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THE CASE OF REFUGEE EDUCATION IN KENYA

LAURA-ASHLEY WIRGHT

The Case of Refugee Education in Kenya

An Analysis of Kakuma and Dadaab

Laura-Ashley Wright

THE CASE OF REFUGEE EDUCATION IN KENYA:
AN ANALYSIS OF KAKUMA AND DADAAB

Candidate Number: 504274

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Abstract

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Results highlight relief and development responses to challenges in the refugee camps by UNHCR and implementing NGOs. Findings indicate cross-cutting themes which emerged from data analysis, related to educational access, quality, teachers, funding, parental and community support and gender. Key conclusions include a need for further engagement and accountability by the Government of Kenya in collaborating with key international aid agencies, a need which will be enhanced by mentorship and support for independent action by the international community.

Map of Kenya Highlighting Nairobi, Kakuma and Dadaab

List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CUREC	Central University Research Ethics Committee
DAFI	Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DYWSP	Dadaab Young Women Scholarship Programme
EFA	Education for All
ESL	English as a Second Language
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
FMR	Forced Migration Review
GCEP	Girl Child Education Programme
GTZ	Deutsch Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
IDP	Internally-Displaced Person
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IGA	Income-Generating Activity
IRC	International Rescue Committee
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Services
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
LWF	Lutheran World Foundation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
PCPD	Post-Conflict Post-Disaster
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
RCK	Refugee Consortium of Kenya
SRP	World University Service of Canada Student Refugee Program
TTP	Teacher Training Programme
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
WFP	World Food Programme
WTK	Windle Trust Kenya
WWII	World War II
YEP	Youth Education Pack

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'With humble respect, on behalf of the refugees living in the camps of Dadaab, we would like to share our grievances with the world and ask for you to help us find our way to freedom. Our lives in the camps are far worse than you can imagine. We live in an open prison, far away from justice and humanity. We talk, but our voices are never heard. We move, but only inside a cage.'

*(*Refugee Silent Welfare Committees, 2010)

Introduction

Over the past decade, education in emergencies, particularly refugee education, has become a widely-debated topic within the academic and non-governmental organisation (NGO) community. In July 2010, the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE), a global network of researchers and practitioners working on education in conflict, published *The Multiple Faces of Education in Conflict-Affected and Fragile Contexts.* This report (2010: 4) highlights the key debates surrounding the 'principal causes of conflict and fragility' noting the ways in which education can exacerbate or mitigate conflict, concluding that understanding the 'nuances' of context-specific cases is the only way to effectively assist affected individuals, including refugees.

With 35% of the world's primary-aged, out-of-school children living in situations of conflict, and with the average time spent as a refugee almost doubling from nine to seventeen years over the last decade, the relevance of effective emergency responses is obvious. Long-term planning is essential, and within this context, education can act as an 'entry point' for addressing larger social, political and economical issues (INEE, 2001: 4), with Dupoy (2008: 29) arguing that 'education underpins the maintenance and reproduction' of these structures. However, emergency education responses that do not consider 'nuance' or dimensions of 'quality, relevance, management and equity', could worsen stability and potentially exacerbate conflict (INEE, 2010: 8). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2000) notes that quality education is the cornerstone of effective planning, defining quality within four themes: quality learners; quality learning environments; quality content; and quality processes. Regardless, these frameworks and models are relatively new, and as articulated by Williams (20001: 85), 'refugee education lacks an adequate knowledge base that would inform programme planners on promising approaches to meeting refugee children's educational needs'. This dissertation is an attempt to bridge that gap, highlighting

the current educational situation for refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab[1] refugee camps in Kenya.

Kenya is the second-largest host of refugees in Africa and follows a policy of refugee encampment, whereby the refugee camps have been extensively studied, but rarely within the context of education. Here, refugees experience severe violations to human rights and live in poverty, with limited access to basic needs, including education (Ferris, 2008). Although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) goals work to eradicate poverty and gender inequality within education, they only briefly mention effective responses for those living in conflict, legitimising the need for more research, both for advocacy and awareness-raising, but also to ensure access to education for all children, as cited in the Convention for the Rights of the Child (CRC) (see section 1.3.3).

Through an analysis of the case of refugee education in Kenya, this dissertation will ensure a pertinent contribution to the field of education in emergencies, also termed 'education and instability' (Karpińska, Yarrow, and Gough, 2007: 243). The central research questions for this study are:

1. *What educational opportunities exist for refugees living in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya?*

2. *What are the key challenges and difficulties in the field of education in the camps?*

Through these questions, this study will determine the extent of educational provision to refugees living in Kakuma and Dadaab, including challenges and gaps in programming. By analysing findings within the aforementioned quality framework, I hope to highlight good practices and subtle complexities for this case, validating INEE's (2010: 4) notion of 'nuance' within emergency responses to education.

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[1] In this dissertation, Kakuma and Dadaab will refer to the refugee camps, and not the towns.

Chapter 1 recounts major historical and political events surrounding forced migration and the emergence of the United Nations (UN), specifically the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Here, UNHCR is analysed for their ability to provide assistance and protection to refugees, highlighting how their lack of funding and mismanagement, coupled with Global North restrictionist immigration policies, created the current phenomenon of *protracted refugee situations.*

Additionally, Chapter 1 describes the historical and current refugee situation in Kenya, analysing the short-comings of the Government of Kenya's ability to effectively manage their refugee crisis. As a result, Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps were created, which will be explained with reference to population demographics and geographical locations. The chapter concludes with an overview of the debate surrounding education and conflict, highlighting key academic viewpoints, considering education with rights-based, developmental, humanitarian and quality frameworks.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the methodological principles employed in this dissertation to investigate both primary and secondary research questions. This chapter is presented within the context of findings from a literature review on methodological challenges in doing research with refugees, which I considered in detail when designing and conducting data collection and analysis.

Chapter 3 presents results from data collection, highlighting current programming and challenges within three areas: formal education, non-formal education and educational responses to challenges. Chapter 4 analyses key emerging themes from these results, suggesting how cross-cutting issues may intersect across all educational sectors. The chapter also concludes with remarks on the theoretical linkages between the findings and the previously mentioned frameworks on quality and nuance, suggesting recommendations for further study or analysis.

Chapter 1: Protracted Refugee Situations, Kenya and Education

This chapter is divided into three main sections: a history of the UN and its role in assisting with protracted refugee situations; the past and current refugee situation in Kenya; and an overview and discussion of education as a humanitarian response.

1.1 The UN and Refugee Protection

When looking at current refugee crises, it is important to understand the significance of the UN in a historical context. Founded in 1945 after World War II (WWII), the UN has a focus on 'maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights' (UN, 2007). Of the many agencies, departments, institutes and programmes which comprise the UN, it is UNHCR that is most involved in refugee protection (Loescher, Milner, Newman and Troeller, 2008). Established in 1951, UNHCR was designed to replace the International Refugee Organisation, which had been created by the USA in 1946 in an attempt to repatriate the millions of displaced refugees from WWII (Loescher, Gibney, and Steiner, 2003). However, as refugee crises shifted from Europe and expanded globally, UNHCR was established under Article 22 of the Charter of the United Nations to provide 'international protection' and seek 'permanent solutions for the problems of refugees' through repatriation (to one's home country), integration (into the host country), or resettlement abroad (usually to the West) (UNHCR, 2007b; Loescher, 2001). This led to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which defines a 'refugee' as a person who:

> '*as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.*'
> *(UNHCR, 2007a: 16)*

Specifically, UNHCR has a mandate to:

> '[...] assume the function of providing international protection [...] to refugees who fall within the scope of the present Statute and of seeking permanent solutions for the problem of refugees by assisting Governments and [...] private organisations to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of such refugees, or their assimilation within new national communities. The work of the High Commissioner shall be of an entirely non-political character; it shall be humanitarian and social and shall relate, as a rule, to groups and categories of refugees.'
> (UNHCR, 2007a: 8)

While UNHCR began in an era that was more auspicious for refugee protection than exists today, its definition of refugee was criticised for being extremely Eurocentric (Loescher, 2001). The humanitarian mandate and non-political nature of UNHCR also meant that it could not work to deal with root causes of refugee problems as the organisation could not operate in countries of origin (Loescher, Betts and Milner, 2008). By limiting 'refugee' to those individuals living during 'events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951' (UNHCR, 2007a: 17), temporal and geographical restrictions existed for asylum-seekers displaced by other world conflicts, such as growing East/West tensions and the start of the Cold War in 1945, the creation of Israel and the Palestinian protests in 1947, and the partition of the Indian sub-continent to create Pakistan in 1948 (Loescher, 2001). The UN adjusted to meet these challenges by creating specific agencies like the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) to focus on Middle East conflicts, and introducing the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which removed the geographical and temporal restrictions of the refugee definition (Loescher et al., 2003). The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) still felt the new protocol was too restrictive, and created the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention which changed 'fear of persecution' to also include those who flee war (Loescher, 2001).

Regardless, UNHCR expanded exponentially during the 1950s and 1960s to become a significant international actor, increasing its relative autonomy *vis à vis* states, moving into

conflict zones and what would appear to be further away from its original mandate (Loescher et al, 2008). In Africa, UNHCR was a key agency in helping with displacement and refugees in the context of decolonisation and national liberation movements, such as in Liberia and Burundi (Loescher, 2001). However, the 1980s marked the beginning of an asylum-migration nexus, where millions of economic migrants and internally displaced persons (IDPs) appeared, and the 1990s led to the rise of inter-state conflicts over territory and natural resources (Loescher, Milner, Newman and Troeller, 2008). Westin (1999: 27) reports that in Africa there were 'tens of thousands' of refugees in the 1960s, 'hundreds of thousands' in the 1970s, and that since the 1980s 'the numbers have multiplied to literally millions'. As a result, UNHCR became over-burdened, and moved to providing assistance over protection to refugees (Loescher et al., 2008).

The period of the 1990s, at the end of the Cold War, marked significant changes to UNHCR which greatly alters its involvement in current refugee crises. At this time, nation-states began to lose faith in UNHCR's ability to manage refugee problems, as the collapse of Communism created nine to ten million refugees in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America (Loescher, 2001). Although never actually supported to find long-term solutions to refugee situations, UNHCR's inability to manage so many displaced persons resulted in a severe budget cut and organisational restructuring (Loescher et al., 2003). International agencies, relying on donor support, felt pressure to follow the political agendas of their funders, and Loescher (2001: 42) reconfirms how refugees were 'pawns' in larger political struggles. Growing numbers of transcontinental migrants to Europe resulted in xenophobic and restrictionist immigration policies, and the global refugee situation became characterised as 'dual-asylum' (Loescher et al, 2008: 22).   Here, Global North states experienced large diasporic communities and shifted from providing traditional support to refugees, to developing closed-door policies, stating that refugees had abused the system (Bernstein and

Weiner, 2002; Ghosh, 2000; Weiner, 1995;). Additionally, Global South states experienced a resulting influx of other asylum-seekers, combined with their own struggles of economic liberalisation and democratisation, all with a lack of Western engagement in regions of instability in Africa (Loescher, 2001). Refugee conflict increased in areas where the role of non-state actors such as warlords and bandits became more prominent, such as in Somalia and Sudan in the 1990s, and ethnic cleansing occurred more frequently, such as in Rwanda in 1994 (Loescher et al, 2003). Loescher and Milner (2005) report that as the number of global refugees mushroomed, refugees became stuck in a state of limbo. Western countries neglected to address the problem of conflict in countries of origin, meaning that refugees could not go home (Loescher and Milner, 2005). They also did not engage with host countries to reduce security concerns, leading to refugee encampment policies (Bernstein and Weiner, 2002). This led countries in the Global South to rely on humanitarian agencies, especially UNHCR, to 'compensate for the inaction or failures of those actors responsible for maintaining international peace and security' (Loescher, Milner and Troller 2007: 494). The apparent lack of communication and failure to address long-term solutions for refugees has led to one of the most prominent features of conflict today – protracted refugee situations.

1.1.2 Protracted Refugee Situations

With the end of the Cold War leading to an increase in refugees, and the Global North adopting more restrictionist immigration policies, the Global South has struggled to manage an unprecedented refugee crisis. Human Rights Watch (2009: 16) reports that 'of the top ten refugee producers in the world, five are African: Burundi; Eritrea; Sierra Leone; Somalia; and Sudan'. Mwangi (2006: 272) states that '26 states host at least 1 refugee per 100 citizens, and 21 of these are among the world's poorest'. Mwangi (2006: 273) also found that while the Global North, or 'Western Countries' spend about USD $12 billion to 'process

refugee claims for 15% of the world's refugees', they contribute a mere $1.2 billion 'to help the other 85%'. Refugees are scrutinised and categorised as burdens on society, as their movements are highly politicised (Andina, 2005). State policies towards refugees are impacted by perceived security risks, with Chimni (1998, 2000) arguing that these restrictionist policies do not stem from actual issues of forced migration, but from politicians' beliefs, contributing to xenophobia and racism. African states are particularly noted by Chimni (2000), for these governments were never completely altruistic towards refugees and have become extremely hostile toward policies surrounding human rights and freedoms.

Milner (2009) explains that UNHCR and other international aid agencies, in response to a lack of monetary and human resources, have worked to deliver humanitarian assistance to refugees, while encouraging, sometimes forcefully, repatriation as a durable solution. UNHCR defines 'protracted refugee situations' using the 'crude measure of refugee populations of 25,000 persons or more who have been in exile for five or more years in developing countries' (UNHCR, 2001: 21). Using this definition, UNHCR reports there are '9 different groups of 25,000 or more refugees in 22 nations who have been in exile for five years or longer and for whom there are no immediate solutions in sight (UNHCR, 2009: 23). This means at least 5.7 million refugees are living in limbo' (UNHCR, 2009).

Loescher and Milner (2005: 13) argue that UNHCR's definition has serious flaws, from 'reinforcing [...] protracted refugee situations as static, unchanging and passive populations', to only looking at 'refugees that are warehoused in identified camps' (Loescher and Milner, 2005: 14). They find that over two-thirds of the world's refugees live in protracted refugee situations, with the average time spent almost doubling from nine to seventeen years over the past decade (Loescher, Milner and Troeller, 2007). Others such as Horst (2008), Crisp (2000) and Campbell (2006) agree that these numbers would also be higher if urban and un-

registered refugees were also taken into account. Indeed, protracted refugees situations have become the norm, 'increasing as a total of all refugee situations from 45% to 90% over the 1993 to 2003 period' (Horst, 2006b: 43).

Protracted refugee situations are extremely complex and provide major challenges to host countries, agencies and other actors in the international community (Loescher and Milner, 2007). Due to a lack of aid for and security concerns surrounding refugees, UNHCR has resulted to refugee 'warehousing' as a means to provide humanitarian assistance (Smith, 2004: 3). This has been called the 'care and maintenance' approach, which Smith (2004: 38) argues is a *de facto* fourth durable solution to refugee problems, stating that this solution is 'the practice of keeping refugees in protracted situations of restricted mobility, enforced idleness, and dependency[...], containing them within camps in host countries'. Here, refugees are frequently denied their basic human rights, such as 'freedom of movement and residence', the 'right to work', the right to an adequate 'standard of living' and the 'right to education' (UN, 1948). Of particular concern are women and children, who in some cases form 80% of the camp population and who UNHCR argue 'are often most vulnerable, falling victim to exploitation and abuse', as there are significant levels of domestic violence in refugee camps (UNICEF, 2009: 1). UNHCR is tasked with camp management, overseeing the overall coordination of programming in the camps, and despite the lack of rights surrounding movement, attempts to provide the following functions to refugees, summarised in Table 1:

Table 1: UNHCR Operational Functions
Provision of Health
Provision of Education and Social Services
Implementation of Special Programmes for Women, Children and the Elderly
Large-scale Relief Operations
Community Development for Purposes of Durable Reintegration of Refugees
Repatriation Operations

(Parvathaneni, 2004)

Today, UNHCR helps over 25 million 'uprooted people' in over 120 countries but reports that there were 42 million refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the end of 2009 who needed assistance; this number includes 4.7 million Palestinian refugees being assisted separately by UNRWA (UNHCR, 2009). In addition, UNHCR collaborates with other UN agencies to assist with its operational functions: FAO, UNICEF, UNESCO, WFP, UNDP and IOM [2] (OCHA, 1999).

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[2] Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO); United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); World Food Programme (WFP); United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); International Organization of Migration (IOM)

1.2 The Case of Refugees in Kenya

1.2.1 Legal Status and Rights of Refugees in Kenya; A Historical Account

Kenya is noted to be in the 'unenviable geographical position' of sharing borders with five countries, of which four 'have generated sufficient internal conflict' to create masses of refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya (Hyndman, 1999: 109). After Tanzania, which shares similar border concerns, Kenya is the second largest refugee-hosting country in Africa (UNHCR, 2009). In 2009, Kenya hosted over 320,000 refugees, mainly from Somalia and Sudan, who have produced in total more than 561,000 and 419,000 refugees respectively (UNHCR, 2009).

While Kenya had no official refugee legislation until 2006, it became a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention in May 1966, the 1967 Protocol in November 1981, and the 1969 OAU Convention in 1992 (Mwangi, 2006). Additionally, aspects of the 1948 Universal Declaration for Human Rights have been incorporated into Kenya's domestic legislation, creating an assumption that Kenya would look somewhat favourably towards protecting the rights of refugees seeking asylum (Hyndman and Nylund, 1998). However, Kibreab (1991) argues that for many African governments, including Kenya, the key priority when addressing refugee policies is to minimise costs and maximise benefits for its economy and its own citizens, preventing refugees from becoming a burden on infrastructure.

Originally, Kenya had a flexible, although unofficial approach towards accepting refugees. Before 1991, refugees were granted asylum on an individual basis, as they existed in small numbers and therefore had the freedom to work, to access education, and to move around freely, usually living in larger Kenyan cities such as Nairobi or Mombasa (Horst, 2006). However, Milner (2006: 119) discusses the 'Somali emergency', which greatly changed Kenya's response to refugees, as the Government[3] became overburdened and

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[3] All subsequent mentioning of the 'Government' refers to the Government of Kenya.

unwilling to assist with such a large-scale humanitarian emergency. Milner (2006: 120) explains that in 1989, approximately 3000 refugees crossed into Kenya, who were 'beaten by Kenyan police and forced back into Somalia', where the Government 'prevented humanitarian agencies from accessing the Somalis, from providing assistance or determining their refugee status'. In 1991, the end of the Barre Regime in Somalia resulted in the collapse of the state and the eruption of civil war and conflict (Verdirame, 1999). At the same time, other civil conflicts worsened in Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda (Mwangi, 2006). As a result, the 'dam burst', with 16,000 refugees crossing into Kenya in March, increasing to 39,000 by July, to 92,200 by December, and to 427,278 by early 1992 (Milner, 2006: 121). Kenya's *ad hoc* refugee system became 'overwhelmed and ill-equipped to deal with the causes or consequences of the problem (Loescher, 1993: 113), and the Government suspended ruling on individual applications for refugee status or asylum, with President Moi appealing to the international community for assistance (Mwangi, 2006; Milner, 2006).

Horst (2006) states that Kenya's weakness was its dependency on donor support, which resulted in a movement toward a policy of refugee encampment, whereby Kenya opened seven camps throughout the country in 1992. These camps were poorly managed, under-funded and resulted in high rates of crime, rape, and robberies of the few existing supplies (Milner, 2006). Tensions between the local Kenyan population and refugees were high, as some camps were still close to urban areas, resulting in further refugee discrimination (Horst, 2006). Instead of increasing policing and security in these areas, Kenya pursued an entirely new refugee policy: 'abdication of responsibility to UNHCR' and 'refugee warehousing and containment' (Milner, 2006: 124). Verdirame (1999) states that the Government decided to close the camps close to urban areas, with the UNHCR relocating refugees to the two largest and most remote camps, Kakuma and Dadaab[4]. These locations

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[4] For a map see page (ii)

were partly selected for their geographical proximity to origin country borders, but also for their remoteness and lack of economic significance, as only three per cent of Kenya's land is arable, these regions holding no agricultural value (Horst, 2006). Between 1994 and 1997, refugees living in the northwest and close to Mombasa in the south, mostly Sudanese, were transferred to Kakuma along the Sudanese border, while those living in cities in the east and northeast, mostly Somali, were transferred to Dadaab camp close to Somalia. Refugees were required to stay in these camps, close to their countries of origin, until a 'durable solution was found' (Verdirame, 1999: 57), with an assumption by Kenya that 'pending their repatriation, responsibility for refugees will be assumed by UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies' (Mwangi, 2006: 11).

As there is no proper legal basis existing for refugee protection, Kenya's *laissez-faire* and 'limited interest' in refugee policy-making meant that the UNHCR was left to make refugee-status determination, completely in violation of its non-political mandate to be the 'protector' of refugees, encouraging governments to find durable solutions (Horst, 2006: 133). Currently, refugees are considered *prima facie*, meaning that they are given group status determination based on their country of origin, rather than individual determination based on their unique circumstances, as outlined as a 'best practice' by most rights-based, international refugee frameworks (Mwangi, 2006: 12). Additionally, refugees in Kenya are only granted temporary protection on the condition that they remain confined to either Kakuma or Dadaab, where they continue to lack a clear legal status, do not have identity cards and cannot enjoy the basic freedoms outlined in the aforementioned refugee conventions and protocol, all of which Kenya signed (Crisp, 1999). As UNHCR has an overall responsibility for the coordination and protection of refugees, the only way it can assist to meet refugees' basic needs is to comply with Kenya's refugee policies and register

refugees in camps, which Hyndman and Nylund (1998: 29) state is 'a deficiency in the implementation of the international treaties at a domestic level'.

The need for a clear refugee policy, rooted in a human rights-based framework, is the main issue surrounding the state of refugees in Kenya. There is a clear lack of policies and procedures for refugee protection, as Kenya had no official legislation until 2006, with only a draft refugee bill in existence. Crisp (1999) explains that while UNHCR can issue a protection letter with a refugee's picture and an asylum-seeker label, such documents were not officially recognised by Kenya, resulting in numerous protection issues and a lack of mobility. KANERE, a free press newspaper started by refugees in Kakuma, also reports numerous incidences of refugees showing this letter to Kenyan police when in-transit between camps, or when visiting Nairobi to apply for resettlement abroad, only to be subjected to discrimination in the form of physical and mental abuse (KANERE, 2009a). Additionally, KANERE (2009a) states that:

> *'refugees in the camp do not understand the meaning of [the] UNHCR mandate and prima facie protections. Even community leaders who have access to meet the UNHCR officers concerned with protection say they do not understand the difference between [the] mandate and prima facie refugee status, and what the categories mean for the people designated under each category'.*

These challenges, in addition to UNHCR's overall lack of funding to adequately address the situation, make it extremely difficult to provide durable solutions to refugees in Kenya (Kanere, 2009b). The shortage of UNHCR funding and weak support from the Government has resulted in UNHCR having *de facto* control over the refugee camps, adopting a 'care and maintenance' approach rather than focussing on durable solutions, whereby it still has serious shortcomings in providing food, water, basic education, health care and security (Mwangi, 2006: 130). This approach also generates a refugee dependency syndrome, also referred to as 'learned helplessness' (Seligman, 1975: 10), whereby refugees become reliant on handouts and 'find themselves without freedom of movement, without economic or

educational opportunities and with almost no prospect of a timely solution to their plight' (Crisp, 1999: 35). Without official refugee legislation, UNHCR not only monitors Kenya's treatment of refugees, but also has Kenya's responsibility to manage the situation, even though international law asserts that Kenya has a legal obligation to monitor its own affairs and the conditions of Kakuma and Dadaab (Mwengi, 2006).

1.2.2 The Status of Refugees in Kenya: Current Statistics

UNHCR statistics from January 2010 report that there are 358,928 documented refugees in Kenya, mainly from Ethiopia, Somalia and Southern Sudan (UNHCR, 2010c). The UNHCR planning figures for Kenya also estimate that by December 2011, this number will rise to 447,400, one of the largest groups of refugees in the world (UNHCR, 2010c). Refugees are found in three main locations within Kenya – Nairobi, Kakuma and Dadaab – and reported constraints for providing assistance to these populations includes a lack of engagement by the Government to be an 'active partner in the protection of refugees', all within a politically unstable region in Kenya and in neighbouring states (UNHCR, 2010a: 3). As approximately 96% of refugees live in Kakuma and Dadaab, it is important to provide an overview of each refugee camp (UNHCR, 2010b).

1.2.3 Kakuma Refugee Camp

<u>a) Location</u>

Kakuma, a series of three sub-camps, is located in northwestern Kenya's Turkana District, Rift Valley Province, approximately 120 kilometres from Lodwar District Headquarters and 95 kilometres from Lokichoggio on the Kenya-Sudan border (Kanere, 2009b). UNHCR (2007d: 1) reports that 'the original refugee camp [Kakuma I] sits on a peninsula of land bordering the rivers Tarach and Lodoket [...] and that since 1997, two new sites - Kakuma II and Kakuma III - have been constructed to accommodate refugees transferred from the now-closed thirteen camps on Coast Province and recent arrivals from Sudan'. Kakuma is

located in a remote, semi-arid region of Kenya with an extremely hot and dry climate, experiencing occasional dust storms (UNHCR, 2007d) and temperature highs of over forty degrees Celsius.

b) Population

Established in 1992 to host 5,000 refugees, the camp grew to host approximately 50,000 refugees from over nine countries, 21% of Kenya's total refugee population (Kanere, 2009b; UNHCR, 2010c; Horst, 2006). The current population, as of 31 May 2010, stands at 71,158, doubling in size from the previous year, mainly a result of Sudanese repatriation and a relocation of Somali refugees from an overcrowded Dadaab (Windle Trust Kenya, 2010b). The camp population is extremely multicultural, where in the past the majority of residents were Sudanese, but with recent demographic shifts the current population stands at: 57.4% Somali, 28.8% Sudanese, 8.4% Ethiopian, 3.2% Congolese, and a remaining 2.2% from Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda, Eritrea and Tanzania (WTK, 2010b). Some 5,000 young boys and men in the camp live without families, over half being over 18 years-old (UNHCR, 2007d).

One kilometre from Kakuma I is Kakuma town, a local Kenyan commercial centre with shops, telecommunications and an airport (UNHCR, 2007d). KANERE (2009b) reports that 'the local Kenyan population is largely comprised of nomadic pastoralists from the Turkana community' and its remoteness means these local indigenous communities also experience a lack of services and support from the Government (Horst, 2006a). They experience poverty, low quality of education and a high dropout rate, and high levels of illiteracy, resulting in a desire to benefit from the camp population through small-scale labour, begging and trading (Napier-Moore, 2005).

1.2.4 Dadaab Refugee Camp

a) Location

Dadaab, also a series of three sub-camps – Ifo, Dagahaley and Hagadera – is located in northeastern Kenya's Garissa District, approximately one hundred kilometres from the Kenya-Somalia border. Dadaab covers approximately fifty square kilometres, all within an eighteen kilometre radius of Dadaab town (UNHCR, 2007e), an originally small and insignificant town which developed from the opening of the camps, stimulating trade, employment and attracting humanitarian aid (Horst, 2006). Today, Dadaab town has 'electricity, water, a slaughter house and health facilities' (Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000: 210). Similar to Kakuma, Dadaab is located in a semi-arid climate within the Somali Desert, and experiences severe weather, from a hot climate in the dry season, to extensive flooding in the rainy season (UNHCR 2007e). These living conditions create an extremely precarious situation for both refugees and local Kenyan-Somali peoples, as a lack of available resources such as arable land, firewood, and fresh water, combined with poor infrastructure to provide transport to the camps make the cost of running the camps extremely high.

b) Population

Established in 1991 with a capacity to host 90,000 refugees, the camp has grown to host approximately 300,000 refugees, of which 97.5% originate from Somalia (UNHCR, 2010b). However, there are also refugees from Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Eritrea (UNHCR, 2010b). The camp's majority are nomadic pastoralists and agriculturalists, with 75% coming from the Juba river valley and Gedo regions, and 10% from Mogadishu and Bardera (UNHCR, 2007e). Islam is the dominant religion, and the sub-camps are also twenty kilometres apart to allow for a separation of clans and sub-clans, a major cause of tension and conflict (Horst, 2006b). The size of the population has also led to other problems, as the camps have used local firewood and water, depended on local infrastructure, and attracted

local *shifta* activity, which involves criminalised gangs of individuals who have robbed, beaten and raped refugees (Horst, 2006b).

1.2.5 The Status of Refugees in Kenya: Present Conditions

Over the past fifteen years, overcrowding in the camps, combined with a shortage of opportunities for education and employment, has given way to a sharp rise in urban refugees. In Kenya, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) (2010: 1) reports that:

> *'as the world urbanises, refugees are increasingly moving to cities in the hope of finding a sense of community, safety and economic independence [...] yet what many actually find are precarious living conditions and harassment, discrimination and poverty. Refugees [report] constant harassment by police - from officers demanding financial bribes to physical beatings and intimidation [...] some refugee communities have even come together and organised monthly financial collections, which they pay to police to prevent such harassment.'*

Additionally, IRC reports that there are 46,000 registered refugees in Nairobi, a number that is much higher if unregistered refugees are taken into account (IRC, 2010). The Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), 'established in 1998 as a legal aid and advocacy organisation for refugees', became a central voice for refugees, urging the Government to look at the results of its passive response to refugee protection: increased gun crime from a lack of security at the porous Kenya-Somalia border; environmental degradation in refugee camps due to a lack of proper camp planning; the poor quality of refugee camps which directly violate many basic human rights; large, unregistered refugee populations in urban slums; and negative media stereotypes and resentment by Kenyans that refugees are being favoured by the international community, while also driving up the cost of renting accommodation in cities (USCRI, 2008: 1). As a result, after fifteen years of consideration, the Government finally passed the 2006 Refugee Bill, which established official guidelines for the protection of refugees, and the agreement that the Government would work to eventually take over control from UNHCR for the refugee determination process (USCRI, 2008).

Lucy Kiama (IRC, 2010), Executive Director of RCK, states that:

> *'while the Kenyan government took a big step forward in protecting and supporting refugees when it passed the 2006 Refugee Act [...] the Act's effectiveness has been undermined by a lack of institutional capacity to implement it, as well as the absence of a national policy needed to execute it.'*

At the same time, the Government officially closed Kenya's border with Somalia on 3 January 2007, signalling its desire to prevent further refugees from arriving, with numerous reports of *refoulement,* or forceful return and expulsion of refugees from Kenya (HRW, 2009). This was in direct violation of the 1969 OAU Convention, which prohibits the *refoulement* of refugees to situations of generalised violence such as in Somalia (USCRI, 2008; HRW, 2009). Regardless, over 100,000 refugees have since crossed into Kenya and UNHCR continues to receive and register them, while the Government remains passive, allowing for UNHCR to have total control of refugee determination and camp management (HRW, 2009).

As a result, conditions have worsened for refugees in Kenya. A lack of basic services in the camps has contributed to malnutrition, disease, poor educational services, and strong feelings of resentment and distrust towards the Government and the international community (Megalommatis, 2009). In May 2010, UNHCR (2010e) released an appeal on Somalia 'for international obligations on non-refoulement to be observed', along with issuing 'new eligibility guidelines on the protection needs of Somalis'; this includes a statement that 'returns to central and southern Somalia must only take place on a strictly voluntary basis'. Additionally, UNHCR (2010e) stated that 'overall budgetary needs in Somalia and its four neighbouring countries in 2010 presently amount to US\$ 424.7 million [...] [yet] so far this year, UNHCR has only received 36% [of this amount]'. Kakuma and Dadaab are experiencing severe crises, due to a lack of nutritional, health and educational services which are deteriorating (UNHCR, 2010e); clearly, the situation is not improving.

1.2.3 Summary

'The only *raison d'être* for a refugee camp is the existence of a population that needs quick assistance in the masses' (Voutira and Harrell-Bond, 1994: 3). However, refugee camps have now existed for decades, hosting numerous generations of families, becoming 'virtual cities' (Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000: 205). While refugees are treated as 'temporary guests' (Kibreab, 1999: 399), 'policies or local political factors which limit refugee integration limit refugee well-being' (Horst, 2006: 86). This is clearly the case in Kenya, as the nonexistent legal basis for refugees classifies the country as 'transient', where refugees have no choice but to abdicate many personal rights and freedoms and live in camps if they wish to obtain protection from UNHCR (Verdirame, 1999: 58). Skran (1992: 26) appropriately notes that 'the root of the refugee problem, is, in fact, restricted immigration'. This is confirmed by Mwangi (2006: 118) who states:

> *'it seems that the response to a forced taking of sovereign space from Kenya by the UNHCR has been to denounce any responsibility for the refugees [...] and marginalising Kenyan authorities from refugee affairs has not only led to the loss of the experience that the government of Kenya had acquired in the past; it has also created a sense of resentment on the part of Kenyan government officials.'*

Can Kenya really be seen as the antagonist in this analysis? While it may be the host country, Harrell-Bond and Verdirame (2005) note that it is not in a position to manage such large numbers of refugees, depending on international support from donors who believe that as it is a developing country, it is thus incapable of managing the situation without help from outsiders. Mwangi (2006: 118) also notes that:

> *'donor states prefer the factual administration of [Kenyan refugee camps] to be in the hands of the UNHCR and international NGOs [...] [with] the government held accountable for the few tasks given to it, mainly related to providing physical security to the refugees and agency staff. Then, [the Government] is expected to approve whatever the international regime does on its territory; for the sake of humanitarian aid'.*

With this being the current situation in Kenya, it is no wonder that the Government prefers to remain an 'observer', as it has become economically dependent on the international community, even for funding to assist with its own national problems of education, health care, and social services (Mwangi, 2006: 118). By treating the Government like a child who cannot possibly exhibit qualities of independence and leadership, refugees have become the true victims, as they become stateless in precarious positions, where they are rarely included in policy-making, or given a voice to express concerns.

However, is UNHCR also to blame for mismanaging this humanitarian crisis? While it is to remain impartial with host countries, acting as a support mechanism with a mandate to protect refugees, it did accept responsibility to make refugee status determinations, in violation of this mandate. Horst (2006: 113) argues that 'when we compare the three main players in the camps; the refugees, the international community of donors and governments, and the UNHCR, it is the UNHCR that is most vulnerable'. Without funding and international support, UNHCR cannot deliver services to refugees, and with the case of Kenya being so protracted, the international community has lost interest, funding other international projects that are in the current media.

While RCK (2003) discusses Kenya's inability to mange such high numbers of refugees, abdicating power to UNHCR, I argue that UNHCR did not share its responsibility, producing such a mismanaged and vulnerable situation. How then, can these two entities work to assist refugees who themselves have no rights, and who are regarded as invisible in the eyes of the state? Refugees are simply a result of their own helpless governments, 'symptoms of conflict that threaten to spill over into neighbouring countries' (Horst, 2006: 132). Kenya complains that refugees contribute to further conflict, yet 'they failed to disarm refugees entering Kenya' (Mwangi, 2006: 32). Kenya argues that refugees are a burden on

infrastructure, yet the Government fails to see the positive effects that refugees can have on stimulating the economy, creating jobs and improving services (Sinclair, 2002).

However, host governments need assistance and mentorship to be able develop a positive view, working toward change and integration, assistance that must come from UNHCR and the international community. Mattner (2008: 112) explains that 'while relief is concerned with survival, development describes a set of improved socioeconomic outcomes which are sustainable and appropriate to the local context'. In Kenya, the Government must recognise the benefits to providing development over relief to refugees, including their human rights to work, access education and be mobile for a livelihood. As refugees are located in rural areas, surrounding host communities also suffer from poverty-related issues, including a lack of infrastructure and low levels of education (Napier-Moore, 2005). Jacobsen (2002: 577) argues that refugees 'embody a significant flow of resources in the form of international humanitarian assistance, economic assets and human capital' and that by achieving state-building objectives through investment in these areas, benefits include improved economic growth for the host country. The solution to development lies in part, through education, a humanitarian response which can promote peace, tolerance, and social capital for economic growth; this will be discussed in the following section.

1.3 Education as a Humanitarian Response

1.3.1 The Relationship Between Education and Conflict

> *'In virtually every case, the majority of refugee and IDP groups are children [...] but since humanitarian assistance for children is usually minimal, and targeted at specific groups like infants at risk, most children become, in programmatic terms, invisible.'*
> *(Sommers, 1999: 3)*

After the end of the Cold War, Kagawa (2005: 487) writes that emergency education, or 'education in emergencies' first came into being as a distinct entity, as there was 'an increase in organised violence in the form of war, civil strife, armed conflict and political oppression'. At this time, the international community began a 'new discourse of humanitarian intervention and protection' (Kagawa, 2005: 487), and education in emergencies grew to become increasingly recognised as the 'fourth pillar' of humanitarian response, along with food and water, shelter and health care services (Machel, 2001: 3). However, education as a humanitarian response still receives little attention internationally, being a second priority after basic needs. Talbot (2005) notes the lack of academic literature in the field, as most research comes unpublished from NGOs and agencies (Sommers, 2002; Sinclair, 2004). When considering the role of education in complex emergencies, it is important to consider the key debates, which will be discussed in the following sections: education and conflict; education as a right; education and the MDGs; the two faces of education; and the issue of quality.

1.3.2 Education in Emergencies

Kagwara (2005: 488) discusses how 'education in emergency situations has a long history in the form of refugee education' relating strongly to the mandates of UNHCR and UNRWA for refugee assistance and protection. Tawil and Harly (2003: 43) spoke of 'the long-term and destructive impact of armed conflict on formal education systems [which were] explicitly acknowledged as an impediment to universalising access to basic schooling within the

framework of the EFA initiatives'. Indeed, the fact that 35% of the reported 72 million out-of-school children live in conflict-affected countries is evidence of the devastating effect of conflict on access to education (UNESCO, 2010). How then, can education play a role in complex humanitarian emergencies, and how is it defined and recognised internationally?

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), the primary UN mechanism for inter-agency coordination of humanitarian assistance, defines 'complex emergency' as:

> *'a humanitarian crisis in a country, region, or society, where there is total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires an international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/or the ongoing United Nations country programs.'*
> *(OCHA, 1999)*

This highlights the need for a system-wide response, yet Davies (2004) notes the absence of education from the resulting 1990s UN frameworks and ideologies for humanitarian intervention in situations of conflict, in particular the 1994 UN Resolution 46/182, which 'describes guidelines for a sequence of responses from early warning prevention, to rehabilitation and inter-agency cooperation in times of crisis' (Kagawa, 2005: 488). Additionally, Crisp, Talbot and Cipollone (2001) note how the report for the 1990 World Conference on EFA neglects to mention education in emergencies, although it does include 'war, occupation [and] civil strife' as 'daunting problems' which 'constrain efforts to meet learning needs' (UNESCO, 2000b).

However, the beginning of the twenty-first century marks notable recognition for the relationship between education and conflict. Machel's (2001) report outlines the significant impact of war on children, recommending a focus on psychosocial support as a means to reintegrate children back into society after they have experienced physical and emotional trauma. In addition, the *Thematic Study on Education in Situations of Emergencies and Crisis*, presented at the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, discusses how 'conflict, instability and natural disasters take their toll on education and are a major barrier towards

attaining EFA', stating that 'the capacity of governments and civil society should be enhanced to assess educational needs in contexts of crisis [...] restoring learning opportunities in secure and friendly environments' (UNESCO, 2000b: 19). The resulting 'Strategic Objective 1' of this framework is to invest in resource mobilisation, including a note that 'special attention and support should be given to the most excluded and least-accessible people [...] and those suffering the consequences of armed conflict, civil war and natural disasters' (UNESCO 2000b: 59).

INEE works with partners such as UNICEF and UNESCO's Post-Conflict and Post-Disaster unit (PCPD) to deliver educational programming and policy recommendations to Member States, both in countries of conflict and countries of refugee asylum. Their most recent publication, *The Multiple Faces of Education in Conflict-Affected and Fragile Contexts* (INEE, 2010: 5), discusses interfaces between education and conflict, stating that 'limited investment and availability of economic resources, uncoordinated and/or disconnected service delivery and the lack of transparency and accountability in conflict-affected and fragile situations can leave education systems vulnerable to corruption, neglect and poor management'. INEE argues that a focus on 'nuance', or 'the subtlety, the detail and the context-specific nature of the relationship', is critical to education design and implementation, where planners must consider the 'who, how, what and why'. However, while it is important to look at the devastating effects that conflict can have in terms of educational provision and the destruction of infrastructure, it is also important to consider other factors relating to education and conflict.

1.3.3 Education as a Right

Education is a basic human right, cited throughout numerous key international documents, noted by OHCHR (2007): Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949); UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951); UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959); Convention against Discrimination in Education (1962); International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (1981). Perhaps the most important international framework is the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child (1989) which takes many key educational aspects from the above legal instruments and relates them specifically to children (Smith and Vaux, 2003). Specifically, Article 28 guarantees the right of a child to free, compulsory and accessible primary education, and Article 29 guarantees that this education should respect a child's culture, being based in human rights, and should develop 'the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential' (OCHA, 1989); nowhere do any of these conventions distinguish between populations living in conflict and those who are not.

These rights alone should be reason enough for providing education in emergencies and conflict, yet Sommers (1999) notes that these are rights that most refugees cannot secure. In situations of conflict, it becomes more difficult to ensure rights-based approaches to education, especially those relating to the EFA goals, such as gender parity in school and the prevention of violence, sexual abuse, and health risks such as from HIV and AIDS (Machel, 2001). This is often because there is disagreement between states and international organisations on who should provide assistance, and to what capacity.

The Geneva Conventions (OHCHR, 2007) state the following provisions regarding education in times of conflict:

- *Article 24: 'Parties to a conflict ensure that children under fifteen, orphaned or separated from their families are provided with appropriate education';*
- *Article 50: 'Occupying powers should facilitate the maintenance of education';*
- *Article 94: 'Education should be provided for interned children and young people';*
- *Article 4(3)(a), Protection of Victims of Non-International Conflicts (Protocol II): 'Education should be provided for children throughout non-international conflicts.'*

In the case of Kenya, this would mean that the Government would be responsible for providing education to all refugee children, yet clearly this is not the case. While the Government allows children to attend school, it is the UNHCR who provides funding and educational programming to refugees (UNHCR, 2009). Smith and Vaux (2003: 14) note this weakness of a rights-based argument for education in emergencies, stating that while the approach is 'useful in terms of international discussions between states, especially in relation to budgets and the allocation of aid [...] the problem of a hierarchy of Rights is likely to emerge [...] [where] issues of life and death will take precedence'. If education is not viewed as a key aspect of the humanitarian response, even international law, while useful for precedent-setting, will not assist refugees without international support.

1.3.4 Education and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The MDGs, agreed to by international governments to eradicate poverty by 2015, highlight two key focus areas for education: 'achieve universal primary education'; and 'eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education' (UN, 2010). With 'only one in ten school-aged refugee girls worldwide attending school' (Sommers, 1999: 12), providing education in emergencies is clearly an essential part of achieving the MDGs and EFA.

UNESCO (2010b) also states that the 'provision of education during displacement can help to overcome gender disparities', yet both UNESCO (2002) and Smith and Vaux (2003) note that improving educational access for children in conflict heavily depends on national governments to create policies and implement programming. Bethke (n.d.: 13) also notes that 'basic education for children should be planned as soon as agencies intervene in an emergency settlement and should be activated as soon as basic needs such as health, nutrition and shelter have been addressed'. The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2003) appropriately notes that without a coordinated effort between UNHCR, the Government of Kenya, countries of refugee origin and other bilateral donors, the educational situation will not improve.

1.3.5 The 'Two Faces' of Education

In the recent years, there has been an intense debate surrounding education in emergencies, as 'central questions [...] are raised around the issue of development – should an emergency education focus on short-time and immediate relief, or be conceived as a long-term objective?' (Kagawa, 2005: 498). This debate becomes more complicated when questioning whether education mitigates or exacerbates conflict. Bush and Saltarelli (2000: 5) examined these positive and negative effects, describing the 'two faces of education' as an essential component of emergency planning. Supporters of education as a humanitarian and development response, such as Pigozzi (1999: 23), argue that education in emergencies can 'provide an opportunity for transforming education along the lines envisioned for EFA'. UNESCO (2000a) also states that 'education in emergencies is a humanitarian imperative which has development-promoting outcomes'. Kagawa (2005) notes that those such as Samoff (1999) and Torres (1991) describe how the MDGs and EFA are holistic development goals, as they focus on economic outcomes and human productivity, similar to the social capital theory.

The positive face of education, usually supported by agencies, believes that education in emergencies is a 'force for good' (Smith and Vaux, 2003: 22). UNESCO (2010b) argues that education can be a tool for the protection of children living in violence, helping to protect them 'from recruitment into fighting forces, forced labour, prostitution, criminal activities and drug abuse'. Additionally, Sinclair (2002) discusses how providing education in emergencies can assist to restore normalcy to traumatised children, meeting psychosocial needs through structured games, exercises and participation in supervised peace programmes. Buckland (2004) also notes that communities often have a strong desire for education for their children, with Sommers (1999: 1) explaining how 'before many international agencies either visit a humanitarian emergency site or import assistance there, many refugee and displaced communities are already educating their children themselves'. If education happens regardless, Paulson and Rappleye (2007: 3) ask 'why not channel it appropriately?'

Schooling, both formal and non-formal, can also allow for the communication of essential life-saving training, such as through text messaging to decide on repatriation, human rights and peace education, health and hygiene education, HIV and AIDS prevention, prevention of gender-based violence, and education for natural disaster risk reduction (Bird, 2007; UNESCO, 2010b). Collier and Hoeffler (2004), supporters of the 'economic opportunity cost argument' (in INEE, 2010: 7) found that 'a 10% increase in enrolment rates in secondary schools can reduce the average risk of conflict by three percentage points, and that male secondary school rates are negatively related to the duration of conflict'. Overall, education is an effective means by which to reduce the precariousness of the circumstances faced by refugees in emergency situations, through preparation for economic and social reintegration in post-conflict settings, for education abroad through resettlement or local

integration, or to simply avoid further conflict, as 'for refugee and displaced children, boredom and absence of education is a dangerous combination' (Sommers, 1999: 3).

On the other hand, it is argued that education in conflict can 'entrench tolerance, create or perpetuate inequality, and intensify social tensions that lead to civil conflict and violence' (FMR, 2006). Bush and Saltarelli (2000) note the role of education as one source of identifying identity-based conflict, with IBE (2003:1) reporting that 'educational content, structure and delivery may in themselves be catalysts of violent conflict'. A 2003 UNICEF study on education in conflict cited the use of 'education as a weapon' by denying access to certain cultural minorities, or forcing the closure of schools (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000: 4). INEE (2010: 6) discusses the resulting 'protection threats' of education, including: targeted attacks, using educational facilities as a means of indoctrination or militia recruitment and gender-based violence, which 'occurs daily during periods of war'.

1.3.6 The Issue of Quality

There is international recognition of the relationship between access to quality education and student attainment. Henneveld and Craig (1996: 22) reviewed and summarised literature on school effectiveness and school quality, stating that external 'supporting inputs' such as community and material support, and the 'children's characteristics', along with internal school factors, contribute to positive 'student outcomes'. UNICEF (2000: 4) also defined 'basic dimensions of quality education' to include: 'quality learners' that are healthy and prepared; 'quality learning environments' that have adequate infrastructure and supplies, have gender parity and are peaceful; 'quality content' which includes acceptable curricula and opportunities for skills and peace education; and 'quality processes' which include trained, competent teachers and learning support. These are further summarised by Williams (2001: 85) within a context of refugee education, noting that 'educational quality is understood in different ways, reflecting the values and priorities of stakeholders' and that

'improvements in educational quality do not necessarily require large investments of resources'. These documents highlight the different approaches taken to addressing the issue of quality, which greatly impacts whether education can be effective in promoting peace, tolerance and skills among youth, as 'education is not just a black box, for which components and mechanics are unimportant' (INEE, 2010: 8). A 'focus on quality is crucial' (INEE, 2010: 13) and contributing knowledge of good practices is essential, especially as the nuances of each refugee context affect the success of educational programming.

1.3.7 *Summary*

Indeed, in a refugee context, Sinclair (2002: 26) is correct in saying that 'every emergency education is different, and there is no such formula for a successful response'. While UNESCO (2010b) notes that the positive benefits of education as a humanitarian response are only seen 'under appropriate conditions', it is therefore essential that planners 'change from simply addressing the impact of armed conflicts as an impediment to basic education [to] the dialectical relationship between formal schooling and armed conflicts'. Emergency education for refugees often takes place in closed settings, where children lack access to their own national curriculum, and in Kenya are required to study the Kenyan curriculum if they are to receive any education at all (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003). However, in Kenya refugees 'overwhelm the capacity of society to cope by using its resources alone' (Nicholai and Triplehorn, 2003: 11). From a development perspective, it is impossible to plan for a long-term education system when refugees are in protracted situations for an average of 18 years, and this can hardly be called *emergency aid*. Sinclair (2004) argues that emergency education should include post-conflict planning, while Sommers (2004) disagrees, stating that post-conflict reconstruction should be a separate process.

I believe that emergency education and post-conflict reconstruction should be integrated into a comprehensive educational plan, beginning with considerations of the varying learner contexts of refugee children and their parents, to providing assistance in emergency situations, to preparing for repatriation, the UNHCR preferred durable solution. This plan should include formal and non-formal educational opportunities, and should be a joint effort between the Government and international agencies. If the Government is truly over-burdened with improving its own standards of education, perhaps its development plans such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)[5] could include refugees. This is supported by Mattner (2008: 113), who argues that 'mainstreaming conflict in PRSPs is particularly noteworthy and represents an attempt at tackling drivers of conflict at the macro level'; another possibility is through the World Bank Fast Track Initiative[6]. Kenya cannot simply ignore the problem, hoping that refugees will repatriate, as the situation has existed for too long, indicating that avoidance is not the solution. Regardless, it is vital to first review the current educational situation in Kenyan refugee camps, considering nuance, access and quality, before new strategies for educational provision can be employed. This will be highlighted in the following sections of this dissertation.

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[5] For information on the International Monetary Fund PRSP, see: http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.asp

[6] For more information, see: www.educationfasttrack.org/

Chapter 2: Methodology

This dissertation provides an overview and analysis of the educational situation for refugees displaced by conflict in Kenya. Aside from providing insights into refugee experiences, this research aims to answer the following primary questions:

1. *What educational opportunities exist for refugees living in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya?*

2. *What are the key challenges and difficulties in the field of education in the camps?*

Secondary questions include:

3. *What programmes exist in the camps which aim to address education for refugees, and what are the successes, limits and challenges of these programmes?*

4. *What kinds of collaboration exist between NGOs and international organisations working in the camps?*

2.1 Methodological Considerations in Refugee Research

While methodological approaches to refugee research involve various quantitative and qualitative techniques, from case studies to surveys, Jacobsen and Landau (2003: 187) cite examples of weak methods commonly found in studies 'rooted in a lack of rigorous conceptualisation and research design'; these problems will be discussed in relation to the methodological approach adopted for this dissertation.

2.1.1 Small-Scale Qualitative Research

Jacobsen and Landau (2003) caution against small-scale qualitative research approaches with the sole focus of obtaining data on refugees through 'a composite drawn from dozens of documents, interviews, conversations, and observations culled by the author' (Cusano, 2001: 138). They highlight how most researchers do not even interview in refugee camps, arguing that results are unrepresentative of wider trends, versus preferred quantitative data-collection

methods, such as surveys, which create control groups and allow the researcher 'to do more than simply describe *how* refugees are living, but to explain *why* they are living in a particular way' (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 194). However, the complexity and considerable cost of such studies is also acknowledged, along with the benefits of in-depth interviews, which 'can give a rich source of descriptive and anecdotal data [...] revealing much about how forced migrants live, the problems they encounter, their coping or survival strategies, and the shaping of their identities and attitudes' (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 190). Rodgers (2004: 1) also argues that small-scale qualitative methods, termed 'hanging out', can generate valuable data through 'informal, interpersonal and everyday types of encounters', establishing a 'humanism' essential to ethically sound research.

Considering these viewpoints, along with the research constraints within the scope and scale of this study, the dialectical process employed in this dissertation involves qualitative, empirical research as the over-arching method. This method is 'highly contextual' (Gray, 2009) and 'provides descriptions and accounts of the processes of social interaction in natural settings' (Crossley and Vuillamy, 1997: 6), generating theories from 'emergent' data rather than by 'testing preconceived hypotheses' (Crossley and Vuillamy, 1997: 7). This approach also produced a holistic overview of refugee education in Kenya, where I selected an idiographic approach by conducting fieldwork in Kakuma and Dadaab, the two existing refugee camps.

2.1.2 In-Depth Interviews

I chose interviews as the central method of data collection. Interviews are 'essentially exploratory conversations between subject and researcher' (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 90), and I agree with Rodgers (2004: 2) that the methodological benefits outweigh the costs, as data will provide a channel for localised voices to be heard from those who work directly with refugees, 'vital to informing our understanding of forced migration'. Interviews are

also a flexible instrument for data collection, 'enabling multi-sensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken or heard' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007: 349). Additionally, Oppenheim (1992) notes a preference for interviews over questionnaires as participants can more clearly understand the research by engaging with the interviewer to become more motivated and involved. While it is not possible to test casual relationships or produce comparative studies through interview data (versus using longitudinal or geographic studies), the descriptive data illustrates 'how forced migrants live, the problems they encounter, their coping or survival strategies and the shaping of their identities and attitudes', a main focus of this study (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 190).

Fieldwork was carried out for three weeks in Kenya, one week in each of Kakuma and Dadaab, with transportation through Nairobi taking an additional five days.

Triangulation was used through the collection of 'rich data' in the form of verbatim transcripts and *in situ* observation from two different camp settings, along with primary and secondary documentary research (Weston et al., 2001: 394).

2.1.3 Access, Objectivity and Reactivity

Conducting research in refugee camps presents a wide range of challenges, ethical and logistical, with access identified by Lee (1995) as a key difficulty. There can be security challenges for the researcher, participants and the refugee community, particularly as visitors from 'the West' are also perceived as donors with access to resources; thus, engagement and interaction asserts a risk of future targeting, suspicion and other security concerns from a community potentially hostile towards outsiders (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 194). Additionally, the geographic remoteness of the camps and restricted access by authorities must be considered at all times by researchers to avoid compromised security breaches and physically or emotionally hazardous situations.

It is impossible to gain access to refugee camps without permission from UNHCR and the Government of Kenya, obtained through an application supported by an NGO in the camp. Previous work for a Canadian organisation with such NGO partners initiated access for this research, also reducing suspicion of my motives. The NGO acted as a sponsor and gatekeeper, facilitating logistics and security, which was helpful as escorts knew which areas would pose minimal risk to myself and the refugee community. While gatekeepers can improve reliability and validity of data, it is important to note that there are also ethical and methodological concerns, such as reactivity, where the 'active presence' of researchers and gatekeepers produces biased responses and resistance to reveal the 'real truth' (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 195). Additionally, Bowman (1993) notes that certain organisations working with refugees may wish to prevent access to these 'real truths', instead being 'keen to display an impression of unity to the outsider, downplaying the process of internal discord, conflict, or factionalism (in Lee, 1995: 23). At the time of this research, development goals placed considerable emphasis on NGO collaboration and unity, making it plausible that interviewees may have consciously or unconsciously presented this scenario.

2.1.4 Reliability, Validity and Neutrality

Data-related methodological challenges are crucial to research design, as how researchers view and attribute meaning to data is what makes it a useful contribution to knowledge. As such, one must always consider the extent to which personal biases and perspectives affect analysis and interpretation (Weston et al, 2001). Ellis and Barakat discuss how in conflict-areas information can often be restricted or destroyed, reinforcing the importance of being flexible and using a variety of data collection methods.

Jacobsen and Landau (2003: 191) note challenges of reliability, or data consistency, which occur when 'refugees are telling the researcher what they think she or he expects or wants to hear', termed a 'survival strategy' and solved through prolonged fieldwork to reveal

inconsistencies. As this was not possible within the timeframe of this study, triangulation was used as an attempt to obtain objective data, and the potential for interviewee bias is noted in this study.

Issues of validity, or the strength and soundness of methods, are also noted when working in refugee contexts (Rodgers, 2004). If the researcher does not ensure a broad understanding of all variables, and neglects to consider whether interview questions really address research objectives, even if the researcher was not aware to ask about certain topics, findings can lack validity (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). In this study, research questions were carefully defined, and I ensured not to prompt responses or 'inadvertently direct answers', described by Weiner (1995: 25) as 'advocacy research', where from the start the researcher wants to highlight a particular need for assistance for refugees, finishing the study having 'proved it'.

Lastly, Yarrow (2007: 7) stresses political neutrality as a main research principle of importance when conducting research on refugees, as situations are 'highly politicised and potentially violent', with Lee (1995: 23) stating that 'complete neutrality is probably impossible'. Nonetheless, I endeavoured to remain impartial so as to ensure empirically sound findings and within this research. However, it proved impossible to be viewed solely as a researcher and not a donor, as my own positionality prevented total objectivity simply by nature of my being in the camps.

2.1.5 Data Collection and Sampling

Although it can be extremely difficult to collect a range of data due to the challenges previously mentioned, networking with NGOs proved extremely beneficial, as I was able to find a substantive amount of documentary evidence and have access to many key informants. Ellis and Barakat (1996: 153) state the benefits of using various data collection methods, as the research can 'acknowledge the restraints that the circumstances of war put

on the researcher', but within small-scale research, the findings can still 'give a rich store of descriptive and anecdotal data which suggests patterns, variables and hypotheses for further study' (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 190).

When designing this study, I considered Cohen et al.'s (2007: 100) four main sampling factors: the sample size; representativeness and the parameters of the sample; access to the sample; and the data collection method to be used. So as to ensure fully representative data of employees with diverse experiences, opinions and insights, interviewees were selected based on purposive sampling, including at least one NGO worker from each organisation involved in education in the camps, plus the UNHCR. In total, fifteen semi-structured interviews were carried out with the following people:

Table 2: List of Interviewees

Interviewee	Description	Location
1	NGO Worker: Community Development Sector	Dadaab
2	NGO Worker: Primary and Secondary Education	Kakuma
3	NGO Manager: ESL Training, Scholarships and Non-formal Education Coordination	Kakuma
4	NGO Worker: TVET Education	Kakuma
5	NGO Worker: Girl Child Education Programme	Kakuma
6	NGO Worker: Education Sector	Dadaab
7	NGO Manager: Responsible for overseeing all educational programming	Dadaab
8	NGO Executive Director: Non-formal Education	Kakuma and Dadaab
9	NGO Worker: Education Sector	Kakuma
10	UNHCR Representative - Education	Dadaab
11	NGO Worker: Non-formal Education	Dadaab
12	NGO Worker: Girl Child Education Programme	Dadaab
13	NGO Manager: ESL Training, Scholarships and Non-formal Education Coordination	Dadaab
14	NGO Manager: Primary and Secondary Education	Kakuma
15	NGO Worker: ESL and ICT Teacher	Kakuma

This sample is holistic and allows for a range of perspectives, key to identifying the 'socio-political factors affecting the provision of education in the refugee camps' (Demirdjian, 2007: 32). All participants spoke English and were given the opportunity to review interview transcripts to ensure accuracy.

It is important to note that while urban refugees are growing in number and are mentioned as a concern to Kenya, this population is too distinct and varied to be assessed in a study of this scope and scale. In this dissertation, I was also able to sample only those staff members available during my fieldwork, as at this time I had to meet participants to establish working-relationships, arrange interview times, transportation and security escorts, become familiarised with the camp context and actually conduct the interviews.

All semi-structured interviews took place at the respective offices of each participant. Observations and field notes from visits were collected at each site, including schools, the university campus, ministry buildings and ICT centres. All interviews were confirmed several times in advance, where I called participants thirty minutes before arrival; this was essential due to unpredictable event fluctuations, however, as this is the norm in the camps, it was not an issue for either myself or participants.

2.1.6 Ethics

When conducting research on refugees, the challenge of 'doing no harm' is noted by Jacobsen and Landau (2003: 193) as 'particularly difficult to anticipate or control', as the displaced 'have few rights and are vulnerable to arbitrary action on the par of state authorities and sometimes even the international relief community' (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003: 187). While it is impossible to have no impact when visiting a refugee camp, Turton (1996: 96) argues that 'research into other's suffering can only be justified if alleviating that suffering is an explicit objective'. This implies a cost-benefits ratio, where I volunteered to provide a pre-departure orientation to refugee youth about to resettle to Canada as an attempt to equal the effects of my disturbance. Gray (2009) is correct that there are no clear-cut dichotomies between right and wrong, and for this study, I tried to adopt the principle of absolute ethics, whereby no extenuating circumstances would justify a modification or departure from ethical standards, as the well-being of refugees was essential (Zimbardo,

1984). This was extremely difficult as some NGO workers are also refugees who wanted to participate, therefore I met them for informal discussions, however, not for purposes of this research.

In my interview questions I carefully considered the vulnerability of refugees, especially with regard to the poor conditions in the camps and high rates of crime, rape and morbidity. I also anticipated the potential emotional responses of participants, who witness many events as employees and are susceptible to trauma. For this reason, questions were general, asking for perceived strengths and challenges to providing education, allowing for each participant to answer within their own comfort zone.

Informed consent was obtained from all participants through an information sheet which stated the research objectives and contact information, along with a consent form which was explained to interviewees and signed in advance. All interviewees were taped recorded and guaranteed confidentiality, although all were extremely interested in the research and indicated that they did not mind if their identities were revealed. However, to adhere with ethical principles their identities are still withheld in this dissertation.

This research and associated information and consent forms received ethical approval from the Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee and adhered to guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004), along with Cohen et al.'s (2007b) 'ethical code', presented in Appendix 4. I also observed additional guidelines for ethical research with refugees, which included suggestions for participatory research and minimising risk (see Temple and Moran, 2006; Horst, 2002; Doná, 2007).

2.1.7 Data Analysis

I employed Maxwell's (1996) structure for data analysis and validity checklist. Interviews were transcribed and delivered through email to each participant to approve or make changes

to their statements[7].   This process also ensured validity and reliability through shared feedback and consistency check-points, confirming whether my interpretations were accurate, including the weight and importance of each statement given.   Transcriptions were coded using Wenston et al.'s (2001) system of aggregating data to establish categories, then themes, and then sub-themes from participants' lexicon.   This allows the researcher to easily demarcate data, as 'coding is not what happens before analysis, but comes to constitute an important part *of* the analysis (Weston et al., 2001: 382).   Final coding categories included: formal education (early childhood and pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary, technical and vocational); informal education (ESL, ICT, out-of-school youth, youth groups); scholarships; teaching training; gender; access and funding.

As the previous chapters have highlighted the overall context of refugees in Kenya, along with the methodological approach employed for this research, it is now possible to present key findings and discussion related to the central research questions.

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[7] N.b.: Not all participants chose to provide contact details, and were aware that as such they would not be able to review their interview transcript.

Chapter 3: The Case of Refugee Education in Kenya: Kakuma and Dadaab

'Refugees believe that education is the only take away item from the camps.'
(Interviewee 8)

The overall aim of this research was to conduct an exploratory study assessing the educational opportunities available to refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab. Here, I set out to identify and analyse current programmes existing at various developmental levels of education within the context of formal and non-formal schooling. In this chapter, I will highlight programmes and challenges to present major findings within three main sections: formal education opportunities at all levels of education; non-formal education opportunities; and educational programming responses to noted challenges.

3.1 Provision of Formal Education

Students in Kakuma and Dadaab are mandated to follow the Kenyan curriculum from pre-school to completion of secondary school, highlighted in Appendix 2. All mentioned statistics below can be found in detail in Appendix 5.

3.1.1 Early Childhood and Pre-school Education

Both camps have daycare centres and pre-schools established to provide psychosocial support and play activities for children, especially for those with special needs. One interviewee indicated that a major challenge is providing quality education, as all of the 130 teachers in each camp are refugee incentive workers, 90% of whom are untrained. As a result, some NGOs try to conduct outreach training to parents and guardians on effective learning activities for young children, but a lack of funding and community support makes these programmes sporadic and often ineffective. Data indicates that there are equal numbers of children enrolled in the six pre-schools serving approximately 5000 children in each camp, although there are significantly more children not enrolled due to a lack of capacity.

3.1.2 Primary Education

There are ten primary schools in Kakuma and nineteen in Dadaab, providing education to 10,396 and 36,154 children respectively. Findings indicate a large gender disparity in enrolment, as at lower primary girls and boys and enrolled 1:1, but as education progresses girls dropout, with 1707 boys enrolled in Year 8 for 2010, versus only 519 girls, a difference of 77%.

Major challenges identified within the primary school system include absenteeism among students, especially during food distribution (which occurs twice per month), and a lack of motivation by students who prefer to 'be idle and waste their time at video centres in the camp' (Interviewee 7). Interviewee 12 noted how limited funding affects the ability for schools to provide textbooks, uniforms, supplies and electricity to students. They cited transport problems for teachers to get to the schools, and reported that the harsh climate means that 'young children must walk up to two kilometres in 30-45 degrees Celsius weather, which is unsafe, especially as their parents cannot often accompany them' (Interviewee 7).

A lack of quality is also reported due to a shortage of trained teachers and school facilities, which relate to UNICEF's (2000) 'quality learning environments' and 'quality processes'. Interviewee 1 stated that 'the dilapidated structures, overcrowding and poor learning conditions make you pity the children'. In Kakuma, there are 180 untrained incentive teachers, and 13 trained teachers, while in Dadaab there are 800 untrained incentive teachers, and 9 trained teachers. The qualifications required to become an incentive teacher are a 'D' average from primary school, reported to be low due the desperate need to provide universal primary education to all refugee children (Interviewee 12). While the Kenya Ministry of Education (MoE) works with NGOs to monitor primary

school curricula and to conduct inspections, they do not provide funding for facilities, with

an education coordinator reporting that:

> '*In lower classes the teacher is supposed to have 24-25 learners. We go*
> *beyond and may even have a class of 40 or 70. Controlling becomes difficult.*
> *The teacher cannot reach each and every child, which leads to many children*
> *dropping out. We are still struggling with it at the moment. The funding we*
> *have is not conducive to the needs we have.'*
> *(Interviewee 7)*

Data collection reveals this lack of infrastructure, with Dadaab reporting 392 classrooms for

44,442 students, a ratio of 1:113. Interviewee 14 even noted that one class in Kakuma has

240 students. Pupil-desk ratios should be 1:3, but are at 1:6 due to a lack of capacity. An

education coordinator explained the negative situation:

> '*In the Kenyan system, [classes] are supposed to only be given in one shift, that*
> *is the morning shift, because for these children, in the afternoon the sun is just*
> *too hot. If we were supposed to run one shift, the pupil-class ratio would be that*
> *one class has to accommodate above 150 learners. That being the case, we were*
> *forced to run a double-shift. We find ourselves doing something that we know is*
> *not good.'*
> *(Interviewee 7)*

Literature from the World Bank reveals that adequate sanitation, especially toilets, plays a

key role in school quality and attainment, recommending a student-toilet ratio of

approximately 1:20 (Williams, 2001). In the camps, this ratio is a dismal 1:86, with the

toilet being an open area pit 'unsuitable for girls to have privacy' (Interviewee 4). Lastly,

findings indicate varying textbook-to-student ratios, ranging from between 1:2 and 1:4 for

English and Kiswahili, supplied in part by the MoE, and 1:6 to 1:31 for social science,

science and religion textbooks, part of the school curriculum but lacking in supply.

Interviewee 6 noted that is due to scare numbers of textbook printers in Kenya, the

remoteness of the camps, and the cost of replacing books each year due to degradation by the

harsh climate.

3.1.3 Secondary Education

There is one secondary school in Kakuma, while in Dadaab Care International funds one school for each sub-camp, plus refugees established an additional three community schools in 2010. Most of the funds that had been used to fund three secondary schools in Kakuma were channelled to Sudan in 2008 for post-conflict reconstruction, closing-down two schools. However, many students were reluctant to return home, with Byamungu (2009: 21) reporting that 'one of the major reasons for their unwillingness to return was education'.

The data also demonstrates gender parity challenges, as only 25% of the 2864 enrolled students in Dadaab are girls, with similar results reported for Kakuma. Additionally, six interviewees and other documentary research continually mentioned the lack of capacity for secondary school students in the camps, resulting in risks to their personal security and livelihoods. A previous teacher, noted:

> *'I can remember a year when students sat [their KCPE] exam. There were 2000 students. But Care [International] said they could only provide 500 [places in secondary school]. Which means 1500 students are now looking to join secondary school. No professional training. That's why some of them went back to anti-social activities, such as trep cases, drug abuse, [went] back home while they're not willing, because a certain militia [forced them to] join, and some of them died actually. We heard some of them died in their country.'*
> *(Interviewee 6)*

Six interviewees cited the importance of opportunities for school dropouts, in particular those who finish primary school and are not able to progress to secondary school, trying to repeat Year 8 continually with a hope that they can obtain admission, but becoming frustrated and hopeless.

A lack of teacher education also continues to decline at the secondary level. The MoE provides trained secondary teachers for English and Kiswahili subjects, increasing the percentage of trained teachers from 1% at primary level, to 53% at secondary level; this number also appears higher as it does not account for the fact that the three Dadaab

community secondary schools are not provided with any teachers and are thus excluded from the data. In these schools, teachers are volunteer students who graduated with a 'B' average from secondary school for males, and a C+ average for females.

One interesting finding relates to the lack of adequate 'quality content' and 'quality processes' suggested by UNICEF (2000). To improve what literature recommends as 'student-centred curriculum structures that are unique to local and national content' (UNICEF, 2000: 6), various NGOs collaborated to offer student clubs and activities within the schools, such as: GTZ's young farmers club, NCCK's AIDS awareness club and IRC's nutrition club. Additionally, students come together to initiate their own learning opportunities, with a former refugee student reporting:

> *'Students form academic groups whose membership is strictly controlled by the students [...] All members in each academic group contributes a certain amount of money to a common pool monthly. The money will be used to purchase stationeries and revision books, rent a study room [...] [along with] a small stipend to a student-teacher who previously finished Form 4 with good grades and will teach them the subjects they identify as hard.'*
> *(Siraji, 2010: 31)*

These findings highlight the innovative ways in which students work to advance their education, their commitment to learning and their use of transnational networks to obtain international remittances for education.

3.1.4 Tertiary Education

There are even fewer opportunities for tertiary education in the camps. In Kakuma, JRS implements a distance learning programme with the University of South Africa, whereby an institutional partnership allows for 30 students per year to receive scholarships to complete diplomas in community development or public health. Additionally, in June 2010, JRS formed additional partnerships with American Jesuit universities to provide further distance learning opportunities for twenty refugee students. Interviewee 2 reported that internet is costly and unreliable, meaning that

few students can participate in the programme at any given time, and have numerous problems with obtaining the necessary materials to study effectively.

All other tertiary education opportunities found in the camps relate to scholarships for external study and teacher training, to be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

3.1.5 Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET)

Don Bosco is the main provider of TVET in Kakuma. Registered with the Government of Kenya, three grades of TVET, each one-year long, are offered to refugees who receive three certificates upon completion: one from the Government of Kenya, one from UNHCR and one from Don Bosco. Course options change frequently to meet refugee preferences, but often include skills such as: carpentry, welding, mechanics, masonry, plumbing, electrical wiring, tailoring, dressmaking and agriculture. TVET is free and open to adults from ages 16-50, with the only entrance requirement being completion of primary school. Seven interviewees reported the severe shortage of adult education opportunities, with Interviewee 4 stating how Don Bosco's mandate includes adults for this purpose. However, challenges noted include: language barriers due to different levels of English, or French-speakers; the need to constantly adapt programmes to ensure student retention, as many refugees state a desire to begin a programme, but then drop-out from a loss motivation to work; the complication of simultaneously meeting the needs of refugees and donors, as UNHCR targets include vulnerable groups such as women, school dropouts and the physically handicapped; and the costs of providing a meal to refugees and ensuring the courses remain free.

TVET in Dadaab is mainly geared at youth and vulnerable women, but programmes experienced severe cuts or suspension, such as the Nike *Together for Girls* sponsorship programme, which provided scholarships for TVET but was

cancelled when funding ran out.   These funding challenges were reported by all interviewees as a major barrier to providing education, especially TVET.   Byamungu (2009) notes the difficulty of providing consistent funding and opportunities other than basic education in the camps, even though he found that many graduates gained employment as incentive workers, a positive outcome of TVET.

3.2 Provision of Non-Formal Education

3.2.1 English Language Training (ESL)

Windle Trust Kenya (WTK) provides ESL to refugees in both camps, targeting five key groups: vulnerable women for empowerment, survival and protection; community leaders to communicate with relevant authorities; incentive teachers for professional development and language-upgrading; out-of-school youth wishing to enter formal schooling or obtain employment as incentive workers; and the host community who are 'equally disadvantaged when it comes to language literacy and who resent the opportunities provided to refugees but not to them' (Interviewee 3). One NGO worker noted the conflict resolution power of literacy programmes:

> '*You find that there are more than ten nationalities in the camps, in addition to the different clans from the same country that may not be speaking the same language. English helps leaders to come together and talk to understand each other, to appreciate one another, and therefore it becomes a tool of reconciliation – a tool of peace'.*
> *(Interviewee 8)*

Additionally, an ESL programme coordinator also stated how:

> '*English language literacy programmes, apart from providing access to services, provide skills in mediation, protection and empowerment, skills that can help refugees to seek jobs within organisations; not just the skills to ask for jobs, but to be able to do the jobs, being confident to speak and to have self-esteem in themselves. A person who is incapacitated because of communication cannot have self-confidence - a sense of ownership comes from this.'*
> *(*Interviewee *3)*

WTK also coordinates with Don Bosco to offer additional ESL classes as part of additional non-formal adult education opportunities, such as within gender-based awareness or life choices outreach programmes, business management skills, computer or secretarial certificate courses, or micro-finance credit programmes coordinated by UNHCR. These courses are short in duration, lasting approximately three to six months, and an NGO worker

from Don Bosco stated that they change to match the needs and desires of the refugee population.

3.2.2 ICT Training and Income-Generating Activities (IGA)

Care International and Samasource, a US-based NGO, fund ICT learning centres in Dadaab and coordinate with other NGOs to provide IGA, youth and adult training in technology. One interesting finding surrounds enhancing life skills programming for girls. Forty-six girls run the two centres in Ifo and Dagahaley, calling themselves the 'United Girls' and the 'Daga girls'. Each group elects their own chair-lady, book-keeper and secretary, and all girls receive training on book-keeping, administration, and computer maintenance. The girls generate an income by charging a small fee to use the ICT centres and by selling computer packages at a lower rate than other refugee-run internet cafes. They use their profits to hire cleaning and maintenance staff, thus creating employment opportunities within the camp, and to invest in other equipment such as a photocopy machine which can be further used to generate income. Challenges noted for this programme include electricity surges and high generator costs, further exclusion for some refugees who cannot afford to pay for internet usage, and resentment from Hagadera which does not have a centre (Interviewee 5).

3.2.3 Education for Out-of-School Youth

Another innovative programme is the Youth Education Pack (YEP), run by NRC which targets both refugees and the host community. Launched in 2008, the programme funds additional ICT centres in all three Dadaab sub-camps and in Dadaab town, and enrols 400 learners total per year. There are three mandatory components to the curriculum: literacy/ numeracy; life skills; and practical skills. For the literacy/numeracy component, illiterate youth receive basic training, while semi-literate youth are enrolled in computer literacy classes. The life skills component includes psychosocial support, peace and human rights (non-violent conflict resolution), and health (predominately hygiene). The practical skills

component provides training in carpentry, machinery, electronics, electrics, tailoring, hair and beauty, secretarial or journalism. The programme is holistic in that it works to ensure quality in all four UNICEF aspects of 'learners, learning environments, content and processes', with NRC ensuring that skills are relevant for both repatriation or resettlement, a common challenge or critique of other skills-based programmes. YEP also remains dynamic so as not to overflow the market with one particular skill set, although the skills are heavily gendered. Interviewee 5 noted additional challenges of funding, internet connections, and access, as a reported 540 youth are currently enrolled, yet 4000 students showed an interest. In particular, so as to meet the requirements of donors, the programme mainly aims to support vulnerable women, excluding other out-of-school youth and adults from participating.

3.2.3 Youth Groups

The last noted formal education opportunity involves the participation of the community in providing education through youth groups. Literature reveals that as refugees have experienced trauma and do not receive adequate psychosocial support, it is essential to include the community in refugee education to foster peace, non-violence and hope (Williams, 2001). There are a reported 53 registered youth groups in Dadaab, and 29 in Kakuma, with more informal groups existing as well. A former refugee student, in his report on the effects of education on refugee youth in Dadaab, noted that:

> '*Youth groups bring together people of different ethnic backgrounds, different languages as well as different faiths. Mostly, the youth groups are composed of those who manage to finish primary school, and those who completed their high school with no further education. Thus, to avoid indulging in evil activities, they result to developmental and peace-orientated programmes like organising football leagues and tournaments for other and with themselves. Through their personal organisation and in liaison with the NGOs, they conduct life skill trainings for the community members, among others.*'
> *(Siraji, 2010: 6)*

There are many positive effects that youth groups can have on the community, as informal education can also be extremely transformative for individuals, especially those with few opportunities to learn. As one student puts it 'an empty mind is a devil's workshop' (Siraji, 2010: 39).

3.3 Educational Programming Responses to Challenges

3.3.1 Scholarships

The lack of formal educational opportunities and capacity for youth has resulted in the emergence of numerous NGO-funded scholarship programmes. In an attempt to reach children with disabilities, vulnerable children and girls, JRS sponsors students to attend boarding schools in Kenya, where they can receive individualised attention and a better quality education. Since 1998, JRS has sponsored twenty-five children per year, with UNHCR also providing funding for 12 other girls who were victims of gender-based violence. In 2000, JRS also began to sponsor an additional 25 girls in an attempt to address their low school enrolment and high attrition rates; it is hoped that by removing girls from domestic and community pressures, they will obtain higher academic qualifications (Interviewee 2). Lastly, JRS also sponsors students to attend universities in Kenya, as tertiary education will provide skills for repatriation and will inspire other refugees to achieve (Interviewee 3).

WTK collaborates to establish partnerships with local Kenyan universities, allowing refugees to pay domestic tuition rather than the expensive international fees; current agreements have been signed with over four Kenyan universities. WTK and UNHCR also provide over one hundred in-country scholarships for students to attend these universities, also sponsoring over thirty students a year to complete graduate studies at universities in the United Kingdom.

Other tertiary scholarship programmes include: the World University Service of Canada Student Refugee Program (SRP); the Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund (DAFI); DDPuri; and the Dadaab Young Women Scholarship Program (DYWSP). The SRP sponsors approximately thirty-five students a year to Canada, arriving as permanent residents, receiving a university scholarship. DAFI, funded by Germany, operates around the world and provides local sponsorship for refugees to attend universities in Africa, focussing on girls and those with disabilities. DDPuri provides scholarships for teachers to attend Kenyan colleges, returning on holidays to assist with education in the camps. DYWSP was a new initiative whereby a US-based organisation worked with girls to complete admissions exams and applications to US universities, however, due to the recession, the applications did not receive funding and no students were sponsored, having a negative effect on the hopes of refugees (Interviewee 10). Additionally, DAFI and DDPuri, due to funding issues, have not been able to sponsor students since 2008, leaving the SRP as the sole current scholarship opportunity.

Siraji (2010), in his report on the effects of scholarships on refugee attainment, noted the following findings regarding education in the camps:

> *'While the number of DAFI students is small, their impact is huge because of their areas of expertise. Some work in business and government, others are employed by UNHCR and other United Nations Agencies (19) [...] [Additionally], the establishment of secondary school scholarship opportunities in the camps added to the hard work and subsequent good performance in primary schools (28)'.*

There is also a unique case of a student who achieved the highest-ever grades in Dadaab and placed 8th overall in Kenya, receiving a full scholarship to Princeton University. While this occurrence was extremely rare, Siraji (2010: 16) notes that:

> *'the securing of scholarship by [the student] at Princeton acted as the defining moment in the lives of many, as it acted as an overwhelming impetus for many students to work hard.'*

Five interviewees reported the positive impact of scholarships on educational attainment, both in-country and international. However, Byamungu (2009) cites additional challenges with scholarship programmes, such as how eligibility criteria favours youth under the age of 25, providing few opportunities for adults or learners who have had a break in schooling, a common occurrence in the camps. Byamungu (2009) and Siraji (2010), along with two interviewees, noted that scholarships are also aimed at single individuals, but most youth in the camps are often supporting families or extended families, causing resentment and hostility. There was also a noted debate surrounding *brain-drain*, as three interviewees explained the lower cost of funding refugees to attend local educational institutions, rather than internationally, meaning that 'more people could be helped who would return to their countries to make change, rather than staying abroad' (Interviewee 3). However, a former refugee student also noted:

> *'on graduation on completion of their scholarships, students are mandated to return to the camps as the permit to stay in Nairobi expires on their graduation. Consequently, on returning to the camps, they will not secure paying jobs except as incentive employees with the agencies, as there are no work permits [allowed] for refugees. Their redundancy in the camps frustrates everybody that had confidence in them as the paper-made diplomas and degrees don't make much difference in their lives [...] The promises of the foreseeable future for the few lucky-come-lucky ones are barricaded by another Berlin wall that can only be destroyed through resettlement or the provision of work permits.'*
> *(Siraji, 2010: 40)*

These statements demonstrate the resulting challenges of refugee scholarships in Kenya, which differ at educational level and between local or international sponsorship.

3.3.2 Teacher Training Programmes (TTP)

Ten interviewees stated how a lack of trained teachers and low requirements for qualifications resulted in poor educational attainment among children and a high turnover among staff.

One NGO worker stated:

> *'Every month we recruit. Why? Teaching is very challenging. Dealing with children is more challenging. Dealing with them when you are untrained is more challenging. So they find themselves to be in a very difficult situation [...] So teachers, they find, it is better to go to other jobs that don't require this professional work and technical difficulty [...] The mass movement of teachers from the education sector, to other sectors or NGO's, is very high.'*
> *(Interviewee 7)*

Additionally, a UNHCR worker explained that incentive workers in the camps are paid on a salary scale, whereby all refugee teachers are paid the same wage, regardless of training. Siraji (2010) found that one Kenyan primary school teacher in the camps is paid a salary comparable to ten salaries of incentive workers, and at the secondary level this rises to fifteen salaries. Another interviewee noted how this also causes turnover in the camps, as the stressful conditions are not considered equal to the pay when teachers are not adequately prepared for their work. As a result, UNHCR implemented a new salary scale for incentive teachers, and NGOs have initiated new TTP to improve education quality within the camps.

In 2009, the Italian NGO AVSI sponsored 126 refugee teachers to complete a one-year distance education teaching diploma offered in partnership with Mount Kenya University, which followed the Kenyan Teacher Training College Syllabus. In May 2010, UNHCR also coordinated with Masinde Mulito University in Kenya to run a fifteen-week in-training programme for 100 refugee teachers, whereby they teach in the morning and receive professional development and training in the afternoon, eventually earning teaching certifications. Already, the positive impact of TTP was noted by five interviewees who explained how school standards and student attainment are increasing.

3.3.3 Girl Child Education Programme (GCEP)

In 2009, in a response to low numbers of girls qualifying for scholarships, poor performance and high dropout, WTK initiated GCEP in both camps (Interviewee 7). GCEP was originally offered to girls in Standard 7 and 8 in Kakuma, and Standard 8 in Dadaab, so as to

encourage completion of KCPE and to enter secondary school. WTK also sponsors 30 students from the camp per year to attend Kenyan secondary schools, solely based on academic achievement; it is a target for more girls to be selected for this sponsorship. Students in GCEP attend girls-only schools, are given milk to take home and are supplied with uniforms, textbooks and supplies as incentives based on attendance. Interviewee 5 noted that in Kakuma in 2009, 240 girls participated, and results were so high that in March 2010 GCEP expanded to Standard 6, reaching 400 girls in part through additional funding from JRS, a collaborating NGO. In Dadaab, 240 girls also participated, with the top eighty selected from each camp. One coordinator explained that before GCEP, the mean average in mathematics for girls was 20%, which doubled to 40% in a few months. The girls-only schools, which used to place last among all schools in the camps, also improved, such as in Kakuma where one school moved from 10th place to 6th place in the first three months. Three girls also qualified for the WTK scholarship and were sent to Kenyan boarding schools for secondary education. WTK (2010: 5) also reported that:

> *'There is a difference between those girls coming for remedial classes and those who don't attend at all. These girls are advanced. When you compare girls and boys performance in the opener test which was done in term two, girls they have better results.'*

Challenges with GCEP, noted by four interviewees include continued absenteeism and a lack of funding to increase the programme, especially in Dadaab. One GCEP coordinator noted increased improvements in attendance if she visited students' homes, however, transportation issues makes this almost impossible as she does not have the funding for a car.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Conclusion

4.1 Analysis of Findings

The following analysis is derived through data collection from empirical findings and documentary research, and highlights cross-cutting themes and challenges found relating to access to education for refugees in Kenya. These key emerging themes are: access to education; funding; teachers; and community and parental support.

4.1.1 Access to Education

Issues of access to quality education for refugees was cited by all interviewees, and found in almost every collected document. When asked about the biggest challenge facing education in the camps, one NGO worker stated:

> '*The biggest obstacle [is] helping students access education [...] as the infrastructure and materials required are not easy to come by. And over time I've come to realise that education is not a priority in a refugee camp. Donors want to provide water, food and health – those are the priorities. Education is the second. But to me, education should be the top priority because if you have an educated group among the refugees they could also facilitate to deal with those issues.*'
> *(Interviewee 8)*

Interviewee 3 also explained how access includes a lack of infrastructure and supplies, including an overall need for more schools in general. They highlighted how the camps are powered by generators, providing limited electricity as fuel is twice the price in the camps as the rest of Kenya, simply due to the remote location. As computers are in short supply and satellite internet costly and unreliable, students do not have the opportunity to practise word processing skills or to utilise online learning to compensate for the shortage of textbooks and supplies. Six interviewees cited that poor education quality leads to school dropouts, and also that 'academic performance is really being affected because [children] are not attending regularly' (Interviewee 14). When asked if improved technology would contribute to school attainment, all education coordinators and teachers agreed, with UNHCR suggesting the use

of CD-ROMs as an alternative way to provide education if internet cannot be improved, also noting that NGOs with resources should further collaborate to share resources such as computer training centres.

All issues of access relate to UNICEF's (2000: 7) 'quality learning environments', which note that adequate school infrastructure, including 'on-site availability on lavatories and a clean water supply, classroom maintenance, space and furniture availability all have an impact on attainment'. In Kakuma and Dadaab, poor infrastructure affects class size, the ability to create a peaceful and safe classroom climate, and to provide effective service delivery to children with special needs or learning difficulties. Here, students lack a conducive learning environment, do not feel supported or motivated, or perform poorly, resulting in high dropouts and poor academic achievement. While there is not sound research showing that infrastructure and facilities directly impacts childrens' learning (UNICEF, 2000: 7), these findings demonstrate the need for basic capacity to accommodate children, even if other supplies come secondary. One interviewee suggested improving access through emergency, portable schools, which would bring the schools to the children - this could have a positive impact on access as it would create more places and would reduce attendance factors related to transportation, climate and distance. It also coincides with Williams' (2001: 85) note that educational improvements in refugee camps do not necessarily require large investments of resources, but that creative solutions, unique to each refugee context, can be just as effective.

4.1.2 Teachers

In addition to poor infrastructure, another key theme relates to UNICEF's (2000: 13) 'quality processes', i.e. teacher supply, competence and professional development opportunities. With the majority of teachers in the camps being untrained, teachers experience harsh working conditions, low self-esteem and thus, there is high turnover. UNHCR and NGOs are attempting to provide training and development opportunities to refugee incentive teachers, but this is difficult due to the aforementioned encampment policies in Kenya, and the inability to utilise modern technology for online education training due to geographical restrictions and high cost. The 'learned helplessness' syndrome mentioned in the literature also contributes to many teachers having a lack of motivation to improve, as in the camps there was no direct connection between training and an improved economic situation (Seligman, 1975: 10). However, findings indicate that UNHCR's new salary-scale for incentive teachers, based on training and experience, has a positive impact on teacher performance and student attainment:

> *'through the [teacher training] scholarship programme, many untrained refugee teachers had the opportunity to upgrade and acquire teaching skills [...] The trained teachers came back to the camps [to be] absorbed in the education sector with a higher pay in lieu of the untrained teachers [...] The pay rise of the trained teachers acted as a driving force for many [teachers] to scramble to further their studies.'*
> *(Siraji, 2010: 26)*

Literature also indicates that creative methods for teaching and school organisation have positive results, as 'the quality of a school and the quality of teaching of the individual teachers is higher in schools that are able (and willing) to make more efficient use of the available time of its teachers and its pupils' (Verwimp, 1999: 191). This is certainly demonstrated through innovative collaboration with local Kenyan universities such as Masinde Mulito University, to run in-service teacher-training programmes whereby teachers receive training on-site, while continuing to teach

within the camps. Additionally, bringing experienced teachers into the camps allows for mentorship and professional development, at a lower cost than sending numerous refugee teachers outside, also leaving a gap in the teaching force. Two interviewees noted that a new collaboration with Kenya's Centre for Distance and Online Learning may also address the need to assist with supervision and support for teachers by offering further development training opportunities through CD-ROMs and limited internet, also at a lower cost than on-site training. These findings demonstrate an effort to use 'technologies to decrease rather than increase disparities', as 'e-learning eliminates the barriers of time and distance, creating universal learning-on-demand opportunities for people' (Chambers, 2000).

4.1.3 Funding

Issues of infrastructure and teachers relate to funding challenges, which all interviewees noted as the crucial component of their inability to provide access to education for refugees.

In Kakuma, one NGO worker stated:

> *'This camp specifically, I would say, has suffered lately, because of reduced funding [...] we don't have quite enough [space] for people who want to continue after primary school, as support for secondary school and post-secondary school is still a big problem [...] There are very few sponsors for such students.'*
> *(Interviewee 3)*

Another NGO worker stated:

> '*The refugee situation is seen as a temporary situation, so we don't want them to have very permanent structures, permanent programs that will draw refugees to the camp instead of encouraging them to go back home. That's how we see it, but the fact remains that some refugees have been here since 1992!'*
> *(Interviewee 15)*

Interviewee 7 also explained that as the refugee population is dynamic, it is hard to monitor and prove success rates, greatly impacting the ability to obtain funding. Additionally, they noted that the system must work together as a whole, rather than focussing on individual components, stating:

'as a result of improvements to education quality and attainment, so many of our students were selected to join Kenyan public schools, but because of funding, we could not send them out.'
(Interviewee 7)

Findings demonstrate that funding is an issue for education. Access to schools and quality education persists as the debate on education as a humanitarian response does not allow for enough funding to improve all aspects of quality - learners, learning environments, content and processes (UNICEF, 2000). A major finding of this research indicates that educational programmes in Kakuma and Dadaab are not necessarily structured around educational levels, as children and adults have varying degrees of schooling due to their precarious situations as stateless persons and victims of war. Instead, I discovered that programmes are designed for target populations as a direct response to challenges faced in the camps, with stakeholders providing major direction. NGO workers clearly understand the shortfalls, and have ideas to make change, but are limited by stakeholder and donor demands and priorities.

Regardless, education in the camps could greatly benefit from greater funding to this sector, directly improving school infrastructure, supplies, teacher salaries and the issue of running double-shifts. While many interviewees noted the need to build new schools, or even emergency schools, even UNHCR acknowledged their struggle to locate funding. While there was an established need to 'do more with less', many interviewees also noted that their remote location made it difficult to access literature on low-cost, innovative educational programming, stating that funding really impacts their ability to provide quality education.

Findings also indicated that teachers were overburdened, as poor resources from inadequate funding meant that they could not provide enough attention to every child, focussing only on high-needs learners. They stated that resource libraries and study spaces which are safe, especially for girls, would greatly improve/aid their ability to teach, as they could assign homework and follow-up with more students. This would also improve access

for students, but requires funding, and collaboration between the community and stakeholders to materialise.

Lastly, literature reveals that the field of education and instability is growing, with INEE (2010) publishing *Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies*, including recommended class size, teacher qualifications, supplies, professional development opportunities, etc. Many of these standards are lacking in Kakuma and Dadaab, as there is not enough funding to implement change. This issue will be touched on in the conclusion of this chapter.

4.1.4 Community and Parental Support

Apart from access and funding, a lack of community and parental support for education was the most cited issue in providing education to refugees. Literature supports that 'parent/ caregiver expectations, positive or negative, toward schools and the child's capacity, have a great impact on the child's enrolment, persistence and attainment' (Williams, 2001: 93) with UNICEF (2000: 6) reporting that:

> *'Children whose parents have primary school education or less were more than three times as likely to have low test scores or grade repetition than children whose parents have at least some secondary schooling [...] Parents with little formal education may also be less familiar with the language used in school, limiting their ability to support learning and participate in school-related activities.'*

Five interviewees explained how in the camps, few opportunities for adult education and literacy programmes and low adult education has resulted in a lack of participation and engagement in schooling by parents, resulting in the low enrolment of their children. However, interviewees also noted how the community perception of education is changing, with more parents wishing to provide a quality education to their children, as it is one of the only ways to encourage a positive future with social promotion and employment opportunities (UNICEF, 2000).

Findings indicate two main issues – culture and gender – implicate community and parental support.   Interviewee 2 stated that family responsibilities, domestic duties and cultural norms prevent women and girls from participating in NGO programmes, including formal schooling.   They also reported that girls are frequently victims of gender-based violence, including: early, arranged or forced marriages; shame and exclusion from poorly-performed female genital mutilation practices; and mothers practising commercial sex or brewing alcohol in the home, exposing girls to rape, abuse, STIs and HIV and AIDS. Interviewee 14 stated:

> *'Girls are just considered as means of income. For [communities], [girls] are not entitled to go to school – they are entitled to be a housewife. Because when they reach a certain level, they will be forced to drop out and then get married, then give birth, then become mothers. But now, this is not the case, this is decreasing, because the communities right now, are mobilising.'*

Nine interviewees commented on how community outreach programmes, parent-teacher associations (PTAs), opportunities for scholarships and adult literacy programmes are mobilising the community and parents to take an interest in educational attainment, especially for girls.   Findings highlight the movement toward gender parity and significant impact of girl child education programmes on girls' attainment.

Such an example of this mobilisation surrounds the building of community schools in Dadaab.   In response to the lack of capacity, community leaders put forth the idea of building three secondary schools, one in each sub-camp.   This led to an MOU being signed between UNHCR and Care International, and infrastructure funding came from international donors, including UNHCR goodwill ambassador Jesús Vázquez from Spain, who sponsored one school (Interviewee 7).   The community used transnational networks to obtain funding for supplies and books, and also decided to charge an annual school fee of 2700 Kenyan Shillings ($33 USD), using the fees to pay incentive teachers.   SRP scholarship winners are secondary graduates who must wait one year before resettling to Canada, and these students

volunteered to be teachers in the schools, with PTAs being an active component of school and student accountability. Additionally, SRP students already in Canada began a 'Students for Refugee Students' organisation, raising additional funding for supplies and textbooks, and remaining active as community mentors to future students. A current SRP student and former teacher reported that:

> *'It is pride-worthy to note that the performance of the community secondary schools run by the SRP students is higher than the UNHCR-Care run schools with trained national staff. This can be rooted to the fact that the teachers act as a role model to the students, not forgetting the overwhelming competence showed by the young teachers.'*
> *(Siraji, 2010: 29)*

Interviewee 3 also confirmed the increased attainment of students in the community schools, in line with literature on school effectiveness and quality that when parents and the community 'provide schools with financial, in-kind, and/or psychic support, and when parents and community members assist with instruction [...] and have a meaningful role in school governance' support is effective and educational attainment increases (Williams, 2001: 95).

Interviewee 13 noted that 'it is clear how much [the community] treasures education for their children', with Interviewee 5 adding that 'now the parents are actually sending their girls to remedial classes in large numbers'. When asked why this change is occurring now, one NGO manager noted the positive effects of community outreach, but also stated that:

> *'the parents in the camp [...] see education as the only thing they can bequeath their children. And they see the future of their own countries and their own selves and their lineage bestowed in educated children [...] They strongly believe that their children who have received an education will one day return home and restore honour in their own countries and bring peace. And if they can acquire that, the refugees are at peace with themselves.'*
> *(Interviewee 8)*

4.2 Conclusion and Recommendations

Overall, Byamungu (2009: 8), adequately sums up the key challenges surrounding access to education for refugees:

> *'a shortage of trained teachers, language barriers, inadequate facilities, harsh learning environments, low enrolment of girls (especially at secondary and tertiary levels), broken family structures whereby one is a student and at the same time is head of the family or even single, and all other problems facing refugees in the camps at large.'*

Literature on education quality reveals that a lack of supporting inputs, such as community support, policies and material inputs all impede access to education and attainment, particularly in refugee contexts (Williams, 2001; UNICEF, 2000; Henneveld and Craig; 2000). Additionally, it is known that high-quality education programmes, formal and non-formal, promote student achievement and have higher enrolment and retention rates, versus low-quality programmes plagued with dropouts and repeaters (Hanushek, 1995). Williams (in Corrigan, 2005: 55) highlights how 'education improvement strategies become more effective when they are developed on-site and in collaboration with the stakeholders (community members) and implementers [...] The stakeholders and implementers need to work together and participate to ensure that local realities are recognised and needs are met'. These issues are demonstrated throughout findings from this dissertation, as issues of access, teachers, funding and community support greatly impact effective educational programming in Kakuma and Dadaab.

Specific literature on good practices for refugee education is limited, especially as every protracted refugee situation is context-specific, with highly subtle and unique interfaces between education and conflict. INEE (2010) recommends a focus on nuance so as to ensure that educational responses mitigate rather than exacerbate conflict. In the case of refugee education in Kenya, collaboration is the take-away message: collaboration between

the Government, UNHCR, NGOs, international donors and participation by refugee communities in the development of an effective education system.

This dissertation highlighted the overarching problems of providing education in Kakuma and Dadaab, organised within formal and non-formal sectors, with an explanation of educational responses to noted challenges. Key crossing-cutting themes emerged relating to issues of access, teachers, funding and community support, which I assert are related to a larger theme of coordination. In the literature review, I highlighted the historical situation of protracted refugee situations, and both UNHCR and the Government of Kenya's inability to manage such a large-scale humanitarian crisis. I also traced the origins of education as a humanitarian response, its emergence as a field, and the current debate around whether it should be included as an emergency or developmental activity. Through the literature review, I suggested an integrated approach to refugee education, implying that a solution to issues of ownership and responsibility lie around a joint effort between the Government and international agencies to take control, providing better mentorship and direction to Kenya to improve and monitor the current refugee situation. This mentorship involves highlighting the positive impacts that refugees can have on the host community, both economic and cultural. By ignoring the crisis and abdicating control to UNHCR, Kenya asserts what the literature calls its position as a weak, incapable, developing country (see Chapter 1). This results in poor resources for refugees, who are frustrated and stateless, with resettlement abroad being the only realistic goal, as repatriation and local integration seem impossible.

Education for refugees would be greatly improved if the Government of Kenya relaxed its policies. If the Government does not want refugees to take away opportunities from Kenyan citizens, perhaps it can instead offer work permits to refugees who are college and university graduates, as Kenya also lacks trained workers, and these graduates would surely stimulate the economy. This stimulation would indicate better collaboration between refugees and the

host community, as positive relationships are much better than perceived negative ones. Additionally, to improve the educational status of the host communities in Kakuma and Dadaab, Kenya could also offer training opportunities to refugees who would be able to work in these areas, being allowed an official work permit in exchange for their services, creating economic opportunities and addressing educational challenges in Kenya such as a lack of rural teachers. Improved economic opportunities for refugees would generate hope and inspiration for educational attainment, and may put the refugee community in a better financial position to improve educational capacity and quality within refugee camps. These are only a few suggestions, but are tangible suggestions for areas of future research, along with potential studies comparing the impact of community-initiated education programmes with those run solely by organisations in refugee camps. Regardless, it is clear that it is futile to only work on one aspect of education programming, as a comprehensive focus on learners, environments, content and processes is needed. Students who are not motivated to learn, or who are not supported by their communities will not achieve, even in the best facilities, just as students who want to go to school but are not being taught effectively or are not given access to schools will not achieve, no matter how much they want to. All aspects must be considered, within the larger context of historical and legal rights of Kenya, addressing macro and micro-level issues; only then, will education contribute to improving the lives of all refugees.

> *'We only want our chance to thrive, to live our lives, to visit our family members, to attend school, to receive medical treatment, to help support our families, and to have control over the economic and policy making decisions affecting our lives. We only want the chance to live as other human beings live, with a hope for the future.'*
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> *(Refugee Silent Welfare Committees, 2010)*

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Camp Education System[8]

<u>Education System in Kenya</u>

Kenya follows an 8-4-4 system of education, since January 1985, which is composed of eight years of primary school (Standard 1-8), four years of secondary school (Form 1-4), and four years of college or university.

After completion of primary school, students must write a national examination and receive a minimum of 250/500 in order to receive the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE). Courses for KCPE include: Mathematics, English, Kiswahili, Social Studies, Religious Education and Science.

At the secondary level, students take seven to eight classes, of which the following subjects are mandatory: Mathematics, English. Kiswahili, and two sciences from Biology, Chemistry and Physics. Additional subject options in Kakuma and Dadaab include: Geography, History and Government, Business Studies, Arabic, Agriculture, Christian Religious Education and Islamic Education. At the end of Form 4, students also write a national examination, for which the average grade is based on their performance in the eight selected subjects. Students must receive an overall pass to receive the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE). Students' average grade on the eight subjects is also used for admission to tertiary education, and for scholarship programmes.

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[8] N.B. All data for Appendix 1 was obtained from documentary research collected during fieldwork.

Appendix 2: Camp Organisations

Table 3: List of Agencies in Kakuma and Dadaab			
Agency	Camp	Sector	Duties/Activities
UNHCR	Kakuma Dadaab	Overall Management: funding and implementation	Responsible for overall camp management: • protection of refugee rights and registration • child protection monitoring • oversees provision of basic services (including education) • network and capacity-building among NGOs • funding to NGOs to implement activities
Care International	Dadaab	Education Food/Water Shelter Sanitation Social Services	• Overall management of programmes related to food, water, sanitation, education, social services • Coordination with other NGOs and refugee communities • Education sector manages pre-school, primary and secondary schools funded by UNHCR
Windle Trust Kenya (WTK)	Kakuma Dadaab	Education	• Communicative English language training • In-country scholarships for refugees to attend Kenyan universities • External scholarships for refugees to attend UK universities • Facilitates WUSC Student Refugee Program and DAFI Scholarships • Teacher training for refugees • Implements the Girl Child Education Programme
World Food Program (WFP)	Kakuma Dadaab	Food/Water	• Food distribution • School feeding programmes
International Rescue Committee (IRC)	Kakuma Dadaab	Health Services	• Preventative and curative health services (refugees and host community) • Nutrition School Club - school feeding programme assistance
International Organization of Migration (IOM)	Kakuma Dadaab	Migration Logistics	• Facilitates logistics of refugee movement and resettlement • Conducts medical screening • Provides cultural orientation abroad programmes

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule

<u>Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews</u>

1. Please state your name, occupation and the organization that you work for.

2. How long have you worked with [organisation]?

3. What other professional experience do you have working in the education sector or with refugees prior to working with [organisation]?

4. What education and skills training does [organisation] provide to refugees in the three camps here in [Dadaab or Kakuma]?

5. Do you have any educational statistics on student attainment, enrolment, retention, etc?

6. With regards to [organisation], who are the main funders or donors?

7. Does [organisation] you have any institutional partnerships, such as with other universities in Kenya or abroad?

8. Has [organisation] started any initiatives relating to Distance Education in the camps, or e-learning by computers?

9. How widespread is electricity and Internet in the camps?

10. In your experience, has refugees' educational attainment been implicated by gender, age or nationality? What trends have you observed?

11. What do you feel are the biggest supports and barriers to the provision of education for refugees in Dadaab refugee camp?

12. In your opinion, have there been any significant changes in the camp profile and dynamics in recent years? Do you anticipate that the relocation of refugees from Dadaab to Kakuma will have an impact, and if so, how?

13. In your opinion, what do refugees yearn for in the educational sector? What types of educational resources from the international community would be most valuable to those living in the camp, and why?

Appendix 4: Ethical Code

Ethical Code
It is important for the researcher to reveal fully his or her identity and background.
The purpose and procedures of the research should be fully explained to the subjects at the outset.
The purpose and procedures of the research should be fully explained to the subjects at the outset.
Possible controversial findings need to be anticipated and where they ensue, handled with great sensitivity.
The research should be as objective as possible. This will require careful thought being given to the design, conduct and reporting of research.
Informed consent should be sought from all participants, in writing whenever possible. All agreements reached at this stage should be honoured.
Subjects should have the option to refuse to take part and know this; and the right to terminate their involvement at any time and know this also.
Arrangements should be made during initial contacts to provide feedback for participants who request it. This may take the form of a written résumé of findings.
The dignity, privacy, and interests of the participants should be respected and protected at all times.
When ethical dilemmas arise, the researcher may need to consult other researchers or teachers
Respect people's rights and dignity and interests, and be respectful – research participants are subjects, not objects to be exploited. Treat people as subjects, not objects. Ensure that participants do not leave the research worse off than when they started it.
Indicate how anonymity will be addressed (e.g. by confidentiality, aggregation of data). Inform participants how data will be collected and how interview data will be stored during the research and destroyed after use.

(Reynolds, 1979, in Cohen, Manion et al., 2007)

Appendix 5: Camp Data

Table 4: Kakuma Primary School Enrolment, October 2009

#	School	Standard 1			Standard 2			Standard 3			Standard 4			Standard 5			Standard 6			Standard 7			Standard 8		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	J/Mara	99		99	94		94	100		100	98		98	108		108	95		95	110		110	86		86
2	B/Naam		170	170		160	160		160	160		100	100		110	110		50	50		30	30		16	16
3	Fashoda	112	2	114	87		87	51	1	52	36		36	48		48	43		43	64		64	63	1	64
4	Kadugli			0			0	102	87	189	98	35	133	49	26	75	53	14	67	102	30	132	105	31	136
5	Unity	86	53	139	130	70	200	138	67	205	104	57	161	60	32	92	65	13	78	44	20	64	40	16	56
6	Angelina Jolie													68		68	60		60	56		56	37		37
7	Mogadishu	62	42	104	52	52	104	56	39	95	44	43	87	39	32	71	45	17	62	31	13	44	30	9	39
8	Horseed	108	103	211	145	141	286	124	103	227	111	109	220	89	48	137	43	11	54	56	9	65	79	9	88
9	Fuji Acdy	125	90	215	110	90	200	126	73	199	88	58	146	83	28	111	81	19	100	90	8	98	85	11	96
10	Palotaka	119	127	246	138	96	234	89	87	176	56	31	87	61	30	91	72	5	77	46	10	56	93	10	103
11	Nassibbunda	415	299	714	164	89	253	116	61	177			0			0			0			0			0
12	S/Bantu	216	178	394	130	61	191	86	56	142	78	36	114	69	21	90	70	18	88	45	17	62			0
	Total	1342	1064	2406	1050	759	1809	988	734	1722	713	469	1182	606	395	1001	567	207	774	588	193	781	581	140	721

(Windle Trust Kenya, 2010d)

Table 5: Kakuma Teaching and Support Staff, October 2009

#	School	Teachers																		Support Staff					
		Incentives									Nationals						Grand Total			Cooks		W		Others	
		HT			DT			IT			Contracts			Casuals								R	N		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	M	M	M	F
1	J/Mara	1		1	1		1	11	0	11	1		1	1	1	2	15	1	16		5	3			
2	B/Naam	1		1	1		1	12	3	15		2	2		2	2	14	7	21		5	3			
3	Fashoda	1		1	1		1	10	3	13	1		1	2		2	15	3	18		5	3			
4	Kadugli	1		1	1		1	14	0	14	1	1	2	1	1	2	18	2	20		5	3			
5	Unity	1		1	2		2	16	0	16	1	1	2	1		1	21	1	22		6	3			
6	Angelina Jolie			0			0	4	0	4	2	3	5	1	1	2	7	4	11		6	2	4	1	1
7	Mogadisho	1		1	1		1	9	0	9	2		2	1	1	2	14	1	15		5	3			
8	Horseed	1		1	1		1	18	0	18	1	1	2	1	1	2	22	2	24		5	3			
9	Fuji Acdy	1		1	1		1	14	0	14	1	1	2	1		1	18	1	19		5	3			
10	Palotaka	1		1	2		2	18	4	22	1	1	2	2		2	24	5	29		6	3			
11	Nassibbunda			0	1		1	23	1	24	2	0	2			0	26	1	27						
12	S/Bantu	1		1	1		1	17	3	20	1	1	2	1		1	21	4	25		5	3			
	Total	10	0	10	13	0	13	166	14	180	14	11	25	12	7	19	215	32	247	0	58	32	4	1	1

(Windle Trust Kenya, 2010d)

Table 3 and 4 Key

M	Male(s)
F	Female(s)
T	Total
HT	Headteacher(s)
DT	Deputy Head(s)
IT	Incentive Teacher(s)
W	Watchmen
R	Refugee(s)
N	National(s)
PE	Pupils Enrolled

Table 6: Dadaab Education Enrolment, February 2010

Type	Sub-camp									Grand Total		
	Dagahaley			Ifo			Hagadera					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Pre-school	1178	895	2073	717	685	1402	935	627	1562	2830	2207	5037
Primary Education												
Standard 1	1048	753	1801	1263	973	2236	1074	713	1787	3385	2439	**5824**
Standard 2	1120	820	1940	1398	989	2387	1113	782	1895	3631	2591	**6222**
Standard 3	1026	716	1742	1408	985	2393	957	805	1762	3391	2506	**5897**
Standard 4	928	639	1567	1131	695	1826	963	723	1686	3022	2057	**5079**
Standard 5	798	463	1261	1130	667	1797	929	509	1438	2857	1639	**4496**
Standard 6	784	449	1233	1027	471	1498	833	461	1294	2644	1381	**4025**
Standard 7	624	374	998	906	392	1298	618	192	810	2148	958	**3106**
Standard 8	262	121	383	312	108	420	552	150	702	1126	379	**1505**
Total	**6590**	**4335**	**10925**	**8575**	**5280**	**13855**	**7039**	**4335**	**11374**	**22204**	**13950**	**36154**
Special Education												
Deaf	103	76	179	130	103	233	134	93	227	367	272	**639**
Blind	99	88	187	131	105	236	106	67	173	336	260	**596**
Mental Handicap	40	27	67	56	36	92	99	77	176	195	140	**335**
Physical Handicap	154	128	282	151	121	272	117	82	199	422	331	**753**
Speech Disability	142	138	280	124	185	309	148	115	263	414	438	**852**
Multiple Disabilities	42	34	76	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	34	**76**
Total	**580**	**491**	**1071**	**592**	**550**	**1142**	**604**	**434**	**1038**	**1776**	**1475**	**3251**
Secondary Schools												
Form 1	56	14	70	81	14	95	127	26	153	264	54	**318**
Form 2	119	52	171	28	6	34	97	78	175	244	136	**380**
Form 3	75	55	130	146	54	200	171	89	260	392	198	**590**
Form 4	119	45	164	136	20	156	113	37	150	368	102	**470**
Total	**369**	**166**	**535**	**391**	**94**	**485**	**508**	**230**	**738**	**1268**	**490**	**1758**
Community Secondary Schools												
Form 1	57	13	70	75	11	86	108	24	132	240	48	**288**
Form 2	102	46	148	31	14	45	200	60	260	333	120	**453**
Form 3	85	15	100	122	15	137	111	17	128	318	47	**365**
Form 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total	**244**	**74**	**318**	**228**	**40**	**268**	**311**	**77**	**388**	**891**	**215**	**1106**
Adult Literacy Education												
Level 1	95	48	143	30	40	70	793	382	1175	918	470	**1388**
Level 2	232	100	332	56	41	97	387	241	628	675	382	**1057**
Level 3	229	192	421	299	159	458	128	117	245	656	468	**1124**
Total	**556**	**340**	**896**	**385**	**240**	**625**	**1308**	**740**	**2048**	**2249**	**1320**	**3569**
Grand Total	**9517**	**6301**	**15818**	**10888**	**6889**	**17777**	**10705**	**6443**	**17148**	**31218**	**19657**	**50875**

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Table 7: Dadaab Staff, Infrastructure and Community Support, February 2010

Teacher Training Details

Level	Untrained	Trained	Total
Pre-school	120	11	131
Primary	800	9	809
Special Education	39	5	44
Secondary	18	35	53
Comm Secondary	32	0	32
Adult Literacy	30	0	30
Total	1039	60	1099

Non-teaching Staff (Education Managers)

Type	Male	Female	Total
Education Officer(s)	3	0	3
School Inspector(s)	9	0	9
Headteacher(s) - Secondary	2	1	3
Headteacher(s) - Primary	19	0	19
Headteacher(s) - Adult Lit.	3	0	3
Deputy Head(s) - Secondary	3	0	3
Deputy Head(s) - Primary	19	0	19
Senior - Primary	19	0	19
Total	77	1	78

Other Non-teaching Staff

Type	Male	Female	Total
Librarian(s)	4	2	6
Watchmen Primary	55	2	57
Watchmen Secondary	9	0	9
Watchmen Adult Lit.	9	0	9
Watchmen Library	9	0	9
Total	86	4	90

Parent Teachers Association (Primary)

Sub-camp	Male	Female	Total
Dagahaley	43	32	75
Ifo	64	56	120
Hagadera	49	41	90
Total	156	129	285

Parent Teachers Association (Secondary)

Sub-camp	Male	Female	Total
Dagahaley	17	8	25
Ifo	9	6	15
Hagadera	11	7	18
Total	37	21	58

Infrastructure (Pre-school & Primary)

Item Description	Total Items	Pupils	Pupil Ratio
Classrooms	392	44442	113
Desks	6551	44442	7
Toilets	520	44442	85.47

(Windle Trust Kenya, 2010c)