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## A STUDY IN EXILE

A REPORT ON THE WUS(UK) CHILEAN  
REFUGEE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME

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This report was prepared for World University Service (UK) by members of the Chile team.

**A Study in Exile: a report on the WUS(UK) Chilean refugee scholarship programme**

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## PREFACE

11 September 1973 saw the unthinkable happen. In Chile, a country priding itself on a long democratic tradition, a free, elected, constitutional government was violently overthrown by its own armed forces. It had been said that Chile was the "England of Latin America" with a progressive social welfare system, a culture sharing much of the European heritage, an education system as advanced as any in Latin America. Even for a continent all too accustomed to coups d'etat, the brutality of the events set in train by the bombing of the presidential palace and the murder of the head of government was exceptional. Thousands of Chileans have been killed, tortured or "disappeared"; a million others are estimated to have left the country, many thousands who stayed have lost their jobs and livelihoods.

Among the countries of Latin America, Chile is generally regarded as one of the more developed, with a tradition of substantial development in social welfare such as health and education. Heavily dependent historically on nitrates and copper for export earnings, Chile attempted during the 1950s and 1960s to diversify and develop domestic industrial production through import substitution. As elsewhere in Latin America, however, rising per capita income figures failed to reflect huge disparities of wealth. The Popular Unity government of 1970-1973 was elected with the support of a large marginalised sector of the poor, who aspired to social and economic policies favouring a more dramatic redistribution of wealth. Since the military coup, the path of development has changed very radically to one relying on free market imperatives. After a brief boom in 1980/81, the Chilean economy has suffered a severe setback and, by most indicators, is now performing worse than in 1970.

Prominent among the refugees who fled Chile after 1973 were members of the academic community, with the consequent loss of a key development resource. Many of them, like other refugee groups before them, have made a great contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of Britain. The Chile Scholarship Programme, which over a 10-year period assisted 900 Chileans to complete or continue their studies, was part of the British Government's assistance to these refugees. The programme broke new ground in a number of important respects: firstly, it was an unparalleled collaboration between a voluntary agency, World University Service(UK), and the British Government; secondly, the programme, funded by the Government's development and aid agency, brought to the fore the concept that refugee education is a developmental as well as a humanitarian activity. In establishing these precedents, the programme paved the way for subsequent refugee education projects. For this reason, we have attempted to evaluate the results of the programme not simply in its own right, but also with a view to establishing general principles for the future.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1.

#### The Chile programme and Government policy

The WUS/ODA Chile Scholarship Programme, which over a 10-year period assisted 900 award-holders, was a substantial investment of public funds in a refugee training programme. While there are certain characteristics of the programme which were particular to Latin American refugees and to the circumstances of Chile, it also provides the largest test case for this kind of endeavour and provides valuable experience for assessing future assistance.

The programme was a pioneering effort, as a collaborative venture between Government and a voluntary agency, with objectives that were both humanitarian and developmental. It helped to transform the British Government's policy towards educational provision for refugees and towards the role of voluntary agencies. It led to collaborative scholarship programmes for Ethiopian and Ugandan refugees, which in turn highlighted the need for a comprehensive national refugee education policy. Such a policy has emerged since 1980 for people granted asylum in the UK: the main element being the lifting of the three-year residence requirement, allowing these refugees access to education on the same basis as home students. This has been of particular importance given the introduction of full-cost fees for overseas students in the same year.

The changed context means that 12 years on, in the event of a similar emergency, the Chile programme would not be duplicated in all respects. Nevertheless, many of the lessons learned during the Chile programme remain, in a general form, applicable today.

**Recommendation:** In the event of any future large-scale refugee exodus to Britain, the Government should take steps to set in operation a comprehensive reception and settlement programme, with adequate provision for education at postgraduate, undergraduate and further education levels, in line with the other recommendations made here.

**Recommendation:** Voluntary agencies are usually better placed to provide a more supportive environment for refugee scholars, given the circumstances of their exile, than are government agencies. This remains true even in circumstances where the Government also has a bilateral government-to-government training agreement with the country of origin of the refugees. (See chapter 3, sections 3.1 and 4.2)

### 2.

#### Developmental and humanitarian objectives

The programme was characterised by a complex intertwining of developmental and humanitarian objectives. Finding a balance between the two was a constant tension within the life of the programme.

On the one hand, the refugee group represented a significant part of the Chilean academy in exile. This created an imperative towards sustaining a sense of shared social goals and academic community, in order that the training programme should strengthen the community's ability to contribute to the future development of Chile. On the other hand, the problems and possibilities in exile demanded from them some sort of adjustment on an individual basis.

The developmental objectives of the programme and the organisation of the education and training had to address both of these needs. It had to provide the means for the Chileans to relate their academic programme in the UK to their own reality, and also to assist the award-holders to adapt to UK life in such a way that they could take advantage of the facilities, experience and resources that exist here.

The programme's developmental objective, endorsed by the ODA, allowed funding to be provided for the Reorientation Programme, which enabled WUS and the Chilean award-holders to develop a wide range of activities which related their present studies to their future redeployment. This provided an essential connection between the past and the future and reinforced links among the Chileans in exile and between them and those who work in the same fields in Latin America. What is more, it established a model which has influenced the involvement of other refugee groups under WUS programmes in their own projects and development.

**Recommendation:** Refugee scholarship programmes should be based on a combination of developmental and humanitarian objectives, and designed to respond to both. (See chapter 3, section 3.1)

3.

### **Academic organisation of the Chilean refugee community**

Of crucial importance was the organisation of the Chilean refugee community itself. In 1974, the Chilean refugees in the UK constituted, perhaps to a greater extent than other refugee groups who have come to the UK in the post-war period, a politically identifiable community. While the unpredictable personal consequences of prolonged exile and a combination of social, economic and political factors weakened community ties in the years after 1974, important community organisations were formed which became integral parts of the programme. Furthermore, in the 1980s, the Chilean community has shown signs of growing together again and demonstrating the kind of solidarity that was perceived in the early days of the WUS programme.

The Academic Coordination constituted an original and interesting contribution to the overall direction and uniqueness of the WUS programme. As well as contributing to reinforcing the work of the academic community in Britain, these activities served to forge links with groups and institutions in Latin America which ensured for many a smoother transition on their return home both on an individual basis and through the Returns Grants Scheme. The programme benefited from significant involvement by the award-holders themselves in the development of policy. At periods a Chilean was on the WUS Executive; at other times a major impact was made by the Academic Co-ordinators and regional representatives, particularly in the early part of the scheme, as well as by the *Panel de Economía y Desarrollo* and the *Asociación de Historiadores Chilenos* later.

**Recommendation:** Involvement of the refugee community itself in the organisation of the programme greatly enhances its effectiveness, and helps to combat the passivity that accompanies dependence. (See chapter 3, section 8.1 and chapter 4)

4.

### **Reception provision for refugees**

The Chile Programme threw important new light on several aspects of British refugee provision, particularly in the lack of housing and rights advice and overall psycho-social support provision in the UK agencies. Greater support or referral services should have been provided by WUS in the areas of psycho-social counselling, housing, health and welfare advice.

It is possible that the quality of the education programme suffered due to lack of provision in other areas. There were undoubtedly some refugees who opted for study on the WUS programme simply because it represented an increase of family income and a chance to do something constructive, without the motivation necessary to see them through a study programme in a strange environment. Many refugees on arrival in Britain would benefit greatly from a thorough physical and psychological check-up and a chance to rest in a receptive environment. Beyond that, there is a need for more imaginative programmes of employment creation and careers advice for refugees.

In the legal field, the problems of international protection for refugees, the difficulty of mobility from one country to another, the restrictions of the UN Convention Travel Document — especially its validity in other countries — were underlined by the WUS work to try to facilitate deployment of award-holders on completion of their studies.

**Recommendation:** Though there have been recent improvements in educational rights for refugees, urgent attention should be given to a review of other aspects of refugee reception and provision, in order that refugees should not be impelled to take up training opportunities as an alternative to long-term unemployment. (see chapter 3, section 6.4 and chapter 5, section 9.4)

5.

### **Programme planning**

There were formidable difficulties of administration, particularly in the early period of the programme, causing problems not of WUS' making and largely beyond its control. However, the dedication of many of the academics and ODA officials in the various WUS decision-making committees created a sympathy and flexibility

indispensable to the Secretariat staff handling the day-to-day pressures of the programme.

A crucial difficulty in planning the programme was the fact that the ODM authorised awards only on a year-by-year basis and that these decisions generally came late in the year. The pressure to start students on grants with only a few months notice imposed undue pressure on the selection system and made it impossible to provide any planned period for adjustment, counselling and integration on the part of the award-holders. Staff training and development was also impossible to plan given the year-by-year granting of funds and an inflexibility which held administration costs on an annual basis to 10% of the total grant.

**Recommendation:** Efficient financial management of such a programme requires funding to be allocated in three-to-five-year tranches. Given high start-up costs, administrative income should be authorised on a basis of need. (see chapter 3, sections 6.31 and 6.32).

6.

### **Language and skills training**

A principal consequence of planning difficulties was the inability to provide sufficient initial language and study-skills training for award-holders. Inadequate command of the language was the main reason given by most award-holders, as well as tutors and caseworkers, for difficulty in studying in a UK higher education institution. This means special courses, not just normal language tuition, because there was also a need for familiarisation with the very different academic traditions of British higher education. The late and variable annual date at which the ODM approved funding made impossible the forward planning which would have been required to provide the necessary specialist courses. Even where courses were available, the pressure to start students on their grants immediately limited the time available for this orientation period. These difficulties undoubtedly had a serious negative impact on the programme's academic success.

**Recommendation:** A reasonably lengthy period of orientation is advisable for award-holders arrival in the UK prior to commencing studies. Such a period, which should be of the order of one year, should provide for specialist courses in language and study skills. (See chapter 3, section 6.34 and chapter 5, sections 9.1 and 9.2)

7.

### **Measurements of success: academic performance**

The programme's 64% pass rate, while not equivalent to those of home students, nevertheless was notable in being comparable to the pass rates achieved in Chile. These results are remarkable when they are set against the trauma and disruption of family, personal and professional life suffered by the majority of the exiles. The programme made a particularly notable contribution to postgraduate training of the Chilean academic community — a level of training still in its infancy in Chile. Within the community as a whole, the greatest academic problems were encountered among older award-holders and among those studying at further education level. On the other hand, a clear and positive result was the higher pass rates enjoyed by women at all levels of study — a vindication for the decision to increase the representation of women on the programme as it developed. Implementation of the recommendations contained within this report should improve academic success rates in future programmes.

**Recommendation:** Special attention should be given, from the start of any programme, to improving training opportunities for women refugees, including through quotas on existing schemes and/or through the creation of special schemes. (See chapter 5, sections 4 and 7).

8.

### **Measurements of success: post-study redeployment**

Of the 900 beneficiaries of the programme, almost 30% have already been deployed productively in the Third World — a substantial majority of these returning to Chile itself. While any final evaluation of the programme's developmental success must await a normalisation in Chile sufficient to allow all the exiles to return, the Return Grants Programme to Chile has made an important contribution, and vindicates the ODA's support to the Reorientation Scheme. We believe, however, that a major opportunity was lost in the ODA's failure to fund the programme assisting graduates of the scheme to take up jobs in Nicaragua. It is rare that a situation arises in Latin America where the manpower needs are so obvious and important and a trained and

committed resource is so readily available. An expansion of this programme could have served as a model for the employment of well-qualified professionals in exile. **Recommendation:** An integrated scholarship scheme with developmental objectives should make adequate funding available for productive redeployment of graduates to countries where their skills may contribute to development. (See chapter 6).

9.

### The need for more detailed study

What became clear in the preparation of this evaluation was the serious lack of research into the Chilean Community in the UK which has any reliable empirical base. The various small-scale "sample" studies which do exist are of very limited value, rather out of date and tend to focus on the London area. This made it very difficult to look at the broader social context within which to judge the WUS programme, particularly the fate of those who completed their studies and have neither returned to Chile nor found employment elsewhere. It became very evident also that WUS should have done much more to monitor the progress of award-holders in the broadest sense through some regular and systematic programme of appraisal. In mitigation it should be added that lack of detailed information also limits the effectiveness of evaluations of other overseas student training programmes undertaken with the direct or indirect support of the ODA.

**Recommendation:** Consideration should be given to funding a full-scale analysis of the results of the Chile programme, in order to follow-up the conclusions of the present study. In particular, attention should be given to evaluating the causes of decreased academic success at further education level and to examining the variation of success rates between different institutions. In future scholarship programmes, an evaluation process should be established within the programme itself and specific resources should be made available for this purpose.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

1.

The *coup d'état* on 11 September 1973 marked a dramatic turning point in modern Chilean history. It provoked an enormous international response from a wide range of countries, East and West, sympathising with the victims of the brutality meted out by the new regime.

On 27 March 1974 the Foreign Secretary announced to the House of Commons "I am glad to inform the House that the Home Secretary will consider applications from Chilean refugees sympathetically". Thus the British Government began to grant asylum to Chilean refugees, who were received both by the general programme run by the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America and by the programme for exiled members of the academic community run by the World University Service(UK). This report attempts to evaluate the experience of the WUS programme, with two aims in mind:

- to assess the programme internally, with respect to its own developmental and humanitarian objectives;
- to assess the successes and failures of this experience in order to produce recommendations for any similar programmes which may be contemplated in the future.

2.

The WUS scholarship scheme poses interesting and difficult questions of evaluation. It began as a small-scale exercise in 1974 and developed over the the following decade into a substantial programme of assistance to nearly 1,000 individuals pursuing studies or research at tertiary-level institutions in the UK under British Government grants. The programme was unique in its scale, length, cost and target group. It evolved in a complex political environment in the UK, at a time when the recession was deepening in Western Europe and government policy was radically changing. Financial input for the programme rose precipitately, and selection criteria for the beneficiaries underwent constant revision as circumstances changed in Chile. It involved an unprecedented collaboration between the Government and an NGO, and, unusually for a refugee programme, was funded and overseen not by the Home Office but by the Government's development aid arm.

3.

Evaluation of "orthodox" aid programmes, including those related to technical training schemes, is always problematic, given the debate about the relationship between aid and development, and the inherent difficulties of measuring the impact of any specific development aid project. Put simply, most UK aid for overseas students (the closest parallel to this scheme) is based on an analysis of the developmental aims of a given country and a decision to invest in training the personnel needed in advancing these aims. Recipients of such grants are obliged to return home and, to a limited extent, it is possible to follow their progress and attempt a quantitative assessment of their contribution. Most come from employment in their home countries and return directly to their posts. These programmes have emphasised selection of mature graduate students who have successfully completed other studies in their home countries and wish training in the UK as part of a career plan. A refugee scholarship programme is less easy to characterise and measure in these terms. There are a variety of reasons for this difficulty.

3.1

The Chile programme rested on a political decision of the 1974 Labour Government to assist a portion of the skilled and educated Chileans who had become victims of a regime whose policies and brutality had provoked international outcry. There was no question of agreeing priorities on a government-to-government basis regarding the skills needed to fit the Chilean government's "development strategy" — quite the reverse. Those human resources actually or potentially available to further the democratic modernisation of Chile were precisely those targeted for dismissal, expulsion, repression and, in extreme cases, torture and death.

3.2

Selection of beneficiaries, especially in the early days, was deeply influenced by the personal danger to the individual candidate. Humanitarian considerations at times complicated the application of developmental requirements, making difficult a precise rank-ordering of different candidates. That being said, it should also be noted that extraordinary efforts were made to impose a degree of order and coherence on the chaos at the Latin American end, and gradually assessment and placement policies developed which reinforced the developmental orientation of the programme.

- 3.3 There was no question of expecting the beneficiaries to return home after study. The refugees may well have had a common expectation that the military government, and therefore their exile, would be short-lived in Chile, but this has not turned out to be the case. Thus, the programme's full developmental impact will become clear only in the future. In the short-term, opportunities to apply their training depends on imaginative use of such small options for return to Chile and reintegration as do exist, or on their deployment in other developing countries.
- 3.4 The refugees' ability to integrate into the job market of other developing countries after study was complicated by the severe traumas which often accompanied their exile. In some cases this led to a lowering of professional expectations and psychological difficulties of uprooting themselves again to seek job opportunities in a developing world undergoing a grave economic crisis.
- 3.5 Evaluation of the programme cannot be separated from the political identity of the exile community. The majority of the Chilean exiles were participants in, or sympathetic to, the Popular Unity government of 1970-1973. This led to a high degree of coherence and organisation of the community, and a commonly-shared aspiration to utilise the resources and safety made available to them in the UK to reinforce their identity with their compatriots. They demanded and achieved a remarkable degree of participation in the planning of the training programme.
4. There are, furthermore, a number of limitations on the exactitude with which the programme can be evaluated.
- 4.1 The programme has in a very real sense not ended. That is to say that most of beneficiaries are not home in Chile, putting to constructive use their acquired skills. The evaluation can therefore be only an incomplete assessment at one stage in history.
- 4.2 It would require a different study from the present one to evaluate the wider impact for individual Chileans of being exposed over a period of years to university life and ideas in a North European democracy: notions such as the UK academic tradition and teaching methods, together with newly-learned technological innovations. Neither can one estimate the impact of exposure to a different social and cultural climate, with different concepts, for example, of child-rearing, the role of women, social class, professional status and so on.
- 4.3 The profile of the programme available in statistical results is still partial. Some students have taken longer to complete their higher degrees and do not yet register as completed; others have achieved higher qualifications through awards other than those provided by WUS; and many of the award-holders have additionally learned marketable skills and languages which were not financed by the WUS programme.
- 4.4 There have been no adequate detailed surveys of the Chilean community's views of the benefits derived from the programme. Nor can the reasons for individual academic success and failure be adequately assessed; WUS, which is not itself an academic institution, was not able to maintain continuous assessment of the programme, but had to derive much of its information second-hand from the polytechnics and universities.
- 4.5 The Chilean community is very mobile, and many people have moved away from the UK to other countries without necessarily informing WUS. The records on post-study experience of award-holders are therefore incomplete.
- 4.6 Most of the WUS staff and committee members who managed the programme and contributed many of the innovative ideas have dispersed and are not available to add their insights to this evaluation. A comprehensive study of the programme would have required a detailed analysis of their experience.
- 4.7 WUS was not able, during the life of the programme, to computerise the enormous quantity of data generated, and it would be a task beyond the scope of this present internal evaluation to undertake an academically rigorous and complete assessment of all the fine detail.
- 4.8 Finally, in an evaluation which is intended to provide suggestions for any future programme of a similar kind, it must be borne in mind that fully identical programmes are unlikely, given the context of the response to the Chilean crisis and the changed domestic circumstances of provision for aid and refugee assistance.

## 2. THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM

### 1.

#### The Coup and the Universities

When the Chilean military took over on 11 September 1973 universities and academics were prominent among the targets of persecution. A study by WUS into the state of education in Chile recounts the immediate impact of the coup:

Within the first days of the coup, most of the universities were occupied by the armed forces. The State Technical University in Santiago was under siege for several days and a number of people were killed. It was subsequently converted into a temporary military barracks, as was the Catholic University of Valparaiso. In Concepcion, the School of Sociology and Journalism was immediately closed down and university buildings shut, leaving hundreds of students homeless. Libraries were put under military control, books seized and banned. Hundreds of people were arrested and killed.

(Education and Repression: Chile WUS, 1984)

A review of academic repression in the countries of the Southern Cone of Latin America, published in the early 1970s by an official of the Ford Foundation, gives a sense of the atmosphere of terror that prevailed in Chile:

The impact of the military takeover upon international and academic attitudes was devastating. The government undertook a systematic effort to silence all elements not clearly favourable to the new regime. Their efforts were usually rationalised in terms of the need for restoring seriousness, stability and efficiency to previously chaotic and highly politicised universities. Professors were charged with political indoctrination, with promoting sectarian viewpoints and with failing to uphold the true values of the university; persons deemed politically undesirable were systematically weeded out regardless of their academic merit. Military rectors or deans were often put in charge of many universities, faculty members were purged, formal and informal censorship imposed, undesirable were attacked for their political views.

(J. Puryear, Higher Education, Development Assistance and Repressive Regimes)

The Latin American Social Science Council (CLACSO) indicated that some 45% of the students at the University of Chile did not return to classes after 1973. José Joaquín Brunner, the director of FLACSO (the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences), estimated in a recent interview that in the months following the coup about 25% of the teaching staff were removed, along with 10-15% of the support staff and 15-18% of the students. In all, 10,000 students were estimated to have been expelled, and 18,000 students and academics dismissed. Many were detained, tortured or killed. In 1974 there were 22,211 lecturers in Chilean universities; by 1975 this figure had dropped to 11,419. This persecution of the academic community was coupled with reduced funding for universities as a result of a drastic change in the management of the economy and massive reductions in public sector budgets.

The large-scale purge of students and academics continued for the first two years of the military regime. Thereafter, more subtle means were adopted and many staff were dismissed in the course of "restructuring" and other administrative measures. Among the dismissals were those, including Christian Democrats and independent conservatives, who had criticised falling academic standards and the military administration of the universities. In early 1976, the University of Chile alone lost 300 faculty and among all universities a total of 3,740 people were dismissed in the course of the year. Military control of the curriculum became increasingly pervasive throughout this period. The 1980 University Reform Law formalised the severely reduced scope of university activity, stressing a narrowly functionalist role for higher education and an abandonment of traditional values of critical thought and liberal dissent. It is remarkable under these conditions that some small groups were able to keep alive a tradition of independent investigation and critical thought.

### 2.

#### The Chilean Refugee Community

There were 1,000 or so victims of the process of repression described above became beneficiaries under the WUS programme, many of them bringing their families with them to Britain. Among the beneficiaries were individuals with widely differing motivations, personal histories and psychological make-up. Some limited generalisations can however be made about this group both as a part of the educated elite and as an exile community.

2.1

### Social class and the professional ethic

There were significant differences of social class between the university-educated "WUS Chileans" and those received under the general UK refugee programme, served by the Joint Working Group. This led to problems of social and political fragmentation within the exile community. There were further differences in class and academic background within the "WUS Chilean" group itself: between the older, mainly postgraduate, students from the early period of the programme, and the younger, mainly undergraduate, students who came later. The older students, as a result of a background which accords higher prestige than in Europe to professional status, were more deeply traumatised by the sudden loss of professional identity. The younger students tended towards a more radical view, stemming from the experience and educational orientation of the Popular Unity government. It is hardly surprising that, under the pressure of life in exile, the differences between these two groups should have produced tensions within the Chilean community and between the Chileans and the host academic system.

2.2

### Gender and family

Some two-thirds of the award-holders were men, and at higher levels of education this percentage increased, until at doctoral stage it reached 88%. Whether or not this may be a reflection of university entrance patterns in Chile, Chilean women in the UK expressed strong dissatisfaction with their lack of educational and professional opportunities under the WUS programme. The experience of contact in Britain with changing attitudes to gender roles may have catalysed Chilean women's increasing questioning of their domestic subordination. At the same time, many men were forced to re-examine the value and significance of their own academic and professional activities.

2.3

### Social organisation

The vast majority of the beneficiaries were forced into exile, either due to fear of grave personal danger, or in response to a general climate of political persecution which denied them their normal social and political rights. For the majority, exile created a need to find forms of social organisation which reinforced their cultural identity, providing support and strength. In this context the role of the political parties was crucial. Most of the award-holders had been politically engaged in Chile. Affiliation to a political party offered a clearly-defined ideological identity. In exile, the parties provided a social and cultural support network which held the community together. However, at the same time, active membership declined in exile, while factionalism grew. Those who withdrew from their political organisations found themselves largely outside the support network.

2.4

### The Exile Syndrome

Just as the profile of the award-holders' social composition was complicated by age, social class and educational history, so too did their differing individual experiences of exile. The "exile syndrome", as it has been called, was manifested in complex ways and is all too little understood. Some indications of the problems of exile and integration into the host culture emerged from a seminar organised by WUS with Latin American social psychologists in 1979.

A parallel was drawn between exile and bereavement:

Exiles characteristically tend to live within a "ghost reality", a personal past which prevents them from realising the present dynamic Chilean reality as well as their actual present reality in the host society: they therefore fail to create a space of their own in this new society ... A further analogy with bereavement is found in the presence of guilt, felt largely for having abandoned comrades and relatives who remained in Chile ... the positive reinforcements that are lost are the roots, the geography, the emotional support, the cognitive world and the status they had enjoyed before exile.

The conclusion was that:

the bereavement experienced by many exiles may be interpreted as a result of a massive deprivation of positive reinforcements, and a prolonged exposure to systematic negative reinforcements over a long period of time.

As exiles, many of the Chileans underwent an experience characterised as falling into four stages:

- the period of threat as the individual becomes aware of victimisation of his/her group;
- the decision to flee when the pressure mounts to intolerable levels;
- the period of flight, which is full of fears of being discovered or harmed and anxieties about the obstacles to reaching a place of asylum;
- and finally, reaching a place of asylum with all the culture-shock, disorientation and dependence entailed in the initial period of resettlement.

On this final point, a WUS study<sup>1</sup> indicated that a question of central importance in coping with exile is the extent to which the refugee aspires towards "integration" in the host society: motivation is every bit as important as cultural, linguistic or economic barriers to integration in the new society. It is therefore interesting that, after more than a decade in exile, many of the Chilean refugee students continued to see their situation as transitory, regardless of the practical difficulties of return and reintegration in their home country. Unlike the economic migrant, the Chilean political refugees did not choose to be in Britain as part of a calculated career plan; the circumstances which forced their departure involved abandoning friends, colleagues, family, a profession, and reasonable expectations of security and happiness. Such loss can, in the most favourable circumstances, be ameliorated only partially in exile; in Britain, during a period of increasingly severe recession and unemployment, the prospects of exercising professional skills were poor indeed, thus adding an additional pressure on top of those deriving from cultural alienation and personal loss.

Paradoxically perhaps, there is some evidence that those who suffered the worst conditions in Chile often found the greatest strength in coming to terms with the experience of exile. But, for others, a vicious circle developed and the obstacles to harmonious integration seemed to reinforce the sense of rejection and an attitude of aloofness towards the British society and culture, which produced a ghetto mentality.

The humanitarian issue confronting agencies like WUS which sought to help, can perhaps best be summarised by reference to the hopes and needs of the exile in his/her country of asylum. A recent study<sup>2</sup> of the psycho-social problems lists these hopes and needs as follows:

- survival and physical safety for relatives, friends and self;
- safety and protection in the first place of asylum;
- freedom from further persecution, dehumanisation and second-rate citizenship;
- a reconfirmation of personal identity and acceptance as a human being;
- durable and permanent resettlement in which the person has a home, work, health-care, education for self and children and opportunity to retain his/her cultural identity;
- opportunity for the person to rebuild his/her life, practically and psychologically;
- to be treated as a unique individual with specific abilities, strengths and needs and not stereotyped as a "refugee" within a reception or resettlement programme.

Undeniably, the first and second of these emergency needs were met by what was, at least at the end of the day, a generous visa programme and the guarantee of security, physical and financial, which the WUS programme provided. The rest is a matter of sharp debate.



### 3. MANAGEMENT

1.

The organisation that developed to cope with almost 1,000 beneficiaries had very modest antecedents: a small World University Service(UK) office and a voluntary network of concerned scholars — Academics for Chile.

1.1

#### World University Service(UK) in 1973

When the World University Service took on the Chile Scholarship Programme in 1973 it employed four full-time staff and a part-time accountant, and was based in a very modest office in Tottenham, North London. Its annual income was £30,000 and the total value of its assets, including the office, was £40,000. It had to expand enormously to cope with the problems of the Chile programme. In the first year, 1974, WUS had to absorb an initial grant of £175,000 — a six-fold increase in annual income. By the time the programme was completed a decade later it had grown to provide over 900 awards at a cost of £12 million. Appendix 1 contains details of the programme's funding.

Nevertheless WUS already enjoyed considerable standing in the academic community and had experience in handling scholarship programmes through its recent management of a programme for over 200 Czechoslovak refugees in 1968, as well as through an earlier programme for Hungarian refugee students.

However the Czechoslovak programme differed in many respects from the Chilean programme. It was funded initially by some public subscription but mainly through grants from the Department of Education and Science. Eligibility for assistance was confined to people already in the UK in the summer of 1968; consequently the great majority of beneficiaries were Czech students already studying in the UK at that time.

By 1973 the Czechoslovak Students Scholarship Fund had almost completed its work and only a small part of the work of the four full-time staff was spent on administering scholarships — a small loans and grants scheme that disbursed £2,000 annually.

2.

#### The Role of Academics for Chile

The role of a number of British academics deeply concerned at the consequences of the September 11 coup is fundamental to an understanding of the origins of the WUS/ODA Chile programme. "Academics for Chile" held their first public meeting on 13 October 1973, at the London School of Economics and Political Science. The core of some 20 academics (not always the same 20) were far from uncritical supporters of the Popular Unity Government but were united in revulsion at the brutality of the military dictatorship and its attack on the lives, values, social and political institutions of Chile. Not all members of the Executive Committee set up on this inaugural meeting were specialists on Chile or Latin America — the sense of outrage spread far wider with the British academic community and the sense of solidarity with students, researchers and teachers suffering from the aftermath of the coup touched many who had had little contact with political solidarity or human rights campaigns in the past.

As the state of the crisis and of the calls for help became apparent, Academics for Chile realised it would need the institutional support of an organisation able to work on behalf of the victims of academic repression. World University Service(UK) had the necessary experience and by November 1973 links had been established. A joint WUS/Academics for Chile campaign was established for financial and political support to mount a programme for Chilean academics.

In the early months the Astor Foundation gave £1,000, an Oxford College £600, a generous individual gave £1,100, local members organised collections in their universities, and WUS contacted over 70 charitable trusts. March 1974 saw a major advance with an allocation of £7,000 from the Ford Foundation to administer the programme. Soon after, Christian Aid and an anonymous foundation gave grants for a small number of students. Academics for Chile tried to meet every month but most of the activity was local rather than central and, as full-time teachers, the members were hard pushed to find the necessary time to handle the growing complexity of the administrative details. By March 1974, an academically impressive list of sponsors had been put together, there were active contacts in over 60 universities and polytechnics and some 50 Chileans and their families had received assistance.

Following the change of government in the UK in 1974, Academics for Chile and WUS staff embarked on a greatly expanded lobby of MPs and ministers, together with meetings with civil servants and the British Council. Finally, in July, came the government decision in favour of the programme presented by WUS and AFC, initially through directing moneys cut off from the bilateral ODA aid programme to the Chilean government.

Many of the Academics for Chile remained closely involved with WUS throughout the years that followed. As one leading Latin American expert and member of the AFC put it: "This was the first combined effort of a substantial number of Latin Americanists to do something positive to combat the horrors we all spend so much time studying. Perhaps it will not be the last such campaign. Even if many people who were involved go back to the ivory towers, the view from there will never be quite the same again."

3.

#### The Emergency Response

3.1

As might be expected, the early days of the Chile programme mirrored the chaos and confusion prevailing in Chile in the aftermath of the September 1973 military takeover. A prompt response was made possible through the immediate voluntary action taken by "Academics for Chile" and through an injection of funds from the US Ford Foundation and widespread academic solidarity (for example, in the form of fee waivers). The Ford Foundation Grant was important, not so much for its absolute size as for the added authority it gave the programme and for the early commitment it provided of funds for administration.

It rapidly became clear at the end of 1973 and the beginning of 1974 that need would outstrip the small-scale resources available through private grants and voluntary action. Only governmental funds would be up to the task. There followed a period of intense negotiation between WUS and civil servants of the (then) Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), in a climate of broad political sympathy at a high level of government for the plight of the Chileans. A basis was established for official funding of a major programme.

The programme was notable for the fact that, though officially financed, it was administered through an NGO, rather than through a government-linked body such as the British Council. This approach was taken because, given the exiles' recent experiences at the hands of their government, it was felt that more effective and sensitive help could be provided in this situation through a voluntary-sector organisation. The scheme's character, with its emphasis on developmental criteria was fundamentally determined by the fact that it was not the Home Office (responsible for UK asylum policy) nor the Department of Education and Science (responsible for UK education and training policy) that played the key official role: rather it was the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) which is responsible for British overseas aid policy and programmes. It is this involvement that sets the WUS(UK) programme apart from all other international assistance programmes for Chilean exiles.

3.2

At the Latin American end it made little difference where WUS(UK) was able to raise the necessary funds. Nor was the urgent debate in London over "developmental objectives" of such overwhelming importance on the other side of the Atlantic. Nonetheless, a gradual consensus emerged among civil servants, UK academics, WUS staff and the Latin American partners that a *developmental approach* made sense and could be made to work.

3.3

The scheme was to be managed and organised as a skills-training and upgrading project for qualified personnel from the Third World, albeit within the context of an unprecedented and highly unorthodox humanitarian exercise. No-one imagined that the crisis would last so long or that the programme would grow to assist nearly 1,000 people, factors of scale which posed considerable management challenges throughout the following years.

Overall responsibility for management of the programme lay with the WUS General Secretary, reporting to the WUS Executive and its component Finance and Policy Committees. Within WUS a Chile Team was established, starting with one member of staff and rising to 15 at the height of the programme (when over 500 students were actually on courses). To decide on selection and advise on policy, WUS created an *Awards Committee*, composed of academics knowledgeable on Latin American affairs, a representative of the ODM, a nominee from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, and the WUS General Secretary. The academic

reputation of those participating in Academics for Chile and those appointed to the awards committees was an important factor in the ODM's confidence in WUS's ability to handle the programme. A list of the academics who contributed to the programme through voluntary membership of the various committees is found in Appendix 2.

The sheer size of the programme, its length and the changing circumstances in Chile and the UK, soon forced a need to redefine objectives and criteria so that the very large government investment might realise its declared developmental objectives.

#### 4. The Developmental Approach: Changing Criteria

4.1 The criteria for selection of candidates went through a number of changes in the course of the programme. The difficulty of defining criteria arose from attempts to strike a balance between three factors: *social need, academic suitability and developmental considerations*; and particularly between the first and third of these factors. In the early period, greatest stress was laid on the question of social need, with political prisoners being given preference. As the programme developed and the situation in Chile stabilised somewhat, it became possible to place greater emphasis on the other two factors. But even then, the definitions of the developmental and academic criteria had to be broadened, to take account of people with exceptional need and those who would benefit from assistance even where they did not meet the initial criterion of eligibility, namely that they should have suffered interruption of their studies.

4.2 The initial selection criteria were defined by the Ministry of Overseas Development in July 1974:

Eligibility for awards will be confined to Chileans who have been deprived of their academic work since the coup in Chile last September and are unlikely to be nominated for technical assistance training awards under the normal government-to-government scheme which remains in existence; but beyond this basic requirement candidates will be assessed only on academic and development grounds. Selection will not take into account the political affiliations of candidates and we will require that as far as possible the ODM's usual development criteria are met. Awards will be made only to candidates with reliable academic qualifications who can be expected to make a contribution to development."

4.3 The programme had from the beginning tried to maintain a balance between the social need, the developmental and the academic aspects of the initial selection criteria.

4.31 **Social need** was originally defined by the ODM in July 1974<sup>4</sup> as applying in general to candidates who "have had their studies interrupted or have no possibility of finding suitable employment in Chile or in the country in which they have taken up temporary residence. Eventually they would be willing to be nominated for technical assistance awards."

By early 1976 it was clear that the demand for awards was very high from people in Chile who had been detained or who had serious personal security problems. It had also become clear that the offer of a WUS award was, in many cases, helpful in securing the release into exile of political prisoners<sup>5</sup>. So the Latin America Awards Committee adopted a stringent reading of the social need criterion to benefit those in most immediate danger. The only people considered were those in prison; "disappeared" people who might be produced by the security forces; people sentenced to internal exile; and people with a high risk of persecution in Chile or in exile in Argentina.

4.32 **The Developmental criterion** was applied in line with the ODM's normal practice for technical assistance training awards. This was defined as a requirement that "training must contribute materially to economic or social development within a reasonable time. Awards will not be provided for study of the humanities, fine arts, cultural projects etc."<sup>6</sup>

At the second meeting of the Chile Awards Committee on 29 July 1974, it was agreed, recognising the exceptional nature of the programme, that the ODM would be "flexible" in considering cases of candidates whose subjects of study "might not strictly speaking be considered as development-related" so long as these cases remained a small proportion of the applications.

4.33

**The Academic criterion** was initially defined by the ODM in July 1974<sup>4</sup> as confining eligibility to people who had been deprived of their academic work as a result of the coup and who had academic qualifications such that they could be expected to benefit from assistance and to make a subsequent contribution to development.

○ The Chile Awards Committee at its first meeting in July 1974 distinguished three categories of applicant: undergraduate, junior academic and senior academic. Determination of academic merit was left up to the institutions of higher education themselves. Awards were strictly confined to those whose formal academic work had been interrupted by the coup or its aftermath, and candidates had to demonstrate that they had had a connection with a university in 1973. The only exception to this was the acceptance of a few candidates who had been carrying out research or teaching activities in certain government research institutes.

○ The second meeting of the Awards Committee in July 1974 broadened the criteria of eligibility when the ODM agreed to consider cases of candidates who were not academics at the time of the coup, but who might qualify under a normal technical training assistance scheme or who had left an academic post for a period before the coup.

○ The academic criterion was further modified as the situation in Chile changed. In November 1976 the Chilean government had released all the prisoners held without charge under the State of Siege. By January 1978, there remained some 80 political prisoners. This of course did not take into account the several hundred people still held for political reasons but not acknowledged by the government, and the 2,500 people who had "disappeared" since 1973. Within the universities, the mass purges of academics and students, which had closed entire faculties, were largely at an end, though sporadic arrests continued and the vigilance of the security forces remained high. All of these changes meant that relatively few people satisfied both the social *and* the academic criteria.

5.

#### The Management Structure

5.1

##### The Latin American End

The pressures, conflicts and risks endured by colleagues in Latin America involved in the early selection of candidates for the programme merit a study of their own. Inevitably rapid *ad hoc* decisions had to be made and consultation had to be improvised. Personal confidence and political trust were at a premium. Humanitarian preoccupations were fundamental and, undoubtedly, rough and ready judgements were made at times in forwarding cases to the UK for approval. Eventually, however, a clearer structure emerged.

Responsibility for the administration of the programme from Latin America was assumed by CLACSO (*Consejo Latino Americano para Ciencias Sociales*) based in Buenos Aires. CLACSO appointed a committee of academics in Santiago in 1974 to preselect candidates.

A further committee was created in Buenos Aires to screen applications coming from Santiago. A *Bolsa de Trabajo* within CLACSO, consisting of three Chilean academics, was responsible for organisation of the information sent from Santiago and for coordination with WUS(UK).

In October 1976, due to internal changes within CLACSO and the deteriorating political situation in Argentina, responsibility for the programme and for coordination with WUS(UK) shifted from Buenos Aires to the WUS(Chile) *ad hoc* committee in Santiago. CLACSO remained responsible for forwarding applications from Chilean refugees in Argentina. Following serious delays in forwarding applications presented by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to CLACSO, UNHCR took over direct responsibility for this process. Most of the logistical arrangements for passage of Chileans to the UK were made by the then Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration (ICEM).

5.2

##### The UK End

Information on candidates for awards was received from various sources:

- letters from refugees to colleagues in the UK
- letters from refugees direct to Academics for Chile or WUS

- the *Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales* (CLACSO) in Buenos Aires
- the *Comision Evangelica Latinoamericana de Educacion Cristiana* (CELADEC) in Lima
- International WUS in Geneva
- the British Council in Santiago
- Union of Latin American Universities in Mexico
- Higher Council of Central American Universities in Costa Rica
- the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)

As the programme got underway, the *Awards Committee* received the majority of the applications, forwarded through WUS(Chile) or CLACSO, from Latin America. In administrative terms, awards were granted by a succession of different committees. Of the 900 who eventually entered the programme, 178 received their award from the original Chile Awards Committee which operated between July 1974 and June 1975. But in addition, by early 1975, over 100 further students and academics had arrived in the UK directly, through the main UK Refugee Reception programme and had contacted WUS on arrival. To cope with this situation, the Committee structure was enlarged and rationalised in June 1975 to cover three main functions:

- The "*In-UK*" *Committee*, which considered applications from Chileans who had already arrived in the UK as recognised refugees. A total of 396 awards were granted.
- The *Latin America Committee*, which considered applications from Chileans living outside the UK, mostly from Chile itself or from Argentina. A total of 202 awards were granted.
- The *Reviews and Extensions Committee*, which considered extensions of awards and reviewed the academic progress of award-holders.

After 1979, the in-UK and Latin America committees were amalgamated into a Combined Awards Committee, which granted 124 awards. It should be noted that more awards were granted than were taken up: the shortfall being due mainly to applicants from Latin America who had problems in obtaining a visa for entry to the UK.

Members of the various committees came together to form the *Policy Committee*, which was responsible for overall policy-making and the direction of the programme, under the chairmanship of Professor Dudley Seers. A further committee was established in 1979 to look at policy recommendations deriving from the *Reorientation Programme* (see chapter 4). Each of the committees included an ODM member, and WUS was required to submit detailed financial statements to the ODM at regular intervals, for scrutiny by Government auditors. Indeed the ODM involvement in the programme was felt in a variety of ways. Their representative had to approve the overall scheme and the total budget. In addition an official attended policy meetings, approved changes in criteria, participated in all award decisions, and had a right of veto on any award or extension. The ODM also determined the financial and other reporting standards, received and reviewed annual financial reports and controlled the release of funds.

6.

### Evaluation of Management Structure

- 6.1 Our colleagues in Latin America operated much more directly under the heat of repression and had only minimal financial support. They showed an extraordinary personal commitment to the aims of the programme. There was concern in the early days that a small group working on behalf of WUS(UK) in Santiago, most of whose members were sociologists, was insufficiently representative to deal with an interdisciplinary programme of this kind. The WUS(Chile) committee was accordingly enlarged, and eventually included representatives from virtually all sectors.
- 6.2 In Britain, despite the pressures on the programme, the committee structure operated effectively and adaptably. The voluntary work of the academics and the commitment of the civil servants were of enormous assistance to the WUS Secretariat. The advice of senior academics on criteria and orientation of studies aided in imposing coherence on a project for which there were neither precedents nor guidelines. The civil servants, who were intimately involved every step of the way, showed great flexibility and generosity in devising ways of ensuring that the financial and developmental investment was realised in a way most appropriate to the needs of the award-holder. The WUS Secretariat serviced the committees with careful and thorough documentation, which allowed a flexible shaping of criteria to changing realities. The creation, as the programme developed, of the Reviews and Extensions Committee, was vital in responding to the refugees' special personal and

academic problems as they emerged. This allowed for a sensitive and supportive policy, enabling students to change from unsuitable courses, to prolong their studies in order to finish theses and dissertations, and to defer study for periods of time in order to cope with pressing personal problems.

- 6.3 There were immense operational difficulties in implementing the programme, though in management terms these were often not of WUS's making.
- 6.31 The programme was seriously affected by the timing of financial decisions by the ODM. WUS was authorised to grant awards only on a year-by-year basis. Normally, decisions were delayed until June or July of the year in which students were expected to start, and on one occasion funding was not cleared until August. When dealing with refugee students, more time is needed for counselling and course selection. In particular, caseworkers felt strongly that all applicants required an intensive period of study of English and study skills. In November 1977, a paper was presented to the Policy Committee expressing considerable frustration about the impossibility of making sufficient language provision available. It was noted that, of those who had been awarded grants that year, up to 15 had refused to start because they had felt unable to handle language problems. With the ODM unwilling to commit money for more than a year ahead, many students were in the insecure position of feeling that if they did not start courses immediately they might lose their grants.
- 6.32 Funding constraints flowed over into and affected WUS's capacity to administer the programme. The paucity of the administration component of the grant, set at 10%, was one key factor. Although there was an understanding that administration costs should not exceed 10% over the duration of the programme, difficulties were experienced in particular years, when requested expenditure for those years was over 10%. In general ODM officials did not have sufficient discretion to approve the higher initial costs and periodic cost rises that WUS had to incur. Moreover, the fact that decisions were only known on a year-by-year basis made management planning and professional staff development almost impossible. Thus staff training could not be planned and had to be restricted to on-the-job training, while resources were insufficient for the proper level of ancillary support, especially counselling, and for detailed monitoring and evaluation. It was only in 1979/80 that the ODA (successor to the ODM) agreed to lift the 10% ceiling and raised the administration quota to 12.2%. Subsequently, in 1981, and covering other refugee scholarship programmes too, it was agreed that costs could be covered on the basis of need. A combination from the start of administration expenditure on the basis of need, and financial planning over a three-to-five year period (subject to annual budgetary approval by Parliament) would have provided a much sounder basis for managing the programme.
- 6.33 A problem that had a substantial and deleterious effect on the organisation and planning of the programme, particularly in the early days, stemmed from delay and inefficiency in the issue of visas to Chileans who had been awarded grants by the WUS Committee in London. The result, apart from the grave personal risk for the individual unable to leave Chile, was the random and uncoordinated arrival of award-holders in the UK.

By mid-November 1974, though 64 awards had been made, only eight Chileans had actually arrived. Home Office policy was clumsy and confused, and misleading assurances were given that mechanisms for issuing letters of consent would be speeded up. WUS first raised the problem with Alex Lyon MP, then a junior Home Office minister in November 1974. Following this meeting the Home Office gave an undertaking that they would try to resolve applications within two months. There was a temporary improvement and then the situation began to deteriorate again. In September 1977, nearly three years later, WUS carried out a survey which revealed that, of 230 visa applications, 95 had taken more than three months to decide. In addition to the delays, a number of people were actually refused entry. Alex Lyon later admitted publicly that he had been obliged to send all applicants' papers for vetting to the CIA. Extraordinary pressures had to be applied to the Home Office to rectify the situation whereby a programme approved by one government department was effectively being impeded by another. For the WUS Secretariat it was impossible to predict when people might arrive, and thus it was extremely difficult to make arrangements for them to start courses. *Ad hoc* judgements had to be made, if the academic year had started, as to whether they should go to their university immediately or wait in difficult circumstances for up to nine months for the next academic year to start.

6.34 Random arrivals also meant that it was very difficult to organise English languages courses for groups. If more planning had been possible it is likely that more university language centres could have been encouraged to set up special courses, as was done for the first groups of any size to be received by the newly-established Joint Working Group (see 6.4 below) in the summer of 1974.

A more fruitful and possibly more economic approach would have been to allow students an "attachment" to their university prior to starting formal classes. This would have allowed time for award-holders to establish themselves and their families in a favourable and supportive environment, at the same time as learning English and beginning to study in a more relaxed way than was usually possible in the enforced rush to start students on their grants. This *de facto* "fourth year", coming at the beginning of the course would have greatly enhanced award-holders' ability to adapt to life in exile and to make the transition to an academic culture substantially different from that of Chile.

6.4 The existing UK mechanisms for handling the reception and settlement of refugees proved to be wholly inadequate for the influx of Chileans. To cope with the problem WUS was involved with a number of other agencies (Christian Aid, the British Council for Aid to Refugees, the Chile Committee for Human Rights, the Chile Solidarity Campaign) in establishing the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Chile (subsequently Latin America) in the UK, with an office and advice staff, funded by a special grant from the Home Office. However, funding for the Joint Working Group was never adequate and WUS itself had to provide to award-holders a range of services and counselling support that had not been envisaged in the original programme. While there is still a long way to go, there has since then been an improvement in standards for reception and assistance to refugees in the UK, with a growing professionalisation in the agencies involved. The Chilean experience has played a major and positive role in raising the issues and highlighting the inadequacies of the available services.

7.

#### Case Work

Within WUS(UK), the Chile team was structured into different units. The team had an overall financial coordinator, three people responsible for academic coordination and relocation (the *Reorientation Unit*, described in chapter 4), a welfare/housing officer and a number of caseworkers, rising as the programme grew.

The functions of the caseworkers were varied. All award-holders were, as a matter of practice, assigned a caseworker for the duration of their study. At the height of the programme each caseworker was responsible for over 100 cases. The caseworker was responsible for:

- placing the student, in liaison with university or polytechnic departments;
- organising payment of grants through a standing order system, overseen by the WUS Finance Officer;
- dealing with initial reception of the students, and initial provisional arrangements with the Department of Health and Social Security to obtain Supplementary Benefits and housing; and
- ensuring that, as far as possible, dependents were also receiving appropriate support from the British Council for Aid to Refugees (now the British Refugee Council) and subsequently the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Chile.

Once the award-holders were established on courses, the caseworkers handled everything from academic liaison to counselling on personal and domestic problems, making visits to award-holders around the UK and, where appropriate, preparing papers for the Reviews and Extensions Committee. The caseworkers also handled the minutiae of the support service: the payment of travel expenses, book allowances, conference fees and production costs for theses. One caseworker was especially charged with organisation of English-language training courses, to which all award-holders were eligible before the beginning of their courses.

Several efforts were made to provide specially tailored English programmes, teaching a mixture of academic study skills and language. In July 1977 the first course was set up in conjunction with Neighbourhood English Classes in London, offering a 10-week course to around 200 award-holders whose language levels ranged from elementary to advanced and who were about to start or resume studies in September. This was followed by a further three summer courses and additional Easter courses over the next four years. Attendance was always high, and teachers

8.

were selected not only for their teaching ability but also for their understanding of or involvement with the Chilean refugee situation. Pre-university courses were also set up during this period outside London.

#### Evaluation of casework

8.1 Staff recruitment to this programme was a difficult task because it posed a totally new set of problems. The job called for a mixture of skills: placement and academic counselling, language skills, an understanding of the social and political background of the refugees. On the whole, WUS opted for people who spoke Spanish and who had an interest in the Chilean situation, rather than recruiting specialists in counselling or placement. As the programme developed, case workers acquired skills and familiarity with refugee problems and with British higher education institutions. It is difficult, however, to overstate the enormous pressure on staff during first years of the programme when there were large numbers of students requiring attention. As the programme continued, a number of staff developed highly critical attitudes to the usefulness of conventional social work practice in this case. Many felt that the Chileans had been cast in a rather passive role which was not conducive to their adaptation to exile, and some attempts were made to counteract this trend. It was difficult, within the pressures of the daily workload, to find time to sufficiently explore these issues, but it was certainly a prevalent concern for many staff.

8.2 The relationship between award-holders and their caseworkers was complex and varied. Some, usually the more fortunate or independent award-holders, criticised WUS as paternalistic (or as operating like a "mere bank"). Some had been through such traumas of torture and mutilation that they defied the best efforts of a highly motivated, but non-specialised, staff. Other award-holders had left Chile with fewer difficulties and sailed through their studies with little need for personal advice and assistance. Within these extremes, many professional services were well done and a great deal of personal and political solidarity was shown.

8.3 Award-holders also had available to them, like all Chilean refugees in Britain, the services of the Joint Working Group (JWG). The line of responsibility between WUS and the JWG was often blurred in areas of welfare, housing and social integration. This often produced its own tensions and frustrations. The JWG staff had the benefit of being full-time social workers, concentrating exclusively on the welfare of refugees. The WUS staff, on the other hand, were running a tertiary-level educational/developmental programme whose professional aspects did not square well, at least initially, with the responsibilities of a welfare agency. In addition, none of the WUS staff were trained social workers, though a good deal of on-the-job training and innovation occurred. Though some research has been done since the beginning of the Chilean influx in 1974, the literature on the experience of exile is depressingly small, and hence accumulated experience, rather than systematised methodology, guided the work.

8.4 The situation was complicated by the absence of any coherent general policy in Britain for dealing with large refugee influxes and a propensity to re-invent the wheel on each occasion<sup>8</sup>. It is also important to remember that, unlike certain other refugee groups in the UK, the Chilean community was vigorous and energetic in demanding adequate levels of provision to guarantee its dignity and rights.

## 4. REORIENTATION

1.

### The Principle

From the beginning, WUS believed that the Chilean community itself should be involved to the maximum degree possible in the internal orientation and direction of the programme. Despite fears expressed in some quarters that it would be difficult for different groups of refugees to work together, this helped ensure that the training and study provided were relevant and useful. This principle led WUS to begin considering the longer-term aims of the programme in the light of the future deployment of the award-holders.

2.

### Development of the Reorientation Unit

2.1

What became known as the Reorientation Unit grew out of this process of involving award-holders in the programme's direction and long-term goals. Its precursor was the *Academic Coordinating Committee*, which was established at a full-scale conference of WUS award-holders in April 1976. This constituted a major breakthrough in promoting the active participation of the beneficiaries in the programme. The first of its meetings attempted to organise the Chilean academic community more systematically, in order to deal with:

- the problems of study in exile; and
- the issue of future return to Latin America

2.2

The functioning of this committee was not markedly successful, for reasons described below. It was therefore decided to appoint two WUS staff members with responsibility for academic coordination and, in particular, the orientation of studies to future professional life in Latin America. These appointments, to what became the *Reorientation Unit*, were made in June and July 1977, and the ODM approved funding in full for a formal start in April 1978. The *Returns Programme* which grew out of the work of this unit is described fully in chapter 6. The academic coordination aspects of the work had the following aims:

- to define priority areas of research and assist with course selection to avoid academic failure and to ensure that appropriate academic advice was given at the beginning of the student's career in this country.
- to provide a flow of information to award-holders in different fields on employment and research possibilities in their fields in Latin America or other regions of the Third World.
- to help organise and stimulate workshops on a disciplinary or inter-disciplinary basis to develop the kinds of knowledge and skills which may be vital in widening students' experience of development problems and avoiding too narrow a concentration on Chile.
- to set up special seminars directed to an analysis of the economic, cultural and political background of particular regions for students with a special interest in working in those countries.
- to publicise these initiatives through reports and bulletins.

2.3

The attitudes of the Chilean award-holders themselves to this initiative were characterised by the degree to which they perceived it as reinforcing their identity as a politico-academic community. Some senior Chilean scholars stressed that their community must take advantage of the opportunities, afforded by temporary exile, of equipping themselves to make a contribution to freedom and development when they were able to return to Chile. Academic work was thus seen as an extension of their solidarity with the people at home in Chile, and would therefore be grounded in an analysis of the 1970-73 Popular Unity period, of its mistakes, and of the events following the coup. It would involve using resources that existed in the UK to make a radical critique of Latin American development problems. As a resolution from a Conference of Chilean Regional Coordinators put it:

Our principle task as political refugees is the task of solidarity with our people and our activities as WUS award-holders are determined by that fact.

3.

## The "Parallel College"

3.1

The April 1976 Conference of the Academic Coordinating Committee, in order to carry forward its work, designated *Subject Coordinators*, to work in conjunction with WUS staff, in each of six subject areas (Education, Social Sciences, Economics, Sciences, Administration and Health). The subject coordinators met together in June 1976 to discuss the best way of organising the community, which by this time numbered some 400 award-holders. They were, in effect, trying to set up what one Latin American academic called a "parallel college": a network of academic contacts alongside the formal university/polytechnic system which would define its own research priorities, advise more junior award-holders about the relevance of particular studies, provide a chance to meet through seminars and workshops, and, where appropriate, produce publications to inform the community at large about its activities. At that time it was still felt realistic to describe the award-holders as a "community". Later it became harder to apply this notion as an organising principle, under pressure of expansion of the programme which shifted the academic emphasis from postgraduate to undergraduate, and as problems of exile mounted and political solidarity began to break down.

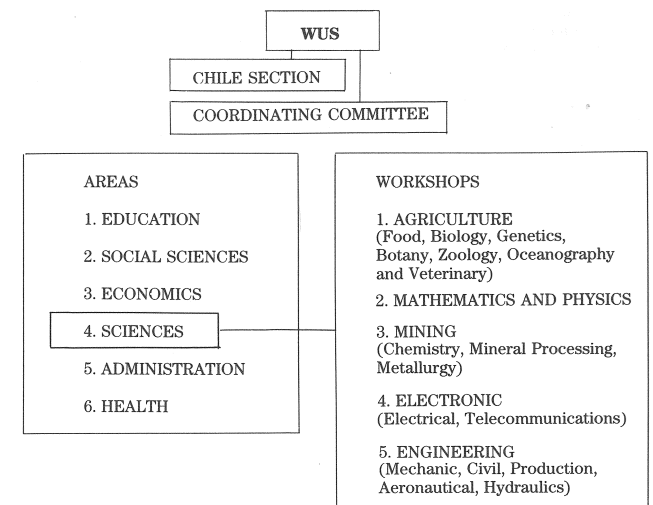
3.2

A number of suggestions flowed from the meetings of this Chilean committee and the WUS staff. Academic work had to be oriented towards the needs of Chile and Latin America. Meetings of *research groups* should be promoted, which would have an inter-disciplinary character, and which would be based less on the academic/professional character of the participants than on collectively agreed themes. These themes would be related to and would reinforce the studies being undertaken by each award-holder. It was further suggested that WUS should support the organisation of seminars and conferences of wider interest so as to encourage a sharing of experience, good and bad, among the whole community. Relations were also to be established or strengthened between award-holders in the UK and institutions in Latin America, including, where possible, within Chile itself. Although 1976 was a mere three years after the coup and many more refugees were to arrive in subsequent years, thoughts about the future had begun to loom large in the minds of the award-holders themselves and of the WUS committees, and thus WUS was asked, as a matter of some priority, to look into relocation possibilities.

3.3

### The Model for Academic Coordination

The system of Academic Coordinators grouped award-holders according to broad subject area. Within each of these areas, further subdivisions were made into specialised workshops. This arrangement may be schematically represented as follows:



Each of the subject areas was broken down in the same way as the Sciences. The Coordinator and Workshop Leaders formed the focus of the structure. Their responsibilities were:

- to coordinate inter-disciplinary contact between award-holders
- to maintain contact with WUS through the coordinator or the area
- to assist WUS in assessing the specialities of award-holders
- to ensure academic continuity when new award-holders arrived.

3.4 On the basis of this agreed plan, Coordinators proceeded to develop a range of activities throughout the country, in collaboration with WUS, which had negotiated a small allocation under the Reorientation Programme from the ODM for academic coordination activities.

Over the next three years, a great deal of effort was made to realise the system of workshops, seminars and conferences envisaged by the award-holders themselves. Questionnaires were sent to all award-holders to assess their interests, capacity for organising local groups, and potential for organising with UK academics. Multi-disciplinary workshops were run in all relevant fields, with financial and organisational support both from WUS and from the local educational institutions themselves.

The formal structure necessarily described an ideal, which would always exceed the capacities of a community which was widely dispersed throughout the UK and which possessed only limited resources. The reality may be described by means of a few examples.

○ In the Social Science and Economics fields, particularly great attention was paid to study of the Popular Unity period and to discussing the causes of the collapse of the socialist experiment in 1973 as well as broader social and economic development problems.

○ In Education, very successful conferences were held in London and in the North of England on educational developments under the military regime in Chile, and on non-formal educational policy in developing countries. The Education Workshops also provided guidance for new students on the very different study methods and academic expectations of the UK university system, and generated ideas for activities for Chilean children in danger of losing touch with Chilean values and culture in the British school system.

○ The Health Panel undertook systematic evaluation of new students' applications and assisted WUS with expert advice on placement in appropriate institutions. It also undertook studies into health care in Chile and prepared statistics for the World Health Organisation on Latin American community health projects. A major activity was in assisting WUS to organise a conference on Mental Health and Exile, the results of which were published and disseminated to Chileans overseas.

○ The Natural Sciences group, concerned by high rates of failure in the first year of study, undertook counselling of new students about UK study methods, made an assessment of English-language needs, and advised the WUS Secretariat on the problems posed by the higher basic science entry requirements demanded by British as compared with Chilean universities. It also made a survey of "appropriate technology" courses in the UK, in order to be able to direct students into more development-related courses.

○ The Administration group arranged workshops on a regular basis dealing with Public Administration, Social Administration and Development Planning. It was particularly fortunate in being able to count on the participation of senior Chilean academics who prepared multi-disciplinary programmes with the active involvement of British academics.

As the academic nature of the programme changed from predominantly postgraduate to predominantly undergraduate, and the number of award-holders on courses diminished, the original division of subject areas was revised: academic coordination was subsumed under the activities of the Economics and Development panel and of the *Asociación de Historiadores Chilenos* (Association of Chilean Historians).

From 1980-81 WUS was able to provide an annual subvention to assist the panel and the *Asociación*. Within very limited resources the panel developed a regular programme of six seminars per year at which senior UK and Chilean academics were invited to present papers and lead discussions on economic and political developments in Chile. These meetings were always very well-attended, though mainly by London-based Chileans. The *Asociación* made a unique contribution to maintaining Chilean historiography through the regular publication of its "learned journal" *Nueva Historia*, which was widely circulated in Europe and, most significantly, within Chile itself. The *Asociación* proved a valuable link between historians inside Chile and those in exile. In 1983 the editorial board, formed by Chilean historians in the UK, organised a small competition for historical papers by young historians in Chile.

3.5 The original structure of the academic coordination, established in 1976, was soon shown to be excessively centralised in London. As the programme expanded, so did the proportion of undergraduates, whose needs differed from those of the postgraduates. To be of assistance, the Academic Coordinating Committee needed to be in touch with the local situation in colleges and universities all over the country — an impossible task given that the members were themselves full-time students. Inevitably, in the absence of a local structure, Chileans studying in the regions and in Wales and Scotland felt isolated and neglected.

In early 1977, a network of 40 local representatives was elected from each town or institution where there were a significant number of Chileans studying. A conference, organised by WUS and the award-holders in August 1977, allowed local representatives to meet in regional workshops to develop mechanisms to ensure the participation of all award-holders, not just those privileged to live in London or other big cities. This structure of elected local representatives lasted for the next two years, but commitment gradually diminished and no further elections were held after 1979.

#### 4.

#### Evaluation

4.1 The objectives of the academic coordination were both original and sensible given the unique characteristics of the programme: a refugee scholarship scheme with developmental aims and a scattered community, confronting a university system that was alien to most of them. The linking of academic work with concern for the plight of their homeland was a striking initiative from the community itself, and the development of the "parallel college" structure stimulated a great deal of positive planning and genuine mobilisation.

It also clarified for WUS the need to organise its refugee scholarship training within a longer-term context of the future deployment of award-holders on completion of their studies. This necessitated finding ways of orienting students from the beginning of their courses and of enhancing the relevance of studies.

Furthermore, it demonstrated that an exile community, while dependent on a host-government-funded training scheme with officially established criteria, could organise itself, report collectively on the problems faced in study, and generate recommendations for the improvement of ancillary services. The Chileans exerted their right to be consulted and informed about the terms and conditions of the programme and, in conjunction with WUS staff, ensured that their immediate and long-term needs were represented to the WUS advisory committees and to the ODM officials. The experience of the more senior Chilean academics and postgraduates familiar with the UK education system was of great value to the WUS Secretariat in advising on the comparability of Chilean qualifications, relevant courses, placements, and a whole host of unpredictable problems of adjustment and integration.

4.2 The problems of implementing the academic coordination proposals owed much to the changing academic nature of the programme and the scattering of students all over the UK from Aberdeen to Plymouth, Liverpool to Canterbury. The political and social cohesion of the Chilean community itself also played a crucial role in the successes and failures experienced.

4.3 The Coordinators themselves summed up the weaknesses as due to a lack of collaboration and participation by the award-holders; failure to respond to requests from the Coordinators' Committee; simple non-attendance at organised meetings; and a failure to respond to circulars and questionnaires from WUS. The reasons they gave for this were various: plain ignorance, especially among new award-holders, of

the resources available to the coordination programme; excessive study demands which prevented some award-holders carrying out agreed tasks; assignment of tasks which bore no relation to the individuals' areas of study; problems of establishing good communications among award-holders and between them and the Coordinating Committee and WUS; the enormous size and pace of increase of the programme between 1975 and 1979; inadequate financial and administrative resources available from WUS; and a certain lack of capacity on the part of some of the Coordinators.

4.4

There was a widely-held view that the seminars and workshops of the Academic Coordination had certain defects in their focus: too narrow a concentration on the experience of Popular Unity, at the expense of considering the concrete future of Chile; too narrow a focus on Chilean developmental problems at the expense of looking at the experience of other parts of the world; an inadequate coverage of key general themes relating to the international economy, the transfer of technology, national liberation struggles, and the role of multinational companies.

## 5. ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

1.

This chapter provides some measure in statistical terms of the academic outcome of the programme. However it is important to note that the programme can be evaluated only partially in these terms and that academic performance should be regarded as only one among several criteria of success. The programme's goals were broadly developmental and humanitarian, and among those who did not complete their courses there were many who nevertheless benefited from the experience and put it to good use. These include, for example, two people who subsequently gained positions in the British higher education system and also people who were able to return to Chile where they assumed responsible positions in business or social assistance projects.

2.

### Numbers

A total of 1,066 grants were awarded during the life of the programme. Of these, 900 were taken up. There were three reasons why grants were not taken up:

2.1

The majority were cases where people, awarded a grant while still in Chile, were forced to seek exile elsewhere than Britain. This was often the result of imminent risks to their personal safety, obliging them to move to the first country able to offer them asylum. This made them ineligible for asylum status in Britain and therefore ineligible for the grant.

2.2

There were also cases of people awarded grants who were detained by the security services and have never reappeared.

2.3

The third cause was an anomaly in funding procedures in 1979. In that year the ODA did not clarify the number of grants available until September, and awards made during the summer had to be conditional. As a result, a greater number of conditional awards were made than the number of grants finally approved, and several people never obtained a full award for this reason.

Of the 900 award-holders, 294 were women and 606 were men. Their ages at the time of beginning their grant were as follows:

| Age   | Men | Women | Total | %     |
|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| 0-19  | 9   | 5     | 14    | 1.5   |
| 20-24 | 95  | 55    | 150   | 16.7  |
| 25-29 | 263 | 105   | 368   | 40.8  |
| 30-34 | 142 | 73    | 215   | 23.9  |
| 35-39 | 53  | 30    | 83    | 9.2   |
| 40+   | 44  | 26    | 70    | 7.8   |
|       | 606 | 294   | 900   | 100.0 |

The programme grew rapidly during the mid-1970s and peaked in 1976/77, as shown below.

| Year   | 73/4 | 74/5 | 75/6 | 76/7 | 77/8 | 78/9 | 79/80 | 80/1 | 81/2 | 82/3 | 83/4 |
|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| Starts | 11   | 92   | 167  | 202  | 173  | 132  | 104   | 17   | 1    | —    | 1    |

3.

### Areas of Study

Study was carried out at Further Education (advanced and non-advanced) and at undergraduate (U/G), postgraduate (P/G) and PhD University levels in the following subject areas:

Table 3. Students by Subject Area and Level

|                     | EDUCATION      | HEALTH    | ENGINEERING  | AGRICULTURE | SCIENCE   | COMPUTER   | BUSINESS & ADMIN. |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>Non-advanced</i> | —              | —         | 14           | —           | 4         | 1          | 2                 |
| <i>Advanced</i>     | 2              | 1         | 31           | 1           | 12        | 12         | 10                |
| <i>U/G</i>          | 6              | 3         | 23           | 5           | 52        | 6          | 24                |
| <i>P/G</i>          | 68             | 18        | 19           | 11          | 21        | 9          | 66                |
| <i>PhD</i>          | 13             | 5         | 17           | 2           | 10        | —          | 12                |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | <u>89</u>      | <u>27</u> | <u>104</u>   | <u>19</u>   | <u>99</u> | <u>28</u>  | <u>114</u>        |
|                     | SOCIAL STUDIES | LAW       | ARCHITECTURE | LANGUAGE    | ARTS      | TOTAL      |                   |
| <i>Non-advanced</i> | 2              | —         | 2            | —           | 5         | 30         |                   |
| <i>Advanced</i>     | 2              | —         | 1            | —           | 7         | 79         |                   |
| <i>U/G</i>          | 147            | —         | 8            | 2           | 30        | 306        |                   |
| <i>P/G</i>          | 116            | 6         | 28           | 12          | 12        | 386        |                   |
| <i>PhD</i>          | 30             | 5         | —            | 1           | 4         | 99         |                   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | <u>297</u>     | <u>11</u> | <u>39</u>    | <u>15</u>   | <u>58</u> | <u>900</u> |                   |

The kind of institution attended is shown below:

Table 4. Students by Institution and Level

|                          | UNIVERSITY | POLYTECHNIC | COLLEGE    |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Further Education</i> | —          | 47          | 62         |
| <i>U/G</i>               | 144        | 135         | 27         |
| <i>P/G</i>               | 437        | 46          | 2          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>             | <u>581</u> | <u>172</u>  | <u>120</u> |

Among these some institutions received significantly larger numbers than others and these were:

|   |    |
|---|----|
| University College, Swansea               | 47 |
| Essex University                          | 42 |
| Middlesex Polytechnic                     | 47 |
| Institute of Education, London University | 39 |
| North East London Polytechnic             | 40 |

4.

#### Developments during the life of the programme

Given the size and duration of the programme, policy priorities were under continual review and as a result there were a number of developments.

Women constituted only one-third of the students on the programme. After the first few years a conscious effort was made to increase the participation of women, resulting in a significant increase after 1976/77, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 5. Gender composition of award-holders by year

| Year starting course   | 73/4      | 74/5      | 75/6       | 76/7       | 77/8       | 78/9       | 79/80      | 80/1      | 81/2     | 82/3     | 83/4     |            |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| <i>Men</i>             | 10        | 82        | 136        | 134        | 108        | 69         | 58         | 8         | —        | —        | 1        | <b>606</b> |
| <i>Women</i>           | 69        | 1         | 10         | 31         | 68         | 65         | 63         | 46        | 9        | 1        | —        | <b>294</b> |
| <b>TOTAL</b>           | <u>79</u> | <u>83</u> | <u>146</u> | <u>165</u> | <u>173</u> | <u>132</u> | <u>104</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>1</u> | <b>900</b> |
| <i>Women (% TOTAL)</i> | 9         | 11        | 19         | 34         | 38         | 48         | 44         | 53        | 100      | —        | 0        | <b>33</b>  |

There were also changes in the level of study. At the beginning the programme followed the pattern of conventional training programmes in orienting the grants mainly towards postgraduates. However in later years, responding to refugee training needs, there was a swing towards undergraduate grants and subsequently towards pre-undergraduate courses. These trends can be observed in table 6. Note that, because the table displays the *initial* courses taken by students, and because some students subsequently changed the level of their study, the subtotals do not correspond to those shown in other tables, which display course completion.

Table 6. Starts by Level and Academic Year

|              | POSTGRADUATE | UNDERGRADUATE | ADVANCED & NON-ADVANCED |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>73/74</i> | 9            | 2             | —                       |
| <i>74/75</i> | 77           | 13            | 2                       |
| <i>75/76</i> | 99           | 63            | 5                       |
| <i>76/77</i> | 112          | 73            | 17                      |
| <i>77/78</i> | 74           | 83            | 16                      |
| <i>78/79</i> | 64           | 62            | 6                       |
| <i>79/80</i> | 30           | 43            | 31                      |
| <i>80/81</i> | 8            | 4             | 5                       |
| <i>81/82</i> | —            | —             | 1                       |
| <i>83/84</i> | —            | —             | 1                       |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <u>473</u>   | <u>343</u>    | <u>84</u>               |

5.

#### Results

The achievements of the programme were substantial: 69 PhDs and research associateships were obtained, 261 other postgraduate degrees, 197 BAs and BScs; in the further education sector there were 31 passes at advanced level and 16 at non-advanced level. Thus, of the 900 award-holders, 574 were successful in passing their courses: an overall pass rate of 64%. Of those who did not obtain passes, 137 failed and 189 people withdrew from their courses prior to completion. It should be noted that among the non-completions are 30 PhD-level students and several MPhil students who may still intend to complete.

The WUS trainees represent an important contribution to postgraduate education in Chile. Postgraduate training is still in its infancy in Chile, and in some disciplines is non-existent. There has been a tradition of brighter students getting bursaries to complete their postgraduate work in the USA, and, while some Chilean programmes have been developed to doctoral level, progress is slow. Some of the postgraduate award-holders have already returned to posts in Chilean universities, and their contribution is already being felt even in the restricted conditions of higher education in Chile today.

In order to assess the figures, they should be viewed against the background of both the Chilean and the British academic systems. It is important to point out that Chilean higher education is closer to the European than to the British system: this means a large intake with much smaller numbers finally qualifying. The full undergraduate course in Chile lasts for five years. Of the 32,146 who entered Chilean higher education in 1980, a total of 20,673 qualified in 1985 — a pass rate of 65%. In Britain intake is more selective and the pass rate for British students is



correspondingly higher. Completion rates among the Chilean award-holders, at least at undergraduate and pre-undergraduate levels were certainly lower than among British students. Differentials were less marked at higher levels of study, and PhD pass rates among the Chileans appear to compare favourably with those among British candidates.

A detailed breakdown of pass rates by subject and level is given below:

**Table 7. Results by subject and level of study**

|                     | EDUCATION      |     | HEALTH |    | ENGINEERING  |    | AGRICULTURE |    | SCIENCE |    | COMPUTING |     | BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION |    |
|---------------------|----------------|-----|--------|----|--------------|----|-------------|----|---------|----|-----------|-----|-------------------------|----|
|                     | C              | NC  | C      | NC | C            | NC | C           | NC | C       | NC | C         | NC  | C                       | NC |
| <i>Non Advanced</i> | —              | —   | —      | —  | 6            | 8  | —           | —  | 2       | 2  | 0         | 1   | 2                       | 0  |
| <i>Advanced</i>     | 0              | 2   | 1      | 0  | 9            | 22 | 1           | 0  | 4       | 8  | 4         | 8   | 4                       | 6  |
| <i>U/G</i>          | 4              | 2   | 2      | 1  | 14           | 9  | 3           | 2  | 30      | 22 | 4         | 2   | 16                      | 8  |
| <i>P/G</i>          | 47             | 21  | 16     | 2  | 15           | 4  | 10          | 1  | 13      | 8  | 5         | 4   | 48                      | 18 |
| <i>PhD</i>          | 8              | 5   | 3      | 2  | 14           | 3  | 1           | 1  | 8       | 2  | —         | —   | 8                       | 4  |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | 59             | 30  | 22     | 5  | 58           | 46 | 15          | 4  | 57      | 42 | 13        | 15  | 78                      | 36 |
|                     | 89             |     | 27     |    | 104          |    | 19          |    | 99      |    | 28        |     | 114                     |    |
|                     | SOCIAL STUDIES |     | LAW    |    | ARCHITECTURE |    | LANGUAGE    |    | ARTS    |    | TOTAL     |     | GRAND TOTAL             |    |
|                     | C              | NC  | C      | NC | C            | NC | C           | NC | C       | NC | C         | NC  |                         |    |
| <i>Non Advanced</i> | 1              | 1   | —      | —  | 0            | 2  | —           | —  | 5       | 0  | 16        | 14  | 30                      |    |
| <i>Advanced</i>     | 2              | 0   | —      | —  | 0            | 1  | —           | —  | 6       | 1  | 31        | 48  | 79                      |    |
| <i>U/G</i>          | 94             | 53  | —      | —  | 5            | 3  | 0           | 2  | 26      | 4  | 198       | 108 | 306                     |    |
| <i>P/G</i>          | 64             | 52  | 2      | 4  | 22           | 6  | 10          | 2  | 8       | 4  | 260       | 126 | 386                     |    |
| <i>PhD</i>          | 22             | 8   | 2      | 3  | —            | —  | 0           | 1  | 3       | 1  | 69        | 30  | 99                      |    |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | 183            | 114 | 4      | 7  | 27           | 12 | 10          | 5  | 48      | 10 | 574       | 326 | 900                     |    |
|                     | 297            |     | 11     |    | 39           |    | 15          |    | 58      |    | 900       |     |                         |    |

Note: C = completed NC = non-completed

6. Variation of success rate with level and subject

Table 7 above shows that pass rates varied with both subject and level of study. The variation with level of study is shown more clearly in the table below.

**Table 8. Results by level of study**

|                     | COMPLETED | NON-COMPLETED | TOTAL | % PASS |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------|-------|--------|
| <i>Non Advanced</i> | 16        | 14            | 30    | 53     |
| <i>Advanced</i>     | 31        | 48            | 79    | 39     |
| <i>U/G</i>          | 198       | 108           | 306   | 65     |
| <i>P/G</i>          | 260       | 126           | 386   | 67     |
| <i>PhD</i>          | 69        | 30            | 99    | 70     |
| <b>TOTAL</b>        | 574       | 326           | 900   | 64     |

The most serious academic problems occurred, as can be seen, at advanced further education level. Most of these students were concentrated in science and engineering subjects. Study at this level was offered only comparatively late in the WUS programme (see Table 6), and it might have been the case that this group was less academically prepared than others in the programme. However, it turned out that there was no difference between completers and non-completers in terms of previous academic experience: if anything, the group as a whole looked somewhat over-qualified for education at this level, the majority having had previous university experience in Chile. However, the establishments that offer these courses often do not have special facilities to assist overseas students who may have language problems. Teaching methods are often stricter and assessment more continuous and frequent than at university, turning language difficulties into a more severe handicap.

We examined also whether the lower pass rates at further education level were due to students at this level taking more difficult subjects. To do this, the subjects were rank-ordered in three aggregate groups with decreasing pass rates as shown below.

**Table 9. Pass rate by subject group**

|                        | GROUP 1                 |             |             |                |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
|                        | ARTS                    | HEALTH      | AGRICULTURE | ARCHITECTURE   |
| <i>Passes</i>          | 48                      | 22          | 15          | 27             |
| <i>Non-completions</i> | 10                      | 5           | 4           | 12             |
| <b>TOTAL</b>           | 58                      | 27          | 19          | 39             |
| <b>% Pass</b>          | 83                      | 81          | 79          | 69             |
| Group pass rate        | 78%                     |             |             |                |
|                        | GROUP 2                 |             |             |                |
|                        | BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION | LANGUAGE    | EDUCATION   | SOCIAL STUDIES |
| <i>Passes</i>          | 78                      | 10          | 59          | 183            |
| <i>Non-completions</i> | 36                      | 5           | 30          | 114            |
| <b>TOTAL</b>           | 114                     | 15          | 89          | 297            |
| <b>% Pass</b>          | 68                      | 67          | 66          | 62             |
| Group pass rate        | 64%                     |             |             |                |
|                        | GROUP 3                 |             |             |                |
|                        | SCIENCE                 | ENGINEERING | COMPUTING   | LAW            |
| <i>Passes</i>          | 57                      | 58          | 13          | 4              |
| <i>Non-completions</i> | 42                      | 46          | 15          | 7              |
| <b>TOTAL</b>           | 99                      | 104         | 28          | 11             |
| <b>% Pass</b>          | 58                      | 56          | 46          | 36             |
| Group pass rate        | 55%                     |             |             |                |

Comparing subject choices among groups at the various levels of study, it was apparent that further education students were indeed concentrated in subject groups with lower pass rates. This is shown in the table below.

**Table 10. Distribution of students by subject group and level of study**

|                          | GROUP 1 | GROUP 2 | GROUP 3 | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| <b>Further Education</b> | 15.5%   | 16.5%   | 68.0%   | 100%  |
| <b>U/G</b>               | 15.0%   | 58.5%   | 26.5%   | 100%  |
| <b>P/G</b>               | 16.5%   | 65.5%   | 18.0%   | 100%  |

However, an examination of of pass rates by level of study shows that most of the variation can be attributed to level of study rather than to subject group. This can be seen in the table below.

**Table 11. Pass rates by subject group and level of study**

|                          | GROUP 1 | GROUP 2 | GROUP 3 |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| <b>Further Education</b> | 76.5%   | 50%     | 34%     |
| <b>U/G</b>               | 78%     | 64%     | 59%     |
| <b>P/G</b>               | 79%     | 65%     | 68%     |

At the undergraduate and postgraduate levels, the greatest area of academic concern was with the social science students because they constituted such a large percentage of the whole programme. We again attempted to determine factors which may have contributed to success. At undergraduate level there was a correlation between previous academic experience and success in the programme. Whereas 43% of those who successfully completed undergraduate courses had reached at least their third year of studies in Chile, this was true for only 21% of non-completers. No such correlation could be found at postgraduate level.

Social science students, because of their number, provided examples of both the weaknesses and the merits of the programme. There may have been too much of a tendency for award-holders to gravitate towards the social sciences as a way of following up an interest in Latin American political problems, without all the candidates necessarily being suited to these disciplines. On the other hand, the input of Chileans, many with fascinating recent experience of political and social problems, greatly enriched Latin American scholarship in many parts of Britain. It is too easy to regard sociology as of little vocational value, and it was noteworthy that among returnees (see chapter 6) sociology graduates were prominent among those who have successfully and constructively reintegrated into Chilean society.

7.

### Age and gender differences

Other factors influenced the variation in success rates. There were notable differences between men and women: 69.7% of women passed, as compared with 60.9% of men. The pass rate also varied with age as shown in the table below. It is interesting that the gender difference was more marked among the younger age groups.

**Table 12. Percentage pass by age group and gender**

|                   | 0-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40+  | TOTAL |
|-------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| <b>TOTAL</b>      |      |       |       |       |       |      |       |
| <b>% of total</b> | 1.5  | 16.7  | 40.9  | 23.9  | 9.2   | 7.8  | 100.0 |
| <b>Women</b>      | 80.0 | 69.1  | 74.3  | 68.5  | 56.7  | 69.9 | 69.7  |
| <b>Men</b>        | 55.6 | 54.7  | 62.8  | 64.8  | 52.8  | 65.9 | 60.9  |

It is evident from these figures that the differential between men and women is most marked for those under 30 years of age. An examination of factors which might have influenced this differential tended to confirm that women's higher success rate was not due to any obvious independent variable. Three hypotheses were explored. The first was that women were more successful because they were concentrated in age groups with a higher pass rate. This proved not to be the case. The second hypothesis

was that the women had had more prior academic experience than the men. This also proved not to be the case. The third hypothesis was that the women were concentrated in subjects with a higher pass rate. The tables below show that this is not the case.

Table 13 analyses enrolment by gender in the three subject groups defined in the previous section. It reveals that the majority of women were clustered in Group 2, while the majority of men were distributed across Groups 2 and 3.

**Table 13. Percentages of men and women in each subject group**

|                    | GROUP 1 | GROUP 2 | GROUP 3 | TOTAL |
|--------------------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| <b>% Enrolment</b> |         |         |         |       |
| <b>Women</b>       | 15%     | 66%     | 19%     | 100%  |
| <b>Men</b>         | 16%     | 54%     | 31%     | 100%  |

Thus, women were more concentrated in subjects with a higher pass rate than were the men. However *a priori*, this could mean either that women had a higher pass rate because of the subjects they were studying or that these subjects had a higher pass rate because of the concentration of women. To distinguish between these possibilities pass rates were examined by subject group and gender as shown below.

**Table 14. Pass rates by gender and subject group**

|                  | GROUP 1 | GROUP 2 | GROUP 3 |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| <b>Pass rate</b> |         |         |         |
| <b>Women</b>     | 87%     | 68%     | 60%     |
| <b>Men</b>       | 74%     | 61%     | 53%     |

Though there is a correlation between subject group and pass rates for both women and men, it is notable that the pass rate for women remains consistently higher than that for men.

There are other factors which may have contributed to the gender difference in pass rates. It is certain that women were less involved than men in extra-curricular political activities. It is therefore possible that the men may have devoted less time than the women to their studies, resulting in lower pass rates among the men. A second possible factor, for which the necessary data is not available, is differential experience of repression. It may be that men suffered more directly, as a group, from repression in Chile than did the women, producing greater degrees of traumatisation and consequently greater problems of adjustment to study in Britain. On the other hand, many of the women were married with small children. The fact that they achieved higher pass rates is a tribute to their capacity and determination.

8.

### Other sources of variation

It is possible that time spent in the UK prior to study may have had an effect on academic performance. As can be seen below there was no indication of any such correlation.

Table 15 shows that, if anything, non-completers had spent more time in the UK prior to study than did completers, but the differences are not significant.

**Table 15. Percentages of completions and non-completions by time spent in the UK prior to beginning study**

|                       | 0 YEARS | 1 YEAR | 2 YEARS | 3 YEARS | MORE | TOTAL |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|---------|---------|------|-------|
| <b>Completion</b>     | 35      | 40     | 15      | 7       | 3    | 100   |
| <b>Non-completion</b> | 31      | 37     | 20      | 9       | 3    | 100   |

We compared the completion rates for candidates awarded grants while still in Latin America with those for candidates who entered the programme after arrival in the UK. As can be seen below no significant differences were found between the two groups.

|              | PPR-U/G | U/G | P/G | PhD | TOTAL |
|--------------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| <i>In-UK</i> | 32%     | 62% | 69% | 66% | 62%   |
| <i>In-LA</i> | 90%     | 67% | 70% | 66% | 69%   |

The dramatic difference at the pre-undergraduate level must be discounted as the sample was very small, with only 10 students in the Latin America group in this category.

9.

### Difficulties with study

There were several general factors, aside from course, level of study, age and gender differences, which formed significant impediments to study. We believe that these offer pointers to improving future programmes. Much of the data was obtained from a survey of tutors, who provided information on 575 of the students. A review was also carried out of a sample of the problems encountered in the cases presented to the Review and Extensions Committee. These sources were supplemented by extended discussions with tutors in colleges which had a high Chilean enrolment. The conclusions presented here are of necessity only indicative: a full study would require more extensive interviews with the tutors and with the students themselves.

9.1

#### Language difficulties

Caseworkers and tutors felt very strongly that English language provision was the major stumbling block for many students. The programme contained an element of language training, providing three months' maintenance and a fixed sum for tuition (at the end of the programme this stood at £500). For some people this provision was adequate. But it proved insufficient for those who came with no English or who had suffered psychological trauma from experiences including jail and torture. Many people would have benefited from a year's interval to allow them to establish themselves with their families and become confident in English. The ODA however was keen to have people start courses as soon as possible, and delay threatened the loss of grants.

Of those who presented themselves to the Review and Extensions Committee for extensions or deferrals, 36% cited language difficulties as the source of their study problems. Reporting on students who failed to complete their courses, 44% of tutors cited English as a major reason. Reviewing tutors' letters to WUS over the duration of the courses, the comment is encountered time and time again that students were hard-working and committed to their chosen course, but ill-prepared to deal with the demands of studying in a foreign language.

9.2

#### Study skills

WUS staff also became convinced of the need not only to teach language but also to teach study skills. There were initial misunderstandings arising from the difference in educational traditions of Chile and Britain. Chilean students are used to a much more collective system of study, in areas such as essay preparation. The more empiricist tradition in British education also produced problems of adjustment. Those who enjoyed studying here were ultimately very complimentary about the British approach, but a period of orientation was necessary.

9.3

#### Psychological difficulties

It is at first sight obvious that English language rates high as a factor in producing academic problems. However, this is almost certainly more complicated than it first appears. Students often described their problem as one of an "insufficient command of English", but the real reasons often lay in more complex and personal factors. Experience elsewhere suggests that English language difficulties may be fundamental as part of a system of interaction with other psychological causes of failure. A two-way process operates with language learning problems: initial

psychological factors lead to a learning block, and these difficulties subsequently affect academic progress, producing in turn a fresh and exacerbated set of psychological pressures.

The WUS programme contained a number of people whose psychological problems reached an extreme point, culminating in nervous breakdown, violence, prolonged and acute depression and attempted suicide. However most members of the exile community shared traumatic experiences and patterns of stress and this, on the whole, did not prevent the individuals from being able to live and function "normally". Paradoxically, those who suffered the worst conditions in Chile have often found the greatest strength in coming to terms with the experience of exile.

9.4

#### Reception provision

A further point which deserves mention is the lack of all-round provision for refugees. Those without a WUS grant were received in Britain by the Joint Working Group for Refugees from Latin America. This body worked throughout its life on a shoestring budget. While much voluntary assistance was offered, especially through sympathetic local councils, the reality of life in Britain for many was accommodation in rundown housing estates, receiving either state benefits or working in low-paid jobs. With such alternatives it is highly likely that a number of people under the "in-UK" programme opted for study more to escape these conditions than because they were fully committed to training. Had the possibility of good language training existed, or meaningful employment, or, for some, a period of psychotherapy, it is highly likely that the option of study would not have been used as an alternative. The programme was based on the assumption that candidates were making a free and deliberate decision to study. In fact their choices were rather more circumscribed. Study courses are vital for many refugees in acquiring the credentials for rebuilding a constructive life, but we feel that other elements of resettlement provision need serious review. Adequate and comprehensive resettlement arrangements are needed to make education and training provision more effective.

10.

#### Evaluation

The programme, in context, can be said to have had a creditable level of academic success. In particular, it has made a significant contribution to Chilean postgraduate training. The overall completion rate of 64% is comparable to that which would have been expected in Chile had the candidates' study not been interrupted by the traumatic events of 1973 and after.

The programme, the first large-scale programme of its kind, also offers pointers to improvements for the future. Some of these pointers remain indicative only. For example, a fuller study would be needed to distinguish, among the non-completers, the factors which led to failure from those which led to drop-out. There was a significant variation in pass rate with age, gender, subject and level of study. Those in the age range 25-39 (40.9% of the total enrolment) were the most successful, with women in this age group doing about half as well again as men. In particular, people over 35 returning to study would appear to have needed particular support. The increase in the enrolment of women during the programme appeared to have been well justified. Pass rates showed a dramatic variation with level of study, with a 43% pass rate at further education level rising to 67% at university level. Other recent reports have also noted poorer performance at further education level: UNHCR have found a non-completion rate as high as 50% among refugees in Kenya; while the US-based Phelps Stokes Fund reported motivation problems among African refugees studying on vocational and technical training courses.<sup>9</sup> Within subjects of study, the lowest completion rates were encountered in technical subjects — science, engineering and computing — and also in law.

Among general factors which need improvement, it is impossible to overstate the importance of English-language training. We conclude that award-holders would have benefited greatly from an introductory year of language and study-skills training before the commencement of studies. It was impossible to provide such training in most cases because of pressure for funding to start immediately upon arrival of the award-holder in the UK. General aspects of reception provision also merit review, if this aspect of refugee care is to work most effectively.

## 6. RETURN AND OTHER OPTIONS

1.

### Long-term goals

1.1 One of the main aims of the scholarship programme was to provide trained personnel able to contribute to the development process in the Third World. While the beneficiaries of the government-to-government training programmes run by the ODA (successor to the ODM) normally return home to a secure post, this is not necessarily possible for refugees. The developmental benefits of a refugee programme are therefore not fully apparent in the short term, being dependent on changes in the political situation which produced the refugee exodus. However benefits can be obtained before that date. The Policy Committee and the Secretariat began to look more closely in early 1977 at the longer term issues. Through its Reorientation Programme, WUS has made considerable efforts to facilitate ex-award-holders' productive relocation in the Third World.

1.2 Under the provision of the WUS/ODA agreement, the ODA undertook to pay the fare and baggage expenses of any ex-award-holder who, on completion of his/her studies, wished to return to Chile or to move to another Third World country for work. This programme was entirely voluntary. It was administered by WUS(UK), and was not available to the other Chileans in the UK not covered by the WUS programme. It has assisted 253 people to leave the UK. Some have gone directly back to Chile, others to other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, Honduras, Brazil and Ecuador. A few were offered posts elsewhere in the developing world and, where their employers were not able to fund resettlement costs, WUS was authorized to pay fares under the ODA grant allocation. Those moving to Africa and Asia more commonly did so on their own resources and their numbers are estimated at between 12 and 20. About two-thirds of the award-holders remain in the UK, and some mention will also be made below of their post-study situation.

In the period 1978 to 1982, WUS regularly mailed award-holders with news of posts available under the British Volunteer Programme (BVP), the UN agencies and the Inter-University Council (IUC). While some were successful in applying for posts in this way, many reported that their refugee status counted against them. The BVP did take a decision to consider refugees with status in the UK on the same basis as UK citizens; but applicants for UN posts had at some stage to be formally endorsed by their country of nationality which was, of course, impossible for Chileans in exile.

2.

### Latin America

2.1 Visits

First priority was given to an examination of the possibilities for relocation in Latin America and specifically in the University and higher education sector. Accordingly, visits were made in 1977, 1978 and 1979 to several countries of Central and South America. These visits had a double aim: to discuss institutional links between the UK and regional universities or academic networks; and also to look for job vacancies for specific award-holders. Contacts were made which enabled some people to obtain jobs, but in general the establishment of this kind of academic labour exchange was fraught with difficulties.

Although the scholarship scheme was a large one, it was not big enough to provide a sufficient pool of trained personnel to respond to often very specific and urgent requirements from Latin American universities. Most institutions also indicated that their welcome depended on a financial injection — qualified Chileans would be welcome as an additional resource but could not be taken onto the core staff complement. In some cases it appeared that foreign worker quotas might pose problems, especially in countries where there were already substantial numbers of Chileans. Staff also commented on the fact that posts in Latin America are frequently filled on the basis of personal contacts rather than an objective assessment of candidates. This is a frequently recurring theme in discussions of employment in Latin America. WUS staff felt that, given this reality, the best contribution that WUS could make would be to finance short-term resettlement grants to enable people to return to the region and make their own contacts. Approaches to ODA about the possibility of using grants for research in the region were done partly with this in mind. In 1980, a UN Trust Fund for Chile was initiated and WUS presented a reintegration project based on resettlement grants. Unfortunately, the Fund never gathered sufficient support to embark on any large-scale projects of this nature.

2.2

### Legal research

A second problem arose over legal status. Many Latin American countries had already accepted substantial numbers of refugees from Argentina as well as Chile, and in many countries entrance requirements were extremely complex and fluctuating. A research report was commissioned in 1981, covering six countries: Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela.

2.3

### Regional office

One conclusion of initial visits to Latin America was that WUS(UK) would need a presence in the region in order to adequately follow up the possibilities that arose for relocation. At the same time WUS, as an international body, was seeking to strengthen its ties in the region. We thus joined forces and in 1979 a regional office was established in Ecuador staffed by a member of the WUS(UK) office. This meant that consultation with the region was considerably improved, and it was easier to respond to individual queries but the overall problems of relocation on such a large scale remained considerable. As it became clear that the focus of work had to be Chile itself, the WUS(UK) representative moved to Chile to work directly with the WUS Chile Committee on the returns issue. The ODA, through the Reorientation grant, supported the staff member in Chile until 1981, at which point the post was supported for a further year by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

3.

### Chile

3.1

Return to Chile has, of course, been the continual priority for most ex-awardholders. As can be seen in table 17, the vast majority of those who have left the UK have done so to return to Chile, and several of those who initially left the UK for other countries have since travelled on to Chile.

Table 17. Relocation of award-holders

|         | CHILE | OTHER<br>LATIN AMERICAN<br>COUNTRIES | OTHER | TOTAL |
|---------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| 1976/77 | 4     | —                                    | —     | 4     |
| 1977/78 | 4     | 2                                    | —     | 6     |
| 1978/79 | 5     | 1                                    | 3     | 9     |
| 1979/80 | 21    | 7                                    | 2     | 30    |
| 1980/81 | 37    | 12                                   | 2     | 51    |
| 1981/82 | 30    | 11                                   | 1     | 42    |
| 1982/83 | 15    | 4                                    | 1     | 20    |
| 1983/84 | 36    | 2                                    | 2     | 40    |
| 1984/85 | 29    | 3                                    | —     | 32    |
| 1985/86 | 17    | 2                                    | —     | 19    |
|         | 198   | 44                                   | 11    | 253   |

3.2

The incidence of return is affected by both political and economic factors. This is clearly shown in the figures for return over time; the peak in 1980/81 corresponds to the most successful period for the Chilean economy during the last ten years, whereas the high figures for 1983/84 are a direct response to the opposition activity in 1983 and subsequent relaxation of restrictions on exiles. Similarly, the sharp economic decline in 1982 and the reimposition of a State of Siege at the end of 1984 are both reflected in trends on return.

The Reorientation Programme's first concern was to clarify the legal situation in Chile of potential returnees and to smooth their path. A Chilean lawyer in exile in the

UK was commissioned to write an assessment of what was then a highly confusing and uncertain situation. The Chilean military authorities applied their own regulations with considerable arbitrariness, and much time was required in this initial period investigating people's legal status and establishing whether or not they had the option of return to Chile. During this period, the issue of exile and return was also taken up by human rights groups inside Chile without whose help it would not have been possible to advise people well.

3.3 From the beginning, WUS was concerned with assessing the possibilities of obtaining work in Chile and in 1979 sponsored a small seminar within the country on this topic. The assessment was that a fortunate few might be able to arrange jobs prior to return but that for most people, as with Latin America generally, some initial support would be very important in the readjustment to a country which had changed, often dramatically, from the one they left a decade earlier.

3.4 **Return grants programme: organisation**

Building on the experience of 1976 to 1978 and with the advice and guidance of Latin American and UK academics and aid agency personnel, the returns programme was more or less clearly defined. It rested on three basic requirements: first, a competent operational partner on the ground in Chile broadly representative of interested groups within the country; second, a mechanism to ensure as far as possible the legal security of the returnee; third, external funding to guarantee the necessary subsistence for the first year of reintegration.

3.41 WUS(UK) started a discussion with representatives of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) in Stockholm early in 1979 about the possibility of funding a limited scholarships programme for return to Chile. SIDA had for some time been a major donor to International WUS for its anti-discrimination scholarship programmes in Latin America and Africa. It had not contributed directly to the funding of the WUS(UK) scholarship scheme but had attempted to fill the large gap in this area of provision in other European countries. It had also funded some refugee students in the UK from other parts of Latin America where ODA support was unobtainable. These discussions were subsequently taken up by International WUS and resulted in an eventual decision by SIDA to fund return scholarships to Chile, an agreement that came into effect in 1979.

3.42 The WUS committee in Chile was reorganised to handle the problems posed by return and to broaden its representativeness within the institutions of the expanding alternative education sector, which seemed the most fruitful ground for returnees. Our analysis of the legal situation for ex-award-holders wishing to return was, by that time, also reasonably clear.

3.43 Selection has been carried out in Chile by a sub-committee of WUS Chile which works on a voluntary basis. This group is composed of ex-academics and professionals who were deprived of their positions following the military coup. Many of them have spent periods in exile themselves. The committee encompasses expertise in a wide range of fields and kinds of projects. The grants are intended to assist those who want to return to Chile on a permanent basis, and who would have the greatest difficulty in inserting themselves into the labour market. It therefore gives priority to social scientists. But, since it is aimed at helping people who, with initial support, will be able to successfully reintegrate, scientists are also considered. The scheme is designed to attract candidates with a high degree of personal motivation. Applicants are expected during their first year back in Chile to both develop a programme of research or work and to contact an institution in Chile which would be prepared to accept them on an internship basis. The grant is designed as a part-time commitment and the aim is that the returnee should be reinserted to a situation where s/he is in touch with colleagues and can develop her/his own contacts for the future. Selection is based on a number of factors all of which are designed to measure the independence and resourcefulness of the candidate. So, for example, the committee would not be interested purely in academic excellence, but would also view an applicant's completion of a course in exile as a measure of stamina and perseverance.

3.5 **The returns grants programme: results**

3.51 **Numbers**

Since the start of the programme there have been nine selection boards up until the end of 1985.

**Table 18. Return Grants Programme 1978-86**

| SELECTION BOARD | YEAR    | NO. OF APPLICANTS | NO. OF AWARDS GRANTED |
|-----------------|---------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1               | 1978/79 | n.a.*             | 31                    |
| 2               | 1980    | 121               | 33                    |
| 3               | 1981    | n.a.*             | 117                   |
| 4               | 1982    | 53                | 51                    |
| 5               | 1983    | 60                | 46                    |
| 6               | 1983    | 55                | 16                    |
| 7               | 1983/84 | 306               | 55                    |
| 8               | 1984/85 | 208               | 70                    |
| 9               | 1985/86 | 169               | 96                    |
|                 |         | 972               | 515                   |

\*Not available

Initially there were some 30 grants available each year. The high total shown for the third selection board is because this contained an element intended to assist young graduates in Chile who were also experiencing problems in gaining access to the job market. From the fourth selection board in 1981 the number of grants available rose to 50 and this was then increased in 1984 by contributions from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and from the ODA. Applications also rose at this period. For the first six selection boards there were approximately 1.4 applicants for each grant and then for the seventh board there were 306 applicants for 55 places, and this figure rose again in 1984 for the eighth board. The majority of applicants came from Europe, about 55%, with 35% from Latin America. Within Europe the largest numbers have returned from the UK followed by France and the German Democratic Republic. This is a strange distribution which reflects different factors in each country. For the UK, the figures are undoubtedly influenced by the existence of a large contingent of trained personnel and the presence of a strong WUS office which is able to keep people informed about the programme. For the GDR it is more likely to be a reflection of host country policy which encourages refugees to return wherever possible.

3.52 **Placements**

In the early years the programme was seen as complementary to the developing "alternative academic sector" in Chile, composed of a large number of private institutions devoted to research and public assistance of various forms, and staffed by the large numbers of capable administrators and academics expelled from public service. In the early years of the returns programme these institutions were anxious to receive new personnel in order to expand their activities. They continue to be major receiving institutions for returnees, but their period of maximum growth is over, reducing the possibility of permanent employment. However, the returning exiles have, over time, become more accepted by the society at large, and a number of universities are now anxious to work with the WUS programme to obtain funding for research students they are keen to have but cannot fund themselves.

3.53 **Research projects**

The grants are awarded for research projects on topics which are socially useful and not of simply academic value. Some of the institutes set up during the last few years are of a very high standard and doing very valuable work. Two ex-award-holders from the UK have been instrumental in setting up institutes. One of these is a Latin American wide grouping of people doing research into adult education. Paulo Freire acts as the president and the organisation groups people from many Latin American countries who have been developing his ideas. In Chile the emphasis has been on work with subsistence farmers and on education in the human rights field. In particular, they have begun a programme of support for extremely poor small producers, with a project to revive earlier methods of cultivation for producers who can no longer afford expensive chemical fertilizers. Another ex-award-holder also established a research centre concerned with agriculture, providing technical advisers to regional church-run programmes of assistance to peasants.

The range and variety of work undertaken by returnees on this programme is enormous. Some examples are contained in the box.

### Cases of Return Grant Award-Holders

- A social worker who qualified shortly before the coup in Chile, and lectured at the university until he was expelled following the coup. He then began to work for church organisations trying to help those affected by human rights violations until it was judged by the church authorities that he would be safer out of the country. In the UK he completed an MSc in Development Planning. On return to Chile he worked with co-ops as a management adviser and has been successful in assisting them to expand production. He was subsequently employed as an adviser on a permanent basis and has also set up a centre for advice and promotion of cooperative production.
- A man who was a final year medical student at the time of the coup. He was expelled and later detained and subjected to torture. In the UK he completed postgraduate studies in Immunology and Obstetrics. His year on grant in Chile was used to enable him to complete his medical registration and he has now obtained a grant from WHO to enable him to continue research into infertility and early miscarriages. Due to his training in England, he is now one of the best qualified people in his field in Chile.
- A graduate economist who worked for the Chilean National Development Corporation as a research assistant on a project on standardisation of labour conditions in the industrial sector. Her details were sent to WUS as a priority case in danger of arrest. In the UK she completed an MA in Labour Studies and used her return grant to carry out a study of the participation of women in the labour force. She has since had a series of jobs in local authority planning. Her major interest is still in women's studies and she has been offered short-term contracts by the World Bank to work in this area.
- An agricultural technician working as a lecturer and a practical adviser who was arrested after the coup and sent to a concentration camp. In the UK he completed an MSc in Agricultural Science. He returned to Chile to work with a church organisation offering agricultural advice to small peasants of the indigenous Mapuche Indian community. He aims to improve productivity and marketing.
- An agricultural technician who worked as an adviser to fishing cooperatives in the south of Chile and whose studies in Fisheries in a course were interrupted by the coup. In the UK he completed an MSc in Marine Biology. He returned to Chile to work with the Chilean-based Centre for Appropriate Technology for Latin America, where he researched techniques for the preservation of marine produce that could be carried out cheaply by small producers. He has since obtained a contract with the FAO to continue this work.
- A pre-school teacher who had been working as an assistant lecturer prior to the coup in the Department of Public Health at the University of Chile. In the UK she took a Diploma in Pre-School Education and on return to Chile carried out a survey of pre-school provision. She then joined with former colleagues to set up a school which is now functioning and providing a stable income for about five people. There is an emphasis on catering for children with emotional disturbances as a result of the human rights violations which have taken place and the activities of the nursery are designed with these special needs in mind.

3.6

#### Long-term integration

In a country with 35% unemployment there is clearly no programme that can guarantee success in terms of long-term integration but the success rate has been high. A study done in 1984 gave the following figures:-

Table 19. Employment situation of ex-award-holders

| PERMANENT CONTRACT | FIXED CONTRACT | SPORADIC | RETIRED | STUDENT | UN-EMPLOYED | TOTAL |
|--------------------|----------------|----------|---------|---------|-------------|-------|
| 21                 | 13             | 5        | 1       | 2       | 8           | 50    |

Source: Evaluacion Programa Becario 1978-83. Santiago, August 1984.

In November 1985, a WUS staff member interviewed a group of 30 returnees, of whom 12 had gone back to Chile with a grant from the return grants programme. Of these people only two had employment problems. One, an actor, was having difficulties finding paid employment in his profession and was virtually unemployed, and the other, a sociologist, had work but on an insecure basis — a series of very short-term contracts for research institutes. One person had used the time on grant to complete medical studies and was continuing to specialise. All the others had found jobs, one in a university, two in the health service, one in a local authority planning department. Two people, a teacher and a doctor, had set up their own enterprises based on their respective skills and in both cases were receiving a regular income. Two people had found work in private schools and the final one was working as a researcher in a private institute. When asked how they had obtained work, four people cited contacts made during the grant year and all were very positive in their assessment of this form of support during their initial year.

While many people have been greatly assisted by the return grants programme, they do not constitute the totality of those who have returned from the UK. Of the 198 who have returned, 109 went without any form of assistance and it is important to look at what has happened to them. They are a far from homogeneous group, representing in a way the two extremes round which the programme operates; they range from the very highly skilled who are able to arrange work contracts with relative ease, in some cases even before return, and those who were the least well-equipped to return and came back with much more determination than preparation. In the most recent survey, information was gathered on 18 people who returned without a grant. Three had jobs at universities, three in the public sector, two in private research institutes and 10 in the private sector proper. Of this latter group, five had fairly senior posts in private firms in either a management or technical capacity and these were the highest income earners of those interviewed. Two were professionals, employed as a paediatrician and an agronomist. The remaining three were working as English teachers in private schools and generally were the most insecure and lowest earners of the group. Only one person had been able to secure a job prior to return, a university lecturer, and in his case it was arranged during an exploratory visit he made to the country before his definitive return. Many of those who had ended up in well-paid secure jobs had spent a period of insecurity before finding their feet. Asked how they obtained work, the majority referred to family and friends and often it was friends from childhood and school rather than contacts from their professional life. Only one person had acquired a job by applying to a public advert.

In summary, it is clear that reintegration into the Chilean labour market is difficult, but the evidence is that our returnees fare rather better the the population as a whole and in some cases exceptionally well. From a survey carried out in November 1985, the following tables can be drawn of income and employment.

Table 20. Incomes in thousands of Chilean pesos earned by returnees

| Income  | 0-30 | 31-50 | 51-100 | 101-150 | 151-200 | 201+ |
|---------|------|-------|--------|---------|---------|------|
| Numbers | 5    | 7     | 6      | 5       | 3       | 4    |

Note: 200P = 1 US\$ at Nov. 1985.

Table 21. Employment by sectors

|  | UNIVERSITY | STATE | LOCAL AUTHORITY | PRIVATE | SELF | ALTERNATIVE SECTOR |
|--|------------|-------|-----------------|---------|------|--------------------|
|  | 5          | 4     | 2               | 9       | 6    | 4                  |

4.

#### Africa

From 1977 onwards, many award-holders also asked WUS for advice on the possibility of temporary employment for a year or two in a Third World country other than in Latin America. They wished to use their experience and qualifications and be associated with programmes closer to the reality of Chile than England, so as to increase their professional experience.

4.1 As a result of this, WUS investigated possibilities in Algeria, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Tanzania. All these countries, except for Senegal, already had Chilean refugee populations numbering several hundred people. Some of these had gone after completing their studies under the WUS programme, and others had gone directly from Latin America, because of the solidarity these countries had demonstrated with the victims of the 1973 coup. The specific aims of the investigation were:

- to establish the main areas of need for personnel in the light of the qualifications and experience of the graduates from the Chile Awards Programme;
- to establish a mechanism for recruitment either directly from WUS or through a third party acceptable to both sides;
- to study the situation in each country *vis a vis* the legal status of refugees and their protection;
- to assess the living and working conditions of foreign *co-operantes*, in particular, Chileans already working in the country, for orientation purposes in the UK.

4.2 While Senegal does not accept Chilean refugees, it houses the headquarters of many international organisations and research institutions are based there. The visit permitted an assessment of the response of pan-African institutions in countries that it was not possible to visit. Tanzania has a very liberal policy towards refugees but traditionally has given priority to African refugees from neighbouring countries. They were, however, receptive to the idea of a small number of graduates from the WUS programme working there. The greatest response came from Algeria, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, who needed people in forestry, agronomy, fertilisers and collective farm planning. In education, teachers were required at lower secondary level, again particularly in the technical subjects where language problems are less acute. At the university level there was a severe staff shortage, particularly in the biological sciences, exploitation of natural resources, earth sciences, surveying, rural planning, agricultural economics, industrial technology, wildlife management, environmental studies, public health, civil engineering, hydrological engineering and social anthropology. In medical services there was a considerable demand for doctors of all specialities, including health education, dietetics and community health. In public works, there was a need for engineers and technicians at all levels. Demand was much lower for those Chileans in the social sciences, and where there was a need it was at the postgraduate level and for people of considerable experience. On the basis of this information and a series of counselling sessions and orientation meetings held by Secretariat staff, some 10 Chileans are known to have moved to these countries, of whom two were lawyers, two engineers, three teachers and three planners; two in agriculture and one in transport.

4.3 **Evaluation**

4.31 In general, for those people who were well-qualified and motivated to participate in these and other countries in Africa, there were very real possibilities for satisfying work in acceptable conditions which was both useful for the receiving country and for the professional experience for the graduates from the programme. A disappointingly small number took advantage of the possibilities. There were familiar problems of housing and standards of medical care often lower than those in the UK or, for the majority of the award-holders, lower than those in earlier times in Chile. Nonetheless very many foreign workers had established a good basis for adaptation and integration to local realities and needs. A considerable number of Chilean exiles who had gone directly there after the events of 1973 without passing time in a third country proved that resettlement was a very positive option. For those Chileans in the UK who had expressed at least curiosity about possibilities in Africa a natural reluctance to uproot once again was, in most cases, impossible to overcome.

4.32 The legal situation for Chilean refugees in the countries investigated was on the whole satisfactory as they had a clear policy of political solidarity with the victims of the Pinochet regime. However, several problems arose from the unsatisfactory international guarantees for any refugee who leaves a country of first asylum. For Chileans who managed to obtain work in a Third World country and thus fulfil one of the stated aims of the Scholarship Programme the UK government would, in most cases, issue a 2-year travel document (the UN-backed Convention Travel Document or CTD). This guarantees the right of a refugee to return to the UK and is generally accepted by the authorities in the countries visited. However, the UK authorities

were not prepared to extend the validity of these documents even when a transfer of protection to the third country was not really feasible. There are two main consequences of this. The first is the resultant insecurity of the individual, which acts as a psychological barrier to his/her mobility; the second is that employers, whether governments or agencies, are understandably less willing to engage staff for whom they may have to assume a long-term responsibility. This problem is far more severe for other nationalities of refugees in Africa where the political and humanitarian solidarity shown to the Chileans by certain governments may not be so strong and specific.

4.33 The Secretariat continued to feel that a major opportunity was lost by not providing a more active information and counselling service to award-holders, which would have helped to make this a more realistic option. At the same time there was more than a little wishful thinking behind the assumption, bravely proclaimed in the early days of the programme, that the Chilean award-holders had, by virtue of their experience of Popular Unity, some natural affinity for and duty towards the "Third World".

5. **Nicaragua**

At the end of August 1979, the Intergovernmental Committee on Migration (ICM) received a request from the new Nicaraguan government to establish a programme to provide qualified personnel to assist in the reconstruction process of that country after the fall of the Somoza regime. The terms of the request implied no costs to the Nicaraguans, and the eventual agreement made between ICM and the government proposed that the scheme should aim to recruit, in order of priority, Nicaraguans living in exile, other Latin Americans living in Europe, qualified Europeans, qualified persons of other nationalities.

The Government of Reconstruction listed as its priorities the following areas: planning and development; education; health; exploitation of natural resources; agriculture and livestock production; administration of state enterprises.

5.1 Because of various solidarity initiatives from WUS(UK) on the one hand, and the developmental objectives of the Chile Scholarship on the other, WUS decided that if possible it should participate in this scheme. Experience by that time had shown that this would require sufficient funding and some form of administrative support in the receiving country.

5.2 WUS prepared two lengthy submissions to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on behalf of ICM, asking for a contribution to the ICM fund in the light of the ODA's major investment in the WUS Chile Programme from which a large number of candidates might be drawn. Both were rejected. After negotiations between WUS(UK) and the Danish Committee of WUS, the latter agreed to participate in the scheme. They were entrusted with handling the DANIDA (Danish Government) funds, with a small administrative income to pay their staff costs. Danish WUS agreed with DANIDA to make funds available to WUS(UK) which was well ahead with its plans. WUS(UK) also asked the International office of WUS in Geneva for assistance, and the Geneva office gave 12 scholarships of \$350 per month to "top-up" the Danish funds.

So, at the beginning of 1980, WUS(UK) had access to approximately \$25,000 from DANIDA and \$50,400 from International WUS (SIDA funds). In addition, WUS(UK) could pay air-fares for candidates from the UK under the normal terms of the ODA grant for ex-award-holders returning to Latin America. The WUS Committee in Nicaragua provided a local point of contact.

5.3 The Nicaraguan government decided that the personnel recruited under the scheme should be paid "professional" salaries in the range of \$700-1,000 per month, and that contracts should be issued for one year, renewable if agreed on all sides and funds permitted. So, in aid terms this was a very expensive programme; all costs included, \$100,000 would see only eight people in place. Given other competing demands in the reconstruction programme, and the fact that the income for the average comparable Nicaraguan worker was a third of that of the foreign "expert", it was clearly important that WUS ensure the best possible selection of people from our programme.

5.4 While ICM's criteria were primarily concerned with technical competence, the Nicaraguan Government also placed great stress on personal qualities of cooperation and flexibility, and a positive attitude to the objectives of the new

regime. WUS had to demonstrate to ICM that it could administer the selection and orientation of candidates adequately; and to the Nicaraguan Government that it had some capacity to ensure that people from its programme were highly committed. A long involvement with ICM on the one hand, and participation in European initiatives of solidarity on the other, provided the necessary experience. Broadly speaking, one staff member handled the ICM connection and negotiations with donors, while a second handled relations with Managua and the political leadership of the Chilean parties in the UK. Two others were involved in organising meetings around the country to inform the Chileans and assess their interest, and in compiling CVs and other information on candidates in the WUS office. The workload was extremely punishing, especially in the first few months. There were, by 1981, some 86 definite applications from Chileans, evidence of the extraordinary interest the programme had aroused. Of these 22 were in education, seven in health, nine in public administration, nine in planning, seven in agriculture and natural resources, 15 in applied sciences and various others in journalism, theatre and technical fields.

5.5 **Evaluation**

5.51 With characteristic frankness the Nicaraguan government conceded that in the area of technical assistance "this great effort (in 1979-80) was realised with a great degree of improvisation and inexperience on the part of the state. The emergency of the first months and the pressures and lack of capacity of organisation only recently created produced a situation of anarchy in the demands and of an absence of any priorities which was quite incompatible with the international offers of technical assistance."

5.52 WUS's net contribution was to have assisted 16 Chileans to move to Nicaragua. Of these, six received the full support of the ICM-funded scheme with salary payments drawn from the DANIDA contribution; salary supplements from WUS International/SIDA funds: air-fares from WUS(UK)/ODA funds, and medical, insurance and advisory costs met from ICM's own administrative budget. The remaining 10 received their salary funding from other sources but participated in the selection process, were inducted by WUS and had their air-fares paid by the ODA. Examples of those assisted include the following cases:

- A student who completed an MSc in Agronomy in Aberdeen. He specialised in soil science and currently works in Nicaragua for a cooperative training centre advising on methods of cultivation.
- A student of Forestry who completed an MPhil in Edinburgh. This man, with another Chilean colleague, constituted the only professionals in this area in the entire country. He is currently working at the National Forestry Institute which he has helped to establish.
- A student who completed a PhD in Zoology is working at the Institute of Fisheries on planning and development for the national fishing industry.

5.53 Reviewing the total of 85 cases it assisted from Europe to Nicaragua up until April 1982, ICM suggested that those who had adapted best were:

- professionals of Latin American nationality;
- professionals with Third World working experience;
- candidates accompanied by their families;
- relatively young candidates who had been interested and involved in Third World issues in their own countries.

The principal causes of unsatisfactory performance were:

- health problems not detected before departure;
- lack of personal maturity;
- lack of social skills (arrogance, inflexibility);
- poor understanding of the Nicaraguan situation (i.e. the standard of living, working conditions, economic expectations, political engagement).

5.54 In addition, for the UK candidates at least, there was some confusion over contracts, legal status, support to families left behind, future prospects. Nonetheless the contribution of the Chileans was, in most cases, very satisfactory. There were only two really unsatisfactory cases among the Chileans. One had serious emotional problems which WUS staff wrongly felt was due to his unsatisfactory integration in the UK and which might be resolved when he found himself in a Latin American context. The other demonstrated a very supercilious attitude to the Nicaraguan co-

workers despite having good UK references. He was at least recognised by the Nicaraguans as being technically very good. A third case gave cause for concern and resulted in her early return to the UK for family reasons. The rest performed well, integrated satisfactorily, and renewed their contracts with other sources of funds. The Nicaraguans spoke very highly of them and of their contribution to the process of reconstruction.

5.55 WUS was not able to develop other funding sources, and many good candidates remained on file. If more funds had been made available it is quite conceivable that WUS might have processed 30-40 people and thus made a really significant contribution to Nicaraguan development, and of course to the developmental objectives of the UK Chile programme. Also the enormous amount of work would have looked less out of proportion to the number of candidates finally placed in Nicaragua. In particular, WUS felt that the ODA missed an excellent opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to the developmental purposes of the WUS/ODA Chile Programme.

6. **Settlement in the UK**

6.1 About two-thirds of the award-holders are still settled in Britain. Unfortunately it has not been possible to carry out a full survey of these people, but nevertheless we feel that it is important to comment, even if only partially, on their situation. Undoubtedly some people have decided to make Britain their home and perhaps to return to Chile only upon retirement; though this tends to apply to a minority of professional people whose career prospects are better in Britain than elsewhere. Some people have done extremely well here, and have obtained good lecturing posts in universities. Others are working in the media. A good number are working in welfare agencies of various kinds: the British Refugee Council for example has a number of Chileans on its permanent staff and among its volunteers.

6.2 In November 1985 a small survey was carried out, investigating the post-study life of 40 ex-award-holders in the UK. Of these 23 were men and 17 women, aged on average between 30 and 50 years. Twenty four of the sample had studied on a WUS grant at postgraduate level and 16 at undergraduate level. The majority (25) had taken non-science subjects, with development planning (5) and education (5) the most frequent, while 15 had studied in the sciences. The majority (32) had been living in Britain for between 7 and 10 years; there were however four who had lived in the UK for 11 years and another four who had arrived only six years previously.

6.3 Of the 15 science graduates, 12 were currently either employed or pursuing higher academic qualifications on research council grants, while three were unemployed. Of those in employment, seven had jobs which were related to their academic backgrounds and only three were working in unrelated areas. For example, two computing graduates were employed as computer programmers, one economics graduate was employed part-time as a polytechnic lecturer. Two other economics graduates had not found work in their field — one was a project supervisor with the British Refugee Council and another was a cooperative development worker with the Greater London Council.

Of the 25 who had studied non-science subjects, 23 were currently in employment or pursuing higher studies, and two were unemployed. Of those in employment, nine had jobs related to their academic backgrounds and 11 were working in unrelated areas. The former included two graduates of health and development planning courses who were working as architects, and a sociology graduate working for Camden Social Services as a social worker. Those working in fields unrelated to their studies included two Latin American studies graduates who were working for the Inner London Education Authority and two development planning graduates who were working as, respectively, a free-lance translator and a caretaker of a community centre.

Of the total of 30 in employment, 18 were on permanent contracts and 10 on short-term contracts; two were self-employed. The largest number (10) had found work with non-governmental organisations, while eight were working in private companies, six for local authorities, four for institutions of higher education, and two had started their own businesses.

6.4 The majority of the employed were enjoying a reasonable standard of living: 24 of the 30 earned average or above-average incomes. Housing conditions were, for the most part, satisfactory. The majority (25) were in local council or housing association



accommodation, while 10 were owner-occupiers and three were renting in the private sector.

6.5 However, despite the fact that the majority of the sample were reasonably well-integrated into British society, it is notable that 37 of the 40 expressed the intention of returning to Chile in the short-to-medium-term; this depended to a varying extent on the employment prospects of the individual and the political situation in Chile.

6.6 All interviewees were invited to comment on the impact of the WUS programme on their lives. The majority (30) felt that the programme had enhanced subsequent employment prospects in Britain; the remainder felt that their studies would be useful on their return to Chile.

In general, these results, with 75% of the sample working, provide a much more positive employment picture than that found in previous studies. It is all the more notable that a group so successful and well-integrated should still express a strong desire to return to Chile.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. **Mental Health and Exile**, WUS 1981
2. **Psychosocial Problems of Refugees**, British Refugee Council & European Consultation of Refugees and Exiles, London, 1983
3. Letter from Overseas Development Ministry to WUS General Secretary, 24 July, 1974.
4. Letter from Overseas Development Ministry to WUS General Secretary, 24 July, 1974.
5. Under Decree 504, the Chilean government allowed some political prisoners to commute their sentences to exile, on condition that they had an offer of a visa from abroad.
6. Circular of Social Affairs and Training Department, Ministry of Overseas Development, 19
7. Letter from Overseas Development Ministry to General Secretary of WUS, 23 July, 1974.
8. It should be pointed out that, since the time of the Chile programme, considerable steps have been taken to professionalise the support services.
9. **African paramedical training program report**, Washington, 1983

## APPENDIX 1

### MINISTRY OF OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT FUNDING FOR THE PROGRAMME

| GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL YEAR | CONTRIBUTION (£)  |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1974/75                   | 133,829           |
| 1975/76                   | 468,587           |
| 1976/77                   | 1,118,878         |
| 1977/78                   | 1,730,995         |
| 1978/79                   | 1,975,486         |
| 1979/80                   | 1,927,020         |
| 1980/81                   | 1,529,844         |
| 1981/82                   | 949,998           |
| 1982/83                   | 657,063           |
| 1983/84                   | 327,929           |
| 1984/85                   | 267,620           |
| 1985/86                   | 101,487           |
| <b>TOTAL</b>              | <b>11,188,736</b> |

## APPENDIX 2

### MEMBERSHIP OF PROGRAMME COMMITTEES

#### Policy Committee

Chair Professor Dudley Seers  
 Alan Angell  
 Christian Anglade  
 Professor George Brown  
 Dr Lionel Butler  
 Professor Emanuel de Kadt  
 John King  
 Dr G Martin  
 Peter Mee  
 Dr Leo Pyle  
 David Skidmore  
 Professor Clifford Smith  
 Dr James Topping  
 Iain Wright  
 Ann Zammit

#### Chile Awards Committee

Chair Professor Dudley Seers  
 Alan Angell  
 Christian Anglade  
 Peter Mee  
 M D Payne  
 Dr David Rock  
 ODM representative

#### In-UK Awards Committee

Chair Dr James Topping  
 Dr G Martin  
 Peter Mee  
 David Skidmore  
 Iain Wright  
 ODM representative

#### In-Latin America Awards Committee

Chair Professor Emanuel de Kadt  
 Alan Angell  
 Christian Anglade  
 Dr Enrique Oteiza  
 Ann Zammit  
 ODM representative

#### Combined Awards Committee

Chair Ann Zammit  
 Christian Anglade  
 Dr G Martin  
 David Skidmore  
 ODM representative

#### Reviews and Extensions Committee

Chair Professor Lionel Butler  
 Professor George Brown  
 John King  
 Dr Leo Pyle  
 Dr David Rock

**World University Service (UK)** is an educational charity committed to work for development and educational rights, in the UK and internationally, by pressing for open access to and academic freedom within educational systems. WUS(UK) is one of the national committees of International WUS and is thus linked to a world-wide organisation concerned with social justice and education

**Programmes and Campaigns**

Through its scholarship programmes for refugees WUS(UK) has supported hundreds of people who have suffered persecution. WUS is increasingly concerned to highlight, through campaigns, seminars and publications, the political and social importance of education in the development context, and to make people aware of the close links that exist between education and political systems.

Membership of WUS(UK) is \$5 (ordinary rate) and £3 (student rate).

# **A STUDY IN EXILE**

## **A REPORT ON THE WUS(UK) CHILEAN REFUGEE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME**

**A Study in Exile** is more than an evaluation of an aid programme; it is also an account of the way in which the Chilean academic community reconstructed itself in exile after the 1973 coup.

Spanning 12 years, the scholarship programme involved an unparalleled collaboration between the British Government and a voluntary agency, World University Service (UK), helping almost 1,000 Chileans to continue higher studies. From the start, the programme was seen as more than a humanitarian response to the tragedy of the coup; it was a developmental initiative, aiming to provide a professional training relevant to Third World development needs.

The report, prepared by members of the WUS(UK) Chile team, places the programme in the context of the wave of repression unleashed on the universities by the Chilean military junta. It describes the exile community's own institutions, forming a "parallel college", through which senior Chilean academics were able to keep alive the traditions of Chilean scholarship and orient new students towards appropriate areas of study and research. Though the developmental objectives of the programme cannot be fully realised until the situation in Chile has normalised sufficiently to allow the return of the "academy in exile", the report charts the post-study progress of groups of Chileans: almost a third of the award-holders have moved abroad, most of them to Chile, where they have been able to use their skills to contribute to development.

To help improve Britain's response to future refugee emergencies, the authors have analysed the programme's management structures. Among their main recommendations are: that educational provision is a crucial component of refugee reception programmes; that refugee education programmes should be based on both humanitarian and development objectives; that voluntary organisations are the most appropriate channel for managing such programmes; that Government funding should be provided over sufficient periods to allow adequate forward planning; and that future refugee scholarship programmes should take into account the need for a year of language and study-skills training after refugees arrive in Britain and before they begin study.

**A Study in Exile** is essential reading for scholars, aid agencies and Government departments concerned with development and with refugee problems.

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