

# The Schoolhouse Model

## Reforming UNHCR Policy in Refugee Camps

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# The Schoolhouse Model

## Reforming UNHCR Policy in Refugee Camps

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## The Schoolhouse Model Reforming UNHCR Policy in Refugee Camps

*For decades, the international community has treated refugee camps as “holding tanks” that provide basic security, shelter, medical care, and sustenance to refugees until repatriation is possible. Refugees live in difficult conditions with few economic opportunities, making them susceptible to radicalization—especially under conditions of extended habitation. Recognizing this challenge, the UNHCR recently announced plans to facilitate the bypassing of camps by refugees.*

*This brief proposes that neither the holding tank model nor the practice of bypassing camps address the problems facing refugees. The holding tank approach squanders the vast capabilities of refugees, while bypassing denies refugees social services and exacerbates host state strain. Instead, camps should be restructured to resemble schoolhouses for post-conflict reconstruction, where residents can teach and learn valuable governance and economic skills.*

### **Refugee Crises and Post-Conflict Reconstruction**

Since 2010, the Syrian Civil War has displaced ten million people—over one third of the country’s pre-war population.<sup>1</sup> The majority of these refugees have settled in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, straining the resources of host states and the international community. Two to three million additional refugees are expected to flee Syria in the coming year.<sup>2</sup> Syria represents just one example of a greater problem. At the beginning of 2015, there were 32 reported conflicts worldwide.<sup>3</sup> The number of refugees from these conflicts topped 51.5 million, one third of whom live in refugee camps.<sup>4</sup>

Conflicts with high refugee outflow produce significant internal devastation and threaten surrounding countries. Successful post-conflict reconstruction is critical to restoring social, political, and economic stability in these areas. However, traditional reconstruction processes are expensive and can result in failure and backsliding. In the Syrian case, analysts suggest that restoration of damaged infrastructure would cost upward of \$200 billion.<sup>5</sup> Significant additional funding and labor would be required to rebuild the economy and repatriate displaced millions.<sup>6</sup> Further, existing processes struggle to address the collapsed governance, vigilante activity, and societal cleavages that regularly develop during conflicts. As a result, state failure and continued regional disruption often persist well into reconstruction.

Refugee camps serve as safe havens for refugees during conflicts. However, they have the potential to rehabilitate and prepare inhabitants for repatriation—as well as assist in post-conflict reconstruction. The current model “holding tank” model squanders such possibilities. Refugees endure dehumanizing conditions with few economic opportunities. In order to improve refugee welfare and support post-conflict reconstruction, camps should be reformed to resemble schoolhouses. This “schoolhouse” model discourages radicalization, accelerates resettlement,

and develops sustainable camp systems; thus, it advances the interests of host states, refugees, and the international community. While the proposed model focuses on improving post-conflict reconstruction, it is equally beneficial in situations where resettlement of refugees in host states is the only option.

## **Threats to U.S. Interests**

Conflicts and refugee crises disrupt states, such as Syria, which are critical to U.S. interests. The key to restoring social, political, and economic stability in these areas is successful post-conflict reconstruction. Threats posed by refugee crises, both during and after conflict, include:

- *Regional instability.* Most refugees do not participate in violence; however, refugees and displaced persons indirectly increase the risk of future conflict. Specifically, during conflicts, they “facilitate the transnational spread of arms, combatants, and ideologies conducive to conflict; they alter the ethnic composition of the state; and they can exacerbate economic competition.”<sup>7</sup> These outcomes are the result of porous borders, refugee trauma and desperation, and few jobs for refugees in urban areas, among other factors.

Post-conflict reconstruction does little to halt regional disruption and can even increase instability.<sup>8</sup> Repatriation operations open borders to large-scale human flows, thus weakening the host state’s capacity to keep hostile groups at bay. The fragile nature of post-conflict societies and ineffective reconstruction processes increase the likelihood of state failure and a resurgence of conflict, as seen in Iraq and Libya.<sup>9</sup>

- *Sectarian cleansing and radicalization.* In conflict and post-conflict scenarios, refugee populations play a critical role in conflict and radicalization cycles. Research indicates that: (1) violence from extremist groups is a top producer of refugees, (2) refugees spread conflict, and (3) refugees are increasingly joining extremist groups.

Violent extremism is a key cause of refugee outflows and a source of post-conflict instability. A primary example is Iraq: “the pre-2003 Christian population of 1.5 million is estimated to have dwindled to 400,000.”<sup>10</sup> Extremist threats and violence are the primary cause of this decline.

Further, extremist organizations including al Qaeda, ISIS and al Shabaab recruit directly from refugee populations. For example, Camp Daadab in Kenya has been called a “nursery of terror,” and in-camp radical networks have been identified in Jordan, Yemen, Iraq, Uganda, and Pakistan, among others.<sup>11</sup>

- *Inefficient aid allocation.* The United States is the primary donor to global refugee response and post-conflict reconstruction. Each year, the United States invests upwards

of \$22 billion in humanitarian aid alone, with 15 percent going to refugee relief.<sup>12</sup> Millions of dollars are spent on expensive and inefficient camps.<sup>13</sup> During reconstruction, the impact of donor dollars is further undermined by reliance on numerous intermediary organizations, such as host governments and NGOs, for aid allocation.<sup>14</sup>

Reconstruction processes that foster stability are in the best interest of the United States and its allies.<sup>15</sup> If effective in stemming radicalization and refugee recruitment, both prior to and after repatriation, reconstruction initiatives could reduce the likelihood of future regional conflicts.<sup>16</sup> Finally, U.S. aid is maximized by cost-effective and streamlined reconstruction processes, funded by direct investments through trusted channels.

## **The Holding Tank Model: The Current Approach to Refugee Crises**

Refugees are rarely considered in post-conflict reconstruction analysis and planning. Any consideration of refugees is typically limited to addressing the challenges of repatriation and reintegration. As a result, the positive role refugees can play in reconstruction is rarely explored.

The current “holding tank” approach to refugee camps focuses on providing food and medical care in the emergency and transitional phases—that is, the ‘conflict stage’—followed by repatriation and reintegration in the ‘post-conflict stage’.<sup>17</sup> Camps are not designed to facilitate the development of job skills or to prepare refugees for repatriation or resettlement.

As a result, camp processes do not align with post-conflict reconstruction goals. Not only is the potential to bolster reconstruction initiatives and societal development squandered, but camps remain inefficient, unsafe, and filled with hopelessness.<sup>18</sup>

### *Problems with the Holding Tank Approach*

When refugee camps are treated merely as holding tanks, they increase the likelihood of instability and a return to conflict.

- *A lack of skills for life in post-conflict society.* NGO attempts to provide refugees with opportunities for job-skills development and education are limited. Limited funding is instead funneled towards basic camp maintenance and emergency relief. Remaining funds are invested in NGO programs, often targeting women’s development or youth education; these initiatives rarely reach more than a fraction of the camp. Even where programming exists, refugees have little incentive to participate: they already are receiving basic necessities, and programs rarely result in employment, mobility, or income. As a result, encamped refugees fail to develop the skills needed to reintegrate successfully in post-conflict society.

During reconstruction, workers are needed to rebuild infrastructure, teachers to reopen schools, and medical providers to treat the injured and sick. However, having acquired no skills during extended habitation or having those skills atrophy while in camp, refugees rarely participate in post-conflict reconstruction initiatives. Most citizens and internally displaced persons who remain in war-torn countries join militant groups, die, or are unable to return to normal life. Thus, post-conflict states suffer a dearth of skilled workers, and lack the infrastructure for training and education.

- *In-camp radicalization.* Refugee camps become recruiting grounds for radical groups.<sup>19</sup> By offering a livelihood and sense of purpose, terrorist organizations capitalize on the hopelessness of refugees living in squalor and obscurity.<sup>20</sup> U.S. and host state intelligence agencies have uncovered networks for recruiting and radicalizing refugees in major camps in Yemen, Somalia, Kenya, and Jordan.<sup>21</sup> Refugee recruitment can lead to transnational terrorism, host state instability, and in-camp violence.<sup>22</sup>
- *Political tension and economic strain.* Inefficient refugee camps drain host country resources. With the population of a large city, camps are often built in formerly uninhabited or sparsely populated areas.<sup>23</sup> Resources, such as water, are seldom readily available and must be redistributed from host state citizens. Further, camps are sustained by aid and produce no economic output. Host states and the international community are left to shoulder the entirety of the cost.

Poor conditions and a lack of opportunity often drive refugees to leave or bypass camps. However, refugees struggle to enter host state markets.<sup>24</sup> Unemployed refugees then rely on non-governmental sponsors, illegal markets, or organized crime.<sup>25</sup> Such outcomes fuel host state security concerns and political tensions. Governments often respond by imposing regulations that limit mobility and employment or by coercing refugees back into camps. Although intended as protective measures, these policies exacerbate problems. Issues that emerge while the refugees are in the host country tend to persist in the areas where they resettle after the conflict subsides. As a result, protracted refugee crises can act as incubators of future instability.<sup>26</sup>

Ultimately, when camps are treated as holding tanks, they fail to prepare refugees for returning to and rebuilding their countries. However, refugees could play a substantial positive role in reconstruction initiatives, and refugee camps have the potential to act as a bridge between conflict and post-conflict situations. Camp administrators should re-organize camp systems and NGO approaches to take advantage of untapped resources within camps for increased efficiency and sustainability.



### *Obstacles to Change: Competing Interests and Gridlock*

While NGOs and IGOs attempt to equip refugees with job skills and improve camp conditions, they are limited by three factors: (1) competition between NGOs and IGOs for financial aid and donor resources, (2) prioritization of short-term security and basic services provision over long-term stability measures, and (3) restriction of camp functions by host governments, such as refugee work limitations and the refusal to grant permits to certain NGOs.<sup>27</sup>

International law permits host states to veto any refugee initiatives proposed by the international community. Wielding this trump-card, host states have adhered to the holding tank model for two reasons: they are concerned more with the safety and welfare of their own citizens than refugees, and they hope that spartan camp conditions will incentivize refugees to leave the country as soon as possible.<sup>28</sup> These interests conflict with the goals of humanitarian NGOs, IGOs, and other actors involved in refugee affairs, collectively known as intermediaries, which seek to advance refugee welfare. These constraints leave the deck stacked against any IGO wishing to continue operating in a country, while not conforming to the country's policy.<sup>29</sup> Under the camp system, NGOs directly answer to IGO frameworks. This hierarchy diminishes the effect of donor dollars, as donor goals are ill served by constrained NGO and IGO programs.

For change to take place, the camp model must be reformed to prioritize the safety and stability of host states and capitalize on any shared interests among the actors involved.

### *Is Bypassing Refugee Camps the Answer?*

In October 2014, the UNHCR unveiled a plan that would encourage refugees to bypass camps.<sup>30</sup> This plan recognizes that camps fail to provide fully for refugee welfare. Proponents of bypassing camps assert that refugees who have settled in urban areas develop better vocational skills and coping mechanisms.<sup>31</sup> The UNHCR plan, therefore, would decrease regulations that force refugees to remain in camps and increase support for alternative settlement options.

While supporters of the UNHCR plan correctly point out that there are more opportunities for refugees to develop job skills outside of traditional camps, it does not necessarily follow that bypassing the camps is the best solution. Indeed, when refugees bypass camps, it may increase host state insecurity and the potential for humanitarian crises.

Sixty-six percent of refugees already bypass camps, and are labeled by the international community as 'urban refugees'.<sup>32</sup> Given that alternative settlement options are limited, most urban refugees move into slums, poor city neighborhoods, and other low-cost living situations.<sup>33</sup> Here, quality of life is comparable to camps, but without security or reliable access to food and medical care.<sup>34</sup> Refugees unable to find work often turn to organized crime or extremism, fueling host state security concerns. Heightened competition for resources also presents challenges for host state citizens. In many host states, resources and jobs are insufficient for the existing

population, let alone thousands of displaced persons. A mass refugee influx often leads to fear, prejudice, and inter-sectarian and ethnic tension, increasing the likelihood of violence.<sup>35</sup>

Host states fear the recurrence of cases such as 1970 Jordan and 1994 Zaire, in which refugee populations mobilized against host state governments and citizens. As a result, host states tend to favor keeping refugees in camps where they can be monitored.<sup>36</sup> Thus, policies that reduce oversight of the refugee population strongly conflict with their interests.

Neither the existing holding tank model nor bypassing camps effectively addresses the needs of refugees and host states. Instead, the international community should adopt a camp model that provides refugees with opportunities for developing vocational skills comparable to those available outside of camps, while simultaneously protecting refugee and host state security.

## **Rethinking the Approach: Refugee Camps as Schoolhouses**

*There is a real risk that focusing on displacement only as a cause or consequence of violent extremism will simply exacerbate the threat. It may become an excuse to restrict the entry of asylum-seekers, limit the rights of displaced persons, or force people home. A focus on solutions, in contrast, can show how a rights-based approach to displaced persons can be an integral component of the global effort to counter violent extremism.*

- Khalid Koser, Brookings Institute 2015

Camps should be reformed to resemble schoolhouses rather than holding tanks. This new “schoolhouse” model would enable camps to function as training centers for post-conflict reconstruction. Rather than requiring a total overhaul of the current system, the schoolhouse model leverages untapped resources and reorganizes existing operations within camps. This model would benefit refugees, host countries, and United States interests by:

- **Discouraging** radicalization
- **Designing** programs for better repatriation, and
- **Developing** sustainable camps that minimize host country strain

### *Reforming the UNHCR’s Approach to Repatriation and Reconstruction*

The schoolhouse model reforms current NGO operations and addresses the specific needs of each refugee camp. Implementing repatriation and job-skill-oriented programs would make camps more efficient and sustainable. Further, such changes would leverage refugee skills and capabilities to bolster post-conflict reconstruction. The UNHCR’s Framework for Repatriation and Reconstruction should be reworked in the following ways (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Proposed Changes to UNHCR Responsibilities

		Holding Tank Model	Schoolhouse Model
<b>Conflict Stage</b>  <i>Emergency Response to Transitional Phase</i>	LEADING ROLE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Initial support to refugees</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Initial support to refugees</li> <li>Assistance to education</li> <li>Community development</li> <li>Psychosocial rehabilitation</li> </ul>
	SUPPORTING ROLE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assistance to health, water supply, sanitation and education</li> <li>Community development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assistance to health, water supply, and sanitation</li> <li>Fostering reconciliation</li> <li>Peace building activities</li> </ul>
<b>Post-Conflict Stage</b>  <i>Transitional Phase to Repatriation Phase</i>	LEADING ROLE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Repatriation of refugees</li> <li>Returnee protection and monitoring</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Repatriation of refugees</li> <li>Returnee protection and monitoring</li> <li>Poverty reduction and sustainable livelihoods</li> <li>Capacity building (local authorities/communities, civil society)</li> </ul>
	SUPPORTING ROLE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Income generation/ employment creation</li> <li>Poverty reduction and sustainable livelihoods</li> <li>Community development</li> <li>Capacity building (government, local authorities/communities, civil society)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Income generation/ employment creation</li> <li>Improvement of neighbor relations</li> <li>Capacity building (government)</li> <li>Promotion of industry</li> <li>Development of socioeconomic environment</li> <li>Interim government/election assistance</li> <li>Fostering civil society</li> </ul>

### *Dimensions of the Schoolhouse Model*

The schoolhouse model would require two structural reforms to the current UNHCR holding tank approach, which would change the way camps operate, and two systemic reforms, which would enable camps to operate better. Camps would become less expensive, more effective, and sustainable.<sup>37</sup>

1. *Structural reform: Trainer-Trainee System (TTS).* The UNHCR should implement a trainer-trainee system for education and vocational training. Under the TTS, existing camp personnel, such as NGO officers or IGO administrators, would instruct an initial group of trainees. Successful trainees would then train a subsequent group, initiating a chain of peer-led skills development.<sup>38</sup> The peer-driven nature of the TTS would make it sustainable and inexpensive.

Areas in which the trainer-trainee model could be implemented include: camp infrastructure building and maintenance, basic medical care, resource packaging and distribution, education, sanitation oversight, psychosocial initiatives, and other camp-specific initiatives. Thus, camp labor could be provided internally, rather than relying on external volunteers or NGO staff.

The TTS is highly cost effective, and maximizes existing NGO funding rather than requiring additional aid.<sup>39</sup> The only potential costs would be in the form of participation

incentives.<sup>40</sup> However, instead of relying on incentives, the UNHCR should implement continuing educational requirements for extended-stay refugees.

2. *Structural reform: extended-stay work, education, or rehabilitation requirements.* Most welfare programs attempt to filter out able individuals, seeking instead to connect them with opportunities for employment or job-skills development.<sup>41</sup> Camps should adopt a similar approach, by imposing work, education, or rehabilitation requirements for extended-stay refugees.<sup>42</sup>

By requiring refugees to participate in available programming, NGO initiatives would move beyond a holding tank approach and create incentives for refugee engagement.<sup>43</sup> And increased participation, which directly reinforces the TTS, would lead to a rise in skills development and education.<sup>44</sup>

3. *Systemic reform: Introduction of civil society and democratic processes.* Camps offer a unique opportunity to introduce democratic practice, foster civil society, and reverse refugee disenfranchisement.<sup>45</sup> Under the schoolhouse model, valuable governance skills and democratic experience could be gained through the following:

- *Refugee representation.* Refugee representatives elected by residents could meet with UNHCR administrators or NGO staff to discuss future plans for the camp.<sup>46</sup> While instilling democratic habits and rights is the focus of this provision, the form of representation could be adapted to align with existing cultural structures among encamped populations.<sup>47</sup> A camp representation system could be complemented by top-down support, such as: providing meeting places for grassroots political groups, oversight of elections, and backing by NGOs for civil society development.<sup>48</sup>
- *Out of Country Voting (OOCV).* OOCV would occur during the post-conflict reconstruction phase. OOCV would allow refugees to participate in home state elections from within camps.<sup>49</sup> Overseen by the UNHCR, this practice would encourage refugees to be involved in democratic processes and increase civil society and political participation upon repatriation.<sup>50</sup> This process has been initiated by the UNHCR in a few highly successful cases and should be implemented on a wider scale—even where resettlement is the only option.
- *'Deferred Trust' Model.* Through the Deferred Trust Model, camp officials would consult with refugees to identify a suitable home country representative body with which they could work to establish repatriation processes.<sup>51</sup> Examples of such representative bodies could include the home state government, regional tribes, or a local NGO. The UNHCR would work with each group to adjust repatriation initiatives according to the needs of refugees, gather information on the situation in the area of resettlement, and re-establish refugee-host state links.

These options provide refugees with the representation and political access necessary for positive refugee, intermediary, and home state relations. The result is stronger in-camp collaboration, alignment of camp provisions with refugee needs, and more efficient repatriation.<sup>52</sup>

4. *Systemic reform: Psychological trauma recovery.* Studies place average PTSD rates among refugees between 25 to 75 percent, depending on the nature of the conflict and trauma exposure.<sup>53</sup> Under the schoolhouse model, prioritizing trauma recovery is seen as a long-term investment in stability. Such initiatives, also known as psychosocial rehabilitation, reduce the likelihood that refugees fail to reintegrate successfully or engage in antisocial behavior in post-conflict society, exacerbating social cleavages. In camps, trauma can be addressed in several ways. First, through the TTS, refugees are presented with expanded work and education opportunities, which could reduce the effects of refugee trauma disorders.<sup>54</sup> Second, cognitive-behavior therapy and exposure therapy, two of the most effective treatments for such disorders, should be offered on a wider scale for more serious cases.<sup>55</sup> Refugees could also be trained in psychosocial rehabilitation through TTS, becoming grief counselors or rehabilitation facilitators in other capacities, to minimize cost and maximize impact.<sup>56</sup>

Community rehabilitation efforts, which usually take place during reconstruction, such as Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, could instead begin in camps.<sup>57</sup> Doing so would provide the international community with important information about conflicts and actors, while ensuring safety for victims who speak about their experiences.

The schoolhouse model does not require all four dimensions to be effective; each could have a positive impact if implemented. And camps facing diverse challenges can select, adapt, and incorporate appropriate aspects of this menu of options.<sup>58</sup> Further, the model does not require physical changes to camp infrastructure or resettlement/repatriation policies, but rather remains focused on improving camp services and aid efficiency. As a result, the schoolhouse model is likely to make camps temporary—rather than permanent as many host states fear.

## **Benefits of the Schoolhouse Model**

The schoolhouse model is designed to minimize host country strain and security threats, while also advancing international humanitarian goals.<sup>59</sup> Its primary benefits are:

- *Developing sustainable refugee camps.* The schoolhouse model represents a cost-effective approach to managing refugee crises. The model saves money in the long run with up-front investment in sustainable, inexpensive systems, such as the TTS, psychosocial rehabilitation, camp governance, and extended-stay requirements.

The schoolhouse model improves camp conditions for refugees. Under the TTS, new programs would provide refugees with vocational training and education.<sup>60</sup> These programs would focus on the basic skills needed in both camps and post-conflict reconstruction, such as medical care and infrastructure repair.<sup>61</sup> Because the opportunities for job-skills development would exceed those available in urban areas, this approach is better than simply encouraging refugees to bypass the camps.

Trauma disorders are also a leading challenge for refugees.<sup>62</sup> The schoolhouse model allows rehabilitation to occur on a large scale as soon as refugees leave conflict zones.<sup>63</sup> As a result, camps are less likely to experience disruptive activity and violence, and refugees leave the camps equipped with tools to manage trauma.

The TTS also reduces the problem of over-worked relief volunteers and understaffed camps. Relief response workers and volunteers regularly work twelve hour days, and have high turnover rates.<sup>64</sup> Because some tasks in the camps will be performed by refugees, the TTS frees up funding to hire experts or invest in psychosocial rehabilitation.

The schoolhouse model reduces economic strain on the host country. First, not only would camps maximize aid impact and efficiency, they could also become economically productive. Programs that encourage work within camps could also support bottom-up camp markets and entrepreneurship, exhibited in Camp Zaatari's dress shops and bakeries.<sup>65</sup> Second, because the schoolhouse model provides education and job skills, refugees are also less likely to seek employment in saturated host markets. Fewer refugees settling in urban areas would help mitigate political stability concerns. Finally, the model's inexpensive structure has the potential to free up aid for underdeveloped communities in the host country, further safeguarding against societal tension.

- *Designing programs for more effective repatriation, resettlement, and reconstruction.* The schoolhouse model streamlines resettlement and repatriation processes—and encourages faster reconstruction. Camps act as a bridge between the conflict and post-conflict stages. Importantly, these reforms will not increase the burden on the UNHCR.

The schoolhouse model encourages successful repatriation and resettlement. The model increases education and vocational development, both of which lead to self-reliance; refugees are, therefore, less inclined to bypass camps in favor of urban centers in the host country.<sup>66</sup> The efficient repatriation of refugees is also supported by the model's focus on fostering home state links, and increased UNHCR involvement in reconstruction preparation. Few ties with and/or negative feelings towards the country of origin often make refugees reluctant to repatriate.<sup>67</sup> OOCV and the deferred trust model are specifically designed to increase trust and identification with the home country.

The schoolhouse model facilitates efficient, cost effective reconstruction. The model allows camps to function as training centers for a reconstruction workforce, equipping

refugees with high-demand skills for rebuilding infrastructure and society. Their labor then supports the fledgling economy and money can be saved on reconstruction efforts.

As an additional benefit, the schoolhouse model promotes U.S. reconstruction interests by encouraging the adoption of democratic practices.<sup>68</sup> Democracy is challenging to establish post-conflict as it relies on strong bottom-up support and societal stability.<sup>69</sup> By exposing refugees to self-governance in camps, the support base for democracy is likely to be widened. The model's focus on successful repatriation and post-conflict stability also indirectly bolsters democratization.<sup>70</sup>

- *Discouraging radicalization.* The schoolhouse model makes camps a frontline defense against refugee radicalization.<sup>71</sup> Most analyses identify three drivers of in-camp radicalization: lack of opportunity, discrimination and disenfranchisement, and clash of values/poor cultural integration.<sup>72</sup> The model addresses all three causes, while also allowing IGOs and host states to monitor the camps closely in order to identify threats.<sup>73</sup>

The schoolhouse model creates employment and education opportunities for refugees, addressing the first driver of radicalization.<sup>74</sup> Francisco Martin Rayo of Harvard's Belfer Center argues that "access to a well-rounded education is a powerful enough factor on its own to...significantly reduce radicalization and terrorist recruitment in crisis situations."<sup>75</sup> The TTS educates refugees and gives them marketable job skills. Extended-stay requirements and TTS opportunities for advancement create incentives for residents, particularly youth, to participate in educational programs; thus, the attendance rate at camp schools can be increased.<sup>76</sup>

The schoolhouse model reduces discrimination and disenfranchisement by involving refugees in camp decision making. Through these processes, refugees can make meaningful contributions to camp decision making. As a result, they are less likely to use alternative, more violent, methods for affecting change. Further, greater UNHCR-refugee collaboration decreases perceived discrimination.

The schoolhouse model diminishes a clash of values and poor cultural integration. Through the TTS, refugees themselves can conduct basic skills training and education, meaning that camp services can be more closely aligned with cultural practices. Psychosocial rehabilitation can also facilitate cultural integration in camps. In particular, refugees can channel grievances through services ranging from peer counseling to intensive cognitive-behavioral and exposure therapy.<sup>77</sup>

Thus, the schoolhouse model encourages successful integration in post-conflict society.<sup>78</sup> Refugees return to host states rehabilitated with vocational skills and education. And refugees are more likely to find jobs and are less likely to be radicalized.

The counter-radicalization focus of the schoolhouse model enhances host state security by maintaining a stable, productive, and contained place for refugees. Simultaneously, it channels

internal resources and manpower to combat in-camp recruitment.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, states that adopt the schoolhouse model could be supported with funds for counter-radicalization initiatives.

## **Serving Host State Interests**

Although the schoolhouse model is designed to benefit both refugees and host states, the host states may be concerned that better camp services could increase the influx of refugees and discourage voluntary repatriation.<sup>80</sup> Further, they may fear that the model will empower the refugee community with capabilities and opportunities that surpass those of their citizens, increasing the likelihood of refugee mobilization.

The schoolhouse model addresses these host state concerns in several ways. First, by preparing refugees for repatriation and enhancing host state links, camps actually encourage voluntary repatriation, in contrast with the current model, which relies on UNHCR enforcement of host state policies.<sup>81</sup> Camps should be temporary where possible, maintaining limited physical infrastructure and standard, efficient repatriation processes.<sup>82</sup> However, in protracted conflicts, camps should have more infrastructure, which would create more habitable, productive environments. Second, it is very rare for wartime refugees to move to camps in search of better opportunities; rather, they are pushed out of their home countries by violence. Jordan's Camp Azraq, touted as the "nicest in the world," exemplifies this dynamic—it sits nearly empty, despite fears that its amenities would encourage a refugee influx.<sup>83</sup> Third, while it is true that the schoolhouse model would empower refugees, implementing education and employment programs in camps would minimize refugee competition with host state citizens for jobs caused by outflow. Moreover, refugee empowerment through productive channels, such as OOCV, reduces the likelihood of anti-state mobilization, decreases the pool of recruits for radical groups, and enhances long-term regional stability.<sup>84</sup>

Refugee camps are often seen by host states as pawns in the international aid game.<sup>85</sup> Some host countries allow refugee camps to operate within their borders to enhance their international status and secure financial incentives.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, the United States could emphasize that the schoolhouse model is central to international counterterrorism efforts, and leverage its role as a major donor to incentivize host countries to adopt the model's reforms. Incentives for states that adopt the model could include military and defense support, more generous aid packages, or making entry into new organizations contingent on cooperation.<sup>87</sup> To counter the concern that refugees may receive better support and services than host state citizens, aid packages could include support to universities, community development programs, and even NGO trainer-trainee programs in impoverished areas populated by unskilled workers.



## Conclusion

*“A refugee programme must be evaluated not on what it is doing, but on the difference of livelihoods between the existence and non-existence of the programme.”*

- Dr. Eric Werker, Harvard Business School, 2007<sup>88</sup>

The current holding tank model fails to prepare refugees for repatriation and overlooks opportunities for refugees to make meaningful contributions to reconstruction. Contrary to recent policies adopted by the UNHCR and demands from the international community, the best answer is not to skirt camps entirely in favor of settling refugees in urban areas. Bypassing camps on a large scale is likely to exacerbate economic and security problems in host countries, while failing to address the core issues that can cause refugees to radicalize.

The schoolhouse model transforms refugee camps into an efficient, sustainable bridge between conflict and post-conflict societies. The model is highly adaptable to specific camp needs. Implementation of the schoolhouse model, because it serves the interests of host states, intermediaries, and refugees, is practicable. Overall, the model offers a viable and novel step forward in easing refugee crises and bolstering post-conflict reconstruction and resettlement initiatives worldwide.

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<sup>1</sup> Saimir al-Aita, “Reconstruction of Syria will be long, arduous journey,” *Al-Monitor*, March 26, 2014, accessed March 23, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2014/03/syria-reconstruction-challenges-state.html#>.

<sup>2</sup> “UN: Syrian refugees to top 5 million by 2015,” *Al Jazeera America*, October 7, 2014, accessed March 23, 2015, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/10/7/millions-more-refugeesexpectedtofleesyria.html>.

<sup>3</sup> This figure is based on the Uppsala Conflict Data Program’s methodology and database, and Joshua S. Goldstein’s analysis. The cited statistic includes 10 ongoing wars (1000+ battle-related deaths per year) 8 serious armed conflicts (200-999 battle-related deaths per year), and 14 additional ongoing conflicts (200 or fewer battle-related deaths per year). For more on the methodology and categorization of ongoing conflicts, see Joshua S. Goldstein. “Wars in Progress.” *InternationalRelations.com*, July 30, 2014. <http://www.internationalrelations.com/wars-in-progress/>

<sup>4</sup> Craig Kielburger and Marc Kielbuger, “The World’s 51-Million Refugees Are Living in Limbo,” *The Huffington Post Impact Canada* (blog), August 29, 2014, accessed April 3, 2015,

<sup>5</sup> Adam Heffez and Noam Raydan, “The Syrian Marshall Plan,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 27, 2014, accessed March 23, 2015, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141940/adam-heffez-and-noam-raydan/the-syrian-marshall-plan>.

<sup>6</sup> Saimir al-Aita, “Reconstruction of Syria will be long, arduous journey,” *Al-Monitor*, March 26, 2014, accessed March 23, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2014/03/syria-reconstruction-challenges-state.html#>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Brzoska, “Introduction: Criteria for evaluating post-conflict reconstruction and security sector reform in peaces support operations,” *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 1 (2006): 1-13. doi: 10.1080/13533310500424603,

<sup>9</sup> For more on reconstruction challenges and failures, see: Karen Hargrave. “Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond.” Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015. [http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens\\_2014.pdf](http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens_2014.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere it has been estimated that 1.5 million people have been displaced both internally and across international borders by the Islamist insurgency in northeast Nigeria.

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<sup>11</sup> Cynthia Balogh Orsolya, “Challenges of three regions’ refugee crises from the perspective of the United Nations’ refugee policy” (diss., Eötvös Loránd University, April, 2012). Accessed March 25, 2015, [http://www.academia.edu/8773037/Challenges\\_of\\_three\\_regions\\_refugee\\_crises\\_from\\_the\\_perspective\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_Nations\\_refugee\\_policy](http://www.academia.edu/8773037/Challenges_of_three_regions_refugee_crises_from_the_perspective_of_the_United_Nations_refugee_policy).

<sup>12</sup> Calculations from USAID budget as of April 2015, reported on its website: <http://www.usaid.gov/results-and-data/budget-spending>, Page 16. Information on Syria’s reconstruction costs from Kate Brannen and Nathaniel Sobel. “FP’s Situation Report: Afghanistan reconstruction cost more than U.S. Marshall Plan.” *Foreign Policy*, July 31, 2014. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/31/fps-situation-report-afghanistan-reconstruction-costs-more-than-the-u-s-marshall-plan-israel-calls-up-16000-reservists-derek-chollet-tells-staff-he-is-leaving-heavy-flight-restrictions-still-i/>

<sup>13</sup> Transparency International, *Preventing Corruption in Humanitarian Operations*, January 31, 2010, accessed March 23, 2015, [http://www.transparency.org/topic/detail/humanitarian\\_assistance](http://www.transparency.org/topic/detail/humanitarian_assistance).

<sup>14</sup> Reliance on numerous actors with little donor oversight creates inefficient reconstruction policy. Intermediaries tend to operate in an ad hoc manner, providing overlapping services and failing to address need gaps. For more on inefficiencies and corruption, see James Glanz, “New Fraud Cases Point to Lapses in Iraq Projects,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2010, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/14/world/middleeast/14reconstruct.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Even where repatriation and reconstruction are not possible, resettled refugees face similar problems to repatriated refugees, and contribute to various threats in their new host country. Many of these resettled refugees are untrained and have trauma disorders, but are quickly dropped by NGOs after they have been provided with a home and connected to local welfare and support systems. Often, these systems do little more than ensure basic levels of sustainability. Further, refugees seeking asylum have often been involved in crime or committed acts of violence during war that are unregistered or unreported. In America alone, national figures indicate that refugees who resettle are the most likely to require food stamps and support from programs such as “Violence against Women,” “Marriage Support,” “Ownership Society,” “Abstinence Education.” They rely more heavily on welfare programs than any other group, as few achieve self-sufficiency in the near term. Recently, there has been great concern that refugee flows into America, particularly from the Middle East and Southeast Asia, are raising levels of radicalization within America and facilitating flows for groups such as ISIS, as the highest outflow is coming from resettled Somali populations. Many American researchers and policymakers are calling for reform to resettlement policies and refugee crises, particularly with regards to background checks on refugees and preparation for resettlement by NGOs and the UNHCR. Thus, this brief stands as a strong response to concerns linked to resettlement. For the data behind this overview and more on domestic American concerns, see: Don Barnett. “Refugee Resettlement: A System Badly in Need of Review.” Center for Immigration Studies. May 2011. <http://cis.org/refugee-system-needs-review>

<sup>16</sup> Francisco Martin-Rayó, “Countering Radicalization in Refugee Camps: How Education Can Help Defeat AQAP.” (working paper, The Dubai Initiative, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA, and Dubai School of Government, June 2011). Accessed March 23, 2015, [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering\\_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> “Handbook for Repatriation and Reintegration Activities.” UNHCR, May 2004. <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/416bd1194.pdf> Handbook for the Repatriation and Reintegration of Refugees produced by the UNHCR

<sup>18</sup> Literature on refugees generally characterized either as “powerless victims” or “empowered security threats.” The former leads to the failure of the international community to leverage existing ingenuity, skills, and capabilities. The latter leads to refugee suppression and host state failure to address structural causes of threats in favor of securitarian measures.

<sup>19</sup> Examples include the PLO’s disruption of Jordan and Lebanon in the 1970s, Rwandan Hutu Fighters exacerbating violence in Zaire, and Somali group al-Shebaab’s large-scale recruitment from within refugee camps.

<sup>20</sup> M. Zuhdi Jasser, “Syria’s Refugee Children Prime Target for Radicalization,” *The Clarion Project* (blog), November 21, 2013, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.clarionproject.org/blog/syria/lost-generation-syria>.

<sup>21</sup> For more information on refugee radicalization in these camps, see: E.K., “The New Extremist Incubator,” *New America*, October 16, 2014, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.newamerica.org/new-america/the-new-extremist-incubator/>.

<sup>22</sup> Khalid Koser, “IDPs, refugees, and violent extremism: From victims to vectors of change,” *Order from Chaos* (blog), February 20, 2015, accessed March 23, 2015, [http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/02/20-cve-displacement-refugees-koser?utm\\_campaign=Brookings+Brief&utm\\_source=hs\\_email&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=16176256&\\_h](http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/02/20-cve-displacement-refugees-koser?utm_campaign=Brookings+Brief&utm_source=hs_email&utm_medium=email&utm_content=16176256&_h)

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<sup>23</sup> Michelle Kelemen. "Syrian Refugee Camp Grows The Size of a Small City." *National Public Radio*, August 13, 2013. <http://www.npr.org/2013/08/13/211585133/syrian-refugee-camps-grows-to-the-size-of-a-small-city>

<sup>24</sup> Economic participation among refugees tends to be heavily limited by host states. Acquisition of work permits is often challenging for refugees, if not prohibited, as host governments seek to preserve jobs for citizens. Local and camp taxes for entering markets, in which unrepresented refugees have no say, further bar economic participation.

<sup>25</sup> Karen Hargrave. "Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond." Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015. [http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens\\_2014.pdf/](http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens_2014.pdf/)

<sup>26</sup> Edward Mogire. "Victims as Security Threats: Refugee Impact on Host State Security in Africa." Farnham, Surrey 2011. p.139

<sup>27</sup> E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen. "Mistrusting Refugees" 1996. p.214

<sup>28</sup> Cynthia Balogh "Challenges of three regions' refugee crises from the perspective of the United Nations' refugee policy." April 2012.

[http://www.academia.edu/8773037/Challenges\\_of\\_three\\_regions\\_refugee\\_crises\\_from\\_the\\_perspective\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_Nations\\_refugee\\_policy](http://www.academia.edu/8773037/Challenges_of_three_regions_refugee_crises_from_the_perspective_of_the_United_Nations_refugee_policy)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Jeff Crisp, "Out of Camp, Out of Mind?" *Refugees International* (blog), September 15, 2014, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://refugeesinternational.org/blog/out-camp-out-mind>.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> UNHCR, "Urban Refugees," accessed March 23, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4b0e4cba6.html>.

<sup>33</sup> UNHCR, "UNHCR Policy on Alternatives to Camps," date of entry into force July 22, 2014, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/5422b8f09.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Lucy Hovil, "With camps limiting many refugees, the UNHCR's policy change is welcome," *The Guardian*, October 2, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/oct/02/unhcr-policy-change-refugee-camps>.

<sup>35</sup> Aukot, E. "It is Better to be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya." *Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights*. 21.3 (2003); 73-83. Accessed on 19 August 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Cynthia Balogh Orsolya, "Challenges of three regions' refugee crises."

<sup>37</sup> Each of the four facets target challenges faced by refugees, from the emergency phase to the post-conflict phase. However, they serve different purposes. The two *structural* reforms, TTS and extended-stay requirements, are mutually reinforcing and form the cornerstone of the schoolhouse model. They alter enable the way refugee camps are conceptualized at present to be altered by providing both incentives and opportunities for refugees – neither of which exist at present throughout camps. Further, they provide a way for skilled or educated refugees to maximize their capabilities. The *systemic* reforms, which focus on governance and trauma recovery, directly support the goals of the schoolhouse model in a more nuanced sense. By enabling voices to be heard in camp decision making and focusing on refugee recovery, camps become more functional places, structural problems within camps can be addresses, and the primary challenges of post-conflict repatriation or resettlement are addressed (see endnote 77 for more on these challenges).

<sup>38</sup> Refugees who become fully proficient in their area of focus could work alongside the experts in overseeing trainer-trainee initiatives, or could receive funding for training in international universities or vocational schools.

<sup>39</sup> Trainer-trainee systems would be initiated by existing NGOs. While then number of programs in each camp varies, reports indicate that significant initiatives within the majority of UNHCR camps already exists, and many are already seeking to account for the dearth of livelihood skills and educational opportunities. By providing them a structure through which to maximize their reach, they would simply be using aid more efficiently rather than requiring more, especially as incentives are not longer a problem due to extended stay requirements. For more information on the inexpensive nature of such a system, see literature on Peer-Driven Intervention, which has been highly effective in disease response and education.

<sup>40</sup> There are several ways that the UNHCR could incentivize trainers and sustain the system, including through: free classes; grants; in-camp currency; food and supply vouchers; and increased mobility programs in partnership with

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host governments. For an in-depth overview of these incentives, see: Erik Werker. "Refugee Camp Economies," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 3 (2007): 461-480. P.466. doi: 10.1093/jrs/fem001.

<sup>41</sup>Evelyn Z. Brodtkin, "Work and the Welfare State: Street-Level Organizations and Workfare Politics" in *Work and the Welfare State: Street-Level Organizations and Workforce Politics*, ed. Evelyn Z. Brodtkin and Gregory Marston (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013), 271-282.

<sup>42</sup> In this brief, extended-stay refugees are defined as any individuals who remain in camps beyond the emergency relief response phase. A pervasive problem with camps and the aid regime more generally is the chronic infantilization of refugees. Infantilization differs from victimization in that, not only does it focus on the role of refugees as requiring protection and support, but also casts them as being exempted from normal societal functions and requirements for success due to their background and experiences. Example, the view that refugees should not be required to work, but rather need international handouts contributes to this. Most refugees express a desire to work and resume normal functions, and feel humiliated by their situation. While inability to work is to an extent caused by host states, who impose work limitations to protect economic opportunities within markets for their citizens, UNHCR systems contribute to infantilization where they could be reversing it. Within camps, there is a plethora of jobs, which they outsource to international and local workers. Attention must be paid to preserving the local workers, as this benefits the host state economy, and this can be done by allowing existing workers to transition to trainers. From there, extended stay requirement help to reverse infantilization and humiliation in camps.

<sup>43</sup> Without repayment, additional welfare benefits, or promise of employment, refugees are unlikely to participate in existent development programs frequently enough for them to provide substantive skills.

<sup>44</sup> A potential added benefit of the mutually-reinforcing TTS and extended stay requirements is the increased ability to register and monitor refugees. If camp functions are better organized, with personnel overseeing specific groups of refugees, and their skills, interests, needs, and in-camp performance better known to camp managers, background checks prior to repatriation or resettlement become more plausible. Further, extensively traumatized refugees can be rehabilitated and monitored, and linked with the appropriate infrastructure in a new host state; thus, likelihood of unstable refugees entering a new host state without appropriate support is decreased. This provides a further solution to concerns voiced by studies on resettlement (see endnote 15).

<sup>45</sup>"Even though the refugees possess a political institution mirroring the form of the local government's system, the Refugee Welfare Council (RWC), nearly all the refugees in Kyangwali with whom we spoke felt remarkably politically disempowered. As one refugee said, "there is no freedom of association or speech." This acute perception of political disempowerment seems to have stemmed from a number of politically active refugees having been recently relocated to other refugee settlements. ... These political restrictions mean that refugees are unable to effect changes in the institutional environment that can benefit them economically." Erik Werker. "Refugee Camp Economies," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 3 (2007): 461-480. P.466. doi: 10.1093/jrs/fem001.

<sup>46</sup> Christa Case Bryant, "Syrian refugees top 2 million – and Zaatari camp prepares for long haul," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 3, 2013, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2013/0903/Syrian-refugees-top-2-million-and-Zaatari-camp-prepares-for-long-haul>.

<sup>47</sup> Refugee camps are highly politicized, even without official governance mechanisms or representation options available for refugees. This measure seeks to ensure that refugee voices are heard in camp decision-making processes, and that refugees can be exposed to democratic habits such as voting, attending interest meetings, and forming civil society groups. Importantly, this brief is not suggesting that the UNHCR advocate or create power structures within the camp that run counter to or exacerbates existing political and social divides. Decisions to incorporate representative mechanisms should be made by the UNHCR with the approval of the host state, and catered towards the needs and interests of the encamped refugees. It is possible that such provisions may not be implementable in certain camps. Where it is possible, the broad notion of refugee representation can be adapted or expanded depending on camp dynamics, and voted on in camp-wide elections. The author of this brief believes that representation of any body is an important human right, and should be reflected in international structures which seek to represent and advance such messages, wherever possible.

<sup>48</sup> Because the UNHCR and camp authorities would remain the primary governance bodies, overseeing representative groups, host state interests would not be threatened or violated. Refugee representation would allow to camp investments and decisions to have bottom-up input. This is not to suggest that refugees should be placed in charge of administration or camp control – this would run starkly against international law. Instead, this provision intends that refugee interests would be better served, and resources more effectively allocated based on expressed needs.

<sup>49</sup> IFES. "Out-of-Country-Voting: A Brief Overview." May 7, 2012. International Foundation for Electoral Systems. <http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/White-Papers/2012/Out-of-Country-Voting-A-Brief-Overview.aspx>

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<sup>50</sup> Past successful examples of this include Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq, Afghanistan, Iraq, and South Sudan, but have not historically been extended to in-camp refugees. For more on UNHCR-backed OOCV processes, see: Helene Caux. “The UNHCR helps prepare for refugees to vote in Mali elections, voices concerns over voter registration.” 23 July 2013 <http://www.unhcr.org/51ee540e6.html>

<sup>51</sup> The Deferred Trust approach is designed to increase refugee-intermediary cooperation, while maximizing the cultural effectiveness of otherwise generic repatriation processes. Host state interests are served through more efficient refugee repatriation, while refugees develop links with the home state before returning, facilitating a smoother transition. For more on the Deferred Trust model and the importance of trust in repatriation and reconstruction, see: Karen Hargrave. “Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond.” Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015. [http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens\\_2014.pdf/](http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens_2014.pdf/)

<sup>52</sup> Karen Hargrave. “Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond.” Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015. [http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens\\_2014.pdf/](http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens_2014.pdf/)

<sup>53</sup> Rebecca Meghan Davis and Henry Davis, IV, “PTSD symptom changes in refugees,” *Torture* 16, no. 1. (2006): 10-19. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17460343>.

<sup>54</sup> US Department of Health and Human Services, “Interventions for the Prevention of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder in Adults After Exposure to Psychological Trauma,” published online November 8, 2012, last amended July 27, 2012, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://effectivehealthcare.ahrq.gov/index.cfm/search-for-guides-reviews-and-reports/?productid=1129&pageaction=displayproduct>.

<sup>55</sup> Nenad Paunovic, “Cognitive-behavior therapy vs exposure therapy in the treatment of PTSD in refugees,” *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 39, no. 10 (October 2001): 1183-1197. doi: 10.1016/S0005-7967(00)00093-0.

<sup>56</sup> Methods for dealing with PTSD and other trauma disorders range from scientific – as with CBT and ET – to methodical-therapeutic, such as crafting and peer counseling. Refugees, through the trainer trainee system, could spearhead more basic trauma recovery processes, and experts, including educated refugees, could run more sophisticated programs. Thus, while the hiring of a wave of psychosocial trauma experts may be outside of the budget and scope of camps, it is highly plausible and relatively inexpensive to bring in methodical-therapeutic initiatives while training peer-counselors and allowing a few experts to establish programs for many refugees. For more on the range of trauma recovery programs available, see: The Combat Paper Project, and Frank Neuner, Margarete Schauer, Walton T. Roth, and Thomas Elbert, “A Narrative Exposure Treatment as Intervention in a Refugee Camp: A Case Report,” *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy* 30, no. 2 (April 2002): 205-209. doi: 10.1017/S1352465802002072.

<sup>57</sup> For more information on Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, see Centre for Conflict Resolution, “Peace versus Justice: Truth and Reconciliation Commission and War Crimes Tribunals in Africa,” 2007, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.gsdr.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3100>.

<sup>58</sup> Options for expanding the model: While implementation of the Schoolhouse model in existing camps would occur through top-down programming shifts, future camps could be built around the model. Infrastructure of these camps could be efficiently designed to support the various educational, vocational and political objectives upon which the model is based. Camps built around the Schoolhouse model should naturally involve better organization of emergency response and training centers. The fact that they are built for sustainability and transition, rather than as temporary cities, would be more efficient overall given the nature of most modern crises.

In conjunction with host states, raining centers could be established outside of camps in order to maximize the impact of the TTS and overall repatriation preparation. These centers would enable residents to have an enhanced sense of mobility and progress, while also freeing emergency-response oriented camps to focus more fully on their intended function. Residents could have the option of remaining in these secondary camps as trainers, if qualified, or for higher education pursuits. These centers of training and education would operate more fully as “schoolhouses,” and could serve as an excellent portal for repatriation efforts.

<sup>59</sup> “A focus on displacement may be one way to leverage the right stakeholders in the global effort to counter violent extremism. Governments in many developing countries (and especially those with an Islamic majority), civil society, and the private sector, have all been wary of engaging in what is often perceived as a Western-driven and security-oriented agenda. The link to displacement can illustrate that countering violent extremism is as much about

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human rights, development, and empowerment, as it is about military, intelligence, and security interventions.” See Khalid Koser, “IDPs, refugees, and violent extremism.”

<sup>60</sup> Foreign workers, who have to adapt to the culture and systems are not fully equipped through training, hinder success rates. For example, dialectical differences between teachers and students form a primary obstacle to learning in camps at high risk for radical recruitment. By allowing the camp inhabitants to become teachers and trainers for basic skills, linguistic and cultural obstacles to education can be overcome. The impact of programming is maximized. For more on this dynamic, see Francisco Martin-Rayó, “Countering Radicalization in Refugee Camps: How Education Can Help Defeat AQAP.” (working paper, The Dubai Initiative, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA, and Dubai School of Government, June 2011). [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering\\_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf).

<sup>61</sup> Eric Lyby, “Vocational Training for Refugees: A Case Study from Tanzania,” accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/3b8a1b774.pdf>.

<sup>62</sup> Rebecca Meghan Davis and Henry Davis, IV, “PTSD symptom changes in refugees,” *Torture* 16, no. 1. (2006): 10-19. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17460343>.

<sup>63</sup> Initiating truth and reconciliation commissions, and other community rehabilitation functions, in camps mid-conflict is also more likely to be effective in promoting societal healing than in post-conflict settings, where unprotected victims are fearful to speak out. For more information on the dynamics of and problems faced by truth tribunals, see Daniel Pascoe, “Are truth and reconciliation commissions an effective means of dealing with state-organised criminality?” *Cross-sections* III (2007). Accessed March 25, 2015, <https://eview.anu.edu.au/cross-sections/vol3/pdf/ch07.pdf>.

<sup>64</sup> Worker strain is compounded by refugee population increases, which outpaces the hiring and training of camp workers. Refugee intermediary organizations are unable to offer workers high salaries, leading to chronic personnel deficits. David Loquercio, “Turnover and Retention,” accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.peopleinaid.org/pool/files/pubs/turnover-and-retention-lit-review-jan-2006.pdf>

<sup>65</sup> Michael Kimmelman, “Refugee Camp for Syrians in Jordan Evolves as a Do-It-Yourself City,” *New York Times*, July 4, 2014, [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html?_r=0).

<sup>66</sup> Alfred Dube and Andreas Koenig, *Final Report: Self-reliance and sustainable livelihoods for refugees in Dabab and Kakuma camps*, United Nations High Commission for Human Rights and International Labour Organization, April-September 2005, accessed March 23, 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/4326a7542.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> Karen Hargrave. “Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond.” Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015. [http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens\\_2014.pdf/](http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens_2014.pdf/)

<sup>68</sup> Camp policy is dictated entirely by the host government and the UNHCR. As a result, camps squander the potential to introduce governance skills and exposure to democratic processes. Additionally, refugee exclusion often leads to camps wasting resources that do not benefit residents. Further, the pervasive belief among refugees that the UNHCR and NGO workers are not acting in their best interests creates distrust for authority. Distrust makes day-to-day functions and repatriation processes challenging. For more, see Karen Hargrave. “Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond.” Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015. [http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens\\_2014.pdf/](http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp104-repatriation-through-a-trust-based-lens_2014.pdf/)

<sup>69</sup> One additional U.S. interest addressed by the model is democratic development. Since 1974, the number of democracies worldwide has increased from 40 to 120. “One of the distinctive features of post-conflict state building in the past two decades has been the increasing reliance on formal democratic mechanisms, particularly elections, to determine who will rule after violent conflict.” Motivated by the possibility of full transition to democracy from successes like 2002 East Timor, the United States continues to invest money, personnel and troops in post-conflict democratic development initiatives. However, the majority of democratic development programs meet with failure. Many causal factors are involved in a relationship between U.S. initiatives and democracy, such as internal stability, civil society participation, bottom-up support, and other societal factors. Current initiatives do little to provide stability or cultivate bottom-up support. If the United States seeks to facilitate democratization in the long run, it should lay the appropriate foundations for stability and support as early as possible, focusing on bottom-up factors

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for democratic success as much as top-down processes. For more on this topic, see: Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

<sup>70</sup>Bruce Hemmer, "The Democratization of Peacebuilding: Democratic Exposure and Externally Democratic Ideology of Peacebuilding NGOs in Northern Ireland & Bosnia" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 2009). Accessed March 25, 2015, [http://www.researchgate.net/publication/237604631\\_THE\\_DEMOCRATIZATION\\_OF\\_PEACEBUILDING\\_DEMOCRATIC\\_EXPOSURE\\_AND\\_EXTERNALLY\\_DEMOCRATIC\\_IDEOLOGY\\_OF\\_PEACEBUILDING\\_NGOS\\_IN\\_NORTHERN\\_IRELAND\\_BOSNIA](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/237604631_THE_DEMOCRATIZATION_OF_PEACEBUILDING_DEMOCRATIC_EXPOSURE_AND_EXTERNALLY_DEMOCRATIC_IDEOLOGY_OF_PEACEBUILDING_NGOS_IN_NORTHERN_IRELAND_BOSNIA).

<sup>71</sup> Francisco Martin-Rayó, "Countering Radicalization in Refugee Camps: How Education Can Help Defeat AQAP." (working paper, The Dubai Initiative, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA, and Dubai School of Government, June 2011). Accessed March 23, 2015, [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering\\_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf).

<sup>72</sup> Rehan Mushtaq, "De-Radicalizing Muslim Youth in Western Societies," *CTX Journal* 3, no. 4 (November 2013), accessed March 23, 2015, <https://globalecco.org/de-radicalizing-muslim-youth-in-western-societies>.

<sup>73</sup> This is one approach from the center-left. However, the model also appeals to the center-right through its appeals to host state security concerns "Broadly speaking, two major views have emerged. In one camp, the center-left maintains that the struggle against the root causes of terrorism should prioritize social and economic development. Inspired by modernization theory, this camp sees social and economic development as the precursor of democratization. It also considers educational and economic empowerment as the best antidote against radicalization and terrorist recruitment. Since poverty and ignorance often provide a breeding ground for radicalism, socioeconomic development appears compelling as an effective antidote. This correlation between socioeconomic deprivation and terrorism is strongly rejected by a second group of analysts. Their logic is simple: most terrorists are neither poor nor uneducated. In fact, the majority seem to come from middle class, ordinary backgrounds. Terrorism is therefore perceived almost exclusively as a 'security threat' with no discernible socioeconomic roots or links with deprivation. Not surprisingly, this second group defines the fight against Islamist terrorism with a single-minded focus on state actors, jihadist ideology, counter-intelligence, and coercive action." See Ömer Taşpınar, "Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined," *SAID Review* XXIX, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 2009). Accessed March 25, 2015, [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/articles/2009/9/summer%20fall%20radicalism%20taspinar/summer\\_fall\\_radicalism\\_taspinar.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/articles/2009/9/summer%20fall%20radicalism%20taspinar/summer_fall_radicalism_taspinar.pdf).

<sup>74</sup> Work and education opportunities are considered the most effective means through which to counter radicalization in camps from the top down. For the research behind this conclusion, see Francisco Martin-Rayó, "Countering Radicalization."

<sup>75</sup> Francisco Martin-Rayó, "Countering Radicalization in Refugee Camps: How Education Can Help Defeat AQAP." (working paper, The Dubai Initiative, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA, and Dubai School of Government, June 2011). Accessed March 23, 2015, [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering\\_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/Countering_radicalization-Martin-Rayó.pdf).

<sup>76</sup> Niklaus Steiner, Mark Gibney and Gil Loescher. "Problems of Protection: The UNHCR, Refugees, and Human Rights." Routledge, May 2, 2003. p. 261

<sup>77</sup> NGOs like the Global Engagement and Resilience Fund which seek to build stronger communities among specific target populations, such as women and youth, also have the opportunity to establish relationships with refugees in camps. Links forged in camps can be sustained through post-repatriation support.

<sup>78</sup> Khalid Koser, "IDPs, refugees, and violent extremism"

<sup>79</sup> The word 'manpower' is used in this context as we found synonyms such as labor force to be too narrow for what we were trying to describe. However, we recognize that manpower is gendered, and our usage of the term connotes the contributions of women as well.

<sup>80</sup> "Myths About Refugees," Indiana State Department of Health, accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.in.gov/isdh/24670.htm>.

<sup>81</sup> Even in poor camp conditions, refugees are unwilling to return. For example, between the 2012 UNHCR publication of its "Framework for Voluntary Repatriation" and 2014, only 3.5% of Karen refugees on the Thai-Burma border participated in voluntary repatriation. This low number may seem surprising in the face of poor camp environments, and monumental efforts to establish repatriation assistance and frameworks between the UN, host states, home states, and the international community. This figure has been explained by (1) trauma and negative association with the home country, (2) inability to gain information about home destruction and family members and (2) distrust of camp and international authorities. The model actually targets each of these sources of unwillingness to repatriate, by building better trust relations within camps, forging home state links where possible, providing optimism for a future through skills and education, and partnering with home states to create as voluntary and

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dignified repatriation processes as possible. Where resettlement is the only option, the UNHCR is likely to establish similar frameworks. The Deferred Trust Model in particular emphasizes viewing repatriation processes through a trust-based lens, which has been deemed integral for success. For more information on the Karen case, trust relations, UNCHR repatriation frameworks, and the ‘deferred trust’ model as a solution, see: Karen Hargrave. “Repatriation through a trust-based lens: Refugee-state trust relations on the Thai-Burma border and beyond.” Working Paper Series No. 104, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Oxford, U.K., November 2014. Accessed March 23, 2015.

<sup>82</sup>Often, the idea of creating a better camp environment is conflated with more permanent structures; however, these concepts are not necessarily linked. Camp infrastructure is dictated by the amount of money available for camps, as well as the longevity of the conflict. These conditions vary from camp to camp. Host states that choose to invest in more permanent infrastructure may do so under the Schoolhouse model, recognizing that many conflicts are protracted. However, the model would operate just as well in traditional tent-based camps. To the end of more permanent camps, some concern has been voiced over the reluctance for refugees to leave camps if they are bettered. This critique fails to recognize the fact that the majority of refugees are reluctant to repatriate even from squalid camps, as “home” may no longer exist or may be associated with significant trauma and loss. International frameworks for repatriation rely on state and UN collaboration. Schoolhouse model functions will not alter processes of repatriation and resettlement any more or less than highly effective in-camp NGO processes would. The effects are unlikely to be anything other than positive, and dissenting opinions are largely driven by fear and racism.

<sup>83</sup> Rana F. Sweis. “Despite Good Intentions, Vacancies in Refugee Camp in Jordan for Syrians.” March 15, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/16/world/middleeast/despite-good-intentions-vacancies-in-refugee-camp-for-syrians.html>

<sup>84</sup> The critique that states may be concerned that, under the schoolhouse model, refugee populations may have better conditions exhibits a narrow understanding of domestic-intermediary relations and interests. As stated in the brief, refugee camps are an integral pawn in the international aid game. Host states receive funding and military support in return for maintaining camps and hosting the UNHCR. When resources are redirected towards camps, the impoverished are affected to a far greater degree than the middle and upper classes. This can have a range of impacts on host states. In situations where lower classes are able to mobilize in protest against the government for their lack of resources or jobs, this can be highly problematic. Some regimes can afford to put down such protests, or funnel international aid into satiating interests of such groups. However, most regimes are inherently more interested in maintaining their own power than providing for the group of citizens most often harmed by resource drain, and much of this power rests in international legitimacy, which is contingent international decisions and intermediary activity. If camp systems are bettered through more sustainable dynamics and services, they may become more stable, and their people more skilled and educated. If this is the case, there must be a counterbalancing initiative to fund host country schools, skills development programs, and NGO trainer-trainee initiatives in impoverished areas outside of camps. Thus, while camps are being bettered in services, so long as the infrastructure does not change (i.e. tents becoming houses – which is unlikely given the current global economy), this concern is moot.

<sup>85</sup> Godfrey Mwakikagile. “Civil Wars in Rwanda and Burundi: Conflict Resolution in Africa” 2013. p.318

<sup>86</sup> Jenna Krajeski, “Taking Refuge: The Syrian Revolution in Turkey,” *World Policy Journal* (Summer 2012), accessed March 25, 2015, <http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/summer2012/taking-refuge-syrian-revolution-in-turkey>.

<sup>87</sup> Similar incentives packages have been highly effective in encouraging the development of democratic infrastructure in North Africa and the Middle East. For more information on this dynamic, see: Steven Heydemann, “Authoritarian Upgrading in the Arab World” Brookings Institute, October 2007. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2007/10/arabworld>

<sup>88</sup> Erik Werker. “Refugee Camp Economies,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 3 (2007): 461-480. doi: 10.1093/jrs/fem001.