Perceptions of Schooling and Career Aspirations of Palestinian High School Students Attending the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) High School in Beirut, Lebanon: Ambivalence and The Reproduction of Palestinian Disadvantage

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Abstract

This research project explores Palestinian perceptions of education with regard to its capacity to facilitate desired employment futures. In particular this project investigates the perceptions of internally displaced Palestinian high school students and other education stakeholders associated with or who attended the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) high school located at Area 7, Beirut, Lebanon. This research project used a post-colonial theoretical framework underpinned by Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion of ambivalence and Edward Said's (1975) concept of Orientalism to frame and understand the relationship between education and this group of education stakeholders. Located within the broad field of postcolonial studies, the research project methodology was primarily concerned to map the voice of the 'colonised' in what comprises a largely colonialist-like context insofar as the presence of a displaced Palestinian is concerned. Research participants in this project provided data in the form of personalised textual accounts that were analysed using principles of Foucauldian macro-level critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Foucault 1982, Fairclough 1995, Hall 1997). This textual analysis specifically focused upon the presence of ambivalence in participant discourse and used Bhabha's (1994) notion of ambivalence analysis to show how education and desired career pathways are informed by the relationships of power between displaced populations and their host nation.

Significantly, analysis of the data drawn from this Palestinian group will show that in the description of education, internally displaced Palestinians seem to reproduce a discourse about the Self, which paradoxically reproduces Lebanese

constructions of Palestinian internally displaced persons (IDPs) as unworthy of admittance to full 'citizenship', and thus access to equal rights. In the process of highlighting the 'problem' as this group of Palestinians see it, the research participants often reproduced – perhaps unwittingly – a range of perspectives on education that ultimately seemed to reinforce the dominant status of the Lebanese host-nation as 'Master' and the subordinate (or dominated) status of Palestinians position as 'Slave'. Drawing upon Homi Bhabha's (1994) reworking of the 'classic' Master-slave dialectic, this research project locates this paradox within a context which is not only colonialist-like, but also grounded in a slave-slave dynamic.

Though it might be claimed that Lebanon is indeed a post-colonial context, the analysis of the data strongly suggests that in relation to the opportunities and rights afforded to the displaced Palestinian population, aspects of colonialism continue in this context. In elaborating this argument, this thesis shows that for many internally displaced Palestinians in Lebanon, education comprises a site wherein Palestinian identity is structured if not de-structured. Thus education of this Palestinian population is not simply about buildings and the curriculum, though these remain important. For this group, education is a site intimately linked to the process of Self-construction, which is otherwise grounded in a relationship with the Lebanese host-nation.

Following Homi Bhabha's (1994) model of ambivalence, this thesis not only identifies multiple instances of ambivalence, it accounts for these in terms of movements in the process of Self-other construction. With a focus upon the relationship between subject formation and discourse, three key internally displaced Palestinian discourses are identified; one that explores the positive perceptions and

value of education; one that explores the negative perceptions and value of education, and a third discourse which comprises perceptions that explore education as a means of survival. Though at one level these three discourses seem to be different from each other, it is asserted that they all share one key characteristic. Each of these discourses reveals that the Palestinian perception of the value of education in terms of securing desired career futures is mostly if not always elaborated on the grounds of a relationship with the Lebanese host-nation, even if the Lebanese host-nation is otherwise excluded from discussion.

Author's Declaration

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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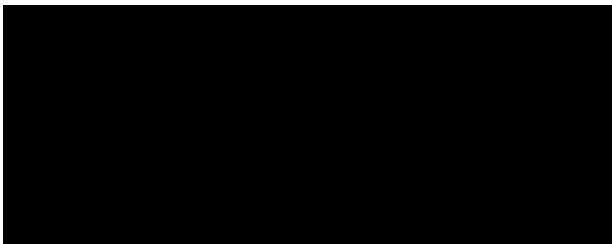
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Acronyms

ARCPA   Arab Resource Centre for Popular Arts

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis

CHR   Commission on Human Rights

CPS   Centre for Palestinian Studies

IDMC   Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

IDP   Internally Displaced Person

ISIS   Islamic State in Iraq and Syria or Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham

IMFA   Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs

LCC   Leonard Cheshire Centre of Conflict Recovery

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisations

NRC   Norwegian Refugee Council

OCHA   Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

OHCHR   Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights

PASSIA   Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs

PLO   Palestine Liberation Organisation

SRSG   Special Representative to the United Nations Secretary General

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNESCWA   United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia

UNGA   United Nations General Assembly

UNHCR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
UNWFP	United Nations World Food Programme
USDHHS	United States of America Department of Health and Human Services
VTE	Vocational and Teacher Education
WRMEA	The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

Definition of Terms

Acculturation   Is defined as a process of cultural exchange where individuals and groups of people are exposed to different cultural nuances. Acculturation has the power to influence how individuals and groups perceive themselves in relation to others, especially when cultural interaction is intensified and prolonged.

Ambivalence   The notion of Ambivalence is based upon the work of Homi Bhabha and focuses upon the slippage in colonialist discourse as a means of interrogating western claims to truth about the colonised. A thorough explanation of this term is presented in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Al Nakba   A term describing the large and systematic displacement of Palestinians from villages and regions in Palestine during Israel's war of independence from 1947-48.

Alterity   Alterity is a term that describes the state of being other or different, especially when referring to contexts of difference between terms or positions from a binary perspective.

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis comprises a reading strategy that can provide resistance to unequal relations of power by identifying discursive conventions that naturalise and normalise certain

behaviours and claims to truth. This research project deploys a macro-level critical discourse analysis which is concerned with the relationship between subjectivity, discourse and material relations.

Colonialism   Colonialism represented a period of time when Europe forced its values, beliefs and customs upon colonised people. Here, Colonialism epitomised imperial thought that deemed colonised people as being inferior to their colonial masters.

Diaspora   This term refers to the voluntary or forced migration of people or groups of people from their homeland into other lands and territories.

Discourse   Discourse comprises spoken or written text including stories, films and art associated with agency, its exercise and expression. It can be considered as the patterned use of language which tied to social and material relations informs the construction of socials truths and subjectivity.

Eurocentrism   Eurocentrism refers to the practice of emphasising the superiority of 'European' values, attitudes and ways of thinking at the expense of those of other cultures.

Forced Migrant   UNHCR refer to forced migrants as those people who have their home because of political persecution, violence and/or economic hardship.

Hegemony   In the context of this research project, hegemony, refers to the power of one group of people to exert dominance and control over another group of people.

Hybridity   Hybridity refers to the development of new cultural forms from cross-cultural exchange.

Identity   How a person is perceived and perceives themselves in relation to others. This research project does not, however, invoke the concept in any psychological sense. Its focus is upon subjectivity although the terms identity and subjectivity are on occasions used interchangeably.

IDP   The *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* define Internally Displaced People or IDP's as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.

Imperialism	The policy of acquiring and governing foreign lands, with an emphasis on establishing dependent colonies that further enhance the economic and political superiority of dominant imperialist regimes over their colonised subjects.
Knowing	'Knowing' in a Foucauldian sense, facilitates exploring discourse-power relations which shape social contexts.
Marxism	Marxism is a theoretical approach based upon the works of German philosopher Karl Marx. Marxism is helpful for understanding how capitalism and economic productivity can inform the balance of power between classes in a range of societal contexts. Marxism is used in this project in its broadest sense to highlight those instances where economic relations inform social and political relations and subjectivity.
Master	A position held by those who hold power over those who lack power. The 'Master' uses this position of privilege to reinforce their superiority over those who do not hold power, such as colonised ('slave') populations. The Master-Slave framework used in this thesis is drawn from Bhabha's reworking of Hegel's Master-Slave dialect.
Métissage	Métissage describes the deliberate creation of space in between cultures and tradition where the monolithic, monologic, linear,

uniform and totalitarian Eurocentric history and forms of literary representation are in opposition to multiple, intersecting and discontinuous histories.

Mimicry   Homi Bhabha describes the notion of mimicry as a response by the colonised Other to conceal the (real) Self, which is otherwise disguised in developing an improved 'self' more likened to that of their powerful colonial master.

Orientalism   The notion of Orientalism is based upon the work of Edward Said, which challenges and critiques western representation of the East. Orientalism provides a conceptual framework for understanding relations between the dominated and dominating in colonialist contexts. Orientalism is grounded in the production of knowledge in a relationship wherein the European/Western is positioned (dominantly) in relation to the 'Other'.

Other   The 'other' (also often written as the Other) signifies the construction of individuals *in contrast* to an idealised and hegemonic collective self, often through a binary relationship in which the 'other' constitutes the negative trope in the binary.

Post-Colonialism Post-colonialism refers to a time after colonialism, while post-colonial theory is concerned to explore the historic and sometimes enduring relations of colonialism.

Post-Structuralism Post-structuralist theory rejects totalising and essentialist representations of social contexts, collectives and individuals. It is particularly concerned with the relationship between discourse, knowledge and truth.

Power French philosopher Michel Foucault describes the concept of 'power' as representing the exercised will of the powerful in the form of actions that infer the desired behaviour of those who hold power.

Refugee The UNHCR describe a refugee as a person forced from their country in response to war, political upheaval and persecution.

Self The notion of 'Self' refers to the individual's representation of their own identity, constructed typically in relation to their own collective 'ethnic' group and the identity of others. Poststructuralism is particularly concerned with how the Self is informed by discourse.

Sheikh An Arabic title of respect that dates from pre-Islamic antiquity, which refers to a respected man who may hold an official title as ruler of a tribe or headship associated with religion and academia

Slave This term describes native people who were colonised by colonising forces. In a colonial context, the slave (or native), were

constructed as inferior by the powerful through the use of negative stereotyping discourses.

Slave-Slave(Master) Dialectic

A reworking of Hegel's classic Master-slave relationship where the former slave repositions themselves as the new 'Master' using colonialist-like values, attitudes and restrictions to control and subjugate people considered as inferior (slave).

Stateless Person   UNHCR describe a stateless person as someone who is not recognised by any country as a citizen.

Structuralism   Structuralism is often described as a theoretical approach grounded in an epistemological position that silences the evolution and changing nature of symbolic patterns within society. It attempts to account of social outcomes in terms of universalist-like structures.

Subaltern   This term refers to the colonised lower class whom occupy a status of fixed inferiority, which renders them dependent upon the tools of their 'master' to express or represent themselves.

Zionism   This term describes the national and political movement advocating the return of the Jewish people to their ancestral homeland, the Land of Israel, to establish a sovereign Jewish state. Not all Jewish people, however, are Zionists.

Chapter One

The Context of Human Displacement

I am a refugee who lives as a stranger in a foreign land,

deprived of rights, deprived of dignity and robbed of freedom[1]

Introduction

Human displacement has proved pivotal in shaping and influencing the movement and settlement of human populations. From the Biblical account of Mary and Joseph's escape to Egypt with God's embodiment, Jesus (Ross 2012), to the mass uprooting of Tutsi communities during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 (Dallaire 2003), journeys of this kind have often epitomised the tribulations synonymous with the phenomenon of human displacement. The refuge that Mary and Joseph sought in Egypt, and the actions of Tutsi's who more recently fled persecution were not acts of wanton behaviour, but rather reactions that staved off dire outcomes, such as imprisonment and death. In this respect, however, human displacement should not only be perceived as a present day reaction to war, natural disaster and religious, ethnic and racial discrimination, but rather the evolution of trans-historical processes acted out in different contexts during human history

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[1] Questionnaire, Palestinian High School student - 2004.

(White and Marsella 2007; Ogata 1997). In Boyden and Hart's (2007: 238) article, *The Statelessness of the World's children,* similar cyclic factors to those that influenced the departure of Mary, Joseph, Jesus and the expulsion of Tutsi's from their homelands are again outlined as causes that influence human displacement. With this particularly broad context of human displacement as the historic 'backdrop' the discussion that follows strives to investigate the modern context of human displacement and detail its importance and relevance when exploring the research question of this thesis project:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of

   its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and

   what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes

   of identity formation?

Thus, it is against this specific phenomenon of human displacement and the movement patterns of human populations that this research project attempts to unpack Palestinian perceptions of their identity, status, education and career aspirations, as internally displaced 'residents' in Lebanon. Key terms including 'forced-migrant', 'stateless person', 'internally displaced person' (IDP) and 'refugee', which are often used to describe and understand the phenomenon and experience of human displacement are introduced in the next section of this thesis.

Human Displacement – Modern Perceptions and Causes

Throughout history war, violence, human rights violations, and natural and/or man-made disasters have influenced the phenomenon of human displacement (Fix 1999; Bradley 2002; White and Marsella 2007). Prior to World War Two (WWII), however, the problem of human displacement was dealt with in a mostly impromptu manner, which often reflected the precarious circumstances surrounding the sudden displacement of families and entire villages (Fielden 2008). Both World Wars were catastrophic and resulted in mass internal migration and trans-border displacement, which occurred on a scale never before seen. Thousands of people were affected and certain populations, notably Jews and other marginalised groups were culturally, politically and religiously persecuted (UNHCR 2005:4; Manning 2005: 164-168).

Following the devastation of WWII the United Nations (UN) was officially formed on the 24th October 1945, with the aim of maintaining world peace and global security (United Nations 2018). The UN recognised the need to confront humanitarian issues, such as assisting and protecting persons displaced due to discrimination, persecution, violence, war, disaster and violations of their human rights. Under the auspices of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) the UN established the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on December 14, 1950, which specifically aimed to deal with the growing epidemic of human displacement. In this context, the UNHCR (2005:4-5) also developed a

modern definition of the term 'refugee', as a person who has been forced to leave their country of origin, due to factors such as war, political upheaval and persecution. While, helpful for identifying and labelling those affected by displacement it is contended that this UNHCR definition does not always accurately define the context of one's displacement. Thus, in contemporary parlance the problem of human displacement has been broadened to include categories and 'labels' such as 'forced-migrant', 'stateless person', 'internally displaced person' (IDP), and aforementioned term 'refugee'.

Defining Human Displacement

The rationale for using such 'labels' to define human displacement was to not only give meaning to the different situations and contexts impacting population stability and instability, but as Giner (2007: 250) suggests, to reduce the risk of 'false' pretence, so that the very circumstances that underpin personal displacement could be better categorised, verified and thus inferred as legitimate by agencies who assisted the displaced. Ross (2003:39) also suggests that these additional categories were instigated by global aid organizations such as the UNHCR to more effectively identify and prioritise the needs of displaced populations.

The following discussion defines the terms 'refugee', 'stateless person' and 'forced-migrant' in more detail.

Definition of a Refugee

A refugee is a person seeking asylum in a foreign country in order to escape persecution. Some regional legal instruments further include those seeking to escape generalized violence in the definition of a refugee. Those who seek refugee status are sometimes known as asylum seekers and the practice of accepting such refugees is that of offering political asylum. The most common asylum claims to industrialized countries are based upon political and religious grounds.

The term 'refugee' was initially used to define people who crossed national borders, however, by the latter part of the 20th century, this term had become more complex and somewhat out-dated, such that its meaning was more synonymous with additional terms such as 'forced-migrant', 'stateless person' and 'internally displaced person' (IDP) (Boyden and Hart 2007). The UNHCR (2005) defines a stateless person and forced-migrant as follows:

Definition of a Stateless Person

A *stateless person* is someone who is not recognized by any country as a citizen. Several million people globally are effectively trapped in this legal limbo, enjoying only minimal access to national or international legal protection or to such basic rights as health and education.

Definition of a Forced-Migrant

A *forced-migrant* generally refers to those people who have left his or her home because of political persecution, violence and/or economic hardship. For example, the forced migration of people that surrounded economically-driven projects like that of the Three Gorges Dam in China and various Indian dams, shows how development-induced displacement should have greater legal protection for those it may affect.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the events that unfolded during WWII saw millions of people flee their homes in a similar vain to that of Mary and Joseph's flight from Herod's tyranny (Hourani 1992; MacIntyre 1997). Hart (2008: 65) and Limon (2004: 2) described this sense of uncertainty and 'flight' in terms of

reproducing the constant struggle which has underscored populations and environments affected by human displacement. Since the end of WWII human displacement has grown significantly during the past 50 years from an approximate figure of 2.1 million to a staggering 38 million by the end of 2017 (UNHCR 2017). With the recent wars in the Middle East and the 'war' in Ukraine, it can only be expected that this figure will rise. Of this number, it is estimated that more than 10 million of the world's entire displaced population are children and within this figure, the Palestinian displaced population is one of the largest and oldest groups, with approximately 5 million Palestinian's scattered within Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Gaza and the West Bank (UNWRA 2017).

While appropriate for defining a *stateless person* and *forced migrant*, it is claimed that these definitions (above) are not always entirely applicable or valid when categorising the situations faced by other displaced populations. For the purposes of this research project, however, it is the participants who are Palestinian 'residents' in Lebanon that shall be referred to as internally displaced persons or IDP's, as many have in fact not crossed a border (Hampton 1998: 3-4). Hence they cannot easily be identified as a refugee or a forced migrant. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement define IDP's as the following:

Definition of Internally Displaced Person (IDP)

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed

conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border (Vincent 2000).

This definition highlights many of the reasons that contribute towards displacement, such as discrimination, war, disasters and human rights violations such that the UNHCR agency also notes that IDPs are among the world's most vulnerable populations. Here the UNHCR (UNHCR 2013) states that:

An *IDP* is often displaced due to natural or man-made disasters or wars. No specific international legal instrument applies to such individuals, though their welfare remains the responsibility of the state to which they are citizens. Foreign nations often offer disaster relief to mitigate the effects of such disaster displacement. If the displaced person has crossed an international border and falls under one of the relevant international legal instruments, they are only then considered to be a refugee.

Unlike refugees, IDPs have not crossed an international border to find sanctuary but have remained inside their home countries. Even if they have fled for similar reasons as refugees (armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations), IDPs

legally remain under the protection of their own government –

even though that government might be the cause of their flight.

As citizens, they retain all of their rights and protection under

both human rights and international humanitarian law.

The term IDP is grounded in numerous complexities such that it is often disputed that these definitions (above) function to equally highlight several problems which arise when trying to categorise populations as Internally Displaced. In Fielden's (2008) research paper it is claimed that the term IDP may be difficult to apply to the children of IDP parents because many children of IDP parents who are born into the environment of their parent's 'displacement' have actually never been 'displaced'. A more recent example emerges from Afghanistan's unstable political climate and increased domestic conflict which has caused families and villages to abandon their homes in search for safety (UNHCR 2012). In this specific situation it is estimated that approximately 500,000 people were internally displaced in Afghanistan by January 2012 and that the majority of these displaced people have since migrated to the outskirts of Kabul and other Afghan cities (UNHCR 2012). Syria's current civil war has also followed a similar pattern of human displacement and it has been estimated that approximately one million Syrians have been forced to leave their homes (Ferris 2012). Although these examples reveal how the impact of human displacement can change the demographics and infrastructure of a particular country, it is also suggested that it is also the magnitude of an IDPs predicament which differentiates IDPs from other human displacement events and definitions including the: *stateless person*, *forced*

migrant and *refugee*. Categorisation as an IDP, however, can as a consequence of not taking into account the enormity of the event, result in an increased likelihood that IDPs (in particular children) are not adequately protected and thus, subjected to continuing discrimination and violations of their human rights.

Fielden (2008) also highlights that the problem of their definition often affirms the lower status of IDP's as the rights of many IDP's are generally determined by the governments of the host nation. The consequent lack of protection comprises a significant flaw in the definition of an IDP, which often does not take into account the disorder experienced by the children of those who did at one point in time cross national borders, and additionally those now born into and residing within host nations such as Lebanon.

The impact of internal displacement also increases the prospect that people are forced to move from settled environments, which normally provide access to basic necessities of life, such as employment, shelter, healthcare and education (Vincent 2000; Bradley 2002; Hill 2005; Maddocks 2004; Gifford 2004). The disruption and instability caused by this type of displacement places IDPs in a vulnerable position, whereby their safety and ability to 'live' are compromised or drastically impaired. Nonetheless, the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* state that it is the responsibility of 'national authorities and other relevant actors to ensure that IDPs' rights are respected and fulfilled, despite the vulnerability generated by their displacement' (IDMC 2012).

Notwithstanding these limitations in the definition of the IDP and the precarious nature of internal displacement, the current predicament of Palestinians in Lebanon is conceivably also the result of past wars contributing towards their

cross-border habitation as IDPs into Lebanon from Palestine, Syria and Jordan (Sayigh 1994; Hourani 1992; Mansfield 1992). The Palestinian IDP population in Lebanon is one of the largest in the Middle East region and the flow of Palestinian people between borders initially occurred when Palestinians fled Palestine after Israel's declaration of independence in 1948, and then also after the 1967 Israeli-Arab war (Morris 2008). In the context of this research project, it is important to acknowledge that subsequent generations of Palestinians were born in Lebanon and can neither be categorised as a refugee nor forced migrant. Moreover, it is stressed that Palestinians born in Lebanon are part of a social reality that does not define Palestinians as 'refugees' like their forbears, but rather positions Palestinians as 'Lebanese' residents who may indeed refer to Lebanon as their home. Sayigh (2001) suggests that this social reality places Palestinians in a problematic situation, as Palestinians are often regarded (by themselves and others) as holding lower social status in comparison to their host-nation counterparts. In relation to this research problem, the dynamics of power are important to explore as they may expose the reasons why Palestinians hold certain perceptions concerning their identity formation and social status, and whether these beliefs determine future employment opportunities. The specific rationale and historical impact of mass Palestinian movement will be discussed in Chapter Two along with literature relating to human displacement. Discussion in Chapter Three will also focus upon how children in particular have been impacted by the phenomenon of human displacement.

Research Problem

The problem which motivated the conduct of this research project concerns the nature of education provided to internally displaced Palestinians living in Lebanon. As will be identified in Chapter Three the global provision of education for internally displaced groups is often lacking in quality and resourcing. While the investigation of the provision of education might be informed by the review of a range of reports provided by high-level stakeholders, a problem emerges when the views of those directly impacted by the education provision are excluded from its evaluation (Brown 2001; Zakharia and Tabari 2001). This research project thus aims to respond to this problem by engaging the voice of the 'end-user' of the education 'product'. While it is acknowledged that other research has been undertaken in relation to the perceptions of IDPs and Palestinians in particular (Aasheim 2000), this research project, however, strives to extend the findings of the existing body of research. In this respect, this research project aims to understand if the social positioning of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon has influenced their perceptions of one's self and thus, shaped their career aspirations. Additionally, this research project also attempts to examine the ways in which the notion of 'ambivalence' as defined by Homi Bhabha (1994) frames Palestinian IDP perceptions that expose beliefs, values and attitudes held by this population in relation to themselves and others. While this is undertaken from a largely

postcolonial perspective and draws upon a range of social theories, such as the work of Bhabha and Edward Said, this research project specifically asks:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

In the investigation of this research question this research project deployed a broadly post-colonial perspective underpinned by Bhabha's (1994) notion of *ambivalence*, and Edward Said's notion of *Orientalism* (1978). These theoretical tools were used to explore the social reality from the perspective of Palestinian IDPs who reside in Lebanon. In particular, Bhabha's notion of *ambivalence* and Said's notion of *Orientalism* were used in this research project to explain why Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon may be considered as a 'slave' within the restructured version of Hegel's (Stern 2002) Master-slave dialectic, where the role of the 'Master' has now been assumed by the Lebanese host-nation who were once adjudged to be positioned as a 'slave'. The rational for using these theoretical tools is discussed briefly below.

Ambivalence

Bhabha's notion of ambivalence is used in this research project as it delves deeper than just simply identifying why people may feel indecisive, unconcerned

or reticent about an issue (Arber 2003). As a theoretical tool Bhabha's notion of 'ambivalence' is used to examine the relationship of power between the subjugated (colonised) and those who wield power (coloniser) (Bhabha 1994). In this capacity, the notion of ambivalence is used in this research project to specifically provide insight into the dynamics that may influence the representations of Self and Other from the perspective of the subjugated. Attentiveness to the presence of ambivalence may also help this research project understand why subjugated (colonised) populations exhibit certain behaviours in response to the dominant powers (coloniser's) request for assimilation or even exclusion into their host-nation (Bhabha 1994; Arber 2003; Shilliam 2010; Shilliam 2012).

Orientalism

Edward Said's notion of 'Orientalism' is not only used in this research project to provide understanding of colonial discourse, but also for comprehending Palestinian students' perceptions of education and its value in securing desired career futures in the context of the Lebanese host-nation. Most important among these perceptions is that Orientalism is a discourse that provides inscribed subjects with ways of seeing, viewing and interpreting the world from their point of view (Gee 1999:127). In this context of identity formation, Said's notion of Orientalism is useful for discovering how the relationship of power between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host-nation may indeed inform their position politically, economically and socially within Lebanon.

A more detailed discussion of postcolonial theory including Bhabha's notion of 'ambivalence', Said's notion of 'Orientalism' and Foucault's notion of 'discourse' is presented in Chapter Four.

Limitations and Delimitations

Simon (2011) asserts with regard to the conduct of research that "limitations are potential weaknesses in your study and are out of your control", while delimitations "are those characteristics that limit the scope and define the boundaries" – delimitations are according to Simon the factors that "are in your control". Drawing on the advice of Simon, the veracity of the findings in this project, were limited by the researcher not being able to speak the language of the research project's participants; namely Arabic. The limitations associated with the consequent translation process are discussed in the review of the project's research methodology in Chapter Five.

The research project was delimited, however, to students undertaking education in selected IDP contexts, such that the findings reported below cannot be considered to be applicable to all Palestinians in Lebanon, or all IDPs. The construction of the research participant group is discussed in Chapter Five.

As noted above, this research project relies upon Homi Bhabha's notion of 'ambivalence' to investigate how relations of power can be produced and reproduced within a slave(Master)-slave context. The notion of 'slave(Master)-

slave' comprises a reworking of Hegel's 'classic' Master-slave paradigm (Stern 2002: 83-84), which is now used in this research project to account for the possibility that in the context of 'post-colonial' Lebanon, it may be the formerly colonised Lebanese who in some respects are now involved in a relationship with the Palestinian IDP wherein they (Lebanese) are (re-) positioned as the new Master. With these broad theoretical frames and concepts in mind this research project is located within the field of post-colonial studies, as it applies to education. It is delimited, however, to a specific set of post-colonial social theory frameworks.

It does not, for example, borrow significantly from Marxist informed post-colonial perspectives (Ghandi 1998:3). It does as noted above, however, draw upon Bhabha's (1994) notion of 'ambivalence', but not so much to show how the slave transcends the colonialist Master-slave relationship through exploiting the slippage in colonialist discourse as Bhabha (1994) has previously identified. Instead this framework is used more so to identify how relations of power between the Lebanese host nation (as Master) and the Palestinian IDP (as slave), inform Palestinian IDP perceptions of education and its relation to desired career futures. This focus on ambivalence as a theoretical frame for exploring the relationship between Master and slave, and host nation and IDP, is discussed in more depth in Chapter Four which details the social theory used in this research project.

Thesis and Structure Argument

The following chapter, Chapter Two, takes up the discussion of the historical context that informs the research project, continuing in depth aspects of the discussion explored above. Chapter Two explores how human displacement has affected Palestinians in the Middle East region over time and taking a macro-historic perspective, discussion identifies how specific periods in Middle Eastern history have contributed towards the movement of Palestinians within the Middle East region. Following on from this, a micro-historic perspective is used to identify important historical moments that have affected Palestinian settlement in Lebanon as a specific instance of Palestinian movement. This discussion provides reference to significant historic antecedents which can be considered informative of contemporary internally displaced Palestinian perceptions of the value of education in the present-day context of Lebanon.

Chapter Three presents a review of literature related to the role of education in IDP contexts, and explains how internationally, the needs and rights of the child have become recognised as essential in securing the protection of overall child welfare and self-determination (UNICEF 2006). Chapter Three also highlights how education is perceived by IDP's more generally and identifies common problems that arise when IDP communities strive to establish educational systems within host nations. Literature identified in Chapter Three also details why IDP education

is generally not sufficient to equip IDPs with valuable and desired employment opportunities.

Chapter Four identifies the social theory used to investigate the research problems signalled above. It details why postcolonial theory is used as the overarching theoretical framework informing this investigation. Chapter Four introduces Edward Said's (1978) notion of *Orientalism* which relies in part upon a reworking of Foucault's understanding of discourse; and also introduces Homi Bhabha's (1994) notion of *ambivalence*. The discussion in Chapter Four explores how these theoretical tools will be used to reveal and understand the reasons why this research projects participants' may hold specific perceptions concerning the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures. This chapter also highlights how these conceptual frames enabled exploration of the slave(Master)-slave dialectic, where it is proclaimed that Palestinian IDPs assume the role as 'slave' (and Other), while the Lebanese host nation is positioned as the 'Master' in an adapted version of Hegel's Master-slave dialectic.

Chapter Five outlines the research methodology, which informed the investigation of the research question identified above. Discussion in Chapter Five explains the relationship between the project's research methods and the social theory introduced in Chapter Four. This research project's methodology was similarly guided by a broadly post-colonial perspective.

Data were largely generated from responses that research participants provided from their completed questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and

advice tasks. These accounts were analysed using principles of Foucauldian macro-level critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Foucault 1982, Fairclough 1995, Hall 1997) with a specific focus upon the presence of ambivalence in participant discourse. Using Bhabha's (1994) notion of ambivalence, the analysis of the data aimed to map how discourse emerging from the discussion of education and its relationship to desired career futures, is informed by shifting power relations between the Palestinian IDP and the Lebanese host nation.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight comprise data driven and evidence-based discussion. The following table outlines the focus of each discourse that will shape the discussion in each evidence chapter. The table is very important as it provides an insight of how each discourse relates to the notion of ambivalence and how the evidence chapters attempt to unpack the research project's overarching research question.

In comparison to Chapter Six, the discussion in Chapter Seven explores the negative perceptions of the value of education from the perspective of Palestinian IDP students, teachers, parents and United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) administrators. This chapter focuses on identifying why Palestinian IDP students, teachers, parents and UNRWA administrators may also hold negative perceptions of the value of education. It specifically aims to map the extent to which Palestinian IDPs believe that their educational experiences may negatively impact on their career futures and perceptions of self in Beirut, Lebanon. Discussion in this chapter also compares and contrasts the differing

attitudes that filter through Chapter Six and Seven, and tries to illuminate possible reasons that may contribute towards Palestinian IDPs constructing negative perspectives in contrast to the idealist discourse. The findings of discussion in Chapter Seven are juxtaposed against the findings in Chapter Six, and in this sense, the notion of ambivalence simultaneously asks why Palestinian IDP's in Lebanon could have both positive and negative perceptions relating to the value of education and their identity in comparison to others.

Chapter	Discourse	Presence of Ambivalence
6	The idealist view and value of education as a positive resource for Palestinian IDP's in Lebanon	• The discourse in this chapter explores the presence of ambivalence through the conflicting relationships of power and identity that influence the formation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of themselves in relation to their Lebanese host nation – 'elites' • Discussion aims to investigate why Palestinian IDP's may hold positive perceptions (both real and imagined) of education, despite their lower status within the reinterpreted master-slave relationship, slave-slave dialectic where Palestinian IDP's in Lebanon have little or no control over their educational and career futures • This discourse also considers why Palestinian IDP's view education as a way to promote Palestinian development and encourage social change in Lebanon, in spite of the education and employment restrictions that confront Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon
7	The negative view of education as not being able to provide Palestinian IDP's in Lebanon with the capacity to achieve desirable career futures and promote positive perceptions of self	• This chapter examines why Palestinian IDPs have developed negative attitudes and perceptions about education and UNRWA education systems, despite claims from participants in this research thesis that education does provide hope for improved career futures and social change in Lebanon • This discourse specifically strives to consider why Palestinian IDP responses reveal ambivalent attitudes such as 'what's the use of education?' even though some of their responses also reveal an attitude suggesting that the real and imagined benefits of education as outlined in chapter 6 do exist
8	The Third Discourse – The survivalist view of education as a necessity to maintain minimal living standards for Palestinian IDP's in Lebanon	• Though this discourse acknowledges the value of education, and in this respect it is similar to the idealist discourse, it contrasts with this discourse in that, this is not a discourse deployed in the hope of changing the power relationship between the internally displaced Palestinian population and the Lebanese host-nation. Instead it is discourse which constructs the value of education in an ambivalent capacity such that educational value is based upon its ability to prevent one from slipping even further down the socio-economic hierarchy

Table 1: Discourse Table - *Chapter Six, Seven and Eight - Discourse Focus and Presence of Ambivalence*

In contrast to Chapters Six and Seven, Chapter Eight explores a 'Third Position' or what comprises 'the third discourse'. The third discourse, although seemingly positive in its valuing of education, ultimately functions to reconfirm the limits upon Palestinian aspirations and the dominance of the Lebanese host-nation. The third discourse is grounded in the notion of survival. Though it acknowledges the value of education, and in this respect it is similar to the idealist discourse, it contrasts with this discourse in that, this is not a discourse deployed in the hope of changing the power relationship between the internally displaced Palestinian population and the Lebanese host-nation. Instead it is a discourse which constructs the value of education to be in its capacity to prevent one from slipping even further down the socio-economic hierarchy. Discussion in Chapter Eight references the liberal-humanist notion of agency identified in Chapter Six and Seven to argue that although the third discourse trades upon a sense of agency, the extent of such is significantly limited to the acquisition of education for the purposes of attaining a slightly more tolerable level of survival. Discussion in Chapter Eight also highlights a militarist type trope that identifies education as a source of resistance for surviving in a society where Palestinian IDP 'survival' is frequently under threat. Thus, the third discourse constructs the possibility of Palestinian IDP 'survival', this seems to be dependent and reliant upon Palestinian IDPs continuing to hold ambivalent attitudes that do not particularly or question and challenge the power regimes that consign them as the slave within the Master-slave dialectic.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis. It does so by returning to the historic context identified in Chapter Two, with a particular reference to the relatively recent 'war' involving Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. Acknowledging the desperate tweets of a 16 year old Gaza girl and her younger sisters who were caught in the crossfire, Chapter Nine reviews the main arguments advanced in this thesis and summarises this research project's findings in relation to the evidence presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. Discussion in Chapter Nine further summarises the insights developed as a result of the entire research process and suggests how the findings from this research project might inform future investigations of the research problem. Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by offering recommendations for the improvement of the provision for internally displaced Palestinians in Lebanon, and reflects upon the kinds of resistance enabling forms of education that future research might explore.

Conclusion

This research project comprises a study of Palestinian IDPs perceptions of the value of education with regard to its capacity to facilitate desired future careers and to map how these perceptions are inscribed by ambivalence. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this research project specifically asks:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and

what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes

of identity formation?

With regard to this research question, it is worth noting that research
conducted by Chatty and Hundt (2001:17) investigated the prolonged effects of
conflict and forced migration in Palestinian households in the Middle East. Their
research found that the loss of social structure following displacement, impacts
how children react to their environment in the early stages of diaspora. Chatty and
Hundt (2001) stated that if education is reinstalled quickly it may help to enhance
the possibility of displaced populations being able to restore a sense of purpose and
order back into their lives. In the context explored by this research project, the
findings of Chatty and Hundt would seem to suggest that for Palestinian IDPs in
Lebanon, access to education might comprise a social 'good' that allows
Palestinian IDPs to move out of relationships that would otherwise construct them
as the Other or indeed the slave.

Thus it is in this light of the potentially positive impact of education – at least
when viewed from the liberal-humanist tradition (Thompson and Stannard 2008) -
upon the children of internally displaced persons and communities that this
research project explores the perceptions that Palestinian IDP high school students,
parents and educators hold regarding education and desired career futures.
Drawing upon post-colonial theorising more broadly and specific conceptual
frames offered by Homi Bhabha (1994) and Edward Said (1978), this research
project argues that the perceptions of students, parents, and educators regarding

education and future employment are deeply characterised by ambivalence in multiple forms. Not wishing to construct either the Lebanese host-nation or the Palestinian IDP as two entirely separate and homogenous groups, this research project finds, however, that the perception of the value of education as a resource that enables the securing of desired careers indeed differs and yet remains similar between individuals, groups and within groups. In what follows discussion will not only map this difference and similarity, it will account for such in terms of identity construction and ambivalence.

Chapter Two

Palestinians in the Middle East

I am a Palestinian refugee. Transported from one country to

another country[2]

Introduction

Chapter One outlined how the phenomenon of human displacement has

influenced the migration and settlement of different cultures and populations over

time. The discussion in Chapter One also identified key terms used in the literature,

such as *refugee*, *stateless person, forced migrant* and *internally displaced person*,

which have become synonymous with the modern contexts that have come to

define different forms of human displacement. Following on from this, this chapter

explores in a broad sense, how human displacement has affected Palestinians in the

Middle East region. Discussion in this chapter aims to identify important moments

in history that have underpinned the migration of Palestinians within the Middle

East and which have influenced their residential status in this region. From within

this macro perspective, a micro approach is then used to outline specific historical

contexts which have shaped Palestinian settlement more specifically in Lebanon, to

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[2]Questionnaire, Palestinian High School student - 2004.

further detail the historic background to the context in which this investigation of Palestinian perceptions of the value of education in relation to securing desired future careers is set.

The Context of Palestinian Displacement in the Middle East

This thesis acknowledges that the phenomenon of human displacement has dramatically affected the migration of Palestinian people over the past seventy years. From wars to disputed land annexation, it is asserted that the current demographic figures associated with Palestinian displacement are connected to periods of history that have significantly and specifically influenced Palestinian migration in the Middle East region. In other words there is a relationship between the present context, which this research project explores, and past events. It is claimed that two historical events, in particular, have affected the demographics of the Middle East region more broadly; namely, 1. The United Nations' (UN) partition plan for Israel and, 2. Israel's declaration of independence on the 14th May 1948 (Halpern and Reinharz 1998; Harris 1998; IMFA 2014; Gunderson 2004; WRMEA 2002).

Following the end of World War II, clashes escalated between Jews (many of whom had immigrated to Palestine from Europe to escape Adolf Hitler's plan to genocide Jews) and Palestinian Arabs in British mandated Palestine (Hourani 1992: 359; Hiro 1999; Horrell 1998). As a result of the violence between these

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groups, along with distrust and resentment that the Jews and Palestinian Arabs felt towards Britain's mandated rule, British officials asked the newly formed United Nations (UN) to investigate conditions in Palestine and to develop solutions that could make Britain's mandate of Palestine more tenable (Buchanan 2002; Cattan 1970; Hourani 1992:359). Thus, in the same way that the allied powers, created the UN following their victory in World War II, British officials hoped that the legitimacy of the UN would help broker a sustainable peace that would accommodate the concerns of all parties – Britain, Jews and Palestinian Arabs (Milton-Edwards and Hinchcliffe 2001: 24; Khalidi 1997). On the 15th May 1947, the UN commissioned the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), which saw representatives from eleven countries (Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, The Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia) review the conflict affecting Palestinians and Jews in mandated Palestine (Ross 2004). During a three month investigation UNSCOP gathered claims from both Jews and Palestinians about their plans and rights within mandated Palestine. The UNSCOP report released on August 31 1947 recommended that Palestine should be divided into two separate states, one Arab and one Jewish (Keay 2003:368; Beinin and Hajjar 2003). UNSCOP hoped that this would help 1,269,000 Arabs and 608,000 Jews living in mandated Palestine to follow a plan that would ensure future peace (Cattan 1970; WRMEA 2002; Ross 2004). The UNSCOP plan became a reality on November 29, 1947, when the UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one

Arab (IMFA 2014; Palestine Day 2002; Palestine History 2002). However, under this plan the UN acknowledged that both Jews and Arabs had to make concessions to ensure this partition plan could work. Under the UN partition plan, Jews would control approximately 55 percent of mandated Palestine, while the remaining 42 percent would be assigned to Palestinian control; and the contentious area of Jerusalem and Bethlehem would remain under international control (Morris 2008; Frank 2005).

Unfortunately, the reaction by Jews and Arabs to the UNSCOP partition plan did not quell violence or bring about peace, but rather saw a surge in fighting between both groups. Jew and Arab anger, however, was not just directed at one another, but also aimed at their British overseers as both Jews and Arabs detested the British for not enforcing their claims to mandated Palestine (Morris 2008). During this period of instability, the leaders of the Zionism[3] movement in Palestine declared the state of Israel on the 14th May 1948 (Halpern and Reinharz 1998; Hart 2009:28; IMFA 2014). This declaration of independence was made a day before Britain's mandate of Palestine expired and reaction from both Jews and Arabs to this decision saw an escalation of Jewish and Arab hostilities in former mandated Palestine (Herzog 1984:21-24; Masalha 2003: 40; Gunderson 2004). As the conflict intensified many Jews and Palestinians became internally displaced within former mandated Palestine and this displacement worsened throughout the 1948-49

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[3]Zionism – A term describing the national, social and political movement that advocated the return of the Jewish people to their ancestral homeland, the Land of Israel, to establish a sovereign Jewish state (Halpern and Reinharz 1998; IMFA 2014).

Arab-Israeli war (PASSIA 2010; Frank 2005: Jewish Virtual Library 2002; Zakharia and Tabari 2001:4; Mansfield 1992). As Israel and Arabs fought to control former mandated Palestine, scores of Palestinians fled from their homes and villages to seek refuge in different areas of former mandated Palestine and to neighbouring Arab states including Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt (Stephens 2007; Pappe 2006; Milton-Edwards and Hinchcliffe 2001; Hiro 1999; Khalidi 1997). In relation to these early episodes of conflict and 'flight', it is contended that these historical moments of Palestinian displacement have significantly influenced how displaced Palestinians constructed and developed perceptions of 'Self' as a people formed by dispossession, catastrophe (Al Nakba[4]) and exile from 'home' to other places and spaces (Mason 2007; Ali 2002: 87).

Dealing with Displacement: United Nations Relief and Works Agency

The problem of Palestinian displacement triggered by the Arab-Israeli 1948-49 war prompted the United Nations General Assembly to pass resolution 302 (IV) on the 8th December 1949. This resolution established the creation of an organisation called the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which aimed to serve Palestinians displaced by the initial Arab-Israeli 1948-49 war (UNRWA 2011; PASSIA 2010; Gunderson 2004).

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[4]Al Nakba – A term that describes the large and systematic displacement of Palestinians from villages and regions in Palestine during Israel's war of independence from 1947-48 (Ateek 1989: 7-10; Pappe 2006; Masalha 2003: 38-41; Nakba-Archive 2009).

Initially UNRWA was meant to function in a temporary capacity, aiming to help large pockets of displaced Palestinian populations that existed in relatively small regions of the Middle East. Though it is debatable as to whether the role of UNRWA has changed since its initial inception, some sixty years later, UNRWA continues to serve displaced Palestinians in a seemingly indefinite capacity (Maddocks 2004:39). This growth is detailed in Map 1 (Appendix Number One), which shows the large areas of operations that UNRWA functions within. As outlined in Chapter One, however, it is disputed that Palestinians are not actually displaced as many Palestinians were born and enjoy residency in host nations such as Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Israel. Thus, this research project refers to people who identify themselves as Palestinians and who reside in Lebanon as IDPs as many of these Palestinians have not crossed borders to live in Lebanon, but have been born in Lebanon into their current predicament. It is stated that the growth of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon (and the other Middle Eastern nations mentioned above) stems from important periods in history, namely, Israel's declaration of independence in 1948 and the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, which influenced initial Palestinian displacement. For example, UNRWA (2011) refers to the largest group of displaced Palestinians as being those that were displaced during the 1948 conflict following the creation of Israel (Masalha 2003: 4-6; PASSIA 2010). This group includes Palestinian refugees who are registered with UNRWA and Palestinian refugees (*prima facie*) not eligible for international assistance. The second significant group of displaced Palestinians comprises those Palestinians displaced from the West Bank, Eastern Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip after the 1967 Israeli-Arab war. Another group compromises those displaced Palestinians who remain

outside the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967 who are unable to return due to Israeli regulations that deny repatriation and family reunification (UNRWA 2013). In addition to these groups, there are also two other groups of internally displaced Palestinians living within Israel and the Occupied Territories. The first group of internally displaced Palestinians refers to those Palestinians who have remained in the Occupied Territories that became the state of Israel in 1948 (Badil 2006). The Occupied Territories also refer to territories claimed by Israel during the Israeli-Arab war of 1967 (Ross 2004; Mendelson 1982). The territories that Israel annexed during this war were from Jordan, Egypt and Syria and consisted of the West Bank; East Jerusalem; the Gaza Strip; the Golan Heights; and the Sinai Peninsula (The Sinai Peninsula was handed back to Egypt by Israel after the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979) (Morris 2008). The West Bank and Gaza Strip are also defined by the Palestinian National Authority as Occupied Palestinian Territory (UNRWA 2013). The second group of internally displaced Palestinians includes those who have become internally displaced in the West Bank, Eastern Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip following ongoing clashes between Israel and Palestinian militia groups since Israel's inception (UNRWA 2013; Badil 2006).

Unfortunately, data-detailing statistics of Palestinian displacement is often inaccurate because of an absence of comprehensive registration systems, arising from the political and economic constraints confronting many aid agencies assisting Palestinians living in host nations (UNRWA 2017; Badil 2006). The lack of data-base re-sourcing not only reduces the ability of aid agencies to assist and provide services for the displaced Palestinians, but it also makes it difficult to accurately know the precise number of displaced Palestinians in host nations. Generally

displaced Palestinians who are unregistered are considered to be a *prima facie* refugee, which means that they do not exist in a statistical sense and cannot seek assistance if they cannot prove their legitimacy to be categorised as a displaced Palestinian (UNWRA 2013). With respect to this paradox, international law states that displaced Palestinians are:

> … statutory refugees, whose plight emerged as a result of the decision of the United Nations to Partition Palestine (UNGA 181), then under British Mandate and which led to the creation of Israel and the eviction of the native Arab population from their homeland. As such, the international community has assumed responsibility for the Palestine refugee question since its inception in 1948 (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:5).

UNRWA, however, describes displaced Palestinians:

> As persons whose normal residence was Palestine between June 1947 and May 1948, who lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict (UNRWA 2013).

Zakharia and Tabari (2001:5) assert, however, that the descriptions above highlight the ineffectiveness of UNGA 181. They draw attention to the problems created after Palestine was occupied by Israel in 1948 (e.g. Palestinian exodus from

Palestine; Arab resentment towards the formation of the Israeli state) and highlight how the UNSCOP nations entrusted with formulating UNGA 181 were unable to rectify the repatriation of Palestinians into Israel and the implementation of the partition plan of Palestine. Thus it is insisted that the definitions and categorisations identified above emphasize the problematic nature of UNGA 181 and how Israel's subsequent declaration of independence, intensified conflict between Arabs and Israelis, which subsequently influenced the migration of Palestinians to neighbouring Arab nations such as Lebanon. It is estimated that there are approximately 5.2 million registered Palestinians in the Middle East region alone, and this figure does not include Palestinians who have not registered with UNRWA or reside in other regions of the world (UNRWA 2017). Nonetheless, UNRWA strives to assist Palestinians who reside in 58 camps located within Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the West Bank and Gaza Strip (UNRWA 2017).

Table 2 (below) highlights the distribution of Palestinian refugees throughout the Middle East region, including the population in Lebanon.

Statistical Breakdown of UNRWA: Palestinian Refugee Camps in the Middle East Region			
Field of Operations	**Official Camps**	**Total Registered Refugees**	**Total Registered Persons**
Jordan	10	2,175491	2,286,643
Lebanon	12	463,663	532,173
Syria	9	543,014	618,128
The West Bank	19	809,738	997,173
Gaza Strip	8	1,348,536	1,435,616
Agency Total	58	5,340,443	5,869,733

Table 2: UNRWA – *In Figures*. Statistics of registered Palestinians in UNRWA refugee camps located in the Middle East, as of 1 January 2017 (UNRWA 2017). Map 2 (Appendix Number Two) shows the distribution of UNRWA camps in the Middle East.

Table 2 outlines the population of Palestinians located in the Middle East region and the large proportion of this that exists outside the confines of the area once called Palestine. It is estimated that more Palestinians live outside Israel and the Occupied Territories, which may place a large toll on the countries harbouring this displaced population (UNRWA 2017). In some instances, host nations like Israel and Lebanon have permitted Palestinians with access to rights that enable them to become Israeli and Lebanese citizens, thus enjoying the privileges not usually associated with a displaced person (Maddocks 2004:39). The issue of rights for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon is discussed later in this thesis in relation to employment options. Although, these nations do indeed help to 'support' displaced Palestinians, it is contended that their governance of Palestinians has facilitated various forms of ambivalence within the Palestinian community with regard to the value of education. While, Palestinians may have decided to live in countries like Lebanon and Israel, this may not have been the result of choice alone, but determined by historical situations such as the UN partition plan of Israel and the Israeli-Arab War of 1948 and 1967 (PASSIA 2010; Pappe 2006). For many Palestinians who are born inside or outside of former 'mandated Palestine', they live as internally displaced people governed by limited opportunities associated

with a general lack of rights, which variously impact their valuing of education in relation to future career aspirations.

The responses of neighbouring Arab states with regard to affording Palestinians fuller rights, despite what they consider a violation of human rights, hence remains mixed. Their often contradictory behaviour not only discredits many Arab states' claimed support of the Palestinian cause, it also points to possible use of the 'Palestinian problem' as a political tool to garner concessions rather than promote Palestinian self-determination (Ali 2002). Therefore, it is claimed that the 'reality' for displaced Palestinians living in a land, not their own, is that their presence is often considered an 'unwelcome, but temporarily unavoidable, nuisance' (Said 1992:130; Sayigh 2001). This relationship is evident when viewing Palestinian assimilation into Arab host nations that have enforced colonial-like responses that function to subdue Palestinian autonomy. As Ali (2002:xviii) suggests, many displaced Palestinians found it difficult to settle in different 'lands' because host nations could not deal with the notion that Palestinians were 'different' and had different needs. Subsequently, in response to the mass influx of displaced Palestinians, many host Arab nations decided to enforce similar Israeli-like restrictions upon Palestinians that they had previously exclaimed were immoral and deplorable (Zakharia and Tabari 2001). From a post-colonial perspective, there seems to be an irony and contradiction in the response of these Arab host nations. Arab host nations simultaneously voice anger at the mistreatment of Palestinians by Israel, yet continue to impose similar colonialist-like restrictions grounded in a fundamental dichotomy between Us and Them, or Self and Other. The irony is deepened in that the imposition of restrictions reproduce - in otherwise post-colonial

contexts - the master-slave dialectic, which so often informed colonialist relations between the coloniser and the colonised in an earlier era of colonialism (Said 1978). Thus, this research project insists that the response of Lebanon as a host nation to Palestinian IDPs is one that can be characterised by colonialist-like relations of power between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host nation, and that these relations inform the Palestinian IDPs perceptions of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures and also shape their perceptions of Self in relation to others.

Despite this sense of hypocrisy, perhaps it should be acknowledged that the numbers associated with Palestinian IDP's may have grown to point where the strain on nation-state infrastructure is intolerable, especially when host nations such as Lebanon are often in various states of economic, social and political turmoil (Haddad 2001; Pipes 2006). It might also be worthwhile to contemplate that the problem of Palestinian displacement could be solved if Palestinians who seek fulfilment of Palestinian self-determination, Palestinian identity and Palestinian sovereignty, actually renounced these claims in favour of the laws and legislation of their 'adopted' host nations. Notwithstanding these not insignificant arguments, it needs to be asked: Why do displaced Palestinians continue to comprise one of the longest standing displaced populations? Given the longevity of Palestinian displacement in the Middle East, the claim that Palestinians have the ability and opportunity to seek success in host contexts such as Lebanon, must be made problematic. As Sayigh (1994) highlighted two decades ago, the situations confronting displaced Palestinians in the Middle East seem to be crisis-ridden such that this particular kind of existence has come to define Palestinian normality. This

research project affirms that this 'normality' has informed the often negative perceptions of the Palestinian Self which perceives its existence as being controlled by those of the host nation who consider Palestinians to be less than the host nation, and indeed 'Other'. Host nation control over the environment inhabited by the displaced facilitates categorisation, quantification, and ranking, such that the displaced can be more easily defined and made known through what debatably resembles a master-slave relationship, or indeed as noted earlier a hybrid Slave-slave relationship. Ironically, however, this 'knowing' of Palestinian IDP's has even resulted in UNRWA (an advocate for Palestinians) using the five different categories highlighted earlier to ascertain the level of assistance to be afforded to Palestinian IDPs. Categorisation for the purpose of 'aid', possibly also facilitates categorisation for the (colonialist-like) purpose of classification of Us and Them along with its consequences.

Palestinians in Lebanon

Lebanon has played 'host' for one of the largest Palestinian populations in the Middle East region. The majority of Palestinians entered Lebanon during the initial Arab-Israeli war of 1948-1949 and this number increased after the 'Six Day' war of 1967 (Gee 1998:87-88).

In Lebanon, UNRWA (2017) statistics indicate that the number of registered Palestinian refugees has grown from 127,000 in 1950 to approximately 532,173 in 2017. In order to make sense of Palestinian displacement in Lebanon, UNRWA categorises Palestinians into four distinct groups:

1. *Registered refugees* (Palestine refugees) whom are legally registered with both UNRWA and the Lebanese government;

2. *Non-registered* Palestinian refugees that are registered with Lebanese government authorities, but are not registered with UNRWA;

3. *Non-ID* Palestinian refugees, who are not registered with either UNRWA or Lebanese authorities;

4. Palestine refugees from Syria that have arrived in Lebanon since the start of the Syrian war in 2011.

(UNHCR 2016)

This classification of Palestinians is important as these categories are used by UNRWA to determine the extent of Palestinian displacement in Lebanon and thus, inform UNRWA decisions of how to assist this displaced population (UNHCR 2016).

Statistical Breakdown of UNRWA: Palestinians in UNRWA Camps in Lebanon	
Camp Name	**Approximate Number of Registered Palestinians in each UNRWA camp**
Ein el-Hilweh	54,116
Nahr el-Bared	5,857 (after 2007 Israeli War, 15,723 residents of camp displaced – assimilated into Beddawi)
Rashidieh	31,478
Burj el Barajneh	17,945
Burj el-Shemali	22,789
Beddawi	16,500
Sabra and Shatila	9,842
El-Buss	11,254
Wavel	8,806
Mieh Mieh	5,250
Dbayeh	4,351
Mar Elias	662
Dikwaneh/Nabatieh[5]	15,838

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[5] *****denotes the camps that were destroyed in 1973 and approximately 10,946 refugees were redistributed into the remaining camps.

Table 3: *UNRWA – Where we Work – Lebanon.* Statistics of registered Palestinians in UNRWA refugee camps located in Lebanon, as of 1 January 2017 (UNRWA 2017). (The positions of the UNRWA camps identified in Table 3 are outlined in Map 3 (Appendix Number Three) which shows the regions within Lebanon that accommodate the displaced Palestinian population).

Statistics presented in Table 3 (previous page) also show that the Palestinian population in Lebanon is particularly large and in the context of the overall Lebanese population constitutes approximately 12 to 15 percent. Alarmingly, the figures associated with Palestinian displacement in Lebanon are often inaccurate as UNRWA figures do not include non-registered Palestinian IDPs (UNHCR 2016). The absence of these Palestinian IDPs from official figures is significant as this large group of displaced Palestinians also strive to exist in a social reality where their rights to live, work and prosper is considered problematic.

In the context of this research project, the lack of a specific solution to the 'Palestinian problem' means that many displaced in Lebanon may continue to view Lebanon as their surrogate homeland. The problem associated with this existence is that Lebanon has been forced to accept the responsibility of housing Palestinians, regardless of the needs and desires of their own citizens. Peteet (2002) and Sayigh (2001) maintain that this co-existence has placed a strain on Lebanese resources that are equally attempting to deal with the reconstruction and reconciliation arising in the post-Lebanese civil war period.

Under Ottoman rule Lebanon's various religious sects shared power and coexisted in relative peace (Mansfield 1992:203). But with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I (WWI) and the colonial dismantling of the Middle East at the conclusion of WWII, Lebanon's internal stability has often been influenced by external factors (foreign government agendas) that have caused turmoil within its boundaries (Hourani 1991:226; Harris 2011:235).

At the completion of WWI the League of Nations placed Syria and Lebanon under a French mandate period that promised to entrust these territories with self-government after three years (Mansfield 1992:203). History suggests that France never adhered to this 'timeframe' and subsequently Syria and Lebanon were 'ruled' by France for approximately twenty-five years. Scholars such as Mansfield (1992) contend that the basis of French foreign policy may have been to strengthen and promote the traditional Francophile Christian population at the expense of the Muslim Arab community. Thus, it is maintained that the ensuing 'appreciation' if not appropriation of Western ideology, allowed countries such as Lebanon to also reinforce in a post-colonial context, colonialist-like regulations that have equipped certain groups with power so as to effect political and/or social change.

Although Post-World War Two alliances with the West had meant the majority of power and stability was controlled by Lebanon's Christian population, the next thirty years proved to be a prosperous period for Lebanon. Lebanon's strategic, Mediterranean position had always attracted foreign interest and this stability enabled Lebanon to develop into a major economic centre, as many major

banking; trading and multinational companies located their bases in Beirut (Harris 2011:194-195). However, when the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (P.L.O) was expelled by King Hussein from Amman, Jordan in 1970, P.L.O leader Yasser Arafat[6] moved their headquarters to West Beirut in 1970, impacting the delicately balanced political climate in Lebanon (Mackey 2008:95-96). The subtle demographic change caused Muslim and Christian factions in Lebanon to query each other's intentions and by 1973; the P.L.O had practically expropriated the refugee camps housing Palestinians in Lebanon (Rabinovich 1985:102). In this capacity, the P.L.O enjoyed virtual freedom[7] of operation in Lebanon's south-eastern corner, which was commonly referred to as 'Fatahland' (Al-Khazen 1996; Rabinovich 1985:102). This amount of 'self-autonomy' prompted P.L.O. leaders to imagine the prospect of a 'state within a state' that could be used to engage in guerrilla warfare against Israel (Mansfield 1992:395). The very ambition of Palestinian statehood within Lebanon, however, offended many Lebanese and as a result, those Muslim groups who had once aligned themselves to the 'Palestinian' cause started to query the intentions of the P.L.O (Ross 2004:35). This distrust affected the delicate relationship between Christian and Muslims and this is widely regarded as one of the main contributing factors that plunged Lebanon into its third civil war on the 13th of April 1975. This war ravaged Lebanon's infrastructure over

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[6] Yasser Arafat – Former Leader of P.L.O and prominent advocate for Palestinian self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state (Abu-Sharif 2009).

[7] Map 4 and 5 in the appendix shows the area controlled by the P.L.O in Beirut and southern Lebanon (Gawrych 2003).

a period of sixteen years from 1975 until 1991 and caused widespread destruction and human displacement (Mackey 2008:13; Ross 2004; O'Ballance 1998:1).

As the war progressed, Lebanon's internal instability enabled the P.L.O. to exert control within their 'host' nation. As mentioned earlier, this autonomy was very evident in southern Lebanon where Palestinian guerrilla fighters used their freedom to engage in cross border skirmishes with Israeli forces, which prompted an Israeli counter offensive called 'Operation Peace for Galilee' that was launched on the 6th of June 1982 (O'Ballance 1998:113; Gawrych 2003).

Fisk (2002:254) describes the Israeli campaign in 1982 as an operation that aimed to hide Israeli anxiousness about the power being accumulated by the P.L.O within Lebanon. When Israeli ground forces walked into Beirut on the 16th of September 1982, tension between opposing Christian and Militia factions was still volatile and the removal of the P.L.O did not halt sectarian violence or bring stability to Lebanon. Despite, Israel's occupation of Lebanon breaching the cease-fire agreement that governed the P.L.O evacuation from Beirut, Israeli commanders saw this moment as an opportunity to control the remaining Palestinian strongholds in the city (Cattan 2000:172; Gawrych 2003). Thus, on the morning of the 17th of September 1982 Israel and their Lebanese-Christian allies encircled the confines of Sabra and Shatila refugee camp in Beirut. The extent of the Sabra and Shatila massacre shocked Israeli citizens and drew widespread global condemnation (Parker 1993: 167; Dixon 1991:94; Randal 1984). Amidst extreme international scrutiny, Israeli forces began pulling out of Lebanon on 14

January 1985 and retreated back to the self-imposed buffer zone they had bequeathed to Lebanese Christian militia groups in 1978 (Minnis 2001:37).

The early 1990s saw sporadic fighting and a lull in violence enabled the international community under the auspices of the United Nations Security Council to set in place a final cease-fire in 1991. This agreement along with successive peace accords, most notably the 'Treaty of Brotherhood' between Syria and Lebanon aimed to strengthen Lebanon's internal stability (Mansfield 1992:402). By the new millennium, Lebanon was regaining glimpses of its former glory and the grand renovations of Beirut's central business district, Solidere symbolized the rebirth of a nation.

Changing Order in the Middle East

The ensuing sense of national reconstruction was further enhanced when Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon in the spring of 2000 (25th May) (Milton-Edwards and Hinchecliffe 2001:9; Sicherman 2006). Unfortunately, Israel's departure has not seen violence end along this portion of Lebanon's border. Cross-border skirmishes involving Israeli and Hezbollah[8] forces continue to occur as both parties dispute issues such as the Shebaa farms, which hinder the peace process and escalate tension within the Middle East (Pipes 2006; Pan 2006). The Israeli-Hezbollah war that occurred in July and August of 2006 highlighted this

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[8]'Hezbollah' refers to the Shi'a Islamic paramilitary and political group founded in 1982 and based in Lebanon (Levitt 2013; Jamail 2006; Jaber 1997).

predicament and reinforced the anxiety that both Israeli and Hezbollah policies have caused in Lebanon and this region of the Middle East, as they try and maintain support for their 'causes' (Gill 2006; Pan 2006; Sicherman 2006). Statistics indicate that this two-month long war ravaged Lebanese infrastructure, left a total of more than 1000 Lebanese civilians dead and almost 750,000 Lebanese displaced (UNICEF 2006; Sicherman 2006).

During this struggle Palestinians, especially those stranded in the southern regions of Lebanon, were forced to witness and confront the dilemma of being in a war that they could not escape. Both Palestinian and Lebanese children were affected severely by this catastrophe. It has been estimated that approximately 50 schools were destroyed and over 300 schools were damaged during the Israeli-Hezbollah war in 2006 (UNICEF 2006). In the light of this context in which many Palestinians and Lebanese suffered internal displacement, it is proposed that this context of destruction, uncertainty and anxiety, associated with armed conflict, which has influenced the present-day perceptions of education and career aspirations of displaced Palestinians.

The impact of war has been most recently magnified during what has been labelled the *Arab Spring*, where some Arab nations have demanded democracy through protests, uprisings and civil disobedience. This movement began in Tunisia in December 2010 and quickly took hold in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan (Sourcewatch 2012). The term was loosely coined in March 2005 by the media in response to the perceived benefits of the invasion of Iraq and promotion of western democratic values throughout the Middle Eastern region (Husain 2013). The Arab spring has seen Egypt and Libya's

governments leaders disposed and immense pressure placed on governments in Syria and Bahrain (Sourcewatch 2012). Syria, in particular, has sunk into an ongoing civil war after protests in March 2011 in Damascus and the southern city of Deraa, saw government forces fatally shoot several protesters in Deraa (BBC 2013). This initial uprising led to a further escalation of violence that has subsequently reduced many parts of the Syria to ruin and the continued threat of ISIS[9] suggests that the region may continue to experience conflict leading to significant population movements for some time to come (Corbett 2014). Despite ceasefires and interventions by different global leaders the violence in Syria does not seem to be abating even after seven years of bloodshed and fighting (Al Jazeera 2018).

Since the Syrian civil war began in March 15, 2011, approximately 13.1 million Syrians have required humanitarian assistance (World Vision 2018). Of this number, hundreds of thousands of Syrian nationals have fled their suffering into nearby Middle Eastern nations. For many countries neighbouring Syria, the displacement of so many Syrians by this conflict has also placed a significant strain upon their infrastructure as Syrian people seek shelter and refuge within their borders (Ferris 2012). Approximately 428,000 Syrians have fled to Lebanon since the start of the Syrian uprisings and of this number many are moving in with family who already reside in Lebanese cities and villages (YaLibnan 2013). The flood of Syrian nationals into mainstream Lebanon is placing immense pressure on the Lebanese government to ensure that the political instability in Syria does not

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[9] ISIS – ISIS or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) or Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) was established by a jihadist Islamic group in June 2014. This group has expressed the desire to establish a Salafist government over the Levant region of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Cyprus and Southern Turkey (Corbett 2014).

increase domestic tension in Lebanon, especially since Syrian governments have historically played a part in influencing past Lebanese political positions (Voogd 2013). This sentiment and indeed concern is shared by former Lebanese president Amin Gemayel who also suggests that the vast influx of Syrian refugees into Lebanon is 'a threat to the country's national fabric'. Gemayel contends that the issue of Syrian displacement 'is no longer just a humanitarian one, but is taking on new dimensions' … 'how can Lebanon's economic, social, political, and security capabilities take on such a burden?' (YaLibnan 2013). In this setting, it is asserted that the changing demographics of Lebanon's growing 'refugee' population not only causes consternation for the Palestinian IDP communities that already reside in Lebanon, but places a strain (as Gemayel points) out on Lebanese infrastructure. Therefore, as another 'displaced' population (Syrian refugees) seeks assistance, rights, and access to education and employment opportunities, Lebanese aid agencies, Non-Government Organisations and Arab Organisations[10] and other providers, such as the United Nations, UNICEF and the Red Cross now have to contemplate how to deal with the immediate effects of the expanding Syrian diaspora and those requests from an established displaced population in Lebanon, namely Palestinian IDPs.

The ongoing Syrian civil war is significant as the social reality confronting Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon has become more blurred and problematic. In light of the steady arrival of Syrian refugees across the Lebanese border, it is ascertained that Palestinian IDPs may start to question whether their social positioning and status could be affected due to the changing demographic landscape in Lebanon.

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[10] See Table 6 and 7 for lists of respective Arab and Non-Governmental Organisations (N.G.O) that assist the Palestinian community in Lebanon (Salah 2001: 9).

For Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, this uncertainty is a reason for concern as the rising number of Syrian refugees has the potential to affect the distribution of humanitarian aid to all displaced populations in Lebanon (Raad 2018). In this capacity, Palestinian IDPs could find their access to education and employment blocked by another group of displaced people who are also looking to survive and seek self-determination in their adopted host-nation. This situation, while complicated, provides an interesting perspective for this research project to investigate as it may reveal why Palestinian IDPs view education as a vehicle for the realisation of the key principles of liberal-humanism and thus, explain why pursuing education is perceived by Palestinian IDPs as being necessary to achieve a better life (Cummings and Bain 2014; Rhoades 2010). In Chapter Three the impact of displacement is considered in the context of IDP rights and how these rights afford IDPs access to specific education and employment opportunities.

Conclusion

Chapter One outlined how the phenomenon of human displacement has influenced the migration and settlement of different cultures and populations throughout human history. It also identified key terms used in the literature, such as 'refugee' and 'internally displaced person' (IDP), which have become synonymous with the modern contexts that have come to define different forms of human displacement. Following on from this, discussion in Chapter Two explored how human displacement has affected Palestinians in the Middle East region. Discussion above specifically identified important historic events that have underpinned the 'migration' of Palestinians within the Middle-East region more

broadly and which have influenced their residential status in this region. From within this macro-perspective, a micro historic approach outlined a number of the specific historic contexts which have subsequently shaped Palestinian settlement in Lebanon, as a background to this research project's analysis of Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education in terms of securing desired future careers and the extent to which these perceptions are informed by ambivalence.

While Chapter Two has strived to reveal that the response to the 'Palestinian problem' by host nation-states such as Lebanon seems to be qualified by a contradiction, discussion in the following chapter reviews specific literature that outlines the rights of internally displaced populations (IDPs); the rights of IDP children and the rights of IDPs to education. Discussion in Chapter Three will provide insight into how IDPs educational environments have been developed in postcolonial contexts and also explore the historical implications of past (and present) IDPs educational systems. Chapter Three also focuses on exploring why education is perceived as being important for IDPs.

Chapter Three

Review of Literature

Like everywhere in the world, people of the Middle East aspire to liberty and justice. They wish to have a better life and a decent education for their children.[11]

Introduction

The importance of learning and the role of formal school education in learning may be perceived as a vital and essential ingredient for promoting self-fulfilment and achieving future success, but 'a better life' as Zewail describes above, is somewhat reliant on society being able to provide equal educational opportunities for all citizens. This is an important insight which is taken up in later discussion in this chapter. Access to education, however, does not necessarily guarantee the advancement of different societies, especially when socio-economic processes which govern society (such as governmental laws) are inscribed by inequity (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2011).

In the context of this research project, Zewail's view of education raises several important wider questions such as: What is the role of education, why is

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[11] Zewail, A. 2011. *A Compass of Hope for Egypt: The New "City for Science & Technology" Is the Aswan Dam for the 21st Century* (Huffington Post 2011).

education important and who has the right to education? While these questions remain important, of equal importance is the relationship between education and future career possibilities. It is important to acknowledge the relationship between education and future career possibilities as Zewail's statement suggests that specific societal factors, such as the dissemination of liberty and justice may determine the type of education a person can access. In relation to this thesis's research question:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of

   its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and

   what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes

   of identity formation?

It is imperative to identify the type of educational framework that is afforded to displaced populations like Palestinian IDPs, as it is maintained that an educational approach may inform perceptions held by Palestinian IDPs concerning their employment opportunities and quality of life in Lebanon.

Kemmis et al (1983:18) propose that there are three educational approaches: vocational neo-classical (or conservative), social-critical, and liberal-humanistic (or liberal-progressive). The vocational neo-classical conservative approach views education as preparing learners for the workforce and allows students to develop skills and acquire knowledge for vocations that are revealed through their schooling (Kemmis et al 1983:18). This educational orientation is characterised by the 'undisputed knowledge of the teacher and the unproblematic transmission of authorised knowledge' (Takayama et al 2017). In this perspective, education can

be used to disseminate prevailing values and beliefs that reflect current social conventions and thus, maintain dominant social hierarchies (Jones 2013).

In direct contrast to the vocational neo-classical conservative ideology, the social critical approach proposes that education must engage social structures that govern society through the processes of critical reflection, social critique and social negotiation (Kemmis et al 1983). Advocates of this orientation suggest that education is not just merely a preparatory phase leading to future employment, but rather education should be used to actively empower learners so that they can 'question deep-seated social values and unjust practices, and undertake actions to lead to a more equitable society' (Takayama et al 2017). According to this ideology, education aims to 'question' what history has often stated students should learn and looks to alternatives that promote different ways of thinking and encourages educational reform. In doing so, this social-critical approach attempts to challenge the traditional one size fits all education mentality by asking social groups to collectively reflect upon the processes that have shaped their educational experiences and societal structures (Beckmann et al 2009). It is acknowledged that social-critical views of education are exposed in this research project, but are not focused upon in relation to this thesis's research question and that these social-critical perspectives could be investigated as a standalone research topic. This recommendation for future research is outlined in Chapter Nine.

Although, the two education orientations mentioned above are distinctly different and promote separate beliefs relating to the aim of education, Gilbert (2004) contends that the type of education implemented within a society does often reflect the dominant values that are central to that culture. In this sense, it is

claimed that education serves a dual purpose. In one instance, education is used to grow and advance the intellectual capacity of individuals so that they can contribute positively towards society. While, on the other hand, education strives to create societies which focus on promoting characteristics that develop the greater good of humankind (Kemmis and Edwards-Groves 2018). The notion that education can serve a dual purpose, by improving the whole person and bettering society, are similar virtues to those promoted within the liberal-humanistic approach to education. In the liberal-humanistic orientation, education is viewed as a democratic process, where teachers act as facilitators and provide educational experiences based upon self-led inquiry and the development of life-long skills (Kemmis et al 1983). In this liberal-humanistic perspective, education is perceived as a potential positive 'change agent' that can be used to reconstruct society through the education of its people. While somewhat altruistic, it is claimed that every participant in education can be used to recognise and build upon collective values and shared dispositions that ultimately serve to develop the greater good for all (Takayama et al 2017). In relation to the research question of this thesis, it is contended that this interpretation of the liberal-humanistic orientation has the capacity reveal the reasons why education is perceived by Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, as being able to develop self-autonomy rather than just facilitating Palestinian integration into Lebanese society. Furthermore, this approach is also valuable for exploring the relationships of power between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese hosts and how these interactions may give insight in the democratic processes that affect the civil rights of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon.

In lieu of these educational orientations and the link between education and society as highlighted by Zewail earlier, this chapter reviews the literature which addresses the rights of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). This review explores literature which is specifically focused upon the rights of IDP children and their rights to education. In other words, access, participation and outcomes. Discussion below details why education is important for IDPs more generally, and why it is important for IDP children in particular. It explores what IDP education looks like in terms of provision, curriculum and resourcing, and reviews links between education and the career choices of IDP children in relation to what this research project terms IDP 'disadvantage'. The notion of IDP disadvantage is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The rights of Internally Displaced Persons

In Chapter One, discussion outlined the complexity of the term IDP (internally displaced person) and identified the difficulty of categorising IDPs. It was acknowledged that many IDPs are born into their present situation such that in one sense they have never been 'displaced'. According to Vincent (2000), Brun (2005) and Phuong (2010) the 'label' IDP has become prominent in the humanitarian community even though its use and meaning is still widely misinterpreted. For example, the label 'IDP' is often associated with the term 'refugee' because migratory circumstances experienced by both groups can be similar (e.g. armed conflict, political instability, natural disasters, generalised violence, human rights violations, religious persecution) (UNHCR 2019; Brun 2005; Vincent 2000; Phuong 2010:1-3). Despite their commonalities, the term 'refugee' must be applied

to understand those people who have crossed international borders, whereas the term 'IDP' is representative of people who are forced to migrate *within*[12] national boundaries (Boyden and Hart 2007). UNHCR (2019) have described internally displaced people (IDPs) as being among the world's most vulnerable people. Yet it is also contended that this categorisation, while useful for making sense of the intricacies that contribute towards an IDP's predicament and disadvantage may in fact increase the likelihood that IDPs rights are not protected as the situations affecting IDPs are often lost in 'translation'.

'Labelling' IDPs as Brun (2005), Fielden (2008) and Phuong (2010) note creates a situation of 'haves' and have-nots' where people are included or excluded based upon their displaced status; the term IDP is often too loosely used by host nations to identify and 'name' displaced people. In this sense, it is acknowledged that being labelled or categorised as an IDP can influence where one 'fits' and ranks in terms of need, and this subsequently informs regulatory processes that govern IDP resource provision and entitlement to rights (Castles 1998: 179-180). Furthermore, this categorisation can easily lead to the assumption that the plight of IDPs can be responded to through 'a one size fits all' approach that in practice functions to homogenise and stigmatise what is more often than not a diverse peoples inhabiting a diverse context. Hence, specific as opposed to generic needs can too easily be ignored, thus handicapping IDP rights and bringing about shortcomings that enhance the proposition of discrimination and inequity (UNHCR 2019; Brun 2005; Phuong 2010; Ogata 1997).This research project identifies some

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[12] Boyden, J., & Hart, J. 2007. The Statelessness of the World's Children, *Children and Society*, Volume 21, pp. 237-248.

of the diversity in the views of education held by Palestinian IDPs residing in the Lebanese host nation context.

Unlike refugees who are protected by the 1951 Refugee Convention, IDPs have no formal legislation that protects their rights (Rajendran 2013). Perhaps not surprisingly the plight of IDP's gained prominence in 1992 when then-United Nations Secretary General Boutros-Ghali detailed a report for the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) recognising the global significance of internal displacement (Rhoades 2010). Following this report the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) adopted Resolution 6/32 which aimed to address the human rights of internally displaced people; Resolution 1992/73 subsequently mandated the establishment of a Special Representative to the United Nations Secretary General (SRSG) to specifically respond to the growing global impact of internal displacement (Brun 2005; Rhoades 2010). The first SRSG, Francis Deng, visited many countries affected by internal displacement and their experiences coupled with dialogue between government agencies helped initiate guidelines promoting the protection of IDP's (Rhoades 2010; Cohen and Deng 1998). During Deng's 12 year tenure as SRSG, he helped develop one of the most important documents to assist IDP protection – The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Brun 2005). Developed over several years by a committee of legal experts, the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* aimed to ensure that IDPs rights are protected during displacement (NRC 2002:191). The document intends to:

provide guidance to states, non-state actors and inter-governmental and nongovernmental organisations on issues of

internal displacement. The purpose of these principles is not to create new law but rather to restate and elaborate established norms of customary international law, humanitarian law and international human rights law. This is achieved by reformulating the general norms as they apply to IDPs, thereby making implicit norms explicit. The Guiding Principles are not in themselves legally binding but are finding increasing acceptance, being frequently used by states, international organisations and NGOs (Kalin 2008).

Presented to the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) in 1998, the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* outlined 30 principles throughout its 5 sections. These principles aim to:

address the specific needs of internally displaced persons worldwide. They identify rights and guarantees relevant to the protection of persons from forced displacement and to their protection and assistance during displacement as well as during return or resettlement and reintegration. (IDPguidingprinciples.org 2007; Kalin 2008; NRC 2002:191)

The guidelines provide a benchmark for acceptable practices that can be used by agencies to assist IDPs including the rationale behind these principles. While not implicit or obligatory these principles ensure that the vulnerability of IDP's rights are protected and IDP 'disadvantage' is minimised. For the purposes of this

research project, the term IDP 'disadvantage' is used to describe possible restrictions that influence the human rights of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. It is important to explore these possible limitations as they may play a pivotal role in determining Palestinian IDP career aspirations, employment realities and perceptions of self in Lebanon. The notion of IDP 'disadvantage' will be explored in more detail later in this chapter, but first, it is imperative to identify the reasons why IDP rights need to be protected:

- The nature of displacement may force IDPs to live in hiding, move frequently, reside in hostile or unhealthy conditions that increases their vulnerability to rights abuse.

- Displacement may destroy social infrastructures such as community life, family groupings, housing, employment and educational systems which drastically alter the living conditions of IDPs.

- Internal displacement may lead to conflict with host nationals and/or other governing powers who may perceive IDPs as a threat to national stability and homeland security.

- The inhospitable nature of displacement increases the likelihood that IDP's may lack legal recognition and rights in host nations. This lack of formal identity may increase persecution and groups such as children, the elderly and women are especially vulnerable to rights abuses as they may attempt to assume non-traditional roles (women, children – working) to survive in displaced contexts.

- IDPs often have limited or no access to the basic necessities of life (food, water, shelter, medical care), which increases their risk of disease and starvation.

- IDP education is disrupted during displacement and for many displaced children access to schooling is restricted or not available.

(InternalDisplacement.org 2013; IDMC 2013)

Of significance to this research project is the recognition in the 'guidelines' that the context inhabited by IDPs may be hostile, lacking in the provision of rights and characterised by a disrupted experience of education.

In January 2002 the Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) was also established by the United Nations and various humanitarian organisations (United Nations Development Programme - UNDP, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - UNHCR, United Nations World Food Programme - UNWFP, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund - UNICEF, Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights - OHCHR, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre - IDMC) to help the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator provide guidance and support for agencies responding to instances of IDP emergency (Kalin 2008).

The rights of IDP children

Conflicts in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas have contributed to the internal displacement of approximately 38 million people (UNHCR 2017). According to the Norwegian Refugee Council's Geneva-based Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) that has equated to approximately 30,000 people being displaced every day and alarmingly about 12 million of this global figure are internally displaced children (IDMC 2017; UNHCR 2017). The problems associated with displacement often amplify the breakdown of social structures that normally ensure the safety and protection of displaced children and their rights (Brun 2005; McBrien 2005). For children who find themselves in displaced contexts, social structures that usually inform the necessities of life, such as food, shelter and water are intermittently available or non-existent. Many IDP children are therefore forced to leave their homes and take shelter in hostile conditions separated from family members, exposing them to increased risks of sexual exploitation, physical and psychological abuse, child labour and military recruitment (Cohen 1998). In response to these concerns the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention of the Rights of the Child on 20 November 1989 and ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child on 2 September 1990 (OHCHR 2013). The Convention of the Rights of the Child is:

Founded on respect for the dignity and worth of each individual, regardless of race, colour, gender, language, religion, opinions, origins, wealth, birth status or ability and therefore apply to

every human being everywhere. With these rights comes the obligation on both governments and individuals not to infringe on the parallel rights of others. These standards are both interdependent and indivisible; we cannot ensure some rights without—or at the expense of—other rights.

(UNICEF 2013)

The Convention on the Rights of the Child was instrumental in providing recognition that the civil, cultural, economic, political and social liberties of children were just as important as the rights of adults. The Convention uses 54 article statements and two optional protocols to clearly state what rights children must be afforded (OHCHR 2013). These rights include:

The right to survival; to develop to the fullest; to protection from harmful influences, abuse and exploitation; and to participate fully in family, cultural and social life. The four core principles of the Convention are non-discrimination; devotion to the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development; and respect for the views of the child. Every right spelled out in the Convention is inherent to the human dignity and harmonious development of every child. The Convention protects children's rights by setting standards in health care; education; and legal, civil and social services.

(UNICEF 2013)

Although there is no specific reference to education in this extract, the reference to development and dignity resonates with the liberal view of education advocated by Zewail at the beginning of this chapter.

Furthermore, it seems just that nations whom make a commitment to the Convention should be compelled through their support to uphold the ideals and beliefs that the United Nations was initially founded upon. In this regard, the compulsion to assist the development of the human rights regime of the child reflects a willingness to support humanity, despite, whether IDP children are actually provided enough assistance to ensure their rights are protected. In the IDMC (2016) article, United Nations member states are urged to provide support for all IDPs by respecting their rights and acknowledging their needs to prosper and not be 'left behind'. In doing so, states that recognise that IDPs require protection must ensure that assistance is given to protect the vulnerability and special needs of those IDPs whom are children and provide support to diminish IDP 'disadvantage'.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the right to education is embedded in human rights law while additionally, the Convention on the Rights of the Child specifically states that free and compulsory primary education should be made available as soon as permissible in IDP contexts (UNICEF 2013). The right to education, is thus, viewed as a key component in the development of children and valuable in terms of decreasing the propagation of IDP 'disadvantage' and vital for assisting in the procurement of desired career futures.

IDP Disadvantage

Despite IDPs being able to maintain all of their rights and protection under both human rights and international humanitarian law, it was stated earlier that IDPs rate among the most vulnerable people in the world (UNHCR 2019). Thus, in relation to this research focus it is important to understand why IDP 'disadvantage' manifests itself within IDP communities and how this notion of disadvantage contributes towards IDP vulnerability. Although, it is claimed that this IDP helplessness may exist due to the inability of governments and host-nations to champion the IDP guiding principles as they were intended. It is also claimed that IDP disadvantage subsists because the complexities that inform an IDP's situation are often fluid and unstable. Naylor (2016) described the complicated nature of IDP displacement as being a major factor that affects how IDP rights are interpreted and enacted by those tasked with dealing with IDP populations. Consequently, while the protection and advocacy of IDP rights are expected to be maintained under international law, the actual reality confronting IDPs on the ground are often far from ideal due to their rights being the last priorities of warring governments' or overwhelmed host nations (IDMC 2016). An example of this type of IDP disadvantage (and vulnerability) was outlined by UNHCR spokesman William Spindler when describing the human rights violations of IDPs in the Libyan capital Tripoli (United Nations August 2018). In this IDP context Spindler outlined how a local militia group had forced the entire region of Trip Al Matar to flee their homes after random raids on homes and capricious arrests of residents. Although, Spindler noted that this problem stemmed from a number of

competing authorities fighting for control of certain areas within the Libyan capital, these conflicts had now left many IDPs living in Trip Al Matar without shelter and having to seek refuge in temporary settlements on the outskirts of Tripoli and Benghazi. In this instance, it is claimed that this failure by groups, such as governmental agencies, whom have been tasked with the role of safeguarding the rights of IDPs promotes a cycle of destitution that potentially proliferates IDP disadvantage. It is also contended that this incapacity to adequately protect the rights of IDPs may also encourage the construction of negative perceptions relating to IDP concepts of self-worth and identity. The following points identify ways in which IDP 'disadvantage' may be exhibited in an IDP setting:

1. IDPs may not receive equal rights and freedoms in comparison to other individuals in their country or host-nation.
2. The physical, mental and moral rights of IDPs may not be protected or supported.
3. IDPs may not receive any humanitarian assistance from national authorities or governmental agencies. Specific IDPs, such as children, mothers, mothers with young children, pregnant women, disabled people and the elderly may not be eligible for special help, care and protection.
4. IDPs may not have the right to a satisfactory standard of living, which may include the lack of provision and access to adequate food, drinkable water; housing; clothing; and basic medical services.
5. IDPs who are sick or require medical treatment may not be entitled or receive access to adequate medical care.

6. IDP families may be separated during displacement and their ability to be reunited is not guaranteed.

7. IDPs are not guaranteed safe passage, right of return, or ability to assist in the planning of their return to their homes or places of customary abode.

8. IDPs may not have access to legal documents or issuance of new documents, such as passports, personal identification documents, birth certificates and marriage certificates, which can be used to help exercise their legal rights.

9. IDPs may not be compensated for the loss of lands or homes which have been taken during their period of displacement.

10. IDPs may face discrimination based on the following factors that include race, colour, sex, language, religion, political affiliation, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, and disability.

(Brun 2005; IDPguidingprinciples.org 2007; NESRI 2012)

These 'disadvantages' are important to acknowledge as they contravene the very principles of the IDP guiding statements and potentially set in place limitations that potentially reinforce a perception of inferiority within the IDP psyche, but also infer an ambivalence and conciliatory acceptance from IDPs in relation to their perceived 'lower' positioning in society. While, it is important to appreciate the possible impact of IDP disadvantage, it is also necessary to acknowledge that education could be used as tool to counteract these potential problems or disadvantages. The following section of this chapter outlines why

education is perceived as being important for IDPs and the development of IDP children in particular.

The Importance of Education for IDPs and IDP children

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the right to education is embedded in human rights law while additionally, the Convention on the Rights of the Child specifically states that free and compulsory primary education should be made available as soon as permissible in IDP contexts (UNICEF 2013). Despite the challenges confronting IDPs, education is recognised as a fundamental human right and is commonly perceived by IDPs as being able to develop the whole person (Naylor 2016). This holistic perspective of education was also supported by the late former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan who stated that:

> Education is a human right with immense power to transform. On its foundation rest the cornerstones of freedom, democracy and sustainable human development.
> (UNICEF 1999)

Within this statement, Annan implies that education and more importantly the right to education, is therefore, considered to be an integral part of the social fabric of society that should be used to help the social, physical, mental and psychological development of children; all aspects of education that are also highlighted by Tawadrous (2014) as being essential in the development of learners. It is in light of this transformation power of education, that this research project

explores internally displaced Palestinian aged-school children's perceptions of the value of education in terms of securing desired career futures in Beirut Lebanon. The following section of this chapter outlines why education is perceived as being important for IDPs and the development of IDP children in particular.

Rhoades' (2010:7) research describes education as being important because:

> Education not only impacts individual students, but it can transform communities' as well. By increasing educational levels in a community, it opens doors for economic development, health awareness, poverty reduction, community safety, greater civic involvement, and other transformational changes.

Rhoades' description of education is noteworthy as it resonates closely to the liberal-humanistic approach advocated in this research project. Here, Rhoades points out that education has the capacity to 'transform' communities like Annan proposed earlier, which in a liberal-humanistic sense suggests that education can potentially develop and improve different aspects of society. Similarly, Middle Eastern Monarch, Queen Rania of Jordan (ABC News 2009) described education as being important because:

> Children who have an education grow up to lead healthier lives
> - earn higher income, take better care of their families, contribute to their economies.

Like Rhoades and Annan, Queen Rania of Jordan also asserts that education plays a fundamental role in helping develop people so they can contribute in the advancement of their community. In the context of this research project, it is important to acknowledge that society could be developed and improved, especially if future generations are encouraged to engage and question current societal conventions (Kemmis et al 1983). Therefore, if education is established in IDP communities, education has the capacity to be perceived as comprising part of a broader resourcing infrastructure that serves multiple functions within society. These functions include:

- Helping re-establish routine and order.

- Helping individuals rehabilitate.

- Promotion of human rights, peace and democracy.

- Improving the poverty cycle of IDPs.

    (Buckland 2006).

Internal displacement has the power to both transform and disrupt the lives of people (Cohen and Deng 1998; Vincent 2000; Amnesty International 2012). During displacement, the understanding of displacement is often explained by IDPs as an experience connected with 'loss'. Loss in this sense, refers to the loss of their homes, livelihoods, worldly possessions, stable social networks (family, friends, and work colleagues), and importantly the loss of access to rights (Brun

2005). Although IDPs may not lose 'everything', displacement places additional pressure on IDPs to survive and cope with their new and often less well-resourced circumstances. As Brun (2005) explains, feelings of 'loss' may affect how people perceive themselves in relation to others, which may in turn influence beliefs concerning their self-worth and self-esteem, and the likelihood of attaining desired career futures. Additionally, IDPs may start to believe that their predicament is irreparable, thus consigning them to a life devoid of hope, purpose and aspiration (Amnesty International 2012; Bar-Tal et al 1999). This notion of 'loss', which can be viewed as the antithesis of hope, was explored by Hart (2006) in their investigation of young Palestinians in Jordan. Hart provides an insight into the life of Muna, a Palestinian girl living in Jordan. Here, a snap shot of Muna's life outlines shortcomings that underline her daily existence. For example, Muna attends a school that uses a rotation shift system. Students attend either a 'morning' or 'afternoon' shift so that the school can accommodate the large number of children who go to school. Once at school, Hart explains that Muna shares cramped classes with as many as 48 other girls, which possibly robs Muna of her rights to gain access to a quality education. Hart suggests that education is crucial for helping IDPs challenge their perceptions of loss and entrapment and that education is thus seen as a tool that can help IDPs, such as Muna, bring about positive change and survive the effects of displacement. Survival, while perhaps not a primary objective of education, is nonetheless viewed as an outcome of education from the perspective of Akkary (2013) and Tawardrous (2014), whom maintained there to be a strong correlation between education, individual flourishing or development and the well-being of society more broadly (Mooney

and French 2005; Hickman 1998; Rose 1997). Thus, education is both viewed as a means to improve Palestinian IDP life, and as stated above as a resource to survive their situational reality. For Zewail (2011) and Tawardrous (2014), education was synchronous with survival and has the capacity to propagate what Annan, Rhoades' and Queen Rania of Jordan described earlier as the potential to positively 'transform' communities by encouraging social and economic development. In Hennawi's (2011) research this survivalist purpose of education was also accompanied by a militaristic belief that education enabled the powerless Slave (Palestinian IDPs) to challenge the power Master (Host nations that house Palestinian IDPs in the Middle East). Findings from Hennawi's research articulated a belief that many Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip believed that education, though not an organised political or military movement could be thought of as providing agency in the form of resistance. Thus, the value of education comes from its perceived ability to instil a sense of 'hope', and 'survival' despite obstacles oppressing the social reality of Palestinians. The significance of the relationship between education and survival is explored in Chapter Eight, which identifies the emergence of a 'third' discourse.

Although, Zewail (2011) stated at the beginning of this chapter that people in the Middle East may share a desire to 'have a better life and a decent education for their children'. It is contended that these quests for a 'better life' for displaced populations are often hampered by their lack of democratic rights in their host nations. And while it is acknowledged that the Middle-East context is possibly not particularly well represented by democracies and liberal-democratic political frameworks – the Arab Spring notwithstanding – the kinds of education envisaged

by the global education, refugee and rights-associated organisations above, is one that is grounded in the kinds of liberal (democratic) characteristics more generally described earlier by Kemmis et al (1983) and Takayama et al (2017). Thus, in light of Zewail's statement, Rose (1997) suggests that having access to education may provide the catalyst to facilitate a broader participation in the common good of the people and via this emphasis of collective good will build upon democracy, which could secure improved living conditions for displaced people.

Elsewhere, the notion of survival is often referred to as resilience (Boyden 2003). In this sense, living in displacement does not need to be thought of as a confining predicament, but rather viewed as an opportunity for displaced populations to plan for future actualities that hopefully enable them to rebuild their livelihoods and endure the tribulations of displacement (Almqvist and Hwang 1999; Dicum 2008; IDMC-November 2010). Studies that have investigated the response mechanisms of IDPs to displacement suggest that IDPs need to be understood as both victims and agents or enactors of change (Rhoades 2010; Sinclair 2008; Bar-Tal et al 1999). While it is acknowledged that displacement does indeed cause significant disruption to the lives of those affected, the role of education in helping restore a notion of normalcy may also inspire new ways to survive, cope, and demonstrate resolve in displaced settings.

In what started as part of wider non-violent protests throughout the Middle East region, the Arab Spring of 2011 escalated simmering tension between Syrian dissidents and the Syrian government (BBC 2019). In response to growing resentment from groups who called for the removal of Bashaar Al Assad's regime, the Syrian government crushed the uprising, which ultimately led to all out civil

war (BBC 2019; World Vision 2018). This ongoing war has raged for 8 years and during this time more than 500,000 people have been killed or are missing, presumed dead (BBC 2019). In addition to these approximate death rates, there are also an estimated 6.2 million Syrians, including 2.5 million children who are internally displaced within Syria (UNHCR 2019). These UNHCR statistics now identify Syrian IDPs as the largest displaced population in the world and the pace of Syrian displacement continues to grow, despite a reduction in violence in different regions of Syria. World Vision (2018) figures also estimate that the majority of Syrian refugees have fled by land across borders to neighbouring Middle East nations, with most settling in Turkey (3.6 million); Lebanon (950,000); Jordan (670,000); Iraq (250,000); and Egypt (130,000). Despite, the efforts of humanitarian agencies, such as UNHCR, World Vision and the Red Cross, the plight of Syrian nationals residing in host nations, such as those mentioned above is often fraught with problems as the presence of displaced Syrians may add further stress on countries whom are struggling to cope with their own internal difficulties (e.g. rising unemployment rates, factional dissention) (BBC 2019; UNHCR 2019; World Vision 2018). The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UNESCWA) has also reported the destruction caused by the Syrian war has reached over approximately $388 billion US dollars and had left many residents of Syria devoid of essential social services, such as education, health care and shelter (UNESCWA 2018). Kolstad's (2018) investigation into the impact of the Syrian civil war on education systems indicated that many Syrians' perceptions about the value of education had subsequently changed. In particular, it was suggested that education was perceived by displaced

Syrians as a main source of support and hope for their community, despite the often chaotic and unstable nature of their surroundings. Similarly, a report conducted by the United Nations (2018) of internally displaced Syrian children explained that the re-establishment of educational facilities was seen as paramount in order for survivors of the Syrian war to gain any semblance of social normalcy. Education, in this sense, was perceived as an important tool that could be used to gradually repair their lives following exposure to trauma and upheaval associated with displacement. This United Nations report also stated that the implementation of educational systems was especially important for Syrian children as upward of 4 million children have only known war since their birth (United Nations 2018). Thus, it is claimed that the humanitarian nature of education is implicit for helping displaced populations, and especially children, deal with the psychological wounds that led to their displacement. Furthermore, in relation to this thesis' research question:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

If educational systems can be set in place quickly, the psychological distress associated with displacement, such as feelings of despair and loss, can be managed and reduced, thus, encouraging a sense of communal stability and routine (Brun 2005; IDMC-August 2010; Demirdjian 2010: 8-10). In this respect, and perhaps not surprisingly, Tawardrous (2014) stated that modern perspectives of education

are also grounded in the significance of the child's mind to the educative process. In this sense, education is intimately linked to the world of action and practice; and within this relationship, education plays a central role in the formation and sustainability of human development and progress (Tawardrous 2014). Education thus from the standpoint of IDPs must comprise a sociological and psychological institution for positively re-shaping the lives of those affected by political and civil unrest (Watkins 2011).

Winthrop and Kirk's (2008:639) study of Eritrean children in Ethiopia, displaced Afghan children in Afghanistan and Liberian children in Sierra Leone showed that these IDP populations shared similar perceptions about the importance of education for re-establishing stability and social order. Education was commonly viewed by these groups as a vital source of support for improving the psychological, physical and social wellbeing of IDP children. Although Winthrop and Kirk (2008) suggest that education in this sense may only refer to the 'act' of going to school (as opposed to dropping out of school), this nonetheless provided these displaced children with a 'familiar' routine amidst the unpredictability of their lives. The 'act' of attending school helps IDP children for several reasons: 1. Schooling enables IDP children to adjust to their new surroundings; 2. the restoration of educational routine is crucial for providing IDP children with essential skills to counter negative effects of displacement, such as child labour, sexual exploitation and military recruitment; 3. the protective qualities of education, not only promotes learning, but also helps IDP children function within their displacement situations; and 4. schools can act as sites of rehabilitation where IDP children can escape the rigours of their displacement and start the healing

process (Sinclair 2001; Candappa 2000: 28-30; Matthews 2008:31-32). Together, these reasons further suggest that education can have a profound effect on improving the lives of IDPs. However, it is claimed that the kinds and accounts of positive impact are only applicable if education can provide a protective and nurturing environment. If the focus of IDP education is misguided and fails to recognise IDP needs, then restoring education systems quickly will not necessarily aid in their rehabilitation. Discussion below explores the importance of education in relation to IDP rehabilitation.

Education and the process of rehabilitation

Children can be exposed to considerable trauma before, during and after the displacement process has occurred and these experiences can have a lasting impact on their lives (Szente, Hoot and Taylor 2006; Almqvist and Hwang 1999). Witnessing traumatic events such as deaths during conflict, being separated from family members, or losing the family home can critically affect how well children rehabilitate. The IDMC's (May 2010) report of internally displaced children in north-west Pakistan indicated that trauma experienced by children was often long lasting. For many of these children the sight of helicopters and guns triggered connections to traumatic acts such as shelling, fighting and death. In addition to the psychological impact of witnessing such atrocities, the report also outlined how detrimental displacement had been on the education of internally displaced children. For example, an aid worker stated that while education in many of the Pakistan camps was ultimately necessary if children were to be rehabilitated, the quality of education that internally displaced children received was limited. In this

sense, the same aid worker stated that being 'in class', did not safeguard their rights to 'learn' as their learning environment often reflected the paucity associated with their displaced status (e.g. overcrowded classrooms, lack of educational resources).

Notwithstanding these educational limitations, the IDMC report (November 2010), described the social benefits of education as being vital in helping IDP children deal with the trauma associated with their displacement. Education was reported to be perceived by many children as a great opportunity to mix with other children who may have experienced similar situations. Going to school enabled children to interact and share stories in what was considered by them a safe environment. Buckland (2006) supports this finding adding that education provides stability, protection and support to address (even at a minimal level) the needs of at risk children. Buckland explains that schools and classrooms, in particular, have the power to act as sanctuaries where IDP children can disclose their experiences of displacement. This research project argues that the sharing of experiences may help IDP children process their emotions and develop skills for coping and functioning following displacement, which in turn may aid their psychological recovery. The coping benefits derived from attending school are also represented in narratives from Winthrop and Kirk's (2008: 647) study, where the importance of education is described as moving 'from the dark to the light'.

In the context of Winthrop and Kirk's study the 'dark' represented illiteracy, while the 'light' described aspirations of achieving future realities that could improve their quality of life. However, maximising the rehabilitating qualities of education involves the establishment of IDP-centred education practices, which

Boyden (2003) points out must serve the needs of IDPs. In other words, IDP education must reflect the needs of IDPs and as such, take into account what they perceive as being necessary for an educational system to work for them. Evans, Lo Forte and Fraser's (2013) global review of displaced youth further supports this argument by suggesting that IDP education must reflect a concern for those whom it is developed and thus, advocate educational practices that recognise the basic and immediate needs of IDPs, and their needs for the future.

Similarly to Watkins (2011) who also identifies education as needing purpose in relation to the life of the learner, Faour (2011) explains that:

> Investing in education reform today to encourage responsible citizenship will make the difference for Arab democracy tomorrow.

In this discussion of educational purpose, Faour alerts us to the connection between the individual and the broader environment and community. This reformist ideology is shared by Queen Rania of Jordan who stated at the 2012 Clinton Global Initiative webcast:

> We need another revolution in the Arab world. We need an education revolution. If there's one thing we need to focus on, it's redesigning our educational systems.

In both instances, Faour and Queen Rania suggests that education should not exist for the sake of education, but should derive its value in relation to a purpose (Pinson and Arnot 2007). In relation to the idea of purpose, both Faour's and Queen Rania's statements share similarities as they specifically assert that education in the Middle East must undergo change so that education can be developed to encourage social and civic reform. In this context, educational reform is perceived as an essential ingredient for helping transform and develop communities in the future.

The topic of education reform will be explored in more detail during the evidence based chapters later in this research project. Developed with an IDP focus, this 'reformist' or progressive view of education must therefore be flexible enough to accommodate the changing circumstance and diverse nature of different IDP situations. If education can resonate with this need, the 'voices', concerns and opinions of the displaced may be heard, which will go some way towards ensuring that the civic rights and rights to education of displaced communities are being appropriately considered and acted upon (Pinson and Arnot 2007: 405). In the context of this research project, it is claimed therefore, that listening to IDP opinions not only enables the researcher to explore the broader contextual factors that may inform the extent to which Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon value education from a liberal-humanistic perspective.

Education promotes human rights, peace and democracy

In Boyden's (2003) article, it is asserted that children must be recognised as important sources of knowledge during times of adversity. Boyden maintains that

the perception that children are helpless victims is a construct of adult thinking and ignoring what a child perceives as being in their best interest, may in fact create problems in the future. Central to this argument is the view that children should be regarded as experts of their own experiences and their thoughts, and responses to situations such as displacement should be used to develop their rights (Dicum 2008). Succinctly put:

> If children are to be helped to overcome highly stressful experiences, their views and perspectives need to be treated as a source of learning and strength, not weakness. It should be stressed again that arguing for a view of children as at least potentially resourceful is not to sanction their exposure to adversity, nor to deny that some children may be rendered vulnerable. Instead, this view questions normative ideas about childhood weakness and considers whether a focus on children's susceptibilities really is the most effective way of supporting self-esteem and self-efficacy in adverse environments (Boyden 2003).

Listening to the experiences of IDP children, as has occurred in this research project, not only ensures that the rights of the IDP child are considered, but this also provides IDP children with the right to be part of decision making processes that affect and shape the quality of their life. Boyden and Hart (2007) argue that the notion of childhood is at stake and that the rights of IDP children should be free

from actions complicated and compromised by adults. This research project acknowledges that the notion of childhood is not fixed such that it is open to a range of 'constructs' and that displaced children may engage actively within the contexts of their displacement (Newman 2004; Boyden and de Berry 2004). Nonetheless what constitutes being a child and the concept of one's childhood is especially important for children affected by displacement because they have an unconditional right like any human being to realise their rights, such as their right to education and the right to peace. Consequently governments supporting the development of IDP children are obligated to support the achievement of these rights. Acknowledging children's 'voices' in dire circumstances such as displacement, war and conflict challenges social institutions such as education systems to realise that a child can contribute towards their own social, spiritual, physical, and mental well-being. Early restoration and on-going investment into the development of IDP education are often recognised as being important factors for helping IDP children 'cope' with internal displacement (IDMC May 2010). It is maintained, however, that policymakers (host-state governments and aid agencies) who develop, administer and oversee IDP education systems must challenge perceptions that children should be viewed as knowledge-free 'victims' only and re-think how education can be used to improve the rights of the IDP child and thus, benefit the broader aspirations within an IDP community (i.e. peace, hope, survival) (Lawson 2012). Therefore, it is insisted that the use of a liberal-humanistic (progressive) educational philosophy, which is grounded in the acknowledgement that children comprise sources of both knowledge and experience can be harnessed as the basis of an effective pedagogy (Rose and

Shevlin 2004), such that children become participants in their own in "forming the very purposes that direct his or her activities in the learning process" (ICELS 2014).

Ideally, the development of IDP education should involve its primary stakeholders, namely IDP children in addition to IDP parents, IDP teachers, IDP education administrators, government officials, aid agencies and IDP community leaders, so that education is developed from the perspective of those whom it is intended to advantage (UNHCR 2019; Brun 2005; IDMC-August 2010; Rose and Shevlin 2004; Bloem 2001). As contended by Tawardrous (2014), Watkins (2011) and Faour (2011) though (without use of contemporary neo-liberal parlance), primary 'stakeholders' should have the right to convey their opinions about 'their' education experiences. If IDPs can access less restrictive or limited educational practices and structures it is conceivable that their schooling will encourage experiences that will enable them to challenge the negative effects of displacement, such as exploitation, abuse and discrimination. As advocated by Boyden (2003), and Pinson and Arnot (2007: 402), this shift in thinking from victim to active agent may also help decrease the reliance of IDPs on governments and aid agencies. Furthermore, if education can improve the rights of IDPs, escaping the hardships of displacement may empower IDPs to aspire to goals and futures once considered unattainable (Sinclair 2001). The notion of agency is taken up later in the data based discussion in Chapters Six and Eight.

In practice, however, the realisation of IDPs rights to meaningful education experiences is tenuous at best, and sustainable improvements in human rights, peace and democracy are often questionable. For instance, in Burma approximately

470,000 IDPs have access to minimal educational resources and few schools exist in resettlement areas (Rhoades 2010). This trend, while typical of IDP schooling often contributes to dire poverty levels that hamper the overall living conditions of IDPs. Risk factors such as, poor sanitary conditions and disease, cramped settlement areas, lack of clean food and water, coupled with physical and mental abuse, lack of rights and military oppression significantly jeopardise the everyday life and rights of IDPs (McElroy 2012). Furthermore, it is disputed that these risk factors severely undermine the development of IDP children, and that this may contribute to a range of differing perceptions about the value of education and its relationship to future employment. The next section of this chapter builds on this line of inquiry and explores literature related to how education can be used to improve the poverty cycle of IDPs.

Education and the Poverty Cycle of IDPs

Brown's (2001: 6) study of displaced Bhutanese in Nepal identified education as a 'priceless commodity to cling to'. Education in this sense was perceived by many Bhutan parents, much like displaced Syrians from the Syrian civil war, as an important resource that could be used to demonstrate an intrinsic desire to maintain and strive towards high self-esteem and success (Powell 2009: 32; United Nations 2018; BBC 2019; World Vision 2018). Brown described the success of the Bhutanese programme as reflecting a determined effort by this displaced community to empower their children with a sense of self-sufficiency and pride. Although, many displaced Bhutanese stated that their situation was not ideal having access to education (albeit limited) instilled a belief that knowledge

provided 'hope' to counter their plight. 'Hope' in this context encouraged the notion that education might be used by IDPs to challenge factors that contribute towards their impoverishment (Mooney and French 2005). As Finn (2014) has suggested, and with reference to poverty, connecting public education to the public good means providing students with the powerful education that gives them the means to demand changes in the government's education and economic policies that negatively impact their lives.

Thus, it is acknowledged that education can help mitigate and reduced the impacts of the poverty cycle of IDPs in the following ways:

- Education provides protection and shelter from violence, abuse, and discrimination associated with their marginalised status.

- Education helps inform IDPs of their rights. In particular, education improves the rights of children and promotes gender equity.

- Education provides stability and normalcy needed to counter the insecurity of displacement.

- Education helps convey life-saving messages that may inspire action towards better futures.

- Education gives IDP children, in particular, a break from the adversity of displacement and allows them to learn in a relatively safe environment.

- Education helps develop life skills needed to survive their displacement.

- Education provides basic skills and training that can be used to enhance their socio-economic growth and advancement.

- Education helps IDPs improve their self-esteem, self-confidence and perceptions of self

(Buckland 2006; IDMC May 2010; IDMC November 2010; Rhoades 2010; Sinclair 2001; Maegusuku-Hewett et al 2007; Hamilton 2004).

The mitigating factors listed above imply that education has the potential to empower IDPs; an outcome which emerged in Cassity and Gow's (2005) study of young southern Sudanese children in Australian high schools. This study described schools as a haven of transformation that provided a transition towards a future without poverty and violence. Sudanese students described their move to Australia as representing a new beginning and a new life. Cassity and Gow (2005:53) found that many Sudanese students thought that schools and education were necessary so that the atrocities from their past could be replaced with dreams of a better future. Moreover, these students claimed that education was important because it enabled them to develop skills that permitted a sense of self-sufficiency and self-determination. Instilled with the belief that they may have the power to become the 'masters' of their own destiny, a positive outlook was seen as necessary by children when aspiring towards futures that may benefit them socially and economically. In this sense, 'being positive' and displaying a good work ethic enabled children to challenge factors (like employment discrimination through government laws and regulations) that otherwise reinforced their lowly status and the poverty cycle. Narratives from Maegusuku-Hewett et al's (2007) study of refugee children in Wales also support the claim that education has an empowering effect. Coupled with hard work at school and discipline outside of the classroom,

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education was perceived by many children as an important mechanism for initiating positive change in their lives. These studies have shown that if education could be used to provide 'hope' that new beginnings are possible, IDPs may then be encouraged to aspire towards futures that procure opportunities for socio-economic advancement (Maegusuku-Hewett et al 2007; Ingamells and Westoby 2008; Sinclair 2001).

Nonetheless it is debatable whether or not 'hope' alone is sufficient for IDPs to perceive that education is a valuable 'investment' for securing desired career futures. As Hart (2009) points out, the content that informs the IDP psyche is also grounded in significant obstacles that conspire to neglect and reduce the rights of IDPs. For example, research investigating the effects of trauma on the functioning of IDP children in educational settings has shown that many IDP children do not perform as well compared to non-IDP children (Boyden and Hart 2007). The IDMC (August 2010) research paper outlined several key factors that affected IDP education. The paper highlighted that the majority of IDPs in Turkey reside within a poverty cycle that diminishes their social and economic growth. The vast numbers of IDPs living in camps in Turkey place an enormous pressure on the resources (shelter, food, water) that are ultimately available for IDP communities. Typically, resources do not adequately meet demand such that the impoverished conditions that typify IDP living are amplified. The strain on these resources which are often the basic necessities of life also affects the effectiveness of education in IDP communities. This often occurs because education becomes one of many factors that must be prioritised according to the needs of IDPs (Castles 2003; Muggah 2007).

The lived experiences confronting IDPs are often far from ideal and it is these contextual conditions that this research project argues contribute towards the formation of ambivalent perceptions of the relationship between education and its value to securing desired career futures. For example, Kett's (2005) research explored how the commodification of language underlined the discrimination which IDPs believed to be endemic in their education contexts. While many Bosnian IDPs perceived education as being an important mechanism for improving oneself, Kett suggests that the daily realities confronting IDPs create a sense of susceptibility and apathy, which causes them to re-think and re-evaluate their priorities. In this context, the value of education is measured against other more basic survival-related resource provisions, which Boyden (2003) and others (Cassity and Gow 2005; Maegusuku-Hewett et al 2007; Harvey 2005) have explained inform the broader decision making processes of IDPs and those aid agencies supporting IDP communities. Similarly, El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek's (2008) study, also highlighted a sense of student apathy towards educational systems established for displaced populations. This study showed that students who undertook vocational and technical education (VTE) thought that VTE education was valuable, but that it lacked the respect of employers. El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek maintained that the negative attitudes connected to VTE existed because many Lebanese employers associated VTE training with manual labour and weak academic performance.

The perceptions of employers are significant in this research project as employers have the power, even if only indirectly, to influence how students perceive the value of their education credentials. The relationship between

education credentials and post-school employability is especially important to IDP perceptions of the value of education when IDP students are rejected from desired employment opportunities. As Kett (2005) explains, the sombre realities of IDP displacement can influence how IDP students perceive the benefits of education especially if they believe that their educational experiences provide minimal scope for advancement. Therefore, it is both the quality and the employment market value of IDP educational systems that inform IDP student's perceptions of education.

The Challenge of Acculturation

Although it has been discussed that education, at least in its liberal format, has the potential to promote self-autonomy and provide individuals with basic knowledge and skills that may be used to enhance participation in the common good, if not more precisely better integrate into their social settings (Naidoo 2009:262; McBrien 2005; Hamilton 2004), this research project asserts that the success of IDP education is also impacted by prevailing discourses that inform the acculturation of IDPs into the education system.

Acculturation is defined as a process of cultural exchange where individuals and groups of people are exposed to different cultural nuances (Bourhis et al 1996). Bourhis et al (1996) explain that the process of acculturation has the power to influence how individuals and groups perceive themselves in relation to others especially when cultural interaction is intensified and prolonged. It is therefore necessary to understand how acculturation might also inform IDP's relationships

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with education. In the context of this research project it is important to understand how acculturation may influence Palestinian IDP decisions to variously engage the customs, beliefs, language, behaviour and attitudes from an education system which remains – at least in part – inscribed by different cultural values and discourses to the extent that it is offered from within the broader cultural context that is Lebanon. In light of the possible acculturation barriers and, other constraints upon IDP participation in education identified earlier discussion that follows also highlights the dynamic of ambivalence (in colonialist -like contexts) as a possible outcome of such barriers and constraints. Although it is possible to view the IDP response to these in terms of (psychological) cultural dissonance (Minkov 2011; Montano 2014; Genova 2004), Bhabha's notion of ambivalence allows for the investigation of the discourses which are used to build and convey such dissonance. Bhabha's interpretation of relations between the coloniser and the colonised identifies the emergence of 'ambivalence' as a response to often unequal relations of power between these two groups under the conditions of colonisation. But for Bhabha (1994) ambivalence comprised a dynamic that characterised the response of the coloniser in terms of the discursive representation of the colonised. In this research project, however, the notion of 'ambivalence' is used to understand Palestinian IDPs valuing of education in the context of a questionably post-colonial Lebanese host-nation. This research project argues that the concept of dissonance fails to offer the analysis a sufficiently rigorous tool that is attentive to movement in the subject's sense of self in relation to relations of power (or at least perceived power) with the coloniser, and how this movement is expressed through discourse. As will be addressed in the discussion of social theory in Chapter Four, the notion

of ambivalence allows not only the mapping of discourse in the relationship between coloniser and colonised, it also facilitates insight into the Palestinian valuing of education as a response to relations of power between the colonised and coloniser.

Notwithstanding the significance of Bhabha's work with the notion of ambivalence (1994) to this research project, Kanu's (2008) research into the educational needs and barriers for African students in Manitoba nonetheless identified acculturation stress and academic-cultural dissonance as significant factors affecting the educational experiences of displaced populations. Kanu (2008) explained that student's acculturation stress (in an academic sense) stemmed from an inability to cope with the demands of deciphering how to engage learning in a predominantly westernised context. Classroom expectations, such as taking notes or reading and writing, were done differently to the 'norms' associated with previous schooling. This subsequent 'change' in academic style created a dilemma for many IDPs because new educational practices sometimes contradicted values, beliefs and ideals that were perceived as tantamount in their past educational experiences (Kanu 2008:924-925). This clash of culture framed ideology can affect the educational involvement of IDPs because IDP education systems can be informed by discriminatory practices that guide and shape IDP learning (Kett 2005). For example, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre's (IDMC) (2010) case study on education and displacement in Turkey stated that language was a major barrier which affected the academic acculturation of Kurdish IDPs. The vast numbers of IDPs in Turkey are of Kurdish ancestry, but the majority of schools that serve this IDP population are only taught in Turkish. Thus, for many

Kurdish IDPs it was imperative to learn Turkish as this 'foreign' language helped improve their chances of future employment. This discriminatory practice often means that many students are given no help to learn Turkish and/or teachers do not speak Kurdish. Moreover this failure of IDP schools to accommodate the cultural needs of the IDP population not only increased the risk that IDP children struggled at school, but increased the likelihood that IDP children dropped out of school altogether. It is thought that the kinds of barriers faced by IDP children as reported by the IDMC invariably inform the value which IDPs place upon education, particularly when 'dropping out of school' is a consequence of a lack of any hope that current barriers will change.

It is also important to note that acculturation stress is not always just confined to the school environment. Kanu (2008) found that adjusting to a new way of life was challenging in itself. For example, many students described the idea of being 'safe' as 'unbelievable', and that learning how to behave in a foreign culture was a daunting prospect. As Brun (2005) explained, IDP apprehension stemmed from the IDPs perception that they are 'outsiders' in environments, which often use discriminatory regulations to govern their lives. This conclusion is supported by the IDMC (May 2010) paper, which suggests that IDPs perceive themselves as 'outsiders' who must adapt to survive hardships that negatively impact their assimilation into host nation infrastructures such as education and employment. This study explained that IDPs thought education was important for developing skills to usurp discriminatory policies (e.g. labour laws) that affect their lives in foreign cultures. Alternatively some remarks from IDPs in this study stated that becoming like their hosts (taking on traits and copying their ways of doing

things) may also enable them to become accepted members of their new surroundings. By engaging in assimilation this response suggests that IDPs perceive themselves as being less able to succeed in the host-nation context when equipped with only their own cultural capital. Returning to Bhabha's (1994; 1990; 1988) discussion of the Master and Slave in colonialist context, it is possible to also view the IDPs project of assimilation as one of mimicry. Yet the mimicry of the 'Master' equally functions to reinforce the inadequacy of the 'slave' (Bhabha 1994: 121-122; Said 1978: 5-6; 31-33). Brown (2001) suggests that IDPs may experience this outcome as a result of believing that mimicking their 'Masters' is their only hope to become increasingly self-sufficient. Copying traits and taking on the values of others may be seen as degrading of oneself, but this attitude nonetheless highlights the lengths which IDPs will go to acculturate successfully into new surroundings (IDMC November 2010).

Much like the acculturation stress noted above, academic culture dissonance or the difference between one's own academic culture and the new academic context has been described as one's confusion with and struggle to understand the 'how's' and 'why's' that form social and learning expectations in different education environments (Oh and Van der Stouwe 2008:591-593). El-Basha (2009:42) explains that academic culture dissonance emerges from a perception that displaced people think that they lack control over their educational destiny. This research project argues that this perceived 'lack of control' is amplified in an IDP's educational environment because IDPs, despite being the principal stakeholders, IDPs often have no rights and little to no power to determine how educational programmes should be delivered or structured to suit their needs

(Mansour 2000:4). Based upon research carried out by the Leonard Cheshire Centre of Conflict Recovery (LCC) between March and August 2003, Kett's (2005) discussion on Bosnian IDPs reinforced the notion that often IDPs remain forgotten and vulnerable. While education was perceived by Bosnian IDPs as a necessity for enhancing employment futures, many believed that their education lacked the infrastructure (i.e. lack of funding, school buildings) to realise their aspirations. For many IDPs the quality of their education creates a sense of resignation to the possibility that their education will not enable them to amount to anything of value in terms of desired career futures, thus reinforcing their already lowly status in their host-nation context. Thus IDPs feel that they must learn within an educational system, which functions to reinforce existing discrimination against them consigning them to failure and a future inscribed by sub-ordinance (Aasheim 2000:14). Kett (2005) suggests that this prejudice is often the result of host nations providing IDPs with access to sub-standard education systems that make it difficult for displaced people to improve their social status within a host community. This lack of status has the potential to create an apathetic response towards education, where education is viewed as a wasted investment of time as IDP education, while activating perceptions of 'hope', does not guarantee self-fulfilment or possibilities of improved social mobility. Brown (2001) also found that although education gave displaced populations 'hope' for the future, it did not promise employment or a better quality of life.

While education was perceived as an asset, many displaced people still felt powerless through their continued reliance upon others for life's basic necessities. This dependency leaves IDPs feeling enslaved and consigned to a life of being

controlled by those who wield power in their displaced context (NRC 2002; Phuong 2010). The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre's (IDMC) research profile of Guatemala (2008) described the right to education as an important tool for fighting the poverty cycle afflicting IDPs, but stated that positive change required nations that assist IDPs to establish tangible solutions, which may help rectify problems and the often apathetic attitudes often associated with the IDP education sector. For example, many IDPs access to education involves sometimes lengthy travel through dangerous environments to squalid, cramped classrooms that often lack adequate resourcing, funding and teaching materials (IDMC: Azerbaijan Profile 2008; Mooney and French 2005). In addition to these issues, many schools are destroyed during the initial displacement period or are used as shelters for IDPs, which leaves IDP communities without places to learn (Cohen and Deng 1998:7). Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) research concluded that while education was helpful in providing stability, education systems need drastic upgrading to suit the changing needs of displaced communities. For example, displaced students from all three contexts investigated (Eritrean students in Ethiopia, internally-displaced Afghan students in Afghanistan, and Liberian students in Sierra Leone) claimed that their education experiences were hampered by poor funding, a lack of educational resources, a lack of opportunities and a lack of quality teacher instruction.

Although IDP education may function as a considerable barrier to success, Winthrop and Kirk (2008) suggest that more emphasis should be placed upon the good work of effective IDP education programmes, and efforts should be aimed at applying similar successful methods in different contexts. This much more positive

approach to displaced education was somewhat evident in Brown's (2001) investigation of Bhutanese schools in Nepal. Instead of focussing on common constraints such as the lack of funding, poor resourcing or inadequate teacher training, Brown (2001) explored the success of a financially-stricken educational programme that operated within a tight budget. According to Brown the success of the Bhutanese education programme stemmed from the Bhutanese community being actively involved in the implementation of their educational experience. In the context of this Nepal based research project, being 'heard' and having a 'voice' provided the Bhutanese community with a forum to challenge their own negative attitudes concerning the value and quality of their educational experiences and come up with sustainable solutions. For example, by organising teacher training and support; overseeing the production of text books; being part of the development of curriculum; and improving cooperation between aid agencies; this 'hands on' approach empowered the Bhutanese community and enabled them to 'voice' their educational vision amidst the uncertainty of displacement.

Although Brown did concede that the Bhutanese programme was not without issue, the desire and motivation of the Bhutanese community to ensure a sustainable education system was implemented and provided the framework from which this displaced community exercised control over their limited educational experiences and future actualities. The proactive stance of the Bhutanese community not only suggests that education can be perceived as an important requirement for personal advancement, but also that education can influence the procurement of desired career goals.

Education and career choices of IDP children

The importance of education and the knowledge gained from education not only implies that knowledge is a catalyst for career success, it also suggests that knowledge can be a sustaining and adaptive force that individuals can use when seeking employment (Lo Presti 2009; Stokes and Wyn 2007). Thus, it is asserted that aspirations for career success not only reflect abhorrence towards unemployment, but more importantly point to improved opportunities for self-determination, mobility, and for acquiring future career success (Arthur 2008; Cooke 2008). But in the context of education for IDPs and their desired futures, the power of education to help realise opportunities for self-determination, mobility and future career success is questionable as IDPs are generally not adequately prepared to become part of the knowledge economy. Ninnes' (1997) study found, for example, that while Western countries have made extensive progress in developing and understanding the social processes that contribute towards the creation of student career choice, minimal research had been conducted to investigate how career aspirations have been derived from the perspectives of migrant and marginalised populations. Ninnes (1997:3) insisted that it was problematic to pinpoint a universal perspective that defined the construction of student career aspirations in a displaced context because research was often framed by westernised ideology. Drawing upon Ninnes' argument, this research project maintains that research into IDP education and career aspirations should strive to enable IDPs to contextualise and express their own perceptions. Notwithstanding the challenge that this position holds for research methodology,

which is explored in Chapter Five, this research project has nonetheless deployed Western social theory, albeit grounded in critical discourse analysis as a strategy for accessing the views about education and employment futures as expressed by Palestinian IDPs in the context of Lebanon. Discussion of the implications of this approach and the necessity to secure translations of participant discourse are identified in Chapter Four.

Significantly, however, it is recognised that IDP perceptions of education and its relationship to desired career futures may be unstable and subject to change (Cooke 2008; Staver and Wang 2001:312-313). Ninnes (1997), for example, claimed that the instability associated with student career choices may highlight the on-going exposure that displaced students have to different ways of thinking. Discussion above has highlighted the possibility of not only cultural but academic dissonance between an IDP group's own cultural capital and the hegemonic forces in the context of the broader host-nation. Interaction with different social and environmental elements, such as different religious and political affiliations can influence a student's understanding of their place and role within their new social context. Thus, Ninnes (1997) stated that while students may conceptualise preferred careers options, their childhood dreams may in time prove to be elusive due to constraints of their social circumstance. Many of these constraints have been identified above. The formation of career aspirations generally occurs during adolescent years such that student career choice can be based upon preconceived ideas (Tang et al 1999; Wilson and McCrystal 2007:35; Stokes and Wyn 2007). This so-called period of adolescent 'enlightenment' is deemed crucial by Ninnes (1997) as it exposes students to diverse experiences that ultimately influence and

shape values and beliefs. Exposure to various discourses amid changing life experiences allows students to grasp an understanding of how social processes, such as social status can manifest and influence future career choices (Wilson and McCrystal 2007:36; Tang et al 2008; Bagget 2003; Carpenter and Inkson 1999.). Consequently, school students may be particularly aware of socio-economic constraints upon their achievement of desired career futures; among which poverty and one's social background is often significant (Sinclair 2001; IDMC 2010; Schoon 2001:125; Bagget 2003; Tang et al 2008).

A number of studies have investigated the implications of educational status on the career aspirations of displaced populations, highlighting a positive relationship between education and career futures. Khallad's (2000) comparative study of the career aspirations of both Palestinian youth in Jordan and youths from the United States of America identified the Jordanian Palestinians as aspiring towards higher education and a narrower but more prestigious range of vocational fields. The study also found that the educational and career aspirations of Jordanian Palestinian youth were supported by family which encouraged aspiration to more 'successful' career outcomes. Khallad (2000) stated that this affinity by Palestinian youth to favour occupations (such as engineer or physician) occurred because Palestinian youth believed that higher educational attainment enabled higher occupational achievement, increasing the likelihood of enhanced social status for themselves and family. Schoon (2001) described the general acceptance of occupational destiny as a form of social reproduction. But the 'logic' of social reproduction can be both positive and negative (Bagget 2003), and discussion above has identified - in addition to the success of some Palestinians in the

Jordanian context – that in many other contexts the lack of IDP employment success is often the outcome of significant, cultural, social economic and even regulatory constraints.

Conclusion

The review of the literature identified above has at one level been framed by this research project's research question, detailed earlier in Chapter One. This research project asks:

2. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of
its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and
what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes
of identity formation?

At another level the preceding review of the literature has been informed by the need to position this particular research project in relation to the corpus of knowledge, opinion and polemic that already exists. As detailed above, this existing body of knowledge not only highlights the experience of displaced populations more generally, with regard to the utility of education; it also highlights the experience of Palestinians become internally displaced populations, along with three key areas of concern to this investigation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of IDP education and its relationship to securing

desired career futures. The first concern is the considerable number of challenges confronting the success of IDP education. The review of the Palestinian experience as an internally displaced population has been contextualised as a specific case within the discussion of the experience of internally displaced populations more broadly. In reviewing the link between education and the IDP experience, discussion has identified firstly the nature and value of education in so far as it has been constructed by the liberal-humanistic (democratic-progressive) perspective to comprise a valuable resource. The review of this link acknowledged in particular the rationale for using a liberal-humanistic approach in this research project which represented education to comprise a resource that facilitates the flourishing of the individual (if not survival and hope more specifically), and participation in the common good. Discussion of the virtues of the liberal-humanistic education approach in this chapter equally acknowledged that education comprises a project for the development of both individual and society. It should, ideally, draw upon the student's existing knowledge, recognise that the student's social and psychological positioning and acknowledge the link between the individual and society. Discussion equally recognised that although education is often framed by liberal democratic principles, in practice these are invariably situated with a local context. For this research project the local context comprises UNWRA provided education within the Lebanese host-nation state. The literature explored above suggests that the local context may be informed by a range of

factors which can negatively impact and disadvantage the value placed upon education by Palestinian IDPs. These aspects of disadvantage include:

- Lack of funding to assist IDP education systems.

- IDP schools and classrooms which are often under-resourced.

- Classrooms which are often overcrowded.

- Lack of qualified teachers to teach IDP students.

- School structures that are basic, if not only temporary.

- Closure of schools at short notice.

- Poverty among IDP communities.

- Lack of an inclusive socio-economic context more broadly.

In addition to the specific constraints which may be associated with the school or classroom, the lack of an inclusive context more broadly can be defined by discriminatory practice shaped by both social and state-based regulations that restrict the rights of internally displaced populations which otherwise are extended to the host-nation (Castles 2003). Together, the school-based constraints and those of the broader host-nation context have the capacity to frame and inform the value which internally displaced populations place upon education.

Alternatively, the literature also reveals that education can be viewed more positively as a consequence of its perceived capacity to:

- Protect IDPs from violence, abuse, and discrimination.

- Inform and improve the rights of IDPs.

- Provide a modicum of normality during and after displacement.

- Provide hope and inspiration towards better futures.

- Enable IDPs to learn basic life skills.

- Improve the personal wellbeing of IDPs

(Buckland 2006; IDMC May 2010; IDMC November 2010; Rhoades 2010; Sinclair 2001; Maegusuku-Hewett et al 2007).

From this perspective education can be considered to offer internally displaced populations a sense of hope and purpose. Hence the literature related to the provision of education to internally displaced populations suggest that education can be perceived as both a resource for hope and survival. How the participants in this research project might view education within their specific context, however, can be understood in relation to Zewail's (2011) opening statement that recognised the relationship between the individual and society, and the acknowledgement that not only do perceptions of education and life change over time, but that children can be very much aware of their positioning in both education and the broader socio-economic context.

Discussion above also identified a body of literature, which holds implications for the research methodology used in this project. Drawing upon the work of Ninnes (1997), there is a need to not only map the perceptions of education as held by marginalised populations (i.e. their attitudes, values), but to remain as close as possible to the voice of the participants. Here, the voice of the participants represents the meanings and influences that have contributed towards the feelings and attitudes that shape the participants' discourse. With respect to the later,

Bhabha's notion of 'ambivalence' facilities the identification of this voice in that this conceptualisation of ambivalence is attentive to the relationship between constructions of the Self and Other, relations of power and how such can be expressed through discourse. Although Bhabha's work is taken up in much more detail in the discussion of research methodology in Chapter Five, the argument above suggests that not only is it likely that Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education may vary between favourable and less favourable and between individual and group, but in this variance, it may be possible with the use of this notion of ambivalence, to identify how such variance is linked to relations of power between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host-nation. In this sense, this research project attempts to uncover the relationship of power between master and slave, and determine how this relationship may influence the ability of the slave to be heard within the confines of the masters' domain.

In light of this possibility, the following chapter establishes the social theory framework that has informed the research methodology and subsequent analysis and interpretation of the data. Chapter Four will review a range of social theories and key concepts that will be used to identify, analyse and interpret the kinds of ambivalence circulating in the research context investigated by this project. It will be shown that while the notion of 'ambivalence' can be understood in its more simplistic sense; that is, as varying if not contradictory responses, there is at play a much more subtle and complex ambivalence dynamic which offers this investigation a more powerful tool for understanding the Palestinian response to the relationship between schooling and career futures in Lebanon. This more powerful notion of ambivalence, which is drawn from the work of Homi Bhabha

(1994), is taken up in Chapter Four. Discussion in Chapter Four also explains how historic colonial discourse informed by Eurocentric assumptions might continue to inform relationships between displaced populations and host nations. Discussion will return to Edward Said's notion of Orientalism, identified earlier to reveal the impact of eurocentrism within colonial contexts, and its effects upon socio-economic and political relations in (post-) colonial contexts.

Chapter Four

Postcolonial Theory: Orientalism and Ambivalence

> To the colonialist mind it was always of the utmost importance
>
> to be able to say I know my natives (Chinua Achebe).[13]

Introduction

Colonial discourse has been greatly influenced by imperial thoughts, attitudes and values (Bhabha 1990:235-236). From British conquests in the Pacific to French excursions in Africa, the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries' saw European nations expand their influence, colonising vast geographic locations of the world (McLeod 2000:7; Said 1994:5-6). Discussion in Chapter Two, of the historic backdrop to the present day context of the Middle East more broadly, outlined how the consequences of imperial and colonialist policy inform their present day predicament. By the start of the 20th century the process of colonisation had heralded an era of racist assumptions that defined the reading of many colonised territories (Said 1994:7). Rooted in imperialist ideology, European colonial powers used systems of knowledge to propagate negative assumptions that constructed and represented the 'slave' (non-Europeans or non-whites) as being inferior and of lesser value in comparison to the (White) 'Master' (Said 1978:97-98). The statement from Achebe above, 'I know my natives', comprises but one exemplar of

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[13] Chinua Achebe, Nigerian professor, novelist and poet (Ashcroft et al 1999:58).

colonialist discursive framing, emerging from a colonised and coloniser or Master-slave relationship in which Europeans (as the 'Master') defined themselves against those constructed as Other in colonial contexts (McLeod 2000:18). For Spivak (1999:173) and others (McCarthy and Crichlow 1993: 25-27), the kinds of colonial hierarchies sustained by colonialist discourse, functioned to construct and reproduce inequality between the 'Master' and the 'Slave'. In the light of this historic legacy, this research project draws upon theories from the field of postcolonial studies to explore internally displaced Palestinian students' perceptions of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures, and how these perceptions relate to processes of identity formation in the context of a 'post-colonial' Lebanon.

The notion of 'Self' is often central to postcolonial theory. Drawing upon Hegel's master-slave dialectic (Stern 2002: 84-85) Said, for example, contends that the Master's Self was often grounded in a relationship to the slave, who was constructed, often through the process of homogenisation and the silencing of difference, as fundamentally Other (Said 1978:43) – yet paradoxically still knowable. It is Spivak, however, who concerned to recover the voice of the slave asks if the subaltern - those constructed as fundamentally Other - can speak. Inspired by Spivak's seminal question, this research project is concerned to recover the voice of the Other; in this instance the voice of internally displaced Palestinian students in Beirut, Lebanon. This research project asks if the voice of the Palestinians students in Lebanon is indeed recoverable, or is it entirely subordinate

to and accepting of the subject position constructed for it by the discourse of the dominant nation. Moreover, is this a voice that is characterised by unity as colonialist discourse might suggest, or is it a voice that - despite a homogenising representation by the Master as profoundly Other, is also characterised by difference and poly-vocality if not ambivalence?

Postcolonial Theory

Achebe (Ashcroft et al 1999), Spivak (1999) and Said (1978) explore the relationship between Slave and Master largely from within the field of postcolonial studies; a field which has enabled interdisciplinary debate concerning colonialism and its effects, despite its often uneasy incorporation of mutually antagonistic theories such as Marxism and poststructuralism, which often 'confounds any uniformity of approach' (Gandhi 1998:3). Aside from a degree of theoretical antagonism, the term, 'postcolonial', has also comprised a source of contention and debate among postcolonial scholars as the 'post-' prefix seemingly invokes a chronological separation between the onset of colonisation and the subsequent decolonising process (Gandhi 1998:3). Critics argue that this chronological delineation fails to explore the realities and legacies of continuing and on-going colonialism, if not colonialist-like relations (Spivak 1999:8-9). As a particular theoretical movement, postcolonial studies has also been criticised for being a construction of rambling Western ideology (Gandhi 1998:8-9; Parry 1987: 36-38).

Though there is a corpus of work which draws upon indigenous epistemology (Smith 2005), it remains Western and often French post-structuralist sourced theory, which has dominated exploration of colonialist relations in this field (Nakata 2004). Thus it can be also asked: to what extent can the Other be heard and said to speak when their voice continues to be filtered through the theoretical lens of Western, if not more precisely French post-structuralist academic discourse?

Bhabha (1990:122-123) and Belsey (2002:5) further assert that the incoherence associated with postcolonial theorising lends itself to the use of abstract jargon for describing sources of discourse, such that the (elitist) textual-style which findings of colonial investigations often have the potential to exclude the very subjects for whom the findings are intended to liberate and recover (Peters 1998:2-3). It is contended, for example, that the concept of 'postcolonialism' is largely underpinned by theory based upon Western ideology predominantly developed by the same type of ruling elite (in the academy) and categories of knowing (the Other), as was 'Orientalism' in an earlier era of colonialism (Slemon 1994; Arber 2003; Crossley and Tikly 2004; Nozaki 2009). Thus it might be also asked: how valid are Western epistemological frames to 'knowing' the 'East'? [14] Notwithstanding these potential limitations, it is outlined in this research project that postcolonial theory remains a valuable framework exploring discourses that have been deployed, and perhaps continue to be deployed in contexts informed by

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[14] The terms 'East' and 'West' are used to distinguish the Orient from the Occident respectively.

a relationship between the dominating and the dominated. Postcolonial theory offers opportunities to identify and unpack the varied relations of power extant in the relationship between the dominating and the dominated, and how these relations influence access to education, career pathways and the formation of identity.

From within the field of postcolonial studies, it is Marxist theory in its broadest sense which permits this research project to acknowledge the possibility that the relationship between displaced Palestinians in Beirut and the Lebanese host-nation might be to some extent also defined by economic structures. As Giffard-Foret (2013) argues, a focus on the (political) – in the sense of who gets which resources and why - is a much needed corrective to what some have declared to be the over emphasis upon culture in the analysis of colonial contexts. Not surprisingly, according to Giffard-Foret (2013) it is "Marxism, not institutional economics, [which] constitutes the basis from which a postcolonial political economy can be derived". Used in its broadest sense, Marxist theory provided this research project with a focus upon how economic relations might continue to inform the relationship between displaced Palestinian students in Beirut and their host-nation, Lebanon. Although Marx insisted that colonialism is a precursor to capitalism and focussed upon economic relations, this perspective need not necessarily be dismissive of the cultural project of postcolonial studies. Giffard-

Foret (2013) goes further and notes that although contamination, métissage[15], hybridity, and ambivalence remain hallmarks of the postcolonial:

> Eiman O. Zein-Elabdin, one scholar amongst others actively engaged in connecting economic questions with the postcolonial, for instance noted (2009:3) how "Homi Bhabha's (1988, 1994) idea of hybridity (deep cultural mixing) offers a fruitful analytical tool for better examining economies situated in multiple and dense cross-cultural intersections, and improves our understanding of contemporary economic phenomena at large.

As signalled above, a focus upon economics within a poststructuralist framework need not necessarily comprise a mutually antagonistic and unworkable theoretical relationship. Through references to hybridity and ambivalence, however, post-structuralism has also provided theoretical tools to engage in a critique of colonialist relations, not the least because they enable inquiry to challenge the linear singular assumptions which inform the 'modernist, 'foundationalist' and 'realist' constructions associated with earlier structuralist thinking (Peters and Humes 2003:111; Olssen 2003: 192; Bush 2002; Attridge et al 1987). But notwithstanding Giffard-Foret's (2013) important acknowledgement

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[15] Métissage describes 'the deliberate creation of space in between cultures and tradition where the monolithic, monologic, linear, uniform and totalitarian Eurocentric history and forms of literary representation are in opposition to multiple, intersecting and discontinuous histories' (Ponzanesi 2004: 150).

above, it is generally held that in contrast to Marxist theory, poststructuralism encourages the proliferation of uncertainties as opposed to the kinds of monolithic foundationalist truths that can emerge when analysis is grounded in a stricter understanding of the relationship between the economic base and what is often held to be the (in) 'consequential' cultural superstructure (Davis 1997:276; Ball 1994).

From a political perspective the aim of poststructuralist inquiry is not to reveal the singular truth about a particular social context. Rather it is to reveal the possible circulation of truth(s) - in the plural sense - and to not hold any one particular claim to truth as truer than all others (Davis 2003: 1-2; Bush 2002; Ball 1994; Attridge et al 1987). Though this research project's investigation of Palestinian students in Beirut, Lebanon, is certainly attentive to the significance of the economic in informing if not 'structuring' relations between Palestinians and the host nation Lebanon, it is equally concerned to identify the multiplicity of socio-political truths circulating among the Palestinian community which may be deeply associated with economic relations between both groups and not necessarily in an inconsequential way. In exploring the influence of the (political) economy with the aim of mapping how this informs the discourse associated with Palestinian perceptions regarding the value of education to securing desired career futures and formation of identity, this research project takes an eclectic approach to the use of social theory. Nonetheless, this eclecticism, combining both structuralist and post-

structuralist modes of inquiry is contained with a theoretical space which itself eclectic, which is that of postcolonial inquiry more broadly.

It is also acknowledged, however, that colonialism did not always portray the 'slave' negatively, and that the representation of the Other was not always monolithic. The 'Black', for example, could be both 'beast' and 'boy' (Bhabha 1994:51; Alves 1999; Goldie 1989). Consequently this investigation takes up this movement and shift in colonial discourse to explore the possibility that Palestinian representation of Self and Other in the context of the relationship between education and desired career futures might be characterised by such ambivalence (Slemon 1994; Ashcroft et al 1999:125).

The use of postcolonial theory in this research project is made possible due to Lebanon's colonial past. Fundamental to this investigation, however, is the possibility of the replication of colonialist-like hierarchies in what are the 'modern' and otherwise post-colonial environments of Lebanon (Said 1994:40). Thus, in relation to this research projects' question;

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

It is important to understand why governments, such as the Lebanese authority may choose to use restrictive laws to control Palestinian IDPs as these edicts may also

reveal how IDP communities are disadvantaged within postcolonial contexts. Postcolonial theory is therefore used to question the relationships of power that exist within postcolonial Lebanon and in particular, interpret how 'modern' Lebanese governmental processes are used to control Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. In this postcolonial environment, Charles (2018) explains that the Lebanese government has achieved a position of superiority and an ability to control Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon by:

- restricting Palestinian employment opportunities and the types of jobs they can be employed in;

- denying Palestinians from having similar rights to those granted to other foreigners who also reside in Lebanon;

- controlling Palestinian movement within refugee camps, despite Palestinians being able to move freely without restrictions in Lebanon;

- prohibiting Palestinians from legally owning, receiving or inheriting property in Lebanon;

- preventing Palestinians from repairing their homes as it is illegal to bring housing materials into Palestinian refugee camps;

- denying Palestinians access to Lebanese education, health and social services.

This notion of control and Palestinian IDP disadvantage is best exemplified by ongoing Lebanese employment rules that regulate Palestinian occupational choice in Lebanon. These present day employment restrictions exist despite Palestinians being granted access in 2005 to seventy professions that were previously restricted to only Lebanese nationals (Charles 2018, UNHCR 2016). Although these changes have provided improved Palestinian employment opportunities they are still prohibited from working in certain jobs, such as general medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, nursing and engineering, which it is contended inhibits Palestinian IDPs access to careers that may improve their social, economic and political mobility in Lebanon (UNHCR 2016). While, this type of discriminatory practice may affect the socio-economic development of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, it more importantly highlights the way in which basic rights of Palestinian IDPs are controlled and manipulated by the powerful host-nation (UNRWA 2015). In this capacity, the Lebanese host-nation is able to deploy laws that stifle Palestinian IDPs quests for self-autonomy and thus, affect their access to improved social realities within Lebanese society. Charles (2018) suggests that this cycle of subjugation continues to exist primarily because Palestinian IDPs lack the means to challenge 'modern' processes that have become ingrained and synonymous with their existence in Lebanon. It is also asserted that these types of employment restrictions enable the host nation to further embed social practices that increase the likelihood that Palestinian IDPs can be easily controlled in the future. Furthermore, the UNHCR (2016) explains that this kind of discrimination is quite common for many IDP populations, as IDPs suffer

from a lack of rights due to the instability associated with their presence in foreign surrounds and that IDPs often rely heavily on the goodwill of host nations to help provide access to the basic necessities of life, such as food, shelter, medical assistance and education.

While it is acknowledged that this notion of disadvantage and prejudice may reflect the disproportionate allocation of power within postcolonial settings, it is also contended that this inequity facilitates the (re)production of the slave (Master)-slave dialectic in this specific Lebanese postcolonial environment. In this contemporary version of Hegel's slave (Master)-Slave dialectic, Palestinian IDPs are assigned the role of the slave, whereas their Lebanese hosts are now re-positioned as the Master despite being recognised as a former colonised slave in Lebanon's past. Although, the slave (Master)-slave dialectic is used in this research project to explore the relationships of power that may shape interactions between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese hosts, it is also used to examine how this relationship may influence perceptions held by Palestinian IDP relating to the value of education and the formation of Palestinian IDP identity within this postcolonial environment.

Thus, postcolonial theory is an important tool for identifying the discourse in which Palestinian students in Beirut, Lebanon deploy to represent the Self and formulate identity in a context where the Self may be equally constructed by dominant host-nation discourses as Other. With a focus upon potentially shifting and ambivalent representations that may emerge from this relationship in the context of education and employment, Postcolonial theory, in both its Marxist and poststructuralist guise

offered this research project a valuable framework for unlocking those structures which are as equally discursive as material (Hickling-Hudson 2006; Nozaki 2009).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As an analytical framework discourse analysis has often been referred to as the study of discourse, which primarily views language and text as a form of social practice (Janks 1997, Fairclough 1995). In contrast to discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis (CDA) outlines how different genres of discourse like language, text, books, speeches, media, and movies can be used to reproduce and proposition specific relationships of power within various structures of the socio-political context (Buchanan 2008). In this sense, CDA does not just focus on the structural form and functional focus of specific language and text, but rather examines at the broader impact of language from its initial creation to its interpretations by an audience and its contribution towards meaning within society (Fairclough 1995).

In the context of this postcolonial research environment, it was decided that both Fairclough's interdisciplinary approach towards critical discourse analysis and Michel Foucault's interpretation of discourse would be used to explore the relationships of power between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese hosts. This multiple approach was used as it was thought that these methods would help to provide a thorough review of the social contexts that shape discourse as social practice within the slave (Master)-slave dialectic. It is important to acknowledge, however, that Foucault's critical discourse analysis and Fairclough's critical

discourse analysis are both distinctly different from one another and offer specific insight into how relationships of power can be viewed. For example, Foucault's CDA primarily focuses on the interplay between discourse, power and the subject and how these variables interact and are expressed through language to inform sources of social power (Buchanan 2008). As explained by van Dijk, Foucault's CDA provides an analytical lens to research the world and view how 'social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context' (Schiffrin et al 2004). The central premise for Foucault's CDA functions on the idea that:

> Systems of thought and knowledge (epistemes or discursive formations, in Foucault's terminology) are governed by rules beyond those of grammar and logic that operate beneath the consciousness of individual subjects and define a system of conceptual possibilities that determines the boundaries of thought in a given domain and period.
>
> (Bell et al 2016)

From this perspective, Bell et al (2016) suggest that Foucault CDA provides a means for unearthing what is hidden at an unconscious level beyond just language and expose the various discursive practices that inscribe how society produces and reproduces relationships of power between different groups of people. In comparison to Foucault, Fairclough's interpretation of CDA uses a three layered approach for studying discourse and analysing how language informs

social practice through written text and verbal communication (Janks 1997). This three prong approach specifically aims to analyse language texts (both spoken and written); interpret discourse practice and identify processes of text production, distribution and consumption; and provide explanation of discourse as a social cultural practice (Mogashoa 2014). In this research projects setting, Fairclough's CDA is very useful as it provides interpretation at a micro, meso and macro level, which enables identify how, why and where language is used in both written and spoken language, while also revealing underlying meanings within language that impact, promote and regulate the social cultural contexts governing society (Janks 1997, Mogashoa 2014).

Despite the differences between Foucault and Fairclough's versions of CDA, it was felt that these two methods would help provide a base of analysis that would enable the researcher to extract deeper meaning from the written text (questionnaires) and spoken language (semi-structured interviews). In particular, it was envisioned that these methods would allow this research project to explore the complexities that exist within the data without simply focussing on superficial features, such as discourse markers and thematic signifiers. By using questionnaires and interviews as data collecting instruments this research project aimed to gather a diverse range of opinions, ideas and information that identify how written and spoken language can inform inequities of power within this research context. Thus, it is claimed that Foucault and Fairclough's concepts of CDA are useful for examining specific societal constructs that use spoken or written text, such as books, stories, newspapers, films and art (associated with agency), and identifying how these exercise and express, produce and reproduce

discourse that engage issues or narratives that influence the (material) dynamics of social communities (Grant and Sleeter 1991: 235-239; Bamberg 1999; Ninnes 2001; Gough and Gough, 2004:411-412).

As Said (1994) has shown, a focus upon discourse is fundamental to interpreting literary works or texts in colonial contexts to reveal the ambivalence of how both Self and Other can comprise both fixed and shifting positions within the process of representation. According to Bhabha (1994:109) whose work also informs the field of postcolonial studies, as acknowledged by Giffard-Foret (2013) above, words coalesce as collections of discourse used by colonial powers to both structure and create realities binding colonised communities. The significance of discourse for understanding relations between the dominated and the dominating in colonial contexts is that while the material tactics used by colonising forces are often similar, colonisers often diverge in terms of languages, customs, values and hence discourse (Said 1994:10; Hickling-Hudson 2006), such that colonialist discourse can be both general and context specific. Said, however, demonstrated through the notion of 'Orientalism' that despite local differences, colonial discourse was generally grounded in a specific set of textual 'logics', among which were both power and control.

Orientalism

Orientalism is defined by Said (1978:12) as:

> a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an

elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of series of interests which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and cannons of taste, texts, values), power morals (as with ideas about what we do and what they do and what they cannot understand as we do).

This definition, reproduced at length due to its significance to this research project, provides a number of points of inscription for understanding colonial discourse, and for also revealing why Palestinian IDP students' may hold specific perceptions concerning the value of education. These perceptions are very important

as they may help expose the reasons why Palestinian IDPs choose to behave in a certain way within the Lebanese host-nation. Identification of discourses also offer inscribed subjects identity kits which come with instruction on how to act, talk, and often write, so that they can take on particular social roles that others will recognise within specific social contexts (Inokuchi and Nozaki 2005; Duany 1996).

From an epistemological perspective, however, the question remains as to the extent to which discourses determine action and subjectivity for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, and how this influences their perceptions of the value of education in terms of employment and the formation of identity. As used in this thesis, the notion of discourse is not held to be determinist in any Marxist sense of the base determining the superstructure as noted above. Instead it is recognised that in any particular context there will be a proliferation of discourses and subjectivities variously inscribed and disposed to inscription by these, but not necessarily determined by such. Acknowledgement of the important but non-determinist nature of discourse in its relationship to the construction and representation of both Self and Other, enables this inquiry to identify the possibility that in relation to education and careers, displaced Palestinians in Lebanon may deploy different and divergent discourses.

Notwithstanding the critique of (French) postcolonial theory being used to engage in the review of colonial contexts (Young 1992:26-28), Said's notion of Orientalism nonetheless draws upon a Foucauldian poststructuralist understanding of discourse to engage in the critique of Western colonisation of the East. And although

it might be suggested that Foucault was also potentially Eurocentric in his social theorising (Young 1995:57), his macro-level understanding of discourse is used in this research project to explore displaced Palestinian perceptions of the value of education. Working from Young (1995), a further critique of the poststructuralist underpinning of Said's 'Orientalism' is acknowledged by Tamatea (2001) who has also asked:

> How a representation claimed to bear no relationship to its object can be put to the service of colonial domination? (Young 1995:130). That is, if the Orient did not exist as an objective reality, how could it be colonised?

Like Young, Tamatea questions the relationship between reality and representation and although Said perhaps ineffectively resolves the tension between the 'real' and the discursive by going against Foucault and resorting/returning to humanism (Young 1995:134), this research project nonetheless holds that Said's insights are valuable not because they identify what was real, or not, but because they enable the identification of discourses deployed in response to the perception of a reality. Acknowledging that subjects act in relation to how they perceive the world to be, and in relation to others (Said 1978:97-98; Spivak 1999: 172-173) allowed this research project's focus upon discourse to provide insight into how the relationship between internally displaced Palestinians in Lebanon and the host nation is informed

by not only their 'real' position in the world, but also their *perceived* position from an educational and employment standpoint.

Consequently this research project is not concerned to uncover the single truth about Palestinian students' perceptions of education, or to replace a hegemonic Lebanese truth with an equally hegemonic Palestinian one. Rather, the aim in this research project is to identify the range of discourses circulating among displaced Palestinian students in Beirut, Lebanon, in circumstances where colonialist-like discourse and the political economy construct the displaced Palestinian as both Self and yet Other - as if they were an homogeneous reality. This focus equally enabled the inquiry to identify those instances where in response to these conditions, the displaced and dominated also constructs the Palestinian as a homogenous entity (Said 1978:203). Hence in relation to the tension between the real and representation, this research project maintains that the element of power in relations between internally displaced Palestinians and the Lebanese host-nation does not necessarily emerge from the creation of something from nothing, although this is important. Instead it emerges from reducing something (and indeed possibly many things) to nothing and reproducing this as if it were 'real'. The focus on power, as both a material construct and a power/knowledge nexus, enabled the identification of those conditions that conspire to bring about the situation where the dominated subsequently reproduce colonialist discourse which otherwise constructs them as Other (Ricken 2006: 544-545; Grossberg 1997:96; Gordon 1997). In this sense, critics of Said, such as Richard G. Fox proposed

that Orientalism placed an emphasis on the passivity of the native, whom accepted Orientalist stereotypes so that they could create and manipulate mass movements and positive responses to colonialism, so that dominant 'colonised' agendas could be fulfilled (King 1999:86). Although, it is accepted that this lack of attention to the way in which the colonised appropriated and reproduced the orientalist self-other binary discourse to their advantage, this inquiry utilised Said's Orientalism to expose conditions that might cause internally displaced people, such as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, to speak about themselves as if they were indeed the 'Other' in the sense outlined by Said's notion of Orientalism.

This research project argues that Said's Orientalism, which draws upon Foucault's understanding of power/knowledge, comprises a tool with the potential to interrogate representations of the Self-Other relationship (Ricken 2006: 541-543) in the socio-political, economic, educational and employment context explored by this research project, such that it is valuable to repeat the significance of the notion of power that informs Said's (1978: 12) concept of Orientalism. Said holds that power has a relationship with discourse and although not necessarily direct, it's association within an uneven or asymmetrical exchange across any number of political, economic and social domains, informs the relationship and the representation of that relationship between the coloniser and colonised (Morton 2007: 36; Wandel 2001: 368-370). Although, Said was largely resident within the Western academy, this investigation does, not hold the value of his notion of Orientalism, or its reliance upon French poststructuralism to be less relevant because of this.

Central to Said's concept of Orientalism is, then, the notion of the Other.

For Said:

The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of
Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its
civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its
deepest and most recurring images of the *Other*[16]. In addition, the
Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting
image, idea, personality, experience (Said 1978: 1).

In this particular elaboration of what comprises 'orientalism' Said even more
clearly establishes that Orientalism is a discursive construction grounded in a
relationship between the West and East, and that the Orient is fundamental to the
construction of the Western Self. Thus, in relation to this research project's focus,
Said's notion of Orientalism serves an important multi-faceted purpose; 1. It aims to
identify how colonial discourse influences Palestinian IDP students' perceptions of
the value of education and its importance for procuring certain career opportunities in
Lebanon; 2. Orientalism is a discourse that provides Palestinian IDPs with ways of
making sense of the world from their perspective; and 3. In the context of reflection
and identity formation Orientalism is very effective for identifying how power-
relations between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host-nation inform the social,
political and economic positioning of Palestinian IDPs within Lebanese society.

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[16] The concept of Other – (From Said 1978). The way in which one group excludes or
marginalises another group. By defining a person or group as 'Other', this term
reinforces the notion that they are different and dissimilar to another group.

In contrast to Said, Bhabha (1994) explores the dynamics of this relationship between West and East, Self and Other, in terms of psychoanalytic theory, and shows how representation of Self and Other in colonial discourse is informed by changes in relations of power between coloniser and colonised. Rather than working with Said's notion of ambivalence as slippage between a latent and manifest Orientalism (Said 1978:1-4), Bhabha's notion of ambivalence is grounded in the impact of power upon the psyche and the expression and representation of this through discourse. It is contended that Bhabha's notion of ambivalence "considers that such conceptualisations of the 'Other' and of difference tend towards a strategy of containment where the Other is forever the exegetical horizon of difference, never the active agent of articulation" (Stronach and MacLure 1997: 17). Bhabha's notion of ambivalence does not reject or discredit Said's notion of Orientalism. Rather it extends it to direct our attention to the role of the psyche in the construction of the Self – and Other.

Ambivalence

Bhabha's work in the 1980s and 1990s (Ortega 2011) focused upon the slippage in colonialist discourse as a means of interrogating Western claims to truth about the colonised. Locating his critique of colonialist relations within the psycho-analytic movement of the time, Bhabha provided a further set of conceptual tools to the field of postcolonial studies to unpack the relationship between Self and Other in orientalist and colonialist discourse.

Bhabha (1994) stated that ambivalence is both enunciative *and* the product of the psyche, and thus afforded the field of postcolonial studies further opportunity to explore the relationship between the text and the constitution of the Self, or the link between representation and identity. How this relationship between representation and Self-construction plays out in relation to the Other was explored in Tamatea's (2001) investigation of Anglo-Australian school students' representations of Indonesians when learning Indonesian as a second language. Tamatea (2001) summarised Bhabha's notion of Ambivalence as follows:

Using Hegel's master-slave dialectic but without the synthesis, Bhabha (1994:66-84) attributes ambivalence to the subject's desire to understand the Self as an original, universal and pure being. But to achieve this, the Self paradoxically requires the presence of an Other. This presence is at once productive and disturbing for it also reveals the possibility of the Self's division and the wholeness of the other. From the initial narcissistic phase of desire, subjectivity is subsequently informed by aggression and the disavowal of the now 'Other' who is associated with the difference. In discourse this ambivalence is reflected in the metaphoric representation of the author subject against which the Other figures as a metonymic presence, as part to the author's whole. In colonial discourse the desire for a mythical origination - racial purity, cultural priority is revealed in the vacillating tropes of the stereotype. Thus the Other could be represented both positively

and negatively.

Significantly in the research conducted by Tamatea (2001), it was found that school students produced 'humorous' if not condescending representations of Indonesians when presented with film imagery showing Indonesians in 'traditional' contexts. When this imagery depicted Indonesians in the modern contexts of hi-rise buildings, multi-lane roads, business suits and global fast food franchises, the students' representations of Indonesians became characterised by aggression and anger. In relation to this turn in representation Tamatea concluded that the capacity of the students to easily construct a representation for the Anglo-Australian Self as 'modern' had been challenged by the existence of city-based Indonesians. The subsequent student response attempted to reclaim the Anglo-students' desired position as the authentic modern subject through an aggressive discursive attack on the validity of the Indonesian claim to this subject position; a tactic which at least in the eyes of the students facilitated the reconstruction of a clear Self-Other relationship.

In the example of the 'Black' (noted earlier), an example which is not too dissimilar, Bhabha reminds us of the contradictions, slippage and indeed ambivalence in colonialist discursive representations. The Black could be both:

Savage (cannibal) and yet the bearer of food; he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive,

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and manipulator of social forces (Bhabha 1994:51).

This particular understanding of the notion of 'ambivalence' goes beyond the more popular view of ambivalence as simply a state of being undecided, simple contradiction, being in two minds, or not being particularly concerned about something (Bhabha 1994; Arber 2003). As used by Bhabha, 'ambivalence' is a decidedly active, political and strategic project grounded in the process of subject formation between oneself and one's others.

Despite the potential utility of the notion of ambivalence to the exploration of the discourse circulating among Palestinian students with regard to the value of schooling for securing future career options, there are as Tamatea (2001) argues, limits to combining a discourse analytic framework with a psychoanalytic approach. While Tamatea observes that this theoretical eclecticism seems to only entrench the use of European theory to produce knowledge about the non-European, there is also a concern as to how well its broad model (re-presentation) of the mind actually accounts for any real internal cognitive states and their relationship with reality. Nonetheless, he also concludes, drawing upon Khan that:

The utility of Bhabha's model is not derived from any ability to facilitate an understanding of these internal states. That is, the appropriation of psychoanalysis is not intended to produce therapeutic results or to access a privileged objective space of knowing prior to representation. Rather it is

[to be used] as a heuristic device … [And] based upon the Lacanian understanding that desire and subjectivity are linked to the perception of lack (Schirato 1995:361), this psychoanalytic model draws attention to the context of the relationship between the Self and Other as an informant of subjectivity and, therefore, representation. It is not a question of revealing the 'real' … subject who exists prior to their deployment of so-called 'politically correct' statements, but of drawing attention to the contextual constituents in the relationship between the Self and the Other that contribute to the individual's taking up different discourses. Equally important, the attention to ambivalence facilitates understanding the war of positions that drive representation such that if colonialist discourse is dialogical then its hegemony is never uncontested (Khan 1995:12).

The notion of ambivalence is useful for reviewing the relationship between the dominated and the dominating, because the dichotomy of attitudes and actions that epitomises colonial discourse – as Said observed - provides insight into the forces influencing colonised representations of Self and Other (Bhabha 1994; Arber 2003; Shilliam 2010; Shilliam 2012). In this sense, the focus extends beyond the reaction of the hegemonic subject and their representation alone. Full attention to the dynamics of ambivalence requires a focus upon the reaction of the dominated. It is this attention to the reaction of the dominated which comprises part of the focus of this research project in relation to access to education and employment opportunities.

Like Said's 'Orientalism, Bhabha's notion of ambivalence also serves a multiple purpose in relation to this research projects focus as it is used to; 1. Understand why Palestinian IDPs may hold uncertain beliefs relating to education; 2. Understand why 'slave' populations, such as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, demonstrate specific responses to actions meted out by the powerful - Lebanese host-nation; 3. Reveal how the relationship between the slave-master (Lebanese host-nation) and slave (Palestinian IDPs) may influence the interpretations of Self and Other from the point of view of the slave; and 4. Identify and examine how the interaction between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host-nation may influence the roles Palestinian IDPs and Lebanese assume within the slave (master)-slave dialectic.

In addition to the notion of ambivalence, Bhabha's notion of *mimicry* is used in this research project to understand why colonised populations may emerge as a reformed Other, a kind of incarnation of the Master, capable of attaining similar power and success, yet somehow different, flawed, and still inferior (Bhabha 1994:122). In his essay 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', Bhabha describes the notion of mimicry as an adaption of Lacan's idea of mimicry where the colonised Other strives to conceal itself, disguised and moving forward towards an improved 'self' more likened to that of their powerful colonial master (Kumar 2011). Kumar, however, defines mimicry as:

Mimicry is a kind of performance that exposes the artificiality of all symbolic expressions of power. In other words, if an Indian, desiring to mimic the English becomes obsessed with some particular codes associated with Englishness, such as the British colonial obsession with the sola topee, his performance of those codes might show how hollow the codes really are….There is another, much more straightforward way in which mimicry can actually be subversive or empowering – when it involves the copying of "western" concepts of justice, freedom, and the rule of law (Kumar 2011).

In order to achieve the state of 'enlightenment' associated with the coloniser, the colonised Other must suppress ties with their former 'self', engaging in and imitating attributes such as the language, religion, dress (the sola topee - pith helmet, safari hat) and cultural attitudes of their former masters. This process of disavowal and rejection of the othered 'self' involves the Other's quest for power in the colonial relationship with coloniser (Bhabha 1994:126; McCarthy and Crichlow 1993: 97). It is within this context of disavowal; 'becoming' and 'enhancement' that the notion of mimicry becomes valuable to unpacking internally displaced Palestinian perceptions of education and its value for securing desired career futures. Attention to the notion of mimicry enabled this research project to examine the Other's 'struggle' to change (if not reject) the Palestinian Self (identity), in order to approximate the Master's Self that is the Lebanese host-

nation. However, as Bhabha also notes the project of mimicry may ultimately be flawed in that the Other can never truly become the colonial Master. To use analogy from the field of postcolonial studies, the Other can be 'white' but not quite (Kumar 2011). Despite the potentially flawed logic of the process of mimicry, this research project is also attentive to those discursive instances where internally displaced Palestinians hold that education and the creation of positive Palestinian 'identity' might indeed afford the kind of status which is otherwise held by those of the Lebanese host nation. Discussion in Chapters Seven and Eight in particular will identify discourses deployed by Palestinian IDPs which reveal the desire of mimicry. The notion of mimicry is reintroduced in Chapter Nine in the concluding discussion.

Conclusion

Discussion in this chapter commenced with reference to the postcolonial writer Chinua Achebe's insightful statement about the colonial mind and its predilection towards always knowing the 'native'. Achebe's claim was taken up and explored in this chapter through a focus upon the site whereby the colonial mind could both come to know the 'native' and subsequently made this 'native' known. Discussion in this chapter follows, however, from that in Chapter Two which outlined the historic antecedents to the present-day context of internally displaced Palestinians in Lebanon; antecedents which show that the present day context in

Lebanon with regard to the presence of Palestinians cannot easily be disassociated from the history of colonialism. It is in relation to this historic background that theory from the field of postcolonial studies is introduced to provide conceptual frames valuable to the investigation of the research question. From within this field the value of a broadly Marxist informed approach to understanding social relations informed by the prevailing (political) economy in colonial contexts is acknowledged. The history of colonialist activity, as explored earlier with reference to the Middle East and Lebanon, is certainly a history in which political and economic relations have been significant (Hourani 1992; Mansfield 1992; Morris 1999). But more than a focus upon economic relations only as a determinant of Palestinian identity and perceptions of the value of school education, it has been recognised that a range of not necessarily economic dynamics equally inform processes that underline Palestinian IDP identity and perceptions around the value of schooling in terms of securing desired career futures and employment.

Discussion above also identified the significance of power in colonialist contexts, and that a poststructuralist understanding of power as a key dynamic comprising part of a knowledge/power nexus, offered the investigation of education and career possibilities for internally displaced Palestinian in Lebanon an enhanced set of conceptual tools. Drawing upon the poststructuralist recognition of a power and knowledge nexus, and its production, reproduction and circulation through discourse, Edward Said's notion of *Orientalism* was identified as a

valuable conceptual framework for understanding relations between the dominated and dominating in colonialist contexts, which allows for a focus upon discourse as site wherein the asymmetrical relations of power between the Self and Other might expose factors influencing access to education and future employment and its effect on the formation of Palestinian identity in Lebanon. It has been claimed, however, that it is Bhabha's notion of ambivalence that will enabled this investigation to not only identify movement within the discourse of the research participants, but also account for how such movement might be linked to the project of Self-Other construction. Drawing upon the work of Said, but extending it to identify the link between the psyche and discourse, Bhabha's notion of ambivalence accounts for educational and employment movements in the representation of the Self and Other, that reflect the subject's capacity to construct the Self on terms which are variously their own and those of others. Bhabha's notion of ambivalence thus ties representation to the project of Self and Other construction in relation to Palestinian IDP's access to education and specific employment futures in Beirut, Lebanon.

While the notion of Orientalism enables a focus upon how colonialist(-like) discourse in Lebanon may position the Lebanese host nation as Self and the internally displaced Palestinian as Other, it is Bhabha's notion of ambivalence which permitted a focus not only upon the kinds of shift in colonialist discourse acknowledged by Said, but also upon how such movement might be related to the struggle to maintain an acceptable sense of self when involved in an asymmetrical

relationship of power with another in educational and employment contexts. Bhabha's model of ambivalence, which comprises a re-working of the Hegelian Master-Slave dialectic, ties discursive movement to the process of self-construction at the level of the psyche. With recognition of this, this research project consequently explored not only the economic value of education and employment futures, but identifies how the perception of this value is variously tied to the project of self-construction and formation of identity for Palestinian IDPs in comparison to their host-nation Lebanon.

For Bhabha, however, the question remains as to how successfully the 'native' or Other can use education and employment in the project of becoming the Self and not just the Other. To this end, Bhabha's notion of mimicry describes the process wherein the Other takes on the characteristics of the dominating group through education and employment as a means to escape categorisation as the subordinate Other. Mimicry concerns the dominated taking on the characteristics of the dominating so as to diminish the ground upon which their otherness is constructed. As an actively political strategy it is both productive and flawed. While mimicry reveals the extent to which the Master has falsely constructed the Self as dominant universal when in fact they are non-other than another instance of the particular, it equally reveals the extent to which the Other can perhaps never become the Self or the Master. Consequently an altogether different set of tools are perhaps needed to rebuild the Master's house, which has implications for the value that internally displaced Palestinians attach to education and employment; an issue

which is revisited in the concluding discussion of this thesis. Discussion in the following chapter details the research methodology used in this research project to investigate the research problem.

Chapter Five

Research Methodology

Research is to see what everybody else has seen, and to think

what nobody else has thought (Albert Szent-Gyorgyi).[17]

Introduction

The literature reviewed in Chapter Three explored how aspects of education for internally displaced populations (IDPs) have been potentially influenced by colonialism. In the light of that literature, it was then discussed in Chapter Four, that the theoretical response to the investigation of this project's research question might best be informed by theory drawn from the field of postcolonial studies. Though what has come to be identified as 'postcolonial theory' comprises a relatively eclectic set of theoretical positions, it was maintained that two ideologies in particular; namely Orientalism and Ambivalence could provide insight into the relationships of power that govern Palestinian IDP career choices and interactions with the Lebanese host nation. As discussed in Chapter Four, Said's Orientalism was used in this research project because it utilised aspects of Foucault's CDA that encouraged a thorough investigation of discourse that relates to the Self-Other relationship, which Said asserts informs the notion of dominance and control between the subjugated (colonised) and the powerful (colonisers). The exploration of this type of discourse is crucial in this research project as it may reveal the

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[17] Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, Hungarian Biochemist, 1937 Nobel Prize for Medicine.

complexities that preside over the slave(colonised) – slave(Master-coloniser) dialectic. Thus, in relation to this research project's focus, Said's notion of Orientalism is important as it can be used to identify how colonial discourse has impacted on Palestinian IDP students' perceptions of the value of education and the career choices that they believe they have been afforded in Lebanon. In this respect, Orientalism provides a valuable framework for outlining how Palestinian IDPs make sense of their existence, which in the context of identity formation is very useful for recognising why Palestinian IDPs hold specific beliefs relating to their employment and educational opportunities in comparison to that of their Lebanese hosts.

Similarly, Bhabha's notion of Ambivalence is also used in this research project to help reveal how the dynamics of power influence the relationship between the slave (Palestinian IDP) and the former slave(Master – Lebanese host). In what has been defined earlier as the slave – slave(Master) dialectic, Bhabha's Ambivalence offers this research project the scope to identify prominent forces that may influence 'slave' representations of Self and Other, while also promoting the ability to closer inspect the reasons why Palestinian IDPs may react a certain way to their education and employment realities in Lebanon. In this regard, the focus of Bhabha's Ambivalence encompasses more than defining the position of the dominated slave in relation to the slave(Master), but rather aims to understand why 'slave' populations, like Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, produce specific reactions in response to the actions of those who wield power. Ideally, it is envisaged that the concept of Ambivalence can be used to examine how the interactions between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host-nation determine the positions that

Palestinian IDPs (and their Lebanese hosts) adopt within the slave (master)-slave dialectic and how these positions influence their perceived positions in Lebanese society.

Discussion in Chapter Four also highlighted the relevance of poststructuralism and that informed (broadly) by the Marxist recognition of the significance of the economic relations in 'structuring' social and cultural relations, as being able to also help facilitate this research project's inquiry into Palestinian IDPs valuing of education. This chapter further asserts that the use of a postcolonial framework, informed by attention to the impact of how social relations can be structured by economic factors within education and employment, were also valuable for informing this project's research methodology. The focus upon discourse in education as a site for subject formation identified in Chapter Four is taken up again in this discussion which introduces the significance of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as based upon the different interpretations of Michel Foucault and Normal Fairclough's version of CDA for exploring not only Palestinian IDPs perceptions of education and employment futures, but also the material and discursive constraints that act upon and inform these perceptions, and influence the formation of Palestinian IDP identity in relation to their host-nation Lebanon. This research project used a collaborative understanding of critical discourse analysis (CDA) from the perspective of both Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough to analyse the data collected in relation to Palestinian IDPs perceptions of education and of its value in securing desired career futures. The discussion at the beginning of the next section provides a brief explanation of what

motivated the researcher to conduct this research project and why they were located in this research environment.

Researcher Background Information

Prior to undertaking this research project I (the researcher) lived and worked for seven years at an international school in Beirut, Lebanon. During my final two years of employment at this school I participated in a community service project where staff and students visited a UNRWA school located in Beirut, Lebanon. While, helping facilitate this community service project I became interested in two aspects of UNRWA education; 1. How does the UNRWA education system function and serve its stakeholders? and, 2. What are the possible aspirations of students who attend this UNRWA school? These questions were intriguing and also coincided with my recent completion of a Master of Education course paper that had peaked my interest in the study of postcolonial theory.

After the successful completion of my Master of Education degree I decided to seek admission into the University of New England, Doctorate of Philosophy programme so that I could pursue a research problem that investigated the complexities of power within postcolonial environments. In particular, I was interested in exploring an original research problem that may provide insight into the social realities confronting Palestinian students whom I had worked with during my community service project at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This notion of investigating something unique was a major reason why I was motivated to conduct this research project. Although, Pramodini and Sophia (2012)

explain that research is often carried out because people have a curiosity to explore a problem that they perceive as being a valuable piece of research. I also wanted the focus of this research project to help inform new theoretical understanding and thus, challenge current knowledge within this research projects specific field of study.

In what follows, discussion justifies the location of the research project within the qualitative research orientation, and reviews the implications of this location in relation to key aspects of the research methodology including: the individual-group relationship; the insider-outsider relationship; the theory-data relationship and the validity-reliability relationship.

The Research Problem and Research Paradigm

Tamatea (2001) states that the development of a research 'problem' is informed by contextual factors including the present day political climate and the broader (and local) economic contexts, which can predispose the researcher to engage particular kinds of questions. Thus it can be asked: why a particular set of social circumstances are identified as a 'problem' at this point in time, when another set of social circumstances are not? In other words, the identification of a research problem can be a decidedly strategic, subjective and sometimes a political and financially informed task. Nonetheless, Guba and Lincoln (1994:108) succinctly argue, for example, that the construction of research problems has often been guided by actions that respond to three simple questions. These include: ontological questions, which seek to explore the context of reality; epistemological

questions which seek to explore the relationship between the researcher and the research environment, and methodological questions that seek to understand how the researcher should investigate the research environment.

The concept of 'social reality' has, as a dimension of the ontological, informed a multitude of research 'problems' that have variously aimed to expose and clarify human behaviour (Cohen and Manion, 1994:6). Historically, the research of 'social reality' has often been undertaken from within a positivist research orientation that has attempted to empirically interpret the 'laws' and 'truths' that govern and influence actions within social contexts under the (positivist-inspired) premise that social 'laws' *determine* social behaviours and thus truths (Collins et al 2009:116). This positivist orientation was grounded in the belief that 'nature' is governed by particular realities, which are determined by immutable laws (Atieno 2009:14-15). In this sense positivist research is rooted in 'scientific' methods that construct 'knowing' from (what is often claimed to be) context-free generalisations and is often associated with manipulative-like research strategies (Guba 1990:20). By the nineteenth century the positivist orientation had come to dominate educational research. In the context of this research project, however, it is emphasized that the positivist assumption detailed above lacks the 'objectivity' to analyse the social reality of human behaviour, because positivism defines nature as being quantifiable, governed by universal laws, fixed and relatively easily understood. This research project states that the investigation of social contexts and the pursuit of 'objectivity' must commence with the acknowledgement of the researcher's subjectivity.

Tamatea (2001) further asserts that an informed critique of social behaviour and social reality should also generate understanding from the collective behaviour that has intrinsically shaped actions and responses within a particular social context. Thus I contend that the particular social context inhabited by Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon is best understood by using a research paradigm that embraces the complex, 'subjective', interconnected social dynamics that influence action and behaviour with regard to perceptions of education and employment futures. This research project acknowledges that the pursuit of objectivity in the social domain must be grounded in recognition that 'objectivity' in research exploring social relations is always 'contaminated' by the subjective, such that objectivity is fundamentally grounded in the nuanced reality-constructing subjectivities of the researcher. It is also worthwhile noting that in the Copenhagen interpretation of quantum mechanics the act of observation profoundly changes the object being observed (Jones 2014).

Notwithstanding the implications of the Copenhagen interpretation for classical positivist objectivity, a qualitative focus can facilitate the identification of new ways of describing the formation of IDP career aspirations, beyond the conclusions arrived at through a quantitative statistical analysis alone. Research conducted by Irving and English (2008:108-109) found that a qualitative approach to research enables researchers to more comprehensively analyse social experiences and uncover new ways of interpreting the world.

To explore the intricacies of a social domain based research problem it has been maintained that an appropriate research methodology should employ an underlying epistemology that guides the research project (Kinash 2013; Kaplan and

Maxwell 1994). According to Kinash (2013) research paradigms are the theoretical mind-sets, or collections of beliefs that underlie our approach to (social) research. In this respect Tamatea (2001) suggests that there are three broad research paradigms which inform inquiry; namely the positivist paradigm, the interpretive paradigm, and critical research paradigm. While, *philosophically* different, these research paradigms share a similar purpose, which is that of striving to encourage the collection of holistic meanings that represent the behaviours, attitudes, values and opinions of people being studied (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Within these paradigms the element of objectivity is further informed by a number of important approaches to the data collection and analysis process, which include the relationship between the researcher and research participants including the relationship between each participant and their social grouping; and the relationship between theory and data (Tamatea 2001). Although not entirely mutually incompatible (Husen 1999: 38; Candy 1989:7) the choice of one paradigm over another can lead as a result of their different stances regarding objectivity, to the production of different knowledge in relation to a research problem (Scott 2000:19-25), and possibly the reproduction of knowledge which continues to marginalise particular groups. As a result the utility of any paradigm is not necessarily preordained, but is dependent upon the nature of the research problem and the researcher's orientation to the world.

With this proviso in mind, the qualitative research orientation used by this research project has aimed to provide a more thorough account of the specific research context, which is education, career aspirations, employment realities and identity formation for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. The use of Foucault and

Fairclough's interpretations of CDA are essential in exploring the intricacies that govern power in what this research project calls the slave (Master)-slave dialectic. Although, it has been established in Chapter Four that Foucault and Fairclough's interpretations of CDA are different, these methods have been used in tandem to investigate this research projects research question:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of
   its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and
   what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes
   of identity formation?

While helpful for examining how language may produce discourse in this research setting Foucault and Fairclough's framing of CDA enables this research project to develop a deeper understanding of how language (written and spoken) informs the production and engagement of power between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese hosts. As a form of qualitative inquiry Foucault and Fairclough's different interpretations of CDA are also useful for identifying how discourse is generated through language and proliferated within perceptions of Palestinian IDPs and the social dynamics governing Lebanese society.

In direct contrast, it is contended that a quantitative research orientation may not have accessed the volume of social meaning and perceptions identified amongst the participants as has occurred in this project's qualitative investigation (Kaplan and Maxwell 1994). While this research project is guided by a qualitative orientation based upon a collaborative understanding of

Foucault's and Fairclough's interpretation of CDA, the use of Orientalism, Ambivalence and poststructuralist social theory in particular also locates the investigation within the broadly critical research paradigm. To a lesser extent this orientation is also inclusive of the project's recognition of the structuring effects of the economy upon social relations, although Marxist theory is generally viewed as one of the knowledge sets to which critical theory comprises a response. According to the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (2008) critical theorists:

- Mark the 'linguistic turn' (associated with Wittgenstein) as a moment in history where we could begin to see how our reality was interactively constructed through language. Our conceptual system and how things are defined in society are created through language. Language guides and limits the observational process. The stability of the language system produces the stability of a shared reality.

- Believe the perpetuation of the subjective-objective controversy is problematic. The objective-subjective label is socially contrived and not a natural fact. Critical theorists have shown that 'objective' practices are those that have been shown to be the most 'subjective.'

- Recognize the positive association of 'objectivity' to natural sciences and less positive association of 'subjectivity' to interpretive sciences. This is seen as an artefact of a system defined to privilege the 'objective' label and the natural sciences. This is recognized as a linguistic construction.

The use of poststructuralist social theory to investigate the research problem has taken up many of the core positions associated with the critical framework detailed above. Among these is the attention to language (as discourse), and recognition that the researcher does not occupy a position that is entirely separate from the researched or the research context and research problem.

Additionally poststructuralist theory, like the critical orientation more broadly is committed to identifying how socially constructed realities can be comprehended by subjects as natural 'truths'. To this extent poststructuralist theorising can similarly be explicitly 'political' in the pursuit of various emancipatory agendas including democracy and social justice (Basnet 2011; Ninnes and Burnett 2003; Agger 1991). The implications of this critical orientation, which may challenge the positivist notions of structuralism is central, hold significance for the achievement of 'reliability', the theory-data relationship, the research and research relationship and the individual and group relationship.

The Individual-Group Relationship

This research project's sample population was purposively selected to provide the researcher with a social grouping associated with the research problem. Though all participants identified themselves as being Palestinian, it should not be assumed that they comprised a homogenous group under this particular 'label'. The participant data presented in the following chapters shows that the discursive

constructions of education and employment futures is characterised not only by a degree of consistency but also the presence of variation and ambivalence.

Hyldgaard (2006:146-147) states that it is vital to understand individual perceptions and attitudes, as individual beliefs can link the participant to both collective and individualised discourses that explain a social reality. Consequently identifying discourses deployed about internally displaced Palestinians and by internally displaced Palestinians in both individual and group contexts is significant for a variety of reasons. Identifying participant discourses may not only explain how circulating 'truths' may be socially and contextually constructed, such discourse may also highlight how an individual participant's response sustains the dynamics of power that regulate and propagate collective social 'truths'. In this respect the post-structuralist position taken by this research project enabled the identification of the extent to which constraints perceived by individual participants were related solely to the individual, or to more collective social and group based dynamics. It is acknowledged that within the participant group, claims to homogeneity (which can equally marginalise by the process of erasure, alternative individual identities) can only be properly understood in relation to particular socio-economic relations, such as those outlined in earlier discussion with regard to Palestinian factions (Tamatea 2001).

'Logical' positivism, however, is premised upon the understanding that individuals are self-constructed unitary, stable and sovereign subjects whose dispositions and attitudes are largely the product of personal, pre-social human qualities (Dollimore 1996:160; Ingold 1993:214). The process of subject formation is thus not likely to be deeply considered from within this paradigm. Nonetheless,

this logical positivist representation of the individual has since the Enlightenment been increasingly questioned by the likes of Copernicus, Darwin, Marx, and Freud (Dollimore 1996:168). In a process associated with the gradual decentring of 'man' the idea of the individual as a sovereign pre-social agent has increasingly identified the relative insignificance of 'man' in the universe and the subsequent social construction of subjects. This decentring movement is associated with the critical orientation, which has been extended significantly by poststructuralist theorising. As a consequence (although it is useful to represent the Palestinian IDP as part of a larger group), it is equally valuable to acknowledge the Palestinian IDP as an individual with individual perceptions of the value of education and its relationship to desired career futures. The data introduced in the following chapters highlights, for example, the production and circulation of discourse that variously construct the Palestinian IDP as both individual and yet also as part of a larger collective.

The relationship between the individual and the group as understood by this research project is dialogical or symbiotic. While individuals are born with certain biological predispositions, the development of these is informed by their social participation (Ingold 1993). Moreover, the individual as an ontological entity cannot be called into existence without society and communality having preceded them. In the light of this symbiotic relationship it is perhaps more useful to speak of the individual or 'Self' as emerging at different levels, in relation to the others, or as the interpersonal 'Self'. In Bhabha's model of ambivalence, explored in Chapter Four, for example, it is only through, or indeed – only against, the presence of others that the individual can find and construct the Self (Bhabha 1994:74-78; Weedon 1987:32). Thus, from a poststructuralist perspective it is

acknowledged that the Palestinian IDP stands as the socially constructed subject, created by participation in a web of discourse framed by their perceptions and responses to educational and employment experiences.

Researcher as Insider and Outsider

Guba and Lincoln (1994:115) state that research frequently informs and interprets the dynamics of social reality from a specific position. In relation to the participant group identified above, the position of the researcher, aside from the research orientation, is also informed by the relationship to the participants – as either an insider or outsider (Tamatea 2001). Both positions (and locations) hold advantages and disadvantages when investigating research concerning the context of power (Rabe 2003:150). In logical positivism, however, the researcher is represented as the outsider and the participants as insiders. This difference in location is premised upon the belief that the researcher possesses the reasoned scientific knowledge and capacities to uncover truths about the world of which the participant is ignorant. It is also premised upon the belief in the researcher's ability to remain (objectively) detached from the object of research (Candy 1989:3). In contrast the interpretive and critical paradigms acknowledge that the lines demarcating the boundary between insider and outside may never be clear as they are represented to be in logical-positivism. These paradigms maintain that the logical-positivist is susceptible to overlooking both similarities and differences that exist between these two positions. Because, as noted above, neither the researcher nor the participants are pre-social sovereign subjects whose 'self' or group exists in

splendid isolation; there are potentially numerous bases such as ethnicity, gender and class upon which the researcher may be also considered at some level an insider (Palsson 1993:133-134). In this research project, class or economic relationships were found in participant responses.

Nonetheless, supporters of insider research claim that having membership of the participant group enables the researcher to attain specific insights into the research context (Bartunek and Louis 1996:12-13). It is often claimed that an insider approach is effective because the researcher has explicit knowledge about a group and uses their experiences to identify and define nuances that bind a culture, group or community together. As Tamatea (2001) explains, having an enhanced sensitivity and empathy for those being researched may enable the researcher to be more accepted by research participants. Bartunek and Louis (1996: 14) state, however, that the insider approach has a potential to homogenise the thoughts of those being studied such that they are represented to be largely synchronous with those of the researcher, such that only the researcher as an insider can understand the context inhabited by the participants. It is also acknowledged that this potentially ethnocentric assumption falsely implies that all insiders must share uniform beliefs, attitudes and values (Bartunek & Louis 1996: 14). An insider approach can be further problematic because the very moment the insider begins research they may be regarded by participants as an outsider (Rabe 2003: 156-157). In this sense, research participants may now look upon the researcher as an outsider and respond to them with the same suspicion and wariness of an outside researcher who has no affiliation with the group. This possibility has the capacity to influence participant responses.

In some cases, a combination of both insider and outsider positions are sometimes adopted by researchers as this allows a researcher to define themselves in relation to the context under investigation (Bash 2005:351-354). The development of a dual research positioning often reflects a sense of connectedness that initially sparks a researcher's interest. Although the researcher in this research project is Maori, a man of 'colour', (as Palestinians might also be represented by those deploying narrowed constructions of whiteness), and has thus also experienced marginalisation on the grounds of ethnicity, the researcher's ethnic position has been constructed in various contexts as being both 'black' and 'white'. While this experience demonstrates the social construction of race, Tamatea (2001) argues that it is fundamentally naive to perceive the concept of 'black' versus 'white' as entirely shaping and determining the relationships between research and participant. Thus, it is recognised that the 'colour' of both the researcher and participants did not negatively affect the interaction between the researcher and those researched in the investigation of the research problem. Aside from any similarities which may have been afforded on the grounds of colour, linguistic, historic, social and cultural dynamics generally ensured that the researcher conducted this investigation largely from the position of an outsider.

An outsider approach was used in this research project because it allowed the researcher to view the research context from a 'new' perspective. In this respect, the researcher felt that being an outsider gave this investigation of the research problem an opportunity to develop a fresh representation of the participants by carefully exploring their discourses. To achieve this objective, the researcher adopted an approach that strived to minimise the reading of Palestinian perceptions

of education through frameworks held only by the researcher. Though it was recognised that there potentially existed a relationship between the researcher and the research participants, grounded in an unequal relationship of power, it was equally recognised that the collection of the data, its analysis and its interpretation could not escape the process of re-presentation by the researcher. Most importantly, this research project strived to show sensitivity to the participants being investigated, especially since this research project explores the (unequal) relationships of power between Palestinian IDPs and their context within the nation-state of Lebanon. This approach is supported by Rabe (2003: 157) who suggests that knowledge of circulating relations of power may be best accessed by those external to the 'group's' experiences. Those who are external can probe, identify, and describe things that participants can't see occurring or may not wish to disclose.

The benefits of using an outsider research approach are, however, offset by a number of limitations that this research project strived to overcome. Earlier discussion described that it is difficult for an outsider researcher to understand the experiences of participants especially if they have no connection or intimate knowledge of the group being researched. This lack of familiarity places the researcher somewhat on the boundary of the research group and thus prone to exclusion (Griffith 1998: 361-363). In particular, the researcher may be seen by the participants as someone who wields power which unfortunately functions to reinforce their own lack of power as they find themselves being 'controlled' *yet again* through their involvement in the research process.

To combat these limitations, notwithstanding the inevitable influence of the researcher's re-presentation of insider knowledge, the research methodology used in this research project was clearly communicated to all participants. Participants were reminded that they had the power to represent themselves through their narratives. All participants were carefully instructed to provide responses that reflected their own beliefs, actions and attitudes. In an effort to increase the likelihood that this sharing of knowledge would occur, the researcher spent time visiting participant classrooms and teachers to build researcher-participant relationships within the research site. It was hoped that increased interaction with the research participants would enable the researcher to gain their trust, learn more about their social situation, and show the participants that the researcher was ethically bound to present an honest and accurate research account. Both Rabe (2003:156-158) and Griffith (1998:365-370) explain that while increasing interaction between the researcher and participants does not necessarily move the researcher from the outside to inside, it has the potential to enhance relations which may encourage increased participant response, communication and acceptance of the researcher.

Theory-Data Relationship

The theory-data relationship concerns the impact that theory has upon data and the impact which the data has upon the theory. Inquiry that is focused upon social contexts, however, is not so much concerned with the discovery of immutable and universal laws as it is to account for the variations and complexities

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in the construction of 'reality' in any given social context. In Chapter Three a review of the literature suggested that the investigation of Palestinian IDP school children's' perceptions of education with respect to its relationship to desired future careers might be best supported by relatively eclectic social theory framework, though not so eclectic as to comprise 'logically' incompatible theoretical frames.

As noted earlier this research project's methodology is broadly set within the critical paradigm, drawing upon post-structuralist 'logic' and post-colonial theory while also acknowledging the influence of economic relations upon subject construction. As a result the data upon which this research project's findings are grounded do not constitute pristine pieces of an objective reality. Instead, they are the product of the social theory brought to bear upon the construction and investigation of the research problem at a particular point in time. By contrast, logical-positivism represents theory as universal and argues that its law-like generalisations are not generally bound to specific contexts (Candy 1989:3). Considered independent of the researcher's values or subjectivity, positivist theorising is used to describe causal laws and is thus considered predictive (Carr and Kemmis 1986:66). But as Tamatea (2001) states, theory is neither universal nor objective. Instead, theory legitimates certain ways of understanding social phenomenon, excludes others and controls what is permitted to count as knowledge (Thomas 1997: 86; Bhabha 1994:20-21). As Carr and Kemmis (1986:73) claim, the knowledge that is discovered by positivist research often reinforces the theoretical perspectives operating in any given situation; marginalising other(ed) constructions of social reality. The positivist separation of researcher from the

researched and theory from data all too easily functions to hide the power, position and often privilege, which the researcher holds in their investigation of a social context. By contrast this research project is grounded in acknowledging the implicit and subjective theorising of the researcher (Carr and Kemmis 1986:117). Although unlike the positivist approach, the interpretive approach recognises that as human behaviour is governed by social and material influences such that all inquiry is value-laden (Candy 1989:6), this approach is not used in this research project as the interpretive orientation is often more focused upon identifying perceptions as opposed to more critically evaluating such and providing alternatives (Carr and Kemmis 1986:117). This research project was not only concerned to understand how the participants interpreted their world, but also to account for why particular interpretations emerged and under what circumstance; and if other alternatives to interpretations existed.

The (subjective) 'interest' embedded within the theoretical frameworks deployed by the researcher in this research project is recognised in the critical paradigm to be precisely that; namely the product of a particular subjectivity and a particular theoretical framing at a particular point in time (Peirce 1995: 569). As noted above, the achievement of 'objectivity' from within this paradigm (paradoxically) rests upon the acknowledgement of the researcher's subjectivity. Considering this, the theory-data relationship in this project is both reflexive and dialectic (Taft 1997: 74; Giroux 1995: 27). This is not necessarily because of an attempt to transcend the researcher's interests (as if this were possible), or to reproduce a new kind of neutrality. Rather it is the result of what has been in the conduct of this investigation, the constant and mutually modifying interaction

between the data and the theory (Ozga 2000: 44). Unlike the interpretive paradigm, however, in which the data (responses of the participants) can be assumed to speak for themselves, this research project maintains that the researcher has the capacity to facilitate a valuable understanding of key dynamics informing the relationship between education and future career aspirations for Palestinian IDPs in Beirut, Lebanon. The critical paradigm is grounded in acknowledging that inhabitants of social contexts may not always be aware of or able to critically understand the socio-economic dynamics which inform their position and which construct prevailing social truths. In this project, however, this assumption is not taken to its extreme as might occur in, for example, a more strictly Marxist account. The researcher in this project holds no particular claim to be able to see an objective truth which the participants do not. He does not suggest, for example, as a stronger interpretation of Marxism might, that the participants are suffering from a false consciousness, which only the researcher has the capacity to see through.

Data Collection

In many cases decisions concerning data collection are determined by either financial cost and/or other resource constraints associated with the intended research environment (Maxwell 2004). In a qualitative research project it is prudent to research small populations, as it becomes harder to understand and construct meanings from behaviour patterns in a more complex and busy environment, such as a school (Kellehear 1993:127). In order to adhere to the key qualities of postcolonial theory informed research outlined above and highlighted

by Tamatea (2001) and Brown (2001), this research project investigated a small section of the Palestinian community as a case study. This research was concerned to provide answers to the following research question; namely:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

Feagin et al (1991) state that the 'case study' is a useful approach for generating data within an investigation located within the qualitative paradigm, as it has the potential to illuminate in-depth knowledge from within (specific) social settings. In particular, Feagin et al suggest that the case study method enables researchers to present findings that provide insight concerning the representations of knowledge from within a specific social phenomenon. This claim is supported by Yohani and Larsen (2009) who suggest that the flexible nature of implementing a critical case study provides researchers with increased 'time' to investigate phenomenon in its 'natural' state. Tamatea (2001) also points out that case study research provides researchers with the flexibility to choose a mix of data collection tools that are appropriate for the research environment. In this respect, a case study approach was used to provide insight into the social settings that informed interaction between the individuals, groups and communities associated with Palestinian IDP's perceptions of education and its relationship to desired career futures (Hek 2005:157-159). Discussion below provides details of the case.

UNRWA – An Educational Provider

In total, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) serve 38,173 students at 68 schools throughout the country. UNRWA also operates one vocational training centre, which teaches approximately 1,143 students (UNRWA 2017). In Beirut, nineteen schools cater for Palestinian refugees and they are located within seven different areas in Beirut. The breakdown of the types of schools in these locations is as follows:

- Area 1 - Six elementary schools and two single preparatory schools.

- Area 2 – Two elementary schools, one single preparatory school and one elementary/preparatory school.

- Area 3 – Two elementary/preparatory schools.

- Area 4 – One elementary/preparatory school.

- Area 5 – One elementary/preparatory school.

- Area 6 – One elementary school.

- Area 7 – One secondary school and one preparatory school.

Many UNRWA schools that have been named after regions that are now part of Israel. These names have been adopted by Palestinians because many of the families who send their children to these institutions originate from these geographic localities. Thus these names not only represent a region, but also provide a link with their students' cultural identity and homeland. To ensure

anonymity the names of these schools have been replaced with an Area code (Area 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7).

UNRWA schools utilise either a single shift or double shift time schedule for the school day. The timing of the single shift schedule operates between 7.30am – 1.30pm. The double shift operates by allowing one set of students to attend school during a morning session between 7.15am – 12.00 noon, and an afternoon session from 12.00noon – 4.00pm. When the morning session is completed, 'morning' students vacate campus and another set of students are taught during the afternoon session. The schools located at Area 4, Area 5, Area 6 and Area 7 (sample school) utilise a single shift time schedule, while the schools at Area 1, Area 2 and Area 3 use a double shift system. Due to limited funding, resources and government restrictions many UNRWA schools use rented buildings to accommodate the growing student populations in these institutions (Demirdjian 2012: 115).

The Case Study School

This research project and case study was conducted at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) high school located at Area 7, Beirut, Lebanon. This school principally educates Palestinian students who represent the largest displaced population in Lebanon. The campus is situated on a small site and borders suburbs that predominantly house Palestinian families and internally displaced Lebanese. This UNRWA school was selected as the case study site as it provided the researcher with access to a large group of Palestinian students.

Before research began the researcher met with the Head of UNRWA's Lebanon office at the United Nations headquarters in Solidere, Beirut. The researcher met with the Head of UNRWA on two occasions and each meeting enabled the researcher to discuss how the research would be undertaken. The researcher explained that the research project would be carried out ethically and carefully emphasised that the confidentiality of all participants was of paramount importance. When the Head of UNRWA gave the researcher approval to start his project, the researcher organised pre-study school visits that introduced the researcher to the potential participants and enabled the researcher to explain to students, teachers and senior management how the research project would be conducted. After 3 initial visits, the researcher began the research process.

In Lebanon, UNRWA manages and implements primary, intermediate and secondary school education levels within the Palestinian refugee camps. Since its inception, UNRWA has strived to deliver a structured form of educational instruction for internally displaced Palestinians and Palestinian refugees in both Lebanon and the Middle East (UNRWA 2017; Demirdjian 2012: 105). The mission of the UNRWA education program is best summarised by the following five objectives;

- To equip Palestine refugee children and youth with the required knowledge, skills, competencies, attitudes and values in accordance with their educational needs, identity and cultural heritage so they can improve the quality of their lives and that of their societies as citizens of Palestine, Arab and world communities who are value orientated, competent in communication and

problem solving skills, skilful in creative and critical thinking and knowledgeable of science, technology and the humanities.

- To foster their awareness of the need for interdependence and tolerance toward differences among individuals and groups that makes up the multicultural and global society.

- To promote their sense of aesthetic values, their willingness to contribute to the conservation of nature and their preservation of the delicate balance between human being and the environment in its broadest meaning.

- To prepare them to encounter and adjust efficiently with the multi-faceted challenges and uncertainties of the rapidly changing world, and to compete successfully in higher levels of education in the job market.

- To enable them as democratic citizens, to maintain a high sense of responsibility to balance their rights and needs with those of the family, community, multi-cultural and global society so that they can participate effectively in the improvement of the quality of life' (UNRWA/UNESCO 2002:1).

While all are undoubtedly important in their own right, the resonance of these objectives with the principles of Zewail's conceptualisation of the purpose of education should not go unnoticed.

General Education

The UNRWA education programme provides the provision of general education for Palestine children and youth at the elementary and preparatory levels, as well as at the secondary level, on a limited basis (Demirdjian 2012: 112-113; UNRWA 2017). This basic education program comprises a six-year elementary cycle, a three-year preparatory cycle and a two-year secondary cycle. Approximately 36 schools function at an elementary level, 35 at a preparatory level and 3 at a secondary level. UNRWA schools account for approximately 78% of all enrolled Palestinian students, while the remaining children attend Lebanese government schools (3%) and private institutions (9%). To qualify for entry into UNRWA schools, students must fall into the following categories:

1. Students must be registered refugees.
2. Students can be children of UNRWA employees.
3. Non-eligible students, such as non-registered, displaced and non-Palestinian, can be admitted into education programmes at the discretion and approval of the Director of UNRWA Affairs, Lebanon. This admittance is subject to recommendation by the UNRWA Chief Field Education Officer.

The UNRWA education agency has implemented a general education programme that follows the prescribed curriculum and textbooks of the host nation (Lebanon) and the Palestinian Authority. Students who successfully complete preparatory education can either enrol at government or private secondary schools

or complete vocational courses at any of the UNRWA vocational training centres. To cope with the large class sizes and inadequate teaching facilities, UNRWA has also adopted a policy, whereby students will not be permitted to spend more than eight years in the Elementary cycle, four years in the Preparatory cycle and four years in the Secondary cycle (UNRWA 2004:1-4; UNRWA 2017). The additional sub-programmes are identified below.

Teacher Education

The main objective of this sub-programme is to provide Palestinian teachers and trainee teachers with access to teacher-training opportunities that enhance their academic and professional development. This training programme is essential for Palestinians in Lebanon, as UNRWA school rolls have grown steadily since October 1997 (UNRWA 2004:1-4; UNRWA 2017). During this initial period of enrolment growth, the formal teacher-training programme at the Siblin Training Centre in Lebanon was reinstated to meet the demands of the Palestinian community and UNRWA schools. In-service training courses are designed and organised by the UNRWA Institute of Education headquarters located in Amman, Jordan, then the programmes are implemented by each respective regional Education Department Centres in the Middle East (UNRWA 2017).

Ultimately the UNRWA Department of Education perceives this training centre (Siblin) and others of a similar composition in the Middle East as striving to provide quality courses that aim to produce effective educators within the Palestinian community, while also providing an employment option for students

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when they leave high school. UNRWA teacher-training programmes comprise a wide variety of courses ranging from a two-year post-secondary school course, which leads to a two-year teaching diploma, to a one or two or three year certifying course, which aims to legitimise unqualified elementary and/or vocational instructors (UNRWA 2017). Furthermore, the UNRWA Department of Education also provides courses that help develop the supervision and leadership skills of senior education staff.

Vocational and Technical Education

Specialist training is also conducted at the Siblin Training centre and two specific courses are offered. Students have the opportunity to choose courses, which specialise in either trade or technical/semi-professional skills. Trade courses are generally designed for students who complete the preparatory phase of high school (Grades 9-10) and are two years in duration. Trade courses encompass a wide variety of occupations such as electrician, machinist and welder. Technical/semi-professional courses are designed for students who complete the secondary phase of high school (All 12 years of schooling). These courses usually involve a two-year post preparatory commitment and prepare students for a variety of vocations, such as land surveying, computer science and financial management. The aim of this centre is to prepare students who leave school early or decline to further their education, due to reasons such as lack of finances, with skills that enable them to become employable (UNRWA 2017; UNRWA/UNESCO 2004/2005: 2-4; UNRWA/UNESCO 2001/2002; Zakharia and Tabari 2001:13-14).

The UNRWA educational programme does its best to serve the Palestinian community in Lebanon; however, several limitations severely inhibit the quality of UNRWA education afforded to this refugee group. These limitations are identified in the discussion of participant responses in Chapters Six and Seven.

Identification of the Research Participants

All participants in this research project are of Palestinian ethnicity and attend this case site school. Figure 1 (below) presents a modified version of Brown's (2001:8-9) conceptual framework of interaction. It is used to explain how the participants involved in this research project are interconnected in this research setting.

IDP Education and the Palestinian Community
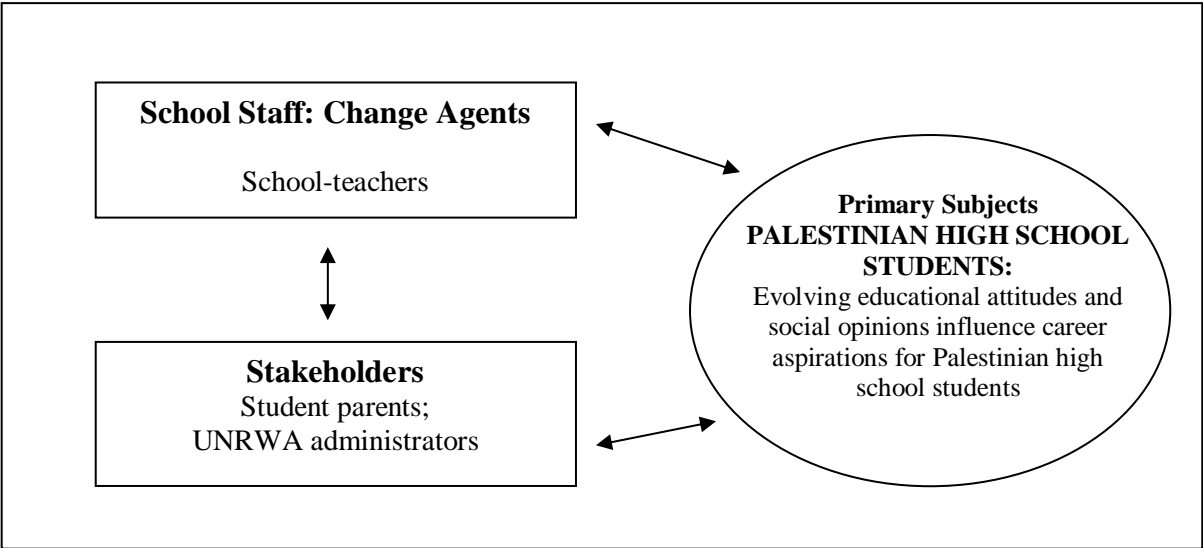
Figure 1: IDP education and the Palestinian community (Based on Brown 2001:8-9).

Brown's model stresses that school-staff are important 'change agents' because they have an important role when implementing educational instruments,

which could be used to improve the quality of life within a displaced community. This model also points out that the contribution of additional elements to the school's community, such as stakeholders (parents, UNRWA administration), must be acknowledged to ensure that all groups can work together to develop tools (teaching methods, school curriculum) which can be used to construct an education system that reflects the needs of the community. Thus, it is insisted that this cooperation and interaction has provided the researcher with an interesting research problem that is not only related to the perceived importance of education, but also to how education affects the career aspirations of this Palestinian refugee community.

As explained earlier in this chapter this research project employed a purposive sample that enabled the researcher to select a specific population suitable for investigating this research problem (Cohen and Manion 1994:89). Purposive sampling is a method of non-probability sampling and this technique can be used to focus on sample populations that are specific to a research context (Laerd 2013; Barbour 2001). Also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, purposive sampling can be used to provide valuable insight for qualitative research as it provides researchers with valid theoretical reasons for choosing specific sample populations (Laerd 2013; Gibbs et al 2007; Marshall 1996). In comparison to probability sampling 'the aim of purposive sampling is not to achieve objectivity in the selection of samples, or necessarily attempt to make generalisations (i.e., statistical inferences) from the sample being studied to the wider population of interest' (Laerd 2013; Gibbs et al 2007; Barbour 2001). In this sense, purposive sampling enables researchers to draw upon theory, research

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practice and personal experience to highlight pertinent intricacies that may exemplify the population being investigated.

There are a number of methods of purposive sampling which can provide researchers with different options when considering how to gain insight from various research contexts. These purposive sampling methods include maximum variation sampling, homogeneous sampling, typical case sampling, extreme case sampling, total population sampling and expert sampling. For the purpose of this research project, homogenous sampling was used as this method enabled the researcher to investigate and explore a specific population that shared similar traits, experiences, background, occupations, age and gender (Leedy 1993: 221; Marshall 1996). Homogenous sampling was used to uncover attitudes and values that may represent those circulating in the wider population of the focus sample (Kelley et al 2003; Lohr 1999; Marshall 1996). Homogenous sampling was also used as it was an easier, faster and cheaper option to administer than the other sampling techniques mentioned above.

In the context of this research project, the use of purposive sampling also refers to the compilation of sampling lists of all 10th grade students, 10th grade teachers, and 10th grade students' parents and administrators who had a connection to the Area 7 UNRWA high school in Beirut, Lebanon. Purposive sampling was implemented following the completion of all questionnaires by all 10th grade students and a purposive sample of tenth grade students drawn from this Area 7 UNRWA School comprised the focus group. Discussion of how these questionnaires were administered to these participants occurs below.

This tenth grade age group was selected as the sample population because this age group represented a critical point during high school education, where students start to select subjects that they think will be useful for future vocational and/or educational purposes. Porter and Whitely's (1999:44) research into student perception of subject selection by Year 10 students (10th Grade in Lebanon is one year ahead of Australia's Year 10) in Australia used a similar rationale for selecting sample populations when investigating the relationships between subject selection for senior school and future career aspiration. Research undertaken by Porter and Whitely (1999) indicated that many students expressed disappointment at being asked to select subjects at such an early age and it was found that students were more likely to select subjects in accordance to success, enjoyment and personal interest.

In addition to the 10th grade students, this research project also included participants drawn from the school's staff (teachers, administrators, UNRWA officials) and from school stakeholders such as parents of those students who attend this UNRWA school.

Prior to selection of participants, the researcher held separate meetings for each of the potential research groups at the UNRWA case site school (i.e. tenth grade students, teachers, parents and administrators). These meetings were held during the school day and allowed the researcher to introduce himself and explain how the research project would be conducted. All meetings were conducted in English and the researcher spoke first. After the researcher had finished speaking, the field consultant restated the purpose of the research project in Arabic using a pre-written dialogue that explained the same research project information as

communicated by the researcher. All potential participants were also provided with a cover letter that detailed the purpose of the research project and this form also included a consent agreement form that participants were required to return if they wanted to take part in the voluntary research project. All potential participants had 1 week from these initial meetings to decide if they would take part in this research project. Participants, who agreed to take part in this case study, were also reminded that they could withdraw whenever they liked and that their participation was voluntary. The researcher collected all consent agreement forms and these documents were kept in a secure lockable file at the researcher's home.

The real names of students, teachers, parents and UNRWA administrators who completed the semi-structured interview, questionnaire survey and/or advice task have not been used in this research project. Actual names were replaced by faux names to keep the identity of participants confidential (these faux names are outlined in the appendix on page 417). Students who completed the student questionnaire survey, but were not selected to be part of the twenty student purposive sample to complete the semi-structured interview or advice task were not given faux names. Instead these students and their questionnaire survey responses were allocated a participant number, such as Participant Number One, which has then been used to identify their responses (if used as evidence) in this research project. This allocation of a 'Participant Number' ensured that student participant identities remained anonymous in this research project.

Table 4 below outlines the data that was collected in this research project; the type of data that was collected; the name of the participant group that provided data; and how many participants participated in each data collecting activity:

Research Project Data Table					
Name of Participants	**Number of Questionnaires Completed (Total handed out)**	**Advice Task**		**Semi-Structured Interview**	
		Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
UNRWA Students	101 (112)	8	12	8	12
UNRWA Parents	20 (20 – 12 Females/8 Males)				
UNRWA Teachers				4	6
UNRWA Administrators				1	1

Table 4: Statistical breakdown of number of participants and names of groups that provided questionnaire, advice task, and/or semi-structured interview data for this research project.

Participants-Students

Only Tenth grade students who attend the UNRWA Area 7 School and were of Palestinian ethnicity were asked to participate in this voluntary case study. Of an initial sample population of 112 tenth grade students, 101 students completed the questionnaire and from these questionnaire responses a purposive sample of 20 students were specifically selected by the researcher to participate in an advice task and semi-structured interview (11 students did not complete the questionnaire for the following reasons: 5 students were absent, 4 students left the questionnaire blank and 2 students did not provide legible answers that could be translated accurately).

The rationale for selecting the 20 students to participate in the advice task and semi-structured interview was based on the meaningful and robust descriptions that these twenty students provided in their initial questionnaire. In this sense, 'robust' and 'meaningful' refers to in-depth personal accounts that these students

used to describe their perceptions of the social reality informing values and attitudes, which it is claimed provide insight into this research problem. Thus, these 20 students were purposively selected because their responses exhibited a willingness to share opinions that provided understanding of discourses that explained student perceptions towards education and career aspirations. Even though it is recognised that purposive sampling enables this research project to identify the nuances of the population being investigated, it is also acknowledged that the subjective selection of 20 students to complete the advice task and semi-structured interview can be influenced by researcher bias. Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007) explain that the research bias associated with purposive sampling occurs because the research sample has been hand selected by the researcher to collect specific discourse. In this respect, it is claimed that researcher bias exists because purposive sampling supports the extraction of discourse from subjects that the researcher perceives as being able to help facilitate the success of their research project. Ilker et al (2016) also state that the judgements made by the researcher when 'selecting' their subjects reduces participant anonymity and increases the likelihood that participants will provide 'pleasing' answers for the researcher. While, it is contended that participant compliance may be reflective of subjects changing their behaviour when participating in a research project. Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), also suggest that subject behaviour modification occurs because subjects perceive their 'selection' as being part of an important phase that is critical to the success of the research project. In this way, sampled subjects may alter their behaviour and provide answers that do not necessarily match how they feel, but rather reflect ideas and concepts that the subject believes comply with the focus of

the research project. The problem created by this modification of subject behaviour is that the discourse collected from the purposive sample may now lack the validity to accurately represent the subjects within the researched environment (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2007; Ilker et al 2016).

Despite the problems associated with purposive sampling this research project used this method to select a specific cohort of twenty Palestinian IDP students from the original sample of 101 students who completed the initial research questionnaire. While, twenty students were specially selected to participate in the advice task and semi-structured interview, the researcher explained to these students that they did not have to take part in these extra tasks and that their participation was voluntary. The field consultant also explained that this was not compulsory and that students could choose not to take part in these additional data collecting tasks.

Participants-Teachers and Administrators

Teachers and UNRWA officials were also asked to take part as interview participants in this research project. Purposive sampling was used to select teacher and administrator participants in this research project. Stevenson and Willott (2007:675-676) explain that purposive sampling enables researchers to use specifically selected populations to ask specific questions relating to a specific focus group who may be able to offer pertinent perceptions concerning the value and quality of education in research contexts such as this research project. For example: Do English teachers perceive the purpose of education differently

compared to Physical Education teachers? Do male teachers perceive the purposes of education differently compared to female teachers? (Adair et al 1999:26)

10 teachers agreed to participate in this case study and these teachers were chosen according to their subject speciality and gender. The rationale for selecting teachers in this manner was informed by the idea that equal representation from various subject areas and gender may provide a broader insight into responses from the student sample population and outline if teachers shared different perspectives (Hek 2005:159-161). Specific administrators, namely the Head of the UNRWA Education office in Beirut and an UNRWA education officer, were selected to provide an understanding of data relating to discourses that inform school policy. It was hoped that the responses from high ranking UNRWA officials could be used in comparison to student, parent and teacher responses in relation to the perceived mission and value of the UNRWA education program. Much like the student participants above, teachers and administrators were reminded that they did not have to take part in the semi-structured interview and that their participation was voluntary. The field consultant also explained that participation not compulsory and that teachers and administrators could choose not to take part.

Participants-Parents

From the purposive sample of twenty students, these students' parents were also selected to participate in the interview process. However, due to time constraints and the unavailability of many parents, parent interviews were not conducted and two parents per student were asked to complete a questionnaire

instead. If a student only had one parent or did not have parents, then the caregivers of these students were selected. From this number, twenty students' parents completed the questionnaire with twelve female parents and eight male parents completing the questionnaire respectively. Students' parents were selected to complete questionnaires as it was hoped that parents may have experienced or shared similar experiences to those of their children. In this instance, the relevance of parents being included in this research project is important because their children may have been exposed and influenced by discourse circulated by their parents. This approach fits well with the homogenous sampling technique used in the research project as exploring and trying to understand how parents perceived the quality and value of UNRWA education provided insight into how their children perceived the potency of education to fulfil their career aspirations and future realities. As Ninnes (1997) explains, the employment and aspirations that parents may have had or believe as being advantageous may be replicated by their children through a subconscious acceptance of status and class position. The influence of parents on student aspirations is an important aspect of this research project, as it is recognises that discourse from IDP parents concerning the value of IDP education may influence perceptions held by IDP children and about the value of education and their future employment choices. As mentioned earlier concerning the participation of students, teachers and administrators, parents were also reminded that there was no compulsion to take part in the semi-structured interview and that their participation was voluntary. The field consultant also explained that this was not compulsory and that parents could choose not to participate.

The Role of the Field Consultant

As signalled above, data collection also relied upon the use of a field consultant who helped the researcher facilitate the implementation of all data collecting methods – questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews. A field consultant was utilised during the data-collection period because the researcher could not speak the local language (Arabic) proficiently enough to communicate within the intended research environment. The field consultant had worked extensively within UNRWA schools and had ample knowledge of the research environment. This prior knowledge was helpful as the field consultant was able to support the researcher and provide pertinent advice so that the research project could be conducted more efficiently. For example, the field consultant provided guidance about security in the refugee camp, and also concerning the protocols to follow when moving around the refugee neighbourhood (e.g. Not to take photos).

Before the case study began, the researcher met with the field consultant to explain how the pre-test pilot tasks should be implemented at the case site school. At the conclusion of pilot testing the field consultant collected all data and handed this to the researcher so that this information could be back translated by the translator. After the completion of this back translation process the researcher met with the field consultant again to remind them how all data collecting methods should be carried out during final research project testing. Fox et al (1998:27) state that this clarification process helps avoid problems of misinterpretation between the researcher and field consultant, thus, enhancing the likelihood that respondents

will answer the questionnaire with increased ease and accuracy. The field consultant then worked with the researcher to collect all completed questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interview data over a one-month period.

After this initial meeting with the researcher, the researcher and the field consultant met with the 10th grade teachers to explain how the first task (questionnaire) would be completed in the classroom. The field consultant explained the meaning of each question to all 10th grade teachers so that they understood the questionnaire's rationale and format. The researcher also explained to the field consultant that the 10th grade teachers implementing this task needed to assure students that there were no right or wrong answers when completing the questionnaire. The researcher emphasised to the consultant, that no teacher or student should influence, persuade or lead another student into responding a certain way. It was also communicated by the researcher to the field consultant that the questionnaire was a private and individualised document that should be completed with no discussion with others. Students completed the questionnaire in Arabic, the language of instruction at the high school. Similar instructions were also conveyed by the field consultant to all participants (students, parents, UNRWA teachers, UNRWA administrators) who were purposely selected to complete additional questionnaires, advice tasks and/or semi-structured interviews.

Nickols (2000) explains that an appropriate field consultant is someone who has the expertise and knowledge to provide technical advice and opinions relating to a specific field. For the purposes of this research project, this definition was adapted to describe a field consultant as a person who helps a researcher examine and access the educational environment under investigation. To achieve this

objective, the researcher acquired the help of an excellent field consultant who provided the following services:

1 *Background knowledge and experience* – The field consultant was able to supply a vast amount of first-hand information from her previous encounters within the Palestinian community. These personal accounts were an invaluable asset because they provided the researcher with a detailed perspective of the research environment.

2 *Access to Palestinian schools in the Beirut region* – The field consultant was able to help the researcher coordinate access into the UNRWA school being sampled.

3 *Technical information* – The field consultant had contacts within Beirut's Palestinian refugee community that provided the researcher with the means to investigate organisations that specifically deal with this refugee community in Lebanon (UNRWA, ARCPA, NGOs, Centre for Palestinian Studies).

4 *Language Proficiency* – the field consultant spoke fluent Arabic, which ensured that all aspects of the research project were clearly communicated and understood by all research participants.

Fox et al (1998:5) explain that the experience of a field consultant is invaluable as it provides the researcher with an improved opportunity to access additional resources that may help clarify the social reality of the situational network under investigation. Figure 2 (on the next page) outlines the working relationship between the researcher, consultant and the variables of the research environment

(i.e. Non-governmental organisations – UNRWA; sample school; Palestinian organisations – Centre for Palestinian Studies). Solid arrows represent direct interaction between groups. Dashed arrows represent independent investigation by the researcher.

Figure 2: Relationship between researcher, field consultant and variables of research environment.
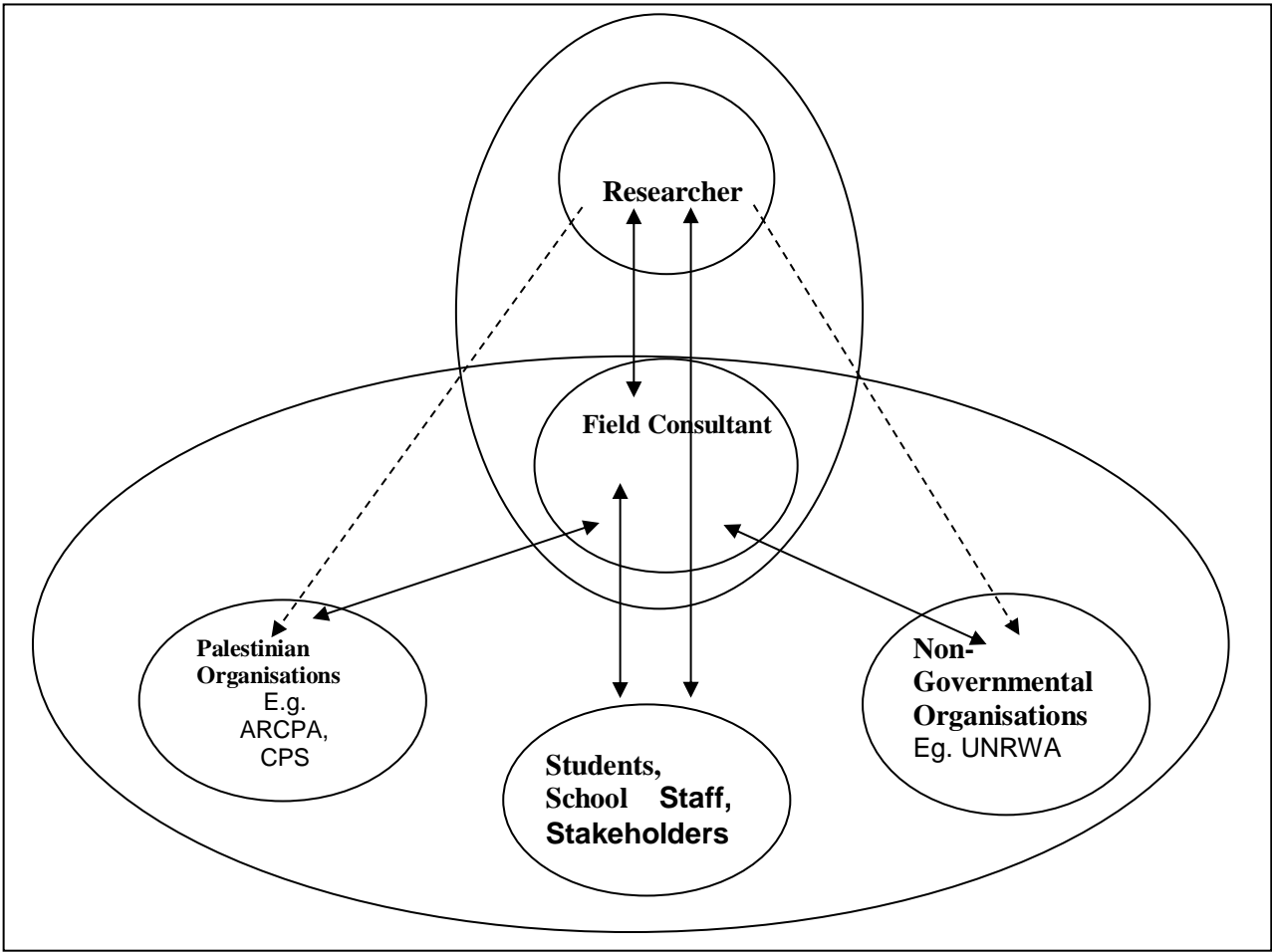
Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods used in this research project included questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews. These methods aimed to gather valid and reliable information from the case study context. Golafshani

(2003) is supportive of this multiple 'method' approach for data collection, stating that the use of multiple research techniques adds 'rigour' and 'trustworthiness' to the data collecting process. Moreover, Golafshani contends that this 'triangulation' of data collection techniques enables research "to engage valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities". In the context of this project's case study, it was envisaged that the data collected from the questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews would enable the researcher to gather a plethora of textual and contextual information.

As explained in Chapter Four, this research project used both Foucault and Fairclough's interpretation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to identify dominant forms of discourse embedded within the written and spoken responses of this research project's participants. The use of Foucault and Fairclough's theoretical ideologies to explore this research context not only helped the researcher to explore the relationships of power between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese hosts, but also provided insight into how this relationship dynamic may inform Palestinian IDPs perceptions of the value of education and their potential career opportunities in Lebanon.

All data collecting methods were delivered in an Arabic format and then back translated into English by a qualified translator when all data was collected. The role of the translator and the transliteration process will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Questionnaires

A questionnaire was used to gather descriptive data relating to the behaviour and attitudes that contribute to the social reality inhabited by the participants of this research project. In particular, this research project used a questionnaire format because it enabled the researcher to combine its use with other data collection instruments (interview and self-administering advice task) to produce an in-depth representation of the field being investigated. A questionnaire was used to present a wide range of probing questions (open-ended, closed-ended) to investigate and explore individuals' perceptions, which this research project argues provide insight into the wider community's thoughts and beliefs. As a data collection tool a questionnaire was also selected because it is an efficient and cheaper method for retrieving large amounts of data from a small population in a short period of time without compromising the stability of the questions being asked (Stevenson and Willott 2007:674-675). Questionnaires are also valuable as they can be developed and structured to take into consideration ethical concerns that do not expose subjects to invasive situations, which hopefully allow respondents to answer questions more honestly and confident of assured anonymity (Fox et al 1998:3-4). Finally, questionnaires can be used to help mitigate the presence of the researcher's attitude as an interviewer (Lohr 1999; Fink 1995; Sarantakos 1993). Nonetheless there are several limitations associated with the use of questionnaires in social research. These limitations along with the questionnaire design that was used in this research project are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

All questionnaires were completed during the first week of May 2004. The researcher collected all completed questionnaires at the end of May 2004 from the Area 7 high school liaison officer. Tenth grade students from Area 7 School were selected to participate and complete the questionnaire. From this grade level comprising 112 students, 101 students completed the questionnaire and from these responses, 20 students were purposely selected to complete the advice task and take part in a semi-structured interview. These students were selected by the researcher based upon the strength of their answers in the initial questionnaire. 'Strength' in this case, refers to the completion rates of all questions in the initial questionnaire; the detail of responses for long and short answer questions; and the consistency of their response.

A Pilot questionnaire, advice task and set of interview questions were designed and administered before being implemented in the research environment. These pilot tasks were conducted at the beginning of April 2004 at the Area 7 UNRWA high school in Beirut, Lebanon. Three tenth grade students and three tenth grade teachers were randomly selected from the tenth grade roll to participate in this pre-test process. Following these pre-tests the translator began the process of back translation. The translator also worked with the researcher to review the limitations of these pilot tasks, and on review several changes were made by the researcher to improve the clarity of these tests, such as altering the question design and length of questions. The process of transliteration will be discussed in more

detail in the cross-cultural transliteration and back translation sections of this chapter.

All questionnaires used in this research project comprised two different question/answer formats – closed-ended questions that elicited short answers (yes/no, true/false) and open-ended questions that attempted to facilitate short and extended instances of discourse. Utilising a simple approach to begin a questionnaire avoids taxing the respondent's memory and, allows the participant to ease into the question-answer process. Using simple questions first also helps the researcher to engage the respondent by seeking personally relevant demographic-related information. In most cases a questionnaire can be used to gain access to confidential and personal opinions while providing the researcher with an opportunity to gain a somewhat peripheral-internal (outside moving to the inside) perspective of what events may influence a person or community's existence (Taft 1999:116). Thus, simple closed-ended questions were used by the researcher at the beginning of the questionnaire to gather basic demographic information pertaining to age, gender, ethnicity, and religion (Fox et al 1998:23). This information enabled the researcher to differentiate answers from the sample population. It was also hoped that providing easy and quick to answer questions would improve the likelihood that less literate participants felt uncomfortable about completing the task (Cohen and Manion 1994: 95-96).

In contrast, open-ended questions were used in this research project to elicit in-depth responses from participants (Stevenson and Willott 2007:674-675). In this sense, the use of open-ended questions encouraged respondents to explain how they felt from a spontaneous perspective. Furthermore, the formulation of

participant answers is not 'railroaded' towards a specific answer, but rather expresses a richness of understanding that attempts to uncover the motivations behind their feelings. The advantages of using open-ended questions not only encourages a wider and diverse range of responses, but also has the power to reveal the processes, logic and understanding that may frame participant perceptions, attitudes and beliefs (Taft 1999:115-116). It was also hoped that the longer and in-depth response would provide increased opportunities for the participant to represent their view concerning education, its purpose and the relationship between education and future employment.

The questionnaire was also used to provide the researcher with the ability to investigate other issues relating to parents, siblings, parental employment, schooling, and length of IDP status. Following the advice of Sarantakos (1993:170), construction of questionnaire was informed by the following guidelines:

1   Questions should not lead subjects;

2   Questions should be simple, clear and easy to understand;

3   Questions should be relevant and relate to the research topic and questions of the investigation;

4   Questions should equally represent issues being investigated in the research project, and;

5   Questions should be formulated in the language of the respondents.

Sarantakos (1993:171) also suggests that it is advisable to design and structure questions in a non-threatening manner that conveys a positive attitude towards the respondent, based on friendliness and collegiality. Ideally, a questionnaire should present simple questions first, and then move into more complex questions that require longer consultation (Fox et al 1998:23).

To help increase participant response rates, questionnaires were completed at school during class time. It was hoped that completing the questionnaire during class time would enhance the probability that all questionnaires would be completed accurately and handed back to the researcher. To ensure that participants attempted all questions in this timeframe, the structure and physical size of the questionnaire sheet was designed to look smaller. The decision to construct a concise questionnaire was based upon the assumption that the size of document may facilitate motivation and thus maintain respondent enthusiasm and accuracy (Cohen and Manion 1994:96).

To enhance the validity of responses, questions were repeated using a different sentence structure to recheck response consistency. Fox et al (1998) explain that this cross-checking technique facilitates more valid results as it does not attempt to confuse the respondents, but rather assess whether respondents answered previous questions in a consistent manner. To ensure that this process was understood, re-worded questions were used that required short (yes/no, true/false) answers only.

Despite actions taken to develop an appropriate questionnaire for this research project, several limitations were identified as posing risks to the value of this data collection strategy. These limitations include:

1. Research Neutrality: The researcher has the power to influence how well participants answer questions. The researcher must make sure that they are not leading participants through the questionnaire process, rather like an interview, or else responses may reflect the researcher's hidden perspective (Kelley et al 2003). In an effort to ensure neutrality this research project asked participants to complete a self-administering questionnaire. This approach required little or no assistance from the researcher. Sarantakos (1993) explains that participants may complete the questionnaire in the incorrect order and misinterpret the wording of questions, which may lead to irrelevant responses that do not assist in the investigation. Thus, it is acknowledged that this lack of neutrality affected some of the questions in the questionnaire and interviews and may have caused participants to just answer the question and provide no deeper insight or understanding at all relating to the research focus. This occurred due to the leading nature of some of the questions. This limitation will be discussed in more detail when the limitations of research project is addressed during Chapter 9.

2. The use of *Closed-ended* questions: The use of closed-ended questions in this research project limits the ability of the questionnaire to capture the spontaneity through which participants can express and uncover discourse that may represent their feelings. This elimination of in-depth understanding occurs because participants can only choose certain answers. Moreover, this elimination of other discursive options increases the chances that relevant discourses may remain hidden because closed-ended questions do not provide a broad range of answers to accommodate a wider scope of thinking (Fox et al

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1998). These disadvantages are significant because they can impact the exploration of a plethora of potential attitudes that participants may have exposed if closed-ended questions were not used, and may have forced respondents to answer in a way that may not have reflected their perceptions of the reality confronting them.

3. The use of *Open-ended* questions: Open-ended questions aim to provide the researcher with detailed participant responses that expose deeper, fuller meaning of contexts being investigated (Stevenson and Willott 2007:674). It is contended that the problem with these consequent accounts is that meaning and understanding may get lost in irrelevant details that have little to do with the questions being asked. Additionally, participant responses may require a greater amount of participant concentration, especially if the question being asked is too complex and requires screeds of paper to jot down an explanation. The complexity and time-consuming nature of open-ended questions may also intimidate participants, which the researcher argues can impact participants' motivation levels.

4. Motivation of participants: Sarantakos (1993:159) states that motivation-linked limitations can enhance a potential lack of scope and motivation that prompt ineffectual participant responses. For example, a lack of motivation may increase the likelihood that participants will not answer questions in the correct order, or provide no answers at all. Fox et al (1998:4) also state that questionnaires can be answered indiscriminately because the identity of the respondent is not known and thus anonymity might afford the opportunity for

another person to answer the questions. Anonymity is therefore considered as a strength and a limitation.

As these limitations have the capacity to constrain the 'true' voice of the participant it was imperative that this project used a questionnaire format that would gather participant responses informed by gender, age, religion, ethnicity, nationality, employment and education status, to enable the participants to offer as full as possible representation of themselves, their community and their context (Stevenson and Willott 2007:674-675).

Advice Task

Student perceptions of what they thought were the purposes of education were further explored through the use of an advice task. The researcher used an advice task format based on a similar admonition test structure used by Ninnes (1992:42-43). An advice task format was selected to gain a deeper understanding of what discourse respondents felt influenced IDP education. This method of inquiry allowed the respondent to use a fictitious voice when describing their personal opinions. It was hoped that the anonymity associated with writing a letter (competing the advice task) would provide the researcher with a broad collection of textual information, which outlined important discourse relating to students' perceptions of the purpose of education.

Twenty students from the Area 7 School were purposively selected to complete the advice task (and semi-structured interview), which required students to write a letter to their younger sibling. If students did not have a sibling, a fictitious sibling was constructed for the purpose of the task. As mentioned earlier,

these twenty students were selected based upon their 'insightful' questionnaire responses. The researcher hoped that a similar attitude would be actioned by these students when also completing the advice task. In particular, the researcher felt that these students might build on and outline discourses that revealed student perceptions concerning education, possible career realities and Palestinian identity. The advice task instructions required this group to:

Write a letter to your younger brother or sister who is just starting the high school you attended. In your letter explain to him or her why it is important to get a high school education and what kinds of careers they could realistically expect to get when they finish high school. Also, tell your brother or sister what subjects you think are most important for getting specific careers and whether these subjects are adequately represented at their high school.

To increase response rates, participants were required to complete their advice task during class time. The advice task was completed at the Area 7 School because this enabled the researcher to capture all twenty student responses at a common time. The advice task was also completed at school because the class environment was deemed a safe place to encourage the sharing of personal thoughts. Fortunately no students were absent when the advice task was conducted and this research project gained responses from all twenty students. Stevenson and Willott (2007) also explain that the collection of respondent data during common

time may improve the realisation that participants may feel more compelled to complete the task because they feel comfortable answering questions that their peers are also contemplating. Furthermore it is acknowledged that participants may develop this 'shared' response attitude because the focal group may manifest a desire to present responses that highlight their cause or plight.

Additionally, to ensure that these students completed the advice task question correctly, the researcher met with the field consultant and 10th grade teachers beforehand to explain the purpose and function of the task. As with the distribution of the questionnaires, the field consultant reminded the 10th grade teachers implementing the advice task to emphasise to students that there were no right or wrong answers. Similarly, students completed the advice task in Arabic. Like the questionnaire, this 'clarification' helped avoid problems related to interpretation errors between the researcher and field consultant (Fox 1998:27). Students were also reminded that this task was not compulsory.

All advice tasks were completed during the third week of May 2004. The researcher collected completed advice tasks at the end of the first week of June (2004) from the Area 7 high school liaison official.

The Semi-structured Interview

Although a questionnaire, advice task and semi-structured interview are different in nature, these data collection instruments similarly function on the premise that a transaction of information will take place (Cohen and Manion 1994:271). A semi-structured interview was used because it provides a flexible

format through which researchers can elicit deeper understanding of the research topic by enabling researchers to develop a relationship of trust between researcher and participant (Clough 2002; Strauss and Corbin 1997). Establishing a rapport between participant and researcher is very important as this may encourage participants to share personal responses as they feel comfortable participating within the research process (Taft 1999:116). In order to develop this willingness to respond the researcher used an informal, conversational style, while following a mental plan of what questions to ask the interviewee during the interview process. The structure and organisation of the interview process is vitally important because the researcher must provide an environment that encourages the verbal face-to-face exchange between typically unfamiliar parties (Clough and Nutbrown 2007; Fox et al 1998:1-3). In comparison to a questionnaire, this face-to-face approach aimed to allow the interviewer to develop a clearer understanding of participants by having the respondent describe their world in a 'face-to-face' situation with the interviewer (Taft 1999:117). Gillman (2000:11) explains that face-to-face interviewing is useful when research strives to gain a deeper understanding of the research context under investigation because the semi-structured interview provides the flexibility to allow for greater freedom when delivering questions. This flexibility allows the researcher to ask questions in no specific order, but rather when the researcher deems it appropriate or feels asking a question may build on an answer that has be given. This strategy can be very effective, as the researcher can use the early portion of an interview to try and develop trust with the interviewee by asking non-threatening questions that encourage the interviewee to talk freely and ease into the interview process (Fox at al 1998:6; Opie 2004).

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However, this does not mean that the unstructured interview lacks order or is a casual affair, as it must be carefully planned by the researcher while its effectiveness also depends on the communication skills of the researcher (Clough and Nutbrown 2007).

The questions that were asked during the interview process represented key issues that related to questions that had been asked earlier during the questionnaire and advice task components. These issues were selected to inform the questions used in the interview as they allowed the researcher to probe deeper into areas that related to the research problem (Fox et al 1998:3; Wilkinson 2002:178-179). The researcher worked in tandem with the UNRWA high school liaison official when English-Arabic translation was needed during all of the student, teacher and UNRWA administrator interviews. The researcher does acknowledge that the presence of UNRWA high school liaison officials may have affected how participants responded to the interview questions, but this will be addressed later in the limitations section of this research project.

All interviews were recorded using a small Dictaphone and tape recorder. Prior to the student, teacher and parent interview process, the researcher met with the field consultant and UNRWA high school liaison official to explain how the interviews would be conducted. For example, to explain how questions would be introduced to the interviewee. Fox et al (1998:10) explain that preparing for an interview helps avoid problems, such as stalls in communication that may occur during the interview process, because the respondent understands how the interview format functions. All student and school staff (teachers) interviews were conducted during the school day at the UNRWA high school in Area 7, Beirut,

Lebanon. The UNRWA administration interviews were conducted at the UNRWA area office in Beirut. To increase the ease of interview delivery, the researcher conducted student, school staff and stakeholder interviews in the following order:

1   Student interviews were conducted over a two-week period beginning in the fourth week of May 2004.

2   School staff (10 teachers) and stakeholder (2 UNRWA officials) interviews were conducted over a two-week period beginning in the second week of June.

This method of collecting data enabled the researcher to organise timeframes around the lifestyle commitments of the sample population being investigated, the participating UNRWA high school and the researcher's support team (Field consultant, translator, and UNRWA high school liaison officer).

The researcher also intended to interview parents of the twenty purposely selected students. However, this process was discarded as many students' parents declined to take part in the interview process due to factors such as, lack of time, work commitments and family responsibilities. In response to this problem the researcher created an appropriate questionnaire that asked similar questions to those that would have been presented in the intended interview. The group of twenty purposely selected students took this questionnaire home and gave it to their parents and/or caregivers. These parental questionnaires were conducted off site during the last week of May 2004 and were returned to the researcher during the second week of June 2004.

While, the semi-structured interview was a valuable tool for eliciting data in this research project, prior to full research being conducted a pilot set of interview questions were trialled at the Area 7 UNRWA high school in Beirut, Lebanon. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the rationale for piloting a set of interview questions (and questionnaire and advice task documents) was to ensure a robust review of their clarity, structure and timing for using with potential research participants. Following the piloting process, feedback from pilot participants not only helped the researcher identify what aspects of the interview document required modification, but also outlined other necessary improvements needed to avoid poor interviewing technique. These improvements included: reduction in question length; removal of ambiguous or confusing language; redrafting of questions that may possibly 'lead' respondents through the interview process; and selection of an appropriate environment to conduct the semi-structured interviews in. To achieve these objectives the researcher redrafted the semi-structured interview questions so that questions did not 'lead' respondents to provide answers that the researcher may have wanted to 'hear'. Cohen et al (2007) explain that this is a valuable way to conduct the interview process because it reduces participant compliancy and hopefully encourages answers from the perspective of the participant. The researcher also used a consistent tone of voice when asking each question and there was no deliberation when each question was communicated to the respondent. The researcher hoped that by conducting the semi-structured interview using a consistent delivery format, this would improve the coherence of the interview and also reduce the tendency of respondents to perceive questions as being more important than others (Patton 2002).

Cross-cultural Transliteration

Although the Palestinian refugee community has lived in Lebanon for over fifty years, some aspects of Palestinian Arabic still differ slightly from local Lebanese Arabic. Maxos (2002:5) explains that one of the main features that distinguish spoken Arabic from region to region (country to country) is accent. Maxos (2002:1) contends that accents reflect a tendency for Arabic nations to learn Arabic through every day experiences in daily life. As Maxos (2002:2) points out, this approach aims to reinforce their identity and culture by using a dialect, which is unique and their own ethnic group. This situation holds true when considering the Arabic of the Lebanese compared to that of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. This situation occurs because Palestinian customs and traditions within their displaced communities have continued to influence aspects of their everyday life, such as the pronunciation and meaning of the written and spoken word. Weidmer (1994:1228) explains that it is common for similar ethnic groups to develop their own 'uniqueness' even though they share similar vocabulary and dialect, for example, Cuban-Americans in Texas use different expressions from Mexican-Americans in Texas, yet they both speak Spanish. Maalouf (2000:14) also contends this acknowledgement of 'self' enables ethnic groups to distinguish themselves from the homogenous 'melting pot'.

With these cultural differences in mind, it was necessary to utilise an appropriate translation method when devising the questions for the questionnaire, advice task and interview. To achieve this objective the researcher utilised a linguistic process to improve the likelihood that the innate meaning of a word

would not be filtered or lost in the translation process. To avoid the construction of diluted meanings the researcher employed a process that helped interpret different languages commonly called 'Transliteration'. Fleetwood and Metzger (1990: online) explain that 'transliteration refers to the verbatim spoken or written representation of one language by another'. Recent research into the development of bilingual questionnaires in New Zealand explains that it is necessary to utilise this transliteration process when translation between two languages is conducted (Cochrane and Potaka 2001:2). For this complex translation process to function effectively, it usually requires the interpreter to be proficient in at least two languages (Mansour 1994:1226). In some instances, this situation can be modified when two translators (proficient in one language each) work together to develop questions that are understandable in both languages without losing their intended meaning (Cochrane and Potaka 2001:5). This is important because the translator/s should be able to distinguish the differences between the meanings of similar words from different languages (Weidmer 1994:1228). For example, the definition of a word in English may differ to its meaning in Arabic – therefore, knowing this, allowed the researcher to restructure questions so that the meaning of a statement did not confuse participants or lose its intended 'meaning'. With these peculiarities taken into consideration, the research project used a bilingual approach because two languages (English and Arabic) needed to be cross-culturally translated.

When a researcher begins the transliteration process, a variety of translation techniques, such as direct, back, and dual development translation methods can be implemented to design appropriate questions for surveys and interviews. Weidmer (1994:1226) contends that:

The level of difficulty in developing and translating an instrument is directly dependent on the number of languages the instrument has to be developed in, the cultural and linguistic distance between the target language or languages and the source language, and the complexity of the instrument itself.

Therefore, it is pertinent that the researcher determine which translation approach is ideal for the research project, by taking into consideration how these factors may affect the overall cost of developing the interview document (including time required to design, train (translators) and translate questions for the interview process) (Weidmer 1994:1226). In this instance the researcher selected back translation as the most appropriate method.

Back Translation

Cochrane and Potaka (2001:4) contend that back translation is the most used and widely accepted form of developing survey and interview questions. Direct and dual translation methods were not utilised, as aspects of these methods exist to some extent in the back translation method. Generally back translation functions on the premise that a direct translation from the 'source' language (in this case English) into the 'target' language (Arabic) occurs first, and then an independent translator translates the new target version into the original source language (Cochrane & Potaka 2001:4). Weidmer (1994:1230) also argues that back translation is usually used in studies when the overriding concern is equivalence

between different versions of a meaning or term and when interviews conducted will be done in only the target language. Figure 3 (on the next page) shows how this back translation process worked in this research project.


Source Language 1 (English)	Target Language 2 (Arabic)
Original version ──────────▶	First translated version
Back-translated ◀- - - - - - - - Version	
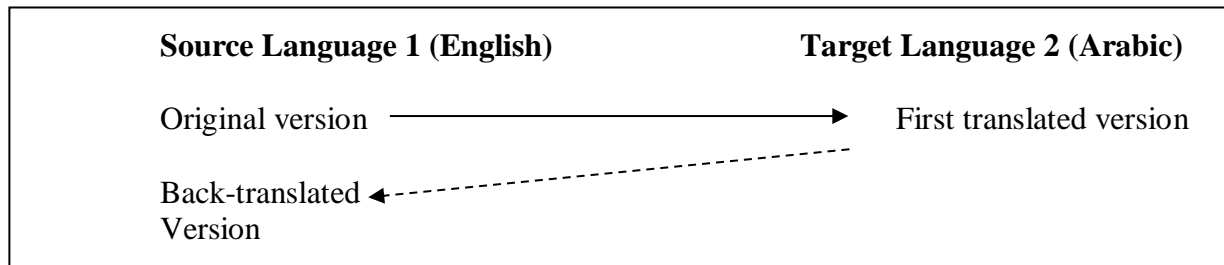
Figure 3: Back translation process (Cochrane & Potaka 2001:4)

To ensure that the back translation process was completed accurately, the researcher employed a qualified translator who was fluent in both English and Arabic languages. The translator was also experienced in using the back translation process and understood the subtle linguistic differences associated with Palestinian Arabic. This awareness of other Arabic intonations was crucial as it ensured that all written and spoken data collected from participants did not get lost in 'translation'. The translator back translated all data collected from the questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews. The translator also worked with the researcher to moderate the clarity of the questions that were used in the pilot tasks and final testing. As explained earlier, data methods were moderated so that research participants would hopefully complete questions correctly and thus, provide richer forms of discourse to be identified and explored.

Back translation enabled the researcher to confidently produce data collection instruments for the research environment knowing that the translator had the ability to produce a document that respondents understood. When the back translation process was completed, the translator compared the original and back-

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translated document. From these comparisons, valuable feedback identified deficiencies in the target document which allowed the researcher to restructure the format in-order to strengthen its validity. For example, leading questions were restructured and confusing questions were eliminated (Cochrane and Potaka 2001:4). As a measure of consistency a pre-test questionnaire, a pre-test advice task and pre-test set of interview questions were designed and administered before being implemented in the research environment. These pre-tests were also conducted at the Area 7 UNRWA high school in Beirut, Lebanon. Conducting a pre-test of the instruments used in the research environment enabled the researcher to identify problems that might emerge within the structure of the data collection instruments such as vague or ambiguous questions in a questionnaire or interview (Weidmer 1994:1230). All pre-tests were conducted at the beginning of April 2004 at the Area 7 high school. Three students and three teachers participated in this pre-test process. These participants were selected randomly from the tenth grade school roll and as communicated earlier all participants were informed that participation in this activity was not compulsory.

When all questionnaire and interview data was collected the translator began work translating all information (i.e. questionnaire-written data and interview-verbal tape transcriptions) from the target language (Arabic) into the source language (English). This process as described in Figure 4 (below) enhanced the clarity from the target language (Arabic) and provided the researcher with a source of discourse (English) that can be critically investigated.
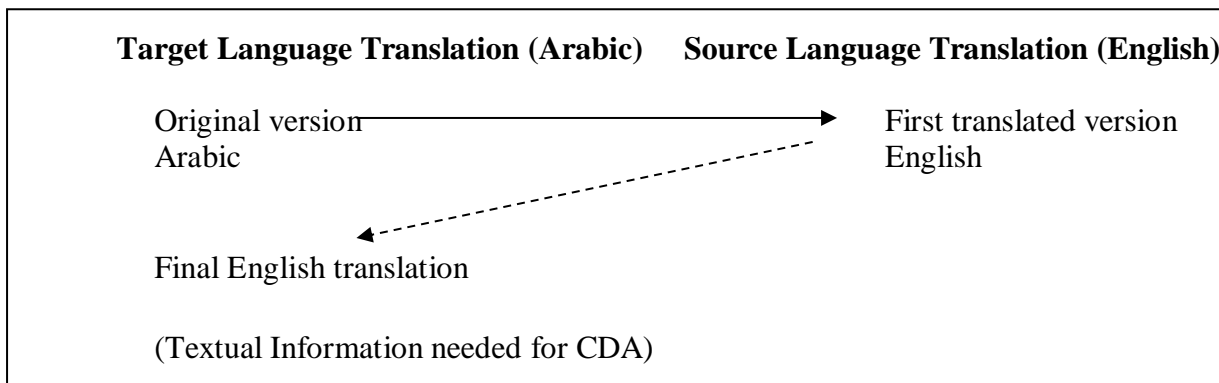
Figure 4: Modified translation process (adapted from Cochrane & Potaka 2001:4).

Data Analysis

The challenge facing the researcher following data collection in the case study identified above was that of reducing the mass of information into a form suitable for analysis. This process is commonly referred to as data reduction, which involves the intensive process of condensing large sources of information into an understandable format (Cohen and Manion 1994:101).

For the purposes of this research project, it was imperative to review all data using a consistent method, which could transcribe information from questionnaires and interviews into a textual form verbatim (Clifford 1988:25). This editing and reviewing process is helpful as it enables researchers to explore the dominant forms of discourse that emerge from participant discussion, including topics related to education and employment (Lacey and Luff 2001:17; Ember and Ember 2001:101). Analysis and interpretation of the data were further informed through the use of the postcolonial theory, Bhabha's model of ambivalence (and mimicry), Marxist acknowledgement of the relations of capital identified in Chapter Four, and Zewail's interpretation of the value of education. The process of data analysis

comprised a synchronous relationship between theory and data. As detailed earlier the project did not approach the generation of data in terms of objectively selecting uncontaminated instances of reality, as may occur in a more quantitative approach. Instead, principles of Foucauldian critical discourse analysis were used to reduce the large corpus of data information to generate more precise forms of discourse against which useful data could be identified for the purpose of further analysis and interpretation.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to identify and examine the discursive factors that constructed and informed participant responses in the case study explored by this research project (Fairclough 1995:4; Bamberg 1999: 247-49). CDA was used to facilitate the exploration of textual practices that informed and responded to the relations of power between the research participants and their broader socio-economic environment. Luke (1997) insists that CDA (as explored with regard to postcolonial theory in Chapter Three) is not exclusive of other social theory frameworks, such that the inclusion of broadly Marxist theory to inform this project allowed the research to also explore the relationships between discourses and associated socio-economic and political economies. What's more, according to Luke (1999:167) critical discourse analysis compliments a postcolonial approach to inquiry as (like Said's study of Orientalism) it is focused upon the relationship between human actions and the 'truths' that may influence how social settings evolve and form.

This research project, however, used CDA to focus more so upon the text and context relationship, as opposed to the micro-linguistic properties of discourse. The analysis of discourse generated through the implementation of questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews, aimed to offer insight into the modes of power in society, which can expose the functioning and rationale for its use by dominant social groupings. Additionally, it was envisaged that these data collecting tools would also reveal discourse that outlined the responses expressed by those who social groups who were being dominated. As Fairclough (1995:185) contends, CDA offers a framework for analysis of discourses which enables identification and deconstruction of a range of social and cultural practice and processes, such as colonialism, power, discrimination and perceptions of what education can be used for and how education may ultimately reflect inequities of power that influence the dynamics of society.

The researcher contends that 'power', as described by Foucault[18], plays an influential role in defining how Palestinian IDPs perceive themselves in this research context. From Foucault's perspective power must be acted upon to exist and must be put into action to create the tendency for it to be exerted between 'one' over the 'other' (Flyvbjerg and Sampson 2001:120). Foucault maintains that only when power and the powerful are made more transparent, will the interactive by-products of a social setting be uncovered (Flynn 2005:106-7). Therefore, the use of critical discourse analysis to identify if not deconstruct colonialist-like discourses

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[18] Foucault's notion of power is conceptualised as follows:

Power is exerted implicitly by the way in which various power relations and 'technologies of power' create a social order that becomes embedded within the fabric of society's social structures (Davies 2003:15; Hook 2001; Ninnes 2001; Shawver 2006).

circulating in and around the case study offered a potential to reveal the social construction of power relations and accepted truths that according to Luke (1999:168) and others (Locke 2004:34) invariably serve the interests of those who hold social, economic, political and cultural power. As a rule IDPs do not hold these kinds of power.

McLeod (2000:221) argues, as has been noted above, that research must go beyond the conventional mode of (objective) inquiry and make an attempt to ascertain what hides the voice of those whose voice is subordinated by hegemonic discourse. Hence, this inquiry into Palestinian IDP perceptions of education and future career possibilities aimed to also identify how 'technologies of power' (i.e. social hierarchies) have contributed towards the kinds of discourses circulating amongst the participants in this research project. As a consequence the data analysis in this research project aimed to uncover how texts including language, stories, and documents have variously informed the social institution of IDP education and its perception as a guarantor for desired career futures. Bratich et al (2003:136), Ninnes (2001: 81-83) and Coffey and Atkinson (1996) maintain that it is useful to explore how these technologies produce and replicate narratives that seemingly function to keep the 'powerless' in their place, but more importantly reinforce the acquiescence of the powerless for either the purpose of assimilation or exclusion. The data-driven chapters that follow highlight the institutions of education and employment as sites where technologies of power inform the Palestinian IDPs imagining of desired career futures.

Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse texts circulating in the case study context allowed the researcher to identify the discursive conventions

that 'naturalise' unequal relations of power, particularly when disempowering discourses were deployed by the participants themselves. In this research project critical discourse analysis is therefore, not only used to inform data analysis and interpretation, it has been used as strategy or tactic of intervention; one that supports the achievement of social justice through exposing to both the dominated and the dominator how socio-economic structures otherwise intended to (or the very least claimed to) support Palestinian IDPs may be complicit in their continued marginalisation. Discussion of the success of textual intervention as a change-strategy is revisited in Chapter Nine.

As noted earlier the use of critical discourse analysis in this research project was not intended to produce a truth that would replace one truth with another, or discover *the* truth. Rather its use comprised a decidedly political strategy aimed at identifying and liberating 'othered' truths, recognising that all claims to truth are social and thus political. But this approach holds implications for the nature of this research project's findings. Unlike the findings produced by quantitative and logical-positive research, the findings produced by this investigation are not offered as universal or law-like truths. Instead they can be considered to be valid only in the sense that they may be agreed to by (at least some) of the research participants, and to the extent to which they may resonate with findings of research conducted in other and similar contexts. The other significant implication of this 'logic', is that as one set of truths among others prevailing in a market place of truths in this case study context, the capacity for strategic action is lessened, particularly when other truths are much more supported by technologies of power such as citizenship and employment legislation (Coffey and Atkinson 1996).

Sarantakos (1993:52) admits that while critical discourse analysis is located within the qualitative research orientation and it has the potential to provide a holistic insight into human behaviour, it is nonetheless an approach which can also exhibit a weakness. Beyond that identified immediately above, qualitative research can be weakened by critical discourse analysis not only because researcher subjectivity is held to cause reliability problems as discussed above; but because not all information collected is useful information, and the researcher has to enter the 'world' of the subjects to garner meaning. Critics of qualitative research more broadly also contend that submersing oneself into a research environment does not necessarily result in the researcher being able to gather information that can adequately portray the nuances of a lifetime of experience, the participant's context or their behaviour.

Fairclough (1995:18) further points out with specific reference to critical discourse analysis that these problems include the inability of critical discourse analysts to historicise their data, therefore, failing to take into account how contextual conditions were generated in the first place. In this respect, the conduct of this research project has been particularly cognisant of the broader historic backdrop to Palestinian displacement at both regional and nation-state levels; a history which is detailed at length in Chapter Two. Though it cannot be claimed that the history of the specific local context that comprises the case site under investigation can be known with precise detail (from the perspective of an outsider), to the extent the project explores the larger historic background of Palestinians in the Middle East and in Lebanon, it nonetheless meets the need to ensure that the social responses identified are contextualised within a wider

historical context. Locke (2004:16) also suggests that critical discourse analysis grounded researchers can inadvertently (if not selectively) exclude discursive practices and texts in their construction of the findings. This exclusion of data can occur because critical discourse analysts only include the information that the researcher feels is important, or that which fits their particular theoretical framework.

Spivak (1999:359-360) also suggests that critical discourse analysis is limited by the inability of a researcher to fully integrate into a social setting. In this sense, the researcher struggles to construct meaning from a pocket of inquiry because they are not able to provide an accurate interpretation of the indigenous insider's perspective because they are an outsider. As Locke (2004) puts it, a significant problem with critical discourse analysis is its use in cross-cultural settings where it may fail to gather information that explains the internal situation of a social condition. But to go even further, this question could be asked of any data collection strategies deployed in cross-cultural contexts. Would the participants even ask the same (research) question?

In an effort to work productively with these particular limitations the researcher – as noted earlier - used a Palestinian field consultant who was able to supply a vast amount of first-hand information from their previous encounters within the Palestinian community. These personal accounts were an invaluable asset as they provided the researcher with an 'insider's' perspective of the social reality of the research environment. The use of a field consultant was further important as the researcher's economic position, as did their level of education,

constructed them as noted above as an *outsider* in relation to the participants' standard of education and economic position (Nickols 2000).

As an investigation grounded in Foucauldian understandings of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and despite the differences between Foucault and Fairclough's interpretation of CDA, the analysis of the texts (both written and spoken) identified in this research project aim to explore in particular the discursive construction of the Palestinian IDP Self in relation to the provision of education as a resource that might enable the achievement of desired career futures. Though the Palestinian IDP Self might be constructed and represented differently in relation to other social contexts and resources, it is the discursive construction of the Palestinian Self in relation to the provision of education that is the object of analysis in this research project. And based upon the relationship between discourse, desire and power explored earlier, the use of critical discourse analysis in this research project is equally focused upon how relationships of power between the Palestinian IDP participants and their Lebanese host-nation impacts the discursive representation of the value of education.

Research Ethics

This research project was conducted in compliance with ethics guidelines described in the University of New England's (UNE) post-graduate research handbook. Prior to commencement of the project, the researcher also sought approval from UNRWA to conduct the case study. The researcher met with the head of UNRWA at the United Nations building in Beirut, Lebanon and explained

the focus of the research project. The aims and objectives of the research project were also conveyed in a letter of intent that was given to the UNRWA educational advisor so they could keep this on record. The letter reaffirmed the key points discussed during this meeting and specifically explained to the advisor how this case study would be conducted and how its implementation may impact on the UNRWA school in Area 7, Beirut. The UNRWA educational advisor and officials were also informed that the research project was being completed as part of a doctorate program. This letter of intent also informed UNRWA that research data would be kept on file for future reference and/or publication. Following this meeting the UNRWA educational advisor stated that this research project could be conducted at the UNRWA school in Area 7, Beirut. This research projects approval was also confirmed in a formal written letter from UNRWA and this letter is included in the appendices section of this research project. All UNRWA approval documentation was shared with the University of New England Research Services Department and the University of New England School of Education. After all UNRWA approval documents had been reviewed the University of New England Research Services Department informed the researcher that UNE ethics approval had been granted and that this research project could now proceed.

Additionally, all participants in this case study were required to complete a consent form which explained how this research project would be conducted. This consent form, informed participants of their rights to anonymity and withdrawal from the study at any time. Participants' names have been changed in the reporting of this research project to protect their anonymity in circumstances where criticism of state policy and practice is not always so well tolerated. In what follows,

anonymous coded names are used. These anonymous names, however, keep intact the gender of the participant. All questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews were accompanied by a covering letter which was provided to participants (Cohen and Manion 1994:97-98). Upon approval, the UNRWA educational advisor worked with the researcher to organize dates and times that enabled the researcher to attend the UNRWA high school in Area 7, Beirut. The researcher delivered the data collection tools over an 8 week period from the 1st May – 30th June 2004. These qualitative tools were formally presented and UNRWA teachers assisted in their completion. The researcher maintained a professional relationship with all respondents and data gathered remained confidential. When all data was collected, the researcher met with the purposive sample and thanked them for their cooperation and participation. The researcher also met with the UNRWA educational advisor and had a final meeting to thank them for their assistance.

Conclusion

Fairclough (1995:218) explains that the quest for knowledge stems from the need of society to meet the constantly changing distribution of power within the world, while Gandhi (1998:57-59) contends that the effectiveness of knowledge is also dependent on it constructing and drawing meaning from within a given social context in order to expose itself in its 'true' form. Therefore, it is imperative in one sense to deploy a research methodology that supports a research project's theoretical framework. The achievement of a degree of synchronicity between

social theory and research methodology may facilitate a more effective investigation of a research problem. In this research project the 'problem' explored concerns the perceptions held by Palestinian IDP children in relation to their access the value of education and its relationship with future employment aspirations. Hence the research methodology deployed in this research project was aimed at generating an answer to the research question outlined in earlier discussion and which appears below:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about Education in terms of capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

This chapter has contended that seeking answers to this question is best explored by locating the research project within the qualitative research orientation. This positioning of the project's research methodology has enabled this project to explore aspects of the social construction of contexts, which can otherwise be overlooked where social research is conducted from within a quantitative orientation. Discussion above has highlighted the key principles informing the qualitative orientation and has stated that the investigation of social phenomena such as Palestinian IDP perceptions of education in Lebanon requires an approach which is grounded upon the acknowledgement of the researcher's relationship to the research question, the participants, the data and its analysis and interpretation. Whereas the positivist paradigm which emerges from within the

quantitative orientation assumes that there is in fact no (subjective) relationship between the researcher, the research question, the participants, the data and its analysis and interpretation, or that such relationships are entirely objective, the critical paradigm, it has been claimed is explicitly grounded in recognising the subjectivity of all of these relations. Thus, to be objective is to also recognise the researcher's own subjectivity.

This research project comprises a critical case study and from within this critical paradigm a variety of data collection strategies including questionnaires and semi-structured interviews have been used. These strategies are deployed within the context of a case study comprising UNWRA schools for Palestinian IDP students in Beirut, Lebanon. Data analysis and interpretation comprised the macro-level techniques of critical discourse analysis from the position of Foucault and Fairclough. This macro-level focus upon discourse was not concerned with the micro-linguistic properties of the text, but instead focused upon the macro-properties of the text and the text-context relationship. The analysis of data fragments (quotes) from participant responses were used to map and understand why out of all the things that the participants could have said about education and its relationship to desired career futures, only certain things were said - and as will be shown in the next chapters - they were often said repeatedly. In other words what discourses do Palestinian IDPs use to describe the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures, and what are the discourses used to describe and construct the self through reference to education?

The following chapters Six, Seven and Eight present data-driven discussion using data collected through the range of strategies identified above. The

interpretation of the data relies upon the theoretical frames detailed in the preceding chapter. Discussion in the next chapter, which is Chapter Six, thus commences the analysis of Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures. It also presents this project's first data-driven discussion of the possibility of these perceptions being informed by ambivalence and in particular, it outlines why Palestinian IDP students, teachers, parents and UNRWA administrators hold positive attitudes towards the value of their educational experiences.

Chapter Six

The Palestinian IDP and the Idealist View of Education

> Education gives value to humans especially us the Palestinians, we are without money or support and we have no choice but education.[19]

Introduction

This research project has been motivated by the assertion that the betterment of subjugated communities like Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, through education, not only provides valuable learning opportunities for the oppressed, but also allows displaced communities to use the knowledge gained from education to challenge the thinking that governs the social reality confronting them. Matthews (2008:32) and Tahir (1985) describe the value of education as a defining characteristic of the 'wealth of the nation'. Indeed it is insisted that education, as noted in Chapter Three, is held out as a fundamental human right. In this view, which hereafter will be referred to as the idealist view, education comprises a vehicle for the realisation of the key principles of liberal-humanism. These principles hold that all humans are equal, independent, rational and choice makers (Cummings and Bain 2014). Thus, education is held to comprise a valuable resource that allows all students to rationally select from among a range of options those which enable them to achieve their particular conception of the good life, and participate more fully in

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[38] Quote from West Bank, 3rd generation Palestinian female (Chatty and Hundt 2001:21).

society. Though education can and does meet a range of other objectives and agendas in the context of developed (post) industrial nations and those aspiring to be so, it is this core view of education which generally prevails (Buckland 2006; Winthrop and Kirk 2008). Put simply, education is considered to be the foundation of a better life (Rhoades 2010). Although, it is proposed that an idealist view of education underpins this research project it is important to acknowledge that social-critical perspectives were also revealed in some participant discourse. Despite the presence of social critical perspectives being present, however, the idealist view of education remained the primary source for exploring why education is perceived as being valuable for improving a person's participation in the good life and assimilation into society.

As explained in Chapter 5 data fragments (quotes) are analysed at a macro-level using both Foucault and Fairclough's interpretation of critical discourse analysis (CDA). These theoretical methods are used to identify dominant macro-properties that inform the relationship of power between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese hosts. In particular, CDA is used to reveal how written and spoken language may inform the dynamics of society that govern Palestinian IDP quests for self-determination in Lebanon. The use of data from questionnaires, advice tasks and semi-structured interviews are used to expose dominant discourses, which aim to identify and deconstruct socio-cultural practices connected to postcolonial contexts. Thus, in the context of this research environment CDA is a powerful tool for analysing how education is perceived as an agent of positive change in relation to the dynamics of power that alter and re-position the advocacy of the disadvantaged in postcolonial settings. With this perspective in mind, this

chapter explores how the idealist view of education is presented in the positive responses of Palestinian IDP students, teachers, parents and UNRWA administrators who participated in this research project.

Positive Perceptions of Education

This research project has claimed that the idea that education is important for Palestinian IDPs is based upon the value and perceived ability of education to provide positive change for Palestinian IDPs against barriers, such as lack of civil rights and job restrictions that limit Palestinian quests for self-determination in Lebanon. In the context of the idealist view of education (liberal-humanist perspective), this chapter aims to explore the reasons why Palestinian IDPs believe that education provides inherent benefits despite obstacles, like those mentioned above, impacting on their pursuit for personal, social and economic success. Discussion also attempts to investigate why education is perceived as a means to get a good job and that this access to education and employment may encourage a sense of hope to survive conditions that create a sense of disadvantage within the Palestinian IDP community in Beirut, Lebanon. This positive outlook is, for example, shared by a student, Nour[20], who stated when asked the question - 'In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are:

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[20] Student Questionnaire – Nour, 2004.

*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the student advice task and semi-structured interview.

Obtain knowledge and acknowledge Palestinian rights.

Nour's statement represents a positive response as to the value of education, which is that education can be a worthwhile tool for improving standards of life and that anything is possible if one can gain an education. This response constructs education as an important human right for Palestinians, while also suggesting that education can help Palestinians acquire knowledge to garner change. This perception of education being able to affect change was also evident when Nour completed the advice task and letter to her younger sibling. Here, Nour stated:

Education will pave the way to have vast job opportunities. The degree is the key to success. So once you complete your secondary school you will find the university doors open for you, granting you the best job opportunities. And if the person has a good job, he will receive a salary that will allow him to enhance his or her financial living conditions, and therefore will reach a better standard of living.

Nour's letter further exposes the perspective that education and in particular further education may help Palestinians attain future success. This advice is evident even though Nour's comment that "Education will pave the way to have vast job opportunities", is not guaranteed, especially when considering the impact of restrictive Lebanese employment laws on Palestinian job choice in Lebanon (Schenker 2012). As a consequence, it is also insisted that Nour's comments highlight the importance of being 'accepted' within the broader collective of

society and the projection of positive outcomes are performed to promote membership within groups who are marginalised. In this way, it is possible that the comments of the disadvantaged (Nour) may influence the discourses deployed by other discriminated groups, such that Palestinian IDPs may reproduce in certain contexts - if not entirely accept - collective discursive representations of their plight, which may not always match their own personal beliefs (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:20-22; Marsh 1997: 36-39). Thus, Nour's belief that education is important and has the ability to improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon through the acquisition of knowledge is projected as being attainable, even though Lebanese laws and legislation actually limit and exclude Palestinians from certain occupations as outlined in Chapter Four. This sense of collective membership and positive perception of the power of education was also communicated by teacher Nadine[21], who stated in response to the question - What types of jobs do you realistically expect students to get when they finish their education? Why do you think that students will get these jobs:

Education prepares a person for life, work and society.

Nadine's comment constructs education as having the capacity to provide opportunities to prepare for both life and employment. Through references to 'society', Nadine's statement signals a relationship between education and participation in the nation. This is a view of education that was also produced by

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[21] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nadine - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

the UNRWA Chief Executive Officer (C.E.O)[22] Bassam who explained that education "prepares Palestinians with life skills". Absent, however, in Nadine's account and that of Bassam is a description of the type of 'life' or job 'skills' to be attained through education. Consequently the kind of participation in society and nation enabled through education is not clearly defined. Nonetheless, both Bassam and Nadine's responses suggest that being educated and having some sort of 'skills' is a more desirable option than the alternative of being uneducated and unskilled. In this instance, education is viewed as an important tool that may help Palestinian IDPs acquire necessary skills and knowledge to be considered for future employment. This sense of education improving Palestinian IDP futures was also supported by other teachers including Faten[23], who maintained that "education increased job opportunities". Elsewhere Nayla[24], a parent outlined in response to the question - In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon:

Yes - helps get work for the future.

Another parent, Maryam[25], also replied:

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[22] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA Chief Executive Officer, Bassam - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[23] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Faten - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[24] Parent Questionnaire, Nayla - 2004.
[25] Parent Questionnaire, Maryam - 2004.

Yes – it guarantees a future.

Nayla's response, like those of Bassam, Nadine and Faten, does not imply that education guarantees success, but rather suggests that education from an idealist perspective helps Palestinian IDPs gain knowledge in preparation for assimilation into the Lebanese workforce. In contrast, Maryam's response goes further inferring that education guarantees a future even though the future of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon is not guaranteed. In this circumstance, however, it is proposed that Maryam's statement also implies that education is perceived as providing a capacity to prepare students for a future, which may not be the future that is desired, but one, that can still be aspired to. This is a perspective that Hiba[26] a parent also alluded to when answering the question - In your opinion, what do you think that your high school education programme attempts to prepare students for when they leave high school:

Students for difficult times.

Although, Hiba's statement does not mention what difficulties may affect and influence Palestinian IDPs futures in Lebanon, this response seems to suggest that education serves a purpose to help Palestinian prepare for life and with this, the response implicitly imbues a sense of resilience and optimism. This optimistic

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[26] Female Parent Questionnaire, Hiba – Female Student Ten, 2004.

perception was also communicated by another parent Sarya[27] who stated that education could:

Prepare us for life.

The repetition of words, such as 'prepare', 'us' and 'life', may consolidate the notion that Palestinian IDPs like Sarya may share collective beliefs regarding education. A perspective that seems plausible, considering Sarya's statement is very similar to that of Nadine, whose earlier statement outlined that "Education prepares a person for life, work and society". Both, Sarya and Nadine's responses share a commonality that Palestinian IDPs believe that a positive relationship between education and their participation in life does exist. This perception was also communicated by Wael[28] who expressed in his response to the interview question – In your opinion, what does education try to prepare you for when you leave high school? Does your high school education prepare you for life after high school:

Helps students enter university and prepare us for life.

The words 'prepare', 'us' and 'life' are also used by Wael to explain how education is perceived as being able to improve the future of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. This collective belief is developed even further by Rashid[29] a teacher

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[27] Female Parent Questionnaire, Sarya – Female Student Ten, 2004.
[28] Student Questionnaire – Wael, 2004.
*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the student advice task and semi-structured interview.
[29] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Rashid - 2004.

who explained that education could "improve social status, culture and solve problems". In this instance, Rashid contends that education can develop and improve specific aspects of Palestinian IDP 'life' such as their social status, culture and also solve undisclosed problems. Furthermore, it is accepted that Rashid's response indicates that many Palestinian IDPs believe that education has the power to provide positive resolutions regardless of the limitations in the context confronting Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. This is a perception that was also shared by a student named Dana[30], who stated in their advice task letter to her sibling:

> I tell you sister that education is very important in this life, and you have to be diligent and perseverant with your studies because that will strengthen your struggle and will help you overcome obstacles and to prevail over the hindrances with this weapon that you are holding and it is only knowledge is what liberates the mind from darkness.

Referring to similar tropes (i.e. importance of education) as outlined by fellow students Nour and Wael, teacher's Nadine and Rashid, and parent Sarya, Dana also projected a belief that education could bring about hope and positive change. In particular, Dana's comments suggest that education was very important as it may

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*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

[30] Student Advice Task - Dana, 2004.

*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of students who completed student questionnaires. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the semi-structured interview and student advice task.

"liberate the mind from darkness" when striving to overcome and challenge factors that hinder quests for self-determination. It is important to note not only the reference to education as a weapon, but also that Dana's advice task letter acknowledges a 'struggle', which suggests that Dana is aware of the contexts that negatively affect Palestinian life in Lebanon. In this sense, El-Basha (2009) states that the importance of education for displaced populations such as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, is reflective of broader socio-economic and political context controls that affect the social positioning of Palestinians relative to others (i.e. lack of rights, Lebanese government employment restrictions). Thus, it is claimed that the 'advice' passed on by Dana to her sibling is one that also reproduces a perceived 'shared' collective vision, which aims to build membership and strives to 'liberate' the social positioning of Palestinians as the disadvantaged and underprivileged in Lebanon, even though this may not be realistically attainable. In this instance it is also important to acknowledge that this shared vision of education blurs the line between advocating the liberal-humanist approach and the social critical paradigm, which is more associated with this sense of struggle. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to recognise this perspective as it is asserted that this type of discourse accounts for reasons why Palestinian IDPs perceive their Lebanese hosts as being an oppressive entity. This notion of oppression was also evident in the response of UNRWA high school principal, Aida and the UNRWA C.E.O, Bassam, who deployed the idealist perspective of education respectively in reply to the question – In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are:

Build strong personality that can provide a decent living and survive within society[31].

Prepare citizens to be active participants in life. Skills for life[32].

Aida and Bassam's comments represent education as having the potential to facilitate participation in life and society, if not more specifically the 'wealth' of the nation as outlined earlier by Rhoades (2010), Matthews (2008) and Tahir (1985). Both, Aida and Bassam's statements also foreground the idealist view of education through the reproduction of similar words (e.g. 'prepare', 'skills') that other stakeholders in this research project have used to describe the value of education. Here, the perception that education adds value to one's life reflects not just the participation in a collective attitude that has been passed on from one generation of disadvantaged Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon to the next, but an acknowledgement that many Palestinian IDPs understand their predicament and view education as a means to challenge it. The perceived value and potency of education was evident in the response of a student named Youseff[33] who explained that education was 'extremely important' if Palestinian IDPs wanted to improve their achievement and status in Lebanon. Youseff stated that education was:

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[31] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA High School Principal, Aida - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[32] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA Chief Executive Officer, Bassam - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[33] Student Semi-structured Interview - Youseff, 2004.

Extremely important as education helps get higher degrees and

higher paying employment.

Youseff's response was not, however, an isolated expression of the belief in the power of education to alter one's circumstances in an otherwise marginalising context. A teacher, Faten[34] also stated that:

Education aims to develop the whole person – knowledge,

culture, wealth[35].

In this capacity, Faten's response propositions the idealist view of education as having the potential to develop the whole person, which may provide one with agency concerning the positive value and benefits of participating in education. Therefore, the previous statements from Nour, Nadine, Bassam, Aida, Dana Youssef and Faten strengthen the reproduction of a dominant collective discourse of the value of education as opposed to just a personal perception or belief (Foucault 1994:364-365; Seddon 1983: 3-6). It is contended that this collective belief exists because education has been perceived in past generations of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon as providing hope for Palestinians to build a better future in Lebanon (Zakharia and Tabari 2001). Thus, responses such as those presented by Nour and Aida's earlier, not only reveal an ambivalence between

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[34] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Faten - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[35] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nabila - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

these views of education, but also a potential ambivalence between what may be a personal view of the relationship between education and future career success and a view grounded in a broader Palestinian IDP collective discourse that may have been passed on from one generation of Palestinian IDPs to the next. But despite these instances of ambivalence, the repetition of this range of positive discourses remains consistent with what Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982:169) contend to be the influence of socio-economic and political factors upon the construction of attitudes and values of displaced populations.

Nonetheless, Foucault (1978:55) claimed that identifying intricacies that inform relations of power can provide 'others', such as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, with the knowledge that could be used to challenge the oppressive forces that confine them. Foucault (2003:8) maintains that resistance is necessary, as it provides those living in marginalised circumstances with the means to deconstruct their present-day actualities. In this context, education which is represented differently might also be considered a resource that can mitigate the aforementioned perceptions of powerlessness. Davies (2003:19) describes this kind of 'belief' as being essential for 'others', such as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon who want to enhance their status in society and reject factors that contribute towards their powerlessness. A commitment to such a possibility was demonstrated by Wael[36] a student who revealed in their student advice task letter to his sibling a

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[36] Student Advice Task - Wael, 2004.
*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of students who completed student questionnaires. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the semi-structured interview and student advice task.

sense of hope, in light of the difficult conditions facing Palestinian employment and life in Lebanon:

> We, Palestinians, do not have a country but we have education and culture and the will to succeed. We can use education to voice and reach our land, when we travel to the furthest country and get a job. Our families do not only want us to have a country, but insist that we learn. This is why you have to study to become the best in society for our word to reach others, as learning will bring us back the country.

Although, Wael's response suggests that education has the possibility to fulfil ambition, a perception that Palestinian IDP students may view education as a global currency is also revealed. This perception is important for several reasons as it suggests that Palestinian IDP students believe that education can be used to help Palestinians achieve employment success in settings abroad, which in some circumstances are also fraught by discrimination. This perception also implies that by achieving increased employment success abroad Palestinians may acquire occupations (of power) that can be used to promote and contest the plight of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. This is a position that was also shared by another student[37], who stated in response to the questionnaire question; Do you believe that education can improve the quality of life for Palestinians in Lebanon:

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[37] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Fifty Seven, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

It is important as it gives people dignity and the chance to liberate themselves.

Thus, as a global currency, this response follows a similar trope expressed earlier by Wael that proposes that education can provide Palestinian IDP students with the tools to question prejudicial notions associated with 'being Palestinian'; and as Spivak (1988) also contends, may help the subaltern (Palestinian IDPs) gain a 'voice' so they can 'speak' and be heard. From this standpoint, many participants in this research project stated that education could be used to underscore the reasons why the powerful marginalise Palestinians in Lebanon and in Israel also. For example, Aya[38] stated in her response that education was:

Very important – fight the Zionist enemy.

Another parent, Aceil[39], also stated that education was important because it could be used as a:

Weapon to fight Jewish enemy.

Hadi[40] and Wasna[41] also declared respectively:

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[38] Parent Questionnaire, Aya - 2004.
[39] Parent Questionnaire, Aceil - 2004.
[40] Parent Questionnaire, Hadi - 2004.
[41] Parent Questionnaire, Wasna - 2004.

Education is important as it is the only weapon for Palestinians.

Very important. Education is a weapon to fight danger and gain existence.

In the context of improving social status in society, Said (1994:3-4) maintains that education is 'important' for helping displaced populations (such as Palestinians in Lebanon) challenge the social 'realities' that shape their existence. In this research project, the term 'existence' refers to the ability of an individual or group (of Palestinians) to gain acceptance, autonomy and equality in their adoptive homelands. Thus, the statements from Aceil, Hadi and Wasna above, which are qualified by a range of militarist tropes, portray education as being able to offer a capacity to counter parties, which they contend are responsible for the realities affecting Palestinian IDPs (Zakharia and Tabari 2001). While, it is accepted that Aceil, Hadi and Wasna's use of words such as, 'fight' and 'weapon', may be reflective of the social critical perspective. It is also worth noting that many respondents in this research project have never visited Israel or have experienced the oppression that they describe first-hand. In this respect, it is suggested that this narrative of 'challenging' a perceived enemy (Israel) is a product of generational influences that reinforce a perception that education can serve as a facility for enabling Palestinian IDP students to aspire towards ambitious goals that aim to counter situations of oppression. The idea that education could provide renewed hope was shared by many students in this research project, which further

constructed a more positive view of the value of education. For example, Haneen[42]
stated:

> Success has to be our ally to keep life going, and if it were
> without success and education, it will remain dark, and this life
> will not last, and we will not be able to see the light ever, and
> this is why it (life) should be filled with success and education.

Similarly, another student[43] explained that education is important because it:

> Helps Palestinians rise again and return to our lands.

Both Haneen and participant twenty-seven's responses represent education as
having the potential to provide Palestinian high school students with a 'chance' to
succeed in life against constraints that control Palestinian IDP aspirations in
Lebanon. They also construct an insightful view of the education-career
relationship as a currency for social mobility at local, regional and international
level. However, Haneen's use of the adjective 'dark' is interesting particularly in
the context of the boundary marking identified above. Said (1994) holds that words
such as 'dark' conjure meanings that have generally been used by 'others' to define
the 'good' versus the 'bad'. Therefore, it is insisted that Haneen's statement
reproduces elements of a (post) colonial discourse that connects the word 'dark'

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[42] Student Advice Task - Haneen, 2004.
[43] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Twenty Seven, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large
student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

with negative images of Palestinian IDPs, while the concept of 'light' represents the 'reality' inhabited by non-Palestinians (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:28-29). In deploying this particular description grounded in metaphor, which equally elaborates a discursive binary comprising dark and light, Haneen reveals that 'others' are not a welcome presence, especially if they aspire to also inhabit the light. Based on Said's (1994) description of 'exclusion', this reference to 'dark' and 'light' reaffirms, at one level, an acceptance of the rules used by the 'powerful' to subdue Palestinians in Lebanon. At this juncture participant number twenty seven's statement is also inscribed by the ambivalence associated with both a positive and negative perception of the relationship between education and career futures. This ambivalence is noticeable because participant twenty seven's response claims that Palestinian IDPs can use education to 'rise up' and acquire employment to effect social change. This positive belief of being able to 'rise up' and return to Palestine, to help the Palestinian cause in Israel, was communicated by many students in this research project. For example, when asked the questionnaire question; Do you believe that education can improve the quality of life for Palestinians in Lebanon? One student[44] replied:

Yes, especially if education can be used back in Palestine.

Another student[45] also stated:

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[44] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Nine, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[45] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Eleven, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

Education plays an important role in improving the life of
Palestinians in Lebanon; improving the situation of your country
(Palestine).

This notion of challenging Lebanese and Israeli domination of Palestinian
life was revealed when students were asked the questionnaire question - Why is
education important for the Palestinian Community? As signalled above, many
student responses identified education as a tool that could be used by Palestinians
to liberate Palestinians minds from their subjugation in Lebanon and Israel. For
example, student responses included:

Palestinians can use education to liberate Palestine[46].

Education is important to fight the enemy (Israel) with our mind
not weapons[47].

Help liberate Palestine from Zionist oppression[48].

Education helps fight oppression in Lebanon and Israel[49].

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[46] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Thirty-Four, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large
student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[47] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Twelve, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large
student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[48] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Fifty-One, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large
student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[49] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Ninety-Four, 2004.

These narratives convey again a collective belief grounded in what could be considered the social critical perspective, but it is contended that these perceptions exist because Palestinian IDPs believe that conflict as being an unavoidable aspect of Palestinian IDP life. This belief while negative exists despite the responses implying that 'education' can help 'fight' and 'liberate' Palestinian IDPs from 'oppression' with the knowledge they have gained from being educated. In this respect, education is both viewed as a means to improve Palestinian IDP life, and as stated earlier as a tool that may provide Palestinian IDPs with the ability to contest discrimination. This militarist-type view of education was discussed earlier in this thesis when referring to Hennawi's (2011) research, *Education as Resistance: Detention of Palestinian University Students under Israeli Occupation and Palestinian-Cultural Responses.* Findings from Hennawi's research stated that many Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip believe that education not only enables oppressive powers to be challenged, but more importantly that education, though not an organised political or military movement, can be considered as an important social change agent. In this context the value of education reflects a perception that education can help Palestinian IDPs 'fight the enemy with our mind not weapons'. Thus, the power of education comes from its perceived ability to promote a sense of 'hope', and 'survival' in the face of barriers that discriminate the powerless. Furthermore, Hennawi (2011) also contended that education provided value for encouraging Palestinian resistance in a society where Palestinian 'survival' is constantly threatened. A similar narrative was outlined by

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*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

several students during the interview process in this research project. Haneen[50] stated that education could:

> Help Palestinians improve their living and liberate our land
>
> from the Israeli's.

Another student, Wafa[51], explained that (education):

> It is a weapon to fight the Israeli's and get a job.

It is possible that these types of militarist attitudes exist because education is viewed by Palestinian IDPs as a resource that provides hope to find solutions to restrictive conditions that discriminate and control Palestinian life in Lebanon (and Israel[52]). Furthermore, education is viewed by Palestinian IDPs as being able to create a pathway for liberation, as Education can undermine oppression, especially when it is used to advocate new ways of thinking through educational teachings and pedagogy (Hennawi 2011).

From an idealist point of view these statements also imply that education can be help change Palestinian IDPs life situations in Lebanon and thus, offer the 'hope' of improved employment opportunities. This was belief that was outlined in many Palestinian IDP student responses, which exhibited aspirations and desires to seek employment in jobs that required specialised education at tertiary level. These

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[50] Student Semi-structured Interview - Haneen, 2004.
[51] Student Semi-structured Interview - Wafa, 2004.
[52] United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2016) – Fragmented Lives: Humanitarian Overview 2016.

types of responses also indicated a belief that career choices could help improve the quality of life for Palestinians in Lebanon. For example, one student[53] stated that they would like to become a:

> Paediatric doctor – help Palestinian kids, as there is a shortage
>
> of good health care.

Another student[54] explained that they would like to work as a:

> Doctor – help the sick for free (Palestinians who lack money).

It is acknowledged that this ambitious attitude is held by many Palestinian students because they believe that employment success in high profile occupations may enable Palestinians to care for ones people and thus, become less reliant on their hosts. This quest for autonomy mirrors an earlier statement from Serres (2007), who stated that Palestinians have become tired of living off Lebanese hand-outs and yearn to establish a relationship with Lebanese host-nation, which enables Palestinians to become more independent and in charge of their own destiny. This belief is shared by another student who stated they would like to work in[55]:

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[53] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Two, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[54] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Thirty-Nine, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[55] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Four, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

Medicine. I like helping people, especially Palestinian people

who cannot afford to pay huge medical bills.

This notion of helping one's people was also revealed in student interview data when investigating preferred occupations of Palestinian IDP students. For instance, Wafa[56] stated that she would like to become a:

Lawyer – after seeing the suffering of our unfortunate people

(Palestinians).

Another interviewed student, Youseff[57], expressed a desire to work in the field of civil engineering so he could 'Build projects that help Palestinians'. While, Sawsan[58] also stated that she would like to be able to work in:

Jobs that Palestinians are not allowed to work in Lebanon.

Although, it is contended that having access to restricted occupations may have the potential to help Palestinians gain further knowledge, expertise and employment opportunities, Davies (2003:18-19) contends that comments like those of Wafa and Sawsan above highlight an altruistic perception that Palestinians believe education can improve their status in Lebanese society. A commitment to such a possibility was demonstrated by Noha[59] in her advice task letter to her

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[56] Student Semi-structured Interview - Wafa, 2004.
[57] Student Semi-structured Interview - Youseff, 2004.
[58] Student Semi-structured Interview - Sawsan, 2004.
[59] Student Advice Task - Noha, 2004.

sibling. In this instance, Noha reminded her sibling of the importance of education and how education could help them achieve their potential:

> Brother I want to tell you about education in a general way. Education is the only thing through which you can realize your wishes, dreams and ambitions. Do not think that the book you hold, you hold it just to open it and read through the pages then close it and throw it aside. On the contrary, education is the jewel of growth.

Just as Noha reminded her sibling of the importance of education, Karma[60] also explained to their sibling in her advice task that education can help propel them forward to an improved future:

> Education is the initiation to those who become progression riders because we are in an age were stagnation is unacceptable, because each who does not advance will be late. It is the light that sheds light in the heart of man with love and friends, and will elevate in life from a level to another better one.

The responses presented above show how the idealist view of education as a valuable resource could be used by Palestinian students to achieve and aspire towards the acquisition of the good life (as discussed at the start of this chapter). In

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[60] Student Advice Task - Karma, 2004.

the contexts of Palestinian life in Lebanon, however, it is acknowledged that this reality is not always achievable especially when the quality of UNRWA education is questionable and Lebanese employment laws continue to control and restrict the assimilation of Palestinians into jobs that Palestinians dream of undertaking (ILO 2012; Schenker 2012).

Thus, while education offers a promise of hope it only does so in a context equally informed by marginalisation, where the very deployment of such colonialist discursive binaries functions, nonetheless, to again reproduce a self-construction grounded in the perception of those who hold power. Against this depiction of self and the life situations that have come to personify the existence of Palestinians in Lebanon, the responses discussed in this chapter aim to expose ambivalent perceptions concerning the power of education to help improve the life of the marginalised (El-Basha 2009).

Conclusion

Ashcroft et al (1993:43) explain that instigating change requires discriminated groups, such as Palestinians in Lebanon, to display an optimistic attitude towards their subjugating circumstances, as this outlook enables the oppressed to devise alternative strategies to combat discriminatory assumptions. Hence, although it has been shown that many Palestinians have displayed a tendency to feel alienated from one's self, the data also shows that some hold a more positive view of possibilities for their future, grounded in education. Despite speaking from the margins, education nonetheless is discursively represented to be

a vehicle for understanding and exploring the reasons for Palestinian subordination.

Analysis of data introduced in this chapter has shown that Palestinian IDP school students' perceptions of 'Self' are constructed in response to a repository of colonialist-like relations that differentiate Lebanese from Palestinians. In these responses the dynamic of 'Self' has been identified in a number of discursive instances including: 1. Between the personal and collective views that Palestinians hold about their plight and status as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon; 2. Between Lebanese representations of Palestinians, which construct them as both worthless and dangerous and yet also worthy of sympathy; and 3. Between Palestinian IDPs representations of education as a resource of hope and yet also as a source of despair and hopelessness. The data also indicated that the ambivalence in Palestinian IDP representations of the value of education is informed by individual and group relations in particular contexts. This ambivalence emerges often as a disjuncture or contradiction ('what's the use'/ 'what's the point' attitude) although much like the Bhabha's model of ambivalence it continues to be related to identity from within the framework of the Slave-Slave(Master) dialectic, where it is elaborated on the grounds of the Palestinian IDP's relationship with the Lebanese Master (Host nation). Hence the expression of one perception over another in any particular instance is possibly also informed by the desire to belong to the group.

More significantly in terms of Bhabha's (1994) model of Ambivalence; the representation of the value of education is linked to the construction of Palestinian IDP identity in a relationship with the identity of the Lebanese. Education is represented as both valued and not valued but largely, if not only, in relation to the

presence of the Lebanese, as the Master and purveyor of power over Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. It is the context of being a displaced subjugated Palestinian 'resident' in Lebanon which inscribes most representations of the value of education. And it is in relation to what Palestinian IDPs do not have, and what they are not, which informs their representation of education. In other words, the valuing of education is also grounded in relation to absence and in some instances participant responses reflected a connection between both the liberal-humanist and social critical perspectives. Thus, and perhaps most significantly, the value of education continues to be derived from the position of the Slave whose educational experiences lack the veracity to compete for employment in a world controlled by the Master. While, many responses in this chapter deployed positive discourse in relation to the idealist view of education, this is largely only to the extent where education allows Palestinian IDPs to believe that knowledge can be used by them to counter discrimination, improve social motility and develop a life based upon equity. The irony in this, however, is that although some Palestinians value education as a means to secure their participation in the 'good life' that is otherwise associated with being the 'Master' of one's own destiny, their very desire to seek the 'light' through employment over which their masters ultimately hold control, raises questions about the extent to which the Slave can overcome the Master through the use of the Master's tools (i.e. Education, knowledge) (Sayigh 1994:24-25) – notwithstanding their similar use of the Master's negative stereotypes of Palestinian IDPs. As one principal explained in relation to the reality of job opportunities for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, "jobs are not found due to scarcity and Lebanese laws that restrict Palestinian job opportunity" (Zakharia and

Tabari 2011). Thus, it is not surprising that those most directly impacted by the laws that constrain the realisation of the idealist view of education; namely the students, have called for change and presented responses such as Wafa's,[61] assertion that "Lebanon needs to change laws, so that Palestinians are treated like human beings".

As will be explored in Chapter Seven, where discussion highlights the Master's power over the institution of employment, it remains questionable as to the extent to which the Master will permit the 'Slave' to use the Master's tools to refashion the Master's house in the interests of the Slave. Bhabha's model of ambivalence suggests that where the colonised attempt to capture access to power, the response from the Master will comprise efforts to constrain this, in often discursive ways, but also in legal if not more material ways (Bhabha 1994). Thus, discussion in Chapter Seven explores the ambivalence and negative discourse of the value of education that emerge in the voices of Palestinian IDP students, UNRWA teachers, parents of students and UNRWA administrators. The focus upon legal and material forms of marginalisation is analysed in Chapter Seven and specifically aims to identify why Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon may hold negative perceptions of the idealist view of education.

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[61] Student Semi-structured interview, Wafa – 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

Chapter Seven

The Palestinian IDP and the Negative Value of Education

You shake your head and gaze outside, where it's already getting dark. After all, you're among the portion of students who have to attend the afternoon school because there aren't enough school buildings to go around for all 35,000 thousand Palestinian students in Lebanon. Your biology teacher notices your inattention and admonishes you. You look around at your 50 or so fellow "class" mates, who all look equally jaded and apathetic, huddles in a small classroom that in fact is merely a room in a rented apartment, has no playground and, if you're lucky, a semblance of a library (El-Basha, 2009).

Introduction

El-Basha's description of UNRWA education strongly suggests that IDP education cannot be considered to be adding to the wealth of the (Palestinian IDP) nation, particularly when a substantial percentage of the 'nation' cannot access a quality education that would support effective student learning, improve teacher instruction and thus provide a learning environment that encourages ambition among displaced populations (Fronk et al 1999). The data explored in Chapter Six revealed that many students, parents, UNRWA teachers and UNRWA administrators viewed the relationship between education and Palestinian participation in the wealth of the nation, in so far as this related to desired career

futures, in a largely positive way. Responses in Chapter Six reproduced idealist discourse, which is that education could lead to more positive outcomes, inspire individual ambition and provide hope for the marginalised through enabling a fuller participation in society. Data analysis in Chapter Six also showed that Palestinian IDP students' perceptions of 'Self' are often formed in response to colonial influences that distinguish Palestinians from their Lebanese hosts. The data outlined in this chapter also proposed that Palestinian IDP interpretations of the value of education are developed and influenced by individual and group interaction. Although, it was suggested that these ambivalent attitudes may reflect a sense of resignation to the situation confronting Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon it also outlined an underlying perception that Palestinian IDPs belief that the slave-slave(Master) dialectic may affect their development of self-worth and identity in this postcolonial environment. In terms of the value of education the construction of Palestinian IDP identity is inextricably linked to their Lebanese hosts as it is perceived by Palestinian IDPs that they wield power over Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. Thus, it was proposed that the value of education is developed from the position of the slave whose educational involvement may lack the capacity to vie for employment in an environment that is considered to be regulated by the Master. While, many participant responses in Chapter Six also advocated the notion that the idealist view of education promoted positive agency for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, these positive forms of discourse mainly described education as providing Palestinian IDPs with knowledge that may be used to help improve access to what has been described earlier as the 'good life'. Ironically, many of these responses were also offset by the knowledge that there is a possibility that the

value of education does not actually guarantee a life based upon liberal-humanistic values, which raised the question as to whether the slave can ever use the tools of the Master to overcome their subjugation. In an effort to understand the dynamics of power that govern interaction between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host nation, discussion in Chapter Six also explained how Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough's versions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were used to reveal how discourse, power and the subject may interact and reproduce through language forms of social power (Buchanan 2008). As explained by van Dijk, this research project used CDA to explore both the material and discursive constraints that act upon and inform Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education, but was also used to outline why Palestinian IDPs hold specific perceptions relating to their identity in relation to their hosts.

In contrast, to Chapter Six this chapter explores the negative responses from Palestinian IDP students, UNRWA teachers, parents of students and UNRWA administrators. These responses focus upon the relationship between Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education and its impact on career choice; and Palestinian IDP representations of self as constructed from the relationship between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host nation. Findings presented in this Chapter will outline the beliefs held by Palestinian students, UNRWA teachers, parents of students and UNRWA administrators concerning the relationship between education and desired employment opportunities. Discussion will compare these findings with those presented in Chapter Six. Significantly, however, in relation to this research project's research question, this chapter will argue that while these perceptions are characterised by ambivalence in the sense of

the existence of differing views of education, and a much deeper form of ambivalence emerges in the discussion of the value of education; one which is profoundly linked to the Palestinian IDP struggle to construct a desired Self.

Thus, this chapter argues that while the idealist discourse of education's value may be deployed on occasions, the deployment of this discourse seems to be more so where the discussion of education occurs outside of the consideration of the prevailing social, political and economic context that informs the relationship between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese host nation. Hence data analysed in this chapter explores the experiences of Palestinian IDP students, UNRWA teachers, parents of students and UNRWA administrators in Beirut, Lebanon and is focussed on understanding how participant perceptions of education and career aspirations reflect and reproduce a Master-Slave dialectic that is similar to earlier colonial attitudes. Homi Bhabha, it will be recalled, has shown that discursive representations of the Slave by the Master were often characterised by ambivalence and that matters of identity, and the need to distinguish Self from Other, were significant in this. As noted in Chapter Four, this research project not only aims to identify the discourses deployed by Palestinian IDPs in discussion of education and employment realities, but also aims to outline how the notion of ambivalence exists within these discourses. This approach differs from the 'typical' discussion of ambivalence in postcolonial research, as the focus here is the ambivalence in the discourse of the colonised. We know, for example, that for the colonial Master the 'native' could be both the humble bearer for one's food yet equally the feared savage (Bhabha 1994:51). But what were the views of the 'native'? This research project explores the possibility of differing constructions of the Self (as both Self

and Other) deployed by the dominated as opposed to those deployed by the dominator. While the possible existence of more than one representation of the self may signal the presence of a double consciousness, this research project explores this possibility through the notion of 'ambivalence'. This chapter explores how colonialist-like relations are potentially replicated and reproduced through contemporary discourse, which functions to inform Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures and survival as an IDP.

Drawing upon Joffe's (2007) admonition to critically examine all discursive constructs, the discussion that follows presents an analysis of data collected from Palestinian IDP high school students, UNRWA teachers, parents of students and UNRWA administrators in Beirut, Lebanon during 2004. Working with the notion of ambivalence and its relationship with power and identity, introduced in Chapter Four, this chapter draws upon postcolonial theory to identify the possibility of ambivalence in Palestinian IDP school student, UNRWA teacher, parents of students and UNRWA administrator perceptions of the value of education in terms of its capacity to secure desired career futures. Discussion identifies multiple instances of ambivalence and concludes that education comprises a significant site for the construction of Palestinian IDP identity. It further concludes that despite the ambivalence in representing the positive value of education, the representation of education's value is consistently elaborated with regards to the relationship between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host nation. This holds negative implications for Palestinian IDP self-identification and perceptions concerning the value of education as a tool for change.

Slave-Slave Dialectic and Representations of Educational Reality

Internalised Colonialism

> The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They
> may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they
> will never allow us to bring about genuine change.[62]

Discussion in Chapter One highlighted the extent of colonialism during the nineteenth century. This historical period was associated with 'Western' imperialism that imposed European values upon largely non-western colonised populations (McLeod 2000:6-7). In this particular period of empire, colonial discourse constructed the colonised 'slave' as utterly different, yet paradoxically, entirely knowable. Colonialism often deployed negative stereotypes and tropes to marginalise colonised populations, while simultaneously reinforcing European superiority (Said 1994:8).

Lorde (Penner and Vander-Stichele 2005:1) suggests that the power of post-colonialism is changing how the 'master's tools' are used in post-colonial settings by former colonial subjects. For example the 'master's tools' were often constructed to reinforce the superiority of the European (if not local 'native') elites, such that in formerly colonised contexts like Lebanon, the Master's house has not so much been dismantled, but rather re-occupied by a new group of ('native') elites who continue to subjugate those constructed to be inferior. In relation to the

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[62] Audre Lorde, Caribbean-American writer, poet and activist (Penner and Vander Stichele 2005:1).

Palestinian IDPs in this case study, it is contended that the slave-slave (Master) relationship continues today in the relationship between Palestinian IDPs and Lebanese elites. According to Cairns and Richards (Ashcroft et al 1999:179) this outcome, which also comprises a form of mimicry, has effectively created a *slave-slave dialectic* where former colonised 'slaves' intentionally use past injustices and inequity to quell groups perceived as threats to their power. Notwithstanding the value of the notion of the slave-slave dialectic, for exploring socio-economic and political relations in so-called post-colonial contexts, this discussion nonetheless continues to work with the notion of a Master-Slave dialectic which informs Bhabha's model of ambivalence; except that the position of the Master is now potentially occupied by a former 'slave'.

In this respect, Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon are potentially viewed by Lebanese elites as having the ability to challenge Lebanese autonomy, such that in order to maintain Lebanese hegemony, Lebanon's ruling elite have assumed the role that was once that of their former 'colonial' masters (Sayigh 1994:24). El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek (2007) suggest that Lebanese rulers may have adopted an oppressive stance because it provides a means to control 'others', even though they themselves have now become the arbiters of the kinds of marginalisation previously associated with their former colonialist Masters. The significance of this dynamic for this research project is that the discourses deployed by the Palestinian IDP in relation to the value of education can be informed by the socio-economic and political relations, whom Palestinian IDPs share – though not equally – with the Lebanese host nation. By assuming the role of 'master', former 'slaves' (in this instance the Lebanese) have attempted to construct a mono-cultural environment

grounded in exclusion and intolerance of 'Others'. It is claimed in what follows that Lebanese perceptions of the dominant host-nation Self subsequently inform the way in which Palestinian IDPs view themselves within a 'post-colonial' Master-slave dialectic. Thus, the analysis and interpretation of data presented in this chapter aims to show how Babha's notion of ambivalence is revealed through Palestinian IDP perspectives concerning the perceived value and non-value of education; the impact of Palestinian IDP representations of self as being both worthy and worthless members of society, and the influence of Lebanese representations of Palestinian IDPs on Palestinian perceptions of self as also being worthless, yet needing to be controlled.

Indeed, the construction of Palestinian IDP identity in relation to the dominating Master holds implications for Palestinian IDPs identity and the valuing of education. For example, in response to question 21 in the questionnaire, which asked:

Do you think there is a possibility that you will be unemployed

when you finish your education?

Participant number two[63] explained:

Yes, as I'm Palestinian. People may not employ me because of

my nationality and this affects my chances of a having a good

life.

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[63] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Two, 2004.
*Note: This participant's name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

Similarly Participant number forty-six[64] responded:

> Yes, I am not allowed to work in certain jobs and my parents
>
> lack the money for my education.

The responses above reveal a perception that being 'Palestinian' can impact how Palestinians may perceive themselves in Lebanese society. In this sense, the responses provided by participants twenty-two and forty-six suggest that Palestinians may hold negative perceptions of self because they believe that their status in Lebanese society is shaped by 'who they are'. This perception was also revealed when student-participant number sixty-eight[65] answered the question - Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon:

> …living in dreadful conditions without rights.

It is asserted that this negative perception of self is indicative of social constraints, which ultimately influence and impact Palestinian projections of self in Lebanon, especially when they compare themselves to others. For example, participants twenty-two, forty-six and sixty-eight attend the case study school and lessons are often held in cramped classrooms, which do not provide the best

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[64] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Forty-Six, 2004.
*Note: This participants name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

[65] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Sixty-Eight, 2004.
*Note: This participants name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

conditions to ensure quality learning is taking place. These participants also reside in overcrowded neighbourhoods where basic amenities such as regular power supply and sanitary water are unreliable. Zakharia and Tabari (2001) explain that these types of living conditions have the power to fuel negative attitudes and perceptions about one-self because Palestinians have come to believe that their living conditions are considered the norm and confirm a reality, that Palestinians living in Lebanon lack rights and are thus, lower in status compared to their hosts – Lebanese. This way of thinking also informs the reply of student-participant number eighty-one[66], who described Palestinian life in Lebanon as being:

devoid of rights and with no comforts of life.

It is especially pertinent to consider why Palestinians, such as student-participant eighty-one may believe that they are discriminated against because of 'who they are' and how this perception of one-self might impact their ability to endure in Lebanon. Thus, the discussion that follows also aims to understand how 'being Palestinian' may influence Palestinian IDPs attitudes about one-self and how this perception of self may impact on their quality of life in Lebanon.

Spivak (1999:324) explains that a sense of insecurity such as those revealed in the student responses above occurs in many oppressed populations, as marginalised groups find themselves inhabiting contexts where they lack the capability to control their own destiny. Brun (2005) also suggests that poor

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[66] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Eighty-One, 2004.
*Note: This participants name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

perceptions of Self occur because IDPs question their self-worth in relation to their perceived position within their particular social context. In the context of this case study, this is a relationship which involves the Lebanese. In this sense, the student responses above point to a broader frustration that Palestinian IDPs feel in occupying what is the subordinate position in a Master-slave relationship comprising the dominant Lebanese as the new 'post-colonial' Master. El-Basha (2009:40) contends that it is difficult to challenge the subsequent perceptions regarding hope for the future, such as those identified above, within marginalised communities as they often believe their educational and employment options personify their very existence. Here, it is suggested the notion of agency within a context of asymmetrical systemic and thus structural power is also central to understanding the Palestinian IDP response.

The Construction of Ambivalence through 'Knowing', 'Identity' and 'Power'

'Knowing' is an essential discursive dynamic within the Master-slave dialectic (Bhabha 1990:241). 'Knowing' is informed by notions of 'Self' and 'othering', which are tied to 'knowing' through 'meanings', 'reasons' and 'circulating truths' of the kind which can influence perceptions of self in comparison to Others (Davies 2003:15; Bamberg 1999:248). Reproducing the logics of knowing, student participant number six for example, stated in reply to the questionnaire question - Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon:

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No job in government, no rights, many careers are off limits, job

discrimination[67].

While this response suggests that Palestinian IDPs may feel a sense of despair at being barred from pursuing specific career pathways, identifying why these restrictions exist in the first place is also significant to understanding the possible Palestinian IDP ambivalence around hopes for future career success.

Systemic power, of which the UNRWA program is possibly part, also informs Palestinian IDPs perceptions that influence their education and career aspirations. The response from student-participant number six is similar to earlier comments of student-participants number sixty-eight and eighty-one, which further reveals that Palestinian IDPs 'know' or are aware of their 'place' in Lebanese society and 'system', and that this place does not include equitable employment rights. The frustration resulting from this kind of systemic exclusion emerged when a student, Mohammad[68], was asked the question, 'In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Mohammad explained that:

Education is a basic right, needed so one can live in any society.

Mohammad's statement emerges as something of a contrast to those earlier, which constructed education and employment futures as being largely constrained and unavailable to Palestinian IDPs. Mohammad's response is interesting because

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[67] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Six, 2004.
*Note: This participant's name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[68] Student semi-structured interview – Mohammad, 2004.

his personal situation is similar to that of many of the other Palestinian participants in this research project; he attends classes that are generally overcrowded and under-resourced, yet he has provided an answer that promotes the prospect of hope where education can make a difference in someone's life. Thus at this juncture, ambivalence emerges between a view of education, which is grounded in a perception of hopelessness and a more positive idealist view which contains an element of hope – which is that education is a right that enables participation in society, and possibly a right to achieve and challenge injustices. This is a perspective that is supported by Serres (2007) who explained that Palestinian IDPs, while holding negative perceptions of self, such as being worthless and down trodden, also feel empowered by being able to use education to shape their destiny.

Negative Perceptions of the Value of UNRWA Education

The view by El-Basha (2009) that UNRWA education may in fact be a budget education was generally supported in the comments of parents. For example, in response to the question:

In your opinion, do you think that your high school education programme prepares students for life after high school?

Wasna[69], a parent, stated:

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[69] Parent Questionnaire, Wasna - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a parent of student participant who was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires to complete the student advice task

No, it does not prepare students for the work force. It is too
basic.

Not only does Wasna's description mirror El-Basha's (2009) assessment of UNRWA education, it represents UNRWA education as inadequate on the grounds that it fails to provide sufficient in-depth knowledge for students to develop the required skills for employment. Wasna's description of UNRWA education as "too basic" reproduces the view that UNRWA education, in this context, is not particularly workforce relevant. Thus, education is not really a tool for change. The following response from another Palestinian parent, Abdallah[70] provides a similarly negative assessment of the quality of UNRWA's education programmes, although in this response a relationship with employment is acknowledged:

Yes, it prepares students for the future, but only in poor jobs.

In this response, Abdallah represents education as a resource providing Palestinian IDPs with skills to find employment. But the problem is, in so far as it is represented by Abdallah, that employment is likely to be in low paying jobs, which confirms Hart's (2006) observations regarding the relationship between IDP education and IDP employment aspirations. Although unlike Wasna, Abdallah

and semi-structured interview. This parent was also given a faux name like their child to ensure their anonymity.

[70] Parent Questionnaire, Abdallah - 2004.

*Note: This participant is a parent of student participant who was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires to complete the student advice task and semi-structured interview. This parent was also given a faux name like their child to ensure their anonymity.

acknowledges a relationship between UNWRA education and employment, it remains a relationship that as represented by Wasna, seems unlikely to further facilitate Palestinian IDP participation in the wealth of the nation and fuller social participation (Hart 2006). The precise nature of the "poor jobs" alluded to by Abdallah above, was detailed by two other parents, Wafna[71] and Shadi[72], in response to the following question - What types of jobs do you realistically expect students to get when they finish their education? Why do you think that students will get these jobs? - In response Wafna stated that:

> Palestinians will always struggle to find work in Lebanon due to restrictions.

While, Shadi also replied:

> Construction, agriculture and independent work.

Wafna's response associates the securing of employment with struggle. The struggle is a consequence of restrictions that affects the ability of Palestinians to secure a future without employment discrimination, which highlights how UNRWA education aims to educate Palestinians for jobs that are not restricted, but limited in a capacity to promote Palestinian quality of life (Boyden and Hart 2007;

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[71] Parent Questionnaire, Wafna - 2004.
[72] Parent Questionnaire, Shadi - 2004.
*Note: These participants are parents of students who were selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires to complete the student advice task and semi-structured interview. These parents were also given faux names like their children to ensure their anonymity.

Hart 2009; Mansour 2000). Wafna's statement also associates restrictions with the Palestinians only, thus representing an employment scenario for the Lebanese host nation to be one without restrictions. The consequences of such restrictions are identified by Shadi; as he argues that Palestinian employment is destined to be in manual labouring jobs. Wafna and Shadi's responses reveal a degree of ambivalence towards the value of education when securing employment.

While it might be expected that UNRWA teachers and UNRWA administrators (UNRWA C.E.O) would deploy elements of the idealist representation of education, earlier statements from El-Basha (2009) and Palestinian parents Abdallah, Wafna and Shadi, implied that increased job opportunities did not mean that Palestinian IDPs could acquire better jobs, but rather increased the likelihood that Palestinian IDPs would fill similar low paying occupations that they have become accustomed (Zakharia and Tabari 2001; El-Basha 2009). Sayigh (1994:24-25) argues that the foundation for this differential response from Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon is based upon Lebanon's reciprocal labour laws with other countries which are used as a restrictive measure, to maintain Lebanon's homeostasis within its borders. As a consequence legal rights, such as the employment choice of Palestinian IDPs in the Middle East seem often to be determined by their particular place of residence (Salah 2001; Zakharia and Tabari 2011). For example, while Palestinians are granted full civil rights in Syria and Jordan, the state's desire to maintain homeostasis within its borders, means they are granted little to none in Lebanon (Chatty and Hundt 2001:29). El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek (2007) describe this manipulation and control of the powerless as functioning to confirm the superiority of those with power. Thus, the

limits imposed on Palestinian IDP's career choice in Lebanon creates what Spivak (1999:320-321) describes as a social hegemonic reality that controls and hinders the achievement of those who already suffering from inadequate rights. It is important to consider the impact of social hegemony on displaced communities as their social context can often reveal the 'quality' of 'life' that IDPs as 'foreigners' are permitted to have in a foreign land (Boyden and Hart 2007; Chatty and Hundt 2001). The power of this dilemma is revealed in a second response from UNRWA teacher, Nadine[73], who stated in reply to the question – What types of jobs do you realistically expect students to get when they finish their education? Why do you think that students will get these jobs:

> In reality, students will get low paying work – waiter etc.

Nadine's response is significant as it contradicts her earlier comment that was more aligned to an idealist view of education - "Education prepares a person for life, work and society". In this above statement, Nadine has seemingly replaced her idealist view of education with a sense of foreboding, which implies that Palestinian IDPs are destined to assume low paid and low skilled employment in Lebanon. Nadine's discursive change is also important as it poses a question as to whether education, and in particular UNRWA education, has the capability to promote intellectual, social and economic growth for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon? The notion that local dynamics and relations of power, can not only influence one's quest for 'enlightenment' in the liberal idealist view of education, but also one's

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[73] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nadine - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

ability to obtain one's desired employment future is also communicated in the response of another UNRWA teacher, Khalil[74], who likewise questions the quality of UNRWA's educational programmes. In response to the question - In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Khalil stated:

> Education accessibility, curriculum is not standardised in
> UNRWA schools.

Khalil's statement identifies the lack of standardised curriculum and accessibility to education for Palestinian IDPs as potential flaws in the UNRWA education programme. Khalil's response is of note as it supports El-Basha's claim that UNRWA education is 'budget' and does not enable all Palestinian IDP students access to quality standardised schooling. Thus, the perception that education facilitates increased participation in life, employment and society, exists in contrast to the perception of education as a constraint upon increased participation in life, employment and society.

The teacher responses above equally detail a sense of frustration associated with the experience of the limitations and restrictions that Palestinian teachers more broadly feel when reflecting upon the educational experiences of children at UNRWA schools (Hart 2006). Aside from the limitation of being "only basic education" these limitations also include, as El-Basha outlined earlier, classroom overcrowding and inadequate teaching facilities. For example, the researcher

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[74] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Khalil - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

observed that the UNRWA school campus investigated in this research project was located on a very small block of land and the footprint of many classrooms was seemingly too small for the number of students being taught. In addition to these limitations, the researcher also observed first-hand regular class occupancy rates that consistently ranged between forty-five to fifty-five students per classroom. This occupancy rate occurred even though many UNRWA schools use split school times to cope with their expanding school rolls.

Parental responses such as Abdallah's negative comment earlier - "it's only basic education" - for example, contrasts UNRWA education against other kinds of education which though not defined presumably comprise more than "only basic" education; a statement which clearly associates education for Palestinian IDPs with limitations. This perspective highlights the belief that UNRWA education has the power to limit employment opportunities and thus, affect the Palestinian IDP's ability to improve their access to a better life in Lebanon. This is an outcome communicated by a parent, Afnan[75], who stated in reply to the question – In what ways, do you think that your high school education programme fulfils these educational purposes:

No – it is a base for learning skills, but these skills are only
basic skills for low jobs.

Besides highlighting a belief that UNRWA education only offers development of basic skills for basic jobs, Afnan's statement also reproduces a perception that

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[75] Parent Questionnaire, Afnan - 2004.

UNRWA education offers a resource over which Palestinian IDPs perceived themselves to have little or no control over. This belief is similar to the earlier parental responses of Abdallah, Wasna and Shadi who also questioned the efficacy of UNRWA education in providing educational experiences that could enhance Palestinian IDP participation in the wealth of the nation. Another parent, Hamid[76], builds further on this negative assessment of UNRWA education, by stating in response to the question – In your opinion, what do you think that your high school education programme attempts to prepare students for when they leave high school:

> There is no program to help our students, as they cannot get
> work.

Hamid's statement not only questions the relationship between UNRWA and future work, it also reveals a perception and frustration that Palestinian IDPs have access to only limited educational programmes and because of this will to be able to bring about the kinds of changes needed to help the Palestinian IDP community develop their own resources and achieve positive employment outcomes.

From an idealist view of education, the powerful narratives of Aya, Aceil, Hadi and Wasna reproduced a positive outlook of education, even though earlier responses in this chapter from Abdullah, Wasna and El-Basha (2009) described

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[76]Male Parent Questionnaire, Hamid - 2004.

*Note: These participants are parents of students who were selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires to complete the student advice task and semi-structured interview. These parents were also given faux names like their children to ensure their anonymity.

UNRWA education as being poor quality and a 'budget' form of education. As discussed in the review of similar student responses in Chapter Six, the contradiction connected with the parents narratives mentioned above and the accounts of those like Abdullah and Wasna exposes ambivalence associated with the positive-negative relationship of education and the ability of UNRWA education to provide hope for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon.

This ambivalent response was noted in Fielden's (2008: 10) study of displaced persons, which explained that while IDPs believe that IDP educational programmes can provide worthwhile education, they also believe that programmes do not provide durable solutions to the plight of IDPs. Thus, while IDP education is viewed by many IDPs as being able to provide adequate learning experiences, it is not considered capable of developing in students the knowledge and skills required to gain desirable employment, due to shortcomings that affect the quality of IDP education programmes (e.g. teaching resources – books, desks, classrooms; qualified teachers; overcrowding) (Zakharia and Tabari 2001). Brown (2001) and El-Basha (2009) contend that these types of shortcomings are endemic in many IDP education programmes, which makes it hard for IDP students to fulfil their potential and for their parents to feel positive about their child's education. This sense of frustration and the representation of Palestinian IDP parents as lacking control over the relationship between education and future careers emerged even more strongly in the comments of Rashid[77]:

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[77] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Rashid - 2004.

Many will not be able to work because of the Lebanese government laws that restrict Palestinian job choices.

Of interest in this comment is that unlike others critiquing the value of education, this comment emerges from a teacher. Rather than deploy the idealist discourse of education as observed in the teacher responses above, Rashid reinforces the parental perception identified earlier by Hamid that education for Palestinian IDPs functions to locate Palestinian IDPs in a subordinate relationship to their Lebanese hosts who are not constrained by the same employment restrictions. The restrictions that Rashid highlights, if only in a general manner, resonate with Sayigh's (2001: 95-98) observations and accounts regarding the position of the displaced 'foreigner' who experiences poor civil and social rights. Zakharia and Tabari (2001:7) also explain that under Lebanese law foreign workers are afforded the same treatment that Lebanese workers gain from the country from which a foreigner originates. But the limitation upon this arrangement is that Palestinian IDPs are stateless (Palestine does not exist), and this renders their position in this reciprocal relationship effectively worse than that of the 'foreigner'. Salah (2001:5) explains that this context creates a depressing economic outlook for Palestinian IDPs such that approximately only 5% of the Palestinian workforce is regularly employed, and of this proportion only approximately 0.16% holds legitimate work permits. Palestinian women are at higher risk of not finding work compared to men. Chatty and Hundt (2001:22)

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*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

argue that this climate of unemployment and lack of access to certain jobs has had a particularly negative impact upon Palestinian youth. This 'exclusion', as Salah (2001:2) and Sayigh (2001: 95-98) describe it, increases the likelihood that Palestinians will be exposed to numerous problems that are often associated with displaced and refugee type populations. These problems include high crime rates, poor health conditions, high unemployment rates, poor nutrition, congested residential areas, low standards of sanitation and inadequate educational services, which have the potency to confirm the Palestinian IDP's status as a third-world citizen (Selamawit et al 2009).

Both Hamid and Rashid's responses challenged the ability of IDP education to deliver improved employment outcomes, but they also acknowledged that the poor quality of IDP education programmes are amplified by job restrictions that channel learning in IDP schools towards certain career pathways that reinforce Palestinian inferiority to their hosts. Although, the provision of 'Alternative Education' programmes remains a possibility (Brown 2001), even if these were to mitigate some of the infrastructure constraints identified by EL-Basha (2009) and others (Chatty and Hundt 2001:28-29), such educational programmes cannot overcome employment restrictions imposed by the state (Hart 2006; Sayigh 2001). As 'foreigners', many Palestinians are banned from pursuing careers in desirable professions (e.g. doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers or accountants) and are not entitled to work-compensation or social security, even though these aspects of employment are reported to be deducted from their wages (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:7; Toameh 2013). Statistics indicate that Palestinians are excluded from approximately seventy-two plus professions which forces many Palestinians to

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work in the informal sector (labouring, low skilled employment), which provides low wages, low job security and generally few employment benefits like medical insurance (Haddad 2002). In response to the question - Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that your students may be unemployed when they finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Abdul[78] replied:

Yes. Lebanese treat Palestinians like foreigners.

Nabila[79] also stated in response to the same question:

High possibility because of Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian job choice.

Both, Abdul and Nabila question the Lebanese state's laws as they relate to employment. Like parents, Hamid and Abdallah earlier in this chapter; and Rashid another teacher, it is asserted that the value of education for a Palestinian internally displaced person in Lebanon is limited by state laws. But more than this Abdul's comment in particular introduces the notion of human rights and thus through this reference invokes the idealist discourse of education. Thus, if education is indeed a human right (as highlighted in Chapter Three), then this right is perceived as being

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[78] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Abdul - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[79] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nabila - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

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diminished for Palestinian IDPs by limitations upon another set of human rights; namely the right to equal employment opportunities (Hart 2006; Zakharia and Tabari 2001). Moreover, it is maintained that this reduction in human rights works to confirm and develop attitudes held among Palestinian IDPs that their status as human beings is lower than that of their Master (Lebanese) and potentially less than that of other foreigners in Lebanon. This negative representation of one's self-worth and knowledge of lack of rights was conveyed in the responses of several parents when they answered the following question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Why do you think this situation occurs? Here, Bilal[80] stated that:

The nations that we live in despise us [Palestinians].

This sad, yet honest assessment from Bilal outlines how negatively Palestinians perceive themselves in their adoptive homelands. This sense of being despised because of who you are was also communicated in the response of Wafna[81]:

Being Palestinian affects your job choices.

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[80] Parent Questionnaire, Bilal - 2004.
[81] Parent Questionnaire, Wafna - 2004.

Of further significance in the comment of Bilal and to a lesser extent, Wafna is an articulation of a perceived position within a field of subject formation grounded in the presence of the Lebanese as the dominant referent for the category of 'human'. It is in relation to the hegemonic Lebanese subject - and its privileges - that Palestinian identity is defined and categorised in the context investigated by this research project. In this field of subject-object formation, the Lebanese comprise the Master and the Palestinian IDP, the Slave (or foreigner as identified by Abdul). Understood from the perspective of colonialist discourse, as explored by Said (1978), Bilal's comment seems to highlight the perception among Palestinian IDPs that they (Palestinians) are in fact Other – an outsider, devoid of rights, of an altogether different kind and consequently less than human (Said 1992: 28). This is a representation of Palestinian IPD and the Lebanese also produced in the comment a parent, Shaden[82], who stated in response to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Why do you think this situation occurs:

> Lebanese government laws that oppress Palestinian job
> selection.

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[82] Parent Questionnaire, Shaden - 2004.

It is under these conditions of oppression, subjugation and lack of rights that the value of UNRWA education is constructed, such that even the UNRWA CEO, who on the one hand reproduced earlier in this chapter the idealist discourse of education, can on the other hand equally acknowledge that for Palestinian IDP students:

> No realistic jobs are attainable after completing high school.

Indeed the UNRWA CEO, Bassam, went so far as to further explain that he would be:

> Surprised if they get work [because] high school education does not provide them (students) with the necessary skills to find work.

Surprisingly, Bassam also concluded that the kinds of employment accessible to UNRWA education students comprised "low jobs that do not even require high school certification." [83] In the next section of this chapter, discussion focuses on understanding why advocates of UNRWA education, such as Bassam would reproduce ambivalent attitudes towards education and if this type of belief is shared by parents, teachers and other UNRWA administrators.

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[83] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA Chief Executive Officer - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

A Deeper Kind of Ambivalence

Discussion in Chapter Six focused upon positive perceptions of the value of education in terms of its capacity to secure desired employment futures. Many students, as mentioned previously in Chapter Six, are perhaps more directly impacted by the prevailing structures around education and employment than parents, teachers or even UNRWA education managers, who with the exception of parents are by and large already employed. The student response and many of the other research participants, however, represented education as a valued resource and yet also as a resource not particularly valued at all. In this response ambivalence emerged as simple matter of difference in the perceived value of education. And in relation to the view that education was not a valuable resource, ambivalence emerged as an expression of non-commitment to education; a 'take it or leave it' perspective. Ambivalence also emerged in the different perspectives that were offered by individuals as opposed to a more collective discourse around the value of education. A student, for example, could hold the view that education must be valuable, thus reproducing the idealist discourse, while also asserting that in practice education offered little hope for securing desired career futures.

The largely positive accounts in Chapter Six, however, are also countered by responses from students, parents, teachers and UNRWA administrators in this chapter that acknowledged in practice that the capacity of education to achieve the outcomes associated with the idealist discourse were severely restricted or somewhat uncertain. It is insisted that this uncertainty contributes to negative perceptions about UNRWA education lacking the ability to empower Palestinian

IDPs in Lebanon. This negative perception is evident in the parental response of Maryam[84] who stated in reply to the question – In what ways, do you think that your high school education programme fulfils these educational purposes:

> No – it is not good enough, it is a base for learning and it is not
>
> enough to realise dreams.

It is interesting to note that Maryam's reply constructs the value of UNRWA education in a negative and positive context. Maryam suggests that UNRWA education can provide a base for learning, but this level of learning does not enable one to realise their potential and dreams. A similar ambivalent outlook was shared by another parent; Aceil[85] who stated:

> No, it is not enough to reach goals because education is not
>
> enough.

Another parent named Sawsan[86], also conveyed a pessimistic view of UNRWA education in reply to the question - In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes:

> Only prepares for basic tasks.

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[84] Parent Questionnaire, Maryam - 2004.
[85] Parent Questionnaire, Aceil - 2004.
[86] Parent Questionnaire, Sawsan - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

Although, Maryam, Aceil and Sawsan's answers bring to light an uncertainty concerning the ability of UNRWA education to help Palestinian IDPs reach their goals, it is also revealed is that Palestinian IDPs believe that their educational experiences do not enable them to achieve outcomes related to the idealist discourse, such as attending university or acquiring desired employment. This response is exemplified in response of a parent, Shadi[87], who stated in reply to the same question posed to Sawsan:

Secondary school education does not provide the opportunities

to enter university.

Aligned to the idea that UNRWA schooling may not provide Palestinian IDP students with opportunities needed to develop knowledge and skills necessary to reach their potential or gain entry into tertiary education, Shadi's blunt assessment of UNRWA's secondary school programme, coupled with the responses from Maryam, Aceil, and Sawsan expose a further ambivalence in that Palestinian IDPs also believe that higher education is important for future success. This is a perception also somewhat expressed by Aida[88], the UNRWA high school principal who suggests in her following statement that secondary education can lead to university:

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[87] Parent Questionnaire, Shadi - 2004.
[88] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA High School Principal, Aida - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

Secondary education is a transitional phase that leads into university.

Despite, Aida's statement suggesting that Palestinian IDPs have the option of transitioning from secondary to tertiary education (in a logical and unimpeded sequence), the challenge confronting Palestinian IDPs when trying to access tertiary education is as difficult if not harder than that of gaining enrolment into UNRWA schooling (Zakharia and Tabari 2011). Thus, the importance of tertiary education in the eyes of many Palestinian IDPs is somewhat tempered by the realisation that UNRWA education can only prepare them up to a certain point, which as Shadi, Aceil, Maryam and Sawsan's statements highlighted earlier indicate, can affect the academic opportunities afforded to Palestinian IDPs and their subsequent valuing of the effectiveness of UNRWA education.

Of significance in relation to the research question is that the data above show that it is rare for the two discourses (positive and negative perceptions of education) to emerge contiguously. Either participants uncritically reproduced the idealist discourse, such as the responses from Aida, Bassam, and Faten in which education's limitations remained absent or, the (negative) limitations were only acknowledged following more probing discussion. Notwithstanding the possibility that the researcher's questions may have contributed to this outcome, it is nonetheless an outcome that highlights what seems to be the existence of two competing discursive constructions of the value education. One that seems to be grounded in the idealist view of education regarding the potential of education to contribute to one's future, and one grounded in the experience of education in

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relation to a range of constraining factors such as infrastructure deficiencies and restrictive state laws. Thus, parents, teachers and the opinions of a UNRWA CEO or UNRWA administrator or UNRWA teacher could deploy discourses representing two seemingly opposed views of education.

Aside from the simplistic ambivalence associated with the expression of two seemingly different views of the value of education, which mirrored this particular site of ambivalence in the student response, the responses above also reveal an expression of ambivalence associated with identity. This most clearly emerged through the discussion of the restrictions placed upon Palestinians obtaining desired employment (as noted in Chapter Two) and it is possible to account for this expression of ambivalence within the model of ambivalence proposed by Bhabha (1994) in his analysis of colonial discourse.

Bhabha's model of ambivalence proposes that discursive representation shares a relationship with subject formation. As explained in Chapter Four this model deploys Hegel's master-slave dialectic but without resolution through synthesis. Bhabha (1994: 66-84) attributes ambivalence to the subject's desire to understand the Self as an original, universal and pure being. But to achieve this self-identification, the Self paradoxically requires the presence of another; a presence that is at once productive and yet disturbing because it also reveals the possibility of the Self's division and the potential original wholeness of the other. From the initial narcissistic phase of desire, subjectivity is subsequently informed by aggression and the disavowal of the now 'Other' who is associated with the difference – as opposed to the self. In discourse this ambivalence is reflected in the

metaphoric representation of the author subject against which the now constructed Other figures as a metonymic presence, as part to the author's whole.

From the perspective of this model of ambivalence, the two discursive representations of education articulated above emerge from the challenge of self-construction faced by Palestinian IDPs in a context where education offers both hope and limitations. The deployment of the idealist discourse which can be understood as a positive view emerges from a construction of the Palestinian Self in which the Lebanese Host nation is largely absent. This view of education permits a relatively easy self-construction in that education is used to confirm the original desire, which is the positive representation of the Palestinian self. It could be proposed that this is a more 'theoretical' self-construction which is somewhat grounded in the liberal-humanist-like view of Education, the individual self and self-development that underpins the idealist perspective noted above (Tamatea 2008). In this view all 'humans' are essentially equal, thus the presence of another merely confirms in one sense, the equality of the Self. Education provides the Palestinian learner with a range of conceptions of the good in relation to which the 'rational' student choice-maker selects that which they deem most appropriate to pursuing their particular conception of the good life. As the presence of another does not yet challenge the Palestinian IDPs ability to positively construct the Self, the representation of education is mostly positive. At this stage, and in this discourse, the Lebanese host-nation largely figures as a non-influencing absence. Rather than being disavowed as Other, education as represented in the idealist discourse is incorporated into a positive construction of the Self. In this discourse, this positive structuring of Self emerges from the capacity of education to enable

the desired Self-construction; namely, education functions as a resource allowing Self-development and the fuller participation in society and the wealth of the nation.

The negative representation of education, however, emerges from the collapse of the liberal-humanist narrative (in practice as opposed to theory) upon which the idealist discourse is grounded. It also reveals some of the limitations of liberal-humanism more generally in that individuals are in fact not independent of society, humans are in fact not always constructed to be equal, and relations of power – social, political and economic - inevitably inform the choices and options that are available. Moreover, what comprises rational choices varies according to the context (Tamatea, 2008). While students, teachers and education managers desire the hope and promise associated with the idealist view of education, it is a view which in practice is compromised by the constraints of the underpinning liberal-humanist political philosophy more broadly and the prevailing social, economic and political relations which frame Palestinian and Lebanese subjectivities in the context explored by this research project. This dynamic is particularly notable in the comments presented by UNRWA teachers, Dalia and Nadine, who stated respectively in response to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon:

Palestinians need to be treated like other citizens[89].

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[89] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Dalia - 2004.

Lebanese need to believe in Palestinians and give us the

opportunity to work and succeed[90].

Although these responses suggest that Palestinian IDPs may feel they are not

treated fairly by their hosts in Lebanon, Dalia and Nadine's comments also

highlight a perception that Palestinian IDPs believe that in practice the benefits of

education elaborated through the idealist discourse are not in fact extended to

Palestinian IDPs, whether in terms of education infrastructure or post-school

education employment possibilities. Here the liberal-humanist view that education

prepares one for fuller participation in the social breaks down. This belief was also

shared by the UNRWA C.E.O, Bassam[91] who stated in response to the questions -

In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian

unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job

opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job

prospects:

Palestinians lack civil rights in Lebanon. Lebanese

unemployment is high in Lebanon, so this makes it very hard for

Palestinians to find jobs.

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*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[90] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nadine - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[91] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA Chief Executive Officer, Bassam - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

A teacher, Khalil[92] went further, suggesting that Palestinian IDP employment opportunity was reflective of 'Lebanese government oppression', of which it is hard to quantify the perceived value of UNRWA education especially when the context in which education is perhaps constructed, delivered, and 'consumed' is equally used by the powerful to control the powerless. This is a belief that was also shared by a parent named Fatima[93] who stated in response to the questions - Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that your students may be unemployed when they finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur:

Yes. Palestinians are deprived of job choices because of
Lebanese work restrictions.

From the perspective of Bhabha's model of ambivalence, the negative responses, such as those presented by Bassam, Khalil and Fatima comprise much more than just simplistic ambivalence. They offer a representation of education that emerges from the challenge to self-construction presented not only by a lack appropriate education infrastructure but also from the lack of equitable employment prospects. If as Bhabha's model asserts, an individual requires the presence of another to achieve a satisfactory self-construction, then in this instance

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[92] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Khalil - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[93] Parent Questionnaire, Fatima - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

the (an) other is the privileged Lebanese host nation. The Lebanese have for the most part access to more appropriate education structures, and for the most part access to an unrestricted employment market (El-Basha 2009; El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek 2007). Thus, in the process of self-construction it becomes clear to the Palestinian IDP that the self is neither dominant nor original, but in fact subordinate and compromised. This is a position that is exposed in the comment of a parent, Wasna[94], who stated in reply to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Why do you think this situation occurs:

Palestinian nationality – being a Palestinian.

In response to the same question asked above, another parent, Wafna[95], also indicated that being Palestinian affected their ability to attain employment. Wafna stated that:

Being Palestinian affects your job choices.

Both Wasna and Wafna's negative perception of Self suggested that Palestinian IDPs felt frustration and dismay about being Palestinian in Lebanon. Their answers expressed a sense of knowing their 'place' in Lebanon and how their position

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[94] Parent Questionnaire, Wasna - 2004.
[95] Parent Questionnaire, Wafna - 2004.

within Lebanon's social landscape is firmly subordinate to their hosts, the Lebanese. In Bhabha's model of colonial representation the powerful (coloniser) generally continue on to restore the coloniser's self through a negative construction of the other as truly Other (Said 1978: 4-5; Bhabha 1990: 4). But in this research project no participants made overtly negative representations of the Lebanese host nation, other than to highlight exemplars of inequity and the futility of education. Instead, Palestinian responses reflecting their subordinate position as the Slave within the Master-Slave dialectic, reproduced a description of *themselves* as being foreign and maltreated; and consequently as truly Other.

The strength of this representation, as outlined in the responses from Wasna and Wafna is further grounded in the focus of a perceived (if not real) asymmetrical relation of power in the Palestinian IDP relationship with the Lebanese host nation. In this sense, participant responses were generally resigned to the acceptance that the current provision of education is what it is, leaving few possibilities for Palestinian IDPs to exert influence or control over both their education and employment futures. This feeling of lack of control to construct one's own destiny is reflected in Shaden's[96] (a parent) response to the question – Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

> No – Palestinians will still be oppressed even with a good
> education.

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[96] Parent Questionnaire, Shaden - 2004.

The frustration expressed in Shaden's response suggests that Palestinian IDPs may feel resigned to their social positioning in Lebanese society. The notion that Palestinian IDPs will always be oppressed exists despite the idea of having access to good education. Moreover, the positioning of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon from Shaden's point of view is lost, out of their hands and determined by those who oppress Palestinian IDPs. The significance of this (lack of control) over the desired self-construction is however, not so much the aggressive denigration of the Lebanese host nation - as one might think it could be - as it is the representation of the Palestinian self as less than equal to the Lebanese host nation. In this, Palestinian IDPs such as Shaden seem to deploy discursive tropes which serve to confirm their domination. While in relation to other topics of discussion, Palestinian IDPs perhaps do deploy discourses which construct the Lebanese host nation as truly Other in relation to education and the responses from this research project's participants, this aggressive Self-Other construction did not emerge, which strongly suggests that education comprises a site of marginalisation and not one of opportunity (Tamatea 2001).

Chatty and Hundt (2001) have stated that the mixed view of the relationship between education and employment prevails because displaced education programmes are often poorly funded and lack resources, which is indicative of a host nation's lack of willingness (if not capacity) to empower IDP populations. Although a large number of participants in Chatty and Hundt's (2001) regional study of children and adolescents from Palestinian households affected by prolonged conflict and forced migration, agreed that education was a vital and important life component, many also perceived that their educational opportunities

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did not necessarily guarantee passage towards self-efficacy. For example, a male participant from the West Bank claimed that 'schools were only for the children of Sheikhs'[97] implying that only the elite would be able to receive a worthwhile education that might enhance social standing. Though a different context to that explored in this research project, the ambivalent responses provided by Nour, Mohammad and Dana above, are not overly dissimilar. Chatty and Hundt (2001) further argue that these negative perceptions of self among Palestinians may also reflect the growing sense of on-going Palestinian helplessness triggered by the events of 1948's Al-Nakba and the lack of rights that Palestinian IDPs have experiences in displaced contexts.

Aasheim's (2000) study, *Palestinian refugee's rights to work in Lebanon*, described the Palestinian's 'attitude' as an outcome of the lack of rights that many displaced groups have endured in different 'host' nations contexts. Participants in Aasheim's (2000) study stressed, like those in Chatty and Hundt's (2001) study, that education comprised one of many systemic social rights, like housing, health, civil and political rights, that are provided by host nations as an act of policy compliance, such that these provisions often lacked the humanitarian support and funding to fully prioritise the wishes of displaced populations. While Aasheim (2000) acknowledges education as being important for displaced children, he describes education for displaced populations, such as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, as a process that ultimately guides children towards low-level careers. This perspective was also revealed in Abdulrahim and Harb's (2015) research of Palestinian refugees from Syria who fled the Syrian civil war to Lebanon. This

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[97] Definition of Sheikh – An Arabic title of respect that dates from pre-Islamic antiquity, which refers to a respected man who may hold an official title as ruler of a tribe or headship associated with religion and academia (Britannica 2017).

research explained that more than 90 per cent of displaced Palestinian refugees lacked food or money to feed their family and that this problem stemmed from a lack of regular employment and income. Abdulrahim and Harb (2015) also explained that this situation existed because Palestinian refugees had little or no civil rights or access to quality education and vocational training. The perceived inevitability of this kind of resource provisioning as it relates to education and career trajectory emerges strongly in the student responses below. When asked to express her opinion regarding the extent to which her high school education prepared her for life after high school, Basma[98] stated:

> No, it does not prepare students for the work force. It is too
> basic [education].

In contrast, Wael[99] commented:

> Yes – it helps prepare for the next process of specialisation at a
> technical institution.

Wael's response is of interest as it suggests that UNRWA education can help Palestinian IDPs prepare for training at technical institutions. These technical institutions, however, are described by Zakharia and Tabari (2001) as places that

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[98] Student Interview – Basma (Interview question number 8) 2004.
[99] Student Interview – Wael, 2004.
*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of students who completed student questionnaires. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the semi-structured interview and student advice task.

prepare Palestinians for 'technical vocations', which are 'basic', low skilled employment opportunities supporting labouring in construction or agriculture; or working as support staff (e.g. teaching aide / secretary) in the education or clerical sector. Even though Wael's comment projects positivity concerning the impact of education, it is possible that Palestinian educational experiences inevitably guide them towards low-level, low paying and low skilled jobs. A report by the International Labour Organisation (2012) entitled, *Palestinian Employment in Lebanon, Facts and Challenges,* supports this notion by explaining that many Palestinian IDPs are employed in 'technical vocations' because these are the only types of jobs that Palestinians are permitted to undertake due to restrictive Lebanese employment laws imposed on Palestinians in Lebanon (ILO 2012). For example, and as signalled earlier, Palestinians are restricted from working in at least 25 categories of professions in Lebanon, which require syndicated membership (Schenker 2012). These professions include: archaeological and tourist guides, realty agents, money exchange professionals, legal professionals, vehicle registration department workers and driving instructors, certified chartered accountants, engineers, topographers, physiotherapists, dental laboratory workers, veterinarians, nurses and nutritionists, medical laboratory professionals, professions relating to artificial limbs and orthopaedic apparatuses, and medicine (ILO 2012).

These employment restrictions exist, despite labour laws that were being amended in 2010. That year, the Lebanese minister of labour issued a memorandum which aimed to ease work permit regulations, improve Palestinian eligibility for social security benefits, and provide access for all foreigners to some

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70 job categories, including occupations in the administrative, mechanical, commerce and education sectors. Unfortunately, Schenker (2012) points out that these laws have not ameliorated conditions on the ground as Palestinians still struggle to gain employment in previously 'banned' occupations (e.g. law, medicine), because the Lebanese government has failed to successfully implement and embed the amended employment laws. Thus, it is acknowledged that Basma and Wael's statements and educational experiences are somewhat reflective of entrenched historic Lebanese employment regulations that influence the decision making process of Palestinians when deciding upon possible career pathways. Moreover, it is asserted that employment realisation is something which limits the capacity of Palestinian IDPs to challenge their marginalisation or Lebanese dominance, at least in terms of employment access to basic rights.

This absence of civil rights was also identified by Zakharia and Tabari's (2001) research of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) education programme as a contributing factor that shaped and influenced the structure of UNRWA education. As well intended as these types of educational programs can be, UNRWA provides only basic education in cramped and squalid conditions that are far from conducive to learning let alone equipping graduates with the capacity to change existing asymmetrical relations of power between the dominating and the dominated in the work force and in society. This reality exists, even though Wael's response reveals a perception that education for Palestinian IDPs may be adequate for enabling Palestinian IDPs to prepare for basic vocational training. It is claimed, however, that the educational experiences shared by Basma and Wael do not prepare Palestinians to challenge their position in the context of

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the Master-slave relationship with the Lebanese host nation, but rather reinforce Palestinian positioning as lower to that of their Lebanese hosts. This outcome was further highlighted when Palestinian students were asked - Do you think that the subjects you select in high school prepare you for future job opportunities? One student replied – 'No. Only qualifies for simple jobs, with limited financial rewards'[100], while another student also stated – 'No. Palestinians will still be deprived of rights by Lebanese government laws'[101]. While these responses suggest that Palestinian educational experiences may contribute to the lower status of Palestinians in Lebanese society, it is also stated that the decline in Palestinian educational attainment and associated mixed perceptions of education may reveal the power that has been used by host nations to control the growing Palestinian population. As Sayigh (1994:23) highlights, this has occurred because host nations such as Lebanon (and Israel and Jordan), fear that their national dominance may be challenged and surpassed by the unwelcome presence of 'these visitors' (Palestinians). Under these conditions, that which is otherwise held out as a basic human right, namely education, seemingly functions as a mechanism and tactic for social control. Hence, the student responses above emerge from a position that would seem consistent with what is otherwise identified as a decline in Palestinian education levels among women and the young aged 7-18 (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:17). Moreover, it is contended that this decline reflects a belief among many displaced Palestinian's that their UNRWA education lacks the capacity to help

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[100] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Thirty-One, 2004.
*Note: This participant's name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

[101] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number One-Hundred and One, 2004.
*Note: This participant's name is not included as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

them realise their aspirations of career success, therefore, limiting their ability to challenge their status in Lebanese society.

Conclusion

> If we value independence, if we are disturbed by the growing conformity of knowledge, of values, of attitudes, which our present system induces, then we may wish to set up conditions of learning which make for uniqueness, for self-direction, and for self-initiated learning (Carl Rogers).[102]

Rogers' description of education describes why education is such an important aspect of life for those who live in diaspora. Education offers discriminated individuals and communities a sense of 'hope' to challenge stereotypes that construct them as being 'different'. In this way Rogers describes education as being helpful for providing 'Others' with the tools to develop one's quest for 'enlightenment' and 'autonomy'. This particular description of education by Rogers is grounded in what has been identified earlier as the idealist view of education; where education may be able to facilitate self-development, fuller social participation and an improved future.

While this chapter focussed principally upon negative perceptions that students, teachers, parents and education managers/administrators hold in response to the quality of UNRWA education. Discussion in this chapter addressed narratives that were introduced in Chapter One. In particular it identified the circulation of a

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[102] Carl Rogers, American psychologist and humanist (Corke 2006:220).

negative discourse regarding the value of education in terms of securing desired career futures, and the relationship between such and ambivalence. Although, this type of negative discourse stressed that Palestinian IDPs may perceive education as not always being able to encourage improved employment choice or access to preferable career pathways in Lebanon. This negative assessment of the value of education was significant as it also explored reasons why Palestinian IDPs may perceive that their employment opportunities are determined by those who control power. In this context, participant responses also proposed that the value of education for bringing about agency for Palestinian IDPs are seemingly linked to negative constraints that the powerful use to regulate the social status of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. Thus, in relation to the idea of 'self' and 'other' the narratives disclosed by participants in this chapter have often constructed negative perceptions of Palestinian identity, in response to their perceived lack of rights, access to quality education and employment opportunities in comparison to others (Lebanese hosts). This sense of self depreciation was identified in an earlier statement from Wasna who implied that being a 'Palestinian' was the lowest form of identity in Lebanon. This negative description of self was also communicated by Wafna who suggested that being 'Palestinian' forever positioned Palestinians on the lowest rung of Lebanese society, which reaffirmed their subordinate position as the slave within the slave-slave(Master) dialectic.

As occurred in the analysis of the participant responses in Chapter Six, discursive ambivalence emerged in the responses at a number of levels, both between individuals and in the different representations of education deployed by the one individual. But beyond the identification of what is described above as

simplistic ambivalence, discussion in Chapter Seven has highlighted a more significant manifestation of ambivalence indicative of relationships between discursive representation of the value of education and subject construction. This deeper expression of ambivalence is accounted for using Bhabha's (1994) model of ambivalence through which the Palestinian IDP is constructed by education and its (lack of) employment opportunities as simultaneously a potential Master and yet also the Slave. Deployment of the idealist education discourse by students, teachers, parents and education managers, not only constructs education as a positive resource; it does so because it is a discourse in which the value of education is constructed outside of a relationship with the Lebanese host nation. That is, the idealist discourse is safely deployed in relation to an absent Lebanese host-nation. Consistent with the broadly liberal-humanist ideas upon which this discourse is grounded, the idealist discourse emerges where its claims remain untested thorough location in the social arena of both experience and practice.

But when education is moved from a discussion of the ideal and contextualised in relation to prevailing socio-economic structures of power and privilege, it is then that the idealist discourse gives way to a discussion of education that is much more negative; one that reflects the restrictions upon the Palestinian IDP's capacity to construct the desired self both presently and into the perceived future. In this sense, as discussion above has shown in this chapter, education comprises a site for the de-structuring of the desired Palestinian IDP Self and the development of negative attitudes concerning the value of education as a resource for change.

In what follows, discussion in Chapter Eight continues to explore the impact of colonialist-like relations upon the career futures of Palestinian IDP high school students, but specifically looks at a Third Discourse - Education as a resource for ensuring Palestinian IDPs survival without slipping further down the social hierarchy in Lebanon.

Chapter Eight

The Third Discourse

I am a foreigner in Lebanon even though I was born here[103]

Introduction

This particular student response (above) constructs life for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon as an experience from the outside, where to be Palestinian is to be the 'Other' in the sense detailed by Said (1978). The word 'foreigner', as deployed in this student response articulates a perception of difference between Palestinian and Lebanese identity, which reproduces a relationship in which Palestinians are perceived to be subordinate to their Lebanese hosts. As explained in Chapter Two, discussion asserted that six specific historical events that had influenced the growth of human displacement in Palestine, Lebanon and the Middle East. These historical events were; 1. The United Nations partition plan of Palestine; 2. The Arab-Israeli War of 1948; 3. Lebanon's 15 year long civil war; 4. The Israeli-Hezbollah war of 2006; 5. The Arab Spring of 2010; and 6. The Syrian civil war; (World Vision 2018; Husain 2013; Gill 2006). Although, it is important to acknowledge that these historical events may have had a direct impact on the displacement of Palestinians in the Middle East, it is also necessary to recognise that these historical factors may

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[103] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Ninety-Nine, 2004.

have affected the displacement of many other nationalities in the Middle East. Thus, in relation to this research projects research question:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

It is vital to consider how the presence of other displaced nationalities who consider themselves 'foreigners' in Lebanon may also impact on the rights, education and employment opportunities of Palestinian IDPs who similarly reside as 'outsiders' in Lebanon. As Eldawy (2019) explains it is important to understand how the landscape of displacement in Lebanon has changed during the past ten years and why an environment has emerged where internally displaced Lebanese, Palestinian IDPs and refugees from Syria, all occupy the same space vying for rights, employment and educational opportunities. Although, Husain (2013) explains that these different displaced groups may suffer from similar obstacles associated with displacement, it is also maintained that sharing the same 'displaced' space has created a social reality where each displaced group compete against one another to improve their quality of life in Lebanon. In this way, Eldawy (2019) states that fellow 'foreigners' are able to appraise their own identity by comparing their rights, jobs and education to those afforded to 'Other' 'foreigners' in Lebanon. Thus, statements like those that open this chapter, imply that Palestinian IDPs may hold negative perceptions relating to their identity because they believe Palestinian IDPs occupy a lower position in Lebanese society

compared to other 'foreigners'. It is also contended that this positioning of Self through statements such as the one above, reaffirms a Palestinian IDP perception that 'Palestinian identity' is grounded in being the 'slave' or Other within a post-colonial Master-slave dialectic with the Lebanese. This type of Self-Other dynamic emerged in a number of student questionnaire responses when they answered the question: Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon? One Palestinian student stated that they felt they had: "No rights, no future[104]"; a despondent attitude shared by another student who replied to the same question:

Landless, scattered, hated by Lebanese as we occupy their land[105].

Of concern to this analysis and interpretation of the data, however, is why Palestinian IDPs would use terms such as 'foreigner' and 'hated' to represent their existence in Lebanon? It is contested that these are labels that strongly express difference between Palestinian IDPs and non-Palestinians, and thus they also signal a sense of 'place' within their host-nation's social hierarchy. The term 'foreigner' in particular functions to construct boundaries even when locals and foreigners occupy the same space. It is also proposed that the term 'foreigner' is representative of the Master-slave relationship, where the term 'foreigner' acts to reinforce the Self-Other relationship that constructs Palestinian IDPs as those who do not have rights in comparison to their Lebanese hosts who do. Thus, when

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[104] Student Questionnaire Participant Number Five, 2004.
[105] Student Questionnaire Participant Number Twenty-One, 2004.
*Note: These participants do not include their names as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

viewed in relation to the comments of students highlighted above, the value of education in terms of securing desired future careers is somewhat dependent upon a number of socio-structural elements. These include rights, land and a coherent sense of identity and nation; elements which emerged in Chatty and Hundt's (2001) investigation of the prolonged effects of displacement and conflict on Palestinian children and adolescents living in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

Discussion outlined in Chapter Six of this research project stated that education was viewed by many Palestinian IDPs as being a prized commodity. Although, the majority of participants described education as having the potential to improve the social reality of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. An underlying narrative also emerged from participant responses that questioned the value of education for realistically improving the lives of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. While, it was maintained that this ambivalent attitude highlighted the presence of mixed perceptions in relation to the value of education, it also raised the question as to whether the slave (Palestinian IDPs) could ever use the Masters (Lebanese) tools to gain access the Master's house. In contrast to the idealist view of education, it was claimed that these negative perceptions concerning the value of education also showed that there are participant responses in this research project, which are more indicative of the social-critical perspective.

Discussion in Chapter Seven attempted to uncover the reasons why negative perspectives relating to the value of education were revealed in Chapter Six and in particular, asked why Palestinian IDPs did not always believe that education could provide access to improved employment realities and desired career pathways. This negative assessment of the value of education was

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significant as it was stressed that these types of responses reinforced perceptions that Palestinian IDPs believed their employment opportunities are controlled and managed by those who wield power. In this context, participant responses in Chapter Seven explained that the value of education for bringing about negative outcomes for Palestinian IDPs are inextricably connected to the Lebanese 'Master' who often uses their power to control the social reality of Palestinian IDPs 'Slave' in Lebanon. In relation to the slave-slave(Master) dialectic it is also suggested that the respective negative and positive narratives outlined by Palestinian IDPs in Chapter Seven and Chapter Six are often constructed in opposition to their Lebanese 'Master'. Thus, as mentioned earlier in this chapter it is disputable as to whether the 'Slave' is permitted access to the Master's tools so they can improve their quests for self-determination.

The discussion outlined in Chapter Eight aims to explain how Palestinian IDP perceptions of UNRWA education, Palestinian identity, and Palestinian rights impact on the survival of this displaced population in Lebanon. The discussion examined in Chapter Eight is also framed within a 'Third Position' or what comprises a hybrid 'third discourse'. This third discourse is grounded in the notion of survival and although it acknowledges the value of education, and while holding a similar position to that of the idealist discourse discussed in Chapter Six, the third discourse does not deploy a perspective suggesting that education has the power to alter the relationship between the internally displaced Palestinian population and the Lebanese host-nation. Although, the majority of participant responses in this chapter are representative of Liberal-humanist perspectives, it is important to recognise that in some instances participant responses have reflected a social-

critical perspective, which identified education as a source of agency to resist and fight oppressive conditions that marginalise Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. Thus, in contrast to discussion explored in Chapters Six and Seven, the third discourse constructs the value of education as a means of survival and opens a reality, which intends to prevent Palestinian IDPs from slipping even further down the socio-economic hierarchy in Lebanon.

Perceptions of Self and Palestinian Identity in Lebanon

Dickinson and Mawhinney (2000:3) argue that the concept of 'identity' represents the gluing together of intricate practices that define an individual and/or group, and that one's 'identity' is informed by the changing dynamics of society. Earlier discussion in Chapter Two explored the enduring political and social upheavals that have shaped the changing landscape of Palestinian displacement in the Middle East region (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:9); events which have undoubtedly shaped Palestinian identity today. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982:168) argue that the relationship of power existing between different groups who reside together is often characterised by the distinctive allocation of roles that identify social hierarchy, which can result in varying perceptions of the self. Similarly Bhabha (1994) has shown that in colonial contexts, representation of the Self and Other is fundamentally grounded in the relationship of One to the Other.

Foucault (1994:364) describes the instability accompanying the kinds of power relations such as those between Palestinians and Lebanese in Lebanon, as an example of an embedded social structure that provides the main power-broker with

the influence to manifest a certain social order that decreases the autonomy of the 'other'. As discussed in Chapter Seven, the power of the Lebanese to exert control over Palestinians in Lebanon seems to function to maintain the Master-slave relationship, which has the power to influence Palestinian IDPs discursive representation (both positive and negative) about their 'identity'. Chatty and Hundt (2001) suggest that this reflection upon one's worth and position in society can cause displaced populations to develop resentment of who they are, especially when they find themselves in such dire situations.

Despite many of this research project's participants deploying idealist perspectives relating to the value of education, there have also been many participants whom have not reiterated this type of idealist discourse. Ambivalence emerged in the variation between the view of the individual and that of the collective, but perhaps more significantly, the participant responses identified in Chapter Seven also revealed that negative perceptions of education are informed by a relationship between the Self and Other. Thus, it was outlined in Chapter Seven that the emergence of ambivalence in the participant discussion of education comprised the product of a Self-Other identity construction process, which was tentatively accounted for through reference to Homi Bhabha's model of ambivalence (Bhabha 1994). While Bhabha elaborated this model in the context of colonialist relations between the East and West, it has been claimed that Palestinian IDPs inhabit a relationship with the Lebanese host-nation which approximates the kinds of colonialist power dynamics explored by both Bhabha (1994) and Said (1978) in respect to discourses associated with an earlier era of empire and colonialism. It was also explained in Chapter Six that the use of the

idealist discourse, which is a view of education largely grounded in the principles of liberal-humanism, seems to occur mostly in those contexts where reflection upon the value of education is largely a-contextual. That is, deployment of the idealist discourse emerges more easily when discussion has excluded consideration of the relationship with Palestinian host nation and associated asymmetrical relations of social, political and economic power.

In what follows, discussion further explores the constraints of continuing colonialist-like relations upon the career aspirations of Palestinian IDP high school students. The focus of this discussion, however, is not only upon the discourses which Palestinian IDPs deploy to represent the Self in a relationship which otherwise constructs them as the Other. The focus here resides more so upon the relationship between Palestinian discourse and the material constraints which inform relations between Palestinian IDPs and their survival within the Lebanese host-nation. While, the idealist discourse represents the Lebanese host-nation only as a non-influencing absence, discussion below specifically returns to the hegemonic centre including its presence as an absent (though influencing) centre, which the host-nation occupies. Discussion explores how the material effects associated with the presence of this centre inform Palestinian IDP perceptions of education and its capacity to ensure Palestinian survival.

As outlined in Chapter Five, discourses comprise more than just words. Discourses have material effects (Luke, 1999) and they are deployed in a contiguous relationship with material practices, being informed by the presence or lack of various material resources (Hennessy 2013; Kjetil and Sottimano 2008). The discussion below argues that a range of discursive and material constraints not

only constrict the emergence of more positive constructions of Palestinian self-identity, but paradoxically, these constraints also reproduce 'disabling' perceptions of the relationship between education and career futures. Through the reproduction of a particularly disabling and potentially more insidious discourse, which is identified below as 'the third discourse', the Palestinian IDP in Lebanon paradoxically reproduces, through reference to education, their place within the colonialist-like context which they inhabit. This is a place in which despite the provision of education, the Palestinian IDP continues to be subordinate to those of the host-nation. This third discourse reveals that although Palestinian IDPs perceive education to be a site that affords them a sense of agency and survival, the extent to which Palestinian IDPs exercise agency and survival remains very much inscribed by the material constraints of the contextual structures established by the Lebanese host-nation.

The Construction of Palestinian IDPs Self in Lebanon

Davies (2003:15) contends that understanding oneself in comparison to 'others', as occurs in the relationship between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese in Lebanon, enables different parties to differentially interpret the discursive factors that regulate and govern their co-existence, interaction, and access to employment. Chatterjee (1993:13-14) also explains that understanding this interaction offers the observer the capacity to discern power relations that have often been used by 'others' to define their position or status within foreign environments.

Discussion of the data introduced in Chapters Six and Seven, for example, signalled how through reference to education the Palestinian IDP could be constructed as Other. An example of this othering discourse emerged in Basma's[106] response to the interview question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Basma who is a female student explained that:

Palestinians need to be given a chance to prosper.

In response to the same interview question posed to Basma another student, Zeina[107] stated that:

Lebanese government need to give Palestinian people a chance.

What is significant about claims from Basma and Zeina is that they reproduce the identity status of Palestinian IDPs as the 'Other'. In this instance Palestinians comprise the collective which has not been afforded the opportunity to

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[106] Student Semi-structured Interview – Basma, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.
[107] Student Semi-structured Interview – Zeina, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

prosper. Hence these comments from Basma and Zeina reveal that while the opportunity to prosper might be available in Lebanon, it is an opportunity which is generally not associated with being a Palestinian IDP. Equally, Basma and Zeina's comments speak to the interpretation of human rights in Lebanon, from the perspective of the Palestinian IDP who perceives that they lack rights because of who they are. This perception of owning a lowly status in Lebanon was evident in the explanation of a parent named Amer[108] who stated in reply to the questions – In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities:

Palestinians have no rights to secure a job.

Although, Amer's statement suggests that this reality may be reflective of the weak social position that Palestinian IDPs hold in Lebanese society, it is also asserted that this position highlights the power and control that the Lebanese can exert over the powerless-Palestinian IDPs. This perception is supported by another parent, Layla[109] who stated that Palestinian IDPs:

Lack of job opportunities due to discrimination.

Against a liberal-humanist position which mandates a modicum base-line of equality for all, (Rawls, J.) Amer and Layla's accounts inform a context that is

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[108] Parent Questionnaire, Amer - 2004.
[109] Parent Questionnaire, Layla - 2004.

inscribed by inequality such that opportunities to prosper are not shared by all and are not advocated by those in power. What's more, the achievement of prosperity is relegated to the much less certain category of 'chance'. The reference to 'chance' as opposed to a right grounded in equal opportunities, signals as previously noted, acceptance of a lack Palestinian IDP control over their desired futures, in a context where control is represented to remain with the Lebanese host nation.

As a consequence Palestinian IDPs, as a collective represented by Basma, Zeina, Amer and Layla, inhabit a relationship with the host nation wherein the value of education is compromised by differential access to rights in the broader socio-economic context (Brown 2001; Brun 2005). With reference to the relationship between the dominated and the dominating, Lee and Poyton (2000:24) maintain that 'control' occurs for one strategic reason, which is to reinforce the status of those who are under control and those who have control. El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek's (2007) and others (Said 1995:7-9; Rizvi and Lingard 2006:296) similarly explain that this 'logic' is commonly used by dominant groups to affirm their power over those constructed as 'other', and as a consequence to influence the 'other's' perceptions of 'self'. The emphasis upon influencing the Other's perception of self is particularly important to investigation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures. Expressed otherwise, the outcome of this logic is that the dominated reproduce discourses which have the effect of reproducing their domination, through their uptake and reproduction by those who are dominated.

In the context of this research project, Basma and Zeina's earlier comments regarding employment opportunities highlight the presence and enforcement of Lebanese state policies that control Palestinian job choices and access to further education (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:31-3; Zakharia and Tabari 2011). This discriminatory stance was outlined by many Palestinian IDP students in this research project as being a major reason for limiting Palestinian IDP employment opportunities in Lebanon. For example, a student[110] stated in reply to the question – Do you think there is a possibility that you will be unemployed when you finish your education:

> Yes because of job restrictions imposed on Palestinians by
>
> Lebanese.

This statement was very similar to that made in an earlier response in this chapter when a student[111] stated:

> Yes. I am not allowed to work in certain jobs and my parents
>
> lack the money for my education.

Although these statements seem to show that Palestinian IDPs are aware of discriminatory policies affecting their employment and educational aspirations, these statements also illustrate that Palestinian IDPs are cognisant of the complex

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[110] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Sixty, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[111] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Forty-Six, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.

legal and political environments that often impact upon the social, political and economic rights of a displaced citizen, which may contribute towards their social marginalisation and poverty (Pinson and Arnot 2010: 248). It is contended that this policy framework functions to discursively locate the Palestinian IDP in a colonialist-like relationship, wherein ironically the Lebanese former 'slave' has now become the 'post-colonial' Master.

In this context, analysis of Self-Other construction is important in order to understand how Palestinian perceptions of 'self' may also serve as a control mechanism that inhibits and frames their social, educational and employment mobility in Lebanon. Through representing the Palestinian IDP self as also the Other, the discourse of the Palestinian IDP participants functions to reproduce a relationship with the Lebanese host nation in which Palestinian IDP subjectivity is simultaneously grounded in, and is the product of asymmetrical systemic if not socio-cultural relations of power. That is, Palestinian IDPs discursively reconstruct their *own* lack of control, while simultaneously reinforcing the control of the Lebanese host-nation. This is not an unusual outcome for marginalised populations (Brown 2001; Salah 2001; Haddad 2002; Amnesty International 2012). Indeed one student explained through use of metaphor that Palestinians are like a:

bird without wings ... cannot speak, without country[112].

This particular statement not only shows the effects of Lebanese responses to the Palestinian community, which are manifested in the form of differential access

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[112] Student Questionnaire, Participant Twenty-three – 2004.

to rights with a subsequent loss of self, it also highlights a lost sense of agency among Palestinian IDPs. This perceived lack of agency was further emphasised by another student[113] who stated when asked the question – Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon:

No work, no rights.

This same student also represented the Palestinian condition as being one of:

Misery in Lebanon.

This sense of despair was also communicated in the response of another student[114] who explained that being a Palestinian in Lebanon was like:

Being expelled, life of humiliation.

In the statements communicated above the capacity to represent the Palestinian IDP self in more positive terms is again constrained by a relationship with the Lebanese host-nation in which agency seems to be the preserve of the Lebanese. The use of words such as 'misery', 'humiliation' and 'expelled' project a situation devoid of hope and insinuate that Palestinian IDPs lack agency for positive change. When asked about the kind of employment Palestinian IDPs could

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[113] Student Questionnaire, Participant Forty-four – 2004.
[114] Student Questionnaire, Participant Fourteen – 2004.

expect to access upon completion of their education Basma[115], not only explained that her employment future looked bleak but that the kind of job that she could look forward to would be:

> Not a very good job because of restrictions placed on Palestinian job selection.

When asked the question – What type of job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education? Why do you think you will get this job? Do you think that this occupation will relate to the education you have completed? Why or why not? Mohamad[116] explained:

> In Lebanon there is no hope to get work as Palestinians are discriminated against.

Beyond referencing their experience of discrimination, both statements from Basma and Mohamad also construct a relationship between all Palestinian IDPs and all Lebanese in which both groups comprise homogenous collectives. While

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[115] Student Semi-structured Interview – Basma, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.
[116] Student Semi-structured Interview – Mohamad, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

this research project acknowledges that not all Lebanese are prosperous (Haddad 2002; Hart 2006; Nayel 2013; Sayigh 2001; Zakharia and Tabari 2001), and not all Palestinians are poor, the discourse of the Palestinian IDP participants nonetheless consistently represented all Lebanese as an homogenous and prosperous collective. This collective belief is best illustrated through the following statement from a student named Hani[117] whose description of Palestinian IDP life in Lebanon highlights a perception that Lebanese hold control and influence over Palestinian IDPs, which effectively determines their future educational and employment opportunities. In reply to the following question – In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Why do you think this situation occurs? – Hani explained:

> Palestinians do not have civil rights in Lebanon and must work
>
> in low paying employment, even if they are well educated.

When asked the same question, another student, Sawsan[118], also revealed a similar belief to that of Hani concerning Palestinian IDP rights in Lebanon:

> Lebanese do not care about Palestinian rights.

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[117] Student Semi-structured Interview – Hani, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.
[118] Student Semi-structured Interview – Sawsan, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

While the statements from Hani and Sawsan show that Palestinian IDPs may share collective perceptions concerning the issues that constrain Palestinian IDP quests for enlightenment, it also specifically highlights a belief that Palestinians believe that Lebanese do not care about their right to have 'rights'.

This despondent attitude was communicated in the response of a Palestinian student who stated in reply to the question – Do you believe that education can improve the quality of life for Palestinians living in Lebanon?

No. Lebanese laws still discriminate Palestinian job choices[119].

This poor assessment of Palestinian life in Lebanon was also shared by a teacher named Nabil[120] who said that - 'Being Palestinian and not being educated' - was a main reason for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon. Another teacher, Dalia[121] also said in response to the same question that Nabil answered – 'Palestinians need to be treated like other citizens'. Notable in these student and teacher responses is the perceived degree of powerlessness associated with the Palestinian IDP position in their post-colonial Master-slave relationship with the Lebanese. The reference to being 'discriminated' against and having no 'job choices' signals a perception among Palestinian IDP students that possibilities for achievement of desired future careers are limited and determined

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[119] Student Questionnaire Participant Number Nineteen, 2004.
[120] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nabil - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[121] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Dalia - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

by the Lebanese Master. Nabil also mentions that 'being Palestinian' and 'not being educated' may contribute to the lack of employment opportunities in Lebanon; a consequence of 'Palestinian identity'. The perception that Palestinian identity may affect Palestinian IDP job futures is more strongly communicated by Dalia, when she contended that Palestinians are treated different to other citizens. The irony of Dalia's statement is that it proposes that Palestinian IDPs are acknowledged as citizens, but unfortunately citizens who lack the power and rights of other citizens. Said (1994:5-9) contends that relationships, such as the ones that cause Dalia's lament, are often grounded in boundaries and roles that have been assigned by groups who have power to control 'those' who do not have power. Hence it seems that Nabil and Dalia's responses also comprise an acceptance of unequal relations of power associated with Palestinian IDP identity in Lebanon.

Indeed, the perception of a future without any hope is revealed by a student in response to questionnaire question - Describe what it means to be a refugee? Here, life as a Palestinian in Lebanon is described as being like:

A parasite living without a place and with no independence and no rights[122].

This particularly bleak assessment of Palestinian life further elaborates a sense of hopelessness and importantly, a lack of purpose. While by definition 'parasites'[123] require a host to maintain life (i.e. a home) to exist, this student's

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[122] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Thirteen, 2004.
*Note: This participant does not include their name as they were part of the large student cohort that completed the student questionnaire.
[123] An interpretation of the term 'parasite' from Michel Serres – 'The Parasite' - 2007.

statement further represents Palestinians as also being tired of living off Lebanese hand-outs in order to survive, and desiring of a different kind of relationship with the Lebanese host-nation (Serres 2007). Even though Palestinians have a 'desire' for an improved relationship with their Lebanese hosts, there seems to be the view that Palestinians themselves have poor perceptions of Palestinian identity and self-worth in the context of their existence in Lebanon. The use of a derogatory term such as 'parasites' to describe Palestinian life further suggests that Palestinians 'know' and are conscious that 'being Palestinian' can affect how they are perceived and treated by others in Lebanese. This notion of 'knowing' ones' place in society was also expressed by Daria[124] a female student who stated in reply to the interview question; Do you realistically think employment opportunities will improve for Palestinians in Lebanon over the next 5-7 years:

> No. The situation for Palestinians in Lebanon is 50 years old
>
> and they are still discriminated.

Although, Daria's statement implies that Palestinians may feel a sense of frustration and helplessness associated with 'who they are', Daria's negative assessment of her possible employment future also reflects a perception that Palestinian students may not hold out for positive career outcomes in Lebanon because they believe that they are trapped in an irrevocable and discriminatory cycle, which is not going to change soon. And while, it is possible that this

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[124] Student Interview – Daria, 2004.
*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of students who completed student questionnaires. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the semi-structured interview and student advice task.

perception may be indicative of student concerns regarding the lack of rights acquired by displaced Palestinians since their arrival in Lebanon 50 years ago, it is seemingly also indicative of possible international subordination. This perspective that change would not take place was also shared by Sawsan[125] who stated in response to the same question that Daria answered; Do you realistically think employment opportunities will improve for Palestinians in Lebanon over the next 5-7 years:

> No. The Lebanese government will not change, so the situation will remain the same.

The ambivalence in Sawsan's response suggests it is hopeless for Palestinians to try and overcome employment related prejudice and discrimination in Lebanon, especially if the Lebanese government continues to marginalise and limit the rights of Palestinians. Sawsan's response also conveys a perception that Palestinian rights will not improve greatly in the near future. This sense of powerlessness was shared in the respective responses of parents, Amer[126] and Hamid[127] who stated in reply to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon:

> Palestinians have no rights to secure a job.

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[125] Student Interview – Sawsan, 2004.
*Note: These students were selected from the large cohort of students who completed student questionnaires. These students were given faux names so that their anonymity was ensured. These students also completed the semi-structured interview and student advice task.
[126] Parent Questionnaire, Amer - 2004.
[127] Parent Questionnaire, Hamid - 2004.

Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian employment in certain

jobs.

Interestingly, Sawsan, Daria's and parent responses from Amer and Hamid, express a sense of resignation; an attitude of 'what's the point'. This suggests that perhaps some Palestinians have come to acknowledge and comply with the belief that their 'place' in Lebanon reflects an intractable position consigned them as slave to the Lebanese Master. This perception is further promoted by another parent Hadi[128] whose comment in reference to the same question posed to Amer and Hamid is that 'Palestinian(s) can only work in low paying jobs'. The use of the words 'can only' by Hadi suggests that Palestinians can only aspire to attain low paying jobs. In addition to reaffirming negative perceptions of Self, these kinds of statements by Sawsan, Daria, Amer, Hamid and Hadi, show that the relationship between Palestinians and Lebanese is not equitable, which further acknowledges the possibility that the Lebanese may also hold similarly negative attitudes towards Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. This is a perception that is otherwise confirmed in comments of some host-nation representatives. For example, when asked about the impact of Palestinian refugees fleeing Syria to Lebanon following the Syrian civil war, Gebran Bassil, a Lebanese politician stated that:

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[128] Parent Questionnaire, Hadi - 2004.

When we say we do not want displaced Syrians and Palestinians, it is because they want to take our place (Nayel 2013).

This xenophobic attitude was echoed by another Lebanese politician, Nayla Tueni, who suggested that the rapid influx of Palestinian refugees from the Syrian civil war:

Will lead us to find ourselves facing a new reality, and new settlers, and a new burden, returning to our memories of the Palestinian nightmare in Lebanon (in the 1970s) (Nayel 2013).

These kinds of statements exist because some Lebanese consider the very presence of Palestinians in Lebanon as a significant threat to Lebanon's stability (Sayigh 2001). There is also a view that Palestinian IDPs drain resources and have contributed to past problems that have stretched the capabilities of the Lebanese government and people (Haddad 2000; Fattah 2006; Amnesty International 2007). While these statements suggest that there is little warmth towards Palestinians in Lebanon, the apathy that many Lebanese feel towards the Palestinian-Lebanese relationship is perhaps best summed up below:

The Lebanese are all with Palestine, but against the Palestinians.[129]

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[129] An unnamed Lebanese Political Analyst (Schenker 2012).

In the eyes of some Lebanese the fight for Palestine is justifiable, yet equally the Palestinian 'fight' has also been responsible for the poverty and war that has ravaged Lebanon. As a consequence Palestinians are viewed ambivalently by many Lebanese as 'aliens', 'intruders' and 'destroyers' of Lebanon (Sayigh 2001: 95-97; Haddad 2004; Cook 2006) and yet worthy of pity and salvation. The reference to 'parasites' made by a student earlier in this chapter above is thus not at all out of place in the context of these terms.

The perception that Palestinians are 'aliens' and 'intruders' also mirrors earlier discourse presented by a Palestinian student who described their existence in Lebanon as being similar to that of a 'foreigner'. Deployment of the terms, 'aliens' and 'intruder' function to construct a boundary between 'us' and 'them', and establish the grounds upon which difference is defined and subsequently acted upon (Thomas et al 2003: 73-74; Said 1978: 39-40). Similarly the reference to 'parasites' is also grounded upon the recognition of a boundary, wherein a parasite is something that is best kept outside of and away from a host. Of significance, however, is the extent to which the marginalising discourse of the Lebanese host nation are redeployed by the Palestinian IDP population itself to depict the Palestinian IDP self as the Other, such that the terms mentioned earlier in this chapter (foreigner, parasite, hated) have possibly become grounded in the Palestinian IDP psyche. The use of similar narratives and lexical items in the Palestinian IDP discussion of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures points to a relatively common framing by the Master-Slave dialectic. Thus, in this context the slave is perhaps not so much using the Master's tools (Education) to dismantle the Master's house, as much as using these tools to

strengthen it. Surprisingly, this shared discursive framing exists despite many Palestinian IDPs also holding positive aspirations for future employment. For example, several students outlined positive career aspirations in response to the question – What type of job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education:

Engineer[130].

Doctor at UNRWA[131].

Astronomer or Oceanographer[132].

The responses provided by Ahmad, Haneen and Noha are not pessimistic at all and convey a notion of hope that Palestinian IDPs still believe they can obtain desirable 'dream' jobs in Lebanon. It is asserted, however, that these positive statements which are again representative of the idealist discourse, being more so theoretical as opposed to the outcome of actual practice (Lebanese) (Zakharia and Tabari

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[130] Student Semi-structured Interview – Ahmad, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.
[131] Student Semi-structured Interview – Haneen, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.
[132] Student Semi-structured Interview – Noha, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

2011). Furthermore, the context that otherwise undermines the educational attainment and career aspiration of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon also invariably serves in practice to reinforce the perceived division that defines and separates Palestinian IDPs from their Lebanese hosts.

Both groups it seems, including the Lebanese, engage in discursive homogenisation which is grounded upon the erasure of difference within groups in order to more easily establish the boundaries between Us and Them (Said 1994:7; McLeod 2000:18; El-Basha 2009). While a number of the Palestinian IDP discussions of education and employment identified earlier have elaborated a Self-Other relationship either through the use of metaphor or implicit discussions of agency, Mohamad's[133] earlier statement - 'In Lebanon there is no hope to get work as Palestinians are discriminated against' - provides an explicit reference to the construction of Palestinian IDPs as Other. The reference to discrimination consequently highlights the construction of a discursive boundary between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host nation. The boundary is established upon the representation of the Palestinian IDPs as those who are discriminated against while it is the Lebanese host-nation which discriminates. But here too, the Lebanese host-nation is again associated with the kinds of agency and control highlighted previously; in this instance they hold the power to discriminate and construct demarcating boundaries between the Lebanese host-nation and the Palestinian IDPs.

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[133] Student Semi-structured Interview – Mohamad, 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

With this boundary in place the value of education for the Palestinian IDP is lessened such that according to Mohamad, in Lebanon "getting employment with secondary school degree is impossible"[134]. Thus, as objects of discrimination the employment which some Palestinian IDPs desire seems unobtainable. Hence, when asked the question – What job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education? Why do you think you will get this job? - One student[135] stated:

> Teacher, as laws in Lebanon will make it hard for me to become
> a lawyer.

In response to the same question, another student[136] also explained:

> Secretary or sales representative in a shop – this all a Palestinian
> can aspire to.

While, suggesting that Palestinian IDPs employment options are limited to jobs that require little or no skill training, the two student responses mentioned above also represent Palestinian IDPs as capable of only securing menial employment. Compounding this perceived lack of employment opportunity and the

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[134] Student Questionnaire, Mohamad - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student participant who was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires to complete the student advice task and semi-structured interview. This student was also given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[135] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Twenty-Four, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[136] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Thirteen, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

structural discrimination highlighted by Mohamad earlier, is – at the time of this research project (2004) - the impact of high unemployment rates in Lebanon which makes it increasingly difficult for Palestinians to obtain work and alter their negative perceptions of ones-self. The issue of high unemployment in Lebanon was acknowledged by a parent named Afnan[137], whose comment in reply to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon?, was:

> High unemployment rate in Lebanon decreases Palestinians chances to get work.

Another parent Nayla[138] also stated that Palestinian unemployment was the result of:

> The weakness of the job market in Lebanon.

Although, Afnan and Nayla's comments identify reasons contributing to Palestinian unemployment, it is also acknowledged that this perception of Palestinian IDP disadvantage may exist despite the harsh employment realities in Lebanon also affecting the career choices of their Lebanese hosts. This is a view that is corroborated by UNRWA teacher, Marwa[139], who explained in response to the question – In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards

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[137] Parent Questionnaire, Afnan - 2004.
[138] Parent Questionnaire, Nayla - 2004.
[139] Female Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Marwa - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities:

> High unemployment in Lebanon affects both Lebanese and
> Palestinians.

Marwa's response is of interest as it outlines a belief that Palestinian IDP employment in Lebanon is made even harder because the host population's (Lebanese) own employment aspirations are affected by the dire unemployment rates in Lebanon. This is a position that Aida the UNRWA Principal[140] also expressed in her response to the question – In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities?

> Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian job selection. Also,
> Lebanon is a small country, so jobs are scarce.

While contending that the employment crisis confronting Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon is reflective of employment restrictions imposed by Lebanese bureaucracy upon Palestinian IDPs, Aida's answer also implies that unemployment rates are indicative of Lebanon's small job market and its inability to cater for a surging population (El-Masri and Vlaardingerbroek 2008; Zakharia and Tabari

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[140] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA High School Principal, Aida - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

2011). This was a perspective that was also outlined by a student[141] who stated in reply to the question – Do you think there is a possibility that you will be unemployed when you finish your education:

Yes – Work/employment conditions are tough for Lebanese, so

especially hard for Palestinians.

Coupled with an oppressive attitude towards Palestinian IDPs from potential employers along with high unemployment rates, El-Basha (2009) suggests that it is more than likely that Palestinian IDPs will be unemployed at some stage in their lives in Lebanon. This is a situation that Zakharia and Tabari (2011) explain is potentially unavoidable especially when Palestinian IDPs are refused employment in certain occupations because of 'who they are'. When asked - Do you think there is a possibility that you will be unemployed when you finish your education? - A student[142] explained:

Yes. Unemployment is increasing and job opportunities are

limited because I am a Palestinian refugee.

This statement confirms the discursive representation that 'being Palestinian' limits employment opportunities noted above. This discursive representation was

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[141] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Forty-Five, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[142] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Ten, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

shared by many participants in this research project, including Bassam[143] the UNRWA C.E.O who stated in response to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities:

> Palestinians lack civil rights in Lebanon. Lebanese unemployment is high in Lebanon, so this makes it very hard for Palestinians to find jobs.

As Bassam's statement suggests 'being Palestinian' in Lebanon involves hardship and inequity; which is symptomatic of the exclusionary practices restricting rights afforded to Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. Furthermore, it is suggested that the subsequent lack of agency reproduces negative perceptions of Self by Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, as they view their existence in comparison to Others through a lens of disadvantage. A belief that was shared in the advice task penned by Sarya, who explained to her sibling:

> Listen my young one, education in this stage, and your mature awareness are the most important ingredients for your bright future that provides you with money to buy all your future needs. You tell yourself that you are a Palestinian young boy with no job after your specialization so why tire myself. No my

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[143] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA Chief Executive Officer, Bassam - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

friend, you must gain knowledge and education. And if you are

from the diligent students, you might get yourself a job and a

job related to your specialization.

Despite education being described by Sarya in an idealist sense, as having the capability to provide Palestinian IDPs with 'knowledge' that could be used to gain employment. Sarya also expressed concern about the possibility of her sibling being unemployed because of who they are - a 'Palestinian boy'. Emerging from Sarya's admission that being Palestinian may play a part in her sibling's employment future, a sense of ambivalence is revealed when Sarya also states - 'why tire yourself'. This comment, which again signals resignation to the 'realities' of the context, is important as it suggests even from an idealist perspective, education may not help Palestinian IDPs find work in Lebanon, especially if Palestinians are discriminated against because of who they are. This is a position that is communicated by Dana[144], who stated in the context of the question – In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Why do you think this situation occurs:

Palestinians are refugees and Lebanese employers discriminate

us by not employing us.

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[144] Student Semi-structured Interview, Dana - 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

This desperate plight is highlighted even further by Hani[145], who stated in relation to the question proposed above that;

"Palestinians do not have civil rights in Lebanon and must work

in low paying employment, even if they are well educated".

It is asserted that Palestinian IDP students, such as Sarya and Hani may hold ambivalent attitudes towards UNRWA education because they do not see UNRWA education as actually providing the impetus to help their social and economic situation, but rather reinforce their position as the subjugated slave in the Slave-Slave dialectic. In reply to the question - In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes, Nadim[146] explained:

Secondary school has prepared me for the beginning of learning,

but not enough to secure a good job – I need more education!

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[145] Student Semi-structured Interview, Hani - 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.
[146] Student Semi-structured Interview, Nadim - 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

Like Sarya and Hani, Nadim's response suggests that UNRWA education can prepare his sibling with 'basic' knowledge, but this knowledge is 'not enough to secure a good job'. Nadim also states that his sibling must seek further education if they are to attain quality, worthwhile employment. It is also interesting to note, however, that Nadim's evaluation of UNRWA education raises an important question: What type of jobs do UNRWA schools prepare Palestinian IDPs for? With this question in mind it could be accepted that Nadim's response implies that Palestinian IDP students do not believe that UNRWA schools are good enough to guarantee employment in jobs other than those requiring a secondary school graduating certificate. This is a perspective that is shared by Karma[147] who explained in reply to the same question that Nadim answered:

Education is limited at UNRWA. Lack of facilities such as science labs.

This statement from Karma questions the ability of UNRWA schools to provide 'specialised' education (i.e. science labs) for Palestinian IDP students due to their lack of resources and facilities. Hence the collective comments from Sarya, Nadim and Karma outline a perception that the knowledge Palestinian IDPs gain at UNRWA schools does not prepare Palestinian IDPs for higher tertiary styled

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[147] Student Semi-structured Interview, Karma - 2004.
*Note: This student was selected from the large cohort of completed student questionnaires because they provided rich in-depth answers. This student was given a faux name so that their anonymity was ensured. This student also completed the semi-structured interview.

education and as a consequence they are unable to gain better jobs than those meted out via Lebanese government policies.

As noted earlier, Haddad (2002) explains that Palestinians are not permitted to work in certain occupations and that generally Palestinians find employment in low paying jobs that lack job security. Thus, the statements from Marwa, Aida, Sarya, Nadim and Karma not only reveal ambivalence towards the value of education in relation to securing desired employment futures, in the sense of mixed feelings, they also reveal the discursive reproduction of the Palestinian IDP as Other within the context of their employment relationship with the Lebanese host nation. Contrary to the idealist view of education identified earlier in Chapter Six, which holds that education comprises a valuable resource for personal development, liberation and the achievement of one's aspirations, the statements above show how students, parents, teacher and administrators' perceptions of education link to Palestinian IDPs sense of self constructed as Other through the imposition of legal structures by the Lebanese host nation. Hence Palestinian IDPs are constructed as Other through both discourse and practice. Rather than education providing hope for the future through supporting the agency of the individual student, it is more likely that under the circumstances described by these students, many 'graduates' will simply be compelled to take any form of employment, and certainly not employment which they might otherwise desire.

These differential employment outcomes which are the consequence of structural inequalities function as a powerful disincentive to Palestinian IDP participation in education, resulting in numbers of Palestinians discontinuing their schooling and or lowering their career aspirations. In the absence of an effective

social security system, the need to secure even a basic level of financial security for the family often takes priority (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:19-20). While this outcome may not be particularly positive, it is an outcome that is 'normal' under the circumstances inhabited by the Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. Ojeda and Flores (2008) argue, for example, that the 'powerless' are more likely to develop negative perceptions relating to their existence and work possibilities if they are unable to challenge or fight the current instigators of their demise. Thus, the discourse of powerlessness, deployed by so many of the students in this investigation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of education in relation to desired career futures, may comprise a response to the material and discursive stimuli shaping their particular context (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:6; Rizvi and Lingard 2006).

The apparent awareness of a lesser status as Palestinians in Lebanon is also accompanied by the wish not to cause problems which may increase their susceptibility to further discrimination in an already compromised context (Pinson and Arnot 2010: 248; Zakharia and Tabari 2001:20-21). Although, it is possible that Palestinian IDPs may be aware of their status in Lebanon, it does not mean that despite a degree of resignation, they are accepting of this position in Lebanese society, but rather this awareness enables them to understand how their position places them within the social, economic and political landscape of Lebanon. This acknowledgement of Palestinian IDP status was expressed by Wafna[148] (a parent) who stated in reply to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being

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[148] Parent Questionnaire, Wafna - 2004.

Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects:

Being Palestinian affects your job choices.

This understanding of one's place was also verified by another parent, Wasna[149], who explained in response to the same question that Wafna was asked:

Palestinian nationality – being a Palestinian.

Both Wafna and Wasna's answers project a belief that Palestinian IDPs understand how Palestinian identity may influence their position in Lebanese society and in particular how this status affects their rights when seeking employment. The impact of this social positioning on Palestinian IDPs was also acknowledged by a student[150] who stated in reply to the question – Describe what it means to be a refugee:

Humiliated and rights/dignity are abused.

Another student[151] also stated that being a refugee meant Palestinian IDPs:

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[149] Parent Questionnaire, Wasna - 2004.
[150] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Seventy-Five, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[151] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Seven, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

Submitting to laws, no rights, feel like a foreigner.

As described above, Palestinian life is often perceived by Palestinian IDPs as a measure of the discrimination that keeps them oppressed. This description of Palestinian life in Lebanon does not auger well for the future and suggests that this social reality is something that Palestinian IDPs have become accustomed and used to. In this sense, Palestinian high school students must therefore exercise agency in ways that do not challenge the status-quo of their relationship with the Lebanese host-nation. Thus, Bong and Skaalvik's (2003) research argues that this particular portrayal of 'self', as controlled and without hope reflects a common propensity among marginalised groups arising from the necessity to act in ways to ensure their survival and acceptance within a host-nation. But in doing so marginalised groups also enact and reproduce a double consciousness. In this case study, the Palestinian IDP student is very much aware of the ambivalence that they feel towards education (positive and negative attitudes); Palestinian IDP subjectivity is simultaneously both Self and 'Other' (Said 1978). It is asserted that the participants' discussion of education and future career possibilities reveals this double consciousness as students, parents, teachers and even UNRWA administrators simultaneously construct education as site for hope, despair, and yet also survival.

Education as a tool for Survival

While the Palestinian IDP discourses reviewed above and in earlier chapters simultaneously construct education as a site of hope and yet also as a site of despair, another perspective emerged, which acknowledged that life after school would be difficult and that education might in fact provide the resources for students to better engage post-school life. In this sense, education is also viewed by Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon as a means for ensuring their survival within the social hierarchy in Lebanon. This is a perspective or a third discursive position that was conveyed by a parent named Sura[152] who stated in reply to the question - What do you think your high school education programme attempts to prepare students for when they leave high school? - that UNRWA schools:

Prepares students for life challenges.

Sura's positive perception of education was also shared by a student[153] who described education as being able to:

"Help open doors for the educated living in bad situations (e.g. exile-refugee)".

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[152] Female Parent Questionnaire, Sura – Female Student Nine, 2004.
[153] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Sixty, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

This positivity was further evident in the comment of yet another student[154] who stated in response to the following question - Why is education important for the Palestinian Community:

> Education is important, it prepares a person to realize their potential, refugees need education to find new job opportunities, better salaries. Education can help Palestinians liberate themselves from their constraints.

In these statements there is a clear recognition of the kinds of constraints upon desired futures. But rather than representing education as a resource which cannot secure desired futures, these responses, point to the irony that the social institution of education, which from the idealist perspective is generally held to liberate one from unequal relations of power, functions - in a context defined by differential rights and employment opportunities - as a resource for survival without so much the possibility of liberation. Thus, although education could be represented as either a valuable resource to improve the chances of employment (as demonstrated by Youseff[155] in Chapter Six); or to "help the family" (as commented by Nour[156] in Chapter Six), or as a resource of little value as Amer[157] explained in relation to the lack of employment opportunities in Lebanon earlier in this chapter, a third position emerges in the responses above which maintains that education also has

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[154] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Ten, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[155] Student Semi-structured Interview - Youseff, 2004.
[156] Student Questionnaire – Nour, 2004.
[157] Parent Questionnaire, Amer - 2004.

value in that it can secure the survival of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. The notion that education can help Palestinian IDPs survive the limitations of life in Lebanon is prominent in the response of a teacher, Nabil[158], who stated in reply to the interview question – Is education important to you:

Education helps Palestinian people carry on – live.

In this instance, Nabil outlines a perception that education may help Palestinian IDPs cope with the situations they encounter. The agency related verbs 'carry on' and 'live' outline a belief that education can help Palestinian IDPs move forward, forging a life in Lebanon even if this life is something they would rather not 'carry on' with. This sentiment of getting on with things is also expressed in the response of Sarya[159] who stated in reply to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon:

Improve the situation of Palestinians in Lebanon.

Like Nabil, Sarya's response suggests that education is able to improve the 'situation' and provide a sense of stability for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, even though Nabil's statement also implied that living as a displaced person in Lebanon

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[158] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Nabil - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[159] Student Semi-structured Interview - Sarya, 2004.

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is anything but stable. The ambivalence signalled in this response can also be seen in the interview comment from Karim[160], who explained that:

> Educated Palestinians may help change the situation in Lebanon.

Here, Karim's response suggests that education is represented to be simultaneously valuable and not valuable. The notion that education can bring about positive change is also countered by the prospect of education having no impact at all, due in part to factors that predominantly see Palestinian IDPs exposed to unstable living and employment conditions in Lebanon. This ambivalent perspective in which the much less agentic 'may' is deployed as opposed to 'will', is supported by UNRWA C.E.O Bassam[161], who stated in reply to the question - How would you feel if your students did not get a job when they finish high school or complete their education:

> Surprised if they (students) get work, as high school education
>
> does not provide them with the necessary skills to find work.

It is surprising to see an UNRWA administrator such as Bassam recognise the failure of education for improving Palestinian IDP employment opportunity, even though Bassam is also an advocate for the UNRWA education system. Therefore, in this way, education from the position of the third position/discourse does not,

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[160] Student Semi-structured Interview - Karim, 2004.
[161] UNRWA Administrator, UNRWA Chief Executive Officer, Bassam - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA administrator at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA administrator was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

construct education as a resource that enables Palestinian IDPs to change their circumstances, and because of this it is proposed that the third position discourse is associated more so with maintaining the status-quo (Zakharia and Tabari 2001; Haddad 2002; El-Basha 2009).

Freire (2000) argues that displaced populations like the Palestinians IDPs in Lebanon are more likely to be excluded from mainstream roles in their adoptive country because host-nations need to exert control over displaced populations. In Lebanon this exclusion has accompanied a prejudice that hinders the development of Palestinian education and workplace rights. Zakharia and Tabari's (2001:6) study highlighted exclusionary forces that have annulled Palestinian aspirations of equality in Lebanon. Here, Zakharia and Tabari argue that Palestinian IDPs have lacked the protection of international conventions such as the Casablanca Protocol, which as noted earlier was decreed by the Arab League of States in 1965 (Badil 2006). This decree provided displaced Palestinians with the right to equal treatment in Arab host nations, but many of these countries such as Lebanon have failed to fully implement it (Zakharia and Tabari 2001:7; Badil 2006). Consequently, Palestinian IDPs find themselves 'excluded' and lacking rights that affect services such as employment, health and education (Chatty and Hundt 2001:15-16), and it maintained that it is this context which informs the ambivalence in the representation of the value of education.

But more than this, Palestinian IDP representation of education also comprises a representation of the Palestinian Self as Other, such that the discussion of education and its relationship to desired career futures simultaneously comprises a discussion of Palestinian IDP subjectivity in which they identify as central. Both

education and employment comprise sites wherein Palestinian IDP subjectivity is produced and reproduced, particularly in relation to prevailing notions of identity. While as noted above UNRWA schooling is described as being "overcrowded and not a good place to learn" [162], post-school employment options for Palestinian IDPs are also claimed to be diminished because "job priorities go to Lebanese"[163]. Indeed Khaled[164] concluded that "the situation will get worse. Palestinian rights are diminishing in Lebanon" and UNRWA schooling "only provides basic education for work at low jobs/gas stations or selling biscuits on the side of the road" [165]. By contrast, Nelson Mandela once stated that:

> Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to
> change the world.[166]

Mandela's vision of education is both noble and idealistic, but in the context of Palestinian IDP education in Lebanon, it remains unrealised (or perhaps unrealisable). This is not only because the material conditions of school education for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon remain inadequate, but because post-school employment opportunities are "diminished", to use the words of one of the participants, by laws which provide differential access to employment[167]. The right

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[162] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Fifty-Six, 2004.
[163] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Ten, 2004.
[164] Student Semi-structured interview, Khaled – 2004.
[165] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Eighty-Four, 2004.
[166] Nelson Mandela, Former South African President, Nobel Peace Prize winner and civil rights activist (Nguyen 2008: 70).
[167] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Twenty, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

to find the kind of employment which one might desire if appropriately qualified is a right that is not extended to Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. What's more the participant responses highlighted above show that it is not so much a lack of qualifications which prevent Palestinian IDPs from pursuing desired employment futures, but the lack of identity, or the right identity. Expressed otherwise, the barrier is related to the Palestinian IDPs lack of an appropriate Lebanese identity. The Palestinian IDP does not belong to the host-nation, and it seems that being born in Lebanon is not sufficient for securing an appropriate identity. A perspective that is prominent in the comments of many Palestinians in this research project. For example, when asked the question – Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon – a student[168] revealed they were:

Living in dreadful conditions without rights.

In response to the same question, another student[169] also stated that they were:

Deprived of basic rights such as work or ownership of a home.

This sense of despair was also conveyed by a student[170] who summed up being a Palestinian in Lebanon as:

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[168] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Sixty-Eight, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[169] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Eighty-Seven, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[170] Student Questionnaire, Participant Number Eighty-One, 2004.
*Note: This participant is a student at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This student was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.

Devoid of rights and no comforts of life.

Perhaps this site of exclusion is nowhere more clearly articulated than in the statement made by Dana. In response to a question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon, Dana[171] explained that what is needed is to:

Make Lebanese employers look at [the] qualifications of an individual, not their nationality.

A similar sense of exclusion is also communicated in the response of UNRWA teacher Rashid[172] to the question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? – Rashid stated that there is a need to:

Remove the Lebanese laws that restrict Palestinian job.

The perspective that Palestinian IDP exclusion is predominantly the result of oppressive Lebanese laws and regulations that minimise Palestinian career aspirations was also shared by parents, Afnan[173] and Fatima[174]. In reply to the

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[171] Student Semi-structured interview, Dana – 2004.
[172] Male Teacher Semi-Structured Interview, Rashid - 2004.
*Note: This participant is a UNRWA teacher at the UNRWA school in Beirut, Lebanon. This UNRWA teacher was given a faux name to ensure their anonymity.
[173] Parent Questionnaire, Afnan - 2004.

question - In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon, both Afnan and Fatima stated respectively that:

Lebanese laws must change to help Palestinians find work.

To change Lebanese laws and regulations affecting Palestinians.

Notwithstanding Dana, Rashid, Afnan and Fatima's requests to seek and identify the main cause of Palestinian IDP unemployment in Lebanon, the relevance of Mandela's view of education to this discussion is not only because it reproduces the idealist discourse of education articulated by some of the participants above, but because Mandela made these comments against the historic backdrop of apartheid. The apartheid system in South Africa, it will be recalled, reproduced social, economic and political inequality along the grounds of race and consequently identity (Louw 2004). Employment futures for the non-white populations were not obtained on the basis of qualification. Employment was obtained on the basis of race and identity within the context of a colonialist relationship where non-white populations were constructed as Other by the hegemonic white centre (Thompson 2001; Beinart and Dubow 1995). Thus, the discussion of education by Palestinian IDPs reviewed above reveals elements of a colonialist apartheid-like relationship where the Palestinian IDP is viewed as inferior in comparison to the Lebanese host nation.

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[174] Parent Questionnaire, Fatima - 2004.

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While this context holds implications for the designation of Lebanon as truly a post-colonial context, a concern which will be taken up in the concluding chapter, perhaps more importantly it holds consequences for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon and their representation of the relationship between education and future employment. Whereas in Chapter Six participant discourse constructed education to be a positive resource, discussion in this chapter has not only revealed a negative representation, which was also identified in Chapter Seven, but also a third position. In terms of the presence of ambivalence in the Palestinian discourse around education and employment, the participant statements explored above not only reveal the presence of ambivalence in the general sense of the term; in that some participants are not particularly committed to education, or that there are divergent views of education and employment. More importantly discussion above has identified the presence of ambivalence in Palestinian IDP representations of education and desired career futures in terms of what is referred to as a third discursive position. This position not only deploys representations of Palestinian IDPs and the host nation as clearly defined collective identities with little to no internal differentiation, it reproduces the very 'us and them' or 'Self and Other' binary which the host nation's legal structures seem to also construct in relation to nationality, identity and rights.

As a consequence the discursive representation of education involves more than a discussion of material resources and post-school employment. The discussion of education functions to articulate the Palestinian IDP relationship with the Lebanese host nation within which the Palestinian IDP is constructed as both Self and Other. The third discourse, however, is as identified in this chapter,

neither particularly positive nor negative. The third discourse is positive in the sense that it constructs education as a resource that will be of some value in the post-school context, but it is negative in that it represents the post-school context as one characterised by barriers to securing desired kinds of employment that might be desired. In terms of Bhabha's (1994) model of ambivalence it is this discourse that seems to reveal a degree of aggression or anger, which is not only directed at the Lebanese as a collective. This third discourse also exposes (because of this) a thwarted capacity to construct the Self on one's own terms as desired. But whereas the negative discourse is largely associated with a sense of powerlessness, the third discourse is one in which a sense of agency remains. In the third discourse it is education which enables Palestinian IDP agency. Although there are limits to this agency imposed by the host nation's structural differentiation with regard to employment possibilities, agency nonetheless remains. Education will provide Palestinian IDPs with access to some jobs, but not all jobs. And in the third discourse, these jobs are held to be sufficient for 'survival' through granting access to at least the kinds of employment which education facilitates. Within the education-employment nexus permitted by the host nation, the exercise of agency to secure a change in the individual's circumstances of the kind offered by the idealist view of education, however, remains (in practice) out of reach. Thus, although the third discourse is associated with the exercise of agency, this is only to the extent that it does not disrupt the status-quo in Palestinian IDP relations with Lebanese host nation, which realisation of the idealist discourse would otherwise achieve. From within the world constructed by the third discourse, agency is exercised by the Palestinian IDP, but only to the extent that it reproduces the

status-quo. Hence the third discourse functions to re-confirm the superiority of the 'Master' and the subordination of the 'Slave'. It remains a discourse that is grounded in the terms which the Lebanese host nation dictates.

Conclusion

Thus far discussion has revealed the emergence of three distinct discourses in the Palestinian IDP representation of value of education in relation to securing desired career futures. This chapter in particular highlighted what has been identified as a third discourse. This is a discourse that offers Palestinian IDPs an enhanced sense of agency. Not as much as is associated with the first or idealist discourse, and not as little as that associated with the more explicitly negative discourse. This third discourse is one that continues to be constructed on terms set by the Master and thus the aggression that accompanies the Palestinian occupancy of Lebanon might all too easily be seen by some to be one of the very reasons why Palestinian IDPs cannot secure desired futures (Sultana 2007; Cox and Connell 2003). Blaming the colonised who express frustration at their circumstances is not an uncommon outcome of colonialist relations between the dominating the dominated (Al-Haj 1994; Else 1997).

But what does the Palestinian IDP desire? The answer to this question is at the very least articulated in the various participant comments above; namely, equal access to employment. In this chapter, however, the third discourse indicates that while the Palestinian IDP wants employment, there is an acceptance of sorts that the kind of career futures available, are not those which are available to the Lebanese host-nation. Instead the third discourse is grounded in maintenance of at

the very least a tolerable range of employment opportunities. Aspiration continues to inform the valuing of education as it does in the idealist discourse, but only to the extent that no access to employment would present the IDP with a much less tolerable future. It is insisted that the third discourse involves the drawing of a metaphorical 'line in the sand' below which the lack of formal education credentials probably consigns the Palestinian IDP to an even more miserable existence. Within this third discourse, there is choice. But unlike the representation of choice in the idealist discourse, it isn't one of the Palestinian IDP's own making. They can chose to live an entirely miserable existence by not securing formal education credentials, or chose to live a slightly less miserable existence through securing formal education credentials. The emergence of these three discourses also reveals the extent of ambivalence in the discursive representation of the value of education in relation to securing desired career futures.

The following and final Chapter (Chapter Nine) takes up the notion of ambivalence as the starting point for a review of the findings elaborated in this research project. Discussion in the preceding chapters has identified multiple expressions of ambivalence, some which might be represented as being reasonably simplistic, others grounded in the complexities of the discursive and material relations between Palestinian IDPs and the Lebanese host-nation. With these findings in mind, Chapter Nine, which concludes the discussion, will review the project's theoretical tools and research methodology in the light of the research questions and the data generated by this investigation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of education in relation to desired career futures. Chapter Nine also

reflects upon the limitations of the project and offers recommendations for future

research.

Chapter Nine

Implications: Policy, Practice and Research

Education can help Palestinians liberate themselves from their constraints.[175]

Introduction

This research project explored the perceptions of a group of internally displaced Palestinians in Lebanon in relation to the value of education as a resource for securing desired future careers. Discussion of education provisions for internally displaced persons generally, and for Palestinians in the context of Lebanon more specifically, commenced in this thesis with acknowledgement that understanding the events of the past is significant to understanding events of the present. In the context of this research project the events of the past include a broad history of Western colonialism, and more specifically the events associated with Western imperialism and colonialism in the Middle East. As testament to this relationship between past and the present, the conduct of this research project and the writing of this thesis have been marked on a number of occasions by the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East, which have variously impacted Palestinian populations in this region of the world. The most recent large scale conflict has involved Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and Israeli

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[175]Student Questionnaire, Participant Number 10 – 2004.

military forces in 2014. In the most recent instance of this conflict a United Nations (UN) school was bombed with tragic consequences including the loss of life. According to UN sources, this was the sixth occasion upon which a UN school had been the target of military aggression (Morris, BBC 2014). Hence it would not be taking too much academic liberty to assume that under these circumstances the Palestinian perception of UN provided education might be impacted.

As with the presence of the internally displaced Palestinians in Lebanon, the more recent conflicts involving Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and in Southern Lebanon comprise outcomes of the events of empire and colonialism with a much longer history (Pappe 2006; Morris 1999). But as important as history is to the current experience of Palestinians in the Middle East, of equal if not more importance is the experience of the people whose lives and deaths have informed this history. Consequently it has been the voice of the 'people' which this research project has aimed to capture and represent; in particular the voice of Palestinian school children.

In one sense it is not that difficult to access this particular voice. With modern Internet based forms of communication this voice can be projected from sites of conflict in the Middle-East to most corners of the world. The Internet affords some displaced Palestinians the capacity to engage a global audience in relation to the socio-economic and political conditions that frame their experience of displacement. An example of this emerged from reporting of Twitter feeds from Farah, a 16 year old Palestinian living in the Gaza Strip

(Dean, Daily Mail Online 2014). Tweeting about her experience of the then current Israeli military bombings Farah wrote:

> I'm Farah Baker, Gazan girl, 16 years old. Since I was born I have survived three wars and I think this is enough. I used to say that the war in 2008 was the worst it has been, but after last night, I would say that this is the worst because I really felt like I could die at any moment. I was really thinking I might die tonight. My two sisters, who are 14 and 6 years old, stood in the room hugging my mom, and whenever they heard the bombs they started shouting to try to drown out the noise — but it was too loud.

Farah and her sisters were Palestinian children of school age who may not only have been impacted by the bombing of UN schools, but also the conditions which had invariably led to this round of hostilities. We do not know who Farah is, beyond her ethnicity, location, gender and age, but what we do know is that for Palestinian children like Farah, survival and vulnerability is a significant concern. Farah's description of life as a besieged Gazan girl not only highlights the precarious conditions associated with human displacement, but also unveils a perception of helplessness and despondency. In relation to the research question of this thesis, Farah's desperate story mirrors similar experiences communicated by participants from this research project who like Farah believed that their position in society (and life) was indicative of being a Palestinian. Despite, this poor evaluation of self, many participants in this research project claimed that education could be used as a form of hope and

survival. From a Liberal-humanistic perspective, responses also suggested that education could be used to help promote positive change and thus, could be used to develop the greater good for all. Although, this notion of the value of education may be viewed as being rather altruistic, it is insisted that through education Farah may find inspiration and develop the knowledge to challenge the processes that affect her own survival. Despite education being perceived as a valuable resource, however, the hostile environments that dictate life for Palestinian children, like Farah in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, continue to be dominated and controlled by those who govern power (IDMC 2019). In addition to these negative forces, developments concerning foreign policy in the Middle East are also influencing the survival and safety of Palestinian IDPs in this region. Recent actions taken by current United States of America president Donald Trump to acknowledge Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, have ignited further tension in Palestine and Israel (Borger 2017). In a short speech announced at the White House, Trump stated:

> I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Trump also added;

> My announcement today marks the beginning of a new approach to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians (White House Statements and Releases 2017).

This approach was met with condemnation by many U.S allies and was seen as a roadblock to solving peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Borger 2017). In reaction to the Trump administration decision, the United Nations General Assembly passed a measure rejecting the Trump administration's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, stating that this policy would undermine the peace process moving forward (Borger 2017).

Although, the decision by the United Nations may be seen as symbolic, the resolution holds important political resonance, especially in the Middle East, as the US decision has caused outrage and protests from many Arab governments. This unilateral decision has left the Trump administration rather isolated; underscoring a feeling that many US allies do not believe this decision will help either Palestinians or Israeli's quest for peace, but rather will lead to further conflict in an already ravaged Middle East (Morello and Eglash 2017).

In response to this decision, it was reported by the Palestine Red Crescent that over 100 hundred people were injured in clashes between Palestinian protesters and Israeli soldiers in Jerusalem, Ramallah, West Bank and Gaza Strip. Leaders of the Islamist group Hamas were also calling on Palestinians to rise up and start a third intifada against Israel. A position that in the past has caused wide spread internal displacement, destruction and misery for many Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Morello and Eglash 2017). Unfortunately it has been these very circumstances in which Palestinians find themselves across the Middle East and Lebanon in particular, which have

motivated the conduct of this research project – the growth of Palestinian displacement and its effect on the education of Palestinian children.

The research problem presented in Chapter One identified the provision of school education for Palestinian IDPs as a site of questionable value. It was proposed that aside from the reviews of education presented in a range of top-down reports, which were often commissioned by the providers of such education, that a more nuanced understanding of the value of education might be achieved through identifying the perspectives of the stakeholders which the delivery of education directly impacts. With this agenda, this research project aimed to provide answers to a key research question presented in Chapter One; namely:

1. What do Palestinian IDPs think about education in terms of its capacity to enable access to desired career paths, and what do these perceptions reveal about underlying processes of identity formation?

The specific context in which this research question has been explored is that of Lebanon and UNWRA school education at an UNRWA high school in area 7 of Beirut. The investigation of this research question commenced in Chapter One which outlined the historic context from which the research problem emerged; one which as noted has emerged against a backdrop of a complex history, which has resulted in limitations upon the present-day Palestinian achievement of progress

through education in Lebanon (El-Basha 2009:43). Discourse gathered in this research project has revealed ambivalence as described by Bhabha (1994) that portrayed education as being valued and not valued. For example, participant responses from Palestinian IDP students, teachers, parents and UNRWA education officials often constructed education as a positive resource. In many instances, education was viewed by respondents as an important change agent that Palestinian IDPs believed could be used to significantly improve their employment opportunities and thus, enable Palestinian IDPs to achieve what has been described as the 'good life'. In contrast to this idealist view of education, an ambivalence also emerged from participant responses that underscored contrasting Palestinian IDPs beliefs concerning the negative (and positive) value of education in relation to Palestinian IDP perceptions of Self. In this context, it was asserted that education comprised a site for the de-structuring of the desired Palestinian IDP Self and the circulation of negative opinions regarding the value of education as a means for social change in Lebanon. Although, it is acknowledged that the notion of Education is generally associated with liberation, negative statements about education outcomes identified earlier in this thesis by Chatty and Hundt (2001), also highlighted the pressing need to work towards the achievement of education provision, which can in fact lead to liberation. Although this liberal-humanist tradition might be not entirely relevant to the Middle East context, the data obtained from a number of participants in this research projects suggest otherwise. A desire for improved conditions in education and for improved employment opportunities certainly informed the Palestinian IDP discussion of education investigated by this research project. This in itself, could be representative of a

finding in this research project. But this would be only a superficial finding; one that largely confirms what the literature already reveals (Pinson and Arnot 2007; Boyden 2003; Brown 2001), and one that is not that unexpected. Where the outcomes of this research project differ from other investigations of IDP population's perceptions of education, however, resides in the identification of ambivalence in these perceptions, and in the mapping of this ambivalence to movement within the Palestinian IDP's sense of Self in relation to a Lebanese host-nation. This has been a complex task, nonetheless, and the following discussion will review the process by which this key finding was generated. This discussion will entail a critical review of each chapter commencing with Chapter One, and identification of the findings of each chapter, including the social theory and methodology chapters. Discussion will conclude by offering recommendations for further research.

A Review of the Palestinian IDP Context in Lebanon

Discussion in Chapter One provided an overview of the historic factors that have informed the construction of key terms used to define populations such as that which comprised the research participants in this research project. The range of key terms introduced included: 'refugee', 'stateless person', 'forced migrant' and 'internally displaced person' (IDP). After careful review of each term, the term 'Internally Displaced Person' (IDP) was recognised to be the most suitable for categorising the Palestinian participants in this research project. The term 'internally displaced person' was selected as it provided a succinct

acknowledgement of the context inhabited by the Palestinian participants in this research project; they have moved to Lebanon, but are not Lebanese nationals as such. They reside in the Lebanese state, but they are not part of the 'nation'-state. What's more while the majority of Palestinian participants in this research project were invariably born in Lebanon, they are not 'Lebanese' or Lebanese citizens. In particular, Chapter One explored how various events such as war and natural disaster have contributed towards escalating global population displacement figures nearing 38 million, which has prompted various global responses such as the establishment of UNICEF (UNHCR 2017; Ross 2003:39-40).

This research project explored UNRWA provided education in Lebanon as an example of one of these responses to displacement. UNRWA has strived to provide Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon with a range of important services so that this displaced population might feel safe within their adoptive environment (UNRWA 2006). Although discussion in Chapter One acknowledged the value of agencies such as UNRWA, UNICEF and the UNHCR, it was also acknowledged that IDP experiences are often framed by and continue under colonialist-like contexts, which as the data-driven discussion in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight have shown, can impact career aspirations. Perhaps the key finding of Chapter One, however, is that the complexities framing the experience of displaced persons cannot be easily captured within any one particular term of categorisation. Categories such as those identified above while useful tools for the purpose of demographic identification at the macro-level are invariably challenged by the socio-economic, political and ethnic

complexities extant in the contexts to which they are applied. This research project's identification of ambivalence within the Palestinian response to education highlights some of the limitations of associated with such macro-level categorisations.

Chapter Two detailed in a broad sense, how human displacement has affected Palestinian settlement in the Middle East region. Discussion in Chapter Two identified important moments in history that have underpinned the migration of Palestinians within the Middle East, and which have influenced their residential status in this region. From within this macro-perspective, a micro-level approach was then used to outline specific historical contexts which have shaped Palestinian settlement more specifically in Lebanon, to further detail the historic background to the context in which this investigation of Palestinian perceptions of the value of education is set. Discussion in Chapter Two acknowledged as part of mapping the history shaping the Palestinian experience, the resurgence of hostilities between Hezbollah and Israeli forces along the southern board of Lebanon in July-August 2006. This chapter also discussed the impact of Israel's inception and its connection to the displacement of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon and the wider Middle East region. Historically, it was paramount to outline how these important periods of history (e.g. Al-Nakba) coincided with the movement of Palestinians out of Palestine and their subsequent displacement for the past 60 years.

As noted in Chapter Two, statistics indicate that in 2006 Israel's two-month long offensive ravaged Lebanese infrastructure, left a total of more than 1000 Lebanese civilians dead and almost 750,000 Lebanese displaced (UNICEF

2006; Sicherman 2006). It is acknowledged that these statistics do not show among the numbers of those displaced, and the number of those who were already internally displaced persons. Chapter Two, consequently situated this investigation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education within this particular historic context; a context in which Palestinian children are 'seasoned' observers, if not participants in military conflict.

Chapter Three reviewed literature that described why education might be important for Palestinian IDPs. This chapter identified literature pertaining to the role of education more generally and IDP education in particular. The literature showed that IDP education models are often, but not always, lacking in quality. Discussion in Chapter Three commenced with reference to a statement about education made by Zewail wherein Zewail outlined the fundamental link between education and society. For Zewail an effective education was one that was grounded upon a good measure of social equity and where social equality was not an existing condition, education would enable its achievement. Against this view of education; a view that this research project has labelled the 'idealist' discourse, Chapter Three provided the conceptual 'yard stick' or baseline against which the participants' representation of UN provided education for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon could be evaluated. Thus, Chapter Three aimed to answer a number of questions, which strived to identify if the UN provided education in Lebanon would be viewed in terms presented by the idealist discourse, or if such a perspective would be entirely absent. Furthermore, Chapter Three investigated how Palestinian IDPs might associate education with hope for a better future as suggested by the idealist discourse and

lastly, how Palestinian IDPs might associate education with the achievement of equality within the Lebanese host-nation.

Discussion in Chapter Four outlined the case for the use of postcolonial theory to investigate the research problem. In particular Chapter Four discussed the relevance of Edward Said's notion of Orientalism and Homi Bhabha's notion of ambivalence to the investigation of Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education in Lebanon. Discussion also explained the significance of a broadly Marxist informed approach to understanding social relations informed by the prevailing (political) economy in colonialist-like contexts. The history of colonialist activity was explained as a history in which political and economic relations have been significant in the structuring of socio-economic relations between the dominating and the dominated (Bhabha 1990:235; McLeod 2000:7). Discussion also identified the significance of power in colonialist contexts, and that a poststructuralist understanding of power as a key dynamic comprising part of a knowledge-power discursive nexus, would offer the investigation of education and careers for internally displaced Palestinian in Lebanon, an enhanced set of conceptual tools. Drawing upon this poststructuralist view of power and knowledge and its production, reproduction and circulation through discourse, Edward Said's notion of *Orientalism* was identified as a valuable conceptual framework for exploring relations between the dominating and the dominated in colonialist-like contexts. This conception of power-knowledge would allow for a focus upon discourse as a site wherein the possibly asymmetrical relations of power between the Self and Other might be identified. Said stated that Orientalist discourse functioned to render non-

Western cultures as entirely different to, or Other in relation to the Western Self. Discourse, according to Said comprised a vehicle for Self-Other representation. As a discourse Orientalism facilitated not only the representation of non-western cultures as Other, it facilitated and justified on the grounds of their Otherness, their subsequent domination and economic exploitation (Said 1978). The introduction of a broadly Marxist perspective, thus allowed this investigation to also acknowledge the influence of economic relations upon Palestinian IDPs discursive representations of the value of education.

Chapter Four asserted, however, that Bhabha's notion of ambivalence would enable the investigation to not only identify movement within the discourse of the research participants, as Said noted with respect to movement in the representation of Self and Other associated with Orientalism, but also to account for this movement as the product of the Palestinian IDP's process of Self-construction. Unlike Said, Bhabha's notion of ambivalence is much more focused on the psyche. It was outlined in Chapter Four that as a conceptual model allowing for a link between subjectivity and discourse, it would enable the mapping of the various perspectives of education held by Palestinian IDPs in relation to the construction of Self-identity. Thus, while the notion of Orientalism enabled a focus upon how colonialist(-like) discourse in Lebanon may position the Lebanese host nation as the dominant Self and the internally displaced Palestinian as the dominated Other, it has been the use of Bhabha's model of ambivalence, which enabled this investigation to not only focus upon the kinds of shift in colonialist discourse acknowledged by Said, but also to focus upon how such movement might be related to the Palestinian IDPs

struggle to maintain an acceptable sense of self when involved in an asymmetrical relationship of power with the Lebanese host-nation. Bhabha's model of ambivalence comprises a re-working of the Hegelian Master-Slave dialectic. It ties discursive movement to the process of self-construction at the level of the psyche.

Though it might be claimed that Orientalism is a concept best used in the investigation of Western representation of non-Western peoples, it has been shown in this thesis that the dynamics of self-other representation through discourse highlighted in the concept of Orientalism perhaps also presents a fruitful site for investigation in contexts which may not be as fully post-colonial as the existence of the modern independent (post-colonial) nation-state might suggest. While the context under investigation is no longer as entirely defined by Western control of the non-Western 'locals', it was shown that a very similar if not the same set of socio-political and economic dynamics can be observed in the relationship between the Lebanese (post-colonial) host-nation population and the internally displaced Palestinian population which is resident among them. Expressed otherwise, this research project explored the possibility that the postcolonial Other, or former Slave has since become the Master or dominant Self, such that in the continuing asymmetrical relations of power − only the ethnicities involved have changed.

Bhabha's notion of mimicry was also explored and was valuable for understanding those instances where the Palestinian IDPs view of education might be grounded in the desire to become like their Lebanese hosts. Mimicry, Bhabha explained, involves the dominated taking on the characteristics of the

dominating group so as to diminish the ground upon which their otherness is constructed. As an actively political strategy mimicry is both productive and yet flawed. While mimicry reveals the extent to which the Master has falsely constructed the Self as dominant universal when in fact they are non-other than another instance of the particular, it equally reveals the extent to which the Other can perhaps never become the Self or Master. In other words, the discussion of social theory in Chapter Four was concerned to account for the possibility that through education the Palestinian IDP might aspire to also share in the wealth of the Lebanese state, and that the attainment of education might facilitate the desires of mimicry.

Chapter Five detailed the research project's research methodology. This chapter reasserted the value of using a postcolonial framework as outlined in Chapter Four, informed by attention to the impact of how social relations can be shaped by economic factors. The focus upon discourse as a site for subject formation identified in Chapter Four was taken up in Chapter Five in discussion of the value of critical discourse analysis (CDA) for exploring not only Palestinian IDP's perceptions of education, but also the material and discursive constraints that act upon and inform these perceptions. Chapter Five located the investigation within the qualitative research orientation and detailed the implications of this for a number key methodological references including: the individual-group relationship; the insider-outsider relationship; the theory-data relationship and the validity-reliability relationship. Discussion identified the data collection techniques used in the conduct of this research project and also provided a detailed micro-level account of the context which informed the case

under investigation, particularly with regarding to education provision and Palestinian IDP populations in Lebanon. The challenges of conducting an investigation which is attentive to the role of discourse in the construction of meaning and value in a non-English speaking context were highlighted, acknowledged and reviewed. Strategies for meeting these challenges were presented, among which included the use of a local translator and field consultant. Chapter Five also detailed the ethics schedule that informed the collection of data in addition to the strategies used to not only analyse the data but to provide an interpretation of the data.

Importantly, this research project's methodology discussion acknowledged and constructed a degree of synchronicity with the social theory outlined in Chapter Four. Central to the achievement of this synchronicity was the use of critical discourse analysis to shape data collection, categorise the data and interpret the data. Both the work of Edward Said (1978) and Homi Bhabha (1994) is not only located with the field of postcolonial studies - as eclectic as it is – their work is also particularly attentive to the relationship between identity and discourse. The use of critical discourse analysis drew upon the Foucauldian macro-level tradition focusing upon the macro-level properties of discourse. Acknowledging the limitations of this method of analysis and interpretation, discussion reiterated that the goal of the analysis was not to find a singular truth that would replace one already hegemonic truth with another. Instead, the aim of the project was to identify the proliferation of truths circulating in the case study site regarding the value Palestinian IDPs placed on education in terms of desire career futures. Working with a macro-level approach to critical discourse

analysis, discussion detailed that the analysis of data would be concerned to focus upon the construction of truths as a product of description, definition and delimitation. And to the extent that subjectivity is discursively informed the critical discourse, analysis would also focus upon how the Palestinian IDP Self would emerge through the process of description, definition and delimitation.

Chapter Six comprised the first of three data-driven discussions, drawing upon the data collected from research participants and other sources. Working with Joffe's (2007) admonition to critically examine all discursive constructs, discussion in Chapter Six presented an analysis of data collected from Palestinian IDP high school students, parents of students, UNRWA teachers and UNRWA administrators in Beirut, Lebanon during 2004. Working with the notion of ambivalence and its relationship with power and identity, introduced in Chapter Four, this chapter not only identified Palestinian IDP perceptions of the value of education, it presented the first evidence and discussion of the presence of ambivalence in their perceptions. In the student, parent, UNRWA teacher and UNRWA administrator responses presented in Chapter Six the dynamic of ambivalence was identified in a number of discursive instances including: 1. that between the personal and collective views that Palestinians hold about their plight as Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon; 2. that between various Lebanese representations of Palestinians, which construct Palestinians as both alien and dangerous and yet worthy of sympathy; and 3. that between Palestinian IDPs reproduction of education as a resource of hope and yet as a source of despair and hopelessness. The data also indicated that the ambivalence

in Palestinian IDP representations of the value of education was also informed by individual and group relations in particular contexts.

Chapter Six found that it is the context of being a displaced Palestinian 'resident' in Lebanon which seems to inscribe all Palestinian IDP representations of the value of education. Furthermore, the data showed that it is in relation to what Palestinian IDPs do not have, and to what they are not that informs their representation of education. In other words, discussion here provided initial evidence of the process of self-construction through description, definition and importantly, delimitation. Discussion in Chapter Six concluded that perhaps most significantly, the value of education seemed to be derived from the position of the Master and the existence of ambivalence, which would be taken up again in Chapters Seven and Eight. Where a positive or idealist discourse is deployed, this was found to be largely to the extent that it allows Palestinian IDPs to become somewhat like the Lebanese; thus, education could be used as a site for mimicry. The irony in this, however, is that although some Palestinians value education as a means to secure their participation in the 'good life', which is otherwise associated with being Lebanese, their very desire to seek the 'light' through an institution over which their masters hold control, raises questions about the extent to which the Slave can overcome the Master through the use of the Master's tools (Sayigh 1994:24-25). It also raises questions about the value of mimicry as a tactic for transcending a position of subordination. As will be discussed in what follows, this has implications both for the relevance of education and for the kinds of strategies used to secure the kind of liberation that the idealist discourse otherwise promises. The idealist

discourse, it seems could only be maintained in the theoretical absence of the Lebanese Master. In practice, however, it gives way to two other discourses; the negative and the third position discourses, suggesting as Bhabha (1994) notes, that the presences of the other in the moment of Self-Other construction is at once self-confirming and yet also potentially self-destructuring.

Chapter Seven commences the exploration of discursive movement away from the idealist discourse, and therefore, the complexities of Self-Other construction in practice. Chapter Seven explored the negative perceptions of the value of education as held by students, UNRWA teachers, parents of students and UNRWA administrators. These perceptions were read and juxtaposed against each participant groups perceptions. The findings arising from Chapter Seven were associated with the existence of a much deeper and complex form of ambivalence. Though the more superficial expression of ambivalence also emerged in the form of differences between perspectives, discussion also identified a discursive representation of the value of education that was profoundly linked to the Palestinian IDP struggle to construct a desired Self. Chapter Seven found that while the idealist discourse of education may be deployed on occasions, the deployment of this discourse seems to occur more so on those occasions where the discussion of education occurs outside of the consideration of the prevailing social, political and economic context that informs the relationship between Palestinian IDPs and their Lebanese host nation. The idealist discourse was identified as being grounded in the principles of liberal-humanism, central among which is the notion of individual choice and agency as well as fuller social participation. But reproducing the limitations of

liberal-humanist philosophy more generally (Tamatea, 2008), it was found that the idealist discourse could only be deployed in largely de-contextual and asocial ways. This discourse was mostly elaborated in relation to the absence of the Lebanese host-nation, or what discussion identified as a non-influencing absent centre. But contrary to 'appearance', an absent centre is generally not absent at all. The centre though superficially if not theoretically absent crafts this illusion only because it holds the power to do so. Hence, although the idealist discourse is elaborated in relation to the Lebanese host-nation as an absent centre, the imagining of the value of education associated with this discourse, all but discursively removes the agency of this centre. Thus the idealist discourse can be said to be one that might be achieved if conditions were ideal. However, they are not given that Palestinian IDPs are discriminated against by Lebanese employment laws and afforded questionable UNRWA educational experiences that reaffirm the lowly positioning of Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon (Aasheim 2000; Haddad 2002; Zakharia and Tabari 2011; El-Basha 2009).

From a Marxist perspective it was recognised that the employment restrictions imposed by the Lebanese 'Master' acted as a form of social control that further alienated the Palestinian IDP 'Slave'. This occurred as the division of labour within the Lebanese workforce predominantly consigned Palestinian IDP employment into low skilled jobs that did not require specialised education or vocational training. Consequently, many responses from Palestinian IDPs examined in Chapter Seven explained that this allocation of labour reinforced the inferior status of Palestinian IDPs in comparison to their Lebanese hosts.

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This delineation of 'us' compared to 'them' left many Palestinian IDPs feeling disengaged and depressed about their employment futures, due to the repetitive, monotonous and unskilled nature of their job options. This feeling of Palestinian IDP 'hopelessness' highlighted bubbling tension between the Lebanese 'Master' and the Palestinian IDP 'Slave', due to Palestinian IDPs striving to wrest control within their social setting, and their Lebanese hosts aiming to maintain their own current status and hierarchy. In response to this relationship of power the concept of ambivalence emerged from Palestinian IDPs responses as they questioned the value of their education and the relevance of employment in relation to their social context.

Discussion in Chapter Seven specifically aimed to identify why negative discourse regarding the value of education in terms of securing desired career futures existed among the responses of this research projects participants. As occurred in the analysis of the participant responses in Chapter Six, discussion in Chapter Seven highlighted the significance of ambivalence within the discursive representation of the value of education and subject construction. It was contended that Palestinian IDPs were constructed against the possibility of achieving both educational and employment success, which suggested that Palestinian IDPs could be both Master and Slave. For this idealist view of education to occur, however, the Palestinian IDP Self needed to be constructed in absence to the Lebanese host-nation. But, when education is moved from a discussion of the ideal to a discussion of the real, and is contextualized in relation to dominant structures of power and privilege, it is then that the debate about education becomes much more negative, which may expose the various restrictions affecting the capability of Palestinian

IDPs to achieve the desired Self. While like Chapter Six, it was found that education comprises a site for self-identification, the particularly negative discourse also identified in Chapter Seven further highlighted that education comprises a site associated with the de-structuring of Palestinian IDP identity.

Chapter Eight presented the third and final data-driven discussion. Whereas discussion in the previous two chapters revealed how education could be both positively and negatively represented, discussion in Chapter Eight identified a third discursive position. Categorised as 'the third discourse', this representation of the value of education nonetheless reproduces, through reference to education, the Palestinian IDP's place within the colonialist-like context which they inhabit. To the extent that all discourses produce and reproduce (social) reality, which may or may not correspond to the 'objective' properties of the external physical or social world, this discourse can be said to be much less imaginary or theoretical than the idealist discourse. For the Palestinian IDP community in this research project, their context is one in which, despite the provision of education, it continues to subordinate their interests in comparison to those of the Lebanese host nation. This third discourse reveals that although Palestinian IDPs perceive education to be a site that (unlike representation in the negative discourse) affords them a sense of agency, the extent to which Palestinian IDPs exercise agency remains very much inscribed by the material constraints of the contextual structures established by the Lebanese host-nation. There is choice in the liberal-humanist or idealist sense, but it is very much restricted. This third discourse is one that continues to be constructed on terms set by the Master. In this discourse,

education is valued, but only in the sense that it can help maintain one's current position. It is, then, a discourse of survival. It is also characterised by a degree of aggression, but perhaps not so much as occurs in the negative discourse.

As represented through the third discourse, the value of education is that which fulfil's the role of supporting Palestinian IDP survival. For displaced communities like Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, education is a key factor for both surviving and 'resisting' the actions of the powerful Master (Lebanese) in Lebanon. Thus, Palestinian IDP resistance to the extent that this focus emerged in this project was not just associated with armed struggle, but could be reimagined through the use of educational pedagogy, teaching and learning; and the written and spoken word. This is a sense of educational agency that was also evident in a response from Hennawi's (2011) research of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and West Bank:

> Participation in the struggle is not necessarily with a sword or bullet or a stone. Fighting can be done with words also.

The notion that education could be used to help Palestinian IDPs combat discrimination was also shared by a parent named Kareem[176] in this research project. Kareem stated that education provided:

> Weapons of knowledge to fight and liberate their country Palestine.

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[176] Parent Questionnaire, Kareem - 2004.

From this 'third discursive position' education was seen as being able to help Palestinian IDPs 'survive' lifestyle conditions determined by the powerful Master (Lebanese). Although, many of the participants in this research project agreed that education had the ability to encourage Palestinian IDP employment opportunities in Lebanon, it was surprising to note that a fellow Arab nation willingly enforced Israeli-type restrictions against Palestinians. What's more, it seems that resistance in the context of this discourse is perhaps more so a matter of not suffering total loss.

Arab Unity: Dream or Reality?

While, the actions of the Lebanese government show that they are willing to monitor and control Palestinian IDP movement, education and employment options in a similar vein to Israel[177], a nation that many Arab nations vilify (Yassine 2010), these Lebanese responses highlight the hypocrisy concerning the notion of Arab unity. Some would argue that this stance is unusual, considering many Arab nations advocate support for Palestinians, as their plight in Israel, in particular, is used as a rallying cry for Arab unity (Al Jazeera 2008). Consequently, Samara (2014) suggests that Arab support for Palestinians in the Middle East is driven by political positioning, and their own perceived vulnerability. As Fawwaz Traboulsi, a political analyst once stated;

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[177] Institute for Middle Eastern Understanding (IMEU) 2017 – Israeli Restrictions on Palestinian Movement.

The tragedy of Palestine to begin with, became a rallying point for

Arabs, in a sense became one form of Arab unity, you unite around

Palestine. Second, you can say the opposite.

(Al Jazeera 2008)

In a region where volatile uprisings such as the Arab spring and the establishment of terrorist organisations like ISIS have caused political instability; it is possible that these types of issues have prompted Arab regimes to act hypocritically. Thus, the restrictions imposed on Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, such as the lack of legal status and valid documentation are used by Arab host nations to guarantee their superiority and control their domestic interests. In this way, the Lebanese Master uses their tools to avoid vulnerability and strategically provide 'support' for the plight of the Slave (Palestinians), whilst at the same time potentially garnering favour from within their own constituencies and also confirming their position within the perceived 'united' Arab collective. This type of posturing demonstrates that the concept of Arab unity is perhaps symbolic, as the restrictions enforced by governments like that of Lebanon on Palestinian IDPs exposes a real division between Arabs (Butt 2012). From historical clashes of rhetoric between Saudi Arabia and Iran, to the recent Qatar and Gulf States crisis, Butt (2012) also contends that the nature of Arab unity is more shambolic than symbolic. Thus, it is possible that this division exists due to Arab nations striving to establish their own security in an ever changing Middle Eastern landscape.

As mentioned previously, the growth of powerful terrorist organisations such as ISIS, the advent of civil war and an increase in domestic instability has seen many Arab nations become concerned with protecting their 'own' domestic well-being (BBC 2017; Corbett 2014). Butt (2012) explains that the focus on domestic security and preservation of self-interests is very important as it enables regimes in power to assert more control over all of their residents, thus reinforcing their ability to maintain and reinforce strict domestic control. Although, this type of behaviour, such as the oppression of Palestinian IDP rights in Lebanon, may be considered disingenuous, it demonstrates a readiness by Arab states to use any means necessary (against fellow Arabs) to preserve their grip on society. It is asserted that this desire for control has ultimately reduced the plight of Palestinians IDPs (and refugees) as a bargaining chip in Middle Eastern and global diplomacy (Zabludoff 2008). A strategy that Fraihat (2016) contends is used by Arab leaders to unify and sustain an iron-fisted rule over their own people. This too cannot be ignored in consideration of the deployment of the third discourse.

Education and Existence

Discussion above commenced with reference to a Palestinian girl's tweets, part of which is worth repeating below in relation to this broader context of history, power, politics, education and survival:

I'm Farah Baker, Gazan girl, 16 years old. Since I was born I have survived three wars and I think this is enough. I used to say that the war in 2008 was the worst it has been, but after last night, I would say that this is the worst because I really felt like I could die at any moment. I was really thinking I might die tonight".

Farah's tweet represents the thoughts of a girl who is concerned with the simple matter of survival. Indeed, Farah reminds her global audience that she has in fact already survived three wars. As proposed by Farah, the third discourse is, then, a discourse of survival. It is neither particularly negative nor particularly positive. It is simply a statement as to how things are for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon and the Middle-East region more broadly. To be only 16 and making statements like "I really felt like I could die at any moment… I was really thinking I might die tonight" reveals an experience of existence which for many in metropolitan centres of the Western world is simply unimaginable, such that it might be asked: How does education secure any value at all under such circumstances. And yet despite these circumstances the findings of this research project have indicated that education *is* valued by Palestinian IDPs.

As outlined in Chapter Five the researcher lived and worked for seven years at an international school in Beirut, Lebanon and during this time was able to participate in a community service project at a UNRWA school located in a suburb of Beirut. During these visits the researcher became interested in the dynamics of UNRWA education and in particular what aspirations Palestinian students who attend this UNRWA school may hold for their futures. Thus, in

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relation to the question outlined above: 'How does education secure any value at all under such circumstances' the relevance of this research project in 2004 remains just as relevant a decade later at the conclusion of this research project in 2018 as the importance of education in one sense serves to highlight the intractability of the Palestinian IDP 'problem' and perhaps the incapacity of education as it is currently structured to help solve the problem, such that it might be also asked: What can be done to improve the value of education?

One possibility may be to draw upon examples of best practice demonstrated in the outcomes of UN education programs for other internally displaced populations. These exemplars were identified in Chapter Three. But it is also suggested that the success of such models will be constrained for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to transpose outcomes obtained in one context to another. The Middle-East is the product of its own particular historic trajectory, and this is very much complicated by the historic and contemporary legacy of conflict (Keay 2003; Huntington 1997; Hourani 1992). The difficulty of transposing outside systems and indeed outside political philosophies has been acknowledged above through reference to the kind of liberal-humanist education that may be achieved for IDPs in Lebanon. Recent history has shown, for example, that the socio-political and economic philosophies which seem to work in the West are not always so easily transposed in the Middle East. This is somewhat exemplified by the ongoing violence and instability that has engulfed Iraq and Syria following attempts to 'encourage' a growth in liberal democracy (Husain 2012; BBC 2013).

Second, as the research project has found, there exists a range of perspectives regarding the value of education, and within these perspectives a significant degree of ambivalence. There is the 'official' seemingly policy based discourse concerning the idealist view of education and there are the discourses which are less idealistic and more grounded in the very real constraints of the context. But at a deeper level of ambivalence education comprises a site wherein Palestinian IDP identity is profoundly challenged, and this is a key finding of this research project. For many Palestinian IDPs education comprises just another site where one's identity is de-structured, producing a kind of double-consciousness where Palestinian IDPs are aware and understand that their status is lower in comparison to their Lebanese hosts. Education comprises a site wherein the Lebanese host-nation is reproduced as the dominant Self and the Palestinian as the dominated Other or Slave. Only where the consideration of education occurs without directly referencing the relationship with the Lebanese host-nation, as occurs through the (theoretical) idealist discourse, is the value of education represented more positively, though in these instances too, the Lebanese host-nation remains present if only through a structured or strategic and imaginary erasure of their existence.

Thirdly, the success of such models will be constrained by the tenuous relationship between a UN provided education system and the employment market in Lebanon. Where restrictions are in place effectively limiting the careers in which Palestinian IDPs can find work, the value of education may be reduced. Together these caveats reveal something of the challenges that face Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon. With regard to securing improved futures, where a

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negative representation of the value of education is produced, perhaps as a tactic for resistance, the risk is that students disengage from formal education altogether. The literature shows that disengagement from formal school education often holds unfortunate consequences for 'dropouts' (Zakharia and Tabari 2011; Hart 2009; Kett 2005). Where a positive representation is held, this is often met in practice by a relationship with the Lebanese host nation which functions to minimise the career options of Palestinian IDPs. And where the third discourse is deployed, this representation does not hold out the promise of a changed future as much as it does to simply maintain the status quo.

In the social theory discussion in Chapter Four, reference was made to the concept of mimicry. It was acknowledged that under the conditions of colonisation, the colonised could engage in mimicry as a tactic whereby they would become (almost) like the coloniser. However, as discussed in Chapter Four mimicry can be a 'double edged sword' in that it also confirms the 'superiority' of the Master. Mimicry also trades upon the use of the Master's tools in order to destroy or at least occupy the Master's house. But as this research project has shown, the act of mimicking the Master is not always guaranteed to be successful. Palestinian IDPs in Beirut Lebanon may achieve positive education outcomes from the impoverished education resources that they receive, but fuller social participation, and participation in the wealth of the nation which is otherwise made available to the Lebanese host-nation remains somewhat restricted to Palestinian IDPS in Lebanon. Hence to draw upon cliché, it is difficult to play the Master's game when the rules are changed, or when the rules ultimately function to reproduce the Master's advantage.

Consequently in relation to the first part of the research question, concerning the value of education for securing desired career futures, this research project finds that Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon hold a range of perspectives concerning the value of education; some more positive and some less so. In relation to the second part, concerning the relationship between this valuing and Palestinian IDP identity, this research project finds that these perceptions are indeed characterised by ambivalence. Together these findings reveal that for many Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon, education is not simply a neutral or objective institution. It is not simply about resource provision, although this remains important. Along with other socioeconomic institutions or technologies of power, such as the employment market and the legal apparatus to which education and employment are attached, the extent to which Palestinian IDPs engage with education is closely aligned with an understanding of not only who they are, but also who they are not.

Consequently, although this research project has produced a number of findings which reinforce those of similar investigations (Brown 2001; Zakharia and Tabari 2001; Brun 2005; IDMC 2008; IDMC 2010) it has strived to extend these findings in mapping and accounting for them in terms of ambivalence. The use of Homi Bhabha's notion of ambivalence in this research project extends the discussion of the value of education beyond the more simplistic mapping of positive and negative attitudes (Mooney and French 2005; Hart 2006; IDMC 2010) into the realm of the psyche, relations of power and its discursive construction and representation.

Limitations of the Research Project

Notwithstanding the value of the above findings, this research project was constrained by a number of limitations. These include factors that affected the research method, data collection tools, data analysis, participant sampling, and ethical considerations.

As noted above, this research project utilised a postcolonial methodology underpinned by critical discourse analysis (CDA), framed by location within the critical paradigm. The problem with using this methodology is that postcolonial theory required the researcher to make sense of a reality that was quite foreign to his own. In this respect, the term 'foreign' represented the different cultural, political, religious, social and language contexts that framed the case study environment. Moreover, the use of critical discourse analysis required the researcher to collect large amounts of written and verbal data pertaining to the reality of the context as experienced by the participants in this research project. While discussion in Chapter Five detailed the limitations associated with this methodology, one of the most significant obstacle comprised the researcher's inability to work within the research environment using the language of the participants, namely Arabic. To lessen the negative effects of this limitation the researcher employed a field consultant familiar with the research environment, the case site school and fluent in the local language. The field consultant in this project was able to coordinate additional research services such as the acquisition of translators and the implementation of back translation techniques when reviewing collected data. However, not knowing

the participants' language raises doubts about the validity of the researcher's claim to 'expert' knowledge about dynamics in the participants' reality, which may not be entirely known to them – as is postulated from within the critical paradigm.

Though the translation methods mitigated this limitation to an extent, the findings of this project may have been more valid if taken back to the participants to seek their validation (Golafshani 2003). In hindsight, to not have done this could be seen as reproducing 'Orientalist' research wherein the 'western' expert again claims the right to speak for the oppressed and publishes a description of their reality, which in the absence of the opportunity for correction by the sample population, is offered up as the truth (Luke 1999). The field consultant was also used to ensure consistent implementation of data collection tools. This process involved the careful communication of instructions between researcher and field consultant and the relay of this information from the field consultant to the classroom teachers. In particular, information communicated from the field consultant to classroom teachers ensured that the questions being used in these data collecting tools were understood and that classroom teachers knew how to implement these instruments. Although this translation task was completed effectively, the field consultant suggested that any further similar research should use a translation team that understood the intricacies of different dialects of an otherwise common language. For example, it seemed that the high proportion of non-responses from student questionnaires from Question 19 and 23 in this research

project may have resulted from participant's misunderstanding of these questions.

The researcher encountered several other problems after the data was collected and analysed. Firstly, it was important to ensure that data were not quantified, but rather analysed using a qualitative approach that reveals contextual links with the espoused theoretical framework. The findings presented above which reveal education to comprise a significant site for Palestinian IDP subject formation may have not emerged were a quantitative approach use. Secondly, the sheer volume of data required an exhaustive amount of time to work through. Thus, if similar research is to be conducted in the future, it is important to set in place a realistic and tangible timeframe to work through the copious amounts of raw information. Electronic data analysis programs may help in this respect, though it should be noted that while such programs can present good data patterns, the use of theoretical frames is still required by the researcher to effectively interpret the patterns.

This research project relied heavily upon the participation of the subjects being investigated. This sample group enabled the researcher to identify educational constraints that this research project asserts have influenced the decision making processes affecting the career options of Palestinian high school student in Lebanon. However, as noted in Chapter Five sample populations can produce results that show a lack of respondent disclosure when answering questions of a personal nature. For example, the answer trends observed in the data from several student questionnaires seemed to indicate that some respondents may have not completed questions due to reasons such as

laziness, fear of answering sensitive questions (e.g. not wanting to expose the frailty of UNRWA education programme), not feeling comfortable with the data collection style (e.g. lack of questionnaire or interview experience), and cultural factors (e.g. being interviewed by a foreigner). The researcher also acknowledges that some of the questions used in the questionnaire and semi-structured interview were too broad and very text-dense, which may have reduced the clarity of the questions' focus. In hindsight the questionnaire should have been designed so that more tangible links could be identified between each question and thus, provide improved foregrounding in the delivery of the question. Despite this measure, however, it is acknowledged based upon the data obtained in this research project, that speaking against hegemonic power structures from a position of subjugation is always risky and thus not easy.

Recommendations for Future Research

It is maintained that aspects of this research project might be replicated in other contexts in which internally displaced populations find themselves subjugated by colonialist-like relations, particularly in relation to the efficacy of UNRWA schools in Middle-Eastern contexts. A comparative analysis including the context explored in this research project and another may enable investigation to discern the extent to which the findings of this project are

relatively unique or more widespread. Thus it might be possible, notwithstanding the limits of generalisation noted above, to further discuss the perceptions of the Palestinians investigated in this research project with the perceptions of those in other 'internally displaced persons' contexts. Stronach and MacLure (1997) support this possibility, suggesting that the replication of similar research protocol in different case sites provides researchers with a broader perspective of discursive sources informing common communities.

Future research might also focus on the successes of UNRWA. Investigation of UNRWA's various operating programmes, such as those associated with education, health and vocational training could provide an understanding of why certain UNRWA initiatives are successful as opposed to others. Brown (2001) stated that understanding the successes of refugee education programmes may enable researchers to gain insight into the structures of power that inform the mandate of successful refugee education models. And as noted earlier, Zakharia and Tabari (2001) maintain that further research of UNRWA programmes may highlight factors that influence the academic and employment success of Palestinian youth. In this sense, and in addition to this research project, 'success' stories, such as those mentioned in UNRWA's 'Seeds of Success' could be further investigated to map factors which have facilitated success. What comprises 'success', however, might also need to be deconstructed, and treated as a discursive tactic intended to more positively represent UNRWA, given the largely negative representation of UNWRA education which have emerged in this investigation.

It may also be valuable to explore more specifically in relation to the context investigated in his research project, the tactics and strategies used by Palestinians to resist their subjugation, and how these are either facilitated or hindered through formal education. Thus, it seems logical that future research could be grounded within a more social-critical research focus and could focus on exploring discourse associated with the social-critical perspective. This research project has acknowledged the existence of discourse grounded in the social-critical paradigm and further investigation may provide insight into why IDP communities perceive education as a source of resistance to challenge those whom hold power and control society. In this way, research may investigate the ways in which resistance is constructed and acted upon within IDP contexts. For example, dropping out of school may be one expression of resistance (IDMC 2010; IDMC 2012), but its effectiveness as a systemic change tactic is questionable (IDMC 2010; McBrien 2005; Zakharia and Tabari 2011; Brun 2005). Nonetheless, it is very possible that education which is provided outside of the formal UNWRA system provides possibilities for resistance, and these might equally be of value to research. Would these alternatives facilitate survival or flourishing, if not 'liberation'? The need for this research focus emerges from what the data above show to be the deployment of discourses which seemingly have the effect of reproducing Lebanese interests and constructions of the 'truth' and 'resistance'. If both the material resources of formal education, the discourses around it and an assembly of various technologies of power function to contain Palestinian IDP welfare and progress,

then where else does education take place, which might help Palestinian IDPs to resist this outcome?

Suggestions for the Way Forward

Faced with the seeming intransigence of the context outlined above, it could be asserted that Palestinian IDPs might begin to alter relations of power by engaging in resistance to the stereotypical perceptions deployed by the Lebanese against them. Said (1994:4) has stated, for example, that Palestinian IDPs must be prepared to adopt a resistive stance so that discriminatory discourses that have informed Palestinian education and employment futures in Lebanon can be challenged. In this respect, Palestinians might seek to discredit the slave-slave(Master) dialectic, which this research project has shown is deployed by those in power and re-deployed by the subordinated. In this sense, Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon must question those who deploy unequal relations of power in an effort to 'change' the acceptance of prejudice by those who lack power. Post-colonial critics like Davies (2003:14-15) reinforce this notion that the disadvantaged must strive to expose the falsity of 'hidden' truths that are deemed natural by the powerful. Similarly, Olssen (2003:193) and Bhabha (1990:241) describe this possibility as striving to 'silence' dominant hegemonies, which have been shown in this research project as significantly impacting the equality afforded to Palestinian IDPs in Lebanese society. Thus, as described by Slemon (1994), Palestinian IDPs must reject colonial assumptions that are still prevalent in Lebanese society and question what

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Tamatea (2001) refers to as the 'colonial constructions of life'. It is also asserted that Palestinian IDPs need to develop new 'constructions of life' from a perspective that reflects their needs, wants, and desires. As Said (1994) points out this may help Palestinians reproduce a 'reality' that unlocks the semiotic structures that inform the past, present and future actualities of Palestinians in Lebanese society.

It might also be claimed, however, that the focus upon discourse presents little more than 'word games' played from a position of safety in the Western academy. Although these 'games' might facilitate hearing the voice of the oppressed, it is doubtful as to the capacity of discursive interventions alone to facilitate the kinds of changes seemingly required for Palestinian IDPs in Lebanon – notwithstanding the fact that representation is often closely tied to practice (Mooney and French 2005; Sayigh 2001). When a school aged girl and her young sisters can tweet to the world their concerns about dying and yet things just continue to be the same (often just more 'capital' for a 24/7 for-profit global media), then the value of discursive interventions and yet more words is surely questionable. In this respect, the research project concludes by recommending that further research be conducted to identify and explore the ways in which Palestinian IDPs resist their asymmetrical positioning through attention to how such resistance is related to education, formal, informal and religious. It may very well be as intimated above, that beyond the provision of formal school education, that a range of alternative education resources provide for some, more attractive opportunities for resistance at both the local and regional level.

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Appendices

Appendix Number One - Map 1: UNRWA's Area of Operations in the Middle East
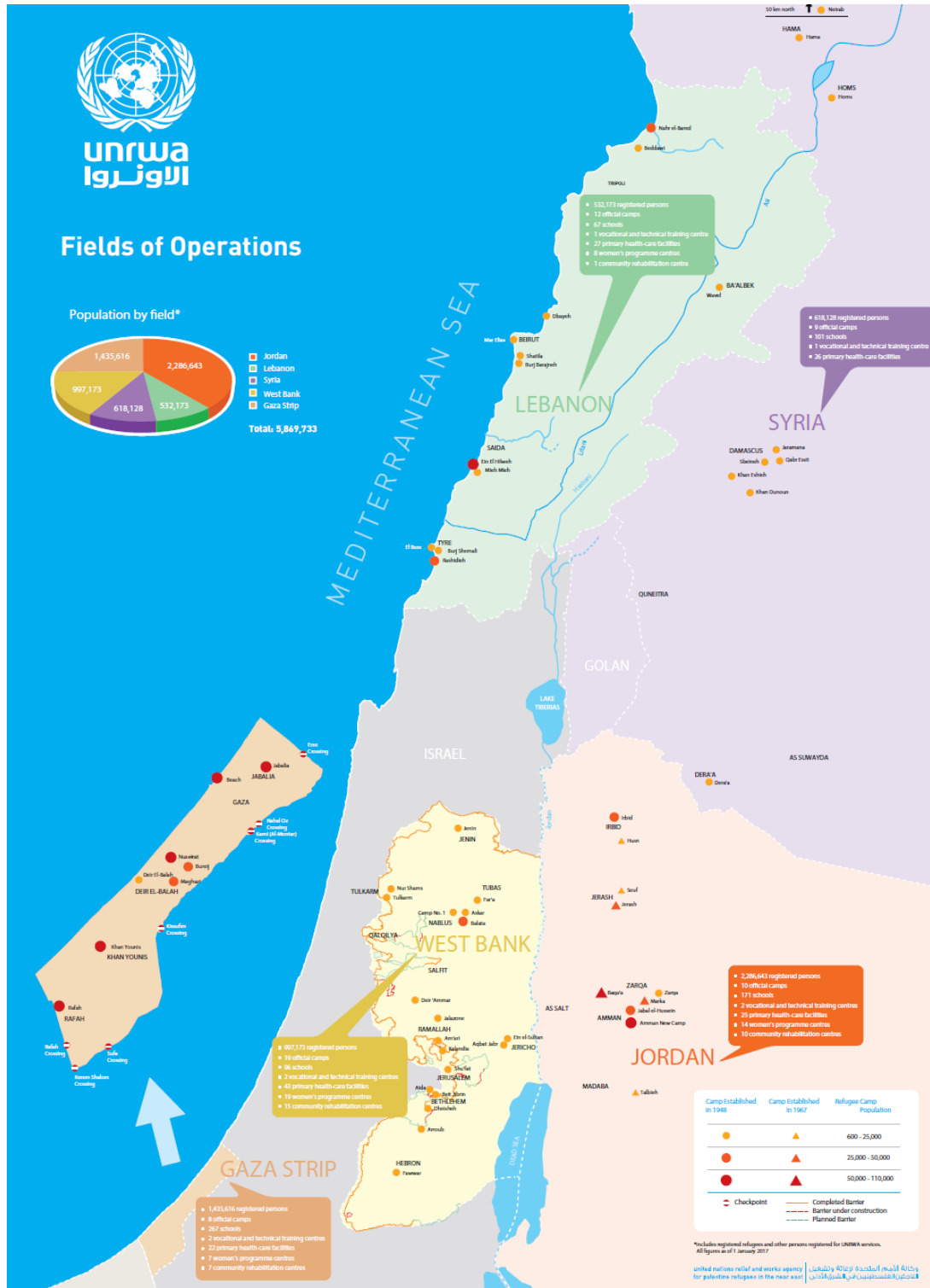
Map 1: Map of UNRWA's Area of Operation in the Middle East Region (UNRWA 2017 – UNRWA: Where we work – Middle East; UNRWA 2017).

Appendix Number Two - Map 2: UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps in the Middle East Region

Map 2: Registered UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps in the Middle East region, as of 1 June 2017 (UNRWA 2017 - UNRWA: Where we work – Middle East; Palestine History 2002; UNRWA 2002).

Appendix Number Three - Map 3: UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon
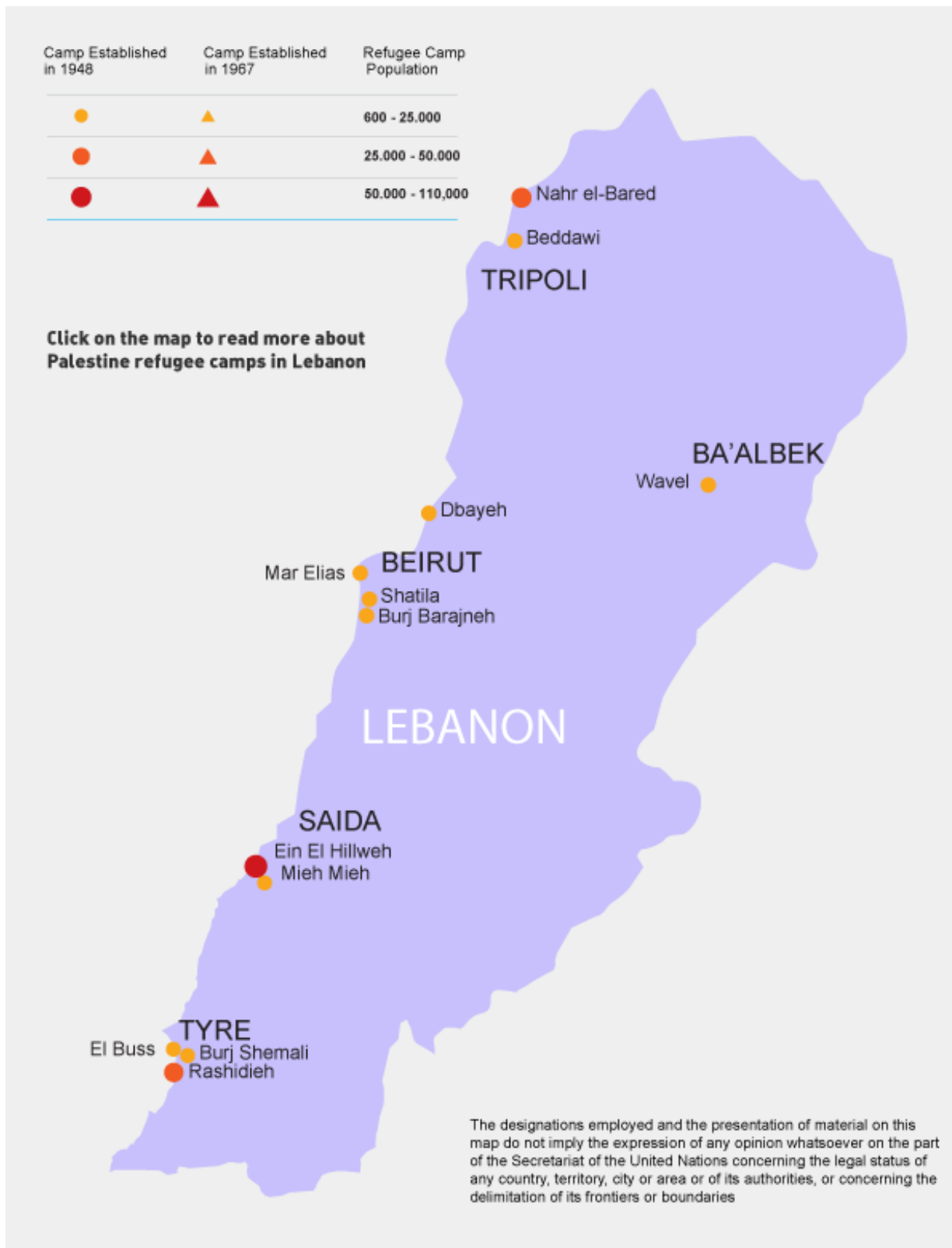
Map 3: Registered UNRWA Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon, as of 1 January 2017 (UNRWA 2017 – UNRWA: Where we work – Lebanon).

Appendix Number Four - Map 4: Militia Zones within Beirut's Western suburbs during Lebanon's Third Civil War (1975-1991)
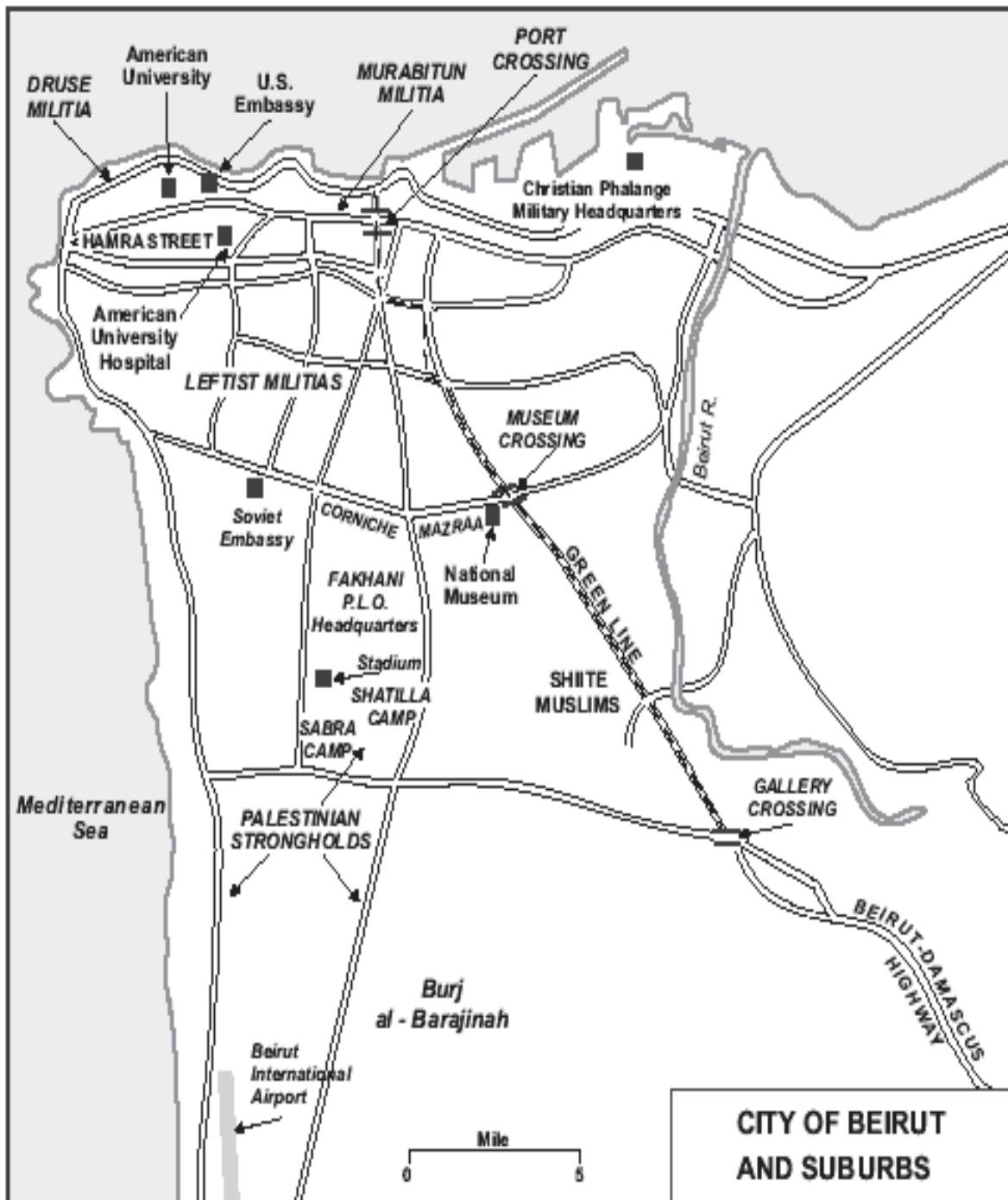
Map 4: Militia Zones within Beirut's Western suburbs during Lebanon's Third Civil War (Gawrych 2003).

Appendix Number Five - Map 5: Zones of Control in Lebanon in 1982

Zones of Control in Lebanon in 1982

Tripoli

LEBANON

Mediterranean
Sea

Beirut

Damour River

Awali River

Sidon

Bekaa Valley

Beirut-Damascus Highway

Damascus

SYRIA

Litani River

Tyre

Galilee

Christian-controlled
Syrian-controlled
PLO- controlled

ISRAEL

Map 5: Zones of control in Lebanon in 1982 (Gawrych 2003).

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Appendix Number Six – Table 3: Prominent Arab Organisations Working with Palestinian Community in Lebanon

Association	Type of Activity	Beneficiary	Area of Operation
Aijal Centre	Palestinian statistics and documentation office	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Al Jana – Arab Resource Centre for Popular Arts (ARCPA)	Education and creative expression	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Al-SUMUD (Resistance Organisation)	Welfare of Palestinians in Lebanon	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Arabic Cultural Centre	Education, cultural activities	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Association Al Najdeh	Education, social services	Women	Lebanon
Beit Atfal Assomoud Centre	Education, vocational training, health services	Women, children, families, orphans	Lebanon, Tyre, Saida
Children and Youth Centre	Community work	Shatila Camp	Beirut
Ghassan Kanafani Institution/ Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	Community work	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Hezbollah	Education	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Palestinian Cultural Centre	Education, cultural activities	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO)	Education	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
Palestinian Red Crescent	Health services	All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon
National Association for Vocational Training and Social Services (NAVTSS)	Education and Vocational Training	Young Palestinian men and women	Lebanon
Palestinian Human Rights Organisation Advocate and		All Palestinians in Lebanon	Lebanon

monitor Palestinian rights in Lebanon			424
SOS Children's Villages of Lebanon Social welfare		Children	Lebanon
The Women Centre	United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) affiliated practical training skills	Women	Lebanon
Women's Humanitarian Organisation (WHO)	Education, vocational training, elderly care, day-care, health services, tuition	Women and young children	Lebanon

(Salah 2001:9)

Appendix Number Seven – Table 4: Foreign N.G.O's working with

Palestinian Community in Lebanon

Association	Type of Activity	Beneficiary	Area of Operation
Al – Majmou'a	Loans	Women	Lebanon
Aust Care Australia	Financial support	Women's Humanitarian Organisation (WHO)/UNRWA	Lebanon
Comitato International per lo Sviloppo	Financial support/health services	Red Crescent	Lebanon
Diakonia	Financial support/disabled	Association for the development of Palestinian Camps	North Lebanon/ Nahr Al-Bared
Enfants Refugies Du Monde	Financial support and supervising kindergartens	Children	Tyre
Freidrich Ebert Stiftung	Training courses and social rehabilitation	Aijal Centre/Women Union	Lebanon
Human Appeal International	Financial support/kindergartens/orphans	United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) /Local aid agencies	Lebanon
Joint Christian Committee for Social Services	Cultural and vocational training	Children/students	Lebanon
Medical Aid for Palestine (MAP)	Financing medical projects	Palestinian Red Crescent	Lebanon
Medicins sans Frontieres	Health services	Palestinian Red Crescent	Lebanon
Monimondo	Financial support for health institutions and medical programs	Palestinian Red Crescent/ Women's Union	Ain Al-Hilweh
Norwak	Medical assistance	Palestinian Red Crescent	Tyre
Norwegian Peoples Aid	Financial support and vocational training	Association of Coordinating Institution	Beirut
Pharmarciens sans Frontieres	Health services	Palestinian Red Crescent	Lebanon
Save the Children (U.K)	Kindergartens/cultural	Children	Lebanon

	development		
Swedish Team for Rehabilitation	Financial support/disabled	Palestinian Red Crescent	North Lebanon
Terre Des Homme	Kindergartens/disabled/children	Disabled children	North Lebanon
Universal Physicians	Financial support/health services	Palestinian Red Crescent, Popular Aid for Relief and Development	Lebanon
Welfare Association	Financial support	All local associations	Lebanon
World Vision International	Financial support/culture/health services	United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)	Lebanon

(Salah 2001:9)

Data Collection Tools used in Research Project:

- Self-Completing Questionnaire
- Advice Task
- Semi-structured Interview

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Research Project Information Sheet for Participants

Perceived Educational Purposes and Employment Futures of Palestinian high school students living in Lebanon

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This research project aims to describe and interpret the perceived educational purposes and employment futures of Palestinian refugee high school students who live in Beirut, Lebanon. In particular, this project will research 10th grade Palestinian high school students who attend the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) high school located at Area 7, Beirut, Lebanon. UNRWA has given the researcher approval to conduct this research project at this high school. This research project will also ask teachers who work at this school; parents whose children have been selected to take part in this study; and UNRWA officials who develop the high school educational programs to take part in this research project.

The project involves several data collecting tasks. Students will be asked to take part in a questionnaire, advice task and interviews. Teachers, parents and UNRWA officials will be asked to take part in an interview. The project focuses on the relationships between school education, career aspiration, and future employment opportunities for Palestinian refugee high school students. Participants in the research project are free to withdraw from the project at any time without penalty. Participation in the research project will not affect your employment or association with UNRWA in any negative way. Questionnaire and Advice task answers will be written into separate answer booklets. These booklets are approximately 3 pages in length. Interviews will be tape-recorded and will last for approximately 30 minutes. All data collecting tasks will be completed at the high school being researched. All answer booklets; tapes and transcripts will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the researchers' office and destroyed after five years. The

information you provide for this project will remain confidential. Please do not tell me about criminal activity in which you may have been involved because it potentially exposes me to criminal prosecution if I do not report it to the police.

You must be a 10th Grade student, teacher, a parent of a student being researched or an UNRWA official to participate in this study. This research does not intend to explore personal or upsetting issues but if these issues arise as part of your responses you may wish to contact your local Counselling Service. You are welcome to ask any questions that you might have about the project. All research data will be collected between May 2004 and June 2004. The research project will be completed by the end of the year, 2005, and the results excluding participants' names will be provided in a report prepared for the UNRWA field office located in Beirut, Lebanon.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England has not yet approved this project. The approval No (HE___/___, Valid to __/__/__) will be added to this letter when it has been approved.

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please contact the Research Ethics Officer at the following address:

Research Services
University of New England
Armidale, NSW 2351, Australia.
Telephone: (02) 6773 3449 Facsimile (02) 6773 3543
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Cover Letter for student participants: Doctorate Research Project for Mr. Richard Rangi

Dear Student,

Hello, my name is Richard Rangi. I am currently living in Beirut and have begun studying towards my doctorate degree (Phd). My research project attempts to identify and analyse perceptions that relate to the educational purposes and employment futures for Palestinian high school students in Lebanon. It is hoped that the information gathered during this research project will help develop new strategies, which may improve education and future employment opportunities for Palestinian high school students in Lebanon.

However, to achieve such an objective, I believe that your participation is essential, as your knowledge and perceptions that relate to Palestinian high school student career aspirations in Lebanon will help improve the quality and success of my research project. Thus, this cover letter asks for your assistance and consent to participate in my doctorate research project. If you agree to participate in this research project, you may be selected to take part in the following tasks:

1) Questionnaire – You will answer a variety of questions that aim to find out what you perceive are the important purposes of education. All questionnaire answers will require the participant to write their answers in an answer booklet.
2) Advice Task – You must write a fictitious letter to a younger sibling about the importance and value of education.
3) Interview – You will be asked several questions by an interviewer. These questions explore similar topics as mentioned in the questionnaire and advice tasks. All answers will be recorded on a Dictaphone.

All information gathered during this research project will remain confidential and will become the property of the research coordinator – Mr. Richard Rangi.

Thank you for considering this request and I hope to work with you soon.

Yours Sincerely,

Richard Rangi,
Research Coordinator
The University of New England
Armidale, New South Wales 2351
Australia

Student Participant Consent Form:
Consent Agreement from students' parents

I_____ (Parent) give my child_____ consent to participate in Mr. Richard Rangi's doctorate research project. I have read the information contained in the Information Sheet for Participants and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that this research project may require my child to complete a questionnaire, advice task and an interview. I also understand that the information provided by my child for this doctorate research project will remain the property of Mr. Richard Rangi and may be published, provided my child's name is not used. I accept, on behalf of my child, all of the terms for participating in this research project.

Signed:_____
Date:_____(Day)/_____(Month)/2004
           (Parent)

Signed:_____
Date:_____(Day)/_____(Month)/2004
           (Investigator/Researcher)

Student Assent Agreement

I _____(the student participant) have read the information contained in the Information Sheet for Participants and what I will have to do to help with this research project has been explained to me thoroughly. I agree to take part in all aspects of this research project (This includes written descriptions in the questionnaire and advice task booklets, as well as having tape recordings made of what I say in an interview). No one has forced me to take part in this research project and I realise that I may withdraw from this research project at any time.

Signed:_____
Date:_____(Day)/_____(Month)/2004
           (Student Participant)

Signed:_____
Date:_____(Day)/_____(Month)/2004
           (Investigator/Researcher)

Cover Letter for parents, teachers and UNRWA administrators:
Doctorate Research Project for Mr. Richard Rangi

Dear Sir or Madam,

Hello, my name is Richard Rangi. I am currently living in Beirut and have begun studying towards my doctorate degree (Phd). My research project attempts to identify and analyse perceptions that relate to the educational purposes and employment futures for Palestinian high school students in Lebanon. It is hoped that the information gathered during this research project will help develop new strategies, which may improve education and future employment opportunities for Palestinian high school students in Lebanon.

However, to achieve such an objective, I believe that your participation is essential, as your knowledge and perceptions that relate to Palestinian high school student career aspirations in Lebanon will help improve the quality and success of my research project.

Thus, this cover letter asks for your assistance and consent to participate in my doctorate research project. If you agree to participate in this research project, you will take part in the following task:

1) Interview – An interviewer will ask you a variety of questions that aim to identify your perceptions of what you think the purposes of education are. These questions will also explore other educational and career orientated issues. All answers will be recorded on a Dictaphone.

All information gathered during this research project will remain confidential and will become the property of the research coordinator – Mr. Richard Rangi.

Thank you for considering this request and I hope to work with you soon.

Yours Sincerely,

Richard Rangi,
Research Coordinator
The University of New England, Armidale
New South Wales 2351, Australia

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Consent Form for Parents of Researched Students, Teachers and UNRWA Participants:

Consent Agreement

I_____ (the participant) have read the information contained in the Information Sheet for Participants and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to take part in this research project and realise that I can withdraw at any time. I agree that research data collected for the research project may be published provided my name is not used. I understand that this consensual agreement will require me to take part in an interview (This includes having tape recordings made of what I say in an interview). I understand that the information I provide for this doctorate research project will remain the property of Mr. Richard Rangi. I accept all of the terms for participating in this research project.

Signed:_____
Date:_____(Day)/_____(Month)/2004
            (Participant)

Signed:_____
Date:_____(Day)/_____(Month)/2004
            (Investigator/Researcher)

Questionnaire: Doctorate Research Project for Mr. Richard Rangi

This questionnaire attempts to provide you, the research participants with an opportunity to identify and describe your perceptions of the purposes of education. This survey-questionnaire also aims to provide you with an opportunity to state how you think these perceptions of education may influence the future employment opportunities of Palestinian high school students in Beirut, Lebanon.

To complete this task successfully, the research coordinator, Mr. Richard Rangi, asks that all participants should answer the survey-questionnaire individually. The reason for this request is that your responses are very valuable and other people should not influence your answers. Ensuring that your personal opinions represent 'you' and not 'others' will help improve the quality of this research project, as it might outline different educational issues that Palestinian high school students feel should be addressed.

- Note - How to answer questions:

Example 1: To answer these short answer questions place a check mark in the box that best fits your answer. For example:

What is your nationality?   Palestinian ( )
                            Palestinian/ Lebanese ( )
                            Lebanese ( )
                            Other (Please state):_____.

Example 2: When questions are provided with a substantial space. Use this space to write a detailed answer described what you are saying.

Why is education important? Explain:
_____
_____
_____

Questionnaire: Doctorate Research Project for Mr. Richard Rangi

1. Name of Participant:_____.
2. Gender   Male ( )   Female ( )
3. Date of Birth: _____(Day)/_____(Month)/_____(Year)
4. Ethnic Origin: Palestinian ( )
                         Palestinian/ Lebanese ( )
                         Lebanese ( )
                         Other (Please state):_____.

5. Have you ever returned to Palestine?   Yes ( )   No ( )
6. Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon.
_____
_____
_____
_____

7. Describe what it means to be a refugee.
_____
_____
_____
_____

8. Why is education important for the Palestinian community? Explain your answer in detail.
_____
_____
_____

9. Do you believe that education can improve the quality of life for Palestinians living in Lebanon? How? Explain your answer in detail.
_____
_____
_____
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_____

10. What do you think the purposes of education are? Explain your answer in detail.
_____
_____
_____
_____

11. Do you think that your high school education fulfils these educational purposes? Explain your answer in detail.
_____
_____
_____

12. Do you think it is important to get a job when you finish your education? Why? Explain your reasons for this answer.

_____
_____
_____
_____

13. What subjects do you think are important for getting a job when you leave high school? Explain why these subjects are important to you.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

14. Do you think that the subjects you select in high school prepare you for future job opportunities? Explain your answer in detail.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

15. What job would you like to have when you finish your education? Explain why this job is important to you.

_____
_____
_____
_____

16. Where did you get the idea that you would like to get that job?

_____
_____
_____
_____

17. What are the main reasons attracting you to this specific career? Explain your reasons in detail.

_____
_____
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18. What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to pursue a specific career?

_____
_____

_____
_____

19. What job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education? Why do you think you will get this job? Explain your answers in detail.

_____
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_____

20. How would you feel if you could not get a job when you finish high school? Explain your answer in detail.

_____
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21. Do you think there is a possibility that you will be unemployed when you finish your education? Why? Explain your answer in detail.

_____
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22. Does being Palestinian limit your job opportunities in Lebanon? Explain your answer in detail.

_____
_____
_____
_____

23. How could education be used to help improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Explain your answer in detail.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire. Your assistance and cooperation is greatly appreciated. All answers will remain confidential and property of the research coordinator, Mr. Richard Rangi.

Advice Task: Doctorate Research Project for Mr. Richard Rangi

Please read the following text and complete the task to the best of your ability:

Write a letter to younger brother or sister (if you do not have a younger sibling, then write to a fictitious sibling) who is just starting at the high school you attend/attended. In your letter explain to him or her why it is important to get a high school education and what kinds of careers they could realistically expect to get when they finish high school. Also, tell your brother or sister what subjects you think are most important for getting specific careers and whether these subjects are adequately represented at this high school.

(Note: Write your fictitious letter on the next page on the Advice Task Letter Sheet)

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this task. Your opinion and ideas are extremely valuable and important components for making this research project successful. The data that is collected from this advice task will remain confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this research project.

Yours Sincerely,

Richard Rangi
Research Coordinator

Advice Task Letter Sheet:
Student No:_____(Reference of participation).

Dear_____,
_____
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Interview Time Schedule: Doctorate Research Project for Mr. Richard Rangi

Interviews will be conducted at the UNRWA high school located at Area 7, Beirut, Lebanon. The following table explains when these interviews will be conducted.

- **1st Week of interviews: May 24th – May 28th 2004:**

Date & Time of Interviews	Order of Interviews
Monday 24th May 2004: 4.00pm	Student1
Monday 24th May 2004: 4.00pm	Parent1
Monday 24th May 2004: 4.30pm	Student2
Monday 24th May 2004: 4.30pm	Parent2
Tuesday 25th May 2004: 4.00pm	Student3
Tuesday 25th May 2004: 4.00pm	Parent3
Tuesday 25th May 2004: 4.30pm	Student4
Tuesday 25th May 2004: 4.30pm	Parent4
Wednesday 26th May 2004: 4.00pm	Student5
Wednesday 26th May 2004: 4.00pm	Parent5
Wednesday 26th May 2004: 4.30pm	Student6
Wednesday 26th May 2004: 4.30pm	Parent6
Thursday 27th May 2004: 4.00pm	Student7
Thursday 27th May 2004: 4.00pm	Parent7
Thursday 27th May 2004: 4.30pm	Student8
Thursday 27th May 2004: 4.30pm	Parent8
Friday 28th May 2004: 4.00pm	Student9
Friday 28th May 2004: 4.00pm	Parent9
Friday 28th May 2004: 4.30pm	Student10
Friday 28th May 2004: 4.30pm	Parent10

- **2nd Week of interviews: May 31st – June 4th 2004:**

Date & Time of Interviews	Order of Interviews
Monday 31st May 2004: 4.00pm	Student11
Monday 31st May 2004: 4.00pm	Parent11
Monday 31st May 2004: 4.30pm	Student12
Monday 31st May 2004: 4.30pm	Parent12
Tuesday 1st June 2004: 4.00pm	Student13
Tuesday 1st June 2004: 4.00pm	Parent13
Tuesday 1st June 2004: 4.30pm	Student14
Tuesday 1st June 2004: 4.30pm	Parent14
Wednesday 2nd June 2004: 4.00pm	Student15
Wednesday 2nd June 2004: 4.00pm	Parent15
Wednesday 2nd June 2004: 4.30pm	Student16
Wednesday 2nd June 2004: 4.30pm	Parent16
Thursday 3rd June 2004: 4.00pm	Student17
Thursday 3rd June 2004: 4.00pm	Parent17

Thursday 3rd June 2004: 4.30pm	Student18
Thursday 3rd June 2004: 4.30pm	Parent18
Friday 4th June 2004: 4.00pm	Student19
Friday 4th June 2004: 4.00pm	Parent19
Friday 4th June 2004: 4.30pm	Student20
Friday 4th June 2004: 4.30pm	Parent20

To ensure that the confidentiality of each participant is maintained, student and parent subjects will be coded in the following manner – (eg. Student1, Student2, Parent1, Parent2). Student subjects will be interviewed at the same time as their parents. It is hoped that conducting student and parent interviews at the same time will help eliminate the influence of both parties (student, parents) on one another when responding to questions (ie. If students are interviewed first, then their parents come in 2 weeks later – During this lull period, these student's parents may get an idea of what types of questions were asked).

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English Translation

1) In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon? Please explain why education is important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon or why it is not.

2) Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

3) In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

4) What factors (if any) have contributed to your perception of what the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

5) In what ways, do you think that your high school education fulfils these educational purposes? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

6) In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Please explain your answer in detail.

7) In your opinion, what does education try to prepare you for when you leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

8) In your opinion, does your high school education prepare you for life after high school? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

9) What do you think it is important to do when you finish your high school education? Why do you think is it important to do this? Please explain your reasons for this answer.

10) In your opinion, would you rather continuing your education when you finish high school or get a job? Please explain why you may select one option over another?

11) What reasons (if any) has influenced what you will do when you leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

12) In your opinion, what school subjects do you think are important for getting a job when you leave high school? Why are these subjects important to you? What subjects are less important to you and why? Please explain your answers in detail.

13) In your opinion, do the subjects you select in high school prepare you for future job opportunities? If yes, what types of jobs? If no, why? Please explain your answers in detail.

14) In your opinion, why are these kinds of jobs accessible to you when you leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

15) In your opinion, what kinds of jobs are not accessible to you when you leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

16) What type of job would you like to get when you finish your education? Why is this job important to you? Please explain your answers in detail.

17) Where did you get the idea that you would like to pursue this career? What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to pursue a specific career? Please explain your answers in detail.

18) What type of job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education? Why do you think you will get this job? Please explain your answers in detail.

19) If you get a job, do you think that this occupation will relate to the education you have completed? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

20) What do you expect will be your job or working role 5-7 years after starting your first job? Why do you think this? Please explain your answer in detail.

21) How would you feel if you did not get a job when you finish high school or complete your education? Please explain your answer in detail.

22) Why is it important for you to get a job when you finish high school or complete further education? Please explain answer in detail.

23) Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that you may be unemployed when you finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Please explain answer in detail.

24) In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Why do you think this situation occurs? Please explain answer in detail.

25) Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect your job opportunities? If so, in what ways does this source of identity affect your job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Please explain your answers in detail.

26) Do you realistically think employment opportunities will improve for Palestinians in Lebanon over the next 5-7 years? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

27) In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

28) In your opinion, how can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

English Translation

1) In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon? Please explain why education is important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon or why it is not.

2) Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

3) In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

4) What factors (if any) have contributed to your perception of what the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

5) In what ways, do you think that your child's high school education fulfils these educational purposes? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

6) In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your child's high school education being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Please explain your answer in detail.

7) In your opinion, what does education try to prepare students for when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

8) In your opinion, does your child's high school education prepare them for life after high school? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

9) What do you think it is important for students to do when they finish their high school education? Why do you think is it important to do this? Please explain your reasons for this answer.

10) In your opinion, would you rather your child continue their education when they finish high school or get a job? Please explain why you may select one option over another?

11) What reasons (if any) has influenced what you think your child should do when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

12) In your opinion, what school subjects do you think are important for getting a job when your child leaves high school? Why are these subjects important to you? What subjects are less important to you and why? Please explain your answers in detail.

13) In your opinion, do the subjects your child selects in high school prepare them for future job opportunities? If yes, what types of jobs? If no, why? Please explain your answers in detail.

14) In your opinion, why are these kinds of jobs accessible to your child when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

15) In your opinion, what kinds of jobs are not accessible to your child when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

16) What type of job would you like your child to get when they finish their education? Why is this job important to you? Please explain your answers in detail.

17) Where did you get the idea that you would like your child to pursue this career? What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to think that specific career pathway is a good option for your child? Please explain your answers in detail.

18) What type of job do you realistically expect that your child will get when they finish their education? Why do you think they will get this job? Please explain your answers in detail.

19) If your child gets a job, do you think that this occupation will relate to the education they have completed? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

20) What do you expect will be your child's job or working role 5-7 years after starting their first job? Why do you think this? Please explain your answer in detail.

21) How would you feel if your child did not get a job when they finish high school or complete their education? Please explain your answer in detail.

22) Why is it important for your child to get a job when they finish high school or complete further education? Please explain answer in detail.

23) Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that your child may be unemployed when they finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Please explain answer in detail.

24) In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Why do you think this situation occurs? Please explain answer in detail.

25) Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect job opportunities? If so, in what ways does this source of identity affect your child's job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Please explain your answers in detail.

26) Do you realistically think employment opportunities will improve for Palestinians in Lebanon over the next 5-7 years? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

27) In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

28) In your opinion, how can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

Interview Questions for Teacher and UNRWA Participants: **Teacher / UNRWA No#**_____ *(Circle **Teacher** or **UNRWA** to identify participant)*

English Translation

1) In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon? Please explain why education is important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon or why it is not.

2) Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

3) In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

4) What factors (if any) have contributed to your perception of what the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

5) In what ways, do you think that your high school education programme fulfils these educational purposes? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

6) In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Please explain your answer in detail.

7) In your opinion, what do you think that your high school education programme attempts to prepare students for when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

8) In your opinion, do you think that your high school education programme prepares students for life after high school? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

9) What do you think it is important for students to do when they finish their high school education? Why do you think is it important to do this? Please explain your reasons for this answer.

10) In your opinion, would you rather see students continue their education when they finish high school or get a job? Please explain why you may select one option over another?

11) What reasons (if any) has influenced what you think students should do when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

12) In your opinion, what school subjects do you think are important for getting a job in Lebanon when students leave high school? Why are these subjects important to you? What subjects are less important to you and why? Please explain your answers in detail.

13) In your opinion, do you think that the subject's student's select in your high school prepare them for future job opportunities? If yes, what types of jobs? If no, why? Please explain your answers in detail.

14) In your opinion, why are these kinds of jobs accessible to students when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

15) In your opinion, what kinds of jobs are not accessible to students when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

16) What types of jobs would you like students to get in Lebanon when they finish their education? Why are these jobs important to you? Please explain your answers in detail.

17) Where did you get the idea that students should aim to pursue these specific career pathways? What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to select these specific careers as appropriate for your students? Please explain your answers in detail.

18) What types of jobs do you realistically expect students to get when they finish their education? Why do you think that students will get these jobs? Please explain your answers in detail.

19) If students get a job, do you think that this occupation will relate to the education they have completed? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

20) What do you expect will be a student's job or working role 5-7 years after starting their first job? Why do you think this? Please explain your answer in detail.

21) How would you feel if your students did not get a job when they finish high school or complete their education? Please explain your answer in detail.

22) Why is it important for students to get a job when they finish high school or complete further education? Please explain answer in detail.

23) Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that your students may be unemployed when they finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Please explain answer in detail.

24) In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Why do you think this situation occurs? Please explain answer in detail.

25) Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Please explain your answers in detail.

26) Do you realistically think employment opportunities will improve for Palestinians in Lebanon over the next 5-7 years? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

27) In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

28) In your opinion, how can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

UNITED NATIONS

NATIONS UNIES

RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY
FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR
EAST

OFFICE DE SECOURS ET DE TRAVAUX POUR LES
REFUGIES DE PALESTINE DANS LE PROCHE-ORIENT

وكالة الأُمَم المتَحِّدة

Telephone : 840490 Thru 5
840461 Thru 5
822415/6
Fax : 00961 1 840466
840469

لإغاثة وتشغيل اللاجئين الفلسطينيين في الشَّرق الأدنى

UNRWA Lebanon Field Office

Lebanon Field Office
Facing Sportive City
Bir Hassan, Ghoberi
P.O.Box 11-0947
Beirut 1107 2060- Lebanon

Reference: DUA/L-9

06 April 2004

Mr. Richard Rangi
Physical Education Teacher
The American Community School at Beirut
P.O. Box 8129
Riad El Solh
E-mail: rrangi@acs.edu.lb
Beirut - Lebanon

Dear Mr. Rangi,

I refer to your email message to my assistant seeking my consent for you to conduct a research project based on one of the Agency's schools.

The Agency receives many requests for such research projects and it is not possible for me to give approval without full information on the objectives and methodology of the research. Whilst I appreciate you require a quick answer it is not possible at such short notice. You must first submit a detailed synopsis of your project and then meet with the Chief of our Education Programme. Once she has given her recommendation, I will consider your request.

I also require a letter from the university requesting UNRWA to facilitate your research. Once you have provided this information, I will ensure that you are given a speedy answer.

Yours sincerely,

Richard J. Cook
Director of UNRWA Affairs,
Lebanon

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List of Faux Names for Participants in this Research Project

The real names of students, teachers, parents and UNRWA administrators were not used in this research project. Actual names were replaced by faux names to keep the identity of participants confidential.

Name of Female Student	Name of Female Student's Parent	Name of Male Student	Name of Male Student's Parent	Name of UNRWA Teachers	Name of UNRWA Administrators
1 Dana	Aya	1 Nadim	Abdallah	1 Dalia	1 Aida
2 Zeina	Afnan	2 Hani	Hamid	2 Reina	2 Bassam
3 Daria	Layla	3 Mohamad	Shadi	3 Nadine	
4 Haneen	Maryam	4 Khaled	Bilal	4 Marwa	
5 Sarya	Shaden	5 Wael	Fadi	5 Nabila	
6 Karma	Wasna	6 Youseff	Hadi	6 Faten	
7 Laila	Nayla	7 Karim	Kareem	1 Abdul	
8 Nour	Wafna	8 Ahmad	Amer	2 Khalil	
9 Basma	Sura			3 Rashid	
10 Noha	Hiba			4 Nabil	
11 Sawsan	Fatima				
12 Wafa	Aceil				

ALL PHD Questionnaire and Interview Results:

Parent Questionnaire Results

1) In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon? Please explain why education is important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon or why it is not.

F1	Very important – fight Zionist enemy.
F2	Yes – only weapon to fight.
F3	Yes – last unified means for Palestinian people to face other people of the world.
F4	Yes – it guarantees a future.
F5	Yes. It protects dignity and helps him live.
F6	Very important. Education is a weapon to fight danger and gain existence.
F7	Yes – helps get work for the future.
F8	Yes – develops the mind and helps people get work.
F9	Yes, very important.
F10	Yes – education is the base for life.
F11	Yes, helps Palestinians achieve goals.
F12	Yes – a weapon to fight Jewish enemy.
M1	Very important.
M2	Yes. It helps benefit Palestinians when they return home to Palestine.
M3	Develop Palestinian living conditions.
M4	Extremely important.
M5	Of course it is important.
M6	Education is important as it is the only weapon for Palestinians.
M7	Essential necessity for the Palestinian population to regain rights.
M8	Yes – basic support for the success of Palestinian people.

2) Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

F1	Important – gives hope to become knowledgeable
F2	Helps children move through difficult economic situation.
F3	Important for my children to build a successful future.
F4	Yes. It guarantees a future.
F5	No – Palestinians will still be oppressed even with a good education.
F6	Yes. Important for life.
F7	Yes.
F8	Yes – communicate with others.

F9	Yes, I want my children to achieve their desires and dreams.
F10	Yes – it is the Palestinians weapon.
F11	Yes, develop mind and culture.
F12	Yes – it introduces Palestinians to job opportunities.
M1	Yes, help my children improve their situation in life.
M2	Yes. Develop knowledge.
M3	Education is important.
M4	Yes – paves the way for the future.
M5	Education is knowledge and an individual can learn and become civilised.
M6	Education helps my difficult situation.
M7	Education is a way of life to gain a living.
M8	Education helps people gain a place in society.

3) In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	Prepares a person for life
F2	Develop society and enable specialisation in many fields of work.
F3	Develop personal culture and learn ways to face problems.
F4	Develop knowledge.
F5	Gain knowledge and develop personality.
F6	Develop the means for life.
F7	Develop knowledge for life.
F8	Satisfy the need for discovery.
F9	Develops culture and society.
F10	Strategies for living in difficult situations.
F11	Self-realization and building a personality.
F12	Liberation.
M1	Improve quality of life.
M2	Foundation for society to defend their rights.
M3	Development of an individual.
M4	Gives a person an opportunity to earn a living.
M5	To gain university learning and financial security.
M6	Specialise students in specific fields of work.
M7	Weapons of knowledge to fight and liberate their country (Palestine).
M8	Communication with other societies and improve living conditions.

4) What factors (if any) have contributed to your perception of what the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	Secure life.
F2	Obtain a future job and increase level of living.
F3	Personal experience.
F4	Deprivation of life in Lebanon.
F5	Society you live in.
F6	Growing up in an illiterate environment.
F7	Society, what is happening in the world.
F8	All kinds of media.
F9	Educate society and develop culture.
F10	*No answer.*
F11	The state of a society.
F12	Face problems in life.
M1	Improve life.
M2	Guide us towards industrial, modern and cultural advancement.
M3	Suffering of Palestinian people.
M4	The importance of learning and to better parents' situation.
M5	Need university specialisation.
M6	Get jobs and secure a living.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	The conditions of war and suffering have made me realise the importance of education.

5) In what ways, do you think that your high school education programme fulfils these educational purposes? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	No – it is a base for learning skills, but these skills are only basic skills for low jobs.
F3	Yes.
F4	No – it is not good enough, it is a base for learning and it is not enough to realise dreams.
F5	No.
F6	No – education is a continual path without limits.
F7	No. Must continue education at university.
F8	No.
F9	No, too basic.
F10	I don't know – did not finish high school.
F11	No – it is a phase in life.
F12	No, it is not enough to reach goals because education is not enough.
M1	Yes – it helps develop a person.

M2	No.
M3	No – lack of means to enter university.
M4	It is only a basic education foundation.
M5	No – lack of educational goals, just theory based.
M6	No, secondary education is a basic start for university.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	No, university education provides better job opportunities.

6) In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Reach goals.
F3	Quality of school and desire of Palestinians to learn.
F4	Unable to because of poor living conditions.
F5	Where I live and conditions I live in.
F6	Social reality facing a person.
F7	It is part of an education chain – subjects are basic at secondary level.
F8	No.
F9	Basic preparation for life.
F10	Did not finish high school.
F11	Only prepares for basic tasks.
F12	Secondary education prepares you for university.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	*No answer.*
M3	Secondary school education does not provide the opportunities to enter university.
M4	It is a foundation, but it is expensive to go to university.
M5	You can work with a secondary degree, but you lack specialisation.
M6	*No answer.*
M7	*No answer.*
M8	*No answer.*

7) In your opinion, what do you think that your high school education programme attempts to prepare students for when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Prepare students for entering university.
F3	Train students for life.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	Prepare us for life.
F6	Preparation for the next stage of learning.

F7	Expose our minds to knowledge and learning pathways.
F8	Prepare students for future stages of learning.
F9	Prepare students for life challenges.
F10	To prepare students for difficult times.
F11	Help students understand their needs.
F12	High school learning prepares students for university education – a step in the process of learning.
M1	It is only basic education.
M2	There is no worthwhile program.
M3	Free education.
M4	Prepare a student for a vocation.
M5	There is no program to help our students, as they cannot get work.
M6	*No answer.*
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Continue and aim to get a job in the same school.

8) In your opinion, do you think that your high school education programme prepares students for life after high school? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Yes – it is a foundation for life.
F3	Yes – it prepared me and exposes you to future stages of life.
F4	Yes – prepared emotionally and mentally for life.
F5	Partial preparation for life.
F6	Yes – prepares me for the next stage of life.
F7	Yes.
F8	No, it does not prepare students for the work force. It is too basic (education).
F9	Yes, prepares for life.
F10	I did not finish high school.
F11	No.
F12	Yes, prepares for future.
M1	Yes, it prepares students for the future, but only poor jobs.
M2	Opens one's mind to difference and understanding.
M3	Not enough, you need additional education.
M4	Information and experience.
M5	Yes – it helps prepare for the next process of specialisation at a technical institution.
M6	No – only a basic start.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	No.

9) What do you think it is important for students to do when they finish their high school education? Why do you think is it important to do this? Please explain your reasons for this answer.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Teaching.
F3	Continue education for a high degree.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	Go to university to complete mission in life education.
F6	Obtain a higher degree at university.
F7	Go to university.
F8	Aim for a university education.
F9	Jobs in law to help fight Palestinian oppression in Lebanon.
F10	Never finished high school.
F11	Continue education.
F12	Continue education at university.
M1	Law.
M2	Need a job to pay for tuition.
M3	University education.
M4	Work, job employment if possible.
M5	Go to university or technical institution to specialise.
M6	Many jobs are available if a Palestinian can get it.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	University preparation gives incentive towards success.

10) In your opinion, would you rather see students continue their education when they finish high school or get a job? Please explain why you may select one option over another?

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Continue education to get better levels of education = better job.
F3	Continue studying and getting higher degrees.
F4	Continue education to become more qualified for better jobs.
F5	Obtain a job to support living costs.
F6	Continue education.
F7	Continue education and broaden their horizons.
F8	Go to college, but financial difficulty may stand in the way.
F9	Study at university, but this is an expensive option.
F10	No – they need to continue education.
F11	Continue education, and then get a job.
F12	Go to university to specialise.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	Students need financial capability to study.
M3	Need sources to send her to university.

M4	Continue education if possible.
M5	Continue university education.
M6	Continue education.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Continue education as it opens doors to other fields in Lebanon.

11) What reasons (if any) have influenced what you think students should do when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Continue education to reach goals.
F3	Situations facing Palestinians in Lebanon.
F4	To obtain a job and secure a future.
F5	University is expensive – not all parents can afford this type of education.
F6	Reality of society you live in.
F7	*No answer.*
F8	Living conditions facing Palestinians.
F9	Student dreams.
F10	Education is the light – people must work until they reach it.
F11	Critical living conditions and deprived rights.
F12	Foreign and Arabic languages.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	Economic situation of Palestinian people.
M3	Finding appropriate education centres that help students get employed.
M4	Palestinian social reality.
M5	Palestinian situation – lack of rights and deprivation they face daily.
M6	Continue education.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Not continuing education.

12) In your opinion, what school subjects do you think are important for getting a job in Lebanon when students leave high school? Why are these subjects important to you? What subjects are less important to you and why? Please explain your answers in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Science and maths subjects.
F3	Computer and languages – demand in these fields.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	English, life sciences and philosophy – jobs are available.
F6	Business and computers – global professions.
F7	Chemistry, accounting, physics and computers. Leading jobs are technology based.
F8	Science subjects.

F9	Law and government jobs.
F10	Science and maths – work involves calculations.
F11	Subjects that allow students to realise their dreams.
F12	Important for job opportunities.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	No specialised subjects to find work.
M3	None.
M4	Science subjects – important.
M5	Engineering, medicine, computer programming.
M6	Specialise in a subject.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Science subjects.

13) In your opinion, do you think that the subject's students select in your high school prepare them for future job opportunities? If yes, what types of jobs? If no, why? Please explain your answers in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Basic start to life and basic jobs.
F3	Yes.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	Yes.
F6	No – students change their minds and Palestinians lack job opportunities in Lebanon.
F7	Yes, but they do need university specialisation.
F8	No, they still need guidance.
F9	Yes, can prepare for future.
F10	Yes – prepare them for future jobs.
F11	Yes.
F12	Job opportunities.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	No.
M3	Science and computer studies.
M4	Yes.
M5	Need to continue secondary subjects at university.
M6	Yes, but only basic jobs.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Science subjects offer more opportunities for education.

14) In your opinion, why are these kinds of jobs accessible to students when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Conversely, what kinds of jobs are not accessible to students when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Must enter university to specialise.
F3	Literature jobs.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	UNRWA offers jobs.
F6	Labour/trade type jobs are the reality for Palestinians.
F7	They cannot pursue these jobs due to Lebanese law restrictions on Palestinians.
F8	Palestinians are not allowed to work in these fields due to Lebanese laws.
F9	*No answer.*
F10	Palestinian nationality hinders job choice.
F11	Realise what they aim for.
F12	To get a job and get experienced.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	Same jobs for secondary students as an intermediate or illiterate student.
M3	High demand jobs, although they pay low.
M4	Teachers and medicine.
M5	Jobs are available after a student leaves university.
M6	*No answer.*
M7	*No answer.*
M8	There are no fields.

15) What types of jobs would you like students to get in Lebanon when they finish their education? Why are these jobs important to you? Where did you get the idea that students should aim to pursue these specific career pathways? What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to select these specific careers as appropriate for your students? Please explain your answers in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Law – to fight oppressors and defend Palestinians.
F3	Teaching or business administration.
F4	They can only work in a few jobs in Lebanon.
F5	Jobs that help Palestinians increase their standards of living- high paying salaries.
F6	Work that realises their desires/dreams.
F7	Computer engineer or teacher.

F8	Job suiting personal ambition.
F9	Jobs in law and government.
F10	Jobs that improve Palestinian dignity.
F11	Jobs that they need to realise ambitions.
F12	Teaching and working for UNRWA.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	Medicine and engineering to help build a Palestinian society.
M3	Medicine, engineering, pharmacy, computer studies.
M4	Teachers, medicine, engineers - These are jobs that will help improve Palestinian life.
M5	Medicine, engineering and business management can help guarantee a future.
M6	*No answer.*
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Computer engineering and mathmatics.

16) What types of jobs do you realistically expect students to get when they finish their education? Why do you think that students will get these jobs? Please explain your answers in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Teaching – most accepted job for Palestinians.
F3	Teaching and business administration.
F4	Job selection will be restricted in Lebanon.
F5	Teaching at UNRWA.
F6	Teaching and business occupations.
F7	Computer programming.
F8	Most students do not find a suitable job.
F9	Palestinians will always struggle to find work in Lebanon due to restrictions.
F10	It is difficult for Palestinians to find work.
F11	Jobs allowed by Lebanese law.
F12	Teaching.
M1	Students may not get work because of Lebanese laws.
M2	Construction, agriculture and independent work.
M3	Special jobs that guarantee work.
M4	Education.
M5	*No answer.*
M6	*No answer.*
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Computer education is in demand.

17) How would you feel if your students did not get a job when they finish high school or complete their education? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Sorry, sad, discriminated.
F3	Very sad, not describable, life of crisis.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	Unpleasant feeling.
F6	Sadness.
F7	Bad.
F8	Very disappointed.
F9	Disappointed.
F10	Pain and regret.
F11	Strive for goals and don't despair.
F12	Misery and sadness.
M1	Sorry.
M2	The need for necessity for opportunities for the Palestinian people.
M3	Look for a country to emigrate to where opportunities are.
M4	Collapse – I cannot describe it.
M5	Depressed and regretful.
M6	Disappointed and angry.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Miserable.

18) Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that your students may be unemployed when they finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Please explain answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Yes.
F3	Yes – job competition between Lebanese, Palestinians and foreigners.
F4	Yes – Palestinians are deprived of rights in Lebanon.
F5	Yes, due to impoverished conditions and laws facing Palestinians.
F6	Yes, due to work pressures in labour force.
F7	Yes – Palestinians will find it hard to compete against foreign workers in Lebanon and abroad.
F8	Yes – social reality of Palestinians in Lebanon.
F9	Yes- due to Lebanese job laws.
F10	Yes, kit is difficult for Palestinians to get any type of work.
F11	Yes – Palestinians are deprived of job choices because of Lebanese work restrictions.
F12	Yes – due to lack of jobs.
M1	Yes – a sad reality.
M2	Yes.

M3	It is hard to get work in Lebanon.
M4	Yes – high amount of Palestinians trying to get work in Lebanon.
M5	No possibility for work for Palestinians – nonexistent.
M6	Definitely, due to Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian job choices.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Palestinian ID is a disadvantage because you have to compete with Lebanese.

19) *In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Why do you think this situation occurs? Please explain answer in detail.*

F1	*No answer.*
F2	High unemployment rate in Lebanon decreases Palestinians chances to get work.
F3	Lack of job opportunities due to discrimination.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	Lebanese government laws that oppress Palestinian job selection.
F6	Palestinian nationality – being a Palestinian.
F7	The weakness of the job market in Lebanon.
F8	Being Palestinian affects your job choices.
F9	Lebanese oppression.
F10	Yes – education must be used by Palestinians to free them from prejudice.
F11	Deprived from many jobs.
F12	If the Palestinian is educated they should be allowed to work.
M1	It is a sad reality.
M2	Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian employment in certain jobs.
M3	Palestinian's first concern is travel and emigration.
M4	The nations we live in despise us (Palestinians).
M5	Palestinian unemployment was born when they departed their homeland (Palestine).
M6	Palestinians can only work in low paying jobs.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Palestinians have no rights to secure a job.

20) In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

F1	*No answer.*
F2	Lebanese laws must change to help Palestinians find work.
F3	Job opportunities for Palestinians can help Palestinian government.
F4	*No answer.*
F5	Education can create work for all, including Palestinians.
F6	Create private local organisation for Palestinians.
F7	Qualifications and skills enhance your chances for getting a good job.
F8	Official laws.
F9	Education can help, but Lebanese work laws must change to help Palestinian situation there.
F10	Education can help make more jobs available for Palestinians.
F11	To change Lebanese laws and regulations affecting Palestinians.
F12	Education is a weapon to face the Israeli enemy.
M1	*No answer.*
M2	Improve economic situation of Palestinian people.
M3	Increase secondary school opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
M4	The nations Palestinians live in should embrace Palestinian intellects.
M5	*No answer.*
M6	Education is important to change Lebanese society.
M7	*No answer.*
M8	Guarantee work for Palestinians like Lebanese without restrictions.

Student Questionnaire results:

Question 6: Describe what it means to be a Palestinian living in Lebanon.

1	Challenge, civil deprivation, no civil rights.
2	No rights, no country, no love.
3	No country, cannot work.
4	No civil or political rights, deprived rights.
5	No rights, no future, labelled a refugee in a second country.
6	No job in government, no rights, many careers are off limits, job discrimination.
7	No rights when selecting occupations or owning property.
8	No roots, no concept of ancestry except for parents, grandparents.
9	I am a refugee, self supporting myself and the future of Palestine.
10	I feel pain, deprivation, far from my land, deprived from my country.
11	I am a Palestinian refugee. Transported from one country to another country.

12	Difficult, lack of work, rejected by Lebanese and low salaries.
13	Oppression, deprivation of human rights, citizenship.
14	Being expelled, life of humiliation.
15	Humiliation.
16	I live outside my country.
17	Nothing.
18	I am a stranger, no freedom to guarantee my future in Lebanon.
19	Nothing.
20	Discrimination, oppressed.
21	Landless, scattered, hatred from Lebanese as we occupy their land.
22	No rights.
23	Bird without wings, cannot speak, without country.
24	Live outside my country.
25	Living in Lebanon due to Zionist occupation.
26	Not happy.
27	Sacrifice and pride.
28	Pain, discomfort.
29	No future, strange person in Lebanon.
30	Living in a country that is not mine.
31	Loneliness.
32	Difficult.
33	Deprived.
34	Feel like an alien.
35	Stranger on a land.
36	Deprived of human rights.
37	Discrimination.
38	Stranger outside his country.
39	Great disappointment.
40	Deprived of my rights.
41	Estranged out of my country.
42	Limitations.
43	Palestinian refugee living in a strange country.
44	No work, no rights, misery in Lebanon.
45	No rights.
46	I live in Lebanon.
47	Exiled from my mother country.
48	No rights to live in his country.
49	Exiled from my country.
50	*No Answer.*
51	Stolen rights by Zionist mafia.
52	Pain, close to home but not there.
53	Exiled.
54	*No answer.*

55	Suffering.
56	Robbed of rights.
57	Pain, separation from my homeland.
58	Forced exile.
59	Ambitions cannot be realised.
60	A visitor in another land.
61	Not good.
62	Palestinian life is hard and abused by everyone.
63	Estranged from my homeland.
64	I am in the wrong place.
65	A country of pride, ambition, radiance and awakening.
66	I am far from my country.
67	Deprived of rights and your nationality is not recognised internationally.
68	Living in dreadful conditions without rights.
69	Deprived of basic rights.
70	Living as a guest.
71	*No answer.*
72	Rights are abused.
73	Thrown out from ancestors and mother country.
74	Deprived of a nation.
75	Deprived of rights.
76	Painful – like having no mother.
77	Liberty is robbed – lowest class of the world.
78	Deprivation from all human rights.
79	Difficult life amidst sacrifice.
80	No civic or human rights.
81	Devoid of rights and no comforts of life.
82	Suffering problems in Lebanon.
83	No dignity, a life of insult.
84	Oppressed refugee that lives without rights or dignity.
85	Lack of rights.
86	Citizen without a country.
87	Deprived of basic rights such as work or ownership of a home.
88	Rights are abused.
89	Stripped of material that I own.
90	Cannot do anything or own anything.
91	Deprived from my country (Palestine) waiting to return.
92	Painful feeling watching people suffer in Palestine.
93	The least person who has rights.
94	Nothing, discriminated against.
95	Low, no rights.
96	No rights.

97	No rights, just living in a country that is not mine.
98	Discriminated everyday by Lebanese laws.
99	I am a foreigner in Lebanon even though I was born here.
100	No rights in Lebanon.
101	Lack of civil and political rights.

Question 7: Describe what it means to be a refugee.

1	I am not a refugee, I must try to improve my situation.
2	Scattered everywhere with not knowing your destiny.
3	Liberation.
4	Cannot achieve goals, no country, country stolen from us.
5	No identity, no rights, limited possibilities to achieve, discriminated.
6	Got Lebanese nationality a year ago – ok.
7	Submitting to laws, no rights, feel like a foreigner.
8	Humiliated, always facing obstacles that humiliates us.
9	No rights.
10	Difficult, deprived from nationality, stranger in this land (Lebanon).
11	I live in a country I was born, a guaranteed life.
12	Do not belong to our beloved country – exiled.
13	I am a parasite living without a place and with no independence and no rights.
14	Robbed of freedom, no rights, loss of dignity.
15	Deprivation.
16	Loss of country, deprivation.
17	Deprived civil rights, forced to live outside my country – Palestine.
18	Nothing.
19	Difficult. As a people we are scattered everywhere and have no rights.
20	Scared, fugitive hiding.
21	No rights, no dignity, without a country.
22	Exiled without hope.
23	Not allowed to be a free citizen.
24	No human rights.
25	Difficulties, problems.
26	Not wanted anywhere.
27	Robbed of freedom.
28	A refugee is insulted, mocked and lacks dignity.
29	Not wanted.
30	*No answer.*
31	To take refuge in another country is loneliness.
32	I live as a stranger in another land.
33	Feeling oppressed and insulted.
34	Live outside my country.

35	Deprived of basic rights.
36	Oppressed, humiliated and discriminated.
37	Lack of belonging, a foreigner.
38	Deprivation of land and nationalism.
39	Exile from his country.
40	Lost his country.
41	Foreigner outside his home.
42	Humiliating and deprived of rights.
43	Devoid of civil rights and political rights.
44	Humiliated, exile in a strange country.
45	Deprived of a country.
46	This word means pain and exile from family inside Palestine.
47	Banished from his country with no rights or freedom.
48	Far from the cuddles of beloved Palestine.
49	I am without a country to reside and live in.
50	*No Answer.*
51	Deprived of rights.
52	Second class citizen with no rights.
53	Far from my home, history and town.
54	I am not a refugee.
55	Being a prisoner living without dignity.
56	Like a body with no soul.
57	Robbed of land, home, pride and dignity.
58	Deprivation of rights.
59	Live in exile with disgrace.
60	Lack of independence.
61	Not safe, not independent.
62	I do not enjoy rights.
63	Without rights and dignity.
64	Living in a country not my own.
65	Living somewhere other than your home.
66	Anger due to Lebanese sectarianism.
67	He is poisonous and lacks sensation.
68	Live on a land no my own.
69	Living in constant fear.
70	Homeless.
71	*No answer.*
72	Suffers from abuse of rights.
73	Deprives me from working in certain jobs.
74	Deprived from complete freedom to exist.
75	Humiliated and rights/dignity are abused.
76	Without an identity, lost in Lebanon.
77	Freedom is robbed.

78	Humiliation, abuse and loss.
79	Without a country and out of your country.
80	Living without dignity.
81	Devoid of all human rights.
82	A difficult word (refugee) to accept.
83	Oppressed for many years.
84	Living without dignity.
85	Deprived from rights, land and ownership.
86	Without a country, living in another person's land.
87	*No answer.*
88	Without a country, rights and most things relating to life.
89	To feel nothing and be nothing.
90	I am without country or land.
91	Lack of comfort and lack of love.
92	Anger and hatred for us.
93	Deprived from everything, rights, land, ownership.
94	Deprived of rights.
95	Homeless, no country, no rights.
96	Lack of dignity, no home.
97	Scattered people who live in someone else's homeland.
98	Exiled.
99	Deprivation.
100	Loss of rights and a home that is mine.
101	Deprived rights.

Question 8: Why is education important for the Palestinian Community? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Important, education can elevate Palestinian society.
2	Use education to fight enemy – Israel. Use education as arms.
3	Increases standard of living.
4	Fight Israel occupation with knowledge and degrees.
5	Valuable in cultural development of Palestinian society – give light to future.
6	Get work anywhere.
7	Increase rights and job opportunities. Fight Israel.
8	Existence depends on education of Palestinian culture and history.
9	Education is a weapon to fight Israel.
10	Education is important, it prepares a person to realize their potential, refugees need education to find new job opportunities, better salaries. Education can help Palestinians liberate themselves from their constraints.
11	Yes. Fight the enemy with education. Education is our weapon.

12	Education is important to fight the enemy (Israel) with our mind not weapons.
13	Education is important to succeed in life.
14	Education helps Palestinians get respect.
15	Important for improving lifestyle.
16	Education is for all people and it helps enhance knowledge.
17	Help improve life and give a chance to face Zionist enemy.
18	Very important.
19	Helps Palestinians prove their worth.
20	Education helps elevate Palestinian cause – fight discrimination.
21	Express opinions in a free environment.
22	Education is needed for life.
23	Only weapon to regain our land.
24	Secures job opportunities for Palestinians.
25	Allows one to live with respect.
26	A weapon to prove Palestinian presence and existence.
27	Helps Palestinians rise again and return to our land.
28	Fight Israelis and improve standard of living.
29	Education helps Palestinians find work.
30	A weapon to fight the enemy – improve knowledge to fight.
31	It is a weapon to fight oppression with.
32	Education helps Palestinians prove their worth.
33	Education gives Palestinians a role in life.
34	Palestinians can use education to liberate Palestine.
35	Education helps Palestinians find jobs.
36	Education helps build up self-worth.
37	Education gives Palestinians a chance to secure a stable life/living standard.
38	It is a weapon to fight deprivation.
39	Education is important so Palestinians can get good jobs.
40	Use education to fight the enemy – enhance Palestinian acquisition of technology.
41	It is a weapon to defend our cause.
42	Become educated and cultured.
43	Education is necessary to gain the right for rights.
44	Weapon to educate mind.
45	Weapon to fight with to gain respect.
46	Education is very important.
47	Education helps improve job opportunities.
48	Education helps improve poor Palestinian living and economic standards.
49	Education helps Palestinians prove their self-worth to others.
50	*No answer.*

51	Help liberate Palestine from Zionist oppression.
52	Become educated to make tanks, airplanes and bombs to fight oppression.
53	Education is a weapon to fight enemy with.
54	No, it is not important, as Palestinians will always get low positions in Lebanon.
55	Education is a weapon Palestinians can use to free their homeland.
56	It is the only weapon Palestinians can use to fight oppression.
57	Yes, it is important as it gives people dignity and the chance to liberate themselves.
58	Yes. It is a weapon to face enemies and secure work outside of Lebanon.
59	Yes, it helps us try and achieve goals.
60	Education can help open doors for the educated living in bad situations (eg. exile-refugee).
61	Education can improve our situation.
62	Weapon to liberate Palestinians.
63	Important weapon to fight Zionist enemy.
64	Education protects us from abuse and introduces us to our rights.
65	Yes – defend our country and fight the Israeli enemy.
66	Very important as it is the only weapon to fight the enemy.
67	Yes – only if a Palestinians education is acknowledged by the country they live in.
68	Helps Palestinians find jobs.
69	Education is a means to liberate Palestine.
70	Basic and important order to protect Palestinian dignity.
71	*No answer.*
72	Education is the key to truth.
73	Education helps Palestinians understand the world.
74	Palestinians can use education to help improve their cause.
75	Education unites Palestinians voice to fight.
76	Education is an appropriate weapon to fight the enemy.
77	Palestinians can use education to defend its country rights.
78	Use education to understand Palestinian cause.
79	Education secures a decent living.
80	Sole weapon to face the enemy.
81	A means to secure a job and fight the Zionist enemy.
82	You can use education to elevate Palestinian dignity.
83	Fight the enemy with technology and science.
84	A way to reach goals and secure a decent standard of living.
85	Use it to fight the enemy.
86	Get a job and improve the dignity of Palestinians.
87	Education can help Palestinians defend its rights, country and dignity.

88	Liberate Palestine.
89	Help Palestinians live and cope with their harsh living situations.
90	It gives Palestinians respect in society.
91	Education is the only weapon Palestinians have left.
92	Only weapon to fight Zionist enemy.
93	The only weapon for Palestinians.
94	Education helps fight oppression in Lebanon and Israel.
95	Education is a weapon to fight Israel.
96	Palestinians can use education to improve standard of life for their families.
97	Education is hope for the future.
98	Any education is important, learning is important.
99	Increases quality of life.
100	Important for Palestinians to use education to fight occupation in Palestine.
101	Increase rights in Lebanon.

Question 9: Do you believe that education can improve the quality of life for Palestinians living in Lebanon? How? Explain your answer in detail.

1	No, Palestinian conditions will still be poor as we have to abide by Lebanese laws.
2	Yes.
3	Yes, improve quality of Palestinian life.
4	No, too many students and not enough schools.
5	No, as job possibilities are limited.
6	Yes, improve standard of living, support family.
7	Yes, improve culture and ties with home country.
8	Yes, improve future work prospects and quality of life.
9	Yes, especially if education can be used back in Palestine.
10	Increasing knowledge increases chances to realize potential, hopes and dreams.
11	Yes. Education plays an important role in improving the life of Palestinians in Lebanon; improving the situation of your country (Palestine) and your situation.
12	No answer.
13	Yes, help Palestinians become productive members of society.
14	Yes, but Lebanese laws still influence what jobs Palestinians can have.
15	No.
16	Yes.
17	Yes outside of Lebanon, but not in Lebanon because jobs are low paying.
18	No, Palestinians cannot work in Lebanon.

19	No, Lebanese laws still discriminate Palestinians job choices.
20	No, Palestinians still face discrimination even if educated.
21	No. Lebanese work laws reduce Palestinian job opportunities.
22	Yes. Life-style is improved.
23	Yes. Education shows students the road to success.
24	No, Palestinians can only work in certain jobs in Lebanon.
25	Yes, education improves the quality of life as it opens job opportunities – increases salary possibilities.
26	No.
27	Yes, improve the quality of life.
28	Yes, Improve life and living standard.
29	Yes, Improve life.
30	Yes, offers free education in University.
31	No – depends of education and specialised training.
32	Yes, secures improved living standards for Palestinians.
33	Sometimes yes, helps get jobs.
34	Yes.
35	Yes – improve living standards of Palestinians in Lebanon.
36	Yes – improve living conditions of Palestinians.
37	Yes, improve Palestinian quality of life.
38	Yes, increases Palestinian job opportunities.
39	No- lack of rights in Lebanon.
40	Yes – improves life of Palestinians.
41	No – Lebanese laws prevent Palestinians from improving their lifestyle.
42	Yes – Improves each generation living conditions.
43	Yes- improves quality of life.
44	Yes – education improves a person's living standard.
45	Yes – improve chances of employment and quality of life.
46	Yes – improve quality of life.
47	No – Palestinian worth in Lebanon means nothing.
48	No – lack of rights in Lebanon inhibit Palestinian ambition.
49	No – Palestinians cannot work in specific jobs in Lebanon.
50	*No Answer.*
51	Yes. Most people have goals and want to realise them.
52	Yes. But must study abroad.
53	Education is good in Lebanon, but Palestinians are deprived of certain rights (eg. job choice).
54	I don't know.
55	Poverty is so strong that Palestinians find employment difficult.
56	No. Job restrictions in Lebanon stop Palestinians from fulfilling their dreams.
57	*No answer.*
58	No. Deprived of job choices due to Lebanese laws.

59	No. There are no opportunities to look for work in our desired careers.
60	Enhance the quality of life for Palestinians in Lebanon.
61	Education does not allow Palestinians to work in their specialised field.
62	Yes. Improve living conditions.
63	Improving living standards of Palestinians.
64	Yes- education can help improve the quality of Palestinians lives.
65	Give Palestinians more chances to improve living standards in Lebanon.
66	Yes – it can help improve the quality of life of Palestinians in Lebanon.
67	No – promises to Palestinians in the past have been ineffective.
68	Improve the life of Palestinians.
69	Increase Palestinian cultural awareness.
70	Yes.
71	*No answer.*
72	Yes – improves Palestinian chances of succeeding in life.
73	Yes. Increases the opportunities of a better future.
74	Yes. Improve quality of life.
75	No. Being a refugee restricts your options.
76	No. Palestinians are deprived of rights.
77	No. Lebanese laws prohibit Palestinians of basic rights.
78	No. Palestinians will still suffer.
79	No. Nothing can improve the situation of the Palestinian people.
80	Yes. Education improves the mind and living of a person.
81	Yes. Lifestyle can be improved.
82	Yes. Education can open doors to find success.
83	No.
84	Yes. Education provides work and dignity.
85	Yes. Education has the potential to increase the quality of life for anyone, if they are permitted the opportunity to seek their potential.
86	Yes.
87	Yes. But very limited successes, as rights are still deprived.
88	No.
89	No.
90	Improve quality of life.
91	Yes, but not that much.
92	Yes.
93	Yes it is possible to improve quality of life.
94	Yes.
95	No, still no jobs for Palestinians in Lebanon.
96	Yes and No, Palestinians will still be discriminated in Lebanon because we can only work in certain occupations.
97	Yes, improve living standards.
98	Yes.

99	Yes. Limited.
100	No, Lebanese government restrictions ensure Palestinians are oppressed.
101	Yes. Education gives knowledge and power.

Question 10: What do you think the purposes of education are? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Discipline, nourishment for the mind.
2	Drag people out of ignorance.
3	Enrich culture and society.
4	Get a job, reduce ignorance.
5	Raise a cultured and educated future generation.
6	Keep up with world trends and technology.
7	Helps in progress, development and support of Palestinians gaining rights and freedom.
8	Nourishment of the soul and mind.
9	Support democracy, political discussion, enrich economies.
10	Basic acquisition of knowledge to realize hopes, dreams, potential.
11	Education develops individuals, it is a human right, it improves communication, forgiveness, friendship and supports peace between people
12	Improve life and obtain knowledge to help us in struggle for life.
13	Knowledge and development of people.
14	Develop life and provide good upbringing.
15	Help improve life.
16	Improve economic and social situation.
17	Help people face life and its difficulties.
18	Money.
19	Improve job opportunities and quality of life.
20	Help Palestinians in Lebanon who earn low wages.
21	Increase culture of people.
22	Money and improve life.
23	Prepare students for the struggle to fight the enemy.
24	Enrich the personality of a person.
25	Reveal personality and quench ones thirst for knowledge.
26	Educational achievement for those who deserve them.
27	Contribute usefully in society.
28	Develops the cultural and informative personality of a person.
29	Education increases job opportunities.
30	Develop civilised generation.
31	Found an educated generation.
32	Open doors for success in life.

33	A weapon for Palestinians to fight economic situation they life in.
34	Improve the situation of Palestinians politically, economically and socially.
35	Secure rights and prosperous living conditions.
36	Give Palestinians a weapon to fight the economic situation they face.
37	Educates the mind and self.
38	To gain knowledge/ mental and physical skills.
39	Improve living conditions.
40	Enlighten individual and make them useful in society.
41	To gain knowledge and secure proper work.
42	Education develops the world and our fight.
43	Educate children so they are not illiterate and grant them the chance of getting work.
44	To improve the role of the person in society.
45	Human and economic development.
46	Develop problem-solving skills of future generations.
47	Self-realisation and being able to prove one's worth in society.
48	Enhance culture and problem-solving skills of a society.
49	Educate society.
50	*No answer.*
51	Cannot realise goals.
52	Education is a humanitarian ideal.
53	Educate young people for life.
54	To obtain work – security in life.
55	Deepen mind and culture of an individual.
56	Freedom of life and the chance to be liberated.
57	*No answer.*
58	Become a useful subject in society.
59	To build a safe future from my children, so that they may have a chance to attain goals that I may not have been able to achieve.
60	Developing society.
61	Develops individuals mind, nourishes their being.
62	Encouragement to study.
63	Broaden knowledge for life.
64	Helps an individual become an efficient member of society.
65	Raise new generations and fill them with ideas.
66	Improve life quality in Lebanon.
67	Improve living standards.
68	Teach the individual the struggles of life.
69	Create educated and cultured individuals.
70	Improve the situation for Palestinians.
71	*No answer.*
72	Raise and educate a cultured generation.

73	Become more aware of your surroundings.
74	Preserve the Palestinian cause.
75	Prepare Palestinians for the difficulties of life.
76	Educate youth.
77	Decrease Palestinian illiteracy.
78	*No answer.*
79	Find work.
80	Develop societies and cultures.
81	To work and secure a secure life.
82	Realise the potential of life.
83	To raise a generation that is aware of the world.
84	Reach a vocational future.
85	Develop metal and personal skills.
86	Earn reputation.
87	To obtain knowledge and culture.
88	Provide knowledge and power to people.
89	Educate young people.
90	Develop educational and cultural needs of a person.
91	Expand Palestinian culture.
92	Improve the living conditions of people.
93	Develop mental and personal potential of an individual.
94	Improve standard of life.
95	Money, quality of education can increase financial rewards.
96	Learning to be a valued member of society.
97	Increase knowledge to get a good job.
98	Improve job opportunities.
99	Help people gain good jobs to look after family.
100	Money.
101	Develop knowledge base for the future.

Question 11: Do you think that your high school education fulfils these educational purposes? Explain your answer in detail.

1	No, does not satisfy goals – need higher education – university.
2	Yes.
3	Yes, provides basis for further education.
4	No, it does not provide enough education for good jobs.
5	Yes, it is a good start, but must be followed by further education.
6	No, tertiary education must be attained to get quality education.
7	Yes, paves the way for future education.
8	Yes, links high school to university and then towards career path.
9	No. I only am educated to become a good person, but living in Lebanon limits my choices of job.

10	Yes. Secondary education is one phase of the education process. Ignorant illiterate no longer have a place in modern society. Knowledge must be enhanced to improve chances of reaching dreams.
11	Yes. Education helps develop cultural needs, enriches human personality, allows people to contribute to society and guarantees a good standard of living.
12	No. High school is not sufficient; one must also go to University.
13	Yes, prepares students for the future and helps them specialise.
14	Yes- introduces student to learning. Learn to become independent and responsible.
15	Yes, but it is very basic.
16	Yes.
17	Yes- helps face life and understands it.
18	Yes.
19	Yes – but it does not cover all job specializations – that is done at university.
20	Yes.
21	Yes. Helps student become ready to realise dreams.
22	Yes.
23	Yes.
24	Yes. A start to face the future.
25	No, I must continue education at university to realize my goals/ambitions.
26	No.
27	Yes. Shows the meaning in life – start to educational direction.
28	No. Must go to university to specialise.
29	Yes. It provides me with goals towards a prosperous future.
30	Yes. It gives students knowledge and culture.
31	Yes. Individuals gain valuable knowledge and experience.
32	No. Extensive study must be achieved – *the flower needs a lot of water and care in order to grow, to open up, and also the mind needs many thoughts and deep information to open to the light and become successful.*
33	No.
34	Yes. But still require higher education.
35	No. Secondary school is a bridge that links me to my goal, but this is only achievable by continuing education at university.
36	No. No one allows a Palestinian to work – this starts the process of being a refugee.
37	No. Training is needed to further develop skills learned at secondary school.
38	Yes. Develops social and behavioural morals for future life.
39	Yes. It is part of the process of learning.
40	Yes. Individuals learn their rights to freedom and life.

41	Yes – new information to secure my future.
42	Yes – A chance of learning and gaining knowledge for the future.
43	Yes – I have an education, which is better than many of my friends who left school at the intermediate level.
44	Yes – increases knowledge and chances to gain rights.
45	Yes – The curriculum is broad and it gives you basic theoretical information.
46	No – Secondary school education does not prepare me for my chosen field, as I cannot work in certain jobs in Lebanon.
47	No – secondary school learning is only theoretical and life skills are not learned.
48	Yes – Help Palestinians find decent jobs.
49	Yes – I can use my secondary subjects to specialize at University.
50	*No answer.*
51	*No answer.*
52	Prepare us for university.
53	Yes.
54	Obtain a degree to live in society.
55	Secondary education is not enough – you need university education to gain more knowledge.
56	No. The school is overcrowded. This is not a good place to learn.
57	*No answer.*
58	Yes – helps us form an awareness relating to lifestyle.
59	Yes.
60	Need to graduate from secondary school, then progress to university.
61	No it is not enough, university education is very important as it helps you select a specialised career.
62	You must complete secondary school to go to university.
63	Yes – open road to achieve goals.
64	Yes – students are guided in the right direction towards a career.
65	Yes, it helps me reach my goals.
66	Yes, it teaches us habits, traditions and values.
67	Yes – learn my rights.
68	You must complete secondary school.
69	Yes, secondary education transforms children to adults.
70	Secondary education confirms our desires and goals.
71	*No answer.*
72	Prepare individuals for university education.
73	Gives us knowledge for the future.
74	Yes it does, but we learn in cramped conditions with little books or computers.
75	No.
76	*No answer.*

77	Yes, only a beginning point for learning.
78	*No answer.*
79	No.
80	*No answer.*
81	No.
82	Yes – basic education.
83	*No answer.*
84	No, only provides basic education for work at low jobs/gas stations or selling biscuits on the side of the road.
85	Yes. It develops future potential.
86	Yes. Information for life.
87	Yes.
88	No. You need higher education.
89	No.
90	Yes, helps realise goals.
91	Yes. Secures information that I need.
92	Yes. It is the first step in educational learning.
93	*No answer.*
94	Yes, basic start to your future.
95	Yes.
96	No, not in Lebanon, because education does not control oppression of Lebanese laws.
97	Yes, but University is more important.
98	Yes. Must go to university to learn valuable skills for jobs – this may not be enough as Palestinians will still be discriminated against.
99	No.
100	Yes, helps you realise dreams.
101	Yes.

Question 12: Do you think it is important to get a job when you finish your education? Why? Explain your reasons for this answer.

1	I need to register for University. This education will get a good job.
2	University is essential for my success, as a degree will improve my chances of having a better life.
3	Get a university degree.
4	Go to university and get a degree to survive in Lebanon.
5	University. I am a Palestinian girl with no rights. A good education can help my deprived country.
6	Nothing more important than education.
7	Yes, need a good job that pays the bills, debts and education.
8	Need a job to continue education and support family.
9	Continue education, then work to support family.

10		Complete specialised university training, then become part of society.
11		Yes. Go to university first, then look after family.
12		Go to university then I can look after my family by getting a good job.
13		No, go to university and specialise.
14		No, continue education to ensure better future.
15		No. Need further education.
16		I will look for jobs if they are available.
17		I will go to university first before looking for work.
18		I want to work, then travel to the USA.
19		I will go to university before I start work.
20		No. I will specialise in a career, then find work.
21		Travel abroad so I can work in any career – cannot do that in Lebanon.
22		Go to university to learn a specialist field of work.
23		No, go to university to prepare mental and physical weapons to the fight the enemy.
24		Look for a job – improve standard of living.
25		Go to university.
26		No, Go to university to realize hopes and ambitions.
27		No, Education at university to specialize.
28		No, University education is needed to further education standard.
29		No, go to university.
30		No, go to university.
31		No. University education is needed as secondary school education only promises simple jobs.
32		No, complete studies at university.
33		Continue education at university.
34		No - go to university.
35		No – enter university to specialise.
36		No – continue education at university or SIBLINE centre, depending on financial situation.
37		No. Go to university.
38		Yes. Try and realise goals.
39		No. Need university skills or else you can only get simple jobs.
40		Yes. But I will go to university to specialise and increase necessary knowledge/experience.
41		Work and secure university fees.
42		Go to university to learn to become a pilot or work in medicine.
43		I will go to an academy to get an accounting degree, then go to university to study engineering.
44		Yes – I will go to university then help teach Palestinians privately.
45		I will go to University to specialise in a field of study.
46		I will train at the SIBLINE centre as it guarantees me a job.
47		I need to choose a specialised career to accomplish my goals.

48	Go to university to specialise my career.
49	Travel abroad and improve my economic conditions.
50	*No answer.*
51	Work to fund university education.
52	I need to get a scholarship to university.
53	Continue education at university.
54	Get a job to become independent.
55	Complete university education.
56	Go to university.
57	*No answer.*
58	University education is necessary as secondary schooling is insufficient.
59	Need higher education to gain higher types of jobs.
60	Go to university.
61	Most important thing is to go to university to get a medicine degree.
62	Get a university degree.
63	Specialise in a field of work I like.
64	Complete university.
65	Obtain excellent grades to get employed work.
66	Complete university degree.
67	To get a high education and assist my family.
68	Go to university.
69	Find a job to help family situation.
70	Complete secondary education, and then go to university.
71	*No answer.*
72	Travel abroad to go to university.
73	Go to university.
74	Specialise at university.
75	Go to university to specialise.
76	*No answer.*
77	Enter a vocational school to gain skills for work.
78	Ho to university to specialise in journalism.
79	Go to university if my financial situation allows it.
80	*No answer.*
81	Enter university and pick a specialist subject for a career.
82	Try and get work.
83	*No answer.*
84	Go to Subline Academy to learn teaching.
85	*No answer.*
86	Go to university to specialise.
87	*No answer.*
88	No – go to university.
89	Yes – it guarantees a better life.

90	Continue university education.
91	Complete university degree.
92	Go to university, but I may not be able to due to my economic conditions.
93	*No answer.*
94	Yes, but will go to university before I get a job.
95	I will further my education before I work.
96	No, many jobs will not be available to Palestinians anyway.
97	No, travel abroad to get work.
98	Yes, need work to support family.
99	Yes.
100	Yes, of course important or else education is meaningless.
101	No.

Question 13: What subjects do you think are important for getting a job when you leave high school? Explain why these subjects are important to you.

1	None, I will work any job to pay for my university education.
2	I would like to be a teacher.
3	Chemistry and math as I'm good at it and can teach them well.
4	Economics and social studies. But high school subjects are not important as you need university education to get a good job.
5	Arabic languages and languages is important – I'm good at it.
6	High school education is not enough to get a good job.
7	Math, engineering, I will work as a tourist guide.
8	English will help get a job, computers are important as our generation demands it.
9	Biology, I love it and would teach it.
10	All subjects are important, as they give the person a bigger chance to obtaining a job.
11	After leaving high school, I will only be able to obtain a simple job, as secondary school subjects are not appropriate for higher jobs.
12	English – all jobs demand this. Mathematics is also important too.
13	Economics and sociology, so I can work in Public Administration.
14	English language is important. Maths for business.
15	Computer studies – way of the future.
16	Computer subjects.
17	Science and literary subjects.
18	*No answer.*
19	Science – I excel at this subject.
20	Literary subjects – I can become a teacher.
21	Sociology, so I can learn to work with people.
22	Computer studies. I enjoy this subject.

23	Many subjects are important.
24	English – helps you communicate with more than just Arab countries.
25	English – the language is required worldwide and I would like to be a computer programmer.
26	Mathematics – you use it everyday.
27	I will use the subject that I specialised in at University – improve living standards.
28	Job does not require specialist subjects – due to Lebanese work restrictions.
29	No one can work after secondary school.
30	English, computer studies and mathematics for company work.
31	Secondary school does not give the demanded job to people – it is difficult to get work.
32	English – this language is required in many occupations.
33	Physics.
34	Mathematics – many jobs require calculations.
35	Need a university degree in a specialised subject.
36	Chemistry.
37	Mathematics – life requires calculations.
38	Sociology – for tourism.
39	Subjects will become specialised at university.
40	Many subjects are important.
41	Mathematics.
42	Science subjects for flying.
43	Arabic and English language.
44	Doesn't matter as the school curriculum is too far from Palestinian reality – there is a need to go to university, but it is not a guarantee of getting employed.
45	Languages such as Arabic, English and French. Learning these subjects will enable me to communicate and facilitate in a wider job market.
46	Language subjects are important.
47	Science and mathematics are important because they form the base of knowledge.
48	All subjects are important.
49	Mathematics, economics and physics.
50	*No answer.*
51	University education is important.
52	*No answer.*
53	Geography and sociology.
54	Many subjects are important.
55	Mathematics – but this subject does not guarantee employment.
56	I don't believe there is a decent job with only a secondary education.
57	*No answer.*

58	Economics and languages.
59	Sociology.
60	Bio-chemistry.
61	No, there is not enough subjects to obtain a good job.
62	Chemistry, life sciences and languages.
63	Sciences.
64	A decent job that enables me to provide for my family.
65	Mathematics, science and English.
66	Science subjects.
67	Subjects that allow Palestinians to work without being discriminated against.
68	Education subjects – working in schools or hospitals.
69	Science subjects – provide broad information for life.
70	Specialise in science subjects.
71	*No answer.*
72	Sociology.
73	Schoolteacher.
74	Elementary schoolteacher.
75	No subjects allow Palestinians to work in Lebanon.
76	*No answer.*
77	Labour jobs.
78	*No answer.*
79	To gain a job that secures a life for my family.
80	*No answer.*
81	I must go to university.
82	Sciences.
83	**No answer.**
84	Chemistry, maths, physics.
85	Economics, maths and sociology improve chances of establishing a good life.
86	Maths.
87	*No answer.*
88	*No answer.*
89	Sciences in general.
90	Sociology.
91	Accounting and Arab literature.
92	Teaching.
93	Mathematics, chemistry, physics, biology, english.
94	Sciences.
95	Computers – technology is important to everyone.
96	Computer programming.
97	Languages – I like them.
98	English and science – I love these subjects and I'm good at them.

99	Computer.
100	All subjects are important – too early to decide on one.
101	Maths – for business work.

Question 14: Do you think that the subjects you select in high school prepare you for future job opportunities? Explain your answer in detail.

1	No.
2	Yes, I can continue High School courses at a higher level so I can become a remedial teacher.
3	Yes, but these subjects must be taken at University level – improve standard of life.
4	No. You need to go to university to get a job to pay life costs.
5	No.
6	No. Secondary school is a chance, but not enough.
7	Yes, depends on intelligence.
8	Yes, teaching favourite school subjects at UNRWA.
9	Yes, but I can only get good jobs in Palestine as I have no rights in Lebanon.
10	No. This education is one phase of many, but I need specialization for any job.
11	I will only get a simple job. University education will prepare me for a respected job in the future.
12	Yes.
13	Yes, but I need to further my education after high school.
14	Yes.
15	Yes.
16	No, because finding a job in Lebanon is not easy.
17	Yes.
18	No. No jobs to get anyway.
19	No. Must continue education at University.
20	Yes.
21	Yes.
22	No. Further education is needed to get high wages.
23	No. You need university education.
24	Yes. Subjects help get a job.
25	Yes. Helps me complete further studies to excel.
26	No. Secondary subjects are just to memorise – no speciality yet.
27	No. Complete university and become specialised.
28	No.
29	No, need university education, and then try to get a good job.
30	No, but some subjects will help.
31	No. Only qualifies for simple jobs, with limited financial rewards.

32	Yes.
33	No – no work in Arab countries.
34	No. Not useful.
35	Yes. Simple work.
36	No. I cannot work.
37	No. This education is primitive. Good jobs require qualifications and skills.
38	No. University graduates have to wait years for a job.
39	Yes. I will choose subjects that I can specialise in for the future.
40	Yes. Basic work.
41	Yes, but I must go to university.
42	No, I need to go to university to realise my dream.
43	No – subjects are too theoretical and not applied enough.
44	Yes, but only if I continue education at university.
45	No – secondary school subjects are too general, need specialised university training.
46	Yes – These subjects will allow to me to attain a computer-programming job.
47	No, Subjects need to be practical, not just theoretical.
48	No – secondary school skills are not enough in today's world.
49	Yes – I do not need specialization in this career.
50	*No answer.*
51	*No answer.*
52	*No answer.*
53	Yes- literature fields.
54	No – reality does not allow employment.
55	All subjects I have studied.
56	Education does not end – need university skills.
57	*No answer.*
58	No – need to complete university education to obtain a decent job.
59	No.
60	Yes – this education is a step towards further education and success.
61	Yes, but not in general life.
62	Love for chemistry.
63	Yes – Journalism work.
64	Subjects that are specialised.
65	Specialise in subjects you are good at.
66	No, you must specialise at university.
67	Yes – an accounting job.
68	Yes – basic employment.
69	Yes – computer programmer.
70	Yes.
71	*No answer.*

72	No. Subjects need to be specialised at university.
73	Yes – it is a preparation stage.
74	No – it is not enough.
75	No.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	*No answer.*
79	No – education is too basic.
80	*No answer.*
81	Yes. It helps choose a career path.
82	Yes – help job choice in the future.
83	*No answer.*
84	Yes.
85	Yes – trade or labouring job.
86	No.
87	*No answer.*
88	Yes – not enough though.
89	Yes – doesn't guarantee employment.
90	*No answer.*
91	Yes – accounting.
92	No – I need to go to a specialist school for training.
93	Yes.
94	No, just the beginning, need university education too.
95	No, this is too basic.
96	No.
97	No.
98	No. I will need to further my education to have a realistic chance to get a good job to support my family and pay bills.
99	Yes.
100	No.
101	No. Palestinians will still be deprived of rights by Lebanese government laws.

Question 15: What job would you like to have when you finish your education? Explain why this job is important to you.

1	Own a computer business – I'm good at it.
2	Paediatric doctor – help Palestinian kids, as there is a shortage of good health care.
3	Psychiatrist. I like to share other people's problems.
4	Medicine. I like helping people, especially Palestinian people who cannot afford to pay huge medical bills.
5	Journalist, Television producer.

6	Electronic engineer.
7	Teaching. Pass on knowledge about different civilizations.
8	Teach the deaf chemistry. I want to do this as I think the deaf are marginalized.
9	Teacher. It provides a good salary for my family.
10	Directing movies.
11	Teaching. Only job that Palestinians can get and it provides a good salary.
12	Secretary or Teacher – I like these jobs.
13	Diplomatic corps.
14	Civil Engineering. Brothers work in this field.
15	Teacher. Friends and family do this job.
16	Computer worker.
17	Chemistry technician. I like it.
18	No job, no chances anyway.
19	Engineering – I like this.
20	Staff nurse – good salary.
21	Policewoman at the Lebanese airport – improves my living conditions.
22	Computer software developer.
23	Lawyer – defend the oppressed.
24	Teach English – improve my language skills.
25	Teacher. It is a noble position and I can support my family.
26	Astronomer. I want to get away from everything in my current daily life.
27	Civil engineering – I like this subject and it has a good salary.
28	Law – defend the oppressed.
29	Administration or computer information.
30	Paediatrician or employee in a company – I love children and money rewards.
31	Businessman in administration – important job.
32	Doctor – help people.
33	Computer field specialising in Microsoft.
34	Lawyer – expose the injustice of Palestinian people.
35	Media or journalism – serve my country.
36	Work in the field of computers – realise dreams and ambitions.
37	Not sure what I will do.
38	I will complete university before I get a job.
39	Doctor – help the sick for free (Palestinians who lack money).
40	Doctor – very humane and good profession.
41	Company manager as it offers social securities and I love this work.
42	I want to become a pilot as it is my childhood dream.
43	Engineering – I like drawing and mapping. My parents hope I can become an engineer.

44		Archaeologist, tourist guide – I love travel.
45		Political analysts – express my opinion and try to change the Palestinian situation.
46		A job in commerce and accounting, so I can secure a future for myself and my parents (who worked hard to secure my life).
47		Hotel management – this is my dream.
48		Psychologist – I like helping others.
49		Computer engineering.
50		*No answer.*
51		I need financial means to get an education.
52		Chemistry – learn how to make weapons and bombs for my people in Palestine.
53		Journalism – I love it.
54		Personal decision.
55		General relations – like people.
56		Doctor or chemist.
57		Lawyer or teacher.
58		Working in medicine.
59		Engineering.
60		Teacher – Helps me awaken and protect other people.
61		Doctor – expresses my ambition.
62		Work in the chemistry field.
63		Journalism is a truthful picture of life.
64		Physics – Love for the subject.
65		Lawyer – to defend Palestine.
66		Computer engineer – many jobs offer opportunities in this field.
67		Surgeon – this is my dream, it may cost too much money to study and I may not even be able to work in this profession any way.
68		Airhostess.
69		Computer engineer – lots of opportunities to get work and support my family.
70		Doctor or scientist – love this job.
71		Doctor or engineer – my dream.
72		Engineering – a responsible occupation.
73		Teacher.
74		Lawyer, to defend Palestinians.
75		Business manager – financial rewards.
76		*No answer.*
77		*No answer.*
78		**No answer**
79		No decided yet.
80		*No answer.*
81		Laboratory work.

82	*No answer.*
83	*No answer.*
84	Bio-chemist because I like sciences.
85	Trade and accounting.
86	Computer engineering – it is the future.
87	*No answer.*
88	Law – defend the rights of my people (Palestinians).
89	*No answer.*
90	Medicine.
91	Engineering.
92	Nursing – help others.
93	Computer programming.
94	Science teacher.
95	Computer job working for a big company.
96	Computer programmer.
97	Teacher. I respect teachers.
98	English or science teacher because I am good at these subjects.
99	Something in the computer field, as I love computers.
100	Soccer player or retail. I love soccer.
101	Accountant.

Question 16: Where did you get the idea that you would like to get that job?

1	Personal experience using computers – I'm good at it.
2	When I was a child. My grandpa also wishes that I should become a doctor.
3	I listened to many of my friends when they had problems – gave them advice – I like solving problems.
4	I like it. I want to help people in need.
5	I want to provide a social service for society.
6	My father does this job and I like too.
7	Media, internet, T.V, teachers.
8	I got the idea from a brochure that helps the handicapped.
9	I look up to my teachers and see that they work hard at their career – it motivates me.
10	Love for cinema.
11	Like teaching and know people who have chosen this profession.
12	Observation of these professions.
13	I want to expose the sufferings of the Palestinian people.
14	I love this type of vocation.
15	I enjoy this type of work.
16	The increase of computer influence on workforce.
17	I like it.

18	No job, no hope.
19	Fathers influence.
20	Friends who work in this field.
21	When I was young I liked this job.
22	I like this profession and I'm interested in computers.
23	I want to defend my people who are suffering. I feel their pain and get upset that nothing is done.
24	This job is allowed for Palestinians in Lebanon.
25	My chemistry teacher has been a positive influence and I love the subject.
26	My idea.
27	The idea came to me after creating a building for a job.
28	The current oppression of my people.
29	Working on computers and what I see in administration.
30	Make money and help children.
31	Childhood dream.
32	My mother encouraged me since childhood.
33	I love computers.
34	This idea comes from watching people being oppressed.
35	Love for this career since I was a child.
36	I like computers.
37	I would love working for this company.
38	No job, no reason for choosing one.
39	This idea came to me from watching Palestinians suffer – they need cheering up and help.
40	Doctor – I feel a responsibility to society.
41	Relatives, they work in this career.
42	Idea came to me when I studied flying development.
43	Inherited skills from my father – I love this job.
44	I want to get out of world routine and see other parts of the earth.
45	From god.
46	Technology development.
47	Childhood dream, watching television.
48	Watching a movie who played a psychiatrist – she was humane and humble.
49	Relatives.
50	*No answer.*
51	Friends.
52	Seeing miserable people suffering.
53	*No answer.*
54	*No answer.*
55	Love these occupations.
56	Teacher – it is an important role in guiding others in life.

57	*No answer.*
58	All people need doctors.
59	I love this subject area.
60	I want to benefit my people and family.
61	I am good at science subjects.
62	I have loved this subject area since I was a child.
63	The reality of life is what makes me want to become a journalist.
64	Love for this subject since childhood.
65	Idea came to me from seeing Palestinians suffering in Lebanon and Palestine.
66	Cousin's husband works in this job – lot of demand for his labour.
67	This idea came from my father and I have the talent to do it.
68	Childhood dream.
69	Listening to others.
70	Watching doctors work on a relative.
71	Personal choice.
72	Working with a teacher.
73	From my teacher.
74	Watching the suffering of Palestinians on television.
75	Learning it in school.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	Viewing Palestinian suffering.
79	Daily problems of family.
80	*No answer.*
81	*No answer.*
82	Scientific interest.
83	*No answer.*
84	Personal interest.
85	School subjects studied.
86	Love of discovery.
87	*No answer.*
88	Childhood ambition.
89	*No answer.*
90	*No answer.*
91	Job idea from childhood.
92	Idea cam tome from orphans who cannot help themselves.
93	I like this work and there is a demand for this skill.
94	Watching teachers at my school.
95	Television, media – what I see as being important.
96	Personal choice – I am interested in this occupation.
97	Family, my own choice.
98	I like this job, as it is a respected position.

99	Friends, personal opinion.
100	Sports on T.V. Money players get paid to be a professional – this will probably not happen though – I may not be good enough. If this happens, I will work in retail.
101	Family influence.

Question 17: What are the main reasons attracting you to this specific career? Explain your reasons in detail.

1	Be own boss – run my business.
2	Become productive member of society – family dreams.
3	Help others with their problems.
4	Help others and myself. Travel and work abroad.
5	Love for this job – correspondent in Palestine.
6	Satisfy my needs.
7	My qualifications can be used to tell what happened before and after the occupation of Palestine.
8	Easily get a job if I finish university education.
9	Improve my mother's standard of living, make her proud of me.
10	Love for cinema.
11	Support family (mother, siblings) and become a responsible member of society.
12	*No answer.*
13	Expose Palestinian and Iraqi suffering.
14	Love for this career.
15	Personal interest.
16	I like this career/vocation.
17	Love for chemistry, I like working in laboratories and financial reward.
18	*No answer.*
19	Financial reward.
20	Money, travel.
21	Equality between men and women, respected job.
22	Good wages and reliable work.
23	The love I feel for my country.
24	This job is allowed for Palestinians in Lebanon.
25	Love the subject and realise ambition/dreams.
26	Realise hopes and dreams.
27	Good salary.
28	Fight oppression.
29	Get specialised vocational training.
30	Make money.
31	There is a demand for this job in Lebanon and the gulf states.
32	I love this job.

33	Job opportunities abroad.
34	I am oppressed.
35	Serve my people and give attention to Palestinian issues.
36	This job opportunity is open and available.
37	Respectful job.
38	No job.
39	The critical conditions facing Palestinians.
40	I want to help people.
41	Secure social and economic future.
42	It is my dream and this job has worldwide importance.
43	Improve the quality of my life, my family.
44	The love for travel, adventure and mixing with other people.
45	*No answer.*
46	Gather money to help the suffering of my family.
47	Amusement and socialising with others.
48	I love learning about other people.
49	I love it.
50	*No answer.*
51	Financial gain.
52	*No answer.*
53	Prove myself and show others the pain of Palestinians.
54	No reason.
55	Salary.
56	I love helping friends and other people. I have a talent for expressing my thoughts.
57	*No answer.*
58	Love.
59	Future social conditions.
60	Influence of my teacher.
61	Improve my family's situation.
62	I can serve my country.
63	Realise my dreams and ambition.
64	Love for this job.
65	Being a Palestinian girl and wanting to defend our land from Zionists.
66	I love computer engineering.
67	I love to paint and I paint well.
68	Fun, amusing job.
69	This job is my dream.
70	Improve name of my family and country.
71	Childhood dream.
72	Salary.
73	Interest.
74	To defend Muslim holy rites.

75	Ambition.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	*No answer.*
79	Financial gain.
80	*No answer.*
81	*No answer.*
82	*No answer.*
83	*No answer.*
84	To obtain a good living and salary.
85	Good salary.
86	Help plan future.
87	*No answer.*
88	Defend the rights of the oppressed.
89	*No answer.*
90	*No answer.*
91	I want to liberate Palestine and realise my dreams.
92	Help parents and people being oppressed by Zionists.
93	This job assures an income.
94	Personal interest.
95	Need to support family.
96	Need to pay for university education – this job should have good wages.
97	Money
98	Family influence.
99	Improve standard of living.
100	Fame, money.
101	Family needs and influence.

Question 18: What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to pursue a specific career?

1	Computers provide good standard of living.
2	Family.
3	Influenced by friends and family.
4	Palestinians cannot get good hospital treatment – UNRWA clinics are not good enough.
5	Get an education; I love this job, duty for Palestine.
6	I hope to improve on my Dad's profession.
7	Better life.
8	Need for volunteers and services for disabled.
9	Self-confidence of teachers. Knowing this job can pay for bills.
10	Love.

11	Improve the social situation of my family and become a useful member of society.
12	My life and fate in this difficult reality.
13	I want to expose Palestinian suffering and lack of rights.
14	No reasons.
15	No influences – my choice.
16	The influence of computers on various career fields.
17	I like this career.
18	*No answer.*
19	Lack of money.
20	Finance and the chance to travel abroad.
21	The oppressive society Palestinians have to live in Lebanon.
22	Family and friends.
23	The lack of rights facing Palestinians. I have the right to work.
24	The ease to get this job.
25	My love for this subject and respect I have for my teacher.
26	No influence.
27	*No answer.*
28	Oppression in society.
29	Personal interest.
30	Self-belief and love for my country – Palestine.
31	Ambition.
32	Love for this respected vocation.
33	I love this job, travel abroad with this career.
34	No factors.
35	Love for this job.
36	Work overseas.
37	Honest job.
38	*No answer.*
39	Specialise in a profession that Palestinians are not allowed to work in.
40	Parents and friends opinion and encouragement.
41	Work in the market abroad.
42	Lack of development in my country (Palestine) of this career.
43	I want to become like my uncle, whom is an educated man living abroad.
44	We live in exile, robbed of rights.
45	When I see Palestinian suffering. I want more rights.
46	The struggle for life in the situation 'we' live.
47	Enjoyment for this occupation.
48	I want to know and meet all people.
49	*No answer.*
50	*No answer.*
51	I am Palestinian. I must fight for rights to prosper.

52	*No answer.*
53	I am affected by the lack of concern by the world for the Palestinian cause.
54	Love for people.
55	I love this job and it suits my personality.
56	I believe I can get this job.
57	The ability to get work.
58	My father's success in this occupation.
59	I am restricted because of my nationality and gender.
60	I want to serve my people and involves my culture.
61	The vision of my people's situation.
62	The suffering of Palestinians in Palestine.
63	3 reasons – defend my country (Palestine), realise my goals, strengthen my personality and self-confidence.
64	My love for this job and the difficult situation that we (Palestinians) live in Lebanon.
65	Plight of Palestinian people.
66	I love this job.
67	My inability to pay money for university.
68	This job realises my dreams and goals.
69	I love this job.
70	I suffer from a difficult life being Palestinian.
71	Palestinian suffering.
72	Salary and parents.
73	Love for subject.
74	Family security.
75	The situation that I live in.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	*No answer.*
79	Fathers unemployment trouble.
80	*No answer.*
81	*No answer.*
82	Love for vocation.
83	*No answer.*
84	*No answer.*
85	Love for job.
86	Love for job.
87	*No answer.*
88	*No answer.*
89	*No answer.*
90	*No answer.*
91	No factors.

92	From watching children on television exposed to Zionists. I also want to help my family.
93	Lack of job opportunities and my nationality.
94	Better life.
95	Money.
96	Financial rewards that can help my family.
97	Family situation and the plight of the Palestinian people in Lebanon.
98	I would enjoy being a teacher.
99	Increase my chances of getting a better job later.
100	Lack of money.
101	Help family improve life.

Question 19: What job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education? Why do you think you will get this job? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Computer repair shop/internet wiring service.
2	Teacher with UNRWA. They need teachers and help.
3	Jobs needing thinking, analysing and calculating.
4	I can't work as a doctor in Lebanon as we can't do what we want here.
5	Arabic language teacher.
6	Teacher or open electronics store – self-employed preferably.
7	Archaeologist – not many people pursue this career.
8	Teaching – is in demand, help me fund further education.
9	Teacher at UNRWA school for Palestinians.
10	Helper in a nursery, store salesperson. I am allowed to obtain these jobs as a Palestinian.
11	Teaching at an UNRWA school. UNRWA is a responsible organization.
12	Teacher, secretary – education will allow me to realise my dream.
13	Secretary or sales representative in a shop – this all a Palestinian can aspire to.
14	Join SIBLINE centre because it allows me to continue studying – fees are lower that university.
15	Work in a retail store.
16	Data processor in a computer company.
17	Chemistry teacher.
18	*No answer.*
19	Optician – Palestinians can do this job in Lebanon and it is inexpensive to learn.
20	Staff Nurse. This career allows Palestinians to travel abroad, out of Lebanon.
21	Teacher in Palestinian schools in Lebanon.
22	Computer data work.

23		Teacher- cannot become a lawyer in Lebanon.
24		Teacher – laws in Lebanon will make it hard for me to become a lawyer.
25		Teacher.
26		Teacher.
27		Astronomer or oceanographer.
28		Computer setting.
29		Law – I love this career.
30		Secretary.
31		Business administration.
32		Doctor.
33		Computer programming.
34		Don't know, it depends on specialisation.
35		Secretary if I only complete secondary studies, but higher if I complete university – directing or journalism.
36		Computer programming.
37		Arabic teacher – preserve Palestinian culture.
38		I will move to another Arab country to work and realise career.
39		Secretary for a doctor – this is close to ideal position.
40		Doctor.
41		In the accounting field.
42		Lebanese laws restrict my work, so I will leave.
43		Accounting in the middle east and possibly engineering in western nations.
44		Teaching – easy job to get and training is cheaper than university studies.
45		Business jobs.
46		Commerce and accounting work.
47		Hotel management.
48		Sociology teacher.
49		Computer engineering.
50		*No answer.*
51		*No answer.*
52		I do not expect to gain a job.
53		Journalism – I love it and it can help liberate my country (Palestine).
54		*No answer.*
55		Hospital worker.
56		I have no expectations because many Palestinians who are educated do not find work.
57		Teacher.
58		I will go to university then try to get a job.
59		Teacher or salesperson.
60		Teaching at a UNRWA school.

61	Doctor.
62	Chemistry field – it is my dream.
63	Journalism, because I love the truth and reality of situations.
64	I hope to gain work.
65	Lawyer – so I can defend Palestinian land. Expel Zionists from Palestine land.
66	Demand is high for this job in Lebanon.
67	Nothing.
68	I expect to be a teacher. It is a respectful job.
69	Computer engineering, so I can work abroad.
70	I don't know.
71	Leave Lebanon to get a job.
72	Engineer.
73	Teacher.
74	I doubt I will get a job.
75	Business management as it is in demand.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	*No answer.*
79	Schoolteacher.
80	*No answer.*
81	*No answer.*
82	Any work.
83	*No answer.*
84	Teacher.
85	*No answer.*
86	Computer engineering, I excel at this subject.
87	*No answer.*
88	Not sure – undecided.
89	*No answer.*
90	*No answer.*
91	*No answer.*
92	Help orphans, the sick and this is a noble job.
93	A teacher in UNRWA.
94	Teacher in UNRWA – there is a need for good teachers in these schools.
95	Computer store worker.
96	I will work for a computer company. I will realise my ambition.
97	Teacher. I will try hard to achieve this goal.
98	Teacher or worker in a retail store.
99	Computer or internet shop worker.
100	Retail worker.
101	No job, lots of unemployment in Lebanon and this makes it twice as

		hard for Palestinians to get work.

Question 20: How would you feel if you could not get a job when you finish high school? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Very difficult, need a job to pay for university expenses.
2	Devastated. All efforts placed in education for nothing.
3	Sad, down, studied for nothing.
4	I will not get sad – I must do anything to get a job.
5	I will not give up. Stay motivated to succeed.
6	Sad, not realizing my dream.
7	Disturbed.
8	Bad, unemployed.
9	Disappointment, despair, sad.
10	Disappointed that I did not realise my dream and I will not be able to pay for my university education.
11	Sorry, disappointed, sad.
12	Disappointed, regretful, lack of independence.
13	Disappointed.
14	I will remain hopeful and try not to get depressed if I do not get work.
15	Disappointed, unhappy, worried about future.
16	Disappointed.
17	Big disappointment.
18	*No answer.*
19	Sad because it means education didn't help improve my standard of living.
20	I will keep trying to realise my dreams.
21	I will answer it with death.
22	Upset and disappointed.
23	Very sorry for myself.
24	Do not possess basic rights.
25	I want to continue my studies after secondary school.
26	Nothingness, hating the place – I want to go abroad.
27	I have to gain more skills.
28	Pain
29	Depression
30	Regret. Wish I did not learn anything.
31	I will get this work abroad.
32	Sadness.
33	Depressed, cursed.
34	I will not be crushed.
35	Sad, but will search for work.
36	Depressed.

37	Sadness.
38	*No answer.*
39	Disappointment. Wasted time at university.
40	I will not be upset and will not give up.
41	Losing hope, but I will go and get a job elsewhere.
42	Failure to realise my dream.
43	I will get employed outside of Lebanon.
44	Very disappointed.
45	Depression.
46	Disappointment and exhaustion from years wasted studying.
47	Depressed and losing hope.
48	I will get a job as a sociology teacher if I do not find work in my chosen career.
49	Disappointment.
50	*No answer.*
51	*No answer.*
52	Depression, isolation, injustice.
53	I have hope, but will need to travel to another country to realise my dreams.
54	No feeling.
55	University is my main aim.
56	I will negative and discriminated against.
57	Sad, sorry and pessimistic.
58	I aspire to complete university.
59	Disappointed, failure, rebellious and extremist.
60	I will need to get work to cover university costs.
61	Humiliated.
62	Break my dream, but I will not give up.
63	Depression and sadness.
64	I try to maintain hope.
65	Feel like others who don't have work.
66	Sad.
67	Depressed – don't care after time.
68	I will never feel sad – I will feel determined.
69	Unfortunate.
70	Disappointed.
71	Extremely disappointed.
72	Sadness.
73	Greatly disappointed.
74	Unhappy.
75	Sadness.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*

78	Disappointed.
79	Failure, loss, disappointed.
80	*No answer.*
81	Suicide.
82	Suicide.
83	*No answer.*
84	*No answer.*
85	*No answer.*
86	Disappointed.
87	*No answer.*
88	Unfortunate.
89	*No answer.*
90	*No answer.*
91	I have ambitions and I will realise them in God's will.
92	Oppressed and depressed.
93	Disappointed and sad.
94	Sad, upset, disappointed.
95	Disappointed.
96	Worried, disappointed.
97	Sad.
98	I will not give up. I will try hard to realise my dream
99	I will be very disappointed. My future will be uncertain.
100	Angry, how can this happen.
101	Difficult time, disappointed that education is wasted.

Question 21: Do you think there is a possibility that you will be unemployed when you finish your education? Why? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Yes, because I do not intend to work in a country where I'm not respected.
2	Yes, as I'm Palestinian. People may not want to employ me because of my nationality and this affects my chances of having a good life.
3	Yes. Restricted job choices because I'm Palestinian.
4	Yes. Not enough jobs available in Lebanon for Palestinians.
5	Yes. I am Palestinian and this may limit my choice of career.
6	Yes, there are limited jobs out there lots of competition.
7	Yes. Hard to get a job.
8	Yes. Competition for jobs is tough, especially since I am Palestinian.
9	Yes. Not enough positions.
10	Yes. Unemployment is increasing and job opportunities are limited because I am a Palestinian refugee.
11	No, I will not lose hope and remain optimistic because I am studying to improve my living situation and my family's living situation.

12	Yes, especially for Palestinians. I may need to immigrate to find work.
13	Yes. Palestinians in Lebanon cannot practice many jobs.
14	No.
15	Yes, Lack of jobs in Lebanon.
16	No.
17	Yes, job opportunities are rare in Lebanon.
18	*No answer.*
19	Yes. But I do not want to become like my siblings who are unemployed.
20	No, education and effort can help us realise dreams.
21	Yes. Limited job opportunities for teachers in Lebanon.
22	Yes. Job restrictions on Palestinians in Lebanon.
23	No. I will work in a UNRWA school in Lebanon.
24	Yes. High unemployment in Lebanon.
25	Yes. Several jobs are not allowed for Palestinians in Lebanon.
26	Yes. It is hard for Palestinians to get jobs in Arab countries.
27	Yes. I will try and get a job.
28	Anything is possible.
29	Yes. I will need to continue education.
30	Yes.
31	Yes. Most employers in Lebanon will not hire Palestinians.
32	Yes. Lot of pressure on the job market.
33	Yes. Palestinians are not allowed to work in Arab states.
34	Yes. Economic situation in many countries is poor.
35	Yes. Lack of rights.
36	Yes. Many Arab states prohibit Palestinians travelling or working there.
37	Yes.
38	Yes. Weakness of the Lebanese economy and unemployment.
39	Yes.
40	Yes.
41	Yes – unemployment is increasing.
42	Yes.
43	Yes – I am Palestinian and I don't have another nationality.
44	Yes. No jobs as I am Palestinian.
45	Yes – Work/employment conditions are tough for Lebanese, so especially hard for Palestinians.
46	Yes. I am not allowed to work in certain jobs and my parents lack the money for my education.
47	Yes. Difficult to find work.
48	Yes.
49	Yes.
50	*No answer.*
51	God knows – god will grant the slave if he wishes.

52	Yes – due to job restrictions in Lebanon.
53	Yes, because I am a refugee.
54	I have to find a job.
55	Yes, because the jobs will not suit my education.
56	Yes – high unemployment in Lebanon.
57	Yes.
58	Yes – because I am Palestinian and deprived of job choice.
59	Yes. Very hard because I am Palestinian.
60	Yes because of job restrictions imposed on Palestinians by Lebanese.
61	Yes – A big chance. I may have to choose a job outside my specialisation.
62	Yes, it is possible because the conditions facing Palestinians is not reassuring.
63	Yes, as I cannot practice this occupation in Lebanon.
64	Everything is possible for Palestinians.
65	Yes – impossible because I am a Palestinian girl.
66	No – job availability is good.
67	*No answer.*
68	No – I will get a job because there is high demand.
69	Yes, because of my nationality.
70	Work = In Lebanon 'No' – abroad 'Yes'.
71	Yes.
72	Yes.
73	Yes, because of Palestinian nationality.
74	No – I will find work.
75	Yes – due to lack of Palestinian rights in Lebanon.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	Yes as I am Palestinian.
79	Yes, I am a refugee.
80	*No answer.*
81	Yes.
82	Yes.
83	*No answer.*
84	Yes.
85	Yes.
86	Yes.
87	*No answer.*
88	Yes. Lebanon has high unemployment.
89	Yes because of Palestinian nationality.
90	*No answer.*
91	Yes – anything is possible.
92	Yes.

93	Yes.
94	Yes, due to lack of Palestinian rights in Lebanon.
95	Yes, I am Palestinian so I have only few job choices in Lebanon.
96	Yes.
97	Yes.
98	No.
99	*No answer.*
100	Yes. I have limited job choices in Lebanon.
101	Yes.

Question 22: Does being Palestinian limit your job opportunities in Lebanon? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Yes, no civil liberties.
2	Yes. We have no rights and can only work in certain jobs.
3	Yes, diminishes job choices and lowers standard of living.
4	Yes. Reduced chances to get jobs in specific fields.
5	Yes – discrimination in work selection.
6	Yes, limits choices of jobs.
7	Yes.
8	Yes. Limited professions to choose from in Lebanon.
9	Yes, no rights in Lebanon.
10	Yes. Diminishes my chances to work in Lebanon, especially in private fields (eg. medicine, law), as job priorities go to Lebanese.
11	Yes. Palestinians are not allowed to obtain all jobs in Lebanon, even if they are educated (especially medicine).
12	Yes. Limits job opportunities in different fields.
13	Yes. Discrimination due to my nationality – Lebanese do not hire Palestinians in certain jobs.
14	*No answer.*
15	Yes. Discrimination in job choices due to Lebanese work laws.
16	Yes.
17	Yes. Palestinians are not allowed to work in government, labs, medical or engineering fields.
18	*No answer.*
19	Yes.
20	Yes, diminished job opportunities in Lebanon due to Lebanese laws.
21	Yes, diminishes job choices.
22	Yes.
23	Yes, diminished job opportunities in Lebanon.
24	Yes. Palestinians are deprived from working in certain jobs in Lebanon.
25	Yes. Work restrictions on Palestinians in Lebanon.
26	Yes. Palestinians can only work in certain jobs in Lebanon.

27	Yes. Lebanese work laws restrict Palestinian job choices.
28	Yes. Decreased.
29	I cannot work in specific jobs.
30	No.
31	Yes. Lack of rights.
32	Yes, several fields do not let Palestinians work in them.
33	Yes. Limits job choices.
34	Yes.
35	Yes. The job market is tight and modest in Lebanon.
36	Yes. Discrimination in job choices.
37	Yes. Several jobs are not allowed for Palestinians.
38	Yes. Eradicates job opportunities.
39	Yes.
40	Yes. Lebanese have more rights than Palestinians in the workforce.
41	Yes – Lebanese law prohibits me working outside the camp and in jobs I love.
42	Yes, I will leave Lebanon.
43	Yes. I have no civil or political rights.
44	Yes. You need *wasta* (influence) to get work and Lebanese nationality.
45	Yes. Lebanese workers are preferred to Palestinians.
46	Yes. Diminishes working rights.
47	Yes. Many specialised occupations are forbidden due to Lebanese laws.
48	Yes. The Palestinian is treated like a foreigner.
49	Yes.
50	*No answer.*
51	Yes.
52	Yes.
53	Yes, because of discrimination.
54	I do not work.
55	Yes.
56	Yes, due to Lebanese law restrictions enforced upon Palestinians.
57	Yes, Lebanese employers will rather employ Lebanese workers.
58	I am deprived of practicing several professions because of my nationality.
59	Yes – Because I am Palestinian.
60	Yes, due to Palestinian nationality.
61	Yes – Palestinians can only obtain humble jobs.
62	Yes – in some job fields.
63	Yes.
64	Yes. The fact that I am Palestinian will reduce my chances of work.
65	Yes – Palestinians suffer because of their status (being a refugee).
66	Yes – Because one cannot find good job opportunities in this country (Lebanon).

67	Yes. Palestinians are not allowed to work in certain jobs in Lebanon.
68	Yes.
69	Yes – many jobs in government.
70	Yes, because I am Palestinian.
71	Yes – lack of rights.
72	Yes – government jobs.
73	Yes. I can't work in specialised jobs.
74	Yes.
75	Yes.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	Yes.
79	Yes. Job opportunities are scarce in Lebanon.
80	*No answer.*
81	Yes. Palestinians have no rights in Lebanon.
82	Yes.
83	*No answer.*
84	Yes.
85	Yes – I am a refugee.
86	Yes. Lebanese only employ Lebanese workers.
87	Yes.
88	Yes.
89	Yes, in all fields without exception.
90	*No answer.*
91	Yes.
92	Yes as Lebanese law considers Palestinians as foreigners.
93	Yes.
94	Yes. Discrimination in Lebanese workforce laws means Palestinians have to work in certain jobs only.
95	Yes.
96	Yes.
97	Yes. I can only choose low paying jobs – not my preferred career.
98	Yes. Of course, limited job choice in Lebanon.
99	**No answer**
100	Yes.
101	*No answer.*

Question 23: How could education be used to help improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Explain your answer in detail.

1	Help prove himself in a country where he is not wanted.
2	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians and help change political situation facing Palestinians (laws etc).

3	Develop job positions that do not discriminate Palestinians.
4	Travel out of Lebanon to find work.
5	Improve job prospects and income.
6	Education improves chances of getting good work- but still hindered by Lebanese employment laws.
7	If anyone is good at something, they should be allowed to work in any field- this is a human right!
8	Help with rights to work in different job fields.
9	Help improve job opportunities and equal rights in Lebanon.
10	Education may help improve the job opportunities for those who do not require a specific nationality to fill a certain job.
11	Education can help improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon. By securing a job, Palestinians can fight to increase equality between employees and nationalities. Education gives Palestinians hope that the future is better.
12	Education can be used to help Palestinians get better work in Lebanon.
13	Increase job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
14	*No answer.*
15	Increase Palestinian hope and quest for better life in Lebanon.
16	Educated people can find better jobs.
17	Education does not help Palestinians because they can only work in certain fields in Lebanon.
18	*No answer.*
19	Help find better jobs in and out of Lebanon.
20	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon, but they will still only be assistants to the Lebanese.
21	Education helps improve Palestinians standard of living.
22	Improve quality of life.
23	Help gain better job opportunities.
24	Help Palestinian living conditions.
25	Education creates jobs for Palestinians – gives them skills for success.
26	Education improves job opportunities for Palestinians so they can realise themselves.
27	Education can guide Palestinians towards employment.
28	Education helps people find jobs and realise decent living standards.
29	To increase job opportunities.
30	*No answer.*
31	Protect Palestinian dignity.
32	Work hard and some jobs do not care about nationality.
33	Help job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
34	Improve work for Palestinians.
35	A weapon to get a job.
36	Asking for our rights.

37	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
38	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
39	Improve living conditions for Palestinians in Lebanon.
40	Increase Palestinian experience in job fields.
41	Improve job opportunities of Palestinians in Lebanon.
42	Lebanese is full of poor and deprived, so education doesn't guarantee employment.
43	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
44	*No answer.*
45	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
46	Yes. Improve job chances for Palestinians.
47	Education is important for gaining knowledge.
48	Education can help Palestinians travel overseas to get work.
49	It cannot help Palestinians in Lebanon because of the job restrictions.
50	*No answer.*
51	By moving to Arab countries that do not oppress like Lebanon.
52	*No answer.*
53	Education will not improve our chances for work, especially in Lebanon where Lebanese struggle to find work.
54	This does not concern me.
55	No, this will not improve job possibilities because of the lack of job opportunities in Lebanon for Palestinians.
56	It can improve qualifications, but not guarantee work.
57	It is possible.
58	Learning will help improve job opportunities.
59	Education helps enhance learning process and may help increase chances of attaining employment.
60	Learning and education do not stand in the way employment, Palestinian nationality causes job problems.
61	Education is available, but does not increase our chances of employment.
62	Education may improve job opportunities for Palestinians who live in Lebanon.
63	Education can increase salary and living conditions.
64	Education helps Palestinians, but we must be allowed to specialise in our job choices.
65	Improve job opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon by opening doors to complete freedom of life.
66	Education is important because it helps Palestinians find respectful employment.
67	Education is the only solution to improve Palestinian living conditions.
68	Education improves the living conditions of Palestinians.
69	Training Palestinians for specific jobs.

70	Education will not improve Palestinian lives in Lebanon.
71	Education does not make a difference.
72	It helps find work at SIBLINE Academy.
73	Helps individuals realise goals.
74	Education helps improve Palestinians get jobs in their specialised field.
75	It can help.
76	*No answer.*
77	*No answer.*
78	*No answer.*
79	Education helps Palestinians become teachers.
80	*No answer.*
81	*No answer.*
82	*No answer.*
83	*No answer.*
84	*No answer.*
85	*No answer.*
86	High qualifications can help Palestinians get work.
87	It helps in a small way.
88	*No answer.*
89	*No answer.*
90	*No answer.*
91	*No answer.*
92	Education will help individuals find work.
93	*No answer.*
94	Improve standard of life.
95	Give Palestinians hope to achieve in different jobs in Lebanon.
96	Earn more money to satisfy needs of family.
97	Palestinians can gain respect from attaining good degrees from University.
98	No chance to improve – need to travel out of Lebanon to pursue career.
99	*No answer.*
100	Good education can help Palestinians get better jobs.
101	*No answer.*

Student – Interview Results

1) In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon? Please explain why education is important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon or why it is not.

SF1	Yes – all societies need to be educated.
SF2	Yes. Only weapon for work.

SF3	Yes. Provides opportunity for the future.
SF4	Yes. Help Palestinians improve their living and liberate our land from the Israeli's
SF5	Yes.
SF6	Yes. Improve Palestinian situation in Lebanon.
SF7	Very important – enlightens mind and provides future opportunities.
SF8	Yes. Create a better life.
SF9	Important to find work.
SF10	Education is important for everything – base of life.
SF11	Yes. Helps Palestinians reveal their potential.
SF12	Yes. It is a weapon to fight the Israeli's and get a job.
SM1	Yes. Very important – prepare for future.
SM2	Yes. Important for developing skills for life.
SM3	Extremely important – higher degrees = higher paying employment.
SM4	Yes – Palestinians can use education to improve themselves.
SM5	Education is very important for Palestinians, as they are deprived of rights in Lebanon.
SM6	Yes – Palestinians becoming educated can only solve Palestinian struggle.
SM7	Very important to help Palestinians change life and living conditions.
SM8	Yes. Palestinians need education to get out of the situation they find themselves in.

2) Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

SF1	Yes. I want to become a doctor.
SF2	Yes. Education improves living conditions.
SF3	Very important, as I am a girl and I need assure my future.
SF4	Important for my rights in society.
SF5	Yes. Important for future.
SF6	Yes. Provides self-confidence in society.
SF7	Yes. Helps determine my future.
SF8	Yes. Realise a better level life.
SF9	Yes. Realise dreams and decide on the job I want to specialise in.
SF10	Yes. Important to help find a job.
SF11	Yes. It helps achieve goals in life.
SF12	Yes. It can nurture and develop an individual's learning.
SM1	Important for life.
SM2	Secure future.
SM3	Helps serve family and pay for living.
SM4	Education can be used to realize ambitions.
SM5	Improve my future and make money.

SM6	Education helps build my future.
SM7	Education helps overcome difficulties in life.
SM8	Attain high degrees to get a good life.

3) In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Educate society.
SF2	Develop an individual and improve society.
SF3	Educate yourself and assure your future.
SF4	Gain knowledge about the world.
SF5	Improve living standards.
SF6	Develop mind and knowledge.
SF7	Add to culture and reach potential.
SF8	Obtain knowledge and acknowledge Palestinian rights.
SF9	Improve the way I think and learn.
SF10	Allows culture to blossom and next generations learn new ideas.
SF11	Realise ones-self and get a job.
SF12	Goals = knowledge, liberation.
SM1	Develop necessary skills for life.
SM2	Become knowledgeable and become a productive member of society.
SM3	Education is a basic right, needed so one can live in any society.
SM4	Build a decent life and get a job.
SM5	Learn, experience and secure a future.
SM6	Build a future towards good things in life.
SM7	Advance the mind and make next generation efficient.
SM8	Realise dreams and guarantee a good life.

4) What factors (if any) have contributed to your perception of what the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Influence of teachers and books.
SF2	The future – being comfortable, living well.
SF3	Sister and brother's experience. Education has helped them in life.
SF4	My parents love education.
SF5	Knowledge from UNRWA.
SF6	When I started learning.
SF7	Current situation facing Palestinians in Lebanon.
SF8	The difficult economic situation Palestinians endure.
SF9	Improve future and living standards.
SF10	*No answer.*
SF11	The role of society.
SF12	Being educated, going to school.
SM1	Family ideas and teacher influence.

SM2	Own ideas and situation I/we (Palestinians) live in Lebanon.
SM3	The need to be educated.
SM4	The situation I live in. The importance of education to get a job.
SM5	Educated people get better work.
SM6	The discrepancies facing Palestinians in Lebanon.
SM7	*No answer.*
SM8	The capability of the Palestinian people to achieve good education standards.

5) In what ways, do you think that your high school education fulfils these educational purposes? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Important start to life, which leads to university.
SF2	Secondary education is an important building block of life.
SF3	It lets me have a basic education.
SF4	No. Education is all theory and needs more practical application. Palestinians are deprived rights.
SF5	No. Too much theory and not enough practical.
SF6	No. Secondary education is a start to learning and must be developed.
SF7	Secondary school is part of the sequence of learning.
SF8	Provides theory knowledge.
SF9	*No answer.*
SF10	It is simple, need to go to university.
SF11	No, high school is a phase in education.
SF12	No, it cannot realise goals – you must attend university.
SM1	High school is basic education, to reach potential you need to go to university.
SM2	UNRWA high school is a good start, but specialisation is needed to succeed.
SM3	High school education is not good enough. It is important to continue education and become specialised in a field of work.
SM4	If I get a good education I will get a good job.
SM5	No, secondary school is temporary.
SM6	No – secondary school is purely theory, practical application must take place.
SM7	No, high school education does not guarantee work.
SM8	No – continuing education is very important.

6) In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	At high school you do not specialise – that is done at university.
SF2	Secondary school directs you so you can learn/survive in society.

SF3	Schooling has helped me study well and more.
SF4	Lebanese still treat Palestinians as foreigners.
SF5	Not enough practical application.
SF6	Education is limited at UNRWA. Lack of facilities such as science labs.
SF7	It does not because you need further education.
SF8	Secondary school education is not real life and differs to the situation in the work market.
SF9	*No answer.*
SF10	*No answer.*
SF11	Specialisation occurs after secondary school at university.
SF12	Learn how to study then go to university.
SM1	Secondary school has prepared me for the beginning of learning, but not enough to secure a good job – I need more education!
SM2	As said before, high school is a basic start that needs developing further at a higher level of learning.
SM3	Too much theory and not enough practical learning at high school.
SM4	Secondary school is limits the choices you have.
SM5	*No answer.*
SM6	*No answer.*
SM7	Secondary education is not full – education needs to be completed at university.
SM8	Secondary education gives everyone the opportunity to take part in learning.

7) In your opinion, what does education try to prepare you for when you leave high school? Does your high school education prepare you for life after high school? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Prepares students for life.
SF2	Preparation towards a degree and work.
SF3	Recognise what I need for the future – direction at university.
SF4	*No answer.*
SF5	Prepare for university and life.
SF6	An aim to reach a goal.
SF7	A part of the education sequence, but not enough.
SF8	Work and university.
SF9	Prepares me for next phase of learning – university.
SF10	Education makes you see new points of view.
SF11	Give you an idea of what you want.
SF12	Prepares you for further education – university.
SM1	Further education.
SM2	Higher learning at university or SIBLINE.
SM3	Prepares students for university, but not professional life.

SM4	Prepares you for the university phase of education.
SM5	Helps students enter university and prepare us for life.
SM6	Secondary school education helps select a future – needs further training.
SM7	It is a transitional phase leading to higher education.
SM8	Prepares students for university.

8) What do you think it is important to do when you finish your high school education? Why do you think is it important to do this? Please explain your reasons for this answer.

SF1	Pass TOEFEL course to enter university, so I can achieve life goals.
SF2	Enter university.
SF3	Try and find work, while studying at the same time.
SF4	Find work to pay for university fees.
SF5	Find work and improve living conditions.
SF6	Go to university and prove potential of Palestinian people.
SF7	Prepare for summer-school education and university.
SF8	Try to obtain university entrance or find a job.
SF9	Find a job to help parents and fund university tuition.
SF10	Work to help parents.
SF11	Continue education.
SF12	Continue education.
SM1	Continue education and become more knowledgeable.
SM2	Go to university and find a job to pay for tuition.
SM3	Specialise at university.
SM4	Work to help complete university studies.
SM5	Work, university is too expensive.
SM6	Continue education – help achieve a better living.
SM7	Find a simple job that pays for university fees.
SM8	Get a university degree to support family.

9) In your opinion, would you rather continue your education when you finish high school or get a job? Please explain why you may select one option over another? What reasons (if any) have influenced what you will do when you leave high school?

SF1	Go to university. May have to work to pay for fees.
SF2	Continue education at university.
SF3	Work and study at the same time.
SF4	Continue education to help fight those occupying my land (Israel).
SF5	Try to find work.
SF6	Continue education and get skills to reach goal.
SF7	Complete studies and gain more knowledge.
SF8	Find work, unless I can get a scholarship to attend university.
SF9	Continue education, but I must work to pay for this option.

SF10	University education.
SF11	Continue education.
SF12	Continue education, as it opens up more opportunities (more knowledge).
SM1	Continue education because it will help me get a better job in the future.
SM2	I will work first, to earn money to pay for expensive university education.
SM3	Go to university, as it is very hard to find decent work at the completion of secondary school.
SM4	Continue education and go to university.
SM5	Go to university.
SM6	Continue education, so I can get a good life.
SM7	I will work and study, to pay for university fees, which will improve my chances of guaranteeing a secure future.
SM8	Continue higher education at university.

10) In your opinion, what school subjects do you think are important for getting a job when you leave high school? Why are these subjects important to you? What subjects are less important to you and why? Please explain your answers in detail.

SF1	English, sciences.
SF2	Medicine, engineering.
SF3	Arabic and English language. Computer studies.
SF4	Literature subjects – I like it.
SF5	I am still learning.
SF6	English – important subject in many work places.
SF7	Chemistry, Maths, Physics, English, Arabic.
SF8	Science and computer studies.
SF9	All subjects.
SF10	Science, Math and social studies – these subjects are used in our daily lives.
SF11	Subjects I find interesting.
SF12	Arabic and English languages.
SM1	Computer and science subjects.
SM2	Business and computer studies – lots of demand for experts in these vocations.
SM3	Computer technology is very important, as it is popular in this 'age'. Teaching at an UNRWA school can provide a decent salary in Lebanon.
SM4	Biology.
SM5	Physics and maths. Technology is not important.
SM6	English – important global language.
SM7	Computer studies and math.

SM8	Physics and math because I like them.

11) In your opinion, why are these kinds of jobs accessible to you when you leave high school? Why does this occur? What kinds of jobs are not accessible to you when you leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Palestinians can only choose certain jobs to work in Lebanon – deprived of job choice.
SF2	Palestinians cannot work even if they are educated.
SF3	Limited job choice in Lebanon.
SF4	*No answer.*
SF5	Only UNRWA can make some jobs available.
SF6	Jobs are there because the services are needed.
SF7	I cannot work anywhere. I can only be an assistant because I'm Palestinian.
SF8	Lebanese laws restrict Palestinian job selection.
SF9	Jobs accessible after secondary school will have poor/low salaries.
SF10	*No answer.*
SF11	*No answer.*
SF12	*No answer.*
SM1	Palestinians can only choose certain jobs.
SM2	Job selection is very hard for Palestinians in Lebanon.
SM3	Palestinians have limited job choices in Lebanon.
SM4	Jobs that Palestinians are allowed to work in Lebanon.
SM5	These jobs are allowed in Lebanon – Palestinians are not restricted.
SM6	Many jobs are not accessible. Palestinians mainly work in practical occupations and not technical jobs due to working restrictions.
SM7	Being a refugee hinders job selection.
SM8	Find a job that secures my needs, financially and intellectually.

12) What type of job would you like to get when you finish your education? Why is this job important to you? Where did you get the idea that you would like to pursue this career? What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to pursue a specific career? Please explain your answers in detail.

SF1	Doctor – job idea came from my grandfather.
SF2	Teacher – this is a safe and comfortable occupation that I can find work in.
SF3	Chemistry job and sign language – idea came from television.
SF4	Medicine – I want to take care of my mother and Palestinians who are suffering.
SF5	Police women – saw job on television.

SF6	English teacher – my teacher inspired me.
SF7	Computer science or programmer. Technology is part this age.
SF8	Computers – idea came from the media.
SF9	Diplomatic body – Palestinian suffering needs to be addressed.
SF10	Astronomy or Oceanography – get away from earth.
SF11	Jobs that Palestinians are not allowed to work in Lebanon.
SF12	Lawyer – after seeing the suffering of our unfortunate people (Palestinians).
SM1	High paying job that secures future.
SM2	Respected employment in business, which will probably be overseas.
SM3	Job in communication that pays well to support my family.
SM4	Staff nurse – good salary.
SM5	Optician – my father's owns this type of shop. Palestinians are allowed to work in this profession.
SM6	Civil engineer – Build projects that help Palestinians.
SM7	Computer work – lots of work in this field.
SM8	Engineering and aim to gain a PhD in this field.

13) What type of job do you realistically expect to get when you finish your education? Why do you think you will get this job? Do you think that this occupation will relate to the education you have completed? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Teacher.
SF2	Teacher, as this is a job Palestinians are allowed to work in.
SF3	Teaching.
SF4	Doctor at UNRWA.
SF5	Education or medicine at an UNRWA facility.
SF6	Teacher – easily attainable for Palestinians in Lebanon.
SF7	Teacher. Unrealistic to study computers – too expensive.
SF8	Computer company to obtain a good living and salary.
SF9	Not a very good job because restrictions placed on Palestinian job selection.
SF10	Astronomer or Oceanographer.
SF11	Media – I like it.
SF12	Teaching at UNRWA or in the USA.
SM1	Low paying job if I continue to live in Lebanon.
SM2	I will be hardworking and not give up – realise my dream job.
SM3	In Lebanon, there is no hope to get work as Palestinians are discriminated against.
SM4	If I do not obtain this work, this occurs because Palestinians are not allowed to work in this profession.
SM5	I will become an optician because it is cheap to study and this job is allowed for Palestinians in Lebanon.

SM6	Become a teacher.
SM7	Communication or computer business.
SM8	Engineer.

14) How would you feel if you did not get a job when you finish high school or complete your education? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Miserable, mad, discriminated.
SF2	Sad, disappointed, wasted my time studying.
SF3	Bad, I will continue to study if I'm unemployed.
SF4	Sadness.
SF5	Tired and depressed.
SF6	Feel good.
SF7	Depressed. Work and study for nothing.
SF8	Ignore it and move away to find work.
SF9	Not happy.
SF10	Sad. Give up for god.
SF11	I will get a job.
SF12	Sad and disappointed.
SM1	Very disappointed and sad.
SM2	Upset – worried that I will not find work or secure a future for my family.
SM3	Sad – collapsed future.
SM4	Great sadness. Studied for nothing.
SM5	Feeling of sadness.
SM6	Sad, depressed.
SM7	Wasted my life studying – I will need to travel abroad to find work.
SM8	I will keep studying and continue higher education (PhD level).

15) Why is it important for you to get a job when you finish high school or complete further education? Please explain answer in detail.

SF1	I want to prove to all girls that women can get a job – stop gender discrimination.
SF2	Palestinians need work to live, just like any other person.
SF3	Continue education using salary from job.
SF4	Help parents and continue my studies.
SF5	Realise goals.
SF6	Use qualifications to gain employment.
SF7	Guarantee a salary to improve living conditions.
SF8	Obtain money to fund life.
SF9	Help parents and fund further studies.
SF10	Support family and myself.
SF11	To reach my goals and dreams.

SF12	To fund further studying.
SM1	Completing further education will help improve chances of gaining employment and providing for my family.
SM2	Finding a job helps secure a decent living.
SM3	To live comfortably.
SM4	I need to work to help my parents and pay for study.
SM5	Work to help family and pay for study.
SM6	Person needs to learn how to live and build a future for their family.
SM7	Need to pay for university fees.
SM8	Guarantee a better life, socially and economically.

16) Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that you may be unemployed when you finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Please explain answer in detail.

SF1	Yes. Palestinians struggle to get work in Lebanon.
SF2	Yes. Palestinian living conditions are difficult and university fees are expensive.
SF3	Yes. High unemployment in Lebanon.
SF4	Big possibility. Situation in Lebanon is bad for anyone.
SF5	Yes. But work at UNRWA is possible.
SF6	Yes – high unemployment.
SF7	Yes. I may not study if I cannot find work to pay for university fees.
SF8	Yes – work opportunities not available.
SF9	Yes. Palestinians are oppressed in Lebanon.
SF10	Yes. Palestinians have no rights in Lebanon.
SF11	Yes. Lack of job choices.
SF12	Yes. Palestinians are deprived of rights in Lebanon.
SM1	Yes. Palestinians can only work in certain jobs in Lebanon.
SM2	Yes. We (Palestinians) need to leave Lebanon to find work abroad. High unemployment in Lebanon.
SM3	Yes. Two factors contribute: Being Palestinian; USA/Israeli middle east politics.
SM4	Yes. My family does not have enough money to fund further education.
SM5	I want to enter university, but if I cannot due to fees, I will try and find work.
SM6	No. I will continue educating myself.
SM7	Yes.
SM8	No – I will find work because I will be skilled.

17) In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Why do you think this situation occurs? Please explain answer in detail.

SF1	Palestinians are refugees and Lebanese employers discriminate us by not employing us.
SF2	Lebanese government laws that forbid Palestinians working in certain occupations.
SF3	Lebanese government laws restricting Palestinian work choices.
SF4	*No answer.*
SF5	Lebanese government laws create Palestinian unemployment.
SF6	Lebanese government rules.
SF7	Unemployment in Lebanon is high.
SF8	Discrimination by Lebanese employers against Palestinians. High unemployment in Lebanon.
SF9	Lebanese government job laws discriminating Palestinians.
SF10	Palestinians have no rights in Lebanese society.
SF11	Lebanese do not care about Palestinian rights.
SF12	Lebanese government laws and lack of Palestinian rights in Lebanon.
SM1	Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian job choice.
SM2	Palestinians do not have civil rights in Lebanon and must work in low paying employment, even if they are well educated.
SM3	External factor – USA/Israeli politics that pressure Arab governments. Internal factor – Lebanese occupation restrictions imposed on Palestinians.
SM4	Lack of opportunities given to Palestinians by the Lebanese government.
SM5	Lebanese government increases Palestinian unemployment.
SM6	Lebanese government discriminating against Palestinians by limiting their job choices.
SM7	Deprivation of rights for Palestinians in Lebanon.
SM8	Lebanese government does not help Palestinians find work.

18) Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect your job opportunities? If so, in what ways does this source of identity affect your job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Please explain your answers in detail.

SF1	Living in Lebanon stops Palestinians from get jobs and surviving.
SF2	Yes. Educated Palestinians cannot find work.
SF3	Yes.
SF4	Yes- limits job choice.
SF5	Yes. Palestinian nationality blocks you from working.
SF6	Yes.
SF7	Yes – major problem. Lebanese prefer to hire Lebanese.

SF8	Yes. Owners of private companies do wish to hire Palestinians.
SF9	Yes. Hard to find work.
SF10	Yes.
SF11	Yes. Palestinians have no rights in Lebanon.
SF12	Yes. Palestinians are deprived or working rights in Lebanon.
SM1	Yes. Palestinians are discriminated against because of whom they are.
SM2	Yes, definitely. My nationality eliminates the jobs I can choose from because of Lebanese employment laws.
SM3	Yes. Being Palestinian in Lebanon will always affect the type of occupation you are allowed to work in.
SM4	Yes. Employers in Lebanon ask what nationality you are. Being Palestinian limits your work opportunities.
SM5	Palestinians can only work in certain low paying employment.
SM6	Palestinians only have UNRWA in Lebanon and they help find work for them.
SM7	*No answer.*
SM8	The Lebanese government does not allow Palestinians to work in specific jobs.

19) Do you realistically think employment opportunities will improve for Palestinians in Lebanon over the next 5-7 years? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	No. Palestinians are still refugees and nothing has changed in years.
SF2	No. Palestinian opportunities in Lebanon are diminishing, as foreign workers take more and more jobs.
SF3	No. The situation for Palestinians in Lebanon is 50 years old and they are still discriminated.
SF4	Maybe. Lebanese employment laws need to change.
SF5	No. Even though many countries are pressured to help Palestinians.
SF6	No. Situation has been the same for 50 years.
SF7	Yes. The Palestinian people will have liberated their land and we could return.
SF8	No. Lebanese laws will continue to forbid Palestinians from working in specific jobs.
SF9	No.
SF10	No. Jobs are regressing for Palestinians in Lebanon.
SF11	No. The Lebanese government will not change, so the situation will remain the same.
SF12	No. Palestinians will not give up their nationality to be naturalised in Lebanon.
SM1	No. Unemployment is high in Lebanon for Lebanese, so this makes it harder for Palestinians to find employment.
SM2	No – Palestinians have no rights in Lebanon.
SM3	No – job opportunities seem to be getting worse every year for

	Palestinians.
SM4	No. The situation will get worse. Palestinian rights are diminishing in Lebanon.
SM5	No. The Lebanese economy is getting worse and this will increase unemployment.
SM6	No.
SM7	No. There is no way out from this situation in Lebanon.
SM8	No – it will deteriorate.

20) In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

SF1	Make Lebanese employers look at the qualifications of an individual, not their nationality.
SF2	Lebanese government need to give Palestinian people a chance – we (Palestinians) could help improve the Lebanese economy.
SF3	Palestinians need to get educated to fight discrimination.
SF4	Lebanese laws need to be changed to allow Palestinians work in all fields.
SF5	Improve the situation of Palestinians in Lebanon.
SF6	Palestinians can gain respect through education-based achievements.
SF7	Increase Palestinian qualifications.
SF8	Education may improve working conditions for Palestinians in Lebanon.
SF9	Palestinians need to be given a chance to prosper.
SF10	Companies need to accept degrees and qualifications and not look at nationality.
SF11	Help find jobs and reach potential.
SF12	Lebanon needs to change laws, so that Palestinians are treated like human beings.
SM1	Improve Palestinian quality of life.
SM2	Increase Palestinian chances to find work and provide for family.
SM3	To allow Palestinians to have the opportunity to live a normal life.
SM4	Palestinians need to get educated, get higher degrees, so they can get respect in the Arab world.
SM5	Improve the Palestinian situation in Lebanon.
SM6	Improve employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon.
SM7	Educated Palestinians may help change the situation in Lebanon.
SM8	Education can help spread awareness among the Palestinian people in Lebanon to improve rights.

Teacher-UNWRA Administrators Semi-Structured Interview Results:

1) In your opinion, is education important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon? Please explain why education is important for the Palestinian community in Lebanon or why it is not.

TF1	Very important.
TF2	Education is important to realise ambition.
TF3	Important for life itself.
TF4	Important for life and a source of wealth.
TF5	Very important as it is the only weapon to fight the enemy.
TF6	Education is all Palestinians have in Lebanon or the rest of the Arab world.
TM1	Education helps liberate people without a land.
TM2	Yes. Education is the weapon to fight the Zionist enemy.
TM3	Yes. Only weapon.
TM4	Yes. Very important.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	It is an asset of life, as Palestinians have no homeland. Education can help Palestinians secure wealth.
UNRWA C.E.O	Education is important for all communities. Education helps Palestinians earn a living, become good citizens.

2) Is education important to you? Please explain why education is important to you or why it is not.

TF1	Very important.
TF2	Education helps Palestinians fight Israel by developing modern technology.
TF3	Education prepares a person for life.
TF4	Secure conditions for life and the future for children.
TF5	It gives people knowledge and culture.
TF6	Education helps people confront life obstacles.
TM1	Very important, provides opportunities for life and nationhood.
TM2	Yes. It is a legitimate, religious and Islamic matter.
TM3	Education is our weapon to fight stronger enemy.
TM4	Education helps Palestinian people carry on – live.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Education ensures a decent living and provides a way to try and get back to stolen country (Palestine).
UNRWA C.E.O	Yes. I believe in education – it helps people get jobs.

3) In your opinion, what do you think the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	Develop and defend myself.
TF2	*No answer.*
TF3	Education prepares a person for life, work and society.
TF4	Raise awareness of generations to face future challenges.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	Increase job opportunities.
TM1	Social factors.
TM2	Develop a person's mental ability and develop society.
TM3	Improve social status, culture and solve problems.
TM4	Secure future.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Build strong personality that can provide a decent living and survive within society.
UNRWA C.E.O	Prepare citizens to be active participants in life. Skills for life.

4) What factors (if any) have contributed to your perception of what the purposes of education are? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	*No answer.*
TF2	*No answer.*
TF3	Family and husband support my education.
TF4	Attending teacher workshops as a student.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	Improve living standards.
TM1	*No answer.*
TM2	Society, UNRWA teacher workshops.
TM3	Social situation of Palestinians.
TM4	Education helps secure future needs.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	The means to provide and survive on a daily basis.
UNRWA C.E.O	Global factors – world is knowledge and knowledge is needed to survive in the evolving world.

5) In what ways, do you think that your high school education programme fulfils these educational purposes? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	*No answer.*
TF2	Very important as it opens horizons for young people to realise future ambitions.
TF3	I have learnt to be a good teacher/educator.
TF4	Try to prepare students for future.
TF5	*No answer.*

TF6	Open doors to other opportunities.
TM1	Create an educated generation.
TM2	Teaching and applying educational curriculum.
TM3	Yes – important role, help reach university level.
TM4	Directs my future in a specific way.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	No – need university education.
UNRWA C.E.O	We have to teach the Lebanese education curriculum as Palestinians live in Lebanon – helps Palestinians integrate into Lebanese society.

6) In your opinion, what reasons (if any) have contributed towards your high school being able or not able to fulfil these educational purposes? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	Conditions facing students.
TF2	Secondary education leads to university and enables Palestinians to gain a world voice.
TF3	*No answer.*
TF4	Difficult social conditions facing Palestinians.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	Education aims to develop the whole person – knowledge, culture, wealth.
TM1	*No answer.*
TM2	Education accessibility, curriculum is not standardised in UNRWA schools.
TM3	Self-realisation to succeed.
TM4	Awareness.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Secondary education is a transitional phase that leads into university.
UNRWA C.E.O	Palestinians have to be adaptive and willing to integrate into Lebanese society. Education can help improve living in this country.

7) In your opinion, what do you think that your high school education programme attempts to prepare students for when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	Palestinians need opportunities in Lebanon.
TF2	Education helps produce good men and women.
TF3	*No answer.*
TF4	To continue education and become responsible for a family.
TF5	Prepares students for university.

TF6	Prepares students for real world.
TM1	Guidance for future employment.
TM2	University entrance.
TM3	Offers better future and preparation for university.
TM4	Encourage students to explore subjects that may lead to good vocations or jobs after university.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Transition into university.
UNRWA C.E.O	Equip students with skills to gain vocational knowledge.

8) In your opinion, do you think that your high school education programme prepares students for life after high school? Why or why not? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	*No answer.*
TF2	Guides students towards jobs.
TF3	Prepared for university education.
TF4	University.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	Life after secondary education.
TM1	Yes, but not completely. University enables intellectual growth.
TM2	University or to get a better job after secondary schooling.
TM3	Preparation for university.
TM4	University or academy entrance.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Yes.
UNRWA C.E.O	Yes – prepare them (Palestinians) with life skills.

9) What do you think it is important for students to do when they finish their high school education? Why do you think is it important to do this? Please explain your reasons for this answer.

TF1	Continue education at university.
TF2	*No answer.*
TF3	It depends on the ability of a student to strive for a better life.
TF4	University education is important for Palestinians, as it is a weapon that can be used to fight oppression.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	It is a crossroad for life that needs specialisation at university.
TM2	Go to university or join a college such as the SIBLINE centre.
TM3	*No answer.*
TM4	University is more important than secondary school as it increases

	employment chances.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Continue education at university.
UNRWA C.E.O	Higher education is very important to develop skills necessary for life success.

10) In your opinion, would you rather see students continue their education when they finish high school or get a job? Please explain why you may select one option over another?

TF1	Continue studies, but this option is very difficult.
TF2	Continue education at university.
TF3	Continue education.
TF4	Continue education to gain better financial lifestyle.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	Continue education.
TM2	Continue education to insure future.
TM3	Continue education and work at the same time. Need work to fund education.
TM4	*No answer.*
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Continue university education to try and gain better future.
UNRWA C.E.O	High school certificate does not entitle students to employment. Need to pursue higher education and gain specialised skills.

11) What reasons (if any) have influenced what you think students should do when they leave high school? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	Need to try many things.
TF2	Get better occupations – doctors, engineers, teachers.
TF3	*No answer.*
TF4	Lifestyle, need for wealth to combat living conditions.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	*No answer.*
TM2	Continue education to help improve future.
TM3	*No comment.*
TM4	Degree that ensures employment.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Educated people have a better chance to find employment than uneducated.
UNRWA C.E.O	Pursue higher education.

12) In your opinion, what school subjects do you think are important for getting a job in Lebanon when students leave high school? Why are these subjects important to you? What subjects are less important to you and why? Please explain your answers in detail.

TF1	*No answer.*
TF2	All subjects are important.
TF3	All subjects are important.
TF4	Sciences – luck to find work.
TF5	Language and computer subjects.
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	Subjects that gain employment in Lebanon.
TM2	Join university to get educated – secure good jobs (eg. Doctor).
TM3	Practical subjects. Computer subjects.
TM4	Students need to be guided towards jobs that can be attained.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	All subjects are important.
UNRWA C.E.O	No subjects entitle in high school entitle students to employment. You need further specialisation.

13) In your opinion, do you think that the subject's students select in your high school prepare them for future job opportunities? If yes, what types of jobs? If no, why? Please explain your answers in detail.

TF1	Student's need to be guided towards a better life.
TF2	Yes, one can get a job and live decently.
TF3	No subject matter can prepare us for a good future.
TF4	Students need to select subjects that can be used in future education (university).
TF5	Secondary school subjects can help students choose a specialised career.
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	Students pick subjects they want to use at university.
TM2	Many subjects are only at preparatory level that requires development at a university level.
TM3	Specialisation determines future.
TM4	No choice for students.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Depends on student taste/subject choice.
UNRWA C.E.O	Yes.

14) In your opinion, why are these kinds of jobs accessible to students when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Conversely, what kinds of jobs are not accessible to

students when they leave high school? Why does this occur? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	There is high unemployment in Lebanon. Lebanese cannot find work, so it is harder for Palestinians to gain employment.
TF2	*No answer.*
TF3	Need to continue education or else students will get low paying jobs, such as a cashier at a supermarket.
TF4	*No answer.*
TF5	Lots of students leave secondary school and become unemployed.
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	*No answer.*
TM2	Many jobs are forbidden for Palestinians by Lebanese law.
TM3	Job choice is scarce if students only have secondary education.
TM4	*No answer.*
UNRWA H.S Prin.	After secondary education, jobs are scarce because most jobs require university training/qualifications.
UNRWA C.E.O	Low jobs that do not even require high school certification.

15) What types of jobs would you like students to get in Lebanon when they finish their education? Why are these jobs important to you? Where did you get the idea that students should aim to pursue these specific career pathways? What factors (if any) have influenced your decisions to select these specific careers as appropriate for your students? Please explain your answers in detail.

TF1	Government jobs.
TF2	Jobs that ensure economic and social rights.
TF3	Jobs that allow success in life – doctor, engineer teacher.
TF4	Living and social conditions dictate what jobs Palestinians can get in Lebanon.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	Jobs that they can enter society and deal with the world.
TM2	Next generation needs to continue education to have a chance to find good work.
TM3	Respectable jobs such as pharmacist, accounting.
TM4	Improving living conditions.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Depends on education of individual.
UNRWA C.E.O	This is problematic. It depends on what students like and if they are allowed to do it (work in Lebanon).

16) What types of jobs do you realistically expect students to get when they finish their education? Why do you think that students will get these jobs? Please explain your answers in detail.

TF1	They will not find work – except at UNRWA.
TF2	Jobs that enable Palestinians to fit into Lebanese society.
TF3	In reality, students will get low paying work – waiter etc.
TF4	*No answer.*
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	*No answer.*
TM2	Teaching in UNRWA schools or at a SIBLINE centre.
TM3	Teacher at UNRWA or SIBLINE centre.
TM4	One needs to choose subjects well at secondary school so they can gain employment/specialise in the future.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Some go to SIBLINE and university.
UNRWA C.E.O	No realistic jobs are attainable after completing high school.

17) How would you feel if your students did not get a job when they finish high school or complete their education? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	No feeling – we (Palestinians) are emotionally ready for this situation.
TF2	Sad.
TF3	Disappointed and depressed.
TF4	Sad.
TF5	*No answer.*
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	Concerned.
TM2	Unemployment is a reality for Palestinians in Lebanon.
TM3	Sorry for students and disappointed.
TM4	Feel really bad.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Jobs are not found due to scarcity and Lebanese laws that restrict Palestinian job opportunity.
UNRWA C.E.O	Surprised if they (students) get work as high school education does not provide them with the necessary skills to find work.

18) Do you think that there is a realistic possibility that your students may be unemployed when they finish high school or complete further education? Why do you think this may occur? Please explain answer in detail.

TF1	*No answer.*

TF2	Very possible due to Lebanese policies.
TF3	There is a chance, as Palestinians do not get equal employment opportunities.
TF4	Yes – lots of pressure to find work.
TF5	High possibility because of Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian job choice.
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	Yes. Lebanese treat Palestinians like foreigners.
TM2	Yes – due to Lebanese oppression.
TM3	Many will not be able to work because of the Lebanese government laws that restrict Palestinian job choices.
TM4	Big possibility.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Yes, possible.
UNRWA C.E.O	Yes.

19) In your opinion, what are the main reasons that contribute towards Palestinian unemployment in Lebanon? Does being Palestinian in Lebanon affect student job opportunities? If so, in what ways, does this source of identity affect student job prospects? If no, why do you think it does not occur? Why do you think this situation occurs? Please explain answer in detail.

TF1	Unemployment is high in Lebanon.
TF2	Yes.
TF3	Lebanese do not hire Palestinians and if they do, Palestinians are paid low salaries.
TF4	High unemployment in Lebanon affects both Lebanese and Palestinians.
TF5	University is expensive and many Palestinians have no means to pay for tuition.
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	*No answer.*
TM2	Lebanese government oppression, lack of support for work in other Arab countries.
TM3	Political, economic and sectarian reasons stop Palestinians from gaining employment.
TM4	Poor Palestinian living and financial conditions.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Lebanese laws restricting Palestinian job selection. Also, Lebanon is a small country, so jobs are scarce.
UNRWA C.E.O	Palestinians lack civil rights in Lebanon. Lebanese unemployment is high in Lebanon, so this makes it very hard for Palestinians to find jobs.

20) In your opinion, what are the main reasons for trying to improve employment rates of Palestinians in Lebanon? How can education be used to improve the employment opportunities for Palestinians in Lebanon? Please explain your answer in detail.

TF1	Palestinians need to be treated like other citizens.
TF2	Having work enables one to achieve good economic situations.
TF3	Lebanese need to believe in Palestinians and give us the opportunity to work and succeed.
TF4	Laws need to change to allow Palestinians to work in vocations, such as medicine or engineering.
TF5	Palestinians need to travel abroad to increase their chances of becoming employed in jobs that match their qualifications.
TF6	*No answer.*
TM1	To allow those who represent us (The PLO, Arab league), to discuss the rights of Palestinians to work in Lebanon or other gulf countries.
TM2	Help develop Palestinian rights in Lebanon and other Arab nations.
TM3	Remove the Lebanese laws that restrict Palestinian job employment.
TM4	Being Palestinian and not being educated.
UNRWA H.S Prin.	Continue education and gain employment.
UNRWA C.E.O	Unemployment is a big problem in Lebanon. Thus Palestinians need to become very skilled and qualified through higher education to compete for jobs.

Advice Task Results
Female Student 1

Sweet Salutations and more,

How are you doing and how is your health? I hope with all my heart that you are in good health and enjoying absolute comfort. How are your studies at school? I learned that you have recently started your studies in my school that I was studying in, where I was very diligent and where all my teachers loved me and put an effort in feeding our brains with education, me and my friends, to move from the gloomy darkness to the shining and bright light.

I tell you sister that education is very important in this life, and you have to be diligent and perseverant with your studies because that will strengthen your struggle and will help you overcome obstacles and to prevail over the hindrances with this weapon that you are holding and it is only knowledge is what liberates the mind from darkness.

It is the sea on which the waves of all ignorance and illiteracy break. You are now in a key stage where there is no room for play since you are faced by a decisive competition (struggle) against humiliation and stupidity. The educational material that you are receiving is very important and the English language is absolutely the most important. It is considered the basic language in the world that is spoken in all countries and that is in demand in the employment market. And the science subjects that embrace the manifestations of the universe and its components and its secrets and mysteries, so it reveals the ingredients of this history. Moreover, all these jobs require accomplishments in these subjects such as medicine, and teaching and engineering and translation. And the success in these subjects is depends on your perseverance and your seriousness at school.

There is a big difficulty – especially in these times – to find a job since there is a lot of pressure in the employment market, and to getting a respectable and honourable job demands high degrees that prove the aptitude of each person and his or her culture to place him in a social position that is appropriate of him or her.

The position of the woman in the social life may change in different circles, undoubtedly at the end of this century. The woman has entered the field of work and is now gaining a regular income that made her feel her social worth and is now equal to the man with her financial participation with the family and her proof that she can assure her self-sufficiency. And you are one of these women whose knowledge and skill in the continuous success is needed by society. And the personality of the workingwoman has developed and has gained roles on the family and personal and social levels. And it has helped her play a role in society in taking absolute decisions in her life.

Knowledge, my dear, is a sea that is overflowing with culture healing balm that makes catastrophes to be lead away. And the most important people who do not give up on progress when they fail because they are the heroes who reach heights and do not spend their lives in depression. Education nurtures the minds and liberates them from darkness and the human being reaches self-confidence and broadens his or her horizon of the mind and chase ignorance and illiteracy away since it is shameful to him or her.

I hope, my sister, that you understand what I have told you and that you become one of the heroes and think about the future that awaits you and I advise you be perseverant and to excel in your studies because this will positively reflect on your life.

Your dear sister,

Female Student 2

Dear Tarek,

This is a salutation I am sending you with each breeze that passes by you.
How are you Tarek? I hope to God you are in good health. And how are your parents? I miss you very much, and I miss sitting with your parents and talking to them, because their conversations are beautiful and unforgettable and valuable.
Tarek do you remember the school days, and do you remember how we used to talk together, and everyone used to be surprised at the age difference between us. I want to tell you about me now, I am in good health thank God. I have completed my sixteenth year and have entered secondary school, what a beautiful class. It is completely unlike the elementary and intermediary, because it is a different class, with a different pace. The teaching technique is different than the previous technique. So it is important, because it is a very vital class for our future life. The years that follow after this depend on it very much, so if you do not study you will regret it and tire your coming years. If you do not understand it you will not succeed, and you will not reach your goals. It is the goal of every student in the secondary to receive the high degree, and graduates to get a job that will give him a name and recognition.

It is so good to work from your own hardship, meaning someone who is graduating and there is a degree in his or her hand. And many do hope to be holding this degree. Nobody wants to hire an illiterate person.

Tarek, I advise you, because I want the best for you and I am wiser than you, a year older than you. Take my advice and consider it coming from an older sister. And I want to tell you about a very important matter, that you concentrate on science subjects because they are of utter importance. It also allows you to enter many fields. And also you can get an important job, and you will get an important job, and to reach high positions that will realize your goals and will allow you to live a good life in all comfort.

And I also want to tell you finally about the jobs that you are able to get after finish the secondary education, such as the study of psychology, law, medicine, secretariat, engineering, sociology, laboratory, air host. And there are many more jobs you can get.

And finally, after my advice, my salutations to you, and to your family and to the neighbours and loved ones who ask about me, and send them my love.

Female Student 3

Dear Tasneem,

First, I would like to congratulate you for moving from the intermediate level to the more important secondary level.

Second, in addition to your move to the secondary level, I was even happier knowing that you will be studying in the same school I was in during secondary level education. This way I feel you're secure since it is a very sensitive phase that needs effort and weariness to receive the high degree, and for you to graduate, there is no doubt that the school will secure the necessary specifications of the secondary school. The secondary school I graduated from is very fit for good learning.
As I mentioned before in the conversation, the importance of the secondary school may with its efficient role, graduate an educated and complete student into a society that is wider than the school society, and into a much bigger field than that of the school. So what you will pass through in this stage is a smaller picture of what you will experience in university.

The secondary school will you will have supplementary courses to those you were studying. New subjects that are as important as the rest of the subjects such as economics and sociology in the first secondary and translation in the second secondary and others.

In my opinion, the secondary stage is a stage of identifying your fate, during which the students decide about their future steps, and the foundation of this future begins in the first day of the secondary school and does not end until you receive the degree and after it you receive a job in the field of your study.

In spite of this stage's danger, we cannot deny its beauty, and there you feel the freedom you were dreaming of and what I mean by freedom is comfort and comfort in choosing your fate. And I do not mean by that the restrictions and the rules of the school because these you go back to.

And in our conversation about the future, I believe that the subjects you will receive in secondary school are important. For you will use each one in the future. And I am talking about the basic and division subjects together. So the basic subjects are each used for a future job. Mathematics open the door to engineering and the work in engineering is open to all, especially civil engineering, considering increasing overpopulation, and the need for buildings. The sciences for physics, chemistry. Chemistry is used in medicine and physics. This is concerning the sciences, as for the literature subjects, the Arabic and English languages are not less important than the sciences. With Arabic language you can study Arab literature with it, after which you can teach this subject, same with English. And teaching is a fine job in our time, we were and still are in need of this teacher, builder of generations.

And about the division subjects, the most important is computer, because it is the language of our time, without which the person is considered ignorant in technology. And by studying this subject, you will be able to work as a secretary if life becomes difficult or if you liked this job.

With these simple examples, I hope that I have clarified the importance of the secondary school's subjects, and I hope to have given the secondary stage its merit, even if simplified.

Finally I wish you luck and success in the second level.

Sincerely yours,

Female Student 4

Dear Jad,

I have been lately informed that you have joined the Jaleel secondary school and based on this, I write you this letter. I would like to tell you first that this school is strong and good, but the student must study with big effort to succeed, because the subjects are increasingly more difficult from one educational stage to the next.
The secondary level, which is the last school level, is of extreme importance. The subjects are various, and the most important ones are the science subjects such as:

Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics

These subjects are very important in school. But if you want to work after the secondary school in these subjects, it will be difficult, because science subjects need further studies after the secondary level. But you can teach giving private lessons to children or as an accountant in a small shop, by adding and subtracting.

As for the literature subjects are also important and demand studying, but less than the science subjects, and the literature subjects are:

The Arabic and English languages, and recently the French, Sociology subjects (history, geography, national education), Social studies, Economics.

Also with these subjects it will be difficult to find a job, and when you do, you can give private lessons as we said before, and you can give sociology subjects in a preliminary school, such as give lessons to children, but in school.
So all of this is hard, because life is developing, and there are much higher degrees than the secondary. But with our conditions, we have to work after secondary school to receive a university degree. Meaning we start with the first to reach the big. We work first with the secondary school degree after which we work with the university degree.

And finally, I wish you luck with your road to a continuous success. Success has to be our ally to keep life going, and if it were without success and education, it will remain dark, and this life will not last, and we will not be able to see the light ever, and this is why it should be filled with success and education.

Your sister

Female Student 5

Dear Ahmad,

I will discuss with you a very important subject about your future. My dear you have reached the secondary level, the most important educational stage in your life, and this stage is the only way to reach your goals, and for your future that mattered to you since the first day you entered school.

You have reached a stage and you know the meaning of national and culture and education, and embracing education and is a decisive virtue. We see the Palestinian world making one step at a time and we see doctors and engineers and teachers and philosophers and scientists.

Dearest during this period, education is considered the only part to defend our future. So we must not give up on education easily and must not feel inferior to anyone because learning is the fruit of many goods for us. Listen carefully, the elements that are made of includes four parts of life, I mean the organic and mental and social. And the need for education is the forms of the social life. Since education is a vital need for our cultural and social nature, we must not only be wilful but conditional. And by conditional I do not mean by being aggressive, but by informing you about your future and your need for education, as you get older. We see the extent of our people's adherence to education and culture because it gives us more dignity. It gives us many job opportunities. When you reach the secondary level, it means you have crossed a big distance in your educational life. In the secondary level, you make the first and most important step in your life. So in the first stage of the secondary school, you draw the path of your working life, and you will find two parts in this stage, the first part is literature and the second is science. So in the first part you will find two branches, economics and humanities. And we gain from this specialization many job opportunities that are suitable with your talents and skills. There are independent jobs, such as "businessmen", teachers, and accounting as well as private jobs in banks. As for the science part, the students may practice many jobs such as engineers, and doctors and also teachers, and other many jobs that save you from life and society's dangers. Listen my young one, education in this stage, and your mature awareness are the most important ingredients for your bright future that provides you with money to buy all your future needs. You tell yourself that you are a Palestinian young boy with no job after your specialization so why tire myself. No my friend, you must gain knowledge and education. And if you are from the diligent students, you might get yourself a job and a job related to your specialization. And the Lebanese government may offer you job opportunities because you have achieved your skills fully and not partly.

Education is the most basic step for your future, so you must be a diligent child who learns the rules of the professional life.

I hope you will be diligent and achieve all your goals, and that you do not hurry in choosing the specialization that you want to practice in your future life. And do not forget that there is a country that needs you. That needs to be proud and for you to work on its grounds, meaning in Palestine. It needs the geniuses to flourish and become one of the most important cultural regions in the world. I will not make you chose the positive path in your professional life.

Female Student 6

Dear Isra',

Warm salutations, how are you sister, and how is your health? I hope you are very well and in great health. I learned recently that you have started your studies at the secondary school in the Jaloul School, where I studied and completed my education with success. And now it is your turn to expose your talents and skills to pass this stage and establish yourself in the library of life, which is filled with geniuses, and which only blesses those with high jobs, and the passionate spirits.

Isra', you must be diligent to reach the highest steps of education and culture. The cart of life is always riding towards everlasting light, and during these times, he who does not advance will be late. The subjects you will be studying are very important, especially mathematics and English. Mathematics because it is basic in all fields, and English, because it is the standard language, the first in the world. Most jobs need success in these two subjects, such as a teacher job or a job in a business company, or in a bank or as a computer engineer. All require studying, especially the job as a translator, which is in demand in the work field. And do not forget the job demand is higher than the job supply. And businesses look for the best skills for a job that does not require all that skill. This is why sister, that if in your perseverance the level of your skill is obvious. So what if you do not show this skill and your cultural abilities?

Education is the initiation to those who become progression riders because we are in an age were stagnation is unacceptable, because each who does not advance will be late. It is the light that sheds light in the heart of man with love and friends, and will elevate in life from a level to another better one. It is which opens the mind and reaches the talents and exposes the personality, and widens the prospects of man and transports him to a wider horizon, making him liven his elements. And it nourishes the mental and behavioural levels, and makes you maintain the essentials of knowledge and makes you more self independent. And with all this, the positive elements that are guaranteed by knowledge is with no doubt with the help of your perseverance to success, and this shows the strength of your personality, and you will find a suitable job, a respectable job.

Dear, besides all the fatigue that you will be getting on your way, you must consider these matters. In addition, your success in this stage will provide you more comfort in the next stages. I wish you success step by step to gain a healthy and new stage with the advanced educational tools that encourage you to think and personal search. And this leads to national position that help the feeling of belonging to the country and deepening the humanitarian feelings amidst our living conditions as Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, because this is all we are allowed as Palestinians.

Consider the proverb: he who planted harvested. And if the word "harvested" means the harvest of wheat, it has a special meaning, and its symbolic meaning leads to the result for every effort exerted by the person. So the harvest of the student who spends a year in school without being serious and perseverant, he is like a farmer collecting his crop with both hands without holding on to anything. But the perseverant student is like a farmer who is holding good seeds.

I hope my dear to have clarified the importance of the stage you are to go through. I hope you concentrate on succeeding and stay aware of the matters. Always remember that you are the winner of your success.

Female Student 7

Salutations,

I begin my letter hoping to God it reaches you in good health. How are you sister, and how do you feel? I hope well and in good health. As for me I am well and in good health and secondary school is good and easy and useful. And I continue to persevere to gain as much knowledge and thoughts as I can because secondary school is extremely important in a person's educational life. It is the one that identifies the first step in his educational life. As for me as a Palestinian refugee outside of her country, I consider work the only path because it has opened my way and shed light in my mind. The secondary level is part of the educational stage and is continuity to previous stages. The first year includes all subjects and with your effort and grades you will chose between two doors, literature and science, which will lead you to the second year that is not linked to the first year, and then to the third year. As for the third year, it is the one that unites all your ideas and prepares you to the university stage, which is also considered important in a person's life. And I want you to know sister, that job opportunities are not so available for refugees, and that our time is completed with modern technology, which means that employment needs experience and skills, which you should enjoy at work. I hope to become in the future a computer programmer or a school teacher. I chose to become a computer programmer because I want to deepen my knowledge of the world which is an expression of a big computer filled with information. And I want to become a school teacher to guide the new generation towards a safe and peaceful road, and shed light in their minds with chemistry and physics and mathematics and other subjects that we learn in secondary school. As I have mentioned before, secondary school is part of a stage or and educational sequence. And I want to inform you that Arab literature and English are of very important because it teaches us to communicate and understand and exchange thoughts with foreigners or with those who do not speak our language.

Finally, I want to end my letter after having talked to you, by sending you my kisses and salutations, and hope to see you soon.

Good luck

Female Student 8

Dear younger brother,

I hope that you read this letter and you are in good health and well. I want to congratulate you for your success in school, and I wish you a bright future, and that you will always be among the successful, especially if you wish to continue your studies the secondary school I graduated from.

First, you will notice the school system, and then the colour that bring joy into the person's heart. After you become disciplined in school, you will meet on a daily basis a team of highly qualified and experienced educators. The student will find with them all he or she has been looking for to add to their knowledge and faithful friendship and a good opinions to students who face all kinds of difficulties and problems. And all this is crowned by a wise and responsive management. In addition to that, you will be stepping on the ladder of successful life, where the bright future awaits you, and "each who has walked the right path will succeed".

Education will pave the way to have vast job opportunities. The degree is the key to success. So once you complete your secondary school you will find the university doors open for you, granting you the best job opportunities. And if the person has a good job, he will receive a salary that will allow him to enhance his or her financial and living conditions, and therefore will reach a better standard of living.

Brother, have you ever found a company manager who does not use the computer? Or who doesn't deal with banks? .. of course not. The educational degree enables you to become an engineer to build cities and societies, or a doctor who heals people from sicknesses, or perhaps a lawyer, or any leading job, in another language. The degree makes the person an efficient and big person in society. And simply, you will find the cultured person who is holding a degree, working in a clean and healthy environment, which will prevent him from sicknesses and accidents. In addition to that, do you find an engineer or doctor with friends who are illiterate? The cultured person is the beginning of the road to raise a new generation of grandchildren who will be capable to change history. My younger brother:

All vessels shrink when you fill them up, except for the vessel of knowledge. In the secondary school, you will procure basic information that will help you walk on the path of knowledge. There are possibilities in all you wish to study. So if you like computer studies, you will be able to grab all the information you wish to know. And if you like nature, there are subjects related to environment. As for economics, you will understand its principles and theories. If you are interested in studying literature or languages, our books will open opportunities to understand the language of others. As for the science books, they are many and various, such as mathematics, chemistry, and physics. The student will find what he needs, and will

understand the courses. I have extended this letter, but I do hope to have succeeded to expressing my point of view so you may choose the correct path in education.

Your older sister

Female Student 9

Dear Sister,

In the beginning, I want to congratulate you for your success in the intermediary level, and I wish you continuous success in your studies. I want to tell you about my education in secondary school, where I spent three years, and how I wish you continue your studies in secondary school because your studies do not stop when you receive your intermediary degree, because if you are looking for a job, it will not be a good job. In order to get a good job, you must continue your secondary school studies and go to college to become specialized in a specific and respectful job.

In the secondary level, you will be studying subjects that will allow you to get some good jobs in a way, because you will be able in the secondary level to choose literature branches such as economics and sociology and humanities and general knowledge. I also want to tell you that secondary school plays an important role in forming your personality through which you will learn how to rely on yourself in choosing your goals. And finally, I do hope you realize all your goals and that you receive the secondary school degree.

Female Student 10

Dear little Rabi',

My brother listen to me carefully, and I hope you understand me and understand each word I tell you and that you seriously grasp all that I tell you. They will be important to you in the future and I do hope you take them seriously with no mockery, because if you do, you will not reach what you will not become what you have wanted to become. And store the words that I am about to tell you in your mind and let it sink well. I do not like beating around the bush and I will get straight into the matter. Brother I want to tell you about education in a general way. Education is the only thing through which you can realize your wishes, dreams and ambitions. Do not think that the book you hold, you hold it just to open it and read through the pages then close it and throw it aside. On the contrary, education is the jewel of growth. It is the only weapon through which you can represent yourself and your mind and you use it to protect our land and country. With the pen and education, we free our land from the adversary and from the pain our people live each day. And you are seeing this with your own eyes. Education is the only way that forms your personality. The person is not born educated. It is through both education and life that we learn. You are living during a time you only look at educated and cultivated and you respect them, so get educated, because education is light.

But there is something important I want to inform you and it is one of the most important things about learning. You must get ready and study seriously, especially in secondary school, because it is one of the most important stages you will experience in education. Do not think that secondary school is easy like in intermediary school. On the contrary, secondary school education is the education that prepares you to enter to a world that is filled with competition and perseverance and employment. It is important in different ways, functional and informative. You will learn new things and get more information.

You can also, with your secondary school degree, to work as long as you put an effort into it and persevere. I also want to tell you that there are many subjects I would like to pay attention to because they are important, and through which you can get jobs. These subjects are mathematics, physics, economics, English, that will help you get an appropriate job, if you want to work as an accountant after secondary school, or as a secretary or in an office or a company. But this does not mean that you should ignore other subjects. You should study all subjects, and as I have mentioned before, secondary school is important in all its subjects, literature and science.

I have mentioned the subjects through which you can receive a job according to what you studied, and the importance of secondary school. I wish you luck and

success in your practical and educational life, and in God's will, I tried this education, and it hasn't been easy.

Female Student 11

Dear Little Brother,

You know that I am a year older and that I have passed first secondary almost. I now write you this letter and I hope you will understand it will and that you take it into consideration so it helps you in the coming year since you will be starting your first secondary. Darling, the stage that you will begin is very important in the life of a student, since it is one of the steps that is hard to skip. In this stage, you will be able to discriminate between right and wrong and you will be able to steps without hesitation. In this stage you will be put in a framework. This framework is restricted to certain subjects that are very important. It is the foundation to help you realize your ambitions and your aims. This is the reason why you will not be able to reach to the university stage without passing through secondary school, and if that stage wasn't so important, the government would have not placed it in the educational stages.

Dearest, I will describe to you my short-lived experience, through which I have discovered a big experience, and I have used it as a measure to my potentials and skills. After my intermediary stage, I decided to continue my dream (secondary school) although many told me that it will be a difficult stage, especially the first part of it, which made me hesitate to make that step, fearing that I would not be fulfilling the required responsibility. But I decided to continue the secondary level, knowing that if I was not to pass it, I would have lived the experience filled with culture. But as I started the academic year, and we started studying, I felt that this stage was not so difficult that I heard about from many, but it is an easy one, containing a few difficulties.

Secondary school comprises difficult subjects that help you develop your mental abilities and adds to your knowledge. These subjects help you identify your goals based on your aspirations. For example in this stage you may chose the science field or the literature field that you may follow your studies. However this goes back to your skills, and you will chose your education. When you chose the field you want to specialize in, you would have identified the jobs you are interested in, after you complete your secondary school, for example: if you study literature, you can work in media, or become a teacher in Arabic literature. If you chose science, there are many fields you can chose to work in, for example, to become a science teacher, or to work in computers, etc, and many other jobs. As for the school I study in, there are facilities for the students that help them practice their studies. So in this school, you can find all educational fields, literature and science, and it comprises highly educated teachers, who have the ability to help the students understand, and their only concern is to get exceptional results, and they work hard with the students to get the best results.

As for me, I consider literature and science subjects important. But the more important one is literature, especially Arabic literature, because I consider I have skills in this course and this particular field. This subject is well instructed in our school, and the proof is that we understand it well.

Finally, I tell you my dear, he who wants to achieve his goals cannot despair and has to work hard to get it. And if he or she had the chance at any time to achieve his or her goals, he has to seek it, and work to get what he wants.

Female Student 12

Dear Fatmeh,

Salutations. I send you my love and kisses on these white pages, and want to make sure you're in good health.

I want to tell you that I am well and in good health, as for my education, it is going well, and I am completing it in the Jaleel School. And besides that, I spend a lot of effort and time for the sake of success to reach some goal. We have to abide by this proverb. We get tired and stay up a little studying to achieve our goals that we seek to reach high ranking jobs in society. This is what makes secondary school important for the individual and not only for employment, but for the development of the personality, and to be able to talk to people who are important in society, and to respect their opinions, and to share your opinions, and for it to be a language for linking society. Education is open to all according to their qualities, and without it, the individual cannot participate in society and cannot communicate well. All these advices, I send them from an older sister to my younger sister who is still studying in fourth elementary, and I do not accept her (sister) to remain at home, but to complete her secondary education and get accepted in university. Make an effort and stay up at night, you realize your goal and develop your personality in society. I want to inform you about the basic subjects that I consider essential to getting good jobs: Arabic language, economics, sociology, foreign language, and most importantly the English language. To attain certain jobs: nursery, bookshop keeper, secretary, computer, and business administration.

Finally, I end my letter and thank Richard Rangi for his concern in our situation. And I tell my sister that education in society is very important in our life, because it develops our personality and gives us self-realization and makes aware, and introduces us to new discoveries in our time.

Male Student 1

Dear Marwa "my younger sister",

As you know sister that I hurried to enter the field that I have been inspired by and that I have loved, and through which it I will acquire the degree that I have been dreaming about my entire academic life. And as you know, as well as I do that next year, you will move forward to the secondary level. A phase you heard and you still hear about, but you are unaware of what it contains, so my dear, let me acquaint you on some givens of this phase.

First, I would like to tell you about the importance of this phase for you to be more serious and precautious towards it. In a way, our life is normal, the secondary phase is an easy stage and it is not difficult, since in the groundwork it raises a civilized mental generation, cultured, and social. It contributes to the individual's feelings in the transition from the specific (limited) mind to the step of maturity and awareness, its transition to a more serious and solid stage, the phase of the mind and the beginning of the opinion - the phase of beginning in the face of life's difficulties and becoming more responsible. As from its academic perspective, it informs the individual about its fields and specializations and encourages following up and being persistent. It helps the individual practice the specialization that he or she desires fit for his or her ambitions and skills and likings. Its degree also contains more than half the academic phase.

After informing you about the importance of this phase, second, you have a selection of jobs following your acquisition of the degree in this stage:

1- Employment in a bookstore on a computer
2- Employment in one of the marketing stores that work on printing and exporting some papers and others.
3- Roaming salesperson, authorized by one of the companies or businesses.

As you see sister, its jobs are not high-ranking jobs, as you were dreaming of. However, your acquisition of this degree is an important matter to you, if you consider passing more than half of the academic years, which not left much of. So the secondary level has many fields and specializations, and I know sister the extent of your average ambitions and horizons. This is why, third, here are some of the important subjects in the secondary level, that grants you a future to obtain one of these specialized jobs in one of these subjects that are: 1- Biology, it is a division of the divisions of sciences, it excels in two ways: one, is that it helps cultivate and teach about the subject of the body and its constituents and other such matter. So the secondary level has many fields and specializations, and I know sister the extent of your average ambition.

Male Student 2

My dear brother beginner of the secondary school stage,

My brother, after you finish with the intermediate stage successfully, I call you to complete your educational course towards the secondary stage which is a base to building your future for its content is important. So after your xxx your mind and attainment of the xxx stage, this stage assures your multiple discoveries about the important information for your daily life through the material that you study such as life science which teaches you the natural process of the each and the parts of the body and the xxx so to each part is an important role.

As well as for technology, you will get an idea about the many electronic xxx in general and the main parts in it and the informative, will teach you about computers in specific and all the parts in details and there are many scientific materials such as mathematics and physics that you will need in many procedures and this material will help xxx in many of the engineering complicated xxx. In addition to the xxx and the different languages that you study that help you interact with other societies and to know xxx behaviour with these societies.

This different material prepares you to merge in the employment field and to obtain several jobs. It prepares you to work in the field of accounting, so mathematics that you study in secondary school will help you xxx in many xxx and xxx. You can also work in filing and procedures and that is through your study the xxxx xxx and your knowledge in computer programming. Or the work in the field of medicine following a study for several years in addition to the information that you will acquire in the secondary school stage in life sciences or you can work in electronics and electrical expansion xxx after studying technology and after supporting your information that you have gained in some courses. Or you can work in the translation of texts or interviews and others through your studies in translation and xxx. And there are some other fields such as teaching and others.

Each of these fields opens in front of you after studying in the secondary school, not only on the level of employment but also it gives you confidence about the information you have to initiate arguments and conversations and to understand all that you talk about and gives you detailed information. So you xxx in the respect of society and you help its preparation and evolution.

Male Student 3

Dear Ahmad,

Before your entry to the secondary level and the end of your intermediate education, I direct my advices hoping it will help you in choosing your education in the secondary level.

Secondary education in the Jaleel Secondary School needs concentration more than in the intermediate education and you have to be concerned with the literature subjects as well as with the science subjects, so you can pass and most probably you will get an average of grades that will help you pass on to the next class and hopefully allow you to get more education.

Male Student 4

Dear Mohammad,

I have decided to write to you this letter to bribe you with the importance of tenth grade (intermediate, secondary) and this stage is the most important educational stage that I have passed through and that you will pass through, so from this education level that I am crossing is a launching point for the students, especially the Palestinian student because the Palestinian proves himself by himself in society and gives pride to Palestine through his education and this is why this is an important phase for us Palestinian students because through this phase we build our path and we build the first stone to our life tower but it is important for you to have ambitions because if you are ambitious about something and focus on it you will reach your goal and at the end this phase will identify to you whether you will specialize in science or literature. And this goes back to you through your studies during the year if you are eager to work through your specialization in literature you have to study literature of course and you will have to concentrate on literature subjects. And if you are eager to work you can concentrate on science subjects so you have to concentrate on science subjects. And all I am getting to is that what is important is what you dream and aspire for because for each personality a different path. So with the literature specialization you can enter the section of humanities through which you can get several jobs such as social worker, school teacher, and the specialization in sciences allows you to enter for example the section of life sciences through which you can get several jobs such as (doctor, pharmacist, engineer, teacher, businessman).

There is an Arab proverb that says: Older than you by a month is an era more knowledgeable than you. So I have completed this level but since the beginning I dreamt and aspired for a job I can succeed in through my life to be able to work in Lebanon, and to be able to build a good family. And I have started on this path but you will begin this stage and I want to give you my advice because I have passed through it and my advice is for you to start the year with effort and study to get what you want. And there is another proverb that says: He who planted harvested and he who made effort found (what he wanted). This is why you should get tired in the beginning of your life and rest at the end of it and you will live a good life in Lebanon even though you're a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon and it is hard but nothing is impossible and there is a proverb that I believe is the key to hope and patience and it is: if the people one day wanted life, no doubt that destiny will answer. So if you or any ambitious Palestinian want something, you will get it. And I want you to make an effort for the sake of education and knowledge. The person strengthens his dignity with his education. I hope my words show the importance of this phase and the earnestness that you have to have during your education.

From your relative who is concerned about you

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Male Student 5

Dear Faten,

After the greeting I hope to God that you are well so is the family. I congratulate you for completing the intermediate level and your success with the brevet class, and your move to the secondary level and this first secondary level class is so important. It is the beginning of the secondary level in which the students studies the general culture and the historical and recent information and literature and Arabic and foreign language in addition to science subjects. I hope you will be interested in your studies during this year and do no delay your studies another day.

And the secondary level is very important through which the student moves to the academic level such as to university. We Palestinians suffer a lot and love education, and we are keen about it but unfortunately many of us are unable to register in college due to the expensive fees so we go to learning centres to complete the specialization in order to get a job and support the poor refugee family from Palestine so we work in industries and of course after having received a degree from the learning centre. And this is a way to travel abroad and work in the specialization as for those who enter university, he has more and broader opportunities. One a specialize in electrical engineering or civil or computer engineering and medicine and teaching and other science fields.

Sister, I hope you concern yourself with your studies, because in this stage you will know what your education interests are. So if you are into literature you can specialize and teach literature or become a lawyer or something else. And if you are into science, and it is an important field, it is important because you can become an engineer or a doctor or an accountant or general manager. And after university also there are higher studies and education is not restricted. We, Palestinians, we do not have a country but we can have education and culture and the will, with which our voice will reach our land when we travel to the furthest country and get a job. Our families do not only want us to have a country but insist that we learn. This is why you have to study to become the best in society for our word to reach, learning will bring us back the country.

Your beloved brother

Male Student 6

Dear brother Hussein,

Your mere entrance to the secondary level, which is a beginning for planning and concentration for the future and the study to choose the specialization that guarantees your future. And this is how the secondary level plays a role in your culture on all levels through the many subjects you learn in three years and it is also very important since it is considered to be the first foundation to apply to any employment or job, and not the simple and regular jobs, but the serious jobs such as the artistic and technical and self-employment jobs (such as accounting and engineering and medicine and pharmacy) and also to take the teaching path, meaning to become a teacher and many other jobs and this means that all corporations and businesses work and know that the holders of such a secondary degree is ready to work since it holds the culture of being exposed to many subjects that you are exposed to through your studies. So the first year of this plays a first step role to change your situation, exposes you to subjects you have not learned before and is important in your life and most probably for your future job. And the second year includes concentration and details and innovation to the subjects you have learned in a clearer way and no matter how you are in literature or science, science is better because of the many subjects you learn and the jobs will multiply when you succeed in this field (science) and follow it. Whereas the third year is the most important and is based on your previous past learning years and is called the final secondary level and it is a year of specialization that you have reached and succeeded I (economics, life science). And these subjects which you will take one of will identify your job. And the degree of that year is granted by the government after which it grants you with the general or official degree and it is a fundamental degree for the future employment that you have chosen.

The subjects in the secondary level is enough for you to become a cultivated person and ready for a job but these subjects are insufficient in the content, meaning it offers little content. The jobs now use technological means such as computers that become a basic subject because most jobs need technical support. Whereas concentrating on the English language which is considered the first worldwide language and concentrating on it in literature and science because all private and public companies will accept you faster if you were fluent in this language and the tests of acceptance to university is in this language.

From another angle, including employment subjects such as medicine in a simple and easy way in the life science and including engineering in a simple way in physics and math. And you have to study science subjects since they offer you more opportunities and a bigger path and you have to concentrate on it and on the English language, the first worldwide language and on economics which undoubtedly will be related to your job whatever it is, and the sociology subject for your awareness to become complete about life and behavior.

Male Student 7

Dear Abdel Rahman,

Your start with the secondary level education is an important step for a Palestinian young man under these low-level conditions and that is why I will expose to you some steps that you must do so you could succeed:

First you should not arm yourself with patience.
Second you must be keen on studying and working.
Third, brighten your future with your imagination.
Fourth, be good and complete your education.
Fifth, gain the support of the teachers.

And if you are a Palestinian refugee, this doesn't mean that you are without a future, on the contrary, and if you look around you carefully, you will find job opportunities which starts with a university education and even a secondary education and if you concentrate on the subject of mathematics and sciences you will find job opportunities such as engineering and medicine and mathematics at university, and if you liked the literature subjects you will have the chance to study such subjects. My dear brother, I hope you find yourself good natured friends who can help you build your future through which you will start building your personality so you can move forward towards hope and education and make the book your teacher. And make your mistakes a transition to strengthen your charm and do not let your failure destroy you but turn it into a tool to begin anew and know that you will become responsible in the future and do not think of how to amuse yourself now but think of your future.

And ahead of you many wide opportunities so take the advice now because it will help you and try to study the fields you are inclined towards and try to burst your talents in education and do not play and amuse yourself and at the same time do not restrict yourself to studies but chose the right time to amuse yourself, and most importantly is to create for yourself a schedule for your studies. And know brother that the secondary education does not guarantee an employment that gives you a dignified life but guarantees a normal job and a normal hope to continue your university education and it is the key to dignified living.

And finally I would like to wish you a fortunate education and I hope you do take my advice for it is from your beloved brother.

Male Student 8

Dear Ahmad,

I write to you this text to express myself in it about the importance of the secondary level that is considered one of the most important educational stages, so this stage gives the individual ambition and optimism to complete the university education, and it is important since it gives the individual guidance in choosing education (science, literatures), and I believe that the option of science is better since it gives the choice of the quality of employment and more ambitions and especially the subject of mathematics and physics, and they are two exceptional subjects from an education potential angle, so both play a significant role in engineering and other fields that allow you to live well and with dignity, these two subjects rely on the mind and the will, and the execution of practices and solutions, and you have to be capable in the fundamentals of both subjects to become able to utilize them and the willpower will create wonders and that is why I advise you chose the "learning of science" and I hope that I was able to help you with this letter.

And thank you.