States, would be to coordinate UNRWA/UNESCO Fundamental Education with programmes of this type being carried on among local populations, whether by governments or private individuals.¹ This would offer an area for further intercourse between refugees and their neighbours in the host countries, with an opportunity for forming new primary relationships and a stimulus for each group to improve its own surroundings.

Leadership Training

Another area which could be emphasized is that of leadership training, particularly among those who are likely to remain living in rural areas. Wherever they are, they are likely to be among people who have not had their opportunities to develop the self-help attitudes which are one of the primary aims of Fundamental Education. They could, therefore, help to extend the benefits which they have received to other rural areas.

The need for Fundamental Education in rural areas of the Arab world has been recognized, as it has in most countries of the world. Its functions in this case are, in

1. e.g. the American Mission's Jibrail Rural Fellowship Centre, although this particular institution would probably be too far from any refugee Fundamental Education Centre for close cooperation to be feasible.

part, to make it possible for the agriculturalists to make better use of the resources available to them, to teach them how to make a better life for themselves in their present surroundings. In the Arab countries, such a movement runs into opposition from the old people of the villages, who cannot see the need for improvement and who hold a great deal of power simply because of their age.

It is also blocked by what has been called "the Veto-man",¹ who tends to obstruct any improvement which might help the villagers free themselves from his authority by showing them that they can do something for themselves and that his promises are rarely fulfilled. Mr. G. Doxsee cites the case of a man who stopped volunteers working on a road in the village by saying that he would apply to the government to get funds to pay them for this work.

"The simple villagers allowed themselves to be duped by this obstructionist who had no intention of applying to the government for such funds, and who knew that even if he were forced to carry out his promise, no government would ever approve funds for such a private village road. Thus the community was deprived of a means of better transportation by a man who opposed such an improvement merely to demonstrate his ability to make his influence felt.

Such conduct, repeated by an individual or group in most parts of the world, would soon arouse indignation among most of the local population. Eventually a man of many promises who never carried out any of them would be

1. Doxsee, Gifford, The Role of Fundamental Education in Rural Lebanon. Unpublished paper, 1954.

told to put up or shut up. But some power of attraction exists in many rural communities (of Lebanon) which tends to exalt the man of many words and no deeds. Rather than becoming a laughing-stock, he becomes almost a deity. To date, the type of education which would expose his true worth has not been effectively introduced in most rural areas.....

...Jealousy, suspicion and fear, caused by religious, economic and political differences, continue to fragmentalize many Lebanese (and other Arab) villages and to prevent that unity of purpose which is necessary for any substantial progress. Furthermore, the ease with which many of the rural people yield to emotional appeals, rather than reason, facilitates the task of demagogues who would play upon these latent hatreds for selfish ends."¹

That it is possible to create this "unity of purpose which is necessary for any substantial progress" in a village of Lebanon, or elsewhere in the Middle East, has been shown by the change in the village of Jiba', in South Lebanon, which began to cooperate to improve its own facilities during 1954 and 1955, and agreed to work with a Volunteer Work Camp towards the completion of one of a series of projects which the villagers themselves had worked out. This movement centred around the leadership of one man of the village who had been abroad and been convinced of the advantages of cooperation to the extent that he was able to convince others of them.² This village has thus been started on the way towards democratic

1. Doxsee, Gifford, paper cited.

2. Interview with Mr. Hassib Mroueh, Eagles' Foundation, 19 May 1955.

government on the local rural level, which, as Matthews and Akrawi point out,¹ is necessary for real democracy but hard to achieve with a largely illiterate rural population.

The same type of improvements could be carried out by Fundamental Education Centres in the rural areas, as has been the case in India and as is happening in Egypt in the area around the Sirs-el-Layan Fundamental Education training centre. Such a programme, however, to reach full effectiveness, must be carried out on a nation-wide scale. It is necessary first for the governments to be fundamentally convinced (and not merely express their convictions on paper when asked to do so).

UNRWA, however, with the possibility of receiving the advice of international experts on Fundamental Education, and with administrators who can see the advantages received from Fundamental Education in other areas of the world, is again, as is the case with the introduction of more progressive education in the elementary schools, in a position to take steps which are as yet unlikely to be taken by local governments. The products of their Fundamental Education system could again form the nucleus of a programme which could affect all the Arab States. Those refugees who have developed real leadership abilities, either through being trained as Fundamental Education supervisors or through attending the centres, might, as the

1. Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., p.534.

situation becomes more normal in the Arab States, be able to assume the responsibilities of the leader in Jiba'. After settling in various rural areas and becoming accepted by the local population, they might be able to work with them for the improvement of local community life. They, as well as those with less initiative, could help to create an atmosphere which would facilitate the task of the young people who are being trained in Fundamental Education at Sirs-el-Layan, and of the Government programmes when they get under way.

That the results of such a plan will not be visible for a long time is obvious to anyone familiar with the methods of Fundamental Education and with the social patterns of the Middle East. Yet this is no reason to give up the programme as hopeless or useless, if the United Nations wish to take a long-term view and provide for their own peaceful future. It is often said that to define a problem is to be half way to its solution. UNRWA and UNESCO have staffs capable of defining the problem, who have accepted the challenge, and at least started on the road towards the solution.

CHAPTER V - VOCATIONAL TRAINING

One more phase of the work of UNRWA's Education and Training Division for adults remains to be studied. The aspects of education, both for children and for adults, which have been examined thus far have had preparation for life in a democracy as their main emphasis. This final part deals more specifically with economic efficiency--with teaching young people the skills they will be able to use in normal life anywhere, and which will enable them to support themselves wherever they are.

While democracy does imply that the majority of its citizens beyond a certain age are able to earn their own living (as does any sound social pattern), this vocational and professional training aspect of UNRWA's programme is less directly involved with society and as such somewhat more remote from the central theme of this study: UNRWA's capacity to establish a large-scale pilot project for improving education for Arab democracy. It is therefore not dealt with at great length at this time, though it is included as it constitutes an integral part of UNRWA's educational work.

As we have seen, secondary education is provided by the Agency only for those students whose previous record indicates that they are capable of benefiting fully from

further academic training.¹ It also provides parallel Vocational Training for a certain number of those who do not continue in the schools, and its role here takes on even greater importance than its role in the secondary school because, on the one hand, there are not yet adequate facilities for Vocational Training in most of the Middle Eastern countries, partly because it has not here been recognized as a valuable form of education for boys and girls not fitted for academic secondary training,² and because, on the other hand, Vocational Training provides the "obvious and sensible alternative to the over-developed thirst for secondary education of the purely academic type which is so prevalent throughout the Middle East."³

This is an area where UNRWA, with its international outlook and its comparatively easy access to the assistance of the International Labour Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization, can make a real contribution (and could do in Lebanon too, if circumstances permitted) by making Vocational Training as respectable as academic education⁴ and providing young refugees with the technical skills that are so needed in the Middle East, in view of the

1. See above, p.38.

2. Ferguson, J., "Vocational Training," address to 1955 Working Party, November 29.

3. Walter, Felix, article cited, p.16.

4. Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., p.549.

vast technical and land reclamation programmes being implemented.

First Efforts--Relief

As we have seen,¹ the first attempts at a Vocational Training programme were made by the Social Welfare Division, which provided courses in agriculture, gardening, weaving, shoemaking, bookbinding, broom-making, carpentry, tinsmithing, and tailoring for boys who could not be assimilated into the schools.² By December 1950, when these centres were handed over to the Education Division, there were in all the areas 89 classes being taught in 58 centres with 1,364 apprentices.³ The similar training for girls⁴ continued to be handled by the Social Welfare Division. The programme as first conceived was gradually brought to an end as those for whom it had been created grew up, and as the Agency turned, with the appointment of a Technical Education specialist under the 1952 UNESCO Technical Assistance Programme, to more advanced Vocational Training, designed to train fully qualified artisans.

Training as Part of Rehabilitation

This emphasis was also a result of the policy of

1. See above, pp.87-90.
2. A/1905, (1951) p.25.
3. Ibid.
4. 59 centres, with 2,889 apprentices in dress-making and embroidery in June 1951. (Ibid.)

reintegrating the refugees into the life of the host countries. "Training refugees for occupations where there was a shortage of workers", it was realized, would be one of the more direct means of doing so, and would be less dependent upon direct cooperation with local governments than the large-scale development projects for settlement of refugees on reclaimed land in Syria, Jordan and Sinai.¹ With the growing realization that these projects would be implemented only in the relatively remote future, the Vocational Training programme has taken on greater and greater importance, as it has been considered "the best gamble for genuine rehabilitation in a region rapidly becoming industrialized."²

The Agency's refugee Placement Division has always been closely connected with the Vocational Training programme, as it is in a position to know, with some degree of accuracy, the state of supply and demand in technical fields in the Middle East, both now and in the future. In general, it established that there was a shortage of trained personnel in the fields of teaching, accounting, shorthand-typing, medicine and its allied professions, engineering, surveying, draftsmanship, the building trades, and instruction in vocations and agriculture, while there was already a

1. A/2171, (1952) p.7.

2. Walter, Felix, article cited, p.16

surplus of persons qualified for jobs as government clerks and senior employees, labourers without specific trades or skills, and even semi-skilled artisans.¹

The programme has also been based to some extent on the provision of the skills that will be required in the implementation of projects under the Rehabilitation programme.²

Agriculture

The Training programme might be roughly divided into three areas: Agriculture, Mechanical and Technical trades, and Business skills. UNRWA has agricultural training activities in other host countries, but as yet nothing has been done in this field in Lebanon, partly owing to the lack of available land, and partly because greater emphasis in this field has been placed on Jordan and Gaza, with their larger refugee populations and greater possibilities for settlement on land reclaimed in the Jordan Valley and in Sinai.³

However, there are plans to found an Agricultural School in Lebanon, when suitable land has been found, in view of the fact that in the present economy of the Near East, and perhaps especially in Lebanon, there is still a

1. A/2470, (1953) p.12, A/2717, (1954) p.14, and A/2978, (1955) p.21.

2. Carver, Leslie, Memorandum on "Reorganisation," Ref: 1039, 25 June 1953.

3. Report for March 1954, H.Q.

great demand for trained agricultural workers. In Lebanon, in fact, if the local barriers to resettlement of Palestinians in the country could be raised, such workers would be in great demand, since the education that has been received by the children of the old rural areas in this country has left them with a disdain for manual work and a desire for excitement that has caused a large-scale migration to the urban centres. Lands that were cultivated in the past are now lying fallow.¹ From the purely economic point of view, it is the rural areas which would offer, in Lebanon, the best opportunity for settlement for the refugees from Palestine, particularly in view of the fact that, before 1948, more than a third of all the refugees who were employed were engaged in agricultural pursuits.² Thus many of them came originally from rural areas in their own country. They are already familiar with rural life. Unless their life in the camps has accustomed them too much to the excitements of urban life, they would be able to step into the breach in the Lebanese economy. It is possible, moreover, that in finding new lands to till and to develop, the farmers would gradually transfer their affections and loyalties away from the land which they and their families had tilled in Palestine, in the event that a return to those lands did not become possible. Thus, not only their present occupational problems, but also the ultimate problem of whether they are to return to

1. J. Katul:

2. A/1905, (1951) p.38.

Palestine, might gradually find solution through helping Lebanon to replace its migrated rural population.

Even if sectarian opposition, based on political apprehensions, prevented the resettlement of the refugees in this country, it might be possible for them to migrate to agricultural areas in other countries. Agriculture and rural occupations are even more likely, in certain areas, to give a large number of refugees a chance of employment and real resettlement in the Middle East than are urban or industrial skills.

Many of the older generation might thus find a place in agriculture, but their children, who would normally have received some type of apprenticeship training in agriculture, have been deprived of this experience in the refugee situation.¹ It is primarily for these that the agricultural training centres are being set up, although they also have a role to play in re-training farmers who have lost their former skills through eight years of disuse, and who can benefit from training in more advanced methods.

Mechanical and Technical Skills

Again, in the case of mechanical and technical training, UNRWA's response to the challenge to provide good training on a pilot project basis has been made in a country

1. "The Education Programme of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East." Public Relations Division Background Information Sheet No. 9, June 5, 1952.

other than Lebanon. The following account of the Qalandia Vocational Training Centre, which was the first of a variety of training centres already set up or planned, is therefore included here for information purposes, although not strictly within the geographical limitations laid down for the study.¹

Qalandia Centre

The Centre was established with the assistance of a principal and three experts seconded by the International Labour Organization, which also provided four fellowships for Palestinians to study abroad for three months in the building, metal work and electrical trades, and in vocational education and school administration,² to train corresponding staff members who would thus be able to adapt Western standards to Eastern methods,³ and eventually replace the men provided by ILO at the head of the 12 man staff.⁴

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1. An indication that, as a demonstration project, it is likely to have some success can be found in the following passage from an A.U.B. student's report on the Centre:

"We recommend that such institutions of technical training be adopted by governments of the Arab countries, for the purpose of raising the standards of technical education among different working classes to further their efficient contribution to economic development and increased capacity. It is obvious that the fruits of the institution considered above cannot make itself felt successfully unless we carry such projects on a wide national scale with the intention of carrying a successful plan of community development." Tahsin Taji, "Along with Refugees: Vocational Training Centre, Qalandia Jordan," Focus, Vol III, No.2, February-March 1955, pp.14-15.

2. A/2470, (1953) p.24
3. Ferguson, address cited.
4. Taji, article cited, p.14.

It is the aim of this centre to provide high level training for electricians, radio mechanics, fitter mechanics, and draftsmen; wiremen, blacksmiths, welders, carpenters and automotive mechanics; and plumbers, builders and masons, depending upon the level of previous education of the trainees.¹ These courses are offered both for former workers who need re-training or further training, and for new recruits, and also to train instructors for further centres (and for the handicrafts programme for the schools in Jordan).² Another function of the Centre is to provide trade-testing facilities to enable the Placement Division to carry out its task with better knowledge of the skills available.³

The graduates of the Centre are expected to be good artisans, but not white-collar foremen in Government jobs, as have been many of those trained in these fields in the Near East to date. The course therefore allocates only 15-50% of the time, depending upon the demands of the trade, to theory and academic subjects, while the remainder is spent on practice in the workshops.⁴

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1. Secondary education for the first group, 7th elementary (Jordan) for the second, and 6th elementary for the third. (A/2717, (1954) p.20, and Taji, article cited, p.14.)
 2. See above, p.90 f.
 3. Annual Report of the Education and Training Division, 1 July 1953 to 30 June 1954.
 4. Ferguson, address cited. In this way the objection to the "literate (technical school) student who has combined theory with limited practice" is overcome. (Matthews and Akrawi, op.cit., p.552.

The course is residential, in order to provide opportunities for character development and training in cooperation, delegation of responsibility, cleanliness, self-control, industry and subordination to the general good, and so that, through sports and club activities, give and take, initiative and teamwork may be inculcated.¹

"Most of the trainees (from both Gaza and Qalandia Vocational Training Centres) found employment shortly after completing their courses."²

Technical Training in Lebanon

In Lebanon, the mechanical and technical education offered includes training in surveying, diesel mechanics, welding, automechanics, electricity, radio, carpentry and blacksmithing. In all cases the training has been carried out in already existing institutions, with varying degrees of supervision by UNRWA, in accordance with the former policy to keep the Agency from directly administering such centres.³

Plans were made for a Vocational Training school in Lebanon along the lines of the Qalandia Centre in Jordan. However, it has not been possible to find suitable land at convenient terms, so this centre has so far been replaced with the help of the Benedictine Fathers at Kubbeh, near

1. Ferguson, address cited.

2. A/2978, (1955) p.7.

3. A/2171, (1952) p.8.

Tripoli, the American University Engineering School in a surveying course near Zghorta, the Société d'Air Liquide in Beirut, and the Maronite Cité des Apprentis at Hazmieh. In each case UNRWA has concluded a contract with the institution, usually for room and board as well as training, and each trainee in turn has undertaken to obtain work when he has finished the course, and to forfeit his rations.

UNRWA has had little control over the methods used in the training, or over the attention to be paid to character education,¹ and there have been considerable difficulties over such matters as the quality of training given to the refugee trainees in comparison with that provided for Lebanese,² the lack of adequate equipment, and arbitrary decisions taken without consulting the Agency.³

In February of this year, however, an agreement was reached with the Benedictine Fathers of Kubbeh for the construction of a Vocational Training school to be run by the Fathers for refugee trainees near Amioun.⁴ Here, the courses of study are to be laid down by the Agency, which will have greater jurisdiction over the programme as a

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1. At the Kubbeh Centre, at least, it was reported that the boys were being "socially reformed" as well as trained in diesel, gasoline and electric mechanics. (Report for June 1952, Lebanon)
 2. Ibid for January and February 1953.
 3. Ibid for February 1955.
 4. Ibid for February 1956.

whole than it has done up to now, yet the future of the project, in the event of termination of the Agency's activities, is assured by the Benedictine Fathers.

Business Skills

The training offered in business skills in Lebanon is one of the more popular aspects of the Training Programme, as might be inferred from the preference for "white-collar" jobs referred to previously.¹

Again, the training has been given in institutions which already existed, such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the New Evening School (run by a Palestinian) the Technical Institute of Commerce, and the International Statistical Education Centre. The level of training has varied from simple typing to stenography, bookkeeping, accounting and statistical analysis, and some of the trainees have sat for internationally recognized examinations such as those of the Pittman school in London.

As is also the case with the mechanical and technical skills, some of the trainees have been employed by UNRWA on the completion of their courses. All undertake to find work somewhere and to support themselves, removing their names from the ration rolls. In the meanwhile, they are given a small allowance to enable them to live in the town where they are receiving the training, and to go from their temporary homes to their schools. In some cases it has been

1. See above, p.38.

found that these courses can be combined with continuation of secondary school, though not all of the trainees do this.¹

Plans were begun in 1955 to establish a commercial centre in Beirut, under UNRWA, to replace these outside courses. The principle was finally approved in October, and the women's course began in January 1956, with 12 girls taking courses in English, French and Arabic shorthand and typing. (They were joined by four more in February and March.)² The similar course for men was postponed until enough candidates could be found who had the necessary academic qualifications, were willing to sign the required undertaking that they would forego their rations nine months after they had completed the course, whether or not they had found jobs, and were not still in school.³

Results of the Programme and its Future

UNRWA has thus provided Vocational Training opportunities for a large number of refugees in Lebanon during the past five years. Many of these trainees have found work and been removed from the ration rolls as a result of the training. Thus one of the aims of the training programme has been partially fulfilled, although the other--providing an example of how such facilities can be improved

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1. Report for February 1955, Lebanon.
 2. Ibid for January, February and March 1956.
 3. Ibid for January 1956.

with more efficient methods from the West adapted to Middle Eastern circumstances, bringing them up to the standard of academic secondary training--has not proved attainable in Lebanon. There is therefore much room for expansion in this field in the country, as well as for the introduction in all areas of vocational schools for girls, (as recommended by the Conference of Arab States for Compulsory and Free Education held in Cairo in January 1955)¹ to provide what is one of the best means of improving the present situation of the refugees, and to "help meet the great demand for skilled workers throughout the Near East, and thereby assist in the acceleration of the economic development of the countries in the area."²

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1. Translation of the Recommendations of the Conference on Compulsory Education Concerning Refugees. 17 January 1955.
 2. Special Report of the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, transmitted to the Secretary-General by the Director of the Agency. Official Records of the General Assembly, 10th Session, A/3017, 1955.

CHAPTER VI - CONCLUSIONS

UNESCO and UNRWA have had a series of tasks to fulfil in the field of education for the refugees. The initial one of providing educational facilities for the children of all refugees who desired them, has already been fulfilled, although some further expansion will probably be required in future to meet increased demands, especially for education for girls.

Some efforts have already been made by the two cooperating organizations to improve the quality of this education, through raising teacher salaries and providing both formal and informal teacher training facilities. There remains much to be done in extending the benefits of such improvements in teaching staff to all areas, and in meeting the challenge offered by the needs of the Arab world and the unique technical advantages of the administrators of the system, by devising means of adapting Western-type curricula (in this case French) to the individual needs of Arab refugees.

The ideal course for the two organizations to follow, with their relative independence and access to expert assistance, would be the adaptation of education for democracy, as advocated by Dewey and his successors in the West, to the needs of Arab students, thus preparing the way for the introduction of truly progressive education into all

schools of the Arab world. It was seen, however, that even as a pilot project conducted on the relatively small scale of the educational system in one of the Agency's four areas of operation, such a plan was likely to prove impossible, both because of the enormity of the task of providing adequately trained staff and educational materials, and because of the practical difficulties involved in such a radical departure from local government curricula and educational systems on the part of a temporary organization.

It is therefore suggested that the primary emphasis be placed upon increasing the possibilities for pupil activity (both physical and mental) by reducing the numbers of pupils in each class, by bridging the gaps between refugee life and the French-based curriculum of the school, and by confronting the pupils with problems which require active thought or experimentation, either independently or in a group, for their solution. In this way the pupils will be guided into building up values for themselves, rather than merely assimilating them. They will also develop the capacity for independent thought and cooperation which, with those values, is the basis of the judgement and trust required of a good citizen in a democracy, and which will enable the refugee to adapt himself in the particularly uncertain future which the refugees in Lebanon face.

Fundamental Education is another area of education in which UNRWA and UNESCO have accepted the challenge to

assist in adapting educational techniques in use in other areas to the needs of the Arab world. Though this programme was introduced partially to meet the socio-psychological needs of a disrupted community, it is using methods designed to develop, in both refugee and settled communities, the independence of thought and judgement, combined with a spirit of cooperation, which are required of the adult population in a democracy.

It is hoped that this programme may be kept in close contact with the schools, in order to help prevent inter-generational conflict and the breakdown of family loyalties, and that it will be extended quantitatively, without losing any of its quality, in order to provide nuclei for community development, particularly among rural groups, to help each community play a more vital role in democratic self-government.

In the area of Vocational and Agricultural Training, UNRWA's responses to the challenge of its unique position have been made primarily in other countries than the one under study. In Lebanon, the great majority of the Vocational Training (Agricultural Training has not been provided) has been, and will probably continue to be, given in local institutions which do not have the international organization's advantages of relative objectivity and access to highly trained personnel. This training, furthermore, has been intended primarily to develop economic efficiency

and thereby help refugees to become self-supporting. For these reasons there has been little emphasis on education for democracy through Vocational Training in Lebanon, although this aspect has been given attention in those centres in other countries where UNRWA is carrying out its role as a pilot for educational development in the Arab world.

Education is one of the few areas in which the political situation in the Middle East has permitted UNRWA to play a positive role in helping the refugees. Much of the Agency's other work has been either essentially negative--the prevention of starvation, disease or exposure--or dependent upon the active cooperation of refugees and local governments in programmes for rehabilitation, a cooperation which it has not been possible to obtain in the unsettled political atmosphere prevailing in the area since the beginning of the Agency's existence, and which is at the basis of the whole "refugee problem".

The Agency's educational efforts, on the other hand, have remained relatively free of suspicion, and UNRWA and UNESCO have therefore been able to contribute much so far, and must do even more in the future, not only to the assistance of the refugees, but also, (through showing the way and providing the nucleus of staff) to the development of education for the whole population--child, adolescent and adult--of the Arab world.

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