

Security among the Refugees and Quality of Life - Case of the Sri Lanka Tamil Refugees Living in Camps in Tamil Nadu

By

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Introduction

In the past century, for various reasons, the size of the refugee population, worldwide, has increased. As a result of conflict, in many countries, the number of refugees has risen. Most of the time, protection was the main reason why refugees fled their homes, but in other cases they had other needs, which varied according to their identity and location. The immediate assistance required by refugees has always been food, water, shelter and medical aid. However, the most fundamental requirement is to be granted asylum.

Refugees, while fleeing, prioritized their lives over economic necessities or any other qualitative necessity. They are forced to flee with basic necessities and have to rely on basic skill. Valuables have never been a consideration while in flight; sentimental objects have been preferred. The lucky refugees were able to hold on to a few certificates and photographs. Often they had no idea regarding the time of their departure or choice of destination. Not only have the circumstances been uncertain but also their transit. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Tribe et al, 1982) explains the importance of security and self-esteem as basic needs to reach self-actualization. After food and shelter, safety or security is the most important need of the person. Later, according to Abraham Maslow, self-esteem plays an important role in the life of a person. The needs of the person vary from basic to specific and this clearly culminates at the point when it can be said that the quality of life is high. To begin with, a person may need food and

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shelter and when these needs are met then the person may need security. There are other needs such as aesthetic ones, and then needs of self-esteem and finally of self-actualization. Although the theory apparently moves from basic to specific, there is much debate about the basic needs which Maslow claims are food, clothing and shelter. Other studies (Redekop 2002; Volkan 2001) describe identity as a basic need and point out the tendency that people have to move towards their own identity groups instead of seeking food, clothing and shelter. This is true in times of conflict, when it becomes important for people to stick to their own groups rather than wander in search of food, clothing of shelter.

The holistic process theory of healing and the related quality of life theories state that the return to neutral state of being is possible whenever the person gets resources needed for the existential healing. The resources needed according to this theory are awareness, respect, care, acknowledgment, acceptance with support, feeling, understanding, and letting go of negative attitudes and belief. In spite of all these, the healing may not be possible unless the person trusts himself and is willing to do so. In letting go of the negative belief the person returns to a more responsible existential position and improved quality of life.

All theories related to security can be broadly divided into physical, social, economic and spiritual security. All the above mentioned theories deal with these aspects of security in one way or the other. There are the attributes which emphasizes on positive side of security which include the safety of the environment, family to support the refugee, some income that sustains the basic needs. There are also other negative attributes that reduces security among the refugees and this includes loss of meaning in life, neglect and disorientation.

Other Related Studies

Security-insecurity can be defined in terms of the social, economic, physical, and emotional security of the person. Having just one of these attributes will not completely contribute to the security of an individual. Thus a holistic measure is used. Synder and Ickes (1985) say that to remain secure, people induce behavior in others so that they can maintain security. They also draw from Leary's Framework of 1957 and shows that interpersonal behavior is nothing but a strategy to maintain secure, comfortable interaction with others.

A person is secure when his or her life is not threatened. The very reason for the Sri Lankan refugees to come to India was to save their lives and stay in a place where they do not feel threatened.. They are able to live in safety. Although they may not have many facilities in the refugee camps in India, they enjoy peace and calm after having faced the civil war in Sri Lanka. However, in Sri Lanka, the refugees lived in small towns where they knew everyone, but here in India they may at times feel isolated, insecure and disconnected as many of their family members are still living in Sri

Lanka. Another cause of their tribulation is the uncertainty that lurks and the disappointment they face in the host country (Sharma, 1989). This is due to the lack of security that the refugees feel in the camps. They may be asked to leave anytime and they will have to do so if it happens.

In 2002, there were approximately 130 camps in Tamil Nadu catering to the needs of 65,000 refugees from Sri Lanka. This number gradually decreased to 100 camps with 55,000 refugees but with the onset of violence in their homeland more than 10,000 refugees have come to India. Today with the end of war, the numbers keep fluctuating. The number of refugees per camp and the facilities in the camps differ from one camp to another. Those living in camps with better facilities feel more comfortable than those in camps with inadequate facilities.

Since insecurity is the basic reason for fleeing their homeland (Pratap, 2001); the refugees are in constant search for security and those who feel that his/her life is not threatened, they tend to relax and begin to live well. This in some ways re-emphasizes the importance of security which contributes to better living among the respondents. One of the greatest challenges of the 21st Century will be to ensure that people in every part of the world enjoy the security and freedom to participate in and express their individual and collective identity. This, in turn, could contribute to better quality of life (Ogatta, 1995).

Kett (2005), in a study on the internally displaced in Bosnia-Herzegovina who are living in camps and settlements, found that the specific burdens of over belonging, housing, occupation, welfare, security, loss of communities, the impact of the war, the experiences of violence, the remembering and issues of reconciliation, and a variety of mostly unevaluated psychosocial programmes had a profound impact on their health and well-being. Added to this, is the complex decision to return to their homes, with local and international political pressures which adds to their uncertainties and insecurities. Understanding these processes, and the views of chronically displaced people, should inspire policies of post-conflict management to plan for the longer-term and to be more focused on the human factors rather than rules and properties.

In a report by the Economic and Social Research Council (2004), the positive contribution of the refugee to Britain's socio-political economy was highlighted. Studies revealed the lack of evidence to support the government's alleged contention that refugees are criminals. The government did not take care of the refugees who did not have access to education and health care. In spite of all this, the country benefited from the skills and low wage rate of the refugees. Although this contribution does not help the refugees improve their quality of life, it surely contributes to the security of their lives.

Background

The Tamil Sri Lankan refugees have been in India for the last twenty years and their lives have changed immensely compared to their lives in Sri Lanka. When they go back, many of them will have to start all over again in adjusting to the situation in Sri Lanka. Refugees all over the world have been the neglected population by both the country of origin and the host countries, and the Tamil Sri Lankan refugees are no exceptions. Lack of security in their home countries makes them seek asylum in another country. Lack of facilities in the countries of asylum leave them frustrated with a low quality of life. To a refugee, the most important thing is to be alive, and so being alive takes precedence over their quality of life.

Most of these refugees have fled over time leaving all that they had built in their lifetime and that of their ancestors. Having left all their belongings back in their home country, refugees also leave behind their self-esteem, self-confidence, identity, dreams for the future, etc. When they reached the shores of India, many of them were not only without worldly belongings, but also lacked the spirit. The difficulties they faced at the port of entry, being herded into camps, the suspicious on-lookers stripped what little self-respect remained in them. Most of the refugees in the camps do not live they just exist.

Yet many have recuperated and have done wonders with whatever little that they have. The young refugees go to school and college; the older ones work and save for the day when they will be back in their country. Today, there is a lot of hope in their lives, thanks to the Organization for Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation, which constantly inspires them towards preparing themselves for nation building. The cease-fire in 2002 was a step towards their returning home. However, the fighting that had resumed in the island left the refugees confused, dreading what may be in store for them. Again, the end of the war in 2009 is another beginning of going back to their home and the roller coaster ride continues.

Statement of the Problem

In this paper I examine the security and insecurity of the Tamil Sri Lankan refugees. In other words, to know about the lives of the refugees, namely what makes them happy or what keeps them going in spite of being in India for the last 25 years; the positive or negative experiences that they have had and how they perceive their lives. The quality of life is reflected in the way people live which depends on various factors. Some of these factors could be result of previous experiences, present life or anxiety for the future.

Research Methodology

The study focuses on the quality of life of the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka living in camps in India. Security and profile are some of the variables that have been discussed in this paper. A survey research design was followed to help understand the respondents. Of the 103 camps present during the time of the study five were chosen by generating five random numbers from the 103 camps. The five camps chosen for the study were Paramathy, Keelputhupattu, Metupatti, Velapadi, and Athyadipillairkovil. A sample of 437 respondents to be interviewed was generated by using computer generated random numbers. Data was collected using the security-insecurity scale. Apart from this, general questions on the camp situation were asked and a profile of the respondents was developed. Data collection was done over a period of four months. The research assistants from the Organization for Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation helped in the collection of data. The consent of the respondents was sought before every interview. Data from only 423 respondents were used in the analysis since 14 interview schedules had to be discarded due to insufficient data. Descriptive statistics were used to find the mean and standard deviation in age and income of the respondents. Chi-square test was used to examine the association between dependent and independent variables. Once associations were established between the variables, further analysis was done by introducing a third variable to see whether the association between independent and dependent variables was non-spurious.

Profile of the Refugees

The profile of the respondents facilitates a deeper understanding of the respondents. Given the diverse nature of the respondents profiling helps the researcher to gain vital insights for the study purpose. The profile consists of a few chosen independent variables. Age, sex education, income and a few other variables constitute the profile of the respondent, these present basic facts about the respondents.

Age helps in understanding the stage of life of the respondent. Sex being a biological factor gives a picture of the sex ratio among the respondents. Education and occupation as a pair contribute to the social and economic development of the person. As a result of education and occupation comes income. The respondents, being refugees, come from different places in Sri Lanka and presently live in camps in Tamil Nadu. The camps are of varied nature and hence become a key aspect in the profile of the respondents. Some camps are semi urban and some are rural. Language is yet another variable that needs focus since it has been a deciding factor when it came to the question of life and death. During troubled times, people often turn to powers that are beyond them. Practicing religious activities is a part of it, thus it was necessary to know if the respondents also followed these practices. Another factor chosen for profiling was the marital

status of the respondents. A person's life changes with marriage and so marital status of the respondents was also enquired. Once married, the respondents could be either living with the family or with the spouse; these factors have a role to play in the life of the respondents. Hence variables such as family type and number of members in the family were chosen in order to know more about the respondents.

Every camp had some basic facilities, although they were not adequate. A few questions on the basic facilities (like access to electricity, water, fuel and availability of toilets) threw light on the condition of the camps and the respondents. Apart from these issues related to the space available in the camps, respondent's perception of relations with others in the camp and with the local people were also discussed.. These helped us to understand the lives of the respondents. Variables suited best to describe the basic characteristics of the respondents were chosen to understand the profile to the respondent for the study purpose.

It can thus be said that a little less than half of the respondents were in the age group of 24 years to 46 years. There were more women respondents than men. A majority of the respondents were married. Almost all the respondents practiced religious activities in the camps. Most of the respondents belonged to nuclear families with a large number of the families having three to four children. All the respondents spoke Tamil. A large number of the respondents were educated up to class 10, however, a large number of the respondents worked as labourers. A majority of the respondents were unemployed. A large number of the respondents were from Mannar district. Of the camps selected for the study a large number of the respondents were from Paramathy camp. A large number of the respondents lacked basic facilities like water, fuel, electricity and toilets. A large number of the respondents said that there was enough space in the camps and that it was also safe of them to live there since there was not much trouble from outsiders. A majority of the respondents were "satisfied" with the relationship with the others in the camp. A large number of the respondents were "satisfied" with the relationship with the locals. Majority of the respondents said that they perceived the camps to be safe places. There is one policeman in every camp who is posted in the camp both day and night. No outsiders are allowed to enter the camp. The houses in the camps are all close to each other. All these factors make the respondents feel safe while they are in the camps.

Security-Insecurity

Security is a construct with many components such as physical security, psychological security, financial security, and social security to name a few. Each of these contributes to measure what we have used in this study as the scale for security and insecurity. For the refugees security implies the physical, psychological, financial, and social security. Unlike in the western countries, social security in this context means that the relationships

and the families of the respondents are intact and taken care of. In fact the word security itself is synonymous with safety and refuge. The word security means exactly that for a refugee as well. Ironically, life being unsafe and seeking refuge in another country is the essence of refugee life. When there is no security in his/her home country, a refugee had to flee from his/her home country and seek refuge in another country. For every refugee who fled his/her homeland, security was the most important aspect. In fact in case of Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees, they left their country to save their lives because they knew for sure that if they had remained in Sri Lanka they would be killed. A place where there is no shooting and where lives are not lost on a daily basis is a secure place for the refugees.

On the other hand, a good relationship with others in the camp is very important for a secure social life. In a community where the families play a very important role, one finds that relating to people and being sure that there are people to take care in times of trouble also contribute to people feeling secure. Another factor that could contribute to security of refugees in Tamil Nadu is the feeling of stability. The refugees know that India will provide them asylum as long as they need it. Thus being certain of their stay in India as long as it requires also contributes to security.

Das Gupta (2002) in a study on the refugees in the camp says that the refugees have a lot of fears and this contributes to the basic insecurity among the people. There are also different kinds of insecurity among them which includes, for instance when local Government decides to shift them from one camp to another, secondly, financial insecurity and also the need for families and people around.

Score Analysis of Security and Insecurity Scale

Security-insecurity scale included issues like fear, concerns, social relationships, attitude to life etc. Security-insecurity was measured in the light of people who had to flee since their lives were threatened. Each of the issues had a set of questions under them to bring out the security-insecurity scores of the respondents. The scores were in such a way that low scores showed high levels of security among the respondents. Security and insecurity scale was administered to the respondents and the statistical results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Score Analysis of Security Insecurity

S. No	Measures	Values
1.	Mean	88.34
2.	Median	88.00
3.	Mode	94.00
4.	N	423

Table1 gives the statistical measures for security-insecurity of the respondents. The mean of the scores was found to be 88.34 with a standard error of mean of .47. The median of the data was 88 and the mode was 94. The standard deviation was 9.73. The maximum score in the data was 125 and the minimum was 70, thus the range was 56. From these scores it can be said that 70 per cent of the respondents had reached the maximum security-insecurity score. With absolute values it would be about 33 per cent. The Skewness and Kurtosis values were at .384 and .151 respectively.

Figure 1: Histogram with Normal Curve for Security-Insecurity

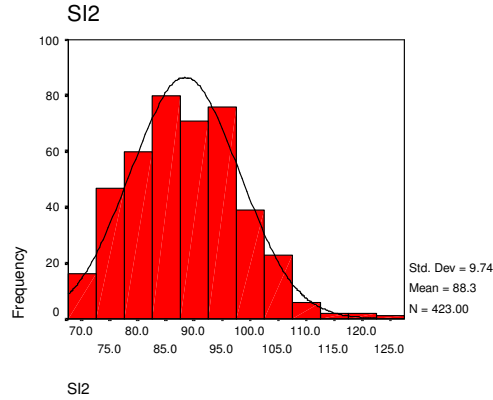


Figure1 helps us to understand the distribution of the data in relation to the mean of the scores. The curve shows that there is no clustering of data near the mean scores. The data is distributed along both the sides of the curve. There is a gradual slope along the higher security-insecurity scores, which show that more respondents have a higher security-insecurity score. Along the lower side of security-insecurity it is seen that there is an abrupt rise in the scores. The following table 5.6 shows the security-insecurity scores of the respondents, which were grouped by using the quartile values ($Q_1 = 81$, $Q_3 = 95$).

Table 2: Security of the Respondents

Security	Frequency	Percentage
High	114	27.0
Moderate	213	50.4
Low	96	22.7
Total	423	100.0

A little more than one-fourth of the respondents (27 per cent) have a high level of security. Those who have a low security are about 23 per cent of the respondents. Comparatively, it is found that more respondents have

high security levels than low security however, the difference between them is marginal. This could be because of the change in place from living among shooting and killing to leaving in a camp where no one pointing a gun at them.

Bivariate Analysis

The age of the respondents is associated with the security-insecurity of the respondents. The camps have a greater number of younger people than older ones because most of the older people stayed back in Sri Lanka since they did not want to leave their homeland.

There is a significant association between sex and security-insecurity of the respondents. Women had a better security-insecurity and also higher self-esteem. This is true since most of the women are socialized to accept what comes their way. There is no significant association between the marital status of the respondents and security-insecurity. There was no association between the practice of religious activities and security-insecurity and language and security-insecurity. It was also found that quality of life does not depend on the occupation of the respondent.

Security-insecurity and level of education are interdependent. Those with higher education felt secure. Most of the respondents were educated. In Sri Lanka, education was given a priority. Even the older generation knew how to read the newspaper. Education is important because educated people are thought to lead better lives. Thus it is clear that education is associated with security-insecurity and higher the level of education better is their feeling of security.

The only other question remains as to what are the opportunities that many of these educated people have in India since they are refugees. The high school certificates and the university degree do not fetch them a job. However the pride that they take in having had an education and the prospects that this education can bring when they go back home is what keeps them pursuing education. Even today many of the Tamils find it difficult to get into universities in Sri Lanka. Those who are in the refugee camps in India consider it a privilege to have had this opportunity. This further emphasizes on the need for education among the respondents

It was found that there is no association between the security-insecurity and income. In most cases it may be said that income highly influences security since it increases buying power and so there is a better life style and better living. In this study it does not hold good due to the risks involved in bringing in that income. The dole given by the Government of India was not sufficient for the respondents and so they had to work outside. However, due to the various regulations only about half the respondents worked outside. Many of the refugees did not have jobs that they deserved or desired. Working outside implied all the hazards of holding an illegal job. Although there is no written order from the Government of India that the refugees should not work, the officers in

charge of the camps often threaten the refugees with dire consequences if they work outside since they receive government funds as dole. The refugees who in spite of these threats work outside are highly exploited with low salary, long hours and strenuous jobs.. These jobs did not fetch much money to the respondents. The little money they got from the jobs did not add to their quality of life since the risks involved were very high.

The place that a person lives contributes to security-insecurity due to the opportunities it offers. Many of those from the Chennai region have better quality of life. This is due to the facilities that are available to them. This is similar to the place of birth of the respondents. Of the four regions that the respondents live, Chennai is an urban center compared to the other three. Nellai region is the most rural area among the four regions with fewer opportunities. In a region like Chennai, almost everything is easily available – schools, colleges, jobs, hospitals, basic facilities, entertainment, places for shopping etc. When there is easy accessibility to resources and opportunities respondents feel more secure. Respondents may not have to travel much to access any of these resources. However, in a region like Nellai which is rural, the respondents have to travel far away for everything. Good schools are not near the camps, basic facilities like potable water, sanitation are not easily available and this makes life difficult. Jobs are not available near the camps and the respondents may have to commute even if they are working as coolies. Since the resources and opportunities in all the regions are not the same, the region of the respondent plays an important role in deciding the how secure the respondents maybe. In other words there is a relationship between security-insecurity and region of the respondents.

Trivariate Analysis

Seven independent variables namely age, sex, place of birth, region, level of education quality of life were associated with security-insecurity. All variables except place of birth and level of education were taken for further analysis since these two were not associated with any other variable apart from security. While further analyzing the association between the independent and dependent variable by method of control using cross tabulations, it was found that two variables, age and sex had a spurious relationship with security . Two other variables, region on and self-esteem had a conditional association with security . Only quality of life had a non-spurious association with security-insecurity. Thus it can inferred that security-insecurity of the respondents affected the quality of life of the respondents.

Age had a spurious relationship with security-insecurity and this means that the age of the respondents did not directly affect security-insecurity. When a control variable which was associated to age such as level of education or security-insecurity was introduced the association between age and security-insecurity vanished. In the bivariate analysis it was found that the younger respondents had better security-insecurity, now after

trivariate analysis it can be said that the intervening variable was the level of education, where the age of the respondent influenced security-insecurity through the level of education that one had. In the same way, when the level of security was the controlled; the age of the respondents was not associated with security-insecurity which meant that whether they were young or old did not define their security-insecurity. From this it can be concluded that age is not directly associated with security-insecurity.

Sex too had a spurious relationship with quality of life. When self-esteem was used as the control variable, there was no association between sex and quality of life, in other words it can be said that self-esteem was the intervening variable for sex to be associated with quality of life. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the sex of the person plays a large role in the way one perceives life and this contributes to whether quality of life will be low, moderate or high. However, when everyone has a high self-esteem it does not matter whether the person is a male or a female to have better quality of life. It is the same case when controlled with moderate or low self-esteem, which nullifies the association of sex to quality of life. This means that there is no direct relationship between sex and quality of life but they are both indirectly associated through self-esteem, which is the intervening variable.

Region, level of education and self-esteem has a conditional relationship with quality of life. When a third variable is introduced as control variable, at some levels the association continues while in others it disappears. Region was associated with security-insecurity and so it was used as control variable to study the association between region and quality of life. It was found that region continued to be associated with quality of life when the security-insecurity was moderate, however when security-insecurity was high or low, the association between region and quality of life ceased to exist.

Level of education had a spurious relationship when age and security-insecurity were control variables. Level of education was not directly associated with quality of life but only age. Age became the antecedent variable since it precedes the level of education. Where as in the case when security-insecurity is introduced as control variable to see if the association between level of education and quality of life is non-spurious, it was found that security-insecurity became the intervening variable which meant that level of education was associated with quality of life through security-insecurity. However, when self-esteem was used as a control variable there was a conditional relationship, being that when the self-esteem was high, there was a continued association between level of education and quality of life.

Self-esteem was yet another variable that had a spurious relationship with quality of life when sex and security-insecurity was introduced as control variables. However, when level of education was introduced as the control variable, the association between self-esteem and quality of life was

conditional. For instance among students from Class VI to Class X, it was found that self-esteem continued to be associated with quality of life.

Security-insecurity was the only variable which consistently remained to be associated with quality of life with the introduction of four control variables such as age, region, level of education and self-esteem. There is a direct association between security-insecurity and quality of life. From this finding it can be inferred that security-insecurity was one of the most important factor that influenced quality of life. The age of the respondents, be it young or old did not influence the fact that when security-insecurity is high quality of life is also high. Similarly region, level of education nor self-esteem when used as a control variable was able to make the relation between security-insecurity and quality of life independent. Thus it can be concluded that security-insecurity has a non-spurious relationship with quality of life.

Recommendations

The findings of the study indicate that most of the refugees feel secure in the camps. Apart from that, educational opportunities and the region in which they live can be given attention since these are associated with security. Infrastructure, resources and livelihood opportunities in and around the regions will help in refugees feeling more secure. Other variables that were associated with security-insecurity cannot be changed such as age, sex, and place of birth, however, the reasons for some groups feeling more secure than the others can be further studied and action can be taken accordingly. A lot of focus is needed on the young people who feel more secure and measures to sustain it should be taken. Similarly women feel more secure than men, the self help groups and the women's empowerment program provided may be the reason and this could be strengthened. Self-esteem is high among the respondents and so steps should be taken to keep it the same way or make it better.

In terms of repatriation there needs to be a focus on the people from Mannar regions of Sri Lanka since more than one third of the camp refugees are from there. There is a need to develop re-settlement programs focusing on livelihood, land, education, and other programs for the refugees. Many of the children were educated in India, thus recognition of Indian education and employment based on education and previous experience should be looked into. Many of the refugees were married while in India, some have married Indian citizens who may not be able to return with their spouses to Sri Lanka. Thus proper measures to settle those issues including facilitating procurement of the certificates should be taken. The family structure that is common in Sri Lanka is also practiced in the camps. Nuclear families are the norm and this may cause problems when they go back since the land has to be divided among the children who have been married and live separately. This may cause conflicts among the family

members. Thus a thorough preparation is necessary while repatriating the refugees.

Twenty years of war has turned what used to be the pearl in the Indian Ocean to the teardrop of Asia. Both sides are tired, and peace is the only way. The refugees are anxious about the peace talks and hope that they will soon be able to go back to Sri Lanka. For one who has tasted prosperity, it is difficult to stay away from it for too long. The threat to the human need has to be completely removed so that the people of Sri Lanka can resume their lives again. Their self-esteem and security should also be high as they leave India and begin to live in Sri Lanka. This will add to better quality of life among the people.

Conclusion

To conclude with it can be inferred that there are some variables like age, sex, place of birth, region, level of education that affect security-insecurity. Out of those, the young female refugees from Mullaitheevu, who live in Chennai region with a higher education, high self-esteem have high security.

The once peaceful country turned bloody at the outbreak of the civil war. The Sri Lankan people were not used to anything like that and so lives went haywire. Many fled their country and sought refuge in India. Having fled a place of violence and bloodshed the refugee camps were a haven for them. On looking back at their lives in Sri Lanka, the refugees know that they do not have to be in constant fear of being arrested, interrogated or killed. Back home in North East of Sri Lanka where many of the refugees came from there was a perpetual fear factor. If the morning was peaceful and calm, there was no certainty that the evening will be the same. Such was the situation in which the refugees lived and now to be here in the camp where nothing changes even for the better is a situation that they could not complain about.

Security is more than the fear of life. Besides that there is the economic security, there is political security and security of relationships to name a few. With the influx of civil war, there was a huge inflation; everything became unaffordable for the people living in the conflict affected areas. Prices raised sky high leading them to innovative ways of leading their lives like running a motor cycle with kerosene. The survival instinct of the human being is amazing; people learn to cope with near to nothing. On arrival in India, rice which is the staple food of the Tamil Sri Lanka refugee was given as a subsidized price. This helped in building the morale of the refugees. They were sure to begin with that there will be food to eat, since they knew that they could afford it leading to economic security among the respondents.

Political security was at an all time low when some of these refugees left Sri Lanka and continues to remain the same way even today. There was no assurance about who is doing what or what steps the present government

in Sri Lanka was going to be taking. Nothing was certain for them although the war has come to an end. This is a constant source of worry for the refugee. Even today this is a cause for worry as the respondents wait for the day that they can go back home. India has not done well in alleviating the political security of the people even while in India. Their refugee status remains with no refugee law to govern them, leaving them at the mercy of the ruling governments both in the center and the state.

Security of relationship is yet another area that the refugees feel threatened. They are not sure who they can trust. This was often the case in Sri Lanka when people betrayed each other to save themselves. Suspicion was the buzz word everywhere. Families could not trust each other and they were in constant fear of betrayal. However, things changed when they came to India, they were able to live in peace and quiet without worrying about who will give them up. Thus it can be said that the respondents felt much at ease after they came to India. They no longer had to sleep in fear of not be able to wake up the next morning. Camps were their safe space. This large disparity in their lives from back home in Sri Lanka to here has resulted in high level of security among the respondents.

Living in camps is not easy for the Tamil Sri Lankan refugees. They go through many difficulties in their lives. Some of their basic needs are not met, thus making life difficult for them. However, most of the refugees were very optimistic. They led their lives looking forward to a future where they can go back to their homes in Sri Lanka. Most of the refugees have a high feeling of security in the camps however; their quality of life is low.

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