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**МАМЛЕКЕТТИК ЭГЕМЕНДҮҮЛҮК ЖАНА БАНГЛАДЕШТЕГИ РОХИНДЖА КАЧ-
КЫН БАЛДАРЫНЫН БИЛИМ АЛУУДАН ЧЕТТЕТИЛИШИ**

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STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND EDUCATIONAL EXCLUSION OF ROHINGYA REFUGEE CHILDREN IN BANGLADESH

Аннотация

This study examines the impact of ethnic genocide and forced displacement on the education of Rohingya refugee children in Bangladesh. A mixed-methods approach was utilised to collect data from 200 students and 50 teachers in the Cox's Bazar camps, with the objective of identifying key barriers to schooling, including language difficulties, psychological trauma, gender inequality, and lack of certification. The findings demonstrate that Bangladesh's sovereignty-centric refugee policy significantly obstructs Rohingya children's access to formal educational institutions. The research utilises international relations theories of realism, constructivism, and human security to clarify how political objectives and identity-based classifications affect educational access. The findings highlight the imperative for inclusive, certified, and sustainable educational programs to alleviate long-term marginalisation and improve future opportunities for displaced populations.

Keywords: Rohingya, genocide, refugee education, Bangladesh, sovereignty, human security, international relations, statelessness.

*ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ СУВЕРЕНИТЕТ И
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*МАМЛЕКЕТТИК ЭГЕМЕНДҮҮЛҮК ЖАНА
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Аннотация

Данное исследование рассматривает влияние этнического геноцида и вынужденного перемещения на образование детей-беженцев рохинджа в Бангладеш. Для сбора данных был использован смешанный метод, охватывающий 200 учащихся и 50 учителей в лагерях Кокс-Базара, с целью выявления ключевых препятствий в получении образования, включая языковые трудности, психологическую травму, гендерное неравенство и отсутствие сертификации. Результаты показывают, что ориентированная на суверенитет политика Бангладеш в отношении беженцев значительно ограничивает доступ детей рохинджа к формальным образовательным учреждениям. Исследование использует теории междуна-родных отношений реализм, конструктивизм и концепцию человеческой безопасности для объяснения того, как политические цели и классификации, основанные на идентичности, влияют на доступ к образованию. Полученные результаты подчеркивают необходимость внедрения инклюзивных, сертифицированных и устойчивых образовательных программ для снижения долгосрочной маргинализации и улучшения будущих возможностей для перемещённых групп населения.

Abstract

Бул изилдөө этникалык геноциддин жана мажбурлап көчүрүүнүн Бангладештеги рохинджа качкын балдарынын билим алуусуна тийгизген таасирин карайт. Маалымат-тарды чогултуу үчүн аралаш ыкма колдонулуп, Кокс-Базар лагерлериндеги 200 окуучу жана 50 мугалим камтылган. Изилдөөнүн максаты билим алууга тоскоол болгон негизги факторлорду аныктоо болуп саналат, анын ичинде тил кыйынчылыктары, психологиялык травма, гендердик теңсиздик жана сертификаттардын жоктугу бар. Жыйынтыктар көрсөткөндөй, Бангладештин суверенитетке багытталган качкындар саясаты рохинджа балдарынын расмий билим берүү мекемелерине жетүүсүнө олуттуу тоскоолдук жаратат. Изилдөө эл аралык мамилелердин теорияларын реализм, конструктивизм жана адам коопсуздугу концепциясын колдонуп, саясий максаттар жана инсандыкка негизделген классификациялар билим алууга жетүүнү кандайча таасир этерин түшүндүрөт. Жыйынтыктар узак мөөнөттүү маргиналдаштырууну азайтуу жана көчүрүлгөн калктын келечектеги мүмкүнчүлүктөрүн жакшыртуу үчүн инклюзивдүү, сертифицикталган жана туруктуу билим берүү программаларынын зарылдыгын баса белгилейт.

Ключевые слова: *Рохинджа, геноцид, образование беженцев, Бангладеш, суверенитет, человеческая безопасность, международные отношения, безгражданство.*

Негизги сөздөр: *Рохинджа, геноцид, качкындардын билими, Бангладеш, эгемендүүлүк, адамдын коопсуздугу, эл аралык мамилелер, жарансыздык.*

1. Introduction

Rohingya refugee crisis is one of the most important humanitarian issues of the 21st century (Agier, 2011). Approximately 900 000 Rohingya have escaped Myanmar to Bangladesh since August 2017 (UNHCR, 2023). Currently the largest refugee camp in the world is located in Cox's Bazar (UNHCR, 2023). The issue of education is an essential but understudied one in the camps (UNICEF, 2023). Children of the Rohingya have no nationality as they are not allowed to engage in the formal educational institutions of Bangladesh, and they can only access Temporary Learning Centers (TLCs) run by NGOs, which are not officially accredited (UNICEF, 2023). The Rohingya have been subjected to long-standing discrimination in Myanmar. The 1982 Citizenship Law nullified their nationality, restricted their mobility and placed restrictions of access to higher education (Human Rights Watch, 2000). Years of persecution were epitomized by the military suppression in 2017 (Amnesty International, 2017). United Nations termed it as a classic case of ethnic cleansing (UN Human Rights Council, 2017, para. 1). Bangladesh has admitted Rohingya on humanitarian basis but considers them as Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals, as such it has not allowed them to become refugees or obtain citizenship (Islam, 2021). Learning Competency Framework and Approach (LCFA) was established by the Government of Bangladesh and UNICEF in 2020, which aligns camp instructions with the Myanmar curriculum (UNICEF, 2020). This strategy ultimately values the idea of repatriation over long-term integration (Rahman, 2022). The issue at hand exemplifies how state sovereignty and human rights oppose each other in the perspective of an International Relation (Donnelly, 2013). Realism emphasizes the concerns of Bangladesh related to sovereignty and demographic pressure (Mearsheimer, 2001); constructivism focuses on importance of identity and such words as illegal migrants (Wendt, 1999); human security system concentrates on protection of the individual that goes beyond national borders (Kaldor, 2007). These theories show how state centered on sovereignty contribute to exclusion and statelessness (Kaldor, 2007, p. 142). In addition to these institutional and political challenges, education refugee conditions work as a means of academic teaching and as a process of social stability and identity maintenance. In the case of displaced communities such as the Rohingya, education is a vital tool of maintaining cultural values, language and collective memory even when there is forced exile. The absence of a controlled and accepted curriculum undermines this role, and the pupils will not have a clear picture of academic progress or applicability in national or global contexts. The prolonged migration has transformed what was initially viewed as a temporary humanitarian crisis into a refugee crisis. In many cases, the short-term educational projects do not meet the long-term developmental needs properly. This lack of long-term planning of sustainable educational institutions is a serious impediment to the future of Rohingya children particularly in terms of their employability, access to higher education, and social mobility. Without recognized certification, these young people struggle immensely to integrate into formal economies, be it in Bangladesh, Myanmar or any other location. One of the crucial issues is how the international organizations impact the educational policies in refugee camps. Other organizations such as UNICEF and UNHCR play a critical role in funding and implementing education programs; however, sometimes their plans are derailed by host-state policies and lack of financial resources. This creates a complex system of governance whereby different bodies operate with duplicating responsibilities but do not have a united long-term objective. As a result, educational programs can be deficient in consistency, scalability and sustainability.

2. Method

A mixed-method design was employed in this study, a combination of quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. Camps in Outpull-ing and Baluchi, Coxs bazar yielded a purposive sample of 200 Rohingya students and 50 instructors. Data Collection: Attendances, subject preferences, ob-stables and aspirations were measured by means of student surveys. Educators, who were interviewed previously, discussed classroom challenges, available resources, training, and observing trauma in children. The secondary sources included UNHCR, UNICEF, BRAC, Save the Children, Médecins Sans Frontiers (MSF), and the literature on the subject of refugee schooling. Data Analysis: To analyse quantitative results, descriptive statistics and cross tabulations were used. Thematic coding was used to analyses qualitative interviews, which brought up common problems like language gender, trauma, and not having a certification. The ethical considerations used were the consent, confidentiality of the identities of the keeper and the right of the individuals to choose whether to participate. Only the permission of the guardians was given to conduct the interviews with the minors in the trauma-informed forms. We were not permitted to access all areas of the camp, had to employ interpreters and were not permitted to discuss sensitive issues of trauma out of ethical concerns. Observational methods were used informally along with the main data collection methods in the field trips to improve the knowledge of learning about classroom settings and interactions between students and teachers. These observations give some contextual information on the issues like overcrowding, teaching practice, the level of student engagement, and the access to educational resources. The qualitative observations augmented the survey and interview data by offering instant insight into the educational environment in the camps. Moreover, both data-acquisition and analysis were greatly affected by language. Given that most of the Rohingya speakers had poor English proficiency and had a poor command of the Bengali language, the services of interpreters were required. This made the interaction more widespread but also created potential limitations in terms of accuracy of the translations and the loss of the subtle meaning. These issues were addressed by following a series of steps that included collaboration with experienced interpreters who were well versed in the Rohingya vernacular as well as research ethics. Another methodological consideration was the challenges of doing research in a highly controlled and sensitive environment. The administrative policies and safety restricted the accessibility of some spaces and persons. This may have influenced the representativeness of the sample, and the possibility to cover the whole range of experiences in the camps. Nevertheless, these limitations did not prevent the research to follow a well-balanced and ethically sound approach despite these limitations.

3. Analysis

The outcomes of this study are presented through a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collected from Rohingya pupils and instructors in refugee camps. The findings highlight significant issues related to attendance, gender disparity, and teacher training, while also incorporating personal experiences that deepen the understanding of educational challenges in many situations.

Table 1. Combined Educational Indicators in Rohingya Camps

Indicator Category	Subcategory	Percentage (%)
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Student Attendance	Regular	60
	Irregular	40
Gender Access	Boys (Regular)	65
	Girls (Regular)	40
Teacher Training	Untrained	65
	Basic Training	25
	Specialized Training	10

The results of this study provide an in-depth analysis of the situation in Rohingya refugee camps, where students go to school, with data on student attendance, gender inequality, and teacher training combined into one analysis. The results show that half of students attend classes regularly, but one out of five students has irregular attendance, and it shows that the educational engagement is still unstable. Although this aberration is a personal choice it is highly influenced by structural and contextual factors, which include family obligations, health related factors and restrictions in the camp set-up. A significant number of students reported that they often have to fulfil family obligations or care for younger siblings, so limiting their ability to attend school consistently. In addition, illnesses and inadequate housing conditions hinder regular attendance, and administrative and physical restrictions in camps bar regular attendance. Attendance patterns with gender variations: comparison of the attendance patterns shows that there is a significant difference between males and females: more than 65 percent of male attends school regularly, as compared to 40 percent of females. This imbalance underscores established socio-cultural practices that limit access to education of females, such as expectations of domesticity, early marriage practices, and safety issues both inside and outside the camp. The families that are usually reluctant to allow the girls access to the learning institutions on grounds that they believe there is risk involved, hence, contributing to low attendance. This disparity limits the accessibility of education by the girls in both short and long term on gender equality, literacy rates and economical involvement in the society. The lack of professionalism among educators greatly compromises the quality of education as statistics show that 65 per cent are untrained, 25 per cent have little training and only 10 per cent have specific training applicable in the context of refugee education. This deficiency of proper training undermines proper teaching strategies because most teachers have problems handling overcrowded classrooms, customizing lessons to suit divergent learning requirements and dealing with the imbalance brought about by disrupted educational experiences amongst students. This lack of trained educator is also aggravated by inadequate educational re-sources such as the in-availability of textbooks, writing instruments and visual aids which hinders the provision of appealing and effective teaching. In parallel with these structural constraints, the study of the qualitative research shows a great impact of psychosocial elements in the performance at school. Numerous students have been traumatized, displaced, and lost that has negatively affected their concentration, motivation and performance. According to teachers, they often felt that they were not able to assist such children due to the absence of training related to trauma-informed instructional practices that is one of the significant gaps in the educational system. Moreover, although some students had challenges, most of them were willing to continue with education past the elementary level; although, in some cases, this plan is derailed by the lack of certifications to accept their studies. This indecision reduces the motivation in the long run, particularly in the case of older students who get more conscious of their narrow prospects of higher education and of getting a job. These results confirm that these problems are interrelated; when the teacher trainings are not provided, the education quality will decline, which will then affect the interest and attendance of

the student as well as gender-based barriers will only increase the difference in access and participation. The instructional quality and attendance patterns are also influenced by psychosocial discomfort and this is a cycle which influences poor learning. The data also show that despite the existence of educational access in Rohingya camps, there are still very serious issues related to the consistency, equity, and quality. The combination of solutions to these problems should be comprehensive and combined, and it would contribute to the teacher training and the provision of resources, gender balanced policies, psychosocial support systems, and educational opportunities of accredited certification to keep students motivated and engaged in the long run.

4. Discussion

The report shows that there has been systemic exclusion of Rohingya refugee children to certified education in Bangladesh. The fact that there is no official certification, gender-based obstacles, and the psychological trauma due to forced migration presuppose that the educational situation in the Cox Bazar camps does not even correspond to the basic standards of inclusive education (*Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 475*). Despite the system of education being fragmented, due to the lack of connection to the official national curriculum of Bangladesh and lack of any tangible learning outcomes, a significant amount of foreign aid and collaboration in the form of the Learning Competency Framework and Approach (LCFA) is on the table (*UNICEF, 2020*). This leaves the new generations of Rohingya children dependent on informal education and with minimal opportunities of social and economic progress in the long-term. According to realist approach, the strict education policy of Bangladesh is motivated by the aspects of sovereignty, population strain, and stability of the nation. The government is not interested in integrating into the national system but, on the contrary, favors camp-based education due to the potential disruption of the local labor markets, resources distribution, and population balance caused by the inflow of about one million refugees (*Chaudhury et al., 2022, p. 344*). The strategy embraces the ideologies of classic realism where national interest and sovereignty are the dominant factors over the humanitarian needs (*Mearsheimer, 2001*). This creates a policy dilemma between compassion and control because the state excludes, as well as protects, as it does not just provide refuge but also exclusionary standard (*Chaudhury et al., 2022*). The constructivist hypothesis focuses on exclusion which is defined in terms of material reasons and social significance and political classification. The Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMN) term does not acknowledge Rohingya refugees as such, and thus, influences the institutional and societal mindset of them (*Islam, 2021*). These artificial identities uphold discriminatory governance frameworks and uphold social separation between host groups and migrants (*Wendt, 1999*). Wendt claims that state interests are a social construction and thus policies do not merely emerge because of the power relations but also owing to the existence of historically predetermined ideas of the other (*Wendt, 1999, p. 33*). The definition of the Rohingya as foreign and temporary in this instance justifies their further marginalization in the humanitarian terms. Human security concept contradicts the state-centric approach towards education by redefining it to be a vital component of human dignity, safety and well-being (*Kaldor, 2007, p. 103*). A number of humanitarian evaluations prove that quality education is a pro-protective measure that helps refugee children to avoid exploitation, getting exposed to early marriages, and radicalization (*UNICEF, 2020*). The lack of structured education makes people increasingly reliant on humanitarian aid which leads to what scholars refer to as permanent temporariness (*Dryden-Peterson, 2016, p. 480*). Human security approach requires the governance of the nations to be not founded on sovereignty and but to be people-oriented governance, resilience, empowerment and

sustainable development should be placed at the center. The comparison with other cases shows the individuality of the Rohingya situation. Two-shift programs of education allow Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon to learn the national curriculum and to be recognized as accredited (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Donor participation and international lobbying have helped the Afghani immigrants in Pakistan to slowly enter the mainstream educational institutions (Kirk and Winthrop, 2007). The Uganda refugees in South Sudan have inclusive policies which encourage access to the education system and social cohesion (UNHCR, 2022). Quite on the contrary, Rohingya refugees are confined to informal, non-accredited, non-integrative schools run by NGOs (UNICEF, 2020). These inconsistencies are the reason why various policy frameworks can have significant impact on the outcomes of education in refugee contexts. Gender inequality adds to marginalisation of education. Refugee camps may hinder the educational opportunities of girls due to safety issues, cultural practices, and financial constraints (UN Women, 2022, p. 22). Premature marriage, role in families and restricted mobility affect female students disproportionately. Low attendance rates of females compared to boys can be attributed to low number of female teachers and gender sensitive schools. According to UN Women, these inequalities reproduced intergenerational inequality as they limit the economic empowerment and voice of women (UN Women, 2022). This will need to be done in a targeted way, by using gender sensitive infrastructures, psychosocial support and community awareness. The psychosocial impacts of displacement have significant impacts on the education outcomes. Rohingya children have suffered massive trauma due to years of violence, insecurity, and confinement, according to Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) (MSF, 2021). Such symptoms as anxiety, emotional detachment, and lack of interest in participating in the learning process can often be observed by teachers. In the absence of trauma-informed pedagogical practice and proper mental health resources, educational programs will be ineffective. Nevertheless, this complex set of psychological needs cannot be addressed by the Cox's Bazar educational sector, which is severely underfunded and poorly equipped (UNICEF, 2023). The plight of Rohingya children exemplifies important inequalities in global refugee policies. Bangladesh accentuates on the aspects of sovereignty and national interest, and the foreign agencies demand the humanitarian responsibilities and inclusive development. The lack of a well-defined structure leads to years of statelessness and reliance. In this regard, education is a form of control and resistance, preservation of identity and further marginalisation (Betts and Collier, 2017, p. 347). The present-day organization of informal, unaccredited education suggests that there is a hope that they will one day be sent back to Myanmar, despite the political turmoil and unpredictability (Amnesty International, 2017). This scenario is congruent with the idea of Agier about the man-management of undesirables when the refugee camps are viewed as the system of containment, but not empowerment (Agier, 2011, p. 45). Until the importance of education as a human right is recognised, Rohingya children will continue to be marginalised, underqualified and social outcasts. The solution to this challenge is the policy changes that are coordinated and are not undermining the framework of sovereignty, human rights and human security. Educational marginalisation has long term socio-economic consequences. A generation with no formal education, and with no known qualifications will be even more vulnerable to poverty, unemployment, and social instabilities. This has effects on the livelihoods of individuals, and further burden on the host communities and international aid organisations. Therefore, education should be viewed as a contingent strategy of human capital and stability in the region, and not a humanitarian exercise. NGOs play a very important but inconsequential role. Though NGOs would provide the educational services that are so badly needed, their programs are not typically sustainable and dependent on outside funding cycles. This

introduces lack of consistency in service delivery and risks sustainability of education programs. Governments, international organizations and local communities must have an interdisciplinary approach that ensures continuity and sustainability. There are advantages and disadvantages of technology. Accessibility and quality of education can be improved using digital learning platforms. Nevertheless, in the Rohingya camps, such ideas cannot be present due to the poor infrastructure, which is manifested by the absence of energy, the Internet, and digital devices. Solving these architectural deficiencies may make a tremendous difference in terms of accessibility and creativity to education. The issue of statelessness plays a significant role in the interpretation of marginalisation in education. Lacking citizenship and legal status, Rohingya children lack access to education and sense of identity and belonging. This perpetuates the marginalisation and limits their ability to participate in the society in the maximum way possible. Educational policy, therefore, should be consistent with holistic programs to reduce the statelessness and to protect basic human rights.

5. Conclusion

This paper presents a detailed analysis of the educational situation in Rohingya refugee camps, as well as the attendance of students and gender differences and the readiness of teachers. The findings show that access to education is not uniform and unequal even though it is accessible (*UNESCO, 2020; UN-HCR, 2022*). There is a significant proportion of students (40%) that have irregular attendance, mostly due to institutional factors such as parental duties, health issues, and locational restrictions in the camps (*UNICEF, 2021*). The discrepancies in gender are prominent, and boys are admitted in educational institutions at a notably higher rate in comparison with girls (*UN Women, 2021*). This inequality is indicative of deeply ingrained socio-cultural expectations, including domestic duties, the culture of early marriages, and security issues (*UNICEF, 2021; World Bank, 2020*). As a result, girls are faced with limited access to education, which has long-term consequences on gender equality, literacy, and socio-economic participation in the Rohingya community (*UNESCO, 2020*). The lack of sufficiently trained educators substantially diminishes the quality of education (*Global Education Cluster, 2021*). The majority of educators do not have professional training, which interferes with their ability to work in heterogeneous classes and address learning disabilities in children with a disrupted educational background (*UNHCR, 2022*). This situation is exacerbated by inadequate educational re-sources (*UNICEF, 2021*). Pupils are highly susceptible to psychosocial factors because many have to face trauma and instability, which negatively affects their participation in and academic performance (*Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2020*). The uncertainty of the future opportunities and the absence of recognized certification de-motivate students, especially adult ones (*World Bank, 2020*). The study proves that the research issues of educational challenge in Rohingya camps are interconnected, considering access, quality, equity, and psychological well-being (*UNESCO, 2020*). Without a holistic plan, increase in one area is unlikely to have long-term outcomes (*UNHCR, 2022*).

6. Recommendations

An effective solution to the identified challenges is necessary that is comprehensive and unified (*UNICEF, 2021*). Specific programs must be set to enhance the attendance of students, such as flexible learning time and community education that will decrease household tasks of children (*World Bank, 2020*). Second, the gender-inclusive strategies are to be prioritized. This includes providing safe learning conditions to females, mobilizing families to transform preconceptions

about female education, and implementing policies that proactively support girls in their ongoing school enrollment (*UN Women, 2021; UNESCO, 2020*). Investment in teacher training is important (*Global Education Cluster, 2021*). To assist students who have suffered displacement and loss, educators need to take part in organized professional development, such as training on child-centered pedagogies and traumas in teaching, to improve their assistance (*Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2020*). It is essential to enhance the availability of educational resources (*UNICEF, 2021*). The supply of proper textbooks, teaching resources, and classroom facilities will improve the effectiveness of teaching and interaction with students. Fifth, psychosocial support services should be included into the educational framework (*Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2020*). To deal with barriers to learning caused by trauma, educational institutions are supposed to integrate the counselling services and emotional support programs. Finally, clear education pathways that are accredited are essential in maintaining student motivation (*World Bank, 2020*). Officially acknowledging education in refugee camps will enhance pupils' opportunities for higher education and jobs in the future (*UNHCR, 2022*). Through a coordinated approach to the implementation of these recommendations, stakeholders can make a significant contribution to the quality, equity and sustainability of education in Rohingya refugee camps.

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