Higher Education Challenges *for* Migrant *and* Refugee Students *in a* Global World

Khalid Arar, Kussai Haj-Yehia,
David B. Ross, and Yasar Kondakci,

EDITORS

Higher Education Challenges for Migrant and Refugee Students in a Global World informs readers of theory, policy, and practice of refugee and migrant equitable access to higher education, especially indicating how policy makers, educational leaders, and practitioners can support refugees, asylum seekers, and other migrants' inclusion in higher education institutions in the global world. The chapters composing each section of this book constitute a compilation of research addressing experience relating to the overwhelming flow of refugee and asylum seekers in various higher education systems. There are 41 contributors located in 12 countries (Austria, Canada, Czechia, Germany, Holland, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Palestine, Turkey, and the United States) who deal with the topics of refugees and immigrants in higher education in different world regions, including Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and North America.

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EQUITY
IN HIGHER EDUCATION
THEORY, POLICY, & PRAXIS

Advance Praise for **Higher Education Challenges for Migrant and Refugee Students in a Global World**

"Economic and political crises throughout the world have caused millions of people to seek refuge and better futures in other nations. *Higher Education Challenges for Migrant and Refugee Students in a Global World* is a thoughtful international understanding of many of the important limits and possibilities of higher education policies and practices for many of these people."

Michael W. Apple, University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA

"Studies of international student mobility have, to date, tended to focus on the experiences and mobility patterns of the privileged. This is an important text that diverts our gaze instead to those who migrate under very different conditions—and the potentially significant impact higher education can have on the lives of refugees and other displaced persons. It draws on a wide range of material from various geographical contexts to explore commonalities and differences in the experiences of refugee students. The book will also be of interest to scholars of student migration, as well as those of global higher education policy and practice."

Rachel Brooks, University of Surrey, UK

"This collection of essays offers a very valuable addition to emergent scholarship within the social sciences on education and migration/mobilities. The focus on displaced populations is especially needed. As the editors note, flows of refugees and asylum seekers are often comprised of large numbers of individuals of school age in need of education. This book offers some very useful perspectives on the implications of this for higher education in the contemporary world."

Johanna L. Waters, University of Oxford, UK

"*Higher Education Challenges for Migrant and Refugee Students in a Global World* is a very timely and important volume by renowned international scholars about the consequences of an undeclared world war on higher education systems around the world as millions of people are displaced because of brutal wars, ethnic cleansing, and massacres."

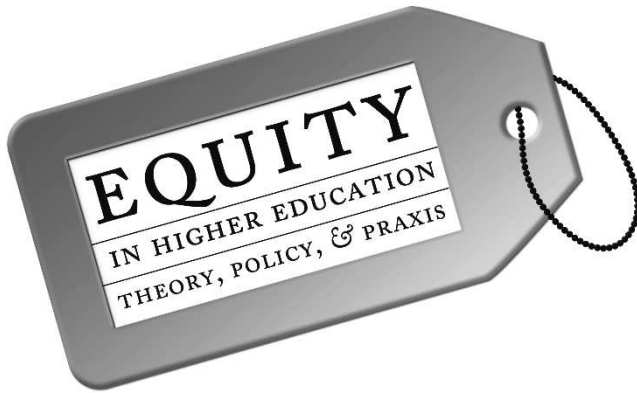**Hasan Simsek**, Istanbul Kültür University, Turkey

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EQUITY
IN HIGHER EDUCATION
THEORY, POLICY, & PRAXIS

Virginia Stead, H.B.A., B.Ed., M.Ed., Ed.D.

GENERAL EDITOR

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PETER LANG
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This book is dedicated to every refugee or immigrant in the world
who considers higher education as a hope for a better future
both for the country that hosts him/her as well as for his/her homeland
when he/she returns to it safely one day….

"O home raise your roof so I can raise my head underneath it."
Adonis, a Syrian Poet

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A research community is needed in order to lever such a meaningful and complex project. Many people contributed to this initiative either directly or indirectly by observing the phenomenon of migration and refugees and their insights shaped the appearance of this book.

KHALID

As a first editor, my discussions concerning migrants and refugees were clarified and enhanced by discussions with my dear friend, Professor David Chen, the former president of the Center for Academic Studies and former dean of the Tel Aviv University School of Education; I would also like to thank my dear friend Professor Izhar Oplatka who helped to sharpen my understanding of those issues that intrigued me and inspired my research. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Duncan Waite from the University of Texas and Professor Ira Bogotch from the University of Florida who reviewed the introduction to the book and contributed significantly to the broadening of our viewpoints on the global phenomena of migration and refugee flows. I would also like to thank my friend Kussai Haj-Yehia for being a constant partner in my research in higher education, to my friend Professor Yasar Kondakci who provided me with a unique opportunity and welcoming environment to study the issues of migration and refugees at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey. I also wish to give thanks to Professor Mehmet Sincar who hosted me and provided me with

an academic base where I could meet with refugees at the Gaziantep University, Dr. Deniz Örücü from Baskent University who accompanied me on some of my exploratory journey to study refugees in Ankara and Professor David Ross from Nova Southeastern University who set me off on this voyage of discovery. Last but by no means least, I wish to express my gratitude to dear Dr. Virginia Stead from the University of Toronto, Peter Lang Higher Education series editor, who identified the need for this comprehensive volume, assisting in collecting the list of contributors and critically reading the initial texts of the proposal and the book itself. The journey to discover and study the phenomena of migration and refugees in different territories and nations was also made possible due to the unconditional support of my wife Eman.

KUSSAI

My exploration of the issue of immigration began at Tel Aviv University, where I researched the temporary immigration of Arab students from Israel to Germany. This is an opportunity to thank Prof. Moshe Shokeid for the encouragement I received from him at the beginning of my academic career. Later on, I and my friend Prof. Khalid Arar continued to investigate the characteristics of temporary migration and geographical mobility of Arab students from Israel to Europe, the USA or neighboring countries, such as Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. Last year, I attended a seminar in Berlin entitled "Dialogue Program: Current challenges for Germany, Europe and the world", which among other areas discussed the issue of refugees and higher education. The subjects raised by the participants intrigued me very much. I would like to thank the inspiring professionals in Friedrich Ebert Stiftung's office in Berlin for the opportunity I have had to meet many people from various world states and to discuss this and other current issues. My connection with the issue of immigrants and refugees and higher education has continued with the unending support of my good friends and colleagues, Khalid, David and Yasar, and this book is the continuation of this interesting journey. I would also like to thank The Research Authority of Beit Berl College, Israel for their partial support for the publication of this edited book and for their constant contribution. Finally, I would like to thank my beloved family, my dear wife Manal and my talented children, Amru and Hala, for their unfailing and patient support for me all along the way with love, encouragement and patience.

DAVID

After receiving my doctorate from Florida Atlantic University, my dissertation chair and mentor Dr. Valerie C. Bryan inspired me to publish my dissertation and mentioned that we should continue to research and publish together. As a result, I co-authored my first publication with her in an international journal regarding leadership. As I continued to write with other authors, to include my dissertation students, Dr. Bryan had asked me to contribute chapters in two of her books. At this point, I had a desire to co-edit a book. This was when I met my colleague Dr. Khalid Arar at a qualitative research conference while co-presenting with my dissertation student, Dr. Julie Exposito, regarding her study of international students' experiences in an American College. I want to thank Khalid for his constant communications to involve me in this journey regarding immigration and its effect on higher education. He introduced me to Dr. Kussai Haj-Yehia and Dr. Yasar Kondakci as we collaborated on this book, which I feel will benefit many people of different cultural backgrounds. I now have three new brothers and friends for life; thank you, Khalid, Kussai and Yasar. As a professor who has had the pleasure of teaching students from various continents, I realize how higher education impacts all cultures in achieving success and improving lives personally and professionally, as well as being respected in society no matter where they have immigrated. In this book as well as other publications, I want to thank Dr. Maricris R. Eleno-Orama for our collaboration and her motivation for transferring learning to students from different cultural backgrounds.

I have always been humbled and inspired to carry on the tradition to mentor my dissertation students, in the manner which Dr. Bryan mentored me in this wisdom of opportunity. I want to thank my dissertation students who allowed me to co-author with them: Dr. Maricris R. Eleno-Orama, Dr. Lyudmyla Ziemke, Dr. Elizabeth Vultaggio Salah, Dr. Julie Ann Exposito, Dr. Mario Vazquez, Dr. Melissa T. Sasso and Dr. M. Adam Carswell. In addition, thank you to my other students who have presented and developed curricula: Dr. Jennifer A. PaskVan, Dr. Lucas DeWitt, and Dr. Richard Louis. I would like to express my sincerest affection to my family for always keeping me grounded and focused on success: my mother Toby for her love and looking at the best in people, my father Henry for his drive for education and the importance of one's reputation, and to my sister Linda for her support and strength.

YASAR

A broad part of my research is dedicated to open up space for all disadvantaged groups both at national and international levels. Turkey possesses a unique history, culture and geography, which make it either a stepping stone for moving to Western countries or the final destination for those escaping from conflicts in their home-

lands. Therefore, although the recent Syrian refugee issue highlighted the position of Turkey in international migration, the country has always been a context for international migration. Witnessing the deprived status of the migrants and the motivation to open up ways of integrating the immigrants into education form my personal motivation to take part in this meaningful effort. Although education is quite frequently indicated as a leverage for uplifting the psychosocial status of immigrants, higher education plays a very sophisticated role in helping them gain a firm social and economic status in the host country. Therefore, scholarly literature needs to delve more into finding out ways to open access to higher education for migrants and refugees; this book is one outcome of this intent. I owe special thanks to several friends who provided support, guidance and insight in the effort of making the book. It was a very unique opportunity to work Khalid, Kussai, and David. Their professionalism, hard work, and dynamism have always been a source of intellectual stimulation. Second, I would like to thank my colleagues Dr. Ömer Çalışkan from Bozok University (Yozgat, Turkey), Dr. Sedat Gümüş from Necmettin Erbakan University (Konya, Turkey), Dr. Derya Kılıç from Eskişehir Osmangazi University (Eskişehir, Turkey) and Dr. Türker Kurt from Gazi University (Ankara, Turkey) for their comments and insights on different sections of this book. I would also like to express my gratitude to my dear friend Professor Kadir Beycioğlu who has always inspired me to study disadvantaged groups including the immigrants. Finally, I would like to express a special thanks to my wife Esen; her understanding, patience and encouragement has always been a source of motivation in my scholarly practice.

<p align="center">***</p>

This book was primarily constructed by four scholars from different states and represents different cultures and viewpoints. It was fashioned through collaborative critical discussion, either face-to-face or from a distance, that synergistically helped to outline the contents, substance, and structure of the book. These multi-perspectives enabled us to cover a broad and deep range of observations of the studied phenomena.

We are especially grateful to the chapter authors, who joined our long and fascinating project, investing much hard work and thought, including their willingness to constantly revise their manuscripts according to both external reviewers' comments and ours, whose perspicacious remarks helped us all to reinforce and deepen the evidence and ideas that they presented.

Finally, we would like to thank Prof. Hans de Wit for his consent to read the first full draft of the manuscript and to write the Foreword. We would also like to express our gratitude to Prof. Michael W. Apple, Prof. Rachel Brooks, Prof. Johanna L. Waters, Prof. Hasan Simsek, Prof. Anna Saiti and Prof. Melita Kovacevic for their endorsement of the book.

Foreword

Refugees, Migrants and Global Challenges in Higher Education: A Call for Connection and Attention!

HANS DE WIT

The editors of *Higher Education Challenges for Migrant and Refugee Students in a Global World* in their introduction to this book point out that migrants and among them refugees are an important part of the population in the world, and that more than half of them are young people in the age of education, including higher education. The importance of paying attention to this age group among refugees and migrants is evident, as they compose a significant part of a generation for their home countries. Losing the opportunity for education for them will have severe implications for the future of the countries they come from but also for the countries that host them. The perception of refugees and migrants as unskilled and undereducated persons does not do justice to the reality. There is great variation among the home countries as well as among the migrants and refugees themselves with respect to their education and skills. A substantive part of them have a higher education background as students or graduates, or have adequate previous education preparing them for higher education. As the editors in their introduction correctly state, "refugees come from different social strata, and many arrive with various skills, and experiences. Higher education (HE) can be used in these cases as a tool to ensure that they can use and adapt or improve their qualifications, training, or previous experiences to benefit their host societies."

Ignoring the relationship between refugees, migrants, and higher education would be a mistake and a missed opportunity, but little attention has been paid to this dimension of the internationalization of higher education. This book for

that reason is an important contribution in both describing, identifying and ana-
lyzing the role of higher education with respect to refugees and migrants in the
world. The editors correctly state that the issue has received only scant attention
in research, and that we know very little about their experiences, constraints,
dilemmas, push factors, gaps and opportunities.

Claiming that nothing has been done in stimulating the access to and par-
ticipation of refugees and migrants in higher education would be lack of ac-
knowledgement and recognition of the work done for many years already by
organizations and foundations that are active in helping refugees and migrants
with access to higher education. In my native country, the Netherlands, the work
done already for decades by University Asyl Fund (UAF) in assisting refugees with
scholarships, overcoming obstacles for access to higher education and in career
planning is a notable example. The work done by World Education Services
(WES) and the Global Talent Bridge in helping skilled immigrants and refugees
in the United States and Canada is another example. These are only two among
many others. But it is a fact that until recently the attention to the challenges
and opportunities for higher education concerning refugees and in particular
migrants has been somewhat marginal. A better understanding of how the higher
education community in the world deals with refugee and migrant students, and
of the different models and tools in dealing with the issue, as is the objective of
this book, is most relevant.

The 19 chapters in the book address the issue from three main angles. The first
section of the book is more conceptual, exploring the theories and policies concern-
ing refugees and migrants in higher education. The second section provides case
studies of how the higher education community addresses access and integration
issues, while the third section provides examples of refugees and migrants with
access to higher education. Combined with the diversity of country cases the book
provides a rather broad insight in the theme. But why has it taken so long to come
to research and undertake more comprehensive action on this relationship between
refugees, migrants and higher education, and why now?

As the editors note, refugees and migrants are perceived as being unskilled
and undereducated, so higher education was not seen as an issue. That in itself
is a false perception, because there have always been also skilled and educated
refuges and migrants, with only their percentage and the knowledge about them
limited. The Syrian refugee crisis has played an important role in bringing the
issue to the forefront. More than refugees from other main sending countries
as Afghanistan and South Soudan, as well as broader Northern Africa, Syria
was known for the quality of its education, including higher education. So, rela-
tively more skilled and educated refugees were perceived to be among the hun-
dreds of thousands that were fleeing the country to the region and onwards to
Europe. Opportunities for jobs in engineering, sciences, education and the health

sector were more promising and in countries like Turkey, Germany and The Netherlands, but also Canada, they were seen as adequate talents in areas with more vacancies than local candidates. Although that optimism and welcoming response to the Syrian refugees did not hold long, it certainly did put the need for a higher education policy for refugees on the agenda. Many new initiatives by institutions of higher education, NGOs, local and national governments and the European Commission have emerged, still rather fragmented and small, but a broader picture is emerging of what are the challenges, needs and opportunities to increase access to and support for refugees and migrants in higher education. This book will be an important contribution to the discourse on, study of and policy advice to the higher education sector to address the issue.

Preface

KHALID ARAR, KUSSAI HAJ-YEHIA, DAVID B. ROSS
AND YASAR KONDAKCI

"Education is the most powerful weapon, which you can use to change the world."
— Nelson Mandela

For the last decade, various aspects of migration have occupied public and political debate throughout the world. This is especially so with regard to the issues of immigration and refugees. Migration has accelerated to dramatic proportions due to several factors: increased mobility; the widening wealth gap between prosperous industrialized and developing countries, attracting many people from poorer states to leave their country of origin in the hope of being absorbed in countries that appear to offer a better life; local and regional conflicts; and political, religious, and ideological persecution and genocide, displacing hundreds of thousands of refugees. Despite international accords defining policies regarding the treatment of refugees and migrants, wealthier countries alarmed by the number of penniless migrants reaching their borders have begun to forge policies and take sometimes radical steps to stem the flow of migration into their states. While some states have tried to absorb these desperate newcomers and to exploit their potential for the workforce, other countries have erected fences and walls, and employ detention centers and armed ships to keep refugees, asylum seekers and those seeking work from entering their space. The phenomenon of immigration is often met with resistance, usually bottom-up because the effects are felt by the individual citizen with whom the immigrants compete for employment and resources.

For young refugees and immigrants, higher education may offer a significant tool for possible equal integration in a pluralistic world where many different ethnic

groups compete for employment. Higher education provides the learning required for skilled professions and can therefore enable these young people to earn their living and contribute to the host states, to overcome prejudices and resistance and climb the ladder of social mobility. Higher education also enables these young refugees and immigrants to develop their personal and professional identity as part of the process of their integration in their new home. Additionally, the influx of refugees and migrants can enrich and transform higher education systems as they adapt their services to meet the needs of the new students and learn about their cultures. Higher education has become a major topic of discussion, debate and controversy around the world, as a range of political, economic, social and technological pressures result in a myriad of changes in the quantity and quality of higher education systems. Nevertheless, policy and praxis facilitating equitable access to higher education for migrant and refugees remains limited. This is a global concern as it can affect educational opportunities and integration ability for those who have been forced to leave their countries.

In this book we aim to inform our readers of this growing concern, especially indicating how educational leaders and practitioners can support refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants. Our hope is to help policymakers and practitioners alike broaden their knowledge on these issues and encourage them to reconsider preconceptions and develop more appropriate higher education policy throughout the world. What is clear is that, in the main, migrant populations can increase dwindling labor forces and address the impact of aging populations. Such was seen in the 1960s, when the United States established new policies on immigration to reunite families and lure a skilled labor force in America, as Robert F. Kennedy stated: "Our attitude towards immigration reflects our faith in the American ideal. We have always believed it possible for men and women who start at the bottom to rise as far as the talent and energy allow. Neither race nor place of birth should affect their chances."

Our book is divided into three sections to give our readers an in-depth comprehension of the following topics: (a) Higher Education Theory, Policy and Integration of Immigrants and Refugees; (b) Addressing the Crisis of Higher Education for Refugee and Immigrant Students; and (c) Particular Practical Cases of Immigrant and Refugee Access to Higher Education. The chapters composing each section of this book constitute a compilation of research addressing experience relating to the overwhelming flow of refugee and asylum seekers in various higher education systems. There are 42 contributions from authors located in 12 countries: Austria, Canada, Czechia, Germany, Holland, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Kenya, Turkey, Palestine and the United States, dealing with the topics of refugees and immigrants in higher education in different world regions, including Africa, the Middle East, Europe and North America.

Section I unfolds with Chapter 1, which discusses the application of the human right to higher education for refugees and asylum seekers. Chapter 2 considers the scope and implications of the refugee crisis in different higher education systems, observing how certain countries deal with the psychological needs of refugees. Chapter 3 again touches on the concept of education being a human right indicating the issues that education systems face in the implementation of this right; Chapter 4 explores global phenomena responsible for large population movements (i.e. climate change, armed conflicts, globalized media) and their implications for higher education and educational leadership, while Chapter 5 observes policy developments in Canada and the United States regarding the credentials and qualifications needed to gain access to higher education and how they affect refugees. Lastly, in Chapter 6 the authors present a three-level conceptual analysis they have adopted in relation to the cycle of migration.

Section II begins with Chapter 7, a study that consists of interviews, describing the experiences of seven of the largest public research and technical universities in Berlin and the methods they utilized to cope with and evaluate the challenges they face with refugee students. Chapter 8 alludes to the "Trump effect" and how it has affected the campus climate at a university in the United States, investigating students' race and gender expectations. Chapter 9 describes how Czechian universities offer studies for students born in various countries if they speak the Czech language or are willing to study in English; however, tuition fees are required. Various social issues that arose during the immense refugee inflow from 2016 are discussed. Chapter 10 reports a pilot interview conducted in Germany regarding the recent increase in refugees and the challenges it has brought within the higher education field, describing programs offered by individual institutions for both pathway and degree-seeking students. Chapter 11 represents an ethnographic study in Iceland on "non-traditional" students within the higher education sector in the Reykjavik area. Lastly, Chapter 12 discusses the experiences of Syrian refugees within the Turkish higher education system.

Section III opens with Chapter 13 that describes the experiences of Palestinian Arabs from Israel who attained degrees from universities of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and shows how this phenomenon has contributed to creating an "elite cadre" and bettered the socio-cultural, political and economic status of the Palestinian Arabs from Israel. Chapter 14 reveals how positive student-faculty relationships and communications for Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander American students help to create a caring environment for STEM undergraduates. Chapter 15 looks into a study of life experiences of refugee students in Kenya, who resided and were schooled in the Daadab Refugee Camp. This is followed by Chapter 16, which discusses compared experiences in Turkey and Austria regarding access to higher education for students with forced migration backgrounds. Chapter 17 reveals how a college scholarship program for refugees in Ethiopia has

become a central motivator for extensive policy shifts in the direction of integration and deters secondary migration. Chapter 18 demonstrates how attentiveness to the voices of refugee students has led to the supply of better accommodation in higher education institutions, assistance with post-war recovery and social as well as cultural integration in host countries. Chapter 19 illustrates how higher education institutions in Arab countries, and specifically in Jordan, deal with the challenge of offering higher education for Syrian refugee students.

Introduction

Higher Education Challenges for Migrant and Refugee Students in a Global World

KHALID ARAR, KUSSAI HAJ-YEHIA, DAVID B. ROSS
AND YASAR KONDAKCI

From ancient times, individuals and groups have migrated from one place to another, both within their own locales and to others. Global migration and the consequent intermingling of peoples engenders rich and complex encounters between national, cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic differences (Banks, 2017; Brooks & Waters, 2011; Joly, 2017). Different factors have induced flows of migration from East to West and from South to the North by people searching for a living, work and education (Harrington, 2016; Joly, 2017; Waite, 2016). The unprecedented movement of people in recent years is the result of historical global changes, including the attraction of migrants to what have become known as "immigrant states", such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The liberation of European colonies has also led to an upsurge in migration to the former colonizing states, sometimes by invitation and sometimes due to difficult economic situations in the new liberated states, for example from Pakistan and the West Indies to the UK, from the Congo to Belgium, from Algeria to France and from Indonesia to Holland (Buncombe, 2017; Burnett, 2017).

In addition to these flows of people migrating to seek employment and education possibilities, the global geopolitical picture of the last two decades shows how several catastrophic human events have led to the creation of masses of refugees, such as when the invasion of Iraq caused chaos throughout the country. Similarly, the revolutions of the "Arab Spring" in the Middle East and North Africa and the political havoc that ensued has led to the collapse of the states of Libya, Yemen and parts of Syria. Refugees escaping these catastrophes have flooded neighboring states

such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, threatening the financial and political stability of these receptor states (de Wit & Altbach, 2016). Violent inter-ethnic conflicts and genocide in Africa and South East Asia have pushed waves of refugees into neighboring countries, such as the Rohingya fleeing from Myanmar to Bangladesh, or Sudanese and Eritreans fleeing to North Africa and attempting to sail from there to Europe (Alley, 2017). Thousands of people have fled from impoverished conflict-ridden states in Africa to Europe, under the false impression that new opportunities await them overseas. They travel treacherous paths, often by foot, to the South Mediterranean coast and pay exploitative smugglers to transport them by sea to Italy, Malta or Spain, a sometimes-deadly passage (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014). Some see this transaction as "human trafficking" (Truong & Angels, 2005).

One result of the transition from nation building to global migration has been that diaspora cultures have developed in various countries, which has led to greater fluidity in the classical conceptualization of "culture" (Bauman, 2011). According to Bauman (*ibid.*), the predominant culture in the present era is a universal "culture of consumption". In such a world, everything, including the individual, becomes a consumer item. Wealthy nations entice and solicit manpower from other less wealthy nations, while the production of new needs and desires by mass marketing attract people and encourage their migration. In such a world, the other is always in vicinity and every individual has the opportunity to learn something new from their neighbor. Yet advocates of nationalism in the host states project migrants, refugees and displaced persons as a threat to the integrity and cohesion of their identity as a "race" and push back, sometimes violently. They warn against the inclusion of "foreigners"; when they gain political power they relate to migrants as enemies of the people, using walls and sanctions, police intelligence and even punishment to ward off the "enemy" (Burnett, 2017; Herz, 2017; Waite & Swisher, 2018).

Nevertheless, nations of the world have declared that the right to movement between states is a universal human right, but there is a proviso that: "The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present covenant" (UNHRC—United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 1976, Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Rights). This is sometimes construed by right-wing governments to the detriment of migrants and refugees.

Global migration has changed appearance, to the extent that it has become difficult to "distinguish 'permanent' migrants who are owed 'multicultural' citizenship from 'temporary' migrants owed cosmopolitan human rights" (Banks, 2017, p. xxvii), which is complicated by the creation of a whole range of statuses such as the status of double citizenship. For some scholars, there is no longer such a distinction between permanent and temporary migration but rather a fluid state of

migration, a sort of "superdiversity", meaning that some people are repeatedly or even constantly on the move between different locations and are assigned a range of different statuses (Vertovec, 2015).

As regards foreign students, we felt it appropriate to talk of "open circular migration" (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). These new possibilities necessitate the re-thinking of terms such as "age of migration" and "migration studies" as the "age of mobility" and "mobility studies" (Banks, 2017, p. xxii).

Many states require the migrant's assimilation if the migrant wishes to continue to live in the target culture and state and desires to attain equal citizenship. However, this cannot always be an absolute condition, because many people have double commitment or parallel commitment. Some states have even enabled "flexible citizenship", asserting that it is primarily economic reasons as to why people choose their citizenship, redefining the traditional citizenship conception based on membership in political rights and identification with and participation within a nation state (Ong, 1999); such was seen with the guest worker permits that allowed Turkish workers to remain indefinitely in Germany. The development of a cosmopolitan identity has also brought some states to take active steps to attract wealthy migrants with reserves of capital (Herz, 2017; Waite & Swisher, 2018). As the United Nations report (United Nations, 2017a) points out:

> Countries of destination benefit significantly from migration as migrants often fill critical labour gaps, create jobs as entrepreneurs, and pay taxes and social security contributions. Some migrants are among the most dynamic members of the host society contributing to the development of science and technology and enriching their host communities by providing cultural diversity. (p. 1)

This sort of reality, according to Will Kymlicka (2017), means that concepts such as 'guests', 'foreigners', 'members of society' and 'citizens' should be problematized and instead replaced by terms reflecting diversity and multicultural citizenship, under the assumption that these are desirable 'guests' who deserve universal human rights (Kymlicka, 2017, p. xix). In a world that is increasingly connected by international networks, and not only national institutions, an infinite web of connections and disconnections is established, where loyalty and radical affiliation are no longer so important (Bauman, 2011, p. 18). However, a tension exists between globalization and nationalism. Although nationalists remain firmly embedded, globalization has a significant influence on the growth of migration (Bauman, 2011; Burnett, 2017; Joly, 2017).

These phenomena challenge the conceptualization that sees a distinct dichotomy between a static population group (with citizenship rights) and its guests (foreigners, without citizenship), who may after a period acquire 'restricted' rights (Banks, 2017; Joly, 2017), a sort of second-class citizens excluded from the narrative of nationhood (Arar, 2017). In this context, Bauman (2011) cites Richard Peterson

who noted: "I feel at home everywhere, despite the fact (or perhaps because of it) that there is no place that I can call home" (p. 12). As Bauman points out, culture is supposed to be an agent of change and not an agent that maintains the status quo or, more accurately, it should be a navigation tool that would direct social evolution towards a universal human state, as a suggestion and not a norm, establishing a space for diversity and not as a normative arrangement (*ibid.*).

An international migrant is defined by the United Nations (UNHCR, 2017a, p. 3) as "a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth." According to the latest United Nations statistics, in 2017 there were more than 258 million migrants worldwide, representing 3.4 percent of the world's total population, who had been forced to leave their homes and migrate to other countries (UNHCR, 2017b). Of these, nearly 57 percent lived in the developed regions (mainly, the 'North'), while the developing regions (the 'South') hosted 43 percent of the world's migrants. Between 1990 and 2017, the number of international migrants worldwide rose by over 105 million, or by 69 percent. Most of this increase occurred from 2005 to 2017. About 74 percent of all international migrants are of working age, with ages ranging from 20 to 64 years. The average age of migrants around the world is 39.2 years, with 48.4 percent women and the rest males. The United States alone embraces 19 percent of all migrants around the world (49.8 million) and tops the list of countries hosting migrants. Saudi Arabia, Germany and Russia come in the top three after the United States, with 12 million immigrants in each country, while Britain came fifth with nine million immigrants. Sixty-four percent of all migrants (165 million) currently live in high-income countries. Immigrants contribute to the increase in the population of North American countries, while the countries of the European continent are vulnerable to a shortage of population, especially the working age population, without the presence of immigrants (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017a, 2017b).

Many of these migrants have an unclear citizenship status. They are people with no or little resources, suffering from marginality, exclusion, racism and rejection (Banks, 2017; Spring, 2010). Each host state reacts towards the migrants in their own way, depending on prevalent ideologies or extant legislation (Banks, 2017; Harrington, 2016; Joly, 2017; Waite & Swisher, 2018), but these reactions are also dynamic and change with increases in the numbers of migrants.

Specific examples of reactionary racism and exclusion can be seen in the rise of right-wing political parties in Europe in response to the rise in Muslim immigrants. At the end of 2016, there were 25.7 million Muslims in Europe (4.9 percent of Europe's population). Muslims constituted 8.8 percent of the population of France, 6.1 percent of the population of Germany, 2.8 percent of the population of Italy, 7.1 percent of the population of Holland and 2.6 percent of the population of Spain (Pew Research Center, 2017). Terrorist attacks by Muslims in Europe

have exacerbated European antagonism towards Muslim immigrants and given rise to Islamophobia and other expressions of intolerance such as the banning of the building of mosques in Switzerland or banning burqas in France (Buncombe, 2017; Burnett, 2017). Another example of a rise in racism can be found in the UK as a result of massive East European migration due to the UK's membership in the open border policy of the European Union, a factor that also encouraged public support for the UK's exit from the European Union (BREXIT) (Hobolt, 2016).

Outside of Europe, similar reactionary movements have arisen in the US following Trump's virulent campaign against migrants, especially Muslim migrants; elsewhere, in Israel, the right-wing government has instigated legislation to expel asylum seekers who come from Africa. These dynamics are often rooted in pre-existing but formerly less overt xenophobia that flares up as a result of an increased influx of "foreigners" (Aisch, Pearce, & Rousseau, 2016; Arar & Shapira, 2016; Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013).

Research has recorded the disparity between democratic principles and attempts to exclude 'alien' populations such as foreigners or minority groups, sometimes indigenous in 'Western' countries, for example Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in the US, or Maoris in New Zealand (Banks, 2017; Fredette, 2014; Penetito, 2010). Some host countries, such as Germany, have made efforts to assist the assimilation of migrants, helping them to find work, assisting the integration of children within the education system and providing medical and social services, while other countries ignore the difficulties encountered by migrants and their children and expect them to assimilate independently without assistance (Banks, 2017; Clark, 2010; Joly, 2017).

The application of universal-humanist values poses challenges to national-cultural considerations when accepting waves of foreign newcomers. Policymakers in some countries have understood the economic benefit of absorption of waves of migrants as fuel for the state's economic growth, while others see the migrants as competing against the state's citizens for the state's limited resources (Joly, 2017). In some cases, migrants from higher socio-economic strata have been encouraged to purchase citizenship, speedily receiving entry permits with little vetting or questions regarding the source of their capital, while potential migrants with fewer means are seen as undesirable elements who should be pushed away from the state borders (Waite & Swisher, 2018). However, evidence shows that those countries that intelligently assist in the absorption of massive waves of migration are rewarded with economic and social development, for example the absorption of Yugoslavs in Europe, the Algerians in France or immigrants from the former USSR in Israel (Bauder, 2016; Hatton, 2017).

The migration of students to pursue higher education abroad is mostly circular or temporary migration. Studies of this type of migration relate to the issues of "education marketing", "internationalization of higher education" or "international

cooperation in knowledge construction—sharing knowledge." From a sociological viewpoint, temporary migration is sometimes considered as an initial step and an essential exercise towards "permanent migration" or as part of the process of the "brain drain–brain mobility". When we talk about the migration of students, researchers and scientists, the focus is on the subject of "brain drain" or so-called "depletion of scientific competencies" or "capturing minds". Since the country that receives this group of students, researchers and academics is able to strengthen their scientific wealth (Brooks & Waters, 2011), competition and "a global war for talent" develops between local and international companies in many Western countries (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Favell, Feldblum, & Smith, 2008). Many developed countries strive to attract successful students and scientists through the provision of grants and scholarships as well as through economic and social attraction policies.

However, traditional student migration is no longer, as it was, from the South to the North, or from developing to developed countries; rather, it is changing in reverse. This bi-directional movement is now part of the culture of globalization and the marketing of higher education (Brooks & Waters, 2011).

Migration and student geographical mobility greatly affect the construction of students' identity. Young immigrants see the influence of the identity of a new context as part of their "global mobility" (Altbach, 2011). These young immigrants do not see themselves as tourists or immigrants, but rather as new cultural space owners. Their personal and collective identity is associated with globalization, modernization and technology (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Some researchers call this group "highly qualified migrants—skilled migration" (ibid), while others call it "transnational capitalist elite—a transnational capitalist class" (Sklair, 2001). Other researchers have labelled it as a "new world class movement", meaning new, highly mobile and global elites (Elliot & Urry, 2010).

Similarly, migration may also be the organized result of economic and political policies of international associations, encouraged by grants of scholarships and fellowships through international agreements in order to contribute to the promotion of international acculturation and scientific research. For example, European Union countries encourage academic mobility under the Erasmus and Socrates student exchange programs and contribute to academic migrants' cultural and economic integration within Europe. A similar policy is adopted by organizations with collaborative arrangements (such as ENLACES in South America designed to create networks of communication that help Chilean students integrate with world scientific developments). It is also no surprise that international treaties such as the Bologna Convention have emerged in the field of higher education to ensure uniformity of standards and quality of higher-education qualifications throughout Europe because of the impact of globalization and its economic and cultural repercussions (Brooks & Waters, 2011).

There is no doubt that the migration of students all over the world has a strong influence on the mutual understanding of cultures, promoting convergence and reciprocal relations between the different cultures and helping students to engage in domestic and international labor markets. It helps to build intellectual elites, who also engage in social and political actions (Altbach, 2011; Brooks & Waters, 2011).

Thus, many countries have developed policies to support academic immigration for higher education because the country can gain economic benefits and interests through these policies and strategies. The special policies and programs offered by governments, education systems and various academic institutions aim to encourage the internationalization of higher education (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumley, 2010).

In contrast to migrants who move from country to country in search of an education or work, refugees are migrants who are usually forced to move from their home country due to a state of war and upheaval, displacement and a sense of lack of security. Article 1 of the 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNHCR, 1967) defines a refugee as:

> someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.

The UNHCR definition of refugee specifically excludes voluntary migrants—also called immigrants—who left their birth country primarily to seek a more prosperous life. Refugees do not leave their birth countries of free choice, are likely to have experienced violence or been targeted for abuse during civil unrest in their home countries and probably lived in refugee camps prior to arriving in the destination host state.

In 2016, there were 65.6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide. Nearly 20 people are forcibly displaced from their homes every minute as a result of conflict or persecution. Twenty-two and a half million of them are refugees, over half of whom are under the age of 18. There are 17.2 million of them under the UNHCR mandate and 5.3 million of them are Palestinian refugees, registered by UNRWA. Ten million are stateless people who have been denied a nationality and access to basic rights such as education, healthcare, employment and freedom of movement. In 2016, a mere 189,300 refugees were resettled. Displaced people are dispersed throughout the world where they experience different levels of well-being (17 percent in Europe, 16 percent in North and South America, 11 percent in Asia and the Pacific, 30 percent in Africa and 26 percent in the Middle East and North Africa). Fifty-five percent of the world's refugees worldwide came from three countries: 1.4 million from South Sudan, 2.5 million from Afghanistan and 5.5 million from Syria. The countries hosting the largest number of the world's refugees are those with financial and social difficulties of their own: Turkey (2.9 million), Pakistan

(1.4 million), Lebanon (1 million), Islamic Republic of Iran (979,400), Uganda (940,800) and Ethiopia (791,600) (UNHCR, 2017a).

In conclusion, in the last year, the UNHCR (*ibid.*) has indicated that the migration of refugees has reached unprecedented levels, while the major burden imposed by these refugees is shouldered by states in the near vicinity of the war-torn states that produce the refugees, states which are themselves in danger of socio-political-economic collapse. Europe groans as the spillover of refugees and economic migrants reaches its borders. Indeed, it has become clear that the world's states are inevitably interconnected and interdependent. It is also clear, as advocated by the UNHCR, that a uniform global plan is needed to cope with the numbers of displaced persons and refugees. Solutions that have begun to emerge include: returning them to their country of origin, an open-door policy by host states, granting them temporary status, full integration in a host country or consensual relocation. These solutions are still rarely available and even more rarely practiced (Bauder, 2016).

HIGHER EDUCATION CHALLENGES IN AN ERA OF MIGRATION AND REFUGEES

The dynamic picture of international migration and the disastrous picture of huge flows of refugees described above becomes more tangibly alarming when we realize that more than half of the world's migrants and refugees are young people at an age appropriate for school and higher education (Banks, 2017; Waite, 2016; Waite & Swisher, 2018); this becomes even more alarming when learning that in their journey and the search for sanctuary many may lose the opportunity to complete even basic education because of their displacement. The challenge to host states is to enable these young people to pursue their education in order that they may become productive and effective members of the world community, wherever they may eventually settle. It is estimated that half a million children are at present missing what can therefore be considered as a most basic need: education (Gradstein, 2017; Waite, 2016).

Students' temporary and permanent migration for education is not considered a new phenomenon, whether from free choice or under constricted choice due to oppression and restrictions in their home country (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Joly, 2017; Saul, 2018). Nevertheless, it seems that the dynamics of the "global village" have accelerated this phenomenon, empowered by the global and local crises mentioned above (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Hatton, 2017). In many countries refugees may be the victims of exploitation, wars, economic imbalances or beneficiaries of social welfare systems (Seukwa, 2013). In these cases, refugees are viewed solely from a negative perspective under the preconception that they are mainly unskilled and undereducated. However, refugees come from different social strata and many

arrive with various skills and experiences. In these cases, higher education can serve as a tool to ensure that they can use, adapt or improve their qualifications, training or previous experiences to benefit their host societies.

If refugees are able to access higher education this could not only bring social, economic or personal benefits, increase the trust and also their engagement in the host society, it could also improve the status of the refugees and make them more visible Additionally, as the UNHCR Report (2015) shows, when there is access for refugees to higher education this encourages younger refugees to stay in the school and pursue a career including higher education.

Higher education institutes throughout the world are now more than ever forced into making ethical and moral decisions involved in the challenge of balancing national needs against the needs of immigrants, refugees and other displaced persons, rethinking their mission in universal and humanistic terms. Since education may be the key factor in ensuring the construction of professional identity, employability and economic integration of the newcomers, one consideration must be what is optimal policy for the formation of an integrated and financially sound society (Morrice, 2013). One major issue for discussion in these institutions are admission policies including consideration of policies to ensure access for under-privileged students from different cultural and educational backgrounds (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Bauder, 2016; Brooks & Waters, 2011; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2016; Murray, 2016; Waite & Swisher, 2018). Another important issue is academic fees and living costs during studies, as the need to ensure income for the refugee or their family may prevent their further studies.

Refugees and those who have applied for asylum are not legally the same as international students. Temporary student visas that international students obtain usually impose restrictions of various kinds, including access to financial aid and employment opportunities that do not pertain to refugees and asylees. The legal status of a student can therefore seriously affect their ability to obtain financial aid or receive reduced tuition fees or state assistance, rather than paying higher foreign student tuition fees at public colleges and universities (Bryce, 2017; Waite & Swisher, 2018).

In the UK, for example, eligibility to study state funded courses and a number of factors, including an individual's immigration status, age and length of time in the UK (Doyle & O'Toole, 2013), determines the possibility of receiving fee remission. A further factor that should be considered is the asylum or residential permit procedures, which may be very demanding and mentally stressful, sometimes landing refugees in detention centers or even tent cities with Spartan living conditions. There may be costs or other difficulties involved in physical access to the higher education institutions (Bryce, 2017).

Each country copes with the provision of higher education to refugees and other migrants according to the number of refugees that it receives and its own

resources. Jordan, which has received immense waves of refugees, is largely reliant on foreign aid to assist those refugees who wish to further their education after fleeing their homelands, but nevertheless has assisted large numbers of them in entering Jordan's universities. Scotland has had relatively few refugee students but has been amongst the most helpful for those who have reached its shores. For example, its official publication "Refugees Welcome" (Scottish Refugee Council, Autumn, 2016) explicitly states:

> Institutions should have policies in place that allow staff to treat each application individually thereby easing the process for working with applicants who are unable to provide verifiable documentation because they have had to flee their homes quickly or because the government or institutions from their home country will not provide them.

The University of East London ran courses in the 'Calais Jungle', a migrant camp in France and has recently opened a free preparatory course for higher education for refugees (Pelis, 2017). Canada has resettled over 40,000 Syrian refugees between November 2015 and January 2017 and developed special procedures and guidance for their higher education institutions in overcoming the hurdle of recognizing the qualifications of refugees who lack full, official documents. They have developed a six-step model that individual institutions in North America and elsewhere can adapt to their own contexts and practices, whether credentials are assessed in-house or using outside credential evaluation organizations (Bryce, 2017). In Germany, although higher education institutions have opened their doors to refugees, the country's lengthy asylum procedures have been criticized for condemning thousands of eager young asylum seekers to idleness, while early access to education and training would enable their easier integration in the professional labor market. Many asylum seekers have to wait well over a year until they learn whether or not they have been granted protected status (Morris-Lange & Brands, 2016).

Previous studies have shown that there is a direct correlation between discrimination, ineffective policies for the integration of immigrants, foreigners and refugee students from different and underdeveloped countries, the integration of ethnic, religious and national minorities and equal access to higher education (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Brooks & Waters, 2011). The authority and power to find solutions to these dilemmas may not lie entirely within the higher education institutions themselves and may involve the intervention of national and international governments and authorities (Anselme & Hands, 2012; Avery & Said, 2017; Brooks & Waters, 2011; Crea, 2016; Earnest, Joyce, de Mori, & Silvagni, 2010; Lenette, 2016; Morrice, 2013; Saul, 2018; Seukwa, 2013; Streitwieser, Miller-Idriss, & de Wit, 2017). Economic considerations may also play a major part in the development of policies to increase access to higher education, especially with the growth in internationalized private higher education and online higher education programs

such as MOOC aiming to meet the needs of varied and diverse communities (de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Zeus, 2011).

Despite such a worrying reality, the issue of schooling and higher education, as it is affected by migration, has received scant attention in educational, sociological and geographical research (Banks, 2017; Brooks & Waters, 2011; de Wit & Altbach, 2015; Murray, 2016). Dynamic globalization processes, easy transport and passage between different areas of the world, facilitated by political unions such as the European Union and the internationalization of higher education, have led to international declarations recognizing the global mobility of students (Capps et al., 2015; Ferede, 2010; Hatton, 2017; Joly, 2017). As many as 4.5 million students were enrolled outside of their home countries in 2012 and the total number is estimated to have surpassed five million by 2015 (Bel-Air, 2016; OECD, 2016). Thus, too, the number of foreign tertiary students enrolled worldwide increased by 50 percent between 2005 and 2012. However, the dynamics of studies in a foreign land under conditions of unclear status, poverty, alienation, trauma and discrimination have received little research consideration.

The sparse research that has been conducted until now on the subject of higher education for refugees and migrants (Brooks & Waters, 2011; de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010; Murray, 2016; Wright & Plasterer, 2010; Zeus, 2011) has related to certain main concerns such as the access policies of higher education institutions for migrants and refugees. This has included the removal of structural obstacles and regulations and positive discrimination or scholarships and grants in the effort to assist the integration of 'foreign' students, including minority students, in academic campuses (Bauder, 2016; Bel-Air, 2016; Crea, 2015, 2016; Dryden-Peterson, 2010; Earnest et al., 2010; Ferede, 2010; Harris & Marlowe, 2011; Watkins, Razee, & Richters, 2012; Wright & Plasterer, 2010). Also included is the operation of programs to bridge gaps in learning, providing specially designed fast-stream courses trying to improve communication with these students and providing them with skills to support students' academic, social, mental and economic needs (Capps et al., 2015; Crea, 2015;). These programs also focus on signposting such needs to support welfare, mental health and social services (Doyle & O'Toole, 2013) and in general assisting students to function successfully in a multi-cultural, pluralistic society (Northedge, 2003).

Some limited research has also considered the challenges faced by refugees when they need to present appropriate documentation to prove their academic history in the lands from which they fled. Also noted is the difficulty to cope with instruction in a new and foreign language and live in a society with a culture different from their own, which they often did not choose to adopt (for example Syrian refugees now studying in Turkey, Jordan, Germany and Austria etc., or Mexicans studying in the US, Canada and Australia) (Earnest et al., 2010).

A final theme considered by contemporary research is the hybridity of the present-day academic campus and the extent to which these multicultural campuses are willing to address the diversity of the students they serve, recognize the narratives of different student groups and their collective memories, as well as provide legitimization and active recognition for different ethnic cultures (Arar, 2017; Bal & Arzubiaga, 2015; Morrice, 2013).

Nevertheless, there is still little research knowledge concerning the experiences of migrant and refugee students and those who teach and nurture them in the host states. Nor do we know much about the specific constraints that shape the choices available to refugee students in today's world and the opportunities open to advance their education. We also have little data on the push factors that force migrants to leave their former homes and countries, or the way in which they can exploit prior studies and skills to seek their fortune, safety and quality of life abroad (Hatton, 2017; Waite, 2016). These unexplored areas of knowledge could be valuable for those attempting to plan and provide higher education for migrants and refugees. Thus, this book is prompted by the continuous increase in the movements of migrants due to globalization, economic or ethnic discrimination, distress or wars and natural disasters, when migrant students, refugees and asylum seekers strive to realize their equal and just right to higher education in the host states where they are absorbed. This book seeks to fill such gaps in knowledge and practice, tracing the potential and dilemmas involved in providing higher education for various displaced and migrating populations in different countries, while also pointing up possible strategies and solutions to help their integration in an ever-changing world.

Given the above challenges, the contribution of our volume is that it facilitates dialogue and fertilization of ideas among global researchers while trying to confront the following questions from several perspectives: (a) How do higher education institutions in different parts of the world deal with the challenges that refugee and migrant students face on their way to higher education; and (b) What are the models and tools used to deal with the challenges, barriers and problems faced by this group of students?

OVERVIEW OF SECTIONS AND CHAPTERS

A brief overview of migration and higher education suggests that migration takes different forms and unfolds on different scales in different parts of the world. Besides, in different countries, higher education services for immigrants and refugees vary according to the economic, political and academic conditions in the host country. This book has attracted 19 contributions from different parts of the world, depicting different aspects of immigration, various obstacles the immigrants face with in their search for higher education and different educational provisions

provided to the refugees and migrants. Additionally, the contributions depict the diverse impacts of higher education provided to immigrants and refugees. The complexity of this issue suggested organization of the book under three main sections.

The first section covers theoretical discussions on migration and refugees and the role of higher education in lessening the impact of migration. BenDavid-Hadar focuses on the refugees and asylum seekers and argues that compared to the total number of refugees in the world only a limited portion have access to higher education. Analyzing the policy documents shaping the higher education provisions for the refugees, the author discovered that there is a lack of harmony in the understandings and priorities of policymakers. Hence, the author calls for a policy harmony, according to the country's financial capacity, to secure adequate and equitable educational provisions for the refugees. Hilliard highlights the challenge of having limited resources compared to the magnitude of the immigrants, refugees and displaced students in the United States. Similarly, Kochhar-Bryant shows how this challenge endangers higher education services for these groups. The author focuses on the factors affecting low retention, addressing the social and psychological factors impeding access and success of the refugees and developing integration mechanisms for the refugees. Focusing on the same context, the U.S., Waite and Swisher examine the different social and political disruptions and their implications for higher education and educational leadership, employing, among other perspectives, those of immunology and auto-immunology. In another chapter, Loo looks at the issue of access to higher education among migrants and refugees from a different point of view. Loo highlights the issue of the documentation needed for evaluation in order to secure refugees' access to higher education. The author argues that it is particularly decentralized practices in individual higher education institutions that pose further challenges for refugees in their access to higher education and elaborates on potential ways to support refugees' access to higher education. The final contribution of the first section of the book by Momo highlights the positive aspects of migration, the brain gain. Advancing a three-level conceptual analysis on the migration cycle, Momo discusses various aspects of brain drain, return migration and brain gain, emphasizing the importance of returning home after studying abroad.

The second section of the book focuses on different countries' experiences, policies and practices as they relate to higher education for refugees, migrants and the underlying economic, social, political, cultural and academic issues behind these policies and practices. In the first chapter, Streitwieser, Schmidt, Brueck and Gläsener highlight the recent refugee crisis in Europe and elaborate on the policies and practices of Germany towards the refugees. The authors highlight the performance of German higher education institutions in creating innovative practices to integrate the qualified refugee's access into the system. The authors point out not only the role of intentional policies but also the importance of the good will and creativity of the stakeholders in

overcoming the obstacles set by forces curbing refugees' access to higher education. In another contribution from the German context, Unangst and de Wit depict the challenges faced in higher education after the recent mass refugee influx in Europe. Based on interviews and document analyses, the authors describe the policies and practices necessary to secure refugees' access to German higher education institutions. Vávrová and Moree analyze the case of another European country, Czechia, during the recent refugee crisis in Europe. The authors explain that the refugee influx presented a politically challenging experience for Czechia. Although Czechia attracted very limited numbers of asylum seekers, even the small number became a political crisis in that country. The authors conducted theatre performances to analyze the reasons underlying the stigmatization of refugees in their country. The chapter by Liou, Coronella, Fong and Romasanta presents eight Latina college students' descriptions of the 'Trump effect' on their campus climate in the U.S. and the way in which they handled issues related to race and gender expectations in their Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) classes. The report of their study shows how the students were able to resist negative political and campus climates affected by the Trump effect through their human agency abilities. The authors conclude that stereotypes of low aspiration in STEM disciplines do not adequately explain Latinas' limited representation in these professions. In another contribution, Halldorsdottir and Kjaran investigated the status of 'non-traditional' students in Iceland's higher education system. Taking into account the language skills, cultural capital and habitus of the non-traditional students, Halldorsdottir and Kjaran conducted a critical collaborative ethnography to examine their behaviors, attitudes and perceptions. The authors conclude that the students' behaviors, attitudes and perceptions constitute what they call "(im)migrant capital" and they apply their social and ethnic habitus to secure their status in a 'White', Eurocentric and Icelandic university. Kondakci and Onen discuss the case of Turkey, one of the countries most severely affected by the Syrian war. The authors analyze the recent policy and practices of Turkey towards the refugees, suggesting certain ties between geographical, historical, cultural and economic characteristics of the country and the underlying reasons behind the influx from surrounding countries to Turkey. Drawing parallels between the influx of international migration to Turkey and the internationalization of the country's higher education system, the authors argue that higher education has been instrumental in helping the migrants and refugees adapt to Turkey.

The third section of the book focuses on the experiences of individual refugees during their travels from one country to another in search of access to higher education. The first chapter by Arar, Haj-Yehia, Ibrahim and Khalaily discloses the role of higher education in the uplifting of the socio-cultural, political and economic status of Palestinian Arabs in Israel (PAI) who graduated in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Based on interviews with 11 graduates from the USSR, they conclude that the "former USSR supported and reinforced the social,

economic and political fabric of the society of the PAI by training hundreds of academics and professionals who then provided essential services to their society and played a major role in its socio-political development." Orama and Ross discuss the status of Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) students and analyze the barriers impeding Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander American (SEAPIA) students' academic achievement. The authors utilize different perspectives to explore the support provided for undergraduate STEM education for this particular group in the U.S. Following the chapter of Orama and Ross, Khamasi, Nicol, Madera and Meyer describe their investigation of the academic and social lives of university students who were the inhabitants of Dabaab refugee camp in Kenya. With the help of standpoint theory and philosophical hermeneutics, the authors document the way in which the refugees were educated in the camps, explaining the support systems for refugee students in the camps. Khamasi, Nicol, Madera and Meyer present different pathways for equitable and effective higher education of the refugees. Subasi, Proyer and Atanasoska present a comparison of higher education services developed and delivered for students of forced migration in Turkey and Austria. The authors compare and contrast the challenges involved in attaining access to higher education both in Turkey and in Austria. They conclude that although Turkey and Austria have different policies regarding the provision of higher education to the forced migrants, the two countries converge in terms of challenges confronted by the migrants in their efforts to reach higher education. In the same section, Hickey focuses on another group of refugees in the U.S., Burmese refugee students, documenting this group's special educational needs through their narratives. Riggan and Poole bring a case from Africa, discussing the special case of Ethiopia in the global scheme of refugee flow. The authors depict Ethiopia's comprehensive redefinition of its policies towards the refugees, which improves the situation for the refugees. These policies result in higher local integration of the refugees rather than using the country as a transition point to migrate to other, mainly Western countries. In this context, Riggan and Poole examine opportunities for higher education for refugees in Ethiopia and conclude that Ethiopia's educational policies have different implications for the refugees themselves and for third countries, which are the desired targets for refugees in Ethiopia and the Ethiopian government itself. In the following chapter Amaç, Burak and Yaşar employ a critical narrative approach in order to reveal one Syrian student's experiences in the attempt to gain access to higher education. The authors report certain challenges emanating from traditional cultural values and recommend better services for the refugees to help them attain access to higher education, in order to assist their post-war recovery and cultural integration in a host country. The final chapter in this section by Haj-Yehia and Arar documents the challenges of Syrian refugee students living in Jordan's higher education institutions. Viewing the issue in the broader context of the Arab world, while focusing on the special case of Jordan, Haj-Yehia and Arar describe different approaches, models and trends towards refugee education

and identify factors curbing access to higher education for refugees in Jordan. The authors conclude that although most of the refugees in the Western world undergo similar experiences, there are specific challenges confronted by refugees in Jordan who aim to pursue their education in the Arab world. They suggest that the universities of the Arab world underserve the refugees largely because of the inferior status of higher education in these countries and financial constraints, both of which make it difficult to support the refugee students.

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Higher Education, Theory, Policy AND Integration OF Migrants AND Refugees

Refugees IN Higher Education

IRIS BENDAVID-HADAR

INTRODUCTION

Education is one of the most important rights (UN General Assembly, 1948, 2015). It is at the heart of the nation-shaping process and has an ongoing effect on economic and social changes. One of the processes influencing education is the global stream of refugees and asylum seekers. Higher education is a human right protected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly, 1948, Art. 26.1): "Everyone has the right to education… higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit." It is also referred to in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN General Assembly, 1966, Art. 13c): "Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education."

Higher education is an essential part of the education continuum; access to higher education serves as a strong incentive for students to continue and complete their studies at the primary and secondary levels. Higher education also contributes to solutions and post-conflict reconstruction, promotes social, economic and gender equality as well as empowers refugee communities (UNHCR, 2015).

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in its publication, "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (UN General Assembly, 2015), recognizes the positive contribution of migrants for inclusive growth and sustainable development. Additionally, it states that in-

ternational cooperation is needed to guarantee human rights to refugees. "We will cooperate internationally to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration involving full respect for human rights and the humane treatment of migrants regardless of migration status, of refugees and of displaced persons" (p. 8, clause 29). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 set up 17 goals including lifelong learning for all (UN General Assembly, 2015): "This Agenda is a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity. It also seeks to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom." The fourth goal of the SDGs 2030 is concerned with education. In order to effectively guarantee the right to education, it is critical that all people enjoy equal access to an education of good quality, including refugees.

In addition, SDG 4.3 also addresses the right of refugees for higher education. It states that by 2030 there will be "equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university." Thus, the achievement of SDG4 by 2030 is challenged by the condition of higher education for refugees worldwide.

By the end of 2016, the world's forcibly displaced population remained at a record high (UNHCR, 2017a), with 65.6 million individuals forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations. Unlike what is commonly believed, most do not reach European countries; on the contrary, they reach African (30 percent) or Middle East North Africa (MENA) countries (26 percent). A lower share reaches European countries (17 percent), while the rest go to the Americas (16 percent) or the pacific region of Asia (11 percent).

Of the forcibly displaced people (65.6 million), some 17.2 million are refugees. From a global perspective, there has been an incremental trend in the total numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. In the last five years, there has been an increase of 73 percent (from 9.9 million people in 2012 to almost 17.2 million people by the end of 2016) in the share of refugees of the total world population. Most of the refugees come from Syria (5.5 million), Afghanistan (2.5 million) and South Sudan (1.4 million). The majority of the refugees are hosted in Turkey (some 2.9 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Lebanon (1.0 million), Iran (0.98 million), Uganda (0.94 million) and Ethiopia (0.79 million) (UNHCR, 2017b).

The high and increasing total number of refugees and asylum seekers has created many important challenges, one of which is education (UNESCO, 2015d). With the increased diversification of students' cultures and nationalities in contemporary higher education institutions, it has become essential to reposition the issues of access to and the quality of education as an international responsibility and intra-national challenge. Issues of justice, educational opportunities and outcomes of the educational system generate challenges for policymakers and educators around the world.

The right to education is costly, yet it is perceived as an investment that has, in the long run, large private (from the students' perspective) and public (from the country's perspective) returns (UNESCO, 2015c). In addition, financing the right to education is less costly compared to the future cost of financing a less educated group within society (e.g. via transfer payments which is a redistribution of income and wealth (payment) made without goods or services being received in return, or healthcare).

The higher education finance policy enacted in a country impacts the country as a whole. Financing adequate higher education for all is a challenging task and is exacerbated in the light of the rising tide of refugees. Some of the main hosting countries struggle to provide education on lower levels (i.e., primary and secondary) and cannot afford to provide tertiary education[1] for its permanent residents, not to mention for its refugees.

If the refugees and asylum seekers receive only adequate education, defined as the sufficient minimum the state is obligated to provide for all, they are likely to fall behind others who are better positioned in terms of knowledge of the local language and culture. This might have an ongoing and future effect on the creation of a new group of future poor (under the assumption that, in the long run, they become permanent residents). Furthermore, since the societal strength of a nation or a country is measured by its "weakest group" (Rawls, 1971), it is important to strengthen this group in particular. One main way to strengthen the social and economic aspects of a country is by enacting an equitable education finance policy for all.

However, the mechanism of financing higher education on the country level is sometimes not possible nor satisfactory due to fiscal constraints. In the light of the increasing numbers of refugees, this financing mechanism becomes even more complicated. On the nation level, education is financed mostly by using a redistribution mechanism based on taxes as the main source of funding. The stability of such a redistribution mechanism is challenged in the light of high and increasing numbers of refugees.

Therefore, there is a need to develop an innovative finance mechanism that can finance tertiary education for refugees. Such a mechanism might be based on the theoretical perspective of education as a global common (no longer just public) good (UNESCO, 2015e). In the publication entitled "Rethinking education: towards a global common good?" (UNESCO, 2015e), it was proposed that knowledge and education be considered common goods. The notion of common goods allows us to go beyond the financing mechanism of education in one country towards a global responsibility.

This chapter examines the right of refugees and asylum seekers to tertiary education. The chapter examines the following research questions: who are the main actors shaping the education policy of refugees and what do their voices express? To what extent, if at all, are the de-facto and de-jure education finance policies in

harmony? Finally, to what extent is the right to higher education accessible and secured?

The structure of this chapter is as follows: Section 2 introduces the global state of refugees and asylum seekers to the international reader. In Section 3, the dominant actors that contribute to the crafting of the education policy of refugees and asylum seekers are described and their voices are identified. Section 4 presents the theoretical approach of education as a common good and its application to the field of education for refugees. Section 5 discusses and suggests finance policy recommendations based on an innovative finance mechanism for education.

REFUGEES

The term 'asylum seeker' is usually reserved for those who have applied for asylum and are awaiting a decision on their application to receive refugee status. Those whose applications have been refused must leave the country. The term "refugee" is usually adopted for those who, having applied for asylum, have been given recognized refugee status.

Refugees are defined as any person who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country (UN General Assembly, 1951). According to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by its 1967 Protocol (the Refugee Convention), a refugee is a person who is outside their own country and has a well founded fear of persecution due to his/ her race, religion, nationality, member of a particular social group or political opinion and is unable or unwilling to return (UN General Assembly, 1967).

The important parts of this definition are that the person has to be outside their country of origin; the reason for their flight has to be a fear of persecution which has to be well founded (i.e., they have to have experienced it or be likely to experience it if they return); the persecution has to result from one or more of the five grounds listed in the definition; and they have to be unwilling or unable to seek the protection of the authorities in their own country.

The United Nations body responsible for protecting refugees and overseeing adherence to the Refugee Convention is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR].

What is the difference between an asylum seeker and a refugee? An asylum seeker is a person who is seeking protection as a refugee and is still waiting to have his/her claim assessed. A refugee is a person who has fled his or her own country, cannot return due to fear of persecution and has been given refugee status. Refugee

status is given to applicants by the United Nations or a third-party country. This chapter will use the term 'refugees' as inclusive for both refugees and asylum seekers (Aspinall & Watters, 2010).

Refugees: How Large Is This Phenomenon?

By the end of 2016, 65.6 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations. The world's forcibly displaced population remained at a record high (UNHCR, 2017b). Unlike commonly believed, most do not reach European countries: they reach African (30 percent) or MENA countries (26 percent). A lesser number reach European countries (17 percent), while the rest arrive in the Americas (16 percent) or in the Asia pacific region (11 percent).

Of the forcibly displaced people, some 17.2 million are refugees. From a global perspective, there has been an incremental trend of 73 percent in the total numbers of refugees within the past half a decade.
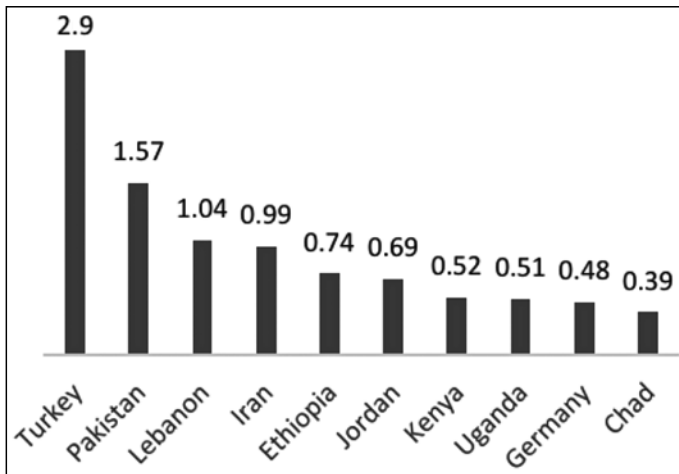
Figure 1.1. Countries that host the most refugees (in millions).

Source: Author calculations from UNHCR, 2017c, "*Figures at a Glance*" [Statistics and oppressional Data Portal]. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html

Figure 1.1 presents the countries hosting the most refugees (in absolute terms). Lebanon, Pakistan and Turkey hosted most of the world's refugees (a combined total of 5.4 million). In Turkey, 2.7 million of its 2.9 million refugees have come from neighboring Syria. The majority of Pakistan's 1.6 million refugees, in contrast, are Afghans who have been living there for over 30 years.

Developing countries host 86 percent of the world's refugees. Moreover, Lebanon hosts the highest ratio in the world (183 refugees for every 1,000 inhabitants), while Turkey hosts the highest total number of refugees (2.9 million people).

Although Turkey hosted the largest number of refugees their numbers in other European countries are on the rise (these countries hosted 2.3 million refugees in total). Sub-Saharan Africa hosted a large and growing number of refugees, due mainly to refugees from Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. In sub-Saharan Africa, the vast majority of refugees have remained in the immediately neighboring countries.
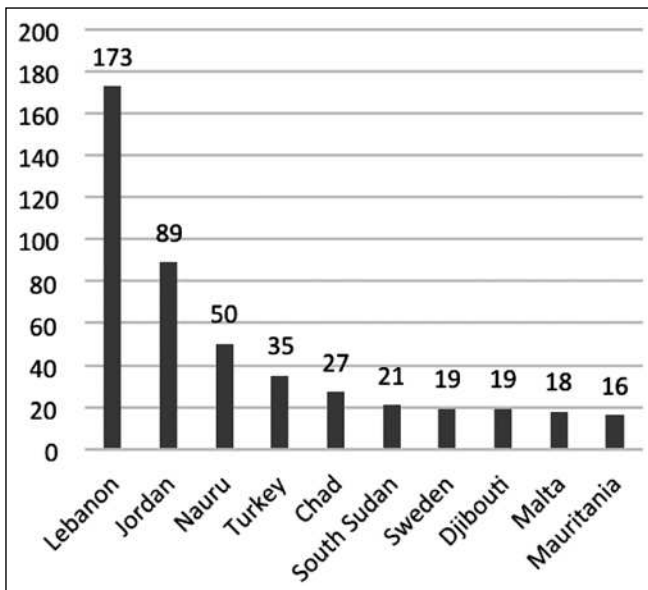
Figure 1.2. Refugees to 1,000 inhabitants.

Source: Author calculations from UNHCR, 2017c, "*Figures at a Glance*" [Statistics and oppressional Data Portal]. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html

Figure 1.2 represents the ratio of refugees to 1,000 inhabitants. Although Turkey has the largest number of refugees in the world, the burden in terms of the share of the inhabitants is larger in Lebanon.

Refugees often end up in poor countries and small countries that do not have ample resources to support them. Most of the hosting countries are small number or lower-income countries. In fact, they carry the weight for other countries. These countries already struggle in order to provide basic resources for their own citizens; newcomers put tension on their economies.
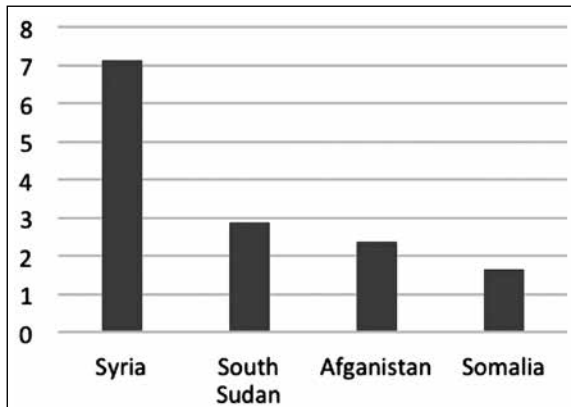
Figure 1.3. Major source countries of refugees (in millions).
Source: Adapted from "*Operational Portal: Refugees Situation*" [data file], by UNHCR, 2017a,
Annex, Table 1. Retrieved from http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean

Figure 1.3 presents the countries which are the main source of refugees. An escalating humanitarian crisis in Yemen, ongoing violence in northern Nigeria and persistent conflict in Colombia have also contributed to the rising number of internally displaced people, while the war in Syria has caused an increase in refugees.

POLICY ACTORS AND THE COMPOSITION OF THEIR VOICES

From an international viewpoint, the right to education of refugees is officially recognized by many countries. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN General Assembly (1989) states that children of refugees are entitled to the rights conferred on all children, including the right to education, health, adequate standard of living and social security. There are two international documents regulating the protection of refugees: the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol. Today, 147 countries have signed either one or both agreements (UN General Assembly, 1951, 1967).

However, the right to education addresses school level education (i.e. primary and secondary levels of education). At this level, the main actors are on the domestic and national level whereas, when addressing the issue of higher education, more global level actors are key partners in developing such a policy.

However, the distinction between the policy of education for school age children and the policy for higher education is less valid in the contemporary knowledge age. The recent UN policy, entitled SDG2030, recognizes the transformation from focusing on school age children towards addressing all levels of education, including tertiary (UN General Assembly, (2015).

Nonetheless, the contemporary knowledge era sets the need for lifelong learning and changes the focus from solely school level learning to lifelong learning. Stiglitz and Greenwald (2014) in their book, *Creating a Learning Society*, highlight the importance of governments "promoting growth through the creation or strengthening of the learning society."

However, the question of higher education for refugees remains a puzzle in this regard. Should there be a local level policy concern? Or should there be a more common shared responsibility? Furthermore, questions on finance mechanisms for education bring up the struggle of the trade-off between central finance and innovative finance mechanisms in education.

Main Actors

The main actors in the field of higher education policy for refugees are at the global policy level (e.g. UN, UNHCR), the international policy level (e.g. the European Commission—Higher education for migrants and refugees) and the local and national level (e.g. University level policy).

Actors' Voices

A salient global voice is the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 2030 which is a set of 17 goals adopted by countries in 2015 to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all, as part of a new sustainable development agenda. Each goal has specific targets to be achieved over the next 15 years.

Amongst them, SDG-4 ensures inclusive and equitable quality education and promotes lifelong learning opportunities for all. More specifically, the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015 addresses the issue of refugees.

People who are vulnerable must be empowered. Those whose needs are reflected in the Agenda include all children, youth, persons with disabilities (of whom more than 80 percent live in poverty), people living with HIV/AIDS, older persons, indigenous peoples, refugees and internally displaced persons and migrants. We resolve to take further effective measures and actions, in conformity with international law, to remove obstacles and constraints, strengthen support and meet the special needs of people living in areas affected by complex humanitarian emergencies and terrorism (UN General Assembly, 2015, Art. 23).

In addition, the third target at the SDG4 is focused on higher education for all. SDG4.3: By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university (UN General Assembly, 2015).

However, although the de-jure global policy towards refugees' higher education pictures a world that is impressive, the de-facto policy might suggest that development is still needed.

As indicated by the monitoring of the "Progress of Goal 4 in 2017" (UN Economic and Social Council, 2017), there is still a need to address the issue of education for refugees.

Achieving inclusive and equitable quality education for all will require increasing efforts, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia and for vulnerable populations, including persons with disabilities, indigenous people, refugee children and poor children in rural areas (ibid).

Financing the global SGD4 in general is addressed by another important key policy actor: The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity, also known as The Education Commission. At the de-facto policy level, however, it is still a mystery, as the financing issue of SDG4.3 is quite vague.

In the Education Commission (2016) final report entitled "The Learning Generation", another significant global effort that highlights the importance of education is stated. The Education Commission efforts were enhanced by the participation of 27 commissioners led by former UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown and composed of notable figures ranging from Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen to singer Shakira. The Commission strongly endorses the need to "develop reliable and consistent ways of financing education in emergencies", while the report states that a system of support for refugees and displaced persons that relies on a voluntary "begging bowl" cannot be defended.

The report identifies four key "transformations" proposed for education: performance, innovation, inclusion and finance. The most innovative recommendation of "The Learning Generation" report is focused on financing. It calls for the establishment of an "investment mechanism" with the involvement of the Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs). This mechanism is likely to include the World Bank and the four regional development banks, in coordination with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] and the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF]. This mechanism—also termed a "Financing Compact"—is meant to raise funds for education using innovative finance mechanisms[2].

Stromquist (2017) explains that this report is missing a comprehensive conceptual framework of the role of adult education in national development. She asserts that, in the contemporary era, the race toward the "knowledge society," the education of marginalized adults—the most excluded of all social groups—remains absent from the international political discourse, as there is no mention of adult education or out-of-school children.

Higher education is an essential part of the education continuum. It is a human right protected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General

Assembly, 1948, Art. 26.1). Access to higher education serves as a strong incentive for students to continue and complete their studies at the primary and secondary levels. Higher education also contributes to solutions and post-conflict reconstruction, promotes social, economic and gender equality, as well as empowers refugee communities (UNHCR, 2015).

UNESCO (2017) states that education can provide long-term, dependable and safe environments, in particular for some of the most vulnerable refugee populations.

The "*Education 2030—Incheon declaration and framework for action for the implementation of sustainable development Goal 4*" (UNESCO, 2015a) emphasizes that Member States should commit themselves to "developing more inclusive, responsive and resilient education systems to meet the needs of children, youth and adults […] including internally displaced persons and refugees" (clause 11). It highlights in its vision for education that inclusion and equity in and through education are very much needed to ensure that no one is left behind. As such, equity and inclusion are two key elements to be taken into consideration when it comes to education in emergency contexts.

The Education 2030 Framework for Action emphasizes that it is crucial to address the educational needs of internally displaced persons and refugees. Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) therefore cannot be achieved by 2030 without meeting the education needs of vulnerable populations, including refugees, stateless persons and other forcibly displaced people (UNESCO, 2017).

It is vital that governments and higher education institutions provide more schemes allowing refugees to attend universities under the same conditions as nationals. To facilitate this, secondary school students need more academic support through extracurricular programming and tutoring so they meet the standards for higher education. Before that, we need to ensure that the millions of refugee children not in primary or secondary school are given the chance to get there. The journey may be long and sometimes arduous, but the prize of higher education at the end can act as a powerful motivation (UNESCO, 2016c).

Indeed, the SDG 2030 4.b addresses the need for increasing access to higher education for needy populations (UN General Assembly, 2015): "By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programs, in developed countries and other developing countries"[3]. However, the need to finance higher education for refugees is not mentioned.

Close to 4,400 refugees in 38 countries received the Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee scholarship (also known by its German acronym DAFI) to undertake higher education. In addition, some 1,500 students undertook higher education through "connected learning" programs, which combine face-to-face instruction with online learning to extend the reach of certified tertiary programs.

Connected learning engages learners in ways that allow them to link different dimensions of their learning environments: personal interests, peer relationships and opportunities[4]. In total, more than 5,000 students have benefited from connected learning programs since 2010 (UNHCR, 2017b).

Though the global policy arena fails to address the issue of higher education for refugees, more local initiatives are taking place, such as on the international and national levels. Jungblut and Pietkiewicz (2017) explore the de-facto policy towards refugees and their access to higher education in Europe. Their report—The European Student Union Report—analyzes how a selected pool of countries use education as an instrument for inclusion of refugees.

The European Student Union Report includes detailed country analyses of Romania, Flanders (Belgium), Norway and Germany. The chosen countries represent different parts of Europe as well as countries that face specific challenges in coping with the inclusion of refugees into higher education and have partially found solutions for these problems that might serve as good practice examples.

Jungblut and Pietkiewicz (2017) state that according to the information provided by the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), the lack of adequate financing is one of the main barriers refugees face when accessing higher education in Europe. The European Student Union Report argues that providing access to education for refugees contributes to the country economically and societally. However, in order to guarantee this inherent element of integration, national higher education systems need to fulfill their commitments to social dimensions, i.e. development and implementation of the strategies and measures to mirror the diversity of society within higher education.

The European Student Union Report shows that despite various approaches to policymaking and implementation that the countries have applied, there are elements in common: bottom-up approaches and initiatives taken up by higher education institutions, staff, students and NGOs, regardless of the scope of governmental support, which are central to the integration of the refugees.

Today the world is facing the largest migrant crisis in human history: more than 65 million people—nearly one percent of the world's population—are displaced as a result of conflict. This affects not only the person themselves, but also has a diverse effect on the economy. Higher education is necessary in the pursuit of skilled work in the global economy. There are positive personal returns for higher education. For example, over a lifetime, workers with a bachelor's degree earn $1.2 million more than those who only have a high school diploma. Yet the United Nations estimates that while 34 percent of eligible youth globally are enrolled in tertiary degree programs, just 1 percent of displaced persons have access to higher education.

There are also policymakers at the international level, such as the European Commission, that are concerned with crafting policy towards the integration of refugees in higher education. In fact, the Commission funds projects and disseminates

successful practices in this field. Language skills and recognition of qualifications are key issues for these groups (European Commission, 2017).

Around 100,000 refugees can access free Online Linguistic Support (OLS). The Erasmus+ Online Linguistic Support currently offers online language courses in different languages, such as Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, German etc. (Erasmus+ is the EU's program to support education, training, youth and sport in Europe; its budget of €14.7 billion will provide opportunities for over 4 million Europeans to study, train, gain experience and volunteer abroad; OLS for refugees is part of the Erasmus+ program). The European Commission has decided to extend this language service to the benefit of around 100,000 refugees over three years, on a voluntary basis and free of charge for them. The OLS can be used at any time from a computer, tablet or smartphone with an Internet connection. Many higher education actors have taken the initiative in facilitating the integration of refugees in European universities. The European Commission carried out a survey to collect such initiatives, grouped under the following three themes: Access, Meet basic needs and ease social integration; Recognition of skills.

At the University level, policy actors can make a difference. Morrice (2013) examined the refugees in UK higher education. He states that for highly educated refugee professionals who flee to the UK, gaining a university qualification is one of the key strategies which can be used to re-establish a professional identity and find employment.

One example of the effect of University level policy is described by Gittleson and Usher (2017). They designed a pilot course for supporting (including financially) Syrian refugees to study at Columbia University in New York. Gittleson and Usher argue that allowing refugees who would have been able to earn high returns associated with their higher education to earn at a level below their earnings potentially leads to an economic loss. This loss has a further effect, for example, as fewer people will pay higher taxes. Investing in the finance of higher education for refugees can allow for an economic gain that helps not just the individual but also the hosting county.

The authors concluded that "there exists a highly qualified population of refugees who would do well at many other US universities." However, their pilot is unique as similar programs are available only in two much smaller universities, the Illinois Institute of Technology and Monmouth College, both of which have placed refugee graduates in jobs at big-name firms such as Goldman Sachs, and Google. However, the authors have shown concern with the current policy of the new government in the US that might put more challenge on crafting an effective policy.

As mentioned in the previous section, Turkey is the country that hosts the largest number of refugees. Indeed, Turkey has the largest number of refugees enrolled in higher education. The report by Yavcan and El-Ghali (2017) gives insights into the current status of higher education for Syrian refugees and displaced persons in Turkey. There are some 14,000 Syrian refugees enrolled in higher education insti-

tutions in Turkey. Most of them are BA students, the lesser share is MA students (some 1000) and some 300 are Doctoral students.

Yavcan and El-Ghali (*ibid.*) found that the large number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has changed the national demographics and challenged the local level policymakers to meet the needs of both the refugees and the host communities. They found that the demand for higher education has increased and is much higher than the available opportunities. In addition, there are multiple challenges for refugees in accessing education—financial shortcomings being one of them.

One of the recommendations suggested by Yavcan and El-Ghali (*ibid.*) addressed the financial barriers. The financial situation of many of the students also leads them to drop out of universities: "An increase in the number of scholarships offered would definitely ease the students' suffering and increase the number of students who are qualified and interested in pursuing higher education" (p. 39).

In addition, the authors recommend offering job opportunities to improve the students' financial situation that might help them support their families: "Many of the Syrian refugees are also responsible to provide for their families. Therefore, they are burdened with the responsibility of not only managing the cost of education and language learning, but also making sure their families are able to survive" (p. 40). Hence, scholarships can only temporarily address the issues of affordable higher education for refugees. A holistic approach that would improve the living standards of the refugees could increase their educational integration in a more sustainable way; this recommendation calls for collaboration of policymakers, national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as donors, in order to increase access to higher education for refugees.

A THEORETICAL TRANSFORMATION FROM EDUCATION AS A PUBLIC GOOD TOWARD A GLOBAL COMMON GOOD

The global knowledge era challenges education policymaking. The increasing mobility of learners and workers across national borders as well as the new patterns of knowledge and skills transfer require new ways of addressing learning (UNESCO, 2015a, 2015b).

The expansion of access to education worldwide puts greater pressure on public financing. Additionally, more and more partnerships and involvement of non-state actors in education, at both the national and global levels, are evident. This diversification of partnerships is blurring the boundaries between public and private, challenging the governance of education.

The UNESCO (2015a) publication suggested rethinking the normative principles that guide educational governance, in particular the right to education and the notion of education as a public good. Education is addressed as a public good in

international discourse. However, this is mainly not accurate for education beyond the school level.

This writer proposes that both knowledge and education be considered common goods. This implies that the creation of knowledge as well as its acquisition, validation and use are common to all people as part of a collective societal endeavor.

Knowledge is an inherent part of the common heritage of humanity. Given the need for sustainable development in an increasingly interdependent world, education and knowledge should, therefore, be considered global common goods. Inspired by the value of solidarity grounded in our common humanity, the principle of knowledge and education as global common goods has implications for the roles and responsibilities of the diverse stakeholders (UNESCO, 2015e).

INNOVATIVE FINANCIAL MECHANISMS

There is a consensus that ensuring higher education for all, including refugees, is important. However, there is still uncertainty and disagreement regarding the way to finance education. On the one hand, innovative financing mechanisms harness the power of markets to raise money for the purchase of global public good (Altman, 2010), where global public good might refer to education. However, on the other hand, innovative finance mechanisms are identified by privatization and less centralized finance in education. In the previous section, the idea of common good was introduced, an idea which highlights the need for a different allocation mechanism. Traditional mechanisms such as foreign aid have been unable to garner sufficient sums to make significant progress for the provision of education. Reaching higher levels of global public good provisions thus requires a new or an 'innovative' set of fundraising mechanisms to supplement the traditional ones.

Higher education for refugees might be seen as a global public good, because it has positive effects beyond one country's borders. Global public goods are in a dual sense public: they are public as opposed to private and global as opposed to national. Global public goods are goods with benefits and/or costs that potentially extend to all countries, people and generations.

Altman (2010) discusses two categories of innovative finance mechanisms, the first being "investment mechanisms" which offers a return to investors based on a set of contractual terms. These include bonds issued in international credit markets; government agree to pay the coupons and principal of the bonds over time in lieu of making annual commitments of aid.

The second category contains mechanisms that collect money entirely as donations: the contributors expect nothing in return except for the edification of an altruistic act and the potential benefit from the global public goods that they are helping to procure.

In 2016, a significant global effort to highlight the importance of innovative finance mechanisms for education was formed in the new report of The Education Commission (2016), entitled "The Learning Generation". This Commission emerged to examine ways to improve global education, including education for refugees.

Stromquist (2017) argues that "The Learning Generation" report presents one of the most complete and meticulous displays of up-to-date research evidence in favor of education. Faced with the positive consequences of education upon the individual and society. She further argues that it seems undeniable that education is one of the few common goods we still have available in a globalized world.

However, Stromquist (*ibid.*) criticizes the innovative finance mechanisms proposed in "The Learning Generation" report for privatizing the financing of education. In addition, she argues that there is a need for a global tax mechanism that will finance inclusive and equitable quality education as well as promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, as stated by SDG4 2030.

The "The Learning Generation" report calls for the establishment of an 'investment mechanism' with the involvement of the MDBs. This mechanism is likely to include the World Bank and the four regional development banks, in coordination with UNESCO and UNICEF. Moreover, the investment mechanism would serve as a fundraising agency for additional financing, seeking support from philanthropists, corporations and charitable organizations which might donate some $7 billion by 2020 and $20 billion by 2030. This mechanism would be headed by a Special Representative for Education, appointed by the UN Secretary-General, "tasked with upholding children's rights by holding countries to account for meeting their responsibilities" (The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity, 2016). An idea of the extremely low expenditures in the school systems in some countries today is given by "The Learning Generation" report's affirmation that after all this increased investment in education, low-income countries would be spending $212 per primary pupil and $368 per secondary student by 2030 (which would be about 2 percent and 4 percent of today's average K–12 expenditure per capita in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] countries, which is $9,000).

"The Learning Generation" report does not address two of the main actors in the field of education. The UN system already has UNESCO as the agency in charge of education, meaning that the report's proposal would clearly bypass UNESCO. In addition, there is already a Global Partnership for Education [GPE], a pooled global fund focusing on basic quality education for children in the world's poorest countries. It has been giving grants totaling approximately half a billion dollars per year, obviously not enough for what is needed. "The Learning Generation" report does not make clear why strengthening the GPE is not an option.

A question that comes to mind is why past efforts to increase funding for education have fallen short. According to the "The Learning Generation" report,

this was "due to failure to communicate a compelling investment case, short-term political perspectives when payoffs for education are long term, inefficiencies in delivery, lack of coordination, perceived weaknesses in the link between investment and results" (p. 112). The diagnosis thus attributes the limited support to education mostly to problems of communication and coordination.

Stromquist (2017) thinks that this is an oversimplified explanation which ignores more powerful forces that put public education on the back-burners of governments and economic elites alike. "The Learning Generation" report envisages increasing taxation at national levels, but there is no serious reference to the increasing need for global taxation.

Cobham and Klees (2016) advocate a global taxation mechanism as opposed to innovative finance mechanisms. They argue that there is a US$39 billion annual financial gap in order to meet SDG4 targets solely for pre-primary, primary and secondary education. This gap is even larger when including tertiary level of education.

Finally, this chapter proposes an alternative view on the financial aspects of higher education for refugees. While a global tax is suggested as a mechanism for financing education at the primary and secondary levels (Cobham & Klees, 2016), this chapter suggests a micro-levy approach for financing the higher education of refugees. This proposal is based on the approach to education as a common good (UNESCO, 2015e). It is suggested to levy one percent of the revenue of an international corporation that works at the global level and is related to education (e.g. Google), so as to distribute this revenue for the education needs of refugees.

Furthermore, the suggested mechanism will be operationalized by a fund, such as Education Cannot Wait. Education Cannot Wait is a new global fund to transform the delivery of education in emergencies. This global fund might be able to redistribute the pull of monetary resources it has collected to any country facing a large share of refugees that pursue higher education; however, the national budget restriction, in that country, limits the ability of local government to sponsor tuition and other necessary fees and payments needed for refugees to attend a higher education institution. Such a platform might assist the local nation-based government at the country level mechanism of financing education.

NOTES

1. Tertiary education is the educational level following the completion of a school providing a secondary education. The World Bank, for example, defines tertiary education as including universities as well as trade schools and colleges.
2. The UN Global Compact's Financial Innovation for the SDGs Action Platform brings together a multi-disciplinary group of finance practitioners and experts to develop innovative private financial instruments that have the potential to direct private finance towards critical sustainability solutions.

3. http://indicators.report/indicators/
4. For further reading on connected learning see http://www.connectedlearning4refugees.org/about-us/#about-background

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Higher Education AS AN Instrument OF Social Inclusion FOR Displaced Students AND Refugees

CAROL A. KOCHHAR-BRYANT

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE CHALLENGE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

The world is facing the largest migrant crisis in human history, with nearly 1 percent of the world's population displaced as a result of conflict (Gittleson & Usher, 2017). The last estimate by the United Nations of global displaced and refugee population puts the number at close to 65 million, about the population of France. If that number grows at just 2 percent per year, within 35 years our planet will be home to 130 million refugees (Watenpaugh, 2016). World War II displaced approximately 20 million worldwide but numerous conflicts around the world have resulted in waves of migrants.

Host countries are attempting to accommodate refugees who are fleeing their countries for a variety of reasons. Romania, for example, has a population of unregistered or 'grey' refugees who have fled war zones and are joining family members (Eckhardt et al., 2017). The UN estimates at least 200,000 Syrians have had their post-secondary education interrupted as a result of conflict and approximately 30 percent of externally displaced and refugee Syrians are of university age (Institute of International Education, 2016). Before the conflict in Syria, participation in tertiary or higher education was high. Watenpaugh (2016) points out that most of these displaced young people will remain outside their home countries for an average of 17 years. Conflict, war and the effects of regional climate change will continue to displace millions around the globe, including university and college students. In times

of peace, these students become their societies' future leaders, but in times of war they may become a lost generation (Institute of International Education, 2016).

The U.S. leads the world in the number of immigrants it has taken in, or who have come into the country undocumented. Currently, 45 million people (or approximately 14 percent) residing in the U.S. are foreign born. In the U.S., the broad term 'displaced persons' includes the following categories of populations with distinct differences and needs important in crafting policies and services:

- Internally displaced person: An individual forced to flee from his/her home due to armed conflict, human rights violations or natural disasters, but still within their country of origin.
- Asylum seeker: A person seeking international protection whose claim for refugee status has not yet been determined.
- Refugee: A person who, owing to well-founded fear of persecution, is outside the country of his/her nationality and cannot avail themselves of protection of that country.
- Refugee in protracted situations: A refugee in a long-term state of displacement, in which a large number of refugees of the same nationality have been in exile for several years in a given asylum country.
- Stateless person: A person who is not considered as a national by any State (United Nations Refugee Agency, UNHCR, 2015).

Protracted refugee situations can result from political action both within the country of origin and the country of asylum. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile (UNHCR, 2015).

Asylum-seekers include some of the most vulnerable members of society: children, single mothers, victims of domestic violence or torture and other individuals who have suffered persecution and trauma. In the U.S., these individuals may live in communities while their applications are processed, or may be detained while awaiting a hearing or interview date years in the future. In 2016, the U.S. immigration court and asylum systems were backlogged with more than 620,000 pending (Human Rights First, 2016).

A large portion of refugees into the U.S. include those from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean who are undocumented. DACA students are protected under Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, a federal program allowing immigrants who came to the country as children to stay in the U.S. Since its launch by the Obama administration in August 2012, the DACA program has provided work authorization and a two-year reprieve from deportation to nearly 800,000 unauthorized immigrants (Capps, Fix, & Zong, 2017). According to a study of 909 DACA students who are participants originating in 55 countries and across 34 states:

- 61.3 percent have household incomes below $30,000 and 29 percent have incomes below 50,000;
- 72.4 percent work while attending college;
- 75 percent report constant concerns about deportation and 56 percent personally know someone who has been deported, including a parent;
- 29 percent of male and 37 percent of female college students had anxiety scores above a clinical cut-off level (in contrast to 4 percent and 9 percent of a normal population);
- 73 percent of participants with access to centers or safe spaces, where displaced students can gather to share experiences, reported making use of them (Pew Research Center, 2015).

The U.S. only allows a small number of college-aged refugees into the country each year, closing opportunities for many to pursue a college degree. The U.S. refugee program is operated by three federal agencies:

- Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), U.S. State Department;
- Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), Department of Health and Human Services (HHS);
- Asylum Division of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS), Department of Homeland Security (DHS) (U.S. Department of State, 2017).

In 2017, the Obama administration's budget for total refugee resettlement was $2.1 billion. The Trump administration budget is $1.5 billion, or, specifically, a reduction of $665 million. The Obama administration set a refugee target of 110,000 each year; the Trump administration has reduced that target to 50,000 (Touchberry, 2017).

COMPLEXITY OF BARRIERS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Outcomes for refugees or displaced people present a complex picture. Outcomes vary based on gender, age of arrival and years living in the U.S. before entering post-secondary education. When refugees arrive as older teens, they do substantially worse than their U.S. born counterparts and their graduation rates are also lower than U.S. born peers. About 40 percent of 23- to 28-year-olds born in the U.S. graduate from college, but refugees who entered the country at age 18–19 saw graduation rates of less than 20 percent (Evans & Fitzgerald, 2017).

In September 2016, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR, 2016) reported that just 1 percent of post-secondary aged refugees attend university, as compared to 34 percent of all higher-education-aged youth

globally. Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014) suggest that the experiences of different refugee communities is a consequence of many factors—economic, political, social, ethnic and religious conflict—that coalesce differently in various communities.

The UNHCR (2016) outlined five broad categories of universal problems associated with access to HE: (a) lack of documentation and credentials; (b) lack of access to information; (c) difficulty with the language of academic instruction; (d) discrimination; and (e) expenses, including tuition and living costs. These five problem categories, which shaped many analyses of 'good practices' for strengthening integration and inclusion of refugees, clearly focus on practical concerns but not the profound impacts of the refugee experience on social and psychological well-being. Numerous European and U.S. country reports reviewed by this author, included negligible information related to social-psychological needs of refugees in their analyses of 'good practices,' recommendations or measures of integration of refugees in higher education. Therefore, I would add a sixth category—*social-psychological adjustment*. These categories are discussed below.

First, refugee student applicants often lack documentation or credentials indicating courses taken and grades earned. Governments may require them to return to their home universities in person to obtain transcripts, leaving them vulnerable to arrest, conscription, detention or conflict violence (Eckhardt et al., 2017). For example, many university-age refugees want to study in the United States, but to get a student visa, which is different from permission to immigrate, they must prove that they can speak English, have been accepted to a U.S. university or college and can cover their costs. They must also promise that after graduation they will return to their home countries, something difficult for many from countries in sustained conflict (Marcus, 2016). Furthermore, technological disruption affects many applicants who may live with intermittent Internet access or electricity, or may not have access to official transcripts because their home university was bombed. They may not be able to provide letters of recommendation because their professors may have died or fled.

Second, refugee applicants often lack access to information about scholarships or programs that could assist them to find, apply and matriculate to a new university. Third, applicants may experience difficulty with the language of instruction. For example, Syrians fluent in French, English or Turkish may need to learn the vocabulary required for a business or engineering course, as well as the standard conventions of academic writing in the new language. The complexity of oral and written academic English skills generally requires between five to seven years of academic instruction to develop academic second-language skills comparable to those of native English speakers. Their academic language skills may not allow them to engage with academic content, participate in class discussions, understand complex assignments, read as quickly as their peers or perform well on student assessments. Thus, it is not surprising that limited English proficiency is often

associated with lower GPAs, repeated courses and reduced graduation rates (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Teranishi, 2016).

Fourth, students may face discrimination in their receiving country, which can make local universities less hospitable for students, particularly those from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia (Eckhardt et al., 2017). For example, there are approximately 7 million Muslims living in the U.S. (Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2011) who face two main challenges: difficulty with acculturation and adjustment to their new life, as well as discrimination and marginalization in society (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009).

Fifth, these students face high expenses, including the need to support families. Student accommodations are often insufficient, even to meet the demand of non-refugee students, while most of the accommodation is suited for single students, not families (OECD, 2015).

SIXTH CATEGORY: SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT AS A PRIMARY BARRIER TO RETENTION AND DEGREE COMPLETION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Recently, research on refugee conditions has focused on issues of "resilience" and "agency" (Terry, Naylor, Nguyen, & Rizzo, 2016) and the application of strengths-based models. Some observers have indicated that these students are much like other students in their need for support, orientation and academic guidance, as well as that they demonstrate extraordinary resilience and resourcefulness (Li & Francis, 2014; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2016). For example, Eades (2013), while not commenting specifically on education matters, argued for a more robust view of the "refugee experience" and a perspective that takes into account the strengths of "individuals, families and communities in relation to their capacities, talents, competencies, possibilities, visions, values and hopes; rather than through their deficiencies, pathologies or disorders" (p. 4). Others are of the belief that, in contrast to younger refugees, older refugees are much more resilient. This author argues for a balanced approach that recognizes the need to promote resilience and agency, but also acknowledges the need to provide social-psychological supports.

Migration is a transformational process with potential for lasting impact on socioemotional development. It is one of the most stressful events an individual or family can experience (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Teranishi, 2016). New arrivals who experienced trauma, either before or during the migration process, may remain preoccupied with the violence and may also feel guilty about having escaped while loved ones remain behind. Those who are undocumented face the growing realities of workplace raids that can lead to traumatic and sudden separations. The cumulative stressors, compounded by the loss of social supports, can exacerbate psy-

chological and physical symptoms (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Teranishi, 2016).

Kirmayer et al. (2011) searched and compiled literature on prevalence and risk factors for common mental health problems related to migration, the effect of cultural influences on health and illness, as well as clinical strategies to improve mental health care for immigrants and refugees. The migration trajectory can be divided into three components, each with specific risks and exposures: premigration, migration and postmigration resettlement. The prevalence of specific types of mental health problems is influenced by the nature of the migration experience: adversity experienced before, during and after resettlement. Particular challenges in migrant mental health include communication difficulties because of language and cultural differences; the effects of cultural attitudes on symptoms and behavior in coping and treatment; differences in family structure that affect ability to adapt, acculturate and navigate intergenerational conflicts; and potential discrimination by the host society that affects employment, social status and integration (Kirmayer et al., 2011).

It is well documented that a majority of refugees and asylum seekers worldwide have experienced significant pre-migratory traumatic and life altering events which include war, torture, violence, targeted persecution, forced labor, forced migration, exile and family separation (Gojer & Ellis, 2014; Rousseau, Pottie, Thombs, Munoz, & Jurcik, 2011). Systematic reviews and meta-analyses confirm that refugees experience up to 10 times the rate of post-traumatic stress disorder as well as elevated rates of depression, anxiety, adjustment disorders, trauma based illnesses such as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), chronic pain and other somatic complaints (Buhmann, 2014; Kirmayer, 2011; Lindert, Ehrenstein, & Priebe, 2009; Silove, Ventevogel, & Rees, 2017; Steel, Chey, & Silove, 2009; Wilson, Murtaza, & Shakya, 2010). Rates of mental illness in refugees include PTSD (84 percent), depression (61 percent), traumatic brain injury (5 percent) and cognitive limitations (9 percent) (Moran, 2013; Rousseau et al., 2011).

Disillusionment, demoralization and depression can occur both early as a result of migration-associated losses or later, when initial hopes and expectations are not realized or there are sustained obstacles to integration and advancement in their new communities as a result of exclusionary policies, racism and discrimination (Center for Collegiate Mental Health, 2017; Cook, Alegria, & Lin, 2009; Kinzie, 2007). People who are chronically anxious or actively depressed have a lower rate of graduation, so there are incentives for colleges to provide access to mental health services.

While discrimination is included as one of the UNHCR five broad categories of universal problems with integration of refugees, it has a link to social-emotional problems associated with past traumatic events. Many immigrants are viewed as failing to become fully engaged citizens, or are accused of taking on citizenship for economic benefits or welfare. Stereotyping and prejudice create conditions of social

exclusion and chronic stress that exacerbate anxiety, depression, trauma and anger. In a cyclical fashion, such exclusionary messages are linked to poor psychological and physical outcomes, further undermining the sense of social belonging and identity (APA, 2012).

Some countries are so concerned that they have developed positions and statements about the inadequate provision of mental health services to asylum seekers and refugees, as well as urged policy change (Mental Health Service Requirements for Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Ireland, 2017; Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists, 2017). The position paper from Ireland indicated that asylum seekers have higher levels of psychopathology than the general population and have up to 10 times the level of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) compared to the indigenous population. *Social–psychological adjustment and support* is a primary factor for prevention of dropout and promotion of long-term success in higher education and society.

Exposure to interpersonal traumatic events including torture, illustrated in the two vignettes below, threatens trust in others and creates patterns of avoidance of new relationships. Difficulties in building trust and attachment sustains poor psychological health in refugees affected by interpersonal trauma (Morina, Schnyder, Schick, Nickerson, & Bryant, 2016).

Case 1

Sana's father was kidnapped by the Assad regime while Sana was in the US as part of the Middle East Partnership Initiative program sponsored by the World Affairs Council. Her mother and sisters fled to Turkey with nothing, where they have been living for the last two and a half years. None of the family has any news of their father in this time. Sana's younger sister, now 16, has not attended school in the last two years. Sana was able to remain in the US and apply for political asylum, a status she was granted just months before enrolling at Bard College.

Case 2

Born in Rawanda, Nikki is a 33-year-old mother of three children. When she was 14 years old, genocide erupted in Rwanda. Nikki described the outbreak of ethnically charged violence between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes as the reason for leaving Rwanda. Some estimate that as many as 800,000 people died in the aftermath, with the vast majority of the deceased identified as members of the Tutsi ethnic group. As a member of the Tutsi, Nikki witnessed the massacre of her immediate family, including her parents and siblings, by Hutu tribe members. She survived a violent attack, relocated to Uganda, later moved to the U.K. and finally resettled to Ohio

in 2011. Nikki attended four-year public institutions and was a full-time, degree seeking student (Felix, 2016).

Cases like these highlight the imperative for universities to be prepared to deal with complex familial situations far outside the bounds of typical student experiences. Layers of challenges facing these students require their counselors or mentors to not only listen deeply and empathetically but also know the kinds of conditions that these students have experienced. Positive psychology and strengths-based models that build on student's enormous strengths and coping strategies may not be sufficient for those in states of chronic stress.

Even if students from refugee backgrounds gain access to higher education, retention remains a concern, as research suggests that migrants—including second or third generation—are more likely to drop out (Higher Education Supporting Refugees in Europe, 2017). In the U.S. case of undocumented youth, about 122,600 high school seniors attend school every year, but only 31,850 are likely to attend a postsecondary institution each year. Of those, less than 2,000 are likely to graduate from college (Institute for Immigration, Globalization, and Education, IMGE, 2015).

The IMGE (2015) surveyed 909 undocumented undergraduate students across 34 states, originating in 55 countries. The majority reported worries about being detained or deported and about half "personally knew someone who had been deported including a parent or a sibling" (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Teranishi, 2016, p. 6). Undocumented undergraduates also reported higher levels of anxiety than the clinical cut-off level for the "norm" population (Lee, 2015).

Refugee students in HE also experience barriers to accepting social-psychological supports when they are provided. For example, in the experience of one college, Syrian students had a hard time believing that free counseling services on campus truly were safe and confidential. They distrusted that it was acceptable to leave statistics class when the stress became too much upon learning that their home neighborhood had just been attacked (Institute of International Education, 2016).

PROMISING PRACTICES THAT FOCUS ON SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHALLENGES THAT IMPEDE STUDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Exacerbating the social-psychological challenges for refugee students, there is ample evidence that teacher training and professional development is seriously inadequate on the college campus. Naidoo et al. (2014, p. 17) found that "frequently, university staff—both academic and support—were unaware of the complex needs and

issues facing students of refugee origin as they transition into, and move through their university studies." Dippo et al. (2012) reported difficulties teachers have in responding adequately to the stories of trauma and terror that refugee students reveal about life in their home country.

Naidoo et al. (2014, p. 17) proposed professional development programs that address the cultural dimensions of the lives of students from refugee backgrounds, their values and beliefs, and the psychological, social, economic and educational barriers they face. The following is a synthesis of recommendations for providing specialized social-psychological or mental health supports:

- Create cohorts of students from countries in crisis to maximize peer support, rather than distributing small numbers across many university programs.
- Use trained interpreters and culture brokers, as well as meetings with families where appropriate (Murray, 2016).
- Prepare faculty to understand that refugee students may not wish to be the voice of the conflict or crisis in classroom discussions and campus events.
- Provide a hands-on support system with international student services, as well as academic advising with full-time professors in the discipline.
- Provide an Intensive English Center, writing center and supplemental instruction/ tutoring by upper-class students and faculty.
- Help students find campus-based jobs, particularly in which they can mentor others and forge relationships with peers.
- Engage the Student Affairs office to connect students from areas of conflict for emotional support.
- Provide incentives to faculty who either lived and worked in regions of conflict, or who conduct research on topics of interest to refugees, to mentor these students.
- Solicit advice and assistance from Arabic language faculty or other language faculty.
- Provide assistance to students on expectations in US classrooms.
- Introduce students to appropriate religious leaders on campus (Murray, 2016).
- Connect students with entities outside the campus, such as cultural centers, international organizations and expatriate organizations.
- Create student clubs to coalesce students with similar experiences.

According to Millner (2016), students need to learn to heal and therefore require life transforming educational as well as social experiences. Outreach and recruitment of refugee students in the higher education community are important commitments, equal to the commitment to tackle the complex, psychosocial challenges that many have experienced.

MEASURES OF THE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES: CONTINUING CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

What is refugee 'integration' and how is it measured? In many measurement frameworks a central indicator of integration is participation in the labor and housing markets as well as the education and healthcare systems. Ager and Strang (2008) provided a conceptual framework of refugee integration and defined ten core domains, with a strong focus on the structural environment. These include employment, housing, education, health, social bridges, social bonds, social links, language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability as well as rights and citizenship. These social domains address access to social activities and engagement with the community, but not specifically social-psychological needs that may stem from chronic stressors associated with migration.

Contextual factors are important for creating and interpreting measures of integration. For example, educational integration outcomes are shaped by socio-demographic factors, such as age and gender, as well as the impact of the migration process, family structure and income, health status, civic engagement and participation in the labor market (OECD, 2015). Understanding differences between immigrants' socio-demographic characteristics in comparison with their native-born counterparts is essential for interpreting integration outcomes.

In 2011 the European Union (2016), recognizing that refugees continue to face serious barriers to higher education, set out an agenda for the integration of these populations, calling for a coherent policy framework to strengthen human capital and employment. The following specific targeted measures were defined:

- Pre-arrival supports related to information about the country, expectations, rights and responsibilities
- Improved recognition of academic qualifications
- Innovative use of technology, social media and Internet
- Language integration programs
- Peer learning programs
- Skill building for instructors in higher education
- Labor market integration and opportunity to work
- Adequate accommodations
- Access to health and mental health services
- Civic orientation and opportunities for participation in local democratic structures

Method for Review of Policies and Practices in Six Countries

Using the above measures as a framework, a content review of six country reports was conducted. Countries were selected on the basis of several criteria: (a) the countries

had higher education systems with broad programs underway to improve access and integration into education for refugees and other displaced people; (b) the country reports included detailed descriptions of policies and practices in multiple university sitesl; and (c) the programs have been in place since 2015–16. While data is available on the size of the refugee population in each country, systematic data collection focused on the progression of this group to and through post-secondary study is minimal.

Table 2.1. Summary of policies and practices for access and integration into higher education in six countries.

Summary of Policies and Practices for Access and Integration into Higher Education Within Six Countries*						
Access and integration practices within the system of universities	Belgium[1, 2, 3, 4]	Germany[5, 6, 7]	Norway[8]	Romania[9]	Australia[10]	USA[11, 12]
Total refugees and persons in refugee-like status at end of 2015 (UNHRC, 2015)	77,099	749,309	78,266	3,270	57,594	559,370
Separate online registration for student-refugees involving pre-screening of the candidate	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Flexible diplomas, credit or examination options, full or part-time	✓				✓	✓
Waiver of fee for recognition of credentials	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Alternative routes to recognition	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tuition fee reductions or study grants	✓	✓	✓			✓
Non-competing tuition grants (not competitive with country students)	✓	✓	✓			✓
Social Services on campus to assist with applications and tuition support	✓	✓		✓		
Supportive counseling	✓	✓				

Summary of Policies and Practices for Access and Integration into Higher Education Within Six Countries*						
Mentorship programs that pair students with foreign students				✓	✓	✓
Subsidies for income, accommodations, food, transport or health care	✓		✓			
Safe houses or shelters for victims of human trafficking asylum seekers				✓		
Programs offered in both the national language and English	✓					
Intensive language preparatory courses	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Systematic data collection on refugee students in HE						
Restrictions or controls on place of residence for refugees		✓	✓			
Special information and orientation for staff and professors				✓		✓

*See Notes for references to specific country reports.

Several things are noteworthy in the above table. While many countries are strengthening their infrastructure to support the access, enrollment and persistence in higher education, none of the measures or descriptions of best practices include specific programs to ensure access to mental health services—a primary obstacle to integration in all areas of life. Social Services supports on campus tend to focus on assisting with applications, acquiring tuition assistance and logistics related to housing and community services. Two countries included 'supportive counseling', but noted that many students fail to utilize such services because they do not trust them or understand how the services could help. Even though the European Union (2016) summary of Key Policy Priorities and Tools to Support Integration Across the EU included in its measures of integration the "provision of access to health and mental health services" (p. 12), the country reports were all but silent, addressing only generic "social service supports".

In view of the prevalence and risk factors for common mental health problems related to migration, it is essential that measures of integration and inclusion in higher education incorporate social-psychological supports and access to mental healthcare. Furthermore, such measures should move beyond simply communicating the availability of mental health services on campus to action strategies that express the value of collective responsibility, including those below:

- Construct specific proactive strategies for encouraging students to connect with mental health services through peer supports.
- Ensure that mental health professionals are knowledgeable about the kinds of experiences refugee students may have had during their transition.
- Provide faculty training and resource guides to convey the value of collective responsibility for all students.
- Develop course syllabi templates for faculty that outline campus resources (both peer-to-peer and professional resources) for students who may experience social or academic difficulty, or who may be in crisis.
- Provide faculty with strategies for managing sensitive discussions in class when refugee students choose to share difficult or traumatic experiences.
- Provide faculty with information on how to identify students who exhibit signs of distress in class, including sudden changes in behavior, changes in physical appearance or unkempt appearance, isolation and decrease in social interaction with others, abrupt decline in academic performance, failure to turn in assignments, missing classes or failure to respond when reached out to.
- Provide faculty with strategies on how to communicate with students in distress and connect them with appropriate campus support services.
- Establish forums for faculty to discuss issues associated with support of refugee students in their classrooms and on campus.

Finally, faculty training must be strengthened so that they can provide adequate responses to the experiences that refugee students may reveal when asked to talk about life in their home country.

CLOSING

The majority of refugees and asylum seekers worldwide have experienced significant pre-migratory traumatic and life altering events that contribute to the development of a constellation of mental health challenges. Defining measures of inclusion and integration that reflect the complex experiences of refugees who arrive at college campuses helps frame and structure effective policies and practical responses. Many public and private colleges today have mission statements that feature 'international outreach' or 'globalization' as a core tenet. American institutions of higher

education, therefore, cannot ignore the challenges of assisting refugee students to overcome barriers to access, persistence and successful completion of their programs. The public climate that each institution of higher education creates on its campus has serious ramifications for a sense of unity for us all.

NOTES

1. Korntheuer, Maehler, & Pritchard (2017). BAMF, (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2016).
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3. Eckhardt, Jungblut, Pietkiewitz, Steinhardt, & VuKasovic, M. (2017).
4. Huisman & Mampaey (2016). *Setting up associations in Flemish higher education.* Institute of International Education (2016). *Supporting Displaced and Refugee Students in Higher Education: Principles and Best Practices.*
5. European Union (July 6, 2016).
6. Morris-Lange & Brands (2016), *German Universities Open Doors to Refugees: Access Barriers Remain.*
7. OECD/European Union (2015), *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In.*
8. Reklev (2016). *Resettlement in contemporary Norway—lessons from a discourse analysis of the Norwegian debate on the Syrian refugee crisis.*
9. Stanton (2016): *Best Practices: Making Use of Existing University Resources to Welcome and Integrate Refugee Students.*
10. Naylor, Nguyen, & Rizzo, A. (2016). *Not there yet: An investigation into the access and participation of students from Humanitarian Refugee backgrounds in the Australian Higher Education System.*
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In THE United States, Is There A Home AND Access TO Higher Education FOR Migrants, Immigrants AND Refugees?

DUNCAN WAITE AND JASON R. SWISHER

INTRODUCTION

Angela Davis (2017), known for her activism, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, observed that the only thing that travels freely across borders is capital; neither goods nor people travel as freely as does capital (Harrington, 2016). However true this may be, people do travel and have been doing so since time immemorial. What changes through time are the contexts and motivations of and for human movement? This chapter is a critical theoretical-conceptual analysis of immigration, its motivations and consequences, especially as concerns higher education in the US.

We see at least four distinct phases in a migrant's or refugee's journey: the country of origin and its attendant conditions; the journey; the intermediate destination, if different from the final intended destination; and the final, intended destination.[1] Each of the stages or phases has other, sometimes particular, characteristics. Consideration of the origin or sending country or locale begs consideration of the motivation of the refugee or migrant, his or her resources and aspirations or intention to return to his/her 'home' country.

The resources a migrant or refugee has at his or her disposal is an important consideration in all of these stages. These resources may include not only financial resources, but cultural capital as well. The migrant or refugee's journey, his or her entry into the country of (original) destination may be smoothed if the migrant or refugee has significant financial resources. As an example, in Canada and the US, potential immigrants may, in effect, purchase a visa, a 'green card' in the US, which could lead to citizenship for, in most cases, the immigrant and his/her spouse and children under 21 years of age. Harrington (2016) referred to these visa programs as 'cash-for-passports' programs and noted that such schemes, "while legal… have been attacked by the European Commission as undermining the legitimacy of state authority" (p. 240).

The current 'cost' of a visa or minimum level of investment is $500,000–$1,000,000 in the US. That is, if a migrant invests a half a million dollars in the US, she is granted an EB-5 visa (https://www.uscis.gov/eb-5):

> Through a federal visa program known as *EB-5*, foreigners, more than 80 percent of them from China, are investing billions of dollars in hotels, condominiums, office towers and public/private works in the hope it will result in green cards. Twelve-hundred foreigners have poured $600 million into projects at Hudson Yards [New York]; 1,154 have invested $577 million in Pacific Park Brooklyn, the development formerly known as Atlantic Yards; and 500 have put $250 million into the Four Seasons hotel and condominium in the financial district. (Satow, 2015, para. 4)

In Canada, the minimum investment was 800,000 CAD for five years (after which the money was returned to the 'investor' with zero percent interest).[2] One difference between the American and Canadian policies is that Canadians didn't concern themselves with the source of the monies, whereas in the US the source of the money is said to have been considered.

The source of the money of the intended migrant matters. Dark money, gotten through corrupt means, outright theft or other illegal dealings such as drug or human trafficking, needs to be hidden, laundered or cleaned and, in many cases, moved (Harrington, 2016). Mainland Chinese who have ill-gotten gains feel the need to move this money out of China, often to the US or Canada, sometimes through the EB-5 visa program. Some Chinese mainlanders migrate to the US so that their children can enter university there, or Chinese with means may send their school-aged children to the US to attend school to escape the "test-driven, high pressure world of schools" in China (Huang, 2016, para. 5) and increase their child's chances of getting into a US university. Korean, Hong Kong and Taiwanese parents do this as well. These children are known as 'parachute kids' (para. 6).

The opposite is true for those not so well off. American Chinese immigrant parents with few means send their children to live with relatives in China so the

parents can work long hours at minimum wage jobs (sometimes paying off debts to those who smuggled them in to the US) in order to 'make it' in the US, often working in Chinese restaurants and nail salons (Wang, 2016). US South Asian, African and Caribbean parents do so as well. These children are referred to as 'satellite babies,' whom principals, teachers and school psychologists report as having a hard time in school when they return to the United States.

The resources someone has or is willing to bring to their target country of destination affects nearly all of the different stages of their immigration, from motivation for leaving. Many who have gotten their monies illegally or through corrupt means may fear prosecution in their home country and feel they must hide their money (*cf.* The Panama Papers and The Paradise Papers). The US is rife with multimillion dollar property deals, especially in the big cities such as New York and San Francisco, but even rural areas experience the influx of ill-gotten gains in real estate, such as in the purchase of large ranches where, for example, Mexican narco-traffickers hide and launder their money in the purchase of racing horses and in betting on horse races (Mahanta, 2017). Money gotten through corruption and other illegal means has inflated the real estate markets throughout the world. Inflated real estate costs in these locales has a ripple effect, making housing there unaffordable for migrants and others working low-wage jobs who have to move farther from the cities where they work to find housing they can afford: "While the purchases of [for example,] London real estate by high-net-worth individuals from abroad has indeed pumped up property values, *this has made the city nearly unaffordable for everyone else*" (Harrington, 2016, p. 242, emphasis added). This increases the burden on these immigrants, in terms of both cost and the length of their commute to work. These are the hidden costs and deleterious effects of 'dark money' and that of high-net-worth individuals, for both immigrants and long-term residents.

Considerable financial resources can facilitate entry into university for the migrant or refugee children, especially as tuition in American universities for international students is double what nationals would pay (Saul, 2018). Often, university education for the migrant's children is a motivation for moving, with English-speaking countries with the more reputable university systems as preferred destinations (e.g., the US, Canada, Australia, the UK, Germany[3]).

Obviously, the conditions of one's stay in the host country are made easier or more difficult—including access to its universities, long considered an avenue for upward social mobility—depending on one's financial resources. Other conditions of the host country affect one's stay and interest in moving on to another country (Haitians leaving the US for Canada, for example [Matalon, 2017]) or the migrant's return to their country of origin.

A 'DISRUPTED EDUCATION' WROUGHT BY WAR AND OTHER EXTREME CONDITIONS

Recently, Waite (2016), in considering the incredibly large numbers of migrants and refugees abroad in the world (and this was even before the ethnic cleansing the Rohingya have suffered in Myanmar), wondered about their lives under a harsh and fractured existence, especially their children's disrupted education. He noted:

> What of the historically large numbers of refugees and displaced persons around the globe, recently reported by the UN to be about 60,000,000 (Sengupta, 2015). Of this number, fully half, or 30,000,000 million displaced persons are children. What of their education? And what of its leadership?
>
> What about the education of the untold numbers of juveniles showing up at the US-Mexican border, seeking refuge from gang violence in their sending countries? The sudden and dramatic increase in the number of children needing care and services put a strain on the institutions that normally respond—education and the health services. The situation is similar in kind, though much smaller in scale, to that of the displaced students from Syria in the education systems in Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon. What of their education? What of the teachers and leaders, both formal and informal, who seek to meet their needs? What might the future look like for those who have had a 'disrupted education'? What might a disrupted education for these 30,000,000 young people mean for the whole of civilization, for the world? (p. 104)

TOWARD MORE NUANCED VIEWS OF MIGRATION

Human movement and migration are multi-dimensional. Yet people—the lay public, academics and policy makers alike—impose overly simplistic characterizations and definitions on the situations and the people; for example, when then-candidate President Trump said that Mexican immigrants were rapists (*Time,* August 31, 2016). We chafe at such essentializations and struggle, as authors and as academics, to not succumb ourselves to such simple and hegemonic thinking—hegemonic for the thinker and object of his/her/their thoughts and actions.

A nuanced view of migration *might* even consider transgendered individuals such as Chelsea Manning, Caitlin Jenner and others as undergoing or having undergone a migration of sorts *within their own bodies* and simultaneously through a heteronormative social landscape. Recently, Chelsea Manning, a transgender woman, former US Army Private Bradley Manning, convicted of leaking classified documents to WikiLeaks and sentenced to 35 years in the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, who had her sentence commuted by President Obama, was offered an unpaid visiting fellowship at Harvard University, only to have the invitation rescinded after a former CIA director resigned his fellowship there in protest and another CIA director and former employees of the spy agency also protested

her appointment (Herz, 2017). The dean of the Kennedy School at Harvard, who had issued and then rescinded the invitation "said he had made a mistake by offering Manning the visiting fellowship which some perceived as an honor. But… [that] she is still invited to speak because the Kennedy School wants to hear from speakers who have influenced world events even if their actions are abhorrent to some members of the community" (Herz, 2017, para. 8). Another fellow at the school, a lieutenant colonel in the US Army Reserves and a professor at Harvard, said "Chelsea Manning released papers and revealed the identities of intelligence operators in a war that's still going to this day… And now she will walk the halls of the Harvard Kennedy School with the National Security fellows, US military officers who have served downrange, maybe whose identities might themselves have been compromised by her" (Herz, 2017, para. 5 & para. 7). The borders and boundaries of higher education are open to some, but closed to many others.

A Shifting US Immigration Policy

A recent incident illustrates how migrants and refugees are being treated in the US in these tumultuous times. According to news stories (Burnett, 2017b), US Border Patrol agents arrested the parents of an infant while the child, *himself a US citizen*, was undergoing a life-saving surgery in a south Texas hospital. Apparently, after having been tipped off by a nurse at a local hospital near the US-Mexican border, the Border Patrol agents chased the ambulance that the mother, father and their infant son were riding in as it raced to a more sophisticated, better-equipped hospital for this emergency, life-saving surgery. The agents arrested the parents separately and took each in turn to the police station for booking, so as to leave at least one parent with the child during and after the surgery. Up till then, hospitals, places of worship and the like were off limits to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and border patrol agent arrests under policies promulgated by the Obama administration. President Trump is undoing such safe haven policies, ramping up enforcement and arrests within the US, while focusing less on enforcement and arrests at the US-Mexican border (Burnett, 2017a).

This emphasis on internal immigration enforcement causes incredible anxiety for the estimated 11 million 'undocumented' immigrants in the US, many of them university students formerly protected under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. Abandonment of the safe haven policy of previous years means that immigrants cannot trust the police and other service personnel, nurses at hospitals or emergency medical facilities, innkeepers[4] and even university administrators and staff. Currently, university personnel practice a blind-eye policy regarding a student or potential student's immigration status, not asking about such details.

But, as of this moment, all of this is in flux and students are worried. Students at all levels, primary through tertiary, are anxious that they or any member of their family may be apprehended, detained and deported (Center for American Progress, 2017b).

Episodes such as these illustrate just how deeply intertwined modern American universities are with the military, police, customs agents, other governmental agents and with corporations (Waite, 2011). These episodes also call attention to how public interest (and research study) had focused more on how immigrants and refugees arrive and not till recently considered how communities, organizations and institutions, especially universities, are closed to so-called undocumented immigrants, including minority students.

VANISHING/ERODING PROTECTION AND SUPPORT FOR 'UNDOCUMENTED' STUDENTS IN THE US

In the US, until recently, young immigrants were protected from deportation or prosecution under an Obama-era doctrine called DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals). These young people, now college age, are often referred to as 'Dreamers' (derived from the proposed Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors, or DREAM Act, which failed to pass in the US Congress). There were an estimated 11,400,000 undocumented immigrants in the US in 2013, of which an estimated 1.7 million would qualify for DACA protection (Center for American Progress, 2017a). The qualifications for DACA protection include the stipulations that the young person: (a) is/was under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012 when the program was put into place (Sotolongo & Silva, 2017); (b) came to the US before reaching his or her 16th birthday; (c) has continuously resided in the US since June 15, 2007; (d) is/was physically present in the US on June 15, 2012 or at the time of making application for deferred action with the US Customs and Immigration Service; (e) is/was not in a lawful status on June 15, 2015; (f) meets/met education or military requirements (currently in school, has graduated or received a GED [General Education Diploma] certificate; (g) had committed no crimes (felony, significant misdemeanor) and "does not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety" (Slide #15); (h) is not a public safety or national security threat (generally interpreted as not being or have been in a street gang); and (i) must be/have been at least 15 years of age at the time of making the request for DACA protection (Sotolongo & Silva, 2017). Those eligible for DACA protection came to the US as children and, for many, the US is the only home they have known. They are torn, feeling at home in the US while legally being citizens of Mexico (or whatever country their parents are from), as shown by the Instagram™ posting in Figure 1. Many live in fear and feel that they must hide their status, even from teachers and friends.

Figure 3.1. An Instagram© post from a young Mexican American college student, two days prior to the DACA renewal deadline. "*Ni de aquí, ni de allá*" translates to "Neither from here nor from there." Source: Sanmarcos, TX, USA, used with permission.

From focus group discussions with high school graduates the year that DACA was implemented, Laurin (2013) noted that "DACA has ignited new hope for the possibilities of completing college and finding work in their career, rather than limiting their work options" (p. 118). However, at the time of this writing, the program is in jeopardy (and these people at risk): though during the campaign President Trump had promised to keep the program, he has since cancelled it, sparking protests on college campuses across the nation, one of which resulted in the arrest of "thirty-one Harvard professors and other Boston-area universities" (Yared, 2017, para. 1). President Trump left it to a Republican-controlled (i.e. center/center-right) Congress to deal with (or not).

The program has become a political football. One of then-candidate Trump's most outrageous campaign promises was that, if elected, he was going to build a wall

between the US and Mexico. The president has said that he will only reauthorize the DACA program if Congress allocates money for the construction of the border wall. So far Congress has resisted, arguing that these issues be addressed separately, which is the standoff in the US Congress: the right-leaning President, playing to his alt-right base, wants money in the federal budget for building a wall on the US-Mexico border and the centrist Democrats in Congress want relief for DACA students. The Republican-controlled Congress is in the middle, with elements sympathetic to both sides.

Recent developments put any compromise at risk. The president held a meeting with both sides, looking to negotiate a deal. However, afterwards, it was reported that the president asked why they couldn't encourage more immigration from Nordic countries and not from countries such as Haiti or "'shit-hole countries'" in Africa (Baker, 2018, p. A1). Leaking of the president's language made him furious. He reacted by killing the possibility of a deal on DACA and blamed the Democrats; meanwhile, under current hostile conditions, ICE agents have been sweeping up undocumented immigrants, including children and young adults, many of whom would qualify for protection from deportation under the DACA program.

For their part, university personnel will not ask a student's immigration status as part of the admission process. However, undocumented or 'unauthorized' students are not eligible for federal financial aid and, to make matters worse, a number of states have passed legislation denying these students in-state tuition rates[5] (Center for American Progress, 2017b).

This is a large part of the difficult situation these students find themselves in; another, of course, is the constant fear of being 'outed' and deported as well as separated from their families, or vice-versa, that any or all of their family members might be caught up in an ICE sweep and deported. DACA students experience high levels of clinical anxiety, a sense of isolation and constant fear of being de-tained or deported (Center for American Progress, 2017b). A minor traffic stop or other minor legal infraction could result in either the student or someone from his/her family being arrested, detained, transferred to ICE agents and deported. The political climate in the US is such that, though ICE agents were previously instructed to give a low priority to cases involving undocumented immigrants in the US who had committed no crime and were not members of a gang, but rather to place a higher priority on border enforcement, this has been reversed under the Trump administration, with more arrests being made inside the US and relatively fewer arrests being made on the border (Burnett, 2017a).

Adding to the current hostile environment, the US Justice Department is threatening to withhold funds from the US cities which offer sanctuary city pro-tection for undocumented residents.[6] The Trump nominee to head ICE has called for charging the leaders of sanctuary cities or states with crimes and prosecuting them (Conradis, 2018).

A NATION AND ITS PEOPLE DIVIDED OVER IMMIGRATION

The 2016 US presidential election revealed a deep schism among the American people. There are those who accept, even welcome, change, especially the change(s) that migrants represent, documented or not. This welcoming posture is reflecting in the sanctuary cities and states policies mentioned above. However, there are those, often angry and vociferous, who oppose change, who hold fast to an ideal image of an America that is majority White/Anglo, not only in its racial, ethnic makeup but culture, mores and values. For them, immigrants pose a threat. As Lingis (1994) noted:

> We speak of aliens in our country, understanding by that people who do not share our language, who do not know the names we use to designate things and resources, who do not understand our laws and our principles of behavior and etiquette, and who therefore do not participate with us in building the work that is our common civilization. (p. 117)

The discourse that emerged during the last presidential election, especially its anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric, reflected not just in the US but Europe and elsewhere, put the schism between those accepting of change and those seeking to preserve an idealized status quo into greater relief. Hostility and incivility, even violence, resulted. The number of hate crimes and hate groups increased (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018). The shooting in a bar in Kansas in March 2017 was emblematic of the hate reflected in and unleashed by the Trump rhetoric. In that incident, a man accosted two patrons, engineers from India working for a local company, asking them their immigration status and telling them to "get out of my country" (Bendix, 2017, para. 2). After being escorted from the premises by bar employees, the accused returned with a handgun and shot dead one of the men and wounded the other. Another patron chased the fleeing gunman and was also shot.

The current political discourse is fueled by 'fake news' and 'alternative facts.'[7] If migrants and refugees are included in the current chaotic discourse, it is only in the most negative and way. Lingis (1994) summed this up as follows:

> The psychotic, the pariah, [the immigrant] and the mystic find themselves not informed by the established discourse, not directed to the things and situations it formulates, and not summoned to contribute to its establishment…it could be well that one could find oneself excluded by the body of statements whose veracity is nowise in question, statements whose veracity one has no doubts about. Statements that are firm, established, and acknowledged as reliable and veridical, address to these individuals but one utterance, "You are incapable of truth!" The pariah, the mystic, [the immigrant] and the psychotic know this utterance in the suffering and torment of their bodies. What is designated as a mind in decomposition in a brutish body is not simply an entity excluded from the objects that the established body of statements identifies and recognizes; it is tortured by the institutions that establish the truth. (p. 140)

This positioning of the migrant, the immigrant and refugee is such that it causes a type of psychic torture in those individuals, those who, in Lingis' phrasing, belong to a community with nothing in common:

> It is as fanatics, subversives, savages, and insane—individuals whose basic antisocial act consists in not making sense—that offenders are not simply coerced into obedience or restitution but tortured. Torture is instituted where there is a totalitarian power, but also a certain kind of established discourse. (p. 141)[8]

The common lay characterization of the immigrant in the globalized nationalistic and anti-immigrant discourse is as that of a terrorist, deserving of abuse, torture and even murder. In the hostile discursive and policy environments in the US, service organizations such as hospitals (see above) and their employees are conscripted into the war on terror with the 'see something, say something' mantra. Even universities, as keepers of 'the truth,' serve the state in its insidious efforts to identify, marginalize and cast out the immigrant-as-terrorist. As Lingis saw it:

> Scientifico-technological rationality, not relative to any realm or dynasty and extending its domain over all regional discourses that invoke sacred or ancestral authority whose seriousness and consistency it adjudicates, will be absolutized across the planet. Its truths are established with technological, pedagogical, economic, and political institutions. Universities and research institutes represent themselves as the institutions in which the criteria for common truth is established; in fact, they submit their projects and curricula to parliaments for implementation. (p. 143)

Universities, under-funded and under attack, have become more corporate-like and the faculty more entrepreneurial, losing the sheen of objectivity and impartiality, forced to kowtow to the State to earn their meager allotments. Universities and their professors struggle to remain relevant within a 'fake news' and Facebook-fed discursive environment. Uncertainty and disequilibrium torture not just the immigrant but also her allies, including university staff and faculty. Or, as Lingis observed:

> Those devoted to establishing the truth are sure that the utterances of the tortured [the immigrant], the subversives, the mystics, the insane, and the savages, are addressed to them. The philosopher [the activist professor], from his[/her] distance from the established truth, hears these utterances made across another distance as alien, alienated, forms of skepticism addressed to the body of discourse established as true. (pp. 149–150)

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The different academic disciplines and their heuristics, models and theories-in-use reveal different aspects of/concerns over human movement—the sociological, the geographical, the ecological/environmental, the psychological, the economic and the humanitarian, among others. Each uses different terminology to describe

or treat the phenomenon, terminology such as 'migrant,' 'immigrant,' 'refugee,' 'émigré,' 'diaspora,' 'economic refugee,' 'human trafficker.' Some terms, concepts and their usages must, perforce, address sending conditions; some, the receiving conditions, while others, the conditions of the migrant's travel or transit. For instance, Chau's (2007) thesis is that hegemons rise, in large part, because their relatively open societies attract talented and creative immigrants fleeing more repressive countries (e.g. Jews fleeing Spain for Britain and the Netherlands during the Spanish Inquisition and Jews fleeing Nazi Germany for Britain and the US). These individuals bring with them their skills and capital (recall Angela Davis' comment above as to the relative ease of capital migration versus other types of transnational movement). Rentfrow, Gosling, and Potter (2008) demonstrated how this same phenomenon—more open environments attracting creative, industrious people—occurs within countries' boundaries, in these authors' study, within the US.

Under ideal conditions, where freedom of movement is completely unfettered or unrestricted, people move where they will. A rationalist model might predict that people would choose based on optimal conditions, considering such factors as climate, employment opportunities, access to social services, including universities and the like. But people make decisions for reasons that are not that rational, based on emotion, fear and anxiety, inertia and even fantasy, embracing media-generated images of the ideal life. Some are manipulated by such images. In reality, many are coerced or make their choices about relocation under restrictive conditions. This produces economic refugees and those who feel that they have to migrate for better life chances. Some move for the sake of movement: throughout history, people have been nomads, explorers,traveling out of Africa, to Europe and Asia and across the Bering Strait into the Americas, even sailing over vast stretches of ocean to reach far-flung lands.

A class of people, if they could be called a class, unaccounted for in studies of this sort that look at migration and migrants or refugees, is that of the nomad (McDonell, 2016), those of 'perpetual movement.' Nomads are often stateless, crossing borders seemingly with little regard for nation states, governments and their immigration officials. Early scholars saw nomads as ungovernable. Perhaps they are unaccounted for in studies of the migrant or refugee because they are stateless, having no fixed, permanent domicile: they don't come intending to stay. Many nomads are shepherds. This fact raises issues of land as property, wealth generation and capitalism; property being one form of wealth. But property is rooted in place and cannot move with the migrant, so that many immigrants and refugees arrive poor, having left what little property they might have had. Nomadism also raises issues of state sovereignty and a closely-related topic, that of taxation (Harrington, 2016). Agriculture requires sedentarianism. Nomads and shepherds require freedom of movement and wide open spaces. They are the outliers, living on the boundaries.

Freedom of movement is enshrined in the US Constitution and in the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948. Article 13 of that document states that:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights incorporates this right into treaty law:

1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.
2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.
3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (*ordre publique*), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant.
4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country. (Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_of_movement_under_ United_States_law#International_Bill_of_Human_Rights)

Movement and Universities' Hegemonic Regimes

Despite this, freedom of movement varies greatly among countries. Certain countries restrict these freedoms, by law or by custom. It is the case that Western countries are unique in the amount of movement of academics, for example. In the US, Canada, Australia and the UK, it is not uncommon for a professor to move or have moved several times in her career. In France, Spain, Italy and throughout much of the world this is not the norm. In these countries, the rule is that a young scholar must attach him- or herself to a research team, wherein the senior academic heading up the team becomes his/her patron. These university patronage systems are extremely rigid hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1988) and woe be to the independent, the free-spirited. The interloper has no place in these hierarchical university systems. Immigrants might gain acceptance but, again, they do so by attaching themselves to and serving the senior academic, who is usually a male. The junior's role—be he or she native-born or an immigrant academic—is completely servile. Burke (2000) referred to the senior, established academics as mandarins and Bourdieu (1988) called them "the high priests of an institution of cultural reproduction" (p. 100).

There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. For example, celebrity academics may be recruited and sponsored by prestigious universities. Such was the case with Paolo Freire, Albert Einstein and others; the first, shunned and ostracized by Brazil's military junta, the second fleeing Nazi persecution. Today, such celebrity academics or international public intellectuals—many political refugees—come from, for example, Palestine (e.g. Steven Salaita[9]) and China (e.g., Su Wei[10] and Chen Guangcheng, the latter having been originally hosted by New York University only to be forced to leave, he believed, under pressure from the Chinese government[11]).

HUMAN RIGHTS CONTINGENCIES: FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Fitting in is always an issue for immigrants. Migrants and refugees flee or are forced from their homeland for various reasons. Some seek to escape violence or the threat of violence, as in the case of the large numbers of unaccompanied children who entered the US from Central America, especially El Salvador and Guatemala, to escape gang violence in their homeland. Many are forced out by war (e.g., the Syrian expatriates). Some seek to escape economic hardship wrought by natural disasters (as in the recent out-migration from Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria), including drought (as in the Sub-Sahara) or economic hardship that results from government economic policies, including discrimination and/or oppression in the workforce (as is the case with the Uighurs of Western China), even ethnic cleansing or genocide (e.g. the Rohingya).

Freedom of movement allows some to escape conditions of slavery or servitude. Human trafficking binds others into these horrific conditions. Being trafficked into slavery is a serious problem today, evidenced by the recent exposure of slave markets operating openly in Libya (Elbagir, Razek, Platt, & Jones, 2017) and the slavery of men in large fishing fleets (Urbina, 2015).[12] A lack of freedom of movement, in most cases, means that one is bound in such oppressive relations, often by the 'debt' incurred to the trafficker: once for the cost of passage and again for ransom to buy one's freedom. Such is the case with many immigrants who are smuggled into the US (see Figure 2.): traffickers arbitrarily raise their fees and the immigrants are forced to work in inhumane conditions in nail salons, restaurants, on farms or as prostitutes to pay this 'debt.' This form of human slavery is known as debt bondage (Anti-Slavery International, 2017b). People trafficked in this way, or those bought and sold as slaves, likely will never see the inside of a university classroom, unless it's as part of the night janitorial crew.

Figure 3.2. An x-ray taken by Mexican immigration officials in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas, Mexico, showing 94 Central American and Asian migrants packed into a tractor-trailer truck, suffering from suffocation and dehydration.

Source: Str/EPA/Shutterstock, used by permission.

Human trafficking and human smuggling differ, according to Anti-Slavery International (2017a):

> People smuggling is the illegal movement of people across international borders for a fee. On arrival, the smuggled person is free.
>
> Human trafficking is different. The trafficker is moving a person for exploitation. There is no need to cross an international border. Human trafficking occurs at a national level, or even within one community. (para. 10)

BORDERS AND UNIVERSITIES AS BORDERLANDS

As institutions within particular societies, often funded by, or, in the case of private universities, regulated by (however loosely) and otherwise beholden to the State, universities are enclaves within that society or country. Universities have what Goffman (1959) referred to as semi-permeable membranes, filters or boundaries. They are not total institutions in Goffman's (1960) terms. Total institutions may exhibit slave-like conditions, where the migrant, or even domestic residents, become servile, near slaves. However, having semi-permeable boundaries, universities filter and screen those who might enter, whether student, faculty, worker, administrator or staff. Migrants and refugees must pass through a minimum of two filters to enter the university, the country's boundary and the university's application (and vetting) process. We have shown how migrants and refugees pass through the first of these, while the second barrier is more

problematic because of the institutional nature of the university, especially as regards credentialing. It is of limited use for a migrant or refugee to enter a university, take classes or whatever, if she/he obtains no credential in the end, be it a certificate or degree. There are, of course, intrinsic benefits to education, but universities maintain their relevance, some might say monopoly status, within societies and knowledge domains by controlling credentials, degrees and certificates (Burke, 2000). Such certificates, credentials and degrees give the refugee or migrant entry or advancement in the workforce in his/her adopted country. Unlike capital, which we have shown to by hyper-mobile, certificates and degrees do not travel so freely. Due to nationalistic, protectionist policies, degrees, credentials and certificates rarely travel across national, even state boundaries. In fact, as is the case throughout much of society and its institutions, degrees and credentials fall out hierarchically, especially when viewed through the lens of a sociology of knowledge. That is, generally Western centers of higher education and the products of these (i.e., their credentials) are generally more valued than are those of non-Western institutions of higher education. The Western areas of knowledge production are what Burke referred to as the center and non-Western, the periphery (Waite, 2011).

Granted, in some instances, any certificate, degree or credential works, such as in instances of simple qualification (Biesta, 2010), absent any other determination of quality. In such instances, and though they may generally not be considered to be the equal of degrees from the premier institutions, on-line degrees serve as sufficient. But in such cases, degree fraud is a potential hazard. Degree mills and on-line fraudulent providers such as Barkley University and others invented by Axact, the Pakistani software company (Walsh, 2015), pitch to this audience, those without the requisite cultural capital to spot these as hoaxes. Immigrants, refugees and other non-native speakers are especially susceptible.

This, of course, raises questions of knowledge production, of, in our case, who studies whom, of how knowledge of the other is produced, through whose lens and, contrary-wise, the other's study of Western canons (for example, educational leadership) and of who speaks for the other, the migrant or refugee. Said (1985) raised the issue of "who writes or studies the Orient, in what institutional or discursive setting, for what audience, and with what ends in mind" (p. 91). More than it being the case that the migrant's or refugee's knowledge or ways of knowing are not represented in institutions of higher education, Said questioned "how knowledge that is non-dominative and non-coercive can be produced in a setting that is deeply inscribed with the politics, considerations, the positions, and the strategies of power"? (p. 91). The vitality of the academy, the so-called republic of letters, requires interpersonal face-to-face interaction, necessitating freedom of movement among academics, between professors and students, among students. As Ziman (1981) put it, "ideas move around inside people" (p. 259). Ziman remarked how:

> The transfer of really valuable knowledge from country to country or from institution to institution cannot be easily achieved by the transport of letters, journals and books [or by email, Skype or Zoom]; it necessitates the physical movement of human beings. (p. 259)

Teaching and learning, especially in institutions of higher education, require such face-to-face interactions over long periods of time. This supposes that there be stability and adequate resources for the migrant or immigrant, professor or student. This is why so-called online classes or programs are highly problematic, yet the trend seems to be toward more and more online classes, including MOOCs (massive open online courses). As Waite and Swisher (in press) have noted, though university faculty can put classes and programs online, no one can *teach* online. Teaching is more than simply putting content online. It requires interpersonal pedagogical moves and relationships that are fraught with risk (Biesta, 2013), messy, ephemeral and uncertain. 'Learning' online is superficial, reduced to only a certain type of learning.[13] Master's or doctoral student learning needs to be done in relationships for full effect, for the student to learn the deep culture of university-level research and scholarship, those things that he/she cannot get from books. Being present matters and matters greatly. This is one reason that higher education is big business, why the US leads the world in the number of international students who come to study at its universities. But given the harsh rhetoric and enmity projected by the current administration, as well as the draconian visa and travel restrictions in place, colleges and universities in the US are suffering a severe drop in international student enrollment (Saul, 2018). Up to now, second-tier "colleges and educational training programs" (p. A1), particularly, counted on international student tuition to expand facilities and fund selective programs. This is changing rapidly: "Since President Trump was elected, college administrators say, his rhetoric and more restrictive views on immigration have made the United States even less attractive to international students" (p. A1). International student enrollment in US colleges and universities, estimated to be at 1 million students, accounts for $39 billion in revenue. But this enrollment has declined by as much as seven percent nationwide (p. A10) and colleges and universities are cutting program offerings and faculty, especially in foreign languages such as Italian and *in fine* arts. This negatively affects US students, who no longer have access to those programs. It reduces diversity on campuses: "This definitely undermines the idea of diversity many US universities proclaim to promote," said one professor whose job was being cut, "this is in fact a national emergency'" (p. A10). If this trend continues, US students will be disadvantaged in an increasingly heteroglossic global environment, further cementing the hegemony of the English language in academia (Suárez-Ortega, García-Mingo, & San Román, 2012) and other domains (McCrum, 2010). Whole classes of students are vanishing from US universities, particularly the immigrant and refugee.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Issues concerning immigrants, refugees and higher education in the US are numerous and complex. We have only scratched the surface here. What we have shown is that these issues matter, not just for the immigrant and refugee but also native-born American students, institutions of higher education themselves, the nation and the world.

We must seriously consider how immigrants and refugees are integrated into American universities and how they are excluded. We have shown how US university students who have lived most of their lives in the US are anxious, living and studying under the threat of arrest and deportation to countries they barely know.

US universities are less welcoming places than previously. This seriously undermines the viability of American universities as lynchpin institutions of a liberal democracy, safe places where all knowledges are welcome and diverse knowledge is produced and reproduced, taken up and debated. Many voices have gone missing from today's universities (Waite, 2011) and universities themselves, intentionally or not, are complicit in such erasure. Those who govern, administer, even those who teach there play a part in an increasingly hegemonic, boarding on totalitarian public discourse, especially as regards the rights, freedoms and futures of the immigrant, migrant and refugee.

Historically, education, especially higher education, has been one of the principal means by which immigrants have bettered themselves, financially and in social standing. Such education improves the life-chances of second and later generations. Immigrants contribute tremendously to the vibrancy of the university and, by that, to the nation. We must ensure that our universities remain open to them.

NOTES

1. The leaving of that destination, if ever, whereupon that particular person is no longer a migrant or refugee to that particular country, in such cases, would be considered a fifth phase. An example is that of Haitian refugees leaving the US for Canada fearing reprisals and harassment under a Trump presidency (Levin, 2017).
2. This program has since been scrapped (in 2014), super-seded by Bill C-31 (http://www. cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/IIP-EN.asp?_ga=2.238186502.767701036.1513673288-64110241.1513673288).
3. Though Germany isn't an English-speaking country, university courses for international students there are conducted in English (Eckardt & Angerer, 2016).
4. The Attorney General of the State of Washington is suing Motel 6™ for giving the private information—names, driver's license numbers, license plate numbers and room numbers—of over 9,000 guests (those with Hispanic-sounding names) to ICE agents (McCallister, 2018).
5. In-state tuition is the lowest tuition rate for students; otherwise students pay out-of-state tuition, which is significantly higher. International students and those from other states pay this higher

rate, unless, that is, they receive a tuition waiver as part of their admission package, as in the case of graduate teaching or research assistants.

6. In sanctuary cities, the local police are not required to turn 'undocumented' immigrants over to federal ICE agents if being undocumented is their only violation of US laws or if they were arrested on a minor (i.e. misdemeanor) violation. In essence, they are not to function as deputies of ICE. Some states, such as the state of Oregon and, more recently, California, provide sanctuary protection statewide (Brenderev, 2017).

7. Trump's counselor, Kellyann Conway, referred to a lie told by the president's then spokesperson, Sean Spicer, as alternative facts: https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/video/conway-press-secretary-gave-alternative-facts-860142147643

8. Compare Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) *How Democracies Die*.

9. Salaita, born in Beit Jala, outside of Bethlehem, took his university degrees from US universities and found work as a professor at, first, the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater and later at Virginia Tech. He accepted a position at the University of Illinois, only to have the offer rescinded by the Board of Regents under pressure from pro-Israeli groups for a series of tweets they claimed were hate speech and anti-Semitic (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Steven_Salaita); he sued and won an $800,000 settlement from the university. He then took up a position at The American University of Beirut, but his employment there was shortly terminated. Salaita generated an incredible amount of controversy over academic freedom and freedom of speech. The University of Illinois' handling of his case caused the American Association of University Professors to censure the university.

10. http://www.nytimes.com/1993/06/30/news/campus-journal-dissidents-from-china-find-haven-princeton.html

11. Chen now holds a position at the Catholic University of America. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/17/world/asia/china-dissident-says-hes-being-forced-from-nyu.html

12. These ocean-going slaves move, but lack freedom. Indeed, their movement across vast areas of international waters, in hand with corruption in the countries of the immigrants' origin and those of the slave ships' registry and a lack of political will on the part of Western and developed nations, make justice for these men neigh on impossible.

13. But owing to the country's and university's boundaries or filters as we discussed above, online learning is more accessible to the migrant or refugee, even foreign nationals who have no intention of immigrating.

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Effective Leadership

U.S. Educational Institutions Can Accommodate Immigrants, Refugees and Displaced Students

ANN TOLER HILLIARD

INTRODUCTION

Although the United States border is now more secure than ever, decades of ever-increasing border and interior enforcement have exacerbated the dysfunction caused by rigid and out of date laws (Barcelo, 2017). Immigration reform that comprehensively addresses these systemic problems including providing a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants living and working in the United States continues to be a key discussion among political leaders. Currently, there appears to be gridlock for immigrants who are undocumented and trying to move forward to citizenship in the United States. Having immigrants in the United States is a benefit, but some United States citizens believe that immigrants are taking jobs from Americans. The John Heldrich Center for Workforce Development Survey (2016) data indicated that immigrants will take jobs away from United States citizens which is only one opinion. A grounded body of research conducted by the National Academy of Science Study, the National Academies of Science, Engineering Medicine and the Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration (2017) have found that immigration has actually boosted wages for native-born Americans as well as others and generated new jobs. Pia Orrenius (2017) believed that the benefits of immigration outweigh the cost. It is believed, also, that using a common-sense reform approach would restore public faith in the system and level the playing field for all individuals, while acknowledging the economic and educational benefits of having immigrants in the United States (Peri & Giovanni, 2012).

Most immigrants in the United States are responsible individuals who are law-abiding, innovative job creators, honest consumers who pay taxes and entrepreneurs who continue to participate in higher education opportunities. Despite the many uncertainties among immigrants' status, immigrants continue to work in various jobs and seek to improve their educational opportunities while residing in the United States. For example, in 2012 11.6 percent of immigrants had a master's degree, professional degree or doctorate degree, compared with 10.8 percent of the native-born population. That same year, 69.4 percent of the foreign-born population had attained a high school diploma or general education development (White & Glick, 2009). Today, Nigerian immigrants, for example, have the highest education attainment level in the United States (surpassing every other ethnic group in the country according to the United States Bureau Census (2016).

IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND DISPLACED INDIVIDUALS

Who are the immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals coming to the United States? According to The United States High Commissioner for Refugees data (2017), the largest number of diverse individuals coming to the United States for a better life were from Central America, Mexico, Sudan, Sub-Saharan Africa and Syrian Arab Republic. While most of these new arrivals were immigrants new to the country some were naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents and others who might have lived in the United States for some time prior to returning to the United States (The United States Bureau of Census's American Community Survey, 2016). Data indicated in this research study highlights only an estimated number of individuals coming into the United States. It is always difficult to know at any given time the true number of individuals entering and leaving the United States (Hoefer, Rytina, & Baker, 2010). In 2015, 1.38 million and more foreign-born individuals moved to the United States, a two percent increase from 1.36 million in 2014. India was the leading country of origin for recent immigrants, with 179,800 arriving in 2015, followed by 143,200 from China, 139,400 from Mexico, 47,500 from the Philippines and 46,800 from Canada. In 2013, India and China overtook Mexico as the top origin countries for recent arrivals (The United States Census Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Whenever possible, a large number of immigrants seek the American Dream in this land of opportunity (Perez, 2010). However, for many immigrants there are some common challenges when immigrating to another country. Many immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals have also had their education interrupted in their own country because of conflict, wars and natural disasters.

EDUCATION INTERRUPTIONS

For example, more than 65 million people, nearly one percent of the world's population, are displaced as a result of various ongoing conflicts in their country (Edwards, 2015). While the demands of survival have taken priority, the large and unaddressed educational needs of this population have been astounding based on data. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2017), estimates that there are at least 200,000 Syrians, for example, who have had their post-secondary education interrupted as a result of the conflict in their own country. This interruption is not just a personal catastrophe; it has devastating economic repercussions and threats to the quality of life for many immigrants. Immigrants, refugees and displaced persons who were on a path toward a college degree inevitably find themselves on a different path, because their lives and education were interrupted because of wars, natural disasters and political situations in their home country (Covington, 2009). A college degree is necessary today for anyone looking to pursue skilled work in the global economy. Over a lifetime, workers with a bachelor's degree, for example, could earn millions of dollars more than those who have only a high school diploma. However, the United Nations estimates that while 34 percent of eligible youth globally are enrolled in tertiary degree programs, just one percent of displaced persons have access to higher education in the United States (The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017).

CHALLENGES FOR IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND DISPLACED INDIVIDUALS

Given the current United States political climate, it is very difficult for immigrants, refugees and displaced students or individuals to know what is or will be their true status at any given time in the United States. Displaced students and immigrants face many challenges in their new environment. It is not a one-group issue; there is a need to help immigrants, refugees and displaced students or individuals with job training opportunities and higher educational access so that working and educated individuals may contribute positively to United States communities and the economy (Chan, 2010). Immigrants are in need of assistance and guidance with common challenges that they may face, because they have limited knowledge of various opportunities and how to navigate the educational system in the United States. If immigrants could overcome some of these challenges and obstacles they could be greater contributors to the United States at all levels (Migration Policy Institute, 2015).

Proof of Documentation

There are four major obstacles that immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals have when trying to gain access to employment and higher education: legal documentation (proof of who they are and country of origin), language barrier, legal documentation, college tuition fees and limited capacity in educational institutions. Without the appropriate documentation and having a language barrier, refugees are prohibited from continuing or starting their education in a United States college or university. These are immigrants who may not have the knowledge and skills or the know-how to properly search for jobs and educational opportunities. Without the proper skills and knowledge, refugees would find it difficult to gain employment and an education that they may need in order to improve their situation economically (The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017). However, there is help and hope for refugees from innovative, effective leaders and supporters of displaced individuals who may have literacy difficulties.

Language Barriers

The high proportion of workers with limited English-language proficiency is especially challenging. One of every four immigrants in the workforce over 6 million do not speak English at all or speaks it poorly (McBrien, 2005). These problems hinder their integration into the workforce in a more effective manner and prevent employers from taking full advantage of their talents (Adams & Kerry, 2015). Therefore, the United States Administration seeks to assist newcomers to learn English language instruction through educational institutions, community and faith-based organizations. Immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals are also encouraged to use media platforms such as the Internet in mastering English skills. Most of the services for learning English is free. Many adult education programs are also available for newcomers to the United States to use to improve their literacy skills in reading, mathematics and English language, in preparation for employment, training for certificate programs and opportunities in post-secondary education (Perez, 2015).

How Counselors Can Help to Connect Relevant Resources to Immigrants

Professional school counselors can help immigrants with educational information. Immigrants are encouraged to take time to receive free services from professional school/higher education counselors about higher educational opportunities. The critical role of counselors according to Bemak and Chung (2005) is to inform

immigrants who are documented and undocumented with clarity about college programs of study, admissions and tuition policies, as well as financial aid such as Federal, State, Institutional, Foundations, Grants and other types of funding possibilities to allow access to a college education (Frum, 2007). Undocumented immigrants would not generally qualify for Federal Aid, but could qualify for other financial resources at the state level. Again, the school counselor is an invaluable resource person and could serve as an advocate to help documented and as well as undocumented students navigate the path to college or the university (Chen, Budianto, & Wong, 2010).

It could be a challenge sometimes for counselors working with immigrants because of language barrier and also how comfortable immigrants may be with sharing their thoughts about their college interests. The counselor with extra support personnel could work closely with groups of immigrants and teach them how to use technology tools and access information related to higher education financial resources (Westwood & Ishiyama, 1991). In order to serve immigrants in a more effective manner, the counselor should learn as much as possible about the student's interests in higher education. However, it is important to note that the counselor nor teacher cannot inquire about the immigration status of students or their parents' legal status, because of the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). Therefore, the counselor or teacher may learn that a student is undocumented only if the student chooses to share this information (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). Undocumented students may not even be aware of their legal status. However, the counselor plus teachers can: (a) Reach out as early as possible to all students and encourage students to envision themselves as college material, explore career options and prepare academically for college and if the opportunity arises (Hugo & Ross, 2012) let students know that undocumented status is not a legal bar in attending a United States college or university; (b) Explain the requirements for federal and state financial aid when discussing financial aid at parent meetings or other group sessions; (c) Explain financial aid policies and options to parents and students without asking, again, about their immigration status; (d) Know the state's laws regarding undocumented students and stay up to date on changes in the laws; and (e) Let students know that there are scholarships available to undocumented students to go to college (Drachman, 2006).

College Admissions and Tuition Policies

Undocumented students may incorrectly assume or believe that they cannot legally attend college in the United States. However, there is no federal or state law that prohibits the admission of undocumented immigrants to United States colleges that are public or private. Federal or state laws do not require students to prove citizenship in order to enter United States institutions of higher education. However,

college and university policies on admitting undocumented students may vary per college or university. Another issue, whether undocumented students residing in the United States should be eligible for the lower tuition rates that state residents pay for their state's public institutions, would be determined by each state. Many state institutions charge undocumented students out-of-state tuition fees (even if the student is a long-time resident of the state) and this policy can put college out of students' reach financially if this accommodation is expanded by the college. Some states have passed laws that permit undocumented students to pay in-state tuition rates under certain conditions so as to have access to higher education (Perez, 2010).

Federal, State and Institutional Financial Aid Policies

Generally speaking, undocumented students cannot legally receive any federally funded student financial aid, including loans, grants, scholarships or work-study money. However, in a number of states, undocumented students may be eligible for state aid. Some states do grant eligibility for state financial aid to undocumented or unauthorized students who qualify for in-state tuition, such as California, New Mexico, Minnesota, Texas and Washington. However, most private scholarship funds and foundations require applicants to be United States citizens or legal residents, but there are some that do not have this requirement (Murray, 2017). Beyond state funding, some private institutions set their own financial aid policies. A number of agencies, foundations, scholarships and grant funding organizations have made financial support available to undocumented immigrants. In essence, undocumented individuals may qualify for college financial assistance within the state (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014).

NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR IMMIGRANTS

There are a number of scholarships available at the national level for immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals. It is important to be aware that since some scholarships have been established, there could be a change in available funding. The specifications of current national scholarships are listed here, beginning with the Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans, where a full scholarship for immigrant and refugee students who are under the age of 31 should apply. Second, The Gates Millennium Scholars Program offers scholarships for outstanding African American, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian Pacific Islander American and Hispanic American students with significant financial need in the United States. Third, GOGO Charters Refugee and Immigrant Scholarships are available for one year for refugee and immigrant students who are graduating from high school in the United States. Applications are due by

July 5, 2018, with SAT test fee and college application fee waivers (for up to four colleges) for students who demonstrate financial need. Waivers are available to low-income 11th and 12th grade students in the United States or United States territories, while United States citizens living outside the United States may also be able to have test fees waived. Scholastic Assessment Tests (SAT) subject test fee waivers are available for students in Grades 9 through 12. Scholarships for specific fields of learning. Fourth is the English for Heritage Language Speakers (EHLS) Program, an eight-month intensive training course in professional communication, English language and career skills essential for working in the government for people who want a career that utilizes their native language skills. Fifth, The Ariane de Rothschild (AdR) Fellowship offers a Social Entrepreneurship & Cross Cultural Network Two-week fellowship for entrepreneurs and social leaders with a demonstrated interest in change and cross-cultural dialogue, especially between Jewish and Muslim communities. Sixth, the Catholic Relief Services International Development Fellows Program is a 10-month international relief and development fellowship with a Christian faith-based organization which is bilingual in English and Spanish, Arabic, French or Portuguese. Seventh, the African descent-Maine-African Partnership for Social Justice's James Angelo Memorial Social Justice Scholarship is for African immigrants graduating from Portland High School in Portland, Maine. Eighth is for Asian, South East Asian and Pacific Islanders: the Asian and Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund-Scholarships are for Asian and/or Pacific Islanders with a focus on students with strong financial need and/or are first in their families to go to college, as well as who are attending specific universities. Ninth, the GAPA Foundation is a scholarship for students at a school in the United States who express activism in the Asian and Pacific Islander (API) and/or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) communities. Tenth, the Regeneration Center Scholarship is scholarship for motivated undergraduate and graduate science, medical or biology students of Southeast Asian Heritage (GOGO Charter National Scholarship for Immigrants and Refugees, 2017).

STATE SPECIFIC SCHOLARSHIPS

State governors, as leaders from more than 20 states, offer in-state tuition to unauthorized immigrant students, 16 by state legislative action and four by state university systems. Sixteen state legislatures, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Texas, Utah and Washington State, enacted laws to allow in-state tuition benefits for certain unauthorized immigrant students. These laws typically require attendance and graduation at state

high schools within the state, acceptance at a state college or university and the promise to apply for legal status as soon as eligible. Again, most states will stipulate that students must have lived in the state for a minimum number of years and graduated from a high school within the state or received their general education development (GED) in the same state (National Conference of State Legislators, 2011).

Refugees and immigrants may qualify for many scholarships in the state. For example, California offers the Educators for Fair Consideration New American Scholars Program for individuals born outside of the United States who are graduating from high school in the San Francisco Bay area. Elsewhere, the Foroutan Foundation scholarship is offered to immigrant students who live in California, while the Maine James Angelo Social Justice Scholarship is offered to a student with African heritage graduating from high school in Portland, Maine. In Michigan there is the Grand Rapids Community Foundation where one can apply for over 50 scholarships, with one application available for students graduating from a Kent County, Michigan (Grand Rapids area) high school. Another example is the Minnesota D.H. Gustafson Family Paradigm Foundation Scholarship, for refugees and immigrants with financial needs who live or go to school in Eagan, Minnesota. Finally, the North Carolina Achievement Scholarship for Refugees and Immigrants is available to those who live in Wake County that attended at least one semester of high school in North Carolina (College Scholarships, 2017).

NEW REGIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS FOR REFUGEES AND SCHOLARSHIPS FOR IMMIGRANTS

Additional scholarships are identified also for refugee and immigrant students, while students may also apply for grants too. Seekers of scholarship and/or fellowships must remember that there are specific qualifications based on the type of fellowship or scholarship. The following scholarship are available to refugees: (a) Fredrickson & Byron's Minority Scholarship for students that are interested in practicing law in North Dakota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Des Moines, Iowa, Bismarck or Fargo; (b) The Paul & Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans Program Grant for New Americans who are 30 or younger and pursuing a graduate degree full-time in the United States; (c) Achievement Scholarship for Refugees and Immigrants of Wake County Scholarship for first generation citizens, refugees or immigrants (no documentation required) who attended school in Wake County, North Carolina; (d) Douvas Scholarship for first generation citizens (parents born outside the US) attending high school and community college or university in Wyoming; (e) The Eagan Foundation

Scholarship for first generation or immigrant students graduating from high school in Eagan, Minnesota; (f) Educators for fair consideration (E4FC) Scholarships for low-income college and graduate students who live or attend school in the San Francisco Bay Area; (g) Golden Door Scholars four-year college scholarships for high-performing high school graduates with professional development and internship support; (h) CPS Dream Fund Scholarship Talent and Need-Based Scholarship for academically talented students attending Chicago Public Schools (Explorer Scholarship, 2017).

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS IN EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANTS

Each scholarship and award has specifications for qualification. Therefore, each person seeking an award or scholarship should take time to read about the requirements and expectations of the award or scholarship. Because of the limitation of space, a few funding sources are listed below accordingly: (a) Achievement Scholarship for Refugees and Immigrants; (b) Alfred Hugo and Gerda Else Radke Scholarship; (c) Ann Biggs/Thelma Salazar Scholarship for First-Generation Immigrants; (d) Banatao Family Filipino American Education Scholarship Fund; (e) Caroline Sanecki Kuspa First-Generation American Scholarship; (f) Chin Shui Kuen and Allen Chin Scholarship; (g) D.H. Gustafson Family Paradigm Foundation Scholarship; (h) Douvas Memorial First Generation American Scholarship; (i) Educators for Fair Consideration New American Scholars Program; and (j) Esperanza Education Foundation Scholarships (Scholarshipowl, 2017).

A NEW SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

The Western Union Foundation's Family Scholarship Program is a new initiative for immigrants and their families. This program is intended to help two members of the same family move up the economic development ladder through education. Scholarships may be used for tuition for college/university education language acquisition classes, technical/skill training and/or financial literacy. For example, one family member may request assistance to attend college and the other family member to attend an English as a Second Language (ESL) course. Recipients are eligible to receive scholarships in amounts of a few thousand dollars per family. To be eligible, all applicants must be 18 years old or older, have lived in the United States for seven years or less and reside in one of the following cities at the time of application: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Chicago, New York, Washington or Miami (Western Union Foundation, 2017).

SCHOLARSHIP SPECIFIC TO INTERNATIONAL WOMEN

Women of an international background, including foreign students, immigrants or first-generation Americans who are first year entrants to a U.S. college or university program in the upcoming fall are eligible to apply for the Red Thread Fellowship Program. The award provides help to offset the cost of tuition, books and living expenses. The distributor of the fellowship believes that the scholarship award can achieve truly positive results only if coupled with the recipient's clarity and focus on her professional and personal goals. In support of this, the Associates will serve as mentors to the award recipients, guiding them to prepare a five-year personal strategic plan that includes values, strengths and career goals, as well as the key developmental and career milestones to be accomplished. The mentorship component also gives Scholars an opportunity to benefit from Associates' experiences, unique skill sets and global networks in order to help them achieve their objectives. There are no grade point average (GPA) or United States residency requirements for this fellowship (Scholarships, 2018).

SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS FOR DIVERSE GROUPS

There are still a number of scholarships for undocumented students, as well as those in foster care and special groups. LGBT is an initial that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. Some scholarships and fellowship funders believe that there is a need to be sensitive to special groups. LGBTQ and homeless students may qualify for the following scholarships and fellowships. First, the Family Scholarship is awarded to a graduating Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) senior who will be the first in his/her family to go to college. Second, the Ford Foundation Fellows Programs offers financial support to increase the diversity of the nation's college and university faculties. Third, the Freedom from Religion Foundation Catherine Fahringer Memorial Award is available to high school youths who live in the United States and identify as agnostic, atheist, humanist and/or secular; preference is given to students who are Native American, Black/African American, Latino and Asian/Pacific Islander. Fourth, Golden Apple Scholars of Illinois is available for high school graduates who wish to seek a teaching careers in schools in the State of Illinois. Fifth, Golden Door Scholars is available for students who attend partner colleges and universities of GDS, while sixth is the Latino Resources College Scholarship, for exceptional Latino college students to attend two-year community college or vocational education programs. Seventh, the PepsiCo Cesar Chavez Latino Scholarship is for those of Latino descent beginning or continuing studies at a higher education institution. Eighth, the Single Parent Traditional Scholarship of Northwest Arkansas provides direct financial assistance to low-income single parents who are seeking a

career-related course of study in order to gain sufficient employment to meet the basic needs of their families. Ninth, Orange County, Texas, Rhode Island provides for undocumented students who wish to attend college next fall. Tenth, South Carolina Teaching Fellows offers high school seniors financial awards who complete a degree leading to teacher licensure (Office of Equal Opportunity and Diversity, 2017).

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS WHO DO NOT REQUEST IMMIGRATION STATUS OR CITIZENSHIP

There are many scholarships listed below that are available to undocumented students, or individuals who do not request immigration status or citizenship. The eligibility and status requirements should be carefully understood before applying for this type of scholarship funding. Immigrants without legal status, again, can pay for their education by seeking funding from a variety of available scholarships for undocumented students (Sheeby, 2014). Immigrants can find out more about scholarships and other awards by completing a profile and conducting a free college scholarship search online at Scholarships.com and other online resources. Scholarships for undocumented students include: (a) First in the Family Humanist Scholarship; (b) Ford Foundation Fellowship Program; (c) Freedom From Religion Foundation Catherine Fahringer Memorial Award; (d) Golden Apple Scholars of Illinois; and (e) Golden Door Scholars (Scholarships, 2017). It is hoped that the undocumented immigrants will take advantage of these scholarship opportunities as they seek higher education experiences at various colleges and universities with additional support from educational leaders.

LEADERSHIP SUPPORT FOR IMMIGRANTS

Leadership support for immigrants includes some government agencies, governors, city mayors, school leaders, social services personnel, employers, career counselors, college leaders, private sector leaders and community leaders. These leadership support groups continue to play a crucial role in helping immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals to obtain economic opportunities, higher education opportunities and experiences by earning a degree plus gain meaningful employment (The United States Committee for Immigrants, 2017).

More than 90 college and university presidents signed the statement, dated November 21, 2016, calling for the continuation and expansion of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, under which more than 700,000 young people who were brought to the United States as children have registered with the federal government in exchange for temporary relief from the possibility of deportation and a two-year renewable work permit (Pemberton, 2017). University

Presidents who have continued to engage in this political discourse regarding DACA are from Harvard, Princeton, Brown, Yale, Cornell, Amherst, New York University, Pomona College and Duke University, while other universities have expressed their desire for fairness for DACA children and adult individuals living in the United States, so as to be able to stay in the United States. Many of the DACA individuals and other immigrants are college students and also working in meaningful jobs that continue to support the broader economy in the United States. However, as of today's date, there is no clarity on the status of DACA individuals from the current United States President. In essence, there has not been any form of action taken toward the status of DACA individuals in gaining citizenship in the United States (Haberman, Rogers, & Shear, 2018).

BENEFITS OF IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEES AND DISPLACED INDIVIDUALS

The United States is a country of immigrants from its origin. It is plain and simple that there are many benefits to having immigrants, refugees and displaced individuals in the United States, including those economical, according to leading economists, researchers and Pew research data. For example, immigrants are: (a) important to the United States economy and vital to certain industries such as farming and agriculture; (b) important to the overall workforce as without immigrants various industries would likely suffer, illustrated with 2.5 million farm workers being illegal immigrants (The United States Department of Labor, 2012); (c) important to the retail industry; (d) important because undocumented workers contribute close to 10 percent of billions of dollars currently in the Social Security Trust Fund (The Congressional Budget Office, 2007); (e) important because immigrants make large contributions to the economy and lower consumer prices; and (f) important as the United States' population is growing older, as with a low birth rate there is a need for young workers to keep the economy going in various communities (Goodman, 2017). The United States needs an able and willing workforce in the public and private sector plus for individuals who are innovative in starting their own company as entrepreneurs (Vivek, Saxenian, Rissing, & Gereffi, 2007).

IMPACT OF IMMIGRANTS ON UNITED STATES COMMUNITIES

Immigrants that are educated, experienced and highly motivated individuals are coming to the United States and making jobs across various sectors more competitive (Huang, 2010). For the past two decades, immigration has continued to impact

United States communities in a positive manner (National Research Council Panel, 1997). For example, undocumented immigrants pay billions of dollars in taxes annually, complement rather than compete with native-born United States workers, even with less skilled workers, while not affecting the unemployment rates of native-born United States workers. In addition, taxes paid by legalized immigrants more than offset any use of social programs, while immigrants tend to complement the skill sets of United States workers, which helps with overall productivity. As many baby boomers in the United States workers leave the workforce, immigrants will be crucial to filling those job openings and promoting growth in the workforce economy (Card, 2001).

WHY IS THIS STUDY SIGNIFICANT?

This study has high relevancy and is very significant because it is broadly informative. Secondly, this study is significant because it is instructive, enlightening, revealing, illuminating and clearly explanatory for readers to comprehend. The narration of this chapter is organized so that it offers easy access for reviewing currently available grants, fellowships, national scholarships and private donor scholarships or awards that are issued by states and private individuals. It is especially important for undocumented individuals to learn and know that they can attend college and that there are many financial resources available for education through various types of grants, scholarships and fellowships. There are grants available also for specific areas of study, within certain states, while some financial funding for higher education is not always state specific for documented and undocumented individuals.

CONCLUSION

From this study, it appears that immigrants, refugees and displaced students can progress in higher educational opportunities, with a number of financial resources being available to documented and undocumented individuals. In the United States immigrants are positive contributors to communities throughout the United States. After learning new knowledge, skills and having a professional disposition, immigrants continue to be an asset to the United States as workers and innovators in many career areas. The argument could be made that immigrants, refugees and displaced students or individuals continue to impact positively to the growth, development and expansion of communities in the United States culturally, educationally and economically.

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North American Policy
AND Practice

Refugee Qualifications and Access to Higher Education

BRYCE LOO

INTRODUCTION

For many refugees, particularly those who are youths, higher education plays a crucial role in integration into new host societies and can help individuals eventually return and contribute to their countries of origin (Dryden-Peterson, 2012). However, these prospective students often face numerous barriers to access (Felix, 2016; Ferede, 2012; Shakya et al., 2012). One of these initial barriers for many refugee students is recognition of their academic credentials, which can prevent students from resuming higher education disrupted by conflict or turmoil or accessing the appropriate level of education or type of institution. For their part, universities and colleges may not have the policies or practices in place to respond in ways that can assist these students.

The goal of this chapter is to describe the policy and practice landscape in terms of evaluating and recognizing refugee credentials and qualifications in order for them to access to universities and colleges in Canada and the United States. The chapter will provide an overview of typical practices in evaluating and recognizing international credentials and how refugees and other displaced people often encounter trouble with credential recognition in host societies. There will then be a description of the overall policy environments related to refugee credentials, including relevant international agreements and systems for credential recognition, as well as available research on the topic. The chapter will then provide a closer examination of efforts to improve credential evaluation for refugees in the wake of the Syrian refugee crisis. Finally, it will identify research and practice needs within the North American context.

ACADEMIC CREDENTIALS AND QUALIFICATIONS

Most advanced industrial nations of the Global North, such as Canada and the U.S., as well as others, are credential societies (Collins, 1979). Formal documentation of one's educational achievements—credentials and qualifications—are required to advance into higher levels of education, particularly into certain jobs and careers, as well as to access certain other societal benefits and services.

The terms 'qualifications' and 'credentials' are often used interchangeably. 'Credentials' generally refer to documentation of one's educational or career achievements; academic credentials generally include diplomas, degree certificates and transcripts (Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials [CICIC], 2017c). 'Qualifications' is broader in scope. It refers both to formal qualifications—synonymous with credentials—but more broadly to the aptitude one has for a certain level of education access, a job or licensure or certification into a certain profession, generally following an assessment of some kind (CICIC, 2017c; Schuster, Desiderio, & Urso, 2013). For academic records, the term 'credentials' is commonly used in North America.

Typically, higher education institutions in many countries, particularly those in the Global North, require both domestic and international applicants to send credentials directly from their previous institutions, whether they are high schools or other universities or colleges (European Area of Recognition [EAR] Consortium, 2012; World Education Services [WES], 2017a). This ensures that the documents received are authentic and mitigates fraud (e.g., altering grades or marks). For international applications—those who were previously educated outside of Canada or the United States—institutional understanding of their credentials requires knowledge of systems of education in various countries and the credentials that they produce. Some institutions conduct their own foreign credential evaluations or outsource the task to a foreign credential evaluation organization, which can provide an analysis and expert opinion about how each credential should be recognized.

REFUGEE DOCUMENTATION ISSUES

Refugees and other displaced people often have trouble producing the necessary documents required for admission to higher education after settling in a new country. These individuals have fled conflict, persecution or sometimes natural or human-caused disaster. Depending on the situation in their countries of origin, refugees may face one of a number of different challenges in procuring documents.

Often, the biggest challenge occurs when issuing institutions in the home country are unable to issue documents due to conflict or disaster (American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers [AACRAO], 2016). In some

instances, the institution's physical buildings and infrastructure may be damaged or destroyed. For example, the University of Aleppo in Syria was bombed several times in early January 2013 while students were in the midst of important exams (Saad & Gladstone, 2013). The campus may be closed temporarily or indefinitely depending on the situation on the ground. In some cases, institutions may have to relocate and not have access to physical records or computer systems in the usual manner. Thus, many institutions may simply not be able to issue requested documents or may not be responsive to requests.

In some cases, particularly in the context of conflict or persecution, home institutions may refuse to issue documents to certain refugees for a variety of politically-motivated reasons. In the case of Syria, for example, many young male refugees left the country to avoid mandatory military conscription in the midst of the civil war and therefore cannot request their records from universities under the control of the regime (AACRAO, 2016). In other cases, the refugee applicant may fear requesting documents, particularly if they or family are still in the country, for fear of retribution from the government. Often, asking a family member to go to the institution to retrieve the documents is simply not possible.

Additionally, many refugees are often forced to flee suddenly. While some are able to take important documents with them, including copies of academic records, some are not (NGO Network of Integration Focal Points, 2007). The student may be severely hindered if the home institution is unable or unwilling to issue their records.

Ultimately, the main issue is not refugee or other immigration status but the verifiability of academic credentials or ability to ensure their authenticity (WES, 2017a). Some refugees will be able to request documents from their home institutions and some will arrive with full, official documents that can be authenticated. But many others will not be able to request their records or will only come with some documents, which may or may not be authenticated.

Once refugees and asylum seekers have arrived in destination countries, they often then face the problem of navigating a foreign, often very bureaucratic, system in the context of a very different culture and often a new language (Loo, 2017). The higher education admissions process can be very different than back home, often more impersonal in nature, while the credential evaluation process is likely entirely new and often bewildering for the individual.

THE LISBON RECOGNITION CONVENTION AND THE ENIC-NARIC NETWORKS

International agreements have attempted to ensure that international migrants, including refugees, are able to have their educational backgrounds recognized, generally as long as their credentials come from institutions accredited in their

countries. The most important of these is the Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European Region, commonly known as the Lisbon Recognition Convention (LRC) for short, of 1997. The LRC was convened and drafted jointly by the Council of Europe and UNESCO's Europe and North America region (which includes Canada and the United States).

Section 7 of the LRC specifically deals with refugees. The full text of the section states: "Each Party shall take all feasible and reasonable steps within the framework of its education system and in conformity with its constitutional, legal, and regulatory provisions to develop procedures designed to assess fairly and expeditiously whether refugees, displaced persons and persons in a refugee-like situation fulfil the relevant requirements for access to higher education, to further higher education programmes or to employment activities, even in cases in which the qualifications obtained in one of the Parties cannot be proven through documentary evidence." As part of the stream of international migrants, refugees also must receive a fair review of their qualifications, even when full, official documentation is missing.

While both Canada and the U.S. signed the LRC, neither government formally ratified the document. The Convention is often upheld in policy documents and discussions related to refugees in both countries, particularly in Canada (CICIC, 2017b; Guo & Shan, 2013; Phillips, 2000; USNEI, 2017a). However, in practice, it is not clear how well this agreement is known and adhered to among those working in credential evaluation or higher education admissions.

One effort to implement and further the LRC has been the ENIC-NARIC Networks. Previously two separate networks of education information centers, the first created by the Council of Europe and UNESCO after the LRC and the second in the 1980s by the European Commission, the two have been merged in effect and now host a joint website (www.enic-naric.net) that collates their resources (ENIC-NARIC Networks, 2017a). Each signatory country of the LRC has an ENIC-NARIC member organization, charged with helping facilitate the recognition of qualifications. Virtually all European countries are part of the network. Canada's ENIC-NARIC organization is called the Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials, or CICIC, overseen by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) (CICIC, 2017a). The ENIC-NARIC member organization in the U.S. is called USNEI, or United States Network for Education Information, housed under the U.S. Department of Education (USNEI, 2017a). Both CICIC and USNEI provide basic information about the system of education in their respective countries and information about how to have international credentials evaluated and recognized within the respective country. The ENIC-NARIC Networks (2017b) have provided guidance on the assessment of refugee credentials and, as will be discussed, CICIC has taken up the cause within Canada.

SYSTEMS FOR CREDENTIAL RECOGNITION

In practice, credential evaluation and recognition for internationally educated individuals is a highly uneven activity, due in large part to the federal and decentralized systems in both countries (CICIC, 2017c; USNEI, 2017b). Unlike in some European countries, neither the Canadian nor U.S. federal government is directly involved in the recognition of qualifications. By comparison, some smaller European countries, such as Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands, have much more centralized systems for credential recognition, often an outflow of a more centralized governance system (Schuster, Desiderio, & Urso, 2013). By contrast, in Canada and the U.S., myriad organizations have have at least some authority and responsibility for evaluating and recognizing foreign credentials. CICIC and USNEI only play coordinating roles. As a result of this diffuse responsibility for credential recognition, refugee access to higher education is uneven.

In the higher education sector in both countries, the institutions themselves are solely responsible for the recognition of foreign credentials (CICIC, 2017c; USNEI, 2017b). As mentioned earlier, some larger universities and colleges may conduct their own credential evaluations for use in the admissions process. Most others, however, rely on third-party credential evaluation organizations, which have expertise in the educational systems and academic documents of most of the world's countries. While minimum admissions requirements are usually clear for most institutions, actual processes and decision-making criteria are often opaque. Most institutions are interested in admitting a significant number of foreign-educated international students for many reasons, not least of which is the revenue that they can generate as usually full fee-paying students (Knight, 2004). But likely because of the scrutiny that university and college admissions can receive, institutions have an interest in ensuring that they recognize only valid foreign credentials that appear to demonstrate the applicant's aptitude for the level of study to which he or she applied. Refugees, who are likely not full fee-paying students with incomplete or non-verifiable documentation, may find having their academic credentials recognized by these institutional gatekeepers a challenge.

Credential evaluation organizations usually have extensive experience and knowledge in performing such services and have large databases from which they can compare academic documents. Most of these organizations within Canada and the U.S. belong to credential evaluation associations designed to provide quality assurance in the absence of government regulation. In Canada, the main association is called the Alliance of Credential Evaluation Services of Canada (ACESC) (2017), of which there are six member organizations. In the U.S. there are two such organizations: the National Association of Credential Evaluation Services (NACES) (2017), which has 19 member organizations, and the Association of International Credential Evaluators, Incorporated (AICE) (2017), with eight member organi-

zations. Ultimately, in both countries, the credential evaluation reports that these organizations provide to higher education institutions and others are only recommendations, expert opinions on individuals' academic background. Recognition of the individual's academic credentials is the domain of the school itself. Credential evaluation organizations are likely only going to provide evaluations for refugees with non-verifiable credentials as long as they are accepted by the universities and colleges and others.

Two indirect players when it comes to credential recognition are regulators—independent bodies that grant licenses or certifications to practice in certain professions, based in part on educational credentials—and employers. A main reason for this is that skilled immigrants, not just refugees but those who come via other channels, often have trouble returning to their original professions in their new host country in part because of challenges recognizing their credentials. This has been well-documented as a challenge in both Canada (Guo & Shan, 2013) and the U.S. (Batalova, Fix, & Bachmeier, 2016; Rabben, 2013). Many of the regulations and guidelines surrounding foreign credential evaluation in both countries arose out of the need for immigrants, often including refugees, to access the labor market (Owen & Lowe, 2008); much of the research that has been done on the topic has been in the context of licensing/certification and employment, particularly in Canada (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Lambda, 2003). Some research has been done specifically on access to further education at the tertiary level as well, though it is also often in the context of labor market access, particularly in Canada (Adamuti-Trache, 2011; Adamuti-Trache, Anisef, Sweet, & Walters, 2013). Many professionals of refugee status with limited documentation may need to return to school to receive a Canadian or American credential in order to return to their original professions or start new careers.

POLICY WINDOW: THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

Previous waves of refugees resettled into North America and Europe prompted some examination of credential issues for displaced populations. One major wave was in the late 1990s, coinciding with the signing of the Lisbon Recognition Convention (LRC), which focused on the crisis in the Balkans. Signatories of the LRC were quickly encouraged to apply its principles to refugees streaming out of the former Yugoslavia and into Western Europe (Phillips, 2000). One Canadian credential evaluation organization, International Credential Evaluation Service (ICES), based in British Columbia, sent a representative to a seminar in Strasbourg, France, in 1999 to participate in discussions with counterparts in the Council of Europe Working Party on Refugee Qualifications on how to recognize the non-verifiable credentials of refugees from the Balkans (Malfroy, 1999). The ICES

representative later authored a report on the seminar and the best practices that emerged from it (Phillips, 2000).

More recently, the Syrian refugee crisis has brought about a new wave of discussion, research and updated practices related to the academic credentials of refugees and other displaced peoples, as well as access to higher education in countries of resettlement more generally (de Wit & Altbach, 2016). A couple of factors created a policy window for moving forward policies and practices. First was the profuse media attention on the massive stream of asylum seekers from Syria and elsewhere streaming into Europe. Second was the realization that these individuals, many of them young people, would need access to education and employment in their new countries (Redden, 2015). Particularly notable was that prior to the civil war, Syria had a robust higher education system as well as a highly literate and well-educated population, in contrast with some other major refugee-producing countries.

Efforts in Canada and the U.S. to address the refugee credential issue are still relatively piecemeal, but Canadian actors have mobilized faster and organized more significantly. CICIC, Canada's ENIC-NARIC member organization, has been particularly instrumental in coordinating efforts around evaluating and recognizing non-verifiable credentials from refugees. Beginning in 2016, CICIC led the Assessing the Qualifications of Refugees initiative, funded by Government of Canada's Foreign Credential Recognition Program (FCRP) and supported by CMEC (CICIC, 2017b). The massive resettlement of Syrian refugees was given as a main impetus for the project. As part of the initiative, CICIC organized a two-day workshop in November 2016, bringing together 34 postsecondary institutional representatives, 27 representatives from regulatory bodies and representatives from all six credential evaluation organizations that are members of the Alliance of Credential Evaluation Services of Canada (ACESC), along with several federal and provincial ministry representatives. The universities and colleges present represented almost all provinces and a broad range of types and sizes of institutions. The workshop was a collaborative and discussion-based, resulting in best practices for Canadian institutions documented in a published report (CICIC, 2017c). It is not yet known the effect that these practices have had on universities and colleges, regulatory bodies that issue professional licenses and certificates, as well as others. There is evidence, however, that some Canadian academic institutions were already utilizing such practices, at least in limited circumstances (Loo, 2016).

One credential evaluation organization, World Education Services (WES), which operates in both the U.S. and Canada, has also piloted a project designed to assess the non-verifiable credentials of refugees (WES, 2017b). The pilot, which began in the summer of 2016, focused on Syrian refugees in a few select metropolitan areas in Canada. As WES notes, the limited scope of the project allowed for them to test an alternative methodology, as the organization usually only accepts complete, verifiable documents. Refugees were prescreened by partner organizations,

often refugee resettlement agencies, and submitted to WES whatever academic and professional documents they had in their possession (Tavartkiladze & Jillions, 2017). WES was then able to use its database of documents to assess the credentials and, in some cases where only partial documentation was submitted, reconstruct a list of courses in certain programs of study based on their database and knowledge of the Syrian education system. The report that was sent to the applicant and any indicated recipient institutions were clearly differentiated from a standard WES credential evaluation report, with an explanation of the methodology used included.

In December 2017, WES released some findings from a completed evaluation of the pilot project via a webinar (Tavartkiladze & Jillions, 2017). A total of 337 Syrian refugees had gone through the pilot, with 95 percent having received a completed report. According to WES, there is only limited information about acceptance of the reports among recipients but that a few Canadian higher education institutions and regulators would accept the reports in a similar manner to standard WES credential evaluation reports. They also announced that the organization was exploring ways to scale up the project to more locations in Canada and possibly bring it to the U.S.

Meanwhile, efforts in the U.S. have been more fragmented. The organization most leading the charge to respond to the Syrian refugee crisis among U.S. higher education institutions has been the non-profit Institute of International Education (IIE) (2017). The organization created the Syria Consortium for Higher Education in Crisis to coordinate efforts among U.S. universities and colleges, particularly in developing scholarships for Syrian refugees. A few network members and representatives have indicated that they had been able to work with non-verifiable credentials from Syrian refugees (Mozina & Doyle, 2016; Murray, 2016; Tooley, 2016) or have acknowledged the problem and offered some potential solutions (Fricke, 2016; Stanton, 2016). It is unclear, however, how widespread U.S. institutions, even within the IIE Consortium, have addressed issues of non-verifiable credentials held by refugees, Syrian or otherwise.

Other organizations and professional associations have done some work to address the issue of non-verifiable credentials also, largely through the dissemination of limited research and best practices through publications, webinars and conference presentations. Some examples have included the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO) (Tooley & Doyle, 2016), NAFSA: Association of International Educators (Bell, 2016) and World Education Services (WES) (Loo, 2016).

It is unclear what policies and practices are in place at U.S. higher education institutions. There have been no systematic efforts to map policies among institutions and doing so may prove tricky, as admissions policies, particularly among public institutions, can easily be politicized (Blume, 2015). Yet, as noted above, some institutions have noted willingness to address the issue and provide pathways forward, but relatively little is still known about such policies on a wider basis.

One U.S. credential evaluation, Educational Credential Evaluators (ECE), a member of NACES, has tackled the issue of cost of a credential evaluation for refugees through an initiative known as ECEAid, which started in August 2016 (ECE, 2017b). The initiative crowdfunds fee waivers for standard ECE evaluations for refugees and others facing similar hardships. The waivers are distributed to partner institutions and organizations, about 18 or so universities, resettlement agencies and others, according to the initiative's webpage (ECE, 2017a).

One nascent but promising effort is the Article 26 Backpack™, a collaboration between AACRAO; the University of California (UC), Davis; the American University of Beirut (AUB) in Lebanon; and an education software company called iQ4.com (UC Davis, 2017). The name references Article 26 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees all people the right to education. The project allows refugee students the opportunity to upload credentials and other important documents, such as curriculum vitae, to a cloud-based account via an app. The credentials contained within can then be assessed by credential evaluators anywhere in the world and made available for use with higher education institutions, employers, or others wherever the refugee goes. As of November 2017, the Backpack (as it is called for short) has been piloted in Lebanon (El-Ghali, 2018); it is unclear if it has benefitted any refugees yet in North America, or elsewhere beyond Lebanon thus far, but it remains a strong possibility.

All of these efforts on both sides of the border show that the Syrian crisis has really helped advance work on recognizing refugee credentials for further education, as well as professional purposes. It is worth noting that while Syrians have received the bulk of the attention in recent years and have provided much of the impetus for restarting discussions of refugee access to higher education and recognition of credentials, they are not the only refugee and asylum seeking groups in North America or elsewhere. Many organizations and institutions in North America are taking care to look at hardships experienced among many different groups. Focusing solely on Syrians can be counterproductive and potentially detrimental to efforts to help others.

THE STATE OF REFUGEE CREDENTIAL POLICY AND WHERE TO GO FROM HERE

The highly decentralized nature of higher education and credential recognition in both Canada and the United States has posed challenges to finding quick, meaningful and durable solutions for refugees holding non-verifiable credentials. Compared with smaller, more centralized systems in some European countries, these North American systems have many stakeholders with myriad policies and processes that are often opaque, particularly to refugees.

However, Canada stands out for its efforts to progress policy and practices that quickly and fairly assess refugee qualifications, though results of these efforts are not yet fully known. More positive views of immigration and multiculturalism as well as a greater sense of ownership of refugee resettlement among various levels of society (Hiebert, 2016) have contributed to quicker and stronger mobilization of efforts to assist refugees. Higher education admissions offices and regulators, who function as gatekeepers, have put forth efforts to help refugees as much as they can while balancing the needs of their respective institutions and organizations (Loo, 2016).

Moreover, compared in particular with the U.S., Canadian stakeholders have done a better job of organizing and collaborating. In particular, CICIC, as Canada's ENIC-NARIC organization, has taken the lead in organizing many of the stakeholders around this topic to develop practices that can be largely agreed upon and hopefully implemented, though again it is too early to know outcomes. In a highly decentralized system such as Canada, bringing all stakeholders to the table is crucial for improving the process and outcomes for refugees.

In the United States, there is a lack of coordination that likely stems in part from lack of government support, in large part due to the federal government's "*laissez faire* approach" to refugee and immigrant integration (Heibert, 2016, p. 10). There are many admirable efforts from organizations such as the Institute of International Education (IIE), but no organization has tried to coordinate efforts around refugee credentials in the way that CICIC has in Canada. Conspicuously absent from the conversation is the U.S.'s ENIC-NARIC member organization, USNEI, who could provide a coordinating role in the way that CICIC has in Canada. However, the size and complexity of the U.S. higher education system, including not only the institutions themselves but the various associations that support higher education and large number of credential evaluation organizations, makes coordination more difficult. However, there are efforts to formulate and disseminate good practices, but it is unknown to what extent these are taking root among institutions themselves.

In both countries there is a need for more research, particularly beyond 'best practices.' While there is more research on labor integration, particularly in Canada, there is more need to understand refugee credential issues in higher education. Coordination efforts could be boosted by gaining an overview of actual policies and practices nationwide, in both countries, among institutions in terms of recognizing refugee credentials and admitting and placing applicants. Additionally, it will be important to track outcomes of policies and practices for both refugee applicants and admitting institutions, as well as other stakeholders. All voices in this conversation, including particularly those of the refugees themselves, are important.

For the U.S., the key practice moving forward is to develop more coordination and collaboration. Institutions and organizations will ultimately set their own policies, but it is important to come together to share practices and develop collaboratively a set of best practices that is U.S.-centered, much like the organizational

efforts of CICIC in Canada. The efforts surrounding the Article 26 Backpack are a promising start, though still a ways away from benefiting refugees already arrived in the U.S. Canadian stakeholders should consider meeting on a regular basis, such as an annually or bi-annually, to assess their own practices and reassess the developed joint practices from the CICIC workshop. Over time, unless there are major developments in Syria or another major refugee crisis, the attention of stakeholders to the topic may wane and the policy window will close. Stakeholders in both countries may want to create scheduled, regular meetings to discuss the topic and determine more steps moving forward. It is unlikely that the number of refugees and other displaced people worldwide will diminish anytime soon, so regularly advancing this topic will remain important for the time being.

CONCLUSION

Refugees are among the most vulnerable people on the planet and, at the same time, when they do resettle in another country face a multitude of challenges in restarting their lives. For both young refugees and older professionals needing assistance in either returning to their original professions or starting new ones, higher education is often a crucial step. But without proper, verifiable documentation of their educational backgrounds, many may need to start higher education from the very beginning, losing valuable time and money. In North America, higher education institutions and the professional organizations and associations that support them can find ways to help refugees gain access to higher education.

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From Brain Drain TO Return Migration AND Brain Gain IN Africa

A Three-Level Theoretical Analysis

VALERIE MOMO

INTRODUCTION

Africa has generated significant outflows of international migration, mainly to Western Europe but also North America and the Arab region (Hunger, 2002). A sizable number of this population migration is also tied to the search for better educational opportunities in well-equipped higher institutions in the western world. The Toronto Globe and Mail (November 2, 2005) went so far as to write an article about the African brain drain entitled "The new slave trade: A poor country's best workers" in which it warned that rich countries could "suck all of the human capital out of the poor countries, leaving them forever destitute." The outflow of Africans for either study, work or to seek greener pastures continues to be an issue for many western governments who act in most cases as the receiving countries.

For the past number of decades, Africa has lost some of its best-trained professionals through brain drain to richer countries. The inability of Africa to meet some of its economic and developmental challenges is because of the emigration of highly trained professionals. The migration of Africans into Europe and North America, according to one African scholar, stems from the 1960s, when large numbers of Africans migrated, engaging in a record expansion of access to education across Europe and America (Adepoju, 2004). For Wusu (2006), the number of Africans heading out of the continent was initially small during the 1960s, although this later increased due to the deteriorating state of the social, political and economic conditions of their various countries.

Table 6.1 Estimated total stocks of migration from, to and within Africa.

Year	From Africa to the rest of the world	From the rest of the world to Africa	Within Africa
1960	1,830,776	2,811,930	6,176,385
1980	5,418,096	1,872,502	7,966,359
2000	8,734,478	1,532,746	10,500,000

Source: Flahaux and De Haas Comparative Migration Studies (2016) 4:1.

The migration of students for studies or professionals for jobs constitutes brain drain for the country of origin. On the other hand, some of these professionals at some point will decide to return to their country of origin, thereby re-importing their human capital, which will represent a huge gain for such a country. The destination country also benefits positively as she receives the human capital from the country of origin. On the other hand, the country of origin has suffered a 'brain drain'. Nevertheless, one usually speaks of brain gain and brain drain only if there is a sizeable number of migrants and if the balance of immigrants and emigrants is heavily disproportionate (Kelo & Wätcher, 2004).

This paper looks at the analysis of three migration theories. Two categories of migrants, namely students and professionals, will inform our analysis. These groups of migrants are highly influential due to their important level of education as well as the human capital they can bring. Taking into consideration the migration cycle of Cassarino (2014), the migrants leave the country of origin either for studies or work (which will constitute brain drain). After they study or work in the country of migration, they might decide to return home (return migration) and after returning subsequently reintegrate (brain gain) in the country of origin.

The first part of this paper looks at brain drain. It examines the definition, the origins as well as ramifications of this concept. The concept of Return Migration will be our focus in part two. We will also explore some definitions, who is a migrant as well as some effects of Return Migration on the country of origin. Brain Gain will be the center of our analysis in the last part. We will also consider the definition of the concept as well as its advantages in our analysis.

BRAIN DRAIN AND THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

Brain drain is a concept that has a long history, even before the 1960s. During the 1950s and 1960s, the British Royal Society began using the expression 'brain drain' to refer to the departure of scientists and technologists to the United States and

Canada. The concept of brain drain also includes well-qualified technical experts, administrators, senior managers, doctors, engineers, investors, educators, businesspersons, some workers in key positions and subcontractor workers (Gençler & Çolak, 2002). Early studies on the subject were principally concerned with the emigration of academics and professionals from developing to developed countries, as well as the possible negative impacts of this migration on the social and economic development of the countries of origin (Bhagwati & Hamada, 1974; Hamada, 1977; McCullock & Yellen, 1977).

The definition of the term brain drain varies as well as its origin. For some scholars, the term refers to the international transfer of human capital resources, mainly in the sense of the migration of highly educated individuals from less to more prosperous countries (Beine, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2008, p. 631). Other writers have likened the definition to terms such as talent and shortage whereby the word 'drain' implies the shortage of a talented workforce due to migration rates beyond the normal level (Bushnell & Choy, 2001). While the term 'brain' refers to knowledge and skill of the highly competent individual, 'drain' on the other hand posits the movement of these brains.

Brain drain happens not only from developing to developed countries but also between developed countries, such as between EU countries (Galgóczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). However, some macroeconomists such as Boeri, Brücker, Docquier, and Rapoport (2012) maintained that the term is used for the macroeconomic analysis of human capital transfer from developing to developed countries. The consequence of this movement is that it is likely to lead to new asymmetries and inequalities between sending and destination country or countries: brain drain renders human capital scarcer where it is already scarce and more abundant where it is already abundant (Docquier & Rapoport, 2012, p. 725). The human capital flow entails an international shift of resources in the form of human capabilities and skills (Ndulu, 2004). Conditions such as trade liberalization and a growing emphasis on the knowledge economy development of advanced ICT services has encouraged international labour mobility (Knight, 2005).

BRAIN DRAIN AND THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

African has been one of the continents affected by the phenomenon of brain drain. Shinn (2008) investigated cases of brain drain across African countries. He found many reasons for why highly educated Africans migrate, but key factors include poor economic situation and political instability. Shinn found in his investigation that as the living conditions declined, and conflict intensified

in Rwanda, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the 1990s, some of these countries' professionals, including students, who could afford the cost of migrating overseas searched for opportunities in other parts of the world and left Africa.

Benedict and Ukpere (2012) further argued that African countries since independence continue to face a brain drain phenomenon. Migration of highly skilled Africans from the continent of Africa to other parts of the world has left some countries in Africa short of skills to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. Even though brain drain is not uniquely an African affair, the continent has been hit most by this phenomenon. Countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Cameroon and South Africa have been affected in recent decades by brain drain. Though Table 2 reflects the presumably total emigration, Table 3 gives a clear picture of the brain drain of African professionals.

Table 6.2. African immigrants to the United States by country of birth (thousands), 1981 to 2000.

Country of birth	1981–1990	1991–2000
Nigeria	35.3	67.3
Ethiopia	27.2	49.3
Egypt	31.4	46.7
Ghana	14.9	35.6
South Africa	15.7	22.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, statistical abstract of the United States (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 2003).

Brain drain particularly in the form of human capital flight has in recent times plagued the African continent. The extent of this 'flight of human capital' is staggering, according to the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the International Organization for Migration. An estimated 27,000 skilled Africans left the continent for industrialized countries between 1960 and 1975. During the period 1975 to 1984 this figure rose to 40,000. Since 1990, at least 20,000 qualified people have left Africa every year.

According to another estimate there are about 100,000 highly qualified Africans working in OECD countries—nearly one third of its skilled workforce—about the same as the number of foreign experts working in Africa (International Organization for Migration, 1999). About 23,000 academics migrate out of Africa each year. The severity of the loss of human capital in African countries is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 6.3. Estimated extent of brain drain from Africa (percentage of nationals with university education living abroad).

Estimated extent of brain drain from Africa
35 percent: Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Western Sahara
5–35 percent: Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia
< 5 percent: Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, DRC (formerly Zaire), Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe, Libya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Seychelles, Zimbabwe

Source: Institute for Migration, 1999.

Chimanikire (2003) found in his study of brain drain in Africa that weak public and private institutions are the primary problematic factor. According to the study, educational institutions lack autonomy; such a situation prevents professionalism in most African countries and this contributes in students, as well as other highly trained professionals, choosing to migrate to other parts of the world (Kadiri, 2005). According to Chimanikire, "Most Sub-Saharan Africa do not have particularly friendly working environments, strong budgets, clear policies or generous research funds and there is often no national policy for or even little investment in science and technology" (Chimanikire, 2003, p. 12). However, some African countries such as South Africa and Botswana are exceptions in this regard due to their stronger economies.

In contrast to push factors, according to research undertaken in 2003 and supported by the European Commission, it is stated that access to technology and scientific equipment is one of the main factors influencing the mobility of researchers, but lack of it contributes to brain drain of African professionals and graduate students (Times Higher Education, 2003). The level of career development and job mobility is high (in Western economies) and more attention is put on human resource policies, supervision and training. In addition, research funds and scholarships are available in developed countries where there are generally fewer bureaucratic controls (Shinn, 2008).

Notwithstanding these factors, according to De Haas, in a study of 33 labour exporting countries, particularly in Africa, only 10 percent of those highly educated are found to have migrated (De Haas, 2005, p. 1272). Massey et al. (2008, p. 223) argued that "The inflow of capital through migrant remittances (the money migrants send home to their families and communities) could improve productivity and incomes." Similarly, Beine et al. (2011) used panel data covering 147 countries and tested the impact of skilled labour on human capital accumulation between 1975 and 2000. The

study found that skilled migration prospect fosters human capital accumulation in low-income countries. From the above discussion, we can summarize the arguments of the authors in the following keywords, which captured the push and pull factors: poor education, fewer job opportunities, low wage, armed conflict and high standard of living, high standard of education, high salaries, safety of environment, less bureaucratic control and policies encouraging migration (Kadiri, 2005).

The motives or reasons for migration may have different forms. The pull-push theory can also explain the causes of brain drain. In summary, socioeconomic conditions have been potent push factors in the growing phenomenon of an African brain drain (Olumide & Ukpere, 2011). The pull factors, on the other hand, are the prosperity elements in the rich countries; such countries are simply nicknamed 'greener pasture' by African professionals who migrate there (Ibid). In our subsequent analysis, we will dwell on the pull and push factors of brain drain.

THE PUSH FACTORS

Economic reasons play a vital role in the causes of migration. Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) provided an overview of reasons to migrate by stressing that economic reasons are an important gravitational factor in migration flows. Some western countries have relaxed their immigration and visa policies to attract more professionals and students alike. For instance, previous strict restrictions on student visas in Australia were modified to allow skilled professionals to remain for a period in Australian "areas of need", such as rural and remote areas after they have completed their studies (Scott et al., 2004).

Some European countries also had policies to attract qualified migrants. In July 2001, the European Union announced, "Plans for a more liberal residence visa that would make it easier for foreigners to live and work in its member states." This was particularly to boost the labor force of such countries. Around the same period, Germany planned to admit skilled immigrants at the rate of fifty thousand a year and allow them to stay permanently (Theil, 2001). Other countries such as the United States adopted policies of special visa programs in this regard. In the United States, this policy allows foreign professionals to come and work in the country temporarily; however, many stay permanently as temporary guest workers can obtain a permanent resident status (El-Khawas, 2004).

However, warning on this drain on African professionals, Shrestha et al. (2008) reiterated this sentiment and warn that governments of African countries need to implement a lasting solution to the problems of unemployment as well as low remuneration and embark on a radical project to curb the loss.

A range of factors contributes to brain drain. Some studies like those of Zelena (2004) and Shinn (2002) suggested unfavourable working conditions, lack of ac-

ademic freedom, political persecution and intolerance are some reasons why individuals refuse to relocate back to their home country (p. 149–194; p. 184, para. 18).

Because of the poor state of some African countries' higher education system and lack of education infrastructure at home, thousands of students migrated to countries with better universities, such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States (Olumide & Ukpere, 1011). Even though these students are expected to return when they finish their degrees, many decide to remain in the West due to the prospect of getting a job, even when in most cases there is no guarantee that a migrant, even qualified, will be successful in this regard (Ibid). But most prefer such a situation, instead of returning to their home countries to join the labor market without any certainty of being employed (Ibid). The decline in education quality resulting from a lack of funding and low salaries have forced educators, academic professors and other sought-after professionals to migrate overseas for better remuneration and working conditions (Crush & Frayne, 2010; El-Khawas, 2004; Imran et al., 2011).

The worsening political and economic conditions of some Africa countries continue to push many Africans to migrate to economies that are more attractive. There is evidence that deteriorating economic standards are to blame for South Africa's brain drain (Bhorat et al., 2002). Demirdijan (2013) argued political instability, lack of opportunities, unemployment, personal conflicts and lack of healthcare are reasons why brain drain occurs (para. 3). According to Docquier (2013), brain drain occurs due to poverty, lack of economic growth and freedom, political repression and discrimination (p. 3).

The conditions under which a country gains or loses depend on whether the appropriate policy for improving educational infrastructures and policies to encourage professionalism responds to the brain drain to meet the goals and needs of the country (Sultana, 2014). As seen from our analysis, brain drain depletes a country of its valuable economic and human capital. Nevertheless, in the process, not all the students or professionals decide to remain in the country of migration after their studies or work. A sizeable number will decide to return to their country of origin. Return migration has gained and continues to gain the interest of researchers in migration studies. Not only is the concept important in the migration cycle, but also through this return brain drain becomes a positive benefit for the country of origin. Our next section of the analysis will deal with the concept.

RETURN MIGRATION

In analyzing the issue of return, two categories of migrants spring up, those who decide to finally return home and those who choose to stay permanently in the country of migration. The phenomenon of return affects all the categories of migrants. However, the decisions in some of the cases become interesting when the

migrants leave their country because of economic motives, as this factor typically affects the final decision of whether to remain in the country of origin.

Borjas and Bratsberg (1996) provided an important contribution to the theoretical explanations of return emigration of immigrants. They attribute return migration to an optimal plan over the life cycle where immigrants return to their home country due to the realization of a savings goal or due to erroneous information about economic opportunities in the host country. Other theories attribute return migration to region-specific preferences (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007, p. 235; Hill, 1987), higher purchasing power of host currency in source countries (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007, p. 236) or greater returns for human capital acquired in the host country (Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996; Dustmann & Weiss, 2007).

Since 2000 there has been an increase in the number of empirical studies that examine return migration from multiple perspectives, including notions of 'diasporic homelands' (Markowitz & Stefansson, 2004), second-generation return (Tsuda, 2009), imagined and provisional return (Long & Oxfeld, 2004), as well as contributions to the theory of return phenomena (Ammassari, 2009; Cassarino, 2004). Today, the topic of Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) is particularly prevalent in policy circles which leads to research on the impacts of AVR on returnees and their countries of return (Collyer, 2009; Majidi, 2012).

Dustmann and Weiss (2007) defined returned migration as a "situation where the migrants return to their country of origin, by their own will, after a significant period abroad." Other disciplines such as economics, sociology, anthropology, geography and psychology have also contributed to research on return migration. However, it is still a rather under-theorized field (Cassarino, 2004; Rogers, 1984) in which most attempts to theorize return involve its incorporation or application to general theories of migration (King & Christou 2008). Cassarino (2004) provided a very systematic and rigorous review regarding the typologies and frameworks of return migration.

International migration studies largely focus on the decision to return and reintegration processes upon return (Carling et al., 2011). Due to global, economic changes and increased accessibility to means of transport and communication, the processes and patterns of migration have become more complex (Pries, 2008, p. 4). Approaches to analysing migration have widened and the awareness has risen that migration can no longer be a one-dimensional movement, but must include new patterns and arrangements, such temporary migration and circular migration. Within this context, return migration is a "subprocess" of international migration (Cassarino 2004, p. 1).

For most countries, looking at the lack of data on return migration (Guberd & Nordman, 2011), it can be safely concluded that return migration has garnered relatively little attention even now. Furthermore, there has been comparatively little research on the individual and contextual factors which determine return migration. It is therefore not surprising that most policy measures taken to encourage return

migration have failed (Dustmann et al., 1996). From the above analysis, there is no doubt about the benefits of return migration for the country of origin.

One can say that there is no one fixed definition of return migration. However, many definitions do exist, for example that formulated by the United Nations' Statistics Division for collecting data on international migration. But understanding both return migration and its benefits will require also understanding who a returnee is.

DEFINING A RETURNEE

According to this report, returnees are "persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year" (SOPEMI, 2008, p. 164). The central assumption of the SOPEMI Report is that a person's country of origin is also their country of citizenship. Some other definitions pay attention to the observation that migration and remigration are no longer seen as a singular movement but need to be understood as a long-term process of recurring changes of residency (Pries, 2008, p. 6).

Most of the time, a returnee's return is not given as a precise definition when discussing return migration. When considering the definition of return migration, it is important to identify who returns, as it is vital to understand the phenomenon of return, as well as who returns and why. Perackovic (2005) gave a sociological definition; the returnees may be defined as a specific social group living in a country with various life experience and identities, of the local community in their country of origin, migration experience, experience adaptation in the destination country, i.e. new social values, working and professional experience as well as the experience of reintegration into the country of origin (Perackovic, 2005).

The United Nations Statistical Divisions, on its part, offers an explicit definition of returned migrants. The report underscored that returning migrants are "persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year" (UNSD, 1998). This definition embraces the following dimensions: (a) country of origin, (b) place of residence abroad, (c) length of stay in the host country, and (d) length of stay in the home country after return.

Other researchers such as Gmelch used categories to distinguish the type of returned migrants. According to Gmelch (1980), the type of return migrants falls under one of these broad categories: (a) those who intended to stay but are forced to return, (b) those who intended to stay but choose to return, and (c) those who only intended temporary migration and return once they have achieved their objectives abroad (p. 135).

BENEFITS OF RETURN MIGRATION

Research into return migration has increased in recent years, with return skilled migration viewed as potentially beneficial for the countries of origin due to the knowledge and skills that migrants bring back with them (Dustman et al., 2011; Iredale et al., 2003; Kapur & McHale 2005; King, 1986, 2000; Kumar et al., 2014). However, a sizable amount of literature still questions the nature of how such return benefits the country of origin. Furthermore, according to some writers, the contributions of those who return depend on the context of return (Cassarino, 2004; de Haas, 2008; Iredale et al., 2003; Kumar et al., 2014).

Many researchers (Ammassari, 2004; Athukorala, 1992) find that the impact return migrants have in the home country depends on three main conditions: (a) that migrants have learned something abroad and have acquired experience; (b) that what they have learned is useful in their home context; and (c) that they are willing and capable of applying that knowledge. Similarly, Callea (1986) argued that "return migrants are a positive element in development only if the right socio-economic conditions are implemented by the government of the country of origin" (p. 61).

Many governments today are considering return migration as a gateway to development. This is particularly evident with some governments in the West. In recent years, governments in the global North, international agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have come to expect returnees to play a vital role in the development of their 'home countries' (European Commission, 2011; Global Forum on Migration and Development, 2012). As Sinatti and Horst (2015, p. 144) noted, the return is emerging as a key issue in the most recent policy documents on development in the European Union (EU) as well as in various member countries. In addition, we can also stress the bright side of the return, which is increasingly important in promoting development in the home country through inputs of capital, knowledge and experiences (Black & Gent, 2004).

One of the major benefits of return migration is brain gain. The nature of benefits will greatly depend on whether the returnee was a highly skilled worker or has acquired the requisite knowledge or know-how that benefits the country of origin.

BRAIN GAIN: UNDERSTANDING BRAIN GAIN

Brain gain is a recent phenomenon with particularly interesting consequences in poor and developing countries (Sultana, 2014). Beine, Docquier, and Rapoport (2009) defined 'brain gain' as when "migration prospects can raise the expected return to human capital and thus foster education investment at home" (p. 2). Beine, Docquier, and Rapoport (2008) argued that 'brain drain' can be more than compensated by 'brain gain' if the opportunities for skilled workers to emigrate to

rich and developing countries create an incentive for more individuals to become educated in poor and developing countries.

Returning migrants may also have accumulated additional knowledge and financial capital while abroad, hence generating additional benefits, especially with respect to technology adoption and productivity growth at home (Stark et al., 1997). Domingues Dos Santos and Postel-Vinay (2003) formalized this idea in a setting where growth is exogenous at the destination and endogenous at origin thanks to the knowledge embodied in migrants returning from the more advanced economy. These advanced economies in Europe and America are said to have decent job opportunities which benefit the educated migrants who studied, lived and later worked there.

According to some studies, brain drain is positive for developing countries if it turns into a brain gain and if kept at estimated rates of between five percent and 10 percent of qualified personnel who return in low-income countries. According to Docuier and Rapoport (2004), migration may also have some positive feedback such as remittances, schooling incentives and return migration after obtaining additional skills, which will certainly contribute to the economic development of the source countries.

In contrast, when migration is a transitory event, return migration can have a positive influence on sending regions (Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996; Dustmann & Weiss, 2007; Mayr & Peri, 2008). Dustmann and Weiss (2007) and Mayr and Peri (2008) suggest that the experience abroad increases the amount of individual human capital and therefore the level of productivity of the agents. As a result, return migration can lead to a mitigation of the brain drain, or even the creation of a brain gain, to the extent that returns brought into the home country raised skills.

THE POSITIVES OF BRAIN GAIN

One of the possible benefits of migration on source regions pointed out by existing literature attributes the view of schooling incentives, which recent series studies have emphasized (Beine et al., 2008; Di Maria & Stryszowski, 2008). 'Brain gain,' which suggests that the emigration of skilled labourers may provide incentives for those left behind to invest in human capital, as well as human capital, is one of the key determinants of long-term economic growth according to the endogenous growth theory (Lucas, 1988; Romer, 1986). This kind of 'brain gain' is much more likely to occur in the sending countries when migration is temporary or decision on schooling investment is made according to future migration opportunities (Mayr & Peri, 2008).

Stark et al. (1997) were the first to demonstrate the possibility of a brain gain associated with a brain drain in a context of migration, imperfect information and

return, due to the know-how they would not have acquired if not for the possibility of emigration. Potential obstacles to brain gain are the possible lack of incentives for return migration. Many emigrated elites are not interested in returning to their home, especially if they have achieved a standard of living abroad that is (far) beyond the usual standard of living in their home country (Hunger 2004).

Empirical research has shown evidence to suggest a positive relationship between economic development and the return migration of Third World elites (brain gain), including the establishment of social networks through migrant diasporas (Brown, 2000). There have been several studies and reports (UNDP 2001a) on highly skilled migrants, mainly scientists, from developing countries and their links to their home country (Gaillard 1997; Johnson & Regets 1998; Meyer 2001) that indicate the positive effects or benefits of brain gain.

CONCLUSION

Migration continues to be a permanent and continual process that embodies the movement of people from one country to the other and the return as well. People from all strands in African society continue to migrate, occasioning brain drain and brain gain through the process of return. One of the greatest challenges the African continent is being confronted with is not only the issue of addressing the outflow of skilled man power, but also creating a conducive work environment for those who return. While brain drain depletes the continent, return migration can lead to brain gain through the return of these highly qualified personals. This return is said to and can advantage the socio-economic and political sectors of the continent in the long run.

From our above analysis, brain drain, brain gain and return migration are extremely vital in the issue of the migration of professionals in and out of the African continent. Even though there seems to be, in some instances, no clear-cut understanding of the exact benefits of brain drain, return migration and brain gain, these three concepts appear to be vital in migration studies, especially in addressing the inflow and outflow of human capital into the African continent. Not only do these concepts help us understand the reasons and types of population movements between continents and countries, but they also help explain how and who benefits what from migration in general.

Brain drain in many analyses is continuously linked to the loss of a country's highly qualified individuals. Return migration on the other appears to be a means through which brain gain could accrue for the country of origin, through the return of this educated and qualified workforce. The type of gain for the country of origin, considering return migration, will depend on varied factors, some of which could be argued to largely depend on the context of each return on one hand and others on

the motives of return. This must be looked at with keen attention to the social, economic and political environment in the region. On one hand, this will be important for conceptual clarity while on the other it will help in understanding the African perspective that is peculiar to the African continent in this era of globalization.

These three elements are very vital in understanding or qualifying some ramification of increased international mobility of human capital, particularly in and out of the African continent. Linking these three concepts in the future analysis will allow understanding of some aspects of brain circulation phenomenon in and out of the African continent, while the return effects will go a long way to reversing some of the drain effects. However, it is worth mentioning that more research is needed to truly measure these effects and evaluate them precisely.

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Addressing THE Crisis OF Higher Education FOR Refugee AND Immigrant Students

Not Quite A Crisis but A Coping Challenge

How Berlin Universities Responded to the 2015–2016 Refugee Influx

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INTRODUCTION

Since the arrival of more than 1.1 million new refugees into Germany in 2015/2016 (BAMF, 2017a), the country has been challenged to respond, from the federal government down to its 16 states, from public and private institutions down to individual citizens. It has been two years since the initial 'refugee crisis' period of summer 2015, when globally broadcast images showed ordinary Germans with 'Refugees Welcome' signs bringing bags of clothing and cartons of food and drink to major rail stations. Those early days have now passed, with entry points in transit countries closed off again, as quickly crafted political agreements in 2016 ended refugee intake into Europe and Germany. The scramble to devise adequate shelter and organize the administrative mechanisms to process the sudden rise in new asylum requests to Germany, to move refugees into stable housing, get their children into schools and parents into training as well as employment arrangements, are now mostly resolved. Language training and educational assistance for refugees in federal states and cities is formalized and functioning. But with the slim re-election of Chancellor Angela Merkel in September of 2017, the government remains hampered by deep divides over a broad range of issues, including the debate over refugee integration and what its implications will mean for Germany. In the higher education sector—the focus of this paper—the relatively small number of refugees who will become eligible

to enter universities by 2020 is estimated to range from between 30–50,000 (Rueland, 2016; Stifterverband, 2017).

BACKGROUND

Never in UNHCR's existence have more people been forcibly displaced. While 86 percent of all refugees are hosted in developing countries—one out of four even in the world's least developed countries (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2016, p. 4)—with refugees entering Europe in large numbers over the past few years, the topic of (forced) migration has gained greater public attention in the Western world (Berry, Garcia-Blanco, & Moore, 2015; Juran & Broer, 2017). Early in 2015/2016 in Germany, the outpouring of civic support for arriving refugees "seemed to shake off [the country's] image as a cold-hearted nation" (The Washington Post, 2016).

This paper presents the perspectives of university administrators in Berlin who are working with refugee students seeking to enroll in full time studies. We nest our research within the broader global discourse on forced migration that has gained traction in the scholarship in recent years (Guterres, 2010; Landau & Duponchel, 2011). The university administrators we studied pointed to numerous challenges but were unified in their belief that the challenge posed by the so-called refugee "crisis"—to use the term predominantly adopted by the German and global media (Bauder, 2016) in 2015/2016—has not been a crisis but rather given them an opportunity to improve services for refugees that could in the long run also improve services for all German and international students. In the following discussion, we detail findings from our interviews conducted with administrators in the summer of 2017 about their work directly with refugee students. We explore how the university administrative estate in Berlin responded to the refugee influx, what programming their institutions created and what they felt were the most important and pressing challenges to be addressed now and in the future.

Research on refugees and education has so far primarily focused on their aspirations for primary and secondary education, the challenges of access in developing and developed contexts as well as education in refugee camps (Anselme & Hands, 2012; Crea, 2016; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010; Hannah, 1999; Zeus, 2011). Much less research has so far looked at refugees and higher education. In this study, we considered a different scenario: refugees in the well-resourced context of Germany who are aspiring for higher education and the administrators who worked with them. Although existential questions often emerged during our interviews such as "What is integration?" or "How is integration part of internationalization?", we address these only tangentially as our focus was primarily on

the practical responses of Berlin university administrators and what they have done to directly address the refugee influx.

THE STUDY

The data for this study was collected during an intensive week-long interview phase in early August of 2017. The four researchers—three German and one American—formed earlier in the year as the Berlin Refugee Research Group[1] (BRRG) to formulate the research project and develop the interview protocol. There were 17 items in the semi-structured interview divided into five sections. Questions addressed issues such as "What have been some of the biggest changes in your work since the number of refugees increased in 2015?", "What do you think are the biggest challenges for refugees who want to study in Germany?" and "Do you think higher education structures and procedures need to be adapted to accommodate refugees, and if so how?"

   The interviews were conducted with 14 university administrators at seven public research universities and universities of applied sciences throughout Berlin. All interviews were audio recorded and conducted in German and participants signed a consent form authorized by the lead author's Institutional Review Board (see Table 7.1 for brief descriptions of the interview partners, their roles and universities).

   After each interview, the researchers briefly discussed the main points of the interview. Upon completion of all interviews, the research team compiled its notes and organized the information into a first round of thematic categories that initially came out to 20 distinct themes. They then listened to the 11 audio interviews again and refined the initial 20 themes to 31, along with exemplary direct quotes from the interview recordings. The team then had successive group meetings to comb through the series of themes and narrow them to the distinct categories we describe in the sections below.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

While German higher education institutions have been reforming steadily over the past decades since the Bologna Declaration established a European Higher Education Area that revised previous university structures, the unanticipated refugee influx of 2015/2016 presented universities with another externally imposed challenge that allowed them to consider more targeted reforms. A helpful framework useful for looking at institutional change in higher education was proposed by Kondakci and Yildirim in 2004, who noted Gersick's Punctuated Equilibrium

Paradigm (1991). Gersick's paradigm argues that organizations are characterized by "relatively long periods of stability (equilibrium), punctuated by compact periods of qualitative, metamorphic change (revolution)" (p. 12). Yet, metaphoric change is restricted by what Gersick defines as deep structures that "disassemble[s], reconfigure[s] and force[s] wholesale transformation" (p. 12). The punctuated equilibrium model is appropriate for the German university landscape in its assumption that, in addition to continuous adaptation efforts, major changes may also suddenly happen to which deep structures must respond. This process is what makes the German case of the quick influx of new refugee streams into the country and eventually its universities so intriguing.

CONTEXT

Since the Second World War, Germany has increasingly been seen as a "land of migration" and an attractive hub for skilled workers and international students (Rietig & Müller, 2016). Without great public notice, over the years even before the refugee crisis, Germany had consolidated "its position as one of the main immigration countries, second only to the United States" (OECD, 2015, p. 16). Its universities also made it the fifth most popular destination for international students (UNESCO, 2016). In 2015, over 300,000 international students (12.3 percent of the student body) were enrolled at German universities (BAMF, 2015) attracted by its high quality, well-resourced, tuition-free system.

The arrival of refugees became more and more a crisis when the Ministry of the Interior quadrupled its predictions in March 2015 from 250,000 to 800,000 by August (Ulrich & Hildebrandt, 2015). The final tabulations by the Ministry of the Interior for 2015 were that a total of 890,000 refugees had entered Germany that year (Federal Ministry of the Interior [BMI], 2016). Of these, 55,000 had applied for asylum in Berlin (State Office for Refugee Affairs Berlin [LAF-B], 2017). Between 2014–2017, more than 1.6 million refugees made their way into Germany (BAMF, 2017b), with 35 percent having graduated from a secondary school before they arrived and 20 percent having a higher education or vocational qualification (Brücker et al., 2016). Germany's free education system proved particularly appealing with 43 percent of refugees specifically citing the education system as their motivation for choosing Germany over other European countries (Brücker et al., 2016).

With the influx of so many refugees in such a short period of time, Germany's institutions and civic society have been challenged to quickly become part of a wide integration effort driven from the top and trickling down into nearly every sector and all parts of the country. Although by 2017 cities and municipalities no longer were in a state of panic to administratively process the initial number of refugees

who came in and their numbers have declined dramatically (-75 percent compared to the previous year (BAMF, 2017b), the detailed process of integrating new arrivals with adequate support has begun in earnest. Our focus on higher education administrators in only one city context focuses on a small but important part of that much larger puzzle.

In Germany's higher education sector, official estimates are that the refugee stream may be as high as 50,000 by 2020 once qualification and credentialing hurdles are resolved (Rueland, 2016; Stifterverband, 2017). Although on paper that number may appear fairly modest compared with the total university student population of 2,806,063 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016), equalling merely a 1.07 percent − 1.78 percent increase in the overall university student population, it nevertheless requires new or additional management structures and services that had not been required before. While in recent decades, universities had indeed experienced a 44.5 percent increase in the student body since 2007/08 that implied greater student-professor ratios (from 1/59 in 2004 to 1/66 by 2014), fewer contact hours, more online lectures and fewer student services (Bös, 2016; Roche & Goldmann, 2014; Statista, 2016), these changes emerged only gradually over time and were incrementally dealt with by the measured addition of new university personnel and services. The refugee student influx over a much more condensed period of time, by contrast, necessitated a much more immediate administrative response. Beyond that, arguably, it also required a more fundamental shift in thinking about the role and responsibility of universities and what the best provision of services to students requires.

These additional services are extensive, from verification of higher education entrance requirements to language preparatory classes, from buddy and mentoring programs to additional guidance and individual consultations, all of which must be provided with the hiring of additional staff and the money for additional resources (BAMF, 2016, p. 2). These needs place significantly new demands on the capacities of universities to adequately serve their students. To do so, in 2016, universities became eligible to apply for a combined 100 million Euros in competitive grants aimed at developing support programming between 2015 and 2020 from the German Academic Exchange Service, operating with funds from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (DAAD, 2016).

While this funding has helped universities provide special courses and programming for refugees, in light of the urgency to cope with the new demands they require, universities have had relatively little time to reflect on whether their new programming has in fact been effective and what its actual impact has been. Thus, more carefully conceived and crafted academic studies that can provide a deeper, targeted analysis of university programing are just now beginning to emerge.

FINDINGS

Language

For administrators, the main hurdle they unanimously agree refugees have had to overcome first in order to study in German higher education has been learning the German language sufficiently for study at that level. The German government has also not overlooked the language hurdle that refugees and any other new-comers to Germany face. Anyone who seeks asylum or citizenship in Germany must pass an Integration course (*Integrationskurs*), which requires learning about German history, culture, social norms and language (BAMF, 2017a, p. 25). The Integration course prepares participants for sufficient communication ability at everyday, basic level classified as B1 on a scale from A1 to C2, according to the European Council's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001, p. 24). However, B1 level is not sufficient for attending university studies, which require C1 language competency as a minimum. The framework is illustrated in Figure 7.1 below.
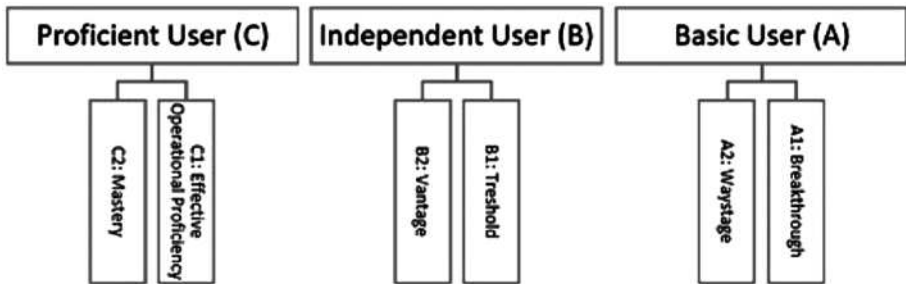
Figure 7.1. Common European framework of reference for languages.
Adapted from https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf

Learning German was identified by most of our interview partners as *the* main hurdle all refugees face. Especially for newly arrived refugees, access to higher education was hindered by insufficient or nonexistent language skills. In Berlin all universities require C1 as the minimum language level verified through the uni-assist process (explained in the next section below), whether studying at the bachelor's or master's level (DAAD, 2017, p. 20). For that reason, some universities in Berlin set up special counseling hours in Arabic, Farsi, Dari or English for refugees (DAAD, 2017, p. 16): "HTW Berlin offers consulting in Arabic and Farsi for refugees. In the be-ginning, many applicants needed the special language consulting hours. Meanwhile, Arabic and Farsi are less necessary, because refugees are learning German so fast." (Hoffmann, HTW). Even if more recent prospective students come to the univer-

sities with a higher level of German, they still face hurdles when trying to articulate themselves on academic subjects at a university level: "For very specific questions, still, their mother tongue is necessary" (Hoffmann, HTW). Sierra Barra from EHB confirms this finding and extends the perspective towards the introductory study phase: "Refugees are somewhat overwhelmed when they sit in their first courses."

Expectations Management

Once refugees have successfully mastered the language hurdle and become eligible to enroll, competition for highly sought-after study places begins in earnest. Refugees are classified the same way as international students and thus must compete with all non-European international students for a limited number of seats. Universities limit international non-EU citizens access to between five percent (HTW, HWR, Beuth, EHB) and eight percent (TU) of the student population.[2] Especially in metropolitan areas such as Berlin, there is a surplus demand for limited study places and a refugee from Syria who has barely just learned German may be competing against a student from Denmark who has regularly visited Germany their whole life and is for all intents and purposes a native-level speaker. In these circumstances, administrators in unison agreed on the importance of expectation management: "We make clear that our preparatory classes are only there to qualify them for enrollment, but not to be automatically eligible for a guaranteed slot" (Hess, HWR); "It needs to be explained early on that nothing is guaranteed, even after overcoming all the hurdles, because they still compete with many for very few study places." (Hirsch-Landau, HWR). And yet, our interview partners reported: "no matter what we say, there is still 'a certain illusion' on the refugee part" (Kohstall, FU).

Uni-assist e.V.

In Germany, there is a service agency offering support for all universities in the assessment of educational certificates from around the world. The uni-assist e. V., promises "professional, secure and efficient application processes"[3] while reducing the workload for admissions offices at the respective universities. German universities can decide whether they want to externalize the application process of international students and pay for this service or if they prefer to keep that expertise in-house. Except for EHB, all universities in Berlin that took part in our study were using the uni-assist service to handle international applications. In unison our participating administrators were somewhat dissatisfied with the complicated process that internationals face when trying to apply for study programs at Berlin's higher education institutions.

Hess from HWR Berlin perceived uni-assist as a big hurdle: "It's not very easy to understand. It's complicated for anyone who has not applied somewhere before, we hear that from all international students." Her colleague Hirsch-Landau added as an explanation for the language hurdle: "The uni-assist forms are predominantly in German bureaucratic language."

The prompt solution to this problem has come from the commitment of employees and student assistants: "The steps are a bit difficult and complicated, true. I have to help many at the computer to go through each step. But then I think to myself: we're here, they can ask us, I try to explain all, they simply have to learn and understand the process. Most managed this challenge" (Cadete La O, HTW). Other universities have student assistants that support refugees in this process by filling in the online application. However, support in the application process does not mitigate against disappointment at a later stage. In the assessment process itself, which is handled by uni-assist alone, rejection-decisions[4] are perceived as being non-transparent: "No one understands uni-assist! Some decisions are hard to explain. Why do some applicants get permissions and others not? I wonder what happens to too many who don't come to us for advising. I fear many are left out as a result" (Kube, TU).

Structural Challenges Advising Students and Providing Information

Jeß from HWR Berlin pegged the success or failure of refugees seeking higher education access directly on her shoulders: "In large measure their [refugees'] success depends on the consulting they get along the way." Many interviewees expressed a similar view, citing a host of structural problems as hindrances to their aspirations. But the challenge rests on both ends: on the one hand, it is hard for university employees to 'identify' refugees and their needs, while on the other hand it is hard for refugees to find a suitable contact person. For Hirsch-Landau from HWR Berlin, this tension is in fact the 'biggest challenge' he sees. Nevertheless, the administrators in our sample said that most refugees they had dealt with had eventually managed to overcome this hurdle: "Refugees find their *own* contact person" (Kohstall, FU); "and once they have come to trust you, they always come back to you" (Hoffmann, HTW).

At some German universities, counselors are organized through an association called GIBeT (Association for information, counselling and therapy at universities). Within this body, an exchange about prospective refugee students and the need for action in higher education takes place and "there is an informal exchange between the student advisors" (Jeß, HWR).

However, despite this service, there remains a long way to go: "The refugee integration at EHB requires a lot of informal communication to develop structures for the specific demands" (Sierra Barra, EHB). While most interviewees

now declare themselves as satisfied with the results achieved, it is an apparent ongoing change process that stretches some employees to their limits. Kube from TU Berlin especially sees the need to improve inter-department communication. Our interview partners call for more flexible, non-bureaucratic methods that will help meet refugees' needs.

This exceptionally complicated "complex orientation jungle" (Morris-Lange, 2017) not only challenges administrators. Previous research also identified similar challenges facing international students and in particular migrant populations who also found maneuvering in Germany's education space to be difficult.

Bureaucracy

In our study, our interview partners presented German bureaucracy as a double-edged sword: overwhelming, but also necessary. On the one hand, they described it as overwhelming because "bureaucracy does not create quality; it is hampering the individual" (von Kopp, Beuth), as "the system is often not transparent and contradictory; many mistakes refugees make result from that" (Kube, TU). Another administrator lamented that "Some students have been through so much bureaucracy. They are in a way traumatized from where they came from, and also exhausted from the administration process here. There could be less bureaucracy" (Kohstall, FU). Another put it even more starkly, arguing that German bureaucracy is so omnipresent and pervasive as the gateway to getting anywhere ahead in the system that a refugees' "first words are the bureaucracy words, 'Termin, Antrag, Ausweis'" [appointment, application, identification paper] (Uenal, TU).

On the other hand, however, some administrators described administration as necessary and "not too bureaucratic. We have our laws and rules and we should not lower any standards" (Karst, Beuth), as this level of quality management is perceived as important to guarantee the kind of education standards the country wishes to stand by. As Hirsch-Landau from HWR Berlin put it, more bluntly, the universities are not "hip start-up companies but public authorities and the larger we are, the more we need rules and processes to live by." Furthermore, he argued, "if the universities deviate from their regulations for the refugees, what is happening to other applicants like people from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, for example, if we give preference to refugees from the upper class? This is worth a discussion."

In order to find a balance between maintaining a sensible and orderly system but also having each individual student in mind, one of our interview partners explained that, "We work closely with uni-assist; we check credentials, they need to be correctly translated and proper, they need required signatures, but we look at every person on a case by case basis too; we try to go beyond bureaucracy as best we can" (Cadete La O, HTW).

Integration as Part of Internationalization

For our interview sample, the challenge of finding a way to help integrate new refugee students—on top of the 12.3 percent international students already in the system (BAMF, 2015)—raised their awareness about the role of wider forces of globalization at play in their day-to-day work. Rather than throwing up their hands in despair at more administrative work demanded of them, our interviewees saw becoming more aware of students with difficult backgrounds and circumstances pushing them to reform the way they work and be creative in finding ways to more adequately cater to a wider set of particular student needs.

While it remains to be seen whether universities will be able to maintain the responsive programs they initiated with DAAD funding in 2015 once that support ends in 2018 (and may or may not be renewed), their work catering to refugees' needs can be seen as having served as ignition to create more student-oriented counseling services, which had not previously existed in the same measure. As the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) predicts that the number of first-year domestic students will decrease in the future, universities will need to give these kinds of services particular considerations (DAAD/ DZHW, 2016). In light of the continuing growth of international students in bachelor-level programs coupled with high attrition rates among migrant and international students (59 percent Latin American and 41 percent African compared with 28 percent German students, respectively) (Burkhart & Kercher, 2014), problems associated with entrance criteria and support services for at-risk students are not currently being sufficiently addressed by universities. In this regard, the refugee influx can serve as an important catalyst for positive change that will help the entire student body, foreign and domestic alike, with the provision of additional counseling and preparatory courses that can serve all students.

Pre-enrollment guidance is particularly necessary so that "the choice of study programme [can] be made confidently, with knowledge of one's own talents and abilities" (Ebert & Heublein, 2017, p. 171). Studies show that migrants' choice of study subjects is to a greater extent influenced by extrinsic motivation and family expectations for 'prestigious' study programmes, which then often cannot be fulfilled (Ibid, p. 155). Yet, researchers also unanimously agree that it should not be concluded from this that special programs targeted just for migrants should be set up, but rather that there is the need to "take greater account of the needs of different immigrant groups when designing their regular programmes" (SVR, 2017, p. 5). That is, mainstreaming refugee programing offers a promising chance for such groups but also for all German university students.

Our interview partners confirm this assumption in the research. For example, Karst from Beuth University outlines that he never treats "a refugee preferentially,

in contrast to other applicants with a foreign university entrance qualification." Only the German governmental financial support separates programs for both stakeholders, but administrators do not implement them as necessarily separate services.

Was the Refugee Influx a 'Crisis' for German Universities?

Reporting in the German and global media frequently referred to the refugee influx as a "refugee crisis" (Haller, 2017). This led to our initial belief that for university administrators the refugee stream must also have been seen as a crisis. However, responses from our administrators on this point fell into a range with no extreme ends and without any feeling of explicit crisis. The general feeling was that for German society the refugee influx posed challenges, but for the higher education sector this was more a challenge couched within an opportunity. As one administrator put it: "It put new demands on us. For society it was an enormous challenge, but universities had the chance to reflect on which kinds of assistance we can offer. The situation has raised questions for Germany, which is good for the country, like 'what tendencies may emerge like xenophobia,' but 'crisis' is too dramatic a term" (Hirsch-Landau, HWR).

What Has Changed in Everyday Work?

For our respondents, the question of how everyday work life had changed depended in particular on the peculiarities of their institution and their roles within it, particularly if direct student advising was a large part of their day-to-day activity. For example, some administrators attested not to feeling any change in their workload or counselling topics: "I don't see a major change" (Jeß, HWR) or "administratively nothing has changed for me… our counselling load has not grown much" (Karst, Beuth). But for others the change was noticeable, in one case double what it had been before: "There is definitely extra effort for counselling, easily 50 percent more" (Uenal, TU).

On a structural level, for administrators perceiving more administrative work this was supported simply by a tangible increase in the numbers. As Karst from Beuth University noted, the number of applicants with a foreign university entrance qualification in the winter term 2017/18 was "1200, so double" in comparison with prior semesters. Further compounding challenges brought about with the sheer fact of more students to advise was that some applicants arrived without any documents, which meant that the universities had to find new structures to get them started, such as into a preparatory program (*Studienkolleg*) before applying for more official enrollment. As Hoffmann from HTW Berlin explained: "To enroll

in Studienkolleg is possible if a refugee has no documents at all". Some interview partners even noticed changes at the university level: "How the uni has to respond has changed. We now know better who does what kind of work here because we had to be able to point them in different directions, we know our colleagues better now. We improved our communication. This will also help in the future to solve cases from all students" (Uenal, TU).

The Dilemma of Not Being Able to Track Students

Due to data security rules (*Datenschutz*), university administrators and study counsellors are not permitted to officially track who is a refugee student and who is not once they enroll officially. They are just able to see in the general records they maintain where the students come from to know if they are an international or domestic student. The difficulty of keeping track of what happens with refugee students once they complete qualifying training and are normally enrolled is that "the refugees want to be perceived as regular students and not as refugees" (Kostall, FU), so choose not to out themselves. In these cases, advisors may only learn by chance who is a refugee "if they use uni-assist free application process" (Hoffmann, HTW) or if they "need the help of the refugee Welcome program" (von Kopp, Beuth). These hindrances to more open transparency makes the evaluation of refugee programming and its impact at the universities more challenging.

CONCLUSION

To situate our study of German administrators working with refugee students in the current political climate, this study looked at lessons learned by university administrators who have developed programming for refugee students. As Gersick's Punctuated Equilibrium Paradigm (1991) indicated, periods of relative equilibrium at times are inevitably punctuated by sudden environmental changes. Indeed, the refugee influx, while not a crisis in the eyes of the university administrators with whom we spoke, nevertheless disrupted their institution's operational equilibrium over the last decades. As the German and global media portrayed the influx of refugees into the country as a 'refugee crisis' it is important to make a distinction between their coverage of the situation as a whole and how administrators looked particularly at their ability to cope with a comparatively small part group of refugee students who are making their way to the universities. In other words, an important distinction must be made between the media's coverage of Germany broadly and the explicit perceptions of university administrators on the ground level who dealt with the everyday specifics. Whereas the administrators looked particularly at the

ways their universities coped with a comparatively small segment of the refugee population that came to the universities, for Germany more widely the refugee influx presented system-wide challenges whose effect trickled down to individual institutions and people.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

In this last section, we revisit the themes described above and offer recommendations that came out of our discussions with administrators.

Simplifying Information and Offering More Targeted Support

To support students, whether they are refugees or not but in recognition that all find it challenging to make sense of the variety and complexity of the German higher education system, universities need to provide more pre-enrollment guidance and counseling to "help demystify the process of navigating this very complex system" (Hess, HWR). A more structured approach to simplify the bureaucratic process should also be developed as another administrator suggested, and "Right now there are so many steps they have to figure out. The experts could develop a transparent process" (Jeß, HWR). Previous research has found that migrants "are less likely than other students to be well prepared for their studies in terms of the use of communicative skills, e. g. in order to make optimal use of tutorials or counseling services" (Ebert & Heublein, 2017, p. 175). Merely providing services is insufficient and a proactive and inclusive approach also needs to take into account that a person's ability to study goes beyond merely intellectual capacities but also includes the ability to purposely seek out support when it is needed.

While refugee students undoubtedly require more guidance, advising, faculty contact and services, providing this across the board more readily to all students at the university presents a chance for universities to rethink what all students, not just refugees, and in particular first semester students, need to flourish. As Kube from TU Berlin stated: "My wish: that we widen our focus to all students. What hurdles do we have, which ways are possible to come to university, why is everything so non-transparent? When we continue with these reflections, this is a win-win-situation for all of us!"

To make sure that refugees can identify their 'perfect contact person' in the institution, one or more employees have to be clearly designated as responsible for refugee integration. Those assigned this role should be knowledgeable about procedures and structures at the university in order to fully answer legal technicalities. Second, beyond these key advisors, the university staff more broadly should be in-

formed of activities being developed for refugees and who is specifically responsible for this area of its work. Moreover, websites, flyers and first contact centers should be designed for refugees as a specific target group.

Improve the Uni-assist Process at Universities

The service platform that assesses international educational certificates and handles the application process for non-European and international applicants is described by our interviewees as a complex, complicated and non-transparent gate where many refugees fail. Hess from HWR Berlin argued that uni-assist acted as the main key to success for refugee integration. When high-school or university documents from a refugee's home country are missing because the student had to flee so quickly, applying to university is still possible via uni-assist. However, as admission offices at universities make decisions about who is accepted for study, it is important that they be sensitized to the specific situation of refugees. This requires an open-minded, flexible and communicative process. These offices need the support of student assistants in the application process to help in the uni-assist process, but more so even the administrators we spoke with advocated that staff from uni-assist itself be hired to help at the universities: "One solution would be to provide individual support for all international students to get through the application process of uni-assist. And to centralize the whole process, where the experts sit who can judge whether a document is genuine" (Hess, HRW). To that end, they argued that uni-assist as a key mechanism in the application process for international and refugee students should be evaluated for its transparency and effectiveness.

More Opportunities for Language Learning

The administrators we spoke with noted that refugees but also many other international students still face various problems after being admitted to the university: "We cannot leave the refugees alone just because the study now. We need to make sure to support them also within the next few years" (Uenal, TU). Hoffmann from HTW Berlin specified further: "Subject related language is important for success, so students should continue the learning while studying. Moreover, the contact to German students is important for their integration. They need to have the guts to contact Germans actively. Even if they have C1 level, they still are overwhelmed with the technical language." For this reason, we recommend various activities wherein language learning can also take place, such as with continuous German classes during their studies, buddy programs that support interaction with German students and lecturers that integrate international students in mixed teams.

Revise the University Welcome Culture

Not only can changes in the structure and style of how information is communicated smooth the way, but so can a revision of the 'welcoming culture' at the universities. Interviewees we spoke with, such as Uenal from TU Berlin, called for more flexible solutions, direct-communication and more interdepartmental exchange to support refugees in a non bureaucratic way: "We do not want to put a lot of barriers in their way, but to find out if this is a place right for them. We want to help them right away by being surrounded with their academic peers" (Uenal, TU). This calls for a change of work culture.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVE AND ANTICIPATED CHANGES

Overall, our interviews with Berlin university administrators working with refugee students seeking access into their universities revealed both that the administrators by and large welcome refugees and seek to help them, but also point out numerous clogs in the system that need to be worked on and resolved. The main takeaway from our study is best expressed in the words of one administrator, that the situation presented a "coping crisis" (Kohstall, FU) and across the board was seen as an opportunity for universities to rethink aspects of the higher education system (Streitwieser & Brueck, under review). By now, two years since the peak of the 2015 'refugee crisis' and the largest arrival of new refugees, administrators have become accustomed to the situation and in their work no longer feel like they are in a trial phase, but rather that the situation has become normalized, with programs up and running and integrated into the university structure. While there were certainly new challenges, these were not overwhelming.

Berlin university administrators felt that it was up to the higher education system to think about how it can help all students, refugees included, and smooth the transition into higher education, whether from school to university or from another system and context into the German university landscape. Overall, our sample felt that while the bureaucracy was not necessarily heavier than in other systems, it was still important to further demystify the process and make it more manageable. While they saw the details within the system as a necessary quality assurance measure, they also saw how it could be overwhelming.

Overall, as a research team we believe that while studies like ours are valuable in gathering detailed information from those in the so-called trenches who are experiencing the refugee integration work on a day-to-day basis, it remains too early to know what the real impact of the programming has been so far. The research community interested in this topic in Germany is growing, as it is through the interest of international researchers who recognize a special case in the Germany

example. But more time and data will be needed before any of us will be able to make more definitive declarations about the success or failure of the efforts that have been launched so far to avail refugees of substantive higher education opportunities, as well as what the implications of doing so are.

The refugee influx presented German higher education institutions with new challenges that the administrators we spoke with interpreted primarily as an opportunity to enact new types of programming, which were inspired and supported by DAAD funding through the INTEGRA and WELCOME programs, among other supports. One possible explanation for administrator perceptions of the challenge as an opportunity for reform, rather than a full-blown crisis, can be explained by the inherent durability of the university bureaucratic administrative structure, or what Gersick calls "underlying order or deep structure" (p. 12).

While bureaucracy is often a source of frustration for many, and perhaps particularly so for refugee students trying to navigate and access a complex system, in the eyes of administrators it may also serve as an anchor of stability for the institution itself. While the perspective of refugees was not the focus of this paper, and it is important that further research lend them a voice as well, this study presented the refugee situation from the perspective of the administrators who have been working with them. To these administrators, the bureaucratic structure lent them stability that allowed parts of their institution to temporarily "disassemble, reconfigure and force wholesale transformation" during the refugee influx. That is the nature of German bureaucracy, as one of our interviewees stated: perhaps it is indeed overwhelming, but it is also necessary and, in the end, is a reassuring "underlying order."

Table 7.1. Interview partners.

	Abbreviation	Name & Institution	Role	Gender
Three large research-focused universities: The Free University of Berlin (Freie Universität Berlin), the Technical University of Berlin (Technische Universität Berlin) and the Humboldt University of Berlin (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)				
1	Kohstall, FU	Dr. Florian Kohstall, Freie Universität Berlin	International Cooperation Berlin-Kairo	male
2	Kube, TU	Katharina Kube, Technische Universität Berlin	Student counselling	female
3	Uenal, TU	Baris Uenal, Technische Universität Berlin	Student counselling	male
4	Shafaqyar, HU	Moheb Shafaqyar, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin	Volunteer Refugee Law Clinic Berlin e.V.	male

	Abbreviation	Name & Institution	Role	Gender
Two technical universities focused on science and engineering: the HTW Berlin University of Applied Sciences (Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft (HTW) Berlin) and the Beuth University of Applied Sciences Berlin (Beuth Hochschule für Technik Berlin).				
5	Cadete La O, HTW	Julia Cadete La O, Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft (HTW) Berlin	Student counselling	female
6	Hoffmann, HTW	Heike Hoffmann, Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft (HTW) Berlin	Study administration	female
7	Karst, Beuth	René Karst, Beuth Hochschule für Technik Berlin	Study administration	male
8	Von Kopp, Beuth	Andrea von Kopp, Beuth Hochschule für Technik Berlin	Student counselling	female
One Technical university focused on business and law: the Berlin School of Economics and Law (Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht (HWR) Berlin).				
9	Hess, HWR	Arndis Hess, Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht (HWR) Berlin	Student counselling	female
10	Jeß, HWR	Susanne Jess, Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht (HWR) Berlin	Student counselling	female
11	Hirsch-Landau, HWR	Andreas Hirsch-Landau, Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht (HWR) Berlin	Student counselling	male
One university focused on social work: the Lutheran University of Berlin (Evangelische Hochschule Berlin).				
12	Preiss-Allesch, EHB	Dagmar Preiß-Allesch, Evangelische Hochschule Berlin	International Office	female
13	Sierra-Barra, EHB	Sebastian Sierra Barra, Evangelische Hochschule Berlin	Lecturer for quality management	male
14	Schimkat, EHB	Dr. Heike Schimkat, Evangelische Hochschule Berlin	Lecturer for social work	female

Source: Author.

NOTES

1. https://gsehd.gwu.edu/directory/bernhard-streitwieser and https://www.htw-berlin.de/en/international/refugees/brrg/
2. Note, young refugees who went through the whole upper two to three-year cycle of secondary education in Germany and who obtained a German university entrance diploma are classified as resident aliens with a German diploma; such individuals count as "Bildungsinländer" and are thus not affected by the quotas (Hoffmann, HTW Berlin).
3. http://www.uni-assist.de/universities.html
4. In 2016/2017, about 35 percent of applications from international students were not forwarded to the universities for the final decision of enrollment (DAAD, 2017, p. 27).

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The Influence OF THE 'Trump Effect' ON Latina Immigrant Student Aspirations AND Expectations FOR STEM Achievement

DANIEL D. LIOU, TAMARA CORONELLA, RAQUEL FONG AND LINDSAY ROMASANTA

INTRODUCTION

Since the Donald Trump presidency that started in 2017, the outlook on Latinx populations has become increasingly hostile in the United States. During the election, Trump described Latinx as drug dealers as well as rapists, and later enacted social policies that many predicted will disproportionately impact the lives of Latinx (Nguyen & Kebede, 2017). These policies included efforts to end sanctuary cities (Cameron, 2017), Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) (Capps, Fix, & Zong, 2017), and to build a wall along the Mexican border (Goodman, 2017). While some argued these social policies instill law and order, others insisted such eruptions of immigration debate would intensify fear and racial division in educational institutions (Preston & Medina, 2016).

In this chapter, immigrants are defined as foreign-born individuals or second-generation individuals with at least one parent who is a foreign-born immigrant (U.S. Department of Education, 2012). In 2015, there were 57 million Latinx living in the United States, and approximately 44 percent were immigrants born in another country (Pew Research Center, 2017). The Pew Research Center (2017)

showed that among foreign-born citizens, 34 percent have serious concerns about their status in the United States. This percentage increased for Latinx permanent residents at 49 percent, and 55 percent for those who were not citizens or residents. Many considered these concerns to be associated with the "Trump effect" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016), or a system of power unleashed at the intersections of institutional racism, exclusion and criminalization against Latinx as well as other immigrants and people of color.

In education, many high school teachers identified the Trump effect to have a real impact on young people and that local mass deportation efforts served as immediate threats to their educational and career goals (Rogers, 2017). Huber (2016) reported that the unleashing of White nativism threatened the progress of educational equity for Latinx students, especially their participation in higher education. As many considered Trump to incite racist, anti-immigration rhetoric, the system of higher education has also had to confront racial hostilities stemming from hate crimes and hate-based "free" speeches (Moore & Bell, 2017). Other studies have reported that Trump and his aggressive local immigration enforcement have had detrimental effects on Latinx' mental health (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2017).

The overt hostilities and deteriorating political condition for Latinx in the United States are occurring when they are also one of the most underserved populations in the educational system (Yosso & Solórzano, 2006). In the last decade, researchers have emphasized the need to increase the number of Latinx in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math) education (National Research Council, 2011). They underscored the economic benefits of increasing and diversifying the STEM workforce as a national strategy to maintain global competitiveness (Blackburn, 2017). Women comprise 24 percent of the labor force employed in STEM fields, although they make up 48 percent of the overall employment in the U.S. economy (Beede et al., 2011). A gender analysis further showed that Latinas comprised about 4 percent of the bachelors' degrees in STEM fields and 7 percent of the STEM workforce, making them the least likely of all women to enter the profession (Gándara, 2015). Similar race and gender disparities in salary compensation have also been discovered, as these numbers disproportionately impact Latinas on all levels of the STEM profession (U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). From an intersectional perspective, the educational and financial opportunities have not been structured to effectively support Latinas in STEM, resulting in a double glass ceiling perpetuating their race and gender underrepresentation.

As a response to these institutional outcomes, this study examined the experiences of Latinas in STEM majors, especially given their visibility in national debates on immigration and invisibility in a field that is White and male-dominated. Since Latinas are one of the fastest growing populations in the country, there is a pressing need to learn how to better support their educational endeavors. Potentially,

we see that one's aspiration can mediate expectancy practices to meet a set of life and career objectives. Instead of reinforcing their invisibility in STEM, we center Latinx' aspirations and expectations of STEM success in our investigation. The study asked the following:

1. How did Latina STEM college students define and describe the influence of the Trump effect on their campus environment?
2. How did Latina STEM college students respond to their campus environment through their aspirations and expectations for degree attainment?

In this study, students' aspirations are defined as the hopes, visions and objectives for the future. This definition differs from students' expectations, which are defined as students' self-concept, anticipation and actions to meet these objectives. Too often, the literature has considered the beliefs and expectations of the educators as a method to understand the educational structures and environments that shape student outcomes (Liou & Rotheram-Fuller, 2016). By placing students' accounts of their own educational expectations at the center of the study design, we hope to start a new pathway to contribute to the literature associated with educational expectancy, STEM and the systems of higher education.

LATINAS' STEM CONTEXT IN THE UNITED STATES

Museus, Palmer, Davis, and Maramba (2011) discovered that in high schools the contextual factors that lead to gender disparities in STEM included low teacher expectations and a lack of access to resources, Advanced Placement courses and highly qualified teachers. From this structural perspective, no statistical difference exists in the high school graduation rates between Latinas and Latinos (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2013).

However, variability exists across intersectional differences as Latinas outpaced their male counterparts in college enrollment (Zarate & Burciaga, 2010). Despite their under-enrollment, Latino high school graduates are more likely to be interested in math and science than their female counterparts (Cunningham, Hoyer, & Sparks, 2015). Because of this, Latina college students are far less likely than their male counterparts to go into STEM majors (Cole & Espinoza, 2008). Between 2007–2013, among the 7 percent of incoming Latinx freshman that indicated an interest in a STEM major, only 4 percent graduated with a STEM degree (National Science Board, 2016). Furthermore, Latinx experience a higher rate of gender disparities in STEM careers when compared to other communities of color (Taningco, Mathew, & Pachon, 2008). Such differences link to college students' decisions when choosing a program of study, as 23 percent of Latino male college students declared a STEM major when compared to their female counterpart at 6 percent.

Similar disparities exist between Latinas and other women, as they face the most barriers to complete college and obtain a STEM degree (Gándara, 2015). Studies found Latinas to choose non-STEM majors at a higher rate (Riegle-Crumb & King, 2010), while those who demonstrated high aspirations for STEM careers also are more likely to change from STEM to a non-STEM major (Chen & Soldner, 2013). These disparities point to the pressing need to understand the race and gender experiences of Latinas in STEM, especially given that they frequently encounter issues of college access, remediation and low expectations in higher education (Rodriguez & Oseguera, 2015).

LATINAS' EXPERIENCES WITH CAMPUS RACIAL CLIMATE

Yosso, Smith, Ceja and Solórzano (2009) pointed to the institutional dynamics associated with deficit thinking, racial microaggressions and campus racial climate as the leading problems for Latina undergraduates. A central part of the problem is the extent to which many educators hold deficit perspectives regarding Latinx students' educational aspirations and expectations through stereotypes about their alleged language barriers and disinterest in college (Liou, 2016). These negative perspectives tend to focus on students' cultural and socioeconomic deficiencies and often result in generalizations about their "lack" of college-going expectations (Liou, 2016), social and academic integration into the college environment (Tinto, 1993) as well as motivations to succeed (Pizarro, 2005). Whereas Latina undergraduates often experience racial microaggressions through subtle, colorblind insults and stereotypes, these dynamics have the potential to be amplified given the Trump effect.

These hostilities have contributed to the campus racial climate through the growing presence of hate fliers, hate speech events and immigration enforcement that seek to annihilate Latinas and other immigrants from the school system and from living in the country (Cohen, 2017). Specifically, Latinas had consistently reported issues related to their racial battle fatigue (Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2011), race and gender microaggressions (Yosso et al., 2009), low expectations from faculty (Reyes, 2011) and stereotype threat on college campuses (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002). These negative institutional practices have led Hurtado, Ruiz Alvarado and Guillermo-Wann (2015) to identify a direct relationship between college students' encounters with discrimination and perceptions of an inclusive learning environment.

Similarly, the literature on stereotype threat has shown to decrease students' sense of connectedness when their identities, intelligence and qualifications are falsely assumed and conflated in the learning environment (Steele, 2010). Once these expectations negatively influence Latinas' educational endeavors, it creates a self-fulfilling prophecy that casts doubt and deficit narratives on their STEM

aspirations and college-going worthiness (Riegle-Crumb, Moore, & Ramos-Wada, 2011). The effects of stereotype threat increase students' susceptibility for college departure (Linares & Muñoz, 2011). In a colorblind but racially-charged campus environment, students are more likely to encounter intolerance (Hurtado & Carter, 1997), hostile and unsupportive faculty and peers, as well as difficulties finding role models who fully understand and are able to provide mentorship based on students' race and gender context (Gloria & Castellano, 2012; Peralta, Caspary & Booth, 2013; Samuelson & Litzler, 2016). So far, the literature has been consistent in describing the STEM experiences of first-generation Latinas in predominantly White and male-centric institutional spaces (Carbajal, 2015). The current conditions are often counterintuitive to the call to effectively resuscitate and nurture this particular segment of the STEM talent pool.

LATINAS' RACE-GENDER EPISTEMOLOGIES AND COMMUNITY CULTURAL WEALTH

Our analytical framework starts with the premise that universities do not exist and operate in vacuum. Universities are both a product of society and one of the social institutions that carry the mission to innovate and reimagine the future. Furthermore, we cannot assume students to be passive actors who are incapable of resisting and counteracting systems of oppression. In recognizing students' human agency, Bernal (1998) illuminated the importance of valuing Latinas' epistemologies, as their life experiences at the intersections of race, gender and citizenship status can contribute to knowledge production in higher education. Beyond understanding ways of knowing, the concept of race-gender epistemologies can offer testimonios and points of resistance to institutional practices of low expectations as well as identify conditions under which Latinas can persist and flourish. Since the histories, experiences, languages and knowledge systems of Latinas have been vastly undervalued and decentered in university curriculum (Yosso, 2002), it is critical that their voices be foundational in describing their own journey towards STEM achievement.

From voice to agency, the study design illuminates Latinas' vantage point on the types of social networks to help them resist intersectional oppressions and work towards their STEM objectives. Bourdieu (1985) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (p. 248). Social capital is often hierarchically conceived to recognize the social exchanges made for the tangible benefits and rewards of White, capitalistic meritocracy (Liou, Antrop-Gonzalez, & Cooper, 2009). That is, in a hierarchical society arranged by race, gender, social class, immigration status and other intersectional identities, without accounting for a history of these power relationships, the meaning

of a durable and mutually reinforcing network can perpetuate ideologies associated with color- and gender-blindness as well as deficit thinking. These perceptions of capital often result in the devaluing of the human capacities in communities that have historically experienced racism, patriarchy, nativism and English monolingualism. The hierarchical notions of social capital often perpetuate the same low expectations that Latinas encounter at the universities (Samuelson & Litzler, 2016)

To challenge these hierarchical notions of social capital, several critical race theorists have identified an array of knowledge, skills and networks created by communities of color for the purpose of social justice and self-determination (Yosso, 2005; Burciaga & Erbstein, 2013). Yosso (2005) defined aspirational capital as one's ability to be hopeful and dream for the future despite real or perceived challenges, defining linguistic capital as one's intellectual and social skills through multiple languages. This work also encompassed familial capital, which is one's sense of communities and families that provide love and care for their well-being. Community cultural wealth also includes social capital, which is defined as community resources, spaces and networks that bring people together. People of color often are able to harness navigational capital to effectively maneuver in social institutions, political climates and spaces where their identities and citizenship are rendered in doubt. This analytic framework also includes one's resistance capital, which is the development of knowledge and skills to advocate for themselves, their families and communities, as well as to challenge social injustices (Romasanta, 2016).

METHODS AND DATA ANALYSIS

This qualitative study used a case study approach to elicit the testimonios of participants. A *testimonio* is referred to as a space where feminists of color come to discuss issues central to their lives, including education (Flores & Garcia, 2009). The purpose of using testimonios is to generate discussions to expose brutalities, silencing and other exclusionary policies and practices, so as to foster race and gender solidarity among those most affected by injustices (Bernal, Burciaga, & Flores, 2012). Testimonios present an opportunity for Latina immigrants in STEM majors to challenge racism in a White and male-centric profession, so as to collectively identify and describe their marginalization and resistance against oppression. Dunbar (2008) described the richness of testimonios between researcher and participants as "instances/nuances that are best transmitted and understood when shared experiences, epistemologies, and the relationship to both are evident between the researcher and the observed" (p. 90). Although critics of testimonios argue about the subjective nature of their content, our study is not intended to seek generalizability on the experiences of the overall STEM population. Since we view the participants as situating themselves as the holders and producers of knowledge (Bernal, 1998),

their testimonio allows for an introspective interrogation of their everyday realities and relationships with the political context under the Trump presidency.

The study took place at a College of Engineering at a four-year public institution, Sonoran University. The university has a land grant designation and is located in the Southwestern part of the United States bordering Mexico. Based on the information available, Sonoran University had a total fall enrollment of 83,544 undergraduate students; 27,750 of those students were enrolled in a STEM major. Of those students in STEM, 36 percent (N = 9,943) are female and 34 percent (N = 9,489) are students of color. Within STEM-related majors, 15,203 students are majoring in engineering and computer science. Of those engineering students, 20 percent (N = 3,086) are female and 30 percent (N = 4,623) are students of color.

From this population, we used purposive sampling to result in the sample of 8 Latina immigrant engineering students (Creswell, 2015). These students were either immigrants or children of immigrant parents (Kim & Diaz, 2013; U.S. Department of Education, 2012). The sampling procedure included college engineering students who are: (a) currently enrolled in classes; (b) first-year freshman; (c) Latina; (d) immigrant; (e) first-generation to attend college; and (f) engineering major. We purposely did not ask for students' citizenship status and wanted individuals to volunteer the information once trust was developed. We initially identified and contacted the students who qualified for the study through self-reported data from the university's admissions office. Since the university does not have information regarding the students' immigration status, we discuss the study criteria with prospective participants prior to their participation. Students were contacted and recruited through email. Additional recruitment efforts also included making announcements in all STEM related classes at the university. In total, 8 students were recruited to participate in this one-year study (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1. Participants' background information.

Name (pseudonyms)	Academic Major	Year at Sonoran University	First Generation to Attend College
Camila	Civil Engineering	Freshman	Yes
Carson	Computer Science	Freshman	Yes
Cindy	Biomedical Engineering	Freshman	Yes
Emily	Biomedical Engineering	Freshman	Yes
Emma	Environmental Engineering	Freshman	Yes
Jessica	Environmental Engineering	Freshman	Yes
Marissa	Biomedical Engineering	Freshman	Yes
Mona	Computer Science	Freshman	Yes

Once the recruitment process was finalized, the 8 students were then divided into 3 discussion groups based on academic major. The research team held interviews and focus groups that included prompts about their purposes for wanting to attend college, selecting their major in engineering, family and other types of resources and support systems that they count on, perceptions on the current societal and campus political climate, as well as their aspirations, expectations and sense of belonging while in college. Each participant completed three 30-minute interviews and one 90-minute focus group. After each interview, the students completed a set of reflective questions to allow the research team to discern the extent to which their responses were shared with others, were individualistic and were accurately interpreted. All interviews and focus groups were audio recorded and transcribed for analysis. A final focus group was conducted for the purpose of data comparison and member checking.

Using testimonio as a process of data analysis, Latinas' aspirations and expectations for STEM education were analyzed in three stages: preliminary, collaborative and final (Huber, 2009). In the preliminary stage, data were hand coded through words and ideas that appeared frequently in the interviews, focus groups and reflection papers. These codes were then compared to the themes that emerged during data collection. Once these patterns and themes started to confirm our initial analysis, we used a collaborative approach for the research participants to interpret and analyze the data. The students were provided with 6 excerpts related to the themes based on the initial coding. We identified these as aspects of the campus racial climate under the Trump presidency, their beliefs and self-concepts for STEM achievement and community cultural wealth that helped them sustain their aspirations, expectations and engagement in STEM education. Next, participants were asked to respond and analyze these excerpts for the purpose of theorizing, member checking and elaborating on these patterns and themes to result in the initial findings. Once the preliminary and collaborative analysis were synthesized, the initial findings were cross-referenced with the literature and systematically organized through the theoretical frameworks (Saldaña, 2016).

LATINAS' PERCEPTIONS ON THE STEM CAMPUS CLIMATE AND THE TRUMP EFFECT

Even though the history of white supremacy predated Trump in the U.S., our research participants reported the society's racial attitudes seemed to amplify under his presidency. For this reason, we find the construction of our participants' experiences with STEM majors to be based on a series of heightened concerns for the role of race and gender in their educational pursuits. Specifically, we found these students' STEM context was sensitized largely by gender and compounded

by race due to the Trump effect. In turn, students were willing as well as able to describe these effects in their education and could find a variety of ways to resist this system of domination.

Carson, a computer science student, described the absence of Latinas and other women in her classrooms as "unwelcoming." She said: "I think in general, in engineering, especially since I'm a woman, it's hard to feel welcomed." Other participants also observed this change in environment when transitioning from their race and gender integrated high school classrooms to suddenly being one of the few at the university. Emma, an environmental engineering student observed:

> I feel like, off the bat…for me, at least, when I got here, in my engineering lab, that was super weird because there's not that many girls, especially in civil, I feel like, and environmental. It was kind of weird at first, being in a group with just all guys… Of course, in high school, you're used to working with girls and guys, that kind of thing, so it was kind of intimidating because we don't want to seem dumb or whatever.

From this vantage point, our participants were acutely aware of how their student status was situated at the intersections of race, gender and STEM. Our data showed that students, as early as their freshmen year, were able to detect gender inequities through their underrepresentation. Cindy, a biomedical engineering student noticed: "Calculus it's all guys. There [are] four girls, which is a class of 80. That feels isolating." This heightened gender awareness also comes with the feeling of isolation and the need to prove their college-going worthiness in a class of men.

As participants raised concerns about their sense of connectedness to the university, they also noticed some particularities in the kinds of racism they were experiencing under the Trump presidency. For example, when asked about their perceptions of the national political climate since the presidential election, they pointed to the blatant racial attitudes that have since become more open and accepted in public places. Mona, a computer science student, said:

> Our current president is Donald Trump and it's no surprise that white America chose Donald Trump to be our president. So, it's not like it's not known. Racism was kind of like closeted. It still is…but, with the most recent election and things like that, I feel like people are like being more free and open about it.

When we asked Mona to elaborate whether the Trump effect has influenced her campus environment, she pointed to her recent encounters with alt-right and Ku Klux Klan propaganda: "I also saw like the [hate] poster on the floor. The [Ku Klux Klan] was like a reference to a brotherhood…it's becoming normalized." As their race and gender identities became heightened in the institutional context, the engendering of white supremacist 'brotherhood' further threatened their sense of safety and connectedness to campus, a form of alienation that makes Latinas susceptible for college departure.

Carson recounted how classroom discussions about immigration have increased her self-awareness as a racialized being and, in effect, as the 'other' or a perpetual foreigner in her home country and university. These norms of being an 'American' and a 'STEM student' also influenced how Carson felt about her membership in her field of study. She described one of the many incidents:

> I noticed [the Trump effect] more because people would always say, "They need to go back," or "They need to blame border control," and stuff like that. And I just feel like, well, if my dad didn't come over I wouldn't be here right now. He would've never met my mom. I wouldn't be here, we would not be friends.

Students felt these racial attitudes denigrated their status on campus as well as in society, and promoted social division instead of inclusion. Carson elaborated that these comments were not only directed at her, but also her family and other immigrants like her. Our other participants also reported words such as 'criminal' or 'illegal' were used more frequently on campus when people described Latinx. At times, these conversations took place in front of Carson with people who were not aware of her background, which happens often on college campuses when colorblindness is pervasive and embedded in the environment (Fergus, 2017). For those who come from backgrounds that may be more family-oriented, these negative portrayals of the people they know can take on additional meanings and racial microaggressions.

Our study learned that these racial microaggressions did not only come with an emotional cost for our participants, but Trump's immigration policies also have material consequences. This particular finding further adds to Rogers' (2017) study on the ways in which the Trump effect presented a material threat to negate these students' educational pursuits. Furthermore, we see the role of citizenship in shaping students' race-gender educational endeavors. For example, Emily, the only participant who was open to discussing the experiences of being a DACA recipient, felt the policy's repeal further heightened fear and uncertainty in her ability to secure financial support to keep her in college. She observed:

> [Being on DACA] makes me feel very left out because I don't get the FAFSA (federal financial aid) help, so I have to apply for a lot of private scholarships. I feel, in a way, I have to work harder than the average student to get that financial aid.

Emily described the financial stress that many undocumented students had to quietly endure. Furthermore, since Emily was already in school without access to financial aid support, she felt the imminent threat that her scholarship could be taken away at any moment, putting her in a quandary about her ability to stay in college. Despite Emily's STEM aspirations, the Trump effect had caused her more stress when envisioning her college success.

Emily reported that these tangible forms of support also extended to access to internships and out-of-class opportunities that can potentially socialize her into

the STEM profession. Emily described the feeling of being excluded from these opportunities:

> Yeah, it's definitely very sensitive [being on DACA], because even when I was in high school, there were many programs…I don't know if you've heard of KEYS? It's just this research that you do in the summer. It's like an internship also. It's really cool, one of my friends did it, but I couldn't apply for it because I wasn't a citizen.

Emily began to shed tears while recounting the number of times she had been denied these STEM-related opportunities. She then reiterated some of her peers' testimonios about the ways the Trump presidency has affected her sense of connectedness to her family. Emily shared that since the repeal of DACA she has not been able to leave the United States for fear of not being able to return. For this reason, she has not been able to see her father and brothers who live in Mexico. In Emily's case, we find her experiences with Trump's immigration policies to contribute to her race-gender epistemological relationships with STEM.

FORGING STEM EXPECTATIONS THROUGH LATINAS' ASPIRATIONAL CAPITAL

Our study found the students' aspirational, resistance and familial capitals to be particularly salient in their STEM education. These forms of social capital manifest in concrete ways. In particular, the students identified aspirational capital as a source of motivation to persist in spite of the Trump effect. Emma, an environmental engineering student, shared how she is motivated to be academically successful despite being one of the few Latinas in the classrooms. She said: "I think most of it is probably just my mindset on what I can accomplish, only because you don't see that many [Latinas in engineering]." By having the consciousness to critique the system, Emma was able to respond to perceived stereotypes of Latinas' underrepresentation as a form of deficiency by reconstructing a positive self-concept for STEM achievement. This positive self-concept as a Latina in STEM had helped her to stay motivated: "[Being a Latina in engineering is] just gonna motivate me to be pushing harder and not settle for what I think I don't deserve." Instead of seeing the statistical underrepresentation of Latinas in STEM as a predictor of her future, she expected herself to defy these low expectations and use her race and gender identity as an intrinsic motivator to work harder in college.

This heightened sense of pride in our participants' intersectional identities led them to further discuss what they expect of themselves at the university. Emma elaborated:

> I just feel like [a STEM education] is a big opportunity, because being part of a minority. So then, if I keep pushing myself, and I'm doing great, I'm like, "Oh, a Latina did this." You

> know people usually don't expect much of minorities? Or, I don't know if that was more in the past, not today.

Emma was determined to not allow the Trump effect and campus environment to determine her success. By acknowledging that she does not want to take her college education for granted, Emma made efforts to flip the script and assert her own expectations for what she wanted to gain from her STEM education. For Emma, the linkage between her aspirations for a STEM career and expectations to be successful were fundamental to her core beliefs in the ability to navigate the race- and gender-based challenges between school and society.

ACTIVATING RESISTANCE CAPITAL IN WHITE MALE SPACES

Our participants understood that maintaining their aspirations is not sufficient without knowing how to activate their resistance capital in institutional spaces that are White and male-dominated. Despite their perceived increase in race and gender hostilities on their college campus, few have allowed the Trump effect to destroy their STEM aspirations. To counteract low curricular expectations and classroom activities that rendered our participants' invisibility in STEM, Camila, a civil engineering student, described a situation where she counteracted negative campus environments in one of her required courses:

> The guys…it's two girls in my group, which is including me, and then there's two guys. The girl and I will say something and it will be completely ignored. We look at each other and we're like, "Are they serious?" I don't know. They just…I'll say something to them and I'll be like, "Hey, we have voices, too. Our opinions matter as much as yours do," and he'll kind of…I don't know if it's just him, but he just likes to be the dominant one in the group and take control.

Rather than sitting passively, Camila and her female colleague were able to directly address mansplaning in dynamics that they perceived as sexist, patriarchic and patronizing. This was one experience that taught Camila to resist in ways that helped her to navigate institutional spaces, assert her voice and teach others how to respect her and her intellectual promise.

Other participants shared their experiences with developing resistance capital to respond to racial and gender microaggressions, demand respect and challenge social injustices. For instance, Cindy, a biomedical engineering student, described how she dealt with a situation where she felt disrespected due to her background as a Latina:

> Because, three kids are Caucasian, one's Asian, and there's me. I was giving an idea, and both of them were like, no, no, we don't like that one. And then, the teacher kept coming around, and I brought up my idea, and the teacher was like, that's great, you know? And then they all got kind of mad, but then they went with it, because they couldn't think of

> anything else. That was really awkward for me, because it was a good idea, and at the time they were thinking of ideas that were kind of impossible to actually create, and mine was actually creative, and mine was functional.

By resisting her peers' low expectations, Cindy showed her ability to use her knowledge to foster new ideas, but also to ensure her intellectual capabilities were not going to be denigrated and silenced by those who held deficit views. By doing so, she repositioned herself (from invisible to visible) to intellectually engage with the professor, as well as repudiated her male colleagues' biases and moved the group assignment forward.

USING FAMILIAL CAPITAL TO RESIST OPPRESSION AND GIVE BACK TO SOCIETY

Earlier in the chapter, we briefly discussed university administrators' expectations for students to socially and academically integrate into the campus environment as a strategy to increase their persistence (Tinto, 1993). Given our participants' experiences with their campus environment, we find they turn to their families and communities outside of the university for safety and emotional support. This system of support came in the forms of Latinas' familial capital in counteracting the racial and gender attitudes in their STEM education. When we asked participants to identify factors that led to their strong aspirations for STEM achievement, students reported valuing group accountability between family members, which then influenced the kinds of educational expectations that Latinas take on for themselves. This notion of group accountability consisted of a relational care between parents and children as several participants noted the importance of providing for their parents once they finish college. Carson, a computer science student, acknowledged the importance of family in helping her to persist in college:

> I want to be able to be successful, and I know that I need to finish college to do that, to be able to get the job I want. I want to be successful so that one day I can provide for my mom and my dad…I want better for my parents so that they don't have to worry. That's a big motivator just to keep going.

Carson's sense of responsibility to financially provide for her parents also stemmed from their family's history of political struggles with race, social class, and immigration. Through these rich but challenging life experiences Carson elicited her familial capital to maintain her educational aspirations and expectations.

Mona, a computer science student, felt the same connectedness to her mother, who provided for her and motivated her to seek a career in STEM. Consequently, Mona was consistently reminded of her mother's economic struggles, which led her to stay determined. Mona explained:

> [A degree in engineering] means maybe a better future for her [mom], because then I can take care of her. She works a lot. It hurts me to see her tired and things like that and for her it would be like, "Oh, I don't have to work anymore."

In addition, Mona wanted to share her familial capital with her nieces and nephews to pursue their personal and professional aspirations. In activating her familial capital, Mona viewed that a part of her personal responsibilities was to also serve as a role model, so that others could see that college success is not only realistic at the individual level, but it is also a communal achievement. She further elucidated her intent to use her STEM education to invest in the younger generation and cultivate their familial capital: "For my siblings, I think maybe like an inspiration for their children. Because my sister tells me that her…one of her kids really looks up to me. And I guess he respects my ideas and things like that."

Trump's attacks on Mexican immigrants added to the students' expectations to help those in need and marginalized by society. By extension, they forged a familial bond with others in the political struggle for human dignity, respect and self-determination. Several participants recounted the stories of the love, care and sacrifice that they had experienced with their families and communities. For this reason, their experiences of not being able to visit families in Mexico and with low expectations and deficit thinking at university provided them a race and gender lens on how they expected to contribute to the society through their STEM careers.

When asked what her eventual success in STEM would mean in the era of the Trump presidency, Cindy, a bioengineering student, expressed an expanded notion of family and her expectations to use STEM to assist those whose lives are negatively impacted by social policies:

> I see it [an engineering degree] as an opportunity to inspire others. I know we all see [what is happening politically today], I'm just going to describe it as oppression. We see the oppression of established American society towards first generation students or minorities coming in. Some don't see that, depending on where they grew up, but me seeing, because I volunteered at so many different places with little kids and their parents, they just came here. They don't see themselves becoming doctors or dentists or stuff like that. I see becoming an engineer, a professional, someday becoming somebody respectable that is inspiration to them to keep fighting for something that they're being taught to not fight for.

Cindy pointed to the Trump presidency as an influence for her expectations to become a social justice advocate working with undocumented populations. Cindy drew upon her connections with her broader community, such as those children with whom she volunteers, to inform her use of education for the purpose of collective empowerment. Several participants expressed the desire to 'lift as they climb' as a method of supporting others who may encounter similar challenges.

Indeed, the participants recognized their education and subsequent careers in engineering as vehicles to support, change and even better the lives of others. Such goals reflect a form of familial capital by seeking to convene others to collectively

better each other's lives, challenge social inequities and use one's education to prepare others to continue the political struggles. By activating her familial capital, Cindy's aspirations to use her STEM education for social justice further gave her a sense of purpose and determination to overcome her immediate challenges as a college student. She elaborated:

> I feel like actually studying something that's bigger than what we are, that would give me credibility in situations where I want to dispute with other people about why we're fighting [for social justice]. Let's say people that are like right now fighting to take away healthcare, there's a bunch of people who are like, "Oh, I don't know them, who cares if they take away their health care."

Instead of internalizing negative political rhetoric about Latinx, Cindy became more determined to succeed. We then asked Cindy how she connects social justice to her STEM education. She explained:

> But, relating biomedical to that…I want to make prosthetics to help people who are disabled. One of my friends, her brother has spina bifida and his healthcare would be taken away, because these people do not agree with that, and because I'm going to study biomedical engineering I can someday, maybe, create something that would help him not be viewed… as disabled, obviously right now he's a little kid, he uses the crutches, he's in a wheelchair, people are like "Who cares about them, they're not gonna contribute anything, so why do we need them?"

Cindy believed that her eventual STEM achievement would lead her to improve the lives of others. She was aware of how the current political criminalization of Latinx immigrants can result in a sense of disempowerment, but she did not want any perceived deficits of her status to get in the way of her degree attainment. From Cindy's vantage point, her own sense of marginality had solidified her aspirations and expectations with those whom she intends to serve through her STEM career.

CONCLUSION

Our study is consistent with the literature that argued that the educational achievement and marginalities of Latinx could vary as they are often driven by social policies and the institutional contexts of higher education (Conchas, 2001). Sax, Kanny, Riggers-Piehl, Whang, and Paulson (2015) reinforced the fact that women's lower self-concept in STEM subjects could no longer be a sufficient explanation for their aspirations and underrepresentation in the field. This chapter adds to the literature by using students' testimonios to account for the nuances and contextual factors that played a role in shaping their experiences with campus and political climates associated with the Trump effect. By turning our attention to the persistence of structural and environmental threats to Latinas' STEM aspirations, universities can identify systematic ways to counteract these corrosive dynamics.

To address the contextual factors of student achievement, students need greater access to supportive communities and opportunities to confront intersectional oppression as well as develop positive beliefs and expectations in STEM education. We find students' testimonios a powerful method to understand how they activated their human agency to counteract these systems of power with their aspiration and expectations for STEM achievement. By investigating our participants' aspirational, resistance and familial capitals, we discovered that students enacted their agency to maintain hope as well as resist political and campus climates associated with the Trump effect. One of these sources of support was students' families that played a significant role in shaping their positive STEM identities by instilling strong beliefs and expectations for degree attainment. We also found these students to be isolated in STEM classrooms and in need for more peers, allies and faculty members to join their network of support. Our participants' testimonios have taught us that institutional support on a larger scale is necessary, so that administrators, faculty and staff can be proactive and intentional in fostering campus inclusion and support individuals in counteracting intended and unintended threats to their STEM education.

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Student Immigrants AND NGO Activists IN THE Same Boat[1]

TEREZIE VÁVROVÁ AND DANA MOREE

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1940s the Czech Republic (former Czechoslovakia) has been a very homogenous country. Especially when looking at the current European Union, Polish and Czech societies are amongst the most homogenous on the continent (Patsiurko, Campbell, & Hall, 2012). The issue of ethnic homogeneity has, in recent times, become of great importance to geopolitics and socioeconomic environments globally (Fearon, 2003). In the world today, countries with zero or low ethnic fractionalization are believed to have higher economic growth rate and more stable and effective democracy (Van Staveren & Pervaiz, 2017). On the other hand, these societies, including the Czech society, tend to be rather ethnocentric or even ethnonationalist, taking homogeneity as a national value (WVS, 2015).

According to various surveys and studies (CVVM, 2012, 2014; EVS 2008) Czechs don't approve of other national minorities and ethnic groups living in the country. The post-communist region tends to the model of ethnic homogeneity (Drbohlav, 1999) where foreigners are perceived as something disturbingly different. Gabal identified (Gabal, 1999) 3 types of foreigners in the Czech Republic, *capitalistic* (acceptable), *relatives* and *strangers/ aliens* (the most foreign foreigners). Interestingly, higher education students in these groups enjoy a good status and some kind of social support measures. Students born in different countries have a possibility to study in Czech universities free of charge if they speak the Czech

language. If they do not speak the language they may study in a foreign language (such as English), but then have to pay for their studies.

This might seem almost harmonious, as a homogenous country gives a lot of freedom to students with migrant background. However, the reality is rather different. As the migration or refugee crisis started in 2015 a strong anti-immigrant rhetoric began to spread in Czech politics and society. Even though the refugee crisis brought only 1500 asylum seekers to the Czech Republic (ČSÚ, 2016) it caused a huge societal crisis based on fear of multiculturalism, which is perceived as a threat to social cohesion. The social structure of the Czech Republic had several typical features till 2015. The Roma minority group is perceived as a group, which is the most segregated; most hate crime is targeted at this group of population (EU-MIDIS II: European Union Minorities and discrimination survey). However, migration crisis changed the environment, as refugees were suddenly perceived as the biggest enemies, as were those who at the same time were proclaiming positive attitudes towards solving the migration crisis or actively organizing any kind of support. The migration issue started discussions between generations, becoming the new cleavage (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967) at the end dividing families and friends. These fear-driven social discussions revealed some hidden attitudes of Czech society, which were new and not acceptable, especially for young people. Therefore, we decided to work with young students on this migration issue and connect topics more deeply, which led to an art-based research about students, education and migration.

Based on this we worked with a group of students, some of them asylum seekers with migration background, and NGO professionals to discover the topics which play a role behind the curtain. Two participatory theatre performances grew up from this work. One was created from the perspective of students: an immigrant with Russian accent studying in Czech university and fighting for acceptance. The second performance described a personal situation of a student working for NGO and trying to help refugees in Czech society. Both performances were recorded and coded and analysis showed topics linked to the situation of immigrants in higher education as well as those who try to help them. Process of stigmatization, tide link between oppressors and oppressed as well as topics linked to collective guilt grew from our analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The aforementioned situation in the Czech society was the reason we made a choice for a methodology, which would help us understand the motivations behind each groups' behavior and bring these two groups together at least temporarily. Such a situation would namely enable individuals to research coping with

fear influenced by migration issues in a safe newly created context. Theatre of the oppressed was chosen as the main tool (Boal, 1982, 1992, 1995) and a mixed group of 15 students (three of them with migration background, eight working for NGOs and seven students of Department for Civil Society) worked in spring 2016 for three months together. There were 14 women and one man, all between 22 and 30 years old. There were two performances created (Ztracená—Lost and Fanny Coffee) and each was played 7 times in front of mixed-age audience during 2016 and 2017.

We decided for mixed qualitative methodology in the research. First, the group process during the preparatory phase was researched by means of ethnographic approach. Field notes of several people involved in the group and reflections after each session were used as the main research sources. Second, all performances were recorded and the video data coded later on. In this chapter we bring results from both parts of the research; the main research question formulated by researchers as well as the participating group was "How can we cope with discriminating situations in a society which doesn't accept migrants?"

STUDENTS AS MIGRANTS AND ACTIVISTS

There were several moments in the group process relevant for the topic of migration and coping with discrimination based on migration (personal background or pro-refugee opinions) in the group of students:

The Good and the Bad Foreigner

All participants discussed the different perceptions of 'types of foreigners' which exists in the Czech society. They agreed on various perceptions of foreigners, which interestingly can be rather inclusive as well as very exclusive. Good perceptions of foreigners involve descriptions such as "ours", e. g. a foreigner living together with a Czech partner. Bad perceptions involve foreign foreigners who are visibly different, with a non-Czech accent and bad historical connotation (Russians, Germans). The group decided to include this ambiguity in the plays and demonstrate the paradox by using a character of a foreigner who is a family friend (daughter of Czech emigrants) and another who is a Russian-speaking Ukrainian woman from Crimea.

Foreigners' Experience of Czech Society

As there were foreigners living in the Czech Republic in the group, we were able to use their experience with Czech society directly in the play. It was evident that the person's perception of foreigners differs according to their age and media.

Interestingly, with the refugee migrant crisis of 2015 the individual's education level no longer plays an important role. Therefore, the group decided to include different individuals as representatives of Czech society (parents, friends, NGO co-workers, other students, university employees).

Oppressing Silent Majority

Finally, the group had to solve the question of who was the oppressor. The migration topic divides families and groups of friends, meaning that the oppression is caused not only by the silent majority, which looks away when something is happening, but also from the side which has a familiar face. There are more situations of oppression connected to the migration issue than the direct discrimination of foreigners; you can be a member of the majority and still be oppressed by this group. The group therefore made the decision to create two performances with two main protagonists, with one story based on the majority experience represented by an NGO student and the other from the perspective of foreigner.

PERSPECTIVES OF MIGRATION

In the approach introduced by the Theatre of the Oppressed (Boal, 1982, 1992), the audience becomes active and takes the role of 'spect-actors' who explore, analyze and by taking action transform the reality in which they are living. During a performance of Forum Theatre an issue of oppression is shown, with the audience encouraged to step in on the stage and address the oppression, attempting to change the outcome through action.

The group came up with two performances addressing similar issues from opposing perspectives. In the first play presenting the 'foreigner perspective', Anastasija, a Ukrainian but Russian-speaking young woman from Crimea, seeks acceptance and a the life of a normal student in Czech Republic, but doesn´t succeed. She is ignored by her schoolmates because she is not politically active in the Russian-Ukrainian dispute about Crimea, not supported by the teachers and civil servants who don't understand her situation (being a Russian-speaking Ukrainian woman) and damned by parents of her friends for her Russian-like accent when speaking the Czech language. In the second performance 'about majority perspective', a young student Fanny, working for a social NGO, fights to be accepted with her refugee-friendly opinions and for starting a dialogue with people on the other side. Both main protagonists strive to be accepted to society and by the others. Their fights and wishes describe how collective guilt and stigmatization work, as well as how social categorization can easily lead to discrimination.

We will use only data from the performance on the Russian-speaking minority group for the purposes of this article. But first of all we will have a look at connecting theories, which at least partially explain what we noticed during the performances.

COLLECTIVE GUILT AND STIGMATIZATION

There is one interesting fact concerning migration and Russian-speaking foreigners in the Czech Republic. Currently the largest number of all foreigners living in the country are Ukrainians (109,850), with Russians on the fourth place with 35,759 people (ČSÚ, 2016). But even though the number of applications for Czech citizenship has increased on average, the number of successful applications by Russian-speaking foreigners decreased (ČSÚ, 2016). This slightly suggests the attitude of Czechs towards the Russian-speaking people, that to speak Russian as a primary language has negative connotations. This relationship is not only us and them, it is us contra them. The Czech public still has a very negative attitude towards everything 'Russian', which stems primarily from the unforgettable invasion of Soviet troops in 1968 (Drbohlav, 1999). On the other side, there has been a long tradition of Russian emigration even before the war. The reason for increasing numbers of Russian immigration is not only the political instability of the region, but also that the Czech Republic is perceived as a friendly country which has a similar culture (language, habits, shared past). Nevertheless, representatives of the Russian-speaking minority group face similar treatment as 'visible' minorities. They are collectively guilty for the occupation which still evokes emotional responses and are therefore called 'Rusáci' (pejorative name for Russians). Even the students' group immediately described their negative attitudes towards people with Russian accents by mentioning such individuals as those they dislike without any reason for such a viewpoint. Emotional responses based on category membership can traverse generations, with ancestors who committed the wrong and contemporary members of the perpetrator group being linked by a common category membership (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005).

Ideally, when an intergroup conflict comes to an end, the negative emotions directed at members of the out-group would also cease. However, history makes clear that negative attitudes resulting from intergroup conflict continue long after its conclusion. Although peace may be restored, the psychological consequences of the harm created during the conflict can be felt for generations (Barkan, 2000; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). People continue to categorize others on the basis of their group identity, meaning guilt by association may be assigned to such individuals even when they do not bear any personal responsibility for the wrongdoing (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Another example is the Jewish perception of present-

day Germans (Barkan, 2000), when the latter are likely to be perceived by the former through a group-based lens that puts contemporary Germans and those of the Nazi period in the same category.

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION

Categorization is one of the most fundamental human processes. We categorize objects in order to understand them and similarly categorize people to give meaning to the social environment (Reynolds, Oakes, Haslam, Nolan, & Dolnik, 2000). Social categories such as nationalities (Czech, Russian, German) are used because they provide normative information about how category members are likely to behave and how they should be treated. According to self-categorization theory (Turner & Reynolds, 2016) categorization can vary in inclusiveness (three levels—personal, social and human). Categorization at the personal level causes the self to be perceived as different from other group members, at the social identity level the self is seen as similar to other in-group members but different from out-group members, while finally the human level reflects the perception of the self as like other human beings (Turner & Reynolds, 2016). When the in-group has a history of being victimized by a particular out-group, negative perceptions of that perpetrator group can be expected when people categorize at the social identity level (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005).

Anastasija and the 'foreign performance' inspired by her story represents such a situation, when a foreigner is socially categorized on the basis of his (Russian) accent and membership to a group of perpetrators (in the past), therefore stigmatized and not accepted in the new society. Research questions of the performing group were: how is collective guilt linked to the process of stigmatization and the personality of oppressors? What are the strategies of overcoming such stigmatization rooted in history? How can a more inclusive categorization be reached?

HOW CAN I BE SEEN JUST AS A HUMAN?

The performance representing the perspective of a migrant-student has a main protagonist, Anastasija. What does she want? The audience identified her following wishes in the play: *to be human, live normally, enjoy acceptance, feel herself at home and welcomed, to be heard and taken as who she is, not to be political, not to be judged on the basis of name, language and history, not to be a national category, not to be labelled (poor, Ukrainian from Crimea, Russian-speaking person, occupant).* But what prevented her from living the life she strived for? The audience once again identified the most significant barriers as follows: *the prejudices of others, Czechs, others who do not have*

time to get to know her, national prejudices, stereotypes, collective regrets, language—as barrier and label, Czech past.

There were three different types of situations in the performance that most of the audience talked about and in which they decided to intervene. The first situation was when the protagonist's (Russian) language was immediately perceived as a political statement. Therefore, people expected that such foreigners were very political and asked them to explain or even defend who they are politically. Anastasija was asked by the teacher to participate in a seminar at the university and tell her fellow students something about Ukrainian culture. When possible, the students confronted Anastasija with questions about her identity as a Russian-speaking Ukrainian from now geopolitically problematic Crimea. As the discussion escalated and Anastasija was not able to explain 'on which (political) side she stands,' because for her the situation is complicated, she felt she was misunderstood, even refused the opportunity to be understood at all by the students. The strategies proposed and tried during the interventions of audience were 50 percent successful. What didn't work was the attempt to start any kind of a political discussion. Anastasija constantly sought to explain her political views, but the spect-actors managed to find a way to deal with the situation by repeatedly avoiding political discussion. Directly mentioning *that the situation of Crimea is a very complicated and highly controversial topic* was not so successful but made calmer discussion possible. Discussing the topic 'as controversial' enabled opening a dialogue between the migrant and new society and also didn't hurt Anastasija. Another successful method was to explain that home is rather a personal rather than political topic. A spect-actor asked: "*why should I feel political about my home? Give me the space to feel and think freely.*" The last successful strategy was to name the problem Anastasija felt while discussing her identity with the students: "*aren't you projecting the occupation of Czechoslovakia to the current occupation of Crimea?*" This one actually caused a reflection in the audience about Czech-Russian past and collective punishment.

The second situation, which happened in two different scenes, was about speaking in a different language (being a migrant) and being pitied for this experience. First, Anastasija searched for help with a scholarship she could get as a Ukrainian. She didn't have the money for processing the application, didn't understand the bureaucratic language and was not able to stand up for herself, only receiving pity from others rather than assistance. What the spect-actors changed in their interventions was *asking for a supporting group or an association of Ukrainians at the university*, while most successful of all was *to ask a friend to with her*. In the following scene Anastasija was asked by a fellow student to advertise a lecture of a Ukrainian minority rights activist because it would help the horrible situation in her homeland; she refused as she thought the activist has a controversial reputation and was subsequently abandoned by her friend. An unsuccessful strategy was saying that she couldn't come or trying to explain that the speaker was political and she was

not, saying she was not interested in the event or that she had other plans. On the other hand, interventions which worked and secured Anastasija's relationship with a friendly student were: *explaining the complexity of the situation in Crimea, which we can´t understand from Europe* and *offering help just with the preparation of the event*. In these two cases Anastasija managed to overcome the general expectation that the migrant must participate in events connected to her country of origin.

Finally, the third situation was when the accent or language caused a stigma/guilt from the past. Anastasija was invited to her friend's home for the weekend where she met her friend´s mother, who immediately after hearing her (Russian) accent presumed the protagonist came from Russia, which led to an emotional and reproachful speech on the subject. As a member of a contemporary Russian-speaking community Anastasija was held responsible for stealing the mother's youth spent under the Soviet authoritarian rule. Such blame continued when Anastasija revealed that her grandfather used to be stationed as a Red army soldier in Czechoslovakia in the 1970s, which led to Anastasija being intimidated, rejected and damned by the mother. Every audience member wanted to intervene in this scene as the mother and her aggression attracted attention. Most of the attempts (22 out of 28) were not successful as the mother is tough and convinced about her version of the truth, as well as that the factor of historical memory is on her side. Interestingly, when the audience were high school students the situation was different as they intervened in all other scenes, while here they didn't want to at all, saying it would be hard to change the attitudes and opinions of parents. Strategies that were not successful included trying to focus the mother on contemporary reality with questions such as "*Do you think I personally behave badly?*" or "*What can I do now?*" The mother replied that Anastasija was of course not personally responsible, but she couldn't erase history and was responsible for her people. Another unsuccessful attempt was to explain the grandfather´s duty through statements such as *"He was a soldier and it was his duty"* or "*My grandpa is nice and it was a special time*". There were few successful strategies, which mostly concentrated on the human and emotional dimension of the situation. The mother was obviously frustrated and blamed Anastasija for the state of her life, so to respond on an emotional level to her frustration offered some hope of resolution, such as when one spect-actor *invited the mother to come to the concert with her daughter and herself*. Another successful strategy was to counterbalance the emotions and play the occupation of Crimea card with *I didn´t send my grandpa here and now my country is also occupied by Russians*. A third successful strategy was simply showing interest in the mother´s story, asking "*How was life during the occupation in Czechoslovakia?*" Despite ongoing debates over the definition of forgiveness, theorists have so far agreed that it is a process which involves a change in attitude or emotion toward the offender (Enright & Group 1991; Hewstone, Lolliot, Swart, Myers, Voci, Al Ramiah, & Cairns, 2014). The process of forgiveness is thought to (a) reduce the desire for revenge and retaliation and (b)

allow release of negative emotions such as anger and fear. This change in emotions and attitude was observed and described in the performances by the individual actors and audience as well.

CONSTRUCTING FORGIVENESS: WHAT I NEED ARE THOSE 40 YEARS YOUR NATION TOOK AWAY FROM ME

What we could observe in the mother's scene was that historically victimized group members may be especially likely to perceive contemporary and past members of their perpetrator group as a single category (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). From this observation today's stigmatization emerges, when emotional responses to category membership (in our case nationality of a migrant student) traverse generations. During the performances which dealt with a migrant fighting for acceptance to a new society, we could observe that the process of collective guilt assignment can be affected by shifts in categorization. The out-group members (Anastasija, migrants) need to be perceived as humans regardless of their social identity (nationality). In such situations coping with surrounding individuals can lead to two results:

1. Achieving understanding and support. The following reactions and strategies seem to be helpful: expressing one's own interest, directly addressing the historical experience, avoiding topics which are seen as controversial in specific cultures, explaining our own situation, requests for concrete help, concrete proposals while looking for alternative ways together.
2. Being rejected. The following reactions and strategies seem to lead to negative results: defending myself, saying it is not my fault, saying I am different than my people.

Clearly, the resolution of social conflict involves the ability to see out-group members as human like oneself (Tutu, 1999). This particular move is important for any migration issue as well, because for intergroup forgiveness inclusive categorization is crucial. Such inclusive categorization requires all members of a society, regardless of their subgroup membership, to be perceived as part of the "human family" (Tutu, 1999). This shift in categorization will help the current living together of many cultures, languages and nationalities.

CONCLUSIONS

Roe (2007) suggested that there are two perspectives on how forgiveness is constructed. Some authors suggest that forgiveness can be made unilaterally by the victim and is not dependent on the attitude or behavior of the perpetrator (Enright &

Group, 1991). Others propose that forgiveness requires negotiation between the victim and perpetrator (Amstutz, 2005).

A significant problem of intergenerational collective guilt is that there are no victims and no perpetrators. There are only people who are influenced by toxic behavior of others, who do not live anymore. But at the same time the strengths of their reaction would be equivalent to the meeting of real victim and perpetrator. How is this possible?

The audience could not find a solution for the scene with the mother for a long time. In a certain moment we asked what makes this mum so powerful as well as what is behind this power and energy which is difficult to change. The audience was very clear about that the power was rooted in this woman's own frustration, unsatisfactory life, lack of fun and friends as well as loneliness, all of which emerges when she meets a smart young girl with Russia accent. It seems that the intergenerational bridge is called frustration and dissatisfaction, which means that the motor of collective guilt is not a political situation but destruction on the level of human relations which cannot be solved at the cognitive level. The only strategies which seemed to work were those where relations were perceived as more important than political and historical circumstances.

More inclusive categorization can be reached in the moment when people perceive the other person as an individual rather than focusing on his or her background. Other categories rather than those political could then be perceived, such as facing difficult situations or having similar ages and interests. Nurtured relations can make other categories and possible connections among people also visible. The question remains open if we are able to perceive these other categories when blinded by our own frustrations.

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Refugees IN THE German Tertiary Sector

Mapping Service Gaps at Research Universities

LISA UNANGST AND HANS DE WIT

INTRODUCTION

In 2015, Europe experienced a massive refugee influx causing much debate and political tension. While refugee crises in this context were not a new phenomenon, in 2015 and the years that followed it was not only refugees from Syria but also other regions, in particular the Middle East and Africa, who entered Europe in significant numbers. Considered the worst refugee crisis in Europe since World War II, the impact of this influx has been enormous, in general and for higher education in particular. Streitwieser, Miller-Idriss and de Wit (2017) noted that initially, when the main flow of refugees seemed to come from Syria, there was a more welcoming attitude based on a perception that Syrians, given their relatively well developed education sector, would be easily integrated and able to fill needed places in the European knowledge society (Streitwieser, Miller-Idriss and de Wit, 2017). However, due to the volume of asylum seekers, the fear of infiltration of IS terrorists among this group and the increase of comparatively less educated refugees from other regions, reactions to the refugee crisis amongst the general population, in the media and in the political sphere became more negative. Though higher education in Europe responded slowly to the 2015 refugee influx (Altbach & de Wit, 2015), initiatives have gradually emerged from students and their organizations, institutions, higher education associations such as the European Universities Association (EUA) and civil society refugee networks to support refugee education (de Wit, 2016; Streitwieser et al., 2017).

Germany has accepted—in absolute numbers—the bulk of immigrants arriving in Europe via Italy, Spain, Turkey and Greece in recent years, although those countries also support a large number of refugees due to limited capacity and willingness in other European countries. This chapter will examine ways in which individual German universities and *Fachhochschulen* (universities of applied sciences) have responded to the urgent call to serve refugee students, drawing on summer 2017 interviews with staff and faculty at six German universities, as well as content analysis of publicly available documents at other higher education institutions across the country. The primary question we address is: what kind of organizational supports for students from a refugee background exist and in which ways are they similar or different at the tertiary level in Germany? Additionally, we seek to differentiate the German tertiary landscape from other more economically developed national contexts that have absorbed significant numbers of university level refugee students.

The German public sector is responsible for the substantial majority of higher education provision, with 81 state-run universities (Conference, 2017). Public universities, in this context, offer doctoral training in a range of subjects across academic domains including humanities, social sciences, life and physical sciences, as well as professional programs for law, medicine and other tracks (specific offerings vary by site). The public system is decentralized, with the 16 federal states primarily responsible for setting higher education policy. University refugee policies, activities and communications are determined not only by the interests and commitments of faculty, staff and students at a given institution, but also by the larger political context in which they operate. Any response to educational equity issues, then, must be filtered through several layers of administration; responses to the recent refugee influx are no exception.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This paper offers data from two distinct sources: an interview series and document analysis. The first author of this paper conducted a pilot interview project in summer 2017, with an eye towards future comparative case study development in the German tertiary ecosystem (Yin, 2009). As Rowley notes, Yin's construct of the case study situates "a contemporary phenomena within its real life context" (Rowley, 2002, p. 18). Indeed, how flows of refugees to Germany are absorbed by universities and how students are supported once enrolled is a layered question begging for "thick description" (Geertz, 1973).

In the context of this pilot interview project, the lead researcher made contact with faculty and staff affiliated with public universities situated in five federal states, aiming to collect data reflecting distinct political initiatives and priorities.

Furthermore, an attempt was made to include a range of institutions in terms of enrollment (the smallest institution surveyed enrolls 5,000 and the largest 40,000 students), academic offerings, participation in the "Excellence Initiative" and percentage of international students (ranging from a high of 12 percent to a low of six percent) (Times Higher Education, 2017). Lastly, an effort was made to achieve balance in terms of faculty and staff participation, acknowledging their distinct experiences with internationalization—including refugee initiatives—as demonstrated by Hunter (2018) among others. Incorporating the "lived experience" of both faculty and staff also serves to draw attention to university power dynamics, which may be split in broad terms into *de facto* and *de jure* operations (Linder & Rodriguez, 2012). Over 40 inquiries were made and in the end 11 interview participants were available and willing to participate in in-person interviews during a two-week span; these individuals represent six public universities in Germany and were guaranteed anonymity throughout the process (by extension, their institutions are not identified by name here). The participants included one student (closely involved in relevant institutional program development), five staff members (all of whom work on refugee initiatives) and five faculty members (some of whom hold dual appointments as administrators). The group included five women and six men, with three participants self-identifying as having a migrant background. Interview protocols were developed in English and German, with conversations held in both languages, based on the preference of the interview participant. Translations have been made by the author in the transcription process. In reviewing interview transcripts, an open coding technique was utilized to identify main concepts emerging from participant observations. Next, echoing Corbin and Strauss's procedure (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), axial coding was performed to group concepts into "families", relating subcategories to categories as referenced by Kolb (Kolb, 2012). The main emphasis in this iteration of analysis was to identify broad themes relevant to a case study of refugee supports at the institutional level, offering indications for further research in the German tertiary ecosystem.

As previously noted, this paper weaves interview data together with the results of an exploratory document analysis of selected, publically available German university and *Fachhochschule* websites. Formal degree programs or course listings focused topically on the refugee experience are not included in this inquiry; for instance, the master's program in International Social Work with Migrants and Refugees at Fachhochschule Würzburg-Schweinfurt is excluded. Rather, this paper aims to look at university initiatives more broadly – from a macro, organizational perspective – instead of focusing on curricular offerings that may not actually enroll refugee students themselves. Table 10.1 reflects the institutions selected for analysis.

Table 10.1: German Universities and *Fachhochschulen* selected for document analysis.

Institution	Type	Federal state
FH Aachen	FH	Nordrhein-Westfalen
University of Bayreuth	University	Bayern
Free University of Berlin	University	Berlin
Humboldt University of Berlin	University	Berlin
University of Bielefeld	University	Nordrhein-Westfalen
University of Bonn	University	Nordrhein-Westfalen
Technische Hochschule Brandenburg	FH	Brandenburg
TU Braunschweig	University	Niedersachsen
TU Clausthal	University	Niedersachsen
University of Köln	University	Nordrhein-Westfalen
FH Koblenz	FH	Rheinland-Pfalz
Hochschule Furtwangen University	FH	Baden-Württemberg
University of Magdeburg	University	Sachsen-Anhalt
HS Fulda	FH	Hessen
HS Mainz	FH	Rheinland-Pfalz

In choosing the institutions analyzed here, we sought to include geographically diverse campuses representing a variety of federal states (and thus federal state-based education policies). We explicitly avoided including only institutions that serve as 'bright spots' or models in Germany, but rather sought to capture a range of settings so as to more accurately reflect the spectrum of activities in the national landscape. Given that the aforementioned interview study focused on West Germany, the document analysis echoes this emphasis and includes six *Fachhochschulen* and nine universities. By no means can this research be considered exhaustive; indeed, this inquiry was limited to English and German language websites at a total of 15 institutions. It also does not fully reflect the diversity in higher education policy and practice across the former West and East Germany, with the latter hosting a much smaller proportion of refugees at present. Additionally, it is important to note that document analysis encompasses only available documents; it cannot shed light on *de facto* mechanisms for supporting refugees.

In terms of the scope of the inquiry, we employ as a point of departure the Website Content Analysis Framework developed by Scott Olivieri, which is based on elements of McGregor and Fairclough and aimed at supporting an analysis of how diversity is presented on Jesuit University websites (see Figure 10.1) (Olivieri, 2017).

CDA Element	Example / Questions
Grammatical person	Third person, first (we), second person (you) or agentless passive. Is nominalization used to conceal the actors?
Intended audience & objectives	Who is the page intended for? What are the assumed page goals?
Voice and tone of content	Is the tone friendly, academic, formal or blended?
Omissions in the text	What is mentioned? What is missing? Are individual groups referenced?
Foregrounding and backgrounding	What content is placed in prominent regions on the page? Is diversity framed in a particular way by the institution? Which items are in the primary navigation? How does the hierarchy of navigation items inform our understanding of university priorities?
Assumed power relations	Are their clues about dominance? Are certain groups' needs prioritized? Are certain identities valued?
Phony register	Does the tone line up with the actions of the university? Is the content appropriate for the page? Is it sensitive to current events, or campus climate? Does the content seem authentic?
Topicalization	What is important to the institution? Is diversity a top-level navigation item? Is diversity part of the mission statement? What are the key priorities?

Figure 10.1: Olivieri framework for university website content analysis (Olivieri, 2017). Source: Based on Fairclough (1993) and McGregor (2014)

In particular, we focus on three elements of Olivieri's framework in this paper: intended audience and objectives; voice and tone of content; and omissions in the text. These seem most significant in an exploratory comparison of university language, programs and goals in that they offer relatively clear information on university operations; there is less subjective interpretation required in these categories of document analysis suggested by Olivieri than, for instance, in 'phony register'.

We ground this chapter in Critical Theory, explicitly acknowledging the social, historical, economic and ideological forces shaping Germany's tertiary landscape as well as its individual institutions, faculty, staff, students and other stakeholders (Martinez-Aleman, 2015). Correspondingly, we acknowledge the presence and impact of institutionalized racism, sexism and heteronormativity, among other systematic oppressors (Lorde, 2007). As Gutierrez-Rodriguez (2016) puts it,

> universities reflect deeply entrenched social inequalities marked by class, race, disability and migration, meaning that universities reflect the inherent social inequalities within the nation

state. When it comes to German and British state universities, what becomes apparent is the class and racial stratification of these institutions (2016).

Furthermore, in the mode of Solórzano, Ceja and Yosso (2000), we employ a transformative paradigm, placing emphasis on "the centrality of experiential knowledge" and intersectionality, calling attention to the experiences of women of color as well as other marginalized groups (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, p. 63). Researchers in this mode respond to Bourdieu's problematizing of school-based "reproduction of existing power relations in society by privileging the cultural background of students of the dominant class" (Kanno & Varghese, 2010, p. 313). In future work, we anticipate proposing steps towards implementation for university communities to consider in their own contexts; this represents the translation to practice suggested by Hurtado (Hurtado, 2015).

FRAMING, COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

Before turning to a discussion of the German landscape, we will briefly offer an outline of university programs supporting refugee students in selected OECD peer countries (Australia, Canada, the Netherlands and the UK), with selected cases displayed in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2: Universities in OECD peer countries selected for comparative document analysis.

Country	Australia	Canada	Netherlands	UK
	Australian National University	Queen's University (Ontario)	University of Amsterdam	Cardiff University
	University of Adelaide	University of Alberta	Leiden University	Oxford University
	University of Tasmania	University of British Columbia	Utrecht University	Queen's University (Belfast)
	University of Western Australia	University of Toronto		University of Nottingham

These national contexts have been included given their respective records of absorbing high numbers of refugee students, as well as similar economic frameworks and standards of living, which of course closely inform education policy. Our belief is that the German tertiary sector is best understood in comparative context, allowing for deeper understanding of how the German response to the recent refugee influx is similar to or distinct from those found in other national settings. Specifically, we highlight three or four universities in each national context – three in the Netherlands given the relative size of the population. In choosing the 15

universities analyzed here, we focused on relatively elite institutions within each national case—elite universities presumably having greater resources to devote to the support of refugee students—and included geographically diverse campuses. In the British case, we included four universities from the Russell group, representing three countries as well as both public and private providers. Similarly, in the Australian case, we analyze three universities from the so-called 'Group of 8' (and one from outside that elite grouping) representing four federal states. The three universities selected in the Netherlands are all in the top five of the 2018 *Times Higher Education* rankings for that country and the four Canadian universities are likewise all members of the U15, representing three provinces ("Best Universities in the Netherlands 2018," 2017).

There is a clear trend of student activism across all four national contexts surveyed. Fundraising activities range from the small scale (a bake sale at Cardiff University raising £121 for the Welsh Refugee Council) to the medium scale (a theatre production run by Australian National University's medical students raised over $9,000 for refugees and asylum seekers) and the large scale (World University Service of Canada – better known as WUSC—raises funds directly from student levies to support refugee students' tuition, book fees and "partial housing and living expenses" at several universities) ("ANU Med Revue raises $9,000 for refugees and asylum seekers," 2015; Root, 2017; Welsh Refugee Council, 2015). In addition to this direct fundraising by students and student-led organizations, there is clear advocacy on the part of students at the campus, local and national levels. Aside from several student-led petitions calling for various actions, Queen's University (Ontario) is site of the Queen's Pro Bono Students Canada (PBSC) program, which helps to "acclimatize recent immigrants in the Kingston area to the Canadian legal system" (Law, 2016). A second year student at the University of Toronto's school of medicine, Tarek Bin Yameen, helped to organize free eye care clinics for more than 600 Syrian refugees in the Toronto area (Oldfield, 2017). Similar types of initiatives are also present in the Australian, Dutch and British tertiary landscapes, though it does seem that Canadian students are particularly engaged in this regard.

Widespread across all four national contexts are scholarship programs targeting students from a refugee background. The University of Aberdeen has announced the Shining Lights Scholarship Scheme, meant to support a minimum of four students from a refugee background at either the undergraduate or taught postgraduate levels (University of Aberdeen, 2015). Similarly, the University of Western Australia offers the UWA Humanitarian Swans Scholarship, the University of Adelaide the Adelaide Refugee & Humanitarian Scholarship and the University of Nottingham the Maycock-Whileman Scholarship, which assist students pursuing an undergraduate degree from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds ("Funding for Refugees and Asylum Seekers," 2017; The University of Western Australia, 2017; University of Adelaide, 2016). It is important to note that all of these initiatives make clear that

the awards are meant for students with full legal status in the host country. In other national contexts, for instance in the US, some elite private and public institutions offer financial support to so-called 'undocumented' students. It does not seem that this is the case across the institutions surveyed.

A handful of the universities also offer programs facilitating access for refugee students – programs typically called 'bridging' or pathway programs in the German context. Cardiff University offers a six-week program "designed to address some of the challenges that refugees, asylum seekers and forced migrants face when seeking to return to study" ("Ground-breaking summer school helps refugees to access higher education," 2017). This "ASPIRE" course provides

> intensive English classes and academic taster courses, inspirational trips and tours to help boost the confidence of those taking part, as well as expert advice on how to apply to university. Taster courses included Business Management, Peer Mentoring and Coaching as well as Public Service Interpreting for Health ("Ground-breaking summer school helps refugees to access higher education," 2017).

At Leiden University (in collaboration with the Hogeschool Leiden and Foundation for Refugee Students, UAF), the Preparatory Year program is offered for about 15 students from Iran and Syria who aim to continue their study in the Netherlands (Universiteit Leiden, 2017). The coordinator of the program reports "The VJL [certificate] is intended for brushing up subject knowledge and also improving students' Dutch and English. But we also pay a lot of attention to study skills. Our Dutch education system is so different from what these students are used to!" (Universiteit Leiden, 2017). Of 20 students who began the program, 15 completed the course and two of these will attend Erasmus University Rotterdam, with others joining universities of applied sciences in the Hague or Leiden itself (Universiteit Leiden, 2017).

Utrecht University, in turn, offers the InclUUsion program, which allows refugee students to attend courses (it seems without earning credit) and be linked with a Utrecht student through a buddy system ("InclUUsion connects studying refugees with students and teachers," 2017). In the year since the program's inception, "81 InclUUsion students participated in 64 courses" and 115 enrolled Utrecht students expressed an interest in serving as a buddy; participating students from a refugee background came from 14 sending nations as of March 2017 ("InclUUsion connects studying refugees with students and teachers," 2017).

The University of Tasmania also offers a bridging program titled the Clemente Program (originally developed by the Australian Catholic University 13 years ago) (University of Tasmania Media & Communications, 2017).

> A community engagement and pathway program, Clemente aims to break the cycle of poverty, inequity and social injustice for Australians facing multiple disadvantages and social isolation. The students, aged between early 20s to their 70s, include refugees and asylum-seekers, migrants and people from underprivileged backgrounds in Tasmania (University of Tasmania Media & Communications, 2017).

Students in the course take—among other classes—four Arts courses, including Drawing basics, Introduction to Indigenous Studies, Introduction to Sociology and Introduction to Philosophy (University of Tasmania Media & Communications, 2017).

The University of Amsterdam offers a different model, targeting refugee students already enrolled at university during their first semester. The program in question offers language support and initiatives ranging from a stress relief event to sessions on time management, academic writing and exam preparation ("Take Off @ UVA," 2017). This appears to be akin to a specialized orientation program, though one which operates over the course of several months as students acclimate to their new surroundings.

This overview gives an indication of the multiplicity of initiatives taken by students, their organizations and institutions of higher education in diverse countries. The overview also makes clear that these initiatives are pursued in several instances in co-operation with other actors, such as refugee organizations (for instance the case of UAF in the Netherlands) and national and regional entities (for instance the European Universities Association) (Streitwieser et al., 2017).

THE GERMAN CONTEXT: AN OVERVIEW

As asylee and refugee numbers in Europe grew from 2014 to 2015, German Chancellor Merkel took a strong stand on the side of humanitarian support and committed significant resources to the support of unregistered refugees; "In September 2015, Berlin pledged 6 billion euros ($6.6 billion) to support the 800,000 migrants—about quadruple the number from 2014—it was expecting to receive by the end of 2015" (Park, 2015). DAAD, a public-private initiative, made 100 million Euro available on a competitive basis to universities offering refugee support programming, while procedures to facilitate the entry of refugees to higher education in the case of missing school leaving documentation were also established. A student-driven initiative titled Kiron University resulted in the establishment of a free, hybrid bachelors program involving two years of online study (through EdX and other providers) followed by two years of study at a brick and mortar partner institution (Kiron Open Higher Education, 2016). Kiron is supported by public and private sources, including the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research as well as the BMW and Bertelsmann Foundations, among others. As their website states:

> Our vision is to provide millions of refugees worldwide with the opportunity to graduate with an accredited university degree, free of charge. No more time, potential, or lives wasted… Kiron uses an innovative combination of online and offline learning to provide accessible, sustainable, and cost-effective education (Kiron Open Higher Education, 2016).

While current refugee flows to Germany have abated given efforts at the federal level to prevent entry by creating "reception centers" in Africa and elsewhere, as well

as the recent EU agreement with Turkey providing substantial funding in return for its accommodation of MENA asylum seekers, this question of higher education access continues to be pressing.

In terms of university programming for refugee students, it is clear that some institutions have been more pro-active and expansive than others. The European Commission attempted in January 2016 to categorize innovative programs supporting asylum seekers and refugees in its document "Inspiring practices—January 2016: Higher Education helping newly arrived refugees". Some of the highlighted practices represent services offered by various university constituents to the refugee population as a whole, including legal advice provided by law students at Universität Giessen and providing space for sleeping bags at Universität Leipzig (European Commission, 2016). Universität Heidelberg similarly offers support through faculty and student initiatives, with affiliates offering medical care and practical translation assistance (Universitaet Heidelberg, 2016).

While public German Universities do not typically charge tuition, there are fees associated with study, in addition to the costs of books, housing, food and other living expenses. Many German students receive "BAföG" (BundesAusbildungsförderungsGesetz), a state-funded financial aid program which may provide up to 720 Euro per month and represents a 50 percent grant, 50 percent zero interest loan (DAAD Editors, 2016). While recognized refugees may apply for "BAföG", a "tolerated" refugee may only apply 15 months after their initial asylum application (a policy which went into effect on Jan. 1, 2016), nor are prospective students eligible if their application for refugee status is still in process (DAAD Editors, 2016).

This overview illustrates that a broad range of initiatives has emerged within the Germany tertiary sector to support the refugee community at large. Initiatives have been taken by students and their organizations, but also by universities themselves (sometimes in cooperation with other actors). We will explore how the student-focused innovations of the German higher education community compares to those in Australia, Canada, the Netherlands and the UK in the sections that follow.

KEY FINDINGS OF DOCUMENT ANALYSIS AND PILOT INTERVIEW SERIES

Specific Degree Programs for Refugees

At least two degree programs in the German context seem to be particularly targeted at refugee students; no comparable programs were identified in the trans-national analysis discussed previously. Humboldt University in Berlin offers the "GeT MA Berlin Track / GeT MA for Refugees Initiative" which "enables refugees to continue their academic education in a master program and

to obtain an M.A. in Social Sciences at a German university" and represents a new track of the established GeT MA Program (Humboldt-Universitaet zu Berlin, 2017).

> The program is a two year taught program offered in English and is interdisciplinary in nature. It focuses on current debates in social sciences such as modernization and democratization, Europeanization and migration. Looking at the cases of Germany, Turkey and other countries allows students to deepen their empirical knowledge of actual political processes in Europe and its neighboring regions (Humboldt-Universitaet zu Berlin, 2017).

At Uni Bielefeld, a specialized teaching program titled Lehrkräfte Plus enrolls students who previously worked as teaching staff in their home countries and seek to continue school-based work in Germany. It seems clear that the emphasis is on an introduction to the German education system and an "orientation" to the requirements for school-based personnel; the suggestion is made that program participants might later find work as substitute teachers (Universitaet Bielefeld, 2017b). The German university system indeed requires C2 level language proficiency for teacher training programs and so for this reason alone it would be difficult for refugees (even those who had completed a teaching degree in their home country) to be qualified as a full-time teacher in the German context.

Family Friendly/Women-Specific Programming

Both in the course of the 2017 interview project and based on document analysis conducted, some institutions indicated programming that aims to serve women and families. One staff member (who identified herself as having a background in gender studies) noted that 14 percent of participants in refugee support programs at her institution were women and that the university was considering measures such as combining child care with programmatic offerings in order to increase participation in this area (Unangst & Streitwieser, 2018).

FU Berlin seems to have taken this sort of initiative even further, allocating a specific number of spaces in its German courses to women, encouraging the joint application of couples and providing child care (FU Berlin, 2017a). To apply for this special consideration applicants "are required to submit a short description of their family situation" to a university staffer, though no details are included regarding what this description ought to include (FU Berlin, 2017b). This seems potentially problematic given that expectations are unlikely to be easily understood by refugee applicants if they are not made explicit.

Fachhochschule (FH) Koblenz offers an even more targeted program titled "Women in MINT—new opportunities for female refugees" which offers instruction in STEM fields during the summer months (FH Koblenz, 2017).

MINT is an acronym for Mathematics, Computer Science, Natural Sciences and Technology (we translate here), with this particular initiative open to women aged 18–35 who have been granted legal status to remain in the country. The program is bilingual (English-German) and begins with coursework, ending with an internship. The overall goal is to prepare students for MINT degrees, particularly at FH Koblenz, as well as for participation in technical fields of the workforce.

It also seems that some institutions make an effort to engage with refugee women, though via single events/initiatives. For instance, Hochschule Furtwangen sponsored an "international women's breakfast" on May 7, 2016, which continues to be highlighted on its refugee website (Hochschule Furtwangen, 2017). The event brought local German women together with area women from a refugee background and was organized by three students as a component of a class on project management. Forty-five participants shared cultural traditions, danced and enjoyed a guitar performance from a Syrian musician.

Requesting Donations

Several institutions among those surveyed request cash or in-kind donations for various initiatives related to refugee programming. Universität Bielefeld encourages local residents to provide transportation for natural sciences orientation course attendees and also encourages laptop donations (Universitaet Bielefeld, 2017a). TU Berlin, similarly, requests donations for learning materials and transportation costs (as does Uni Bayreuth, which notes that previously allocated funds for transportation stipends have been exhausted) (TU Berlin, 2017).

Universität Köln, in turn, solicits donations for a fund providing support to refugee students of all ages in the region (Universitaet Koeln, 2017). The relevant brochure notes that the university is "conscious of its social responsibility" and that through education the university can make a lasting "substantial contribution to the to the integration of refugees" (Lehre, 2017). Projects include language and integration classes for primary aged students in the region as well as scholarships for university students, including the highlighted "Amal A.", a former student at the University of Damascus in "Oriental Archaeology and Prehistory" (Lehre, 2017). Presumably the scholarship is meant to cover living expenses, book fees and other incidental costs, which of course can be quite substantial particularly for students unable to apply for BAFöG (FH Fulda, 2017). This scholarship support echoes activity seen in other national contexts as described previously, but the requests for donations are notable in light of the substantial German resources already devoted to refugee student support.

Presidential Level Messages of Support

Varying levels of senior administrator support for refugee programming are visible in the German context. This is significant as commentary from a high-level official on any given institutional webpage tends to draw attention to high priority areas and thus the tactic is used strategically. In the Canadian context in particular, this strategy is employed regularly by university presidents to highlight refugee engagement initiatives; the University of Alberta's President, David Turpin, is quoted as saying "every individual who is given a way out and offered a different, brighter future becomes part of a changing story" on an information-packed webpage discussing refugee support, which links to related resources at the university, external resources and government documents ("Refugee Support," 2017). Comparatively, German university leaders seem to fall somewhere in the middle of their OECD peers in this area (as analyzed here).

At TU Braunschweig, serving President Prof. Dr.-Ing. Dr. H. C. Jürgen Hesselbach is quoted as asserting that "We want refugees to be able to continue their academic careers with us—and we are finding individual solutions to make this happen" with a graphic immediately adjacent using the German Rector's Conference (HRK) slogan "Weltoffene Hochschulen—Gegen Fremdenfeindlichkeit", indicating an institutional opposition to xenophobia (TU Braunschweig, 2017). At FU Berlin, Prof. Peter-André Alt notes that: "We welcome people who have fled to Berlin to our university and offer them an opportunity to prepare to start a degree program at Freie Universität Berlin or to continue their studies with us" (Berlin, 2017a). Uni Magdeburg Rector Prof. Dr.-Ing. Jens Strackeljan offers several paragraphs of introduction to the "Refugees Welcome" webpage of the larger university website, perhaps the most striking example of senior level support we have found in the course of this inquiry (Universitaet Magdeburg, 2017).

The Interaction of Migrant and Refugee Students

A separate but related issue is the connection between students of refugee and migrant backgrounds (here we reference first, second and third generation migrants). Indeed, there is evidence that migrant students break their study at a higher rate than non-migrants (Burkhart et al., 2018); there is a plethora of literature in both German and comparative contexts that indicates the experience of study (and work, and social life) is substantially different and, as self-reported, more challenging for this population (Diehl, Andorfer, Khoudja, & Krause, 2013). To what extent migrant and refugee populations interact in the German university context is unclear; many programs for refugees are distinct from other programmatic offerings and may also occur apart from the main campus. Indeed, this seems a promising topic for future research. This area has been explored in social work, second language

instruction and broadly in theoretical papers focused on the construction of social capital. As Elliot and Yusuf write, "connections with members of similar ethnic groups… assist in integration through increasing health and well-being" (Elliott & Yusuf, 2014).

Specifically, it would be interesting to examine whether these migrant and refugee groups are served by similar offices, initiatives, administrators or student groups. Indeed, at least one German university was, in summer 2017, exploring the possibility of using 'anonymous' exams (with the exam-taker's name hidden from graders) in response to concern from migrant students that gendered, racialized bias might be taking place during the grading process (Unangst, 2017). Clearly, this sort of structure and any proposed solution would impact both refugee and migrant populations. Furthermore, as this procedure is widely used in other national contexts, a comparative lens seems useful. As Matthews writes of the Australian context:

> It is not 'refugeeness' or 'Africanness' that determine educational success but the ways that particular and pre- and post-settlement issues and needs are identified and addressed (Rutter, 2006). This means that one or other elements affecting the educational progress of refuge and/or African background students may well be shared with other identifiable groups, such as migrants, ESL-New Arrivals (ESL-NA), indigenous students and students from low-socioeconomic backgrounds (Matthews, 2008, p. 32).

Pathway Programs

As noted previously, a broad range of pathway programs are offered across the university and *Fachhochschule* landscapes. These programs differ dramatically in terms of size, scope, institutional support, language level and how success is defined. The following paragraphs seek to highlight representative samples of this spectrum of programmatic offerings. This range, we observe, is not inconsistent with similar variation in the Dutch context.

One program model observed in Niedersachsen is the centralization of Studienkolleg-type offerings. As noted on the TU Clausthal website:

> The Studienkolleg for all Lower Saxony universities is located at the Leibniz Universität Hannover. To prepare for this exam, a 2-semester preparation course is offered which can be taken after passing an entrance exam. Registration for the one-year preparation course at the Studienkolleg is carried out through TU Clausthal, where applicants must also send their application documents (TU Clausthal, 2017).

Schleswig-Holstein, in contrast, offers a variety of pathway programs based on university campuses and elsewhere. Also notable is the relatively long length of the Clausthal program—one program surveyed in the 2017 interview project describes its pathway program as an orientation program lasting 6–8 weeks (Unangst, 2017).

While many bridging programs require a B1 or B2 language level to gain admittance (indeed TH Brandenburg requires a B2 level to attend courses as a guest student), Uni Bayreuth and a few other institutions prove an exception to this rule (Brandenburg, 2017). Bayreuth offers language instruction from levels A2 to C1 via its campus-based instruction (Universitaet Bayreuth, 2017).

Uni Bonn is notable for its mention of a learning agreement that participating refugee students must sign when they begin a pathway program at that institution. The agreement is presumably meant to ensure a common understanding of roles and responsibilities of students and instructors, though italso asks students to commit to regular program attendance (Universitaet Bonn, 2017).

A few pathway programs have a clear discipline-based orientation. TU Braunschweig's website notes, for instance, that the program for refugees holding a university entrance qualification or a Bachelor's degree aims to facilitate access into an engineering related study program at the TU Braunschweig. The class takes one year and begins every summer and winter term. The course includes German language classes, lectures in engineering as well as an integration module (TU Braunschweig, 2017).

Additionally, the Aachen Freshmen Institute at FH Aachen—which has been in operation since 1998 and is not a response to the recent refugee influx—offers a focus on intensive language training combined with subject-specific coursework based on the interest of the individual student (FH Aachen, 2017). This is quite distinct from the 'average' German pathway program, which at most would offer a handful of academic tracks. FH Aachen notes that in 1998

the Freshman Program was founded as an entry to English-language university programs in the North Rhine-Westphalian (NRW) public university system. Since 2010 the Freshman Program offers the Higher Education Entrance Qualification Examination (*Feststellungsprüfung*) which enables students to apply to all university degree programs in Germany. This program is, in many respects, unique in Germany (FH Aachen, 2017).

In terms of size, this program is also quite exceptional with an annual graduation of almost 400 students – many more bridging initiatives welcome something closer to 40 students at any given time (FH Aachen, 2017; Unangst, 2017).

CONCLUSION

The programs and initiatives discussed in this paper are situated within a particular national framework of policies on migration, asylum and higher education. At present, German policy—as well as EU policy more broadly—limits the number of refugees entering the country, due in part to recent agreements with Turkey offering funding in exchange for its commitment to host refugees. Though we again

emphasize the exploratory nature of this paper, it does seem clear that an incredibly broad range of student supports are available within the German context; however, some universities and *Fachhochschulen* appear to offer very limited information and programming for refugee students (Hochschule Mainz, 2017). This is particularly notable in comparison to the Canadian context, which reflects extensive advocacy for and financial support of refugees that is coordinated at a national level. Simply put, the German tertiary ecosystem seems to display a larger range of responses to the refugee influx than its OECD peers.

The rationale for combining results from a pilot interview project and document analysis in this chapter is to capture a snapshot of university activities and policies regarding refugee students at this particular moment in time. While this approach is limited, it does provide interesting insight into types of programs and trends across institutional cases. This exploratory study has identified several interesting sub-themes, including the particular support of women, presidential or rector-level messages of support for refugee initiatives, explicit university fundraising activities, credit bearing academic programs targeting refugee students and connections between the migrant and refugee student experience.

Future work might consider, for example, how a university's organizational structure makes it more or less difficult for a single university office to access funding sufficient to support migrant and refugee student programming in tandem. Additionally, it would be interesting to examine extra-curricular settings in which 'lived experiences' are shared among these groups and mutual support offered. How does the informal curriculum facilitate productive connection and student success? Lastly, it seems important to further probe the comparative development of pathway programs in both institutional and trans-national contexts. As outlined in this chapter, there are pending issues around the sustainability, assessment and content of these programs in Germany. Unfortunately, data on how many 'pathway' students actually enroll in university and obtain a degree is both critical and largely unavailable at present.

This highlights a key concern: there is a lack of reliable university-specific and system-wide data on refugee students in the German context. More broadly, information sharing around best practices is also a clear problem; indeed, interview study participants mentioned almost universally that they did not know what other university programs for refugee students involved or how many students they served (Unangst & Streitwieser, 2018). Further, while German institutions had not collected data on 'migrants' as a standard operating practice, in recent years some have begun to do so. As Rokitte (2012) has observed, this data may have profound implications for the operation of the universities, as they begin to recognize the students already attending their institutions as well as their attendant needs. While it is critical to acknowledge that the situation on the ground is changing quickly and data collection is often reactive, given that data informs both policy and research

agendas as well as helps practitioners to iterate effectively, work in this area seems critical.

Leask has written that "the boundaries between the local, the national, and the global have been blurred and our future, collectively and individually, depends on how flexible, open, and creative we are in the way we think, live, and work" (Leask, 2015, p. 16). Indeed, as migration flows continue to increase—as seems almost inevitable—in our globalized world, universities will be called to respond to a greater number of non-traditional students from migrant and refugee backgrounds. Innovation and efficacy in this area are vital; an exploratory examination of current institutional initiatives and language around refugee status has identified key themes emerging in the German tertiary landscape. This chapter also seeks to identify possible areas for further research—work that is urgently called for as institutions worldwide seek to support vulnerable student populations, share best practices and forge a path deeper into the twenty-first century.

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Getting a 'Feel FOR THE Game'

How Do (Im)Migrant Students in Iceland Experience Higher Education and Gain Access to the Field?

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AND JÓN INGVAR KJARAN

INTRODUCTION

Iceland is a small island in the North Atlantic which was settled by Nordic seafarers and Irish and Scottish slaves in the late ninth century (Karlsson, 2000). Its geographical location allowed the culture and language to develop and remain rather isolated for centuries. A modern form of old Norse, Icelandic, the national language, has changed slowly over the past 1000 years and is the language of instruction in schools at all levels including tertiary. When the country sought home rule (1918) and independence from Denmark in 1944, the language and culture became a major unifying factor (Halldórsdóttir, Jónsson, & Magnúsdóttir, 2016). In that sense, drawing on Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 2006), the Icelandic language has created the image of a particular Icelandic community which can only be accessed through speaking Icelandic perfectly. In the past, this ideal of imagined community around language did not cause any difficulties because Iceland was until the late twentieth century a relatively homogenous country in terms of the ethnic composition of its inhabitants. However, this has changed rapidly during the past decades and today (im)migrants currently comprise 10 percent of the total population of 330,000 and 12 percent if second generation (im)migrants are included (Statistics Iceland, 2016). The increased heterogeneity of the population has influenced the school system in terms of the composition of its students and today (im)migrant students make up

around 12 percent of compulsory and secondary school students (Statistics Iceland, 2016). However, (im)migrant students seem to pursue HE at a significantly lower rate than students with non-(im)migrant backgrounds (Garðarsdóttir & Hauksson, 2011; Guðmundsson et al., 2013), in spite of increased access to higher education in general.

Little research in Iceland has addressed this issue and studies that do mostly focus on the experiences of (im)migrant students in general. Moreover, these studies do not distinguish between students of European origin and students from the global south. This is to some extent due to the fact that HE institutions in Iceland do not collect data on students as relates to ethnicity, race or language preferences. Thus, in this chapter, we take research on the topic further by using an intersectional lens to focus on 'non-traditional' students within higher education institutions located in the greater Reykjavík area. By exploring students' ethnic background, parental educational attainment, gender and sexual identification we can take into account the language skills, cultural capital and habitus of 'non-traditional' students: first and second generation (im)migrant students. Through critical collaborative ethnography, we examine, firstly, how (im)migrant students in Iceland experience higher education and gain access to its field and, secondly, which structural factors hinder (im)migrant students seeking tertiary education as well as what kind of social strategies they employ within the 'field' of academia. In terms of social strategies, we examine how the behaviors, attitudes and perceptions of our participants appear to constitute a certain form of Bourdieusian capital, which we define as '(im)migrant capital,' and how they apply their social and ethnic habitus to gain social status and achieve academic success within the otherwise 'White,' Eurocentric and Icelandic academy. This approach has the potential of taking research about (im)migrant students further by moving away from the discourse of victimization to focusing on how systems and institutions (re)produce oppression, as well as how (im)migrants students can use their ethnic/(im)migrant capital to change and resist the dominant discourse. In the chapter our aim is therefore to use a limited number of empirical cases to explain and give examples of our theoretical perspective, inspired by Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Bourdieusian sociology, as well as how particular concepts can be used in researching (im)migrant students within the academia/HE.

CONTEXTUALIZATION: (IM)MIGRATION AND THE HE-SYSTEM IN ICELAND

Short History of Immigration and Attitudes towards Foreign Settlement

Immigration to Iceland has been historically a rather new phenomenon; prior to 1850 it was illegal to immigrate, as Denmark had a monopoly on trade and singular access to the colony (Bergsson, 2017; Loftsdóttir, 2011). As attitudes and laws in Denmark changed, Iceland slowly followed suit (Bergson, 2017). However, research

on immigration has shown that often the wealthy, educated and politically powerful class supported exclusionary policies in Iceland. An example of these exclusionary political attitudes was during the occupation of Iceland in the Second World War when the Icelandic authorities requested that allied forces not station non-White soldiers on the island (Bergmann, 2017; Karlsdóttir, 2003). A decade after the Second World War, the country welcomed its first official group of refugees from Hungary, but the first visibly different ethnic group to settle in Iceland were the Vietnamese in the late 1970s (Halldórsdóttir, Jónsson, & Magnúsdóttir, 2016; Tran, 2015). In the late 1980s, during the first tech boom, Iceland began to see an increase in non-Westerners moving to the country (Statistics Iceland, 2016).

Since 1990, through the EU mobility agreements, (im)migrants have migrated to Iceland in search of better wages and a higher standard of living. The largest proportion of (im)migrants were Europeans and Scandinavians up until the 1990s when Iceland began receiving refugees from the former Yugoslavia and other Eastern European countries (Þórarinsdóttir, Georgsdóttir, & Hafsteinsdóttir, 2009). With the expansion of the European Union, the number of (im)migrants from Poland and Lithuania has been rapidly increasing. At the same time, Iceland has seen an influx of (im)migrants from South East Asia, mostly the Philippines and Thailand, as well as an increase in people from Africa, the Middle East and South America. Recently, the government announced its intention to receive 50 quota refugees annually (Haraldsson, 2016; Valdimarsson, 2014). Many of these (im)migrants, as in other Western European countries, currently work in industries that Icelanders no longer seek out, such as fish processing, cleaning and construction, healthcare (particularly in elderly care), as well as service sectors such as food preparation and the tourist industry (Þórarinsdóttir et al., 2009). In spite of the rapid increase in (im)migrants living and raising families in Iceland, research on higher education and (im)migrants is sparse; even data on the level of (im)migrant education is limited, especially for those who immigrated as adults (Skaptadóttir & Ásgeirsdóttir, 2014; Þórarinsdóttir et al., 2009).

The education system has worked diligently to keep pace with the changing demographic in its schools, with the ample research reflecting this response and the working towards a more multicultural education system (Garðarsdóttir & Hauksson, 2011; Guðmundsson et al., 2013; Halldórsdóttir et al., 2016). While pre- and compulsory schools are required to produce and maintain 'reception plans' for immigrant students, some schools have aimed to become immigrant reception schools and by implication multicultural schools. They receive high volumes of immigrant students, even outside of their catchment areas, however, this is not true of all schools (Helgason, 2010). At the same time, this focus, along with housing costs, has led to an increase in residential segregation, where a larger number of (im)migrants live in specific areas within the greater Reykjavík metropolitan area (Halldórsdóttir et al., 2016; Valdimarsson, 2014). In spite of upwards trends of

immigration in the past 20 years, secondary schools have not been required to develop reception plans; however, a few schools have focused on providing secondary education to non-native Icelandic speakers (Tran, 2015; Trân, Lefever & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016).

Alongside this lack of attention being given to secondary education for (im)migrant students, Iceland also has one of the highest secondary school dropout rates in Europe, which has sparked concern especially as it relates to Icelandic-speaking students (Blöndal, 2014; Garðarsdóttir & Hauksson, 2011). Schooling in Iceland is compulsory until the age of 16; students can then choose to continue their studies and apply for upper secondary school. All upper secondary schools are required to accept students, although there is a lottery and it can be difficult to be admitted to the highest ranked upper secondary schools (Magnúsdóttir & Auðardóttir, 2017). Currently the upper secondary schools that provide support for (im)migrant students are combined vocational and academic schools (Tran, 2015). General data on (im)migrant upper secondary school attendance and completion from 2014 indicated that 86 percent of first generation (im)migrant students aged 16 attended upper secondary school, but two years later only 55 percent were still enrolled (Haraldsson & Ásgeirsdóttir, 2015). More recent data from 2016 showed that 81 percent of first generation (im)migrants aged 16 attended upper secondary school and 51 percent remained two years later (Haraldsson, 2016). There are currently no data on how many matriculate from upper secondary school into tertiary education.

Current Policies and Laws in Higher Education

The current higher education law does not mention (im)migrants or ethnic minorities (Statute 63/2006, 2006; Wozniczka & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016). Thus, the law on HE silences this group of potential students and therefore neither reflects the current situation nor the changed ethnic composition of the population. The last three strategic plans for the University of Iceland (UI) have focused on an international student body, but have not mentioned (im)migrant students. As such, internationalization of the HE context has been focused on attracting students from other countries either though exchanges or graduate programs (Háskóli Íslands, 2016; Halldórsdóttir, Gollifer, & Macdonald, forthcoming; Wozniczka & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016). University study in Iceland is highly attractive in the fields where it has some renown on an international level (e.g. geology, geothermal, fisheries, environment, genetics). Another focus of internationalization within the University of Iceland has been on improving the university's international rankings, both through research and attracting students and staff from outside of Iceland. Such a view to internationalization focuses on modifications in response to external demands rather than

an internal domestic need (Halldórsdóttir, Gollifer, & Macdonald, forthcoming; Wozniczka & Ragnarsdóttir, 2016).

The University of Iceland is the largest and oldest university in Iceland founded in 1911, and intellectuals at the University played a significant role in the fight for home rule (Bergson, 2017). Prior to this, students went to other countries, primarily Denmark, for university study, which remained true after the University of Iceland was founded for anyone seeking specialization in graduate programs (Hálfdánarson, Matthíasdóttir, & Guðmundsson, 2011). One of the primary goals, and a stated mission of the University, is to maintain and preserve the Icelandic language, which is considered by many Icelanders to be a vulnerable language due to the prevalence of English globally (Hálfdánarson, 2008; Tran, 2015). Thus, the discussion of inclusion in this context, that is the (im)migrant context, becomes more complex as it is enacted through the University's aims to conduct daily communication and the courses in Icelandic.

The majority of programs are taught in Icelandic with a few courses offered annually in English. As part of the internationalization of the university, courses and programs are increasingly being taught in English. The majority of programs available in English are at the graduate level, with two or three programs available at the BA level, one of them being a BA in Icelandic as a second language, with an emphasis on linguistics, Icelandic culture and history (Halldórsdóttir et al., forthcoming). The current language policy of the University of Iceland emphasizes the use of Icelandic as the main language of instruction: "Icelandic is the official professional language of the University" (Málstefna Háskóla Íslands, 2016). However, in recognition of the growing body of international students and (im)migrant students, students can request special permission to submit assignments and take exams in English: "If international (foreign) students obtain permission to attend classes taught in Icelandic […] teachers can seek to meet their needs without changing the primary language of instruction" (Málstefna Háskóla Íslands, 2016). At the undergraduate level "Icelandic is the primary language of instruction […] Teaching in English will be limited to courses […] for teachers who do not speak Icelandic as a mother tongue (native language), or related to the international work for the University" (Málstefna Háskóla Íslands, 2016). Thus, there has been a limitation placed on students who do not feel comfortable or confident in studying in Icelandic language only programs, hence requiring students to either learn Icelandic or pursue higher education outside of Iceland.

Currently, while there is data available on foreign (international) students at the University of Iceland and statistics on the number of (im)migrants, the University does not gather data on the number of (im)migrants attending the University. Data in a recent report indicate that the number of students holding a foreign passport who are not exchange students is 1035 or 7.8 percent of the student population. By excluding students who do not report legal residence in Iceland, the number

of international students is 911 (473 are undergraduates), which is 6.9 percent of the total student population. However, this data does not distinguish between students who have come to Iceland to pursue HE and those who are more permanent residents of the country but originally from a different country. The report disaggregates by country of origin and extrapolates based on the largest and most prevalent (im)migrant populations outside of Western Europe and North America. For example, while the Polish speaking population in Iceland is by far the largest (at 13,795), there are only 52 individuals studying at the University, which is under one percent of the total student population at the university. There are 575 Filipinos living in Iceland, and 63 registered at the university (representing 6.3 percent of the Filipino population in Iceland). Students from Vietnam are 7.7 percent of the total Vietnamese living in Iceland, but these students have most likely not matriculated through the Icelandic education system or are second generation (Tran, 2015; University of Iceland, 2017). Students from South American or African countries are not disaggregated in the data as their representation within Icelandic society is small.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

(Im)migrant Capital—Ethnic Habitus and Social Strategies of (Im)migrant Students

Symbolic capital is one of the key concepts in Bourdieu's sociology (Broady, 1991; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). The concept entails a means to an end that gives the beholder some kind of value, depending on the context or the field (Bourdieu, 1993). Skills or qualifications valued in a particular context/field can be dismissed or have no or little value in a different context. 'Field', in this sense, is characterized by struggles over the legitimacy of ideas. Bourdieu (1984, 1986) uses capital as a metaphor for the legitimacy of ideas where cultural, social and economic capital all add up to become symbolic capital if adopted in the right place at the right time. Within the field of academia, certain kinds of symbolic capital are more highly valued than others, which connects to and intersects with race, social class, sexuality and gender. Thus, being a White heterosexual male from a middle class family provides a certain distinction and particular type of symbolic capital, and hence more legitimacy within the field of academia. However, symbolic capital is also fluid with regard to the field, as its value can be increased or diminished depending on the situation at a given time (Broady, 1991). This also applies to the field of the academia, which can be unmade and remade by those that inhabit that particular space. This opens up the possibilities for different forms of capital to gain legitimacy within that particular field.

Bourdieu divided symbolic capital into various types or forms, for example artistic, scientific and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This kind of capital can endow individuals with distinction and make them special. It is possible to convert its value into another kind of capital, for example, economic and social capital. In our analysis, we use the Bourdieusian term of symbolic capital in order to explain how (im)migrant students carve out a space for themselves as a social strategy. In other words, how do they apply their social and ethnic habitus to gain social status and achieve academic success within the otherwise 'White,' Eurocentric and Icelandic academia? We use the term '(im)migrant capital' for this kind of social strategy and ethnic habitus, which can be understood as one form of symbolic capital. (Im)migrant capital as a concept utilized here refers to ethnic/cultural background and ideas that are formed at home, within the context of their home culture, which can be adopted as social strategies striving to gain symbolic value within the field of the academia. Critical race theory scholar Dolores Delgado Bernal (2006) has termed these kind of social strategies as 'home pedagogies' or 'pedagogies of the home'. The term/concept encompasses bilingualism, biculturalism and commitment to local communities. The 'home knowledge' is seen as counter to the dominant and official knowledge (epistemology) of schools and can according to Bernal give non-White students a 'critical tool' to navigate through educational obstacles. However, in order to create inclusive spaces in terms of race as well as diversity and stop *epistemic violence*[1] within schools, teachers need to change their views towards what kind of knowledge is legitimized, as well as what kinds of teaching methods are considered legitimate, so as to adopt critical race pedagogy that entails: "Challeng[ing] White, middle-class, and male privilege in traditional pedagogical practices and creat[ing] spaces to learn from pedagogies of the home. Because power and politics are at the center of all teaching and learning, the application of household knowledge to situations outside of the home becomes a creative process that interrupts the transmission of "official knowledge" and dominant ideologies" (Yosso, Villalpando, Delgado Bernal, & Solórzano, 2001, p. 96).

Coming back to Bourdieu, adapting your habitus to a particular field or context, in our case the academia, its ideas and practices, is at once a conscious and unconscious activity (Bourdieu, 1984, 1988, 1990). For (im)migrant students, different strategies are available: some for example, internalize hegemonic ideas and practices, the official or legitimate knowledge, which entails taking up White-Eurocentric subjectivities (discourses) or putting on "white masks" as argued by the critical postcolonial writer Frantz Fanon in his book *Black Skins, White Masks* (Fanon, 2008). According to Fanon, this can lead to divided self-perception and an inferiority complex among non-Whites/(im)migrants who lose connection to their cultural origin while trying to appropriate and imitate the culture of the colonizer, in our case the White-Eurocentric academia. Thus, in order for (im)migrant students to construct different subjectivities and overcome their divided self-perception, they may adopt

counter-ideas based on 'home knowledge,' in order to overcome structural hindrances and discrimination within academia. In fact, 'liberating epistemology' in the form of 'home knowledge' and 'critical pedagogy,' can be understood as being more defiant or critical towards the official epistemology and thus has the potential to transform the 'game'. We draw here on Bourdieu and Wacquant's understanding of the 'game' that in our case encompasses the field of academia:

Players can play to increase or to conserve their capital… in conformity with the tacit rules of the game and the prerequisites of the reproduction of the game and its stakes; but they can also get in it to transform, partially or completely, the immanent rules of the game. They can, for instance, work to change… the exchange rate between various species of capital, through strategies aimed at discrediting the form of capital which on the force of the opponents rests… and to valorize the species of capital they preferentially possess (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99). Thus, performing counter to the hegemonic practices can open up the possibilities to transform the field by affecting the boundaries of what kind of knowledge/epistemology is legitimate, which can give the bearer of that epistemology of the home a kind of distinction and empowerment within that same field, which we define as (im)migrant capital.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Intersectionality in an Institutional Context

A central theme in CRT is property and property rights giving certain privileged groups the right to own property or use property, while others, such as (im)migrants cannot. Often this understanding is implicit and thus deeply imbedded within an institution (Crenshaw, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). We argue here that this concept can be understood in HE where the space or property of a tertiary education is intended for a specific cultural group. Thus, CRT poses a challenge to the traditional view of higher education as neutral, objective, color-blind and meritocratic (Delgado, 2001). In researching HE and the status of (im)migrants (minority students) within intuitions of higher education it is important to grasp the varied aspects of a student's identity that takes into account all of who they perceive themselves to be (Gudjonsson, 2018). In our research we therefore understand the construction of social reality within a HE setting to be bound up in the (im)migrant students' stories which are not subsumed by the dominant cultural group's stories: "For the critical race theorist, social reality is constructed by the formulation and the exchange of stories about individual situations. These stories serve as interpretive structures by which we impose order on experience and it on us" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 57). Through the telling of stories, subjectivities are constructed. Moreover, these stories give us a deeper understanding of how certain populations are situated and how the discourse of the dominant

culture impacts (im)migrant students' learning and experiences. Not only do the stories serve to illuminate the narrative as the individual tells it to herself, but they also serve to illuminate the story of the dominant culture and help illuminate the differing power levels between what is considered given and normal as well as the experiences and stories of the (im)migrant students (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

While Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital provides a structure to understand the forms of capital students have within the institution, Critical Race Theory (CRT) probes the nuances of minority experiences. Stuart Hall (1990) argued that students' identities are not one immutable whole, but rather intersecting and complex stories. Thus, CRT takes into account ideas of race and ethnicity that are often marginalized and by doing so it draws attention to the subtleties of diversity and the experience(s) of (im)migrant students. In other words, CRT stresses that failing to take into account the diversity and intersections within a population is to reduce all experiences to a single aspect of an individual's identity and thus understand them as encounters of mythical (imagined) (im)migrant students (Hill, Collins, & Bilge, 2016). Ultimately, this generates a unidimensional view of the (im)migrant and international student experience within the higher educational context. By unpacking intersections such as class, race and familial experience we can create a more nuanced picture of how students, who are not White representing, experience university education. Sarah Ahmed (2012) argued that working with diversity in HE is a multifaceted issue that needs to be approached from multiple directions. Her research on the aspects of inclusion of a diversity perspective in HE argues that often diversity is subject to being "othered" and externalized as a performance that needs some how to be completed (Ahmed, 2012). Critical race theory and intersectionality create a space from which we can explore the nuances of these varied experiences, how they influence the students' academic experiences and their use of their capital, as well as how the institution is engaging with these students' diverse experiences (Ahmed, 2012).

In the Icelandic context, diversity in HE is a relatively new phenomenon and thus it can be expected that the University is just beginning to address issues related to minority and (im)migrant students, although attention to gender, sexual orientation and ability is well established and a continuing effort (Háskóli Íslands, 2016). If we consider this in the context of HE in Iceland, historically, with low immigration trends HE did not have to consider students who did not speak Icelandic. While increasing numbers of international students had an impact on the course offerings in English, it was not until 2000 when (im)migrant numbers became significant enough that higher education should, realistically, have begun to take notice, rather than continuing to maintain the institution in the same fashion as always. One of the difficulties facing minority research in Iceland is the smallness of the population, which makes disaggregating students by nationality or cultural

origins open to discovery or exposure especially when discussing issues of prejudice or racism. By framing this work in CRT we aim to look more critically at how minority (im)migrant students experience their education, in order to develop nuance on how non-majority students face the challenges within the Icelandic HE system. Yet it can be argued that not to pay heed to the differences among students who are not the 'traditional' students who have attended the University of Iceland, that is White and Icelandic speaking, is to obfuscate and minimize the experiences that might be affected by a students' race, ethnic origins, gender preferences, sexual preference, linguistic skills or ability.

PUTTING THEORY INTO PRACTICE: METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

The data presented in this paper are part of a larger ongoing critical collaborative ethnography about (im)migrants in higher education in Iceland. The data presented here are mostly drawn from interviews with three women[2], as well as policy documents and laws/regulations. The women are in their second year of an MA program in the Social Sciences, two of whom have completed their BA at the University of Iceland, while the third completed her BA in her country of origin. All of the women are in their 30s and (im)migrated to Iceland as adults; two came due to having Icelandic partners and one came to join her family. All have lived in Iceland for close to 10 years and speak varying levels of Icelandic, although all have conversational level skills in Icelandic. Analyn is a South East Asian student who moved to Iceland after completing compulsory school in her home country and briefly attending university there. She is married but does not have any children. She works full-time in the travel industry but does not participate in outside class activities with her co-students as she works two jobs. She speaks four languages and four dialects from her country of origin. Mariana, a Southern European of mixed racial heritage, but White representing, speaks four languages. She is a single parent with two children who have Icelandic fathers. Mariana works part-time along with her studies and is active with the student council in her program, but does not attend outside class events often. Faith is from Eastern Africa, where she worked with refugee resettlement prior to becoming involved in the travel industry. She is married to an Icelander and together they have one child. She had attended several programs before the one she is in now; she speaks four languages and is quite socially active within her program.

The data were organized and coded with the help of Atlas qualitative software. Thematic data analysis formed the analytical framework of the research and themes were identified based on repetition and theoretical insights from Bourdieu

and Critical Race Theory, discussed in the previous section. In fact, as emphasized in the introduction, the aim of this chapter is to use a limited number of empirical cases to explain our theoretical approach and give examples of how we apply CRT within the context of HE, as well as how particular concepts can be used in researching (im)migrant students within academia. In other words, our approach in this chapter is theoretically inspired.

The research followed the ethical standards of the University of Iceland and the Data Protection Authority. This meant that those students interviewed provided their informed consent. However, understanding ethics as a process instead of a fixed entity, which is decided upon in the beginning, made us more aware of the need to revise and renegotiate ethical issues throughout the research process. This, for example, was applied to the issue of informed consent, which can be seen as an ongoing process (Slater, Jones, & Procter, 2017). It meant that we, as researchers, needed to reflect constantly on our own ethical stance, morals and attitudes, as well as how our role as researchers could possibly influence the research process. Thus, during the research process, we, for example, reminded our participants that they could always withdraw from the research or ask us not to include particular aspects of their stories or experiences.

MOVING AWAY FROM THE DISCOURSE OF VICTIMIZATION

Overall, students voiced significant satisfaction with their program and the courses they had taken. They were pleased with their choice of program of study and felt that they were learning a great deal. They found that their teachers were generally accessible and accommodating, including allowing them to submit assignments in English. They reported that the courses were both challenging and informative. At the same time, the students did not recount interacting a great deal with Icelandic speaking students either in the classroom or outside of class time, nor participating in University functions outside of those required by their courses. When they did interact with their co-students, they were the ones to make the effort. Furthermore, they mentioned relying on emails and their own searches to obtain information they needed about the function of the University. The students did not report ready access to information from the University (although this was improving); for example when asked if they had known about the recent University Health Day, hosted by the School of Health, they were unaware. They found that student registration and the main information desk had always been a useful resource and they had received a lot of information from there when they had questions. However, they had not had contact with the International Office or Student Study and Employment Services. When discussing the services that the Student Study and Employment Services provided, Analyn even mentioned that she did not think that after completing her

degree she would find work in Iceland suitable for her, given her (im)migrant status, or feel confident that the service could help her in her search.

Clearly, there have been positive changes at the University in the past few years. Faith noted that since she began attending courses at the University in 2010, general email messages had stopped being only in Icelandic and were now most often in both Icelandic and English. She was also the only one who reported attending student-led social events and noted she was often the only non-Icelander in the group. While Mariana was currently serving on the student council for her program, as a working single mother she found little time to participate in student events. Analyn worked full-time alongside her studies and did not have time to attend student-led events. However, both Analyn and Mariana had been more socially active in their undergraduate program. Overall, students noted that while there were activities available to them they often did not participate due to outside school commitments or lack of information, since not all notices or announcements are provided in English. They also had different expectations and needs for involvement in the University's social life and felt that the effort they needed to expend would be better used for family and friends.

Epistemic Violence and Internalizing the Dominant Systems and Thinking: Relative Deprivation

Because whiteness and 'Icelandicness' are implicit aspects of the University's aims and goals it can be hard to identify the issues that non-traditional students encounter when pursuing higher education: "The teachers are great, they make sure I have reading materials in English, when the class materials are in Icelandic" (Mariana). However, the students reported that while they received reading materials in English, the lectures and the supporting slides were in Icelandic. When asked how or if this affected their studies, one student said: "Not really, I rely on the readings for my papers" (Faith). Analyn noted that teachers and faculty who had extensive experiences abroad or were themselves (im)migrants to Iceland were more aware of including them in the classes: "There is this one teacher who makes sure we understand the terms. She will come over to us and ask if we got it, you know." Overall, it was clear in the interviews that the students expected little adjustment from the teachers of the courses, that they had texts in English (even extra ones when the class readings were in Icelandic), that they in general could complete their assignments in English, felt this was sufficient and could not really expect more. The implications here are that while students are satisfied with their studies, they have also learned not to expect more and are willing to accept the lack of the services that Icelandic students receive through lectures and lecture notes, as well as the ability to discuss and engage with co-students and the course materials. They have internalized the discourse of relative deprivation, that as the other they cannot expect too much.

Analyn noted that she had once contacted the teacher of a course when she could not attend a discussion in class and asked if it would be alright if she did not attend, to which the teacher replied: "That's fine you wouldn't understand anyway." The teacher's reply is indicative of the level of epistemic violence and institutional expectations within the University. That neither her academic wellbeing nor learning was of major concern to the teacher implies that her existence within the course was of little value. It further indicates that her voice, knowledge and experiences, which could have enriched the course discussions, retained no value for the other students in the course, thus placing her voice and knowledge outside of the academic arena. Analyn speaks Icelandic, in fact uses it daily in her place of work, so she would have most likely understood most of what was going on during the discussions (perhaps with a little support); however, the teacher's apparent lack of concern is troubling as it speaks to views on having international, or in this case (im)migrant students, in the classroom, that it does not matter one way or the other. There is no indication that her viewpoint or cultural ((im)migrant) capital would enrich the discussion, or concern that she is not receiving the same service or educational input as the other students.

(Im)migrant Capital and Transforming the Game

Students' willingness to put themselves out there, engage with Icelandic speaking students, offer their own opinions, deepen others understanding, or share experiences while participating in their coursework varied. All of the women noted that Icelandic students were difficult to engage with and found that developing friendships or even study groups with Icelandic-speaking students did not happen often, illustrated in in group situations where "You know they have friends and mostly work with them, and I work with my friends [the (im)migrant students or international students]" (Mariana). If they wanted to work with Icelandic students, they needed to take the initiative as Icelandic students rarely approached them. Faith noted that she did not let the standoffishness of the Icelandic students stop her from interacting with them, both in the classrooms as well as outside of class time. She noted that she had a very outgoing personality and also had be involved in the travel industry which required such, which she saw as an advantage to her participating in classroom and social activities. Analyn revealed that when she approached Icelandic speaking students with questions in Icelandic they often responded with a "Huh" and then a dramatic eye-roll and shrug (which she effectively demonstrated in the interview). Such experiences had impacted her willingness to approach them. Mariana, however, a more outgoing woman, noted that she did not work with or mingle with the Icelandic-speaking students, but rather spent most of her time with other (im)migrant students. However, she was an active member of the student council for her department, the invitation to join which came after she

had repeatedly pointed out, in a public meeting on social justice, that there were no (im)migrant students on student councils. While the women all had differing reasons for their levels of activity, what stands out is that Icelandic students did not go out of their way to engage with the students in the educational settings; the women were thus required to transform the game themselves through inserting themselves and their voices in the spaces where they previously had not been.

Often, Icelandic students are unwilling to work with non-Icelandic speaking students as they have the sense that the (im)migrant students will not do the work, or that their lack of language skills will make the project harder. As noted before, when it came to group work in class the interviewees tended to work with other (im)migrant students or international students. Analyn gave an example from a class where she and a colleague had to work on a group project. An Icelandic-speaking student who was not in any group was assigned to their group by the teacher. They worked together on the project and at the end of the project there was a presentation: "At the beginning of the presentation, the Icelandic student shared with the class that: 'I was forced to do this in English'" (Analyn). The Icelandic student's remark not only fails to recognize the knowledge the (im)migrant students had brought to the work, but also does not take into account the fact that these students were all working in a language that was their second, third or fourth language. Rather, for the Icelandic student, being required to work with non-Icelandic students and presenting in English was a violation of her rights within the university experience, while Analyn and her colleagues voices were not interesting or worth engaging with.

Ultimately, these students see it as manifestly their job to be outgoing, if they want to participate in student life as well as the classroom dynamic. They willingly adopt a view that indicates relative deprivation: "We mostly learn about Western European issues in our classes, but it is quite interesting" (Mariana). They learn to understand these aspects as acceptable and normal within their study programs, thus to conform to the White norms by not rocking the boat or bringing in 'non-relevant' information to the classroom. When asked how they included their own experiences, knowledge and cultures, they had to stop and reflect and often began by saying "Well, not really." Faith pointed out that in her experience even if the class readings or discussion were not directly related to the topic, she would discuss the experience from her East African perspective. She noted that often when the African or developing world context was discussed it was from a 'deficit' perspective, looking at those 'poor Africans.' She would then argue that factors such as international aid and missionary work from the West had significantly impacted the development of the African continent, "not that African leaders did not bear some of the responsibility" (Faith), but she felt it important to argue that the situations and issues had a complexity and depth that was not apparent in the discussions. Analyn noted that when she had tried to bring her Southeast Asian experience

into the conversation when answering an exam question, she was asked to limit her response to the articles at hand and the European context. While both are students in a program with a highly international focus, their own personal contexts or capital were excluded within their learning environment; they either felt as Faith did, compelled to continue to speak up, or were asked to limit their discussion to the 'topic' at hand.

These examples all point to instances of epistemic violence where the institutional Western knowledge and voice are privileged as the norm. Yet in each of the women's stories their own strategies, background and home knowledge are clearly illustrated. They used these to help them both understand and work with their course materials as well as to, whether welcome or not, share with their co-students. Faith made sure that the deficit discourse on the global south was contrasted with her home experiences. When Analyn related the course topics to her experience to understand the course work she was actively using her home knowledge to deepen her understanding of the topic. Mariana's involvement brought on by her comment that the departmental student council had no international student representative brought attention to the lack of diversity in student affairs and thus prompted change. All of these stories show clear use of (im)migrant capital being used to counter or resist the dominant discourse in the academic field.

As this is a new experience for the University, attention can be more closely paid to how the institution and staff within the institution respond to the needs of this growing body of (im)migrant students. While policy is gradually changing within HE in Iceland, there remains a discrepancy between policy expectations and its actual application within the institution. As noted above the lack of inclusion within and outside of the classroom continued to be an issue for the students interviewed; faculty can thus be more attentive to this aspect and support students by mixing work groups, consisting both of Icelandic students and (im)migrant students in classroom settings. In fact, this kind of arrangement will enhance the learning experience of all. Overt expectations set at the beginning of a course on how students work across social, cultural and ethnic groups is important, and must be led by the teachers rather than students. The challenge of working in English (or other languages) rather than one's heritage language can be presented as an opportunity to practice in a safe space and a means to enhance future employment opportunities. Seeing (im)migrant students as resources, or in other words institutional capital, will enhance both teaching and learning, for example by engaging with the diverse perspectives and experiences the students have to offer. By making expectations more explicit, both the faculty and students can develop more global perspectives, which in the future can enhance students' intercultural skills in the work place.

A further aspect that requires attention for teaching in HE is faculty awareness around the impact of their attitudes and utterances (both implicit and explicit) regarding non-Icelandic students. Overt exclusion such as that which Analyn

mentions with her discussion group must be addressed, through development of encouraging and inclusive practices; an example is fixed discussion group assignment by teachers at the beginning of the term or a rotating group discussion where English is spoken so everyone has a chance to share opinions and experiences, while practicing speaking in a foreign language can be easily facilitated. Such responses as the inclusion of an (im)migrant student within the student council, as Mariana illustrated, is imperative to make sure all students voices receive attention. The subtly of discrimination in this context makes it difficult to pinpoint what has happened, however, it is, as Ahmed (2012) argued, important for all staff to develop awareness of exclusion through diversity training modules as well as open discussions related to the changing demographics within Icelandic HE. The provision of teaching courses to support multicultural understanding and intercultural awareness can be regularly offered through faculty teaching and learning events. Developing a check list that is inclusive; pays attention to a diverse set of academic resources; is attentive to gender, sexual orientation, ability and the North/South as well as East/West divide can be a useful tool for faculty while planning courses and selecting readings for students.

CONCLUSION

While multiculturalism is a current 'buzz word' with long-standing value in the academy in Iceland, we argue that its attempts to create a unity through diversity continues to mask the underlying emphasis on the White male euro-centric educational context. In reality what multiculturalism does is additive without changing the actual paradigm or rather the field: "When students are rewarded only for conformity to perceived 'White norms' or sanctioned for cultural practices (e.g., dress, speech patterns, unauthorized conceptions of knowledge), White property is being rendered alienable" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 59). The inclusion of students from multiple countries, offering texts in English but not translating slides or including the non-Icelandic students in the classroom discussions, does little to shift the actual institutional structure of exclusion and the required White middle-class property which is conferred on the Icelandic-speaking students remains staunchly in place.

The (im)migrant student can still claim to have completed a degree at an institution of higher education, as these women have clearly illustrated. They can be successful within the constraints through adopting relative deprivation perspectives, where readings in English suffice for them to be successful. Yet, as they delved more deeply into their experience, they recognized moments of deprivation, where their stories were not equal to those of the Icelandic students and their home knowledge was less valuable than that of a Western-European. Their ways of resisting the dominant narrative were often as subtle as the implicit narrative of the HE system,

through their acts of resistance by introducing counter narratives from their home culture and inserting their (im)migrant capital into discussions as well as attending events or joining the student council which continued to transform the spaces; as Sara Ahmed (2012) noted, diversity is not something that can be presented as a finished project, but rather is a continuous institutional process.

As this is an emerging area of research in the HE context in Iceland, a great deal remains to be done. The field would benefit from research related both to the (im)migrant student experiences (which is currently in process, both by the authors and other faculty members) and attitudes of faculty and Icelandic-speaking students toward the changing demographics with HE. A broader understanding of both student and faculty experiences throughout the university, comparing for example natural sciences and social sciences, could provide greater insight including a wealth of information on current best practices within classes or programs.

NOTES

1. We draw here on Spivak's definition of epistemic violence. According to her this kind of violence occurs through the marginalization of certain voices within the Western discourse, which belong to the "subaltern" (Spivak, 1998). In fact, epistemic violence not only marginalizes the "subaltern" voices but also "subaltern" knowledge, which does not gain legitimacy within Western institutions such as academia (see Connell, 2007).
2. All the participants signed informed consent documents and were given pseudonyms for this chapter.

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Migrants, Refugees AND Higher Education IN Turkey

YASAR KONDAKCI AND OZGUR ONEN

INTRODUCTION

There have been broad discussions in the media and scholarly world about the Syrian refugee crisis. The Syrian refugee crisis has been tackled from sociological, economic, political and international relations perspectives in detail (Berti, 2015; Cagaptay & Menekşe, 2014; Del Carpio & Wagner, 2015; İçduygu, 2015; Tunç, 2015; Tumen, 2016). There has been an extensive number of analyses on the issue from educational perspectives as well (Culbertson & Constant, 2015; Ertaş & Çiftçi Kıraç, 2017; Sirin, & Rogers-Sirin, 2015). Extensive research output and policy documents have been produced to explain educational dimensions of the Syrian refuge crisis.

As one of the main destinations of the Syrian refugees, Turkey has been one of the main contexts for sociological, political and educational analyses on the Syrian refugee issue. Taking a broader perspective on education of the refugees and immigrants, this paper elaborates on higher education (HE) services for the Syrian refugees in Turkey. Extensive research has been conducted on basic education of the refugees in Turkey (Aras & Yasun, 2016; Culbertson & Constant, 2015; Emin, 2016; Erden, 2017; Sirin & Rogers-Sirin, 2015). These studies, rightfully, highlight the role of basic education in providing psychosocial protection for the refugees. However, very little attention has been paid on HE of the refugees, both in policy formulations for and scholarly analyses on the refugees. The role of HE is overlooked, particularly in the analyses on educational opportunities and experiences of refugees in Turkey. Nevertheless, HE is very critical in dealing with the challenges surrounding lives of

the immigrants and refugees. Based on social justice literature which considers the special role of HE in the life of disadvantaged groups (Kondakci & Orucu, 2016; Shah, Lewis, & Fitzgerald, 2011; Williams, 2007), we argue that HE crucial in helping the refugees truly settle down in the host country because it provides the mechanism for developing the skills and competencies which are needed for transition from education to the workplace. This transition is important to overcome the disparities between the ordinary citizens and immigrants and refugees.

The argument that HE plays a vital role in the lives of refugees brings us to the second argument about our context, Turkey. We assert that understanding the HE services and practices for refugees in Turkey necessitates taking a broader look into the country. Turkey has played a role in every refugee incidence in the history of the Eurasia and the Middle East regions. Hence, Turkey has undertaken a very unique humanitarian mission in almost every political conflict in these regions. This role can be defined as being a regional hub harboring displaced people from Europe, Caucasia, the Middle East and even Central Asia (e.g. Afghanistan) (Baldwin-Edwards, 2006; Collyer, Düvell, & Haas, 2012; İçduygu, 2000; İçduygu & Keyman, 2000). In every political conflict in the region, Turkey tends to be a natural hub harboring people escaping from conflicts in their home countries. We argue that this mission is related to the social, cultural and historical background of the country. Below, we elaborate on the basic characteristics assigning the mission of being a regional hub to Turkey.

If our argument about the central role of Turkey in the lives of refugees is clear, then it even easier to understand how this mission has shaped the country's key systems and structures according to this role. This brings us to our third argument, that Turkish HE is one of the key systems which is closely connected to international developments. Several scholars identify close connection between HE and the international politics of the country (Aypay, 2004; Mizikaci, 2005). HE internationalization in Turkey, in particular, has been aligned with the country's international politics. As a result, HE internationalization follows completely different rationales compared to the key traditional destinations of international students (Kondakci, 2011).

In the following sections we elaborate on these three arguments in order to clarify the role of HE in the lives of the refugees, migrants and displacing people in general, as well as for the case of the Syrian refugees in Turkey.

GEOGRAPHICAL, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL ATTRIBUTES OF TURKEY

Understanding the current refuge crisis of Turkey is closely related to understanding its geopolitical, historical, cultural and economic characteristics. As stated above, key features of Turkey make it a showcase in analyses on refugees, which is evident in the recent Syrian refugee crisis. Turkey, together with Lebanon and Jordan, attracted most

of the refugees who fled from the Syrian civil war. What is different about Turkey is that it has always been a showcase in refugee crises in the region, seen as we illustrate some of the refuge crises that Turkey has encountered in twentieth century below. Understanding the role and experiences of Turkey in refugee crises is closely related to extracting key features of the country. Below we elaborate on these features in detail.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

Turkey is located in the intersection of three distinctive geographical regions, Caucasia, Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The country is generally referred to as a 'bridge' in many geopolitical analyses. Being a natural bridge between politically and economically problematic regions as well as relatively stable and wealthy Europe makes it a natural crossway from the Middle East and Caucasia into Europe. Hence, tens of thousands immigrants dreaming a better life in Europe attempt to cross Turkey to reach their European destinations (Collyer et al., 2012; İçduygu, 2005; İçduygu & Yükseker, 2012; Özdemir, 2016). This makes Turkey a transit route for people who are trying to reach Europe (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000); however, significant number of them opt to stay in Turkey. The country is surrounded by the Mediterranean, Aegean and Black seas. Turkey also shares borders with Georgia on the north-east; Armenia, Azerbaijan and Iran on the east; and Iraq and Syria on the south-east. In total, it has borders with these countries as long as 2,403 km (Boyraz, 2015) which is very hard to control for irregular, and even for regular, migration activities.

İçduygu and Keyman (2000) highlighted the double-sided reality of Turkey concerning international migration. Turkey's situation is somewhat different from other countries, since it is not only used as a transit route to Europe but also receives migrants from other countries and sends migrants to other, generally Western ,countries. Indeed, in the recent past Turkey was characterized as a sending country in the global migration scheme, supplying the manpower for blue-collar jobs (İçduygu, 2000). Again, due to its geographical position, Turkey became a transit route for international migration originating from the politically problematic regions and heading towards Europe (Collyer et al., 2012; İçduygu, 2005; İçduygu & Yükseker, 2012; Triandafyllidou & Maroukis, 2012).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historically, Turkey took over the heritage of many civilizations including the Romans, Seljuks and the Ottomans. Moreover, the country shares the same historical and cultural background with many communities in the Balkans, Russian Federation, Central Asia and the Middle East. Turkey is defined as the motherland

(İçduygu & Keyman, 2000), the place to go in the case of political conflict for many people who have historical ties with Turks. As a result, all political conflicts in the Caucasia, Central Asia, the Balkans and the Middle East have impacted Turkey in terms of receiving refugees. Given these historical ties, it becomes clear why several different waves of migration targeted Turkey in the twentieth century.

Several scholars provided overviews of migration movements towards Turkey. Çavuşoğlu (2007) showed that in the twentieth century three phases of mass migration from the Balkans targeted Turkey; from 1923 to 1951; 1952 to 1967 and 1968 to 1996, which attracted 175,392 people to Turkey. In another mass migration movement from Romania between 1923 and 1970, 121,619 immigrants came to Turkey. Later, because of the political conflicts, 387,592 people were forced to migrate from Bulgaria and came to Turkey (Geray, 1970). Geray (1970) traced the mass migrations in early periods of modern Turkey also, such as how World War II caused mass migration targeting Turkey. Between 1940 and 1949, 91,490 immigrants came to Turkey of which 67,000, including some Turks, used it as a transit country to go to different countries later (Geray, 1970). It is important to note that during the twentieth century unrecorded mass migration was also common. According to Çavuşoğlu (2007), the migration originated from the former lands of the Ottoman Empire, which suggest the migration targeting Turkey has historical referents.

Although the migration movements covered until now in the history of Turkey are closely related to historical and national ties with the communities in the Balkans, Caucasia and the Middle East, Turkey has witnessed migration movements which are not related to its national background. For example, just after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, approximately 150,000 people came to Turkey in 1920; however, later on most of these people left Turkey to travel to another country (Karadoğan, 2011), which may be considered as one of the first transit migration through Turkey. Another mass migration movement, which is not related to the national background of the country, originated from Iran after the Islamic revolution (Deniz, 2014). Danış (2004) indicated that after the revolution more than 1,500,000 Iranians migrated to Turkey. However, as in the case of the migration after the Bolshevik Revolution, this was mostly transit migration. Close ties such as the agreement signed between Turkey and Iran in 1960 allowing their citizens to travel to each other without visas, historical closeness of these countries and relatives living in both countries makes it easy to migrate to or through Turkey (Danış, 2004). The final mass migration movement, which was not related to the common national background with Turkey, originated from Iraq. Just after the Iran-Iraq war, which took eight years, and the invasion of Kuwait by the Saddam regime, around 500,000 Kurdish minorities in Iraq fled into Turkey to escape from the Saddam regime (Hale, 1992; Özdemir, 2016). As was the case with Syrian refugees who were refused by European people, most Iraqi Kurds were refused by

Western countries (Özdemir, 2016). Some of these refugees returned back after securing the northern part of their country, however some of them remained in Turkey after the war (Özdemir, 2016).

Special attention should be given to the migration during the early years of the Republican era Turkey after the Turkish War of Independence between 1919 and 1922. Turkish and Greek governments signed an agreement which forced people to move their homelands and migrate to their "protector countries" (Baldwin-Edwards, 2006). The so-called exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece results was a mass movement of people between two countries. Turks living in Greece migrated to Turkey while Greeks living in Turkey migrated to Greece. But this migration is generally accepted as turning to motherland for migrants, although they are called 'göçmen' (migrant) among Turkish citizens (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000).

It is possible to extend the examples to mass migration from different countries located in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasia, as well as Afghanistan to Turkey. These movements support our argument that regardless of ethnic or national background people tend to choose coming to Turkey when experiencing conflict in their home countries. Such movements of mass migration are very common in the history of Turkey which has developed an extensive experience of receiving immigrants; this is instrumental in developing the country's capacity to inhabit these people and help them integrate into their new setting. However, the recent mass migration is not comparable to any previous in terms of scale. Sharing a 911 km length of border with Syria, Turkey becomes a very attractive destination both for transit and other migrants (Boyraz, 2015). According to very recent figures, there are more than 3,000,000 registered refugees in Turkey (UNHCR, 2018), one of the largest mass international migrations (Seydi, 2014). However, according to a newspaper article Deutsche Welle, (2017) the early numbers were underestimated and it is possible that the number of Syrian immigrants reaches about 3,500,000 as the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) report suggests (2018). Additionally, İçduygu (2015) argues that these numbers do not include unregistered refugees.

LEGAL BASE FOR REFUGEES IN TURKEY

One may expect highly institutionalized organizations and policies about regular and irregular migration activities in Turkey because of frequent exposure to international migration movements. However, it is should be noted that Turkey did not develop a specific legal regulation for refugees or migrants until 1994. İçduygu and Keyman (2000) implied that this might be related to the profile of the country in the global migration movements, since Turkey was an emigrant country until the 1980s (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000), apart from those coming from former Ottoman lands.

One of the main regulations about refugees and migrants is the Geneva Convention signed by Turkey in 1951. However, Turkey has advanced some reservation on the convention regarding the geographic origin of migration (Danış, 2004). Turkey used to give temporary asylum status to migrants who are originating from the East; however, migrants originating from Europe are considered as refugees. But Turkey also signed some other international conventions which are indirectly related to migration and refugees such as the European Convention on Human Rights (signed in 1950), the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (signed in 1954), the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (signed in 1961), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (signed in 1966), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (signed in 1984), the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (signed in 2002), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (signed in 1989), the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (signed in 2000) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (signed in 2006) (UNHCR Turkey, 2018). According to Danış (2004), these conventions have a limited power to force Turkey to accept migrants as refugees and fulfill their education needs. The legal status of migrants originating from the east is an ongoing dispute between Turkey and the European Union (Deniz, 2014).

The increasing mass migration movements towards Turkey in the 80s and 90s forced the country to establish a comprehensive legal base for dealing with international migration. Turkey developed "Regulation on the Procedures and the Principles Related to Mass Influx and the Foreigners Arriving in Turkey or Requesting Residence Permits with the Intention of Seeking Asylum from a Third Country," which shifts the responsibility of locating the migrants from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to Turkey, while the authority of defining the refugee status (except for the Syrians) is still held by the UNHCR (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000). Despite the new regulation, an insufficient legal base limits allocation of authority, materials and means for serving the immigrants in Turkey.

Turkey has recently attempted to build the legal base toward immigration further. In 2013 the "Law on Foreigners and International Protection" was issued by the parliament (DGMM, 2016a). This law provides an extensive description on managing international migration. However, some of the principles in Turkey's approach to international migration were retained in this law. Turkey retains its position in defining migrants from Europe as refugees while defining a migrant originating from the parts of the world as "conditional refugee" (İçduygu, 2015). Additionally, "temporary protection" status is created for mass influx events where it is hard to enroll refugees (Tunç, 2015). In other words, with this law Turkey

complies with the obligations of international treaties by giving the immigrants refugee rights or conditional refugee rights (Tunç, 2015). However, Turkey retains the right of deporting the immigrants, at least, to a third country. In other words, Turkey attempts to make immigration manageable while complying with international treaties. As a result, settlement, health and educational services are fulfilled according to this law and related international agreements/conventions listed above.

Given the legal base governing international migration in Turkey, it can be argued that Turkey is performing beyond its capacity to protect the immigrants. Turkey, as the signatory of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, has offered a generous support, which goes beyond the legal obligations, to more than three million Syrians. Compared to the many other signatory countries, Turkey is the only country which confronted the social, cultural and political consequence of international migration originating from politically problematic regions, mainly Syria. Besides some exceptions, the financial consequences of hosting the Syrian refugees are being handled by Turkey, a contrast to Western developed countries in particular who while being signatory countries of 1951 Refugee Convention developed intentional policies refusing to fulfill their legal obligations towards Syrian refugees (Erden, 2017). Indeed, Western countries heightened their borders (both literally and metaphorically) in order to discourage Syrian refugees coming to their territories. It is important to note that other economically developed countries (e.g. Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia) have also been underperforming in protecting the Syrian refugees. Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan were three regional hosts of Syrian refugees; according to Erden (2017), these three countries' extraordinary reaction to undertake the responsibility of hosting the refugees cannot be explained solely by international law. Rather, it has deep anthropological roots or orientations. The cultural ties going back to historical togetherness in the same geographical location has emerged as a strong factor motivating these countries to embrace Syrians refugees, which goes beyond the "rights-based refuge assistance" (Erden, 2017). Erden concluded that in the current international political atmosphere it is difficult to understand and improve the status of the refugees by simply assessing legal documents and treaties; rather, we need to have local perspective decoding the cultural codes that are shaping the approach of host countries towards the refugees.

EDUCATION FOR REFUGEES

It is commonly stated that educational services for refugees are key to their adaptation to their new setting and improving their quality of life (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Aras & Yasun, 2016; Erden, 2017; Sinclair, 2001). However, in many cases providing educational services to migrants and refuges is not the priority of the key authorities. The false assumption that the conflict in Syria would not last very

long is the main cause of why Turkey delayed taking radical measures towards the Syrian refugees at early stages of the refugee crisis; however, when it became evident that the conflict would not end in the near future and that Syrian refugees would not be able to go back to their homeland, Turkey started to reconsider its policies towards the refugees radically (Ertaş & Çiftçi Kıraç, 2017; İçduygu, 2015). Despite this reality in relation to the education of the refugees, the situation in Turkey has changed/evolved significantly and favorably. Although Turkey has been struggling with the size of the mass migration originating from Syria, it is still performing at a high level in providing educational resources to Syrian refugees. For example, in the first years of the refugee crisis 83 percent of the refugees aged between six to 11 had been enrolled in schools while the same level is not evident for the refugees who reside outside of the camps (Sirin & Rogers-Sirin, 2015). Despite the challenge surrounding refugees who are residing outside of the camps, according to recent figures there are around 1,028,882 Syrian children in Turkey aged between five and 18 with conditional refugee or temporary protection status (DGMM, 2016a); when the 0–4 age group is also counted, the number increases to 1,699,406 (DGMM, 2016a). According to Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency's (DEMP) report (2014), 15.4 percent of refugees who are six years old or above are illiterate and only 8.7 percent of these individuals have HE, while nearly half of the refugees (49.9 percent) do not have any occupation. These figures are evidence that the Syrians refugees were already deprived from quality educational services when they were in their home country.

The magnitude of the task of developing and delivering educational services for Syrian refugees forced Turkey to implement different regulations to respond to this task. Educational needs of the refugees, migrants and asylum seekers in Turkey are managed accordingly to the "Law on Foreigners and International Protection, 2013" (DGMM, 2016a). According to this law, Turkey now does not send back or direct the refugees or asylum seekers in case of they are under threat of arrest or death. At the same time, as a part of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Turkey will provide educational services to the children under protection (Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 19, 24, 28). Parallel to these articles, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (2013) also provides certain regulations to grant educational services to the refugees. According to this law, refugees have right to continue their education at primary and secondary levels, while the Ministry of National Education has the primary responsibilities in delivering these educational services (Article, 59/1-d). Additionally, DGMM, which is founded by the same law, has also been given responsibilities for responding to educational needs of foreigners (refugees, asylum seekers and migrants) in cooperation with public and non-public organizations (civic organizations, unions, NGOs). The DGMM's primary responsibility is to inform refugees about educational services and facilitate their access to educational services. In addition, it is important to highlight that this body has

the same responsibility towards other services for refugees in Turkey. DGMM is responsible from informing the refugees how to reach public and private services (e.g. employment opportunities, economic activity, health services as well as social and cultural communication courses) (Article, 96/3).

The Law of Foreigners and International Protection has created a certain level of dynamism on the part of key authorities in Turkey responsible for educational services. The Ministry of National Education at primary and secondary education levels and the HE Council at HE levels have issued orders and decisions towards developing and delivering educational services for refugees in Turkey. Seydi (2014) noted that the immediate education services at primary levels were delivered in the temporary settlements (camps), which were organized by the Ministry of Education. Assuming that the refugees will go back to their countries after the war in the near future, education in the camps is delivered in Arabic but according to Turkish curriculum (Seydi, 2014). The refugees are also accepted to common public schools at a later stage (DGMM, 2016a).

Considering that the clashes in Syria will last longer and refugees may not have the opportunity to go back to the homeland, the Ministry of Education issued two circulars in April and September 2013. The circulars aim to organize schools for Syrian refugees and identify and appoint teachers who can teach in schools attended by Syrian refugees. According to the second circular, both Turkish teachers and volunteers from Syria who are among the refugees may teach in these schools (Emin, 2016). The second circular in particular shows the challenge of finding teachers in the face of the language barrier. Emin (2016) stated that these two circulars did not deal with the need for education opportunities for Syrians not living in the temporary settlements. In September 2014, the Ministry of Education issued another circular on Educational Services for Foreigners (Directorate General of Basic Education, 2014/21). This circular authorized local governors at provincial levels to open temporary education centers even outside the refugee camps, where refugees who didn't have official documents and residence permits could be enrolled the schools by their oral statements. This circular brought flexibility and gave latitude to local authorities to respond to education needs of the refugees.

According to the DGMM 2016 Migration Report (DGMM, 2016a), in 432 temporary educational centers 293,039 students are provided access to education. Considering the economic status of the Syrians, materials and scholarship are provided to the students attending these education centers. As a result, it can be argued that Syrians who are settled in the temporary settlements (camps) are provided with adequate educational services. However, the latest DGMM annual report (DGMM, 2016b) indicates that there is still a need for improvements. The UNHCR Education Report (2016) report suggested that considering the whole school age population of refugees in Turkey, only 39 percent are attending primary and secondary schools in 2016. More importantly, the report warned the schooling

rates decrease as educational levels increases; the schooling rate at secondary level decreases to 13 percent in Turkey. However, considering the status of refugees in other countries and the scale of migration in Turkey, it can be argued that Turkey is still performing very high in schooling of secondary school-age refugees. In total 459,521 primary and secondary school students attend public schools with their Turkish peers or the temporary educational centers (DGMM, 2016a).

In addition to the highly structured educational services developed and delivered by the Ministry of National Education, there are other educational services developed and delivered by different groups, such as various courses (DEMP, 2014). An examination of the courses attended by refugees reveals that refugees mainly prefer attending religious educational courses (Quran) (37.1 percent), followed by Turkish language courses (26.7 percent), tailoring courses (10.4 percent), handcrafts courses (4.3 percent) and hairdressing courses (3.9 percent); in general, the Syrians expressed satisfaction from these courses (86.5 percent). In the same study, females expressed a slightly higher motivation to attend these courses (56 percent) compared to males (45 percent) (DEMP, 2014).

Finally, it must be stated that training teachers is also an important issue in developing educational opportunities for Syrian refugees. Several measures have been adapted in order to 'educate the educators'; as stated above, teachers in the temporary education centers are either Arabic speaking Turkish teachers or other voluntary Syrian refugees. In both cases, developing teaching skills for serving the refugees is important. As a result, the Ministry of National Education developed training programs for personnel and educators teaching in the temporary education centers. In 2013, the Ministry of National Education and UNICEF developed the "Education of Educators Seminar" to educators who teach in the temporary education centers (Seydi, 2014).

The issue of how the Syrian refugees assess educational services is an important concern. Some comprehensive studies assessed Syrian refugees' perception and satisfaction towards/from the educational services they receive in Turkey. In general, they are satisfied with the educational services, but a significant number (11.2 percent) indicated they are not satisfied with the education they receive in Turkey (DEMP, 2014). Some of the key challenges awaiting solutions include improving access to education, improving education opportunities for adults, overcoming the language barrier in education (Wahby, Ahmadzadeh, Çorabatır, Hashem, & Husseini, 2014), improving the guidance and counseling services as well as improving the capacity of the counseling services, expanding special education services, training and informing Syrian families about the education of their children, identifying school age children out of school and developing policies towards schooling these children, as well as addressing the issue of how and with which content to train Syrian students (Arabic and Syrian Curriculum or Turkish language and Turkish Curriculum).

HE FOR REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN TURKEY

The literature highlights the role of educational services at primary and secondary levels in reducing the impact of forced displacement. In Turkey extensive scholarly work and practices have been conducted to improve the educational status of the refugees and immigrants, which is extensively reported above. However, relatively less attention is given the role of HE on refugees at HE level. In this study we argue that HE serves additional functions in the lives of refugees in mitigating the impact of displacement. In addition to mitigating the psychosocial impact of forced displacement, as in the case of pre-school, primary and secondary level, HE functions as a key integrative mechanism into economic structures of the host country. Education and specifically HE is the key tool to adapt into a new country, establish a life and develop the prospect of citizenship here. In the context of disadvantaged students, Williams (2007) and Shah et al. (2011) discussed the issue in relation to improving the employability of the students, which is essential to handle the deprived status of these groups. As stated above, Turkey experienced several migration waves in its history; we argue that HE has been functioning as a key integrative mechanism for refugees originating from different parts of the world.

Before presenting the detailed HE services for the Syrian refugees it is important to give a broad idea about the capacity of the Turkish HE System, which is important in assessing the capacity of the system to absorb the unplanned increase in the demand for HE. Turkey has invested hugely in its HE over the past two decades, increasing its spending on education at all levels significantly. According to OECD (2018a) data, Turkey has spent 7.8 percent of its GDP to primary and secondary education, as well as 4.6 percent on its HE. Although the total expenditures are under the OECD average, Turkey has increased the amount of resources allocated to its education systems, while the share of HE also increased. As a result, according to HE Council (HEC, 2018a) data, 7,116,987 students are enrolled in Turkey's graduate and undergraduate programs in 185 HE institutions (HEC, 2018a), while 155,846 academic staff members are employed in HE institutions of Turkey (HEC, 2018a). Subsequently, Turkey provides HE opportunity to 30.5 percent of its 251–34 age group population (OECD, 2018b). The capacity of the Turkish HE System is below the OECD average but higher than many countries in the region it is located. Understanding the capacity of Turkish HE is particularly important in discussing HE opportunities for refugees.

HE SERVICES FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES

According to 2017 data there are 15,042 Syrian students receiving HE in different universities in Turkey, the highest amount (13.92 percent) among all foreign students (n=108,076) followed by Azerbaijan (13.77 percent, n=14878) and

Turkmenistan (9.64 percent, n=10,418) (HEC, 2018b). Although Syrian student have opportunity to attend every public university in the country, they mainly tend to enroll in universities located in the provinces along the Syrian border such as Adana, Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, and Mersin as well as universities located in İstanbul (HEC, 2018b). Of the total number, 1,063 Syrian students attend two-year vocational training schools, 12,467 attend undergraduate programs, 1,157 attend master's programs and 277 attend doctorate programs. It is important to note that male students (9,738; 65 percent) account for nearly double the total of females (5,304; 35 percent), which indicates that gender-based disparity adds to the disparity caused by immigration status. These numbers are much more dramatic at graduate programs, as of the students who attend a master's program only 289 (25 percent) are female while 868 are male (75 percent). Of the 277 doctoral students 199 (78 percent) are male while 78 (22 percent) are female. These figures suggest that female refugee students are much more disadvantaged in accessing HE.

The figures on enrollment of Syrian students in HE are related to intentional policies of the Ministry of National Education and the HE Council of Turkey. The HE Council in particular, the top authority in Turkey for HE, issued notices to universities located in provinces along the Syrian border to address the HE needs of Syrian students. According to the notice, in assessing the eligibility of the Syrians for access to HE, these students' previous educational records (diploma) will be considered regardless of their qualifications being gained in Turkey or Syria. Besides, Syrian students are exempt from tuition fees, as is the case for ordinary Turkish citizens. These two practices even caused significant debate in the media and parliament because Turkish students have to take a very competitive exam for transition from secondary school to HE (Seydi, 2014).

Besides, Syrian students are provided with scholarships in different forms. According to the records of the HE Council 1,275 Syrian students are granted scholarships, which are partly paid by international organizations (DGMM, 2016a). In order to eliminate the language barrier 1,109 Syrian students were registered to Turkish language courses because in the Turkish universities, located near the border, medium is Turkish. The number of students with scholarships is low compared to the total number of students in Turkey. Therefore, there are different attempts to improve financial supports for Syrian students at HE level. For example, two Turkish state universities announced a scholarship, the Global Platform for Syrian Students, where 505 scholarships are pledged, which in total value 510,400 € (HEC, 2018c).

The HE Council also supports Syrian refugee academics by offering academic positions. In total, 352 Syrian academics work in Turkish HE institutions. Of this number, 13 are full professors, 14 are associate professors, 102 are assistant professors, 218 are instructors and five hold specialist positions (HEC, 2018d). The

HE Council established a unit in its central management section to address every issue regarding HE services towards the refugees (YÖK bünyesinde Suriyeli öğrenciler için birim oluşturulacak [there will be a unit on HEC for Syrian Students], 10.03.2017).

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

As stated above, HE is considered as a key tool for ensuring employability of the refugees. However, the difficulty of access and the length of study period may discourage Syrian students attending HE. Therefore, Turkey initiated several mechanisms to ensure development of skills to support Syrian students' employability and integration into work life, which are expected to contribute to their adaptation. Turkey also indicated some amendments towards regulating the employment of the Syrians. In the Temporary Protection Circular (2014), under the section titled "access to labor market", conditions of refugees' employment is defined. Turkish governments developed in-service training opportunities for people under temporary protection. The trainees may apply for jobs after their training (internship) in the same workplace.

Several vocational training courses were also offered specifically to the Syrians, such as tailoring courses, handcrafts courses and hairdressing courses. In general, the Syrians expressed satisfaction from these courses (86.5 percent). In the same study, the females expressed a slightly higher motivation to attend these courses (56 percent) compared to males (45 percent).

In addition to these non-formal vocational training courses, Turkey opened access for Syrian refugees to vocational high schools. As stated above, 1,063 attend two-year vocational training schools in Turkey (HEC, 2018b). Besides, there are some other plans to promote vocational and technical education among Syrian students which may improve the number of Syrian students benefiting from HE in Turkey (YÖK üyesinden Suriyeli öğrenciler için önemli açıklama [Important announcement for Syrian students from HEC member], 14.02.2017).

SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF TURKISH HE

It is possible to drive ties between refugees and internationalization in HE in Turkey. We argue that the recent Syrian refugee issue confirmed the position of Turkey in the global scheme of internationalization in HE. In the first section above we reported the major mass migration from different countries in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasia, as well as even Central Asia to Turkey, in the previous cen-

tury. We again reported Turkey's geographical, historical and cultural characteristics as underlining the cause of the mass migration towards Turkey, confirming that Turkey's key characteristics make it a regional hub for the displaced people in its region. In almost every political turmoil in the Middle East, Balkans, Caucasia and even Central Asia, Turkey is considered as a regional hub to harbor the forced immigrants. Moreover, Turkey's status as a role model for these countries strengthens its regional hub position in the region. Compared to many Balkan, Middle Eastern and Arab countries in the region, it has a relatively healthy functioning parliamentary democracy and open capitalistic economy. As a result, Turkey becomes a role model for these countries to transform their political and economic systems as well as sharing its experiences to these countries to help them move toward a western political and economic system (Aypay 2004). The regional hub position of Turkey in international politics is extended to HE. The recent Syrian refugee issue strengthened the unique character of Turkey's internationalization in HE. Figure 12.1 presents the student flow from three politically troubled countries in the Middle East and Central Asia, which evidences the aforementioned statements about the political tensions and regional hub positions of Turkey.
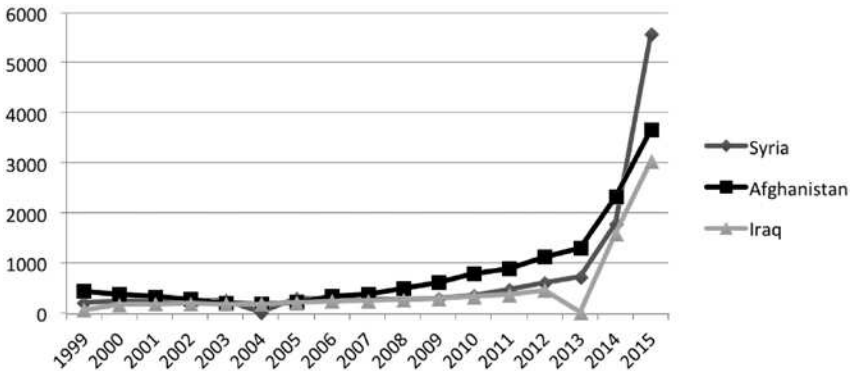
Figure 12.1. Student flow from Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq to Turkey (Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics. http://data.uis.unesco.org, data retrieved on January 28, 2018). Please note the year difference to explain the difference between HEC data given in the text and UNESCO Institute for Statistics data in this figure.

These facts suggest that the underlying rationales of internationalization in Turkey are different from those which are valid for traditional destinations of foreign students. Unlike many other countries, especially traditional destinations of international students, Turkey's prominent rationales in HE are different (Bulut-Sahin, 2017; Kondakci, 2011). Economic rationales are not very evident in internationalization of HE in Turkey. Rather, Turkey's internationalization in HE is strongly

driven by political, cultural and historical ties with other countries in the region. Therefore, Turkey's HE internationalization is in the form of regionalization rather than a global internationalization (Kondakci et al., 2016). Parallel to this argument, a recent global analysis showed that Turkey has a strong network within its own region in attracting international students (Kondakci, Bedenlier, & Zawacki-Richter, 2018). Looking at the top sending countries verifies the result of the global analysis; according to recent data (UNESCO UIS, 2018) Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Greece, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan are the top student sending countries for Turkey.

The key strategy and practices of Turkey in HE are aligned with regional internationalization. For example, since the early 1990s Turkey has been utilizing a scholarship policy for students from Azerbaijan, Central Asia, Turkic Republics and some Balkan countries. In 2006, around 5,500 international students were receiving scholarships from the Turkish government. Recently, the scholarship strategy redefined under the name of Turkey's Scholarship, which has been extended to cover more countries around the world. The type of scholarship is also varied to include undergraduate and graduate levels; according to recent statistics Turkey's Scholarship receives more than 100,000 applications in 2017 (YTB, 2018).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper reports the policy and practices of Turkey towards Syrian refugees in the educational context. It specifically focuses on HE policy practices which suggest several insights for Turkey and the rest of the world in relation to the role of education in managing refugee and migration issues.

The first insight we derive from Turkey's policy and practices for Syrian refugees in HE are related to its capacity in HE. Turkey's HE has contributed to absorb the impact of refugees on the country. Turkey has managed to build policy and practices to respond to the demand coming from refugees, while its HE system exhibited the flexibility and dynamism in dealing with the problem. We argue that the dynamism, interestingly, originates from its public nature and being guided by the notion of public benefit. It is not clear whether the type of HE systems owned by traditional destinations of international students, with a self-serving mission rather than serving the state, would produce the same performance and dynamism in responding to the needs of the refugees.

The second insight we derive from Turkey's policy and practices for Syrian refugees in HE is related to the deep divide between Middle Eastern countries and Western countries in approaching the refugee issue, which is related to cultural backgrounds and the divide in the politics at a global level. The rise in extreme right and fundamentalism around the globe, specifically in Western countries, resulted

in the failure of these countries to fulfil responsibilities resulting from international agreement. It is not difficult to anticipate that the refugee issue will deepen and widen fundamentalist and populist politics, which will endanger the state of the migrants and refugees in the West. In particular, the populist and extremist political leadership will deepen the refuge crisis; these political developments will impact internationalization in HE also (Altbach & de Wit, 2015).

The third insight we derive from Turkey's policy and practices for Syrian refugees in HE is related to the impact of HE as an integrative mechanism in the life of the refugees. In the country's history HE has played an important role in integrating migrants to Turkish society while preserving their cultural and ethnic roots. Although Turkey has an extensive experience in receiving and settling migrants and refugees, the recent case with the Syrian refugees is different in scale. However, the cultural and historical ties with different ethnic groups in Syria contributed to manage the issue in HE as well (Erden, 2017).

The fourth insight we derive from Turkey's policy and practices for Syrian refugees in HE is related to the close ties between international migration and internationalization in HE. Turkey is one of the countries where rationales for internationalization in HE are very closely related to its international relations in politics (Kondakci, 2011).

The analysis of educational policy and practices of Turkey towards the Syrian refugees suggest that education has a vital role in mitigating the impact of migration both for migrants and for Turkey itself. Education gives opportunities for integration and adaptation in Turkey. Considering Turkey's geographical, historical and cultural characteristics, it can be argued that its regional hub position will be maintained in the future. As a result, Turkey will continue to attract migrants and refugees from its neighboring countries. Therefore, education and particularly HE will continue to play a critical role in mitigating the impact of migration.

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Special Practical Cases OF Higher Education Accessibility FOR Migrants AND Refugees

Circular Migration

AND THE Former USSR

Experiences and Conflicts of
Graduates from the Palestinian
Arab Minority in Israel

KHALID ARAR, KUSSAI HAJ-YEHIA, FADIYA IBRAHIM
AND MUHAMMAD KHALAILY

INTRODUCTION

Following the War of 1948 between the newly created State of Israel and the surrounding Arab states, the Israeli government viewed the native Arab population that remained within its borders as a security risk. The Palestinian people's "Nakhba" (i.e., catastrophe), as well as the enactment of the Israeli Citizenship Law imposing citizenship status on the 156,000 Palestinian Arabs (PA) remaining in Israel and the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan and of Gaza to Egypt, cut off the geographic and cultural connection between the Palestinian Arabs in Israel (PAI) and their Palestinian connections outside the new Israeli political entity. The application of a military regime on the PAI formally severed their ties with Arab and other countries (Morris, 1991; Zureik, 1976). The military regime was imposed mainly to prevent hostile actions of the remaining PA population, control and supervise the movements of these citizens and prevent the return of PA displaced by the war to their villages and lands, many of which were given for settlement by Jewish immigrants (Morris, 1991).

The military regime divided Arab society in Israel into its different minority components according to religious affiliation and ethnic origin. Absentee Property Laws were passed and executed to confiscate Arab-owned lands and encourage the Arab village population to move to larger villages and towns. Arab citizens were required to obtain travel permits when traveling outside their villages during day or

night time until 1959, as well as from 1963 solely for night time travel. The War of 1948 led to various negative consequences for the Arab population remaining inside Israel, including isolation from and loss of the PA elite which had fled or was exiled. These processes strengthened the PAI's desire to attain higher education (HE) as a possible path to overcome the marginal status that they now endured (Ghanim, 2001).

For those Arabs who wanted to study HE in Israel during the military regime, restrictions on students' movement and the need for permits which they were required to present to all authorities limited their access to many HE institutions. Financially, many Arab families could not afford to fund their children's further studies, meaning that many school graduates were forced to abandon their studies after high school to assist in financially supporting their families. Nevertheless, during this period there were families who were able to overcome these obstacles and send their children to Israeli universities, although these children found it difficult to gain acceptance to prestigious faculties (Mar'i, 1978). Therefore, many Arab students preferred to study in teacher training colleges or foreign universities.

HE ABROAD: POLICIES OF THE FORMER COMMUNIST BLOC

From 1948 and until the termination of the military regime in 1966, PA citizens of the state were unable to travel abroad for further education. From the 1970s, with the annulment of the regime, PAI students flocked to universities of what was then known as the communist bloc, the former USSR (Nakhleh, 1979), since they were awarded full scholarships by the Israeli Communist Party and assisted in their travel and assimilation within organized programs.

Nakhleh (1979) noted that in 1979 close to 300 Palestinian students received such scholarships from the Israeli Communist Party and that 50–60 students travelled each year to continue their studies in the communist bloc. From 1986 till 1996, 1,096 PA students from Israel completed their studies in the USSR. According to Al-Haj (1996), 60 percent of these students graduated in medicine, 20 percent completed engineering degrees and the remainder completed degrees in law, political sciences and economics. In fact, this was the first window of opportunity, opening a pathway to the outside world for the PAI. The USSR, therefore, played a major role in breaking the scientific blockade imposed on this population in Israel. The PA students who migrated beyond the boundaries of their homeland immediately after the demise of the military regime found themselves acclimatizing within a multidimensional international project involving people from many different nations, an empowering encounter for them (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). This experience undoubtedly had far-reaching influence on the shaping and development of an educated elite for the PAI, which would eventually undertake a leading role in the internal affairs of their society and its communication with the greater world.

Subsequently, PAI searched for a venue for their further studies abroad and reached Western European states such as Germany and Italy. In parallel, the USA began to absorb PAI students who won scholarships for their doctoral studies (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016). The reunification of Germany in 1990 and the increase in Germany's living standards led to a drop in those turning to Germany for further education and, in parallel, in the 1990s there was an accelerated flow of PA students from Israel to HE in Romania (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014) as well as to other European states such as Moldavia, Ukraine, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Turkey (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016).

However, the most meaningful change in target states for PAI students occurred in the 1990s, after the signing of the peace treaty with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, opening a new window of opportunity to study in the universities of a geographically close neighbor with a similar Arab culture and language (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). The last turning point was marked in 2007 when PAI students began to turn to the Palestinian universities in Palestinian Authority territories[1] in the West Bank. In the years 2011–2012 the number of PAI students studying abroad rose to 9,260 while 30,530 additional PAI students studied in HE institutions in Israel (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016). Figure 13.1 below shows the increase in the numbers of PA students studying abroad from 1929–2012.
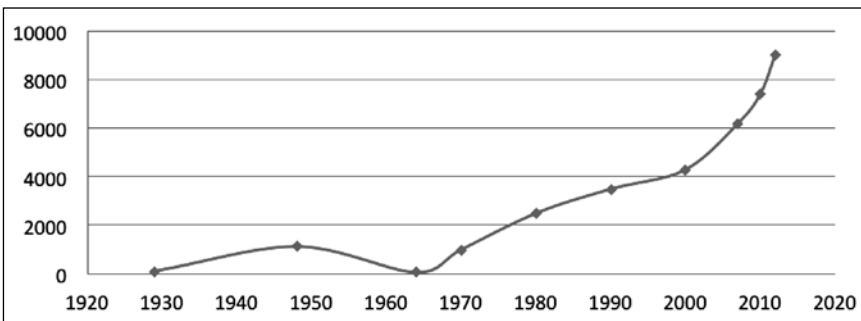
Figure 13.1. Palestinian students studying abroad 1929–2012 (from Mandatory Palestine and later from Israel). Source: Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016.

MIGRATION FOR HE: CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATION AND IDENTITY FORMATION

Many scholars have attempted to explain the phenomenon of international migration. Faist (2000) denoted three levels of influences on migration: (a) the micro-level: the degree of freedom or autonomy that the potential migrant has to decide to stay in their country of origin or move on; (b) the macro-level: political and

economic structures of the country of origin and the country of destination that affect inter- and trans-national relations; and (c) the meso-level: the set of social and symbolic ties among family, religious ethnic and national groups, including their structure, strength, density, and content, as well as the resources inherent in these ties, namely social capital.

At the macro-level, Neoclassical Economic Theory relied mainly on supply benefit factors, namely demand and cost, to explain motivation for migration, indicating three main reasons that inspired an individual to migrate, the demand or "pull" of the target country, the supply or "push" from the country of origin and assistance of social networks (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Altbach (2010) theorized that moving to a new space to acquire HE constitutes migration for social mobility, motivated by "pull" factors of the target host location and "push" factors from the region of origin. Push factors may be historical, colonial, cultural, economic or geographic, while the consequent migration may involve lingual, cultural and financial difficulties and necessitate distancing from family and home (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). Adding consideration of micro-level aspects, Lee (1966) argued that four main factors contribute to a person's decision to move to another country: factors associated with the destination, factors associated with the area of origin, intervening obstacles and personal factors.

In contrast, Wallerstein's World Systems Theory proposed that capital investment in skilled labor and technology by developed countries led to their exploitation of cheap immigrant labor from underdeveloped countries. Similarly, Dual Labor Market Theory proposed that international migration stems from intrinsic labor demands of modern industrial countries, rather than from the individual's rational choice decisions (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Brooks and Waters (2011) noted that migration offers a way for individuals and groups to rebuild their livelihoods under conditions of rapid change.

The desire for education is a strong motivator for migration (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Migration for HE is usually temporary, having a focused goal and limited by the period of studies for the desired qualification (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010; Case & Huisman, 2016; Fries-Britt, Mwangi, & Peralta, 2014). Dolby and Rizvi (2008) distinguished three main types of migrants: (a) those who move throughout the world with ease and by choice – typically those of dual nationality; (b) those who move under constrained circumstances – to escape political repression or because their parents are seeking better employment opportunities; and (c) those within the growing category of youth movement, who move for educational purposes and create new networks as well as circuits of identity.

Migration is mostly employed by minorities seeking to escape discrimination or defective policies regarding their integration in their home countries, yet minority group members seeking further education abroad often remain in the margins of academic life in host campuses (Brooks & Waters, 2011), struggling to negotiate

between their original ethnic identity and what they see as positive and strong new academic identities (Khoury, Da'na, & Abu-Saad, 2013; King, Perez, & Shim, 2013). This struggle creates tension expressed in the individual's positioning between home and the new, foreign academic environment, which shifts in positioning over time as people develop (Case & Huisman, 2016; Fries-Britt, Mwangi, & Peralta, 2014; King, Perez, & Shim, 2013). This personal transition process can be defined as the migration experience (Arar, 2011).

Thus, the stay in academia not only increases knowledge but also shapes personality (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016), exposing the student to new knowledge, societies, and cultures that must be compared and reconciled with previous knowledge and experiences. This process is in line with the postmodernist perception that identity is constructed under the influence of a range of different contexts (Brooks & Waters, 2011), as well as that exposure to this new and other knowledge undermines prior beliefs and perceptions of good and bad from more homogenous contexts, challenging previous social coherency (Arar, 2016; Khoury, Da'na, & Abu-Saad, 2012). The individual redefines their identity according to parameters of race, class and gender.

This process influences and is influenced by interpersonal dynamics and may involve the adoption of a new lifestyle detached from previous practices (Arar, 2016). According to French, Seidman, Allen and Aber (2006), "individuals redefine what it means to be a member of their ethnic group and no longer allow society to define it for them" (p. 10). Arar (2016) pointed to the individual's need for balance between their individual and collective affiliation, arguing that their awareness of and commitment to their past allows them to make choices in the present that can open opportunities for the future through the development of their own unique identity.

Context is another factor in the formation of personal and group identity. Khoury, Da'na, and Abu-Saad (2012) related specifically to the context of Israel and the marginalization of the PAI, indicating how this context has an important influence on their individual and national identity. In contrast, Taylor (2005) indicated that the formation of identity is a cross-cultural creation and constitutes a foundation for dialogue between individuals from different cultures. HE and inter-cultural academic experiences, therefore, play a strong role in the construction of collective social and political consciousness as part of identity formation (King, Perez, & Shim, 2013), which is also true for the PA students in foreign universities (Makkawi, 2002).

Despite the abundant literature reviewed above, there has been little research concerning the changes that PA students from Israel undergo during their studies abroad (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016). The present article represents our attempt to trace the phenomenon of the PA academics who graduated from USSR universities and clarifies their unique contribution as an educated elite to the shaping of the

socio-cultural, political and economic appearance of Arab society in Israel. More specifically the article aims to answer the following questions:

1. Which changes have occurred in the trend to study HE in the former USSR?
2. What is the contribution of graduates of the former USSR states' universities to the PAI?

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employed a qualitative methodology for empirical data collection and analysis. It used interviews to uncover the views of PA who had graduated from universities in the former USSR. The choice of issues examined stemmed from the researcher's "interest to investigate how social phenomena are systematically related to characteristics of the context researched" (Creswell, 2007).

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Data were drawn from semi-structured interviews with 11 graduates, representing two generations of students who had migrated for further studies to the former USSR. The interviewers aimed to elicit graduates' subjective views as well as expose their impressions and attitudes concerning their learning experience in the USSR and experiences on returning home.

The researchers of this chapter interviewed the graduates in Arabic at the graduates' homes. Interviews lasted 90 minutes on average; each interviewee received an explanation concerning the research and its goals and was promised confidentiality regarding their details in case of publication of the research. They were told that they could cease the interview at any point and if they wished their responses would not be used for the research.

The semi-structured interview created by the first author especially for this exploratory study included two sections: personal details and 19 guiding interview questions relating to three main stages: (a) memories and feelings involved in migrating to the USSR, the period prior to traveling to the USSR and the considerations involved in deciding whether to undertake this project, as well as the choice of discipline; (b) memories and feelings relating to transition and assimilation processes in the USSR including academic, social and cultural aspects of the different learning experience in the USSR; and (c) experiences and feelings following the graduates' return to their homes, their reintegration in their home communities as well as contribution to society and changes that had occurred. Appendix A presents a sample of the interview questions.

THE INTERVIEWEES

Since the researchers were familiar with the research population, as members of the PAI, it felt important to conduct the interviews with sensitivity to their cultural codes in order to enter their inner worlds. For this reason, the "snowball" method (Bryman, 2012) was used for sample selection. The graduates were approached through acquaintances (gatekeepers); at first, representatives were chosen from each of the two generations that traveled to study in the USSR. The first generation is now aged 60 or older, while the second generation ranged in age from late 40s to late 50s. Initial interviewees recommended other suitable interviewees according to the "snowball" strategy, with graduates chosen from the northern and central regions of Israel to ensure geographical representation of the studied phenomenon. The 11 graduates (10 males and one female) of USSR universities who participated in the research were aged between 48 and 67. Three of the graduates had studied medicine, three studied law, one studied journalism, one studied psychology, one studied cinema production, one studied social sciences and one studied construction engineering. The students studied in different towns in the USSR: five in Leningrad, three in Moscow and three in Kiev. There were six students who had completed six years' studies, four had studied for seven years and one was presently studying in the USSR for 12 years. Today four of the graduates hold public service, political or social posts in Israel, in addition to their professional roles. Table 13.1 summarizes the interviewees' characteristics.

Table 13.1: Characteristics of the interviewees.

Fictive name and age	Profession	Period of study in the USSR	Between the years	Location of studies
Hatam, 67	Journalism	7	1970–1977	Leningrad
Nabila, 65	Medicine	7	1972–1979	Leningrad
Sami, 63	Medicine	12	1973–1985	Leningrad
Fahed, 62	Cinema production	6	1975–1981	Moscow
Nader, 63	Medicine	7	1977–1984	Leningrad
Aiman, 55	Law	6	1982–1988	Kiev
Rabia, 52	Law	7	1983–1991	Moscow
Karim, 52	Psychology	6	1985–1991	Moscow
Jamal, 53	Social sciences	6	1986–1992	Kiev
Wissam, 49	Law	6	1987–1993	Kiev

Source: Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016.

Note: Additional details concerning the roles held by the interviewees were not included in the table in order to mask their identities since some are public figures.

DATA ANALYSIS

The interview protocols were transcribed in English by the first author who speaks both Arabic and English fluently. Initially, all texts were read "as is" to allow the interviewees' "voices" to be heard. The texts then underwent four stages of analysis suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2012): "organizing the data," "generating categories, themes, and patterns," "testing any emergent hypothesis," and "searching for alternative explanations." This analysis identifies central themes in the data, searching for recurrent experiences, feelings and attitudes which are then coded and reduced. The resultant categories are then gathered into central themes that can help to answer the research questions. Coding was guided by the principles of "comparative analysis," including a comparison of any coded element in the emergent categories and sub-categories. Structured analysis and peer review were completed by the second author, reinforcing the data's trustworthiness and reliability (Marshall & Rossman, 2012). Use of systematic data collection procedure and peer analysis contributed to the data's credibility and authenticity. Since this was a small sample from a specific group of participants, this limits the possibility of generalization of the findings to other social contexts. The reader is invited to judge the applicability of the findings and conclusions to other similar circumstances.

FINDINGS

Four main themes emerged from the analysis of the collected data: (1) factors that pushed the students to migrate to the former USSR for their HE: "I saw the scholarship as an opportunity I could not miss"; (2) from "amazement" to excitement and then integration; (3) returning home; (4) changes that appeared in this channel for education and its significance.

"I saw the scholarship as an opportunity I could not miss"

One of the main push factors that emerged from the findings was the disadvantaged financial status of Palestinian agricultural society at that time, a society that had just undergone the "Nakhba" catastrophe, suffering under a military regime, impoverished and without academics (Mar'i, 1978). This was a decisive factor in the students' decisions to choose to study in the USSR, as their parents could not afford to pay academic fees in Israel, as Rabia, now a lawyer, explained:

> It is not a secret that there were only a handful who could continue their studies here, the economic situation was a huge obstacle for academic studies, we are an agricultural society and so families cannot fund their children's studies… I actually wanted to study in the Hebrew University, but my parents could not even afford the registration fees. Therefore, I decided to study in the USSR.

Similarly, Fahed, a film producer, emphasized this factor:

*Our financial situation was very difficult, my parents could barely provide food for their children…
the governments in Israel made sure that we would always have to think about how to finance
ourselves and exist and so we wouldn't think about education.*

In parallel to this difficult economic situation that constituted a strong push factor towards the universities of the USSR, we found that the characteristics of the scholarships that the students received for these studies constituted a strong pull factor that could not be resisted. The students received scholarships that covered their academic fees and textbooks and were also provided with a monthly allowance for expenses involved in studying abroad, even funding their air tickets at the beginning and end of their studies, as Hatam, a journalist, explained:

*This decision did not need much thought; you received a scholarship that included your flight, studies
and a monthly stipend. It was impossible to refuse such an offer.*

The scholarship allowed the students to enjoy peace of mind so that they could dedicate themselves to their studies, as described by Sami, now a doctor:

*This scholarship was an amazing opportunity. My father funded the studies of my two brothers
and he was unable to fund my studies; the economic element was a decisive factor in my decision
because, in the end, you get it all for free.*

The economic factor as a push factor and the scholarship as a pull factor were very significant. However, the research also discovered other push and pull factors such as difficult and almost impossible acceptance conditions for prestigious disciplines in their home country while they were able to study whatever profession they wanted to study in the USSR such as medicine, engineering or law, without such prohibitive preconditions.

Difficult Admission Criteria Versus Free Choice of Discipline

The difficult admission criteria, especially for prestigious disciplines, constituted a primary obstacle for the student's academic progress in Israel so that they struggled hard for gaining admission to the few available Israeli universities. PA students aspired to study the free professions which would allow them more probability of future independent employment and income without needing to compete for government employment as noted by Nabila, a doctor.

Most students chose disciplines such as medicine, law and engineering because in Israel it was very difficult to gain acceptance…the students wanted to work independently after graduation without having to rely on the state and its offices.

Some graduates, for example Rabia, a lawyer, also explained that the needs of their society guided their choice:

We needed to serve our society, to study professions that were lacking in our villages.
Each region and town also had specific needs, which were taken into consideration by the Communist
Party when distributing the scholarships.

Wissam, a lawyer, explained these policies:

The party distributed the scholarships according to local needs: for example, in Jaffa they needed
doctors, so they were awarded more scholarships for medical studies.

There was, therefore, intelligent distribution of the scholarships, aiming to provide the students with appropriate studies and to exploit this human capital in an optimal manner. The students were able to use the scholarships to overcome the financial obstacle, the difficulties posed by admission conditions in Israel, meaning any member of the Communist Party who was unable to gain admission to Israeli institutions due to their political affiliation found the USSR scholarships provided a refuge of sorts to allow them to further their studies, as explained in the next section.

Political Persecution and Racism Versus Equality, Respect and Support

The scholarships were naturally distributed to those who were members of the Communist Party and more specifically to those who were active members. These activists were persecuted by the Israeli establishment due to their political affiliation, with their names marked on what was known as a "black list." Some were arrested, thus preventing their acceptance to Israeli HE institutions. Nader, a doctor, explained how these policies had affected him:

I already knew that I could not study in Israel. My uncle was a soldier killed in combat, my father had been a political prisoner; in short, we were a marked family, on the black list.

Often this persecution was quite fierce, expressed in arrests and imprisonment. In contrast to this political persecution, the scholarship enabled the students to study in the USSR, to experience a different environment and a reality that provided respect, friendship and consideration as equals, so the students moved to a completely different experience. Wissam, a lawyer, described this feeling:

Here, in Israel, as Palestinians, if we left our villages or universities, we would feel unwanted. They
always looked at us as inferior and this is the opposite of the consideration in the USSR. There the
Russian people really respect foreigners; we felt that we were equal but also that we were respected
more by the Russians.

Ayman, a lawyer noted:

You feel like a dignified human being that is given respect. You feel the peace, the social and economic
security. There are no worries; it's a feeling that I miss until now.

The Palestinian students from Israel were also awarded support by those around them, especially their lecturers. Karim, a psychologist, gave an example:

If I arrived in the university without my coat the lecturer would ask me to go back to the dormitories to dress warmly; they were also concerned about our food, they took an interest in our personal lives, even helping us to prepare for the exams.

The opportunity to get to know new faces was especially available to Communist Party activists, those who came from homes infused with communist ideology and educated in the party's institutions and different organizations. Their further studies in the USSR were therefore based on ideological communist and socialist affiliations.

Ideological, Social and Cultural Motivation

To travel to the USSR was a realization of a dream for many Communist Party followers, especially after a period when there were no diplomatic relations between Israel and the USSR and traveling there was impossible. This empowered the value and effect of the learning experience.

Karim, a psychologist, expressed his feelings in this context: "Luckily for me, I received a scholarship for Moscow. This was a dream come true." Jamal, the Youth Department manager, had similar feelings: "Going to the USSR was a dream for me, what more could I ask?"

Additionally, there were students who saw the USSR as a state which was rich in culture and the arts, a place offering a model of rich cultural and social experiences. Nabil, the engineer, explained:

Moscow was a dream for me; my father had visited Moscow and described the cultural life there, the ballet, theatre. It was engraved in my memory.

The students were able to exploit the opportunity to enjoy this world as Wissam, also a lawyer, explained: "Culturally this country had a lot to offer, it was an opportunity to shape my personality."

To summarize, for the PAI students, the decision to study in the USSR stemmed from various reasons. Push factors included the difficult financial state of their families, political persecution and structured exclusion from the Israeli academic sphere, while they were attracted to the USSR by pull factors such as a full scholarship and enriching ideological and cultural experiences.

From Amazement to Excitement and Then Integration

The PAI students found themselves traveling from a traditional, impoverished agricultural society to what was considered to be an ideological "ideal," a highly cultured and academic society. The transition between these extremes meant that the students needed to cope with the change from the moment that they arrived in the USSR. The graduates testified that the Communist Party and its representatives

played an important role in the students' absorption, helping and guiding them throughout their studies. Karim, a psychologist, noted:

> *The party played a major role in our organization during the first days; they welcomed us and sent us to the cities that we had been assigned to according to our scholarships.*

The initial encounter with their new surroundings and rich culture was immensely powerful and left a strong impression. When the graduates retrospectively considered the moment they arrived in the USSR they could not hide their excitement and described this initial encounter with great happiness and awe despite the years that had passed since then and the difficulty that resulted from the cultural and social gap between their home culture and the culture in their new environment.

Wissam, a lawyer, described his first encounter with the new culture: "You feel dazed at first; you look around and do not understand anything; with time, you begin to adapt" Karim, the psychologist, had similar memories:

> *Initially, when I came to Moscow, I was very excited, I wanted to get to know people, this big and enormous world, and to be exposed to Russian culture. And in all honesty, until today when I visit Moscow, I feel the same sensations, its real excitement.*

Even after several decades, the graduates remembered their initial reactions and described the gap that they felt. This sense of a gap was felt differently by the various students. Nabil, an engineer, explained his feelings:

> *I grew up in a communist home; I was in the communist youth movement and a member of the party. I was exposed to the lifestyle in the USSR and educated in a liberal and free atmosphere at home, so I did not feel an immense difference in the new culture that was not so foreign to me.*

The main difference was seen in culture and the arts although the students who went to study in the USSR had a strong political and national awareness. Nader, the doctor, related to this aspect:

> *You find yourself in a place with the richest culture and literature and feel embarrassed when you realize that you do not know anything about Moscow, its beautiful literature, theater, and etcetera. We thought that we were educated people, but the truth was that we only had strong political and national awareness. We began to reveal various cultural treasures with the help of our Russian friends.*

After the dazzle of the first encounter, the students began a process of assimilation with the help of friends from home who had begun to study in previous years, their lecturers and other friendly Russians. Karim, a psychologist, explained:

> *Friends and students from previous years encouraged us to adapt to Russian culture, to get to know this environment. The first time that I went to the ballet, our language teacher brought us the tickets.*

The party's organization also played an important part in the students' early assimilation as Wissam, a lawyer, explained:

The party representatives guided us from the first moment. We felt at home; the party's organization, in my opinion, was one of the presents that we received, they were like father and mother for us.

Nader, a doctor, noted early academic difficulties: "The first year was the most difficult. You have to cope with lectures in Russian."

There was little difference between the experiences of assimilation for male and female students. Hatam, the journalist, noted:

Some of the guys wanted to be responsible for the women who studied with us, to supervise them and limit their activities and their freedom.

In this new reality, the students were able to form relationships with students from all over the world. Nader, a doctor, described their relations with Russian friends:

Our relations with the Soviets were based on simplicity, cooperation and integrity. There was a mutual feeling of trust and pleasure.

Hatam, the journalist, spoke about their relations with students from other Arab states:

At first, they found it difficult to understand that we were not traitors, because we had Israeli passports and belonged to the Israeli Communist Party; later they understood that we were the minority that stayed on our lands. With time relations improved, but there were still some who did not have friendly relations with us.

There were two main spaces for new relationships, formal and personal informal. Rabia, a lawyer, explained:

Our interaction took place in the formal space and also the individual space, where each of us initiated relationships by ourselves. Formal meetings such as conferences and discussions led to the creation of individual personal relations.

The USSR was not only a place where students from different nations and cultures mingled; it also provided an opportunity to study in the most prestigious HE institutions with high academic levels and modern learning methods, as described by Fahed, the film producer:

"I studied in the place that constituted the best possible alternative; technically it was the best place in the world to study film production."

And Nabil, an engineer, spoke about the learning methods in the USSR:

There were interesting learning methods based on collaborative work in contrast to the studies here [in Israel] which nurture individualism…we met with our instructors, asked their advice and they encouraged our creative thinking.

After these enriching and productive, empowering studies, the Palestinian students from Israel intended to return to serve their society in their different professions. When they returned home, they found they had to cope with a different reality to that which they left, as described in the next section.

Returning Home

Once they had completed their studies in the USSR, the graduates returned to PAI society and underwent a process of reintegration to their homes and society that in some ways seemed more difficult than their integration in the culture and society of the USSR, as noted by Rabia, a lawyer:

> As a young man living in a particular society, I began to adapt to that society and to learn from it and then you think that your entire society is progressing together with you, developing as you are. But when you return you find that this is incorrect, that your society is still in a distant place and has not developed like you, and has even regressed. That was a real shock for me.

There was also an evident difficulty involved in reintegration for the female graduates as Nabila, a doctor, explained:

> As a woman returning after years of studying medicine, I found I had various difficulties. I found that I no longer had any social relations. Over the seven years I spent in the USSR, all my girl-friends married…even if you want to go on a trip you don't have anywhere to go. When we were there, we traveled along the river banks in the parks. Here I feel isolated and need much time to rebuild my relationships.

After reintegration, the graduates needed to forge their professional paths. Some of them coped with difficulties because they were unable to find the appropriate place to realize their abilities and implement their new skills, while others succeeded without any obstacles. Fahed found it difficult to work in his new profession as a film producer:

> I came back with a big dream, to create Palestinian cinema, but unfortunately I could not realize that dream for many years and had to work in temporary work until I succeeded in making my first film.

The graduates returned to an impoverished society needing all the services that they could provide. As a leading group, they began to renew the appearance of Palestinian society and altered the reality in different fields and senses. They played an important role for this needy society after military rule and were able to help it survive and advance. Hatam, the journalist, explained:

> I can name several villages where the first doctor, the first engineer, the first lawyer were all graduates from USSR universities.

This was the main contribution of these graduates, providing services that the villagers could not easily access before without traveling outside the village, for example providing medical services close to home. In addition to the supply of basic services to the PAI, the graduates constituted a new economic stratum levering the economy of traditional PAI agricultural society.

The graduates reinforced the PAIs' political leadership. Nabil, an engineer, explained:

They [the graduates from the USSR] were strongly political; they grew up in the Communist Party and politics was an inseparable part of their lives. Their experiences during their studies there reinforced their political abilities so that they went on to fill important roles.

The graduates began to expose Palestinian society to Russian culture. Nader, a doctor, noted: "In the eyes of Palestinian society, those who had graduated in the USSR constituted models for imitation and sources of inspiration for Palestinian youth." According to Nabil, an engineer:

I believe that the most important contribution of the USSR graduates was that they were the first ones to study to become doctors and engineers and everyone wanted to imitate them and to study.

Their studies in the USSR also contributed to the graduates' personal development. Karim, a psychologist, noted:

This experience shaped my personality. I don't think that I would have been able to reach all that I have done if I had not studied there.

Ayman, a lawyer, described another contribution from his studies in the USSR:

I acquired the Russian language, something that opened doors for me and many of my clients are Russian speakers. My studies there helped me to advance.

Fahed, the film producer, spoke about the values and behaviors that he adopted in the USSR: "I learned discipline, innovation, and creativity there and not to take things for granted."

The fact that the graduates had all been exposed to the same experiences and culture in the USSR constituted a common factor, meaning they all became characterized in a different manner from those who had studied in other countries. Jamal, a Youth Department manager, explained:

Most of them are people with values and a humanistic outlook; they are not materialistic. They have strong political awareness and most of them went to study with a left-wing tendency, wanting to liberate themselves from the establishment.

To summarize, the USSR supported Palestinian society in Israel and strengthened it by educating hundreds of academic students and professionals who then provided essential services to their society. In response, Palestinian society respected this contribution and was grateful to the USSR.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The phenomenon of PAI students' migration to acquire HE marked a significant development in PAI society following the end of the military regime. The reasons for this phenomenon included the financial and political reality of PAI society then and the exclusion of PA students from Israeli academic institutions for several decades. This reality motivated Arab students to search for an alternative channel

for HE outside the Israeli state. The USSR constituted an alternative venue and provided the students with a special opportunity to further their education, reflected in the development of the Palestinian society and which left an impression for many years. The rationale for studying in the USSR stemmed mainly from push factors, including disadvantageous high school achievements of the PA students who were unable to comply with the admission requirements of Israeli HE institutions and unable to afford their high academic fees. It was also easier to be accepted to Russian universities since, unlike Israeli universities, they did not require a psychometric test (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016).

The pull factors included scholarships granted by the Communist Party for studies in the USSR, enabling the PAI students to study prestigious free courses that would facilitate their socio-economic mobility. Beyond these reasons, the PAI were motivated to study in the USSR by the cultural and ideological atmosphere of socialism and communism (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

When the USSR received these students, it promoted the concept that foreign students of all nationalities, when they finished their university studies or period of scientific research, would return home (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016). The assumption was that on return to their home countries these graduates would receive high-level positions in their fields of specialization and would be representatives of Soviet ideology as well as the values and lifestyle they had absorbed during their studies in the USSR. It was anticipated that the foreign graduates would become the purveyors of technological and cultural know-how to their own countries, which were mostly third world developing, and that they would continue to maintain cooperation and cultural exchange with the country in which they had studied. The USSR began accepting Arab students to study in its universities in the 1950s, providing scholarships to students in order to paint them with "socialist dyes" and facilitating "a cultural and intellectual transfer" (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Largely due to the cultural and ideological impact of their studies abroad, the PAI graduates from the former USSR universities are considered to be well organized by their society. They have established an association, which is very active socially, culturally and politically in this society. The goals of this association of the former Soviet Union graduates, which adopted the title *Thanks to the Russian people*, is to assist the development of the PA minority in Israel in all walks of life, and they perform various activities to renew interest in Russian and communist culture and celebrations. The Association is a democratic and inclusive umbrella organization of the graduates and deals with all issues transparently, objectively and professionally (Buqa'i, 2017).

According to recent data, almost one million international students have graduated from the former USSR and Russia. In the PAI society, there are approximately

3,000 graduates from the former USSR, a large number of them holding leading political and social posts in PAI society (Buqa'i, 2017).

The PAI students who arrived in the USSR mainly from traditional villages to an industrial and culturally developed country initially experienced a "culture shock" (Faist, 2000). The intense encounter with academic, cultural and political dimensions of the host state constituted a hothouse in which they could consolidate their personal and collective identities so as to form a distinct social mission (Case & Huisman, 2016; Fries-Britt, Mwangi, & Peralta, 2014).

PAI society views their graduates from the former USSR as their academic capital, since they were the first students to return from studies abroad after the Nakhba to the PA villages and towns. These graduates were active participants in the formation of a more active political consciousness (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016). Some entered politics and began to represent the Palestinian Arab population in the Israeli Knesset (parliament) while others undertook responsible posts in local government and other key positions, helping to develop PAI society through their political and social activism (Khoury, Da'na, & Abu-Saad, 2012). Their academic studies and the relationships they built in the USSR empowered these processes. Moreover, the graduates constructed cultural and social structures in their home societies such as theater, cultural events and performances. They took a leading role in journalism and supported the preservation of PA Arab culture (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016).

After the collapse of the USSR, the proportion of PAI students traveling to study in the former USSR states dropped. However, the Russian Federation universities continue to accept dozens of PAI students in various disciplines. In recent years, the Russian Federation has allocated seven thousand scholarships to foreign students, who study 250 different disciplines taught at various Russian universities and institutes. Students from the Arab society still present a strong demand for medical studies; most Arab doctors in the last century were graduates who had studied with the help of university scholarships from the former communist regimes of the USSR and Eastern Europe (Buqa'i, 2017; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

In conclusion, the phenomenon of studies abroad constituted an alternative to Israeli HE institutions for the PAI. The phenomenon, described above in the USSR, became a major path for the growth of the first well-educated generation of Palestinian Arab society in Israel, able to lead a wounded minority to reconstruct its cultural institutions and represent its interests in national and local politics. Significantly, it also formed a bridge between the PAI and what became the Russian state. It would be interesting to conduct further research to investigate the influence of minority group students' studies in other countries, outside their homeland, on the cultural richness of the minority society and its integration within the majority society.

APPENDIX A

A sample of the interview questions.

1. What you can tell me about your professional and social background?
2. Can you share with me your experience of migration to pursue higher education in the former USSR?
3. If you were asked to choose a destination for your higher education destination, would you choose to study in the former USSR? Can you recall your decision and what was your motivation to study there?
4. What were the reasons for your decision to study in the USSR?
5. What role did your political affiliation play in your decision to continue your studies in the former USSR?
6. What disciplines did the Palestinian students choose? Why do you think that they chose those disciplines?
7. Tell me about the moment that you arrived in the USSR. Did you sense a cultural gap? If so, how did you cope with this gap?
8. How would you assess this experience of getting to know a new and different culture?
9. To what extent was this experience different for Palestinian women who traveled to study in the USSR?
10. Describe the nature of the relationships between the Palestinian students and students from other countries?
11. To what extent did the experience of studying in the former USSR shape your social, cultural and political identity?
12. Tell me about your reintegration in your local culture when you returned to Israel.
13. How did your studies in the former USSR influence your personal progress?
14. How important was this window of opportunity for Palestinian society in Israel?
15. What common characteristics can be identified among the Palestinians graduates from the former USSR universities, in comparison to Palestinians who studied in universities in other countries?
16. How did the opportunity to study in the former USSR influence the development of the economy, politics and socio-cultural dimensions of Palestinian society in Israel?
17. What role is played by the graduates from the USSR as a group in the leadership of Palestinian society? Can you give examples?
18. If you traced the higher education learning stream for Palestinian students in the USSR since your studies until today, what changes can you point to?

Please consider the motivations for studying there, the disciplines studied there and students' reintegration in Palestinian society after their studies.

19. Which subject would you like to study further that we have not considered until now?

NOTE

1. The Oslo accords with Israel in 1993 established a Palestinian National Authority (PNA—also referred to as the Palestinian Authority, or PA) as an interim body to run parts of Gaza and the West Bank (but not East Jerusalem) pending an agreed solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

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Southeast Asian AND Pacific Islander Students IN STEM Programs

Examining Student-Faculty Interactions

MARICRIS R. ELENO-ORAMA AND DAVID B. ROSS

INTRODUCTION

In order to remain an economically competitive country, the United States must focus on further strengthening and increasing an educated and skilled science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) workforce, which is critical in today's knowledge-based, global economy (Palmer, Davis, Moore, & Hilton, 2010; Wagner, 2006). Yet, the United States must address many challenges in supporting and boosting their STEM workforce and education efforts, which include increasing the retention and degree attainment rates within the STEM disciplines. While higher educational campuses are becoming more diverse, a particular challenge for the United States has been improving retention and STEM degree completion rates for minority student populations, particularly racial-ethnic minorities, females and lower-income students (Achieving the Dream, 2013; United States Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 2007).

Research on retention and persistence in higher education, in addition to efforts to address the racial-ethnic diversity gap within STEM disciplines, has generally excluded Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) students. This is largely due to the fact that AAPI students as an aggregate have the highest rate of persistence and degree attainment in the United States (Anderson & Kim, 2005; Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014; Yeh, 2004). However, when degree completion rates are examined by individual AAPI ethnicities, many Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander American (SEAPIA) ethnic groups exhibit much lower degree attainment rates than the

national average (Museus, Yi, & Saelua, 2017; Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014; Um, 2003).

Yeh (2004) noted that Asian American students have been portrayed as a *model minority* for several decades. The model minority stereotype insinuates that Asian American students achieve the same academic achievements as Caucasian Americans, but overlooks the strengths and educational needs of the various AAPI student ethnic populations (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Yang, 2009; Yeh, 2004). The model minority stereotype is further perpetuated by the lack of statistics, policies, and general data on AAPI students that account for the various ethnicities and lack of published literature on AAPI students in higher education (Lew, Chang, & Wang, 2005; Museus & Kiang, 2009).

Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander American student populations are not attaining higher educational degrees, particularly within the STEM disciplines, at rates similar to the aggregate AAPI student population within the United States. Southeast Asian students are also reported to have the lowest satisfaction rates with their overall academic and overall social experiences than their AAPI peers (CARE, 2016). Furthermore, these students must face many challenges in their educational journey that are characterized by their migration to the United States, English Language proficiency and socioeconomic statuses, as noted by Her (2014). The particular needs and challenges of SEAPIA students must be acknowledged in order to provide adequate faculty interactions, educational guidance and support; development of necessary teaching methods; and the establishment of programs to accommodate SEAPIA students in undergraduate STEM education.

STEM EDUCATION

The emerging need to develop a nation's STEM workforce will require individuals to learn content knowledge of mathematics and science, as well as critical thinking, creativity and communication, to apply to technology and innovation. *STEM education* was developed to educate the future STEM workforce (Akaygun & Aslan-Tutak, 2016). As defined by Brown, Brown, Reardon and Merrill (2011), STEM education is "a standards-based, meta-discipline residing at the school level where all teachers, especially science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) teachers, teach an integrated approach to teaching and learning" (p. 6). Individuals who work in STEM disciplines must be educated in taking a STEM interdisciplinary approach to solving complex, real-world problems. Teachers and administrators in STEM education must embrace collaboration, integrated approaches to teaching and contribute to the implementation of STEM education in their institutions (Brown, Brown, Reardon, & Merrill, 2011).

AAPI POPULATION

In 2015, the Asian American population in the United States included approximately 21 million individuals and the Pacific Islander population included approximately 1.5 million individuals (United States Census Bureau, 2015). From 2000 to 2010, the Asian American population grew 46 percent, faster than any other racial population, while the Pacific Islander population grew 40 percent (APIGBV, 2017). The AAPI population is estimated to account for approximately 10 percent of the United States population by 2050 (Pang, Han, & Pang, 2011).

Foreign-born Asian Americans account for almost 70 percent of the Asian American population and the largest number of refugee arrivals, while the largest groups granted asylum in the United States are from Asian Counties (United States Census Bureau, 2015). Additionally, almost 80 percent of Asian Americans and 45 percent of Pacific Islanders in the United States speak a language other than English within their homes. Additionally, approximately 35 percent of Asian Americans have limited English language proficiency (APIGBV, 2017).

PERSISTENCE THEORIES

Traditional student integration and involvement theories have provided fundamental approaches for research in student persistence and methods in which higher educational institutions may provide support for student persistence (Milem & Berger, 1997; Museus, 2014). These theories, such as Tinto's Interactionalist Model of Student Departure (1975, 1993) and Astin's Theory of Involvement (1993), emphasize student integration and participation within their college or university campuses. Meaning, academic and social activities associated with the college (e.g. participation within the classroom or academic and extracurricular activities on campus) are pivotal to student persistence and degree attainment (Barnett, 2011; Milem & Berger, 1997; Museus, 2014). These traditional models have established essential components correlated to student persistence and stress that student-faculty interactions are essential.

The significant and positive benefits of student-faculty interactions in higher education have been empirically linked to a broad range of student outcomes, including an increased student sense of belonging and engagement; academic achievement and aspirations; persistence; and satisfaction (Astin, 1993; Kim & Sax, 2009; Museus, 2014; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1977, 1991, 2005; Tinto, 1975). According to Tinto (1975), faculty interaction within the classroom increases academic integration, while interaction with faculty outside of the classroom increases social integration within their college campuses. This academic and social integration increases student commitment and, thus, increases their per-

sistence. Pascarella and Terenzini (1977) stressed that early interaction with faculty during a student's freshman year of college increased the prospect of future student-faculty interactions and emphasized that course-related or intellectual discussions were strong predictors of persistence (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1977). Astin (1984, 1993) indicated that a student's involvement in college experiences greatly influences the student's engagement and development and that frequency of student-faculty interactions is the greatest institutional factor associated with college satisfaction and persistence.

However, many researchers have stressed the limitations of traditional integration and involvement models and their applicability to racially diverse student populations (Museus, 2014; Rendon, 1994, 2002). Rendon (1994) contended that cultural validation from faculty, defined as faculty-led interactions that demonstrate care in their academic pursuits and interest in their backgrounds, was significant for the academic and personal success of nontraditional and culturally diverse student populations. Further research maintained the association of faculty validation and validating experiences to student sense of belonging and integration (Barnett, 2011; Museus & Quaye, 2009; Rendon, 2002).

Museus (2014) developed the Culturally Engaging Campus Environment (CECE) model that focuses on the role of institutions in establishing the types of campus environments and cultures of engagement that promote student success among diverse student populations. Museus developed the CECE to strengthen traditional integration and involvement theories (Museus, 2014). Although the CECE model acknowledges external influences (e.g. employment and family influences) and precollege inputs (e.g. academic preparation), the model emphasizes the role of culturally engaged college campuses in shaping individual influences (e.g. sense of belonging, self-efficacy and persistence) on student success (Museus, 2014; Museus, Yi, & Saelua, 2017). The CECE model outlines nine culturally engaged campus environment indicators that engage and reflect the needs of racially diverse student populations. Several of the CECE model indicators highlight the ways faculty can support culturally diverse students' sense of belonging and performance (Laury, 2017; Museus, 2014). *Cultural familiarity* is the extent that students physically connect with faculty with whom they share a common background. *Culturally relevant knowledge* is the extent that faculty provides students with enough opportunities to learn and exchange information about their own cultural communities. *Collectivist cultural orientation* is the extent that students experience a collectivist culture on campus, within the classroom and with other professors. *Proactive philosophies* are the extent that students feel as though faculty proactively make extra efforts to provide students with information, opportunities and support. Lastly, *holistic support* is the extent students have access to faculty they are confident will provide the support they need (Laury, 2017; Museus, 2014; Museus, Yi, & Saelua, 2017).

While traditional integration and involvement theories have made significant contributions to research and institutional efforts to improve student performance and persistence, considerable work has been conducted to revise these theories. In acknowledgement that race and culture significantly influence a student's development, experiences and identity, educational guidance, support and programs must account for the experiences and unique needs of nontraditional as well as racially and culturally diverse students (Museus, 2014; Museus, Yi, & Saelua, 2017; Patton, McEwen, Rendon, & Howard-Hamilton, 2007). Furthermore, as college campuses are rapidly becoming more diverse, the shifts in demographics and culture will challenge traditional values and create new environments that influence the types of student-faculty interactions necessary to support student persistence and degree attainment (Laury, 2017; Rendon, 1994).

LITERATURE REVIEW

As previously stated, literature exploring the relationships between faculty and students within the classroom or informally generally indicates a variety of positive student outcomes. However, a majority of these studies examined academic outcomes by aggregated student samples. As noted by Kim and Sax (2009), the type, quality and influence of student-faculty relationships on college experiences and perceptions may not have the same effect for all students. Yet, research focusing on racial differences of these impacts is limited (Kim, 2010). This literature review focuses on relevant research on the impact of student-faculty interactions for undergraduate SEAPIA students in STEM education. Due to limited studies on SEAPIA students in higher education, literature regarding Asian American and AAPI students in undergraduate studies is included.

COURSE-RELATED INTERACTION

Although limited, several studies have indicated the varying impacts of student-faculty interactions based on race and ethnicity and few studies highlight the distinctions for Asian American or AAPI students in higher education. Asian American students have consistently been reported to have the least overall interaction with faculty and report being the least satisfied with relationships with their faculty (Kim, Chang, & Park, 2009; Kim & Sax, 2009). A study conducted by Kim and Sax (2009) assessed student-faculty interaction effects on various student outcomes and whether these effects varied by gender, race, social class and first-generation student status. Student outcomes included college grade point average (GPA), degree aspiration, integration, critical thinking skills,

social awareness skills and overall college experience satisfaction (Kim & Sax, 2009). The researchers determined that Asian American students were more likely to volunteer or assist in research activities than their peers. However, Asian American students were also least likely than their peers to have course-related interaction or communication with their faculty. Additionally, Kim and Sax (2009) highlighted the need to initiate particular types of faculty interaction with Asian American students to accommodate the group's unique "race-based patterns of faculty contact" (p. 452) and suggested individual or out of class meetings, as well as communication via email.

Kim, Chang, and Park (2009) performed a study to examine relationships between Asian American undergraduate students and faculty, beneficial patterns and interaction impacts on a variety of educational outcomes. Quantitative data was analyzed to determine the quality of student-faculty relationships, as well as type and frequency of interactions. Kim, Chang, and Park (2009) noted that higher quality faculty relationships enhanced a broad range of learning outcomes for Asian American students, including GPA, intellectual and social abilities, college satisfaction and engagement. However, the researchers determined that Asian American students were also less likely to report positive student-faculty relationships and least overall interaction with faculty. Asian Americans were also noted to be less likely to perceive their faculty as providing respect, emotional support and encouragement, genuine feedback and taking a personal interest in their academic pursuits than their peers (Kim, Chang, & Park, 2009). The researchers contended that, when evaluated with their peers, Asian American students were more likely to attend larger, competitive higher educational institutions, as well as less likely to be native English Language speakers and have lower levels of self-concept than their peers (Kim, Chang, & Park, 2009).

TYPES OF INTERACTION

Various studies have been conducted to gain a better understanding of distinguishing the different types of student-faculty interaction and effects on undergraduate students. Still, literature pertaining to the impacts of mentoring for AAPI students remains very limited. In 2002, Pope conducted a study that focused on minority student perceptions of campus climate, diversity and administrative support of diversity, as well as mentoring, at community colleges. Through collected quantitative data, the researcher determined that Asian American students rated the importance of mentoring to their academic success as higher than when compared to their peers. However, Asian Americans students had lower or comparable perceptions of staff member mentoring, availability of and participation in peer mentoring and overall availability of mentoring on campus when compared to their racial minority peers.

A study by Cole (2010) focused on the effects of minority student-faculty interactions on college student grades. Quantitative data collected for this study was first examined as an aggregate to reveal patterns of student interactions and, subsequently, individually by African American, Asian American and Latino/a race-ethnic group to uncover the influences of student-faculty relationships on outcome variables. Cole found that as an aggregate, course-related contact was positively associated to student GPA, while criticism from faculty was negatively associated with student GPA. Disaggregated data also revealed that Asian American students view mentoring relationships differently than their peers, which suggested that Asian American students might view research-related relationships separately from personal relationships (Cole, 2010). This finding is notable, considering that caring personal relationships have been mentioned in literature as a key component of effective mentoring relationships and that Asian American students have been reported to be less likely to have a mentor than other minority counterparts (Eller, Lev, & Feurer, 2014; Goto, 1999).

FACULTY AS CARING AGENTS

Recent studies have highlighted the significance of caring agents as a core element to AAPI undergraduate student success. Palmer and Maramba (2015) defined caring agents as family, peers and educators who provide essential information for students to be successful in college through support, mentoring, guidance and encouragement. These researchers conducted a qualitative study to explore critical factors of the success of undergraduate Southeast Asian American (SEAA) students. The researchers stressed the vital role of educators in helping SEAA students gain required information on the application process, financing college and support services (Palmer & Maramba, 2015).

In her dissertation report, Ie (2014) explored the ways in which first-generation, AAPI student identities influence perceptions of student-faculty interactions at community colleges. The researcher analyzed collected qualitative data, which revealed six emergent themes. Two of these emergent themes highlight the direct ways faculty can support AAPI students. First, Ie noted that the perceived level of genuine interest in an AAPI student's academic and overall well-being, as well as perceived level of approachability and relatability, was an indicator of involvement within the classroom, initiating out of classroom interactions and satisfaction with faculty relationships. Second, faculty serve as socializing agents to introduce AAPI students into college norms, values and student expectations, in addition to serving as institutional change agents by shaping student habits to increase the likelihood of student success (Ie, 2014).

Orama (2016) conducted a dissertation report to explore how higher educational faculty, staff and administration influenced SEAPIA student retention and academic success for students in undergraduate STEM education. Through analyzed qualitative data, several emergent themes revealed how faculty directly affects SEAPIA student retention. First, validation through faculty led, course-related interaction was reported to have the most influence on SEAPIA student persistence and educational success. This type of interaction allowed students to feel welcomed, respected, encouraged and motivated to do well. Also noted within the dissertation study was that SEAPIA students reported higher levels of perceived care and interest, as well as the desire to mirror the levels of engagement, when faculty initiated interaction within the classroom. Second, this study highlighted faculty as caring agents by providing vital information for academic and professional careers within STEM disciplines, particularly for those SEAPIA students that had very limited information on academic requirements for STEM/professional programs, career options in the growing STEM fields and employer expectations within the STEM industries. Third, the perceived strength of student-faculty relationships was stressed as having a significant effect on student performance by increasing a student's comfort level within rigorous classes and enthusiasm for their STEM program. Lastly, while SEAPIA students stated an understanding or desire to have more quality interactions with faculty, Orama (2016) stressed that SEAPIA students may depend on faculty to initiate these interactions, as SEAPIA students felt reluctant or discouraged from initiating interaction for help or building personal relationships with their STEM faculty.

RACIAL PREJUDICE OR DISCRIMINATION

As previously noted, AAPI students are generally regarded as the model minority and may be suggested in some studies as a non-minority within higher education (CARE, 2016; Museus & Kiang, 2009). The extensive role the model minority stereotypes play throughout the United States educational system has also been well documented (Museus & Kiang, 2009; Wei, Ku, & Liao, 2011). Central qualities to this model minority stereotype portray Asian Americans as naturally and highly gifted academically, especially within the STEM fields, not educationally disadvantaged compared to other racial minorities and extremely hardworking (Lew, Chang, Wang, 2005; McGee, Thakore, & LaBlance, 2016; Museus, 2008). The stereotype and assumptions that Asian Americans students achieve high academic success, especially in STEM fields, conceals and ignores the experiences of the diverse AAPI ethnic student groups and opportunities to provide necessary support for underperforming AAPI to develop and succeed academically. The model minority stereotype also overlooks and disregards the racism, discrimination and resentment AAPI students endure (CARE, 2016; Lew, Chang, & Wang, 2005;

McGee, Thakore, & LaBlance, 2016; Museus, 2008). Still, AAPI students are just as vulnerable to experiencing racism and discrimination as other racial minority students and are reported as having to face statistically similar experiences as other racial minority populations (CARE, 2016; McGee, Thakore, & LaBlance, 2016; Museus & Kiang, 2009; Yang, 2009).

Literature suggests that the model minority stereotype presents both internal and external barriers for AAPI students in their willingness to interact with faculty. Studies have indicated that minority students are less willing to interact with faculty when they experience bias, negative cues or racist assumptions within the classroom. Minority students are also less willing to interact with faculty and feel that faculty was less willing to interact with them when they were not performing as well as their peers (CARE, 2016; Cole, 2007, 2010; McGee, Thakore, & LaBlance, 2016; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005).

A study by Nassar-McMillan, Wyer, Oliver-Hoyo, and Schneider (2011) revealed that the pressures to adhere to the model stereotype might prevent AAPI students from pursuing degrees within STEM disciplines or certain careers. Through an analysis of quantitative data, these researchers determined a positive correlation between STEM career stereotypes and student career choices, but mentioned that there is not enough research to determine whether students are actively discouraged or whether stereotypes prevent students from pursuing STEM careers (Nassar-McMillan et al., 2011). Additionally, studies have highlighted that when the model minority stereotype is assented within higher educational institutions, the educational needs of AAPI students remain unaddressed (Lew, Chang, & Wang, 2005; Liang et al., 2006; Pope, 2012). For instance, services and programs established to help racial minority student populations, including formal mentoring programs, are generally not targeted to or made available to AAPI students, perpetuating the negative effect for underperforming AAPI students (Lew, Chang, & Wang, 2005; Liang et al., 2006; Pope, 2012). Although more current research has emphasized the low degree attainment rates of SEAPIA students in higher education, particularly in STEM disciplines, the standard definition of underrepresented racial minorities in STEM disciplines remains to pertain to Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans students (McGee, Thakore, & LaBlance, 2016).

PREPARATION AND SUPPORT

In order to prepare the increasing SEAPIA population for the rigor of higher educational programs, preparation for current and prospective teachers working with these students is critical (Her, 2014). Preparation and support is required for any subject matter and for any organizational structure. Those in leadership positions must influence their people to elevate their success both personally and

professionally. Most organizations have a human resources office, known today as a talent management office. The responsibilities of the talent management personnel are vast; however, one is to recruit, train and retain professionals in many fields. Not only in the K-12 educational structure should hiring of faculty and staff show rigor to obtain the most highly qualified individuals, but also for higher educational faculty and staff. In education, it is the responsibility of the educator to prepare and support their students to be successful from elementary to middle school, middle school to high school and finally high school; they must also sequentially prepare students for college, especially in mathematics and sciences (Bolyard & Moyer-Packenham, 2008). Pecheone and Whittaker (2016) mentioned that transformation in the preparation, orientation and assessment of teachers is important for elevating school performance for student achievement. These are the same steps for college and university faculty and staff to prepare their students for professional careers.

There has been an abundance of research regarding how educators (i.e. teachers, faculty) have been the mentors and role models for students' learning. Students spend a vast amount of hours studying and attending classes each week, which places them in contact with their educators probably more than any working professionals. Therefore, these educators need to increase their knowledge, skills, abilities and other characteristics through professional development of their own (King & Newman, 2001; Ziemke & Ross, 2014). This will subsequently increase student achievement in the classroom and prepare students for a professional career: "Supporting teachers in improving instructional practice, they must be subject-specific, done by content experts in the process of observation, as well as informative, accurate and useful for teachers" (Hill & Grossman, 2013, para. 1). Dating back to 1960s and 1970s, Druva and Anderson's research (1983) found positive correlations with increased student performance as science teachers with a strong background in their content knowledge and teaching experience would ask higher level and cognitive-based questions. In addition, when students enrolled in science classes had an increase in learning and enjoyed taking science courses based on their educators they experienced increased knowledge by completing many science courses themselves (i.e. subject-matter preparation influences student achievement) (Bolyard & Moyer-Packenham, 2008; National Research Council, 2000).

For the purpose of STEM education programs and other concentrations in higher education, it is important to prepare the faculty who in turn will transfer knowledge to their students. Not only is preparation of greatest concern, but also having an ongoing support program throughout one's tenure. This is reflective of how faculty will also prepare STEM students and give them the support they need while attending college and after graduation to obtain a professional career. In a chapter from the National Academy of Science (2017), titled *Successful Strategies for Aligning Higher Education Programs, Curricula, and Lab Experiences with Workforce Needs*, one of the researchers, Christine Ortiz, Dean for Graduate Education at the Massachusetts

Institute of Technology, stated that students want to learn how to solve problems rather than just be an engineer or a physicist: "They are problem-focused rather than goal- and degree-focused" (National Academy of Science, 2017, p. 56).

Curricula teams for STEM undergraduate programs must rethink the course descriptions and assignments to show relevance, as well as challenge the minds of undergraduates as they proceed through their degree programs in preparation for a long-term career. These course offerings should be flexible, adapted to the students' needs and have faculty mentors to increase innovation (Gillian-Daniel & Walz, 2016). Gillian-Daniel and Walz (2016) researched areas for well-trained future faculty, in addition to benefits for undergraduate students impacted by educational innovations. Internship projects, outreach community projects and undergraduates who have been mentored by graduate students have benefitted from these experiences as it has prepared them for graduate programs, as well as future faculty positions, research grant internships and other career opportunities, as emphasized by Gillian-Daniel and Walz: "The exposure of STEM graduate students to the classroom environment at two-year college campuses presents a huge opportunity for both graduate and undergraduate students to learn from the diversity of backgrounds and experiences represented" (p. 143).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Given the rising demand to increase, strengthen and diversify the United States STEM workforce as college campuses diversify, special consideration must be made to support, retain and increase degree completion rates of underrepresented minorities, particularly the rapidly growing SEAPIA population. Literature highlights the notable benefits of student-faculty relationships within the classroom, as well as personal and mentoring relationships. However, AAPIs are reported to have lower interactions with faculty and are less likely to develop personal and mentoring relationships with their faculty than their peers. Consequently, SEAPIA students may not be benefitting from a key component in their educational pursuit and will miss the opportunity to take advantage of the broad range of positive influences on their higher educational experience that relationships with their faculty can provide. Thus, a greater effort must be made to determine the ways in which faculty can establish and improve relationships and interactions with undergraduate SEAPIA students in STEM education to foster educational outcomes, including retention degree attainment and overall satisfaction with their college experience.

Almost 80 percent of AAPIs speak another language, aside from English within their homes, and many reported having limited English Language proficiency, a formidable barrier impacting access to information and learning. AAPI

students have also reported experiencing anxiety when writing or speaking in public (Pang, Han, & Pang, 2011). Such apprehensions may result in SEAPIA students depending on faculty to initiate interactions within the classroom or their reluctance from starting relationships with educators outside of class. Additionally, if students begin to fall behind in class or within their program, they will also be less likely to seek help from their professors or advisors. Furthermore, many SEAPIA students belong to immigrant families. The knowledge and experience with the educational system of their native country may greatly influence their perspective on education after immigration to the United States. More developed countries will often invest in their economic growth and have established educational systems, including competitive schools, colleges and universities. Heavy investment in economic growth have not been a strong force in many Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander nations as it has been in other Asian American countries. Individuals from these countries many not have the same educational backgrounds or high levels of educational expectations, nor bring experience in competitive educational institutions when they immigrated to the United States (Pang, Hang, & Pang, 2011).

Although considerable research has highlighted the direct and integral role faculties play in cultivating student development and supporting undergraduates through their educational programs, a greater effort must be made to determine the ways in which faculty can establish and improve relationships and interactions with undergraduate SEAPIA students in STEM education. It is apparent that future research must focus on collecting disaggregated data to determine patterns and needs for the various AAPI ethnic groups in undergraduate STEM education to foster educational outcomes. This research would be greatly beneficial in supporting training to help educators and administrators develop more culturally sensitive classroom and campus environments. This would also be useful in increasing the understanding of ethnic and cultural differences within the AAPI population, particularly in which stereotypes affecting SEAPIA students in STEM education impact educational experiences. Furthermore, discussion and research about the achievement gap in higher education should also consider more than racial/ethnic association, as future research must continue considering other factors that may influence educational experiences, including immigration and refugee experiences, home language and language proficiency, parent education levels, and culturally relevant education.

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI): The Environmental Protection Agency (2011) defined an Asian American and Pacific Islander as a person currently residing in the United States with origins or heritage of one or more of the 28 Asian countries, including India, China, Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, Malaysia,

Vietnam, and Korea, or one or more of the 19 Pacific Island nations, including Guam, Native Hawaiian, Samoa, Palau, and Tonga.

Asian American: The United States Census Bureau (2011) defined an Asian American as a person currently residing in the United States with origins or heritage of Asian ethic groups, including Chinese, Asian India, Sri Lankan, Singaporean, Japanese, Korean, Pakistani, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cambodian.

Nontraditional student: The National Center for Education Statistics (2002) defined a nontraditional student as an undergraduate student generally over the age of 24 or enrolled with part-time status; however, other variables used to describe nontraditional students may include their background, on or off campus residence, level of employment or being enrolled in non-degree occupational programs.

Pacific Islander: The United States Census Bureau (2012) defined a Pacific Islander as a person currently residing in the United States with origins or heritage of Hawaii, Samoa, Guam, or other Polynesian, Micronesian, and/or Melanesian Islands.

Southeast Asian: The World Health Organization (2014) defined a Southeast Asian as a person currently residing in the United States with origins or heritage of Southeast Asia, including Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam.

Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander American (SEAPIA): SEAPIA is defined as a Person currently residing in the United States with origins or heritage from Southeast Asia or the Pacific Islands, including Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Vietnam, Hawaii, Samoa, Guam, or other Polynesian, Micronesian, and/or Melanesian Islands (United States Census Bureau, 2012; World Health Organization, 2014).

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Living, Learning AND Teaching IN A Refugee Camp

Biographies of Perseverance

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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports more than 65 million people are displaced worldwide including more than 17 million as refugees forced to leave their own countries due to conflict, war, famine or persecution (UNHCR, 2016). The current global situation is escalating to new levels characterized by a huge migration from the Middle East to Europe, among other regions. At the end of November 2017 the UNHCR reported close to 250,000 registered refugees are in the Dadaab camps complex (UNHCR, 2017). Although this number was substantially higher some years ago with continued political unrest compounded by severe famine, the population of Dadaab camp is spread over four camps: Dagahaley, Hagadera, Ifo 1, and Ifo 2 (UNHCR, 2017). Close to 96 percent of the refugees are Somalis from Somalia while Ethiopians comprise the second largest group, with small numbers of Sudanese, Eritreans, Congolese, Burundians, Tanzanians, Ugandans, and Rwandans also present. The camps have existed since 1991 and a significant population has spent their entire lives there. The camps have well-established schools, hospitals, portable water and reasonable community service amenities. The cultural and historical location of Dadaab Camp and its circumstances are complex. Initially, the location was chosen because the refugee camp was expected to be temporary. The assumption was that conflicts stirring migration into Kenya would soon end so people

could return to their respective countries and particularly Somalia. Unfortunately, war as a result of ethnic conflicts in the Eastern African and the Horn of Africa regions, as well as severe drought leading to famine, have contributed to the growing numbers in the refugee camps over the years.

The Dadaab Refugee Camp is a high security zone. To ensure safety, access to the camp is limited and controlled by the UNHCR. A large population is under 18 years of age. By 2014 and for more than 20 years, the refugee teachers in Dadaab's seven secondary schools had little or no prior experience of teaching and no formal training (Nicol, Meyer, & Too, 2012; Sumara, Irwin, Nashon, & Khamasi, 2009). That meant they had little or no access to teacher education research and resources; strategies for doing, implementing and sustaining activities related to teacher learning; and tools for participating in a multidirectional flow of knowledge among researchers and communities within and outside the camp. Having only completed a secondary education in Dadaab, they relied on their own school experience to inform their pedagogy as teachers. None of the untrained secondary school teachers were women (Nicol, Meyer, & Too, 2012).

Teachers' lack of pedagogical skills and related resources places learners in a disadvantaged position because quality education outcomes cannot be guaranteed. Research shows that providing quality educational opportunities in refugee contexts helps transform displaced children and youth into key actors in their own protection (UNHCR, 2015). In this regard, protection includes "ensuring their rights, security, and welfare are recognized and safeguarded" (UNHCR, 2015, p. 1), and consequently, the assumption is that the benefits of education will be realized because the learners will willingly participate in a full-cycle quality education, i.e. they will not drop out of school and will therefore benefit from formal schooling from primary school to post-secondary education and/or training. The outcome of full-cycle quality education is envisioned as increased "opportunities for self-determination, sense of purpose, normalcy and continuity in otherwise unsettled environments" (p. 1), as well as a greater chance of the children and youth becoming adults who can make informed decisions in various contexts.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This paper is informed by standpoint theory and philosophical hermeneutics. Standpoint theory as advanced by Sandra Harding holds the notion that the perspectives of marginalized persons through systemic inequalities can help create more objective accounts of the world (Harding, 1991) because of the uniqueness of their social location. Standpoint theory is also referred to as "emancipatory research," "an act of political consciousness", and "anti-oppressive education" (Au, 2012, p. 58). Scholars embrace these perspectives with the understanding that

"power and knowledge are intertwined and socially situated" (Au, 2012, p. 52) and therefore engage research participants as social actors. Similarly, philosophical hermeneutics as presented by Gadamer and Dilthey speak of the need to cultivate the ability to understand things from the other's point of view and appreciate the social cultural forces that may have influenced one's experiences (Makkreel, 2008). For us, both theoretical perspectives helped structure the procedures used to generate data and analyse the participants' narratives on living, learning and teaching in a refugee camp. The research approach was meant to raise researchers' and participants' consciousness and help both relive ways in which the participants have negotiated paths of marginality in a refugee camp since childhood. It was also an invitation for the participants to rewrite the self as social actors in the study.

A refugee camp is an isolated geographical space and the social context of this research is an important aspect of it. Sociologically speaking, a refugee camp is a place of exile, transition and uncertainty. The camp is a transitional space because refugees never go to settle; legally they are just "passing by." They are on transit, a notion that for decades gave a sense of impermanence in the ways camps are planned and operations managed. Of interest to the authors therefore is to study how people who have lived, schooled and taught in this transitional space describe themselves and their experiences. We were also interested in what they describe as support systems and contributors to their success as they navigate through the various social and structural 'gates' in the process of 'passing by'.

ARRIVAL AT THE FIRST GATE

People arrive at refugee camps in very different ways, using various modes of travel and for different reasons. Most come because they are running away from a calamity such as war or famine; but for a substantial number, it is planned by significant others who have themselves found refuge in a camp. However, a refugee camp is largely perceived as a physical space for those fleeing from war or incarceration, never a place of freedom. It is hardly perceived as place of refuge for those seeking opportunities such as security, food, water, peace and possibly education. The significant others as referred to here are those who after displacement as a result of war realize the benefits of living safely in a camp for an extended period. In this regard, a category of significant others is able to convince their social networks that a refugee camp can provide education opportunities for children and youth and hence become a gateway to a brighter future. Significant others referred to here are relatives who have lived in the camp and are able to see the glass *half full* as opposed to *half empty*.

Even if different factors push people to the camp, for most individuals the camp is perceived as a place of transit for the marginalized and a place of uncer-

tainty. People go to the camp with expectations that when the situation back home improves they will return or resettle elsewhere. The transitional nature of life and the uncertainty that engulfs it is lived and articulated in the narratives of the participants of this research.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Participatory research methods (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; O'Neill & Harindranath, 2006) including biographical approach (Henwood, Pidgeon, Parkhil, & Simmons, 2010) were used to explore participants' knowledge and lived experiences as social actors. Focus group and individual interviews were conducted with 16 participants within a six-month period. The participants were former students of the Dadaab Refugee Camp who had successfully completed the Kenya Certificate of Secondary School (KCSE) and were studying in a university outside the camp through scholarships or other support. All participants had previously taught in Dadaab Camp as untrained teachers. The interviews were structured as dialogues, which included an introductory meeting, focus group discussions and in-depth one-on-one conversations. Conversations allowed us to explore their experiences as we sought to understand participants' lives. An unstructured focus group guide was used to generate conversations about living, learning and teaching in Daadab Camp, while an in-depth conversations approach was used as a follow-up on personal narratives from four selected participants whose contributions needed one-on-one conversation with the researchers because they mentioned critical incidents that needed exploring. We focused on the participants' experiences, an approach that brings us to what Henwood, Pidgeon, Parkhill, and Simmons (2010) call "narrative style interviews" that invite participants to "talk in ways that involve biographical and temporal extensions—looking back to the past, linking the present to the past, and imagining what might happen in the future" (p. 8). By combining several methods of generating data, we encouraged participants to share their experiences from different perspectives, an approach that Henwood et al. (2010) referred to as "the changing time and place coordinates of their lives" (p. 8). The one-on-one conversations took approximately three hours with each of the participants whose narratives are featured in details. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, while the transcribed data were read, sorted and organized into each participant's story of her/his life in Daadab camps up to the time when research took place.

The 16 participants represented five nationalities, with the majority from Somalia and South Sudan. Although we collected and analyzed data from 16 participants on their journey to success as university students based on their living and learning within Dadaab Refugee Camp, we focus on the biographical narratives of

four participants: three men and one woman. These narratives provide a more in-depth portrait of participant experiences, particularly related to perseverance. These four were chosen for their depth of reflection and variety of experience.

RESULTS

Lived experiences within the camp differ depending on one's cultural group. As we listened to the participants and transcribed as well as subsequently read the data, the process elicited what we call biographies of perseverance. Reading the biographies of perseverance, we encounter what Giddens calls "fateful moments" and defines as "moments at which consequential decisions have to be taken or course of action initiated" (Reiter, 2010, p. 26). The results point to the social skills acquired over the years in the refugee camp, the social networking developed as well as individual and collaborative perseverance developed despite the social and structural barriers encountered along the way.

Below we share narratives of the four participants whose names are replaced with pseudonyms. The three men are Mwenye Taji, Angaza, and Maono; Taji and Angaza are from different regions of Somalia and came to Daadab Camp as unaccompanied minors. Mwana Nyota is the only woman in this group. Her narrative provides insight into a different experience as many girls had to cross multiple 'gates' to stay in school, perform above average and finally get to the university. The four uniquely represent their peers who have lived, schooled and taught in Daadab Refugee Camp. Here is a story of their lives in the Camp.

Mwenye Taji

I am Mwenye Taji, pursuing a BSc Information Technology degree. I was taken into Kenya as a refugee in 2002 at 10 years old. I started school in Dagahaley Camp Class 1 and successfully finished four years of secondary education at Dagahaley Secondary School.

When I reached Class 4 we started learning Kiswahili… The first time I sat for a Kiswahili exam, I knew less than 10 words. That was the hardest examination I have ever done in my life… I found a friend who started teaching me Kiswahili in Form 3. Now although I can understand Kiswahili, talking is still a problem.

I remember Form 2 was very challenging. My aunt sold vegetables at the camp. I used to eat breakfast and then wait for supper. After she closed her business she prepared dinner and that would take until 8:00–9:00 pm. Staying in school all day very hungry was very challenging. In primary school the only careers I had heard were something called pilot or doctor. My neighbor was the UNHCR interpreter and that is what I wanted to be. In secondary school I started reading novels and I was aware that there were a lot of careers in the world. I Googled names of big leaders like the retired president of Kenya,

Mwai Kibaki. I wanted to know what courses those politicians did in the university. I am a future political aspirant.

Madam Mwana Nyota

When I went to Daadab, I was in Class 5. The people were big. The boys in class did not want to be defeated by a girl. Some transferred because they could not handle competing with me. My brothers looked after me; if you beat me, they will come and beat you. There was the problem of teachers. When I was in Class 8, we were not being taught Christian Religious Education (CRE). All my life I had never been taught CRE. I was bitter because my friends were taught Religious Education. They had teachers and books. In Class 8 there was tuition for girls. I couldn't go because it was not safe and I had no one to accompany me.

I and two other girls were given a scholarship to…secondary schools away from Daadab Camp. The picture I had is not what I found. The food was a struggle. I thought I was leaving all the fighting in the Camp. I wasn't expecting it in secondary school…the bullying and the beatings from the students. I was also struggling to be number one; I was always number two. One time in Form 2, I became number one. The other students accused me of cheating, the school did an investigation and they found nothing. When I went home I told my mom, 'I am not going back to that school'. So my mom decided to take me to a private school in Nakuru [Kenya]. After two terms, my mom was unable to pay my fees. So I left school but studied at home. I went back for exams, did my K.C.S.E[1] and got a C+. It was bad, because when I was in high school I was promised a scholarship to the UK if I got a B minus. So I knew I had lost the opportunity.

Angaza

My name is Angaza. I am pursuing a BEd Arts degree. I attended primary school in Dagahaley Camp and proceeded to a secondary school outside the Camp. I was born in Somalia. I came to the camp in 2002 when I was 15.

One of the challenges is that I used to live alone…because my mother sent me 'just like a parcel' to the Camp. She just bargained with a bus conductor who took me all the way from Mogadishu to Dagahaley Camp. I approached one of my uncles and asked him to take me to school.

I could speak a little English by the time I started schooling in Daadab. Because I had basic knowledge, I was enrolled in Class 5. When I was in primary school, I had some income from relatives. I also used to do menial jobs to support myself. I got a scholarship to secondary school outside the camps and that income was cut off. I also had negative feelings about boarding school. It affected me a lot: the food, the scrambling for food and water. I could go without food for a whole day and this continued until one day I vomited blood. I had a stomach ulcer.

I finished secondary school in 2010 and I was living my life without…planning to go to university. In 2012, I went back to Dadaab Camp from Nairobi, that's the time when some of my friends who were studying together in high school were about to be taken to Canada with a World University Service Canada scholarship. That's the time I started asking them about scholarships. I did not know what they were.

Maono

I am Maono, pursuing BEd Science. I attended both my primary and secondary school at Dagahaley Camp. I was born in Somalia but I came here in 1997 when I was 5 years old. I started school late. I went to nursery school when I was 8 years old. Before that I used to play around with friends who were already in school. When I first started school, I did not think school was helpful or that the teachers were helpful to my life. I come from a clan that does not believe in western education. Most of my family have land, they are rich. When [my] people are rich and they have money they do not value education.

My brother and I came to the camp by chance. When I was young, I was climbing a tree, fell and suffered head trauma. My uncle who was from Dagahaley Camp took my older brother and I to the camp. I was treated very well and my uncle knew the value of education. So he said, "you will stay with me, you will not go back." My mother was annoyed with my uncle; she said, "bring back the kids." My uncle said, "I have not taken them to school, they are still under treatment. I will bring them back when they are well."

After high school, my Chemistry and Mathematics teacher called me back to teach. As teachers we have several challenges. At the camp, you can see a scenario where a student is fighting with his teacher and the teacher is afraid to go to work. There are no vehicles there so you have to walk.

I taught for four years before I applied for the DAFI scholarship. When I finish my teaching degree, I want to go back to the camp. I have a concern with Girl Child Education… I want to start working with refugees if I get a work permit.

DISCUSSIONS

The discussion below is organized into four themes highlighting the participants' experiences of living and learning, journeys, which are referred to as biographies of perseverance.

A Place of Refuge but Life of Uncertainty

Living in a geographical location that is clearly marked as a refugee camp, governed by internationally agreed protocols that do not apply to the Kenyan neighbors 'across the fence' which generate biographical uncertainty. On arrival at the camp, lives and

family relations are redefined; one is introduced to new physical and social spaces and it becomes a new beginning, particularly for young children. For most adults, it seems one is given a new page to write on, but within a restricted physical environment.

Listening to the four narratives above, it is clear that a refugee camp is a *place of refuge*. At the time of entry, there was no better option. Most of the participants arrived at the camp as children and, over time, they have watched their parents or guardians wade through the day-to-day life of uncertainty. Take the example of Mwana Nyota who, unlike many participants, was born in the camp. During the interviews she was a second year in a university; she referred to the camp as her home and desired to return here and improve lives of women and girls. This desire is informed by the fact that peace seems elusive in South Sudan. Her story clearly articulates the unknown that most learners in the camp live with/in.

Support Systems: Ears, Eyes, Ladders and Bridges

Daadab Refugee Camp has a unique and well-institutionalized educational support system. It has been the eyes and the ears for the participants, as well as the provider for the ladders and bridges that they needed to get to the university. The narratives evidently illustrate there are success stories and active voices in refugee camps.

Windle Trust Kenya (WTK) is mandated to manage the secondary schools in Daadab on behalf of UNCHR. The mandate includes management of scholarships to secondary schools and colleges. The pre-primary and primary schools are managed by CARE Kenya on behalf of UNICEF. The education sector stakeholders participate in decision-making in the camp. Hence, WTK supports most of the primary school pupils who qualify to join secondary schools. To promote gender parity, WTK has established a girl child education support system to boost retention and improve girls' academic performance. Hence, all participants acknowledged the support they received over the years from WTK as well as other agencies. School principals and teachers were also praised by the participants for their support.

Family members and peers are acknowledged as the social networks that contributed to social and academic success. Maono, for example, comes from a clan that does not value western education; were it not for one of his uncles, his mother would have blocked his schooling. Mwenye Taji and Angaza were sent to the camp by parents as unaccompanied minors. Evidently, Angaza and Mwenye Taji's parents needed to save the 'boys' from being recruited by militias in Somalia; they independently created a situation where the boys could get refuge in the camp. Mwenye Taji, though he arrived as an unaccompanied minor, had an aunt and cousins in the camp who became part of his social support system.

Mwana Nyota knows no other home except the camp. By the time she was 12 years of age, Kakuma Regugee Camp was not safe for the family and they had to move to Daadab. Unlike the rest, Mwana Nyota was strongly supported by

both parents from childhood. Her father was literate and therefore reinforced her reading and arithmetic skills at home. When her father was no longer available, she had her mother by her side. Her brothers offered moral support and at times protected her from bullies.

Transition, the Gates and the Horizon

Historically, a refugee camp is perceived as a place where people are given temporary shelters and social services as they wait for an opportunity to return to their countries of origin. For years, this assumption was institutionalized in the ways camps were planned, organized and managed. The school system is one of the institutions established in refugee camps in Kenya, with the aim of equipping learners with competencies and certificates to enable the beneficiaries to have a smooth transition into any education system in future host countries as well as provide work opportunities.

Reiter (2010) defined transitions as "moments of biographical change where individuals within certain biographical, social and material situations establishes expectations on the basis of their experiences and forms of knowledge available to them" (p. 25). The research project *Living, Learning and Teaching in Daadab Refugee Camp* (Nicol et al., 2014), through which our research was conducted, was conceptualized in ways that would help capture how the participants managed to navigate through life in the camp, schooling and finally become teachers in the schools in the camp. Evidently, each participant had a unique path created by her/his support system. However, a number barely survived prior to getting scholarships to the university. The scholarship opened a gate to an expansive horizon, higher education, with tuition and living expenses covered among other benefits.

Take the case of Maono. He expresses that he came to Daadab *by chance*, after a head injury. Though his classmates were younger, the transition through the school system was smooth because he was economically secure.

Mwana Nyota, though born in the camp and a high academic achiever, acknowledged having difficulties as she transited from home to her primary school, from one class to the other and through secondary school. Being younger than her classmates meant she could not interact with them as equals and therefore experienced bullying. She describes the experience thus:

> *…Most of the people were big…then there were fights in school. It was…clans, tribes…nationalities, people are fighting every day over nothing. You don't know why you are fighting…you see people chasing each other, you are beaten by someone you don't know, you beat someone you don't know, get home crying or laughing. That was how it was…(Mwana Nyota).*

She was the highest academically achieving girl in the Ifo Camp in the KCPE [Kenya Certificate of Primary Education], an achievement which earned her a

scholarship to a reputable secondary school outside the camp. She had high hopes and foresaw a bright future as she prepared to join the school. Similarly, she thought the scholarship would relieve her mother of the burden of paying for her education. But, to her disappointment, the transition through secondary school was rough and she was emotionally unprepared for the turbulence that emerged. She narrates her experience as follows:

> *Windle Trust offered a scholarship for the best girls in the camp… We were taken to Kiti Moto Girls Secondary School…you know the picture I had in mind of high school I was going? … What I found was so different…it was a struggle to get food… when you have a problem with your desk mate at night you will find a gang [of girls] waiting for you. It wasn't the life I was expecting, because to me I was escaping camp [life] because I knew fighting was all in the camp, all that confusion was in the camp. I wasn't expecting it in high school…*
>
> *In Form Two I managed to become number one overall. I got an A–(minus)… I celebrated but the funny thing is, I was called by the school team and was told students have accused me of cheating; they did an investigation… They would come to my desk, check what I had been reading for the exams and then they were asking whom I was reading with…there was a time they accused me of stealing their Geography text book…they investigated me. At the end of the day, they found there was nothing. They gave me my results.*
>
> *I told my mom…I don't want to go back to that school… In January in 2012 I stayed in the camp… Mom decided to take me to a private school, but it was expensive. Windle Trust agreed to pay…that amount was little, it couldn't help… When I was in Form Four, it was difficult, my mom said, 'you just leave school'. We agreed with the principal that I would be coming for the exams. And that's how I did it… I did KCSE got a C+. It was so bad. When I was in high school I was promised…scholarship to UK if I get a B [plain]. When I got a C+ I knew I lost the opportunity… I lost hope of everything. Then Dafi came around, I applied, I didn't know I would get it, yeah that's how it was (Mwana Nyota).*

Unlike the other three participants who had family relations in the camp, Angaza, after arriving like 'a parcel' in the camp at the age of 15, lived alone. The majority of the members from his community were busy processing papers for resettlement in the USA. The anxiety to leave the camp preoccupied them. Angaza therefore lacked social and moral support that initially affected his adjustment to life in the camp. With time he adjusted and sailed through primary school. However, he also lacked significant others to support and guide him through secondary school and after. Here is part of his story:

> *In primary school my life was good. Because…I had some basic knowledge when I joined school… I was not embarrassed of my age…we had others who were older… I used to perform well…after KCPE [Kenya Certificate of Primary Examination] we were sponsored… I went to Uwezo Secondary School [not real name]… I faced many challenges… my income was cut off, I had bad feelings of boarding school. It affected me a lot and then…the scrambling for food and water…I was very soft…I could not queue… Sometimes I could go without food a whole day… I had an ulcer…in Form One…it continued liked that…in Form Three the income revived but it was too late.*

By the time we were sitting for KCSE [Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination] I didn't do well, but I had a grade which can take me to university. I didn't have any information about these scholarships… I finished high school in 2010, and in 2012 went back to the refugee camp…some friends…were just about to be taken to Canada… I was surprised, I thought it was resettlement process but they told me it's WUSC… Friends advised me to repeat but I did not have time…they told me to involve myself in any community work like teaching… I appreciate them. Now they are in Canada..am now a scholarship beneficiary (Angaza).

Mwenye Taji arrived in the camp as unaccompanied minor and registered as an individual. Luckily, he had relatives at the camp who facilitated a smooth transition. Despite the social support, joining nursey school at 12 years made him uncomfortable among three to four-year-olds. School and classroom rituals were unfamiliar. For example, classmates sat on the floor, which was dusty because there were no desks and stood up when a teacher entered the classroom; they all responded in a chorus when the teacher said *good morning*. These observations may seem trivial but he was not aware of what to do and therefore felt embarrassed. However, he quickly acclimatized to the classroom rituals and learning. He was an above average student except in Kiswahili language, which he described as *permanent head damage*. He attended a secondary school in the camp and rose to become a leader in a number of student clubs. During the conversations he choose to focus on the positive and summarized the experience by stressing the need to "forget those challenges . . . because the challenges are the ones that always shape you to become better as you go on the journey" (Mwenye Taji).

1. Challenges: Obstacles or Gates to the Horizon

Hunger was mentioned as a challenge by three out of four participants. Maono was the odd one out because he came from a wealthy background and his uncle had a shop in the camp. Mwenye Taji and Mwana Nyota's guardians had to work around the camps to supplement the weekly ration and for the former, though he attended secondary school in the camp, he couldn't make it home for lunch and supper was never ready until after 8pm. "If we have to eat, I won't go to school in the afternoon. It is not possible" expressed Mwana Nyota.

In addition, the secondary schools Angaza and Mwana Nyota attended did not seem to offer enough food to teenage learners, a characteristic of boarding schools in Kenya. The two did not have enough pocket money to supplement the food given in the school dining hall. So hunger pangs were a daily occurrence.

Crowded classrooms and difficulties encountered when learning Kiswahili language were Mwenye Taji's greatest challenges. For Angaza, it was poor health, food shortage, lack of information about available scholarships and lack of ambition or aspirations due to lack of social support.

Maono highlighted two challenges: little pay for those who served in Daadab schools as untrained teachers and what he termed as *untrained teacher challenges*.

For him, untrained teachers had limited knowledge of the content and pedagogical skills and therefore contributed to poor performance in the schools.

Mwana Nyota's experiences in the camp brought out six unique challenges, which introduce a gender perspective to the data. Her biographical narrative articulates issues such as an unsafe environment for a female child to walk alone to school, bullying in secondary schools, loss of peer support when her study group migrated to the USA, neighborhood conflicts between families and stigmatization of single parenthood in the camp.

CONCLUSION

This study was informed by standpoint theory and philosophical hermeneutics and implemented using participatory research design. The theories remind us of the need to understand the other's perspective, particularly lived experiences. Our focus was on refugee university students in Kenya and their experiences of living and learning in Daadab Refugee Camp. The 16 participants represent adults who have lived and benefited from the school system in the camp since childhood. The four biographical narratives speak of a high level of resilience typical of those who persevere and stay in school, despite the uncertainties which are characterized by systemic inequalities in refugee camps. The biographies tell of the participants' support systems and their impact, their gatekeepers who over time became their eyes and ears, ladders and bridges to the various opportunities in Daadab Refugee Camp, particularly those educational. These support systems also fueled participants' aspirations for scholarships to the university. These biographies of perseverance contribute to our understanding of successful pathways for refugees' learning and teaching that is necessary in order to improve their access to equitable and effective education. The 16 participants represent a category that has benefited after many years of resource mobilization by UNHCR and collaborating agencies for support for university education for refugees. More research is needed on comparative and international perspectives on refugee education[2].

NOTES

1. KCSE is the Kenya Curriculum Secondary Examination required of all students to complete their secondary school education.
2. This research was supported by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2013–2018). Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jennifer Wanjiku Khaamasi, Dedan Kimathi University of Technology, P. O. Box 657–10100 Nyeri Kenya. Contact author: wanjiku.khamasi@dkut.ac.ke

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Re-Accessing Higher Education

Regulations and Challenges for Refugees in Austria and Turkey

SEYDA SUBASI, MICHELLE PROYER AND TATJANA ATANASOSKA

INTRODUCTION

Due to the recent refugee movements, the agenda of host countries is overwhelmingly busy with hosting refugees and, as expected, this discussion is mainly framed by integration and employability of the newcomers for which education is crucial. As Morrice (2013) argued, the chance for the young refugees to access especially higher education would play an important role in developing a professional identity and finding employment. In addition, higher education achieves more than easing the employment process. Higher education is a human right cherished in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and holds a key role in bringing social, economic or personal benefits, increases the trust and civic engagement, raises competences and makes them more visible. Accessing higher education aids the post-conflict rehabilitation, empowers refugees and furthers justice to defeat gender or socio-economic inequalities (Avery & Said, 2017; Kamyab, 2017; Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). It should be accepted that refugees come from all different layers of society with their various skills and experiences; it is important to develop strategies and provide higher education opportunities where they can use their qualifications, training or previous experiences.

Higher education can be considered as crucial, especially for the refugees in a normalizing process where language, citizenship, options, rights and intercultural competences are developed (Milton & Barakat, 2015). On the other hand, as UNHCR (2015) showed, access to higher education does not only help build

a career by social and professional development, but at the same time encourages the younger individuals to stay in the school and pursue a career including higher education. In the light of this discussion, facilitating higher education for refugee youths should be given the utmost attention. Improving access to higher education, as listed in the Education Strategy of UNHCR 2012–2016 (UNHCR, 2012), is promoted by several institutions and initiatives with discrepancies in terms of national or local practices. However, access to higher education for refugees is constrained by regulations regarding eligibility to scholarships, unpayable study fees and a selective admission phase.

In this chapter of the book, we attempt to present the situation of higher education for refugees in Turkey and Austria. Our discussion mainly deals with recent developments due to the refugee influxes created by the instability in the Middle Eastern region, namely the Syria Crisis. In this crisis, Turkey acted as the first host for a great number of refugees who sought shelter and a safe environment. However, many of the refugees have seen Turkey as a transition possibility in their planned journey to Europe. In the earlier years of the Syrian war, providing humanitarian aid overshadowed educational needs and higher education was not on the agenda in Turkey for a long time. The increasing violence and expanding war in the neighbor country led to Turkey rethinking the permanency of the Syrian refugee population within its borders and offering education opportunities as a pathway to integration (Emin, 2016). On the other hand, Austria is mainly depicted as a target country in which to settle. It has a certain legal status for refugees and years of experience with this group (Dustmann & Frattini, 2011). During this so-called refugee crisis, the magnitude of numbers arriving and the unclarified points due to regulations or conventions within the EU zone were the main challenges for Austria.

Both countries may be bound to different regulations and laws on national, European or international levels, but the practices of these countries should be examined and analyzed through considering national or global improvements. Especially after the recent EU-Turkey deal concerning refugees, Turkey has more responsibility for receiving such individuals (Crul et al., 2017). It is therefore important to identify how refugees seeking to access higher education are catered by a European country as well as by a non-European but partner country.

Rather than comparing both countries on a specific number of issues, we include information about the demographic conditions of refugee population, the general higher education system in each country and higher education accessibility for refugees. The steps taken, the initiations and regulations made for facilitating higher education are discussed along with the challenges and adaptations, if any. On the other hand, some experiences and ideas of the people of concern are also included to provide insight in this chapter. Owing to the discrepancies between the legal statuses of refugees in each country, our discussion for Turkey centered itself on the Syrian refugees who hold temporary protection status. On the other

hand, our discussion about Austria is valid for all people holding refugee status, regardless of country of origin.

TURKEY

As the Syria Crisis has left its seventh year behind, Syrian refugees in Turkey face a "protracted situation" which means a long-lasting state of limbo (UNHCR, 2004). Refugees are expected to stay in Turkey for a longer period than expected, which requires extended commitments to assist their integration in the host country.

Turkey is a signatory to 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention and recognizes the educational rights of the people who had to leave their country and sought protection within its borders. However, Turkey applies this convention with a geographical limitation, which gives 'refugee' status to people affected by events only in Europe. People who come from out of Europe and cannot go back to their country are protected and provided with basic needs such as health, shelter and food by Turkey until settled in a third country; such individuals are called 'conditional refugees' (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2013). In light of this limitation, as a non-European crisis, the Syria Crisis created a group of people who cannot return to their country and who cannot be given refugee status by Turkey. The extremity of the human crisis and the significant continuous influx towards its borders led to Turkey regulating the legal status of Syrian refugees (Kaya & Eren, 2015). In October 2014, Turkey hence issued *Temporary Protection Status,* which gave Syrian refugees expanded access to health, education, the job market, and social service support. This law concerning foreigners and international protection forms the base for many subsequent regulations and initiations enforcing the rights of Syrian refugees (Komşuoğlu & Yürür, 2016).

According to the last update of the Syrian Refugee Regional Response (UNHCR, 2017), the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey reached 3,320,814 in November 2017, which makes Turkey the host country of one of the largest refugee populations in the world. However, as the refugee movements occurred abruptly, Turkey's response to the educational needs of the Syrian population was aimed at providing food, shelter and medical service, which expanded gradually by including formal education, adult education, vocational training and entrepreneur opportunities. In the earlier years of the Syrian crisis, educational decisions for Syrian refugees involved relatively short-term plans and aimed at continuing the education of Syrian refugee children with a Syrian curriculum in Arabic, overseen by voluntary Syrian teachers (Emin, 2016). Education started with schools in camps and Temporary Education Centers beyond camps, with these centers established as a quick educational response in the cities for a large number of refugees, an initiative which later spread to many other cities. As of 2016, there were 327,000 students

enrolled in these centers across Turkey where a revised Syrian curriculum is taught (Ministry of National Education, 2016). The number of Syrian pupils schooled in state schools was 75,000 in 2016, a number which is expected to increase in the coming school years due to the Ministry of National Education's plan to integrate Syrian students into the Turkish national education system gradually (Gümüş, 2017).

Higher education opportunities for Syrian refugees, on the other hand, appeal mainly to three different groups in Turkey: Syrian high school graduates without higher education experience, those enrolled in Turkish state high schools or temporary education centers and Syrian dropouts who seek to resume higher education in Turkey. Accessing higher education is met with several challenges for each group: having foreigner status, the Syrian high school leaving certificate, temporary education center graduation, missing documents to prove earlier studies, financial challenges, language barrier or the equivalency issues for dropouts (Institute of International Education, 2014; Kamyab, 2017; Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). With the efforts of Ministry of Education and Council of Higher Education, international and national NGOs and UNHCR, Turkey made some steps to ease these challenges and eliminate issues that hinder access to higher education. Although enrollment in higher education is critically low, it has an increasing trend. Statistics do not give an exact number of Syrian refugees aged 18–24 in Turkey, yet it is estimated that this number is around 445,000 (Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). According to the numbers shared by head of the Council of Higher Education, in the 2016–2017 academic year 13,663 Syrian students were enrolled in Turkish higher education institutions, a significant increase on this number in 2015–2016, 9,689 (Bianet, 2017).

The first challenge to discuss is legal status. As the temporary protection status guaranteed primary and secondary education, but only encouraged post-secondary education, becoming enrolled in higher education was not as easy a process as the other education levels. Syrian refugees are considered as foreign students when enrolling for higher education and should go through the same process with foreign students. University enrollment for foreigners or graduates of foreign high schools is possible through an exam in Turkey. Each university allocates its capacity for international students and acceptance depends on the score achieved in the Foreign Student Entrance Examination. Starting from 2010, each university conducts its own exam with its own criteria and in their choice of language. This exam is an option for Syrian refugees to facilitate their participation in higher education; however, the likelihood of acceptance can be affected by the quota that each university has as well as the nature of the scholarships, as international students must pay a high amount of tuition fees for their studies in Turkey.

This exam option is valid only for Syrian high school graduates who seek to access higher education in Turkey. However, graduates of temporary education centers in Turkey are not eligible to take this exam to start their career in higher

education, as temporary education centers are not considered either as Turkish or foreign high schools. To eliminate this equivalence issue between the graduates of temporary education centers and the graduates of Turkish high schools, the Ministry of Education and Council of Higher Education began holding an equivalence exam for the graduates of temporary education centers in 2015. The exam is called the *Temporary Education Centers Proficiency and Equivalency Exam* and provides eligibility to graduates or senior students of temporary education centers for higher education. The exam is conducted in Arabic and consists of 160 multiple-choice questions from the curriculum of these centers. If needed, students with disabilities are provided with special support and arrangements during the exam if they request such in their application form. The exam was conducted in 16 cities for 7,474 students in 2016 (Ministry of National Education, 2016).

The higher education dropouts are another important group of people of concern. Syrian refugees who had to quit their higher education due to the crisis in their country and settled in Turkey under the temporary protection status were given the right to transfer their previous studies and resume their education in an equivalent department. According to the regulation of the Council of Higher Education issued in October 2013 (Council of Higher Education, 2013), Syrian higher education dropouts of undergraduate, graduate or associate degrees could be transferred to a Turkish university. However, this regulation excludes medical and dentistry school dropouts. The requirements for transfer can vary among the universities to which students apply; however, high school leaving diploma, transcripts, course descriptions and proof of legal status are the most common documents asked for. Turkish proficiency is another requirement desired by some universities, while others may process the application without proof of Turkish proficiency.

Due to the abruptness of the crisis and quick evacuation, many Syrian refugees had to leave their documents behind, which created the challenge of missing documents. Another regulation of Council of Higher Education, in collaboration with certain Turkish universities, sought to remove this challenge. Syrian refugees who fail to prove their previous studies and cannot be transferred to an equivalent department were given the chance of attending universities on an audit base, which gave them the status of 'special student' (Council of Higher Education, 2013). With this status, they are not registered students in Turkey but in their own home university in Syria. They can transfer their credits from these seven Turkish universities to their home university if and/or when they return.

Another challenge is the financial burden of higher education. Within their already limited sources, pursuing higher education is almost impossible for many prospective students, especially those who want to study full time and have no choice of whether to work or not. Several national and international NGOs have been involved in supporting the Syrian refugees in their higher education journey through grants and scholarships. Prime Ministry Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related

Communities, UNHCR Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (DAFI), Orient for Human Relief (OHR), the Dutch NGO SPARK, Institute of International Education, HOPES and UNICEF are among the supporting bodies for refugees wishing to pursue higher education but who are struggling financially. Including all levels of higher education and language courses, 3,139 Syrian students are reported to receive scholarships through Prime Ministry Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). Fifteen percent of these scholarships' budget is contributed by national resources and 85 percent by the European Union (Prime Ministry Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, 2017). On the other hand, 75 Syrian university students were supported by DAFI in 2015–2016 academic year, with this number expected to increase to 1,000 in 2016–2017 (Bose, 2016). However, when the number of potential students is considered, the possibilities for financial support are still very limited.

Although Turkey has attempted to overcome such challenges with various solutions such as equivalency exams, grants or special students status, refugees' higher education participation is affected by other underlying problems. First, a lack of unity about the application process and application documents asked for by the universities is a difficulty. When the websites of the universities are examined, it is clear that many universities have their own way of conducting the Foreign Student Exam, while the content of the exam varies from one institution to another, which makes the preparation phase difficult for students. A prospective student explains his situation with the following comment:

I prepared myself for the exam in this city. I paid the application fee but if I cannot be accepted, I have to travel to another city for the exam in the other university. I have to pay exam fee again and I also have to take the bus and find a place to stay there. I cannot afford it. For me it is difficult to keep myself motivated because my friends say the exam is more difficult in other universities. I have to score more.

This situation also created the need for counseling before the application depending on the university being applied to by the student. However, NGOs or institutions that could counsel students about that matter are very rare across the country. That results in many misinformed prospective students, as Gataley (2015) suggested, which is very common among the refugees while receiving information and advice about educational opportunities. Another shortcoming in this case is accessing information about exam dates or documents as announcements are made online. Regulations and grant applications are mainly announced through online platforms, which requires access to Internet and computers or smartphones.

The language barrier is another issue goes beyond lack of grants. To increase Turkish proficiency, many universities, Turkish language centers and the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency offer preparatory language courses. Turkish proficiency increases the chance of accessing housing, scholarships and higher education (Alpaydın, 2017). C1 level is the desired Turkish proficiency

when beginning higher education in case the medium of instruction is Turkish (Yavcan & El-Ghalani, 2017). However, C1 level is reported to not be enough to follow class discussions, especially in social sciences. A registered political sciences student describes the language problem with the following comment:

Sometimes I do not understand what is being discussed in the classroom, as my Turkish is not so good. I was really good in Turkish courses before university but what I learned there is not enough here. After the class, I am asking my classmates and sometimes my professors. Yet, it is not enough to achieve good grades in the studies. It makes me more silent during the class and I am shy to say anything in the classroom.

In the study that was conducted by Yavcan and El-Ghali (2017), it was also found that language is an important problem that leads to limited integration in the university atmosphere and high non-attendance rates for Syrian refugees. On the other hand, English proficiency is another possibility to start studying in English programs; however, many Syrian students face similar language problems in English (Watenpaugh et al., 2014).

AUSTRIA

Like Turkey, Austria is a signatory to the Geneva Refugee Convention, with the legal issues related to the asylum application handled by the Ministry of Interior in accordance with European law, such as the Dublin Agreement (Asylum in Europe, 2017). The latter indicates that refugees' asylum applications should be handled by the first European member state where they touch ground. Additionally, the agreement between the EU and Turkey to refrain refugees from crossing the borders is another agreement that affects the situation in Europe as well as Austria (European Commission, 2017). Hence, the Austrian refugee situation is to be assessed beyond a national scale due to European deals and agreements.

Between 2013 and 2017, the number of asylum applications by Syrian individuals was 50,416, followed by Afghans with 48,798, while the total number of all applicants regardless of country of origin was 200,488 (Statistik Austria, 2018). Upon arrival in Austria, the police should register all asylum seekers within 48 hours. After the first registration, the Federal Office for Aliens and Asylum (governed by the Ministry of Interior) is responsible for the asylum application process. Decisions are based on individuals' backgrounds and in accordance with the Dublin Agreement. Once registered as acknowledged refugees in Austria (durations may vary depending on the country of origin and reasons for seeking asylum), they are entitled to social security, access to job market and education within the given regulations (Federal Office for Aliens and Asylum, 2018).

According to Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2017), 18,468 refugee children are registered in Austrian public schools in the 2015−2016 school

year. While 15,627 of them attend compulsory education, 2,841 of them are registered in upper levels.

All children living in Austria are obliged to attend school until the age of 15 or until they have finished nine school years. This obligation is also a service, which means that the federal school administration is responsible for finding a school place for this age group. This obligation to compulsory schooling is not dependent on the asylum status of the children or the parents. For the first two years, refugee children can benefit from language tuition in German of up to 11 hours per week (Ministry of Education, 2017). There are no official statistics about the number of hours offered; however, in recent years, not all children got the possibility to attend supplementary German as a Second Language Classes in their schools (Atanasoska & Proyer, 2016). This supplementary classes are a measure for all newly arrived students without sufficient knowledge of German, not only refugee children, and are granted for a maximum amount of two years. It can be said that Austria hitherto has adopted an integrative approach of offering newly arrived children a place in a regular classroom with extra support and measures (Ministry of Education, 2017). Only between 2015 and 2017, because of the high number of refugees and not enough space in schools, were refugee classes (in and outside of refugee camps) offered, which have all been closed after the 2016–2017 school year.

Those who enter the country at the age of 15 and attend the last year of compulsory education as non-regular students have the chance of attending these schools for a further year, with the same status to improve their German and other basic skills (Ministry of Education, 2017). Some refugee students were also offered a school place voluntarily or given a place in special classes. Those who do not have valid school leaving certificates from their home countries only have the possibility to enter adult education. Adult education offers courses in German for free (up to level B1) and to get the school leaving certificate for lower secondary schooling. Through the Initiative Adult Education (Initiative Erwachsenenbildung, 2018) all persons in Austria can attend these courses with or without a positive asylum decision. If students want to continue to tertiary level after these courses they would need to attend adult upper secondary schooling, which is offered in the evenings in selected urban schools.

Accessing upper secondary for those older than 15 is difficult as public education is no longer compulsory. Pursuing education after compulsory education can be challenging for refugees because of several reasons. First, the upper secondary school system in Austria is extremely diverse in school types. Furthermore, every school type offers very different specializations. Second, not all of these school types lead to a Matura, the school leaving certificate that gives students the possibility to apply for university. Third, the system of vocational schools is very specific for Austria (Eder & Thonhauser, 2015). These three reasons are factors that affect all upper secondary students, regardless of their legal status. For refugee students, there are further aspects that complicate their educational path in upper secondary

schools. As indicated by the Ministry of Education, Science and Research (2016), Austria has specifications as to which school certificates make students eligible for upper secondary schooling. If school certificates of the country of origin do not fit the scheme, schools are not obliged to offer a school place. In addition, missing certificates due to the flight process is another challenge for this group. Finally, upper secondary schools are free to choose whether they offer a school place to the child or not (Ministry of Education, 2017). Therefore, students after the age of 15 have more challenges to access state schools in upper levels.

After the age of compulsory education, vocational training is another option for young refugees. Getting a work permit for apprenticeship was made possible by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the age limit for such was increased from 18 to 25 for refugees as stated by the Job Market Service (2017). On the other hand, for those out of compulsory age with no prior school completion or even attendance, non-formal education offers literacy, language, basic computation courses etc. The Initiative of Adult Education offers information about all opportunities, requirements, registration processes, locations and times of such courses. Completion of such courses can lead to the attainment of the compulsory school certificate and accessing the upper levels of education.

Higher education in Austria is organized in accordance with the Bologna process as a threefold cycle of BA/BSc – MA/MSc – PhD studies and regulated through federal, state and European laws as explained by Ministry of Science, Research and Economy (2016). Apart from universities, there are a number of certified post-secondary institutions such as teacher training colleges and universities of applied sciences. In general, the following criteria enable access to higher education (Ministry of Research, Science and Economy, 2016, p. 31): the general university entrance qualification; the specific university entrance qualification for the chosen study course; knowledge of the German language, proof of artistic aptitude in case of arts studies; proof of aptitude for physical/motor skills when wishing to follow a teacher training program for the subject of physical education and sports as well as for studying a course of sports science; and confirmation that the selection procedure was passed in case of studies that require an admission examination.

As with all other Austrian or foreign students, refugees can access higher education upon meeting the above qualifications. However, their access may be challenged by some other factors. The main barriers for refugees are language-related, bureaucratic and financial issues. As the picture presented to prospective students is rather patchy (with a number of initiatives presenting varied study opportunities, offering contact persons and information related to the specific universities of interest), accessing higher education is challenging for many.

The required proficiency in German has been individually set by different universities/faculties/institutes, but from September 2018, only the level C1 will be accepted when students take their language exam outside of university

(Bundeskanzleramt, 2018). If students attend the VWU, the preparatory courses for fulfilling their individual requirements before they can become regular students in the field of their choice, the final exam will have the level of C1 (Bundeskanzleramt, 2018). This has been a big change as up to now B2 was sufficient for the study of most subjects in the day-to-day practice of admission procedures. Austria offers German courses for free in the Initiative Adult Education (Initiative Erwachsenenbildung) up to B1 level free of charge. The fees for German tests and course fees for German courses on a higher level have to be paid by prospective students themselves, while the VWU is not free of charge; prospective students hence finance their own language learning from the B1 level on. Sometimes a change of place can be a solution for getting admission to the university. A potential student with a refugee background had tried to enter his favorite university program in Vienna but failed because he would have had to enter a study preparation course, VWU, which requires a C1 level (Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research, 2017). This student contacted other universities in Austria in order to check admission requirements and decided to move to another city as it became clear the university there would give him admission directly. On the other hand, some study programs (e.g., mainly postgraduate levels) also expect a certain level of English. This presents a problem for those refugees who had a very high level in German but could not obtain the required level of English for their field of study.

As in many other systems, the general logic of bureaucracy and acknowledgement of school leaving certificates is another issue. The authority to recognize the foreign school-leaving certificate is the Rectorate and recognition can be obtained by three ways. Equivalence based on bilateral or multilateral agreements between countries or universities is mainly irrelevant in the case of refugees. Equivalence based on a decision of the higher education program and study board of the program is another way to attain equivalence. Elsewhere, nostrification/validation through the joint initiative of the European Commission ENIC-NARIC is another option to recognize school leaving certificates, degrees or diplomas (Wadsack-Köchl & Kasparovsky, 2015). However, while academic degrees might be acknowledged through these ways but not fully. Applicants may be prescribed for extra courses or exams to attain equivalence. In addition, applicants can be appointed to another area of study, which can close the door on opportunities to continue one's studies or follow up on career paths.

Financial issues is another challenge. Currently, there are no study fees for students who have long-term residency in the country (except students with student visa and short-stay visas) during the minimum amount of study time with two extra tolerance semesters. However, although there is no fee, students cannot be on social welfare and study at the same time, as people on welfare have to be at disposal for full-time employment; this financial support is taken away upon starting studies, as full-time students cannot have full time employment. Many of the advising agencies or NGOs supporting potential students have raised attention towards the fact that all monetary

social security ceases as soon as an acknowledged refugee starts studying as an ordinary student at an Austrian university. Thus, if one does not have financial means, which is the case for most refugees, higher education can be very difficult to maintain.

For those who cannot go through the higher education application process for some reason (financial, language, missing documents, equivalence etc.), there are non-degree options that offer orientation for higher education in general, academic/artistic studies and language training. The nationwide initiative MORE for refugees was launched in 2015 and now all 21 public universities are part of it. Universities from Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Klagenfurt, Leoben, and Linz offer courses that refugees can attend. In addition, some of these courses are specifically planned for refugees. Since the conception of such courses, 2,600 students have taken part in the program, while in the winter semester of the 2016–2017 academic year 855 people were signed up for MORE courses (Uniko, 2018). The program aims to harness the talents and skills of such individuals and offers a non-bureaucratic registration process. However, the courses cannot be transferred to another degree program although a certificate of attendance is provided at their conclusion. Other non-degree but open access options for refugees are Open Class for Refugees, an initiative by Carinthia University of Applied Sciences to help refugees improve prospects of higher education, as well as Open Learning Initiative in the University of Vienna to prepare refugees for bachelor programs (Olive, 2018).

Another challenge is to receive information, advice or guidance about higher education opportunities in Austria. Prospective higher education students should acquire the help of various NGOs to attain such information. Several help organizations such as NGOs, i.e. Caritas, Interfax, Integration, Menschen or friends, the Internet and student councils of universities can assist those interested.

CONCLUSION

Both Turkey and Austria have implemented initiatives for enabling higher education to the refugee population. As Ahmadzadeh et al. (2014) detailed, Turkey offered refugees some flexibilities and positive discrimination to access higher education. Despite several challenges, Turkey has made commitments and adjustments to increase and ease the access to higher education for refugees with the help of international organizations or NGOs. Austria, on the other hand, has a more straightforward process, which is valid for all prospective students of higher education regardless of legal status. Instead of adjustments and adaptations, Austria prefers a process where refugees are integrated into present regulations, seen with the temporary education centers operating in Arabic in Turkey as opposed to the integrating of all refugee children directly into the national education system in Austria.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that challenges experienced by refugees with higher education prospects were similar in both countries. Financial issues, language issues and missing documents are some challenges that are valid across borders. However, concerning free language courses, Austria has a more structured language offer due to its integration policies. Although to a certain level (B1), German courses are offered both by adult education centers and Job Market Service as professional and personal development, free of charge to all refugees.

The differences observed in these two countries should be discussed carefully when taking their approaches to refugee education into account, as Turkey and Austria do not share the same refugee context. Having hosted refugees and immigrants for many years, Austria stuck to its regular processes in terms of employment, education, social welfare or higher education for refugees despite some adaptations. On the other hand, as a country that does not experience such a refugee influx regularly, Turkey came up with short-term solutions, which had to be later adapted for enabling long-term residency of the newcomers. In addition, the geographic location of the countries can be another reason for the discrepancies, as the refugee population in Turkey fluctuated within and beyond its borders due to the changes in crisis areas (Syria or Iraq). The permanency and motivation of the refugees to settle and potentially pursue higher education can be affected by the improvements in Syria as well as deals with the EU.

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Higher Education, Hospitality AND Onward Movement

Eritrean University Students and Ethiopian Refugee Policy

JENNIFER RIGGAN AND AMANDA POOLE

INTRODUCTION

As one of the largest refugee hosting states in the world, Ethiopia is in the process of rewriting its refugee laws to become a more effective long-term host of refugees, resulting in policies designed to encourage refugees to stay in the country rather than migrating to Europe. Ethiopia is now being rewarded for its planned policy changes with financial resources from donor nations as well as political capital and international recognition of the country's ostensibly stabilizing leadership in a turbulent region (Riggan & Poole, n.d.). In moving towards local integration and away from long-standing policies of encampment, Ethiopia joins other countries such as Jordan and Uganda in viewing refugees as potential economic assets. The proposed policy changes promise to give larger numbers of refugees access to education, the right to work (including in new industrial parks) and the right to reside outside of camps. The provision of higher education to refugees is central to these policy changes and is often thought of as key to discouraging dangerous onward movement.

The care of refugee youth in large refugee hosting states in the global south in general, and the provision of education in particular, are seldom talked about as a key strategy to prevent onward movement of refugees. Even less frequently discussed in the literature are the questions that education and care of youth raise about the political belonging of refugees in their host states. This paper seeks to begin to fill this gap in the literature by critically examining the provision of higher education

to Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia as a means to slow down the onward movement of Eritrean refugees to Europe.

Elsewhere, we have argued that Ethiopia uses the fluidity and openness of its borders to solidify its international reputation and garner resources for its development projects (Riggan & Poole, n.d.). Our ethnographic research explores encounters between refugees and varied state bureaucracies and actors, placing a special emphasis on higher education. We demonstrate that Ethiopia is engaging a somewhat novel form of *transnational state-making*, suggesting that managing transnational flows, shoring up sovereignty and strengthening the state are not divergent processes. However, while playing host to large numbers of refugees seems to benefit Ethiopia, the effects of these hosting policies on refugees' plans to migrate are less clear. Refugee decisions about onward movement hinge on a number of factors including their sense of political belonging in Ethiopia and ability to carve out a viable future.

Examining higher education allows us to explore how the host-refugee relationship is politicized locally and globally. We posit that the provision of education to refugees in Ethiopia is central to the country's efforts to promote itself as a benevolent political hegemon in the region, as well as a transnational actor. Many of Ethiopia's educational policies have been funded by international actors and have implicit (as well as sometimes explicit) political aims. The expanded provision of university education to refugees is intended to stem the flow of onward migration to Europe. More locally, Ethiopian government representatives argue that the provision of education serves as a form of grassroots diplomacy. Finally, education becomes a critical focal point for refashioning refugees from dependent victims to economic actors.

Below, we describe how a college scholarship program for refugees in Ethiopia has become central to the broader policy shift towards integration and discouraging secondary migration. We then draw from our ethnographic research with Eritrean refugees to explore the paradoxes of these policies for refugee youth struggling to navigate the opportunities and constraints surrounding life for refugees in Ethiopia. We focus on Eritrean refugees in particular here; while Ethiopia is host to refugees from 19 countries, Eritrean refugees are important to examine because they are arguably the vanguard for new refugee policies in Ethiopia. They are more integrated and have enjoyed more freedom of mobility than other refugees in Ethiopia since the out of camp policy for Eritreans was introduced in 2010. Additionally, given the complex relationship between Eritrea and Ethiopia, which oscillates between war and peace as well as violence and hospitality, studying Eritrean refugees helps us understand the fusion of regional and global politics, personal prejudices and stereotypes, as well as processes of refugee management. Finally, we argue that ethnographic research focused on higher education for refugees in hosting states is critical to understanding refugees as more than suffering victims, but as people with

aspirations who face complex choices that exist in the interstices between policy as written and policy in practice.

METHODOLOGY

This paper draws from ongoing multi-sited ethnographic research on the effects of Ethiopia's changing refugee policies on Eritrean refugees. Over the course of the 2016 academic year we conducted fieldwork in two refugee camps in Northern Ethiopia and urban areas where refugees reside both informally and formally (through the out of camp or college scholarship program). Our research involved observations of classrooms, interviews and focus groups with students and teachers, as well as participant observation in the camps overall. Additionally, we reviewed policy documents, analyzed media related to refugee issues as well as interviewed Ethiopian government officials and NGO employees in the camps and Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital. Finally, we conducted three focus groups and a series of in-depth interviews with Eritrean university students in Ethiopia, both in Addis Ababa and Tigray.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND REFUGEE EDUCATION

Most migration policy debates, particularly in the Horn of Africa, focus on push and pull factors, thereby neglecting complexities of refugee political agency, regional histories of state-society relations and refugee understandings of the local political economy, all of which frame migration decisions. Meanwhile, studies of refugee education provide important insights into the pivotal role that education plays in securing the well-being of refugee populations without exploring the values and purposes of education for refugees or how migrants perceive social opportunities afforded to them by education. Education may provide a sense of normalcy, give hope to youth who may otherwise seek destructive outlets, promote healing, convey skills for resolving conflict and protect groups at risk of exploitation and recruitment into militias (Oh, 2010; Sinclair et al., 2001). Education for populations affected by conflict may expose and heal social fissures and promote skills for citizenship (Crisp et al., 2001; Oh & van der Stouwe, 2008). However, the question of how education configures the political agency of refugees and whether it influences refugees' decisions about whether to stay in the host country or move on has seldom been asked.

In order to focus on the political agency of refugees, we draw on and make contributions to the anthropology of refugees. This literature shows that refugee management is an intensely political practice. Ethnographic research with people who have lived as refugees in camp settings (Malkki, 1995; McKay, 2012; Poole,

2009, 2014; Williams, 2014) reveals camps as globalized networks that restructure people's relationships to each other, their home country and host state. Political life continues in and through practices of humanitarian governance, which in some cases becomes a platform through which refugees may develop new forms of political identity as well as stake claims to rights and resources (Fassin & Pandolfi, 2010; McKay, 2012; Ticktin, 2011). Despite the common depiction of refugees as passive victims and the general exclusion of refugees from decision-making processes, refugee agency takes shape via individual and collective responses to times of struggle (Mahklulu et al., 2010; Treiber, 2015; Utas, 2005). While the anthropological literature on refugees seeks out examples of agency, the overwhelming focus of this work is often on suffering as well as the tremendous difficulties and loss faced by displaced peoples who become subject to inadequate and often dehumanizing forms of humanitarian care and control.

Ethnographies of refugees have largely neglected education. The lack of ethnographic research on host country education programs is notable, given that education plays a substantial role in developing political agency, particularly in times of conflict (King, 2014; Riggan, 2016; Shepler, 2014; Smith, 2013). We address this gap by considering the role played by education policies and programs in the reconstitution of political life for displaced peoples and, stemming from this, in their decisions to remain in their region of origin or risk their lives to migrate onward. In doing so, we shift the focus from struggle and suffering to appreciate the complex ways in which refugee youth engage with the hosting state, navigate the paradoxes of policy shifts and work to realize their aspirations.

ETHIOPIA'S CHANGING REFUGEE POLICIES IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

In June 2017, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, spent World Refugee Day in Ethiopia. Visiting a refugee camp in the Gambella region, Grandi announced that "We must help Ethiopia to carry out this heavy responsibility and also be inspired by Ethiopia because it is a very shining example of African hospitality and international hospitality." Given that Ethiopia is at the center of an array of initiatives intended to stem the flow of refugees into Europe, UNHCR's selection of the country for its 2017 World Refugee Day celebrations was surely not accidental.

The so-called refugee crisis in Europe has recently spawned new policy directions and applied theories which suggest that refugees and host states can benefit from refugees remaining in their regions of origin (Betts & Collier, 2017). While countries in the global north seek to curtail the number of refugees entering their borders, host states located in the global south, close to refugees' home countries, are

poised to work with donors to reconfigure the ways they host refugees, discourage secondary migration and retain them long-term.

During the September 2016 Refugee Summit (of which Ethiopia was a co-host), Ethiopia made nine pledges oriented towards greater local integration and improving the livelihoods of refugees. First, it pledged to expand its out of camp program (OCP) to 10 percent of the refugee population. Currently, the OCP program is only available to Eritrean refugees and allows those who are able to show that they have a relative who can support them in Ethiopia to live out of camp; the pledge promises to make this available to other refugee populations as well. Two pledges also promise to make work permits available to some refugees and create 100,000 jobs in industrial parks of which one third would go to refugees. Other pledges intend to make land available to 100,000 refugees and enable local integration for refugees who have been in Ethiopia for more than 20 years. Pledges also promise to enhance social services and provide documentation such as birth certificates, drivers' licenses, marriage certificates and bank accounts. Most notably for this paper, one pledge is devoted to expanding access to education.

The pledges have resulted in the rewriting of the 2004 Refugee Proclamation, the draft of which is currently awaiting a parliamentary vote. Given the support that the Prime Minister has given for the Proclamation, those involved in the political arena believe that it should have no problem passing. Additionally, Ethiopia just launched civil registration for refugees, enabling them to register vital life events (i.e., birth, marriage, death, divorce) with government agencies (UNHCR 2017c). Given Ethiopia's previous policy of encampment, the pledges represent a substantial shift in the approach to dealing with refugees; however, it should also be noted that Ethiopia has not yet proposed to move all refugees out of camps. Also, the everyday experience of refugees involves a great deal more surveillance and containment than is suggested by the magnanimity of the pledges. Refugees are particularly skeptical as to whether the pledges will result in additional mobility and the increased ability to engage in legal livelihood activities through the provision of work permits.

Ethiopia's hosting of refugees might be seen as part of the global trend towards 'humanitarian' or 'compassionate' bordering. What Polly Pallister-Wilkins terms "humanitarian borderwork" attempts to "govern mobility" while "alleviating the worst excesses of violence that take shape around sovereign borders" (Jones et al., 2017, p. 59). Efforts of countries in the global south to retain refugees can be seen as a form of humanitarian borderwork as it keeps refugees away from the borders of countries in the global north, but does so in ways that ostensibly improve the lives and safeguard the humanity of these individuals. Consequently, humanitarian borderwork begins long before refugees arrive at or near the border that they ultimately wish to cross.

Ethiopia's new policies of preventing onward movement may be considered a component of humanitarian borderwork because they are often discursively framed by the humanitarian goal of preventing life-threatening irregular movement, a phenomenon that Ethiopian and international agencies identify as a human rights priority given the extreme dangers involved with human trafficking and the scale of irregular movement. The 81,000 registered Eritrean refugees (of an estimated 150,000), were found not to be present in the camps in 2015 and are suspected of having moved on through irregular channels (Samuel Hall Consulting, 2014; UNHCR, 2016).

Much of Ethiopia's role in humanitarian borderwork pivots on the care of refugee youth. The growing arrival of unaccompanied minors from Eritrea (reaching 150–200 per month in 2014) and their vulnerability to human trafficking (USCRI, 2015) has illuminated the Ethiopian state's caretaking role as part of these processes of humanitarian borderwork (UNHCR, 2014). The scale of secondary migration is particularly astounding in its effect on youth: of the 300–400 Eritrean children arriving in refugee camps in Ethiopia each month, approximately 200 are subsequently leaving (USCRI, 2015). Consequently, these youths have become a particular focus of programs designed to curb the secondary migration of refugees out of Ethiopia. Youth are often seen as the most vulnerable members of society; through the education and care of such individuals, Ethiopia can best promote its reputation as a caring manager of refugees, both among international organizations and Eritreans themselves. Given international concern about irregular migration from Ethiopia, these care-taking policies have tremendous political currency.

Ethiopia struggles to maintain its image and standing as a stable regional power in the face of the past year's widespread domestic unrest, the past fall's government crackdown on dissent and the highly visible critiques of the state leveraged by Ethiopian emigres and refugees (Human Rights Watch, 2016). For a country that asserts itself as the only peaceful place in a turbulent region, this has raised concerns about whether Ethiopia is the benevolent and stabilizing force that its allies have long imagined it to be (Gettleman, 2016). The Eritrean-Ethiopian context illuminates a broader pattern of international relations that takes shape around refugee issues, both within Africa and between Africa and Europe. That refugee management is situated within and framed by geopolitics is nothing new (Gatrell, 2013), but currently plays a particularly prominent role in African-European relations. Concerns with the flood of migrants into Europe continue to shape and reshape these political dynamics as the agendas of donor nations influence the nature of their support to African governments. Access to higher education for refugees has become a central component of Ethiopia's refugee policy and consequently its diplomacy. However, as we explore below, this is far from a seamless process for the refugees themselves.

PARADOXES IN THE NEW PARADIGM OF REFUGEE MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF ERITREAN REFUGEES

Eritrean refugees cite the opportunity to attend university in Ethiopia as an important and potentially life altering chance; however, they are also quick to note the challenges with doing so. In this section, we outline what we see as a paradox for Eritrean refugees, a sense of deep gratitude for the generous opportunity that higher education provides them coupled with frustrations at the limitations of this opportunity. We begin this section by providing an overview of ongoing political tensions between Eritreans and Ethiopians and explaining how these tensions infuse the everyday experiences of Eritrean university students in Ethiopia. We then organize this section around three central paradoxes related to higher education among Eritrean refugee students in Ethiopia. First, we discuss the paradox of bureaucratic indifference, noting that while Ethiopia is proud of its hospitable policies, refugees repeatedly recount the bureaucratic indifference of various actors with whom they are expected to work. Second, we describe the paradox of mobility and containment as it pertains to university students. Third, we discuss the paradox of hope created by educating students for jobs that they cannot legally acquire.

ERITREANS IN ETHIOPIA: AN INTRODUCTION

A common perception in Ethiopia is that Eritrean refugees are relatively better off than other refugee populations. This perception is in no small part due to two policies, the Out of Camp Program (OCP) and the university scholarship program. The OCP program, as noted above, was developed specifically to give greater mobility to Eritreans, many of whom had family in Ethiopia. In contrast, the university scholarship program, currently funded by UNHCR, is available to all refugees but is taken advantage of by much larger numbers of Eritrean refugees.[1]

Even though the Ethiopian state has been relatively open to Eritrean refugees, Eritreans in Ethiopia are still subject to various forms of symbolic and structural violence both because they are refugees and Eritreans in Ethiopia. Over the last 60 years, the relationship between the two countries has oscillated between war and peace as well as cold war/frozen conflict. Subsequently, Eritreans in Ethiopia have alternately been subject to a variety of forms of actual violence (i.e., war, detention, deportation), symbolic violence (i.e., prejudice, discrimination) and structural violence (i.e., legal structures that limit the rights of non-citizens). These forms of violence have shifted over time, frame the historical memories of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia and Ethiopian stereotypes or attitudes towards Eritreans, influence their sense of trust in the Ethiopian state and, thus, inform refugee encounters with the bureaucratic state.

Even though the Ethiopian state has facilitated the resettlement of Eritrean refugees and, in many ways, hosted them generously, Eritreans who flee are still stateless people without citizenship rights who experience restrictions on work and travel as well as limited access to participate in out-of-camp programs. Ironically, while Eritreans grapple with the precarious nature of life without citizenship rights in Ethiopia, some argue that Ethiopia may be the safest place for them (Connell, 2012).

The out-of-camp scheme, often seen as a great benefit for Eritrean refugees, is itself limited to Eritreans who can show themselves to be self-supporting. Doing so requires having a relative already in Ethiopia (meaning that these Eritreans fortunate enough to take advantage of the out-of-camp scheme are either part Ethiopian, had relatives fortunate enough to not be deported during the border war or have relatives who already returned to Ethiopia at a prior date). Given that refugees are typically unable to gain a work permit in Ethiopia and are consequently confined to the informal sector, the out-of-camp scheme perpetuates the liminality of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia. They are left struggling to find work in the informal sector, are often less well paid and feel precariously situated.

The restricted nature of the out-of-camp scheme means that some Eritrean refugees do leave the camps illicitly, without participating in the formal program; however, there are risks in doing so. When the UNHCR discovered that over 81,000 Eritrean refugees who had been registered in the camps were missing, efforts to locate these refugees led to a re-verification process in Addis Ababa in the spring of 2016 (soon to be extended to other urban areas). This process nearly doubled the number of refugees that are known to be residing in the capital (raising it from 8,000–15,000). Most refugees that were counted in the re-verification process were women and children, and their struggles in the informal labor sector belied the common conception that out-of-camp refugees are self-sufficient. Additionally, although somewhat rare given the flexible policies of ARRA, those who choose to leave the camps through informal means are precariously situated because their activities may be monitored by ARRA and they may be returned to the camp, or even imprisoned. Two interlocutors recounted stories to us of Eritreans being *found out* as illegally away from the camps and returned in one case, or imprisoned in another.

The experiences of Eritreans are embedded in a complex politics of belonging that ultimately reinforces their liminality. This politics of belonging seems to situate Eritrean refugees in contradictory ways and may account for the ostensible generosity of these policies compared to their very real limitations. Some political actors in Ethiopia seem to be skeptical as to whether Eritreans are economic migrants or political refugees. One of our interlocutors stated that half of the Ethiopians they met were welcoming and warm to them while the other half were hostile. Some Ethiopians stigmatize Eritreans as citizens of an enemy nation, at times even referring to them as *shaebia* the nickname of the ruling party in Eritrea, the

party that, ironically, Eritreans fled from. Others suggest they are opportunistic migrants from a wayward enemy nation who are just using Ethiopia and draining its resources. Some Ethiopians, however, seem to suggest that Eritreans are like long-lost children being welcomed back into the parent nation. How Eritreans, and their motivations, are constructed by different factions in Ethiopia is highly political and has implications for how policies are not only written but, perhaps more importantly, also implemented (not necessarily the same thing).

Our findings suggest that Eritreans chafe at both being represented as long-lost brethren who need to be welcomed back into Ethiopia and characterized as opportunistic economic migrants. Rather, Eritrean refugees retain a strong sense of Eritrean nationalism, despite having fled the Eritrean state. Several informants have told us that the Eritrean independence celebrations in the camps are more vibrant than they are in Asmara, the Eritrean capital. Arguably, the Eritrean national project has been quite successful in instilling in Eritreans a powerful sense of national identity even though Eritreans reject the Eritrean state, its policies and the legitimacy of the sole party that rules the state with an iron fist (Riggan, 2016). Such can be seen with ongoing Eritrean nationalism and the rift between nation and state figures in the development of Eritrean refugee agency, as detailed below.

THE PARADOX OF BUREAUCRATIC INDIFFERENCE AND HOSPITALITY

"They were supposed to buy me a suit for my presentation," one refugee university student told us early on in our fieldwork. This was one of the first things he said to us as we sat at a dusty café in one of the refugee camps in Northern Ethiopia. Why was a suit so important? "I didn't know who to talk to get the money." He went on, explaining that ultimately he had to borrow a suit from someone else to give his oral presentation before graduation, a rite of passage that involved dressing professionally. Eventually the funding became available, but it was long after he had graduated. This incident and many others like it are important because they reflect the everyday prevalence of what Michael Herzfeld would call "bureaucratic indifference" (Herzfeld, 1992). In Ethiopia, this bureaucratic indifference coexists with a political performance of hospitality in which ARRA officials publically praise their generous hosting of refugees and label refugees who complain about the way they are being treated as *ungrateful*. Yet refugees, in general, and university students, in particular, are constantly subject to the ill effects of bureaucratic indifference.

In interviews and focus groups, refugee university students described the negative effects of bureaucratic indifference in a number of other ways, noting in each case that no one was trying to hurt them, but the confluence of bureaucratic factors across a range of bureaucracies seemed to converge to work against their success. For example,

they mentioned that their stipend for academic supplies was woefully inadequate to allow them to make the required photocopies and, on top of that, was often late, meaning that one could not actually be a university student if you didn't have an outside source of income. Additionally, they described a great deal of bureaucratic indifference around the timing of the school year. Refugee students take the university entrance exam months later than Ethiopian students; by the time they are assigned to a university classes are often already in session, meaning they miss a great deal of class time which can be detrimental to their academic performance. Not only is the entrance exam stringent and hard to pass, particularly for refugees who may have been out of school for quite some time, even those refugees who had been admitted to university explained that the particular university one could get into was tightly controlled. Most refugees noted that access to the high prestige *first generation* universities such as Addis Ababa University was all but impossible and instead refugees were relegated to newer regional universities. Those refugees who were studying at Addis Ababa University described either masking their refugee status (and claiming to be Ethiopian) in order to study there or undergoing extreme processes of navigating various administrative gatekeepers in order to secure admission.

Bureaucratic indifference also occurs around decisions about which field of study refugees may be allowed to enroll in. Refugee university students described having to navigate and curry relationships with an array of gatekeepers in order to access the programs in which they wanted to study. At one university, access to high prestige programs (usually those which were perceived to lead to lucrative careers) were initially denied to refugees until they managed to cultivate a relationship with a dean who was sympathetic to their plight and advocated on their behalf. Previous university administrators, ARRA and UNHCR personnel refused to engage with their demands, suggesting that they should feel lucky to be in any university program at all.

The scholarship funding is also a resource that refugees believe they are supposed to have access to; however, refugees are not really sure where that money goes. University scholarships come from an array of NGOs as well as UNHCR. Refugees believed that some scholarships were supposed to provide more funding for them and yet all refugee university students received the same amount of funding. They noted the lack of transparency and the fact that all funds were filtered through ARRA, leading many refugees to believe that *their* money was somehow disappearing.

As they struggle to access resources, refugees have a keen awareness that their presence brings in significant resources and benefits for Ethiopia.[2] Refugee university students were aware that there were multiple funding sources for university scholarships and refugees themselves were not getting the entirety of these resources. Refugee university students frequently commented that they are an asset to the Ethiopian officials who praise themselves for their generous hosting, while the refugees see few benefits.

THE PARADOX OF MOBILITY AND CONTAINMENT

The refugee camps in the Tigray region have no walls, but the borders are very real. As in most states that host large numbers of refugees, there is a proliferation of spatialized zones of control similar to camps, systems of selective movement similar to out-of-camp and travel pass policies as well as what appear to be highly lucrative forms of border crossing that channel capital to new areas. Pass permits are also restricted to those who are recorded as participating in camp programs, doled out by neighborhood. It is often impossible for a married couple, or two family members, to get passes to travel together in this system. Like the pass permits, the out-of-camp scheme is also limited, in this case to Eritreans who can show themselves to be self-supporting. Doing so requires having a relative already in Ethiopia (meaning that these Eritreans fortunate enough to take advantage of the out-of-camp scheme are either part Ethiopian, had relatives fortunate enough to not be deported during the border war, or have relatives who already returned to Ethiopia at a prior date). Given that refugees are typically unable to gain a work permit in Ethiopia and are consequently confined to the informal sector, the out-of-camp scheme perpetuates the liminality of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia. They are left struggling to find work in the informal sector, are often less well paid and feel precariously situated. While *humanitarian borderwork* pushes for integration into host countries such as Ethiopia, this process is uneven and slow. For some, it seems not be an option at all.

The refugee scholarship program provides a much coveted opportunity to move freely while one is a university student. In all our interviews, refugee university students cited their ability to move freely while a university student as one of the key benefits of the program. Although this period of mobility and opportunity is highly valued by those able to enter the refugee college scholarship program, on graduation many find themselves back in the camps without the ability to gain a work permit. As one recent graduate shared, "I am here [in the camps] with those who graduated three or four years before. They are here doing nothing. Their future is spoiled. The more you are educated, the more you are suffering."

THE PARADOX OF EMPLOYMENT

Perhaps the greatest paradox of higher education for Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia and the one that most significantly impacts their decisions regarding onward movement is the ability to work post-graduation. At present, refugees cannot legally work in Ethiopia. Many, especially those who are able to take advantage of the out-of-camp scheme, find work in the private sector, doing quite well as teachers, business people or nurses in private hospitals. However, given that this work is tolerated, in some cases, but not legal, their lives are always precarious. We heard

multiple accounts of refugees being fired, having wages stolen or being paid far less than Ethiopian counterparts all due to their refugee status and the lack of legal protections for their work.

Additionally, refugees are keenly aware that even if they could legally work, jobs in Ethiopia are scarce. The refugee scholarship program is embedded in a broader Ethiopian context which has seen the rapid expansion of higher-education institutions and opportunities in recent years. This rapid expansion has led to an increased number of graduates entering a weak labor market amid a transformation in the social and economic significance of higher education; a college degree no longer guarantees a stable civil service job in Ethiopia (Mains, 2013). The lack of job opportunities for college graduates and the restrictions on work permits available to refugees further reinforces the sense of liminality that young Eritreans experience in Ethiopia. Access to both vocational and liberal arts education becomes a currency that may better serve them in their efforts to seek asylum in Europe or elsewhere.

The inability to get a job after receiving a college degree and, in many cases, finding oneself stuck back in a refugee camp is described by refugees as a key driver of onward migration. One refugee recent graduate who we interviewed last summer told us a tragic story about a friend and mentor of his who had convinced him, and many other refugees, to attend university and try to make a life for themselves in Ethiopia, instead of migrating. Our interviewee, who had just graduated and found himself back in the camp, described his shock when he learned that his mentor had himself lost hope and left Ethiopia on the dangerous journey to Europe.

CONCLUSION

The Ethiopian state's governance of Eritrean refugee university students creates new opportunities and choices, but also creates limitations and constraints. In the process of balancing limitations and constraints, Eritrean refugees develop new forms of political agency which work through and around their liminal status as they navigate the politics of being a refugee, particularly an Eritrean refugee, in Ethiopia. Significantly, Eritrean refugees' level of (dis)trust in the Ethiopian state to take care of them is a key factor in whether or not they decide to make a life in Ethiopia or migrate onward. The paradoxes we described above are key to this decision-making. This is important given that many of these policies are intended to encourage Eritrean refugees to stay in Ethiopia and yet do not seem to be having that effect. In response to the changing legal, bureaucratic and economic structures that govern refugees, the subject position of Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia is likely to shift from victims dependent on aid to theoretically self-sufficient economic actors. This will bring with it forms of structural violence and new opportunities. It will be essential to explore how refugee agency changes in response.

What all of this means is that despite intentions to the contrary, Eritrea refugees have a great deal of mistrust of their circumstances in Ethiopia and it is unlikely they will want to stay in Ethiopia in large numbers. It might seem, under these circumstances, that Ethiopia's use of its role as refugee host to curry favor with donor nations and promote a good international and global reputation for itself is on a collision course with the reality, that the situation for refugees in Ethiopia is unlikely to change a great deal in the near future and yet, due to restrictions of entry into Europe, they may find themselves in a position of not being able to leave Ethiopia.

As this new paradigm of refugee management unfolds, qualitative ethnographic research is essential to look at new forms of structural violence that result and how refugees respond to these new structures, as well as to examine the dialectical relationship between structural violence and refugee agency in light of changing refugee and border management paradigms that aspire to be humanitarian. Political anthropologists have long neglected the transformative, but unwieldy, political potential of higher education in their focus on victimhood and suffering rather than agency and healing. We contend that studying refugee higher education as a set of complex, ambiguous and multifaceted processes is essential to better understand this nexus of structural violence, refugee agency and everyday politics.

NOTES

1. We need to get accurate numbers of Eritreans in higher education in Ethiopia. These are hard numbers to come by,s but we will do so on an upcoming visit to Ethiopia.
2. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter to detail, one key way this is happening is through the organization of the Eritrean Refugee University Students Association.

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Higher Education Experiences OF A Female Syrian Refugee Student

Aisha's Student Journey

ZEYNEL AMAÇ, DURMUŞ BURAK AND MUHAMMET RUHAT YAŞAR

INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Syria began in March 2011 and since then there has been a great humanitarian tragedy, with millions of people being forced to migrate to other countries. More than 3.5 million Syrian refugees live in Turkey (Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM, 2017); while less than 10 percent are in the camps, the remainder of the refugees live in city centers (DGMM, 2017). Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2007) underscored the living conditions of refugees, especially those in the camps, where their survival is perceived to be dependent on "humanitarian assistance; in fact, as most critiques of the humanitarian aid regime reiterate, refugees are largely dependent on their own efforts to survive" (p. 283).

Many refugees see higher education (HE) as a hope for a better future and an empowerment tool (Crea & McFarland, 2015). Lenette (2016) highlighted two important reasons that HE institutions (HEIs) should understand and address the specific needs of refugee students: moral obligation and socioeconomic impetus. Crisp, Talbot and Cipollone (2001) summarized that education is an opportunity for refugees "to begin the trauma healing process, and to learn the skills and values needed for a more peaceful future" (p. 2).

Kilis is a frontier city, 40 minutes away from Aleppo, which has approximately 128,000 Syrians. The city is unique because there are as many refugees as the number of people in the local population (DGMM, 2017). Kilis 7 Aralık University (KIYU) is a state institution that currently serves 10,000 students and approximately

200 refugee students registered in various departments. When the university's potential is considered, the number of HE students in Kilis is too low. This can be a result of what Anselme and Hands (2010) identified as the challenges faced by refugees to access and succeed in HE:

1. Limited implementation of the existing legal and protection instruments,
2. The need for special support,
3. Post-primary education costs,
4. A lack of the recognition and accreditation of learning outcomes, and
5. Differential barriers to access.

Despite these difficulties, a handful of refugees met the required conditions for registration in HEIs and we believe that they should have a special place in the context of research in HE. Even with an increased interest in refugees' stories related to HE, it is surprising to see that so little research has been done on the topic, specifically from the perspectives of refugee women. The experiences of refugee women currently living in camps and attending an off-camp university remains one of the aspects to be explored.

LITERATURE REVIEW

HE and Refugees

Many refugees try to build a new life in their host countries by working in low-paying jobs, trying to increase job skills and looking for an opportunity to access education, while others are waiting to return to their home country. For the settlement in host countries, education is crucial (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010). Milton and Barakat (2016) have argued that HE can contribute to post-war recovery and, similarly, HE can "reverse the negative effects of militarized violence and activate community reconstruction from within" (Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010, p. 5).

Obtaining HE requires inspiration and self-confidence; however, some refugees lack the encouragement to access HE (Stevenson & Willott, 2007). Although HE is seen as a luxury for refugees (Zeus, 2011), it can be a "means to refugee empowerment" (p. 256). HE is also regarded as a route out of poverty and discrimination (Stevenson & Willott, 2007).

Refugee students in HE face some challenges. These include but are not limited to language, financial, academic and guidance problems (Hailu & Ku, 2014); unrecognized prior learning (Rasheed & Munoz, 2016); a lack of academic support from parents (Naidoo, 2015); informational barriers to navigating educational pathways (Bajwa, Couto, Kidd, Markoulakis, Abai, & McKenzie, 2017); and negative

views from both people of the host city (Rasheed & Munoz, 2016) and university students (Ergin, 2016; Polat & Kaya, 2017).

HE for Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Approximately 400,000 refugees are in the age of HE in Turkey (DGMM, 2017). According to the Council of HE (CHEd) (2017), there are 15,000 Syrians, slightly more than 5,000 of whom are women, enrolled in different HEIs in Turkey. Although the number is growing in terms of Syrian enrollment (CHEd, 2017), thousands of refugees are out of the HE system.

As a resettlement and recovery from the effects of war, many Syrian students attend different universities in Turkey. With the help of NGOs and the Turkish Republic, they have been receiving scholarships and Turkish language courses to register in HEIs. Copur and Demirel (2017) have identified four barriers Syrians face regarding access to HE in Turkey: financial, bureaucratic, language and social inclusion barriers.

Ilgar, Dogan, and Yildirim (2017) have reported that Syrian students were not aware of the educational opportunities available to them during their stay in Turkey. Sezgin and Yolcu (2016) have found that Syrian HE students face academic challenges and receive negative attitudes from their Turkish peers. To reach the Syrian youth population in the age of HE, including those living in the camps, to better accommodate them in HEIs and increase their academic achievement, more research is needed to determine their challenges as well as the barriers that prevent them from attending and succeeding in HE.

Refugee Women in HE

HE for refugee women is crucial because it is a life-changing and granting opportunity; however, women are "'visible' but 'invisible' migrants" (Harris, Ngum Chi, & Spark, 2013, p. 184). This means that refugee women's education is ignored for cultural and economic reasons. Although HE has economic imperatives, the existing grand narratives do not see them as worthy of investment. The traditional and cultural practices related to women's education have also been well documented by Wright and Plasterer (2010) as well as Harris, Marlowe and Nyuon (2015).

In contrast to their male counterparts, refugee women face extra challenges in HEIs (Joyce, Earnest, De Mori, & Silvagni, 2010) and describe their experiences in gendered terms (Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2014; Yakushko & Morgan-Consoli, 2014). While some activities are seen as suitable for males, the community from which the women originate does not approve these activities for female students. Additionally, their clothing and make-up are even regarded as unsuitable in the context of being a refugee.

HE can be a tool for refugee women's empowerment, especially in a society where they are not valued. McPherson (2010) has found that one of the most important goals of refugee women was empowerment through education. Similarly, HE is a platform for the empowerment of women (Uptin, Wright, & Harwood, 2016); this is important because HE affords women the "ability to make choices" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 37) and provides knowledge as well as skills for better employment (El Jack, 2010).

METHODOLOGY

This study engaged in a narrative inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). According to Murray (2008), the narrative is concerned with the "human means of making sense of an ever-changing world" (p. 111) and how human beings "both live and tell stories about their living. These lived and told stories, and talk about those stories, are ways in which we create meaning in our lives as well as ways in which we enlist each other's help in building our lives and communities" (Clandinin, 2006, p. 44).

Narrative inquiry is a qualitative approach that deals with how human experiences are interpreted (Caine, Estefan, & Clandinin, 2013). It is a "way to understand phenomena through stories lived and told" (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2017, p. 160), where researchers try to understand participants' lived experiences and stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

The purpose of this narrative inquiry was to explore the lived experiences of a female refugee student in HE by engaging in a critical dialogue that allowed us to listen to a female student whose voice had not been previously heard. Morrice (2013) indicated that learning more about refugee students' past experiences is important in understanding their HE life.

To better understand the student's story, we utilized a dialogical process. From the start to the end, in almost every part of the project, she was with us; she even selected 'Aisha' as a pseudonym. We were especially interested in Aisha's experiences, milestones and gender-related stories (Denzin, 2014). Throughout the data collection and analysis, we used a critical lens that allowed us to scrutinize the current state of refugee experiences. The central questions that guided this research were as follows:

How does a refugee student manage to attend a HEI?

How do her past and current experiences fit into the HE context?

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

We purposefully (Patton, 2015) chose Aisha because her life is unique, as she narrates below. The data were collected through in-depth and face-to-face dialogic interviews. They were conducted in two steps. In the first step, we conducted an extensive litera-

ture review to form open-ended questions in order to see Aisha's narratives as a whole. We contacted Aisha and told her about the project after obtaining approval from the IRB. She voluntarily participated in the study and our first interview took place on a Friday morning in a room of our faculty, where we again explained the project's goals and the procedure. The interview, during breakfast, took two hours and was audio-recorded with Aisha's permission. We transcribed it verbatim and each researcher analyzed the data independently, based on the critical narrative analysis (Murray, 2008), to identify the struggles and power relations. We then compared each other's analyses and subsequently all agreed upon Aisha's three roles: refugee, student and woman.

In the second step, we conducted a follow-up interview in a comfortable room of the faculty for a deeper understanding of the structures and key themes (power, education, woman, HE, refugee and culture) from the narratives from the first meeting. While eating some cookies and drinking coffee, Aisha shared her story for 50 minutes which we also audio-recorded and transcribed. During this dialogic interview, we focused on the key themes from the first interview.

Aisha read and re-read this paper's early drafts to ensure that she was satisfied with the analysis and our interpretations.

THE PARTICIPANT

Aisha, a Muslim Sunni refugee, is 23 years old, single and a Syrian Arab woman who has been living with her family in basic conditions in the camp in Kilis for five years. Her family has a low level of education; her father has a primary education and her mother is illiterate. Aisha refused her first marriage proposal when she was 14 years old and completed high school in Idlib, a city 100 kilometers from the Turkish border. She could not attend a HEI because of the war.

The civil war affected Aisha to the extent that she lost her elder brother and many relatives. She relocated constantly and finally fled to Turkey with her family in 2012; she has been living in a camp in Kilis since then. She shares a two-room, 21-square-meter container home in the camp with her parents, one brother and two sisters. Her family's sole income is Aisha's brother's irregular earnings. Aisha spent 1.5 years inside the camp without going out because her registration was delayed. Throughout this period, she tried to understand Turkey better and learned Turkish both in free courses and by herself to meet the entry requirements for HE. In 2014, she was able to register at KIYU, which is approximately five kilometers from the camp. She is now a junior in the teacher education program and her educational expenses are covered by her family's limited resources. She does not receive scholarships from any organizations.

Aisha volunteers in some community projects related to Syrians and environmental issues both in and outside the camp. She also helps some academics with Arabic translations for free.

RESEARCHERS

We work at KIYU, in Kilis, which is on the Syrian border. We know the social and cultural structures of the Syrian society and have been living with thousands of refugees in the same city for more than five years. Most importantly, we carried out projects related to refugee resettlement in Kilis and integration into Turkish culture. For this chapter, the researchers took equal roles in deciding on the topic, collecting and analyzing the data as well as finalizing the report. While conducting this research, we always took a reflexive (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) stand that challenges the power relations in society.

FINDINGS

Based on analysis of the interviews, three themes emerged, the three roles Aisha assumes in her life: woman, refugee and HE student. The theme 'refugee' is related to Aisha's current status and we examined her past and current profiles, changes in her roles as a woman and student as well as communal and individual shifts. For Aisha as a woman, we scrutinized a woman's place in her world as well as women's roles and responsibilities in her society. With regard to Aisha as a HE student, we identified Aisha's current special place, which is about her struggles in obtaining HE and social acceptance as well as in adapting to new roles, alongside her expectations after HE. The themes were interwoven in some points because the patterns in the narratives are interrelated. Aisha constantly compares her present to her past because her life centers around being a refugee, which we see as the way in which she makes meaning of her roles.

Aisha's life as a female refugee HE student as well as her current roles as a refugee, student and woman are the foundation of her narratives. We grouped her narratives into three themes: woman, refugee and HE student. These themes are closely related and combine social as well as cultural changes.

Aisha's current life is rooted in her experiences prior to being a refugee, so we followed a chronological order to present her narratives. We strived to underscore the changes in her situation and roles by comparing her current and prior life experiences.

AISHA AS A WOMAN

Being female in societies where traditional norms are still in effect is difficult. Women face many challenges to survive because they are powerless; their status is always secondary to that of men. This was also the case for Aisha, seen as she

emphasized the hardships of being a woman in the social and cultural norms of Syria by saying the following:

> It was difficult to be a woman in the city where I lived in Syria. I was always exposed to gossip. In the society, they interfered with the people you speak to and in the places you go, the clothes you wear, your choice of friends, and your marital status…

Aisha indicated that the society regulates women. The community constantly 'watches' women, from their participation in social life to their friendships, so as to hinder or dictate to them. Moreover, she explained how women play a secondary role to their husbands in the family, illustrated by speaking about her mother:

> My mother didn't have power; for example, to get permission for activities like school trips etc. we had to ask our dad! When we tell our mother about it, she always says we have to ask our dad.

Aisha clearly stated that a woman's role, even in the family, is limited. We can see that women are powerless in the society in which she lived in Syria. However, she also stated that women's power is related to education:

> To me, women's weapon is education. Women must get the best education because our society's builders are women. They're more important than men in raising kids. A well-educated woman will not only stand on her feet but also create a chain that better raises her kids, her kids' kids and then their kids.

Aisha uses the '*weapon*' metaphor for education as a symbol of power for women. She indicated that educated women can take a dominant role in society. Furthermore, Aisha's perception of women from her own community is evident in her symbolizing them as the driving force for building an entire society.

AISHA AS A REFUGEE

Becoming a refugee was an important milestone in Aisha's role as a woman, seen as she expresses the following:

> I learned to stand on my feet when we migrated. I can do many things now that I couldn't do alone in Syria and I trust myself now… The biggest factor is freedom in Turkey. I can go out on my own. I can go wherever I want. In Syria, there had to be a male with me while going out, like my father or one of my brothers.

It appears that Aisha was positively influenced in her personal life as a result of the forced change in the cultural environment. She stated that she can easily carry out many activities she believes would be difficult for her as a woman in the society back in Syria. However, in another narrative, Aisha highlighted some ongoing changes in her community:

> Society was mixed. We got something from people of Aleppo, Idlib, Lattakia and Turks too. Our eating, drinking and genetics were changed. Our people were changed so much… they lost their

values… They always think of money. Everyone's thinking of working a few jobs at the same time. Imagine if you take someone to the hospital as an interpreter, he or she wants money. Moreover, the number of early marriages increased… even polygamy. This situation was also the case in Syria, but it wasn't that common.

Aisha pointed out that immigration brings some negativities for her culture. Specifically, she thinks that people have begun to consider their material interests too much after immigration. Furthermore, although polygamy and early marriages occurred previously, the changed circumstances have worsened and popularized these negative situations.

AISHA AS A HE STUDENT

The woman and student roles in Aisha's pre-HE life are particularly reflective of the cultural values and social structure of her community. Coming to Turkey as a refugee became a breaking point in Aisha's changing roles. HE is also a confronting factor for this. When we look at the HE process in Aisha's narratives, a four-step pattern emerges: 'HE preparation,' 'admission to HE,' 'ensuring compatibility of other roles with HE student roles' and 'expectations after HE.' The first stage was the language barrier she experienced when she first arrived in Turkey. Aisha narrated how:

When we first came to Turkey from Syria, I came to the camp with my family from Hatay to Kilis by walking 150–200 kilometers on foot. It was very cold… it was a winter's day. We walked for hours. We were tired and hungry. When we reached the camp, we couldn't tell the situation at the gate because the officer didn't know how to speak Arabic and we couldn't speak Turkish… This situation also caused problems while we were settling into the camp and trying to make a living in the camp. Then, I thought I should learn Turkish… Yes, I learned Turkish in a year and a half through my own effort and participating in courses.

Learning Turkish was also important for obtaining HE. Through her own motivation, Aisha has endeavored to overcome the language barrier. By learning Turkish, she has empowered herself and acquired a pre-condition of HE she has been dreaming of since her childhood. This stage demonstrates Aisha's 'HE preparation' feature.

According to her narrative, after her acceptance, her family and community seemed to welcome her:

My family was delighted to hear that I was admitted to KIYU. They supported me; they appreciated my efforts. They knew that I would particularly have financial problems, but especially my dad said he would provide whatever was needed. The people in the camp were also supportive. Other girls even clearly expressed that they wanted to be in my place.

It can be said that the support from her family and community clearly provides confidence. Furthermore, other girls' wishes to be in her place can be seen as a

desire to 'exit from the refugee status' and escape the camp life, even if it is only for a short period.

> *Life in the camp's rather tough and tedious. There isn't even a tree! You live in a container constantly and it's also too difficult to get out of the camp. Because I'm a university student, I go out of the camp in the morning every day and I go back in the evening. I feel freer when I go out of the camp.*

She clearly sees going outside of the camp and becoming a student as a way to escape being a refugee. She stated that being a HE student is driving her away from camp life. This can explain why other girls desire to be in her place.

The second step of Aisha's HE life comprises her school-related worries during the early days at the university and overcoming them. She has been in the camp for a long time and experienced the most important and different cultural context outside the camp. This can be seen as the source of her initial worries:

> *I was afraid of starting university. How do my classmates react to me? How do the instructors welcome me? I even hesitated to mention where I was from when I first entered the classes… But I was warmly welcomed when they learned I was a Syrian. My concern's most important source was the social media. I read the problems between Syrians and Turks. I was afraid… the first day there were some Turkish girls. I asked them some questions. They laughed at me because my talk was different from theirs. But then when they learned I was Syrian, a friendship that's still going on was founded. Those girls graduated last year, but we're still in touch.*

Aisha's long stay in the camp probably caused her to think that she would have trouble outside the camp. She commenced with her HE with anxieties and thought about some problems she could encounter as well as some conflicts related to her refugee-student role. The reasons for this are her social media readings about cultural conflicts that occurred in the society. She was welcomed warmly by Turkish students and most of her instructors.

According to Aisha, one of the instructors made negative comments about Syrians during a private meeting with her. The instructor talked about how the Turkish government's incorrect approaches to Syrian civil war caused the flow of refugees and how, consequently, Turkey was filled with refugees. Aisha remembered that she remained silent during this meeting. She narrated this as follows:

> *I couldn't say anything. I just lowered my head. I said to myself many times, I'm not the cause, I'm just a victim of the war.*

We were aware that the instructor has long complained about Syrian students' lack of the appropriate academic and Turkish language skills. Although there were some negative attitudes toward Aisha, the majority of her instructors' and classmates' positive attitudes made her passing to the second phase easier. Acceptance is vital to break down the pressures of being a refugee. Although many refugee students face the "ignorance and insensitivity of academic staff" (Hannah, 1999, p. 164), Aisha passed the 'acceptance into HE environment'

phase without any significant problems. It is noteworthy that there is no institutional effort at this 'acceptance' phase. Her warm feelings about being accepted were made possible by the individual approaches of students and academics. We believe that the reasons there were no institutional efforts to make the transition easy (Gray & Irwin, 2013) for refugee students are the lack of initial preparation for the transformation of institutions to serve refugees better and the process's fast development (for example, Aisha took shelter in 2012. Three years later, she began her HE in 2015).

Based on Aisha's narratives, the third phase of being a HE student is an 'adaptation of the HE student role with others.' The important thing for Aisha at this point was to add the third role of being a HE student to her two other roles:

> *I come to school; I go to my courses. I have exams; I have assignments. It takes sometimes three hours to go to school and come back to camp because I usually go on foot to save money… When I come back to camp, I have some chores to do like preparing meals, washing the dishes, cleaning up… My mom's old and sick; so is my dad, but he provides me with all kinds of support in this environment. I feel I must fulfill this responsibility. At the beginning, this process, the camp, the house, and the school were too difficult, I was getting tired so much… Especially my classmates were very helpful in my assignments. My teachers were often understandable. I'm now used to this intensity. I carry all of these together.*

Aisha stated that, in the beginning, it was difficult for her to adjust to the role of a HE student. She has obvious realities beyond the academic campus (Harris & Marlowe, 2011) and the traditional gender roles (Hatoss & Huijser, 2010) are always there waiting for her. Refugee students face challenges because of their living conditions (Naidoo (2015), responsibilities and commitments (Joyce, Earnest, De Mori, & Silvagni, 2010). We observe particularly that the difficulty of being a refugee, the continuity of the role of woman in the camp and the responsibilities of being a HE student are central to her life. It can be said that her classmates' help in the HE environment and her teachers' tolerance are important factors for Aisha's adaptation to this role. In her narratives, she expressed that she adapted herself to this:

> *I feel closer to Turkish society. I criticize Syrian women. They believe in superstitions; they're weak. The most important reason for this is that they have no good education or no education at all. I see myself as strong; I think and I trust myself.*

The most important indication of her feeling is that she regards the women in her society as weak. Unlike other women in her society, she defines herself as self-confident and strong, prioritizing thinking before faith. She implies that education is important for this.

The final phase in Aisha becoming a HE student is her post-HE expectations. Her narratives are important to note here:

> *If the opportunity's given, I want to be a teacher of Syrian students when I graduate. Even if this doesn't happen, because I speak both Arabic and Turkish, maybe, it's said that in the future there'll be Ottoman courses in public schools; I can work as an Ottoman language teacher.*

Aisha expresses individual expectations after HE. She is planning to work in Turkey as a teacher for Syrian or Turkish students after graduation. If we relate this to her prior life, we clearly see changes in her living experience. When she uses the phrase "*if the opportunity is given*," she implies that Turkey will need to decide whether to allow refugees to work as teachers. It is an 'official' procedure the government should take into consideration:

> *Where I lived in Syria, women generally didn't work. However, after the war, many women started to work here. My family didn't want me to work either. This situation has changed completely. My father says that I can work if I find a respectable job. I can say this is a change in our culture.*

Aisha stated that her family would not allow her to work if they were in Syria; however, they now support her working in certain jobs, perhaps as a result of experiencing a new culture. When we asked about the meaning of "*respectable*" jobs, she replied that white collar jobs are respectable for her family. It can be inferable that although the cultural change is ongoing, her family still has limits for women. Aisha's family considers that being a HE student is a privilege for her; their desire for her to have a respectable job can be considered as a reflection of her HE, as El Jack (2010) pointed out.

In this narrative, Aisha expressed the post-HE expectations as follows:

> *But if the war's over and I go back to my country, I'll work to rebuild Syria. It's our greatest responsibility to use the education we receive. I especially think about establishing associations and working to raise awareness about women and children. The most important weapon for overcoming some problems, like early marriage and girls who are out of school, is education. I'm thinking of working for it.*

Aisha expressed what she wants to do for her community after graduation, as was the case for Crea and McFarland's study (2015). She emphasized the importance of her education specifically to reconstruct post-war Syria, believing that her education has laid the burden on her for the society. Aisha stated that she will work for disadvantaged groups in Syria by creating a social workplace for women as well as supporting women's and children's education.

DISCUSSIONS

This study provides a deeper understanding of what happened to a female refugee student during her stay in Syria and Turkey as well as the transition towards becoming a university student in Kilis. Refugee students face many challenges before, during and after HE. Language barriers, unvalued prior learning, finance and adap-

tation to a new culture are key among those challenges. As the narratives indicate, Aisha had to overcome these and similar obstacles in the process of obtaining HE. Based on the analysis of her narratives, there are three roles Aisha holds.

The first role is being a woman. This is important because being a refugee woman is difficult, especially in the context of traditional values that are highly regarded. Aisha's second role is as refugee, which is associated with her current status. She lives in a camp, in a different country and cultural context. Her third role is as HE student. She managed to achieve this by overcoming many challenges, including language, cultural differences and interrupted education. In a broader context, we see that refugee students, especially those female, have to deal with many problems, including gendered conditions both in society and the HEIs. Uptin, Wright, and Harwood (2016) warn that refugee experiences are complex and diverse, as well as that describing refugees as problematic can diminish them. Furthermore, as Aisha demonstrated to us, HE can be a way of empowering women and rebuilding war-torn countries. It is important to note that HE has the role of "changing gender roles" (Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2008, p. 394) in societies.

It is also significant to note that HE presents an opportunity for Aisha to give back to the community. Due to HE's empowering nature, she plans to give back to her community by engaging in different activities for women and children.

Aisha tried to easily adapt herself to the HE culture by socializing with classmates. As Hailu and Ku (2014) noted, this is important for refugee HE students in overcoming challenges in HEIs and reducing others' negative perceptions.

IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Young refugee students' HE experiences must be heard so that nations with refugees can better accommodate them, their well-being and integration into the host community. We believe that this study has significant implications for HEIs and refugees who wish to obtain HE. HEIs should prepare for refugee background students by initiating 'welcome programs' that include support services and scholarships. Moreover, all academics should be a part of the welcoming programs because these academics are a crucial part of refugees' HE experiences. The academics often come together with refugees to discuss the courses and their future plans, while negative perceptions of these refugees can prevent them from staying in the HE system. Because of this, training programs for academic and administrative staff about refugee students' conditions as well as unique needs and, most importantly, education as a basic human right should be implemented in all departments of HEIs that host refugee students. This is a crucial part of refugees' socialization with their peers as well as their access to and success in HEIs.

A young woman living in the camp managed to attend a HEI by overcoming many barriers; this can be an example for other on-camp refugees. The HEIs should advertise Aisha and similar students to reach female refugees, both in and out of the camps, so they can pursue HE, because educating female refugees is important for rebuilding home states and resettlement. The government officials should take the necessary actions to encourage female students who live in the camps by supporting them financially and psychologically.

As the previously discussed literature indicates, HEIs often do not recognize refugees' prior learning, which minimizes their access to HE. If the purpose is to extend HE to all refugees, then taking the necessary precautions to value their prior learning and solve 'official document' problems is essential.

We believe that this study opens a door to the experiences of a female refugee student and further research should be conducted with more participants in different HEIs. Both qualitative and quantitative methods should be employed to understand refugee background students' experiences in the classrooms of HEIs.

The participant of this study is assumed to have been honest in sharing her experiences to the best of her memories[1].

NOTE

1. We would like to thank Aisha for participating in the most important part of this study by sharing her story with us.

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Arab World Refugee Challenges IN Higher Education

The Case of Syrian Refugee Students in Jordan

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of Higher Education (HE) and migration has received scant attention in sociological and geographical research (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Hatton, 2016). Dynamic globalization processes, easy transport and passage between different areas of the world, facilitated by political unions such as the European Union and the internalization of HE, have led to international declarations recognizing the global mobility of students (Crea, 2016; de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Trevor, 2014). Simultaneously, economic crises and wars especially in the Arab World (AW) and political upheavals in various world regions have stimulated mass movements of displaced persons and refugees (Banks, 2017; Fricke, 2016; Redden, 2016).

The political instability that has afflicted many countries in the AW, especially the wars in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen, has forced other countries in the AW and Europe to cope with huge waves of refugees and other destitute immigrants, posing urgent and complex socio-cultural, medical, political and educational issues (Waite, 2016; Yahya, 2015; Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). It seems that the dynamics of the "global village" and local crises have accelerated this phenomenon (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Redden, 2016; Romani, 2009). Thus, in 2015 the number of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons around the world was estimated to exceed 60 million (UNHCR, 2017).

In the context of HE, students' temporary and permanent migration for HE is not a new phenomenon. It may be motivated by free choice or constricted choice due to oppression and restrictions in the student's home country (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Research has shown that there is a direct correlation between discrimination, ineffective policies for the integration of immigrant, foreigner and refugee students from different and underdeveloped countries, unsuccessful integration of ethnic, religious and national minorities as well as unequal access to HE (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Brooks & Waters, 2011; de Wit & Altbach, 2016).

However, there has been little research concerning access for refugees and displaced persons to education and HE, as well as the specific constraints that shape their choices and opportunities to advance their education, including push factors that force them to leave their prior studies in their homelands to seek their fortune, safety and hope for a better quality of life abroad (de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Waite, 2016). In this chapter we describe the specific case of Syrian Refugee Students (SRS), discovering to what extent they find opportunities to renew their studies in education systems of their host countries. Who seeks to meet their needs and how? (Waite, 2016). As two Arab researchers, we also wanted to investigate and illuminate whether and how the challenges of refugee students, as well as the patterns of their studies in HE, reflect the social characteristics of the host country and the policy it implements. For this purpose, we chose Jordan as a case study and the following questions guided our inquiry: (a) What are the major challenges facing SRS when they attempt to access HE in Jordan? and (b) How does the Jordanian Education Authority deal with this particular challenge as an Arab country which has been inundated by an immense wave of SRS? This chapter therefore aims to fill a gap in knowledge and practice, tracing the access of SRS to HE in Jordan.

In order to answer the above questions, we adopted contemporary critical and cultural perspectives on education, which influenced the study design and informed the data analysis (Kincheloe & Maclaren, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). We systematically collected, scrutinized and critically analyzed the content of current documentation, official statistics and published research findings on this issue (Kincheloe & Maclaren, 2002). An endogenous model was employed, that sees "both the possible causes and the possible effects as located within the country being investigated" (Qyen, 1990, p. 6).

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE AW

The AW consists of the Arabic-speaking countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and currently includes the 22 Arab League countries. It has a combined population of around 422 million people, with over half under 25 years of age. Despite the distinctions between different Arab countries, they share common

histories, values, religious and cultural contexts. Arabic is the common language in most Arab countries (Mazawi & Sultana, 2010).

In the modern era, HE has not progressed significantly in the AW, despite the fact that during the Middle Ages Arab countries built some of the world's leading universities, which pioneered the creation, collection and teaching of advanced knowledge in that period (Abdeljalil, 2004). The AW constitutes 5.8 percent of the world's population and produces 4.5 percent of the world's GDP. However, only one AW University appears in the list of the 500 leading universities of the world (Shanghai Index): the King Abdulaziz University in Saudia Arabia, constituting just 0.08 percent of the top world universities (Abu-Orabi, 2016).

In 2015, there were 700 universities in the AW. During the last 25 years, many private universities have opened in the AW, now amounting to 300 private universities or 40 percent of all universities in the AW. By 2015, 13 million students were studying in AW HE institutes (40 percent of them in private institutions) taught by 250,000 academic staff members. Ninety percent of the students were studying for a bachelor's degree and only 10 percent studied for higher degrees. Four out of every five students studying for a bachelor's degree chose the humanities, while only one in every five chose sciences. Females constituted more than 55 percent of all students in the AW. The average ratio of students to staff was 1:31 while in some Arab universities it amounted to 100:1, a high student-staff ratio which affects the quality of education (Abouchedid & Abdelnour, 2015; Abu-Orabi, 2016).

The HE institutions of the AW do not receive suitable funding; consequently, while scientific research is booming in other world regions, in the AW it remains very modest (Acedo, 2011; Anderson, 2012). In 2015, the scientific research budget of the AW states was about 0.2 percent of the GNP, while more developed states spend from 2–4 percent of their GNP on such research. Consequently, there are just 500 scientific researchers per 1 million residents in the entire AW, contrasting with a ratio of 5,000 scientific researchers per 1 million residents in more developed regions, leading to less scientific products (publications and patents) in the AW (Abu-Orabi, 2016).

A large number of AW universities still rely on traditional curricula and traditional pedagogic practices. This is one of the reasons for high drop-out rates, which sometimes even rise to half the number of students studying in a given institute (Acedo, 2011; Al-Rashdan, 2009; Issa & Siddiek, 2012). Additionally, HE studies in AW states do not guarantee employment for their graduates, especially the majority who study humanities and social sciences (Issa & Siddiek, 2012; Romani, 2009). The high unemployment rate among young graduates was one of the main reasons for the start of the Arab Spring, especially in Tunisia (Issa & Siddiek, 2012). These factors seriously affect the promotion of HE and inevitably contribute to a brain drain to more developed states.

According to the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme, 2016) report on Arab countries, 28 percent of the citizens of these countries migrated permanently from their home states in 2015 (21 percent in 2009). Thirty-five percent of those migrating permanently were relatively young (18–35 years). There is no doubt that this percentage will increase due to acute civil conflicts such as those in Syria, Yemen, Libya etc. Between 2000 and 2014, about five million Arab citizens left their countries to settle in other countries (not including refugees), an average of 350,000 people per year. Thirty-one percent of the brain drain from all developing states flow from the AW, 50 percent of them doctors and 32 percent engineers. Fifteen percent of skilled Arabs migrated to Europe and the USA, while fifty-four percent of AW citizens studying abroad do not return to their countries of origin; 57.3 percent of these students are males and the rest are females (42.7 %). The proportion of females in this permanently migrating population is lower than the average proportion of permanently migrating women in the world (Hanlon & Vicino, 2014).

Despite what is mentioned previously, several positive developments have occurred in recent years for the advance of HE in Arab states, for example in Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, which have developed innovative research centers using novel approaches (Abouchedid & Abdelnour, 2015). Simultaneously, some countries in the AW are beginning to find novel ways to deal with the issue of further education for the Arab refugee students who flock to them from the wars and conflicts in the region, as we shall present below.

THE ORIGINS OF THE CURRENT REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE AW

The AW is an area of abundant economic resources. It is a major source of world oil, which constitutes a strategic asset for this region (two-thirds of the world reserve). Yet, according to the UNHCR (2017), the AW has the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers of all world regions. While the total population of MENA accounts for 5.8 percent of the world's total population, this region accounts for 45 percent of all world refugees (Yahya, 2015). This is not a coincidence; both internal and external factors, especially those political, have produced this situation. The AW has undergone several different periods in modern history, starting with the challenges of decolonization through the Cold War, followed by a period of stability and peace and most recently the Arab Spring and its severe consequences. Most of the AW endures an extremely hot climate, meaning that in socio-political terms the region burns with many conflicts, divisive diversity and instability. The AW contains the birthplaces of the three monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, while also was home to various ancient civilizations and cultures. Today it includes several Christian denominations in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and different

Islamic sects, such as Sunnis and Shiites. Certain ethnic groups are dispersed over more than one country, such as the Kurds in Iraq, Syria and Turkey, as are particular ideological and political identities (Barakat, 1993).

The struggle of many Arab states to overcome colonialism and the development of new religious and political movements has led to ethnic and sectarian conflicts. During the 1970s, a more conservative political Islam movement, which rejected modern secular 'Western' models of government, began to develop in the AW using shari'a (the Koran and Sunnah) as a source for legislation, governance and lifestyle (Ayubi, 2003). The establishment of the 'Muslim Brothers' movement in Egypt and later on the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1978 provided political and ideological support for the growth of new Islamic movements in the AW, including extremist movements such as the Al-Qaeda organization and recently ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) (Hashim, 2014).

In recent years, the AW has been subjected to extreme disturbances, from peaceful political changes to armed uprisings and, ultimately, in some cases, these states have succumbed to the ravages of civil war. Additionally, water is a scarce resource in the AW and often constitutes the reason for disputes between the region's countries (Selby, 2005). Sixty-eight percent of deaths in the AW are related to conflicts as well as civil and regional wars (Yahya, 2015). During what became known as the *Arab Spring*, revolutions erupted in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Syria, Libya, Iraq and Yemen, while governments fell and chaos ensued (Dabashi, 2012). As part of this upheaval, at least half a million Syrians were killed from 2011 until 2016 (UNHCR, 2017) and at least ten million Syrians have been displaced both within Syria and in other countries. This phenomenon has had an impact on events throughout the AW and continues to grow until the writing of this article.

Although recent revolutions in some Arab countries often began with a desire to democratize the political system and moderate severe social injustices, the results in most cases were either continuous bloodshed and civil war (e.g. Syria, Iraq, Libya) or the replacement of one authoritarian regime by another (e.g. Egypt, Yemen). Such crisis situations increase citizens' fear of the future in many Arab societies, a fear augmented by the fact that economic conditions in these unstable states are even worse than they were before the outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2011 (Asongu & Nwachukwu, 2016; Hussain & Howard, 2013).

The different disputes in the AW and their consequences have meant that Arab states are almost incapable of complying with the demands and expectations of their citizens, meaning that more than 100 million people remain threatened by poverty, unemployment and marginalization, pushed to migrate or beg for sanctuary in neighboring states and further afield in Europe. As a result of the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, there are 5.3 million Palestinian refugees scattered over the Middle East and across the world. Over 4.2 million Iraqis have either been internally displaced or fled to other states, while in Yemen 2.1 million refugees have been similarly

displaced; elsewhere, the number of those displaced in Libya has reached almost a million. Current official statistics for 2017 indicate that the number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt amounts to almost five million since the beginning of Syria's war (UNHCR, 2017).

THE SYRIAN REFUGEES CURRENTLY DISPERSED THROUGHOUT THE AW

Since the civil war began in 2011, Syria has become the primary source of refugees in the AW and almost in the world. The official numbers published by UNHCR (2016, 2017) show that almost 13.5 million Syrians have left their homes. Until 2016, 4,837,572 Syrians fled to several locations in the Middle East and other international locations such as Lebanon (1,055,984), Jordan (638,633), Iraq (246,123), Egypt (119,665) and North Africa (28,027). Refugees from Syria and Iraq constitute 25 percent of the population of Lebanon and 20 percent of the population of Jordan.

A significant long-term implication of the war in Syria is the collapse of Syria's HE system. Before the war, approximately 26 percent of urban Syrian citizens (male and female) and approximately 15 percent of rural Syrians studied in HE institutions in Syria, including universities and different types of colleges (Fricke, 2016; Yazgan, Utku, & Sirkeci, 2015). Pre-war data show 20 percent of all Syrian students between the ages of 18 and 24 participated in Syrian HE institutions, in comparison to an average of five percent after the war (Yacvan & El-Ghali, 2017). In 2014, the percentage of Syrian students participating in HE decreased in comparison to data from before the war. Just 17 percent (including in Syria) of young displaced people between the ages of 18 and 24 who were eligible to study in HE institutions registered for HE studies: less than two percent in Turkey, eight percent in Jordan, six percent in Lebanon and eight percent in Egypt (UNHCR, 2017). The latest data indicate that just 90,000–110,000 of 450,000 Syrian students aged 18–22 were qualified to study in HE and only 1,463 of the young males and females of all ages were studying in different world states' colleges and universities after the war (Redden, 2016). These data could still change, as the Syrian conflict continues into its seventh year and the number of registered Syrian refugees has almost reached five million (UNHCR, 2017).

THE HE SYSTEM IN JORDAN

The Jordanian education system stands in first place in the AW with regard to its academic level and achievements. It is one of the best education systems in developing countries. The capital Amman is considered the first Arab town in the Middle

East to include a large number of HE institutions. Jordan leads other Arab states in the level of investments in education in relation to its GNP (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016; Reiter, 2002). Jordan has 10 public universities and 19 private universities. In the 2015–2016 academic year, 291,851 students studied in Jordan's HE institutions, most of them (197,550) in government universities, 71,301 in private universities and the rest in the Open University and vocational centers (Ministry of HE and Scientific Research, 2015). The increased number of students in Jordan is largely due to drastically increased access for Jordanian high school graduates in recent years. Jordan has also succeeded in achieving approximately 90 percent equal opportunities in its struggle against illiteracy and full equality in access to elementary and high schooling. All high school students eligible for a graduation certification from the high school are also eligible to be candidates for university studies in Jordan. School graduates can choose from a variety of colleges and universities, public and private (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016).

The increased number of Jordanian students, including many foreign and refugee students (10 percent of all students in Jordan's HE institutes are foreign students, mostly from other Arab or Muslim states) (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016) who apply to HE in Jordan, has prompted the government to allot large resources to develop the HE system and attempt to improve access for underprivileged populations. Both government and private universities have therefore altered their admission policies (Jansen, 2006).

Although Jordan's HE system has undergone significant development in recent years, there is still much to do to adapt successfully to the rapid growth of a knowledge-rich world economy. One major challenge facing Jordanian HE institutions is the constant influx of refugee students (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016).

THE CHALLENGES INVOLVED IN PROVIDING HE FOR SRS IN JORDAN

The Challenge of Integrating Refugees in 'Western' HE

Because of the immense waves of refugees fleeing from their homelands in recent years and increased awareness regarding the issue of diversity, educational institutions in many countries now cope with the acceptance and integration of refugee students from foreign cultures, speaking foreign tongues, especially from the Middle East and Africa (Earnest et al., 2010; Hatton, 2016). Most HE institutions, especially in the 'Western' world, have recently implemented programs to support students from other cultures, especially refugees. These programs, assisted by special funds, offer specially designed fast-stream courses trying to improve communication with these students, providing them with

skills to assist them to function successfully in a multi-cultural, pluralistic society (Northedge, 2003).

Few studies deal with the issue of refugee students' cultural assimilation in the university, meaning that host societies wishing to provide HE for refugees lack authenticated information regarding their academic and other needs. Yet, the ways in which the refugee students cope with the socio-cultural differences in the new campus, including studying in a foreign language and getting used to a different culture and lifestyle, as well as coping psychologically with identity formation in a foreign milieu, are a most significant part of their integration in the HE institutes in the 'Western' world (Lenette, 2016). The few extant studies on these issues indicate when the HE institutions provide special services to facilitate the assimilation of foreign students in the academic and social life of the campus that this strongly influences students' sense of satisfaction regarding their studies, helping them to integrate rapidly in campus life and causing foreign students' dropout rate to decrease (Earnest et al., 2010).

Refugee students face various challenges in the academic world. Refugees studying in the 'Western' world face slightly different challenges to those faced when studying in the AW. The main difference is the need to adapt to a new culture and academic methods. The difficulties facing refugees in their transition to HE in a foreign country include their untimely exit from studies in their native state and the need to overcome the impact of this disruption on their future so as to improve their chances of finding suitable work in the future (ibid). The extent of refugee students' willingness and their academic background in their state of origin, as well as the support of their families and the role that the academic institution assumes for their assimilation, all play a role in the students' successful integration so that they can graduate after completion of their studies. Studies in 'Western' academic campuses have shown that if the academic institute forms strong connections with the community, families and social services of the refugee students then these students can feel secure in the university environment and enjoy their academic studies (Anselme & Hands, 2012; Earnest et al., 2010). Other studies note factors than can improve the refugees' success and satisfaction such as providing social and health services for the foreign students as well as recognition for their previous academic studies and certificates (Bajwa et al., 2017). Research in 'Western' universities also shows that educational programs for the staff as well as refugees' communities and families improved the students' mental welfare and their academic achievements (Earnest et al., 2010).

In foreign countries, refugee students cope with two different societies, campus society and the surrounding society; they need to orient themselves and adapt to a different language and different social norms, values and lifestyles in both of these societies. Unsuccessful adaptation leads to a sense of alienation in the university, difficulties in forming social relations, difficulty understanding the academic learn-

ing culture and may lead to stress; the student may also be exposed to racism and discrimination (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). If the student is not appropriately prepared for the new academic experience and does not receive suitable support this may predetermine their failure in the academic world (Earnest et al., 2010).

Against this background, the HE institutions of the AW have mostly received refugees from Arab states, such as Iraq, Yemen and especially Syria. Although the challenges faced by refugee students in these countries may be similar to those faced by refugees studying in the 'West', there are certain difficulties that are characteristic of Arab state campuses, such as those of Jordan.

Challenges Faced by the SRS in Jordan's HE Institutions

Several studies have investigated the SRS studying in HE institutions in various world states (Avery & Said, 2017; de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Fricke, 2016; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2016; Redden, 2016; Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). But only a few studies have investigated SRS studying in AW states, especially Jordan (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017; Lorisika, Cremonini, & Jalani, 2015; Watenpaugh, Fricke, & Siegel, 2013).

In 2016, there were 683,633 Syrian refugees in Jordan, about 10 percent of the Jordanian population, with 6,024 of them students studying in HE institutions in the country (UNCHR, 2017). They constituted 4.5 percent of the Syrian refugees in Jordan between the ages of 18 and 24. This number had almost doubled since the academic year 2012–2013, when there were 3,891 Syrian students studying in Jordan. Most of the Syrian students (4,220) study in private universities and the remainder (1,804) study in government universities (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017).

In general, SRS studying in the AW struggle with similar challenges, especially because of the difficult economic situation in Arab states which have absorbed them (Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and the states of North Africa) and the lack of funds to finance their studies (Yahya, 2015). SRS in Jordan should feel at home, as they share a similar Arab-Muslim culture and common history with the Jordanians while also speaking the same language. They share Arab identity while the border between Jordan and their home country remains open. For these reasons Jordan has become a favorite target for Syrian refugees and especially SRS.

When Jordan took in a large Syrian refugee population, the government housed refugees in organized camps but limited their assimilation within Jordanian society. Despite Jordan's financial difficulties, including a high unemployment rate, dependence on grants from the Gulf states and a lack of natural resources, it nevertheless copes with the largest number of Syrian refugees in Arab lands and invests in their education at all levels. To cope with the difficulties of the Syrian refugees, Jordan received financial support from the international community, but this support is not

consistent. It is also noted that Jordan is the home for two million Palestinian refugees registered at and financially supported by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees in the Near East (UNWRA) (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017).

The Syrian refugees' main challenges relate to their access to public services, especially education. Educational support for the Syrian refugees has largely focused on the age group 6–18, while the age group 18–25 copes with more difficult challenges in the HE system of Jordan. As demands rises beyond supply, greater obstacles are set before SRS attempting to access HE in Jordan, as Jordanian authorities appeal repeatedly for international support with this issue.

There are more than 120,000 Syrian refugees in Jordan between the ages of 15 and 24. Until age 16, Syrian refugee youths can attend Jordanian government schools. Research has shown how Jordan's economic difficulties have restricted efforts to increase access of Syrian refugees to HE in the state (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017).

In Jordanian universities, SRS do not face the same difficulties faced by those studying in 'Western' universities; there is no culture shock or serious psycho-social difficulties due to the adjustment to a different culture, no issues of identification with the surrounding culture or need to cope with racism. They come from a similar culture and speak the same language as Jordanians, while a Syrian-Jordanian student exchange pact existed before the Syrian civil war began, meaning that the Jordanian HE system was well known in Syria. Other challenges, however, face Syrian refugees wishing to enter HE in Syria as detailed below.

The Financial Status of the SRS and Jordan's High Academic Fees

As noted, the strong flow of Syrian refugees to Jordan has increased the demand for HE in Jordan beyond the existing opportunities, especially due to financial constrictions. Only a small proportion of Syrian students have managed to enter Jordanian HE institutions, while a large proportion were unable to access this resource due to lack of funds, since Jordanian academic fees are high. This is considered an immense tragedy by Syrian students and their families, influencing their mental well-being. High fees are demanded from Syrian students in Jordan because they are mostly considered to be foreign students. In comparison, pre-war Syrian academic fees were almost negligible. Moreover, many SRS have become their family's breadwinners and therefore do not have time available to integrate in Jordanian academic programs. Some who begin university studies are forced to drop out due to onerous academic demands preventing them from working. Dropout was rare in Syrian universities but has become commonplace for SRS in Jordanian universities.

The Lack of Scholarships and Grants for HE

Recently, a few Syrian students have received grants or scholarships from foreign institutions and funds enabling them to study in Jordanian universities (Achilli, 2015). These grants and scholarships awarded in recent years to Syrian refugees in Jordan have restored hope to a few that they can continue their education. SRS are also eligible for various scholarships in 'Western' universities (Baiwa et al., 2017). Priority is given in the award of scholarships to SRS who had already begun HE in Syria, with second priority for SRS with financial difficulties who have high school graduation certificates from Jordanian schools, while a third priority group includes female students and students with special needs. Most of the varied scholarships for studies in Jordan come from European sources (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017). Examples include DAFI (by UNHCR) with German government support; Edu-Syria (for the German Jordanian University) with European Union support; HE for Syrians (by SPARK) provided by the Dutch Foreign Ministry; Education Above All Foundation, Qatar; the Madad Fund, the European Union's Trust Fund in response to the Syrian crisis; HOPES (The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and partners); the Jamiti Initiative of UNECSO with Kuwaiti Government support; and the Leadership for Support; Student Refugee Program (World University Service of Canada) which provides scholarships for students they accept for HE with Canadian government support. Additionally, there are several funds that were established under the initiative of private groups to assist SRS to pay academic fees such as the JUSOOR Scholarship Program, donated by private individuals and foundations.

Despite the efforts of international and local Jordanian organizations to support the SRS in Jordan, there is always a long list of candidates left waiting for assistance, even for those in the priority groups mentioned above. Some search for private benefactors willing to donate sums for studies but few private individuals are willing to guarantee donations for several years' studies. It is therefore no wonder that some Syrian refugees risk their lives attempting to reach Europe and other world states to continue their HE (Avery & Said, 2017).

The Lack of Original Certificates Testifying to High School Graduation or Academic Studies in Syria and Recognition of Previous Studies

Admission to universities poses several difficulties for uprooted Arab refugees. The simplest matters, such as loss of a single document, can become stumbling blocks when applying for admission. Legal difficulties may hinder receiving an entry permit to the universities.

A large proportion of Syrian refugee youth who studied in high school or university in Syria have been unable to attain certificates to verify their studies and this presents a real problem when applying for academic studies in any other coun-

try (Anselme & Hands, 2012; Crea, 2016; Loo, 2016; Watenpaugh et al., 2013). Certificates awarded by the temporary Syrian government or regional authorities under the National Coalition and Opposition in Syria, including graduation and grades certificates, are not recognized by the Syrian consulate in Amman or Jordanian universities, since they are not authenticated by the Council of HE in Damascus unless the student appears in person at the council's offices (Yahya, 2015). Consequently, many SRS fall prey to the black market trade, paying hundreds of dollars to receive authenticated or actual copies of their certificates so they can apply for various international or Jordanian universities, or abandoning their dreams of attaining HE.

Adaptation to Different Teaching-Learning Methods in Jordanian Universities

Jordanian universities have different teaching-learning methods to those of Syrian universities. Jordanian universities teach largely in English, especially in engineering, medicine and science studies, while all academic studies in Syria are delivered in Arabic, distinguishing Syrian universities from universities throughout the AW (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2016). Thus, like other refugee students studying in 'Western' universities, SRS have to cope with a new language of instruction. In certain disciplines, there is similarity between high school and university studies in Syria and Jordan, making it easier for the SRS to adapt.

Accreditation for certain disciplines can also be a problem for SRS. For example, according to Jordanian law no more than 40 hours of previous equivalent studies can be accredited for the study of law in Jordanian universities. This means that some SRS have to restart their academic studies, even if they had begun the degree course in Syria, or begin studies in a different discipline (Fricke, 2016).

SRS rarely complain about difficulties in Jordanian universities, but do note differences in teaching-learning methods between Syrian and Jordanian universities. They claim that Syrian universities offer broader and more comprehensive learning programs while learning is based largely on memorization of materials, whereas in Jordan programs are shorter, based on summarizing and searches for learning materials (Avery & Said, 2017).

The Geographical Distance of the Universities from the Refugee Camps and Lack of General Information

Most of the SRS live in refugee camps dispersed over Jordan. Most of them live in the Amman district (28 percent), 23.1 percent in Irbid district, 12.1 percent in Mafraq district and the rest in other Jordanian districts (Achilli, 2015; de Wit & Altbach, 2016). For most SRS the distance between their camps and universities

is difficult to traverse, while another difficulty is that it is not always possible to leave the camps (Achilli, 2015).

Despite the offer from international and national organizations to provide grants for the SRS, the statistics show that some of these grants are not taken up by the SRS (Avery & Said, 2017). It seems they may be unaware or lack information concerning these opportunities and the procedures to obtain them.

Lack of Orientation Programs for SRS in Jordanian Universities

Usually, universities that absorb migrant and refugee students try to assist their assimilation in campus life and their adjustment to academic demands with professional familiarization, support and orientation programs (Crea, 2016; Santon, 2016; Streitwieser, Miller-Idris, & de Wit, 2017). Due to the strained economic circumstances of the universities and accelerated increase in the number of SRS, Jordanian universities have found it difficult to supply such support programs either before or during academic studies. However, a few Jordanian universities have established programs to assist the admission of SRS and consider all the aforementioned blocks to SRS, providing information, counseling and orientation beginning in Jordanian high schools, preparation for academic studies and a support package for students on campus (de Wit & Altbach, 2016). Although Jordanian government policy promotes access of SRS through positive discrimination by lowering admission criteria by 15 percent for universities, these programs are not provided in all Jordanian universities (Abusamaqa, 2017). There is still no preparatory year course available that could allow SRS to bridge academic gaps due to the war years and improve their understanding of English in preparation for Jordanian universities.

The Issue of Online Academic Studies

Recently, refugee students who find it difficult to join a university have been offered the opportunity to join distance learning academic programs (UNESCO, 2016). However, even if these studies are provided by prestigious world universities and awarded international recognition, the SRS in refugee camps find it difficult to avail of this opportunity. Most SRS do not have access to computers and there is often no or faulty infrastructure for Internet and communications systems, while good digital software in Arabic is scarce. However, several international organizations offer free distance learning courses to SRS to prepare them for university admission, teach them English and help them to construct a documented online profile to verify their credentials and personal information. Despite the difficulties, there is still potential to advance distance learning for SRS if investment is provided for the necessary resources (Avery & Said, 2017; Friecke, 2016).

Employment after Graduation from Jordanian Universities

There is scarce employment for Syrian refugees in Jordan in many economic sectors (de Wit & Altbach, 2016). Many Syrian refugees are qualified skilled workers who compete with local manpower and Jordanian unemployment levels have soared, reaching 30 percent in 2016 (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017).

The Jordanian Ministry of Labor requires non-Jordanians including Syrian refugees to obtain a work permit to work in their profession. Jordan has committed itself in supporting international organizations to issue 50,000 work permits to Syrian refugees by the end of 2017. 16 professions are closed to foreign employees, mainly academic professions such as in the medical fields, engineering of different kinds, accounting and economics, teaching and education (Mhesen, 2017). Syrian graduates find it difficult to obtain the expensive work permits from Jordanian authorities and most are not permitted to work in the profession they studied in the university. Thus, there are still no serious work prospects for Syrian graduates in Jordan and they need to find alternative non-skilled work or attempt to emigrate, mainly to "Western" states (Banks, 2017).

To summarize, the challenges of the SRS in Jordan resemble those of all Arab refugees in Arab states such as Lebanon or Egypt, with most of these challenges also resembling those faced by refugees in 'Western' universities. However, there are also special difficulties facing those attempting to study in Arab states such as Jordan stemming from the state of learning in these countries and their economic status. The issue of the SRS's socio-cultural integration in academic life on Arab campuses, such as in Jordan, does not constitute such a significant challenge in comparison to other formal and technical obstacles, as well as the high academic fees that SRS face in gaining access to HE in the AW.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The acquisition of HE by the SRS in Arab countries such as Jordan is one of the most important developments for Syrian refugees since the Syrian war began in 2011. The findings of our critical analysis indicate that the issue of access to HE for the SRS in Jordan and other Arab states constitutes a significant financial burden for those countries, while difficulties involved in gaining access to HE in these countries constitute an impediment to the SRS's future standard of living and academic aspirations. This is despite serious efforts of the host states assisted by international bodies to assist the inclusion and integration of SRS in Arab universities. Unsurprisingly these young people are now labelled as "The Lost Generation" (Al-Hawamdeh & El-Ghali, 2017).

Our research revealed the challenges facing the SRS who wish to study HE in these states and particularly in Jordan. We found that SRS in Jordan face some

similar challenges to those facing refugees in "Western" states (de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Hatton, 2016). However, the present study did not investigate possible socio-cultural difficulties involved in the assimilation of SRS in Arab campuses since they obviously share a common language, culture and practices with the hosting Arab states in contrast to the different characteristics they face in "Western" HE institutions (Hatton, 2016; Lenette, 2016; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2016).

To summarize the above survey, the challenges facing SRS in Jordan can be divided into two categories:

1. Economic challenges for the host state: investment in support and access programs, extra budgets for HE, scholarships, support for employment and unemployment. Economic challenges for the SRS: many are financially destitute, their movement and employment are limited, academic fees are high and the available scholarships cannot cover the demand and the overall expenses of HE. It appears that other AW HE systems are also suffering from budgetary distress and insufficient quality of teaching and research. The SRS are therefore often seen as an additional burden imposed on these systems. In Jordanian HE institutions the SRS encounter similar challenges to those found in the HE institutes of other Arab states, but slightly different challenges are encountered by SRS in 'Western' HE systems (Avery & Said, 2017; de Wit & Altbach, 2016).

2. Special challenges relate to the particular context in which SRS live due to their exile from their homeland, including: lack of original school graduation certificates or academic certificates from Syrian institutions, as well as difficulties gaining recognition of previous HE studies; and different teaching-learning methods, a difficulty also encountered by refugee students in "Western" states (Hatton, 2016).

Nevertheless, it was also revealed that several world states and international organizations are assisting Arab states in this mission. Jordan eases the situation of some SRS by providing scholarships and using positive discrimination to increase access to HE (de Wit & Altbach, 2016). Moreover, cooperation between Jordan and international organizations can improve life conditions for SRS and maintain their hope for a better future. More comprehensive programs are needed to cope with the SRS's complex situation, meaning greater assistance and cooperation between the different international organizations and private funds under the umbrella of the UNCHR to improve access to HE and overcome the costs involved (Avery & Said, 2017). Arab universities have an important role to play in this mission and should provide counseling and academic support to encourage the SRS's interest, initiative and perseverance. Investment in the HE of SRS can empower these students and provide them with coping tools, but also offers an opportunity for Jordan to enlarge

and improve its HE system as well as improve their expertise regarding the successful absorption of foreign refugee students (de Wit & Altbach, 2016; Trevor, 2014).

In conclusion, the optimal solution for the problem of the 'lost generation' of the SRS in all states would obviously be the end of the civil war in Syria so that refugees could, if they wished, return to their homeland. This is not a mere pipe dream, as in 2016 552,300 international refugees did return to their homelands (UNCHR, 2017). Hopefully, SRS who have meanwhile acquired HE in various essential professions can become the vanguard to boost the collapsed Syrian state's abilities to rebuild its economy and public services, including a high-quality HE system.

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