Chapter – II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
2.0. INTRODUCTION

As many researches as possible had been undertaken at the global level on the issues of refugees. In delving deeper into the review of literature pertaining to refugees, it is apparent that this is an area now much in need of research and documentation. So research into the experience of refugees is unique. Once the refugees have fled across a border, they must find accommodation, either with official assistance, or by relying on the hospitality of the host country. In some cases, the host government grants full refugee status and refugees are allowed and encouraged to become integrated into the host society. More commonly, host governments prefer to manage refugees by locating them in camps or organized settlements. However, most refugees in industrialised countries bypass official assistance, and find ways to settle themselves amongst the local population, in a pattern known as self-settlement or dispersed settlement (Jacobsen, 2001).

According to the literature there are different options in terms of refugee settlement. Self-settlement, also known as “dispersed settlement”, “spontaneous settlement” or “self-directed settlement”, occurs when refugees settle amongst the local community without direct official (government or international) assistance. Refugees share local households or set up temporary accommodation nearby, and are helped with shelter and food by local families or organisations. Other form of settlement is “assisted settlement” for refugees, which takes various forms, but all are intended to house refugees on a temporary basis (Jacobsen, 2001). In rural areas, camps and local settlements are much more typical, either in urban areas; refugees are often housed in mass shelters in public building or community facilities such as schools, hotels, barracks, etc. This type of accommodation is often intended to be temporary or transit, because of the host population’s housing needs.
2.1. WHAT IS “REFUGEE CAMP”?

A ‘refugee camp’ is a ‘temporary camp’ built up by governments or NGOs to receive refugees. Since refugee camps are generally set up in an impromptu fashion, and designed to meet basic human needs for a short time, when the return of refugees is prevented usually, by civil war, a humanitarian crisis can result. Some refugee camps, such as Ein el-Helweh, largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon have continued in a temporary manner for decades, which is having major implications of human rights.

People may stay in such camps, receiving emergency food and medical aid, until a safe return to their homes. In some cases, often after several years, other countries decide it will never be safe to return these people, and they are resettled in ‘third countries,’ away from the border they crossed. Facilities of a refugee camp can include the following:

- Sleeping accommodation (tents)
- Hygiene facilities (cleaning and toilets)
- Medical supplies
- Communication equipment (e.g. radio)

Camps are purpose-built sites, usually close to the border, and thus usually in rural areas. Since camps are intended to be temporary structures, they are seldom planned for long durational stay or population growth. Dwelling structures are tents or flimsy huts, water and sanitation infrastructures are problematic, especially over the long term (Jacobsen, 2001). Local settlements, also referred to as organised settlements, are planned, segregated agricultural enclaves or villages created specifically for refugees, but which differ from camps in that refugees are expected to become self-sufficient pending their repatriation. Local settlements have been widely used in Africa, especially Uganda, Tanzania and Sudan, as a response to protracted refugee situations and as an alternative to keeping refugees in camps (Kibreab 1989).
There is limited freedom of movement, more permanent housing construction, and refugees have access to land provided by the government (Jacobsen, 2001).

The camps usually located in poorest part of nations; also burden local resources and ecosystem services already relied upon by the pre-existing inhabitants. This can cause conflict and even violence, defeating the camps’ original purpose of providing at least temporary peace and security. Their location can be determined by myriad factors, including geography, geology, economics, political and security concerns, resources and, sheer necessity and desperation (OAU/UNHCR, 1998; Milner, 2000). Following the UNHCR suggestions, “wherever possible” refugee camps should be located “at a reasonable distance from the frontier of the country of origin” (EXCOM, 1987). So emerging research has demonstrated how for social, economic, environmental, health reasons and the consequences of placing refugees in camps are often negative, not only for the refugees themselves but also frequently for the national populations and governments of receiving states.

Richard Black, (1998) : In his study on Putting refugees in Camps in Forced Migration Review (FMR) journal, Oxford, he begins with a question what is meant by a ‘camp’? There are various elements that constitute a standard view of a camp, some of which might be regarded as more important than others in leading to adverse effects for refugees. The obvious example would be the Saharawi camp in Algeria. These are effectively tented cities supplied wholly from the outside. In contrast, a wider definition is used by Edith Bowles in her article about Thai-Burma border.

Edith Bowels, (1998) : In her article titled From village to Camp: refugee camp life in transition on the Thailand-Burma Border, in Forced Migration Review (FMR) journal, Oxford, uses the word ‘camp’ to describe both ‘small, open settlements where the refugee communities have been able to maintain a village atmosphere’ and ‘larger, more crowded camps’ where they are more
dependent on assistance. The refugee camps like Karen, Mon and Karenni along Thailand’s border with Burma have traditionally been small, open settlements where the refugee communities have been able to maintain a village atmosphere, administering the camps and many aspects of assistance programmes themselves. Camp life is the most problematic one. For Bowels, it is the increased dependence of camp dwellers that is perhaps of most concern.

2.2. THE CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF ‘REFUGEE CAMP’

The literature on refugee camps is dominated by two main themes: First, an extensive body of technical and field reports concerned with camp planning, logistics, site planning, operational needs (e.g. Cuny, 1977; 1980; UNHCR 1989; Goethert, Hamdi 1988; 1989) and second, a parallel body of literature which exposes the largely negative impact and consequences of encampment on the lives of refugees (for example, Rogge, 1981; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Reynell, 1988; Waldron, 1988; Pacheco, 1989; Hitchcox, 1990; Chan, 1991; Kibreab, 1991; 1994).

The debate about settlement options has become polarised precisely because camps are such powerful symbols of the orthodox managerialistic relief model, as Zetter (1995) wrote. On the other hand the role of camps as managerial devices is crucial. The existence of these manuals underlines the fact that, whilst they all note the disclaimer that “the establishment of camps must be only a last resort” (UNHCR 1982), the encamping of refugees is the managerial “solution” adopted by most host countries and relief agencies for well rehearsed political, logistical and managerial reasons which need not be repeated here. As Zetter argued, camps are the form of settlement most commonly associated with shelter provision for refugees, moreover, he noted that the debate about settlement options has become polarized precisely because camps are such powerful symbols of the orthodox managerial relief model and, its inherent limitations. Camps are usually designed according to
fairly crude engineering principles; planning processes are at best piecemeal and are frequently dictated by donors and NGOs who, as the implementing partners, provide capital inputs for the physical and social infrastructure according to their own mandates, timescales, and funding options.

The conceptual understanding of refugee camps is dominated by their role as vehicles for the provision of material assistance to refugees, not as one constituent in a complex relief model (Zetter, 1995); one reason host governments and many relief agencies prefer camps is that in addition to making the management of assistance easier, camps are seen as facilitating repatriation – not least because the austere conditions discourage people from staying in them long (Jacobsen, 2001). Camps are the first humanitarian reaction adopted to facilitate refugee flows. Some are carefully planned by humanitarian operators, while others just spring up seemingly on their own. They should exist as long as crisis duration, but the reality is that in most cases refugee camps become mere enclave cities in foreign territory.

Refugee settlement is seldom fixed; it should rather be seen as a fluid process, in which refugees settle in different situations, depending on when they arrived, the density of refugees vis-a-vis the local population, their coping strategies, local socio-economic and security conditions, and the actions of local and national authorities.

Refugees often arrive in a series of waves, with earlier arrivals settling in different situations than later ones. Self-settled refugees often risk being forcibly relocated into camps by local authorities but many avoid relocation, and in some cases, refugees move out of camps and become self-settled. In some cases, refugees use the camps as part of a broader household strategy of survival. Within an extended family, the workers might live in the local community where they can farm or find income, and the dependents (elderly, mothers and children) might live in the camp where they have access to assistance.
Refugees leave the camps to find work, to trade, to explore repatriation options, to join the rebels, to visit the city or to move there. They might return to the camps during the hungry season, or when there are security threats outside. New refugee populations might live in different settlement situations than older ones (Jacobsen, 2001).

Refugee camps reflect two interacting sets of interests inherent to refugee relief and assistance programmes. On the one hand there are the physical attributes, the need to ensure provision of shelter, the design of camps according to basic standards of health and hygiene and also location factors. There are many technical elements to be addressed in the design of better settlement policies. But, in the context of these policies, an immeasurably more important problem to resolve is the political will of host governments and relief agencies to confront the fundamental dilemma which refugee camps pose: the presumed temporariness of refugees (Zetter, 1995).

2.3. ANATOMY OF A REFUGEE CAMP

Every refugee camp is different since every situation is different. In most cases, proper design of a camp isn't possible because refugees have already settled on a site. In this case, aid agencies look at how to improve the camp, or decide if the population should be moved somewhere else. (UNHCR and SPHERE PROJECT)

Population:

The number of people living in a camp depends on the crisis. When the number of refugees is in the hundreds of thousands, aid agencies try to set up a few smaller camps with populations of no more than 20,000 rather than one massive camp. Smaller camps are easier to manage when it comes to fire risks, security problems, the spreading of diseases, etc.
Location:

Camps are usually located on the edges of towns or cities in a secure area, away from the border, war zones etc. The camp should be set up on sloped terrain that provides natural drainage. It should also be away from breeding sites of insects that can carry disease.

Length of Stay:

Camps are only meant to be temporary solutions, giving refugees a place to live until they can safely return home. They are not meant to be permanent residences. However, organizers have learned to plan for the long haul because refugees often end up living in the camps for much longer than expected. In Albania, refugees from Kosovo lived in camps for only three months, while refugees from Somalia have been living in camps in Kenya since 1991. Palestinian refugees have been living in camps in Lebanon for more than 50 years.

Gates & Security:

In general, security is the responsibility of the host government, which guards camps using its military or local police. In many camps, they work along with the refugees to have some sort of self-policing mechanism. Security is especially a problem in camps that are not closed in by a fence. Because refugees don't have a lot of possessions, security is usually a question of ensuring personal safety to prevent crimes against people, such as the rape of women. Aid agencies also try to maintain camps as civilian institutions. Governments complain that camps are used by rebel soldiers for rest and recreation, and for the smuggling of weapons.

Barbed wire fences:

In some cases, host governments insist on enclosing refugee camps with barbed wire fences so the refugees don't mix in with the local population. In
Thailand, for example, people are not allowed in or out of the camps without permission of the government. Other camps are open, allowing refugees to come and go as they please. Camps in Pakistan, for example, look no different from villages except that the residents are Afghan refugees.

**Vehicle Entrance:**

The camp should be accessible by road year round. Within the camp itself, roads must provide access to main facilities so supplies can be delivered to health centres, food storage warehouses, etc. There should also be roads connecting to communal latrines to allow for maintenance. There are usually not roads between shelters, but there are walking paths.

**Reception Centre:**

When new refugees arrive at the camp, they can rest and get out of the sun at the reception centre while waiting to be registered. Registration is a big priority because keeping track of who is in the camp (how many men, women, children under age five, pregnant women, etc.) is the only way aid workers can assess the needs of the population. Refugees are given some kind of registration document they use to prove they are a resident of the camp and which serves as their entitlement to get food rations. They also receive their first food package and other relief items, such as blankets, clothing and cooking utensils.

New refugees are given an orientation of the camp (who is in charge, what the rules are, what is expected of them, etc.), in some cases receive an initial medical check, and are assigned one of the shelters. The reception centre is usually located at the entrance of the camp.

**Materials:**

Shelters for refugees are usually made of local materials, such as wood, metal sheets, branches and plastic sheeting. When possible, refugees construct
their own shelters with tools and other assistance provided. Shelters usually have stoves for heat and cooking, although often in warm climates cooking facilities are outside.

**Space:**

The minimum shelter space recommended is 3.5 square metres per person in warm climates where cooking is done outside, or 4.5 to 5.5 square metres. In cold climates where indoor kitchen and bathing facilities are needed. In emergencies however, large groups of people are often cramped into much smaller spaces. The minimum distance between shelters should be two metres.

**Tents:**

In emergency situations or if local materials are not available, aid agencies can provide tents. Refugees should be able to stand in all areas of the tent without hitting their heads on the ceiling. Tents should be covered with an outer fly to shade and protect the tent below. Tents last for two to three years.

**Public Buildings:**

Schools, warehouses and other public buildings are often converted to shelters.

**Water Point:**

There should be at least one place to get water for every 200 to 250 refugees. Shelters should be no more than 100 metres from a water point. The minimum amount of water required in an emergency situation is at least one gallon of water per person per day. This should be increased to five to six gallons per person as soon as possible so people have enough water for cooking, personal hygiene, and washing dishes and clothing.
**River:**

Some camps have their own water source, such as a lake, river or well. If so, the water is treated to make sure it's not contaminated. If there is no water source, water is trucked in.

**Food storage warehouse:**

Food is usually stored in one large tent that serves as a warehouse. Warehouses should be located near administrative offices for reasons of security, and likely near the entrance of the camp so supply trucks don't have to drive through populated areas.

**Food Distribution Point:**

Food distribution can be done at one location or broken up among several (i.e. dividing a population of 20,000 among four distribution points). Refugees don't pick up food every day. Instead, they are given rations to last for a week or even as long as a month. The camp is divided so food is handed out to different people on different days, to avoid long line-ups and chaos.

**Food Rations:**

Families receive basic rations that are designed to meet cultural diets. For instance, in some cases rice is handed out, while other times wheat is more appropriate. The minimum recommended daily ration is 2,100 calories per person.
Here is an example of a daily food ration: \((gpp = \text{grams per person})\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>gpp – grams per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice, wheat or maize</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans, peas or lentils</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable oil or butter oil</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortified blended food (i.e. corn soya)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total calories : 2,261  
Total protein : 71.2 grams  
Total fat : 47.9 grams

**Malnutrition:**

It is considered a serious nutritional emergency when there is a malnutrition rate of more than 15 per cent, or more than 10 per cent with aggravating factors such as an epidemic. But not all camps have cases of malnutrition.

"It depends where you are," says UNHCR's Judice Kumin. "If you're in a Rafha camp in Saudi Arabia where people have been for 10 years, the material conditions are very good. The problem is that they're just locked up. Everybody has enough to eat and everybody has healthcare, they just don't have a future."

**The Role of Women in food distribution:**

Aid workers try to give the food to women instead of men. Workers find the food is more likely to get to older people and children that way because
women are the ones who cook the food. Men are more likely to sell the rations for money to buy something else.

**Judice Kumin**, of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, says it's better to give refugees food that needs to be cooked rather than MREs (meals ready to eat). She says that during the Bosnian war the U.S. army tried to help refugees by dropping military rations from the sky. For safety, the food was dropped away from the camp. The problem was that the rations were dropped so far away from the camp that, for the most part, only young men ran out to get them. They then proceeded to put the rations in their pockets and keep them for themselves. Kumin says that if refugees get food that needs to be cooked, they will give it to the women who usually do the cooking, and once cooked the food is better distributed among vulnerable people such as women, children and the elderly.

**Feeding Centre:**

Because human milk is the best and safest source of food for children under two years old, breast-feeding is encouraged. If infants are fed with formula, milk products and/or bottles, they are fed at feeding centres to ensure utensils are sterilized, water is clean and formula is used properly. Mothers who are breast-feeding may also receive additional food at the feeding centres. There is usually one feeding centre per 20,000 people.

**Main Health Centre:**

Aid agencies provide primary health care, which is co-ordinated at a main or central health centre. In some cases, the health care provided in the camp is better than what the local residents receive, in which case the health services are opened to non-refugees. Health care includes access to a short list of essential drugs (30 to 40 at most), which are chosen because of their
affordability and effectiveness in treating the main diseases the refugees could be afflicted with.

**Hospital/Clinic:**

Some refugee camps have fully operational hospitals or highly developed clinics where doctors can perform complex procedures, such as delivering babies, surgeries or amputations. If refugees have access to a hospital or clinic in the host country, the camp won't build its own. A hospital or clinic usually serves a population of 200,000 (or one hospital per 10 refugee camps).

**Health Post:**

Besides the main health centre, smaller health posts are set up throughout the camp. Each serves 3,000 to 5,000 refugees. Nurses provide treatment for things such as sore throats, fevers, cuts and scrapes. Serious cases are referred to the main health centre.

**Cholera Camp:**

Cholera is a disease people can get by drinking contaminated water or eating contaminated food. It causes diarrhea, severe vomiting and muscle cramps. Without quick treatment, about 50 per cent of people who get cholera will die of dehydration.

An outbreak of cholera hit Rwandan refugees in 1994 in what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo. Of 500,000 to 800,000 refugees, about 10 per cent of the population got sick, with about 1,000 cholera-related deaths were reported daily.

Cholera poses such a significant risk to refugees that it is recommended that a space for a cholera camp is set aside in advance of an outbreak. It should be separated from other health facilities to help contain the disease.
Toilets:

Ideally there should be one latrine per family. If public latrines are used, there should be at least one for every 20 people. They should be downstream and away from water sources. They should be no more than 50 metres from shelters because if they're too far people won't use them. There should also be space to build new latrines when the old ones become full. Depending on time constraints, cultural issues and geological factors, one of a number of types of latrines can be built, such as defecation fields, collective trench latrines, or simple pit latrines. Defecation fields are meant to serve as a quick, temporary solution in an emergency because without a designated place, people will defecate wherever they please. When time permits, defection fields are replaced by shallow trench latrines, and these are eventually replaced by simple pit latrines.

Guidelines:

Latrines should meet the following criteria:

i) contain the waste matter in one place ii) don't pollute the water iii) accessible to users iv) don't attract insects v) provide a minimum degree of privacy and vi) adapted to serve local habits

Lighting:

Latrines should be located in well-lighted areas and close to shelters so women are not in danger when they use the latrines at night. If people don't feel safe walking to the latrines, they may defecate elsewhere, defeating the purpose of creating a more sanitary solution.

Meeting Place:

Meeting places are where leaders among the refugees gather to discuss issues affecting the camp. This usually consists of a tent or structure with a roof
so people can get out of the sun. Leaders are elected by the refugees to represent different sections of the camp.

School:

Aid agency Save the Children believes education services should be maintained during emergencies. "It's very important for children to have a sense of normalcy," says Nadine Grant, director of programs for Save the Children in Canada. "By maintaining some sort of schooling, however basic or minimal it is, it actually helps keep a sense of normalcy in the child's life, and it helps in their recovery and it helps to minimize issues of trauma. So we often push for education as a first response in emergencies." There should be one school per sector of the camp (about 5,000 people).

Market:

If the host country allows people to enter and leave the camp as they please, a camp may have a market. In the case of a closed camp, the government may still allow a market day when merchants are allowed in to sell their goods. Merchants mostly sell food such as fruit and vegetables since fresh produce is rare in camps. They also sell clothing and personal items, such as soap and toothpaste. It's not accurate to say no refugee has money. Some brought it with them when they fled their homes and some have relatives abroad who send them money. In general, there is one market in a camp that serves about 20,000 people.

Refugee Vendors:

Refugees can also sell goods of their own, such as vegetables they've grown or crafts they've made. Judice Kumin, of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, says refugees at a camp in northern Thailand sell embroidery to people who come to the camp specifically to buy their goods.
Non-governmental organizations not only help the craftswomen obtain the materials they need, but also help to find a market abroad.

**Cemetery:**

Health facilities keep track of death rates and causes of death, according to the UNHCR. They also monitor sites being used as cemeteries to keep track of how many people are dying. The most important indicators of the overall status of a refugee population, according to the UNHCR's Handbook for Emergencies, are the mortality rates for the population as a whole and for children under age five. The goal is to keep the mortality rate at less than one person per 10,000 people per day. More than one person per 10,000 per day is considered a very serious situation, more than two is an emergency and more than five is a major catastrophe. The main causes of death and disease in emergency situations are measles, diarrhoeas (including cholera), acute respiratory infections, malnutrition and malaria.

2.4. **THEMATIC PRESENTATION OF REVIEWS**

The review of literature is categorised and explained in the following thematic presentation.

1. Socio Cultural Dimension
2. Economic Dimension
3. Psychological and Mental Wellbeing
4. Political Dimension
5. Legal Dimension
6. Future Durable Solutions
7. Policy Decisions

There are a number of research papers and research articles that have been published on the issue of refugees' concerns. Some of these are presented below based on the above thematic presentation.
2.4.1. Socio-Cultural Dimensions

The socio-cultural dimensions are important to be considered. Reviews concerning such dimensions are presented below.

**T.S.Subramanian (2006)** In his article on *Camps of Neglect* in Frontline (July 14, 2006), highlights the salient features of refugee camps in Tamil Nadu with socio-cultural dimensions. There are signs of decay and neglect everywhere. The independent houses, in disuse for long are in dilapidated condition, with cracked walls and broken roofs and bushes all around. The row-houses where refugees live are in a state of disrepair and the bathroom and toilet facilities are virtually non-existent. He also makes a mention about the minister’s visit to the camp. K.R.Periakaruppan, State Minister for Slum Clearance and Suba Thangavelan, Minister for housing who visited the camps Mandapam and Uchapatti on June 17th and 18th, 2006 were shocked by the extent of decay and neglect. The author tries to bring to the notice of the Government that in the wake of the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in 1991, the then government closed down camps in the coastal areas and moved the refugees to camps in the interior. As a result their children lost a year of studies because schools in the new areas denied them admission as the academic year had begun. The government at that time issued an order denying admission in colleges to refugees’ children. NGO’s were also not allowed to work in the camps.

**Multicultural Family Connections Program, Early Childhood Development Initiative Edmonton, Alberta, Canada (2004),** made a research on Mapping the life experiences of Refugee and Immigrant Families with Pre-School Children, immigrant and refugee families from their home country to Canada. It has provided a beginning set of knowledge to help us understand the unique and complex circumstances that affect the lives of parents and children. Across communities, common themes emerge from the experiences that form the basis of an organizing framework of an immigrant and refugee’s journey to their new homeland as shown below.
Chart 2. The journey from home country to Canada

Life in home country
- distinct gender roles
- strong social support system
- comfortable life

Life during crisis
- escape from war
- survival of family
- disruption of education
- arduous immigration process
- urban refugee situation

Life in Canada
- 

Life in the refugee camp
- no basic amenities
- food and supplies rationed
- no school for children

Settlement & survival

Transition to integration

Landing
- unfamiliarity with new environment
- different climate & culture
- emotional stress (loneliness & isolation)
- parenting is difficult
- discrimination
- inadequate housing, employment, and services
- different school system
- spousal relationship changes (gender roles, intimacy)
Life in the home country describes a comfortable life for most of the participants. Comfort defined in terms of high economic status, presence of social support systems in both nuclear and extended family and social networks in the community. This loss of comfort and support surfaces as stressors on parents, once they immigrate and they begin to cope with parenting and homemaking all by themselves. The common expression, “it takes a village to raise a child” captures the nostalgic yearning among parents when they have to deal with children’s behaviour without the support of older relatives and respected elders in the community.

Life during crisis evokes painful and terrifying memories of war, escape from the home country, and harsh living conditions in refugee camps. The individual stories of each parent participant in overcoming obstacles to reach safety and freedom exemplify courage and determination of parents and children. To survive life in refugee camps and to find faith and hope in another country shows their resiliency. These are the inherent strengths that many refugees bring to their new homeland, and are put to test once they begin a new life in Canada.

The settlement experience from landing, survival, and transition to integration validates what is found in the literature. What distinguishes this research is the juxtaposition of the settlement experience with the parenting challenges of the research participants. Set against the broader context of poverty, social exclusion and the practical difficulties of everyday living where language and cultural unfamiliarity are confounding limitations, immigrant and refugee families live with complex circumstances. Parenting capacities are severely constrained when parents must live day-to-day responding to crisis such as eviction notices, food scarcity, and poor health of children. These challenges often become visible in the breakdown of family relationships, problems of children in school and child welfare cases.
Hopes for the future are anchored mostly in children’s success through education. Parents value education as an important step in advancing the family situation. Where the parents’ dream of a better life seemed unattainable through their own efforts during their lifetime, children would most likely achieve a secure future given the freedom of choice and the opportunities available to them in Canada. To many of the parents, it is almost an acceptance of their own limitations to prosper given the difficulties of finding suitable employment, limited access to education opportunities and meeting the demands of parenting and family maintenance.

Deepening our understanding of the immigrant and refugee experience:
The complexity of the lives of immigrant and refugee experience is rich with information that needs to be organized into a coherent body of knowledge to deepen our understanding of their experience. This study proposes an organizing framework that will structure the essential information that reveals the multiple layers of factors that affect the immigrant and refugee parenting capacities and their responsiveness to changing demands of child rearing and development.

This study suggests a cultural approach to parenting and early childhood development that could be used as a conceptual tool to examine the immigrant and refugee experience at the level of the individual parent and family framed within a set of larger and broader determinants of family well being. The figure below shows the elements of this organizing framework and how they interact to determine family health and well-being.
Chart 3. Deepening our understanding of the immigrant and refugee experience: a cultural approach
This cultural approach is grounded on the concept that culture is a tool that defines reality for its members and consists of a system of values, beliefs, norms, patterns and experiences that have significance within the historical and social context of a group of people. The figure identifies these elements that make up the totality of an individual experience – in this case the immigrant and refugee family. The elements are arranged as multiple levels of factors that affect family well-being and their ability to cope with demands of daily living, parenting and child development as critical responsibilities.

At the level of personal factors, age, gender, religion, family size, language skills, and education are internal resources that can either limit a parent’s coping and resiliency skills or can mobilize one’s access to opportunities. This research has shown that limited English skills are significant barriers to employment and education for most parents. Knowing personal factors at play can help in identifying individual-specific problem-solving strategies and interventions that can improve the quality of service delivery. For example, providing linguistic and cultural interpretation in serving newcomer families increases understanding between the family and services providers and promotes successful outcomes. The newcomer experience describes the current situation for most immigrant and refugee parents whose struggle for survival and advancement is fraught with loss, challenges and conflict. Insights from the newcomer experience and deriving common themes can be the basis for developing supportive programs for parents and children. Culturally responsive programs assure increased utilization of targeted participants that contributes to greater cost-effectiveness.

The pre-migration experience makes us conscious of the larger forces and conditions that pre-dispose certain groups towards inequities that impact their health and quality of life. The research showed many examples of these conditions and the enduring effects on parents and children throughout their immigration and settlement experience. The pre-migration experience can be a
source of policy ideas for making the settlement experience less stressful particularly when policy tools benefit parents who are experiencing difficult situations. For example, this research revealed the desire of many families to be with family members who were abducted or lost during the flight from the home country. They hope to re-unite with them in the future. This has caused mental and emotional anguish among refugee parents that has affected their ability to re-build their lives in the new country.

The immigrant and refugee families made it to Canada mostly through their own efforts – voluntarily or involuntarily. While all have encountered difficulties, many have lived through pain and horror that most of us will never experience in our lifetime. These experiences have created enduring effects on parents and children that will continue to shape their lives in this new country. This research validates what is known in the literature about immigrants and refugees and also offers new insights in working with them as parents speak from their hearts and suggest ways to support them not as passive receivers of programs and services but as individuals and collectives who have strengths and capacities to offer. It is hoped that this research will serve as a catalyst to sensitize and strengthen the practices and services that most appropriately meet the needs of the marginalized and isolated; to nurture innovative program design anchored in respect for diversity and negotiation of differences; and to create inclusive policies rooted in genuinely addressing inequalities and inequities that profoundly impact family life and well-being.

Arafat Jamal (2003) A Study on Camps and Freedoms: Long-term Refugee Situations in Africa, conducted by this author deals with over three million African Refugees predominantly Saharawis, Burundians, Liberians, Eritreans, Somalis and Southern Sudanese who were found themselves in protracted situations. He has explained that, a protracted situation is one in which refugees find themselves in a long lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk but their basic rights and essential economic, social and
psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. The consequences of prolonged encampment are long and includes:

- material deprivation
- psychological problems
- violence
- sexual exploitation
- exploitative employment and
- resort to negative coping mechanisms.

Hence protracted situation perpetuate poverty and underdevelopment because they inhibit freedom.

The Economic Development Council inquiry (2002) reported lack of educational support for newly arrived young refugees in mainstream schools, lack of access to Adult Migrant Education Services for those under 18, and the impacts of pre-arrival trauma on school performance. Refugees who are TPV (Temporary Protection Visa) holders are often precluded from tertiary education and training because they are required by the Federal Government to pay international student fees up front and are not eligible for HECS.

Natali Dukic and Alain Thierry, (1998) Saharawi Refugees The Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony, was ceded by treaty to Morocco and Mauritania in 1975. The Polisario Front proclaimed the independence of the independent Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara and demanded full sovereignty. Mauritania renounced its territorial claims in 1979 and Morocco took over the whole of Western Sahara. Thousands of Saharawis fled the fighting which then broke out between the Polisario and the Moroccan army, and took refuge in the Tindouf region in South-eastern Algeria. Twenty years on, some 1,50,000 Saharawis live in the camps in Algeria. Many have known no other way of life. The prospect of imminent and long awaited-referendum raises a number of issues which the Saharawis will have to confront.
1. **Dependency on international aid:**

Tindouf is an arid, rocky region where living conditions are extremely difficult and survival comes at the price of total dependence on international aid. Since 1993 the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) has been running annual aid programmes which because of the population’s complete dependency on aid, are made up of emergency food aid (84%), medical/sanitation aid (9.4%) and rehabilitation/logistic aid (6.6%).

2. **Physical Impact:**

The European Commission has been closely monitoring the living conditions of the Saharawi refugees in the Tindouf camps. Standards of nutrition, hygiene and medical care have been deteriorating steadily over the years, despite international aid. Obtaining drinking water is especially difficult and the effects of nutritional deficiencies are being increasingly felt. The level of chronic malnutrition indicates that the long stay in the desert has affected a whole generation of Saharawis.

- Child illnesses
- Nutritional deficiencies
- Drinking water

3. **Cultural changes and psychological impact:**

As Cecile Bizourne, a psychologist working for Sante Sud has noted “the basis of their identity, namely the clan and the tribe has been eroded the cause and the drive for national unity and self-determination”. Social differences have been ironed out by the common cause and by life in the camps, where everyone receives the same quantity of food, lives in a tent and has a role in camp society. The traditional culture was oral for children. The authors of this study conclude that standards of nutrition, hygiene and medical care have been deteriorating steadily over the years, despite international aid at
Saharawi camp in Algeria who had endured the hardships for more than twenty years.

C. Amalraj (1997) A well brought out study on Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees in India in an edited book on States, Citizens and Outsiders: The Uprooted People of South Asia, by this, the author focuses on their life in refugee camps. Initially faced with an emergency situation, the Tamil Nadu government accommodated the refugees in ad hoc shelter. The Indian government was loath to send the refugees to other Indian states because of the language barriers. Camp sites were a yard, market place, rice go-downs or even open air toilets. Hutments put up for just a month in 1990 continue to shelter some 58,000 Sri Lankan Tamils in 100 camps in Tamil Nadu. Physical conditions in the camps are deplorable. The extensive damage to physical surroundings has reduced the camps to a culture of slums. House in temporary hutments made of tar sheets, the scorching heat makes life in the camp intolerable. Each refugee is given a per diem of Rs.5, obviously inadequate considering the fact that most of the Sri Lankan use coconut in their food. A welcome feature has been the lifting of the ban on educational facilities. But the ban on NGOs continues and the UNHCR is still not allowed direct access.

As India refuses to accede to international protection regimes for refugees, the inter-national aid agencies do not have access to camps. Social scientists find refugees disoriented beings. The refugee mind is in constant confusion. His life is determined by officials of an alien land. His ‘house’ is restricted, his movement monitored and his food rationed. He is an object under the gaze of government officials and charity groups, denied even a minimum privacy. Life is oppressively monotonous. This disintegration of his sense of self is an aspect rarely considered. On the top of this, he lives in the midst of a hostile environment where local politicians have made the Sri Lankan Tamils a scapegoat for all ills.
Mark Raper (1995) "A Study on Exile and Solidarity" by this author gives a global Panoramic view of refugees in the world. He gives the principal reasons why 44 million people worldwide have been forced out of their homes are:

- Civil and international conflicts and the collapse of nation states.
- Repression by states of their own citizens, involving a broad range of human rights abuses
- Famine, poverty and economic failure
- Environmental dislocations and natural disasters.

McSpadden and Moussa (1993) The author reports that Gender seems to have a significant effect on refugees' social adjustment in the new environment. For example, the Ethiopian/Eritrean male refugees in Canada and the United States experienced a decline both in their traditional status and in opportunities after resettlement. These male refugees found it difficult to come to terms with the changes. In contrast, women refugees from this same group perceived more opportunities and possibilities for themselves in the new environment, as compared with the traditional country of origin environment. However, the reality of the labour market may not always correspond to perceptions. For example, in the work setting, working class refugee women from Vietnam living in a Maritime province often experienced segregation and exploitation (Phan, 1995). Phan's work suggests that gender, class, and race negatively influence the adaptation of working class refugee women.

Montgomery (1991) In a major study of Vietnamese refugees in Western Canada, shows that "education (academic and/or vocational) and length of residence are positively related to adjustment; whereas size of municipality of current residence is inversely related to adjustment, as are age (older refugees have more problems), extent of trauma in leaving Vietnam and single versus married status." Policy recommendations resulting from this study place
emphasis on "education, patience with new immigrants, directing refugees to non-metropolitan areas and focusing more on older refugees."

Janet E. Benson (1990) From Toronto Housing Department Policy and Research Section, the author reports that Vietnamese and Laotian refugee households, consisting of extended families and non-nuclear families, have had a positive effect on refugee integration and resettlement. Interestingly, Benson further notes that refugee households were shaped by cultural values and by the social, economic and political conditions of the receiving community. Research evidence indicates that the success of refugee integration in the new environment is based on interaction of a multitude of variables in the community context. Refugee resettlement is a challenging process. However, its success in Canada, as well as in other countries, is contingent on the existence of facilitative institutional arrangements and government support (Mahmoudi, 1992). Both the refugees and the receiving country need to be active in this process.

Ram Bahadur Chhetri Ann Arber. M (1990) He has made a study on Adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Pokhran: a study on persistence and change, Nepal. The objectives could be; Firstly, to identify the traditional socio-cultural and demographic behaviour and practices among the Tibetan refugees before they fled from their homeland in 1959. Secondly, to point out the need to identify similarities and differences across generations or birth cohorts of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, i.e. comparison of the first generation of refugees with those born and brought up outside Tibet as well as a comparison among Tibetans by their countries or societies of orientation. There are theoretical, methodological as well as policy level implication of the study. This study makes a theoretical contribution to the study of adaptation of refugees (this could be applied to the migrants and immigrants). In particular it
has shown that focusing on persistence and change could be a way of examining adaptation.

CONCLUSION

The reviews on socio-cultural dimensions reveal that the adaptation in a new environment is difficult for the refugees; a new language, alien culture etc. Confinement to settlements/camps has been demonstrated to have a number of adverse effects on both refugees and host population. The protracted situation restricts freedom of the people and denies even a minimum privacy. The refugees face social exclusion in the developed countries. Education is often looked upon by the refugees, as the key to their future settlement and to their children's inclusion in the host society. Refugee parents often lack knowledge of the educational system, and young people face pressure to leave school to contribute financially to family and relatives overseas.
2.4.2. Economic Dimension

There are theories of international migration and these are of three main types: Macro, Meso and Micro theories, which are not mutually exclusive. The researcher bases micro theories to his research, as it is most fitting in the context of forced migration.

**Macro theories**

It emphasises the structural, objective conditions, which act as “push” and “pull” factors for migration; in the case of economic migration, push factors typically include economic conditions such as unemployment, low salaries or low per capita income relative to the country of destination. Pull factors would include migration legislation and the labour market situation in receiving countries. Involuntary displacement would be explained through factors such as state repression or fear of generalised violence or civil war (Boswell, 2002).

**Meso theories**

It rejects the macro and focuses on push and pull factors, instead locating migration flows within a complex system of linkages between states. Two concepts are particularly important for meso theories: systems and networks (Boswell, 2002). Networks refer to a set of individual and collective actors (actual and potential migrants, their families, firms, religious or social groups, and so on) and the multiple social and symbolic ties that link them together (Bilsborrow, Zlotnik, 1994); Once formed, networks can substantially influence the direction and volume of migration flows, providing resources that help people to move, such as information, contacts, economic and social support (Faist, 2001). This meso level is less relevant for explaining forced displacement, although it can help explain the choice of destination for
refugees - systems and networks may make particular places easier to reach or obtain protection, or more attractive as destinations.

**Micro theories**

It focuses on the factors influencing individual decisions to migrate, analysing how potential migrants weigh up the various costs and benefits of migrating. Costs could include the financial and psychological resources invested in moving and integrating in the country of destination, while benefits could include a higher salary or physical safety. Micro theories often draw on rational choice theory, which makes a number of controversial assumptions about how and why individuals take decisions (Boswell, 2002).

From this perspective it is easy to understand that “the motivations for movement have become more complex, blurring the line that traditionally separated economics migrants from refugees” (Boswell, Crisp, Borjas, 2002). Other migration studies put the emphasis on the simple fact that terms such as voluntary and forced migration are inadequate today “Voluntary migrants may feel compelled to seek new homes because of pressing problems at home; forced migrants may choose a particular refuge because of family and community ties or economic opportunities. Moreover, one form of migration often leads to another” (Martin, 2001). When the civil and economic panorama is unpromising, a lot of people decide or desire to migrate, forced by bad circumstances. These situations are also exploited by parties in the conflict, who can use migration as a mean of achieving goals or for traffickers see it as a profitable business. The Great Lakes, Balkans and Afghanistan crises are good examples of this.

Other important aspect we must consider in the issue of forced migration is the role that past waves of migrants play in recent flows. Often there are links that determine to some extent the direction of migratory flow, and/or facilitate life conditions not only for forced migrants and returnees, but also for those who stayed in their place of origin, despite the conflict. Migration is
assumed to occur within a migration system, i.e. a group of countries linked by economic, political and cultural ties as well as migration flows (Boswell, 2002).

The first distinction, that should be highlighted, is between those people able or willing to cross national borders (refugees) and those who will not or cannot (IDPs) and therefore settle in other territories of their country. All migrations, whether they happen on the local, national or international scale, occur due to a combination of push and pull factors. Each migrant weighs these factors to determine whether to leave their homeland and migrate to an entirely new region, or to stay at home and address possible problems within their society (Daventport, Moore, Poe, 2003).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal Conditions</th>
<th>External Conditions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Colonialism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worsening of socio-economic conditions</td>
<td>Un-fare trade regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famine</td>
<td>Global inequality</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural disaster</td>
<td>Deforestation of Environment</td>
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The variety of push and pull factors introduces another important issue to consider: the possibility of the migrant’s choice. If people have no choice but to leave (as the term “forced migration” implies), then there is no need to analyse single cases: one can work at the macro level, treating individual human beings as stimulus-response mechanisms. However, if people are considered as having a choice to either stay (and fight or, perhaps, become a martyr) or escape, then it is important to explain what impacts the decision.
Davenport et al. (2003) states that a theory which removes choice from human decisions cannot account for the behaviour of those who choose not to flee in the face of persecution or who choose to enter into a situation that while conflictual is still an improvement over their home location (Davenport et al, 2003).

Zolberg et al. (1989) adds that the accepted label of refugees leads one to focus on the sending or producing country. Yet, migrants make the choice to flee from a set of circumstances where they perceive their security to be in danger, towards a situation they expect to be safer (Gibney et al, 1996). Thus, they not only consider circumstances in the nation from which they originate, but also the one to which they might travel. A better measure of forced migration then, would consider not only conditions in the source country.

Some scholars (Stepputat, Sørensen, 1999; Van Hear, 1998; Pedersen, 2003) affirm that in general all movement involve degrees of choice and coercion; the differentiation between migrants and refugees is based indeed on people’s motivation to move and “movers” may change from being refugees to being migrants or vice versa over time. This is a crucial point also to better understand the dynamics beyond the reintegration of returnees. The circumstances surrounding a person’s departure influence in fact their return, as well as affecting their relationship to their country of origin while they live abroad (Kibreab, 1999). As Pedersen (2003) argues in her research on Lebanese returnees, the relations between returnees and stayees are not easy and depend from different factors. Such relations are not fixed but are quite dynamic and continuously renegotiated. The ones that decided to stay or could not leave transform the decision into a moral choice, thereby condemning those who left. Generally, the earliest refugee flows tend to settle in the neighbouring countries because they are the easiest to reach for the majority who had to walk out of their country. Other more organised flows, try to reach third countries, where refugees have members of their family or a social network supporting them.
Chart 4. Two Factors in dealing with Immigrants and Refugees

**PUSH FACTOR**
- War
- Persecution
- Genocide
- Abuse of human rights
- Bad economic conditions
- Poverty
- Famine
- Natural Hazards
- Development projects

**PULL FACTOR**
- Personal Capital
  - Social networks
  - Presence of family
  - Required profession
  - Less violence
  - Good asylum policy
  - Positive attitudes towards refugees
  - Existence of refugee settlements
  - Better economic situation
  - Political stability

**SENDING COUNTRY**

**RECIPIENT COUNTRY**
Having analysed the economic factors the researcher tries to integrate the micro theory into this research. Thus the Sri Lankan refugees are migrating from a part of Sri Lanka and hence this study corroborates under migration theory - the micro theory perspective. So micro theory is apt in the case of forced displacement especially to this nature of research pertaining to Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu. The push factor and pull factors of migration theory reflect in this type of research. The Sri Lankan refugees were pushed out of their country due to war, poverty, violence, bad economic conditions, etc. They are in a recipient country India, where there is less violence, political stability, economical stability, etc. They are safe in the recipient country until they get amicable solution is arrived at. So the micro theory, adopted in this research becomes relevant.

Economic Integration

Much of the existing research on economic integration does not differentiate immigrants from refugees. Often, the integration experience of refugees is subsumed under immigrants. Rarely is the economic situation of refugees examined for its own merit. The main emphasis of existing research on refugees in the economic realm focuses on employment and income in comparison to immigrants and Canadian-born.

There appears to be conflicting evidence as to whether refugees experience long-term income deficiencies in comparison to immigrants and the Canadian-born. Deschamps' (1987, 1982) and Samuel's (1987) studies on the economic integration of Indochinese refugees in Canada, and Kibria's (1989) study on Vietnamese refugee women in the United States reveal that even though refugees themselves are generally satisfied with their progress toward economic integration, they have a long way to go to obtain equity with their Canadian-born and immigrant counterparts. Deschamps (1987) also notes that the sponsorship program has not been largely successful in helping refugees to
become economically self-sufficient as some remain dependent on government or private support.

OTHER STUDIES

R. Shankar and K. Arockiam (2007) made a study on Wages and Employment of Sri Lankan Refugees in Tamil Nadu. The study was published by the Indian Society of Labour Economics. The major outcome of their study is as follows.

- **Concerning Occupation:** out of 400 respondents, 251 respondents had occupation or employment. The rest 149 respondents had no occupation or employment. This obviously shows that most of them have occupation and the others do not have occupation due to lack of job opportunity.

- **Regarding income:** it was arrived that 37.2 per cent of the people lived without income besides government cash dole and ration. 34.8 per cent of the people earned between Rs.1001 – 2000. Only 07.2 per cent earned more than Rs. 2000. This explicitly shows the income of refugees is very minimum.

- **Based on all occupation:** 55 per cent earned Rs. 1001-2000. The other 33.1 per cent earned up to Rs. 1000 and only 11.6 per cent earned above Rs. 2000 per month. The inference is that very few earn more. Because they are employed in risk work such as advertisement board preparation.

- It was observed from the study, men got Rs.592 on an average more than women in a month. It shows that men earn more.

Largely, refugees have been viewed as problems or economic burden for host countries. It is true that they are fed by the tax paid by the local nationals. But as refugees they are entitled to get a minimum privilege from the UN organizations. India being a non-signatory to the UN, the Sri Lanakan refugees are refused to get the basic provisions given by it. So the Indian Government could allow the UN organizations to carry out programmes for the refugees as
found elsewhere. And thereby the economic burden of the Indian Government is minimized. Tamil Nadu Government can place the refugees where there are more employment opportunities available as found in this research and need not to place them in underdeveloped places. The observation of the researcher is that the quality of the ration provided to the refugees is very poor. The cash dole is not given in time. The Self Help Groups camps could be recognised by the Government.

**D.Ravikumar, Kattumannarkoil MLA (2006)** On the direction of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu State Mr. M. Karunanidhi, according to *The Hindu*, D. Ravikumar of Dalit Panthers, a political party of India, who is also Kattumannarkoil MLA, recently studied the conditions prevailing in the refugee camps across the State and submitted his findings to the Chief Minister on 04 July 2006, with suggestions for improving their living conditions. He brought to the notice of the Chief Minister that the Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu are facing many hardships. Living in ramshackle tenements, they are leading a precarious life on the frugal doles offered by the State Government.

Further his findings reveals “ever since the ethnic conflict broke out in Sri Lanka in 1983, the refugees have been streaming into Tamil Nadu and as of January 31, 2005 a total of 52,322 registered refugees had found asylum in 103 camps.” He added, “besides them, there were 20,184 unregistered refugees staying outside the camps. The refugees were suspects in the eyes of the police and the general public, and hence they mostly ended up as daily wage earners, taking up construction works and carpentry.”

[http://www.asiantribune.com](http://www.asiantribune.com)

**Karen Jacobsen, (2004)** has made a study on **Micro-finance in protracted refugee situations**: Lessons from the Alchemy Project to support the livelihoods of displaced people in Africa. The author states that there are
several reasons why microfinance should be considered as one option to support the livelihoods of forcibly displaced people. First, by going beyond the traditional relief-based culture of handout, it offers a more dignified way to support refugees. Second it offers a range of services those refugees in protracted situations need, and which traditional relief doesn’t provide, including credit, savings facilities even microfinance. Third, it is potentially sustainable and not tied to donor cycles, particularly microfinance institutions can be brought into the community.

The use of microfinance in refugee situation has two goals. One is to support refugee livelihoods both in their host countries and when they return home. There is now growing evidence that micro credit can help refugees start and sustain small business. Microfinance services and refugee livelihoods alike are supported when governments allow refugees to work outside of camps and undermined when there are government restrictions on refugee work and movement. It is crucial that refugees are granted the economic rights and freedoms set out in the 1951 Refugee Convention. All refugee agencies including microfinance one should be involved in lobbying the government for protection and the recognition of rights and access to markets on behalf of the refugees. The economic contribution of refugee entrepreneurs can be a potential win-win situation for both host countries and refugee communities. Their economic contribution can be maximised by agencies advocating for their rights to work and freedom of movement.

Jason Hart, (2002) Children’s clubs: new ways of working with conflict-displaced children in Sri Lanka : The SCN (Save the Children Norway) in 1999 together with a local partner organization ESCO (Eastern Self-Reliant and Community Awakening Organisation), embarked a pilot project. It was conducted with children in a small village called Sivanthivu in Batticaloa district. The project was intended to provide an opportunity for the young people of Sivanthivu to engage in the development of their lives and that of the
community. At the same time, it would be a learning opportunity for SCN and ESCO and a chance to develop a model for work with other war-affected rural communities. Sivanthivu itself is in a vulnerable location: a one kilometre square island situated between the forces of Sri Lankan government army and the LTTE. In 1990 the population of the village – approximately 300 families – was displaced by fighting. Most took refuge in a school building in the nearby town of Valachchenai, returning a year later to find their homes burnt down.

**Nirmala, R (1998)** A study on ‘Sri Lankan Youth Refugees at Kottapattu Camp in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu, India’ by this author reveals the bare reality of the Sri Lankan refugees in camps. The population of the Kottapattu camp is 1729 with 432 families. She has done a research on refugee youth. The universe is 253 youth falling under the age group 15-25. The sample size is 50 respondents. The major findings are as follows:

**Economic Condition:**

Fifty two per cent of the respondents do not have other sources of income. Though most of them have the desire for saving money, they are not able to do it due to poor income. Many become indebted. They borrow money from their friends, relatives or pawn-brokers.

**Educational Condition:**

Fifty-eight per cent of the youth got educated in Tamil Nadu and the rest got educated in Sri Lanka. Fifty per cent of the respondents want to join professional courses.

**Health and Hygiene:**

For emergency they go to private hospitals. Most of them are not satisfied with the medical facilities available in the camps.
• Most of the youth are forced to become idles due to lack of job opportunity. Most of the female youth do not even get the seasonal employment. So the local voluntary organizations may focus their attention on the vocational training courses in order to get them employed later.

• Many feel that there are no recreational facilities at all. The social work students could be allowed to interact with the refugees and apply their social work tools to conduct casework, group-work, community organization etc.

• The strict rules and regulations affect the youth refugee freedom. The checking or otherwise take roll call is disturbing. They cannot be out for a long time. If so their registration is cut off.

• Medical facilities in the camps are inadequate. So the government has to put up medical centers in the camps.

Lawrence Lam (1994) examines the link between the blocked mobility thesis and the emergence of small ethnic businesses of Chinese-Vietnamese refugees in Vancouver. The blocked mobility thesis states that ethnic business enclaves arise because certain ethnic groups, in this case Chinese-Vietnamese refugees, are unable to obtain employment in the mainstream economy due to various factors such as language deficiencies, insufficient level of skill to obtain certain types of employment and racial discrimination. The result of these barriers leads to the development of ethnic enclaves where workers who cannot obtain employment in the mainstream economy set up their own ethnic businesses in order to provide themselves with income and meaningful employment.

Lam finds that the largest barrier to employment is the non-recognition of foreign credentials. The result is two-fold: while some Chinese-Vietnamese refugees are forced to work in sweatshops, dead-end jobs and low-paying homework in the mainstream economy, others become "reluctant entrepreneurs" in ethnic enclave businesses (Lam, 1994). Cobas, Aicken and Jardine (1992) suggest that in addition to the variables outlined by Lam, the
emergence of an ethnic enclave is also influenced positively by the number of relatives living in the same city as well as level of education upon arrival.

Despite the claims that refugees eventually "catch up" to other immigrant groups and to Canadian-born in terms of their economic integration in society (Samuel, 1984; DeVoretz, 1994; deSilva, 1996), the bulk of the evidence suggests that this is not so. It is clear that research on the economic situation of refugees per se is woefully limited. This is partially due to the fact that refugees are subsumed under general immigrant categories. The sparse economic research focusing solely on refugees suggests that while it is not agreed what variables affect the economic integration of this group, it is certain that their situation is often quite different from that of immigrants. This warrants separate examinations of the income and employment status of refugees.

There is a common fear that those who are able to achieve economic stability in the host country will never return but repatriation has proven to be destabilizing to the country of origin (Harrell-Bond 1994). Nevertheless, the long term goal of most governments (host and donor) is that refugees will repatriate and common sense and experience suggest that people impoverished by an economy based on relief will be unable to return without enormous investment in their economic rehabilitation while those able to acquire the resources in exile are likely to return voluntarily when conditions are conducive (Sopulveda 1994). Where governments have been able to provide sufficient land to sustain a population and where they have not imposed restrictions on movement or their employment within the wider economy, refugees have proven to be an economic asset (Kuhlman 1989; Mollett 1991; Harrell-Bond 1996). In cases where host governments have maintained control of refugee policy, using international aid to expand their economies as a whole, it has benefited both refugees and local populations (Zetter 1992). In the
process, they have avoided the inevitable tensions which result from earmarking aid for certain beneficiaries (Harrell-Bond 1986, Chap 4).

Many Cambodians experience financial difficulty that may impact their physical well-being (Rambaut, 1985. Bach (1979) reported that among Indochinese refugees, Cambodians have the highest rate of unemployment. Uba and Chung 1991, studied non-clinical samples of Cambodian and found that over 40% had experienced trauma during the Khmer Rouge regime. The authors strongly suggested that pre-migration stresses affect the quality of life and results in unemployment, low income and poor health. Furthermore, Uba and Chung 1991 hypothesised that traumatic experiences predict the financial status of Cambodians in the U.S due to spending much time and effort coping with their trauma. This may result in poor physical health and psychosomatic disorders.

The Cambodian refugees face other risk factors of poverty living in the city of Long Beach. Most refugees are concentrated in the poor urban areas of Long Beach where gang violence or other violent acts occur on a daily basis and unsanitary/over-crowded living conditions is the reality of their daily lives. These living conditions of poverty may further exacerbate the psychological distress and ultimately cause depression among the elderly. Another aspect of poverty the elderly refugees face is financial burden. Mendes De Leon and Colleagues, 1994 suggested that financial strain is the cause of daily life worries and may result in deterioration of mood and poor physical health. The factors of mental/physical illness, social isolation and lack of family support are strong contributors of psychological distress among the Cambodian elderly.

Neuwirth and DeVries (1994) affirm the above results, indicating that full economic integration of refugees has not been achieved. Using data from the 1986 Census, they argue that refugees are the new 'underclass' in Canada due to their low income levels in comparison to all other non-refugee groups. However, data provided by Samuel (1984) suggests that refugees, despite their
initial difficulties securing employment, their earnings increase and, over time, begin to "catch-up" to those of Canadian-born and immigrants. **In terms of the employment rate of refugees**, the majority of research originates from the United States. One exception is a Canadian study by Adams and Jesudason (1984) which found that Ugandan refugees were able to obtain employment shortly upon arrival in Canada but at a lower occupational level compared to what they enjoyed in their country of origin. English language proficiency has the greatest impact on obtaining employment (Gold, 1992; Haines, 1987). Majka and Mullan (1992) add that the type of support services available to refugees also plays an integral role in obtaining employment.

Montgomery's (1986) research on Vietnamese in Alberta uses English language skill, education level on arrival, population size of municipality of current residence, and ethnicity to study employment rates and mean gross monthly income. He finds the employment rate and income of Vietnamese is similar to other groups of immigrants, but lower than Canadian-born groups. Other studies originating in the United States suggest that variables such as health, country of origin, length of residence, age, gender and ethnicity also affect the employment status of refugees (Tran and Nguyen, 1994; Potocky, 1996; Strand, 1984). This research also indicates that the effect of these variables on employment is greater for refugees than for immigrants.

Research focusing on ethnic enclaves, blocked mobility and foreign credential recognition are extremely sparse in the refugee literature despite their prominence in immigration studies.

**Employment and low income:**

Refugees have higher unemployment rates, lower earning and occupational attainment than other immigrants (Williams & Batrouney 1998). Lack of English, recency of arrival, lack of required skills and non-transferability of qualifications and racism all create barriers to employment. Particular refugee experiences add additional barriers, such as unpreparedness
for departure, experience of torture or trauma, disruption to education in refugee camps, grief and loss of loved ones and mental health issues. TPV holders face additional barriers, including lack of access to settlement services, intensive employment assistance and English classes and the temporary nature of their visa, which prevents reunification with immediate family. Statistics showing employment by immigration visa category are limited. The most recent available Australian Bureau of Statistics figures (ABS 1999, p.8) show an unemployment rate among refugees as 15.8 per cent for the principal applicant and 26.8 for their partners in November 1999 compared to an unemployment rate of 6.7 for the general population (ABS 1999a, p.16).

**Income Poverty:**

The first major studies of poverty in Australia in the late 1960s and early 1970s found higher rates of income poverty among people from a non-English speaking birthplace (NESB) compared with the general population, findings confirmed in the 1980s (Johnson 1991). Rates varied considerably for different birthplace groups, with high rates found both among some refugee groups and some migrant groups. Rates of poverty were generally high for recent arrivals. Various studies in the early 1990s found refugees were the most disadvantaged of immigrant entrants to Australia, and the most likely to fall below the poverty line (Williams & Batrouney 1998). Studies of communities with large numbers of refugees such as the Indochinese and some African groups showed high levels of unemployment and of use of welfare benefits (Williams & Batrouney 1998). A study of the Kurdish community found 85 per cent surveyed claimed their incomes were inadequate or barely adequate (Batrouney 1995).

Ram Bahadur Chhetri Ann Arber. M (1990) has made a study on Adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Pokhran: a study on persistence and change, Nepal. He concludes that the future of Tibetans depends on economic pursuits that are certainly vital for a people’s survival. Tibetans in exile are pursuing totally different occupations than their traditional occupation of
nomadic pastoralism, which cannot be practised any more in places where they live today. Tibetan family members are involved in obtaining income from two or more sources as weavers or spinners at the handicraft centres or doing small business. The economic aspects also emphasized the importance of handicraft centres for individual Tibetans, the Tibetan community as well as the Nepal economy.

CONCLUSION

The two factors like Push factor and Pull factor have given the overall understanding about the economic aspect. It has revealed that how the refugees are pulled and pushed towards the marginalization. The refugees’ unemployment rate is high in the world. Studies in Australia have revealed that the refugees living below the poverty line is high. They mostly do the menial jobs that are available like sweatshops, dead-end jobs and low-paying homework, mason, construction work, wine shop etc in the mainstream economy.
2.4.3. Psychological and Mental Health Dimension

Refugees’ pre and post-migration experiences cause psychological and mental health issues. Such related reviews are highlighted here.

R. Srinivasa Murthy and Rashmi Lakshminarayan (2006) made a study on “Mental Health Consequences of War - World Psychiatric Association”. It portrays the prolonged conflict between the majority Sinhala and minority Tamil population in Sri Lanka for nearly 30 years. One of the first studies that looked into the psychological effects of the conflict on the civilian population was epidemiological survey, which reported that only 6% of the study population had not experienced any war stresses. Psychological squeal were seen in 64% of the population, including somatization (41%), PTSD (27%), anxiety disorder (26%), major depression (25%), alcohol and drug misuse (15%) and functional disability (18%). The breakdown of the Tamil society led to women taking more responsibilities, which in turn made them more vulnerable to stress. Children, and adolescent’s people had higher mental health morbidity. The refugees had both psychological and higher mental health morbidity.

T.S.Subramanian (2006) ‘Fleeing to Safety’, an article by this author in Frontline (July 14, 2006), a leading monthly journal in Tamil Nadu, India focuses on the problems faced by the Sri Lankan Tamil civilians who flee from danger and threat from Sri Lanka. He narrates the refugees’ untold sufferings. It was a perilous six-hour journey in a small boat at night for S.Rasalingam, his wife and two children from the coastal Pesalai village in Mannar, Sri Lanka to Rameshwaram, India. Rasalingam who belongs to Palaiyutru in Trincomalee district in the Eastern province, worked as a plumber in a beach resort before fleeing to Tamil Nadu.

The author explains that from the narration of Rasalingam, there seemed to be no guarantee for their life. The Sri Lankan Army kept firing multi-barrel
shells from its camps in Trincomalee town towards Sambur. Forty shells landed at a time and destroyed the entire locality. The noise of explosions forever filled the air. If anyone goes for work, it is not sure whether that person will return alive. So they decided to leave the country. After a tedious journey from Trincomalee to Vavuniya and onward to Mannar town, he and his family reached Pesalai. They stayed in an ‘open relief camp’ set up by the Sri Lankan government but supervised by UNHCR. They boarded a boat at Pesalai after paying the boatman Rs.10000 against Rs.3000 which they paid in 1990 in Sri Lankan rupees for each family member, hoping to reach Rameshwaram. But the Sri Lankan Navy detained them in mid sea and sent them back to the camp, where they remained poorer. Later the family was moved to a dilapidated ice factory where cows, goats and donkeys roamed and which stank of their dung. When explosions rocked the area, the family fled into the jungles and managed to reach the Mannar coast. They paid a boatman Rs.17000 for boat ride to Rameshwaram and reached Mandapam camp.

_Elsie Ho, Sybil Au, Charlotte Bedford and Jenine (2003)_ In their research on Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand has consistently shown that refugees are at particular risk for depression and post-traumatic stress disorder, because of pre-migration traumas and post-migration stressors of adapting and living in a new culture. Refugee youth is special needs group within this high-risk group. In the international literature, it has been suggested that refugee youth experience elevated mental health risk because of language difficulties, identity conflict, racism and rejection by the labour market.

Refugees from smaller ethnic groups are also vulnerable. To date New Zealand research on Asian refugees had been focussed on the Cambodians and to a lesser extent, Vietnamese and Laotians. Those from smaller communities of Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Indonesia are not represented in the literature. However, it is important to recognise the differing cultural perceptions of the distinct ethnic groups which make up the refugee populations. Refugees from
smaller ethnic groups often experience added difficulties in the resettlement process, as they do not have much access to their own community support networks and are therefore subject to higher degrees of isolation.

Pittaway (1991) found 73 per cent of some 200 refugee women in her study had suffered either medium or high degrees of trauma and torture prior to coming to Australia. This experience of trauma is not always fully recognised in provision of services (particularly mainstream services) to refugees. Torture and trauma counselling was not developed effectively until the late 1980s (Jupp 2003), but has subsequently been included in the settlement program for refugees, although it is not always readily available. Other distinctive aspects of refugees' pre-migration experience include: escape rather than planned departure, living in hiding or in refugee camps, with limited access to health or other services, and long waits for acceptance by Australia.

Newcomers to Canada, in general, face countless challenges which may entail stress. Some newcomers, however, such as refugees, may have had very stressful experiences and mental health conditions prior to arrival in Canada. Research evidence indicates that mental stress among newly arrived refugees is mitigated by a socially supportive environment such as might exist in a housing cooperative (Allodi and Rojas, 1988); by social support derived from the ethnic community; by social support derived from a strong marriage; and by avoiding references to stressful and depressive past experiences (Beiser, 1987; Beiser, Turner and Ganesan, 1991). Length of residence in Canada is found to be positively related to refugees' mental health (Beiser, 1988).

With reference to children and adolescents, a recent study of Yugoslav refugees in Sweden shows that the psychosocial adaptation of children is positively associated with their mothers' well-being. Thus, risk factors for mental ill health among children were neutralized in those situations where the mother was optimistic and perceived by her children to offer social support (Ekblad, 1993). In a similar vein, it has been shown that social support
ameliorates the effects of chronic stress among Namibian adolescent refugees living in exile in Africa (Shisana and Celentano, 1985).

Length of residence in Canada surfaces again as an important factor in the psychological adjustment of refugees. For example, a study of Somali refugee women between 18 and 50 years of age, living in the Ottawa-hill region, shows that an average of four years of residence in Canada is associated with preference for integration in Canadian society, while longer residence and stronger self-identification as Canadian tended to be associated with more anti-Somali sentiments (Young, 1996). In the same study, "younger Somali women showed higher levels of depression, dissatisfied with their expatriate life, refugees in Canada with political asylum indicated a desire to return to Somalia."

The available evidence indicates that the psychological well-being of refugees is related to their resettlement experiences. For example, a study of Ethiopian refugees resettled in the Western United States of America shows that stress levels are higher among refugees resettled by agencies than among refugees resettled by volunteers (Mcspadden, 1987). It is interesting to note that the stress levels among these Ethiopian refugees is negatively associated with the ability of either settlement approach to provide employment or access to education, even when proficiency in English is held constant.

Turning now to the delivery of health services, several studies have identified major health issues facing immigrant and refugee women in Canada and have argued that the existing health system should plan for the needs of an increasingly multicultural society (see, for example, equal opportunity consultants, 1991; Stevens, 1991). It has also been argued that delivery of health care services should involve, among other things, the use of interpreters, education of health care professionals, and adaptation to clients’ cultural needs (Mattson, 1989; Nudelman, 1994).
In an interesting study of displaced families housed in a refugee centre in Zagreb, Croatia, it is noted that sources of family stress during exile include: "

1. Concern over family members and family completeness
2. dependence on others
3. marginalization, stigmatization, and diminished social position
4. perceptions of social injustice
5. acculturation
6. perception and interpretation of current events
7. helplessness
8. uncertainty and
9. problems with the organization of everyday life.

Sensitivity to these same issues in the Canadian context would probably help to ameliorate the effects of stress factors on refugees in Canada.

Kunz (1971) reviewing the literature on post-war migration found little focused on refugees as a category, with the major exception of Jean Martin’s study Refugee settlers (1965), although there were many studies of particular refugee groups. He identified a preoccupation with immigrants as settlers, which led to an underplaying of the importance of pre-migration factors that were so crucial for refugees. He noted then that refugees need to be studied in a framework that is consistent with the refugee phenomenon. One of the differences he identified included the waves of refugee arrivals from scattered places of origin in contrast to the chain migration of many economic migrants. A key difference between refugees and many other settlers is their experience before arriving in Australia. Many refugees have experienced imprisonment, torture of themselves and their families and murder of family members.
On Mental Illness

Even after ten years as residents in the U.S.A, many refugees are still suffering from significant mental distress and they do not seek mental health treatment (Carlsom & Rosser Hogan, 1993). After being refugees during the 1980s, the Cambodian immigrants experienced the further difficulties of adjusting to their new life in the United States. They were psychologically burdened by their traumatic past while at the same time experiencing the stress and demands of acculturation in the U.S.A. Before their arrival to the U.S.A, many Cambodian refugees experienced severe traumas during the Khmer Rouge regime. A research study found Cambodians to be the least educated, most physically ill, and most depressed group among all Southeast Asian refugees in the U.S.A (Meinhardt, Tom, Tse & Yu, 1994).

Another study suggested that stress is a post-emigration factor among Southeast Asian refugees, created by learning a new language, seeking employment, establishing social support and redefining roles (Nicholson, 1977). Due to severity and duration of stressors, many developed the risk of serious mental health problems (Kinzie, et al, 1984) such as depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Among Southeast Asian refugees, Cambodians show much higher rates for depression (80%), anxiety (88%) and PTSD (86%) (Carlson & Rosser-Hogan, 1993). Kinzie and Fleck (1987) also suggested that Cambodians are the most traumatised and are at the greatest risk for future mental health problems among them.

Trauma: For refugees or asylum seekers “the sudden and involuntary nature of the process generates tremendous tensions within the family”.

Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001: From their research the possible tensions are;

1. The parents experiencing feelings of guilt, failure or grief for not having been able to provide for the basic safety and well being of their children.
2. Family members may have been separated, as is often the case when fathers are forced to go into hiding because of threats upon their lives.

3. Parents and children alike may have witnessed or experienced the terrors of war such as death and torture that often result in post-traumatic stress disorder and

4. Whereas immigrants may hold the hope of one day returning to their country of origin, for refugees this is many a time impossible.

**Fantino and Colak (2001) affirm** (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001) in identification of the specific stresses associated with being a refugee; losing one's home and possessions, being witness to the atrocities of war, and not being able to envision one day returning home. In addition Fantino and Colak identify the stresses particular to the children of refugee and immigrant families;

1. dealing with the disruption of one’s accustomed way of life,
2. having to deal with differing cultural expectations at home and at school,
3. adopting the role of language and cultural interpreter for their parents,
4. experiencing racism and discrimination.

**CONCLUSION**

The researches have revealed the psychological and mental well-being of the refugees’ is deplorable. During Pre-migration they undergo the mental agony of torture, escape etc. In the post-migration they are faced with entirely a new environment of camp settlement where everything is watched and monitored. The camps are cramped that people easily get diseases.
2.4.4. POLITICAL DIMENSION

HOUSING at International and National Perspectives

Housing in Developed Countries:

There is an extensive body of literature that examines the resettlement of refugees in various developed countries. Unfortunately, there has been surprisingly little research specifically focused on refugees and housing and it is disappointing to find that although many developed countries have operated significant refugee resettlement programs for many years, these migrations have not generated a substantial body of research on refugee housing issues.

This part reviews research on refugees and housing in the United Kingdom, the European countries, Canada and Australia, as each of these have been a major recipient of refugees and has developed policies to accommodate these arrivals. This literature is reviewed to generate a broader understanding of refugee-housing interactions and to shed light on the research aims. The review adds to the evidence base around refugees.

UNITED KINGDOM

Researchers in the United Kingdom have been at the forefront of the research on housing issues. Despite the extensive literature in this area, researchers have often pursued an ethnic/race perspective or broad immigration focus, rather than focussing specifically on refugees and housing. There is a considerable body of literature in the United Kingdom that has investigated reception and settlement experiences of refugees in UK. These research projects have generally investigated broader settlement issues, of which housing is a part. For example, Field (1985), the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (1991), Robinson (1993), Carey-Wood, Duke, Karn and Marshall (1995), Duke and Marshall (1995), and Carey-Wood (1997) all recognised the importance of housing in resettlement.
Garvie (2001) A more recent UK study on asylum seekers in private rented sector accommodation was undertaken after the introduction of the *Immigration and Asylum Act 1999*. This study found that asylum seekers experienced a great number of housing problems, and claimed that they were even more severe than originally expected. In particular, it was found that a significant proportion of asylum seekers lived in shared, overcrowded housing and there was a high use of sub-standard, unfit and dangerous housing. Other problems highlighted by the study included the inappropriate placement of asylum seekers, particularly of women and unaccompanied minors, and a lack of cooperation between agencies in the settlement of asylum seekers. The study found ‘the NASS (National Asylum Support Service) regime was likely to impact on asylum seekers themselves, on agencies attempting to manage the new system, and on the ability of local authorities to strategically plan for the best use of their housing stock’. Furthermore, there was a strong likelihood that these problems would continue under the current regime. It was also found that asylum seekers were in ‘an even weaker position than most people living in the private rented sector’. She argued that asylum seekers had virtually no housing rights: ‘no choice in where they are housed, no security of tenure and no financial means to find alternative accommodation’. In addition, their ability to take action against sub-standard housing conditions and inappropriate practices was ‘further hampered by fear of authority, fear of jeopardising their asylum claim, physical and mental health problems, poverty, ignorance of what to expect and where to seek advice, lack of support, and language difficulties’.

Zetter and Pearl (1999) conducted a comprehensive study of the access to social housing by asylum seekers and refugees in the United Kingdom. This two-stage study questioned refugees and asylum seekers, as well as service providers (registered social landlords, registered community-based organisations, and local authorities). The study found that housing provision and support services for refugees and asylum seekers in the public sector was
'patchy and inconsistent with no clear locational or organisational pattern'. Good and poor practices were found, often within close proximity to each other. The authors argued ‘many asylum seekers need a much greater level of support than just access to housing for resettlement’. The study found that respondents had experienced a number of problems with housing, including:

- the access and allocation process (the length of time to be housed and the bureaucratic process);
- problems with their accommodation (most commonly repairs and overcrowding);
- widespread social isolation, but particularly among the elderly (Zetter and Pearl, 1999:81).

It should also be pointed out that the study found that most respondents recognised the benefits of, and appreciated the provision of, housing. The majority were satisfied with the physical accommodation, its maintenance and quality.

**Quilgars (1993)** The author says that a considerable proportion of the earlier research on refugees in the United Kingdom focussed on one single refugee group, particularly those involved in government resettlement programs. She noted that much of the earlier research focussed on programme or quota refugees such as the Vietnamese (Jones, 1982; Edholm, Roberts and Sayer, 1983; Joly, 1988; Dalglish, 1989; Robinson and Hale, 1989); Ugandan Asians (Bell, 1993: Bristow, 1976; Community Relations Commission, 1974, 1976), and to a lesser extent, Chileans (Joly, 1989; Kay, 1987). Far less research has focussed on spontaneous arrivals that have predominated in recent years (Zetter and Pearl, 1999:7). In addition to these projects, there have been numerous smaller reports that have investigated refugees in various British locations/cities: for example, Bloch (1996) in Newham; Bristow (1979) in Manchester and Birmingham; Housing Associations Charitable Trust (1994) in North London; and Joly (1988) in Birmingham.
Thus Quilgars’ research was one of the first projects that focussed on the ‘housing of refugees in the United Kingdom and their different access routes into housing’. She argued that the ‘great majority of asylum seekers and refugees are, quite simply, homeless upon arrival in Britain’ and that the majority of refugees needed some form of social housing, or other low cost housing in the private sector. This was conducted at a time of high demand by newly arrived refugees for social housing, as well as many other groups in society, especially other families and single people who were homeless. This increased need coincided with a contraction of the private rental sector that led to a growing housing crisis, particularly within London. The study found that refugees were considered to be at the bottom of the queue, and that many refugees’ encountered ‘considerable difficulties in gaining access to appropriate accommodation to meet their needs. Furthermore, housing policies and overall levels of housing provision were failing to meet the housing needs of refugees in the United Kingdom’.

OTHER EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES

The European Council for Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) commissioned six Good Practice Guides on the Integration of Refugees in the European Union that focussed on different settlement issues. One of these reports was devoted to housing, which was based on research conducted by the Dutch Refugee Council in 1998 (ECRE, 1999). The study found that the major problems encountered by refugees were access to housing, affordability and housing quality. ECRE (1999:12) categorised accessibility problems as:

- Housing shortage, especially in the social rented sector;
- Social housing criteria often made it difficult for individuals to find accommodation in the social sector;
- Discrimination by the receiving community, particularly landlords;
• Allocation schemes that provide lack of choice, promote dispersal, provide housing far away from other facilities, such as education, care facilities, *et cetera*.
• Failure to recognise the specific housing needs of refugees.

The affordability problems for refugee housing refer to:

• Difficulties in paying rent;
• The inability to pay rent in advance and/or rent deposits (bonds);
• Frequent reluctance of landlords to rent to people who were dependent on social benefits [security ]

Quality of housing referred to the physical and social environment, as well as the material minimum standards. This includes factors such as the socio-economic characteristics of neighbourhoods (e.g. ethnic and refugee concentration), access to social services (education, employment, health care, *et cetera*), and suitability of accommodation for refugees (ECRE, 1999: 24-25).

**The Dutch Refugee Council (1999)** It undertook a study on the ‘Housing for Refugees in the European Union’, which identified a number of significant housing problems for refugees. These included:

1. **Unequal starting position on the housing market**

   Refugees in most European Union countries encounter difficulties dealing with unfamiliar and bureaucratic housing allocation systems. In particular, they frequently have difficulties accessing information from housing authorities, as this is often only available in the native language of the country or in the languages of the largest ethnic groups. Secondly, the options of refugees in the formal part of the housing market are more restricted because they generally have a limited social network when they start their housing search.
2. **Discrimination from landlords in the private rental sector**

Refugees in a number of EU countries are dependent on the private rental sector for housing. The Dutch Refugee Council (1999) study found that all NGOs with mediation services it interviewed reported discrimination against refugees by landlords. The Council reported that foreigners in Austria paid more than local citizens for equal quality accommodation. The study also found that NGO mediation services can help to overcome the 'fear of the unknown' amongst landlords and pave the way for other refugees. Once landlords discover refugees do not cause additional problems, their reluctance to have refugees as tenants' decreases.

3. **Segregation between ethnic minorities/refugees and national citizens**

The residential segregation of ethnic groups—the over-representation of some groups in an area and the under-representation of other groups—is evident in most metropolitan areas as in the EU, although not to the extent that ethnic minorities are separated by nationality. This residential segregation usually occurs because some areas become inaccessible to population groups—mostly for financial reasons—which force them to other areas. Refugees tend to find accommodation in neighbourhoods that have above average concentrations of ethnic minority populations. This residential segregation can be a positive attribute. The concentration of people from similar cultural backgrounds can assist with community development, such as sporting and social clubs and shopping. It can also assist with the delivery of social services, such as the provision of education and health services to immigrant populations (Dutch Refugee Council, 1999:24-5).
CANADA

As in the United Kingdom, there is an extensive body of literature that has investigated the settlement experiences of refugees in Canada. Some of the Canadian literature has been at the forefront of refugee research, such as Chan and Indra’s (1987) study of the resettlement of Indochinese refugees in Canada; Dorais’ (1992) research on Indochinese refugee adaptation in Quebec; Dorais, Le and Huy’s (1987) investigation of the Vietnamese in Canada; and Neuwirth’s (1988) examination of refugee resettlement in Canada. The tradition of research has continued with more recent publications, including Israelite, Herman, Alim, Mohamed and Khan’s (1999) study of the settlement of Somali refugee women in Toronto, Opoku-Dapaah’s (1995) profile of Somali refugees in Toronto, and Young’s (1996) study of the adjustment of Somali refugees. While much of this research has incorporated aspects of housing into the research, none have focused solely on refugee housing.

**Hulchanski, Murdie and Chambon (2000)** refers to only one research project focused specifically on refugees and housing: a study commissioned by the City of Toronto Housing Department that investigated the experience of refugees securing housing in Toronto. This study found there was a lack of adequate and appropriate housing for refugees in the city and that the housing options ‘did not accommodate changes in household size, a sense of community living, tenant involvement or stable tenure’. Furthermore, the research found that many recent refugees encountered discrimination in the rental sector, from private landlords as well as public and non-profit housing providers (Chisvin/Helfvand and Associates, 1992:12).

**The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Canadian African Newcomer Aid Centre (1999)** funded a study to determine the present and future housing needs of African refugees, and design guidelines to meet these needs. One of the major concerns for the refugees in this study was finding
suitable housing that could expand to meet changing family needs, especially after the arrival of other family members from Africa. Israelite et al (1999) identified three major housing problems in their study of the settlement and integration of Somali refugee women in Toronto: difficulties in finding affordable housing; difficulties in managing housing costs and other basic needs; and the quality of life in high-rise apartments. They found there was a shortage of affordable rental units in Toronto, long waiting lists for subsidised housing, evidence of discrimination against Somalis, and refugees often experienced difficulties dealing with bureaucracy (Israelite et al, 1999:15).

Chambon, Hulchanski, Murdie and Teixeria (1997) One particular Canadian project that should be mentioned is the Housing Experiences of New Canadians in Greater Toronto project conducted by this author. This research identified ten distinctive types of barriers that three groups of immigrant households encountered in the Toronto area as they searched for a place to live, and which are equally applicable to refugees as immigrants. These barriers could be divided into two: primary and secondary.

Primary barriers were those resulting from the social construction and the social use of certain characteristics of a person’s profile and are extremely difficult, if not impossible, to change. These are skin colour (‘race’), ethnicity/culture/religion, and gender.

Secondary barriers are personal characteristics that can, and usually do, change over time. These are level of income, source of income, knowledge of the housing system, language/accent, household type and size, knowledge of institutions and culture, and experience with the dominant institutions and culture.
REFUGEES AND HOUSING IN AUSTRALIA

Australia is one of the world’s major refugee resettlement countries, with a dedicated Humanitarian program that facilitates the settlement of some 12,000 refugees and others of humanitarian concern in the country each year. However, it is evident that there are considerable differences in the eligibility of different categories of refugees to settlement services particularly On Arrival Accommodation—with some refugee categories eligible for services while others are not. However, even those refugees provided with On Arrival Accommodation receive only limited housing entitlements. Australia with the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2001c) estimating that almost six million migrants have come to Australia since the end of World War II. Of these, nearly 600,000 persons have arrived through humanitarian programs.

The long tradition of immigration to Australia has led to an extensive body of literature on various issues concerning this topic. One indication of the commitment to immigration and research in this field can be seen in the Federal government’s decision in 1989 to establish the Bureau of Immigration Research to specifically fund and conduct immigration research. Over the ensuing years, the Bureau commissioned an extensive array of research on different immigration issues, including:

- Settlement patterns and residential concentration of immigrants
- Immigrant employment, unemployment and the labour market
- Settlement needs and services
- Demography of immigrant populations, including issues associated with gender, fertility, and the elderly
- Migration and settlement of specific ethnic groups
- Immigration programs and policies.

Despite the large number of research projects funded by the Bureau, there was not a strong focus on immigration and housing research. The most
notable research in this field was Junankar, Pope, Kapuscinski, Ma and Wood’s (1993) study on recent immigrants and housing; Burnley and Murphy’s (1994) study of immigration and housing costs in Sydney, and Hassell and Hugo’s (1996) study of immigrants and public housing. The Bureau also funded research on similar projects, such as Fincher’s (1991), investigation of the impact of immigration on urban sprawl and urban infrastructure.

Most of the research on immigrant populations has failed to distinguish between refugees and immigrants. For example, in most of the Vietnamese research noted above, the focus has been on the Vietnamese as an ethnic group rather than as a predominately refugee group. Although immigrants and refugees both experience settlement difficulties, it is argued here (and elsewhere) that the problems encountered by refugees are far more acute. The second notable problem with the research literature is that there has not been sufficient focus on newly arrived immigrants or refugees. The research has not focussed on the greater problems that recently arrived immigrants and refugees encounter.


**Drummond and Ransley (2001)** found that young refugees often do not have the language skills or confidence necessary to access housing services, and are often confused about accessing transitional housing. Additional barriers in the
private rental market include being discriminated against, on the basis of age and race and not being able to afford the rent and bonds required. There are few appropriate housing options for migrant and refugee young people. Young refugees can be subjected to torture and trauma, have their education disrupted, spend lengthy periods of transition in refugee camps (or as illegal immigrants in second countries or as internally displaced in their country of origin), travel to an asylum/resettlement country unaccompanied.

The public housing sector cannot provide a solution for the housing problems confronting all refugees. Access to the public housing stock has worsened over the last decade because of the decline in Commonwealth funding for public housing. The long waiting lists for public housing, caused by the reduction in available housing stock and the increased demand for affordable housing, has pushed more refugees into the private rental sector. In San Remo’s (2001:4) view, the private sector was ‘often inappropriate for refugees and humanitarian settlers in terms of cost, size and location’.

The most vulnerable of all refugee and migrant groups in Australia would appear to be asylum seekers who arrive on a temporary visa and seek asylum. Mitchell (2001:18) claimed that asylum seekers have considerable needs, such as housing, food and material aid, medical, legal advice and counselling, yet are eligible for very few services. The matter is complicated by the fact that rights and entitlements of the asylum seeker change at each level of the refugee determination process. For example, Mitchell (2001: 18) claimed that all asylum seekers who appeal directly to the Minister of Immigration do not have the right to work, and are not eligible for Medicare or the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme (ASAS). Very often it is left to community and church groups to meet the needs of asylum seekers.

The review of the national and international literature on the housing of refugees has highlighted important issues of the further conduct of this research. The international literature and international experience has shown:
Little research effort has focussed specifically on the housing of refugees and there are therefore significant gaps in our knowledge of this topic;

Homelessness is a potential problem for refugees in some recipient countries;

Refugees may have difficulty gaining access to public and private housing because of language, cultural and discrimination barriers;

Refugees often move to private rental housing, and this housing may not be appropriate for their needs;

Overcrowding and low housing standards are a problem in some sections of refugee populations and these conditions may reflect hidden homelessness.

The Refugee Council of Australia (2000) claimed that securing accommodation is one of the major problems confronting refugees and those seeking to assist them. They identified a number of specific hurdles to gaining access to housing, including:

- the lack of rental history among newly arrived refugees makes agents reluctant to accept refugees as tenants;
- rental accommodation can be prohibitively expensive in the larger cities, especially Sydney;
- affordable accommodation is often available only in less desirable areas, such as too far from public transport, or high crime areas;
- the lack of appropriate rental accommodation for large families;
- cultural differences in accommodation preferences;
- lack of language and cultural skills to negotiate with real estate agents and utilities.

Similar barriers were identified by the Migrant Resource Centre North West Region and these were seen to place newly arrived refugees and migrants
at risk of homelessness (Johnston, 2001). These included: difficulty accessing appropriate and sufficient income or income support; problematic access to labour market; lack of familiarity with service systems; and difficulty accessing suitable housing options. Moreover, refugees participation in the housing market is often characterised by:

- lack of information on public, private and community housing sectors;
- lack of knowledge and understanding about housing and legal rights and obligations;
- inadequately sized housing for large families;
- overcrowding;
- hidden homelessness (e.g. sharing with other families);
- homelessness due to family breakdown or rental termination;
- safety concerns in rental properties with poor living conditions;
- community safety issues caused by harassment and racism;
- health risks due to inadequate provisions and maintenance (e.g. poor heating);
- vulnerability in private rental market;
- lack of accessibility in private rental market due to lack of references, finances,
- communication barriers,
- lack of rent regulation in the private rental market;
- lack of education around cultural and linguistic sensitivity for housing staff and real estate agents;
- direct and indirect discrimination in the private rental market; and
- language barriers. (Alloush, 2001)

Homelessness can be a significant problem for different sections of the refugee population, particularly young people. Mackenzie (cited in Drummound and Ransley, 2001) claimed that young refugees were six times more likely to become homeless than other young people. Furthermore,
Drummound and Ransley (2001: 10) stated that the incidence of homeless among young refugees is steadily increasing. Young refugees are severely influenced by their refugee and settlement experiences and this affects their adolescent development and the transition to independence.

Waxman (1998) questioned providers of services to refugees in Sydney on the major needs of client groups during the first three months of settlement. He found that housing was a major concern for almost two-thirds (65%) of key informants. Waxman argued that settlement adjustment was difficult without adequate accommodation, and because many refugees had previously abandoned their family homes and possessions, obtaining appropriate housing would be their first step in reaching normalcy.

Campbell (1997) conducted a study of the housing needs of recent humanitarian settlers in Victoria that utilised data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) and from a survey of recent humanitarian settlers. She found that humanitarian entrants were ‘clearly and significantly more disadvantaged in comparison to other migrants’ (Campbell, 1987: 29). For example, she found that although most Humanitarian entrants were eligible for public housing, less than ten per cent were accommodated in public housing in the first eighteen months of settlement. He claimed that a lack of housing alternatives was forcing humanitarian settlers into private housing. The proportion of persons on Humanitarian visas living in private rental accommodation—approximately seventy per cent—was higher than any other visa category. According to Campbell (1997: 30), high rental housing costs was a major problem for Humanitarian settlers, as they ‘pay an unacceptably high proportion of their income on rent.’ High rental costs often forces Humanitarian entrants into shared arrangements, to trade-off location against cost, and/or leaves them without money to pay for other necessities, such as food and clothing (Campbell, 1997: 29).
The study also found that access to rental housing was often hindered by poor English language skills and lack of understanding of the Australian housing system amongst Humanitarian entrants. In addition, humanitarian entrants often experienced difficulties dealing with real estate agents, due to an apparent reluctance by agents to rent to people who were unemployed and/or without a previous rental history in Australia. Campbell claimed that Humanitarian entrants were discriminated against, with discrimination more prevalent among Somalis and Iraqis than Humanitarian entrants from the former Yugoslavia.

Dickman (1995) undertook a short research project on the ‘housing needs of Somali refugees in Victoria’. This research found that both short and medium term housing was difficult for refugees to access. Furthermore, Dickman (1995) argued that the lack of public housing led to many refugees being ‘inappropriately housed in emergency accommodation or forced into the private rental market, which could cause a financial crisis for many families.’ Previous research on African settlement in Melbourne by Radebe and Sandy (cited in Dickman, 1995) found that:

- newly arrived African migrants have difficulty in accessing public housing because of the long waiting time;
- public housing, if available, may not be appropriate in terms of location and size;
- private rental can be difficult to access because immigrants lack the references needed by real estate agents, racist attitudes on the part of real estate agents, lack of English language skills, and a lack of appropriately sized stock;
- most immigrants from African countries have difficulty affording private rental and its costs causes housing stress for many families.

Dickman claimed that the basic housing needs for Somali refugees were not being met because of the lack of available stock. She identified two basic
housing needs: i) the need for on arrival accommodation that is linked to settlement support services, and ii) the need for secure and long-term housing. According to Dickman, short term on arrival accommodation was becoming critical, due partly to the closure of migrant hostels. She maintained that only ‘those most in need are able to access a place on arrival.’ Furthermore, it was difficult for Somali refugees to access medium to long-term housing. The study found that some Somalis were exploited because of their lack of knowledge of the Australian housing system and that racial discrimination was evident in both the private and public rental sectors. Other problems identified by Dickman included the small house size for large families, culturally inappropriate housing designs, and poor access to public transport and cultural services and shops.

Junankar et al’s (1993) research on immigration and housing research was undertaken as a two-part study. The first part examined the interaction between immigration and the housing market, particularly the impact of immigration on the demand for, and supply of, housing and the relationship between house prices and rents and immigration. The study found an inflationary impact of immigration on housing and urban sprawl. They found the housing demand by immigrants was influenced by immigration patterns, destination of immigrants, immigrants’ characteristics (such as visa category, country of origin, demographic composition, household size, employment status, et cetera). The second part examined the experience of immigrants in the Australian housing market. It found that the housing experience of newly arrived immigrants was dominated by private rental tenure, lower affordability for immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, and immigrants (and private renters) who arrived after 1983 were more likely be in housing stress. The study emphasised the importance of On Arrival Supported Accommodation for newly arrived immigrants, particularly for refugees who arrive in Australia with little or no resources and no support networks or opportunities to find suitable housing.
The provision of housing was found to be a major settlement issue for many refugees. The study also found that affordability was a major obstacle to housing access for newly arrived immigrants, particularly for refugees who arrived without assets or savings, and were consequently vulnerable to housing stress (Junankar et al, 1993).

David (1991) conducted an investigation into the housing of Latin American refugees in Adelaide. The refugees had also been provided on arrival accommodation at the Pennington Migrant Hostel. The study found that cost, dwelling type and size, and proximity to schools and shopping facilities were the factors considered most by Latin American refugees when searching for housing in Adelaide.

Ng (1983) conducted a study on the ‘Indo-chinese refugee settlement was conducted in the West End area of Brisbane. The study found that although three quarters of respondents were satisfied with their various housing arrangements, approximately half had difficulties with their past accommodation, most in their first six months of settlement. Difficulties experienced at the time of interview were mostly maintenance and repair type problems, with only a few households experiencing overcrowding. Accommodation problems were usually solved within the network of families and friends. The major problem of refugee families at the time was unemployment, with half of household heads unemployed.

Milne’s (1979) study provided an insight into the settlement of Indo-Chinese refugees in Adelaide. The study found that housing was not a major concern, probably due to the provision of accommodation at the Pennington Migrant Hostel. However, the study found a strong desire to move away from the hostel. Home ownership was not high among the refugees and most rented property—either privately or from state housing authority—in the suburbs.
surrounding the hostel. The close location enabled them to maintain contacts and support services at the hostel, as well as check new arrivals for relatives, and to live close to the manufacturing industries located in Adelaide’s western suburbs. Milne’s (1979) study identified a number of problems experienced by the Indochinese refugees as they accessed rental housing. Their poor English language skills and their unfamiliarity with the housing and legal systems left them open to exploitation by landlords, and also prevented some refugees in need from accessing public housing. The most frequent problem was finding a suitably large house that could accommodate a large extended family, at an affordable rent. The study found that ‘as a result, overcrowding (as we know it)’ was common (Milne, 1979: 18).

**CONCLUSION**

On Arrival Accommodation was important for the housing of refugees in the past, but access is now more restricted and is available for shorter periods. Earlier studies did not report homelessness was a problem for recently arrived refugees. However, more recent research suggests many young refugees are vulnerable to homelessness. Even in the industrialised countries the refugees go through painful experience of getting housing facility. And some of them find housing on their own with their relatives. In the poorer countries the refugees are placed in government established camps where food, ration etc are provided.
2.4.5. Future durable Solutions/Repatriation

Durability and temporary status

The refugee camps during the initial emergency stage are typically laid out in military style, with rows of tents, standpipes; refuse outlets, simple roads, etc. Then the refugees may start to improve their dwellings into more permanent structures, using locally available building materials such as mud-brick, wood, and finally concrete and brick. The infrastructure, however, requires major public investment for permanent roads, sewage, refuse collection, water supplies and schools, and the lack of such investment can create long-term environmental and ecological consequences both for the refugees and the surrounding community.

Another interesting matter of great concern is that camps are politically conceived as a temporary option (Zetter, 1995), but evidence confirms that they remain for decades (e.g. Palestinian refugee camps in Gaza, in Lebanon and Jordan (Shamir, 1971; Ben-Porat, Marx, 1971; Sayigh, 1979; Zolberg, 1986; Jarrar, 2003; FAFO, 2003), Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan (Anderson, Dupree 1990), becoming semi-permanent physical landmarks of a refugee presence and evolving social and economic entities (Marx, 1992).

Living in a camp for long time, strips refugees and IDPs of their status as members of society and deprives them of their capacities to act as citizens, social actors and economic agents. Political changes happen without their involvement; and living outside the national debate can freeze the relations between refugees and IDPs and the remainder of the society, as consequence delaying the application of durable solutions (Gervais, 2002).

In the cities and towns of countries like Georgia and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, hotels and other public buildings have become permanent housing for refugees and IDPs (Jacobsen, 2001). The "quasi-urban" character of so many settlements of refugees and displaced people also makes for a natural merger between the humanitarian and human settlements fields. Usually
self-settled, crowded and under-resourced these emergency settlements have much in common with the poverty in fast-growing cities; extensive research, drawn from many cities in the developing world, describes processes of informal settlement consolidation and upgrading remarkably relevant to the situation of refugee camps (e.g. Davidson, Payne 1983; Skinner 1983, 1992; UNCHS 1994; Payne 1982, 1984, 1989).

Despite their structural and procedural limitations, these well tested processes of mass housing supply for the urban poor provide a technology for an enabling approach, an “upgrading” or “progressive development” model, which is replicable for refugee settlements. Only one detailed study on urban informal housing processes for refugees/forcibly displaced has been located in the literature search, in Beirut (Souhail, 1989). It mirrors surprisingly closely the literature on rapidly urbanising cities.

As Zetter (1995) argued, there are of course very different expectations, operating conditions, implementing agencies and political frameworks as between refugee and “conventional” settlement processes. And there are important contrasts between the urban setting of these experiences and the rural setting of many refugee camps and settlements. A dichotomy exists between emergency humanitarian relief and developmental assistance, the contention analysed by Zetter (1995), is that concepts of relief and development are inseparable in the context of refugee situations. It is precisely because shelter provision and settlement planning constitute both humanitarian needs and developmental resources, that they provide the means to bridge the dichotomy at the core of conventional responses to refugee influxes (Bulcha et al., 1983).
Displacements and Returns: Steps in the Movement

After the permanence in a host country, the return or “back home” is seen as the natural end of the cycle of a refugee: the end of the refugees’ transitional period, the gate for the restoration of the life before the war, the famine and the violence (Shurke, Zolberg, 1989).

At the beginning of 1990s was a great optimism that the end of the Cold War might also result in the end of the global “refugee cycle” (Koser, Black, 1999). In reality, the global refugee population increased substantially immediately after the end of the Cold War, from about 15 million in 1990 to 17.2 million in 1991 (UNHCR, 1995a).

During the 1990s repatriation has occurred on a scale far more substantial than during previous decades. It was estimated that up to 12 million refugees have returned to their countries of origin during the above mentioned period, either independently or under organised programmes; in the majority of those countries, policies to assist repatriation have been linked to attempts to support political reform, democratisation and economic reconstruction; as important examples we can use the case of Rwanda and Bosnia, the latter represents the largest repatriation movement in Europe since the Second World War (Koser, Black, 1999).

There is a need to understand the priority of refugees in exile, for many of whom repatriation is not a desired outcome, and for whom “home” has come to mean something quite different from the meaning often ascribed by policy makers.

Even when return has occurred, there is a need to pay much closer attention to relation after return, and to recognise that even if repatriation is the end of one cycle, it is also usually the beginning of a new cycle which can challenge and expose some returnees to different vulnerabilities (Koser, Black, 1999).
As Cornelius (1994) said, is practically impossible understanding the repatriation discourse in isolation from the changing political context affecting attitudes towards refugees, which is, at least in industrialised democracies, controlling immigration, in a period with high level of insecurity, where the tendency to exclude migrants has been extended to refugees as well (Cornelius at al., 1994). Refugee status is too often seen by policy makers as something exploited by individual migrants to circumvent normal immigration rules. (Collinson, 1993). However, we should not forget all the different meanings refugees could give to “return” and the possibilities people have to choose. Thus, it means we should take into consideration even the possibility that to return to the previous life, in the previous country may not be at all the desired solution for refugees.

**Repatriation and durable solutions**

Repatriation, rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement are some of the “terms” used in literature to refer to the return. Generally speaking, we can identify at least four different options for refugees: the voluntary return back home, to go back to the national country but not in the place of origin, to be resettled in a third country (resettlement or temporary protection) or to integrate the local society. In the first three cases, international help is necessary for the programmes of rehabilitation and reconstruction (Edwards, 2001; Black, Koser, 1999).

Repatriation is generally the option preferred by International Community, who considers it as “the optimum and most feasible durable solution to the refugee crisis” (Black, Koser, 1999). The UNHCR Executive Committee (UNHCR, 1985, in Milner, 2000) addresses the question of voluntary repatriation in some detail, affirming that repatriation is in principle the best solution to refugee problems, but, it adds; “it does not constitute a binding legal obligation but a statement of good policy”.
As mentioned earlier, during the 90s, repatriation has occurred on a scale far more substantial than during previous decades. It has been linked with several countries, attempting to support political reform, democratisation and economic reconstruction. (Black, Koser, 1999). Its success of implementation depends directly on the creation of conditions for return in the countries of origin: thus, on the internal legislation, the economic programmes, the possibility of repossessing of pre-war rights, human rights protection, housing issue, and on all the other circumstances prevailing in the return' countries (see Government of Serbia, 2002).

As Harrell-Bond (1989) stated, the effects of the increased and accelerated rates of repatriation during 1990s, has been to lend weight and popular legitimacy that repatriation is the optimum and most feasible durable solution to a refugee crisis. Just as the refugee crisis has risen on political agenda, so repatriation has become a political issue (Koser, Black, 1999).

According to Milner (2000), repatriation should have a place within the respect for the fact that the over-whelming majority of the refugee population should express the desire to repatriate. Repatriation should be coupled with a comprehensive sustainable reintegration programme rooted in the principles of peace building.

On repatriation dynamic, we can adduct as an explicative case the situation in Serbia. Here, the government gives the possibility to refugees and IDPs to choose the most favourable durable solution freely between two options: repatriation or local integration. (Government of Serbia, 2002; Council of Europe, 2002). Repatriation of refugees and IDPs requires greater effort by both the Serbian state and the IC, primarily for the creation of efficient mechanism of return of property and respect of rights, such as security and legal safety of potential returnees. The second direction of activities relates to the provision of conditions for local integration, meaning the durable resolution
of the essential existential problems of refugees and IDPs as well as their families. The basic aim of local integration is helping refugees achieve self-sufficiency, a financially and socially equal position as that of the other citizens of the country (Government of Serbia, 2002).

Specific attention should be given to housing, which is one of the main issues of repatriation. Serbia, in its national strategy, has defined a programme of durable accommodation (adjusted to financial, social and medical status of refugees) in which are previewed two main ways of arrangement: the first - affordable housing, providing the possibility of purchase and construction of housing with bank loans that would be more favourable than those prevailing at the market (apartments owned by beneficiaries). The second – social housing, (state-owned) apartments for accommodation of the extremely vulnerable persons and accommodation in social welfare/health care institutions (Government of Serbia, 2002).

In Serbia it can be noticed that, in 2002, only 18% of refugees owned the apartments/houses they lived in. The remaining living either in rented accommodation (44%), with friends and relatives (30%), collective centres (5%) and social institutions (3%). As for the internally displaced population only 7.6% secured their own accommodation while 39.8% lived with family and friends, 40.7 % rented the apartments they lived in and 6.9% had been accommodated in collective centres (Government of Serbia, 2002).

When repatriation is either not possible or not desired, refugees seek other solutions, which could be local integration, where possible, or resettlement. Actually, some scholars (e.g. Edwards, 2001), think resettlement should be considered when “it is the best, or perhaps only, solution in an individual case; and it should be adopted to avoid situations in which a person has to choose to come back prematurely home or to stay unsafe in a host country where the state is unable or fails to fulfil its obligations and where the victims are considered to be in need of additional protection”.

However, when refugee displacement is substantial, where they are seen to impact negatively upon resources and when social and political tensions are exacerbated by refugee’ presence, a political push for their repatriation is often involved. While when numbers are perceived as manageable and there is a high degree of certainty that return will not be possible, then local integration has been an option considered (Black, Koser, 1999).

The feasibility and attractiveness of the three “durable solutions” - local integration, third country resettlement and repatriation- as they were called by UNHCR, have varied over time, partly determined by geo-political considerations: as many commentators have observed, during the Cold War, resettlement or integration were more the norm, because this suited the purposes of the west, while since the end of the Cold War, new imperatives have prevailed and repatriation has become the most desirable durable solution (Chimni, 1999).

To ensure a good degree of sustainability of refugees return it is fundamental to analyse the capitals of the refugee itself. We will make reference to the four different types of capital identified by Bourdieu: economic capital, cultural or educational capital, social capital (social connections), and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999). The lack of the right capital – whether economic, cultural, social or symbolic– is an obstacle for integration into local society, and thus to some extent for the construction of different forms of home.

The concept of social capital to which reference is made that the one put-forth by Coleman (1988) with a wider definition respect previous authors, who defines social capital as “a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors — whether personal or corporate actors — within the structure”. Although there is a big interest in repatriation, we have to
underline that in literature, it has been noticed, that there is a lack of attention to the experiences of the refugee after the return (Black, Koser,

Nathaniel H Goetz, (2003) in his working paper on Lessons from Protracted Refugee Situation says Full integration of refugees into their host nation is extremely difficult as a solution to any refugee situation, but even more so when it is protracted. This is especially the case when a host government itself is attempting to develop its own economy. Refugees are viewed as a direct drain upon the country and quickly are seen as an unwanted burden. Such makes integration almost impossible. Where integration has been attempted, many refugees (like those in the case study) never become fully naturalized citizens.

The solution of integration is highly complex. Tested in Kenya and other nations playing host to refugees caught in protracted situations has yielded little positive results. With the amount of barriers increasing, especially post-September 11th attack, the primary recommendation is to focus on the solution of self-sufficiency. In doing so, people involved in the solution making should realize that needs are different between the short-term and long-term refugee situations. Thus, self-sufficiency programs need to look just beyond just the immediate needs of the refugees.

The establishment of programs should focus on long-term education, skills training, and other self-help options. This gives the refugees a greater control over their own affairs and also allows those being resettled to a third country of asylum a set of skills to help them as they adjust from the camp setting to their new homeland.

Balancing this equation are psycho-social programs, which should be implemented alongside those focusing on self-sufficiency. This includes adequate access to counselling, educational opportunities, and other program focusing upon the refugee’s mental health. The primary benefit of this approach is that regardless of the protracted situation’s final solution, i.e.
repatriation, resettlement, or local integration, participants in such programs will have a smoother transition into their new lives.

CONCLUSION

Durable solution or repatriation is the best option to solve the problem of refugees. Local integration is possible in the developed countries but is impossible in the developing and underdeveloped countries. The international community has to play a greater role in solving the refugee problem and thus the refugees get back to their countries of origin.
2.4.6. Legal Concerns

There are several books focusing on the legal concerns of the refugees especially to have a national law on refugees.

R. Shankar and K. Arockiam (2007) in their study on Sri Lankan Refugees: Victims of Crime and the Criminal Justice System, presented at the Second International and Sixth Biennial Conference of the Indian Society of Victimology, held at Madras University, Chennai, emphasise the on-going war in Sri Lanka has ejected refugees to take abode in Tamil Nadu. The sixteen years of stay at refugee camps since 1990 marks a significant event in the lives of the refugees. They are placed in 103 camps across the state excluding the fresh arrivals of this year. With the government assistance regarding shelter, ration and other subsidies, their life goes on in the tiny huts of the refugee camps. Their movements are closely watched by the Q branch Police and other governments officials. The huts are very narrow, congested and overcrowding. The minimum privacy for the people is not met with.

The job opportunities are bleak in general. Even after getting educated, they are uncertain of a decent job. Whenever any leader comes to the area concerned, the refugee camps in that locality are closely monitored and the Q branch goes for taking attendance even at nights and at times harassing the people. With all these untold stories, sufferings and difficulties, they lead a life: a life that is uncertain, at the mercy of government officials and the dependency syndrome.

This paper highlights the emergence of Sri Lankan Refugees and how they fall prey to the crime: voluntarily or un-voluntarily and knowingly or unknowingly involved in criminal activities; drug trafficking and theft through case studies. For any criminal activity, the refugees are labelled and are taken to task. Sometime the innocents are caught in this trap though they are proved to be free from guilt. Such instances not only create the families get disintegrated but also create a havoc to the whole personality.
Erika Feller, (2001) The author in the article namely *The Convention at 50: the way ahead for refugee protection* gives legal proceedings. It is often said with justice that the 1951 Convention is the foundation of refugee protection, the one truly universal instrument setting out the baseline principles on which the international protection of refugees has to be built. These include:

- Refugee should not be returned to face persecution or the threat of persecution (the principle of non-refoulement).
- Protection must be extended to all refugees without discrimination.
- As the issue of refugees is social and humanitarian in nature, it should not become a cause of tension between states.
- Since the granting of asylum may place unduly heavy burdens on certain countries a satisfactory solution can only be achieved through international cooperation.
- As persons escaping persecution cannot be expected to leave their country and enter another country in a regular manner, they should not be penalised for having entered into or for being illegally in the country where they seek asylum.
- Given the serious consequences of expulsion of refugees, such measures should only be adopted in exceptional circumstances directly impacting on national security or public order.
- Cooperation of states with high commissioner for refugees is essential if the effective coordination of measures taken to deal with the issue of refugees is to be ensured.

V. Suryanarayan and V. Sudersen, (2000) : The authors of the book titled *Between Fear And Hope : Sri Lankan Refugees in Tamil Nadu*, have focussed well on the plight of the Sri Lankan refugees and the way they have been treated in India during different phases of their influx and return. This has been done not only in the overall context of refugee movement all over the
world, but also against the persisting ethnic war that drove them out. An interesting point brought out by the authors is the high percentage of Indian Tamils, about 30%, among the refugees. The authors are right in saying that not adhering to the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees has not hindered India from evolving a balanced and humanitarian approach towards the refugees. India has, entertained individual refugees even without such a law all along. On the whole the treatment of the subject by the authors is scholarly, compassionate and meticulous.

B.S. Chimni (2000): The book on International Refugee Law by this author demonstrates and provides readers with direct and easy access to a wide variety of literature on a given subject. As the title of the volume indicates, Chimni’s given subject is that of international refugee law - a concept that he interprets in a sensibly broad manner. Thus in addition to chapters on the refugee definition, asylum, UNHCR, and the rights and duties of refugees, Chimni’s collection examines issues such as causes of refugee flows, the notion of state responsibility, durable solutions and the protection of internally displaced persons. In addition, he provides a concluding chapter of readings on the legal condition of refugees in India.

Mahendra P. Lama, (2000) His book on Managing Refugees in South Asia: Protection Aid, State Behaviour and Regional Approach touches upon the different groups of refugees in the countries of the South Asian region. It is a useful monograph, which deals with a major live issue of considerable significance to the overall security and stability of South Asia. This monograph has attempted to look at the refugee problem prevailing in the South Asian sub-continent in all its perspective and in so doing, has thrown up some fresh food for thought. By looking at the four major issues, even if not very exhaustively, which are of direct importance to the context, namely,
The monograph makes out a case for evolving a regional approach to deal with refugee problems in the area rather than on a restrictive national scale by each of the South Asian countries. This suggestion has to be viewed in the light of the prevalent geo-political confronting this region. In this context, the factors enumerated by the author which generate refugees in this region, beside the politics behind the manner in which the unfortunate refugee situation has been put to abuse in furthering violence and terrorist activities, highlight the geo-political ground realities which are not necessarily conducive for evolving a regional approach at least for the present. Therefore, it seems that one has to wait for opportune moments to make the suggestion of the author a practical possibility. The author has taken pains to identify the specific causes of flow of refugee in South Asia. He has made it a point to draw attention to the fact that unlike in the case of ‘population displacements’ which was characteristic of the cold war confrontations between super powers, it is “destructured conflicts” or “low intensity wars” that is causing such movements in the South Asian region.

C.R. Abrar and Shahdeen Malik (2000) In an edited book titled Towards National Refugee Laws in South Asia, the authors are trying to emphasize the need to have National Refugee Laws in South Asia” particularly SAARC countries. The first part analyses the 1997 Model National Law from a legal perspective. The second part is generally political in nature. With regard to the Model National Law, it would be useful to make a compilation of the travaux preparatoires for future use by scholars and judiciary alike. In perspectives from the Region only eight South Asians experts have been interviewed regarding the need for refugee legislation. Other legal experts in this field could have been interviewed regarding the need for refugee legislations. While all the
interviewees are proponents of a national legislation, not all seem to favour acceding to the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. Each participant provides the prevailing arguments in the respective countries for and against a legal regime, but the policy-making processes are hardly touched upon and remain opaque.

The author is in favour of having a national law while taking a critical view of the Bangladesh track record of refugees’ treatment. While it was “generally quite satisfactory, if not ideal” Abrar observes that serious human rights violations committed by the Bangladeshi authorities against both asylum seekers attracted major international criticism. However, a former Bangladesh Foreign and Law Minister are quoted as saying “We do not drive the Burmese refugees out or torture them”. A great merit of the book is undoubtedly the discussion between South Asians as they give a rich insight into the current regional thinking on refugee law. Any publication on the refugee situation in South Asia is laudable, for relatively little interest is shown by South Asian or other scholars as compared to the proportion of refugees in the region vis-a-vis the world total.

UNHCR, The State of the World’s Refugees: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action (2000) The book under review examines the major refugee crises of the last fifty years and the changing nature of the international response to the problem of forceful displacement. As Sadako Ogata, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, mentions in her Foreword, “With over a million people forced to flee their homes in Kosovo, East Timor and Chechnya in the last year of the 20th century alone, it is clear that the problem of forceful displacement has not gone away, and is likely to remain a major concern of the international community in the 21st century”. It is also a sobering reminder of the international community’s “continuing failure to prevent prejudice, persecution, poverty and other root causes of conflict and displacement”.
The qualitative difference in the response of the international community becomes apparent if one compares the present with the past with particular reference to African continent. In the 1950's and the 1960's, when the winds of liberation began to sweep Africa, from Algiers in the far north to Angola and Mozambique in the south, hundreds of thousands of people fled to the safety of neighbouring countries. They were welcomed as comrades in struggle. They could return to their homelands after independence to become political leaders, teachers, doctors, lawyers, farmers and businessmen. Botswana offered citizenship to few displaced people. Tanzania went further and offered land to those refugees who wanted stay permanently. Recalling those heady days, Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, remarked: “This was a colonial struggle and we expected that one day they would go back to their countries. Africa’s leadership was also very optimistic about the future and very innocent of what they would encounter in building that future... We never expected that after colonial rule, we would have flights of refugees from independent states, tearing themselves apart”.

Thirty years after the signing of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention on Refugees, the African continent is seething with refugees. Refugees are on the move. The book describes the exodus of over two million Rwandans to Zaire, Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda following the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The chapter highlights “how many of the refugees in the camps were effectively held as political hostages and how they were used as “human shield” by those who had carried out the genocide”. The chapter also illustrates “how the politicisation or militarisation of refugee camps and settlements can result in armed attacks and incursions into neighbouring countries, which can destabilise entire regions in the process”.

The UNHCR started as a small organisation in the early 1950’s to solve the problems of displacement of 400,000 refugees who were rendered homeless after the Second World War. Today the number of UNHCR employees has
increased; its range of activities has multiplied and its geographical scope has expanded. Its annual budget in 1999 has reached US Dollars one billion; it has offices in 120 countries and employs more than 5000 people. During early years, its activities were “reactive, exile oriented and refugee-specific”. In contrast, today it is “pro-active, homeland oriented and holistic”. It caters to the needs of not only the refugees, but also internally displaced people, returnees, asylum seekers, stateless people and others”.

The book traces the major crises situations faced by the UNHCR - for example, mass displacement in Europe after the Second World War, flight of the refugees from Hungary after 1956, the aftermath of the decolonisation in Africa, the Bangladeshi refugee situation, the travails of the Boat People from Indo-China, and the refugee outflow from Afghanistan, Horn of Africa and Central America; displacement from the former Soviet Union, war and humanitarian crisis in the Balkans and the Rwandan genocide. This significant, timely publication will be of immense value to all those interested in international affairs, especially the problems of the refugees. Sadako Ogata underlines “the linkages between human displacement and international peace and security:” It is vital that the international community continue to seek lasting solutions to problems of human displacement. Those who would ignore them do so at their peril. History has shown that displacement is not only a consequence of conflicts; it can also cause conflict. Without human security, there can be no peace and stability”.

Pradip Kumar Bose (2000) The edited book by this author, Refugees in West Bengal: Institutional Practices and Contested Identities puts together a dozen of articles on various issues related to refugees in West Bengal, which for many years remained a major theatre as the refugee host region. More importantly, this volume deals with the two major influxes of the immediate aftermath of partition and the liberation war of East Pakistan. The author Bose raises the issue of cultural dimension of refugee hood, a much ignored aspect.
He tries to relate it to the question of rehabilitation. If effective rehabilitation is to be built then the refugee managing institutions should go much beyond the construction of ideal-typical refugee concept and incorporate in them the cultural and social milieu that have characterised the past of the refugees.

Sandip Bandyopadhyay mentions how the local organizations mobilized both human and financial resources to deal with the 1971 influx. He only touches about the role of international organizations including the UNHCR. This issue has been of critical importance, as India has not signed both the international refugee instruments viz., the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, and also not enacted a domestic refugee law or procedure.

Possibly this was for the first time India permitted the UNHCR to involve itself in the relief and rehabilitation operation. This issue of extending UNHCR a role in the refugee management in the country has hardly been meaningfully discussed and debated in the academic circle also. There are interesting analysis of the legal rights of the refugees and their resettlement pattern by Sarbani Sen, Alok Kumar Ghosh and Dipankar Sinha. Sinha gives an interesting account of Bijoygarh market which is called the oldest and the largest refugee settlements of West Bengal whereas Ghosh looks into very fundamental issues faced by the refugees at Dandakarayna. He concludes that this project “a delayed and hastily improvised scheme for dispersal of the refugees ultimately failed to rebuild the broken minds of those uprooted people who needed a tremendous psychological boost to contain their frustration”. Manas Ray tries to recount some of the vivid memories of the refugees both at the country of origin and at the host country.

There exists a very meagre amount of literature on the refugees in India. This book definitely adds significantly to the existing debate on how refugees are to be treated and managed with or without the international support. This also highlights as what went wrong in some of the refugee related institutions.
Equally interesting issue which runs as an undercurrent in this book is about the gradual resistance the host could develop because of compassionate fatigue. The debate on the refugees is likely to enliven in very near future both in the context of its security implications and the South Asia wide humanitarian concern about them. West Bengal is an example which absorbed the onslaught of the refugees in a quiet and effective manner.

Manoj Kumar Sinha (2000) The author of this book titled Basic Documents on International Human Rights and Refugee Laws has put many documents on the topic to fit into a single volume. All one can hope for is to intelligently extract the most relevant and important documents on the subject. In this endeavour, Dr. Sinha has succeeded admirably. The book contains some of the most important, and therefore basic, documents in the field of International Human Rights and Refugee Laws. Having been a student of law, and a practising lawyer, he often felt the need to refer to a single source where he could find some of the basic documents on human rights and refugee laws, and have often rued the fact that such a compilation did not exist in India, or was not easily available, or was not exhaustive enough. The author’s venture has fulfilled a long felt need on the subject.

V.R. Krishna Iyer (1999) A former Judge, Supreme Court of India gives his account on Judicial system. Judicial Symposium on Refugee Protection which was held New Delhi in 1999 in which the author pointed out that by the speeches of several speakers, in the symposium emphasized that we are already poor in this country. We have one billion people, of which fifty per cent are very poor. How are you expecting us to look after refugees? Let them go to the USA, there is plenty of wealth there. Or then go to Canada, Australia where there is plenty of space, or you can to the oil producing countries. We have no money, we ourselves are starving. This was the question posed yesterday. It was not put so bluntly, but this was the point. I say that however dire our
poverty may be, we have an obligation to humanity. So far as the Indian constitution is concerned, Article 51A casts a fundamental duty on every citizen of India to show compassion. So every citizen has got an obligation to show humanism. And the way to show humanism to a refugee is by embracing him.

**Erika Feller (1999)** The Director, Department of International Protection, UNHCR stated her view on refugee protection in the Judicial Symposium held in New Delhi, 1999. There are three distinct areas where strong judicial supervision and, where appropriate, intervention can provide essential support for refugee protection. First is that social moment of arrival at the physical and legal borders of the asylum state. Here judges and members of an active bar can disentangle refugees from the wider and more politicised aspects of immigration control. UNHCR recognises the sovereign right of all states to control their borders and to protect the interests of the host population. We also share States concerns that the institution of asylum is not exploited by people not requiring or deserving international refugee protection. On the other hand, we must ensure that any national immigration control system allows genuine asylum-seekers the opportunity to have their refugee claims fairly and effectively assessed. Second, is during the process that determines whether asylum-seekers are, in fact, in need of international protection and will be permitted to remain in the asylum State. Third, members of the national bar and judiciary have a key role to ensure that refugees and asylum-seekers are treated in a fair, dignified and humane way throughout their time of refuge. There is a common but mistaken view that the only obligation owed by an asylum State is not to return people to places where they are likely to face persecution or other serious human rights violations (the non-refoulement principle). Under this approach, people are allowed to remain in the asylum State’s territory but are often denied the most basic rights to support and sustain themselves during what is often a traumatic period of exile. As asylum is increasingly granted on
temporary and discretionary grounds, so too is the quality of asylum diminished.

**Ravi Nair, (1997) Refugee Protection in South Asia** in an edited book on States, Citizens and Outsiders: The Uprooted People of South Asia, the author explains the India Refugee Policy. As India has not acceded to the international protection regime for refugees, its legal obligation to protect refugees rests on **customary international law**. An examination of this aspect raises the basic question of the relationship between international law and Indian Municipal law.

The Constitution of India contains just a few provisions on the status of international law in India. Leading among them is Article 15(c), which states; "the State, India shall endeavour to foster respect for international law and treaty obligation in the dealing of organised peoples with one another".

The author classifies the refugee groups in India under three categories:

**Category I Refugees** – It includes **The Tamils, The Jumma peoples** from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh

**Category - II** Refugees whose presence in Indian Territory is acknowledged only by UNHCR and are protected under the principle of non-refoulement;

**Category - III** Refugees who entered India, and have assimilated into communities. Their presence is not acknowledged by either the Indian Government or UNHCR.

**The National Human Rights Commission (1994)** It has directed the Tamil Nadu Government on 26 October 1994 to provide immediate medical treatment to the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees located at the camp in Vellore and conducted periodic medical check up of these peoples. This follows the Commission’s investigation on a complaint of denial of medical treatment to the refugees.
Earlier in March of 1992, the Indian Government passed an order to “persuade and advise Sri Lankan Tamil refugees to repatriate”. By May of 1993, the Indian Government had placed considerable restrictions on Sri Lankan Tamil refugees and on their campsite operations and privileges. As a result, the conditions of the camps have become nearly unbearable. Throughout 1993, many refugees allegedly repatriated voluntarily. The key issue is the degree of this alleged voluntaries.

- Stoppage of doles and rations after the 9 September 1993.
- Not providing proper educational facilities to refugee children.
- Not repairing huts and failing to maintain other facilities in camps.
- Restricting movements of refugees resulting in preventing refugees from going to work to supplement their meagre dole to make ends meet.
- Arresting and locking up refugees in sub-jails designated as (special camps) without stating reasons on inquiry or trail.
- Not providing access to information necessary to enable refugees to make a voluntary decision.
- Failing to provide proper medical assistance.
- Prevention of assistance and services to the refugees in camps by Non-Governmental Organizations.

It is be noted that after the intervention of Hon’ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Miss. Jayalalithaa, in her letter stated like this : The rice subsidy scheme for Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, withdrawn by the Union Home Ministry, should be restored, Chief Minister Miss. Jayalalithaa has demanded in a letter to Hon’ble Prime Minister Dr. Monmohan Singh dated August 23rd 2005 seeking his intervention. Then it was granted by the Central Government.
CONCLUSION

There is an urgent need for national law on the status of refugee, as the most refugees in the country fall outside the mandate of the UNHCR.

➢ To prevent non-refoulement.
➢ To explicitly provide for security concerns.
➢ To distinguish between the genuine refugee and non-genuine refugee.
➢ To address the special problems of refugee women and children.
➢ To provide a uniform treatment between different refugee groups
➢ To create a separate tribunal for the refugees in the State concerned.
➢ India can amend Refugee Act rather than following Foreign Act.
2.4.7. Policy Level

This section reviews research and policy linkages raised in the literature under consideration. Some of the research/policy linkages are explicitly addressed, particularly in studies focusing specifically on one or more aspects of refugee policy, while others are implicit and hence they need to be culled from those studies that do not attend directly to policy relevance. Research and policy linkages can be conceptualized in different ways. For example, in discussing Canada's refugee protection policy, Crepeau and Barutciski (1994) propose three foundational aspects to this policy, namely:

(a) the right to work;
(b) the right to social assistance; and
(c) the right to health protection.

Other accounts of research and policy formation in immigrant and refugee studies propose different conceptual schemes ranging from pre-migration orientation and language training (Richmond, 1998), to control of entry, to resettlement policies and programs. The present account of research and policy linkages organizes the discussion in two broad areas. The first area concerns policies that manage refugee access/entry to the country, including Canada’s humanitarian commitments, while the second area draws attention to refugee resettlement policies.

Policy research that is exclusively centred on refugee management focuses on whether existing policies adequately deal with the international movement of refugees. Recent Citizenship and Immigration Canada documents (including the report Not Just Numbers, 1997; and Building on a Strong Foundation for the 21st Century, 1998) recognize that Canada’s current refugee and immigrant policy requires revision in order to address the current situation of refugees and immigrants. A new and separate Refugee Protection Act has been proposed in conjunction with the new Immigration Act. The Refugee Protection Act would address the unique circumstances of refugees, in
comparison to immigrants, by making a more concerted effort to facilitate the reunion of families, by ensuring the immediate entry into Canada of urgent protection cases, and by relaxing the requirement that refugees be able to settle within a year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998: 39). It is too early to tell if any or all of these proposed directions will eventually become an integral part of the new legislation. What is certain is that the current policy does not effectively address the context of refugees in Canada today.

A number of studies have described the current policy as inherently racist (Hyder, 1991; Howard, 1980). Howard (1980) suggests that although existing policy is not racially motivated, there is a bias against the entry of refugees from communist and socialist regimes. Basok (1996) contends that the increase in xenophobia in Canada, coupled with fiscal constraints, has not only reduced refugee levels but also the quantity and quality of services available to refugees once they arrive. Mangat’s (1995) and Dumas’ (1995) theses examine the Refugee Backlog Clearance Program and its failure to fulfil its mandate. Fitzpatrick (1996) also criticizes the current legislation and suggests that its focus is more on specific groups of refugees and not on the situations of individuals. Citing women as an example, Fitzpatrick shows how it is more difficult for women to enter the country using pleas of gender-based persecution than it is for refugee claimants from the former Yugoslavia who enter because of the political disruption therein. Fitzpatrick argues that new refugee legislation should have better provisions for considering the situation of individuals rather than groups.

This argument is supported by recent work sponsored by Status of Women Canada (1998) which applauds the idea of making refugee policy more responsive to individual circumstances, especially in regard to women. Hinkson (1996) agrees and shows how women fearing gender-related persecution have largely failed to gain entry to Canada using the UN Convention’s "membership in a particular social group" provision. She states
that it is a weak attempt to recognize gender-specific persecution without providing substantial protection for women. It should be noted that while women and children make up over 70% of the world’s refugees, they constitute only 44% of all refugees that enter Canada each year (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998).

Other research on the entry of refugees is international in nature, as it compares the policies of Canada to those of other countries (Adelman et al., 1994; Abell, 1997; Hawkins, 1994). Adelman and Cox (1994: 281), Cox and Glen (1994) and Harris and Weinfeld (1994) suggest that refugee-receiving countries such as Australia and Canada need to work more closely with international aid agencies and refugee-sending countries to develop a "better control system to limit who can arrive at the border and claim refugee status." Furthermore, it appears that the refugee policies of Canada and Australia are somewhat ineffective. On one hand, each country is equally concerned about its humanitarian commitments; while on the other hand, each must deal with paranoia associated with the spontaneous arrival of masses of refugee claimants. The authors suggest that each country should invest more money in refugee-sending countries to resolve conflicts before they become intolerable for their respective citizens.

Turning now to the issue of refugee resettlement, it is often the case that research and policy linkages in this area tend to be implicit and on occasion tenuous. Indeed, relatively few refugee resettlement studies had policy implications as a central research focus. Despite this limitation, a few assessments can be made.

The bulk of the literature summarized in the preceding sections focuses on the adaptation of refugees and on factors that facilitate or impede their integration. The research/policy linkages in numerous studies are readily apparent. In the service areas such as education, healthcare, counselling and legal aid (see, for example, the Ontario Legal Aid Review, 1997), research findings emphasize the need to directly address problems faced by refugees,
develop culturally sensitive and supportive institutions, deploy service providers who are also culturally sensitive, and refer clients to other service providers where appropriate.

To illustrate, Churchill and Kaprielian (1989) examined the educational policies of the Ontario School Board in terms of their efficacy for refugee and other minority students. They considered a wide range of areas (e.g., multicultural policies, heritage language acts, anti-racist policies, ESL and human rights education) and concluded that while there is recognition that refugee students require specific services, especially language training, the schools need to become more culturally sensitive and to integrate ESL students into the mainstream classrooms. Strom et al. (1992) looked at education from the point of view of parents from Vietnam and various Central and South American countries. The parents had a wide variety of concerns about the education of their children including: difficulty in communicating with their English-only speaking children, preservation of cultural heritage and pressure to accept Canadian norms and values. The authors suggest that educational policies should reflect these concerns and accommodate the acquisition of heritage languages.

In the health area, a dissertation by Renee Porter (1996) examined the similarities and differences in the experiences of hospitalized Anglo-Canadian and immigrant and refugee patients. Her results revealed that immigrants and refugees had widely different health beliefs, values, practices and illness management than Anglo-Canadian patients and healthcare providers in general. She suggests that healthcare policies should reflect these differences and that nurses and other healthcare professionals should be taught culturally-sensitive practices. In the mental health field, an edited collection by Beiser (1991) outlines initiatives by researchers, service providers and policy makers designed to develop more culturally sensitive practices. Available evidence calls for increased funding for the healthcare of refugees, especially those with emotional problems caused by war and flight.
Refugee housing is one of the less researched areas, but mention should be made of a few investigations on the experiences of refugees in the housing market conducted by the Toronto Housing Department (1992). They found no coordination in programs for refugees, especially when it came to finding suitable accommodation. They also found evidence of discrimination in relation to rental housing in Toronto. The authors make numerous recommendations for overcoming these barriers as well as suggestions aimed at increasing affordable housing for refugees.

The reviews reviewed so far are of immense help to formulate the objectives and hypotheses. The following furnished objectives and hypotheses with the methodology are arrived at on the basis of the reviews.

Rajeev Dhavan (2004) In an article in ‘Hindu’ daily in India states about India's refugee law and policy. ON JUNE 20, the world was called upon to observe Refugee Day. It usually rolls by without notice. The 20th century left behind a massive legacy of refugees. The response to this legacy remains incomplete and inadequate. World War I, the Soviet Revolution and other events led to 'crisis responses' for the Russian refugees, Armenians and German refugees. When the International Convention of Refugees was enacted in 1951, it was seen as Euro-centric and, essentially, anti-communist. Indeed, in 1953, India's Foreign Office (through R.K. Nehru) told the office of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that the global refugee policy was essentially part of the Cold War. It took years for the Convention of 1951 to be amended by the Protocol of 1967.

Who are refugees? According to the humanitarian definition, a refugee is someone who has fled his country because he has a well-founded fear of persecution if he remains. The major obligation of refugee protection is the principle of non-refoulement, which ensures that a person is not returned to a life-threatening situation.

For India to evade such a principle appears subversive of its constitutional principles unless there are weighty reasons for doing so. New
Delhi's reasons for resisting refugee protection are paradoxical. On the one hand, its track record in dealing with the Tibetan, the Sri Lankan and the Chakma crises has been exemplary. Its hesitation to provide an intelligible and comprehensive protection to refugees seems to stem from two major considerations, which are artificial ghosts in the machine.

There is also a need for a change in the law. The model law has not been sufficiently considered by the Union Government. For the last five years, the NHRC has been requesting the Government to provide refugee protection. Its present Chairman, A.S. Anand, has even set up a Committee to examine the law. The argument of terrorism and numbers having been met, there is no reason why the minimal protection against non-refoulement should not be enacted. This can probably be done even through rules. But the argument is not just over the Sri Lankan refugees, the Bangladeshis, the Afghans, the Bhutanese or the Myanmarese. It is whether India wants its voice on the world's most persecuted to be heard so as to mould future policy. If India is waiting for a cue from its neighbour, China has joined the convention and enacted refugee protection legislation. African countries have got together to devise both national and regional solutions.

India needs to review its ambivalent refugee law policy, evolve a regional approach and enact rules or legislation to protect persecuted refugees. This is one step towards supporting a humanitarian law for those who need it. As a refugee-prone area, South Asia requires India to take the lead to devise a regional policy consistent with the region's needs and the capacity to absorb refugees under conditions of global equity.

*South Asia requires India to take the lead to devise a policy consistent with the region's needs and the capacity to absorb refugees under conditions of global equity.*

**CONCLUSION**: The reviews that are reviewed so far are of great help to formulate objectives and hypotheses.