EDUCATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN : A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled **Education of Refugee Children: A Sociological Perspective** submitted by **Mallica** is in partial fulfillment of eight credits out of a total requirement of twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this university. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university and is her own work.

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Introduction

Wanderers, wanderers we are
From land to land we wander
Driven by hunger and by death
Embittered by suffering and pain
Over sea and hill and plain
We outcasts of the earth.

-Schloime Ansky cited in Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:1

1:1 Refugee: Definition and Meaning

The above lines appear to aptly state the meaning of the term "refugee". The label of refugee, according to Hansen, "is sometimes applied to anyone who travels away from misfortune (drought, war, storm, and the like (Hansen, 1982:15). However, the more political and legal sense is the definition provided by the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, which largely enjoys international acceptance. According to the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees the term refugee is used to define any person who " *owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events , is unable or , owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it* " (Sen, 2001:11).

Refugees, in other words, are to be distinguished from economic migrants or immigrants, with the former, forced to cross an international border to save his/ her life, while the latter, voluntarily moves to improve his/ her economic position and to better his/ her life. As Stein observes, "Unlike immigrants who are pulled to a new land, attracted by opportunity and prospects of a new life in the host country, it appears that the refugee is not pulled out; he is pushed out and that given the choice he would stay"(Stein, 2001:4).

Refugees have been regarded as "involuntary migrants" by scholars such as Hansen and Smith, who regard the situation of refugees as different from that of other migrants. Kunz, notes that, "It is the reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivations to settle elsewhere, which characterizes all refugee

decisions and distinguishes the refugee from the voluntary migrants" (Kunz cited in Hansen and Smith, 1982:3).

Ogbu has also classified minority group's as 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' migrants who form differential ideas regarding the meaning and value of education based on the nature of their arrival to a new country. According to Ogbu, however, refugees are not part of his classification because they are "affected by unique factors, such as the trauma of political violence" (Ogbu cited in *Alitolppa-Niitamo, http://cc.joensuu.fi/~sosio/annetn.htm).*

This unique position of refugees as recognized by Ogbu therefore needs to be taken into consideration. Refugees also appear to be distinct from other ethnic minorities, having a subordinate position in society and a culture different from that of the mainstream society .It is the specific geo – political and socio- cultural context that governs the status and treatment of refugees that is different from that of other ethnic minorities and therefore has to be recognized.

Refugees have also been classified as the 'New Minorities' as different from 'ancestral peoples' and 'established minorities' (Corson, 1993:73). They have, sometimes also been regarded as people who see their own cultural differences as barriers to be overcome, in achieving their own long – term success in employment or lifestyle. This definition has, however, been found to be problematic by scholars such as Kaprielian Churchill according to whom, "refugees, of all immigrants, are loathe to deny their identity and to forget their heritage, as, for many, their traditional culture (sometimes the main reason for their persecution and escape) may be on the brink of extinction and they may want to cling to whatever remnants they have brought with them"(Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

Uprooted Identities and Fractured Lives

According to Suryanarayan and Sudarsen in the Swahili language, the term for refugee is *Mkimbizi*, which literally means "a person who runs"(Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:1). Suryanarayan and Sudarsen cite Sommers with reference to the Burundi refugees in Dar es Salaam, pointing out that "many express disgust at the continued use of the "refugee" label even after two decades of exile. Some believe that being *Mkimbizi* not only identifies them as people who were compelled to flee their

homeland in fear for their survival, but who continue to flee" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:1).

The following Quotation can be aptly said to demonstrate the "uprooted" nature of the identities of refugees (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:1).

My son is in Jaffna
Wife in Colombo
Father in the Wanni
Mother;old and sick in Tamil Nadu
Relatives in Frankfurt
A sister in France
And I,
Like a camel that has strayed in Alaska
Am stuck in Oslo
Are our families
Cotton pillows
To be
Torn and scattered by the
Monkey fate?
- Jayabalan cited in Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:55

Arendt, in her discussion of the condition of refugees at the end of World War 11, observes that, "The first loss which the rightless suffered was the loss of their homes, and this meant the loss of the entire social texture into which they were born and in which they established for themselves a distinct place in the world (Arendt cited in Xenos, 1993:427). What is unprecedented, Arendt observes, is "not the loss of a home but the impossibility of finding a new one". This, moreover, she observes, had next to nothing to do with any material problem of overpopulation; it was a problem not of space but of political organization " (Arendt cited in Xenos, 1993:427).

The concept of space as not really geographical but rather political appears to have emerged as a phenomenon of the era of nation-states and their principle of sovereignty. According to Xenos, "The principles of human rights, by contrast, are meant to create that space and that possibility, but as long as those rights are interpreted and enforced by nation states, there will be no uncontrolled space. Refugees, he notes, thus represent the contemporary political identity crises" (Xenos, 1993:427).

Because the uprooted nature of their identities as refugees mirrors the uncertainty of our everyday lives due to rapid changes in family and work organization as a result of globalization etc., refugees seems to be resented almost everywhere in the world. As mentioned earlier, their rootless identities makes refugees' also resent the word 'refugee', as it reminds them of their traumatic pasts and uncertain futures.

1:2 Refugeeism: Magnitude of the Problem

According to the UNHCR, "refugees are a painful, living reminder of the failure of societies to exist in peace, and because the causes of political and economic upheaval, deprivation of human rights, civil war, lack of food and other resources remain in operation in the developing countries of Africa. Asia and Latin America, the large-scale movement of refugees is bound to continue, and even to intensify as the world's population continues to provide for their inhabitants" (UNHCR, Notification no.1, undated).

That a global refugee problem exists cannot be denied. In recent years, armed conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Burundi, Colombia, Guatemala, Lebanon, Liberia, Myanmar, Iraq, Turkey, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Zaire etc. have created millions of refugees.

According to the US Committee of Refugees," Statistics on refugees and other uprooted people are often inexact and controversial. One country's refugee is always another's illegal alien. As such government tallies cannot always be trusted. The statistics that follow represent the "best judgements" of the US Committee of Refugees (USCR, 2001:1).

TABLE 1:1 REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS WORLDWIDE (AS OF DEC 31,2001)

Countries	Populations
Africa	3,346,000
Europe	1,153,000
The Americas and the Caribbean	562,000
East Asia and the Pacific	792,000
Middle East	6,035,000
South and Central Asia	2,656,000
World Total	14,544,000

Source: US Committee for Refugees, 2001

These statistics in Table 1:1 give a picture of the magnitude of the refugee crises, with a total of 14,544,000 people (as of 31st Dec 2001) being categorized as refugees and asylum seekers by the US Committee for Refugees. Tentative estimates suggest that out of the total number of refugees in the world today, at least half are children and adolescents. UNHCR places 47% of the world's refugees as under 18 (statistics given in annex: 1). Further, according to UNHCR statistics each day 5000 children become refugees, one in every 230 persons in the world is a child or adolescent who has been forced to leave his or her home.

The word Refugee, as Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees puts it, "tends to evoke images of sprawling camps housing large number of distressed and impoverished people who have had to escape from their own country at short notice and with nothing but the clothes on their back" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:71). While the above picture does represent reality to an extent, it needs to be realized that, the millions of refugees in the world are scattered - either in flight; in repatriation; in refugee camps; in asylum in countries of first asylum or resettled aboard. Refugeeism appears to connote lives in a state of constant flux and movement.

The location of refugees, according to Stein, depends upon their "stage of refugee experience" (Stein, 2001:4). Keller (1975) refers to the following stages of experience as determining the location of refugees: "the perception of threat; deciding to flee; the period of extreme danger and flight; reaching safety; camp behaviour; repatriation; settlement or resettlement; the early and late stages of resettlement; adjustment and acculturation; and finally, residual stages and changes in behavior caused by the experience" (Keller cited in Stein, 2001:4).

Refugee Camps

Refugee camps are a major feature of today's refugee scene. Roughly, one-half of the millions of refugees in the world are in some type of camp situation. The three million Afghan refugees in camps in Pakistan are one of the largest long-term refugee encampments in history. Smaller camp populations, only hundreds of thousands each, are in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Central America. Most are at least three years old- the Palestinian camps are three decades and four generations old- with no solution in sight. In addition, twice in the last decade there have

been major refugee camps for several months in the United States, in 1975 for Indochinese refugees and in 1980 for Cuban refugees (Stein, 2001:7).

Michel Foucault's notion of a camp as "The Quarantined City" as an ancient European method for controlling individuals through a careful partitioning of space seems to be applicable to refugee camps. The view of the camp as similar to "barracks, asylums, schools, and prisons, but reducible to none of these modern apparatuses" (Foucault cited in Lippert, 1999:308) seems largely to correspond to the actual situation.

According to Stein, the most useful description and analyses of refugee camps is a brief essay by Murphy (1955), where Murphy notes that, "although the physical conditions of camps may vary widely, from hell to hotels, the effects tend to be uniform. The most important characteristics of the camps are: segregation from the host population, the need to share facilities, a lack of privacy, plus overcrowding and a limited, restricted area within which the whole compass of daily life is to be conducted. This gives the refugees a sense of dependency, and the clear signal that they have a special and limited status, and are being controlled" (Murphy cited in Stein, 2001:6).

According to Stein it is during the camp experience that a new life begins for a refugee in a strange land where the refugee "loses structure, the ability to coordinate, predict and expect, and his basic feelings of competence" (Stein, 2001:6). It is, therefore, during the camp experience that the enormity of what has happened finally strikes home to the refugee and he has to come to terms with his losses of homeland, family, identity and his former life.

Repatriation/Integration/Resettlement

The next stage in the refugee experience, which determines the location of refugees, is departure from the camps. Three "durable solutions" are perceived to be solutions to the problems of refugeeism: *Repatriation*: the refugees can go home with the cessation of hostilities, *Local integration*: They can get permission to stay leading to settlement in their land of first asylum or [1]*Resettlement:* They can be sent to a third country, usually distant country for resettlement"(Stein, 2001:7).

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[1] According to Saha, "In the past in the 1970's and 1980's developed countries had adopted large-scale resettlement programmes. At present 18 countries accept resettlement cases setting annual quotas. The total number of resettlement cases, all the countries put together in a year is about 200,000. The criterion adopted by the countries for resettlement varies from country to country but basically the individuals must meet the Convention definition and also the special humanitarian concerns of the resettlement country" (Saha, 2001:62).

According to Stein, "these three choices present an increasing order of difficulty for the refugee. Going home involves only the most minor cultural adjustment problems although the longer gone the greater the difficulties. The flight to asylum is normally short, across the nearest "friendly" border, where there may be ethnic kin or the reluctant host may be different but not completely strange or unknown (Stein, 2001:7).

Resettlement, on the other hand, often overseas and distant from home, means leaving not only one's native culture but also its wider zone of influence. Today, some resettled refugees "move from non-European to European-based cultures, from least developed countries to the space age" (Stein, 2001:7).

Approximately ninety percent of the world's ten million plus refugees are from developing countries and over ninety percent of these refugees tend to stay in developing countries, either settling in their countries of first asylum, being repatriated to their homelands, or remaining in semi-permanent relief camps. An overwhelming proportion of these refugees seem to come from rural areas in their homelands and continue to stay in the rural areas in their "less developed sanctuaries" (Stein, 2001:7).

The location of refugees in the world is therefore not of a homogeneous nature, but, as is earlier referred to, depends upon their stage of refugee experience in terms of being in a state of flight, repatriation, local integration or resettlement.

The magnitude of the crises of refugeeism seems to be evident from the fact that, according to statistics, there are a total of 14,544,000 (as of 31st Dec2001), refugees, as mentioned earlier in the world today. With almost half of this population comprising of children, the ramifications for the protection and welfare of such children becomes evident. For refugees and their support organizations, bare physical survival is the most urgent of priorities. Only after the latter is achieved, do other priorities, primarily, the right to education, emerge (UNHCR, notification no 2, undated).

1:3 Refugees: Developed and Developing Countries

Most of the Developed countries of the world have signed the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees which is the primary international convention on refugees. (Names of signatories/non-signatories given in annex: 2) .On the other hand, observes, Mahiga, Chief of Mission, UNHCR India, "none of the South Asian countries have signed the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees (as will be elaborated upon in the 1st chapter), yet they host some of the largest and most protracted caseloads

of refugees in the world. In addition these countries do not have national legislation on refugees" (Mahiga, 2001:40). According to the US Committee of Refugees, also while the developed countries contribute most of the funding for programs that assist refugees, the least developed countries are the ones hosting the overwhelming majority of the world's refugees (*World Refugee Survey*, 2001:11).

Compared to many developed countries, Bose also observes that South Asian countries have been relatively generous towards asylum seekers. Bose notes that, "South Asian states have given shelter and humanitarian relief to victims of forced migration, natural disaster, ethnic strife and ecological disasters. There are very few instances when asylum seekers have been blocked or refused entry into a South Asian state" (Bose cited in Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:83).

According to Menon, on the other hand, developed countries in the North have admitted only a small percentage of refugees in the last five decades. One estimate suggests that it is less than five percent of the total refugee population (Menon, 2001:39). He further observes that, "while the legal regimes of several developed countries are working overtime to find ways of rejection and exclusion of the migrant population", South Asian countries, like India, "even in the face of grave security concerns, has behaved as a responsible member of the international community demonstrating that there are effective ways of dealing with the issue outside the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol" (Menon, 2001:38).

Significant differences seem to exist between the developed and the developing countries also in terms of the scale and intensity of refugee influxes. None of the South Asian states seem to be able to control enmasse population movements because of their porous borders. The developed countries, on the other hand have elaborate and restrictive mechanisms of entry, where asylum is granted to refugees on a case-by-case method of individual determination. Refugee movements, therefore in South Asia have come to be regarded as issues that affect internal security, political stability and international affairs, "What is essentially a humanitarian crises then becomes a [2]security concern for the government concerned"(Raj, 1999:85).

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[2] The presence of armed militants among the refugees and the acts of violence perpetrated by them have created problems of security in the host countries. For example, the abundant supply of arms available to Afghan refugees, coupled with their involvement in the narcotics trade, has transformed the socio-economic security profile of Pakistan" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:20).

The differences between the developed and developing countries in terms of the particular context that governs their attitude towards grant of asylum and welfare to refugees, therefore needs to be looked at.

1:4 Diversity Amongst Refugees

Refugees are not a homogenous group. However, there is a tendency, "to label refugees as Cubans, or Indo – Chinese etc. without looking beyond the label" and to see all refugees from a given country or region as the same (Stein, 2001:5). Differences abound among different refugee groups depending upon a variety of factors – including country of origin, race, ethnicity, religion, culture, and socio – economic and educational background before migration. Age at the time of flight, migration and resettlement, personality characteristics, level of family support and sustenance are also said to be among the factors contributing to diversity among refugees. According to Stein, most refugee groups can be subdivided into many 'waves' and 'vintages', depending on the fact that "those who leave a country at different times are fleeing from different pressures and have different background and experiences and may even be hostile to one another" (Stein, 2001:5). Further, differences in terms of first, second and third generation refugees also exist which often influences their degree of adjustment and 'acculturation' to the host society often resulting in inter –generational conflicts (Kaprielian-Churchill: 1996:353).

The degree of vulnerability also varies within groups. For instance some children, classified as 'most at risk' are girls, disabled, as well as those who are unaccompanied and orphaned. This categorization has been said to be particularly 'invisible' in most policies and programs governing refugee children (Kaprielian-Churchill: 1996:357).

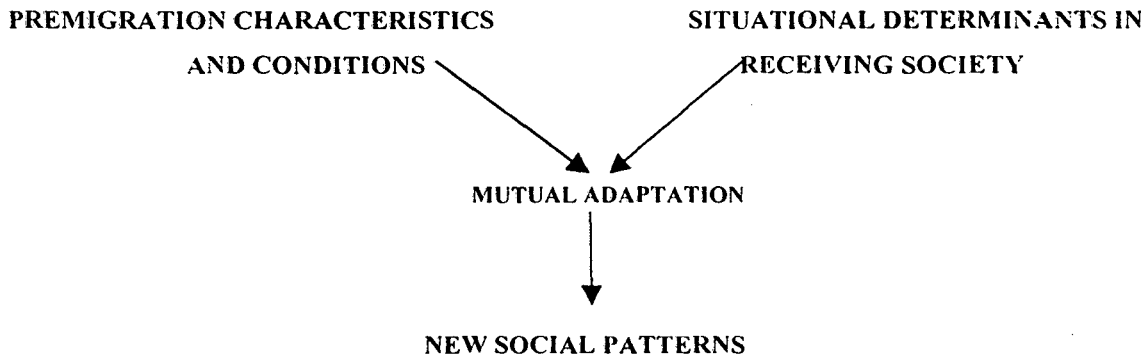
Thus, Stein as also other scholars have pointed out the necessity to avoid homogenization and stereotypification of refugees in policies concerning them, in recognition of the various strands of diversities amongst them.

1:5 Refugees and Adjustment to Host Country

Once refugees arrive at the host country, with their different backgrounds (as mentioned above) and resources, their degree of adjustment and adaptation to the host country's ways of life alongwith preservation of their inherent culture, language and identity is seen to be dependent on a number of factors.

Goldlust and Richmond (1974) as cited in Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982) provide a model to understand the processes by which two major categories of factors affect the adaptive process: premigration characteristics and conditions, and situational determinants in the receiving society. Premigration characteristics, includes such variables as "education and technical training, prior urbanization, demographic characteristics, and motivation possessed by the migrant-refugee. In other words, these are what the refugees bring with them as they move into the host society." Situational determinants, on the other hand consist of such variables as urbanization, industrialization, government policies (specially immigration laws and policies), demography, pluralism, and stratification within the host society. All these factors are then seen to interact at the level of mutual adaptation, eventually leading to new social patterns (Goldlust and Richmond cited in Pisarowicz and Tosher, 1982:79) (Fig 1: 1).

FIG 1: 1 MODEL OF REFUGEE ADAPTATION



Source: Goldlust and Richmond cited in Pisarowicz and Tosher, 1982:79

Stein also identifies clusters of factors promoting or hindering adjustment of refugees: "loneliness or isolation", "status – changes", particularly in occupational/ vocational status, "intergenerational conflict" and "host refugee relationships" the tone and character of which are likely to differ in different situations are also important. (Model given in Fig1: 2) The adjustment of refugees in the host country also seems to be determined by the manner in which the host country treats them. While some refugee groups are "received warmly", some are "tolerated with indifference" and yet others are the "object of scorn and hostility" (Stein, 2001:6).

Stein observes that some refugees, often in defense of their identities, tend to be highly critical of the host culture, whereas other refugees tend to feel, either, individually

or collectively, inferior to the natives. Ethnic or racial differences that can add permanence to the refugees' minority position are seen as an additional complication. Stein also refers to the cluster of 'culture- shock', that is seen to encompass all the other factors to a degree as it includes the feelings of, 'desocialization' and 're-socialization' lost friends, family, food, values and of all that was considered to be familiar. Culture shock is said to represent a threat to the refugees's identity and is seen as effecting those refuges who did not think about, intend or prepare for exodus and who were caught up in panic and hysteria (Stein, 2001:9).

FIG 1: 2 MODEL OF REFUGEE ADAPTATION

FACTORS PROMOTING OR HINDERING ADJUSTMENT – CLUSTERS

Loneliness or Isolation	Status Changes	Intergenerational Conflicts	Host-Refugee Relationship	Culture Shock
Single refugees: Widowed/divorced women lacking family/community support-at 'high risk'	Unemployed refugees; those with untransferrable occupational skills; older refugees whose roles have been altered (women providing income); those with low standard of living as compared with home etc.	Differences between first; second, third generation refugees	Warm /indifferent/ hostile (with racial or ethnic differences, adding permanence to refugees' minority position)	Said to encompass all others to a degree)

Source: Stein (2001:13)

A number of other scholars also identify other factors influencing the adjustment of refugees in the host country. For instance, Locke (1992) refers to 10 cultural elements that need to be investigated: 1) degree of acculturation 2) poverty 3) history of oppression 4) language and the Arts 5) racism and prejudice 6) socio-political factors 7) child-rearing practices 8) religious practices 9) family structure 10) values and attitudes (Locke, 1992:1). Nann, also echoes similar thoughts, when observing that the, "the successful resettlement of immigrants and refugees is a complex process involving variables at the societal, institutional, family and individual levels" (Nann, 1983:2).

1:6 Perspectives on Education of Refugee Children

For refugees and their support organizations, bare physical survival, as mentioned earlier, is the most urgent of priorities. Only after, this vital goal is achieved, do other priorities, and primarily the right to education emerges.

According to Flukiger-Stockton, " For people who have lost all their other assets, education represents a primary survival strategy. Education is the key to adaptation in the new environment of exile. Education is the basis upon which to build a livelihood. For some, education will be the decisive factor for resettlement in a third, normally richer

country. Finally, education will ease reintegration on return home" (Flukiger-Stockton cited in Hannah, 1999:155).

Education for refugee children has been said to address the issues of survival, security and opportunity. Schools in the host country are likened to "sanctuaries providing physical security" and some semblance of a normal life to children scarred by the traumas of war, having in many instances experienced numerous forms of persecution – forced military recruitment, rape, made to witness the torture or execution of parents of older siblings etc (Kaprielian- Churchill, 1996:353).

Education, particularly, higher education, has also been regarded as providing recognizable qualifications, improving the refugees' opportunities in the labor market and therefore his chances, aiding his social and occupational mobility. An educated and/ or skilled refugee has also been regarded as a potential contributor to the host society's economy and therefore a meaningful part of it (Kaprielian –Churchill, 1996:363).

Various scholars recognize the importance of education as one of the factors, which has an influence on the adaptation of refugees in the host country. For instance, according to Richmond, education " more then any other single factor, explains the degree and extent of subsequent socio-cultural adaptation, and the precise form that the adaptation takes." Education, he observes, "is also an important determinant of the pattern, mode and sequence of socio-cultural adaptation" (Richmond, 1988:113).

1:7 Culture, Identity and Opportunity: Dilemmas in Education

Culture, identity and learning have an important bearing upon the education of refugee children in host countries. A sense of "being rooted" is an important and intrinsic part of one's identity (Xenos, 1993:425). According to Weil (1971), " To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul and is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings. Every human being needs to have multiple roots. It is necessary for him to draw well-nigh the whole of his moral, intellectual, and spiritual life by way of the environment of which he forms a natural part" (Weil cited in Xenos, 1993:425). Xenos's ideas seem to be particularly pertinent when seen from the perspective of refugees who are transplanted to alien lands with cultures, values and ways of life generally very different from their own. The result, most often is in the nature of their uprooted identities and difficulties in adjustment to the host country's ways of life.

This becomes particularly pertinent when seen from the perspective of the fractured identities of refugee children, as mentioned earlier, who often tend to be confronted by the dilemmas resulting from a clash of cultures and culture shock. As Kaprielian-Churchill observes, the condition of refugee students is directly "rooted in forced displacement, the deprivation of freedom, separation from loved ones and the loss of family, home, a way of life and perhaps even of identity" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:353). For children, these dilemmas appear to exist primarily, at the level of socio-cultural adjustment. The dilemma exists as whether to unquestioningly conform to the host society's cultures and ways of life so as to move up the occupational ladder and gain peer group acceptance or to adhere to their parents desire to cherish and preserve (at least to the extent possible) their own rapidly vanishing cultural values and language (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

Caught in the classic bind of conflicting cultures, refugee children, as referred to earlier, seem to suffer from an 'identity crises', which appears to have implications for their education as well. In this regard, the role of the school, and particularly the peer-group in reinforcing the generation gap between the first, second and third generation refugees and the resultant cultural dilemmas is to be noted. According to Gokalp, " The school fulfils the essential function of socializing by integrating children into their age-group, independently of specific ethnic and cultural characteristics. This 'gang-socialization' is very active and, combined with the influence of the school, frequently comes into conflict with the standards and expectations of that other seat of socialization-the family" (Gokalp, 1988:128).

The conflicting cultural demands of the home and the school appear to, therefore have consequences upon the individual identities of refugee children and their educational performance. The following issues are affected as a result of conflicting cultures and learning and at the same time also have effects upon the education of refugee children:

Language of Instruction

Refugee children coming to schools in the host country often need to learn new languages, alongwith the need to acquire alien class values and orientations that are completely different from that in their native countries. The dilemma facing these children is that the language of instruction in the host country tends to hamper the acquisition and maintenance of their native language skills. This becomes evident when

the refugees return to their native countries. Being completely educated in the language of the asylum state, they seem to face difficulties in adjusting to the language of their 'home' country, once they go back.

'Options' Vs 'Ligatures'

Refugees, at one level appear to see their own cultural differences as barriers to be overcome in adapting to the host country, in seeking employment and furthering their life chances. At the same time, it has to be recognized that while eager to improve their socio-economic standing in the host society, refugees also seem to wish to preserve their identity and their heritage to the extent possible. The resulting dilemmas need to be, therefore taken account of (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

In the context of these dilemmas faced by refugees, Dahrendorf refers to two types of 'life-chances' that societies offer to their members. The first is referred to as 'Options' where people receive a range of choices (or primary goods) as a result of their education. On the other hand are, 'Ligatures' or 'bonds between people' that they establish as a result of their membership within a society (Dahrendorf cited in Corson, 1993:40).

According to Corson, "most western education systems are strong in providing students with options but weak in providing them with ligatures. With many of the clients of contemporary education coming from ethnic societies where ligatures are prized", he observes that cultural barriers might be created, for instance between Southeast Asian refugee children in the US and teachers from western societies who might be unable to understand the reasons why ligatures are prized by such students, as against options (Corson, 1993:40).

As will be discussed further on, the prizing of ligatures as against options when manifested in classroom behaviour, give rise to dilemmas for refugee students creating impediments in their educational performance.

'Special' Treatment Vs Equal Treatment

Scholars seem to be divided on the issue of provision of 'special' vs 'equal' treatment in educational institutions (with nationals) of refugee children. The following issues need to be discussed in this regard:

Psychosocial Problems and Educational Support

The issue of 'special' treatment in schools for refugee children is raised by scholars such as Kaprielian-Churchill keeping in mind their "differential needs based on traumatic past experiences." Kaprielian-Churchill presents a case for provision of educational concessions to refugee children on grounds that "the unstable educational background of refugee children, coupled with trauma is aggravated in a new environment by the need to adjust to a culture dramatically different from their own"(Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:356). This is compounded, at the same time by the need to try to cope with a language and school discipline, which is totally unfamiliar. She suggests therefore that, educators allow refugee students to "be master of their own rhythm of schooling, not ridiculed or made to feel inadequate if they take more then the usual number of years to finish school" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:356).

Hannah also professes similar views, observing that, "The physical and psychological trauma that refugee children suffer from is likely to be detrimental to their education, especially in terms of their "ability to concentrate and study" (Hannah, 1999:158). Quoting a school teacher, Kaprielian-Churchill observes that, "If you've seen your mother raped and your father murdered by a group, you can't have any love for people belonging to that group them, inspite of all we say about a multicultural society. But, we, as teachers have to try help these kids who are street wise and easily provoked" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:359).

Provision of special treatment (i.e. culturally sensitive) to refugee children by teachers however requires 'identification' of these children as such as soon as they enter the school system. Only when teachers are aware of the child's particular problem can a sensitive manner be adopted towards them (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:352). Kaprielian-Churchill observes that other scholars criticize the above approach on grounds that identification, would lead to "labeling and further discrimination" against children craving 'normality' (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:355).

Mainstream Schools Vs. 'Special' Schools

Proponents of 'special' schools have urged the establishment of special schools, such as Bilingual schools, for refugee children on grounds that such schools would maintain their ethno-linguistic identity, as also enable a smooth transition to the English language. However, they have been criticized in that such projects are expensive and

therefore, not a viable alternative for the developing world, which, as mentioned earlier, largely house the world's refugees. Further according to Duignan, in addition to resource constraints, such schooling prolongs the process of mastering English as also the language of the host country. 'Special' schools have also been criticized for isolating refugee children from those of the mainstream society, thereby prolonging their adjustment and integration into the host society (*Duignan, http://www.hoover.Stanford.edu/publication/be/22e.html*). A case for enrollment of refugee children in mainstream schools to enable their integration into the host society is seen as a cheaper, viable alternative, but with due consideration for their particular needs i.e. with additional language programmes, psychosocial support through counseling, study skills etc. With mere access to mainstream schools in the developing countries for refugees, being a problem, due to overcrowding in such schools, provision of 'special' support, does not seem viable at present.

'Most-At-Risk' children: Additional Support

Taking into consideration the diversity amongst refugees of every refugee community, the UNHCR categorizes certain categories of children as 'most-at-risk' by scholars. The organization calls for special treatment in the protection and welfare policies (including education) governing these children. The 'most-at-risk' children consist of: unaccompanied children ie. children separated from parents often forced to work as prostitutes and child-laborers, children who are disabled and female refugee children (with disability and gender largely being invisible issues in refugee situations) (UNHCR, 1988:27).

Adolescent refugee children are also regarded as 'at-risk' by Kaprielian-Churchill, with respect to school performance and general well being. According to Kaprielian-Churchill, "At a time when they are undergoing the physical, emotional and sexual changes of adolescence and are trying to deal with the trauma of their young lives, they must adjust to a new country, with a different language and behavioural patterns, and they must make decisions and take steps towards career goals" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:357).

The problems of these children, at the general level of poverty, gender, disability etc seem to be similar to that of nationals in the host country. The refugee-specific nature of their problems, however with it's notions of uprootednes, premigration traumatic

experiences, loss of cultures and languages which tend to compound the above problems reinforcing their vulnerability, also needs to be taken account of.

Practical Problems: Additional Support

Hannah calls for special treatment of refugee children, keeping in mind their specific problems, like, destroyed or inaccessible certificates and other documents, non-transferable qualifications, language problems, discrimination in the admission process (with many schools being unaware that asylum and refugees are allowed access to school) (Hannah, 1999:158). In addition to these are difficulties that refugees face in adapting to a new education system, compounded by bullying, isolation, and alienation from other students. A relaxing of rules, taking into consideration the particular context of refugee children is, therefore called for, according to Hannah (Hannah, 1999:158).

However, Hannah observes that an opposite position is taken in the higher educational institutions in Australia, whereby refugees, once they become 'citizens' are treated as 'equals' with support services identified on an individual basis, as with any other (Australian) student. This is criticized on grounds that the problems which refugee background students face is ignored. Hannah quotes one Bosnian refugee as saying that, *"treating everyone the same can be discriminatory"* (Hannah, 1999:163).

Collection of Refugee Statistics in Schools

Kaprielian-Churchill refers to schools in Ontario, Canada, which do not gather refugee designation statistics in the student registration systems, as to do so would be viewed as 'infringement of personal privacy' of the refugee students. With refugees themselves finding the label (of a 'refugee') disparaging and often dropping it as soon as they become landed immigrants, refugee statistics are not collected (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:352).

The dilemma, in brief, is that, in the absence of identification, it becomes difficult to determine such crucial issues as school performance, and retention rates of refugee pupils. This is because without such data educators can neither provide special services (counselling etc.) to this vulnerable group of students, nor can they justify the need for it (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:352).

1:8 School as Possible Solution

Refugee children are often confronted by and caught between conflicting cultures of that of the host country and their country of origin. The resulting crises has implications for their education as mentioned earlier.

The school is a vital socializing agent that can either, as referred to earlier, reinforce or narrow the dilemmas which result as a result of the clash of conflicting cultures, languages and identities. Kaprielian- Churchill observes that, "schools bear the responsibility of helping refugee children understand the new country, it's values, it's behavioral patterns, language and ways and to become a meaningful part of it" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358). The school is also visualized as improving the life-chances of students "without the rebuffing or downgrading of their parental values, languages and patterns of thought" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

In the light of these factors, scholars, for instance Corson, have called for "more sensitive approaches to educational organization, pedagogy and curriculum" (Corson, 1993:40) by schools dealing with children of minority groups like refugees.

1:9 Contexts, Perspectives and Strategies

The following section highlights some policy perspectives and interventions in the education of refugees in different contexts.

The Global Context

There are several policies at the level of international conventions and instruments which provide for education of refugee children The right to education has been guaranteed by international human rights law – the Universal Declaration of human Rights, 1945 (Art 26); the International Convention on Economic, cultural, Social Rights (Art 13); and the Convention on the rights of the child, 1989 (Art 28). All require states to implement such rights "progressively", through "international assistance and cooperation" and also to the "maximum of their available resources", without any discrimination of any kind (UNHCR, 19988:22).

Based on the perspective of education as a human right that ought to be available to all children UNHCR; UNESCO; UNICEF and a host of other voluntary aid agencies and NGO's have been making education available (at least at the elementary level) to refugee children in refugee camps as also urban centers around the world. This includes

provision of educational materials – books, stationary, funding of schools, day- care centers, providing scholarships, grants etc. to refugee children.

Educational interventions for refugee children therefore seem to have been undertaken in the global context. The policies under the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and strategies of international organizations, particularly, the UNHCR with regard to education of refugee children will be explored later in the discussion. However, implementation of such policies and strategies is influenced by the specific context of nation states who differentiate in terms of educational provisioning on the basis of their specific policies subject to constant revisions. These will be dealt with later in the following discussion.

Multicultural Perspectives: Developed Countries

One hundred and thirty seven countries of the world have signed the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and are therefore 'bound' to an extent, to provide education, to the level possible, to refugee children. Most of these are developed countries and are officially 'Multicultural' in their polices governing the treatment of ethnic minorities. They have multicultural policies of education aimed at ethnic minority students in their pluralistic classrooms.

Multicultural education is based on the concept of multiculturalism and it's belief in the equality of all cultures. It seeks to make efforts to ensure that minority students in pluralistic classrooms are able to maintain their cultural heritage and that practices of racial, ethnic and cultural exclusion, bias and discrimination are tackled. It involves various programs in the teaching of language acquisition such as Transitional Bilingual education, Maintenance bilingual Education, Two – Way Immersion, English only programmes and the celebration of ethno- religious festivals and teaching of customs, religions of different lands and peoples. The role of teachers in multicultural educational programmes is conceptualized as 'Cultural Brokers' or 'Bicultural actors' (Gay, 1993:293). They are seen as "able to straddle or syncretise different cultural systems and integrate elements of ethnic culture into classroom procedures, programs, practices" that enable refugee children to cross cultural borders without giving up their sense of identity, culture and language (Gay, 1993:293).

As will be shown in the discussion that follows, developed countries hosting refugee populations have been espousing variations of multicultural education. Several criticisms, however, have been made of multicultural education on grounds that such

programmes are expensive and that they " tend to lean towards assimilation rather than cultural pluralism" (Eldering, 1996:323). Multicultural education has also been criticized in terms of its ability to adequately address issues of language, culture and identity of ethnic minority children, including refugee children in these countries. There seems to exist a gap, between the espousal of multicultural education and actual performance, in terms of practices and treatment of educational policies in these countries that will be subsequently discussed.

Strategies for Provision:Issues in Developing Countries

The developing as also underdeveloped countries, as referred to earlier have been hosting some of the largest refugee populations in the world. Though severely limited in terms of having the resources to provide education to their own children, they have been attempting to make some form of education available to refugee children within their national borders.

A brief look at some of the educational strategies in a few refugee camps in different parts of the underdeveloped and developing world gives a general idea of the scenario as regards provision of education at these camps. While refugee children resettled aboard have multicultural educational programmes being implemented to cater to their specific educational needs, for refugee children in refugee camps scattered in different parts of the underdeveloped and developing world, mere access to regular school appears to be a problem. While, enough information is not available of education as is available in refugee camps, information collated from the Machel Report on the study of Armed Conflict on Children (1996) and a few websites suggest that refugee camps in the developing and underdeveloped countries seem to be struggling to make some form of basic education available to refugee children.

Education for refugee children housed in camps in different parts of the world has emerged as an alternative for children who would otherwise be denied a normal education like any other child. Such initiatives are being supported by international organizations like the UNHCR; UNICEF; UNESCO etc as also a host of NGO's and host governments. Education in these camps is based on the rationale that, "A good way of returning children's lives to some semblance of structure and routine is to restart education as soon as possible. This does not require formal buildings or courses; education can be restarted even in refugee camps. Attending classes, in whatever surroundings, can help children start the process of recovery, healing and reconciliation.

In addition to conventional school lessons, they can be taught simple survival techniques, the dangers of minefields, and conflict resolution"(*http://www. unicef.org/sowc96/ 16relief.htm)*.

As instances are the cases of Rwanda, where tens of thousands of children were able to start classes within two months of the end of hostilities through 'school-in-a-box', a collection of basic supplies and materials for learning provided by UNESCO and UNICEF. In Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia, international agencies assisted local authorities open schools, even in the worst situations. In Sarajevo during the seige, individual dedicated teachers continued classes in their homes, in basements, or in other safer places, until schools were officially restarted in March 1993(http://www.unicef. org/sowc96/16relief.htm).

According to the Machel Report on the impact of Armed Conflict on Children, "Schools are targeted during war..", so schools in the refugee camps use alternative sites for classrooms, changing the venue regularly. In Eritrea, in the late 1980's, it is noted that "classes were often under trees, in caves or in camouflaged huts built from sticks and foliage. Similar arrangements were made during the height of the fighting in many places in the former Yugoslavia, where classes were held in the cellars of people's homes, often by candlelight" (Machel Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children, 1996:55).

A brief look at the situation regarding education of refugee children in a few refugee camps in the world appears to validate the fact that international commitments to refugee 'right' to education notwithstanding, a complex amalgam of factors determines education for refugee children housed in the refugee camps i.e. the host country's support; assistance provided by international humanitarian organizations, for instance, UNESCO etc.; NGO's as also the refugee community's mobilization and commitment towards education of their children.(annex:3 provides a brief look at the provisions for education of refugee children in a few refugee camps in different parts of the world).

The specific problems as regards education faced by children in refugee camps in these underdeveloped/developing countries seems to be quite different from that of refugee children resettled aboard in the developed countries. Some of these problems are:

Lack of Basic Infrastructure

As referred to above, most of the schools in the refugee camps function with bare minimum facilities due to resource constraints. According to Erlichman in reference to

the camp schools at Camaboker, Ethiopia, " UNHCR has the mandate to provide primary education in the camps, but funding for teachers' salaries, school supplies, and building maintainance is so limited that the primary school at Camaboker can support less than four percent of school aged children" *(Erlichman, http://www. anaserve.com/~mbali /erlichman.htm).*

Quality of Education

The lack of suitable educational materials appears to have an obvious impact upon the quality of education that is available for refugee children in camps. According to Erlichman, "The unstable and mobile nature of the refugee population means a child's schooling is interrupted for long periods. The conditions are so poor for the refugee students, that the Principal of the Camaboker Primary School names such schooling as only "symbolic", so that the refugees do not forget the importance of education entirely while they wait for the opportunity to resume their lives"(Erlichman, 1999:2) .The purpose of continuous provision of some form of education in the camps seems, therefore, to be able to provide some semblance of normalcy and psycho-social support (rather than upgrading educational qualifications) to children whose lives are devastated by existence in a war-torn and conflict ridden environment *(Erlichman, http:// www.anaserve.com/~mbali/erlichman.htm).*

Education of Girls

The right to education of all children, especially girls seems to be severely restricted (as will be referred to in chapter 1) in refugee camps. According to an Oxfam report, " girls in refugee camps rarely participate in educational activities, because of lack of security, and the girls' workloads." During and after the conflict in Rwanda, it is noted that girls remained predominantly with their mothers and close to their households- with education being the first 'activity' to be sacrificed." Sexual and other violence against women and girls is also noted as being common in situations of instability. An UNDOS (UN Development Office for Somalia) is cited as saying, " The main reason for the low enrolment is lack of security-violence, police raids, and rape." According to the UNHCR, it is due to some of these reasons that among refugee populations, three times as many boys attend school, as do girls. According to Oxfam, "Many of these problems do not disappear when conflict ends. Other difficulties emerge. For example, child soldiers lose out on the opportunity to have a normal childhood and

rarely have the option to go back to school when conflict ends. When Ugandan girl 'wives' returned to their villages, many of them felt it was too late to go back to school. Some of those who did try to return, were shunned because of their past, and finally dropped out" (Oxfam, 1999:1).

Despite the basic differences between the education of refugee children in camps in the underdeveloped countries and those in the developed countries, the concept of the school, as "the third ring of security", as mentioned earlier, second only to the family and community, seems to be applicable to both these categories of refugee children. The school, for both categories can be seen as "a safe place, a sanctuary providing relief to students from the crowded, noisy, poor, oppressive, and grief-stricken home environment" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:360). Changes can be effected in schools in refugee camps and in countries aboard with teachers as "transformative intellectuals", or "change agents"(Gay, 1993:295) who are capable of successfully crossing cultural boundaries and enabling their students also to acquire the same skills. For instance, teaching English language as a tool to operate within the school and in mainstream society, while encouraging them to speak in their ethnic language or dialect in the home / community can be said to be beneficial to refugee children in camps as also for those resettled aboard.

The role of refugee families and communities in facilitating the provisioning of education for their children also needs to be looked at. The motivational support of refugee communities to educational programmes provided by the host countries and international organizations has been regarded as important and has to be explored.

Refugee Families: Educational Strategies

Refugee families have been seen as providing a support system supporting educational programs along with community financing of educational institutions (Delgado-Gaitan, 137:94). Though, refugee communities, in several instances have also been found to finance educational programs for their children with or without the host government's support, Delgado-Gaitan observes that community- financing may raise several problems of equity. Chief among them is that the extent, to which relatively prosperous refugees communities which have strong, well-connected networks of lobbies particularly NGO's and support groups operating at the international level are in a better position to take such initiatives. For those refugees who are unable to mobilise adequate

resources and are less well connected and less prosperous and whose immediate priority is bare survival, mere provision of education becomes a luxury (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994:152).

For the UNHCR, refugees who usually lack money have other resources, which can be mobilised for educating their children. The organization observes that the skills and motivation of refugees should be supported so that these communities can set up schools and provide their own teachers on a self help basis.

Thus, while the participation of refugees in institutions such as, schools and colleges requires social support and assistance from mainstream members, specific refugee communities may have their own strategies and resources to deal with the education of their children. Here again, it is important to remember that there are "structural factors such as residential segregation, prejudices, language barriers, along with cultural and specially religious and other difference, beyond the control of newcomers, which may isolate them from integrating into the community and the School/ College" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994:138).

As is evident from the foregoing discussion, the adjustment of refugees to the host country is dependent upon a number of factors. Any study on the education of refugee children will, therefore need to look at all these pre-migration and post-migration factors as provided for in the two models of socio-cultural adjustment referred to earlier.

1:10 The Study

The present study focusses on the context of refugee children and their education in one developing country ie India .The study of the Indian context is important due to the presence of diverse groups of refugees in the country and the absence of research on the subject of education of refugee children. The need to focus on a specific country arises from the fact that it provides the context within which dynamics of geopolitical and humanitarian international interventions as well as national policies determine the provisioning of education for the varied groups of refugees and their response to it. The context of education of refugee children addressing the issues of survival, security and opportunity as also the specific dilemmas faced by educators and children in the field of education can be delineated and explored in the Indian scenario. As one of the countries of the developing world, which despite not being a signatory to international conventions on refugees has had a long history of providing asylum and welfare assistance to diverse

groups of refugees, the situation of refugee children and their education in India seems to be complex yet interesting.

A framework has to be worked out to study the situation in India, as regards the education of refugee children as research in this area seems to be lacking. The review of the factors effecting the adjustment of refugee groups in the host country seems to suggest considerable issues of complexity and diversity. As pointed out earlier, in the models of Goldlust and Richmond (1982) and Stein (2001), it is the complex mix of pre-migration resources and experiences combined with post-migration circumstances of refugee groups in the host country that determine the degrees of socio-cultural adjustment and educational attainment in the host country.

Stein further, observes that there are certain uniformities that comprise the "refugee experience" in a host country, producing a "refugee behavior" that also needs to be recognized and that refugees should be seen as a social psychological type whose behaviour is socially patterned. Refugee problems, he observes, should be analyzed from a general, historical, and comparative perspective that views them as *"recurring phenomena with identifiable and often identical patterns of behaviour and sets of casualties"* (Stein, 2001:1). Specific refugee situations, Stein remarks, should not be treated as "unique, atypical, individual historical events but rather as a part of a general subject; refugee behaviour, problems and situations that recur in many contexts, times, and regions" (Stein, 2001:1).

An attempt has been made in the study to follow Stein's perspectives by broadly delineating refugee experiences and behaviour in the field of education in the developed and developing countries .An effort has been made to sketch out the uniformities alongwith the diversities in experiences and attitudes of diverse refugees groups which determine their educational attainment in the host country.

In this context, Brint's perspective on schooling and inequality (1998) seems to be relevant as it identifies group circumstances alongwith institutional structures as effecting educational outcomes of the different groups in society. A need for an interdisciplinary approach that integrates the models provided by Goldlust and Richmond (1982) and Brint (1998), therefore arises, to provide a suitable framework for the study of education of refugee children in the host country. An Integrated model has therefore been evolved based upon these perspectives and an attempt will be made to

broadly outline the important areas, within this framework which could provide further grounds for future study.

An Integrated Model

The education of refugee children will be looked at from the perspective of the Integrated Model, as referred to before, adapted from Goldlust and Richmond's model of immigrant adaptation (1982) and Brint's model of schooling and inequality (1998).

Brint's model brings together the interplay of group circumstances and institutional structures that seems to be relevant to study refugees and their education in host countries. Group circumstances, according to Brint, includes the "resources members of groups bring with them to school and the prevailing definitions of the group's place in society"(Brint, 1998:206). The group resources and experiences, he observes, "that are most directly important to success in school are cultural resources, attitudes about schooling and motivational follow- through. Beneath these immediate influences, he says, lie deeper layers of economic and social support" (Brint, 1998:207).

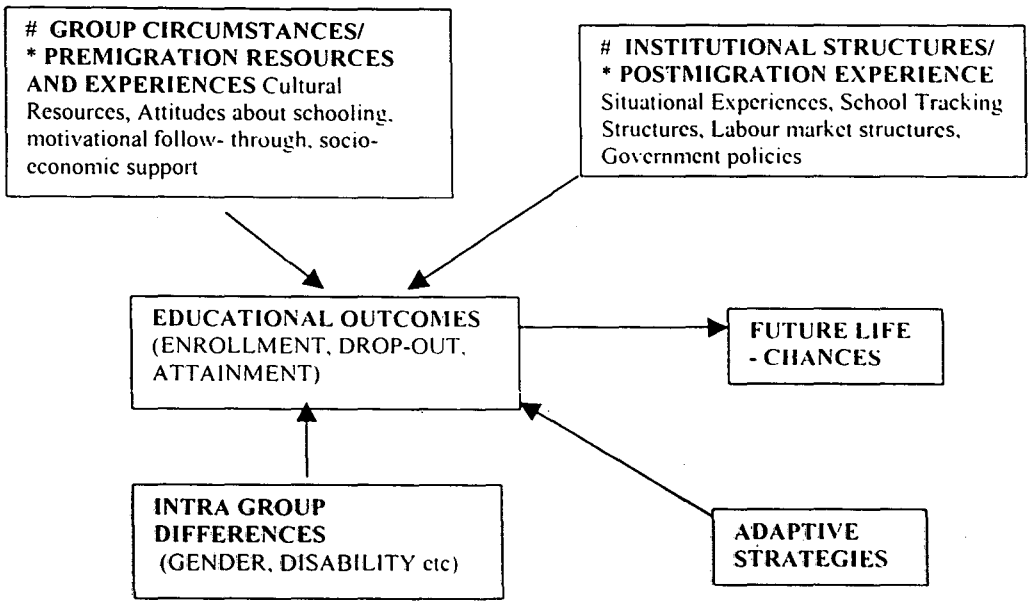
Institutional structures, according to Brint, "include school tracking structures labor market structures, and government policies that are related to the reduction or persistence of inequalities (Brint, 1998:206).

This view of Brint looks at human beings as constantly and actively developing adaptive strategies to improve their circumstances. Through adaptive strategies, Brint observes, "groups and their individual members can move closer or further away from the schooling system over time"(Brint, 1998:206). This emphasis upon adaptive strategies can be used to view refugees as active participants as against passive recepients of welfare programmes of the host country and it's institutions. Refugees can be looked at as active participants who "strategise to improve their circumstances by weighing the relative advantages of investing in schooling or work, and different kinds of schooling and work" (Brint, 1998:237).

Boyden's perspectives about children as resourceful individuals as against "vulnerable victims" (Boyden, 2001:14) who "make important emotional, social, economic and political contributions to the family and community" can also be incorporated to the context of refugee children .An attempt has, also been made, therefore to "understand children's perspectives and their personal interpretation of their experiences" in the study. Issues such as access to school, school processes/practices, issues of culture, identity and language and outcomes of education for refugee children

belonging to different refugee groups in India and aboard has been explored based on this Integrated model. (Given in Fig1: 3)

FIG 1: 3 INTEGRATED MODEL



Source: # Brint's model of schooling and inequality (1998);
- Goldlust and Richmond's model of immigrant adaptation (1982)

The Integrated model highlighted above will be used to study the specific context of education of refugee children in India as part of the developing world alongwith other developed countries in the following discussion.

The Indian Situation

According to the, UNHCR, India has hosted some of the largest refugee populations in the world. Tentative estimates suggest that the total number of refugees belonging to diverse nationalities may be placed at around 314,875 in India. Policies of the government of India towards diverse groups of refugees in the country has been governed, largely by the situational geo-political and national-interest related concerns. Official policy with regards to education appears to provide equal access to education to all refugees in India. Provisioning of education is not discriminated on grounds of sex, race, or religion, or country of origin of refugees in India. However, in practice specific assistance with regard to education is provided by the government to only certain groups of refugees, for instance, the Tibetan and the SriLankan Tamil refugees. Other refugee

groups are assisted primarily by the UNHCR, New Delhi alongwith their various support groups and NGO's. Differences in terms of educational support available from the Government of India, as also their own specific interventions (guided by the availability of resources and their attitudes towards education) lead to outcomes of education in terms of security, survival and opportunity which largely seem to vary for different refugee groups. Thus, it becomes important to look at the diverse educational situations of the different refugee groups in the country. The education of refugee children in India, with particular emphasis upon the Tibetan and Afghan refugee children will be explored in the discussion that follows.

1:11 Objectives

The present study focusses on the education of refugee children from a sociological perspective. An attempt will be made to look at the education of refugee children using an integrated model that focusses on the interplay of pre-migration group circumstances and post-migration experiences .The Integrated model will be used to explain, within a broad framework, the issues of survival, identity and opportunity related to the education of refugee children in the host country. More specifically the study will:

1) Explore, how education of refugee children has been visualised at the level of international conventions, human rights law and by international organizations like the UNHCR.It will focus on:

- The 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees: the first international convention on the status of refugees, their rights and duties in the country of asylum,
- The UNHCR: the primary international body responsible for protection and welfare of refugees, it's policies and practices with regard to education of refugee children

2) Look at strategies and interventions based on existing perspectives of Multicultural education being adopted by developed countries as signatories of international conventions with a focus on:

- Access to Education
- Processes/Practices in Education: language, curriculum, classroom environment etc.
- Outcomes of Education: Dropout, future life-chances etc.

3) To focus on the education of two groups of refugee children in India (i.e. Afghan and Tibetan refugees) in terms of access, processes and outcomes of education for them. To look at the attitudes and practices of:

- The Government of India
- The UNHCR

1:12 Methodology

The study of the education of refugee children from a sociological perspective will be undertaken, broadly, at two levels:

- International: The education of refugee children as visualized in international conventions, like the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and by international organizations like the UNHCR will be explored. Education of refugee children in a few developed countries like the US, Canada, Australia and Britain will be looked at. Education in refugee camps in a few underdeveloped and developing countries of the world will also be briefly explored.
- National: The education of 2 groups of refugee children in India ie the Afghan (under the mandate of UNHCR, India) and the Tibetan refugee children (under the mandate of the Government of India) will be reviewed

Data sources for the study comprise of the following:

- Secondary Data: information has been collated from reports, research studies and internet websites;
- Primary Data: Due to lack of adequate documented information in the area of study, informal interviews and discussions with Afghan refugee families, which was facilitated by a 4-month involvement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, New Delhi as an intern in the Community Services Unit, was helpful. The informal discussions with Afghan refugee families as also UNHCR personnel helped in providing a general understanding of the situation of the education of refugee children in India (particularly, Afghan refugee children).

1:13 Chapterisation

1) The present chapter has provided an overview of the definition and meanings of the term "refugee", followed by a brief analyses of the perspectives on grant of asylum /treatment of refugees. The combination of pre-migration resources with post-migration experiences of refugee groups and its implications for education of refugee children has been briefly explored.. An attempt has been made to present a broad overview of the issues relating to education of refugee children in developed, underdeveloped as also developing countries, particularly India.

2) The introductory chapter is followed by a discussion and a brief appraisal of the two major perspectives ie. the Global Egalitarian perspective and the Communitarian perspective that have traditionally governed the treatment of refugees by the international community. An attempt has been made to explore how the education of refugee children has been visualized at the level of international conventions, particularly the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and by international organizations, for instance, the UNHCR.

3) The third chapter attempts to look at the concept of multiculturalism and multicultural education (particularly Bilingual education) as adopted by the Developed world in educational policies for refugees. Based on the Integrated model, an attempt is made to explore the gap between theory and practice of multicultural education for refugee children in the US; Canada; Britain and Australia.

4) The fourth chapter attempts to look at the Indian situation, with regard to the education of refugee children in the country. The educational situation in terms of access, treatment and outcomes of 2 refugee groups ie. the Afghan and the Tibetan refugees is explored.

5) The fifth chapter deals with a summary of the above chapters, recognizing that the discussions are only an initial step towards the understanding of this relatively unresearched and challenging field of study. It is guided by the perspective that the present study will be followed by insights for possibilities of future research in the field of refugee children and their education in host societies.

CHAPTER –2

Education of Refugee Children: A Review of Policies and Perspectives

This chapter attempts to look at the perspectives, historical events, international conventions and instruments that led to the evolution of the legal status of refugees as persons deserving grant of asylum and welfare provisions like, education, especially by host countries. It further explores the dynamics of the geo-political context and domestic politics and how this influences treatment of refugees by the asylum country, notwithstanding commitments to international conventions. A brief look at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as the primary international organization responsible for the protection and welfare of refugees the world over, will also be taken.

2:1 Perspectives on Treatment of Refugees

At the international level 2 broad perspectives appear to have governed the treatment of refugees over a period of time i.e.

1) Global Egalitarian Perspective

2) Communitarian Perspective

1) Global Egalitarian Perspective

Weiner observes that the "difference principle" of philosopher Rawls, has been seen as providing the starting point for the Global Egalitarian theorists. Informed by the Rawlsian perspective, it argues that people not knowing anything about their own personal situation (e.g, their class, race or ability) who could choose the kind of society in which they wanted to live from behind this " veil of ignorance", would follow self-interest and choose to live in a society in which institutions were constructed to benefit those who were the least well- off (what Rawls calls "the difference principle"). Inequalities of wealth and power and income, in other words observes Weiner, would be acceptable only in so far as they ultimately benefited those in the society who were least well off. In this respect, Rawls theory is said to stem from the assumptions of classical liberalism, with its notions of liberty, justice as fairness, and the right to equality (Weiner, 1996:173).

Referring to philosophers and legal scholars like Carens (1992) etc Weiner, argues that, "since it is purely a matter of chance whether we are born in a country that is peaceful, democratic, and prosperous or in a country that is poor, authoritarian, and torn by civil conflict, starting from the original position we would all clearly prefer to be born in the peaceful, democratic, prosperous society." Free migration across open borders is therefore advocated to enable those who were in disadvantaged countries to improve their position by moving to a place where they would have greater opportunity (Weiner, 1996:174).

The Global Egalitarian approach has been criticized by scholars as it advocates "lofty humanitarian principles" favouring the refugee, but has "little concern for the domestic, political and economic requirements of individual nations or ruling governments (Weiner, 1997:176).

2) Communitarian Perspective

The second approach, ie the Communitarian approach, governing the treatment of refugee's favours national sovereignty as against "free migration" and "open borders". According to Weiner, this perspective is seen to "permit migration only when it best serves the interests of the country and it's citizens, rather than serving the interests of the migrants." Weiner observes that the Communitarian position, favouring national sovereignty with respect to control over migration is largely favoured by nation states. This, he observes, is because of concerns of local inhabitants that "a large influx of immigrants will overwhelm them, reducing them to a demographic minority, threatening their cultural and political dominance. In addition, are fears that migration will "exacerbate the problems of overcrowding, poverty, unemployment and xenophobia" (Weiner, 1996:175).

A balance between the Global Egalitarian position and the Communitarian position, however, would be ideal, according to Weiner, who calls for the need "to balance state interests with moral considerations in the formulation of migration policies"(Weiner, 1996:191).

2:2 Changing Context of Refugeeism

The context of refugeeism i.e. the situation specific to refugees can be seen as having undergone several changes over the years, particularly in the twentieth century. According to Xenos,"In many respects, the twentieth century has been the century of the refugee" (Xenos, 1993:423). Xenos notes that, previously, migration had been fairly unregulated. Before the beginning of this century, those who sought refuge from political persecution tended to be "not refugees but exiles"(Xenos, 1993:423). It seems that it was only with the turmoil of World War I, the Russian revolution, the dissolution of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires and the formation of new nation states that a new category of people termed as refugees arose.

According to Xenos, "The peace treaties that followed the war deployed two terms-one German and one French- to designate these refugees. The French word was *apatrides* or stateless; the German word was *Heimatlosen*, or homeless". ...He further observes that, " In other words, to be *heimatlose*, or homeless, could signify to be without a native place, understood to be a community. That this community should be conceptualized as a state, according to Xenos, tells us a great deal about the social and political situation that forms the general background to the emergence of refugees as a modern phenomenon" (Xenos, 1993:423).

Thus, it seems that, recognition of the refugees as people requiring the protection of the international community as being "*heimatlose*, or homeless", came to be recognized only in the twentieth century. Cort, in consonance with Xenos, also observes that it was only in the early years of the twentieth century and the chaos of World War II, that faced with unprecedented refugee populations throughout Europe, the League of Nations effected conventions and set up organizations to assist the relocation of refugees. (Cort, 1997:311).

The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was also created just after the World War I and till date remains one of the most important international organization committed to providing protection and welfare to the millions of refugees all over the world.

It was only by the advent of World War 2, Cort also observes, that four generally accepted principles governing the status of refugees internationally came into existence. These four principles were that: firstly, refugees have a legitimate status created by forces beyond their control, secondly, that countries should not forcibly repatriate

refugees if such repatriation would place them in harm, thirdly, that sponsoring nations have a responsibility to meet the most urgent physical needs of refugees; and fourthly, that in the absence of signed and ratified worldwide agreements, only a coordinated international policy concerning refugees could solve the magnitude of the still existing problem" (Cort, 1997:312).

The specific situation of refugees as having undergone changes from being visualised as 'exiles', to people who have a legitimate status in the country of asylum in recognition of their particular situation, therefore has to be recognized.

2:3 International Conventions /Instruments Governing Status of Refugees

The 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees is the most important international convention governing the status of refugees in the world. The United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR), on the other hand, is the primary international organization responsible for the protection and care of refugees in the world. Apart from the above two instruments, various regional bodies have taken regional initiatives in protecting refugee rights. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has developed a regional convention while the Organization of American States (OAS) has developed the Cartegena declaration. Europe too has developed various regional agreements addressing refuge, statelessness and related concerns. In addition, many countries have enacted refugee legislation to govern refugees in their countries (Sen, 2000:16,17).

The role of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and the UNHCR has to be explored, as they are the two most important international instruments committed to protection and welfare of refugees all over the world.

A) The 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees

This Convention was adopted within the framework of the United Nations in the years following the Second World War. It defined a refugee as a person who "*as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who*

not having a nationality and being outside the country; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events , is unable or , owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (Sen,2001:11).

1967 Protocol: The 1951 Convention on refugees was followed by the 1967 Protocol It eliminated the words that had restricted the 1951 Convention to events occurring in Europe or elsewhere prior to January 1951 and broadened the geographical limitation of the Convention beyond Europe. Governing the status of refugees, the 1951 Convention, alongwith it's 1967 Protocol, marked a landmark phase in determining protection, as also provision of welfare facilities like, education, health etc. to refugees by the signatory countries.

The 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, appears to be informed by the Global Egalitarian perspective, as referred to earlier, in advocating international protection and provision of welfare assistance for refugees, based on a humanitarian grounds. As of January 2000, 137 countries were party to the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees or to the Protocol or to both the instruments. (Names of signatories and non-signatories to the Convention have been given in annex: 2). These international refugee treaties also provide for cooperation between the contracting states and the Office of the UNHCR. (United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees).

The 1951 convention on the status on refugees, despite being the most important Convention on refugees has been subjected to several criticisms. Scholars have criticized the definition of the term refugee as provided by the Convention for its limited scope. According to Stein, "it does not include displaced persons who have not crossed an international boundary nor does it include those who fled, internally or externally, to get out of the way of war or civil strife. Laws and treaties limit the refugee experience or behavior, these legal definitions are relatively unimportant. For social scientists, the refugee category is defined by the trauma and stresses, persecution and danger, losses and isolation, uprooting and change of the refugee experience" (Stein, 2001:2).

The 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees has also been criticized for it's "Eurocentric nature" as failing to address the problems of the South Asian region (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:84). Indian scholars, like Raj have criticized the 1951 Convention because of it's 'person focus' definition which makes it is difficult to apply to mass migration occurring due to the breakdown of a state, economic collapse, natural calamity, or legal anarchy- events which have surfaced in the South Asian region.

Further, acceptance of the 1951 Convention creates legal obligations that a poor country cannot enforce" (Raj, 1999:86).

Other scholars like Chimni also criticize the 1951 Convention and observe that countries like India should not accede to it "at a time when the North is violating it in both letter and spirit" (Chimni, 2002:50). According to Chimni, in the past two decades, particularly after the end of the Cold War, the North has put in place a series of legislative and administrative measures, like interdicting and returning asylum seekers from the high seas, carrier sanctions etc. to ensure that asylum seekers from the poor world do not end up at it's door step." He further observes that, despite being signatories to the Convention, "the Western countries are resorting to burden –shifting instead of burden-sharing" (Chimni, 2002:50).

Though subjected to the above criticisms, the 1951 Convention and it's 1967 Protocol remain "the firmer and more universally accepted basis for the protection of those who have been forced to leave, or to remain outside of their country, owing to serious threats to their fundamental human rights to life, security, freedoms and dignity" (UNHCR, 2002:23).

B) The United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR)

As mentioned earlier, the UNHCR is an international organization committed to protection of refugees the world over. Protection, lies at the heart of the organization's efforts to find lasting solutions to the plight of refugees and provides the context in which it carries out its relief activities. Nearly 22.4 million people, at present, worldwide are said to be of concern to the UNHCR. The UNHCR is being assisted in it's job of providing protection as also welfare assistance (health, education, employment etc.) to millions of refugees scattered around the world by signatories to the 1951 Convention as also non-signatory countries hosting refugees alongwith hosts of NGO's (UNHCR notification no 3, undated).

2:4 Domestic Politics and Treatment of Refugees

Despite the Global Egalitarian perspective advocating "free migration" and "open borders" for refugees and the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol and other refugee treaties and conventions calling for protection of provision of welfare (education, health facilities etc.), the actual treatment of refugees by countries appears to be largely determined by domestic politics. Domestic Politics, involve, " the entire process by which the government is selected and decision making is achieved in the state; the power and agendas of interests and lobby groups; and the humanitarian concerns and budgetary considerations."According to Cort, in most countries decisions regarding refugees are most often than not based on a "compromise" or "deal-making" of the conflicting interests (Cort, 1997:314).

Most of the Developed countries that grant asylum and resettlement to refugees are seen to have gradually shifted over the years from the Global Egalitarian position to the Communitarian position. Scholars have observed that the 1970's saw a relatively flexible refugee policy in terms of grant of asylum as also grant of welfare provisions determined by the changes in the international scenario. This was partly influenced by political events like the Cold War (example-asylum granted to thousands of "boat-people"i.e Indo-Chinese refugees in US, Canada), the Civil Rights Movement and the gain in ascendance of the concept of multiculturalism, which highlighted issues like minority rights (to) their own culture, language and identity (Cort, 1997:310).

These events appear to have influenced welfare policies framed for refugees in these countries. For instance, the additional granting of government funds for schools starting special bilingual programmes, ESL (English as second language) programmes, introducing of 'explore-your-heritage sorts of exercise' etc. for immigrants and refugee children (Hoffman, 1996:546).

In the 80's and 90's, the shift to Communitarian position by most of the developed countries like UK, France, US, Canada etc can be seen as "enacting restrictions that limit the ability of asylum seekers to gain access to these countries." Cort refers to what he calls the "compassion fatigue"of the 1990's as having being caused by what is seen as the economic and social burden of refugee maintainance in receiving nations (Cort, 1997:325).

Events like the WTC terrorist attacks in the US, as also the impact of anti-immigration lobbies, as referred to by Suarez Orozco, appears to have compounded the problem resulting in refugees being seen as "sinister aliens" abusing the "noble idea of granting refuge" (Suarez-Orozco, 1998:306).

2:5 International Conventions and Education of Refugee Children

International conventions and instruments make provisions for education of refugee children in host countries all over the world. For instance, the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees spells out the right of refugee children to public education in it's Article 22 as the following: "The Contracting states shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education." Regarding other types of education, the Contracting states are requested to "accord to refugees treatment as favorable as possible, and, in any event, not less favorable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships" (UNHCR, 1995:4).

Other Conventions like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26); Executive Committee's Conclusion on refugee children (1994); Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) deal with and "guarantee" the right of education to "all" children without discrimination of any kind. However, the provision of educational facilities are observed to be "progressively implemented" with due respect for the country's resource constraints, especially if the asylum country is a developing country (UNHCR, 1988:22).

2:6 UNHCR and the Education of Refugees

As mentioned earlier, according to the UNHCR one half of the millions of refugees in the world today are children and adolescents. The education of these children is an important objective of the UNHCR. The UNHCR works through the support of governments', NGO's and a host of humanitarian organizations committed to the welfare of refugees'.

Perspective on Education

The UNHCR visualizes education of refugee children as "a basic human right". According to Ogata, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, " Education should be a promise, not a dream" for refugee children (Ogata cited in *Refugees*, 2001:24).

According to the UNHCR, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) provides a normative framework of reference and requires that "the ladder of educational opportunity be available and accessible to every child; with access to school for all children, and with higher education being on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means"(UNHCR, 1992:5).

Education for refugee children is viewed as a "survival strategy" as "meeting psycho-social needs of traumatized children by restoring structure to their lives" alongwith providing them with "life-skills"so that it amounts to a "durable solution"for them in future (UNHCR, 1992:3).

Resources

The UNHCR receives funds for it's educational activities of refugees from the Host country, other UN agencies, NGO's and the refugee communities themselves. But these resources, however appear to be drying up leading to a curtailing of it's functions. The recent "resource crunch" of the UNHCR has been attributed to the [3]declining contributions of the donor countries like US- resulting in 2000, in the UNHCR suffering it's worst financial crises in more than a decade (US Committee for Refugees, 2001:14). Resource constraints can therefore be seen as the primary factor preventing the UNHCR from actually establishing schools etc.and carrying out other educational projects, which require substantial funding.

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[3] According to Drumtra, Senior Policy Analyst for the US Committee on Refugees, "the international community's main anniversary "gift" –with the year 2000 marking the 50th anniversary of the founding of UNHCR –to UNHCR was to starve it of more than $ 100 million of desperately needed funding (Drumtra, 2002:14).

Community- Based Approach and Sustainability

The UNHCR uses a community –based approach or what is referred to as 'People-Oriented-Planning' (POP). This approach is encouraged for planning as also the implementation and evaluation of educational programmes for refugee children on a decentralized basis. It is favoured keeping the UNHCR's resource constraints in mind, as also to allow the refugees' educational initiatives to be durable and sustainable once donor funding is reduced or after their repatriation. Community based establishment of schools, conducting of literacy/language classes, non-formal vocational training, school enrollment campaigns to encourage female participation in educational activities etc are also stated to have been conducted in several refugee camps and urban centers with the support of the UNHCR (UNHCR, 1994:22).

Target Groups of UNHCR

The UNHCR caters to the specific educational needs of the following target groups:

Urban Refugees

The UNHCR sees its role, in respect of schooling for urban refugees to include "advocacy, coordination, counselling (for individuals and communities), and support for children from vulnerable families." The UNHCR facilitates the entry of refugee children to schools in the host countries by interacting with the local school authorities. The UNHCR further seeks to resolve particular problems that refugee children tend to face in school such as, Problems of lack of documentation -refugees who left home in haste without school certificates, degrees etc, mismatch between school curricula in the countries of origin and asylum, etc, encouraging the refugee communities to resort to self-help educational programmes with modest assistance from UNHCR; provision of financial subsidies and scholarships to needy and meritorious students etc (Sivadas,1997:4).

Refugees in Camps

Alongwith the other UN agencies like UNESCO and UNICEF, UNHCR provides some form of schooling to children in refugee camps in several parts of the world. UNHCR assistance to educational initiatives in such camps is in providing temporary

school shelters, stationary, trained teachers etc. While, some of the programs are geared towards repatriation (with curricula and language of instruction of the native country being taught), others (if prolonged stay in the camp is visualised) encourage curricula and language of instruction of the Host country, to help in the process of integration (UNHCR, 1992:25).

Female Refugee Children

A look at the enrolment (primary and secondary school rates) rates for the year 1997 of refugee children under UNHCR assisted programmes in Africa, Central and SW Asia, Middle East etc in Table 2:1 given below shows that the overall ratio of girls is low compared to boys. According to UNHCR, gender imbalances for secondary education is sharper, with only 32% of refugee secondary students being female (UNHCR, 2000:4).

TABLE 2:1 ENROLMENT OF REFUGEE CHILDREN UNDER UNHCR ASSISTED PROGRAMMES IN 1997/98

Primary and Secondary School	Boys	Girls	Total	% Girls
*Africa	202,000	139,000	341,000	41
Central and S.W.Asia, N.Africa, Middle East	158,000	97,000	255,000	38
Other	5,000	4,600	9,600	48
Overall	388,000	260,000	648,600	40

(Source: UNHCR, 2000:7)

(excludes North Africa)

According to the UNHCR, "in every refugee situation, boys and men enjoy more education and training opportunities than girls for a variety of reasons." Reasons for their lagging behind boys can be found in their being identified as a "most at risk" group by the UNHCR, with their refugee status reinforcing their vulnerability. The fear of their physical safety primarily in refugee camps serves as a deterrence to parents preventing them from sending girl children to camp schools. In urban areas, safety concerns

alongwith language/cultural barriers also serve as deterrents to the education of female refugee children (UNHCR, 1994; 22).

In addition to the above gender related problems specifically faced by female refugee children are problems which accrue from a state of poverty. With the cost of education being too heavy to bear for the refugee family (especially in case of unskilled/illiterate female-headed households), girls are not admitted to schools so that they can tend to households chores. An estimate of this problem can be assessed from the example of Rwanda where an estimated 45,000 households today are headed by children, 90 percent of them girls' (as cited in *Refugees*, 2001: 1:122). Secondly, the impact of culture (in certain refugee communities) seems to adversely affect schooling for girls, with their being withdrawn from school when they attain puberty (UNHCR, 1994; 22).

According to the UNHCR, numerous attempts are being made to encourage enrolment of female refugee children in school by encouraging community organizations to initiate educational campaigns. Incentives are provided to female refugee children to attend school, as well as to female teachers. For example, according to the UNHCR, in Pakistan, Afghan refugee girls (and female teachers) who attended school for 22 days a month received a tin of edible oil from the World Food Programme. In Kenya, according to UNHCR, refugee girls who attended school regularly were given used food sacks for their family to sell as a source of income (UNHCR, 2000; 11-13).

Suggestions to encourage female enrollment rates include changing the timing of classes, holding them in the late afternoons or evenings so that girls who are not allowed to attend school due to household chores are able to do so. While single sex schools or shifts, or classrooms may be desired by refugee communities it is a fact that there may be insufficient number of women to serve as teachers, or that the population may be scattered and pupils too few to justify separate facilities. In such cases seating arrangements may be adjusted so that boys sit on one side and girls on the other, if desired. Another possibility suggested by the UNHCR, is to hold one-teacher multi grade classes for girls (or older girls) near their homes. This approach is being tried in many countries. UNHCR cites the example of many states in India, where 'non-formal education centers' have been started for 20-25 pupils, in which older pupils study an adapted version of the primary school curriculum for two to three hours daily (UNHCR, 1994:24).

The above suggestions made by the UNHCR to encourage female enrollment rates in school can be attempted. However, alongwith problems related to poverty, (specially of female-headed households) and safety in refugee camps, are cultural, constraints, which also cannot be neglected and need to be accounted for.

Disabled Refugee Children

Disabled refugee children are specially vulnerable and categorized as "at-risk" alongwith female refugee children and unaccompanied refugee children. Specific policies of the UNHCR call for recognition of disabled children's specific needs as refugee alongwith being disabled. There are some instances/specific programmes; for example, according to the UNHCR, deaf children and youth have their own classroom in one of the normal primary schools in each refugee camp in Dadaab, Kenya. A teacher who knows sign language teaches them a mixture of their own (Somali) signs and Kenya sign language; students also learn to write (UNHCR, 1995:49).

Unaccompanied Refugee Children

Children who have lost their parents/relatives in situations of conflict and are now on their own are categorized as unaccompanied refugee children. These children are recognized by the UNHCR as an especially vulnerable group, that is "at-risk" refugee children and require policies catering to their particular psychosocial and educational needs. The UNHCR has called for close monitoring of the protection and welfare (i.e. education; health etc.) provided to such children by the UNHCR, and other agencies or the refugee community itself (UNHCR, 1988:27).

Access to Education

Constrained by lack of adequate financial resources, UNHCR has largely been able to encourage, through its role of "advocacy", enrollment of refugee children in the local schools (government and private) of the host country as against actually establishing separate schools for children. The organization has been able to address the problems incurred during admission of refugee children, such as non-availability of former certificates/degrees lost during flight and other related matters. These problems

are resolved by UNHCR through close coordination with the local education authorities (UNHCR, 1995:15).

The UNHCR, also provides "counseling to refugee individuals and communities with regard to offering guidance on access to schooling and on any special arrangements that would help children adjust to and benefit from available opportunities in the host country institutions" (UNHCR, 1995:15).

Community based educational programmes (planned, financed, implemented and evaluated by the refugee community), are also encouraged by the UNHCR (as mentioned before) to promote access to schooling to refugee children, either as alternatives to schooling or accompanied with extra classes in the culture/language of the country of origin of the refugees, as a means to maintain links with their cultural heritage (UNHCR, 1995:15). As an example can be mentioned the special classes held for the Burmese refugees in New Delhi India, by a few community organizations every weekend.

In 1990, some 320,000 children attended UNHCR-sponsored classes. Latest estimates suggest that by 2000, this figure had risen to one million out of five million eligible children. But, even this improvement masked some intractable problems, especially in the area of higher education, where very few displaced boys or girls have a chance to further their skills (as cited in *Refugees* 2001:21). According to UNHCR sources, some 30,000 refugee children successfully complete primary school each year, but have no chance to continue their education.

Attempts have been made to promote access to secondary and post-secondary education for refugee adolescents by the UNHCR. While the importance of addressing needs with regard to secondary and tertiary education is recognized, the UNHCR is constrained by the lack of resources. However, according to UNHCR, funds are now being "sought from many sources around the world- foundations, corporations, governments, wealthy individuals and former refugees" for the establishment of an Independent Refugee Trust, as a "lasting result of UNHCR's 50th anniversary, Dec'2000". The Trust will focus on providing post-primary education to refugee adolescents and youth in developing countries. The gap between primary and post-primary education, would tried to be narrowed by the Trust. Further details regarding the working of the Trust are not as yet available (UNHCR, 2000:20).

Grant of Educational Subsidies/ Scholarships

As mentioned UNHCR provides educational subsidies /grants to needy refugee students to study in the host country. Scholarships at the "lower secondary, higher secondary or tertiary levels" are awarded by UNHCR alongwith other Trust funds to meritorious students. This is seen as a means of facilitating a "durable solution for refugee youth through studies likely to help them towards self-reliance", alongwith preparing them to contribute to the social and economic development of their country of origin, if they return home, or of their country of asylum (UNHCR, 1995:66).

Post-Secondary refugee students are supported for university or other formal studies under a special formal 'Education Account', since the 1960's. Since 1992, a Trust fund known as DAFI (Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative) funded by the Federal Republic of Germany, supports students attending university or other courses with similar entry requirements. According to the UNHCR, due to resource constraints only a limited number of students completing secondary school can be given scholarships to attend university or similar courses under the DAFI programme. For instance, in India 10 students are granted the DAFI scholarships every year (UNHCR, 1995:64).

Non-Formal Education/ Vocational Skills Training

For the over-aged refugee children as also for school dropouts, non-formal education alongwith vocational skills training are being provided by the UNHCR. This is subject to availability of funds. Development programmes on health care, sanitation, nutrition (specially for those in camps), language courses, computer literacy courses etc. have been offered, to enable refugees to acquire skills to "supplement refugee livelihoods (UNHCR, 1992:8). An example is of the computer literacy and English language courses presently being provided to refugees by the UNHCR in India through its implementing partners, like Y.M.C.A, Don Bosco etc (UNHCR, India).

Culture, Language and Identity of Refugee Children

The UNHCR advocates educational policies which are based on the understanding that refugee children tend to often suffer from problems of adjustment in a

new country, the culture, language and ways of life of which is often completely different from their own. UNHCR seeks to address such problems by recognizing that, problems may vary for groups according to their length of stay in the host country (UNHCR, 1995:13).

In the initial phases of arrival for refugees, UNHCR advocates that the content of schooling and the language of instruction be similar to that of the native country. This is based on the belief that refugee teachers teaching the refugee children in a classroom environment similar to that in the native country, will "lessen the shock of exile for the children", and at the same time will also allow them to continue their studies on their return to their native country (UNHCR, 1995:31).

In the second phase, in the event of repatriation being delayed, a "mixed curriculum" facing "both ways" i.e. having elements of both the home country as also the host country is advocated by the UNHCR. This is advocated to allow the maintainance of past culture, alongwith making provision for integration with the host country (UNHCR, 1995:66).

In the third phase, if possibilities of repatriation or resettlement are very little, local integration into the host country is sought, with the host country's curriculum and language of instruction being adopted with "mutual consent" (UNHCR, 1995:35). For example, is the case of the Indian origin Afghans (IOA's) in India for whom local integration is believed to be the most suitable "durable solution" by the UNHCR. Enrollment of the Indian origin Afghan children in government schools in the country is seen by some amongst the IOA's, "who plan to settle down in India" as facilitating integration. UNHCR also advices "all Indian Origin and Ethnic Afghans who have stayed in India for a minimum period of five years, to seek admission for their children upto class iv in government schools." This is based on the belief that, " it would not be difficult for children in the age group 6-9 to get adjusted to the curricula" (Sivadas, 1997:1).

The question of culture and identity while promoting equal educational opportunities for boys and girls is also pertinent, especially among those refugee groups for whom education of adolescent girls is not considered as appropriate. As referred to earlier, UNHCR calls for due respect to be paid to social, cultural and religious customs of the refugees and the host country by promoting separate classrooms and single sex

schools etc for refugee children to enable them to be educated without compromising on their native cultural values (UNHCR, 1994:24).

Community based self-help approaches to education, especially extra classes for children to study home country languages and culture alongwith host country languages, culture, are also encouraged by the UNHCR. This is advocated so as to allow refugee children to be able to maintain their ethno-linguistic heritage, to the extent possible in the host country. At the same time, understanding the host country's language and culture is regarded as intrinsic to basic survival to enable refugees to participate in the educational/occupational market and to effectively branch out into the host society's milieu. For achievement of this twin purpose, extra classes organized by the refugee community itself is suggested by UNHCR (UNHCR, 1995:44). An example of this is classes in Chin (Burmese) culture and language held every weekend by the Burmese refugees settled in New Delhi India.

Inter-Agency Cooperation

Interagency cooperation between UNHCR, UNESCO and UNICEF, has increased in the 1990's. UNHCR highlights the importance of such operations and calls for it's further extension. As mentioned before, at present, a "resource crunch" is being faced by the UNHCR. According to the organization, the success of educational programmes for refugee children is dependant upon such interagency cooperation combined with assistance provided the host government and a host of NGO's dealing with welfare of refugee children. As examples of inter-agency cooperation in the field of education for refugee children is the case of Rwanda wherein, UNESCO, UNICEF, GTZ and UNHCR, according to UNHCR, "met the costs of assembling 'Teacher Emergency Packages' (including writing materials' and a teachers' manual) for issue to school in Rwanda and in Rwandan refugee camps and, under an agreement with the government of Tanzania, for in-service teacher training there" (UNHCR, 1995:56).

Another example, is the case of Somalia where, UNESCO "hired Somali educators and graphic designers to reconstitute primary school texts and teachers' manuals, which were printed in Nairobi with funds from UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR and other donors for use in Somalia and in Somalian refugee camps in surrounding countries (UNHCR, 1995:56).

Interagency cooperation is particularly crucial today as the developed countries of the world (i.e. the major donor countries) move away from Global Egalitarian positions to Communitarian positions and increasingly display tendencies called "compassion-fatigue". This is not only with regard to granting asylum and resettlement but also where welfare activities related to education, health etc are concerned. This, as mentioned before has resulted in the UNHCR facing a major resource crunch. Such inter-agency cooperation accompanied with support from the host government and other NGO's, can actually be seen as a workable and sustainable alternative for educational (and other) welfare programmes for refugee children in refugee camps as also in urban areas (UNHCR, 1995:56).

Summing up, it appears that international conventions like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, the Convention on the Rights of the Child alongwith the UNHCR recognize education as a human right that must be "available and accessible to all children, including refugee children (even those in transit camps for more than a short period) and asylum seekers" (UNHCR, 1995:56).

As seen above, efforts are being made to make education available and accessible to refugee children by the UNHCR and other agencies, through specific programmes designed for them, keeping in mind their specific situation and needs. At the same time, the importance of domestic politics, geo-political factors and influence of anti-immigration lobbies also has an impact on the ways in which provision of education to refugee children is visualised.

It is in this context that the adoption of multicultural educational strategies for refugee children by the developed countries, in their increasingly pluralistic and multicultural classrooms will be looked at in the following chapter.

CHAPTER – 3

Multicultural Education and the Education of Refugee Children

The response of refugees to education in the host country is likely to be influenced by the perspective that underlies education policy for refugees and the actual nature and provisioning of education for them. This chapter will attempt to look at the concept of multicultural education, as to how it has translated into education for minority groups and it's performance in a few developed countries who are signatories to the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and provide resettlement to them. Policies of countries like the US, Canada, Australia, UK which provide access to education to the refugee children within their national borders will be looked at in terms of school processes and outcomes of education for them.

3:1 Multiculturalism: Definition and Context

Multiculturalism, according to Eldering is defined as "an objective reality that concerns the coexistence of different ethnic or cultural groups in one country (state). These groups often differ in history, numbers, social position, power, culture, and ethnic/racial origins. Ethnic and cultural diversity in a society is usually the result of (colonial) expansion, slavery, or immigration. Each multicultural society has it's own genesis and, consequently, it's own diversity" (Eldering, 1996:315).

Taylor observes that "In most western countries with culturally diverse populations, policies dealing with the inequalities faced by migrants and ethnic minorities fall under the rubric of multiculturalism" (Taylor1997: 142). According to Brint, much of the impetus behind multiculturalism as a policy can be found in the political protest and identity politics of the 1960's when positive assertion of identity ("black is beautiful", "gay pride" etc) had become a central part of political mobilization. This was accompanied by changes in society in terms of the change in origins of the immigrants, with them no longer coming from Europe, but from Asia and Latin America. More recently, globalization, according to Brint, is one enormously important factor, which created an environment for changes in society. Since the end of the Cold War, full internationalization of capitalist exchange and the internationalization of the business elite, he observes, can be seen (Brint, 1998:127).

Other scholars like Parekh, have also referred to the growing influence of globalization on what he calls "contemporary multiculturality"in society. According to Parekh, "contemporary multiculturality occurs in the context of increasing globalization powered mainly by western governments and multinational corporations"(Parekh,

1997:524). Globalization, he notes is a "paradoxical phenomenon. as on the one hand, it leads to homogenization of ideas, institutions, and forms of life. On the other hand it also leads to heterogeneity. It encourages migrations of individuals and even communities, and diversifies every society"(Parekh, 1997:524).

As mentioned before, larger changes in society due to the identity politics of the 1960's, Cold War, changes in the origins of immigrant and refugee outflows (which earlier were from Europe, but later gave way to outflows from Asia, Latin America etc.) and globalization were also reflected in education, giving way to the emergence of the concept of multicultural education.

3:2 Multicultural Education

Multicultural education, according to Taylor, is the notion whereby culture is viewed as "something positive", involving the 'celebration' of different cultures and ways of life so that "minority students are able to maintain their cultural heritage and practices of racial, ethnic and cultural exclusion, bias and discrimination are adequately tackled"(Taylor, 1997:142).

According to Eldering, multicultural education may be defined as "education that takes into account in some way the ethnic/ cultural difference between pupils" (Eldering, 1996:318). The scheme, he notes is "based on two principles of order: the target groups at which multicultural education is aimed and the approach from which this occurs". Multicultural education, says Eldering, can be limited solely to pupils form ethnic/ cultural groups (a particularist approach) or can be directed at all pupils (a universalistic approach). It can be approached from various perspectives according to the position of the minority cultures in the curriculum and the attention paid to individual or collective inequality. He classifies multicultural education into the following approaches- Disadvantage approach, enrichment, Bicultural Competence, Collective Equality approach (Eldering, 1996:318) (details given in Table: 3).

According to Eldering, the 'Disadvantage approach' begins from a "deficit" approach and aims at removing the "disadvantages", like low socio-economic position etc. that pupils from minority groups have. It is aimed at gaining better school achievements and realizing equality of opportunity. Different forms of multicultural education can be placed under this heading, varying from the 'immersion model', in which education is exclusively in the second language, to 'bilingual education' with a

transitional character. The 'Enrichment approach', according to Eldering aims at "celebrating diversity" and may be aimed at pupils from specific ethnic/cultural groups or may also be for all pupils, irrespective of cultural/ethnic origin. The 'Bicultural Competence approach', he observes goes one step further than the previous approach and is mainly intended to make pupils from ethnic/cultural groups competent in two cultures/languages through 'Bicultural education'. The 'Collective Equality approach', on the other hand, according to Eldering, emphasizes the collective equality of groups or cultures rather than the equality of individuals. It consists of two approaches: The first approach assumes the equal rights of the diverse ethnic/cultural groups in society. Example, Canada with its French and English school system. The second approach aims at making the school system more multicultural, based on the belief that the inequality of ethnic/cultural groups cannot be regarded separately from other inequalities in society (Eldering, 1996:319).

TABLE: 3 APPROACHES TO MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Approach	**Target Groups**	
	Pupils from ethnic groups	**All pupils**
Disadvantage	-attunement of education to development level - Second- language education - Bilingual education - Culturally responsive education	
Enrichment	- monocultural courses aimed at -Language -Literature -Geography -Religion -History Art	- monocultural courses aimed at -language -literature -geography - religion - history - Art
Bicultural Competence	bicultural education	bicultural education
Collective equality groups	private schools	multicultural curriculum

Source: Eldering, 319:96

Table 3:1 gives an idea of the different approaches to multicultural education that need to be taken account of while dealing with multicultural educational policies adopted in different countries of the developed world.

According to Hoffman, however, inspite of the widely differing interpretations applied to Multicultural education in the US, and existence of diverse perspectives on

multiculturalism in many plural societies around the world, "many multicultural discourses do seem to share certain fundamental assumptions about the nature of self, culture and identity. Here, Hoffman refers to the "western self with it's strong themes of individualism, autonomy, uniqueness, independence, and consistency which stands apart from other cultural understandings of self that stress social relatedness, interdependency, commonality, self-other identification and social responsiveness. Asian perspectives, she observes, also stress the layered nature of identity, with clear distinctions between social interactional selves and the inner core self that is not reflected in social behaviour" (Hoffman, 1996:556).

It is for precisely for this reason, observes Hoffman (of being based on predominantly western themes) that multicultural education per se is perceived as a solution to the problems of pluralism in the most developed countries within the Western sphere of influence, such as UK, Canada and Australia (Hoffman, 1996:556). As will be discussed later in the chapter, the hiatus between the twin goals of integration and multiculturalism that is espoused by these countries often goes unrecognized by them in their policies of multicultural education. As pointed out by scholars such as Eldering, the result, in terms of education of refugee children, is that even though often unintended, multicultural education tends to be oriented towards assimilation rather than cultural pluralism (Eldering, 1996:323).

3:3 Multicultural Educational Provisions for Refugee Children in the Developed World

An analysis of the multicultural nature of the educational policies and its implementation in the developed countries of United States, Canada as also Britain and Australia has been dealt with below. A review of the programs of Bilingual education as one of the major programmes of multicultural education has been undertaken. Outcomes of education in terms of future life chances of refugee children has also been explored.

Bilingual Education as a Multicultural Educational Strategy for Refugee Children

Bilingual educational programmes have been adopted by the officially multicultural countries like-US; UK; Canada and Australia as a major multicultural strategy to address the complex issue of education for children of minority groups

including refugees. Refugees, as [4]'New Minorities', constitute a language minority, according to Corson and adoption of bilingual education, according to him, could reasonably address their educational and cultural needs (Corson, 1993:73).

Bilingual education is defined as " use of a non-dominant language as the medium of instruction during some parts of the school day"(Corson, 1993:73). Bilingual education, alongwith other aspects of multicultural education such as, 'English as Second Language' (ESL), 'Sheltered English' etc. has been espoused and adopted by several countries in the western world, dealing with minority children including refugees. It is believed that such educational strategies enable children to learn the dominant language without losing their own linguistic heritage (Corson, 1993:73).

Bilingual education, Corson notes, is supported by scholars on grounds that, "an educational system serving a multilingual society but providing only monolingual schooling exercises power unjustly; or is being used to exercise power unjustly"(Corson, 1993:72).

Corson urges the need to take policy action that redresses this "injustice". In line with his argument, he refers to 3 broad social justice components that, he observes are missing from a monolingual system of schooling serving a multilingual society. Firstly, following Bourdieu, he refers to the fact that the "schools in that system, unjustly require all children to possess the dominant language as 'cultural capital' but fail to guarantee that children can acquire that language to an equal degree". Secondly, following Habermas, he observes that, "the system makes no compromise in respect to the acquired cultural group interest that the minority language represents." He says that "in order to support the individual's language rights, the group's language must be supported at the same time". Finally, following Bhaskar, he says that "there is an unwanted form of

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[4] According to Corson, broadly speaking in modern societies, there are 3 main types of language minorities:
Ancestral peoples- i.e. those groups which are long established in their native countries, for example the American Indians. With racist attitudes towards the same becoming unacceptable, are being accepted more readily.
Established Minorities- such as the Francophones in Ontario and in Quebec, where they are a majority; Catalans in Spain etc.
'New' Minorities- are the most recent arrivals, includes those who are immigrants in the legal sense; refugees such as the boat-people fleeing from Indo-China; foreign workers living semi-permanently in their new home; and expatriates serving in countries that are tied in a loose community with one another, such as the British Commonwealth, the Nordic States or the European Community (Corson, 1993:73).

determination at work in the system, since it participates tacitly suppressing a minority language without consulting the interests expressed by it's speakers." He says that such "unwanted policy needs to be identified, and following consultation replaced by the wanted practices that a just language policy would offer" (Corson, 1993:73).

Churchill provides a model (1988), which ranks countries on an ascending ladder of stages depending on each country's policy response in recognizing minority group language problems and on their success in implementing educational policies to meet those problems.

The most "primitive" level of development is "when a nation simply ignores the existence of special educational problems for language groups." Most countries, according to Churchill, were located at this pre stage 1 level in their very recent past (Corson, 1993:74).

Stage 1- Learning Deficit sees minority groups as "simply lacking the majority language" .The typical policy response is stated to be to "provide supplementary teaching in the majority language. (Example-ESL) with a rapid transition expected to the majority language".

Stage 2- Socially Linked Learning Deficit "sees a minority group's deficit as being linked to family status". An additional policy response is to "provide special measures to help minority peoples to adjust to the majority society, such as provision of aids, tutors, psychologists, social workers, career advisors etc. in concert with majority language teaching".

Stage 3 - Learning Deficit from Social/Cultural Differences sees a minority group's "deficit as being linked to disparities in esteem between group's culture and the majority culture". Additional responses "include Multicultural teaching programmes for all children in order to sensitize teachers and others to minority needs, and to revise textbooks and teaching practices to eliminate racial stereotyping".

Stage 4- Learning Deficit from Mother Tongue Deprivation sees the "premature loss of minority tongue as inhibiting transition to learning the majority tongue because of cognitive and affective deprivations" .An additional policy response is to provide some transitional study of minority languages in schools, perhaps as a very early or occasional medium of instruction.

Stage 5- Private Use Language Maintenance "sees the minority group's language threatened with extinction if it is not supported". The policy response is "to provide the minority language as a medium of instruction, mainly in the early years of schooling".

Stage 6- Language Equality "sees the minority and majority languages as having equal rights in society with special support available for the less viable languages". Policy responses include "recognizing a minority language as an official language providing separate educational institutions for language groups, offering opportunities for all children to learn both languages and extending further support beyond educational systems" (Corson, 1993:74).

According to Churchill, Stage 1 to 4 are all based on the premise that the "minority should seek the same social outcomes and educational objectives as the majority". Stages 1 and 2 are "clearly assimilative" in that the tacit aim of the policies is to the short to medium loss by the child of the minority language and the minority culture. Clearly these policies are "unjust", says Churchill, since the "minimal language rights of individuals are not guaranteed and minority children are expected to perform equally well in an educational setting without the linguistic wherewithal necessary for competing on an equal footing". A form of 'disguised racism' is said to be working through these policies as against the "blatant racism" that supported total policy inactivity in the past (Corson, 1993:74).

Stages 3 and 4 are "improvements as compared to the former, but neither stage, according to Churchill offers a fully just response to the difficulties of minority language groups". Firstly, according to Churchill, neither stage "recognizes the culturally acquired interests of the minority peoples. (Following Habermas), since they do not consult minority preferences concerning the maintainance of their languages and concerning their use of medium of instruction in schools. The need for transition to the majority tongue outweighs these other considerations" (Corson, 1993:79).

Secondly, neither stage, following Bourdieu, "gives recognition to the linguistic capital that minority children bring to schools. Since it's possession is awarded no intrinsic value. i.e. the child's minority language has only an instrumental value in stage 4 for learning the dominant language" (Corson, 1993:79).

Thirdly, the policies covered in both stages have the "effect of suppressing minority languages" in most instances, policy makers would discover, that this exercise

of power is not wanted by the minorities themselves, if the means and the accounts of the people themselves were consulted.

Stage 5 and 6 are regarded as "just and different from the earlier stages." (With Stage 5 regarded as a "minor enrichment kind" and Stage 6 being a "further improvement"). In both these stages, "the emphasis is on modifying the school to suit the child, rather than modifying the child to suit the school." Some "attempt is made to recognize the value of the minority child's linguistic capital; in stage 6 that linguistic capital and the interests of the minority culture itself are given full recognition" (Corson, 1993:79).

Ranking of Countries on the Basis of Performance

Churchill's ranking of countries places most of the so-called 'Multicultural' countries at Stages 3 and 4, which have been criticized by Churchill for actually suppressing the minority language in preference for the majority language. According to Churchill, "only the very old Bilingual or Multilingual states like- Belgium; Finland; Switzerland have reached Stage 6"(Corson, 1993:73).

Canada, alongwith the US shows some "ambiguity" where policies differ across provincial boundaries and where responses to the minorities can vary from stage 6 down to Stage 2 level. . USA's Bilingual Education Act locates the country officially at stage 4 level, although the responses of many schools and school systems themselves seem to be at a much lower stage. (According to Churchill, US is located at Stage1 or Stage 2). It's major Celtic areas apart, Britain is said to have much in common with the US in its policies. Australia, according to Churchill, is located at several stages of development at once (corresponding to stage 3 and 4) (Corson, 1993:79).

The policies of these countries, though aimed at multiculturalism seem to be largely assimilative in nature. Many issues emerge in terms of the performance of these countries in framing multicultural policies and implementing them through bilingual education and other multicultural educational programmes which need to be explored.

Conflict between Federal and Provincial Activities

In countries like the US, Canada, while education falls under provincial jurisdiction, immigration, is the responsibility of the federal government, notwithstanding the provincial right to selection. Balancing federal immigration legislation and provincial education regulations can generate conflict and

misunderstanding. Changing priorities and different global developments have led to constant revision of federal immigration of refugee laws. As a result, there has been confusion in the interpretation of federal regulations, resulting in inconsistency in how these rulings are applied in the school boards. In one school in Ottawa, Canada, for example, according to Kaprielian –Churchill, the principal insisted that the children could not attend school until the "right papers" were in hand, i.e, authorization from immigration officials. In another school, a vice – principal remarked that the immigration regulations were between the family and the government. "As long as there's a kid to be educated, I'll educate him" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:353).

School Processes

While the Federal government's support is available for several multicultural educational programmes in the US, the actual implementation of these becomes a problem. According to Ascher (2001), while several Federal government funded educational programs like, Transitional Bilingual; Special education and ESL are available for refugee children in the US, school processes evidence existence of "school induced problems, such as discriminate age-grade matching, poorly designed and staffed English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) programs, premature mainstreaming (often into low achieving classes), and general insensitivity of the school system to their special needs" *(Ascher, http://eric-web.tc.columbia.edu/digests/dig51.html).*

According to several scholars "cultural barriers between teachers and the refugee children" in the US, often translate into classroom behaviour of the latter that is often misunderstood and has an impact upon school performance *(Cheng, http://ericweb.tc.columbia.edu/digests/dig136.html).*

In Britain, school processes suggest a gap between multicultural policies espoused by the government and actual implementation of them. Although the right to compulsory education for refugee children (alongwith other children, uptil the age of 18) has been recognized by the British Government, several problems exist such as, for instance, although all local authorities are obliged to provide education for migrant and refugee children, they are "frequently ill-equipped to deal with the special educational needs of traumatized youngsters who do not speak a word of English" *(http://news.bbc.co.uk /hi/English/education/newsid_843000/843225.stm).*

The lack of institutional sensitivity and support in institutions of higher education for refugees in Australia are also referred to by Hannah.According to Hannah, this is evident in terms of the non-recognition of foreign degrees /documents by educational institutions, in terms of policies which claim to be "equal"for everyone, but which apparently have the effect of discrimination, with the problems specially faced by refugees not being recognized and taken account of in educational policies, having an impact on the access; treatment and outcomes of education for refugees in the long run. Though, special programmes, particularly related to language classes, are said to be focusing on refugees, the lack of sensitivity by the Institutional staff in delivery of such services, has been pointed out by Hannah as a major impediment in Australia's claim as a country committed to multiculturalism (Hannah, 1999:163).

Reconciliatory Measures

Attempts seem to have been made by school boards in Canada, Britain etc. to provide access to multicultural education to refugees and to remove the lacunae in the existing educational provisions for them. According to Kaprielian -Churchill, in the last two years, some of the provinces in Canada for instance, Ontario modified the law in 1993 to allow school admission to those caught up in the refugee determination process (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:354). The British government, in recognition of problems of access of refugee children to schools, is said to have allocated £1.5 m in the year 2000 to improve access to education for children of asylum seekers dispersed around the country under the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act.Upto £500, is to be available for each child so schools can help the children settle in quickly and give them extra language lessons. (http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/English/education/newsid_843000/843225.stm)

In Canada, a number of school boards appear to have hired personnel and instituted a series of services and procedures to help students integration and progress, including initial reception centers, English as a Second language programs, heritage language (mother tongue) classes, special support for unaccompanied youngsters etc, guidance counselors, social workers, psycho – educational consultants and Special Education teachers (for behavioral and/or handicapped students) (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:355).

A series of Classroom activities, for instance were developed in six Toronto schools for refugee children to bridge cultural differences and to help release emotional

stress through self-expression. Named as the "Building Bridges Program', the attempt was to develop classroom activities " as an extension of what teachers already do rather than being an additional program" (Champassak, 2001:20).

Boards in Canada, are also experimenting with assessment tools using tests from the students former countries or translating tests into the mother tongues as also trying to incorporate less culturally biased testing. Boards are also trying to help teachers' understand students' backgrounds and value systems. Based on the recognition that awareness of students' [5]backgrounds will enable teachers to understand them better, the North York board, for instance, has produced 'country-of -origin profiles' which are constantly being updated to reflect immigration patterns. All boards encourage, the celebration of ethno-religious festivals and the teaching of customs and religions of different lands and peoples (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:355).

Measures oriented towards institutional sensitivity in Britain, also can be mentioned. It is observed that "refugee children's exam results are being taken out of the school league tables in England."According to Smith J.S., the Schools Minister, "the government is to change the way the performance tables are presented so that the results achieved by pupils who have recently arrived from overseas, and who have difficulties with the English language, will not be counted." He further observes that, " the government has considered very carefully the representations it has received from schools which take in significant numbers of pupils from overseas, including children of asylum seekers and refugees, who have difficulties with the English language" *(http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/English/education/newsid_843000/843225.stm)*.

With regard to education of refugee children in Canada, US, Britain it appears that changes are being incorporated in the existing educational system to suit the educational needs of refugee children, however, these changes seem to be of a "sporadic nature, not easily available, assessed and often misunderstood" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:353). While such changes in government regulations should have ended prejudice

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[5] 'A reading test used by the North York Board for Carinbbean students, for example, includes Caribbean vocabulary; another test administered to students from a desert country deletes references to lakes and rivers. Some boards, furthermore, are creating their own testing tools. A math teacher, for instance, developed his own Math test for immigrant students in his school. The test proved to be so effective that the board has adopted it for system wide use. The board has had this math test translated into different languages so that new students are not hamstrung by poor English, As a further point of interest, the math problems use only simple English words and examples about different ethnic and/or religious groups"(Kaprielian -Churchill, 1996:355).

against refugee children, she observes, "misinformation and misunderstanding unfortunately continue to discriminate against refugee claimants and their dependents" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:353).

Attitude of the Host Country

While multicultural educational programmes for refugee children are available in developed countries, there seems to exist an attitude of resentment of the local people towards refugees in these countries. This seems to suggest that implementation of such programmes might not be supported or might meet with problems in implementation.

Kaprielian-Churchill observes that refugees are labeled as "welfare bums"or "drains on the public purse" in Canada .In Canada, she observes that a certain "ambiguity exists about refugees: pity mixed with suspicion; a willingness to help refugees coupled with a condemnation of them as "free loaders" etc. Such antagonism may be intensified, she says, if refugees are "visible minorities" as well (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

According to Coward, Hinnells and Williams," The response to refugees has been mixed, as humanitarian and compassionate concerns are weighed against the perceived drain on Canada's beleaguered social security system.... As, the proportion of visible minorities in Canada rapidly expands, the presence of such groups appear to be generating a growing anxiety among host countries. This anxiety has already expressed itself on occasion in a status-preservationist backlash to which members of misunderstood and misrepresented religious, ethnic, and racial minorities often fall victim"(Coward, Hinnells and Williams, 2000:1).

In the United States, according to Suarez-Orozco, anti-immigrant sentiment (which appears to have intensified in the aftermath of the WTC terrorist attacks of September11, 2001) of sections of the local people, has resulted in their demanding the barring of the immigrants from a host of publicly funded services, for instance, public schooling for undocumented children in California. (According to Suarez-Orozco, the proposition was overwhelmingly voted for by California residents and was under litigation in Federal and State courts) (Suarez-Orozco, 1998:304).

Local resentment against the presence of refugee children attending mainstream schools in Britain that seems to have started with, small numbers of Kosovar refugees being enrolled in British schools, is also evidence of the impact of the local peoples'

resentment upon the education of refugee children. Separate schools, specially meant for the refugee children, is therefore being espoused for refugee children in Britain, supported by the argument that the mainstream schools are ill-equipped to deal with them in terms of lack of interpreters etc *(http: news. bbc.co.uk/hi/English/education/ features/ newsid_353000/353349.stm).*

The implementation (or lack of) of multicultural education, thus, seems to have been influenced by the [6]attitude in the host countries in the developed world, largely being intolerant and hostile, echoing the feeling of insecurity caused by the far-reaching changes in society caused due to globalization, changes in family organization and work environment. ("Since we do not seem to control much else –be it the economy, crime or our children-there is a sense that at least we *must* control our borders, which, alas, are also said to be out of control.") (Suarez-Orozco, 1998:305).

International events such as the 1993 terrorist bombing of the Manhatten Twin Towers, followed by (as mentioned above) the recent September11, 2001 incident in the US, has had the effect of inciting collective fears, specially in the developed world. There is a widespread feeling, according to Suarez-Orozco,"palpable in media coverage, that the noble idea of granting refuge had been overwhelmed by opportunists, criminals and terrorists gaining easy access into the country and abusing it's diminishing resources"(Suarez-Orozco, 1998:306).

Large scale resentment against the provision of asylum as also social assistance (including education) to refugees due to "compassion fatigue" (Cort, 1997:310), can be seen to have effected domestic policies, in terms of the reduce in grant of asylum as also financial assistance to UNHCR.

3:4 Multicultural Education: Issues of Language, Culture, Opportunity and Identity

As referred to above multicultural education seeks to address, the issues of language, culture and identity, alongwith equipping minority children with educational qualifications in the host country. According to Nann, the policies of multiculturalism

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[6] According to Suarez-Orozco, "immigrants and refugees are problematic because they have become an uncanny mirror of our own dislocation. Immigrants are subversive –and talk around immigration is so charged and out of control –because they come to embody the very terrifying sense of homelessness which characterizes the age of rapid change and globalization." According to him anti-immigrant sentiment –including the jealous rage that illegals "are getting benefits instead of citizens"- is intertwined with an unsettling sense of panic in witnessing the metamorphosis of "home" into a world dominated by sinister aliens (Suarez-Orozco, 1998:289).

and cultural pluralism in countries like Canada and the US constitute a sharp shift from a "melting pot" approach based on the recognition that " no matter how the dominant host society sets to assimilate immigrants, cultural differences will persist". Whether addressed explicitly or implicitly, he observes that the importance of culture as a variable in adaptation and resettlement has been recognized (Nann, 1982:3).

According to Gordon three models of assimilation apply to refugees which need to be looked at to determine host-refugee relations. These are: 1) "*Anglo-conformity* or, in more universal terms, host-conformity- the refugee must become like the native, completely accepting the dominant culture; 2) *the Melting-pot*, a romantic American idea that probably never existed, it sees both the native and the refugee being changed, merged into a new and supposedly better alloy; and 3) *cultural pluralism*, the refugee will acculturate to the dominant pattern particularly for politics, play, education and work, but will preserve his communal life and much of his culture. These three models are the ones, according to Gordon that confront most refugees. They differ greatly in the demands they place on the refugees and in their attitude towards the refugee's culture" (Gordon cited in Stein, 2001:11).

The extent to which multicultural policies in developed countries tends to be assimilative in nature and/or addresses the problems related to culture, language and identity of refugee children needs to be further explored.

Multicultural Education Vs Integration

Programmes of multicultural education in the US, according to Churchill, seem to be effected more by the goal of 'integration' of the linguistic and ethnic minorities (including refugees), into the American society as against allowing the former to maintain their own particular languages /cultures as is propounded through the theory of multiculturalism. Although a Presidential Commission, has created a National Council on foreign language Teaching and International Studies, the "image of a rigorous monolingualism, according to Churchill, is still promoted in the US" (Churchill cited in Corson, 1993:76).

As mentioned before, there seems to be an inherent contradiction in the twin concepts of 'Integration and 'Multiculturalism', with multiculturalism calling for an 'equality of cultures' and 'Integration' implying the merging of the minority culture with

that of the dominant majority culture. (In consonance with the 'Melting-Pot' ideologue)(Eldering, 1996:323).

This contradiction could be manifesting itself in the identity crises being faced due to the 'conflict of cultures', particularly by the adolescent refugees with their multiple identities in the US. For instance is the case of the Southeast Asian refugees, where a conflict between the identities of Southeast Asian; American; Refugee; Adolescent, overlapping each other and, at times, coming into conflict with each other is referred to by Cheng as having an impact on their educational performance *(Cheng. http://ericweb.tc.columbia.edu/digests/dig136.html).*

Thus, a paradoxical situation appears to have been created for the refugee children in the host country with multicultural education (due to problems related to implementation etc.as referred to above) unable to sufficiently address and resolve the issues of conflicting culture, languages and identities. While survival of refugees in the host country requires them to learn the dominant language of the host country, their very identity as refugees, as mentioned before, makes them desire to hold onto the remnants of their culture and language (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

Thus, though multicultural educational strategies are available in these countries, they seem to be unable to adequately address the issues of 'conflict of cultures'-the dilemma of whether to hold onto the native culture or to become 'assimilated' to the host society's culture (so as to gain acceptance from the former, as also to be absorbed by the labour market).

Parental Expectations Vs School Processes

According to Kaprielian Churchill, an instance of the impact of conflicting cultures upon the education of refugee children is the "differences in pedagogy between schools in former countries and those in the host society, which can be a source of great frustration for refugee families, especially for those who come from educationally conservative societies". She refers to a study in Ontario, Canada whereby parents of refugee children,"expressed concern that their children, already disadvantaged, were not getting a solid education in a system which did not focus sufficiently on academics or on homework". They considered "extra – curricular activities and non – academic subjects a waste of time without viable pedagogical goals". Parents were worried about a school system which they viewed as "lacking in discipline" and as "permissive", citing in

particular a curriculum, which included sex education. According to Kaprielian Churchill, the "dichotomy between parental expectations of the social and the school's delivery of services can be frustrating for both the school and the parents". More significantly, many parents she observes, could not come to terms with the emphasis placed on IQ and achievement test results, with the credit and streaming system, and with the unwillingness to "fail" children and have them repeat a grade (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:361).

The fact that multicultural teaching experiments might not be understood and /or welcomed by refugee parents, thereby defeating the very purpose for which it aims at, is also referred to by Gokalp. According to him, " For parents, the school remains a place of learning and instruction, while family is the place for education in the broader sense, according to it's own values. In the context of immigration, such an attitude towards school invariably raises serious problems, especially in the case of multicultural teaching experiments. Anything that deviates from 'serious games' and 'games with serious things', as Bourdieu has put it, is quickly classified as non-educational. Games, toys and skill learning cannot be mixed: 'You can't play and learn at the same time': 'You can't learn while you are playing' is how parents react, reproducing the educational models of their own childhood in the home country" (Gokalp, 1988:127).

According to Gokalp, stress must be laid on the impermeability existing between the school and the family environment. Only by concerted efforts over a long period, do schools manage to attract families and bring them into some embryonic forms of participation, often in the context of fetes or educational activities geared towards giving some value to the immigrants' cultures. Even these attempts often have considerable overtones of exoticism as teachers have not been trained to deal with other cultures" (Gokalp, 1988:127).

Kaprielian Churchill also deals with the cultural barriers and attitudes of refugee parents towards education of their children in the host country as creating problems. She notes that a clash of cultures also leads to dilemmas for educators like, "Should the school help girls stay in school when their parents want them to leave school and get married? If so, how? Can or should the school intervene on behalf of a young woman who is particularly bright, but whose parents need to have her in the work force?" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:359). These are all "thorny issues", Kaprielian observes, with no simple answers. According to Kaprielian Churchill, the greater the teacher's

awareness of the student's background, the more effectively they will be able to help the student "integrate" into mainstream society with a minimum of conflict in the home (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:359).

Such issues, however are not being adequately addressed by the programmes of multicultural education as available in the present context in the countries discussed above.

Outcomes of Multicultural Education: Options Vs Ligatures

Dahrendorf has categorized life-chances in terms of 'Options'and 'Ligatures', as mentioned before. This categorization may be referred to, to determine the outcomes from education for the refugee children resettled in the Developed countries, particularly, the US; Canada; Australia and Britain.'Options' in education are defined as "the range of choices (or primary goods) that people receive as a result of their education; the wider the range of options, the greater are the life-chances that individuals are deemed to possess" (Dahrendorf cited in Corson, 1993:39).

'Ligatures' on the other hand are supposed to be "life-chances of a very different kind, defined as the bonds between people that they establish as a result of their membership in society or participation in that society's education". Ligatures, are prized as "positive ends in themselves to be cultivated as a goal in life", because they are said to "provide some of the most important benefits in life, namely, support, structure and motivation, a sense of respect and continuity" (Dahrendorf cited in Corson, 1993:39). Those few educationists, who see the development of ligatures as an important aim for schools often stress the use of community languages, for example, as a means of extending bonds between students, a stress on language of any kind, across the curriculum, is believed to increase the ligatures between students, while also enhancing their options (Corson, 1993:39).

As mentioned earlier, most western education systems are strong in providing students with options but weak in providing them with ligatures (Corson, 1993:40). Yet in English speaking countries in particular many of the clients of contemporary education, observes Corson, come from ethnic communities where ligatures are prized. The resulting cultural barriers between western educators and refugee children from South Asian and other refugee communities seem to create problems in educational performance.

Corson, observes that these different cultural values about learning often translate in complex ways into language norms that show up in majority culture classrooms, "although to try to show a direct cause and effect relationship would be to understate the complex links between sets of cultural values and patterns of language norms". For instance, he observes that educational systems in the Southeastern Asian countries require children to be obedient, quiet and respectful of the teacher, whom they are not supposed to question; eye-contact with them is avoided as it would be regarded as disrespectful of the teacher, such behavior in a classroom in the US might not be understood by the teacher, reinforcing cultural barriers between the teacher and the students. What is evidenced, Corson observes is, 'ethnic differences' becoming 'ethnic borders' (Corson, 1993:40).

While the developed countries like the US, Canada, Australia and Britain do seem to have educational provisions based on the concept of multicultural education for refugee children, they do not seem to be adequately addressing the issues of conflicting cultures, languages and identities that affect educational performance of such children. To resolve this problem, scholars regard as vital the role of the school and the teacher in addressing and resolving the issue.

3:5 School: 'The Third Ring of Security'

The school, is visualised as the 'Third Ring of Security' apart from the family and the community, providing 'safe havens' to refugee children in terms of a place of physical security, particularly in conflict ridden areas (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:360).

The school is also regarded as the prime socializing agent for refugee children, enabling them to understand the host society's language, culture and ways of life, to become a meaningful part of the former, alongwith enabling them to maintain a hold over their native culture, language through programmes of multicultural education implemented in pluralistic classrooms (Kaprielian-Churchill, 1996:358).

The teacher's role, in this regard, according to Gay is visualised as a "cultural broker" (Gay, 1993:293), as mentioned before, who is able to successfully integrate aspects of multiculturalism into the classroom environment. Teachers are also visualised as "transformative intellectuals", according to Giroux (Gay, 1997:126) and as "change agents"(Gay, 1993:295) who successfully cross cultural boundaries and at the same time are also able to allow students to do the same i.e. for instance teaching English language

as a tool to operate within the school and in mainstream society, while encouraging them to speak in their ethnic language or dialect in the home / community.

According to several scholars an approach which respects and combines culture of the home with the culture of the society is the most efficacious in the adaptation and learning process of children belonging to minority groups in society. Willingness by both family and school to accept the concept of a dual heritage will help children maintain a sound footing in the home and branch out into the host society's milieu without feeling inferior, such meeting of two cultures (i.e. a Bicultural Approach), requiring tolerance both in the home and in the school (Delpit, 1997:591).

The programmes of multicultural education, as broadly looked at above, seem to be largely assimilative in nature and do not seem to address the problems of culture, language and identity facing refugee children in classrooms of the developed world. In the light of these factors, a more sensitive approach to educational organization, pedagogy, curriculum seem warranted, says Corson, if schools are to provide just treatment for the children of these groups (Corson, 1993:40).

3:6 Multicultural Education: A Critique

The influence of the word, 'Multicultural' in policies governing the treatment of ethnic minorities in, particularly the developed world appears to be tremendous and far-reaching. According to Brint, " Given that the word 'multiculturalism' hardly existed in public discussion in 1980, the influence it has exercised in a period of less than two decades must be considered nothing short of phenomenal. Brint refers to the conservative social commentator Glazer (1997) as remarking that, "We are all multiculturalists now." This statement, can be taken to be a pointer highlighting the fact that to be 'Multicultural' in one's national and domestic policies is now regarded as a 'given' or a 'politically correct' stance in the developed world (Brint, 1998:122).

Multiculturalism and particularly multicultural education is, however, being increasingly subjected to criticism by many scholars on grounds like, it being largely a normative concept, limited to rhetoric. Also criticized for the paradox it symbolizes in terms of standing for 'equality of cultures' but translated in practice as 'integration' of the minority language /culture with the dominant majority (i.e. being largely 'assimilative' in nature), this fact appears to be particularly important (as also poignant) if seen from the point of view of the refugees in a particular host country. As explained

before, the position of refugees is specifically vulnerable as people who at one level desire to 'integrate' with the host society's language/culture in order to gain acceptance as also to succeed in the educational and labor market, also at another level, as those who also wish to maintain (at least to the extent possible) some remnants of their native linguistic and cultural identity, which is most often the cause of their persecution and resultant flight to the host country. Seen in the light of such criticism, the multicultural nature of the developed countries where they seek resettlement (as a safe, 'multicultural' haven) therefore becomes problematic.

According to Hoffman, the notion of multiculturalism and multicultural education is problematic because "identity is conceptualized as a cultural universal" (Hoffman, 1996:557). Hoffman observes that although these are "fundamental givens in multicultural education, when seen from a cross-cultural perspective, they reveal a troubling universalism and western-centrism". Hoffman notes that "a multiculturalism that purports to be a true reflection of cultural diversity, basing views of what constitutes healthy identity on Western notions of continuity, clarity, consistency, assertiveness, individuation, and so on is especially problematic". Instead "multicultural discourse needs to be informed, she observes, to a much greater extent by knowledge about and awareness of indigenous cultural psychologies that may or may not share the basic developmental paradigm" (Hoffman, 1996:557).

When seen in terms of multicultural education in the classrooms of US or Canada, dealing with Southeast Asian or African refugee children, the above criticism of multicultural education becomes, specially important. As to be truly 'multicultural' in terms of curricula adopted and classroom environment would require the teachers to be knowledgeable and supportive of the indigenous cultures/languages and the underlying indigenous norms and values that determine the behaviour and performance of such students in class. With notions of multiculturalism based on western centered notions of culture and identity which are often completely different from other Asian and African notions (for example- the western centered notions focusing on the individual as against the community/family), can create problems (and as is seen above, often does) like communication barriers between teachers and students and resultant problems with regard to educational performance etc. While, multicultural education seems to have the possibilities to address such issues in the field of education of refugee children (alongwith other minority groups), the possibilities, of this kind of meta inquiry,

according to Hoffman would depend on the willingness of multicultural educators "to question the now imperative role of terms such as culture, individual, identity, diversity and empowerment"(Hoffman, 1996:363).

Multicultural Education: Gap between Theory and Practice

According to Eldering in most cases, "multicultural education exists merely as an addition to or a minor adaptation of the curriculum" (Eldering, 1996:322). Hoffman, further notes that the fundamental gaps between theory and practice in multicultural education need to be looked at otherwise it might be dismissed as not only "ineffective but as potentially encouraging of even greater educational inequalities"(Hoffman, 1996:546). A fundamental conflict, as noted by Taylor exists between multiculturalism's "espousal of a commitment of equality and it's other objective: right of minorities to maintain their cultural identity" (Taylor, 1997:143). According to him, this emphasis on "spaghetti and dance" highlights issues of lifestyles, obscuring issues of disadvantage, structural inequalities and attempts to improve their life chances"(Taylor, 1997:143).

Multiculturalism is also found to "tend to lean toward assimilation rather than toward cultural pluralism" (Eldering, 1996:316). This is hardly surprising, he notes, given the population ratio of the majority to the minorities and the social position of both categories in many countries. This can be problematic for refugees, as mentioned before, as they tend to wish to 'integrate' at one level with the host society, while at the same time desire to maintain their native identity on the other.

Multicultural education, as is at presently implemented is also criticized more often as "reactive education", in the sense that teachers only react to interethnic or multicultural incidents or conflicts in their classroom (Eldering, 1996:326). Although there are no indications that teachers have a "negative attitude toward pupils from ethnic-minority backgrounds, he notes, teachers are not trained in coping with interethnic situations and conflicts". According to Eldering, research shows that the reactions of teachers who are not expert in this area may have the "effect of encouraging rather than preventing prejudice" (Eldering, 1996:326). This fact is especially important, seen from the perspective of multicultural provisions already available for refugee children in Canada and other developed countries, but being faulty at the level of actual implementation. . According to Hoffman, If a more sophisticated and reflexive understanding of culture is to be taught, however, one of the most important changes that

needs to be made is proper contextualization: that is, "culture cannot and should not be superficially inserted, bits and pieces into everything in the guise of multiculturalizing it; indeed, infusing culture into the curriculum in this way is at best and at worst damaging, for it encourages us to think that there is simply something that can be dissected, categorized, and inserted into convenient slots"(Hoffman,1996:555).

Rather, Hoffman notes that, it requires a "holistic and comparative perspective that allows students to draw their own conclusions and abstracts from evidence, rather, than being force-fed proper attitudes or principles such as "all cultures are equal /special" that in the end mean nothing without a grounding in a knowledge base or context" (Hoffman, 1996:555). A precondition for change, however, is that we need to begin by accepting that we really do not know how to "do multiculturalism" in schools, despite the profusion of rhetoric that suggests the opposite (Hoffman, 1996:565).

Hoffman lastly calls for "a reflexive of self-aware multiculturalism would allow us, to focus on developing models for learning culture that can promote real transformation in the way we conceptualize and practice education in plural societies" (Hoffman, 1996:545).

Multicultural education, therefore as an educational strategy appears to have the potential to cater to the needs of minority children, including refugee children, if incorporated into classroom processes by teachers functioning as active "change agents", as mentioned before able to achieve the above. As of now, due to several lacunae, highlighted above, as also the fact that international commitments to multiculturalism /multicultural education notwithstanding, the actual treatment of refugee children in a host country depends upon attitude of host government and society, with domestic politics and anti-immigration lobbies having an effect on grant of educational and other welfare privileges to refugees.

While, it might not be prudent to arrive at generalizations as regards the actual performance of the above countries in the field of multicultural education, Churchill's categorization of the above countries in terms of their performance in bilingual education seems to suggest that the multicultural educational programmes implemented, have largely tended to be "assimilative" in nature (Eldering, 1996:316) and in the nature of "add-on's to the existing curricula rather than replacements for traditional courses"(Brint,1998:123).

Multicultural education addresses these issues of culture, language and identity that education represents for refugee children, largely in the context of the developed world. The following chapter will now attempt to look at the issue of education for refugee children in India, as a developing country, which is not a signatory to international refugee conventions, yet has granted asylum to diverse groups of refugees at different periods of time.

CHAPTER – 4

Refugees in India

This chapter looks at the education of refugee children in India focusing particularly on the situation of Afghan (ethnic and Indian-origin) refugees, who are under the mandate of the UNHCR and Tibetan refugees, who are under the Government of India's mandate. The Integrated model, as explained in the introductory chapter, will be used to understand the progress/ spread of education amongst the refugees in India. An attempt will be made to understand the differences (both inter-group and intra-group) in the educational situation of the above two groups, in terms of their pre-migration and post-migration experiences and it's impact on their education in the host country.

India has had a tradition of providing asylum to countless refugees due to its unique geographical, political and multi-ethnic situation. According to Suryanarayan and Sudarsen," as the only country that is contiguous to other South Asian countries, either by land or by sea, India has had to bear the brunt of refugees from within the region". In addition, it appears that India's porous borders may also have led to an automatic spillover of the refugees from such countries in times of crises when their lives and liberties might have been be in danger (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:19).

Suryanarayan and Sudarsen also observe that, "India's humanitarian tradition in the context of asylum seekers has also been recognized by the UNHCR. The spirit of *Karuna* (compassion) for guests as also the concept of *Atithi Devo Bhavah* ('guest is god') including refugees and asylum seekers, is a popular theme in Indian narratives and historical epics. It forms part of India's cultural heritage and tradition and continues to influence contemporary approaches to the refugee problem" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000: xviii).

Apart from geographical and humanitarian considerations, specific geopolitical and national interest based factors are also seen to have led to India playing host to large-scale refugee movements since independence. As can be seen in table 4:1 (as also in Map No: 1 and Map No: 2 in annex: 4), refugees from countries as varied as Afghanistan; Myanmar; Bangladesh; Bhutan; Tibet; Somalia; Sudan; Liberia; Ethiopia; Rwanda; Sri Lanka etc. have been provided asylum in India. These groups seem to vary not only in terms of their nationalities but also in terms of their numbers and geographical location in the country. Though accurate statistics are not available at present, there are estimated to be around 314,875 refugees in the country.

Table 4:1 provides a tentative picture of the types and *number of refugees in India as of now:

Table 4:1 Refugees in India

Nationality	No.	Location
Afghans	11,528	Settled mostly in parts of New Delhi. Also in parts of Haryana; U.P; Maharashtra and Punjab
Chakmas	51,000	Settled in parts of Tripura; Arunachal Pradesh
Myanmar's	40,000	Settled in parts of New Delhi; Mizoram
Bhutanese	12,000	Settled in parts of the Indo-Nepal border; Assam and other North-Eastern states; West Bengal
Tibetans	100,000	Settled in parts of New Delhi; Himachal Pradesh; UP; West Bengal; Orissa; Sikkim; Maharashtra; M.P; Jammu and Kashmir; Karnataka; Arunachal Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh
Somalians; Sudanese Liberians; Ethiopians Rwandan; Palestinians; Eritrians ;Iranians;Iraqis etc.	347	Settled in parts of New Delhi; Maharashtra (Mumbai; Pune etc); Bangalore; Chennai etc.
Sri Lankan Tamils	100,000	Settled in around 23 refugee camps in Tamil Nadu
TOTAL	3,14875	

Sources: UNHCR; Saha (1999: 50,63,70,71)
*Statistics are tentative

4:1 Government of India's Policy on Refugees

The Government of India's policy governing the treatment of refugees in India is guided by general principles outlined by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the early years of India's independence. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru set out three principles for the governance of official policy on the refugee question. These principle are: 1) India's desire to maintain friendly relations with the neighboring country involved, 2) Taking care of the security and territorial integrity of India, and 3) deep sympathy for the people involved" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000: xiii).

India is not a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and other such international conventions on refugees. Reasons for India not being a signatory to the Convention is that, the 1951 Convention is seen as being adopted in the specific context of conditions in Europe immediately after the Second World War and thereby is largely considered to be"eurocentric" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:84). It is believed by Indian scholars that international refugee law is currently in a state of flux and provisions of the Convention, particularly those which provide for individualized status determination and social security do not have any relevance for developing countries, like India who are mainly confronted with mass and mixed inflows. Moreover, it is believed that the "signing of the Convention is unlikely to improve in any practical manner the actual protection which has always been enjoyed

and continues to be enjoyed by refugees in India" (Ghose cited in Khan and Gorlick, 1997:34).

At present there is no legal framework or mechanism designed exclusively for refugees in India. The principal Indian laws that are relevant to refugees are the Foreigners Act, 1946; the Registration of Foreign Act, 1939; the Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920; the Passport Act, 1967; and the Extradition Act, 1962. The broad application of these Acts in dealing with refugees as 'foreigners' and not as a 'special humanitarian category' appears to result in many bona fide refugees and asylum seekers to run afoul of the law (Raj, 1999:84).

As for the minimum standard of treatment of refugees, India has undertaken an obligation by ratifying the International Covenant on Civil and political rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to accord an equal treatment to all non-citizens with it's citizens wherever possible. India is presently a member of the Executive Committee of the UNHCR and it entails the responsibility to abide by international standards on the treatment of refugees *(http: www.hri.ca/partners/sahrdc/refugee-protection/fulltext.shtml).*

It appears that India has followed a fairly liberal policy of granting refuge to various groups of refugees in line with international principles of protection and *non-refoulement* (i.e. protection against compulsion to return to home country while the threats to persecution continue) with such entry not determined by reasons of race, religion, nationality, gender and other such grounds (UNHCR notification no 4, undated).

However, observations made by scholars like Chimni, seem to suggest that India does not have a consistent policy with regard to treatment of refugees in the country. Different groups of refugees are treated differently, with respect to their stay in India, guided primarily by [7]geo-political, strategic and national-interest related concerns. As observed by Chimni, " The absence of a law has meant that different refugee groups are treated differently. Thus, for example, the now repatriated Chakma refugees in Tripura

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[7] According to Samaddar, "Accepting refugees is a form of diplomacy in South Asian countries, practiced with telling effect. The Indian handling of the Tibetan refugees is a critical example. Though in the decades of the 1950's and 1960's and even upto the mid-1970's, Tibetan refugees often became pawns in the power-game between India and China, and the Dalai Lama was allowed to use his stay and hospitality by the Indian side not always with circumspection, yet the strength of democratic awareness in India and official caution have kept the Tibet issue within manageable limits and have not allowed it to become a weapon for whipping up an anti-China hysteria. China too understands the fragility of the situation and has used circumspection in dealing with the issue of Tibetan refugees in India." He further observes that, inspite of the bitter memory of the 1962 war, India and China have been able to handle the issue of the refugees with understanding and flexibility" (Samaddar, 1999:42).

received relatively unfavorable treatment when compared to other refugee groups within the country"(Chimni, 2002:51).

Observations made by the UNHCR also seem to point that some refugee groups have a privileged status relative to others, depending upon the above considerations. For example- "if a refugee enters the country illegally, it is possible for the government to waive travel rules and regulations regarding their entry and stay in the country. Such waiver may be express or implied by the conduct of the government in permitting the privileged group of refugees into India. The Tibetans are one such example of refugees who entered India without any travel documents, but who have been allowed to reside in India and even use travel documents issued by the government of India"(UNHCR notification no 4, undated). On the other hand are other refugee groups like the Afghans; Somalians and Sudanese who, are required to maintain valid travel documents.

Adhoc measures also seem to endanger the status of refugees in the country .As Chimni observes, "The fact that India deals with refugees in an ad hoc manner means the absence of a rights based regime. While it is true that the same rights are available to them as to aliens in general, the laws dealing with aliens do not take cognizance of the existential realities, which confront a refugee. Often a refugee is in the country without proper papers and therefore can be deported under the Foreigners Act. This would mot only be unfortunate but also in violation of the principle of *non-refoulement* "(Chimni, 2001:51).

The conflict between the Center and States in the interpretation of laws governing the treatment of refugees also appears to a problematic issue. Accoding to Chimni, the absence of a uniform procedure or a central governing body to determine refugee status and to provide assistance to refugees, the differential spread of diverse groups of refugees in different parts of the country creates possibilities of differing policies/conflict between the Center and State. For instance is the *case of National Human Rights Commission vs. State of Arunachal Pradesh*, where, although the Central government was willing to entertain applications for citizenship from approximately 4,012 Chakmas who were settled in Arunachal Pradesh, the state government refused to forward their applications and infact, stood by, as repressive measures were imposed on the refugees in an attempt to forcibly evict them (Chimni, 50:01).

Refugees like other foreigners are allowed to move around the country with restrictions similar to other foreigners. (for instance, the requirement of valid travel

documents etc.) Refugees, as observed by the UNHCR, "may enter and stay in India legally (i.e. with a valid Passport, Indian Visa or Entry Permit) or illegally (i.e. without relevant [8]travel documents or documents that are forged/fabricated), entering the country by surreptitiously crossing over the vast, unmanned Indian borders by road or sea" (UNHCR notification no 4, undated). They are also "free to practice their own religion and culture, with only limited interference in these basic freedoms" (UNHCR notification no 4, undated). The government does not provide work permits, allowing refugees to work in formal sectors except for the Tibetan refugees, who have been granted loans and other facilities for self-employment. Many refugees, it is observed by the UNHCR, however do manage to find employment in the informal sector without facing any objections from the administration (UNHCR notification no 4, undated).

What emerges from the above discussion is that the absence of specific, uniform laws governing the treatment of refugees in the country results in problems, as mentioned above. While humanitarian considerations seem to determine the Government of India's treatment of refugees, the impact of geopolitical factors also can be seen to influence policy and treatment of refugees in the country.

4:2 Refugee Groups in India

Refugees in India can be broadly categorized into 2 groups:

1) Mandate Refugees: Refugees under the protection of the UNHCR have been classified as the 'Mandate refugees' by the UNHCR.This group consists of the Afghan, Iranian, Myanmarese, Sudanese, Somalian, Ethiopian, Rwandan, Iraqi etc refugees.

2) Non-Mandate Refugees: Refugees under the protection of the government of India have been classified as the 'Non-Mandate refugees' by the UNHCR. These include refugees from Tibet, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Uganda etc.

The discussion that follows focusses on two groups of refugees in India ie. the Afghan (under UNHCR's mandate) and the Tibetan refugees (under the Government of India's mandate). The Integrated model discussed earlier provides the framework for the discussion of their educational situation in India.

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[8] According to the UNHCR, asylum seekers under International law need not travel with valid travel documents to be considered as refugees –i.e the refugee claim would be considered without prejudices to whether the applicant has valid travel documents or not (UNHCR notification no-4, undated).

4:3 Afghan Refugees in India- A Profile

There are around 11,528 Afghan refugees recognized by the UNHCR in India. As many as 72% came to India in the year 1992 with the fall of the Najibullah regime in Afghanistan (UNHCR notification no 5, undated). The Afghan refugees in India can be divided into two groups, the ethnic origin Afghans and those of Indian origin or the IOA's.

I) The Ethnic Origin Afghan Refugees

They comprised of 25% i.e. 3215 of the Afghan population in India in June 2001. They largely appear to belong to the urban areas of Afghanistan. Only 10% belong to the rural areas. They belong to several ethnic groups, like- the Pashtuns (Durrani; Ghilzai), the Tajiks or the Parsiwan, the Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baloch etc. They are classified as 'not so poor' by the UNHCR in comparison to the Indian origin Afghans. Ethnic origin Afghans are mainly qualified professionals like, doctors, teachers, engineers etc in Afghanistan. The UNHCR regards resettlement aboard as one of the durable solutions for them. This is not seen as the only solution for members of this group who are usually seen as receiving support from relatives aboard. They are also able to find employment in the informal sector in India (Visscher et al, 2002:9).

ii) Indian Origin Afghans (IOA'S)

They comprise 75% of the Afghan refugees in India i.e. 8565 of the Afghan population in India (as of June 2001). They belong to the Hindu or Sikh faith. They are the descendants of the followers of the Sikh Guru, Gurunanak Dev who had apparently come to Afghanistan around five hundred years ago. Followed by the warriors of Raja Ranjit Singh who had come to Afghanistan two hundred years later, their ancestors had come to adopt the Sikh faith. A large proportion of them seem to belong to rural areas of Afghanistan. They are mostly found in the informal sector, working as petty shopkeepers, small time traders etc. The UNHCR, regards local integration in India (as against resettlement in case of ethnic Afghans) as the durable solution for these Afghans of Indian origin as they have "strong Indian connections, if only culturally and religiously" (Visscher et al 2002:9).

Attitude of the Host Country

The Afghan refugees belong to those refugee groups that are not officially recognized by the Government of India and "are strictly treated as foreigners who are issued limited Residential Permits on annual basis" (Visscher et al, 2002:12). (As of now, the Permits were valid till 30th June 2002). According to Visscher, towards the end of 1999, the Foreigners Act, 1946, has been applied more stringently. As the legitimate status of the Afghan refugees in the country, is circumspect, an attitude of mistrust and suspicion against them seems to have existed on the part of the local government authorities and alongwith the local people, who appear to have perceived with suspicion the refugees with their different physical attributes, eating and dressing habits, language and culture (Visscher et al, 2002:12-14).

Combined with this general aura of suspicion, international events like the WTC terrorist attack in the US, also appear to have adversely affected their employment prospects in the informal sector as also the education of the Afghan refugee children. A few parents interviewed, for instance complained of schools demanding residence permits and /or other documents for admission of students and generally looking at the former with suspicion (often manifesting itself in discriminatory behaviour towards refugee students). Though generalizations cannot be made, some Afghan children/parents observed during informal interviews that they were jeered at in schools and parks, called names, like, "Osama"etc. An attitude of unease and distrust, thus seems to prevail against the Afghan refugees in the country.

Education of Afghan Refugee Children in India: A Sociological Interpretation

a) Group Circumstances and Pre-Migration Resources

As pre-migration group circumstances, are the level of education that the Afghans brought with them to the country. Afghanistan has one of the worst records on education in the world. UNICEF estimates that only "4-5% of primary aged children get a broad based schooling, and for secondary and higher education, the picture is even bleaker...Twenty years of war has meant the collapse of everything.." *(BBC News/South Asia /Afghanistan's bleak education record: 2000).*

A majority of Afghanistan's population is illiterate. Current estimates regard "44% of Afghan males and only 14% of Afghan females as literate. Primary school

enrollment is low and has been decreasing since 1995(*http://www.creatinghope.org/news .htm).*

Informal interviews, substantiate the fact that the post-Najibullah regime in Afghanistan had resulted in [9]lowering of educational standards and literacy rates, with the Taliban insisting on revival of religious education in Madrasas, with a complete banning on education of girls. "Since 1978, a steady decline has all but demolished the educational infrastructure in Afghanistan. In 1996, Afghanistan had the highest illiteracy rate in Asia, for both men and women. In areas administered by the Taliban, emphasis is placed on maximizing religious subjects, schools for girls are closed and female teachers are forbidden to teach" (*www.rawa.org/school.html).*

Thus, the poor quality of education with which they are endowed seems to be part of their pre-migration circumstances which has an impact upon their education in the host country. As part of the pre-migration circumstances are also the native languages, such as Pashto, Dari etc., which had been their language of instruction in Afghanistan. Learning a new language and a new medium of instruction also seems to have adversely affected their educational performance. Further, it appears to be compounding problems such as non-recognition of educational qualifications/skills acquired in the native country.

Informal interviews reveal that admission to schools in Afghanistan begin only at the age of seven. A few children interviewed, thus claimed to have faced a considerable problem in India, having being classified as 'over-age' and denied admission to schools in the country.

What emerges from the informal discussions and general observations is that the pre-migration resources, that the Afghans bring with them comprise of low standards of education. This appears to have an adverse impact upon their educational performance in the host country.

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9 According to Abdul Wahid, an Afghan refugee, "the good thing about coming to India, is that we are able to provide their children with good education,". "After the Taliban came to power, they have closed all schools of conventional studies. Only Madrasas are allowed. In Afghanistan, no individual can grow as teaching is along religious lines." According to another Afghan refugee, Amrik Singh, the "biggest handicap" that he faced on landing in India, was "the realization that none of his children were educated and hence there were no jobs for them." "We never realized the importance of education in Afghanistan as male members carried forward the family businesses(CHAUHAN, 2001:2).

b) Institutional Structures and Post-Migration Resources

As mentioned earlier the legal status of the Afghan refugees in India is subject to constant changes in government policies. The Government of India, as mentioned before, also does not provide the welfare assistance to the Afghan refugees as it does to other refugee groups like the Tibetans.

Policies of the Government of India

The Afghan refugees in India come within the general framework of the Government of India's policy towards education of children in the country. The Government of India's policy towards education of the Afghan refugee children, may therefore be interpreted as provision of access to education as equal to that of other groups of children in the country, without restrictions based on sex, race or religion. Specific assistance with regard to education, however, is not provided by the government for the education of the Afghan refugee children in the country (UNHCR notification no 6, undated).

Policies of the UNHCR

As Afghan refugees are Mandate refugees under the protection of the UNHCR, an exploration of policies of the UNHCR towards the education of their children becomes relevant. In accordance with it's worldwide policy objective of securing access to education for all refugee children, UNHCR, New Delhi observes that, "special efforts are made to ensure that all refugee children have access to and complete primary education as a basic human right." As an addition of it's "world-wide mandate of providing protection to refugees and finding durable solutions to their problems, UNHCR provides educational assistance across the board for registered refugee children in India"(UNHCR notification no 6,undated).

Educational assistance provided, is in consonance with the organization's global mandate in the form of financial assistance alongwith counselling to parents and children facing problems in school. The organization is, also involved in coordinating with the local education authorities in case of problems refugees might face with regard to admission (loss of documents etc.) and other functions. UNHCR's financial subsidies towards education include provision of "materials, books and uniforms, for all children between 5-14 years". In addition, the UNHCR also has "an ongoing project to help

children who are drop-outs from primary and lower secondary schools to catch up with others of their peer-group by enrolling at the National Open Schools (NOS)." As mentioned before, supported by the German government, UNHCR also offers "10 DAFI scholarships (as of 2001) for university education in India, to deserving merit-worthy refugee students." According to the UNHCR, it also conducts "classes in adult literacy and in local language skills" for adult and women refugees (UNHCR notification no 6,undated).

Access to Education

The Afghan refugee children in India are provided access to Government schools in the country. However, access to the government schools is largely very limited with them being overcrowded and giving priority to local children as against refugees (Visscher et al, 2002:12-14).

Though the financially depressed amongst the IOA's appear to prefer to get their children admitted to government schools, other Afghans, amongst the Ethnic Origin Afghans as also the IOA's largely prefer to send their children to private schools offering an English medium of instruction. Government schools, therefore do not happen to be the preferred choice amongst the refugees as the language of instruction in these schools in North India, is Hindi and the quality of education in such schools is regarded as poor, particularly by the Ethnic Afghans (YMCA notification, 1999:1).

Informal discussions suggest that, the Ethnic Afghans seem particularly concerned about their children's ("English") education in such schools) because of their usually literate, urban, upper middle class backgrounds. Choice of such schools seems to be also made because of their chances of being granted resettlement aboard, in which case knowledge of the English language would be desirable, if not imperative.

The Indian Origin Afghans, with their largely rural, semi-literate and lower middle class backgrounds, on the other hand, also appear to have their children largely enrolled in private schools. But, in comparison to the ethnic Afghans, the IOA's, particularly those suffering from financial problems, do not seem to be averse to getting their children admitted to government schools. Government schools are preferred (particularly by families facing severe economic problems) because of their being cheaper and the educational assistance received from UNHCR being equal to the government school rates (UNHCR notification no 6,undated).

School Processes and Outcomes of Education

On the basis of informal discussions and interviews with Afghan refugee families, it appears that the ethnic and Indian origin Aghan refugee children seem to be receiving a level of education that was not possible for them at Afghanistan, with years of war having interrupted regular schooling and the 'Talibanisation' of education having banned secular education and education for girls in Afghanistan. While exact statistics are not available, it appears from information collated from implementing partners of the UNHCR that a majority of the Afghan refugee children in India have access to school and usually are able to complete High school (i.e.10th grade). The ethnic as also the Indian origin Afghan refugee children in the age group 3-17, in and around Delhi, are receiving educational assistance from the UNHCR which is mainly in the form of:

Admission- related Assistance

Identifying appropriate schools for their children and providing assistance in getting their children admitted to schools,

School – related Assistance

Regular interaction with the school authorities to sort out problems being faced by refugee children and/or problems created by them. YMCA (as an implementing partner of UNHCR provides educational subsidies to refugee parents in meeting the cost of uniforms and books for school children as follows:

CLASS	*TOTAL SUBSIDY PER ANNUM*
KG- V	*Rs-2, 500/-*
Vi-viii	*Rs-3, 100/-*
Ix- x	*Rs -3,100/-*
Open School	*Rs 3,100/-*

Source: YMCA notification 1999:1

National Open School (NOS) for School-dropouts

Refugee children who are unable to secure admissions in regular schools are assisted in securing admissions to National Open School. The Open School option is available for children above the age of 14, who have completed class v and dropped out. The causes for dropping out being general problems (poverty etc.) as also refugee

specific problems, like being unable to keep up with regular schools due to language and other problems (YMCA notification, 1999:1).

Actual figures of school dropouts are not available, but informal interviews seem to suggest that considerable differences exist between the Ethnic Afghans and the IOA's in attitudes toward schooling and dropout. While the Indian origin Afghans seem more or less content with the education of their children in India, the ethnic Afghans generally tend to be dissatisfied. It appears that school dropouts are also quite frequent in case of Indian origin Afghans as against the Ethnic Afghans.

Differences seem to exist not only in general terms, because of the influence of their socio-economic and educational backgrounds in Afghanistan and their present socio-economic situation but also in terms of educational aspirations for the future. Gender also appears to be a contributing factor determining school-drop-out, alongwith poverty, in the financially depressed Afghan (generally IOA) households. The anticipation of future life-chances of resettlement aboard, which appears to be available only to the Ethnic Afghans also appears to determine attitudes of the two groups towards education.

Informal interviews reveal that the children of the Indian origin Afghans, with their largely rural, illiterate backgrounds seem to be disadvantaged as compared to most of the children of the ethnic Afghans who come from urban, middle-class literate backgrounds as they lack the motivation towards education, their weak financial conditions providing the necessary impetus to drop out of school as soon as they have achieved a reasonable amount of schooling (i.e. in high school or before). The impact of social class upon schooling success can be pointed out here as determining dropout.

Visscher et al also observe that, given the generally weak financial conditions of IOA's, cases of IOA adolescent boys dropping out to contribute to the family's income are quite common, with, likewise, girls also being withdrawn from school to contribute to household work or being married of. With resettlement not being a workable alternative for them (as per UNHCR policy), the necessity to contribute to the family's income results in most of them dropping out of school early and seeking jobs in the informal sector. Lack of formal work permits and suitable educational qualifications is further seen as compounding the existing problems for them (Visscher et al, 2002).

As highlighted by Brint, " The habitus (i.e. recurring patterns of class outlook, which are inculcated by families and reproduced over time) of different social classes

bears heavily on schooling success. Most of the very poor do not have the resources or the stability to treat schooling in a completely disciplined way. Their circumstances of life are frequently disorganized and stressful, and it may be difficult for them to give schooling their full attention.... Bad nutrition, poor health, insecurity, and anxiety are common products of severely disorganized and stressful lives .So, too, are irregular effort, confusion, alienation, and defensive boredom" (Brint, 1998:211).

The decision to drop out of school or to continue seems to be dictated by circumstances as also by group capabilities. With the ethnic Afghans often receiving financial assistance from their relatives settled aboard, the number of school dropouts seems to be relatively low in their case. Informal interviews suggest that whenever drop-outs do take place in case of the Ethnic Afghans it is low and is determined by their lack of desire to continue their education in schools which they regard as of 'poor quality' as also by the lack of desire to integrate with the host society and it's institutions. With resettlement aboard being a workable alternative for them, as mentioned earlier, the impetus to drop-out and wait for grant of resettlement by a developed country and dreams of a 'better life' aboard also affect the decision to drop-out of school in the host country. Though statistics are not available, it seems that the major reasons for dropouts in case of ethnic Afghans, is that "the majority of them do not want to integrate locally. They therefore would prefer not to send their children to schools, but rather let them sit at home and study" (YMCA notification 1999:1).

Thus, differences in terms of aspirations for education and educational performance seems to be exist between the two groups of Afghan refugees in India which needs to be recognized. Here, reference to Brint may be given, according to whom, " It is wrong to think of groups as passively conforming to their social fates. Instead, they develop strategies to improve their circumstances by weighing the relative advantages of investing in schooling or work, and different kinds of schooling and work. These investment and disinvestment strategies cumulate into the distinctive paths by which groups make their way in the structure of social stratification" (Brint, 1998:237).

An exploration of the views of Afghan refugee children towards the issue of dropping out of school, also requires an exploration informed by Brint's perspective of groups as 'active collaborators'. Boyden's emphasis on the need for studies dealing with children to accompany "an understanding of children's perspectives, their personal

interpretations of their experiences, needs and problems, and their own ways of handling them", also becomes important in this context (Boyden, 2001:13).

The above views of the importance of children's perspectives can be helpful in understanding, for example, the reasons for school drop-outs, particularly the views of the Indian Origin Afghans.As mentioned before, IOA boys in the higher grades begin to drop-out and start bearing the prime responsibilities within the family, taking up jobs in the informal sector which do not require high qualifications, to become prime earners of family income. Informal interviews with a few such children and adolescents seem to suggest that, the decision to drop-out is based on the realization that possibilities for resettlement aboard for them do not exist, regarded as they are to be capable for 'local integration' because of their religious /cultural roots in India. A few female refugee children, who were interviewed, seems to have dropped out of school in the higher grades, to take up their customary jobs as carers of incapacitated adults or younger siblings.

While options for the above to continue higher education, do not seem to exist due to their family's financial problems, the realization (often early, given their experiences of refugeeism which colors their understanding) as also the desire to take care of their families- even if it means their dropping-out from school to get trapped in low paid jobs with limited growth, comes across as important.

Boyden's view of children as resourceful individuals as against "vulnerable victims", therefore seems to be important in research dealing with the issue of drop-out and education of Afghan refugee children, as noted earlier.

Culture, Language, Opportunity and Identity: Perspectives and Strategies

As discussed earlier, maintaining their culture, language and identity is a very sensitive issue with refugees. In India issues related to identity seem to have particular ramifications for education of the Afghan refugee children. On the basis of informal discussions with Ethnic Afghans and IOA's as also YMCA notifications, it seems that differences exist in terms of their interpretation of their particular group's identity. The Ethnic Afghans do not seem to desire to stay on and integrate with the local people, attempting to preserve their particular culture, language and identity (YMCA notification 1999:1). Their physical appearances, lifestyles, eating and dress habits being totally different from the local people, also seems to reinforce their lack of adjustment and

desire to either repatriate or to resettle aboard. Future life chances, as referred to earlier, in terms of being accepted by a developed country for resettlement (for instance, Canada, Australia etc) or the likelihood of repatriation also determines the choice of educating their children in private schools having an education system similar to that in their country or a school which has an English medium of instruction as against a government school.

Informal interviews with a few ethnic Afghan families reveal that there are a few ethnic Afghan schools in New Delhi, which follow a Persian medium of instruction. One of these schools i.e. 'Syed Jamalludin Afghan School' in New Delhi is financed by Japanese donors and holds classes for 1st to 6th grades. Subjects taught here include Persian, geography and Moral Science. Though the proportion of the Ethnic Afghan children who attend these schools appears to be very limited (80 students in classes from 1-6 th grades) the fact that it is preferred by these families, as against regular Government and private schools in the country, suggests that there is desire amongst these refugee families to keep their cultural and linguistic heritage alive by educating their children in these schools.

The Indian Origin Afghans, on the other hand, largely appear to desire to locally integrate/ settle in India, with their socio-cultural, historical roots in the country providing a platform on which they can rebuild their lives in the country. The IOA's, like the Ethnic Afghans also have their children largely enrolled in private English medium schools. This is because, while, the financially depressed amongst the IOA's largely seem to prefer to get their children enrolled in Government schools as they are cheaper, the fact that these schools, as mentioned earlier, are already overcrowded with children from the host country and seem to give preference to them as against refugee children, prevents the latter from access to such schools. The desire to locally integrate with the host community and it's institutions seems to be evident, thus with IOA's not appearing to be averse to getting their children admitted to Government schools and not having a problem with the medium of instruction (i.e. Hindi in North India) in the Government schools.

According to Sivadas, the construction of individual identities seems to vary for the first, second and third generation Afghan refugees in India. As mentioned earlier, while the first generation Afghan refugees appear to desire to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity (for example, by sending their children to 'Afghan' schools, like the

one mentioned above), the problem of an identity crises exists in case of second and third generation Afghan refugee children born and brought up in India (Sivadas, 1997:7). Informal discussions with a few Afghan refugee children also reveal this fact that while, there seems to be the desire to adhere to their parent's wishes by trying to maintain the native culture and language, it is accompanied with the desire to 'integrate' to some extent with the host country's culture and language, to gain peer group acceptance and occupational and educational mobility. Sivadas also observes that the thought of "returning home" to Afghanistan, to the second and third generation refugees is found to be "extremely frustrating" as "they begin to question in many instances, customs and practices of their country of origin." Sivadas further observes that the Afghan refugee children in India, often seem to desire, in many instances, the freedom in personal and religious matters, enjoyed by their counterparts, leading to constant conflict between custom oriented adults and their 'emancipated children' (Sivadas, 1997:7).

Drawing from the above analyses, it appears that, Afghan refugees in India cannot be treated as a single homogenous community, particularly with regard to differences amongst them (as Ethnic and Indian origin) which seems to have been compounded in the host country and life experiences therein. The aspirations for education of their children appears to be different for both the ethnic and IOA's as also in the choice of schools and attitudes towards education. A mixture of pre-migration socio-cultural educational backgrounds as also post-migration experiences, future life-chances and durable solutions identified by the UNHCR for solution of their problems (resettlement, repatriation, local integration) seem to influence their education.

4:4 Tibetan Refugees in India- A Profile

The Tibetan refugees form one of the largest refugee groups in South Asia. The first batch of Tibetan refugees numbering to 85,000 crossed over into India on March 31, 1959, when the government of India granted asylum to their spiritual and temporal leader, the Dalai Lama. There are estimated to be a total of 100,000 Tibetan refugees in the country today with an estimated 2,500 fleeing every year to India, (statistics can be seen in table 4:1 and in Map1; 2 given in annex: 4) *(http://www.tibet.ca/wtarchive/1993/7/14-2_1.html)*

Attitude of the Host Country

The government of India does not support autonomy of Tibet, nor does it recognize the Tibetan government-in-exile established in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh. Despite this fact, the Dalai Lama and his followers were granted asylum in India and the "Government of India has scrupulously respected the principle of *non-refoulment*" (Chimni, 2000:493).

Tibetan refugees, Chimni observes, have been accorded recognition and also provided assistance, for instance –education, and other benefits not provided to other groups of refugees in India. Tibetan refugees have been "issued certificates of identity, which enables them to engage themselves in gainful employment, economic activities and even travel aboard and return to India" (Chimni, 2000:496). As observed in *The State of the World's Refugees's*,"since 1962 assistance programmes for the refugees have included the establishment of agricultural settlements and vocational training schemes. State governments in India have allocated refugee families an average of three acres of land each and have assisted them in constructing houses. They have also given Tibetan communities assistance in establishing water supplies, civic amenities, handicraft centres and schools. The Indian authorities have also provided ration cards, identity papers, residence permits and travel documents for registered Tibetan refugees, who are officially viewed as having come to India on pilgrimage. Although they are considered as foreigners under the 1946 Foreigners Act, they have been accorded the basic rights of most citizens but are not allowed to contest or vote in Indian elections. Those who migrated to India before March 1959 and who have been ordinarily resident in India since then are considered for Indian citizenship on an individual basis. Those married to Indian nationals may apply for Indian citizenship" (*The State of the World's Refugees*, 2002:63).

Thus, the difference in terms of the treatment accorded to Tibetan refugees by the government of India, as against other groups of refugees, for instance the Afghans, becomes apparent .As referred to earlier, such treatment is due to a complex network of geopolitical and national interest based considerations. The impact of humanitarian considerations, also, at the same time, has an impact on governmental policies providing assistance to refugees.

While acknowledgement has to be made of the favorable attitude of the Indian government towards the Tibetan refugees as exists at present, the complex interplay of

geopolitical factors as determining future treatment of the Tibetan refugees in India also cannot be ruled. As already pointed out, a curious paradox seems to characterize the attitude of the Government towards the Tibetan refugees in India. India, as referred to earlier, does not support "the independence or autonomy of Tibet", based on foreign policy considerations and the necessity to maintain relations with China, yet asylum has been provided to Tibetan refugees alongwith considerable welfare assistance, particularly in the field of education. The grant of this assistance on humanitarian grounds has continued, despite the fact that, " The continued presence of the Dalai Lama and his followers has always been a thorn in the side of Indo-Chinese relations" (Chimni, 2000:493).

As regards the attitude of the local people towards the Tibetan refugees in India, according to Chimni, "over the last three decades, the Tibetan community has lived peacefully side-by-side with local communities" (Chimni, 2000:494). However, he notes that in recent times some tension has arisen between local residents and the Tibetan community in places like Dharamsala in the state of Himachal Pradesh, which is the headquarters of the Dalai Lama. The [10]local community appears to resent the fact that there are two Dharamsalas:one of the Tibetans and the other of Himachalis" (Chimni, 2000:494).

However, Chimni observes that largely, incidents of discord have been few and have "in no way affected the relationship of the Dalai Lama with the Indian Government" (Chimni, 2000:494).

Tibetan refugees in India, it may be observed, therefore do not seem to particularly suffer from the adverse consequences of refugeeism, especially in comparison to other refugee groups in the country, for example: Afghan refugees. This is primarily because of the favourable attitude of the Indian Government, as also of the local community, which barring a few stray incidents of resentment, seems to have co-existed in an environment of relative peace with the refugees. However, because they still remain refugees in an alien land, their continued stay and grant of welfare assistance

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[10] According to Chimni other causes of local resentment against the Tibetan refugees were that, "Tibetans, it was alleged were buying large tracts of land through unlawful *benami* transactions. (Under local Himachal Pradesh Tenancy Act, only the Himachalis can buy land in the state of Himachal Pradesh). Chimni, further notes that in May, 1994, after a local youth was alledgedly killed by a Tibetan, there were incidents of local violence against the Tibetan community and the situation had reached a point where the Dalai Lama threatened to shift his base to another part of India.The crises blew over, after the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh apologized to the Dalai Lama and requested him to continue in Dharamsala"(Chimni, 2000:494).

cannot be taken for granted, as it continues to be dependant upon the goodwill of the host government and people and as such is subject to constant change.

b) Group Circumstances and Pre-Migration Resources

The quality of education available to the Tibetan children in Tibet appears to be poor. According to the Tibetan Government in Exile, "Roughly one third of the school – aged children in Tibet continue to receive no education at all. This is due to the remoteness of some Tibetan regions, as also due to the prohibitively high school fees charged by the Chinese authorities. Even when a child can afford fees, bribes and other charges, they must frequently confront blatant discrimination making it difficult or impossible to qualify for secondary or tertiary education. Tibetan children receive virtually no education on their indigenous Tibetan culture and history at the public schools in Tibet. The phasing out of Tibetan language in Tibetan schools and universities indicates the intention of Chinese authorities to deny students the right to be taught in their mother tongue. In an attempt to "sinocise" the Tibetan people, children are targeted for indoctrination; their freedom thought, religion and expression repressed" *(www.tibet.com/human rights/edu today/html).*

It is observed that education in Tibet is largely discriminatory in nature and has effectively been "streaming out" many local children *(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu .html)*. According to the Director of the Daharamsala's Children's Village, "The Tibetans are gradually been pushed out to the backyards. There are two systems of schools :one for the Chinese, where you have some prospect of going on to higher education, and then Tibetan schools where teachers themselves may not have finished grade four." The schools available for the Tibetan children in Tibet have been termed as "schools for failure, consciously designed to foster failure, such that they can hardly be improved upon" (Lafitte, 1999:19).

However, while the quality of education that Tibetan children bring in from Tibet into India, might be poor, the high level of motivation towards education and educational aspirations with which they come to the country also has to be recognized. Tibetan children are" often sent by their parents in the hope that they will receive proper education- that preserves their cultural heritage alongwith providing necessary qualifications and skills"*(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*. The extent of this

motivation, may be gauged from the fact that, "many children at Dharamsala, who have crossed the Himalayas to study in India have missing toes and fingers from frostbite on their journey. Their parents face penalties from the Chinese, including dismissal from jobs, if the flight is found out"(*http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*.

b) Institutional Structures and Post-Migration Resources

The Tibetan refugees receive recognition as well as support from the Government of India, especially with regard to education. This is in direct contrast to the lack of recognition as also provision of educational support to the Afghan and other groups of refugees in the country. Acknowledging this support, the Dalai Lama observed that, "Over the years, the people and the Government of India have given us Tibetans tremendous support, particularly in the field of education. They gave us financial assistance, found us buildings, and provided dedicated and experienced Indian teachers" *(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*. Norbu also observes that "India's patronage of Tibetan education since the early 1960's represents one of the biggest investments she has made in the Tibetan refugees. This unprecedented generosity has to be appreciated all the more because India is not without her economic problems" (as cited in Chimni, 2000:496).

Alongwith the Government of India's support, educational assistance in terms of financial contributions, scholarships and grants are provided by foreign relief organizations, such as the Kinderdorf International, towards the cause of education of Tibetan refugee children. This has benefited the Department of Education of the Tibetan Government in exile in realization of the goal of education for all Tibetan refugee children. Financial contributions have helped in the construction of adequate number of schools alongwith hostel facilities enabling Tibetan refugee children in remote parts of the country to pursue their education also. The financial contributions have also enabled a Tibetan printing press to be operational, where books on Tibetan literature, folk tales etc. are published and provided to children *(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*.

I) Policies of the Government of India

As referred to earlier, there are two kinds of policies of the government of India towards the different groups of refugees in the country. The Tibetan refugees (unlike other refugee groups like-Afghans etc.) have been accorded recognition, alongwith

provision of special assistance with regard to welfare functions such as education by the Government of India.

According to Chimni, there are three different categories of schools for the Tibetan refugee children in India – the CTSA schools, financed and administered by the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA), an autonomous body under the Ministry of Human Resource Development of India, which, "finances the operation of these schools by subsidizing educational expenditure (*http://www.tibet.ca/wtarchive/1993/7/14-2_1.html*). Apart from the CTSA schools are the Department of Education Schools of the exile government (DoE) and the Autonomous schools. "Until 1975, the Government of India provided free education to all the Tibetan students in the CTSA schools...However, now it is stated to have started "monthly fees to supplement the school budget" *(http://www.tibet.ca/wtarchive/1993/7/14-2_1.html)*(Statistics given in table 4:2).

The CTSA annually awards 15 scholarships for three-year degree courses and 5 scholarships for vocational training to Tibetan refugee students graduating from CTSA schools. To help Tibetan students pursue higher education, the Government of India every year reserves seats for Tibetans in Indian institutions for the following fields of study: Engineering (3 seats), Medicine (1), Pharmacy (1) and Printing technology (2) *(http://www.tibet.ca/wtarchive/1993/7/14-2_1.html)*.

Apart from the educational assistance provided by the government of India to Tibetan refugee children, the Tibetan government in exile's policies towards education also needs to be elaborated upon.

2) Policies of the Tibetan Government in Exile

The Dalai Lama, the spiritual head of the Tibetan refugees in India considered as one of the highest priorities, the education for the hundreds of children, many of them orphaned, who had come to India, Nepal and Bhutan. According to the Dalai Lama, " Only a successful education system, would maintain Tibetan identity, culture and heritage, and also prepare Tibetan children for the challenges posed by new ideas and technology." The government in exile established the Department of Education (DoE), formerly known as the Council for Tibetan Education of the Central Tibetan Administration, in 1960 "to oversee the education and care of Tibetan refugee children".

There are stated to be 34 DoE schools (5 of them residential and 25 day schools) that are directly funded and administered by the Department of Education.

Most of these schools are primary or middle level schools and students graduating from these schools have to be transferred to CTSA schools to complete their secondary and senior secondary school education"(*http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html*).

Access to Education

At present there are 85 schools enrolling Tibetan children in India, Nepal and Bhutan with a total enrollment of 27,217 students. 23 of the 85 schools are observed to be residential; the remaining 62 being day schools. In addition, there are stated to be 62 pre-primary schools with 1,997 children. As mentioned in Table 4:2, apart from the 30 CTSA schools (financed by an autonomous body under the Ministry of Human Resource Development of India); 34 DoE schools, as mentioned above (funded and administered by the DoE, Tibetan Government in exile), there are also observed to be 21 Autonomous schools, categorized into TCV schools THF and private schools (funded by private charitable organizations) (*http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html*).

A maximum number of students seem to be attending the CTSA schools (government of India administered), followed by the DOE schools (administered by the Tibetan government in exile) and the Autonomous schools (administered by private charitable organizations) (Details given in Table 4:2 below).

TABLE 4:2 STATISTICS: TIBETAN REFUGEE CHILDREN AND EDUCATION

School Category	Total Schools	Total Students	Total Teachers	Teacher: Student ratio
CTSA schools	30	11,607	530	1:22
DoE, India	17	2,075	138	1:15
DoE, Nepal	13	2,536	139	1:17
DoE, Bhutan	4	174	6	1:17
Autonomous Schools: TCV Schools	15	8,410	450	1:19
THF Schools	2	1,447	65	1:22
Private Schools	4	971	55	1:18
Sub-Total	**85**	**27,220**	**1,383**	**1:20**
Pre-primary Schools:				
CTSA	51	1,199	51	
DoE	1	45	1	
TCV	10	753	29	
Sub-Total	**62**	**1,997**	**81**	
Total	**147**	**29,217**	**1,464**	

(Source: *http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html*)

The enrollment rate in these Tibetan schools (as given in Table 4:2 above), is said to be almost 80% .It is believed that since, "many children from scattered communities go to non-Tibetan schools the overall school enrollment rate of Tibetan refugee children will be higher, perhaps in the range of 85 to 90 percent" (*http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*.

Thus, access to education (particularly to primary, secondary and senior secondary), does not appear to be a problem with regard to the Tibetan refugee in India.

Access to higher education, however, appears to be more problematic. According to Chimni, education being a state –as opposed to Federal- responsibility in India, one of the requirements of admission into any of the state colleges is a 'domicile certificate' which confirms that his or her parents are legal residents of that state. "If you are not a legal resident of the state, you are not eligible to apply for admission. Furthermore, to be able to get a domicile certificate a Tibetan student must first take Indian citizenship, a highly sensitive and emotional issue with Tibetan refugees" (Chimni, 405:2000). This requirement of Tibetan refugees to forego their refugee status to acquire domicile certificates to seek admissions to professional colleges and institutions of higher education/training in the country seems to be resented by them. According to Tsering and Sinclair, this is because of the long cherished dream of going back to *"Free Tibet"* because of which Tibetans tend to cherish their "refugee" status and their identity, not being interested in applying for naturalization in India. This problem, according to them, is being solved, to an extent, with state governments, for instance Himachal Pradesh, reserving a few seats in medical and other professional institutions for Tibetan students (Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:16).

School Processes and Outcomes of Education

The Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) of the Government of India designs the school curriculum used in schools enrolling Tibetan children in India. Besides, taking subjects under the CBSE –approved curriculum Tibetan students are taught Tibetan language, dance and music. Tibetan language textbooks published by the TCV and the CTA are distributed to students. Amongst the amenities provided to Tibetan refugee students "free textbooks in all subjects throughout their schooling as well as free stationary items." In the day schools children are being provided with 'mid-

day meals'. Emphasis is being given "to sports and proper physical development under the guidance of qualified instructors" *(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*.

Outcomes in education of Tibetan refugee children can be gauged from the fact that the enrollment rate in Tibetan schools, as mentioned earlier is said to be almost 80%. The Tibetan refugee community has been able to achieve "almost universal literacy amongst the younger generations, when only 30 years ago, it had a very low literacy rate". Many students have also been able to go beyond school to study at universities, colleges and vocational training centers. The outcome of education for Tibetan refugee children in India is observed by the Tibetan government in exile in India, as "one of the greatest achievements of the refugee community" *(http://www, tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*.

Culture, Language and Identity: Perspectives and Strategies

The issue of preservation of native culture, language and identity appears to be a very important and sensitive issue with the Tibetan refugees in India. Their desire to preserve their cohesive cultural identity can be seen to have been largely fulfilled by their group endeavors as also by the favorable attitude of the Government of India towards them.

As observed in *The State of the World's Refugees*, "The Indian government has consciously promoted a policy which enables the Tibetan community to maintain it's distinct identity and cultural values, together with a political and administrative system of it's own. From the start separate settlements were identified and established in geographically suitable areas so as to provide them with economic, social and religious autonomy" (*The State of the World's Refugees*, 2002:63). The Indian Government's efforts in this direction may have been effected by the attitude of the Tibetan refugees towards their cultural identities. As Chimni observes, " In the beginning, the Tibetan refugees resisted efforts to settle them permanently in the country of asylum", but agreed later, on the condition that "the government of India would allow them to settle in large relatively isolated communities. This would allow them to protect and maintain their separate cultural and religious traditions" (Chimni, 2000:494).

This desire to preserve their particular cultural and linguistic identity sometimes seems to become problematic for the Tibetan refugees in India. For instance, as referred to earlier, the requirement for Tibetans to first take up Indian citizenship so that they get a domicile certificate, enabling them to apply for admission to various technical

/professional institutions in the country is resented by them. This issue, of acquiring Indian citizenship, appears to have been a very sensitive one with the Tibetan refugees, for, according to Tsering and Sinclair, "Taking Indian citizenship and forsaking refugee status negates the very purpose of fleeing one's country" for Tibetans, the desire to return back to "Free Tibet" being a long cherished goal" (Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:16-19).

Proposals for a 'Tibetan Liberal Arts College are made by them so as to ensure that "the preservation of Tibetan culture does not come to an abrupt end when a student finishes High school, with his being forced to join an Indian college or training institute." This problem has to some extent been resolved, as mentioned earlier, by the reserving of a certain number of seats in medical, engineering colleges etc. by the Government of India for the Tibetan refugees (Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:16-19).

A look at the goals of the Department of Education of the Government in exile also validates the conscious attempts to maintain the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Tibetan refugees. The Department of Education's policies and strategies to preserve the cultural heritage of the Tibetans has not been seen in the case of other refugee groups in the country, for instance, the Afghans and, therefore requires to be particularly noted. Apart from the desire to promote educational standards in the schools catering to Tibetan children, the goals of the Department of Education seem to be largely oriented towards maintainance of cultural and linguistic heritage of the Tibetan refugees in India. According to Tsering and Sinclair, the institutions involved in the education sector of the Tibetan Government in exile, "now hope to give greater priority to improving general academic standards, including in the areas of science and mathematics; developing Tibetan as a medium of instruction; and developing the skilled manpower required for a modern nation in the future" (Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:16-19).

The goals of the Department of Education of the Tibetan Government in exile are as follows:

- "To provide primary education to every Tibetan refugee child, in order to achieve 100 percent literacy among the younger generations
- To bring up the community's children as Tibetans, deep rooted in their cultural and national heritage
- To impart to the community's children modern, scientific and technical education and skills

- To provide more opportunities for Tibetans to attend further education, especially in vocational and technical subjects
- To look after the physical, mental and spiritual needs of Tibetan children, and to make them responsible, productive and self-reliant members of society"(Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:19).

Further, according to Tsering and Sinclair, the Tibetan refugees in India are also giving the call of "Education for Tibetans by Tibetans". While appreciating the improvements brought about by the Central Tibetan School Administration (an autonomous body under the Government of India) in the Tibetan schools, Tsering and Sinclair criticize it for bringing about very little educational innovations and curriculum reforms to ensure a Tibetan education for Tibetan children. The non-Tibetan educators entrusted by the CTSA, with this responsibility, "have to become fully informed about Tibetan history, culture, values and aspirations, before they may truly lead" (Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:19).

Tsering and Sinclair, thus suggest that the "Department of Education (of the Tibetan Government in exile), which has limited influence over CTSA, be made the central educational body, with Tibetans managing their own education, developing their own priorities and policies, so that a modern education, that may later become the basis for education in independent Tibet is established" (Tsering and Sinclair, 1999:19).

Another fact that emphasizes the importance of their cultural heritage for the Tibetans, is that the Tibetan schools, besides offering subjects under the CBSE approved curriculum, also teach Tibetan language and Tibetan dance and music. The Tibetan refugees also have a 'Tibetan Cultural Printing Press' which is an autonomous body, the principal duty of which is stated to be to supply the schools in the refugee community with Tibetan textbooks *(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html)*.

The particular strategies adopted by the Tibetan refugee community in India to retain their cultural and linguistic heritage, as mentioned earlier, is not seen in any other refugee community in India. The fact that the Government of India has provided them adequate financial and infrastructural support also has to be acknowledged. Substantial financial contributions by International support organizations, like the Kinderdorf International etc (*http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html*) also seem to have enabled the Tibetan government-in-exile and it's Department of Education to take suitable

educational initiatives, like establishment of the Tibetan Printing Press etc. to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage in India.

Education of Tibetan and Afghan Refugee Children: A Comparative Perspective

What emerges from the foreground is that the education of the Tibetan refugee children has achieved great strides, especially in comparison to the Afghan refugees. The uneven spread and differential performance in education of the Tibetan refugees, especially in comparison to the Afghan refugees, therefore becomes apparent.

A review of the goals of the education sector of the Tibetan refugees in India, seems to suggest considerable achievement of the refugee community in the concern and spread of education as the goals of the Tibetan refugee community seem to be now targeted at maintaining their culture, language and identity. With basic infrastructure: schools, teachers, hostels etc as also an estimated 80% of universal literacy rate having been achieved by the Department of Education, it's strategies, as pointed earlier, seem to be now targeted towards maintainance of ethno-linguistic heritage of the Tibetan community in schools enrolling Tibetan children.

The achievements in the field of education for Tibetan refugee children can also be gauged from the fact that, "in the year 1992-93 the total expenditure on the education of Tibetan refugee children (borne by many International donors like, SOS; Kinderdorf International and many individuals) was about 160 million- this total, representing just under half of the total resources of all the central institutions of the Tibetan refugee community". It is observed that by allocating resources (which seem to be considerable) in this way, the Tibetan refugee community has been able to achieve the goal of universal literacy for it's younger generations) *(http://www.tibet.com/govt/edu.html.)*.

Achievements in the field of education of the Tibetan refugees in India, as mentioned earlier, are also the result of the favorable attitude of the Government of India and the group strategies and inputs adopted by the Tibetan community in India. Lastly, the motivation in the Tibetan community for *"Free Tibet"*, whenever, it is established, to be led by an educated /skilled manpower is also an encouraging factor as it prioritizes education alongwith an emphasis on maintainance of the cultural and linguistic identity of the Tibetan refugees in India.

In conclusion, the achievements of the Tibetan refugee community in the field of education of Tibetan refugee children, especially in comparison with other groups of

refugees in India (example-Afghan refugees) seem to have been possible due to the combination of pre-migration group circumstances and post-migration situational conditions, which worked to the former's advantage as analyzed above.

The Tibetan refugees seem to have performed better than the Afghan refugees in India in terms of education due to firstly, the high level of motivation, aspirations for education and desire to excel with which they come to India As mentioned before, Tibetan refugee children are driven away by the poor quality of education as also the "blatant discrimination" practiced against them in Tibet by the Chinese authorities *(www.tibet.com/human rights/edu today/html)*. The educational assistance provided by the government of India, as mentioned before further provides an impetus to them for availing the educational facilities available for them in India as also achieving excellence in education. While the Afghan refugees also have educational aspirations for their children, other matters of immediate concern appear to be more important for them. As mentioned before, the lack of legal recognition and support from the host government makes their continued stay in the country a matter of speculation. In this uncertain atmosphere, regular schooling for their children, more often, seems to be their concern rather than the quality of schooling and upholding of the native language, culture and identity through this schooling.

Secondly, the financial aid provided by a host of International humanitarian organizations, for instance: Kinderdorf International etc. to the Tibetan refugees seems to have enabled them to strengthen educational provisions for Tibetan children. The Afghan refugees, as a group, do not appear to have really been able to mobilise such resources for educational initiatives in the country.

The cohesive group identity of the Tibetan refugees and their common aspirations to go back to "Free Tibet" as educated /skilled people in the near future can also be seen as an added advantage. The divisions amongst the Afghan refugees in terms of ethnic vs the Indian origin Afghans as also other socio-economic and other differences, as seen before, leads to differences in educational aspirations and performance.

The diversity amongst the different group of refugees, in India as also elsewhere, therefore needs to be recognized in terms of their pre-migration experiences and resources as also their post-migration circumstances and resources which have important implications for the education of their children. The last chapter will be an attempt to present a brief summary as also to highlight the major conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 5

Summary and Conclusion

- ***"They took me and forced me to clear mines and they put my father in jail-they took my mother. I saw my friend get killed clearing mines and I was also hurt. I escaped-but I don't have any information about my family. I have a little brother and sister and I don't know how they are doing. How can I find them? When my English foster parent says, 'Why don't you go out?' I don't say anything, because my problem is in my heart. I can't think about anything else."***

  - Ahmed from Afghanistan resettled in UK

- ***"School is more safe than in our country...in my country, it ain't safe at school-anyone could kill you there."***

  -15 year old Kosovan boy resettled in UK

- ***"Education is most important and to learn English."***

  -15 year old Afghan boy resettled in UK

(Source: http://193.129.255.93/campaigns/forgotten/voices.html)

The above lines give a sense of the uprooted identity of refugee children and the simple desires for a safe and normal life which comprises of family, friends and school, which is, most often, denied to them due to their condition of 'refugeeness'. The present chapter briefly summarizes, raises questions and focusses on this condition of refugeeism and it's implications for the education of refugee children in the international as also the national context.

5:1 Who is a Refugee?

Article 1 of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees defines "a refugee as a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution" (UNHCR, 2001:33).

The condition of refugees is different from that of economic migrants or immigrants, as a refugee is forced to cross an international border to save his/her life, while the economic migrant, voluntarily moves to improve his/her economic position and to better his/her life. Further, the conditions of refugees also seems to be different from the other ethnic minorities in a society, as apart from a socio-cultural and ethno-

linguistic context that is different from the dominant majority, complex geo-political international and national factors govern their treatment in the host country. The concept of a refugee emerged only in the twentieth century, prior to which those who sought refuge from political persecution were regarded not as refugees but as "exiles" (Xenos, 1993:422).

5:2 Is Refugeeism a phenomenon specific to certain countries?

Most of the countries of the world seem to have experienced the phenomenon of refugeeism in some degree or the other. This is because of most countries of the world have at some time or the other experienced political and economic upheaval –the prime cause of the problem of refugeeism. According to the UNHCR, however, because the causes of political and economic upheaval ie "deprivation of human rights, civil war, lack of food and other resources remaining in operation in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the large-scale movement of refugees is bound to continue, and even intensify" in this part of the world (UNHCR, Notification no1, undated). Armed conflicts in countries, for instance, Afghanistan, Angola, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Burundi, Colombia, Guatemala, Lebanon, Liberia, Myanmar, Iraq, Turkey, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka in recent years have created millions of refugees.

5:3 How many refugees are there in the world today?

Statistics on refugees and other uprooted people are often inexact and controversial as "one country's refugee is always another country's illegal alien" (US Committee for Refugees, 2001:1). There are an estimated 14,544,000 refugees and asylum seekers in the world today, according to the US Committee for Refugees. Out of this, as many as half are estimated to be children and adolescents. According to the UNHCR statistics, each day 5000 children become refugees and one in every 230 persons in the world is a child or adolescent who has been forced to leave his/her home.

5:4 Are refugees a homogeneous group?

Refugees are not a homogeneous group. Intergroup and intragroup differences can be seen to abound amongst them that needs to be recognized if policies are made by educators to provide proper assistance as also to justify the need for provision of such assistance to the vulnerable groups amongst the refugees. For example, amongst refugee

children, those regarded as "at-risk" by international organizations like the UNHCR are: female refugee children; disabled refugee children; unaccompanied children etc. Recognition of differences amongst the first, second and third generation of refugees in terms of their adjustment and 'acculturation' levels with the host country seem to be exist alongwith differences in terms of 'waves' of arrival to the host country, which also have to be accounted for (Stein, 2001:5). Differences thus seem to abound amongst refugees having distinct cultures and forced to flee due to a wide variety of historical circumstances.

Differences also seem to exist amongst refugees in terms of their location. While refugee camps are a major feature of today's refugee scene with roughly one-half of the millions of refugees in the world being in some type of camp situation, the location of refugees is also determined by their stage of refugee experience. These stages comprise of –*repatriation* (going back home with the stabilizing of situation in the home country), *resettlement*- being granted resettlement /possibilities of restarting life in a third, usually developed country and lastly, *local integration* – getting permission to settle in the first country of asylum. The location of refugees is therefore not of a uniform nature and tends to signify lives in a constant state of flux as against lives in a state of inertia. Recognition of these varied diversities amongst refugee groups is called for to avoid stereotypification in terms of framing of policies and provision of welfare assistance including education.

5:5 Are there differences in treatment of Refugeeism by the developed and developing world?

Most of the developed countries of the world have signed the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, which is the primary international convention governing the status and treatment of refugees in the world. The developed countries also seem to contribute to most of the funding for programs that assist refugees. Most of the developing countries, on the other hand, have not signed the Convention, do not even have national legislations on refugees but yet host "some of the largest and most protracted caseloads of refugees in the world"(Mahiga, 2001:40).

Observations by scholars, for instance, Menon, suggests that developed countries with their elaborate and restrictive mechanisms of grant of asylum, have admitted only a small percentage of refugees in the last five decades (one estimate suggests that it is less

than five percent of the total refugee population). Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, refer to former British PM John Major contention a few years back that, "We must not be wide open to all corners, just because Rome, Paris and London are more attractive than Bombay and Algiers" (Suryanarayan and Sudarsen, 2000:9).

South Asian countries, including India, on the other hand, seem to be relatively generous towards asylum seekers due to being guided largely by humanitarian traditions as also due to their borders being largely porous and easy to cross.

5:6 How do refugees adapt to the host country?

Once refugees are uprooted from their native countries and transplanted to alien lands with languages, cultures and ways of living, often entirely different from theirs, refugees seem to attempt to adjust and adapt to the changed circumstances, to meet the urgent demands of survival. Their degree of socio-cultural adjustment and adaptation is seem to be determined by a complex host of factors, which is primarily a mix of pre-migration resources and experiences combined with post-migration circumstances in the host country. As pointed out earlier, in the models of Goldlust and Richmond (1982) and Stein (2001), pre-migration characteristics include the resources brought by refugees with them from their native countries, like, the degree of education, prior urbanization, demographic characteristics, and motivation possessed. Post-migration circumstances, on the other hand, include government policies of the host country (on immigration, provision of welfare assistance including provisioning of education etc.), urbanization/industrialization, pluralism/stratification in the host society, status-changes, culture-shock and inter-generational conflicts. The combination of these two factors are seen to interact and to be influenced by intragroup differences of gender, disability etc, eventually leading to new social patterns of adjustment and adaptation in the host country.

5:7 Does education facilitate adjustment to the host country?

Education is one of the major factors that is seen to not only determine the degree and extent of socio-cultural adaptation in the host country, but also "the precise form that the adaptation takes" (Richmond, 1988:113). Education is seen as a critical component facilitating adjustment to the host country for refugee children who in most cases are victims of armed conflicts craving for normality. Education, in this context, it is

observed acts as a "primary survival strategy"(Flukiger-Stockton cited in Hannah, 1999:155) for these children, who often are denied a normal childhood due to their circumstances of refugeeism with it's corresponding notions of uprootedness, loss of family, friends, culture, identity and a whole way of life. Schools in the host country are seen as critical in addressing issues of survival, security, identity and opportunity as protective sanctuaries providing psychosocial support, alongwith necessary skills and qualifications to refugee children. Education, particularly higher education is believed to improve the refugees' opportunities in the labor market and therefore his/her degree of occupational mobility. Teachers, in this context, are seen as cultural brokers, enabling refugee children to acquire skills to "cross borders" (Gay, 1993:295) and yet maintain links, both with the host community and their native community as a critical factor in facilitating socio-cultural adjustment without the experiencing of feelings of uprootedness and alienation.

5:8 Do Issues of culture, language, identity and opportunity create dilemmas in education of refugee children?

The conflicting demands of home/parents to conform to the rapidly vanishing native cultural values and language with the opposing demands of school/peer group to conform to the host society's cultures and ways of living so as to gain peer-group acceptance and long-term occupational mobility seem to create dilemmas for refugee children. These dilemmas, the result of being caught up in the bind of conflicting cultures, further seems to have consequences upon the individual identities of refugee children, which in turn appears to have an effect on their educational performance. In this context of the dilemmas faced by refugee children, Dahrendorf's classification of life-chances as 'options' and 'ligatures' becomes important. While 'options' are the qualifications people receive from education, 'ligatures' are 'bonds between people', which are sometimes prized by people belonging to the Southeast Asian countries, even at the cost of 'options'. Cultural barriers in classrooms in the developed world are often seem to result with teachers often being unable to grasp the significance of 'ligatures' as against 'options' resulting in implications for the educational performance of such children.

The language of instruction also seems to results in dilemmas in that "learning a new language means learning to be a part of a new social system, and this in turn may

mean, having to relinquish elements of the old (Nann, 1982:2). Thus, the problem exists in the need to learn the language (s) of the host country which tends to hamper the acquisition and maintainance of their native languages, which further, can result in problems in adjusting, once they are able to get back to their native countries.

Certain dilemmas in the treatment of refugee children as 'special' or as 'same' ie. similar to the children in the host country also faces educators. The specific circumstances of unstable educational backgrounds and traumatic pasts of refugee children is seen to become aggravated by the need to adjust to a new environment and calls for special assistance in the way of provision of psycho-social support, 'special' bilingual schools, recognition of problems like destroyed/inaccessible certificates (with the category of 'most-at-risk' children like, unaccompanied, female and disabled children being particularly targeted). However, there seems to be the corresponding need for provision of such services to be accompanied by the collection of statistics on refugee children, as in the absence of identification, provision of services as also their justification becomes difficult. Collection of statistics is a major issue of contention between scholars in the developed world as it is criticized as leading to 'labeling' and therefore, discrimination against such children.

5:9 Can school be the solution to problems of culture and identity faced by refugee children?

Schools in the host country may be viewed as vital socializing agents that can help refugee children understand the new country, so as to adjust to it's values and lifestyles. At the same time, they can also enable refugee children to continue to be proud of and preserve their individual cultures, languages, for instance, by encouraging the use of the native languages in their homes/communities, alongwith teaching them the languages of the home country to enable them to survive and move up the occupational ladder. Scholars, for instance, Corson, have therefore called for, "more sensitive approaches" to educational organization (Corson, 1993:40) which can facilitate the socio-cultural and educational adjustment of refugee children to the host society.

5:10 What are the perspectives that govern the treatment of refugees in host countries?

Two major perspectives i.e. the Global Egalitarian perspective and the Communitarian perspective have governed the treatment of refugees over a period of time. Following the Global Egalitarian perspective, the UNHCR and the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees were created in Europe to resolve the refugee problems in the aftermath of the Second World War. Despite international commitments to provide protection to refugees and provision of welfare assistance to them, a complex intermix of geopolitical factors based on domestic politics, however, seems to have actually determined treatment of different refugee groups as also individuals in the host countries. As an instance of the complicated mesh of geopolitical and domestic factors which govern the treatment of refugees is the example of the world renowned scientist, Einstein (who was also a refugee) and who observed that,

"If my theory of relativity is proven correct, Germany will claim me as a German and France will declare that I am a citizen of the world. Should my theory prove untrue, France will say that I am a German and Germany will declare that I am a jew" (Einstein cited in http://www.oneworld.net/guides/refugees/front.shtml).

The treatment of refugees by signatories as well as non-signatories to the 1951 Convention on Refugees, thus seems to accrue from the intermixture of national and international politics notwithstanding commitments to international refugee conventions and instruments. A gradual change from a Global Egalitarian perspective (based on lofty humanitarian principles advocating 'open borders' and the Rawlsian view of justice) to a Communitarian perspective (based on primacy of national interest and 'restricted entry') appears to have taken place over the years. This shift in perspectives and attitudes towards refugees due to what has been termed as "compassion fatigue" of the developed world, seems to have been brought on by increasing anti-immigrant sentiments – an aftermath of international events, like the Sep'11WTC incident in the US as crime tends to be regarded as "something which outside aliens bring into our world"(Suarez-Orozco, 1998,294). Events, such as these, compound the attitudes of suspicion and distrust already existing against refugees. Refugees seem to be resented almost everywhere in the world because of their fractured identities which appear to mirror the uncertainty of peoples' everyday lives (as undergoing rapid changes in family and work organization as a result of industrialization; globalization etc. Another cause of this resentment against

refugees seems to be the belief that they have been cutting through the resources of the developed world. According to Suarez-Orozco, "the era of disposable workers means manic relocations following or anticipating downsizing" (Suarez-Orozco, 1998:288). He explains that humble foreigners then become "illegal aliens", abusing social services and successful immigrants become "sneaky competitors stealing our jobs" (Suarez-Orozco, 1998:292).

The shift from the Global Egalitarian perspective to the Communitarian perspective seems to have emerged as a major feature determining grant of asylum as also welfare services to refugee groups in the world, particularly in the developed world.

5:11 What are the contexts, perspectives and strategies being adopted towards education of refugee children in the world?

a) International Conventions and organizations

The right to education of refugee children, alongwith all other children in the world has been espoused by several international conventions and instruments, for instance, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child and the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees. Based on the concept of education as a human right that ought to be available to all children, international organizations, for instance, the UNHCR, UNICEF, UNESCO etc. and several NGO's and support organizations of refugee groups have been trying to make the provision of education available to children through grant of books, stationary, funding of schools and other such initiatives. However, while instruments calling for provision of education do exist at the international level, the actual implementation of such policies and programmes seems to be influenced by domestic politics of nation states, with their specific policies being subject to constant revisions.

b) Developed Countries

The concept of multicultural education has been adopted as an educational strategy for refugee children by developed countries such as Canada; US; Australia and Britain. These programmes are targeted towards providing essential qualifications as also maintainance of ethno-linguistic heritage of refugee children There, however, seem to be gaps and bottlenecks existing in the implementation of these multicultural educational policies, primarily at the level of bilingual programmes. Multicultural educational programmes seem to have been inadequate in terms of being unable to resolve the

dilemmas faced by refugee children of wanting to 'integrate' with the host society (so as to gain peer group acceptance and occupational and educational mobility) at one level, while, also desiring to maintain some semblance of their native cultural and linguistic heritage, at the other level. The concept of an educational environment imbued with a multicultural ethos-with school as the 'third ring of security' and teachers as "change agents"(Gay, 1993:295) transcending cultural barriers and enabling their students to achieve similar goals, while exotic, seems to be difficult to implement in the wake of problems, for instance, the problem of lack of institutional sensitivity and prejudiced outlook of school staff, etc

c) Developing/ Underdeveloped Countries

There exist strategies for provisioning of education for refugee children in the underdeveloped and developing world in a few refugee camps scattered in different parts of the world as also in the first countries of asylum. The differences in provisioning of education in this part of the world in comparison to the developed world has to be recognized with basic access to education being a problem due to lack of adequate resources and infrastructure in these countries. Other problems, for instance, low enrollment rates of female refugee children due to safety concerns in camps, the lack of provisions for secondary and higher education also becomes problematic for countries which are unable, in most circumstances, to provide education even to their nationals. While refugee children resettled aboard have multicultural educational programmes being envisaged to cater to their specific educational needs, access to basic education seems to be a problem for refugee children in camps. However, according to the Machel Report on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children (1996), educational initiatives in refugee camps in these countries are being undertaken with the support of international organizations like the UNHCR, UNICEF etc. to provide "some semblance of structure and routine" to their lives and to help in the process of "recovery, healing and reconciliation" *(http://www.unicef.org/sowc96/16relief.htm)*.

d) Initiatives by refugee families/ communities

Educational initiatives by refugee families and communities also appear to have emerged as major support systems in the provisioning of education envisaged by international organizations, host countries and NGO's. Activities, for instance, the community- financing of educational instituitions appears to be problematic, with only the relatively prosperous refugee communities supported by international donors etc.

being able to take up such initiatives. The absence of monetary resources of refugee communities as providing initiatives for launch of educational endeavors, however, can be compensated, according to organizations like the UNHCR, by supporting the skills and motivation of refugees so that they can rely on community- based/supported schools and teachers.

5:12 The Indian situation on refugees: how is the education of refugee children in India conceptualized and implemented?

India has hosted some of the largest numbers of refugee populations in the world, even though, it is not a member of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees. According to tentative estimates, there seem to be around 314,875 refugees belonging to countries as diverse as –Afghanistan, Tibet, Myanmar, SriLanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia etc. in the country. These refugee groups seem to be largely scattered throughout the country, with only the SriLankan Tamil refugees largely concentrated in a particular state (in 23 refugee camps in Tamil Nadu). A study of the Indian situation, therefore seems to be particularly challenging as the refugee groups in India belong to diverse countries with different backgrounds, are scattered all over India and are also treated differently by the Government of India in terms of grant of recognition and welfare assistance.

The education of refugee children in India, seems to be determined by the interplay of international conventions and national policies (subject to constant revisions) that determine provisioning of education for the various refugee groups in the country. The education of Afghan and Tibetan refugee children, for example as highlighted in this study are instances of two groups with varied pre-migration circumstances and post-migration experiences, which combined with intra-group differences determine the diverse educational experiences and outcomes of both these groups. The education of the Afghan refugees, as under the mandate of the UNHCR and the Tibetan refugees under the purview of the Government of India as has been explored, appears to suggest that given the diversities of the circumstances of both these groups, an approach which is sensitive to the diversities amongst them and at the same time which recognizes the uniformities amongst them (in terms of their being refugees) is required, taking into consideration the issues of culture, identity, opportunity and learning and the resultant dilemmas that emerge due to the intermeshing of these complex factors.

5:13 Evolving a framework for the study of education of refugee children

A review of existing literature and frameworks suggests that the complex process of refugeeism involves unforseen, en masse movements of people to unknown territories brought about by threats to their lives and liberties in their native countries and is accompanied by efforts to adjust to the host country. To study the process of refugeeism as also related issues like education of refugee children seems to be problematic as according to scholars like Stein, "Refugee research is not a ready-made field of study", it lacks standard textbooks, a theoretical structure, a systematic body of data, and even a firm definition of the subject of the field. The researchers must be prepared to wander over neighboring fields, borrowing and modifying ideas, concepts and theories from analogous situations" (Stein, 2001:2).

In recognition of these difficulties and the fact that this area of research seems to be largely untouched with very little previous data/statistics available the study of the education of refugee children has been attempted by adopting an interdisciplinary approach by incorporating two diverse perspectives of Goldlust and Richmond (1982) on immigrant socio-cultural adaptation in the host country and Brint's perspective on schooling and inequality (1982) of diverse groups in society. The study reveals that the educational circumstances of refugee children are influenced by pre-migration resources, like the level of prior educational and occupational qualifications as also by post-migration resources like, the situational experiences in the host country. Also, since their post-migration circumstances includes the level of the host government's support which is determined by a complex mesh of international and national geopolitical factors, the latter is constantly in a state of flux and, therefore implies constantly changing attitudes of the host government towards the educational and other welfare policies towards the refugee groups within their national borders.

To understand and appreciate the traumas that affect the educational performances of refugee children, Brint's perspective of conceiving of refugee groups as "active collaborators" as against "passive receivers" of welfare programmes seems also to be relevant. Following Boyden, refugees can also be conceived of as "resourceful individuals" as against "vulnerable victims" who strategise with the available resources to determine their future life-chances. Studies dealing with children to accompany an understanding of children's perspectives and their personal interpretations of their experiences are therefore called for. Such studies based on the perception of the child as

a "resourceful individual" (Boyden, 2001:14) would help in illuminating the fact that refugee children, on account of their specific pre-migration experiences (which is, most often, very traumatic) have specific needs /problems as also their particular ways /resources of handling them. . As Boyden observes, " Notions of children's passivity and susceptibility also disregard the important emotional, social, economic and political contributions children make to family and community during periods of political violence ...It also ignores the possibility that children may have insights and opinions that could be highly appropriate and valid even in extremely complex and difficult situations"(Boyden, 2001:14).

Based upon Boyden's view of children as "resourceful individuals" as against "vulnerable victims", an attempt has been made in the study to understand the Afghan refugee children's perspectives on their education in India.This perspective has been adopted to understand the reasons for school drop-outs, particularly, amongst the Indian Origin Afghans. The realization often early, given their experiences of refugeeism seems to color the understanding of Indian Origin Afghan children. The fact that options for them to continue higher education, do not seem to exist due to their family's financial problems, seems to be one of the major reasons for their deciding to drop out of school in the higher grades. The decision to drop out from school is made, accompanied by realization of the fact that lack of qualifications will result in their getting trapped in low-paid jobs with limited growth. This is because financial constraints as also the desire to take care of their families (even at the cost of their dropping-out from school) seems to affect their decisions. Boyden's emphasis upon the importance of children's perspectives thus seems to be particularly relevant in understanding the above situation

Need for future studies on the education of refugee children, thus requires the incorporating of diverse interdisciplinary approaches in order to evolve suitable frameworks for the concerned field of study.

5:14 Conclusion

Despite refugeeism being a major phenomenon since the twentieth century with millions of people rendered refugees even in this century, there appears, however, to be a paucity of research addressing refugee specific issues which has to be recognized .As Stein observes, refugee research is "sporadic, unsystematic, isolated, and cursory"(Stein, 2001:2). Stein observes that refugee research tends to be neglected, as it does not fit

neatly into disciplinary categories because of the breadth of the problems it addresses, calling for a multidisciplinary approach. The present study has tried to incorporate diverse strands of theories and models in order to provide a broad understanding of education of refugees in the international and national context. Due to the dearth of substantive data, however, it provides only an initial understanding of this complex yet interesting area of research. Further studies could be attempted to build upon this initial overview of refugee children and their education in India as well as aboard.

In conclusion, it may be observed that refugees as a group are different from economic migrants as also other ethnic minorities and comprises of peoples whose lives are in a state of constant flux. Their particular circumstances in life seem to be dictated by a complex intermix of international conventions as also geopolitical and national-interest based considerations in the host country. In this context, education for refugee children emerges as an important device facilitating their survival in the host country alongwith providing the possibilities to address complex issues of security, opportunity, culture and identity which is crucial to their very existence. Studies on the education for refugee children would, therefore require to take these issues into consideration, keeping in mind the diversities that exist amongst refugees all over the world as also the uniformities at the level of experiencing the feelings of refugeeism that all refugees seem to have experienced, at some level or the other.

In this context, it may be observed that the feeling of 'refugeeness' is to an extent universal and a part of all of us, an understanding of which can lead to an empathy for the refugee situation and all that it entails. It is in recognition of this basic fact that Nietzsche observes that "we are necessarily strangers to ourselves" (Nietzsche cited in Chimni, 2000:80). Seen from the point of view of refugee children and their education in alien lands the following quotation, therefore seems to become relevant:

"One day I recognized that what was more important for me than anything else was how I defined myself to the degree that I was a stranger... I then realized that, in his vulnerability, the stranger could only count on the hospitality that others could offer him. Just as words benefit from the hospitality the white page offers them or the bird from the unconditional space of the sky.

- Edmond Jabes cited in Chambers, 1994:1

The view of education as a human right that ought to be easily available to all children as against an expensive commodity available only to a selected few, irrespective

of discrimination on grounds of sex, race and nationality etc. therefore becomes important A sensitive recognition of the importance of education for refugee children as children whose lives are torn by armed conflict, and for whom education is a need and a craving for normalcy becomes finally becomes lucid from the lines quoted below.

"Life is: a classroom with smiling school friends.Sunshine.A street without machine guns and a field without mines.Quiet.A home with a mother and father and brothers and sisters."

- An Afghan refugee girl resettled in Western Europe

(Source: Refugees, 2001, 1:122)

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Annexures

ANNEX: 1

REFUGEE CHILDREN:
A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW OF THE REFUGEE
POPULATION UNDER THE AGE OF 18, END-2000

POPULATION DATA UNIT
POPULATION AND GEOGRAPHIC DATA SECTION
UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

GENEVA, 25 JUNE 2001

HTTP://WWW.UNHCR.CH

Refugee population under the age of 18 in selected asylum countries, end-2000

Including selected groups which are not refugees, but considered of concern to UNHCR, but excluding countries for which no breakdown is available.

[1] Total population for which demographic breakdown is available.

[2] Percentage of the total refugee population for which demographic information is available.

Data are provisional, subject to change.

Source: UNHCR, Population Data Unit, PGDS.

UN region and country/territory of asylum	Population under 5	Population under 18	Total population[1]	% under 18 in total population	% female in population under 18	% under 5 in total population	% female in population under 5	% covered[2]
Algeria	26,039	87,040	155,430	56%	49%	17%	50%	91%
Angola	2,179	8,375	12,086	69%	51%	18%	52%	4%
Benin	120	485	1,885	26%	48%	6%	45%	43%
Botswana	440	1,353	3,536	38%	48%	12%	49%	100%
Burkina Faso	57	246	696	35%	25%	8%	33%	69%
Burundi	6,521	16,790	27,136	62%	52%	24%	51%	28%
Cameroon	187	729	4,028	18%	48%	5%	48%	9%
Central African Rep.	9,656	30,369	55,661	55%	47%	17%	50%	98%
Chad	3,090	9,442	17,692	53%	35%	17%	28%	85%
Congo	680	1,898	3,630	52%	45%	19%	49%	3%
Côte d'Ivoire	22,058	71,071	122,933	58%	56%	18%	60%	100%
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	12,252	42,734	70,616	61%	48%	17%	50%	20%
Djibouti	1,911	11,406	21,124	54%	54%	9%	57%	89%
Egypt	443	2,324	6,840	34%	47%	6%	47%	38%
Eritrea	434	1,054	1,984	53%	45%	22%	49%	0%
Ethiopia	23,551	103,470	191,576	54%	49%	12%	49%	95%
Gabon	2,246	8,395	21,015	40%	52%	11%	52%	100%
Gambia	972	4,888	12,011	41%	51%	8%	55%	97%
Ghana	539	5,288	12,693	42%	50%	4%	51%	96%
Guinea	80,499	267,442	426,140	63%	51%	19%	51%	98%
Guinea-Bissau	894	3,626	7,587	48%	49%	12%	49%	93%
Kenya	31,789	107,455	206,106	52%	45%	15%	48%	94%
Liberia	7,205	16,781	33,766	50%	50%	21%	53%	14%
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	266	779	2,023	39%	57%	13%	65%	17%
Malawi	669	1,919	3,900	49%	45%	17%	52%	100%
Mali	21	32	102	31%	69%	21%	67%	1%
Mauritania	23	70	350	20%	57%	7%	65%	1%
Morocco	-	-	62	0%	..	0%	..	7%
Mozambique	102	256	831	31%	52%	12%	57%	33%
Namibia	3,600	9,800	17,740	55%	49%	20%	50%	94%
Niger	32	119	502	24%	53%	6%	63%	91%
Nigeria	299	934	4,324	22%	45%	7%	45%	57%
Rwanda	6,454	18,339	30,118	61%	52%	21%	53%	51%
Senegal	3,871	13,376	22,715	59%	60%	17%	60%	100%
Somalia	22	91	182	50%	40%	12%	45%	0%
South Africa	920	3,780	18,669	20%	46%	5%	49%	62%
Sudan	33,708	95,509	158,709	60%	49%	21%	52%	39%
Swaziland	110	398	1,007	40%	50%	11%	55%	100%
Togo	3,112	7,602	11,945	64%	56%	26%	50%	97%
Tunisia	6	34	175	19%	53%	3%	67%	39%
Uganda	38,965	122,678	218,984	56%	48%	18%	48%	91%
United Rep. of Tanzania	87,456	282,572	510,992	55%	49%	17%	50%	73%
Zambia	25,991	71,249	129,380	55%	50%	20%	51%	51%
Zimbabwe	215	1,031	4,127	25%	44%	5%	56%	98%
Africa	**439,603**	**1,433,229**	**2,553,008**	**56%**	**50%**	**17%**	**51%**	**53%**

Refugee population under the age of 18 in selected asylum countries, end-2000 (continued)

UN region and country/territory of asylum	Population under 5	Population under 18	Total population[1]	% under 18 in total population	% female in population under 18	% under 5 in total population	% female in population under 5	% covered[2]
Afghanistan	-	3	10	30%	33%	0%	..	0%
Armenia	7,730	29,279	280,591	10%	50%	3%	48%	100%
Azerbaijan	75,212	198,044	572,738	35%	52%	13%	52%	91%
Bahrain	-	-	3	0%	..	0%	..	100%
Bangladesh	5,297	12,883	21,627	60%	49%	24%	51%	100%
Cambodia	1	7	34	21%	43%	3%	100%	17%
China	19,137	90,634	294,122	31%	46%	7%	41%	100%
Cyprus	4	17	76	22%	47%	5%	25%	13%
East Timor	12,849	24,093	53,539	45%	60%	24%	50%	100%
Georgia	10,351	76,361	279,821	27%	50%	4%	48%	100%
Hong Kong, China (SAR)	123	276	1,071	26%	50%	11%	48%	100%
India	524	5,697	13,856	41%	49%	4%	43%	8%
Iraq	4,680	16,959	29,659	57%	51%	16%	51%	22%
Jordan	65	387	1,072	36%	48%	6%	52%	12%
Kuwait	70	906	2,776	33%	52%	3%	59%	2%
Kyrgyzstan	103	287	804	36%	54%	13%	54%	5%
Lebanon	191	821	2,672	31%	47%	7%	47%	31%
Malaysia	54	100	287	35%	58%	19%	59%	1%
Nepal	10,940	44,025	98,931	45%	49%	11%	48%	77%
Oman	-	-	1	0%	..	0%	..	33%
Pakistan	184,935	620,933	1,201,466	52%	53%	15%	53%	60%
Philippines	8	26	175	15%	42%	5%	25%	88%
Qatar	4	19	35	54%	47%	11%	75%	100%
Rep. of Korea	-	3	69	4%	33%	0%	..	60%
Saudi Arabia	615	2,179	5,340	41%	50%	12%	51%	97%
Sri Lanka	6	18	55	33%	50%	11%	33%	0%
Syrian Arab Rep.	381	1,575	3,467	45%	47%	11%	48%	57%
Tajikistan	582	2,477	4,575	54%	36%	13%	34%	27%
Thailand	13,734	50,800	104,695	49%	49%	13%	49%	99%
Turkey	166	788	2,183	36%	46%	8%	48%	25%
United Arab Emirates	2	10	18	56%	60%	11%	50%	2%
Uzbekistan	105	718	1,350	53%	45%	8%	49%	3%
Yemen	4,053	20,448	49,956	41%	50%	8%	48%	81%
Asia	**351,922**	**1,200,772**	**3,027,074**	**40%**	**52%**	**12%**	**51%**	**49%**
Albania	64	185	523	35%	48%	12%	47%	99%
Belarus	77	468	1,023	46%	58%	8%	47%	1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	257	867	1,762	49%	48%	15%	53%	0%
Bulgaria	-	289	1,755	16%	49%	0%	..	47%
Croatia	6,637	28,500	134,327	21%	51%	5%	54%	100%
Estonia	-	-	26	0%	..	0%	..	100%
FYR Macedonia	824	2,859	5,861	49%	50%	14%	49%	65%
Greece	181	692	1,966	35%	39%	9%	48%	22%
Hungary	111	558	1,665	34%	40%	7%	44%	25%
Latvia	-	1	12	8%	0%	0%	..	100%
Lithuania	22	69	189	37%	45%	12%	41%	100%
Rep. of Moldova	19	82	266	31%	56%	7%	47%	3%
Romania	135	474	1,912	25%	45%	7%	45%	100%

Refugee population under the age of 18 in selected asylum countries, end-2000 (continued)

UN region and country/territory of asylum	Population under 5	Population under 18	Total population[1]	% under 18 in total population	% female in population under 18	% under 5 in total population	% female in population under 5	% covered[2]
Ukraine	217	965	2,962	33%	49%	7%	50%	1%
Yugoslavia, FR	24	79	467	17%	52%	5%	50%	0%
Europe	**8,568**	**36,088**	**154,716**	**23%**	**50%**	**6%**	**52%**	**7%**
Argentina	18	78	544	14%	47%	3%	44%	15%
Bahamas	-	5	100	5%	100%	0%	..	97%
Bolivia	20	71	235	30%	46%	9%	50%	66%
Brazil	142	678	3,265	21%	48%	4%	49%	100%
Chile	27	88	372	24%	48%	7%	44%	84%
Colombia	8	42	240	18%	50%	3%	50%	0%
Cuba	-	48	954	5%	23%	0%	..	99%
El Salvador	19	29	59	49%	48%	32%	47%	82%
Guatemala	24	154	720	21%	55%	3%	63%	89%
Honduras	-	-	12	0%	..	0%	..	63%
Mexico	2,239	9,568	18,075	53%	51%	12%	50%	98%
Nicaragua	-	-	332	0%	..	0%	..	90%
Panama	109	536	1,313	41%	49%	8%	48%	81%
Paraguay	-	5	23	22%	80%	0%	..	100%
Peru	15	157	687	23%	49%	2%	53%	99%
Uruguay	-	14	82	17%	57%	0%	..	93%
Venezuela	6	38	132	29%	50%	5%	100%	63%
Latin America and Caribbean	**2,627**	**11,511**	**27,145**	**42%**	**50%**	**10%**	**50%**	**5%**
Total	***802,720***	***2,681,601***	***5,761,943***	***47%***	***50%***	***14%***	***51%***	***42%***

ANNEX:2 UN Member States: Signatories and Non-signatories to the UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees

(below are the governments that belong to the United Nations , listed according to whether or not they have signed the 1951 UN Convention and/or the 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees, as of December,2000, Source: US Committee for Refugees,2001)

Signatories			Non-Signatories	
Albania	Ethiopia	Niger	Afghanistan	Maldives
Algeria	Figi	Nigeria	Andorra	Marshall Islands
Angola	Finland	Norway	Bahrain	Mauritius
Antigua and Barbuda	France	Panama	Bangladesh	Micronesia
Argentina	Gabon	Papua New Guinea	Barbados	Moldova
Armenia	Gambia	Paraguay	Belarus	Mongolia
Australia	Georgia	Peru	Bhutan	Nepal
Austria	Germany	Philippines	Brunei	Oman
Azerbaijan	Ghana	Poland	Burma (Myanmar)	Pakistan
Bahamas	Greece	Portugal	Comoros	Palau
Belgium	Guatemala	Romania	Cuba	Qatar
Belize	Guinea	Russian Federation	Eritrea	St.Kitts and Nevis
Benin	Guinea-Bissau	Rwanda	Grenada	St.Lucia
Bolivia	Haiti	St Vincent and the Grenadines(c)	Guyana	San Marino
Bosnia and Hercegovina	Honduras	Samoa	India	Saudi Arabia
	Hungary		Indonesia	Singapore
Botswana	Iceland	Sao Tome and principe	Iraq	Sri Lanka
Brazil	Iran	Senegal	Jordan	Syria
Bulgaria	Ireland	Seychelles	Korea (North)	Thailand
Burkina Faso	Israel	Sierra Leone	Kuwait	Ukraine
Burundi	Italy	Slovak Republic	Laos	United Arab Emirates
Cambodia	Jamaica	Slovenia	Lebanon	Uzbekistan
Cameroon	Japan	Solomon Islands	Libya	Vanuatu
Canada	Kazakhstan	Somalia	Malaysia	Vietnam

Cape Verde (p)	Kenya	South Africa
Central African Republic	Korea (S)	Spain
Chad	Latvia	Sudan
Chile	Lesotho	Suriname
China	Liberia	Swaziland(p)
Colombia	Liechtenstein	Sweden
Congo-Brazzaville	Lithuania	Tajikistan
Congo-Kinshasa	Luxembourg	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Macedonia	Togo
Cote d'Ivoire	Madagascar (c)	Trinidad and Tobago
Croatia	Malawi	Tunisia
Cyprus	Mali	Turkey
Czech Republic	Malta	Turkmenistan
Denmark	Mauritania	Uganda
Djibouti	Mexico	United Kingdom
Dominica	Monaco (c)	United States (p)
Dominican Republic	Morocco	Uruguay
Equador	Mozambique	Venezuela (p)
Egypt	Namibia (c)	Yemen
El Salvador	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Equatorial Guinea	New Zealand	Zambia
Estonia	Nicaragua	Zimbabwe

(c) Signatories to the Convention only

(p) Signatories to the Protocol only

Note: Non-UN members – Switzerland , Tuvalu and the Holy See have also signed the Refugee Convention and Protocol

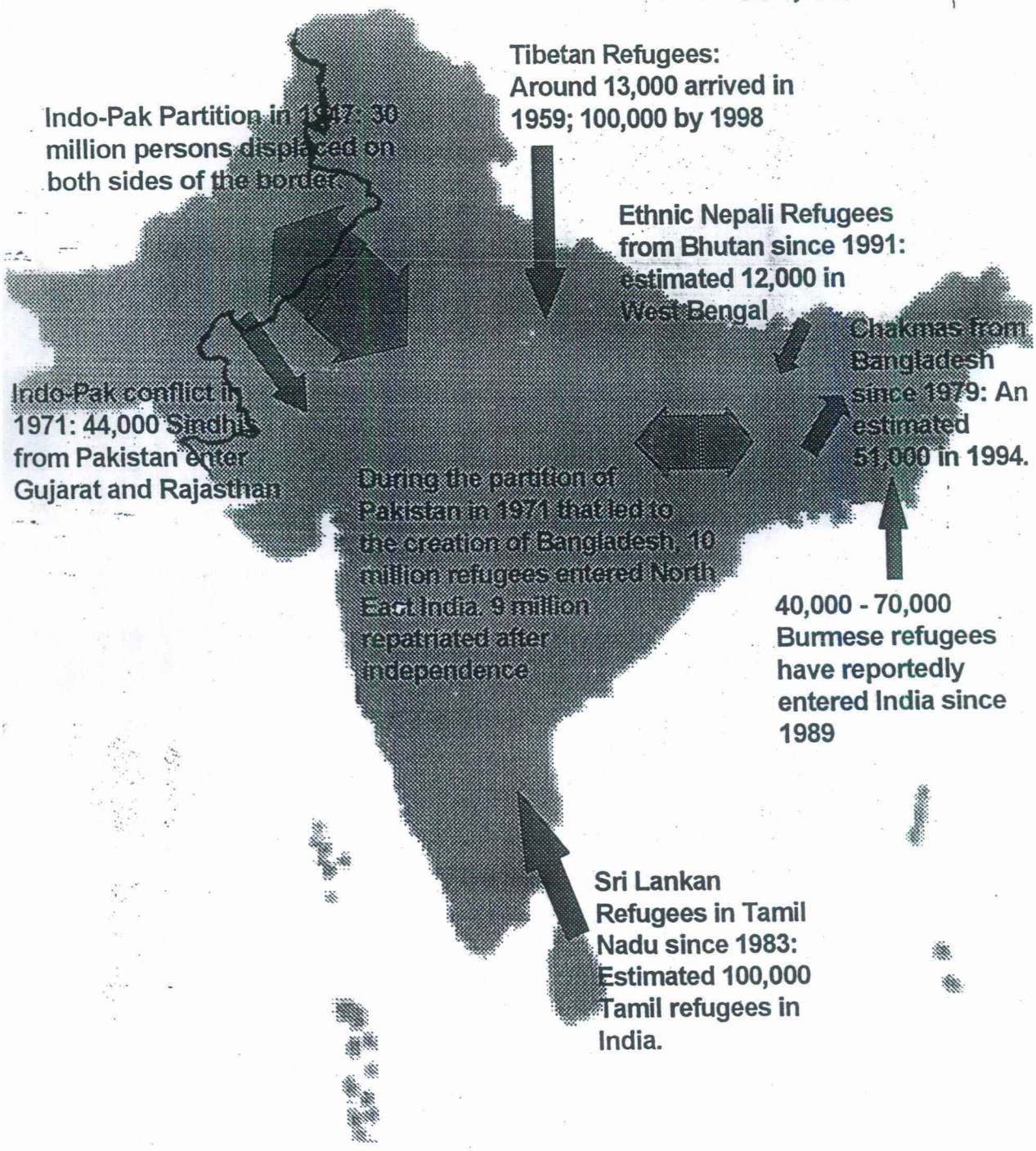
ANNEX:3 Education in refugee camps

Refugee Camp	Disadvantages	Advantages
1) Tindouf, Algeria (for Sahrawis)	-Lack of proper school buildings -Lack of textbooks, teaching materials	-Ministry of Education (estd 1976) provision of education to all children living in camps around Tindouf, Algeria -2 projects (Spanish and Swedish) for installing printing facilities in the camp
2) Sputnik in Sleptsovskaya and Bart in Karabulak, Chechnya	-Lack of proper school buildings, tent schools forced to close down in winter due to lack of coal, wood -No money to pay teachers -Classes only till fourth grade -Quality of education not very high, many subjects not taught as teachers not available for the same -Insufficient method of delivery and distribution of humanitarian assistance; lack of cooperation between various organizations	-Classes opened by the 'Salvation Army' from first to eight grade
3) Kukes, Albania (for Kosovar refugee children)	-Lack of proper school buildings (10 tents serve as classrooms), teaching facilities like blackboards	-Provision of basic materials promised by the army of the United Arab Emirates (camps run by the same) -Some refugee children admitted to public schools in Kukes, Albania
4) Namibian refugee camps for refugees from Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo	-UNHCR donated stationary running out	-Motivational attitude of refugees' and support of Namibian Red Cross Society-have constructed 13 new classrooms -Host government support –10 Namibian teachers seconded by the govt provided -Students can enrol in the secondary school at the nearest town, once they have complete primary studies at 14. -Provision of adult literacy programmes
5) Refugee camps in Azerbaijan	-Lack of proper school buildings, teaching materials *"For six years, my school has been a railroad car. It is difficult to learn. There is no glass in the windows. During summer, it's impossible to stay cool, and during winter, it's impossible to stay warm. During winter, I wear all my clothes: two pairs of pants, a shirt, a jacket and a hat. Idont have any gloves, so it's terrible to write. After one or two lessons in the cold, the*	-2 mobile library vans operating from jan 1999 with support of several NGO's, refuge teachers and parents. Operating with 30,00 textbooks, literature reference material children's stories and periodicals – a cos effective way of servicing 22,000 children i 360 refugee schools

	teachers usually let us leave." -17 year old Isa, Azerbaijan (www.unesco.org/education/unesco/machel.shtml)	
6) Refugee camps in Uganda, for Southern Sudanese refugees	-Lack of proper school buildings (rough structures with no walls and straw roofs, which means that children have to be sent home, if it rains -Tension between locals and refugees as education is free of cost -No secondary schools in Ikafe, Uganda	-40 primary schools in Ikafe, Uganda, with 463 teachers and 14,750 students
7) Djibuti refugee camp for Somalians	- Gender gap –particularly retention of girls in the primary system	-UNESCO-PEER (programme for emergencies and reconstruction) responsible for 2,400 learners from Kindergarten at primary level, to out of school youths and adults in skills classes -Advancement from open air classes to new classrooms designed and built -Trained teachers paid salaries and performance related bonuses from UNESCO-PEER funds -UNESCO-PEER funds also used to buy and distribute books, magazines and newspapers to camp schools -Recent innovations –Bridge class- students in transition year at the end of primary school are said to learn Maths, Arabic and Business Studies alongwith basic skills, so they can either continue school or start work. English replaces Somali as the language of instruction. Building, tailoring and poultry care skills are also taught in evening classes to adults and youths with basic literacy

(Sources: *http://www.fmreview.org/rpn2110.htm; http://www.idee.org/1report3.html; Seattletimes.com; http://www.ifrc.org/Docs/News/00/073101/index.asp; NI Home page; http://tutu.aznet.org/tutu/gac.html; http://www.unicef.org/sowc96/16relief.htm)*

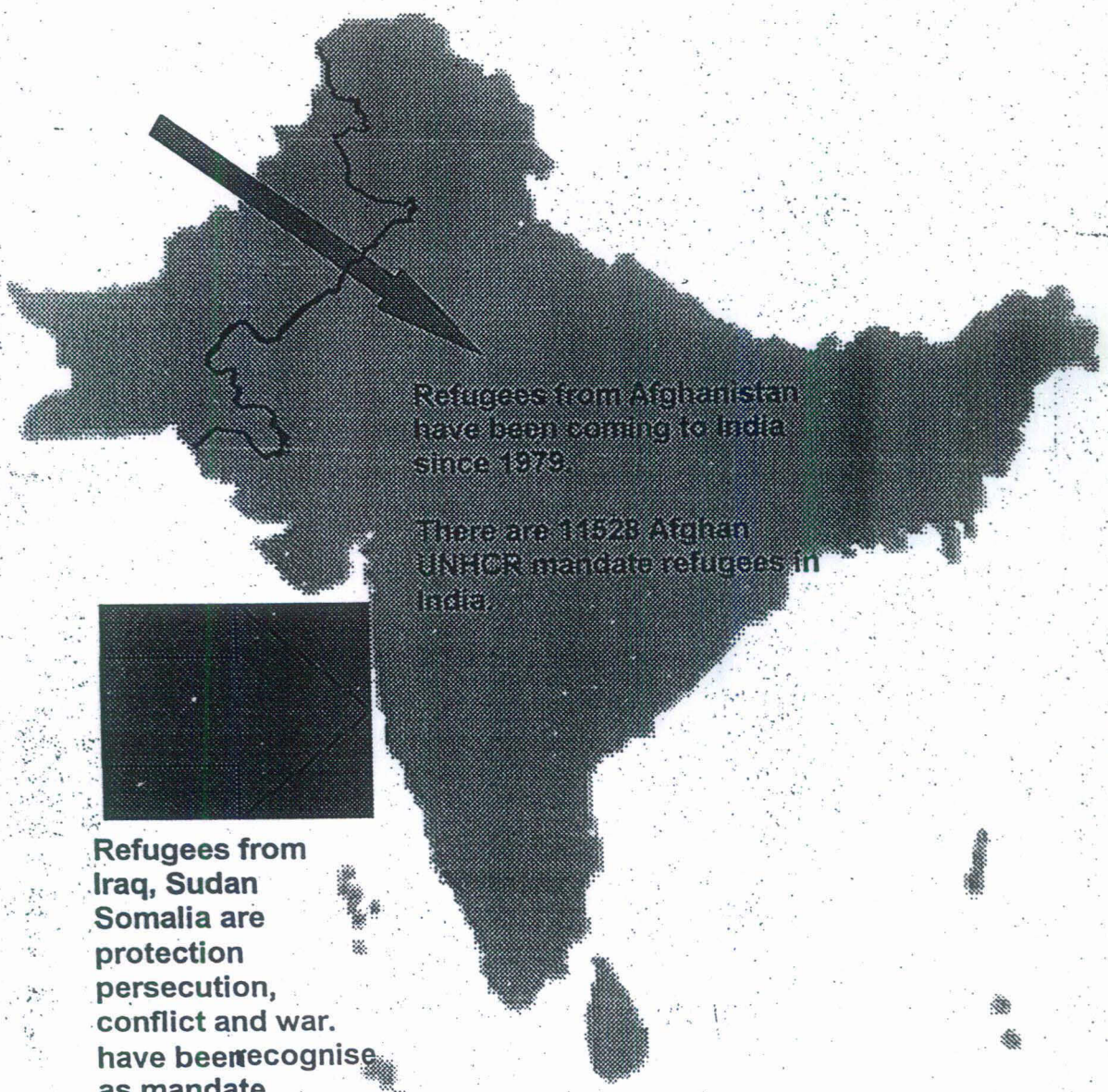
ANNEX: 4 REFUGEE MOVEMENTS FROM NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES INTO INDIA



SOURCE: UNHCR, INDIA

(UNDATED)

REFUGEE MOVEMENTS FROM NON-NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES INTO INDIA



Refugees from Afghanistan have been coming to India since 1979.

There are 11528 Afghan UNHCR mandate refugees in India.

Refugees from Iraq, Sudan Somalia are protection persecution, conflict and war. have been recognise as mandate by

SOURCE: UNHCR, INDIA (UNDATED)

Glimpses at Refugeeism

The Terror In Her Eyes

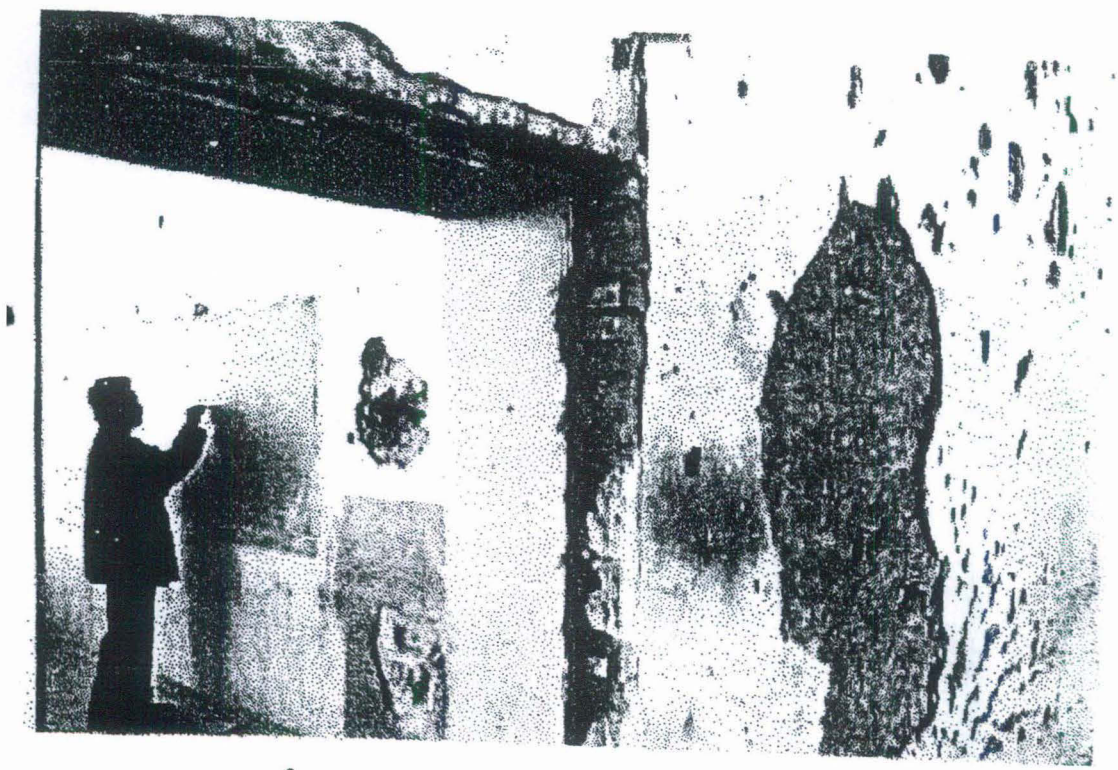
As I quickly took the picture, she ran towards what seemed to be her shelter. Curious to find out what was behind the terror in her eyes, I followed her and had to bribe her with money to let me in. She is a thirteen year old Afghan girl living under a tent in a refugee camp with her 9 and 5 year old brothers, whom she has been taking care of for the past four years. I asked her where her parents were? She put her hands over her ears and whispered, "I found their pieces after the rocket hit our village". Wiping my tears, I wondered at the little girl's strength. I offered her some money. Holding it to her chest she said "I will buy some sugar for supper."

This story is not all that uncommon for the thousands of children who fled a devastating war in Afghanistan. These refugee children are facing tremendous hardships and deprivations on a daily basis. They are living in refugee camps without a glimpse of hope. As it is, the future of these innocent victims of war is very bleak. All children have the right, recognized in international law, to basic education, but most of these children do not have any means of receiving basic education. Educating these children will empower them to learn skills, become self sufficient and one day be able to return to their homeland equipped to rebuild it. The future of a war torn country depends on these children, and the future of these children depends on our help.

SOURCE:
http://www.childrensvoice.org/terror.htm

(ABOVE: UNACCOMPANIED KOSOVAR CHILDREN WAITING FOR A MEAL IN LECCE, ITALY IN 1999)
SOURCE: REFUGEES, 2001: 12

(BELOW: TAJIK REFUGEE GIRL FROM AFGHANISTAN)
SOURCE: REFUGEES, 2001: 31



(ABOVE: SCHOOL IN AFGHANISTAN REOPENED WITH HELP FROM UNICEF AFTER BEING TURNED INTO A FRONTLINE ARTILLERY POSITION EARLIER IN THE CONFLICT)

SOURCE: REFUGEES, 1997:18

(ABOVE: HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES INCREASINGLY REALIZE THAT EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL SKILLS ARE AS IMPORTANT AS FOOD AND SHELTER IN HELPING UPROOTED CHILDREN, INCLUDING THESE TAJIK REFUGEE GIRLS IN AFGHANISTAN)

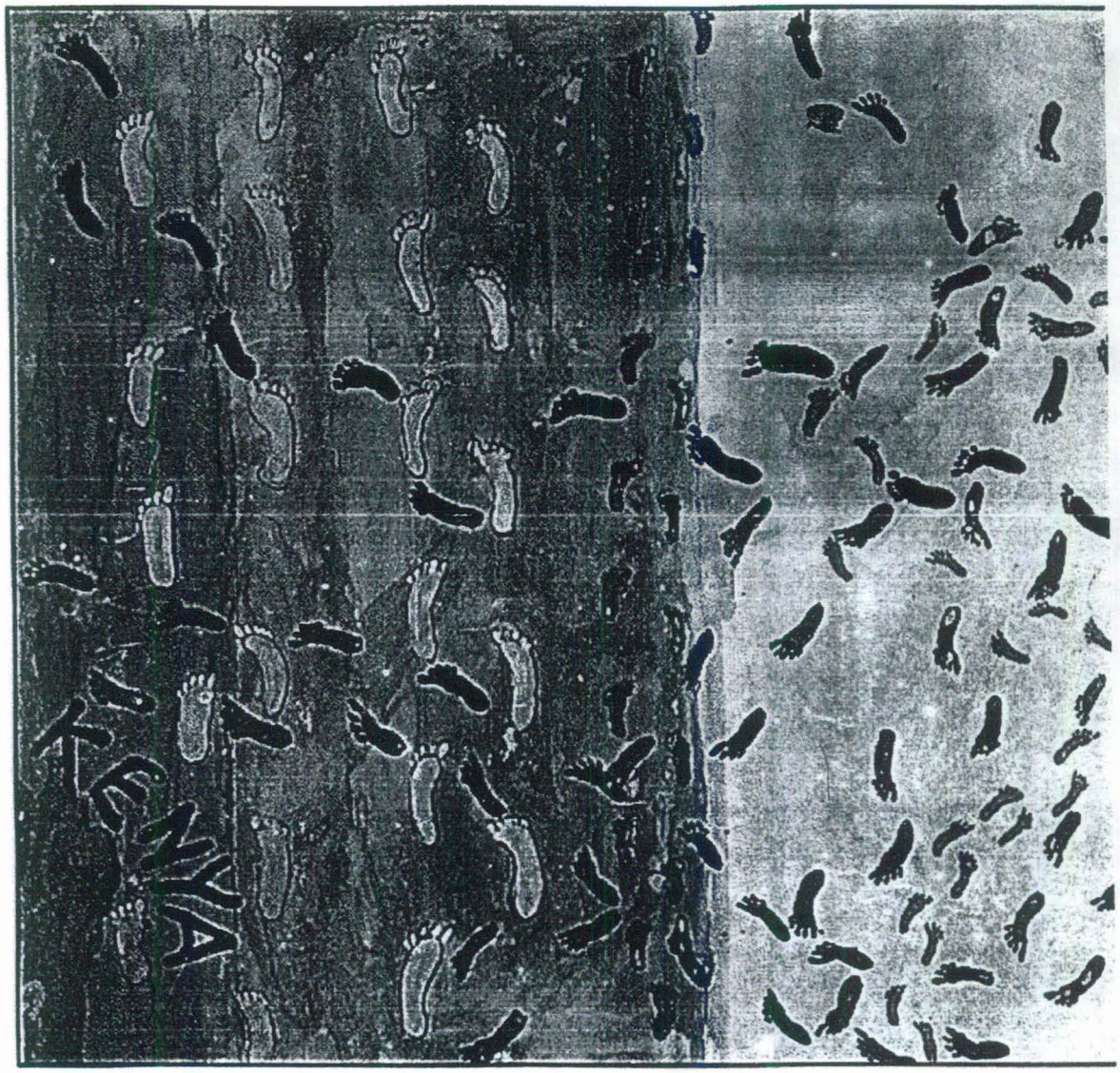
SOURCE: REFUGEES, 200

(BELOW: AFGHAN GIRLS ATTEND A SCHOOL AT AHANGARAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN KHORASAN PROVINCE OF IRAN.

SOURCE: REFUGEES, 1997: 14

Walking to Kenya

Painting by Aden Ahmed Mohid, aged 14, Somali, Dagahaley refugee camp.



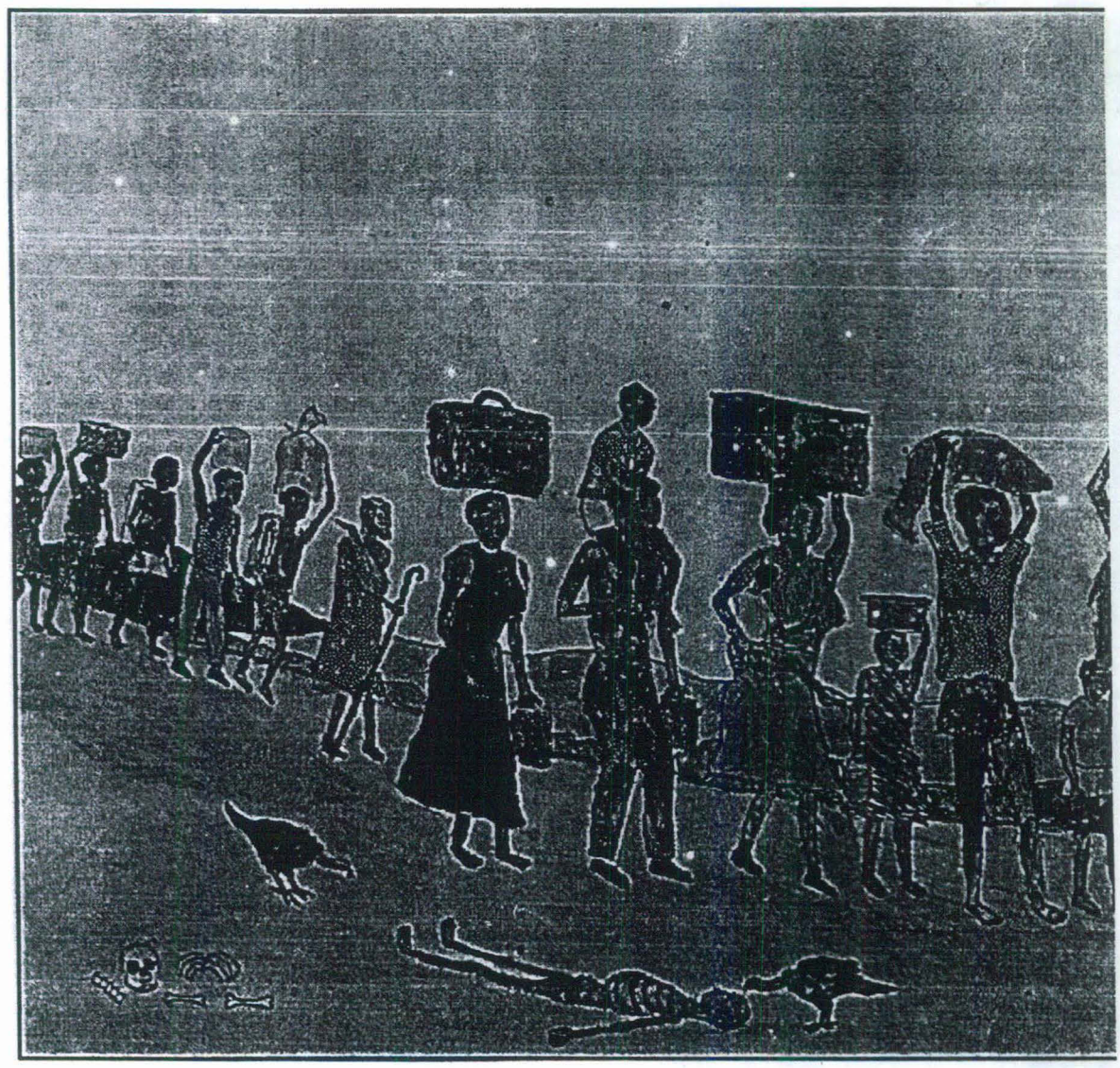
Crossing the River Gillo

Painting by Mac Anyat, aged 17, Sudanese, Kakuma refugee camp.

"It was terrible. People shouting, screaming: 'Run, swim, go, go!' Where was my friend? He was taken by the river. Nobody was anybody's friend. How can you be a friend when people are shooting at you and the river is going whoosh – and you have to go in that river? The bang, bang and whoosh, whoosh made my mind go dead and I don't remember who was there, who died, what happened."

The walking of the many

Painting by David Kumcieng, aged 15, Sudanese, Kakuma Refugee Camp



"We wanted to run, but we had to walk because we were tired and so hot and hungry. In my picture the people are wearing clothes, but of course we didn't have any clothes. we saw people dying, it was always the young ones, the hungry ones and the old ones."

SPOT THE REFUGEE

There he is, Fourth row, second from the left. The one with the moustache, Obvious really.

Maybe not. The unsavoury-looking character you're looking at is more likely to be your average neighbourhood slob with a grubby vest and a weekend's stubble on his chin.

And the real refugee could just as easily be the clean-cut fellow on his left.

You see, refugees are just like you and me.

Except for one thing.

Everything they once had has been left behind. Home. family. possessions, all gone. They have nothing.

And nothing is all they'll ever have unless we all extend a helping hand.

We know you can't give them back the things that others have taken away.

We're not even asking for money (though every penny certainly helps).

But we are asking that you keep an open mind. And a smile of welcome.

It may not seem much. But for a refugee it can mean everything.

UNHCR is a strictly humanitarian organization funded only by voluntary contributions. Currently it is responsible for more than 26 million people around the world.

UNHCR

UNHCR Public Information
P.O. Box 2500
1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

PARASITE

CRIMINAL

FOREIGN TRASH

PIG

TROUBLEMAKER

FREELOADER

VERMIN

SLACKER

SCUM

REFUGEE

YOU

ME

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

Nasty names. Shocking even in print. But all too common if you're unlucky enough to be a refugee.

Wait. Why are "you" and "me" among them. And why is every figure identical? They're all the same!

Exactly.

You see refugees are like you and me. So what's the difference?

Really only one: fear.

While our homes are safe and our rights protected, their homes have been destroyed, and any rights they once enjoyed have been swept away by violence and hatred — and they've been living in constant fear for their very lives.

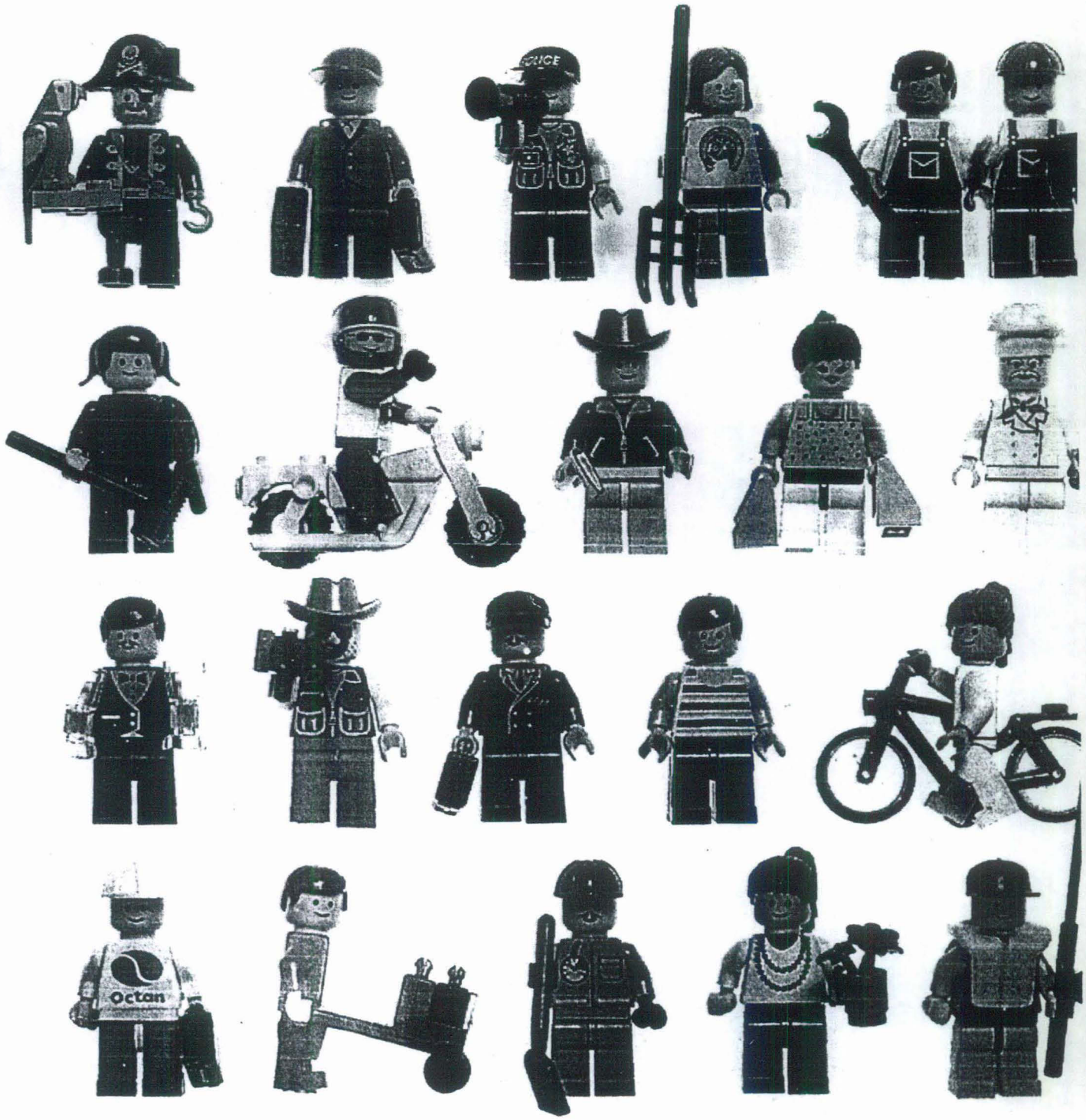
That's why they are refugees. Of course they wish they were back home — wouldn't you? But it's still too dangerous, and for now we must continue to offer them our protection.

So please, don't get mad at refugees.

Instead, save your breath for the situation that's made them refugees.

UNHCR

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



WHAT'S WRONG HERE?

Look at this nice happy people

Notice that each one has something: a tool or implement here, a bicycle or a briefcase there. All completely normal and unremarkable.

But wait. Something's amiss. That nice fellow near the bottom – third row down, second from the right. He doesn't seem to have anything.

Indeed. You see, he's a refugee.

And as you can see, refugees are just like you and me except for one thing: everything they once had has been destroyed or taken away, probably at gunpoint. Home, family, possessions, all gone.

They have nothing.

And nothing is all they'll ever have unless we help.

Of course, you can't give them back what's been destroyed, and we're not asking for money (though every penny helps). But we are asking you to keep an open mind. And a smile of welcome.

It may not seem much. But to a refugee it can mean everything.

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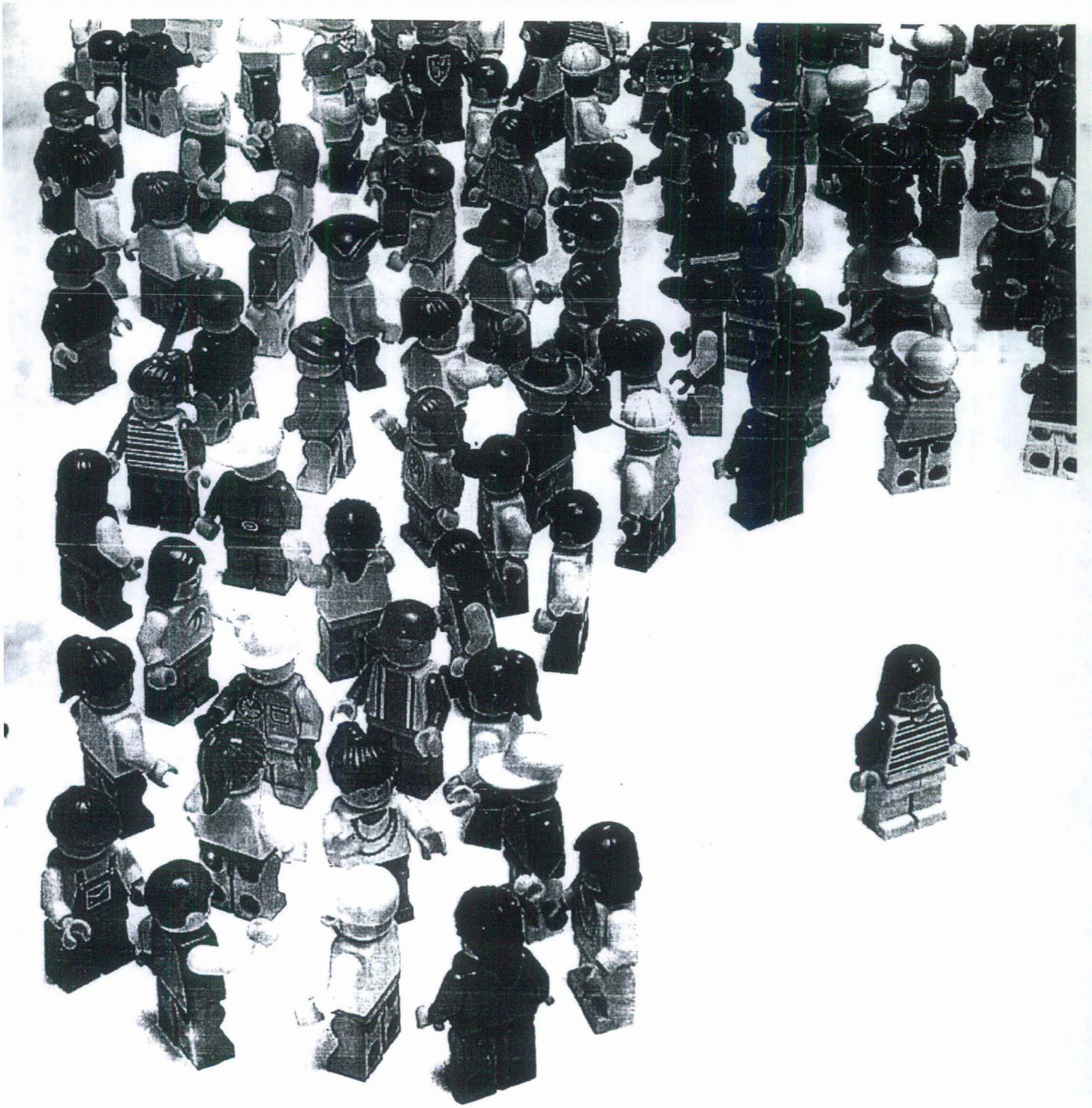

HOW DOES IT FEEL?

Imagine this.

You've lived all your life at peace. Home, family, friends, all normal. Then, without warning, your whole world changes.

Overnight, lifelong neighbours become lifelong enemies. Tanks prowl the streets and buses burn. Mortar shells shatter the mosques. Rockets silence the church bells.

Suddenly everything you've known and owned and loved is gone and, if you're lucky enough to survive, you find yourself alone and bewildered in a foreign land. You are a refugee.

How does it feel?

The fact is, refugees are just like you and me, except that they have nothing. And that's exactly what they'll always have unless we help.

We're not asking for money (though every contribution helps), but only this:

When you do meet a refugee, imagine for a moment what it must be like, and then show her your smile. Instead of your back.

It may not seem much. But to a refugee it can mean everything.

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