Barriers to Providing Basic Education among the Rohingyas Refugee Children: Insights from the Kutupalong Unregistered Camp, Cox'sbazar, Bangladesh

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Abstract

The thesis sheds light on the intersectional discrimination on basic education of the Rohingya refugee children in the Kutupalong unregistered camp of Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh. The basic education for the refugee children is partly created through discriminatory means in the Rakhine state of Myanmar. It is further influenced by the limited education opportunities they are offered in the host country, Bangladesh. Employing ethnographic method, the study reveals three levels, the micro, meso, and macro, of intersectional deprivation to the provision of their education. At the micro-level, the study reveals the interrelated forms of discrimination caused by the discriminatory education opportunities while living in the Rakhine state. The ethnic background, gender and religious identity, age, socio-economic condition, etc. played a crucial role in the denial of basic education in both Myanmar and Bangladesh. Other challenges include the existing social norms and values among the Rohingya community which includes the absence of security, fear of rape as well as experiences of extensive discrimination and harassment in school, all of which constitute major barriers to their pursuit of education in both their country of origin and the host country. Gender discrimination within the family and society are claimed to be means of internal discrimination which impede their basic rights. In the second part of the discussion, the meso and macro levels of intersectional discrimination possess structural barriers such as policies concerning the language used in the classroom, recruiting teachers, the duration of classes, etc. The strategies used to create the curriculum and syllabus for refugee education can be found in the external level of intersectional discrimination. The structural barriers also include the refugees' lack of participation in curriculum preparation, lack of available international funding, low access to logistic support, etc. Lastly, the lack of coordination between relevant authorities from The Government of Bangladesh and humanitarian organizations in making policies and creating the necessary conditions for their education are found to be vital factors that prevent basic education from reaching the Rohingya children.

Key words:
Social anthropology; Development Studies, Rohingya refugees; Basic education, Intersectional theory, Kutupalong, Bangladesh, Myanmar

List of Abbreviations

ACAPS= Assessment Capacities Project

B.A=Bachelor of Arts

BRAC=Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee

BROUK=Burmese Rohingya Organization, UK

CiC=Camp in Charge

CODEC=Community Development Center

CNG=Compressed Natural Gas

DAM=Dhaka Ahsania Mission

DFID= UK Department for International Department

GoB= Government of Bangladesh

HRW=Human Rights Watch

INGO=International Non-Government Organization

ISCG=Inter Sector Coordination Group

LC= Learning Centre

NGO=Non-Government Organization

NRC=Norwegian Refugee Council

RRRC= Rohingya Refugee Repatriation Commissioner

T.O= Technical Officer

UNDP= United Nations Development Program

UNHCR= United Nations High Commission for Refugee

UNICEF=United Nations Children Fund

4A= Availability, Acceptability, Accessibility and Adaptability

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Until relatively recently, members of the predominantly Muslim *Rohingya* community (Milton et al., 2017:3, Farzana, 2017:23), a *Ruáinga*-speaking ethnic group, were domiciled in *Rakhain,* the former *Arakan* State of Myanmar (Prodip, 2017:135). Despite their long-term residence in the area, successive Myanmar governments have opted not to recognize them as citizens of the country. For this reason, they were effectively rendered stateless (Médecins Sans Frontières, 2010:3). After years of persecution, detention, violence, and torture perpetrated by successive Myanmar governments, several waves of mass forced *Rohingya* migration occurred, the most recent to Bangladesh in 2017 (Bhatia et. al., 2018:105). Since 25 August 2017, more than 723,000 *Rohingya* have fled Myanmar for Bangladesh (The United Nations High Commission for Refugee, (UNHCR) 2017). Almost half of them have settled in *Kutupalong*, an overcrowded unregistered makeshift refugee camp in the *Cox's Bazar* District (Ibid). However, it is the children who have attracted many people's attention across the world (The United Nations Children Fund, (UNICEF) 2018).

It is estimated nearly half a million *Rohingya* refugee[1] children in *Kutupalong* unregistered refugee camp were and have been denied access to any form of education prior to and since arriving in Bangladesh (Burmese Rohingya Organization in the United Kingdom, (BROUK) 2018:3). UNICEF (2019), moreover, showed that primary level education has been denied for children aged between 6-14 (UNICEF, 2019). Notably, children in the unregistered refugee camps do not have any entitlement to education; however, refugees in the registered camps receive a range of education supports from the Government of Bangladesh (Milton et al., 2017:4 and UNICEF, 2019). In addition, those refugees who arrived as part of the 2017 August influx have been subject to government directives that prevent them from learning Bengali language; the native language of the hosting country or following the government's formal and non-formal curriculum (Patinkin, 2018:3).

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[1] In this thesis, I use the concept 'Refugee' to indicate both the 'Legal Refugee' as defined and registered by the UNHCR and Forcefully Displaced People. The latter are entitled with Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR) and Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR). Under the Humanitarian Protection Law of ELR and ILR, a person with a continuing need for protection will be eligible to stay in the country of asylum. UNHCR, 2002.

Given that conflict and displacement are not temporary - and are becoming increasingly protracted in many parts of the world - refugee education has become a long-term endeavor. It has relevance both for the idea of returning to the country of origin, and for the ongoing nature of exile (Sarah, 2017:16). Access to education is essentially required to protect refugee communities from marginalization (Amnesty International, 2019). It will provide the refugee children with the skills and knowledge vital for navigating uncertainty, and for mending disjuncture in periods of emergencies (Sarah, 2017:17). Recent research (UNICEF, 2019) reveals that quality education, knowledge and associated skills are vital: a) to navigating refugees' long-term futures in conditions of exile; and, b) to easing their resettlement trajectories in their countries of origin (Ibid).

The UNICEF report (2019) argues that deprived of adequate learning opportunities, adolescents can fall prey a) to traffickers who offer to smuggle desperate young *Rohingya* out of Bangladesh, and b) to drug dealers who operate in the area (Amnesty International, 2019). Children living in the cramped and makeshift refugee camps in *Kutupalong* (Jesmin, 2019:3) face a bleak future. They have few opportunities to learn, and little access to safe and child- friendly education facilities. Deprived as they are of basic services, e.g., education (UNHCR, 2019), the children are in very real danger of becoming a 'lost generation'.

Farzana (2017:119) revealed that in the unregistered camp, refugee children are largely denied a basic level of education, while they receive elementary level of education up to level 7 in the registered camp. Moreover, it is important to note that the children in the unregistered refugees' camps are not awarded any form of certification for their studies whereas refugee children in registered camps receive support from the Government of Bangladesh (UNICEF, 2019). However, those refugees who arrived as part of the 2017 August influx have been subject to government directives that prevent them from learning the Bengali language, the host country language and/or following the government's formal and non-formal curriculum (Ibid).

BROUK (2018:3) noted that the ethnic community was denied access to education in the Rakhine state after the state-led violence in 2012. The discriminatory treatment regarding education rights continued in the refugee camps in Bangladesh. Studies showed that the international community should recognize their plight and facilitate their return to their

home country of Myanmar (Ibid). However, as long as education remains severely restricted, any likelihood of their return will be minimal (Mayberry, 2019:3). While half of the children of the refugee community in *Kutupalong* camp, the stark reality is that nearly half of them currently have no access to education (UNHCR, 2019).

It is evident that there are few studies addressing the existing barriers to education that the *Rohingya* refuge children in Bangladesh are currently facing; in truth, they are non-existent in case of unregistered refugee camps. For this reason, it is crucial to identify the major constraints that are impeding the provision of basic education to the refugee children in the *Kutupalong* makeshift camps in the Cox's Bazar district of Bangladesh. The aim of this study is to investigate the experiences and views of as well as obstacles to education among unregistered Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

The research will seek to answer the following research question:

> Why are so many Rohingya refugees' children, living in Kutupalong unregistered refugee camp, not receiving basic education?

In order to fully address the research question, the following specific objectives will be investigated.

(i) To see and understand children, family and community views and knowledge in identifying multiple discriminatory factors for the provision of refugee children education.

(ii) To uncover existing strategies and implementation processes of both national and international NGOs who are currently working on the site to provide informal primary education.

(iii) To explore the roles of relevant ministries, Ministry of Primary and Mass education, and Ministry of Disaster and Relief, Government of Bangladesh, for the provision of refugee children's education.

Relevant Literature Review:

In the section, I have outlined a brief overview of the relevant literature regarding primary level of education among Rohingya refugees' children in Cox'sbazar, Bangladesh. I have,

moreover, detailed some anthropological contributions to the study of refugees' children education. Academic research is limited on the Rohingya children's education issue in both countries, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. The Government of Bangladesh, Non-Government Organizations and INGOs have produced some reports which focuses on general pictures of refugee education, women and children health, gender violation, needs assessments, status updates on the emergencies etc. Some of the reports sheds light on the policies, strategies, monitoring, and propositions taken by the Government of Bangladesh (GoB), national and international humanitarian organizations (UNESCO, UNICEF, 2019, Amnesty International, 2019). By reviewing several relevant reports, I found the followings are useful and interesting.

Non-government Organizations and Provision of Education among Rohingya People:

Employing mixed methods, Joint Education Needs Assessment report (2018:12) identified a range of impediments, which included lack of available Learning Centers, the relative distance of Learning Centers, safety measures, mental health, and disability, which acted as barriers for providing education. However, the report has failed to provide a comprehensive picture of the educational constraints for two reasons: (i) The report only focused on documented refugee children, and failed to address any issues regarding unregistered refugee children, and (ii) more importantly, it did not explore the reasons behind these structural constraints which deprived the children from receiving basic education in the first place.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2019:18) revealed that Rohingya refugee children were severely deprived of their basic rights. Employing a qualitative method, reports found that a lack of appropriate education policies from the Bangladesh Government has largely contributed to this deprivation. Moreover, delays in preparing the curriculum and syllabus also obstructed the children's will and eagerness to attend school. The report, however, did not mention the theoretical foundation which could guide the research more accurately and lead the report to be methodologically sound.

The Provision of education in the Rakhine State:

I present few relevant literatures which briefly highlight the discriminatroty education system among the Rohingya refugee children in the Rakhine state. The Burmese government create several hindrances in the way of the community people's education. I, moreover, describe the gaps in their studies which lead me to explore the miserable education condition more deeply.

Farzana (2017:36), in her book critically addressed the causes of the deprivation of basic education among the Rohingya children in the Rakhine State. She argued that the community's lack of citizenship rights contributed to the deprivation of a range of education opportunities in Myanmar. She put forth a critical view to observe how the British colonial regime and the Burmese Junta government shaped the Rohingya community's identity crisis. The statelessness identity of the ethnic community severely deprived them of their education rights in their country of origin. She, moreover, showed that the lack of financial solvency and birth certificate, coupled with shortages of Rohingya teachers in the Rakhine state were also causes in this deprivation. Ullah (2011:27) applied mixed methods to highlight how the Rohingya community in the Arakan state of Myanmar experienced state-sponsored persecution. The study revealed that the community faced humanitarian issues and conditions in both countries. This included being forced out by state-sponsored persecution by the Burmese government and being compelled to be repatriated due to the lack of financial capacity in the host country, Bangladesh. These two factors also played a part in the obstructing chances of basic education. The study, however, did not shed light on the barriers of children's education.

Islam (2018:45) focused on the statelessness issue of the Rohingya community which impeded them to have many basic rights in the Rakhine state. The Burmese government deliberately killed and tortured the Rohingya people and committed genocide, which is threatening their life of existence in their country of origin. The Burmese government treated Rohingya people as the outsider of the state and thus the ethnic community encountered racisms, massive persecution and systematically discriminated, excluded. Finally, the ethnic people experienced ethnic cleansing, exclusion and expulsion from the Buddhist country. The study provides an overall picture of the precarious living conditions

of the community. It is evident that these discriminatory attitudes obstructed the Rohingya community to have their basic rights. However, the research failed to examine the link between the underlined challenges and the provision of education among the ethnic children. Labelling the ethnic community as "illegal Bangladeshi migrants." The Burmese government deprived them to have the legal documents required for naturalizing citizenship in their country of origin (Jabeen , 2018:103). The ethnic people cannot speak any of the Burmese language due to exclude them from the formal educational institution as the Burmese government systematically discriminated them. The study pointed that losing the status, the Rohingya people have become subject to persecution and discrimination. The 'religious coloring' and 'labeling them with foreigner people' have aggravated their miserable condition and ultimately committed genocide among the people. The study gave a clear picture about the underlined causes of genocide committed by the Burmese government. It, however, overlooked the educational barriers among the community children which is strongly connected with the lack of citizenship rights (p.102).

Deprivation of Basic Education in the Refugee Camp, Bangladesh:

In the section, I will shed light on the current education system in the refugee camp provided by the several NGOs in Bangladesh. I find that some studies have conducted on the particular issues in the refugee camp, Cox's bazar, which basically focuses on the multifaceted issues covering refugees' health, accommodation, gender-based violence etc. A little concentration has given on the precarious education system in the camps. Thus, I will uncover the existing gaps in those literatures and attempt to minimize or remove these gaps in my study.

Using the qualitative method, Prodip (2017:139) revealed that massive gender discrimination in the registered refugee camp deteriorated the health and educational conditions of the *Rohingya* refugee children. The research, however, did not touch upon the causes behind gender discrimination. Additionally, the undocumented refugees' voices were unheard of in the research paper. The Burmese Rohingya Organization UK (BROUK, 2018:6) showed that the refugee children experienced limited access to educational resources in the refugee camp. Applying the 4As concept (accessibility, availability, acceptability, and adaptability) the study pointed out that the barriers to providing basic rights to the community children are mainly twofold. These are, (i) The discriminatory

policy of the Bangladesh Government which prevented formal education. (ii) Lack of adequate school infrastructures- which also deprived the community from proper education.

In the Ph.D. thesis, Sultana (2019:108) focuses on the Rohingya's struggle for identity crisis in the hosting country, Bangladesh. Applying a range of qualitative research tools like the ethnographic fieldwork, semi-structured interview, and Focus Group Discussions, she revealed that the ethnic community experienced massive discrimination in terms of violation of human rights and were deprived of proper documents for citizenship rights which prevented them from forming an identity for themselves. She argues that this community has struggled from an identity crisis and was simultaneously deprived of basic education for the same reason.

Bhatia et al., (2018:8) touched upon the education status among the community people. The study revealed that a vast majority of the refugee people aged over the age 15 do not have education, and about half of the children under the age of 15 were not attending school. The research, moreover, found that of those children who were attending school, 88.2% of them attended learning centers directed by NGOs. The refugee people find their future in bleak as they are denied having education and so will be unable to seek work in the hosting country. The study, however, did not explore the underlined causes of their deprivation of education.

Milton et. al., (2017:7) focused on health and physical and mental conditions of the community people. By reviewing several documents on Rohingya refugees, and conducting in-depth interview, the research revealed the living conditions of Rohingya refugees inside the overcrowded camps remain dismal. The study, moreover, demonstrated that the mental health is poor, the people lack proper hygiene conditions, malnutrition is endemic, and physical/sexual abuse is high. The study, however, did not touched upon the education condition of the refugee people.

Mim (2020:14) highlighted the role of religious practices in protecting the socio-cultural and economic rights of Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh. Drawing from an empirical study in varying eight camps in Kutupalong, Cox's Bazar, the study shows that the refugee protects their cultural identities, maintain solidarity with the host communities at the camps, through

different Islamic religious activities and practices. The study seeks to include socio-economic and cultural integration within hamartian activities in the refugee camps to protect their cultural integration and socioeconomic stability. The study substantially lacked to investigate the present educational precarious condition among the community children.

Bakali and Wasty (2020:9) attempted to explore educational challenges and among the refugee children. Applying open-ended and semi-structured interviews between aid workers and educators working in the Kutupalong refugee camp, the study examined that refugee people were able to voice their concerns and experiences with educational programming available to the community children. The present research also explored that there are enormous challenges and deficits to the provision of education which encountered by the Rohingya students. These involve lack of standardized qualifications of teachers, underqualified or unqualified teachers, inaccessibility to learning centers for Rohingya students, unavailability of age appropriate education, the lack of teaching materials. The cultural barriers for girls and young women are the other barriers for their education. The community values Islamic education but it lacks formalized or organized through a curriculum or standards, the education valued as an essential aspect of Rohingya education and identity. However, the study essentially lacks the methodological strengths which undermine the validity and reliability of the finding in regard to revealing challenges of education.

Moreover, several national and international NGOs have revealed the current precarious education condition of the refugee children (UNHCR, 2019, UNICEF, 2019), however, none of the above studies have focused on exploring or examining the existing causes and challenges which leads to this deprivation of primary education. Some studies, though, attempted to examine the precarious education condition among the refugee children. However, these studies lack significant methodological strengths which might enhance the credibility and reliability of data collection and analysis. Therefore, the present research aims to fulfill the gaps which the previous research encountered and intends to contribute significantly in the field of provision of education among the Rohingya refugee children in the Kutupalong Unregistered camp, Cox's bazar, Bangladesh.

Thesis Structure

In the introductory chapter, I will detail the current basic education condition of Rohingya children both in Myanmar and Bangladesh which is rooted in their ethnic identity, nationality, religion, and gender aspects etc. Chapter 2 highlights the methodological foundation of the thesis, namely ethnographic fieldwork which provides a brief description of the methods/tools applied for entering to the research field. It also details the stages pursued for site selection, informant's recruitment, and data collection. In the next chapter 3 presents an overview of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks which guide me the data analysis and discussion.   In the following chapter 4, will be concerned about the historical presence of the Rohingya community in the Rakhine state of Myanmar, their origin and causes of statelessness and repeated exclusion and persecution which led to several waves of flight to the neighboring country, Bangladesh. Chapter 5 will focus on how my informants face the interrelated forms of discrimination to the refugee children education based on their multiple identities. In the next chapter 6, the thesis   will explore how informants encounter and view the external, and structural barriers to have the provision of basic education. The concluding chapter—reflects the summarizing of the main findings and shortly details the limitation of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the present chapter, I have investigated the methodological basis for the thesis, which guided me through the research field. It has described the ways it shaped this research site selection. In this chapter, I have gained access to the field, upon which the knowledge, perceptions and views were generated, and the analysis proceeded. It has, moreover, briefly addressed the ethical considerations and reflexivity and my positions to pursue the research.

2.1 Ethnographic Fieldwork:

Ethnographic fieldwork, widely known as the hallmark method of anthropology, was employed to engage with the object of study. To anthropologists, ethnographic fieldwork is seen as the central way of studying objects (Hastrup 2010:10). The method seeks to examine human knowledge, views, and perceptions to investigate and understand the underlined senses of human actions. Denzin and Lincoln, (2005:10) argued that the ethnographic method facilitates researchers to better understand insights into humans' lived experiences. Scholars argue that participant observation is the key tool to achieving underlined meanings of people's lived experiences (O'Reilly 2009:150). Due to time and budget constraints, it was not always possible to live with interviewees in the research field for prolonged periods to involve oneself in all aspects of their lives. Given the practical constraints, an informal interview is another important technique for anthropologists to understand and to explain the deeper meaning of the research object. In this regard, anthropologist Rubow, C. (2010) notes that the informal interviews can also provide a significant understanding to examine and explore the underline meaning of people's lives.

2.2 Study Design:

2.2.1 Selection of Study Site:

I have employed a range of sampling procedures to select the study site which is crucial to conducting the research. There are two refugee camps in the Cox's Bazar district of Bangladesh, i.e., Nayapara, at Teknaf Upazila (Sub-district), and Kutupalong, at Ukhia Upazila (Sub-district) (Skretteberg, 2019:3). The latter, the largest of the two refugee camps,

houses approximately 613,272 refugees (Wikipedia, 2019:25), making it the world's largest refugee camp (established the 2017 mass flight of Rohingya from Myanmar) (Ibid). I have utilized purposive sampling for the selection of the Kutupalong refugee camp. Few criteria have been considered here: (i) Most of the refugees have been living in the makeshift camp since the 2017 mass exodus of Rohingya from Myanmar, (ii) most of the refugees in the camp are not registered with the UNHCR and thus are extremely vulnerable.

There are 34 makeshift refugee camps in the Kutupalong camp area (UNHCR, 2018). In the second stage, I have purposively selected Camp 4 based on the following criteria: (i) The campsite is one of the biggest camps in terms of refugee population, (ii) the number of Learning Centres are maximum comparative to other refugee campsites, (iii) due to security concern, as the Bangladesh Government has enacted a law which indicates one has to leave the site before at 4 pm. These are the reasons Camp 4 was chosen, while the last reason allowed me to leave the site immediately and reach at my residence since the camp is located near the highway road.

I have administered an in-depth interview by applying an open-ended and semi-structured interview guide. Apart from this, the FGD tool has been utilized to understand the issue at a deeper level. The technique has helped verify interviewers' experiences regarding exploring the barriers of providing primary level education among the children. An interview guideline was prepared by examining multiple interrelated issues of the 'Intersectional approach'.

2.2.2. Selection of Informants:

The purposive sampling technique allowed me to select informants who had the potential to provide information. Employing purposive sampling, I selected 6 informants from children category (3 boys and 3 girls): Children, aged between 6 and 14 (referred to as children, Eline, 2018:19), who do not go to school, 3 refugee guardians (who have not sent their children to school), 3 Bengali and 3 Rohingya school teachers from the selected campsite. The main goal for selecting these groups as informants was to understand and portray their views and knowledge regarding the existing dynamics in the camp's society and how it became a barrier to providing basic education to the children.

Following that, based on purposive sampling, 3 international and 3 local NGOs were chosen who are currently working on-site and are actively contributing to providing primary level education among the children. Afterward, six senior-level officials from the selected NGOs

were chosen as respondents, since they are known to have a comparatively better experience and knowledge regarding refugee education. Additionally, I have selected three senior-level officials. One joint secretary and one Deputy Secretary from the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief, and Refugee, Relief and Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC) since their officials are involved with refugees' education, health, and settlings. The third and last person is from the Ministry of Education, Government of Bangladesh. Information from the interviews is what pushed me to pursue policy-level information regarding the provision of education for refugee children.

I interviewed participants in 1-hour sessions. All interviews were audio-recorded and took place over several working days in different places according to the participant's preferences. Field notes were also taken while conducting fieldwork on the research site.

Additionally, I employed observations and document analysis tools to deeply explore the multifaceted phenomenon experienced by informants. These techniques have helped me to triangulate data collection and perform analysis. In doing so, I met with potential informants[2] and discussed the purpose of this study and its procedures.

2.2.3 Selection of Interpreter:

Initially I visited the BRAC University Centre for Peace and Justice on February 6th, 2020. The institution hosted me to conduct the research. At the very beginning, I communicated with BRAC on December January 23, 2019 for providing me with a recommendation letter for fulfilling one of the requirements to apply for Lund University Research Travel Grant. I was a given the letter from the institution for conducting the research. After arriving in Bangladesh, I met with the Research Coordinator of the NGO at Dhaka Office, whom I contacted before to issue a supportive/recommendation letter for my study. Two days later, the NGO organized a formal meeting and introduced me to other officials of the organization. After the introduction meeting, I briefly discussed my research goals and shared my study plans and methods for the process. The research coordinator of the NGO

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[2] I found that one child informant (Female, 13) initially agreed to be interviewed, however, she disagreed to do so after consulting/seeking permission from her mother. I have also experienced similar occurrences when I selected an INGO official from the NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council). I showed him my research interview guide and permission letter from the RRRC (Rohingya Refugee Repatriation Commissioner). When I asked him to sign a consent letter permitting me to conduct the interview, he denied it. His argument stated that he will be charged by his senior officials if he were to provide any information. Following this, I approached teachers run by DAM, who later agreed to participate in my research.

offered to manage my accommodation in Cox's Bazar district and helped in finding an interpreter from Ukhia, a sub-district of Cox's Bazar, as well. It was observed that few NGOs had already been carried out some studies among the refugee community, which indicated that they already possessed good connections with interpreters in the host community. Afterward, they communicated with one of the interpreters who were fluent in both Bengali (the host community language) and the Rohingya language. The coordinator of the NGO gave me the interpreter's contact information, after which I contacted him (Omar, Boy, 26) and confirmed that he would be my interpreter. Omar has been enthusiastic regarding the research and he had maximum support with collecting data and interpreting them afterward.

2.3 Data Collection and Analysis:

2.3.1 Individual Interviews:

In-depth interviews were carried out between February 21, 2020, and March 15, 2020. I have tested three interview guidelines among children, guardians, and teachers outside of the study sites to ensure that the informants find the interview guide understandable, and to see if any changes or amendments are necessary. The interview guide was translated into Ruáinga language before approaching the informants so that they could easily understand the questions. This thesis incorporates views, perceptions, and policies of people from a range of relevant informants. A total of 24 informants have been interviewed. The interview with the Rohingya guardians, children, and teachers was conducted in the Ruáinga and the host country languages (Bengali), which was then translated into English. All interviews have been tape-recorded with the consent of the key informants.

Limiting my authority and power as a researcher, I was an active listener which allowed me to follow what my informants said and to understand how they connected their understanding to their social realities. While conducting both in-depth interviews and FGDs, I asked questions repeatedly for further clarification whenever required. Interview with students helped me to explore their views and perceptions regarding the causes of not going to school. Guardians' interviews explored relevant issues such as aspirations and expectations they have for their children's education from teachers, support systems available to Learning Centers, and so on. Teachers' interviews explored their knowledge and experiences about the refugee children being absent in class.

2.3.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD):

I planned to run FGDs along with the individual interviews with my participants mainly for two reasons. Throughout reading a few literatures/reports, firstly, on the Rohingya refugee people, I came to know that they would feel more comfortable in sharing their ideas and views in a group due to their level of education. Secondly, they were encouraged to express their feelings on relevant topics they wanted to share and thus limited my control over their expressions. I have administered four Focus Groups Discussions. Before conducting an FGD, a rapport was developed with the informants. Before running the FGD, I ensured the fact that a homogenous group of people have participated in conducting the FGDs. While conducting FGDs, discussion information has been shared with a group of 8 participants to solicit their feedback through focused questions. I took support from a young Rohingya boy, aged 19, who helped to find a preferable place for the discussion. I managed the boy once I carried out in-depth interviews with my key informants. Support was also received from my interpreter and a note-taker (from the refugee community) who facilitated me to carry out my FGD. The first FGD was conducted among eight teachers from both Rohingya and the host community. The FGD ran for about an hour. Before conducting the FGD, I talked to teachers and organized a time and place of their preference for participation.

Before speaking with the teachers, I contacted the Technical Officer (TO) of every Learning Centre (LC[3]) who look after the teacher's activities. The second FGD was administered among eight male guardians whose children do not attend to the Learning Centre. They were comparatively easier to interview than the teachers as they were not engaged with any official activities. Similarly, the third FGD was conducted among the female guardians, and it was quite difficult to gather them. It happened as the community members have strong feelings of" *Purda protha*" (stay inside the home) and they do not like to meet with people from the outside because their cultural norms prohibit them from doing so. However, I have successfully conducted the FGD since the note taker arranged a place indoors where they could sit for the FGD while I stayed outdoors. Finally, the fourth FGD was conducted among the local INGO officials. They were easy to communicate with since my hosting NGO, BRAC helped me reach out to officials from other local NGOs.

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[3] LC refers to Learning Centre. The humanitarian organization run the LC for providing basic education among the refugee children in the Kutupalong unregistered camp. The education system in the LC does not conform with the regular school system in the mainland of Bangladesh.

2.3.3 Observation Technique:

To get an in-depth understanding and explore the real picture of the Learning Centres, I visited ten Learning Centres and their classrooms. Two from CODEC (Community Development Centre), three from DAM (Dhaka Ahsania Mission), two from NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), and the rest from BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Development Advancement Committee). I observed these Learning Centres and classrooms to see and understand the following pictures: (i) how the children are taught, (ii) how students are participating in class lectures, (iii) to what extent the students paying attention in class, (iv) how effective the language is in the classroom, and (v) the number of students attending class. Oral permission was taken from the teachers of each Learning Centre before entering and observing the classroom. Each visit took between a varied 45 minutes and 1 hour.

2.3.4 Documents Analysis:

I have collected and utilized several published documents, particularly from two ministries of the Government of Bangladesh (The Ministry of Disaster Risk Reduction and Relief, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The information was related to Bangladesh government policies on Rohingya refugee children education and related subjects. I have also utilized other secondary sources. These included published reports from UNICEF and UNHCR which explored the hindrances of primary education amongst refugee children. Other mentionable secondary source includes the internet, which was also important in my research. Relevant research articles, reports, and newspaper information, focusing on similar research studies were scrutinized.

2.3.5 Data Analysis Technique:

I analysed the data thematically to trace the salient themes and patterns from the narratives of interviews and observations. I was able to show the patterns of similarities and differences of data through a thematic analysis. I used NVivo 10, a qualitative software program which assisted me in structuring, organizing, and coding qualitative data. Later, I segmented them and created subgroups to narrow them down to specific interview themes and made meaningful analytical units. After applying both a priori and inductive codes generated directly from examining the data, the thematic analysis helped me to present the data in the limited space.

To establish research credibility, reliability, and conformity, I have sent the data transcriptions and interpretations back to the selected research participants through mobile phones for member checks. I did not use 'email communication' as a medium to send back the transcription information, as the technique used by my informants was minimal among my informants. Additionally, some research demonstrated that some informants do not reply to an email communication. 'Member checking', is known as good technique by many qualitative researchers, as it enhances the credibility of results (Atwood, et al., 1986:144). Information or results are returned to informants in order to check for validity and accuracy with their experiences. It is used to assure that participants get an opportunity to review their information what they said, should it be edited or added any information if they want (Ibid).

2.4 Ethical Considerations:

I have maintained utmost honesty, sincerity, and respect in regard to the participants and interviewers throughout my study. Oral consent from informants have been obtained before conducting any interview. Details regarding the research objectives were communicated to the interviewers and they were assured that their responses will be held with strict confidence and shall remain anonymous. Since a few children aged between 6 to 14 were interviewed in the process, in my research, special precautions were taken to ensure that the children are not rendered nervous by my behaviour and attitude. Oral consent was received from the guardians of the children respondents and they were spoken to in a soft and polite manner so as to not intrigue them. Questions were also repeated whenever required and examples were added for clarification. During the data collection process, I continuously observed children's activities from the morning until late afternoon. Whether they go to LCs or religious class or private tutors, etc. and whether or not they participated in everyday education activities in the LCs-----facilitated me to the development of the rapport-building process effectively. The tape recorder has also been used with the consent of the participants. Before this, a plain language informed consent was taken for them. Finally, as per the policy of Lund University, I have organized and managed the research data and primary materials in accordance with Lund University policy.

2.5 Reflexivity and Positions:

I was considered an outsider to the Rohingya community since I could not fully understand their language. However, the Rohingya language is 30 percent similar to the local regional language of Cox's Bazar district of Bangladesh, which can make them feel as somewhat an insider. I was well-positioned to pursue my research as I overtly made it clear among the informants about the purpose of my research. Firstly, I communicated with BRAC University Centre for Justice and Peace (The NGO is also working to provide basic education among the children) who hosted me to conduct the research. The refugee community, particularly teachers and children received this fact in a positive light and considered me as one of the NGO workers. Secondly, some interviewees, particularly teachers of both the refugee and host community perceived me as an academician from a world-class university after they acknowledged my recommendation letter from the Lund University. This helped me tremendously in gaining trust from their side which eased them into sharing their ideas, views, and understanding about the required questions.

However, the reality was different when I started interviewing the guardians and children. Guardians asked me that what will be the use of these information. They said that the stories of their sufferings have been written and recorded by many people before, however, a little change have been occurred. We are frustrated now. In their opinion, people are coming and stealing their stories. Nothing we are getting. Deceiving the less powerful is comparatively easier, as marginalization and power-relation have significant role to play in every research. In addition, the refugee guardians wanted to have financial support from me when they thought that I have an affiliation with an NGO, called BRAC. I explained them the objectives of my present study and described that the information is gathering will be utilized for exploring barriers of children education. Additionally, I told them that after collecting data, I write a thesis which enable many people to get the true picture about refugee children's education condition. My overt attitude was helpful to balance between me and the researched people. The strategy facilitated me in gaining trust among the refugee people and so they freely and fearlessly share their subjective views, knowledge, and perceptions. Since I was Bangladeshi by birth, my language skills (about 30 percent similarity with the Rohingya language) and my little familiarity with their cultural norms and practices facilitated me to grasp the nuances of speech expressions and cultural values.

CHAPTER 3

THE THEORITICAL BASIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter briefly introduces the theory and concepts that provide the main theoretical and conceptual bases for the thesis. It draws on the theoretical framework of "Intersectionality" which was first coined in 1989 by an American critical legal race scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989:141). The intersectionality approach highlights multiple level of discriminations for identifying major barriers that impede the Rohingya children's access to basic education. The thesis examines the concept of 'culture of mistrust' developed by anthropologists E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen (eds.), (1995:3) to see and investigate how culture of mistrust grows among refugees and how the mistrust shapes the relations between people in varying social settings. The '4As framework' developed by humanist scholar Katarina Tomasevski (2001:118) also examines to explore the obstacles of refugee children's basic education.

3.1 The Intersectionality Approach:

The concept of Intersectionality has been explained and discussed in several ways, such as theory, framework, and methodology etc. (Hankivsky, 2014:1). Intersectionality is not the outcome of single and distinct factors. These intersections, rather, are situated in various human experiences and socio-cultural settings, such as, gender, ethnicity/race, religion, class, age, citizenship, and migration status etc. (p.2). The interaction is also located in different power relations within state government, policies, economic, political, and religious institutions etc. (Hankivsky, 2014:3). Therefore Bešić et al., (2018:206) argued following the theory that people can be member of various disadvantaged groups concurrently and suffer certain form of oppression (p.2). Moreover, people are characterized simultaneously by multiple social groups which are interconnected or intertwined (Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016:4). Human lives can be subjected to both discrimination and privilege simultaneously which are largely based on geographic settings, and specific situations and contexts (Hankivsky, 2014:6).

Intersectionality theory can be applied in various stages, including micro, meso, and macro levels in society (Hankivsky, 2014:12). Micro-level intersectionality requires individual identity development and interpersonal relationships. Intersectionality in the field of

education context involves gender relations, migrant background, peer/student-teacher's relationships, interactions, and age factors etc. (Bešić, 2020:7). The meso and macro levels include mid-level policies of the state, and national and global-level organizations and policies respectively (Ibid). In case of children education, meso-level phenomena involve school policies and practices that respond to intersectional identities. And macro-level phenomena identify international policies regarding mass education and educational funding schemes that produce intersectional privilege or oppression for groups (Ibid).

In this thesis, I examine the issue of intersectional discrimination to identify the key challenges preventing basic education among refugee children. Scrutiny of multiple interrelated factors, e.g., ethnicity, nationality, economic class, age, gender, and other similar factors have revealed the complex ways in which refugee children are being denied access to education rights. The approach investigates cross-sectional situations wherein the refugee children have simultaneously been members of multiple disadvantaged groups, such as their identity, ethnicity, socio-economic conditions, age, etc., by extension creates a process of discrimination (Bešić et al. 2018:212). After examining the existing socio-economic and cultural dynamics of refugee families and communities, the internal spheres could be better understood, where the refugee children have experienced interrelated forms of discrimination for the provision of education. Special attention has been paid to observing how intersectional discrimination is experienced by Rohingya people and how various forms it, e.g., discrimination within policies and implementation (known as external spheres, as they are out of their control), processes of providing education to refugee children by state authorities, NGOs and INGOs which are known as structural intersectionality (Ravnbøl, 2009:21).

3.1.1 The Onion Model of Intersectional Theory:

The 'Onion model of intersectionality' developed by Bešić, (2020:6), shows the inner and outer elements of the intersectional approach. An individual is located at the very core of the onion, which has multiple identity indicators (p.6). As the model illustrates, these identity markers overlap with each other. This figure demonstrates that multiple identities of an individual facilitate both how the society view them, and how they are perceived themselves (p.7).

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Figure: 1 (The Intersection Onion)

The next level is called "Group Membership", which shows that individuals are disadvantaged by being members of one specific group (Bešić, 2020:6). These group identities generate and maintain the divergence between the different groups. "The Social Context" is in the third layer which illustrates that power, oppression, capital, social institution, and beliefs play a crucial role in defining social positions. The outer layer of the onion model is known as the "Unified System of Oppression", which is the major mechanism of discrimination. It represents the entire outside world with which an individual

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Figure: 1 (The Intersection Onion)

(Source: Reprinted from Bešić, 2020)

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experience these systems of oppression (p.7).

3.1.2 Weakness of the Theory:

One of the major shortcomings of the theory is the lack of consensus regarding its clear-cut definition (Davis, 1992:13). The concept remains relatively vague in terms of its clarity, about what it means, and how to use it, regardless of its application to as a theory, a construct, a heuristic device, or an analytic strategy (Davis, 1992:22). The second weakness of the approach is its nature of ambiguity and open-endedness (Davis, 1992:22), or elasticity (Phoenix, 2006). Crenshaw (1989:23), for instance, identifies an intersection as a crossroads, while Yuval-Davis (2011) labels it an "axis of difference" (p. 68). The third concern is about intersectionality's blind spots, meaning that it can uncover just as much as it encompasses (Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2011).

3.2 The Conceptual Framework: Culture of Mistrust:

The concept of 'mistrust culture' has been first addressed by anthropologists Daniel and Knudsen (1995:4). Later several social scientists have extended its applications in a range of refugee studies. To the concept, refugee and/or forcefully displaced people mistrust and is mistrusted (p.1). It is to be noted that trust refers to something more than akin or state conscious of awareness (p. 1). Daniel and Knudsen (1995:3) pointed out that the process of breaching trust may start from break down of faith between ethnic communities in a multiethnic nation. Hynes (2003) further added that mistrust among refugees is created by socially excluding policies towards refugees which might be counter-productive in the longer term (p.19). Voutira and Bond (2007:27) noted that in many societies, mistrust has cultural value which Muireann (2013:34) explained that refugees did not know people well for a long period where they live. It happened when refugees lacked enough belief among the people they lived with. Muecke (1995:112) stated that refugees mistrust authorities, thinking that authorities have legal power to direct them and they act in accordance with their interests.

In the cultural aspect, political experiences of refugees are profoundly cultural, as the refugees have to tackle the massive chaos with both individually and collectively (Muecke, 1995). This process is directed through symbol making and symbol sharing which is culturally constituted (p.2). Arguing trust is socio-culturally constructed, scholars like

Muecke, (1995) pointed out that the refugee's experience of massive trauma undermined their ability to trust, which considered as one of the impediments of their learning (McBrien, 2005). These cultural and psychological attitudes of the refugees made them afraid even while talking with their teachers and thus do not trust anyone in the school (ibid).

In the communication aspect to the mistrust concept, a refugee should be free to provide any information regarding formulating any policies for their socio-economic and educational development (Daniel and Knudsen, 1995:5). It should be also ensured that information provided will not be used against him/her. The refugee, however, think that they do not have control over how government institutions used the information they provided with. This led to the construction of mistrust on their counterparts who are responsible for the decisions made for refugee's development (Ibid).

3.3. The Conceptual Framework: The 4As Framework:

The study, moreover, investigates '4A's framework, developed by Katarina Tomasevski (2001:18), an UN Human Rights worker from Yugoslavia, to guide for fulfilling the Right to Education among refugee children. The '4A framework' breaks these components down into Accessibility, Availability, Acceptability and Adaptability. The framework aims to address a range of discriminatory barriers which starts from Accessibility and refers to the lack of the provision of necessary resources such as school infrastructure and teacher training- labelled as Availability. It includes relevancy of the education according to the population, and the demand for particular situation- termed as Acceptability. The last one is Adaptability- mentioning the responsiveness and future demand of education (p. 15). Thus, the 4A's break down into 4A; these are Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability, and Adaptability.

(1) Availability of Education: It refers to the necessity of adequate infrastructure and trained teachers required for meeting education rights (Tomasevski, 2001:19). Moreover, it sheds light on the aspects of sufficient freedom of refugee communities to establish their own school infrastructure and other necessary foundation for smoothly running education activities (Ibid).

(2) Accessibility: Accessibility to education addresses to the removal of legal, administrative and physical barriers to education (Tomasevski, 2001:27). It sheds light on

the need for diversity of education- meaning what is considered 'easy accesses' to an individual may present a potential challenge to another (Ibid). The Accessibility factor, further, indicates to the elimination of government and international policies which create hindrances for the provision of education. It includes the government policies, strategies, implementation processes and NGO activities which impeded school facilities.

(3) Acceptability: It highlights to appropriate, equitable, and culturally appropriate learning which follows to ethical, metaphysical, and religiously appropriate practices (Tomasevski, 2001:31). The aspects of language, guardian's choice, and curriculum should be culturally appropriate, relevant, and non-discriminatory (Ibid). The Accessibility factor sheds light on the culturally and religiously appropriate knowledge which fulfil the true demand of the refugee people- motivating their deliberate participation to the school. The authority should follow the expectation of refugee people and prepare education system which they value- leading to the process of sustainable development.

(4) Adaptability: Adaptability refers to the education system which develops with the changing needs of community people. It addresses education that fulfills specific needs (Tomasevski, 2001:33). It requires a flexible education system which shapes future demands with the changing need of a refugee society (Ibid). The factor addresses to the need for the curriculum and syllabus which fit with the changing situation and adjust with the future demands. The syllabus should be formulated in accordance with demand for the present and future society. In doing so, the refugee community will be inspired by the system and so attend to the school without any hesitation.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ROHINGYA PEOPLE

The chapter provides a brief history of the Rohingya community —their origin, geopolitical background, and the process of exclusion and persecution on their own land.

4.1 Presence of The Rohingya Community in Myanmar:

The Rakhine state, former Arakan in Myanmar, is the historic home of the Muslim Rohingya community (Yegar, 1972). They are descendants of Arab and Persian traders that included Indian and Bengali migrants (Ahmed, 2009; Ullah, 2011; Kipgen, 2013) who have been living in the former Arakan state, at present known as The Rakhine kingdom of Burma between the 9th and 15th centuries (Ullah, 2011). Before 1784, Arakan state was an independent kingdom (Uddin, 2015), however, Burma conquered the state in 1967.

A brief overview of the community's presence in the Arakan state, of Burma has been described.

Table: 1   An   Overview   of   The   Ethnic   Community's   Origin

Period (Year)	Events
During 9th Century	Arab merchants landed at an Arakan port and thus Arakanese first met with Arabs
Between 1430 and 1710	Arakan was governed by community's Muslim kings.
1784-1785	Arakan was conquered by the majority Buddhist authority.
1785	The Burmese King captured Arakan and murdered thousands of Arakan Muslim
1872	The British colonial regime conducted a partial human-census which excluded the Arakanese people.
1886	Arakan included as a state of the Burma under British India.
1939	The Buddhist Rakhine community and minority Arakanese Muslims lived together until 2nd World War.
1948	The state, Burma, gained its independence.
1962	Military authority took over its state power.
1978	Approximately 200,000 Rohingyas were pushed to the neighboring country, Bangladesh by the Burma junta authority.
1982	Burmese government disqualified the Rohingya community from their citizenship rights.
Between 1991 and 1992	Between 210,000-250,000 Burmese Rohingya people forcefully migrated to Bangladesh due to massive violence in Burma
October 2016 to 2018	The Burmese military Junta committed an ethnic cleansing which pushed 738,196 Rohingyas to Bangladesh.

(Sources: (Sultana, 2019, UNHCR, 2018; Uddin, 2015, Kipgen, 2013, Ullah, 2011, Ahmed, 2009; 2008; Pittaway, 2008; Richell, 2006)

4.2 British Colonial Role in Creating the Present Situation:

The British empire used the Arakan state as a buffer zone to conquer the upper side of Burma during the colonial period (Farzana, 2017:17). The minority population consisting of Karen, Kachin, and Rohingya and others were loyal to the British colonial regime. The British colonial rule constructed a social and political environment that promoted independence movements by the ethnic population. (Farzana, 2010:22). The colonial regime used the

ethnic people's aspirations for their own interests. The British regime inspired the nationalist movement among the ethnic groups. They, however, did not accept any responsibility afterward (Farzana, 2017:45). The ethnic minority in the Arakan province were exploited by the Buddhist king during this period. Therefore, the Arakanese people took part with British regime as they were promised that Arakan would be independent and they would be free from the Burmese rule (Sultana, 2019:45) if they supported the colonial empire (Pittaway, 2008). The Colonial regime, however, later revoked that promise. The British regime, moreover, separated the Rohingya ethnic group artificially based on their historic policy which is widely known as 'divide and rule'. The territorial map was redrawn in line with the expectation of the Burmese authority (Sultana, 2019:55). The British regime excluded the Rohingya people from the Burmese national recording (Yusuf, 2014) which created further exploitation towards the ethnic community (Farzana, 2010:27).

4.3 Burmese[4] Exclusionary Policy Through Constitutional Amendment:

The Burmese government represents themselves as "Us" and when referring to the Rohingya refugees, make use of "Them" to emphasize the distinction. Therefore, the "Us" reflects a homogenous population who share a common history, culture, language, religion, etc. Since the Rohingya community does not possess these characteristics, the state labels them as "Others" (Farzana, 2017:114). 'Myanmar citizenship act in 1982' addressed three categories that need to be met to be considered eligible to be a citizen. These include full citizenship, associate citizenship, and naturalized citizenship (Farzana, 2017:67; Chakma & Ahmed, 2017). In line with the Citizenship Law, the ethnic community could still be eligible to be considered citizens as they belong under the section of 'citizenship and naturalized citizenship' (Farzana, 2017:34). The racist and discriminatory 'Citizenship Act of 1982' was formulated to exclude the ethnic people by ignoring the legal issue (Farzana, 2017:33). In the following years, the Burmese Junta government made propaganda saying that Myanmar is not a place for the followers of Islam religion. The Burmese government's ethnic cleansing against the Rohingya community has been further fuelled by religious dissimilarities. Evidence showed that the Burmese government disqualified the Rohingyas community from being the citizen of the country due to their religion (Farzana, 2017:32). In the process of massive discrimination over the years, the Rohingya community have become the "Others,"

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[4] Burma is now known as Myanmar. Now it is a bit unclear what nationals are referred to. I use the term 'Burmese' to refer citizens of Myanmar in my thesis.

in their country of origin; as a result, they are not considered as Burmese citizens (Wade, 2017).

4.4 Exclusionary Treatment of Burmese Government:

The British Colonial regime formulated Burmese Citizenship Act based on people's ethnicities and religions (Yusuf, 2014:2) which undermined people's identity based upon their birthplace. Studies pinpointed that this discriminatory law posed a worst difference between the minor ethnic groups, like Rohingyas and the Buddhists majority. In 1982, the Citizenship Act did not record Rohingyas among the 135 legally acknowledged ethnic communities. They also mentioned them as illegal migrants (Farzana, 2017). Previously, the British colonial empire did not include the Rohingyas people as the citizen of the country. Later, the Burmese government continued to consider the ethnic community as illegal migratory community. After the independence of the country in 1948, the Burmese Junta did not recognize their citizenship rights (Pittaway, 2008). As a result, the Rohingya community's sufferings continued even after gaining the independence of the country (Ullah, 2011). When the military junta captured the power of the country in 1962, the serious violence and massive discrimination in every sector occurred against the Rohingyas community (Farzana, 2017).

The Burmese military government recorded all of its citizens just before the national census in 1977 and it excluded the Rohingyas community in their recording (Pittaway, 2008). Studies noted that the Burmese exclusionary policies accelerated massacre, massive violence, widespread killings, and gangraped; which led to about 200,000 people to become stateless by being forcefully displaced and pushed to the, Bangladesh (Ullah, 2011, Loescher & Milner, 2008). It is documented that in 1978, the first wave of the Rohingya community fled to the neighbouring country, Bangladesh. In the following years, four additional major influxes that took place in 1991, 2012, 2016, and 2017 (Ejaj, 2017). Refworld (2001) revealed that due to the continuation of the massive persecution upon the Rohingya community in the Rakhine state, about 250,000 Rohingyas people forcefully migrated to Bangladesh between 1991 and 1992. The geographical proximity between the two countries made fleeing to the neighbouring country so easy and accessible (Farzana, 2017).

4.5 The Sudden Influx in 2017:

On 20th August 2017, the Burmese military burnt the Rohingya community's houses and villages with a series of brutal crackdowns in Northern Rakhine state, Myanmar (UNHCR, 2018) As a result, nearly 410,000 Rohingyas fled to the neighbouring country, Bangladesh including 240,000 children (UNICEF, 2018). The mass killing and serious torture of the community people can rightly be termed as an ethnic cleansing (Sultana, 2019) Evidence pinpointed that burning of homes, religious buildings, businesses centre, and agricultural products, and systematic killing of men and children all precisely bear the hallmarks of a genocide (Human Rights Watch, 2019, p.).

Given the horrible situation in the Rakhine state, the Government of Bangladesh allowed the Rohingya people to cross the border of the country and gave them shelter in Cox'sbazar district of Bangladesh. HRW (2019) noted that many of the community people found themselves in the makeshift camps to build temporary bamboo shelters by cutting hillsides. On October 2017, another wave of recorded 510,000 ethnic people fled to Bangladesh (UNICEF, 2018). These recorded number of Rohingya people found a place across a number of sites in the unregistered Kutupalong makeshift camp of Cox'sbazar district (UNICEF, 2018). Therefore, altogether, about a million Rohingya people have spread in the unregistered makeshift camp which included Balukhali settlement and Kutupalong camp, making it one of the Mega Camp in the world (HRW, 2019, 12)

Map 1: Finding a Safe Haven in Bangladesh

Finding safe haven in Bangladesh

Hundreds of thousands of Rohingya have left their ethnic homeland of Rakhine State for the district of Cox's Bazar in Chittagong, Bangladesh.

India

Bangladesh

Dhaka

China

Myanmar

Chittagong

Cox's Bazar

Laos

Sittwe

Naypyidaw

Rakhine State

Thailand

Bay of Bengal

@AJLabs ALJAZEERA

(Source: Al Jazeera, 2017)

Map 2: Refugee Sites by Population and Location Type (ISCG, 2018a)

REFUGEE SITES BY POPULATION AND LOCATION TYPE

Cox's Bazar

UPAJILA UKHIA

Kutupalong RC 18,000

Kutupalong Expansion Site 611,930

Jamtoli/ Camp 15 49,450

Camp 14/ Hakimpara 31,920

Camp 16/ Bagghona/ Potibonia 21,790

Chakmarkul/ Camp 21 12,270

MYANMAR

Shamlapur/ Camp 23 10,965

Camp 22/ Unchiprang 22,210

UPAJILA TEKNAF

BAY OF BENGAL

Camp 25/ Alikhali 9,500

Nayapara RC 26,930

Camp 24/ Leda 33,540

Camp 26/ Nayapara 41,030

Camp 27/ Jadimura 14,270

Cox's Bazar District

N

LEGEND

Refugee Camps — International Boundary

Other Sites — Upajila Boundary

(Source: Situation Report: Rohingya Refugee Crisis Cox's Bazar | 25 March 2018)

Map: 3 Rohingya Refugee Population After the Massive Relocation.
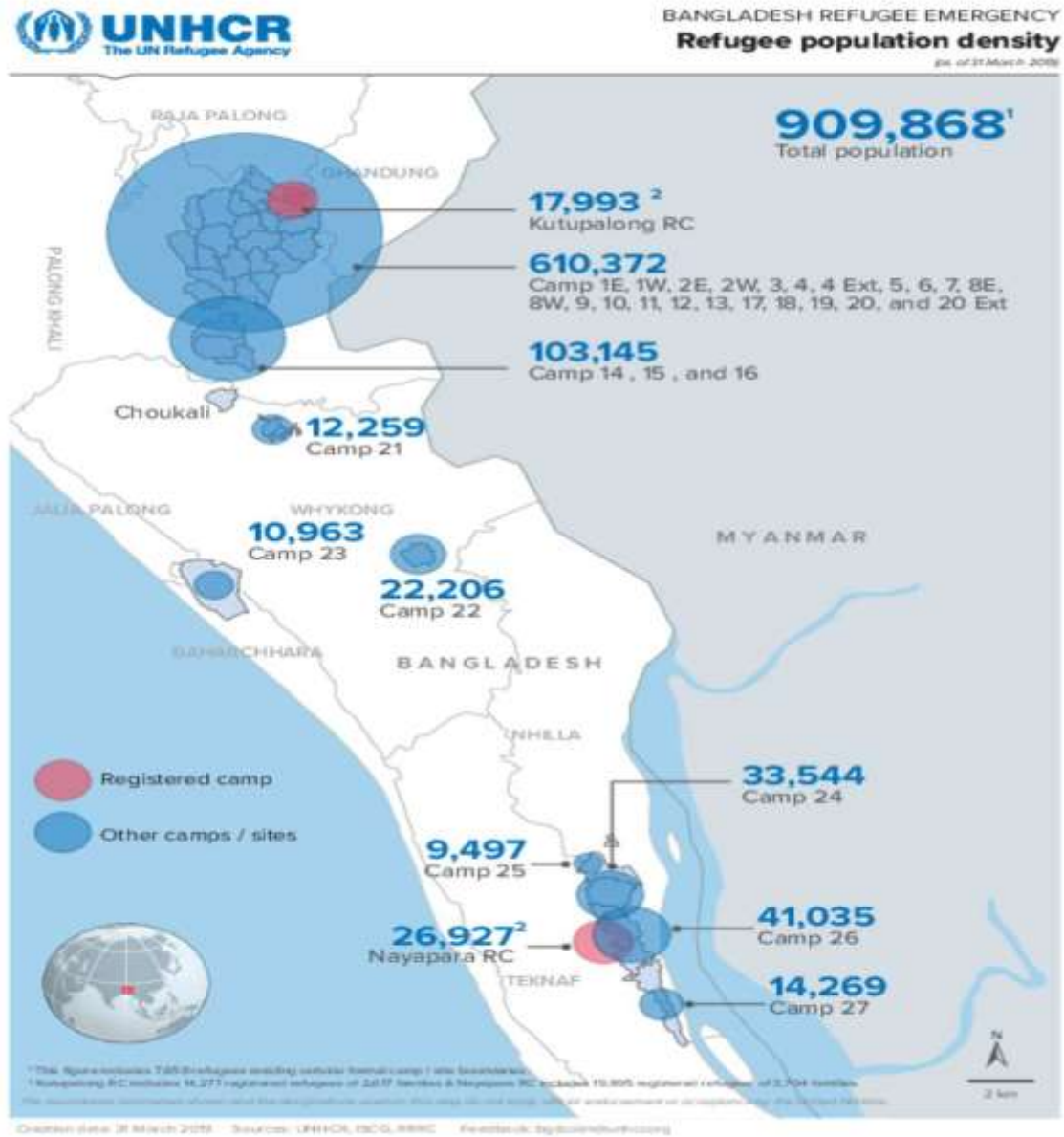
(Sources: Human Rights Watch, 2019)

4.6 Extreme Congestion in a Highly Rural Environment and camp Infrastructure:

The Kutupalong makeshift camp in Cox'sbazar has been nearly impossible to live, since about a million of people settled in a extremely congested area (HRW, 2019). The community people settled in the south zone of the district which is mainly rural area consisting of hills and forest land (Ibid). The poor conditions further worsened as they could not find adequate space for shelters (HRW, 2019: 13). The makeshift camp has been a high population density. Studies argued that each person is advised to live in 45 squares meters during temporary emergencies (HRW, 2019). The reality is that per person is living in 8 square meters (HRW, 2019: 14). As a result, some of the standard measures required to ensure a minimum hygiene level in emergencies are not met (HRW, 2019: 15). It has been observed that some narrow roads have been constructed in several camps. The soil used for the process, however, is not the best, and can become highly slippery once it rains. This makes it difficult to distribute various services among the refugee people (UNHCR, 2019). HRW, (2019: 12) noted that the high risk of landslides may cause huge deforestation in the camps leading to environmental disasters. Thus, it is estimated that about 215,000 refugees are at risk of facing such natural hazards (HRW, 2019: 16). In the cases of medical services in the camp, the camps seriously lacked sufficient health care centre to provide them with minimum health services.

4.7 Governance Mechanisms in the Camps and Income Opportunities:

The Government of Bangladesh have given the mandate to the Rohingya Refugee Repatriation Commissioner RRRC[5] to look after the following issues; (i) give permission for ensuring camp security; (ii) provide permission for site planning and development; (iii) give permission for infrastructure development of refugees education etc. (Ullah, 2011). The RRRC has appointed CIC (Camp in Charge) for oversee everyday activities in the camp.

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[5] RRRC refers to Rohingya Refugee Repatriation Commissioner, who looks after every issues in the camps. The RRRC is recruited by the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief, Government of Bangladesh. The RRRC is equal level to Joint Secretary of the Government of Bangladesh. The CIC refers to Camp in Charge who is recruited by the RRRC. The CIC is the Bangladesh Government designated personnel to administrate the camps. Additionally, Bangladesh Army looks after the security and safety issues in the camps (ACAPS, 2017b). Moreover, the camp settlements are divided into blocks and sub-blocks which is governed by Majhis (Rohingya local leaders). The Majhi is selected by the CIC. They are responsible to disseminate necessary information among the refugees and to assign for solving minor domestic problems (ACAPS, 2017b).

The camp authority, CIC restricted the refugees' mobility within the campsite. It is because they are not entitled as refugee, rather they are identified as forcefully migrated Burmese people (ACAPS, 2017b). These entitlement and movement restriction limit them to the earning sources and affect them access to income-generating activities. Several research pinpointed that the Majhi and the CIC have to pay to get this access to income sources (Ullah, 2011). This confirms their little access to move outside the camp. Recent studies noted that the undocumented refugees are paid lower than the local people, which is about half wages. (Akhter & Kusakabe, 2014).

CHAPTER 5

INTERRELATED FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION TO THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION

This chapter primarily builds on my interviews and observations among Rohingya refugees. This chapter focuses on the interrelated forms of discrimination to the provision of education among Rohingya refugee children. First of all, I briefly describe the process of my entrance the refugee camp. Secondly, I argue how micro-level factors produce interrelated forms of discrimination which prevent to receive the basic education. Secondly, I examine how interrelated factors, like ethnic background, religious identity, and age create hindrances for the refugee children education. Thirdly, the chapter demonstrates the impact of how socio-economic conditions of the community people deprives the children of their education. It, moreover, argues how the existing social norms and values restricts and forbids Rohingya girls from the primary level education. The argument reveals how the refugee gender identity is connected with their deprivation of basic education. Overall, it argues that the challenges of basic education among the refugee children are connected with the discrimination on interrelated grounds which Crenshaw (1989:12) referred to as intersectional discrimination. The 'culture of mistrust concept' developed by Daniel and Knudsen (1995:4) is also embedded in the deprivation of their education right.

Gaining Entry to the Refugee Camp:

Before entering the refugee camp, I was aware that access to the camps in Bangladesh requires government permission. The area is located near the Bangladesh-Myanmar border and is considered a smuggling zone. Minor political conflict exists between the two countries, and as a result, it is considered one of the most sensitive areas. I came to know about the situation from my hosting NGO, BRAC[6] (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee), and therefore, sought an appointment for a meeting with the Rohingya Refugee Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC) in the Cox's Bazar district to gain access to the refugee camp.

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[6] BRAC is one of the largest NGOs in Bangladesh which established in 1972 with a view to help the disadvantaged and marginalized people. Currently this institution is working in a range sectors, such as, women empowerment, education development, building health consciousness and human rights and justice etc in Bangladesh.

In the first meeting, I explained in detail the objectives of my research and discussed my work plan with the Joint Secretary, one of the Coordinators of RRRC. I ensured the RRRC that the main motive of my research was to fulfill academic purposes only, with no political motives. Moreover, I assured that the study does not involve any agenda that may be applied against the sovereignty of the country.

One of the NGO officials from BRAC accompanied me during the visit to the RRRC office at the district where I received written permission from for my research visit to the camps. I started my research journey for Kutupalong unregistered camp at *Ukhia*[7] Upazila of Cox's Bazar district on the second day and following the procedure, I entered the unregistered Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh.

On February 21st, 2020, I entered Camp 4 at Kutupalong unregistered refugee camp for the first time. The path from the main road to the camp road was very narrow and shaky. I took a three-wheeled battery-powered rickshaw and entered one of the homesteads in the camp. The walls of the house were made of plastic bags, and the roof of grass. The rooms were small, holding a medium size bed and one small shelf for utensils. Upon return to the hotel, I pondered over whether the space did justice to the title of a 'house' while being so feeble, small, and weak. However, when I visited schools funded by Save the Children, UNHCR, UNICEF, I experienced comparatively better places with colorful walls and roofs. I started getting familiar with the housing structure of the camp and took interviews with the selected informants at their chosen places. I observed that children aged 4 to 10 play on plain muddy lands without any toys to accompany them, adult girls aged about 13 to 15 participate in household chores and help their mothers to look after younger siblings, and adult boys work in tea stalls during school hours. My field notes recorded my realizations, impressions, concerns, and questions on how I observed my informants, as well as documented verbal and non-verbal events, activities, behaviors, social structures, and the overall physical setting.

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[7] Ukhia is one of the subdistricts of Cox'sbazar district which is located in the southern part of Bangladesh. It is hosting about a million a of people, making one of the largest cities in terms of population in the country.

5.1 Being Part of a Discriminated Group in Myanmar:

> We were out of routine education and school in the Rakhine state. Most of Buddhist schoolteachers did not consider us as citizens of the state. The Burmese government did everything to deprive us from the formal education (Rahima, 14-year old girl, own translation).

Rahima's sense of oppression of basic education addressed the discriminatory education conditions of the community people encountered in the Rakhine state. My informants (children) told that they experienced unjust treatment of having their education rights in many ways in their country of origin before they fled to Bangladesh. The Burmese government created barriers for the children's education by giving low access to education opportunities, restricting their movement, and conducting unfair treatment in the classroom. Rohingya children and guardians interviewed for this study, moreover, described the events of unfairness and bullying at schools in the Rakhine State of Myanmar. In this connection, one of my informants said, '*In our area, only 10 Muslim students got the chance to enroll into a formal school. We felt low and hence dropped out of school*.' (14-year old girl) Apart from this, the Muslim Rohingya people were not allowed to be recruited as teachers in the middle school, only primary schools had teachers. One guardian stated '*In the middle schools, there were no Muslim Rohingyas teachers, only primary schools had teachers. They were not given the opportunity.*' (45-year old, Male). That is why, children lost their motivation to attend schools in the Rakhine state.

To the 'culture of mistrust', Muecke (1995:22) argued that mistrust is socio-culturally constructed. In the Rakhine state, mistrust grew among the ethnic people upon the Burmese authority, as they experienced terrible sufferings and encountered mass killing by the Buddhist government. The Rohingya children did not find any friends/peers of their community in the school which undermined their confidence to attend to class. Studies argued that social and mental mindsets of the children made them afraid upon teachers and staffs and so they mistrusted everyone in the school (McBrien, 2005). As a result, this 'culture of mistrust' deteriorated their ability to trust upon the school system and authority, which deemed one of the major challenges to go to school in their country of origin.

The majority Buddhists do not recognize the Rohingyas as Burmese nationality, but as Bangladeshi instead. They force the ethnic community to leave Myanmar and to reside in

the neighbouring country, Bangladesh. Evidence pinpoint that one of the reasons for the discriminatory treatment is the Rohingyas ethnic identity and religion background (Sultana, 2019). To the intersectional theory, Crenshaw (1989) argued that the ethnic background and religious identity have a crucial role to play to prevent refugee's education. Since the Rohingya community makes up a minor group and belongs to the religion of Islam (other than Buddhism, the majority religion), it obstructs them from receiving basic education. Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2019), moreover, notes that ethnic identity and religious background paly vital role to demoralize the Rohingya children's motivation to attend schools in the Rakhine state.

Intersectional theory allows to understand the simultaneous and multiple influences of norms, values, and expectations of diverse cultural groups that contribute to the formation of complex individual identity (*cf.* Narva´ez, et. al., 2009). Afraz states that "The children give less attention at school as the Burmese teachers do not expect them to finish their education. The authority wants them to leave school at an early stage" (45-year old Male). In so doing, the Burmese teachers do not take care of the Rohingya children. The children are even beaten ruthlessly at times. Teachers underestimate the community's children in front of other Burmese students. One informant told that "The teachers humiliate us in front of others in the classroom stating that we do not look like the majority Buddhist people. They mention that our religion is different, and it does not match of their own belief" (12-year old girl). The Burmese teachers and school authorities took every step to stop the Rohingya children from attending to school. In this regard, Rebeka said "I was scared to go to school as the Burmese used to beat me. The Mog, 'The Burmese Buddhist' children snatched my books and copies away from me. If I fought with the Mog kids, they attacked me at school with sticks and other objects. I can still remember that one of my cousins did not lend his pen to the Mog kids at school and thus had a fight with them. They snatched his bag away." (12-year old girl).

The study demonstrated that their ethnic identity coupled with religious background forced the ethnic children to encounter harassment and to treat them negatively at schools in the Rakhine state. Followed by the intersectional theory, Refugee children, particularly from Afghanistan and Syria, in schools of Austria encountered verbal, social and physical bullying at schools in Austria (Bešić et al., 2020). The children prevented to attend school due to their refuge identity, lack of language proficiency and religious affiliation.

5.2 Relationship Between Students and Teachers at School in Myanmar and Bangladesh:

> If we took our cycles with us to the school, they threw it away and beat us. We got rebuked again if we complained. They consider us inferior to them and attack racially; like we are ugly looking and not beautiful like them (Musa, 14-year old boy, own translation).

Like Musa, most of the students reported that they did not go to school regularly in Myanmar, as they did not enjoy the time in the school, and they felt inferior while there. Providing a sense of safety, security, self-esteemed, and an adjustment to cultural expectations, school environments should permit refugee children to maintain a link with their local culture (McBrien (2005). It is, however, unfortunate that schooling did not offer them with such opportunities in the Rakhine state, and they did not motivate the community children's engagement with education. The Rohingya students did not offer sufficient opportunities to continue their studies at the formal school in the Rakhine state. The Rohingyas children were kept separated in the class by the Buddhist teachers. As a result, they lost the opportunity to freely talk with the Burmese students which could facilitate them to know better each other and thus could have created trust among them. To the concept of 'breach of trust', ethnic minority people lose their faith upon the majority people and systems, as they suffer serious discrimination in their lives at different places, such as, school, economic sectors, etc (Voutira and Bond, 2007). Raghllaigh (2013) showed that refugee's mistrust towards the education system arise due to the experiences of betrayal and torture they have while living in the country of origin. Teachers at schools treated the community children unfairly and humiliated in the Rakhine state, which impeded them to attend to school. Abdur said that "The Burmese children used to beat us, and the Mog (Burmese) teacher does not care about it. One day I complained about these occurrences to our class teacher who belongs to the Mog ethnicity. He replied that 'You are not from our ethnic group' and added that 'you should not be here" (13-year old boy).

Following the intersectional theory, refugee ethnic identity plays a vital role in making judgments of their learning process by the majority people (Bešić, 2020). It is important to note that teachers and peers have vital role to grow up a sense of belongingness and school connectedness (Bešić, 2020). Evidence shows that teachers promote a positive cross-cultural

socialization among students in schools and help them to improve social skills required for making interactions with peers (Ibid). Peer interactions, however, have also some negative effects, such as bullying which cause several negative outcomes, such as mental distress and sense of demotivation (Inchley et. al., 2016). My informants (children) stated that they felt neglected by their classmates, and teachers by either being denied a chance to play or being insulted in the classroom when they failed to speak Burmese language correctly. Given the 'culture of mistrust' concept, Daniel, and Knudsen, (1995) argued that ethnic minority people mistrust to the majority group, as they do not belong to their ethnic group. Due to massive persecution and mass killing in the Rakhine state, the conflicting relations occurred among different ethnic groups particularly between Rohingyas minority and majority Buddhists people.

The ethnic tensions and breaching of trust created mistrusts among the Rohingyas people. Raghallaigh (2013) showed that in Ireland, differences in religion and language created regular communication between ethnic groups which led to mistrust among the community people. Hynes (2003) showed that Burmese refugees in the UK mistrusted to the British authorities as the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) excluded them from mainstream society. The national legislation limited their refugee rights based on deterrence and other discriminatory measure which created the feeling of mistrust towards them (Ibid). Culture of trust, however, produced the opposite impact among refugee people. Tuangratananon et. al; (2019) demonstrated that Burmese refugee chose Migrant Learning School (MLC) instead of Thai Public school in Thailand. The refugee children trusted to the school system of MLC, as they served a more culturally sensitive and opportunities to higher education which inspired refugee children to attend regularly to the school.

Given the intersectionality approach, Glock & Böhmer (2018) showed that local teachers perceived negative attitudes towards ethnic minority students. They showed that the Turkish ethnic people are generally associated with negative stereotypes and attitudes in Germany. This attitude resulted their lower academic success, poor grades, and lower judgments, from teachers. Koirala & Eshghavi, (2017), moreover, showed Iranian refugees in the USA experienced varying types of discrimination, as the refugee people practiced different religion, and belonged to minor ethnic and language groups.

The Experience in Bangladesh: In Bangladesh, teachers usually behave well with the students in the refugee camp. However, sometimes they beat refugee children with sticks and

other objects, which made them ashamed of attending classes regularly. Studies pinpointed that this is not, however, the case in the mainland of the country. One of my informants said that, "One day, I could not answer a question correctly, which was posed by my teacher from the host community. He beat me with a bamboo stick. The teacher did so either because I could not provide correct answers or because of being absent. I also found that classmates teased me and laughed at me when I could not give correct answers, and I did not like that. This is one reason why I do not go to school." (12-year old girl). The children are eager to learn in the class of every LCs. It is, however, documented that teachers are not as much supportive as children want in providing the lessons. They frequently apply slightly complicated foreign (English) words that are not age appropriate. This is a reason as to why children do not understand properly and lose their attention at some point. Rahima told me that "They gave us difficult words and beat us when we could not understand or pronounce them because we found it difficult, mainly the English words. Another reason was that Burmese words were difficult for us as well*" (12-year old girl).

It is evident that Rohingya refugee children experienced ill-treatment by teachers both in the Rakhine state and in the refugee camp of Bangladesh. Both physical and verbal bullying were more widespread in the LCs which equally affected to the students. To my informants, the main reason for this is their refugee status. To McBrien (2005), ethnic discrimination lead to higher likelihood of dropping out of school, and it negatively affects refugee students' mental health. Shriberg (2010) points out that many refugee students treated in a derogatory manner, because, (i) they are as having disciplinary problems who performed below par, (ii) they are irregular in the classroom, and show high-risk behaviors. Dryden-Peterson, (2015) noted that refugee children in North America, Europe, and Australia who fled from different parts of the world, experienced frequent discrimination by their peers and teachers. All informants stated that their ethnic identity in the refugee camp prohibited them from having basic education in many ways. As one informant said, "The Bengali teachers used to taunt us when we went to school by calling us 'Burmayaa' (Burmese). One of my teachers from the host community called me 'son of a bitch' ('*shalar puut*). I understood that they would taunt us using local slangs with Bengali words, so that I could not understand them properly. I did not take lightly and thus I decided not to go to school. Teachers also hit me when I smile a little." (12-year old boy).

The above statement fits with the findings of Leela (2016) who highlighted that the native teachers observed refugee children as illiterate, unfriendly, and rural, and described their culture as a backward one. Teachers negative judgements towards the refugee students lost their motivation. Teachers negative attitudes towards refugee students turned to discrimination for them in schools. In this regard, one informant stated that, *"One day, our class teacher, Mr. X, beat me with wooden objects on my hands and body. The reason was missing the previous class. I explained the cause of my absence, which was that I had to accompany my mother to collect a Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) cylinder. But he did not pay heed to my explanations, and after the mistreatment, I stopped going to school"* (12-year old girl).

Following Crenshaw (1989), the intersectional approach explains how refugee identity of students experience varying levels of exclusion in schools. Waitoller and Kozleski, (2013) argue that the bigoted treatment happens when schools fail to address the intersection of their identities. Additionally, intersectionality shows that refugee children experience varying forms of discrimination both at individual and institutional levels (Hancock 2007).

5.3 Identity Crisis and Discrimination of Education in Myanmar and Bangladesh:

> We belong nowhere! The Buddhist people called us temporary guests and/or Bengalis, while people of Bangladesh titled us as forcefully migrated Rohingyas or Rohingya refugees, said Khalid (56-year old man, own translation).

Khalid's sense of identity (lack of citizenship) crisis showcases the miserable livelihood conditions of being stateless in the modern world. All of the informants express the similar thoughts regarding the crisis of citizenship identity crisis they faced. To the concept of mistrust, Zolberg (1983) explained that minority people are mistrusted in both countries, such as, origin and hosting states. They suffered severe persecution, threat, and discrimination by their own government due to belonging at different religion and culture. The same negligence experiences they faced in the hosting country as they are not entitled as refugee status. Thus, the community people mistrust on both governments, NGOs, and other officials. This is, indeed, a complicated situation for the refugee people. "Since our ethnicity was not officially recognized by the Burmese government, very few of us enabled

to get enrolled in formal schools in the Rakhine state. We tried to get the legal citizenship documents for several times in the recent past before fleeing to Bangladesh. However, due to lack of cooperation of the officials, we could not manage to get them" stated by Afraz (45-year old Male). This demonstrated that the lack of citizenship document of the Rohingya children by the Burmese government impeded them to get into the middle school in the Rakhine state. One focus group (Male guardian) pointed out that before fleeing to Bangladesh, they went to Sittwe, the capital of Rakhine state for collecting their children's birth certificate which was required to gain the citizenship rights. They were humiliated by ill-treatment of the Burmese officials. In the words of one participant "I was forced to get out of the office. Afterwards, a military took me an army camp where he compelled me to work as day labor for a couple of weeks. I came back to home without the document. Our children grew up without the birth certificate and so could not enroll in the formal school in the Rakhine state"

In Myanmar, the Rohingya people have been denied access to education for many years. Several studies showed that the Myanmar government never considered the community people as their own citizens (Farzana 2017). The community children enrollment to school was limited, as the community people did not have the legal documents of their citizenship. Since Myanmar government gave them limited access to formal education, they participated informal education in a limited scale (Farzana, 2017). Even if someone managed to get enrolled secretly, they ultimately got caught due to the language barrier, as Burmese is not their mother language which is the medium of the state's education in the Rakhine state (Ibid).

In this connection, Abdul said that "A few years ago, my elder brothers achieved higher school certificate from a formal school in the Rakhine state. Finding no job after passing mid-level education, he started working with my father in the agricultural field, my forefather's traditional work. Thus, my father decided not to send me to any school in the state" (13-year old Male). There is little opportunity available for them to improve their fate unless they can manage legal documents and to overcome the language barrier.

In Bangladesh, recent studies showed that limited number of children take up the basic education in informal school. These children do not get the opportunities for continuation of that education anymore. UNESCO (2018) stated that all children should have the right to access to mid-level formal education in the hosting country during emergencies. Evidence

pinpointed that due to political issue, the Bangladesh government have not yet provided the Rohingya community with a refugee status (HRW, 2019). They are identified forcefully displaced Myanmar citizens. Zakir stated, "The Bangladesh government has not still approved their identity as the refugee status. Till now there are no signs of them wanting to change the status. If their identity is not fixed, the Rohingya children will not get the opportunity to access formal education. (40-year old Male, Save the Children). Studies showed that this is logical that if a hosting country does not approve them 'refugee status', the forcefully displaced people cannot get the formal education facilities (HRW, 2019). In this regard, Rafiqul, a CIC (Camp in Charge) said that "Since we have not approved the community with their refugee status, the Bangladesh government is not legally obligated to give them formal education and has neither agreed to provide them with education under the formal curriculum. (51-year old Male). The Burmese government did not provide the right to follow the Burmese curriculum to the NGOs/INGOs in the refugee camp. Regarding the Myanmar government position on Rohingya education in the camp, Mukdha said, "We haven't yet received approval from the Myanmar government to follow their formal curriculum as well. Such a situation is unique as there are no such resemblances with education in emergencies for refugees/displaced people in any part of the world. That is why we cannot give the Rohingya children a proper education". (45-year old female, the country Chief, UNICEF).

Keeping intersectionality in mind, refugees have multiple identities which intersect each other (Bešić, 2020) in many directions. The study observed that both countries, Myanmar and Bangladesh identified the Rohingya community as different ethnic background, varying religious and language groups. These deprived them to achieve legal documents which could help them to entitle either refugee status or citizenship rights to stay in both countries. These multiple discriminatory factors deprived the community children to have the basic education.

5.4 Concern Over Social Norms and Safety Issues:

"In the Rakhine state, we remained at home. We have no safety in the school. The school authority did not allow us to wear hijab in the classroom. We could not go to school

wearing salwar kameez[8]/hijab. There is fear of being shot or raped." (Akiba, 14-year old female, own translation).

Several informants revealed their frustration over having experienced discrimination due to wearing a particular dress, called hijab which specifically expressed by Akiba. In this context, the headscarf is viewed as a larger signifier of the minority religion by the majority Buddhist people. To the intersectional approach, refugee children may possess varied intersecting cultural identities, which may prevent them to have basic rights (Ecklund, 2012). The visible difference was applied to exclude Rohingya students. Birman et. al., (2001) noted that certain physical characteristics, such as headscarves, daily prayer, of Iranian refugee female students in schools in the USA forced them to drop out of school.

In the Rakhine state, adulthood girls were not able to go to school by wearing headscarves, as the school authority forbidden such religious dress code in the school. The Burmese authority viewed that the headscarf does not conform to the dress code with Buddhist culture. The study argued the Burmese authority do not respect the ethnic community's culture, such as, religion, dress code etc. The concept of culture of mistrust explained that breaking down of trust start when members of different ethnic groups, language or religious groups are to be mistrusted in a multiethnic nation (Daniel and Knudsen, 1995). Fink (2001), moreover, showed that mistrust frequently occurred when majority people do not provide equal respect to the minority culture, religion, language etc.

The Rohingya children were only able to freely participate in religious education, called *Maktab*, run by community members. In this regard, Rasul stated that, "Girls wore scarves around their heads as soon as they became adults, but it was forbidden for girls to go to school in Myanmar with scarves on, and hence female students lost their interest in school. They could only attend to the religious institutions" (46-year old Male, Technical Officer, Dhaka Ahsania Mission). Studies showed that adulthood girls lost their belief upon the education system as they are not allowed to attend class by wearing headscarves. Beni told that "we put on headscarves once we reach at puberty and this culture is the essential part of our social norms. We cannot simply putt off the scarves for abiding by the rules imposed by the Buddhist school authority. That is why, we better stopped going to school" (34-year old female, guardian). The Rohingya girls recognized the headscarves as the tradition of their

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[8] A dress which covered whole body. This dress is particularly visible in the Middle east countries.

society. The adulthood girls frightened to attend school by putting on scarves on their head, as they have very fear of being evicted, raped and killed by the majority of the ethnic group- the Buddhist people. As a consequence, the adulthood girls did not go to school in the Rakhine state. The adult girls continued to practice the same culture even after fleeing to the neighboring country, Bangladesh. It is because they found it difficult to change. This is one of the reasons which tell us why the adult girls drop out of school, mostly after the age of 12.)

5.5 Keeping Up Modesty Among Teenage Girls

Several studies pointed out that the Purdah[9] (hijab) has a religious significance (Ruby, 2006), which is considered as a symbol of modesty, dignity, and respect that prevents or protects the adult girls and women from being seen. (Siraj, 2011). The adult girls in the Rakhine state experienced severe discrimination due to wearing a hijab. Most of the students expressed biased treatment they encountered at school which often led to their exclusion. My female informant (guardian) told me that "I had experienced the terrible discriminatory treatment in the school long time before when I studied at primary school in the Rakhine state. I was forced to get out of the classroom as I wore headscarf in the class. After the incidence, I stopped to go to school" (34-year old female guardian). While I was talking, I observed that she has three adult girls. I asked whether she sent her daughters to LCs or not. She replied that "No, I do not send my daughter to the Learning Center between the ages of 12 to 14. If I do so, the villagers will see me in a negative light, people outside the society will make fun, everyone will give judgmental glares. I have not found any other decent school in the refugee camp. Just like me, girls and their guardians are not interested either" (34-year old female, guardian). The Focus Group discussion with female guardians reports that they feel ashamed going outside of home. They scare if something appears with negative incidence as of going outside. The kind of occurrences often happened in the Rakhine state as such military evicted their adolescent girls. That is why, they want their adolescent girls stay at home, work within household- with taking care of younger siblings and assisting us with household chores.

The study showed that the adult girls are confined within household work which their society expect too. It is evident that the social norms are embedded from the very fear of being killed

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[9] Purdah also means sex segregation, practiced keeping women and girls in seclusion.

and raped while living in the Rakhine state. So, there is a strong connection between the functional type of wearing a headscarf and confining them within household work after reaching at puberty stage. The existing social norms thus play a vital role to prevent them from basic education. The social norm is, to some extent, different in the mainland of Bangladesh as the country do not impose any restriction upon wearing the headscarf in schools.

According to Crenshaw (1989), gender identity played vital role in providing basic education among adulthood refugee girls. Beni pointed out that "*What is the significance of adult girls studying when they will be slaving away in the kitchen at the end of the day?*" (34-year old Female, Guardian). Several informants stated that parents and girls do not want to break the existing social values as this has been practiced since time immemorial. In this regard, Latif, a Rohingya teacher stated that "*Rohingya parents often prohibit their daughters from attending school once the girls begin menstruating*" (19-year old Male). The girls normally do not go to school after they reach puberty. After reaching puberty, the girls strictly maintain *purdah*, meaning their parents/guardians put '*Gamsha[10]*' on their daughters' heads and cover their faces. Rohingya guardians often prohibit their daughters from attending Learning Center classes once their daughters begin menstruating. In this regard, Rebeka told that, "I no longer want to go to school since I am an adult now. There is no system in our society for girls to go out, so I do not go out, not even for grocery shopping or for fetching water. I stay at home and learn the Arabic language [the holy language] at home from our elder brothers. My parents do not want me going out as well, since as it violates the rules of 'Purdah'. I feel ashamed talking to people outside which I also practiced in Burma. My parents do not like to talk to outsiders either. I don't know the reason behind this; however, these are the norms that have been practiced from the very beginning, that was followed by the elderly as well" (14-year old girl).

Followed by the intersectional theory, discrimination against adulthood girl and women can be found in varying degree and multiple forms due to different structures of inequality (Morley, 2010 p. 537). The theory articulates the process of addressing ethnic identity, gender inequalities and other forms of disparities which structure the relative positions of women in the society (Shields, 2008). The refugee adolescence girls are marginalized, and more subordinate in the social construction of inequalities (Collins, 2000). Anthias (2008)

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[10] A symbol of purdah/headscarf which is made of some soft cloth.

showed that power is connected with the social and material realities of girl's/women's positions in the society. Intersectionality explained how ethnicity, and gender are intertwined and reciprocally constitutive (Davis, 2008). In line with this concept, my informants (guardians) have reported that the Rohingya people do not like to send their girls to LC's because they fear the adult girls will be entrapped in relationships with the opposite sex or any unexpected "sinful" situations. Akiba said that *"My mother will only send me to an LC if there is a separate arrangement for girls, or else not, since it would be sinning. When I reach the age of 13, I have to put a gamsha [a symbol of purdah/headscarf] on my head, meaning I can no longer walk on the road alone without my guardians. The existing Rohingya social norms do not allow me to do so. The community values say that ………….* the people will consider my outings and going to school negatively and my parents will be charged by the village leader, called majhi [village leader] negatively. It will further affect attracting a potential husband in the community" (14-year old girl).

The study showed that adult girls do not attend LCs to follow to social norms, and to maintain religious rules; and also, out of fear due to lack of security- for example, teasing, evictions, and potential fear to rape. When asked, Afraz said that *"An adult girl was coming back from Learning Center when a boy forcefully took her away somewhere. After 4-5 days, they returned home and had gotten married"* (45-year old Male guardia). This is why, the parents do not feel secure to send their adult girls to LCs having such occurrences in their minds. "Even my 13year-old sister does not go to the Learning Center. I told her that I will teach her separately so that no one sees her, and I do not allow her to go out as I am teaching her already at home" (45-year old Male, guardian). But the adult girls cannot study at home whose guardians, either father or brothers are not educated. Sitting together (boys and girls) in the same classroom is not viewed positively as my informants argued that this will violate *Purdah* and so religious rules.

One of my guardians (guardian) interviewed, echoed the previous argument and stated that *"Look, our present life has already been ruined by the discriminatory treatment by the Burmese government. Now, we do not want to destroy our lives in the hereafter and thus we try to strictly follow religious norms. In sending our adult daughters to the LC, purdah cannot be maintained. Everyone sits together in the classroom- irrespective of their gender and age which I do not like."* (56-year old Male guardian) Several informants (guardian*)* stated that they would like to send their girls to schools where they can attend to the girls'

school. All the guardians urged to establish a separate LC where adult girls will learn without the fair of violating *Purdha* and Islamic norms, keeping their demeanor modest. In this connection Beni said *"I can think differently to send my adult girls to the LCs, if separate systems or separate schools are made for girls. This mechanism will reduce our mistrust on the system and ensure in our girl's safety and security"* (34-year old Female guardian). Following the concept of 'mistrust culture', Muireann (2003) showed that mistrust among refugees' people emerge when they do not know outside people well enough and, so they do not have belief on the system; coeducation system in this case. Muecke (1995) noted that the experiences of extreme sufferings deteriorated their ability to trust- which is deemed one of the major hindrances of their schooling. Additionally, Mitchell (1990) argued that mistrust grew among the refugees when they faced in fear of exclusion over a long period and witnessed a massive killing, violent torture and widespread rape.

5.6 Financial Constraints and Inappropriate Age-Level Education:

"We are six members in my parent's family. I am the elder son of the family. My father works at a grocery shop in the refugee camp. But he has not felt good since he has been seriously injured due to torture by the Burmese army. Therefore, my father is frequently asking me to work in the shop in his place. That's why, after finding no other alternatives, I have to stop studying and start working at the place.", stated by Musa (14-year old boy, own translation).

Several guardians stated that most of the adult boys do not attend to LCs, instead they work somewhere in the refugee camp. The adult boys are kept out because they need to help their families earn money and get a livelihood. As a result, it can be said that acquiring financial stability plays a bigger part as a barrier in access to primary education. Studies showed that a greater portion of the ethnic community is not financially endowed in the Rakhine state (Farzana, 2017). While the ethnic community's education rate was already low in their country of origin, the situation worsened in the refugee camp. To achieve that security, children, particularly adult boys are opting for work inside or outside the camps rather than attending LCs. Therefore, adult boys do not go to LCs either, but for different reasons than that of girls. Female guardians in the focus group discussion echo with present the financial crisis of their family -with many children (adult boys) stop going to class at points in order to assist their father's income generating activities. The more the boys reach adolescence,

the demand of their respective family increase and they start working with their guardians instead attending to LCs.

Bešić (2020) argued that access to cultural and economic resources differs largely for different groups in a society. The access to social capital, such as, education rights, become tough for refugee students as they belong to multiple identities, such as, financial insolvency, ethnic identity, age etc. These hindrances make them disadvantaged and impede their educational success (Walgenbach, 2017).

Moreover, adult boys aged between 13 and 14, do not attend LC's as they neither find new knowledges nor interests in the classes. The boys considered the LCs as a place of wasting time because some of them had already experienced higher level education (level 3 or 4) in the Rakhine state before fleeing to Bangladesh. Therefore, elder boys suspect that studying in the LCs would lose their valuable time. In this connection, Shefali (26-year old female, Burmese teacher) pointed out that "One day, I was teaching basic knowledge about numerical orders in mathematics class. I found some students did not pay their concentration fully on the lecture and created a nuisance in the classroom. I asked them about it, and they replied that they already learned these lessons while studying in the Rakhine state". Rohingya Teachers in the LC's identified the fact that the students aged between 12 and 14 should go middle schools. They (Rohingya teachers) said that it will be impractical to group boys at teens with the younger students. One guardian stated that *"Guardians would like to send their children to private tutorials, But the problem is that everybody cannot take them to private tutorials as they require money"* (56-year old Male guardian).

Keeping in mind intersectional theory, participation of elder children's in school is negatively perceived by their teachers and societies. Banerjee and Verma (2008) found significant relationship between children's age level and their cognitive ability. Their study revealed that adult refugee students face more barriers in learning process than the younger ones (Ibid). Bajwa et al., (2018) pointed out that adult students got bigger responsibilities than the younger ones, which made more challenges for them to pursue education The family responsibilities coupled with their income generating activities forced the adult boys involved them with survivalist jobs- thus deprived of basic education. In the case of adult girls, household activities and collection of relief work often obstruct them to participate in the LCs. In this connection Rahima told that *"It is true that my mother used to collect the*

relief. However, sometimes I missed classes. I had to go with my mother to collect the relief when she could not manage to collect them by herself" (12-year old girl).

In sum, this chapter has demonstrated that in the experiences of my informants there were several reasons for not attending school in the camp. First of all, many Rohingyas had bad experiences from schools in Myanmar. Second, older girls and boys were expected to behave in certain cultural appropriated ways, either by being modest or by helping the family economy.

CHAPTER 6

STRUCTURAL INTERSECTIONALITY: POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF STATE INSTITUTIONS AND NGO/INGOS

This chapter will address the structural intersectionality which takes place within meso and macro levels when various discriminatory policies and strategies in society interrelate and cause a multifaceted discrimination. It refers to structures instituted by laws and policies, and practices of state institutions, NGO/INGOs, and other relevant authorities. The structural intersectionality helps us understand and assess the impact of the intersecting identities on opportunities and access to rights, and to see how institutional laws, policies, programs, and services impact on one aspect of people's lives which are inextricably linked to others. This section identifies the major barriers which are manifolds, such as, language and curriculum mess, teachers who are both undereducated and untrained, and political unwillingness in both Bangladesh and Myanmar which prevent the Rohingya children from the basic rights.

6.1 Concern Over Language and Intersectional Deprivation:

"I would like to work in mobile repairing and accessories stores located near Ukhia Bazar where I have spoken with Bengali people. I understand the language a little bit, but I cannot talk proficiently with them. Thus, I feel uncomfortable while speaking to them. (Abdul,13-year old boy, own translation).

Like Abdul, many students want to learn Bengali language, the host country language for many reasons. There is, however, a restriction from the government of Bangladesh in providing any instruction for informal education in the classroom. The GoB argues that the government policy is to provide informal education. They also point out that their national language is Burmese, and so they do not need to learn Bengali. Most of the children and guardian responded that they would like to learn both Burmese and Bengali languages in the LCs. They argue that Burmese language will help them get a range of working opportunities while they repatriate to their homeland. The host country language, on the other hand, is crucial for them to talk with Bangladeshi people while they communicate with them for getting relief staff and laborious jobs. In this regard, one informant stated that "I need to collect relief from the relief distribution center where Bengali people are mainly involved with the job. I urge them to speak in the host country's language so that I can easily

understand them" (12-year old girl). One focus group discussion with Rohingya teachers reported that the Rohingya children want to learn the host country language, Bengali in their class. In the word of one participant "children feel comfortable to speak in Bengali language rather than English-they feel inertia speaking in English and Burmese languages as they did not get enough opportunity to attend schools in the Rakhine state".

Following the intersectional theory, language barriers, and lack of understanding of the system, impede refugee children from having a basic education in the hosting country. Refugee children are identified as out of place in the destination country and so, they are taught the 'language of instruction' of their country of origin in order to enable them reintegrating into the school system when they will return to their country of birthplace (Crisp et al. 2001: 25). Dryden-Peterson (2016) pointed out that the language of instruction is one of the main challenges for refugees. They revealed that due to language barriers in the hosting country, Egypt, Kenyan refugee children could not attend school run by NGOs (Ibid).

Several studies demonstrated that most of the Rohingya people feared to go to formal school in the Rakhine state which left them almost uneducated or undereducated (Farzana, 2017). As a result, they could not read and write proficiently in their national language, the Burmese language. The refugee children are being taught the Burmese language in the classrooms which they find difficulties in understanding and learning. In this connection, one informant stated that "*Most of our people are illiterate or undereducated, so they cannot speak the Burmese language correctly. They speak in the Rohingya language, which is not a written language.*" (45-year old Male Guardian). Teachers apply either Burmese or English language in the classroom which they do not get properly. One informant said that "When I asked one of our Bengali teachers about the problems, she replied that all teachers have been strongly instructed by the officials to use either Burmese or English languages in the classroom. So, using Bengali language in the class is strictly prohibited." (12-year old boy). This is one of the important reasons which impede the children to drop out of the LC. In this connection, one informant said that, "*It is very much unfortunate that my mother language, the Rohingya language, is not used in the class while teachers give their lecture. I do not understand the lessons properly*". (12-year old girl).

Some Rohingya teachers urged that the Bengali language, the hosting country language, should be the medium of instruction as well as medium of teaching in the class. Many informants stressed the need for all the three languages for effective teaching in the class.

Following the intersectional theory, the language used by teachers carry a tremendous amount of symbolic power. In line with the understanding of Bourdieu (1991), a particular language is applied in the class in order to gain certain goals by the relevant institutions. Therefore, it can be said that production of language and its application is quite planned and deliberate (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). The difficulties of understanding the certain language obstructs to attain educational success for some people.

6.2 Lack of Effective Teaching and Teaching Materials:

"The books maintain no serial, everything looks disorganized. Complete books are not taught from the first to the last page, they do not even want to see if we understand or not." (Akiba,14-year old girl, own translation).

Like Akiba, most of the informants stated that students lacked effective learning materials in the class which impeded them to have the basic education. Children complained that only basic instructions are taught in the class which frustrated their thirst of education. In refugee contexts, the role of teachers in vital in providing quality lecture even if classroom space, learning materials, other furniture is often limited (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Many guardians told that they observed little progress of their children in terms of their skills over learning, and knowledge. Upon asking Rahima about the learning process in the LCs, she replied that *"On the very first day of my schooling in 2019, I observed that students are just playing with some toys. While playing, one Bengali teacher came and taught us about basic hygienic matters; like the urgency of washing hands properly before eating, cleaning our feet and faces before sleeping, etc. which I already knew. Nothing seemed new to me."* (12-year old girl). The focus group with female guardians echoed the previous statements- one participant stated that "Whenever I asked my daughter about new lesson in class, every time she replied A-B-C-D etc. That's it!!" Afterwards, I lost inspiration to send my daughter to the LCs. I would rather advise my girl to stay at home and attend to Maktab for religious lesson"

The '4As conceptual framework' addressed that required number of trained teachers are required for creating an effective learning environment in the class (Tomasevski, 2001).

Evidence showed that the trained teachers could provide the refugee children with appropriate education (Richardson, et. al., 2018), which they could value and so it would increase their interest in attending in the class. HRW (2019) identified that many students who have passed only class eight, have become teachers in different LCs in the refugee camp. The study demonstrates that this is one of the barriers to providing quality education among the children.

Evidence pinpointed that the Rohingya community are not allowed to build their own schools. The CiC (Camp in Charge) prohibits NGOS and INGOs to set up permanent infrastructures for the refugee children in the camp (HRW, 2019). One CIC (Camp in Charge) told that *"Basically the refugees are here temporarily and so permanent school infrastructures for the children are not essential to build"* (47-year old Male). The intersectionality theory, moreover, argues that trained teachers and adequate infrastructure are vital for ensuring quality education. Teachers' training, their freedom and quality of services are associated with providing basic education (Ibid). Mann (2009) pointed out that undocumented Congolese refugee deprived to have quality education as they could not attend to the public school. They tried to get enrolled into the schools where tuition fees needed to be paid. These schools, however, did not provide them with essential learning materials, like, basic books, chalk, and other learning resources. The refugee children expressed their disappointment over the teaching quality in the school as they said that teachers did not have appropriate subject-wise knowledge. That's why they were not getting education in the school.

All the informants said that teachers possess little knowledge and skills regarding (a) managing children while delivering lectures and (b) controlling them when they make noise. The study revealed that teachers lacked sufficient knowledge on the subjects they teach. One guardian stated that *"The community lack enough qualified teachers. We can only send our children to school if the humanitarian organizations manage qualified teachers for the LCs.* (56-year old Male Guardian).

Additionally, better quality education also demands to the availability to the required number of LCs. The conceptual framework, 4As explains how the availability of schools play a crucial role in ensuring access to basic education among the children. The present research identified that the refugee camp lacks necessary LCs for the huge number of children and some of them are located too far. Beni said that *"Every block needs more LCs for ensuring*

full participation of the refugee children. But we do not have that number. The reason I feel negative about far distances is because of the fear of getting lost or beaten up" (34-year female, Guardian).

6.3 Teaching Quality, Teachers Training, Time Allocation and Provision of Education:

"The Rohingya community lack adequate qualified people who could have better served the children with the basic rights" (Afraz, 45-year old Male Guardian, own translation).

Afraz's sense of lacking qualified teachers in the LCs reflects many of the guardians' views in the refugee camp. Most of the informants (guardian) stated that, Teachers do not supervise the children properly and misbehave with them. One informant said that "*I have seen them cursing the children 'gadhar baccha gadha, hawan er baccha hawan' [son of an ass and son of a bitch]* (45-year old Male Guardian). Most of the informants reported that the teaching materials are prepared to meet the standard quality of the refugee children but teaching quality does not match the quality of the content. *"Our teachers are less effective as the content of the Syllabus is written in academic English"* stated Beni (34-year old Female Guardian). There is significant mistrust amongst the refugee community and the teachers. Here the refugee students and guardians equally lack trust in the quality of teaching provided because they cannot freely communicate with the teachers. Hence, the teaching capacity of the teachers are also remained unknown and uninformed. According to Daniel and Knudsen, (1995) every piece of information related to and created for the refugee community should be available to them. It allows them to build trust on the system, and the lack of trust is what partly explains why guardians are reluctant to send their children to the LCs.

Evidence revealed that teachers' training is overlooked in emergency settings (Richardson et al., 2018). It is argued that teachers' professional development facilitates them with emergency planning and awareness building required for tackling with traumatic situations (Peterson, 2011). Sufficient funding and other resources are required for the provision of the training program (HRW, 2019). Mukdha said that *"Funding are inadequate during crisis period when other urgent priorities take precedence over teachers training, such as water, food, and shelter."* (UNICEF, 45-year old female). When asking an NGO official about the quality of the teacher, Polash replied that *"Teachers lack necessary teaching trainings*

before joining. They face various difficulties during conducting class; firstly, most of the teachers are not able to read or write Burmese, and third, So, teachers cannot teach them with their mother language.as the Rohingya language does not have alphabets or written scripts; hence, reading materials are not created in the Rohingya language either" (48-year old Male)

Payment structure for teachers is one the major barriers to have qualified teachers for the refuges (Culbertson and Constant, 2015). Recent studies pinpointed that refugee teachers are paid less compare to teachers at national schools (HRW, 2019), which create one of the biggest challenges to recruit qualified teachers (Richardson et. al., 2018). In this regard, Basek said *"I am kind of happ'y with the salary that I'm being given. But I think salaries are relatively low in the education sector. If they plan a little more, we could do a little better and it would attract us as we have traveled a long-distance"* (25-year old Male, teacher).

Richardson et. al., (2018) showed that the more the teachers' training, the better it is for refugee children. HRW (2019) argued that training once a month is important for teacher's quality development. to provide training once a month (HRW, 2019). It is also evident that teachers do not get enough time for training after conducting 8 hours job in a day. When Rahel, an NGO worker, is asked about this, he replied that *"Training 3 subjects in one session in a month is not enough. If separate teachers could be trained for separate subjects, then they could teach students better and educate them properly. One trainer is not enough for 35-40 teachers. Plus, it is not possible to know about all subjects in one day"* (44-year old Male). Most of the teachers reported that it is not possible to give them both theoretical and practical knowledge within such a short span of time. In line with the argument, one Asad informant said that "*Pedagogy training is offered in just two days. It is not possible to get good teachers with two days of pedagogy training"* stated by a teacher, (24-year old Male). This sentiment was echoed by one focus group discussion with teachers. They noted that many of the teachers did not complete secondary education while studying in the Rakhine state. They were in the middle of the class before they forcefully left their country of origin. One of the participants pointed out that " We need more pedagogical training. Given our education level is poor, how could we offer the children with better quality of education".

To the 4As framework, the lack of adequate training opportunities, qualified teachers are major obstacles to the provision of children's education (Tomasevski, (2001). Additionally, the limited number of teachers is another hindrance in their learning process. Usually two teachers are assigned to teach in a LC. It becomes difficult to maintain for the teachers to effectively monitor students in the classroom along with the others scheduled works, such as, distributing biscuits, maintaining students' recording files, attendance, etc. In this regard, Nurul stated that "*In case Burmese teachers are absent due to illnesses, family issues, or are away at camp, teaching has to go on with just one person. In such cases the Bengali teachers cannot teach Burmese*" (25-year old Male, teacher). Teachers also have to visit the sheds if students do not attend a class, which in turn kills their time. *"In that case, the class cannot be maintained that day*", as stated by a Teacher, Motia (19-year old female).

Studies have shown that the teaching times allocated are not adequate for quality education. Covering 4 subjects under 90 minutes diminishes the quality of the materials taught and does not provide the scope to check on students individually on their improvement. Proper care cannot be provided where teachers can check and ensure that each student can write in a satisfactory manner.

Motia said that *"It is tough to teach students effectively if they come from different cognitive levels. Let's say, 8 students have a high cognitive level while 20 possess medium levels. How could I possibly teach them at the same pace within the given timeframe?"* (19-year old female, teacher). Disregarding the difference in cognitive levels, some teachers whose quality of work does not match a certain benchmark cannot complete teaching in the given time frame as it is. Nurul has said that *"It is difficult to teach properly in 90 minutes. If one student wants to speak, I cannot pay proper attention to another."* (25- year old Male, teacher). I asked one of the RRRCs about the short timeframe, to which he replied that "*The camps close at 5pm sharp due to security reasons of the people living here. This explains why NGO workers, teachers or anyone from the outside does not stay back after the allocated time."* (51-year old Male).

6.4 Concern over Curriculum and the Provision of Education:

"The refugees are supposed to follow either Myanmar's or Bangladesh's curriculum. But unfortunately, none of the governments have approved the use

of their respective curriculums." (Mujahidul, UNHCR, 47-year old Male, Own translation)

Like Mujahidul, most of the international NGOs activists described that policy level barriers regarding curriculum preparation are the main hindrances providing basic education among the children. Neither Bangladeshi curriculum nor formal education is provided among the refugee children in the Learning Centers (Mahmud and Mehelin, 2018). An UNHCR official stated that "The curriculum creation became difficult due to falling between the two factors. Firstly, the exact Burmese curriculum cannot be taught as that would be illegal. During creating the curriculum, UNICEF has been informed by the Myanmar government to ensure that they do not follow the Burmese curriculum, because they are not citizens of Myanmar; and secondly, Bengali, the host country language cannot be taught as well because they are not citizens of Bangladesh either.(47-year old Male).

Neither the Bangladesh government nor the Myanmar authority is supportive of a new curriculum. Golam said "The Bangladesh Government has clearly stated that the Rohingyas cannot follow their curriculum under any circumstances. We did not receive any positive response from the Myanmar government either regarding the implementation of their curriculum" (56-year old Male, Joint Secretary). The Bangladesh government has argued that if the refugee community follows the host country's curriculum, there is a possibility that they would become assimilated with the Bengali citizens. Followed by the intersectional theory, children experience discrimination in various ways from the State and the society they live in (Bešić, 2020). This can be referred to external discrimination, as it occurs out of their control. The lack of formal curriculum and without proper content, teachers cannot provide effective teaching among the students (Mahmud and Mehelin, 2018).

The study pinpointed that the curriculum is not well-structured. The present curriculum does not match much with the Burmese curriculum (HRW, 2019). Children could get better education if the curriculum followed Burmese education system. Musa told that," In the camp, I had been out of school, though I studied in class 3 in the Rakhine state. Because I was just playing with toys in the learning center, which I considered as wasting of time" (14-year old boy). To the concept of refugees' mistrust, refugees ponder that the relevant authorities work and formulate policies to serve their own interest, and they have the legal rights to do so (Muecke, 1995). Refugee people think that studying the current curriculum

will bring little changes of their fate. Thus, refugee people lose their trust on the government or institutional decisions regarding their education opportunities. Afraz questioned about the acceptability of the present curriculum system and said "can anyone explain me what is the application of this learning? How will we utilize the education when we will repatriate to our homeland? I am concerned because this education will neither be valued, nor be helpful to find any work opportunities" *(45-year old Male)*. According to the 4A concept, the current refugee education does not fulfil the changing needs of the community. The frustration that exists over the quality of the education will eventually result in lower admission rates to the LCs. It is also connected to the 'Concept of Mistrust', which explains why the refugees do not put their trust in the curriculum system since their expectations are not met. What this community needs is proper Burmese education, that is why the Government of Bangladesh has been trying to repatriate them to their country of origin.

The informal education for refugee children has multiple policies, objectives, and clientess (Hoppers, 2006). Rose (2011) argued that there are debates among refugee education experts about what type of education should be provided among the refugee children in the context of informal education. Several experts suggest that refugee children should follow their home base curriculum in a sense that they will repatriate soon. However, other scholars like Bešić (2020) argues that syllabus of host country education should be directed among the children.

Followed by the intersectionality approach, the creation of macro level policies is concerned with power and epistemologies (theories of knowledge) (Dhamoon, 2011). The theory stated that the marginalized people remained excluded in the production of knowledge which could disrupt the forces of power (Dhamoon, 2011). The study observed that the refugee people cannot take part of the creation of syllabus/curriculum as they do not include in the centrality of the power (part of knowledge production). The effective curriculum essentially requires the coordination among *majhi* (village leaders), guardians, children (Bešić, et. al., (2018). However, it did not happen either way. As a result, most of the guardians lost their trust to send their children to school. In this connection Beni said that, "No meetings were held to set up the curriculum for our children, which is very much unfortunate. It would have been better if we all could have given our opinions regarding this. We could have discussed what would be good measures for our children's education." *(Beni, 34-year old female guardian)*.

As a result, the current syllabus does not fulfill their educational thirst. Khalid urged to include religious studies in the curriculum and told that "Our *children would be more eager to learn if religious studies could be included in the syllabus. Because it becomes too hectic for them to attend classes in 2/3 places in a single day and they become tired- which leads to reduced attendance in class*. (Guardian, 56-year old Male). The focus group discussion with male guardian pinpointed that they were not invited while preparing curriculum for their children. Most of the participants stated that they wanted to the inclusion of religious education in the texts, however it did not happen. One participant of the discussion voiced out that "how did the policy makers know about our expectation/demand regarding content/syllabus? I would say, this is good for nothing…... just passing time in an ineffective way"

Looking at the communication perspective of refugee mistrust concept, the refugee community do not trust systems when they are not given adequate information on the policies formulated for their betterment (Daniel and Knudsen, 1995). The curriculums were created without any input from the Rohingya community, which led them to not trust the syllabus and the system.

Muecke (1995), also argued that mistrust grows upon the systems when refugees find that they have little to no influence over the policies created for them by relevant institutions.

Following the 4A's approach, learning materials should be appropriate, non-discriminatory, and culturally relevant (Tomasevski, (2001). The materials should follow the norms of existing religious, moral and philosophical principles. The study has documented that since the curriculum does not reflect or fulfill their expectations, they do not feel an urgency in attending the LCs.

6.5 Concern over Certification of Education:

"The children are not provided any formal certificate after completing their level 3, which they could use for continuing their middle-level study here and/or in the Rakhine state, depending on their return to their home country." (Khalid, 56-year old Male, Guardian, own translation)

Khalid's dissatisfaction over non issuing certificates after completion of the basic level of

education, echo most of the informants' views. Scholars like Crisp et al. (2001), Ring and West, (2015a) argue that a certificate enhances the students' self-esteem, and motivation for a better life in the future. The study revealed that Learning Centers do not provide certificates to the refugee children which could play crucial role in getting admission to schools upon return to their home country.

Several studies note that refugees experience a dilemma while getting admitted to a school for basic education (Hamer, 2010). This is because if the refugees continue their education adopting their home country's curriculum, there is a greater chance they will face difficulties when they transit from school to work. On the other hand, receiving education based on the host country's curriculum may bring trouble since it will not be validated and certified in their country of origin (Buckland 2006; Sesnan 1999, 2009). The refugees need documents of certification, accreditation, and recognition of their current education which they can present to the authority of their home country- should they return to their country of origin (Ibid).

After seeking Tanvir, one of the policymakers of GoB, about the certification policy of the Rohingya children and he responded with "The policy of the Government of Bangladesh is to allow the children for "informal" education, meaning that LCs in the camps cannot provide them with a formal curriculum and are not certified" (RRRC, 51-year old Male). That is why, children lost their interest to get into the LCs, and they put their concentration somewhere else.

6.6 International Funding Relevant Logistic Support and the Provision of Education

> *"It would have been good if every Learning Centre had a cleaner and a night guard and it is important for the safety of the schools as well*. (Khalid, 56-year old Male guardian, own translation).

Like Khalid, refugee people feel the need for necessary equipment keeping secured and clean in all the LCs. Several informants told that sometimes school's' rooms are cut and stolen away, net/gate are stolen, tube-well's bucket and carpets are stolen. Global funds are crucial to smoothly keep going the functions of informal education of LCs. For

ensuring long-lasting development of the refugee children, availability of international funds should be disbursed in time. However, Zakir told that "Funds are another challenge when it comes to complete one education cycle, a minimum of 5 years' fund is needed. But you would be surprised to know that projects of only 6 months are introduced; what education can you provide in such a short duration? Because the cause of concern is what you will do next. There is no form of sustainability. There are no forms to complete a cycle" *(Save the Children, 40-year old Male).*

The children in the LCs are not served school dress which play vital role in finding them out in case of missing or child trafficking. One of my respondents said that, "There was a mike announcement- A boy is missing. If anyone happens to find him, kindly bring him to the boatman (majhi) of the Block. Now if he was wearing a school uniform, he could have been easily identified and saved.(Guardian, 45-year old male). It is evident that several international organizations are funding for the refugee education program, but the funding is for only limited time (HRW, 2019). Farzana (2017) study also presented that UNHCR warned that it would withdraw the education and other social supports if the fund remained limited. Thus, budget constraints among the humanitarian organizations is another impediment for providing basic services among the refugee people.

Funds are particularly available for other issues, like, shelter, food and health. When it comes to the refugee education, the donor countries and agencies do show much interest. In this connection, one of my informants told that "in the emergencies, the first priority goes to accommodation and food as they are live savers. Education is vital for the improving present and future condition. However, the international donor organizations plan to fulfill the super basic needs on priority basis" (51-year old Male). Studies argued that shelter and food are crucial for the refugees mental and physical health, however, without basic education children's future will be fallen in trapped and the generation will be lost (Bešić, 2020). It is important to provide the children with inclusive basic education. Otherwise their statelessness identity will never be ended. It is argued that only education can improve their socio-economic and cultural identity.

6.7 Lack of Coordination among the Authorities: Delays in Approval and Implementation:

Three ministries the Government of Bangladesh's are responsible for taking care of the provision of refugees' education. The ministries are Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief, and the Refugee, Relief and Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC), among other bodies (HRW, 2019). These government authorities, however, lack sufficient coordination to approve the guidelines for informal education and other necessary measures for their basic rights.

Evidence shows that delays in approval and implementation of the refugee education syllabus become a major barrier in providing quality education among the refugee children. HRW (2019) found that UNICEF designed the informal education program for the first two cycles, level 1 and 2 within a short period of time. The GoB officials, however, took a complete year to approve these two levels, which delayed the learning process by a lot.

In this connection Mukta said that, "The Government of Bangladesh was not interested to include educational facilities for the children in their humanitarian operations in the refugee camps after the 2017 influx. The government officials have argued that the education facilities could stimulate further influx of Rohingya community. However, the informal education support was provided by the GoB after a long time" (UNICEF, 45-year old Female).

The political turmoil condition is also partly responsible for not having refugee children's education. The Burmese government consider the ethnic community as the stateless people in their country and always try to push them in the neighboring country, Bangladesh. In this connection, one RRRC explained that "The Burmese government ponder that if the Rohingya children are to be educated, they will voice about their fundamental rights and will potentially convince internationally powerful countries to establish their citizenship rights and other human rights in their country of origin" (51-year old Male). Therefore, the Burmese government opted not to provide the education rights among the community people. On the other hand, the international community fails to put pressure on the Burmese government to provide the education rights among the children. The United Nations Organizations attempted to convince the BIG FIVE countries (Security members) of the UNO to voice the pressing issues, however, could not be successful. Given the important

issue, one informant argued that " Bangladesh is a small country and cannot play convincing role about the burning issue due to have some practical weaknesses of the country. If some strong neighboring countries like Russia, India and China, among others could bring the issue on the global table, the basic rights could be better served among the people" (48-year old Male). This seems to be an important factors why powerful international countries play significant role to provide the basic rights among the refugee children.

Keeping in mind the 4A's approach, accessibility in an education refers to the removal of all barriers including physical, legal, or administrative obstacles in the path of educating them properly. The accessibility also indicates to the elimination of all non-discriminatory policies. The communication gap between relevant authorities, i.e., government and NGOs/INGOs, in making and confirmation of curriculum pose a big challenge for the refugee children. One of my interviewees stated that "the important issue is that there were a few education opportunities for the Rohingya children when they fled to Bangladesh. Now, we have given them limited access (up to level 3) to informal education. From the government side, the priority is to repatriate them back to their country as soon as possible. (51-year old Male)"

According to the intersectional aspect, the government authorities, as part of macro level, maintain and practice power through formulating policies and strategies for the refugee children's education (Hankivsky, 2014). Evidence documented that power functions at structural and discursive levels to exclude marginalized/refugee community's knowledge and experiences (Hankivsky, 2014). The relevant ministries of the Bangladesh government have some political obstacles which explains why they show their reluctancy to communicate each other effectively for their education rights. One informant stated that "Bangladesh government have already facing enormous challenges to provide the education rights among its citizens. Given the challenging situation, the authority fell incapable to provide the refugee rights. In addition, we the government authority think that if they are given the education rights, they can stay in the country forever which they find one of the biggest challenges. As a result, the government authorities willingly delay in cooperating each other for their education rights" (46-year old Female). Keeping in mind the Intersectionality-based policy which focuses on domination over the marginalized people in creating power and maintaining inequities and disparities upon the people concerned (Dhamoon, 2011).

Recent studies highlighted that the government of Bangladesh has made it clear that the displaced refugee Rohingya will not be able to remain in the country. In doing so, the authority is deliberately preventing them from providing the basic rights. One INGO informant stated that "the Bangladesh authorities are preventing the UN humanitarian organizations and local NGOs, funded by international donors, from providing the community children with any formal, and accredited education" (45- year old Male). HRW (2019:15) argued that the Bangladesh authority is to some extent ignoring its international obligations by denying the community children a formal, accredited, and secondary-school-level education. Human Rights Watch (2019:40) stated that Bangladesh endorsed the Global Compact on Refugees at the United Nations General Assembly on December 18, 2018. It demonstrated that Bangladesh will welcome to all international parties for the implementation of development activities if refugee people in the emergencies, however, due the political issues, the country prohibits on the integration of the refugee children in the formal and certified education. In this connection, one of my informants told me that "We are ready to provide them limited level of education. This is of course humanitarian responsibility. But where is the United National Organizations and other powerful countries, as it is their responsibility to put considerable efforts for repatriating the community people to the country of their origin. Since these things are not taking place for the last couple of years, the future of Rohingya community is bleaking day by day and their generations are involving with criminal activities. Therefore, I urge the international community to come up with strong voice and regulation which can put much pressure on the Burmese government. In doing so, the refugee people will get proper education in our country and in the Rakhine state upon their successful and dignified repatriation in the country of their origin, Myanmar.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS:

The study demonstrated that Rohingya children have had negative experiences in school both in Myanmar and in the refugee camp in Bangladesh. A few children have gotten the opportunity to enroll in formal schools in the Rakhine state, but it was in general a negative experience for them. The informants had reported that the students had been humiliated, bullied, and physically tortured by their Burmese peers. The teachers, moreover, treated them in similar inferior manners. The school children were scared of the Burmese army in fear of getting captured on their way to school. These factors obstructed them from having basic rights.

The Burmese government deprived the Rohingyas of legal documents which would matter for their citizenship rights. This led them to suffer from an identity crisis as they were not recognized as Burmese citizens and were not entitled 'refugee rights' in Bangladesh either, the latter of which comes off as a political factor. The Bangladesh government identified them as forcefully displaced people, which restricted their education rights in the hosting country. The children dropped out of LCs because they experienced ill-treatment by teachers and peers equally and were physically assaulted if they were to make mistakes.

The Rohingya girls were prohibited to put on headscarves in classrooms in Myanmar which is why guardians did not want to send their adult girls to school as it would violate their religious values and social norms. Adolescent girls were forcefully evicted from their homes by the Burmese army with a probable scare to be raped. The guardians brought the same fear to the refugee camp in Bangladesh from the Rakhine state. In the camp, they still scared to send their adult girls to the LCs. The Islamic norms of 'Purdah' are very strong among the community people, where after reaching puberty the girls put 'gamsha' on them as part of Purdah, which prevented them from attending school in both Bangladesh and Myanmar. The community's existing social and cultural values did not support the fact that teenage girls require education. It is also imperative to note that the existing social stigmas developed with their past experiences while living at the Rakhine state. The feelings of fear and discrimination were created by their longstanding inequitable experiences by most of the Buddhist people in their origin country.

Hence, their ethnic identity coupled with a religious background and existing norms prevented them from attending schools and hence deprived them of basic rights.

The study, moreover, reveals that teenage boys did not attend LCs in the refugee camp because they had to assist their parents in earning an income. The financial capacity of the refugee guardians is not well enough to be able to send their children to the LCs, hence the older and younger children had to work with their parents in nearby places. The experiences of their statelessness affected their confidence to attend school in both their country of origin and the hosting state. The low teaching capacity and lack of sufficient teacher training were found to be the biggest challenges in providing quality education at the camp. A lower understanding of the Burmese language and prohibition of using Bengali together prevented and discouraged them from attending the LCs. Additionally, excluding them from the formulation procedures of the informal education curriculum discouraged both the students and guardians alike.

The study argues that the stateless position of the Rohingya community in Myanmar in addition to not being granted refugee/permanent residency/asylum in Bangladesh influenced their decision to not receive an education. They are not allowed to use the Bangladeshi or Burmese curriculum, and the school authority not providing any documents of certification for their education adds to their reasons. The GoB officials did not want them to continue their studies in Bangladesh, as they argued that the hosting country could not serve the Rohingya community. (The country is still struggling to provide basic rights such as education to its own citizens.) The relevant ministries of the Bangladesh government further did not regularly communicate with each other to make and implement policies regarding refugees' educational development. As a result, the Rohingya community have become pawns in a political game at both state levels.

The main research question of the thesis was to see and understand why a large number of Rohingya refugees' children, residing in Kutupalong unregistered refugee camp, are not receiving basic education. The research has pointed to the intersectional theory, culture of mistrust, and the 4As concepts to answer the research question.

According to Crenshaw (1989), a single source cannot explain the causes of deprivation of refugee children' education rights. Scholars like Bešić, (2020) argued that this discrimination should not be seen reductively as a result of ethnicity, gender, age, and vice-versa. On the contrary, discrimination is a reciprocally constructed phenomenon (Collins 2015, p. 2). This distinct discrimination, however, should be viewed as a unified system. This study examines the interrelated forms of discrimination and structural intersectional forms of deprivation which prevented the refugee children from receiving a basic level of education. The Rohingya ethnic identity, the experience of statelessness, fear, gender discrimination, socio-economic conditions, and religious identity played a part in this deprivation. More so, a range of structural forms of discrimination that existed in policy formulations was also a crucial factor that deprived children of their education.

Consistent with Crenshaw (1989), the intersectional theory explains that the multiple characteristics of the Rohingya children obstructed them from receiving basic education. The intersectionality theory helps to explain how the refugee students encountered varying levels of exclusion in schools in Myanmar. It showcases that the dominant social, political, and institutional arrangements on access to education and participation in school prohibited the refugee students to have a primary level of education.

Given the 'Onion model of Intersectionality' (Bešić, 2020:8), the study demonstrated that the Rohingya refugee children possess multiple identities which include their statelessness, poverty, age limit- all indicating their individual characteristics. These identities impeded them to have basic education. On middle scale at group membership level, the children lack both national identity and refugee status- leaving them most deprived group in both countries, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Their group identities make them discriminated to have necessary opportunities at Learning centers. They lose their trust upon the existing school system due to their backgrounds. In the 'social context' level, the power of the government authority excluded them to partake in the preparation of curriculum and syllabus in the hosting country. The curriculum does not fulfil the community people's expectation regarding their priority in terms of education. Their absence in preparing the syllabus obstruct them their children to have the learning.

By the concept of 'culture of mistrust', Daniel and Knudsen (1995) described that the culture of mistrust grew among people when a breach of trust occurred between different ethnic communities in a multiethnic country. McBrien (2005) pointed out that refugees' experiences of severe persecution, massive trauma, and exclusion of citizenship rights, etc. weakened their ability to trust others. This study along with several others revealed that the Rohingya refugee community has been subjected to severe massacre which made them lose their trust upon the Burmese authority. This critically obstructed them from receiving basic rights in Myanmar. In the case of the refugee camp, the refugee community did not have much control or influence over the relevant institutions which made decisions and policies for the creation of their curriculum, thus they lost trust upon them as well. This led them not to attend to the LCs.

Approaching the 4As concept, Katarina Tomasevski (2001), noted that the lack of availability, acceptability, accessibility, and adaptability deprived the refugees from having basic rights. The availability of the 4As concept addressed facts like education materials, under which lies school infrastructure, teachers training, and other forms of freedom which relate to quality education. The 'acceptability' factor of the 4As concept focuses on a culturally appropriate curriculum that reflects society's values, norms and fulfill parental expectations, etc. The study demonstrated that the refugee community lacked resources to build their own school infrastructures and resources for teacher development were not available either, which obstructed the children from receiving a quality education. The school syllabus and curriculum did not reflect the society's values and parental expectations which obstructed them from receiving education. The 'Accessibility' factor refers to the elimination of all legal and executive barriers to provide basic education. This thesis pointed out that the refugee children were not given citizenship in their country of origin because there were administrative and legal barriers created by the Burmese government which prevented them from enrolling in formal schools. In Bangladesh, they were not entitled to refugee rights either, which again created a hindrance in their education. The last factor of the concept is 'Adaptability'. The factor emphasizes the need for education which can meet the changing needs of the refugees. The study reveals that adult boys were not keen on continuing their education at the LCs because they did not learn any new or effective material that could help build their future in either country.

One limitation of this thesis is the absence of the views and knowledge of relevant ministries of The Government of Bangladesh. Due to the coronavirus outbreak and time constraints, this research did not allow me the scope to interview relevant high-level politicians and policy-makers responsible for the refugee children's education. Reliable data about education for the Rohingya refugees is another limitation that was met. Very few academic literatures are available on the issue. While humanitarian organizations and print media do contain limited information, it was not entirely reliable. The reports are often biased and overlapped, because they are sometimes prepared to meet specific interests and motives, and not to disclose the real scenario. Furthermore, these reports do not reflect the true views, knowledge, and perceptions of the refugee's, rather they are made with limited knowledge and information on related issues. Therefore, finding credible sources has been a major barrier. Apart from these, the biggest challenge has been collecting data from government authorities as they have not shown interest in sharing their point of view or knowledge on this burning issue.

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APPENDIX: 1

Interview Template

1. For Students

Q.1 How old are you?

Q.2 How many school going siblings do you have in your parents' family?

Q.3 Do your other siblings (if you have) go to school? If yes/No, explain the reasons behind this?

Q.4 Tell me about your education background in Myanmar?

Q.5 Do you think you have been deprived of getting basic education in your country of origin? If yes tell me the reasons behind this.

Q.6 Have you ever enrolled to any learning centre/school in the refugee camp after fleeing from Myanmar? If yes/No, tell me the reasons.

Q.7 Do you think your ethnic/Rohingya identity is one of the barriers to get the rights to primary education? If yes/No, explain your arguments.

Q.8 In your opinion, do you think your parent's socio-economic conditions have impeded you to go to the learning centre/school? If yes/No, explain your arguments.

Q.9 Do you think gender discrimination hinder you going to school? If so, explain your arguments.

Q.10 In your opinion, do you think that your language barriers imped you to have the basic rights? Explain why?

Q.11 To you, the instruction of language in the classroom is one of barriers to have the basic education. If so, explain.

Q.12 Do you think your skin colour obstruct you to get the right to education? If so, explain me your arguments.

Q.13 In your opinion, do you think the distance of learning spaces have been a barrier to attend in the class?

Q.13 If yes, in line with the previous question, explain your arguments.

2. FOR PARENTS/ELDER FAMILY MEMBERS (GUARDIANS)

Q1. How many school-going children do you have in your family?

Q.2 Are they all go to learning centres/schools?

Q.3 If not, in line with the previous question, explain the reasons behind this.

Q.3 Do you permit your girls/disabled children to go to learning centres/schools? If yes/no, explain.

Q.4 In with the previous question, If the answer is 'NO', why do not you permit your girls to go to learning centres?

Q.5 Do you think your current economic conditions have any impact for making decision not to sending your children to learning centres/schools? If so, explain your arguments?

Q.6 Do you feel any fear to send your children to the school? If so, explain why?

3. For teachers:

Q.1 How long have you been teaching here, in the learning centre/school?

Q.2 What class have you studied before joining as a teacher?

Q.3 In your opinion, do you think teacher's quality may impede to provide the right to basic education among students? If so, explain.

Q.2 Have you been also experienced teaching in your country of origin/Myanmar?

Q.3 If yes, in line with the previous question, how did you find the school facilities (building, infrastructure; chair, table, drinking water, latrine) available for the Rohingya student in the Rakhine state?

Q.4 In your opinion, do you think shortage of teachers is one of the barriers to provide education among the community children in the refugee camp? Explain your arguments.

Q.5 Do you think the lack of necessary teachers' training (necessary for providing quality education) impede them to provide the proper basic education?

Q.6 To you, do you get sufficient time to teach students in the classroom? If es/No, explain why?

Q.7 Are the numbers of learning centres/schools available for providing basic education among the students in the camp?

Q.8 In line with the previous question, If the answer is 'No', do you think the limited number of schools are one of barriers to provide education? If yes, explain why?

Q.9 Do you think learning centres/ school have permanent infrastructure; school building, chair, table etc. for providing education to the students?

Q.10 In your opinion, do you think separate classrooms for different age level students are sufficient for providing the basic education?

Q.11 In line with the previous question, if the answer is No, do you think is it one of the challenges to provide them education?

Q.12 In your opinion, can you provide them the basic education with the language you prefer? If so, explain.

Q.13 In your opinion, do you think that the curriculum has been designed in active participation of the teachers which reflect the expectation of the Rohingya children? If so, explain.

Q.14 Are you satisfied with the amount of time you spend for teaching among the refugee children? If yes/ No, explain.

4. FOR National and international NGOs:

Q.1 Have you consulted with Rohingya guardians, teachers, community leaders to design the curriculum for the children in the learning centres? If so, explain why?

Q.2 To you, does the national/international fund sufficiently allocated for designing school curriculum? If so, explain.

Q.3 According to you, does the national/international fund adequately used for teachers' training? If so, explain.

Q.4 Do you think, does the national/international fund effectively distributed for construction of school infrastructure? If so, explain.

Q.5 Do you face any barriers to provide education equipment to the children? In your opinion, are you able to provide quality education? If yes/no, explain

Q.6 Have your institutions helped to establish school buildings in the refugee camps, that are accessible to Rohingya refugee children? If so, explain?

Q.7 Do you think sexual and gender-based violence against Rohingya girls impede them to have basic education, If so, explain why?

Q.8 In your opinion, have your organization coordinated with the humanitarian nutrition cluster to ensure that school feeding programs are rolled out equally to all learning centres? If so, explain how?

Q.9 To you, does religious identity affect students to get the rights to education?

Q.10 Do you think that governments, police create any vulnerable situation to provide basic education for the education, If so, why?

5. Government officials of Bangladesh: (RRRC and Ministry of Mass and primary Education)

Q.1 Tell me about the policies you have planned or already made for providing basic education to Rohingya children?

Q.2 Do you allow to construct permanent infrastructure in the refugee for the students? If yes/No, explain your arguments.

Q.4 Tell me about the accreditation policies of the Ministry of education for the completion of their basic education.

Q.5 Do your policies permit teachers and Rohingya students to spend enough time in the class? If so, explain how?

Q.6 To you, can education of the refugee children increase knowledge and skill required for the their safe and volunteer repatriation to their country of origin? If so, explain your arguments.

APPENDIX: 2

PARTICIPANTS IN THE INDEPTH INTERVIEW

Location	Male			Female	
Kutupalong	Participants in Individual Interview				
SI	Age	Status	SI	Age	Status
1	14-year old girl (C[11])	Unregistered	13	34-year old Female (G)	Unregistered
2	45-year old Male (G[12])	Unregistered	14	19-year old Male (BDT)	Unregistered
3	12-year old girl (C)	Unregistered	15	14-year old Female (C)	Unregistered
4	14-year old Boy (C)	Unregistered	16	45-year old Male (BT)	Unregistered
5	13-year old Boy (C)	Unregistered	17	56-year old Male (INGO[13])	Unregistered
6	56-year old Male (GOB)	Unregistered	18	47-year old Male (NGO)	Unregistered
7	45-year old Male (G)	Unregistered	19	56-year old Male (G)	Unregistered
8	13-year old Boy (C)	Unregistered	20	48-year old Male (BT[14])	Unregistered
9	40-year old Male (NGO[15])	Unregistered	21	25-year old Male (BT)	Unregistered
10	51-year old Male (GOB[16])	Unregistered	22	44-year old Male (INGO)	Unregistered

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[11] C stands for Children,
[12] G stands for Guardian
[13] INGO refers to International Non-Government Organization
[14] BT refers to Burmese Teacher
[15] NGO indicates Non-government Organization
[16] GOB refers to Officials of Government of Bangladesh

11	45-year old Female (INGO)	Unregistered	23	24-year old Male (BD[17]T)	Unregistered
12	46-year old Male (NGO)	Unregistered	24	19-year old Female (BDT)	Unregistered
PARTICIPANTS IN FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION					
	Age	Status	SI	Age	Status
1	30-year old Female	Unregistered	17	25-year old man	Unregistered
2	40-year old Female	Unregistered	18	20-year old female	Unregistered
3	34-year old Female	Unregistered	19	25-year old Female	Unregistered
4	37-year old female	Unregistered	20	34-year old man	Unregistered
5	38-year old Female	Unregistered	21	32-year old man	Unregistered
6	33-year old Female	Unregistered	22	25-year old Female	Unregistered
7	32-year old Female	Unregistered	23	26-year old female	Unregistered
8	40-year old Female	Unregistered	24	28-year old man	Unregistered
9	45-year old man	Unregistered	25	45-year old Female	Unregistered
10	56-year old man	Unregistered	26	47-year old man	Unregistered
11	40-year old man	Unregistered	27	42-year old Female	Unregistered
12	54-year old man	Unregistered	28	38-year old Female	Unregistered
13	44-year old man	Unregistered	29	30-year old Female	Unregistered
14	58-year old man	Unregistered	30	40-year old Female	Unregistered
15	53-year old man	Unregistered	31	44-year old Male	Unregistered
16	59-year old man	Unregistered	32	39-year old man	Unregistered

[17] BDT stands for Bangladeshi Teacher

APPENDIX: 3

Written Consent (Government officials, NGO/INGO, and Teacher)

Consent for Interviews Information Sheet:

I am pursuing Master's in Development Studies at Lund University. Currently I am conducting a research for my thesis. The thesis sheds light on exploring the key barriers to providing basic education among the Rohingya refugee children at Kutupalong Unregistered camp in Bangladesh. Through this research, I intend to address the major challenges to the provision of basic education among the community children.

This consent form may have words which you do not understand. Your participation is voluntary basis and you have full right to refuge or withdraw your participation in this research. Your decision to discontinue will not affect the nature of relationship me. Please ask me to stop if you do not understand what I am going to tell you. I will take some more time to explain you. Please ask me any question after the interview if you have. The research will involve your participation which will take 1 hour.

If you agree to take part in my study, plan to meet you in a comfortable time and place. I can confirm you that if you do not wish to answer any of my questions, please interrupt me, I will go for the next one. The interview will be recorded for my transcription. But no one will be identified by name on the recording. The recording information is confidential and no one else except me will have access to the recordings. I can also confirm you that after the transcribing the data, I will send you back the data for your double check whether it needs to be edited or revised and so forth.

Certificate of Consent:

I _____ have been invited to participate in this research on "Barriers to providing basic education among the Rohingya refugee children: Insights from Kutupalong Unregistered camp in Bangladesh". I am giving my constant to the following statements.

1. I understand the student will use the information for his Master's thesis.
2. 2. I understand that my name and personal name will be kept confidential and the researcher will adopt anonymous policy to use my name, and other personal issues. I fully understand that I have the right to refuge to withdraw from the interview and I can interrupt certain question which I find critical or something I cannot be ready to answer.

I read the aforementioned information. I provide any information of this thesis with my knowledge and experiences. I consent to participate this work with voluntarily. My signature is given below indicating my full consent.

Name of the Interviewee

Date: