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The Role of Education in Refugee Integration and Well-being

A case Study of Kakuma Refugee Camp (Kenya)

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Msc International Development

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN REFUGEE INTEGRATION AND WELL- BEING IN KENYA

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Declaration

I, Lilian Kwamboka Mocheche, declare that this thesis is a result of my research, investigation, and findings. Sources of information that are not my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for an award of any type of degree.

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ABSTRACT

With wars and climate issues on the rise in the present days, many people are being displaced from their homes and their countries thus increasing the numbers of refugees globally. For these and many other reasons, issues surrounding refugees have become an important aspect both nationally and globally. Now more than ever before actors involved are striving to come up with policies and strategies that are meant to enhance cohesion and co-existence between refugees and host communities and for integration to be allowed. This is a study that analyzes the role of education in the integration and well-being of refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya.

The research used qualitative methods for data collection. Primary data was collected using in-depth interviews with informants in the camp both refugees and humanitarian workers. The informants were selected through snow-ball non-probability sampling. Secondary data was sourced from literature works, articles and journals on refugee integration and education. The main themes that answered the research research questions are: The role of education in refugee well-being, policy implementation and development in accessing national system education, equity in access to education, labor standards and equality between refugees and non-refugees workers and lastly, integration through tertiary education. The study uses the integration framework by Ager and Strang and the acculturation theory to conceptualize and analyze the findings.

From the in-depth interviews with the informants the study established that education with the camp plays an important role in the refugees well-being because it is through scholarships that refugees get a chance to go and be integrated into the national system of education. Education also enables the refugees to find opportunities for employment thus enhancing their lives. However, education has as well been depicted as a source of discrimination and inequality through policies that discredit the refugee's previous education forcing them to start in lower levels, an issue that causes demoralization among the refugees. Apart from education, the feedback from informants established a dissatisfaction among them on the way employment policies regarding refugee remuneration are carried out. The explanation that refugees are paid less than their non-refugee colleagues because they receive humanitarian support does not resonate well with the refugees. In conclusion, the study agrees that as much as integration is

always positive, education plays an important role in the process and well-being of refugees too.

Table of content

CHAPTER 1	1
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 <i>Background of the study</i>	4
1.2 <i>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</i>	5
CHAPTER TWO	5
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1 <i>Conceptual Framework</i>	6
2.2 <i>Framing of the refugee integration</i>	8
2.3 <i>Understanding Integration</i>	11
2.4 <i>Acculturation theory</i>	16
CHAPTER THREE	19
3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	19
3.1 <i>Research Design</i>	20
3.2 <i>Choice of location</i>	20
3.3 <i>Research Informants</i>	21
3.4 <i>Sampling Approach</i>	22
3.5 <i>Interviews</i>	23
3.6 <i>Data Analysis</i>	25
3.7 <i>Ethical Considerations</i>	25
3.8 <i>Validity and reliability of research</i>	25
3.9 <i>Limitation of the study</i>	26
3.10 <i>Summery</i>	27
CHAPTER 4	27
4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	27
4.1 <i>Introduction</i>	27
4.2 <i>Perceptions and understanding of integration.</i>	28
4.3 <i>Role of education in refugee's well-being</i>	32
4.4 <i>Policy implementation and development practice in accessing national system education.</i>	35
4.5 <i>Equity in access to education</i>	38
4.6 <i>Labor standards and equality between refugees and non-refugee workers</i>	39
4.7 <i>Integration through tertiary education.</i>	40
CHAPTER 5	41
5.0 DISCUSSION	41
5.1 <i>Summery of key findings</i>	41
5.2 <i>Interpretation of findings.</i>	42
6.0 CONCLUSION	50
REFERENCES	53
APPENDIX	56

CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role of education in the wellbeing and integration of refugees in their receiving countries or the countries where they settle in. Based on interviews with some of the youths, humanitarian workers, and other people living in Kakuma refugee camp, I tackle the issue of integration and how only a few of the refugee children or youth are integrated into the government schools or get scholarships to better schools both inside and outside the country while the rest of them must remain and be in the schools that are within the camp. Issues around refugees are important not only in developed countries but in developing countries as well.

Refugees are people who cross over the borders of their own country to another country because of persecution or fear of persecution. According to Cooper (1998), a refugee is anyone who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for any reasons of race, religion, nationality, affiliation to a particular political opinion, is away from 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 fears is unwilling to return to it. According to UNHCR (2020), by the end of 2018, 70.8 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide because of this persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations. That was an increase of 2.3 million people over the previous year, and the world's forcibly displaced population remained at a record high. This includes: 25.9 million refugees in the world—the highest ever seen, 41.3 million internally displaced people and 3.5 million asylum-seekers.

Several reasons can cause people to be displaced, tribal and political wars and natural disasters e.g., famine, floods etc. According to the World bank, displacement is not only a humanitarian challenge but also one that affects development, 77% of refugees are displaced for over 5 years and a majority of the displaced and refugees live in the developing countries (World Bank). A surge in violent conflict since 2010 has led to historically high levels of forced displacement. Displacement causes a lot of pain especially mentally for the people involved. Losing a home where you are used to, your comfort, properties, and everything you are familiar with and now settling in a new unfamiliar place. Over time, a lot of attention has been paid to material losses

and risk of lives and health due to displacement. “Globally, there are about 79.5 million forcibly displaced people including refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum seekers who have fled their homes to escape violence, conflict and persecution” (UNHCR, Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2019).

However there is an increasing attention to the multidimensional effects on the well-being of the displaced. On top of all the pain and loss, the learning process and education of the refugees and the displaced people are highly interrupted and disadvantaged. These effects of displacement on lives are not just a matter of well-being but also on long term trajectories both at an individual and collective level. Education is thus used as a way to both enrich the lives of the displaced, help them find relevance and also be an avenue where they can receive help in terms of counseling. According to Kurshan (2019), organizations working with refugees around the world are demonstrating the vital importance of education in restoring a sense of purpose, dignity, and hope for the future. Hence, education has been proposed to help refugees get part of their lives back. Consequently, integration, where the refugees are able to interact and exchange their values with their host communities.

According to Kandappa and Eghareba (2000), apart from belonging to a school that has other people to relate with, schools and educational facilities help refugees to regain a sense of belonging and social and emotional development as well as an escape from the pain and the reality facing them back home. Despite the comfort they get from education through schooling, it is not always easy for both the students and the educators. For the educators, the school learning systems are not always made in a way that involves and includes the experiences and encounters that the refugees go through. Thus, when they come to school all refugees are taken as “the same” not considering that they all come from diverse cultures, backgrounds, and practices all which need to be considered. According to Blackwell and Melzak (2000), it is especially important that learning institutions both contain and understand behaviors in practices that promote a sense of both justice and fairness so that the refugees cannot feel disadvantaged.

There has been a shift in approaches to using education for integration in the past decades. Over time the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees advocated for a parallel education system for all the school going refugees and recommended that the refugees should also be able to learn in a manner that was closest possible to their country of origin, (Dryden-Peterson 2011). Under

normal circumstances, this policy would work well considering that the refugees would just be in the first country of asylum for a while before they go back to their country of origin and continue with their education in order to achieve their desired goal and career in life. Also, most of the time the refugees are received with a thinking that it will be for a brief time then they return to their original country, which is not the case most of the time thus the education centered around the camps are meant for short term refugees, Nicolai & TripleHorn (2003). But, due to the changes in terms of migration, the constant insecurities, and instabilities in most of the countries where these refugees come from, they end up staying way longer in the camps sometimes with no clear hope or sign of them ever going back to their countries of origin.

Because refugees end up staying in the camps longer, policies have been adjusted since the learning and education needs for these refugees have evolved. The UNHCR in 2012 gave out a new education policy that was meant to help in national integration. This policy was meant to change the education that was focused on the refugee's country of origin to allow the refugee students access education in their host countries (UNHCR, 2012). This change in policy suggests that the quality of education is way better and can be sustainable and with cost effective measures if the refugees are able to access the already established national systems and materials e.g., curriculums, teacher training, government assessments, and accreditation. Apart from that the policy also presumes that there is a possibility for sociocultural integration by encouraging social cohesion and sustainable livelihoods for the refugees and their families in their host countries, (Dryden-Peterson et al., 2018). This study seeks to also investigate to what extent policy implementation and development practice enable refugees to access national systems of education and the implications for integration.

1.1 Background of the study

Kenya is an East African country with a population of 54,627,198 sitting in a total land area of 569,140 km. As of 28th February 2021, there were 512,494 refugees in Kenya and over 163,000 of them are settled in Kakuma refugee camp (UNHCR 2021). This is the second largest refugee camp in Kenya after the Dadaab refugee camp. It is located on the northwestern part of Kenya in a small town called Turkana.

From the numbers stated above, it is evident that Kakuma refugee camp has a substantial number

of refugees who have several needs that need to be met, education being among them. In view of this, it is important to ensure that they are well integrated into society and that they feel accepted. Integration becomes a goal especially to the humanitarian workers to ensure that structures are put in place to allow the interaction between the refugees and the host community both for peaceful coexistence and integration processes. Being a refugee is not necessarily a permanent thing, most of the time there is a hope that things may change for the better and the refugees may return to their country of origin. If this does not happen the refugees have to find a way to either be involved in and participate in the way of living of the country they ran to for refuge or different other countries. This is where integration comes in. According to the UNHCR (2014), integration requires the efforts of both the refugees and the receiving society. The refugees are required to adapt and fit in the way of living of the new society without having to change their own cultural identity while the receiving community should also be ready and willing to receive the refugees and in a way meet their needs where possible.

For the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp education is not only a way of helping them fit in with the community but also a means of preparing a foundation for them to proceed to the job market and beat the odds of unemployment within Turkana town and in the end, be able to scale up through the poverty experienced in the region. Settling in a town that has a high rate of poverty, education is an important aspect of making the refugees in Kakuma not only integrate but also be able to scale upwards and move out of the camp.

According to Candappa and Egharevba (2000), the education system is most often among the few statutory agencies that are ready to help and give formal support for refugee children, thus schools are recognized and really valued by the refugees. I have chosen this topic because it is crucial that the matters around this subject be addressed and implemented. Articles on refugees have been published the world over, but not so many points on education as a means of integration for refugees. Most of us if not all want to fit in the societies we live in. This is the same with the refugees in different camps globally and for them, education is like that “light at the end of the tunnel.”

Through this study, I will explore the various ways in which refugees are integrated into the host community and various integration indicators. With this, I will also find out if education plays any role in the integration of refugees.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the role of education in a refugee's quality of life?

Sub Questions

- A) Under what conditions does education help empower refugee's lives
- B) To what extent are government and non-governmental organizations able to ensure equitable quality education for refugees?
- C) How does tertiary education help the refugees to integrate into their host communities?

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will review works of literature and past studies, bridging pieces of literature on integration and the role of education. I will focus on the acculturation theory as a framework to analyze the case. The theory will be used to answer the research question of how education in both secondary school and tertiary can be used to help refugees integrate with their host communities.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a refugee is someone who has fled from war, violence, conflict, or persecution and has crossed an international border in order to find safety in another country, (UNHCR, 2021). Refugees are defined as well as protected by international law. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is someone who is unable and unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, (UNHCR,2021).

Loescher, et al., (2008) note that the focus of the international community since the 1990s has

been engagement with refugees centering on refugees' emergencies, delivering humanitarian assistance to refugees and war-afflicted populations. We see and hear far more stories of wars and children being stranded and separated from their families all the time. The international community especially the humanitarian organizations are at the forefront working so hard to ensure that all these people's lives are protected and that they find a place to stay whether it is in concentration camps or within the communities receiving them. Governments also play a significant role in accepting these refugees in their land and other governments especially in the global North are responsible for ensuring that the refugees are catered for and integrated both through employment, having a place to stay, enrollment in schools, and even learning the new language where need be.

Several different definitions of integration exist. According to the UNHCR, integration is a dynamic two-way process that places a demand on both the refugee and the receiving community. Integrating refugees goes beyond ensuring that they are provided with basic needs and access to services. Integration requires that receiving States and civil society create a welcoming environment that supports refugees to achieve long-term economic stability and adjust to the new society, including fostering a sense of belonging and encouraging participation in their new communities. Vigorous integration programs enable refugees and their families to enjoy equality of rights and opportunities in the social, economic, and cultural life of the country (UNHCR, 2002). Thus, from this explanation, we see integration involves not just the refugee but the receiving community, the government, and civil societies. Da Lomba (2010) sees integration as a one-way process where the refugees get to learn and adapt to the host society, but the host is not obligated to learn and adapt to the refugees' culture. From this point of view, integration is depicted as assimilation thus if there are those refugees that fail in one way or another to adapt to the new lifestyle, they definitely will have a problem with the host community and thus hinder them from integrating.

In assimilation, refugees are made to learn the host communities' ways of life and leave the previous one they were used to. In his book 'Rethinking geographies of assimilation), Nagel (2009) describes assimilation as taking away identities of the refugee or immigrant community and having them take the new identity of the host community. For the purposes of this study, we will look at integration as a two-way process that involves both the refugees and the host

community. Away from their country of origin, refugees may stay in the country of the first asylum for a while with limited rights and no legal status before they can either go back to their own countries or get a permanent residence. In this case, you will find that they are restricted in terms of movement within the country, getting employment, and other opportunities e.g., education. This could be because of security issues within the country or any other concern. These conditions will deter the integration of these refugees into the communities around them.

According to Ager and Strang (2004), integration includes the involvement of both refugees and the host community in trying to adapt to each other and integrate thus they ensure availability of employment, education, housing, etc. According to Penninx and Garce's-Mascarenas (2016), integration is not a one-time event but a process. They explain integration as the process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that follows immigration. In this thesis, I follow the approach that views integration as a two-way process that involves the interaction of the refugees and the host community with the help of other actors, eventually leading to not only a peaceful coexistence but an exchange of values, cultures, and the acceptance of the refugees by the hosts.

Another concept that will be discussed in this study together with refugee integration is education. I will focus on both primary and secondary education together with tertiary education. This study will try to see if and how access to this education by the refugees will help them in any way in the process of integration. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared compulsory education as a universal entitlement. Thus, it is important to recognize that education not only plays an important role in the integration of refugee children but also shapes their future in terms of careers and employability when that time comes.

2.2 Framing of the refugee integration

According to Strang & Ager (2010), issues concerning refugee integration and their outcome in terms of structural and socio-cultural processes related to their identity and feel like part of society are widely debated theoretically and practically imprecise. There is a distinct difference existing between the literature on structural integration that involves integrating into the formal state systems e.g., through education and employment, and literature about integration as a socio-cultural experience where identities are transformed and there is an increased

connectedness with a sense of belonging.

According to Waters et al. (2010), theories that try to explain integration have been criticized among educational practitioners and researchers in countries in the global north that are receiving countries for their assimilatory assumptions that membership is unidirectional and spatially bound. This is because mostly the condition around these settings is often one that allows for structural integration thus integration is as a result problematically interpreted as a matter of individual choice (Morrice, 2017). This means that individuals are responsible to go through the formal aspects of integration and not just the social processes through which one is either included or excluded from societal processes and interactions.

According to UNHCR (2013), it is complex to really define integration because it does not happen to individuals just over time, but it is in itself a process where the individual refugees may sometimes be able to control certain aspects. Having said that, the states also need to be engaged with specific aspects of integration to ensure a well-functioning connected society where all the members contribute and benefit mutually. The ways in which governments are involved in this differs from facilitation and enablement, encouragement, or even coercion in some cases. In short, the aim for integration is to achieve equality, inclusion, and achievement but a disconnect may happen as governments see integration in one way and refugees see it in another different way Ager and Strang (2004).

Most of the refugees often find refuge in countries that are around them, near their borders, and most of the time these receiving countries are not financially capacitated to enable the refugees to integrate through structural processes. Kenya for example receives a huge number of refugees each year from countries that surround its border. As a nation, the state is not able to provide sufficiently for its citizens in terms of infrastructure, jobs, etc. but it is also faced with the refugees thus structural integration does not have a basis in this scenario, but integration mostly depends on the socio-cultural processes. This is not to say that structural integration never happens, but it shows the rate at which it happens is very low, UNHCR (2017).

According to Phillimore (2020), although most refugees tend to go to countries around their countries of origin when fleeing, which mostly happens to be the global south countries, the issue of integration is mainly loudly expressed in Europe and the Americas, which host 17% and 16% of the population of world's displaced people. Phillimore goes ahead to say that although

many people think that the refugee “crisis” could be over, a lot of people are still being displaced but it is only a small percentage of these people that are able to make it to cross over to Europe and the U.S. He purports that although the discussions around integration have been and continue to be important, a huge part of it has been focusing on the responsibility or even the outcomes of refugees with insufficient attention on the ways in which the receiving society contexts shape refugee integration opportunities.

Education has been an important instrument of integration. From the World Conference on Education for All (1990), the contents and structures of refugee education have shifted with time, showing an interest in the local, national and global issues around educations and evoking negotiations on where power rests when it comes to issues concerning educational decision making. After the 2nd world war, refugee education was mainly offered at local levels by and for communities in exile, and they were oriented towards preparing leaders for decolonizing nation-states across Africa and Asia. The Education for All movement recognized in 1990 that ‘war, occupation and civil strife’ were some of the persistent problems that hindered the efforts made to meet the basic learning needs of refugees.

In 2012, the UNHCR did an education strategy implementing a different approach for the education of refugees. This involved the refugees being included in the national system of education UNHCR (2012). According to Dryden-Peterson (2017), some of the countries had already started the inclusion process in order to meet the educational needs of the refugee children and youth especially those in the more urban cities and those in protracted situations.

With all these backgrounds on integration and education of the refugees, the question remains, how can a receiving state use education to integrate refugees? According to Pastoor (2016), in as much as there has been a huge amount of literature on refugee integration, policy-relevant research that is focused on refugee children from an educational perspective is rather limited.

UNHCR through their 2019 edition report indicated a strategy they are working on called *Refugee Education 2030*. This strategy for refugee integration was developed within a span of 2 years of the consultative and collaborative process with UNHCR stakeholders and partners e.g., the international organizations, United Nations agencies, multilateral organizations, governments, education networks, private sectors, and also the refugee communities. This strategy is one that was meant to be an updated version of the 2012-2016 strategy for refugee

education and aims to make sure that refugees are increasingly accounted for and involved in the education sector planning goals and action plans and to also ensure that both refugee and local communities' children are prepared equitably to excel in national systems wherever they live and that their learning needs are addressed through improving partner investments and the programs that are already existing as they support innovative local solutions. This strategy is meant to translate the arrangements set out in the global compact on refugees into action by using the principles of solidarity and responsibility-sharing bringing on board cooperation between humanitarian and development education partners. Following this, the refugee children and youths together with the host communities can all access increased quality learning opportunities from preschool all the way to tertiary education and be able to compete in the job market. This strategy has a vision for refugee children and youth inclusion inequitable education that contributes resilience and prepares them for cohesive societies. This would be achieved through different collaborations, partnerships, and approaches that will in turn enable the refugees to be able to learn, thrive and develop their full potential (UNHCR, 2019).

As indicated before, this study will first explore the integration concept, drawing on acculturation theory in order to develop a conceptual and analytical framework for analyzing the role of education in integration. This will be largely formed through the work done by Ager and Strang (2008) which was later updated in 2019, where they conceptualized integration and will also focus on the acculturation theory where we look at how acculturation can be used through education in the process of refugee integration. Based on their work where they reviewed the attempted definitions and related literature of integration, they identified elements that are central to perceptions of what constitutes a 'successful' integration Ager & Strang (2008).

2.3 Understanding Integration

In their 2008 paper, Ager and Strang indicated that 'Rights and Citizenship' were important and foundational aspects to understanding refugee integration. They suggested that the perceptions and notions of nationhood and citizenship will vary across different settings and societies but in all cases, such ideas are important to know the principles and practice on integration in the various situations. They, therefore, used the term 'integration' in a way that allowed multiple interpretations because in some cases integration may be synonymously used to mean 'assimilation' Ager and Strang (2008). In this paper, the integration will be used entirely to mean

the inclusion and involvement of the refugee children not only into society in terms of social life but also into the national educational system.

2.3.1 Indicators of Integration

Ager and Strang came up with what they termed as indicators of integration. These were centered around 14 domains that are evidently suggested to be of key importance in integration. According to Ager & Strang's updated framework, the progress of the domains given in this framework basically depends on the contributions of individual refugees, members of the receiving communities. This means that the whole process is dependent not only on one entity but all involved persons and actors.

A) Markers and Means

This section will focus on the framework by Ager and Strang's work that was an update of their work done in 2008 Ager & Strang (2019). I chose this framework because not only is it useful in answering my research question on the relationship between education and integration but also brings in an aspect of social capital that is key in the interactions of refugees and hosts, paving way for a smooth integration process.

Under this framework, there are 5 different domains namely, Work, Housing, Education, Health and Social Care, and Leisure. These domains represent the context under which integration occurs as well as particularly critical areas that are recognized as especially important to the integration process and thus attaining their marks as a good step towards the process. Identifying these domains shows key areas of public activity where support for integration can be planned and the results can be measured to some extent. An achievement in each of the domains can however not be termed as an outcome of integration because they also serve to that end. Thus, all the domains show progress towards integration and can also enhance achievements in other areas.

A good example is, access to education that is quality is a significant marker for integration and can also be seen as a means through which integration can be achieved e.g., through creating significant opportunities for employment, providing an avenue for a wider social connection, and mixing, learning the languages and for cultural exchange. Simply put, these domains can be seen as markers because they indicate that success in these domains could indicate a positive

integration outcome. They are also means because success in these areas is anticipated to help the entire process of integration. The measures of sense of belonging together with psychological and emotional wellbeing are included throughout the domains thus indicating their key role across all aspects of integration. The domains are not interconnected in that success in one area does not automatically mean the same in another area but each area plays a major role in the success of the other.

B) Social Connections

There are 3 domains under this framework. These are social bridges, social bonds, and social links. These domains emphasize the role of relationships to our understanding of the integration process while also bringing out the diverse kinds of relationships that contribute to integration. According to Ager and Strang, in as much as the domains in the markers and means can be a public face of integration, they do not fully show what integration can be to individuals as they experience it in their day-to-day lives. The domain under this framework emphasizes the importance of the different relations both in the process of integration and the achievement of the same. According to McMichael & Manderson (2004), social bonds are important for refugees an opportunity to overcome any psychological stress associated with being displaced and thus the social bonds create an opportunity for them to have good social connections both in terms of services but also through people while creating interactions.

Putman (2007), described social capital as the relationship between people and their social networks and the norms associated with it of reciprocity and trustworthiness. This definition by Putman forms the basis through which Ager and Strang (2008) analyzed how social capital contributed to refugee integration. It illuminates the significance of common identity.

Ager and Strang recognized that the domains in these social relationships can help improve both individual and collective access to resources. It uses the language of social capital to differentiate between the three types of social connection which are social bond, social bridge, and social links which are all deemed to be important in order to have a successful integration. They also point out that the language of social capital has been widely used in policies and practices of integration and is recognized widely. Using this category of indicators does not necessarily mean

that social relationships will always increase access to resources. The framework allows those using it to measure the social connections and in addition to that also measure key resources independently. Doing this, the patterns of social relationships and the access to resources are not depicted as interdependent on each other but show how the process of integration is dependent on the parallel development of each form of social relationship. They explain the relationships as follows:

I) Social bonds: These are connections formed with others that have a shared sense of identity. It is often said that people who identify the most always create a strong bond with each other. Most of the time, people from the same family will always share a very tight bond with high levels of trust and confidentiality with each other compared to outsiders. Friendships that also share the same levels of trust can also be considered as social bonds. Ager and Strang however warn that it is not necessarily automatic that sharing the same background, ethnicity, faith or even race will mean having a great bonding connection. We have witnessed people from the country, the same ethnic backgrounds, and sometimes even the same family growing very far apart due to for example political issues. In the event that there is no social bond or connection, there arises what is known as social isolation.

II) Social bridges: These are the connections that happen with people that have different backgrounds. Unlike the social bonds, this category allows people to relate together and have trust not necessarily as much as social bonds but enough to enable them to work together and to exchange resources as well. It is an avenue for people with their own difference to come together and share resources and opportunities. In doing so, slowly they will be building trust and reciprocity. In as much as strong bonds can be experienced if there are no social bridges, social segregation is bound to occur. Zetter et al. (2006) allude that refugees tend to re-establish social networks and relationships in order to establish a meaningful new life while at the same time maintaining their identity.

III) Social links: These are the connections with institutions that include the local and central government services. These are vertical relationships that involve the people and the institutions. Social links are there to connect individuals with the source of power within their societies. Individuals can both be contributors like when they are voting and electing leaders to power or as

beneficiaries when they need help from the institutions. When there is no social links there is a sense of alienation.

C) Facilitators

Within the facilitators' framework, there are 5 domains namely language, culture, digital skills, safety, and stability. These factors are key in terms of the integration process. Unlike in their first framework, this new framework saw Ager and Strang making language and culture as 2 separate domains so that both can be measured on their own. Also, since the original indicators were published in 2004, there has also been an addition of digital skills since we have various developments that have happened in terms of communication.

D) Foundation

This framework has only one domain name, rights, and responsibility. This is what forms the basis of the mutual expectations and the obligations that are important for the integration process are built upon. Citizenship and nationality and the rights that come with these, in a big way define what counts as integration. For example, it is a big step in the integration process when the refugees access and acquire citizenship and rights that come with it e.g., voting. In measuring this domain, it is important that the attitudes of both the receiving communities and the refugees be put into consideration just to know the thoughts of the people about the rights and responsibilities that come with the domain.

The following diagram indicates the conceptual framework of the domains that define integration by Ager and Strang in 2008. I adopt this framework to analyze the role of education in integration by measuring both the access and quality of education and its significance and contribution in improving refugees' lives and thus being instrumental in integration.

Figure 1: A Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration Ager & Strang (2008)



2.4 Acculturation theory

According to Sam and Berry (2016), acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that happens because there has been contacting or interaction between diverse cultural groups and their individual members. Changes in the social structures, institutions, and norms are involved at the cultural group level. At individual levels, it may involve certain changes in people's behaviors and preferences e.g., dressing code, food, identities, values, language, etc. When a change happens, they adapt to a new cultural system in some of the things. From their view, Sam and Berry term acculturation as multifaceted where both cultures will experience a change when the process has happened.

In another definition, acculturation is the exchange of cultural characteristics of separate groups with diverse backgrounds and cultures connecting and interacting together and the groups remain different even if they experience the changes Johnson, (2011).

Among the early definitions of acculturation, Redfield et al (1936), noted that acculturation comprehends those phenomena that result when people who have distinct cultures and backgrounds are in frequent first-hand contact thus experiencing changes in the original cultural patterns of either one or both the groups. This definition was developed to differentiate the

acculturation process from cultural change where only one group experiences change in culture or assimilation where one group entirely changes to the new culture and abandons their original culture.

In 2004 the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defined acculturation as “the progressive adoption of elements of a foreign culture (ideas, words, values, norms, behavior, institutions) by persons, groups or classes of a given culture.”

These different definitions of acculturations are expounding on the idea that a new culture has to be learned by one community, in this case, the refugees. However, in this case, study, I use Redfield’s definition because it encompasses the idea of both groups changing their cultures.

Acculturation explains the congregation of two different cultural groups that result in the progression of cultural transformation and mental and emotional alterations Sam & Berry, (2010). After moving to a new country from their country of origin, all refugees must go through acculturation in one way or another. For there to be coexistence between the refugees and the host communities, there must be an exchange of cultural values, beliefs, etc. Both groups have a responsibility in order to ensure integration as discussed earlier in this section.

Refugees slowly start learning and getting to acquire and experience the most dominant values and ways of life of the receiving communities Hwang & Ting, (2008). Acculturation is a long and arduous process, especially for the refugees. It is even more difficult for children who must now encounter cultures and values that they are not used to and maybe wondering about how they must either let go of some of the cultural values and practices they were used to at their country of origin. This process among many other things causes the refugee children and youths to be stressed.

As earlier indicated in this study, schools are especially important for refugee children. This is not just because they offer a promising future to the children because they can get employed and find careers when educated, and not because they also act as a point for integration, but it is important because they give the children a ‘haven’ in terms of getting counseling. Because of this, the people handling the children in the schools need to know how to approach the children since they all come from diverse backgrounds. Ratts *et al* (2016), suggests that knowledge of the cultural backgrounds of these refugee children will help in handling them however, it is not

possible to know all the distinct cultural values and practices of the refugees, but a multicultural competency is required however, this should not be mistaken as fully understanding the cultural beliefs and values of the refugees' backgrounds and their motives.

Acculturation can either be as a result of integration or integration can also be as a result of acculturation. Refugee children go through a lot of traumatic experiences in the process of migrating from their original country. That notwithstanding, they have to go through another process of trying to learn the new culture and values and the education system. This causes them to have what is referred to as acculturation stress. According to Berry (1997), acculturative stress happens when one is acquiring the unfamiliar properties of the new culture while still discarding the values from the original culture.

A good example is that of the refugees in Kakuma. Some of the refugees in Kakuma are from South Sudan. The schools in South Sudan are taught in English so the children do not understand the Swahili language which is the most spoken both within and outside the Kakuma camp. Some of the teachers that were teaching were using Swahili and thus the children from South Sudan were frustrated because they lost interest in the school lessons just because most people were adamant in talking a language they did not understand.

From this scenario, it is important to note as it has already been suggested before that both acculturation and integration require the participation of not only the refugee community but also the host community and the other actors e.g., the state and the humanitarian community working with the refugees. Phillimore (2011), suggests that if not handles correctly, both integration and acculturation may cause stress to the refugee children and even the adults. These processes cannot be forced upon, they are processes that should be slowly introduced so that the refugees do not feel overwhelmed, especially the children.

Refugee children are supposed to adjust to the new culture and sometimes this comes with a lot of discrimination, a lack of or limited community support, obstacles to accessing quality education, and so on Miller & Rasmussen, (2010). Schools are able to provide the refugee children with a place to escape from whatever it is they may be going through thus it not only provides a bright future in terms of careers but also a place for the children to come, get counseling, mingle with other children and be young again. For these reasons, schools act as very important representations of the mainstream culture or community where the refugees are to be

acculturated and integrated into. Schwartz *et al* (2010). Teachers and especially school counselors play an important role when it comes to school-based assistance with the acculturation of refugee children.

Killan *et al* (2018), notes that because of the stresses and pressure that comes with acculturation to both adult and children refugees, school counselors should know the importance of being acquainted with the acculturation process and its possible difficulties which may be different from one refugee to another and be prepared to handle any other difficult issues that may arise through the process.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction.

In this chapter, I discuss the type of research methods that I used in data collection, the strategy used for the research, the design, the population, and the sampling method used. In addition to that, I will talk about the validity and reliability of the study, ethical considerations, and the difficulties encountered during the process of data collection. I used the qualitative method of data collection for this study. According to Bryman (2012), the qualitative method has a way of bringing out the in-depth of what has been conveyed or said by the respondents. This method brings out very well, the perception that the respondents have of their surrounding world. In my study, I used both interviews as the primary source of my data collection and I also used other secondary sources like articles and journals from different browsers that seemed like relevant information to enhance the study. According to Flick (2009, pg. 75) and Bryman (2008, pg. 521), it is important to use both the primary and secondary sources in data collection so that for example the information from the secondary source can back up the information given by the primary sources.

3.1 Research Design

According to Bryman (2012), a research design is what provides the researcher with a framework for the collection and analysis of data. This allows the researcher to make out the meaning of the phenomenon by knowing the social interactions of the people and the surrounding environment. The research design used in this study was a case study type of research design. This was done in the Kenyan context to try and find out if education has a part to play in terms of refugee integration. A case study research is meant to find out about a phenomenon within its actual context. According to Jacobsen (2015), a case study allows the researcher an opportunity to dig deeper into a scenario or an issue that is delimited in time and space giving an insight into the place or event.

3.2 Choice of location

The case study for this research was done in Kakuma refugee camp. This is in Turkana County in Kakuma town. The camp was established by the Kenyan Government and UNHCR in 1992. It lies between the borders of Kenya and South Sudan near Lake Turkana. It has a population of approximately 200,000 people and consists of different people from different parts of Africa namely South Sudan, Sudan, Rwanda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somali, Congo, and Uganda. It is famously known to have begun when “The Lost Boys of Sudan” came to Kakuma. This was a group of over 20,000 boys from the Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups that were displaced and orphaned during the 2nd Sudanese civil war between 1987-2005. (Kakuma Network, 2021).

The camp is governed and administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. UNHCR is responsible for the refugees in the camp and their well-being. The running of the camp is made possible by the help of other humanitarian organizations that include: World Food Program, International Organization for Migration, Lutheran World Federation, International Rescue Committee, Jesuit Refugee Services, National Council of Churches of Kenya, Windle Trust Kenya, Film Aid International and Salesians of Don Bosco in Kenya among others.

After the adoption of the Kenya Refugee Act in 2007, the government brought in a camp manager to have an oversight of the camp’s affairs liaising with the humanitarian agencies under the jurisdiction of the Kenya government and the department of refugee affairs. Kakuma is in a semi-arid area that has always had challenges in terms of outbreaks of diseases like malaria and cholera. It experiences high temperatures, dust storms, etc. The average temperature during the day is approximately 40 degrees.

Because of being without proper identification documents and the environmental conditions around them, the refugees in Kakuma Camp are not always able to support themselves with income-generating activities. They are unable to join the job market and get employment, they also cannot indulge in farming because of the climate in the area. A percentage of the refugees work with the NGO and get a small stipend incentive for their work, but this is only a small number compared to the whole population of refugees. According to Jamal (2000, pg. 23) “Anyone confined in a place like Kakuma rendered automatically dependent on some form of the handout”. This is reflected by the difficulty to find a means for self-support and sustenance by the refugees in the camp.

Kakuma camp is known as the “small city” with grass-thatched roofs, tents, huts, and mud

houses. Once admitted inside the camp, refugees have no freedom to move outside to other parts of the country but can obtain a pass for movement from UNHCR and the Kenyan government. Jamal (2000, pg. 7-8) “Inside this small city at the edge of the desert, children age into adulthood and hope fades into resignation. To be frank, it is a kind of hostage life for many refugees”.

3.3 Research Informants

In this study, I sourced my data through both Primary and secondary sources. The secondary data involves other research, articles, and journals that focused on either refugee education, refugee integration, or both. I also used articles from the United Nations and World bank about statistics on refugees. In the primary sources, I used interviews. The study population for the research included informants who are all over 18 years both male and female. I decided to interview this age group and not current school-going refugees because it would not be easy to interview minors via the digital platform and in addition to this, the education within the camp is also offered to adult refugees. This included both refugees who are currently living in the Kakuma Refugee Camp, humanitarian workers who are involved in the daily running of the camp attached to different NGOs like the Norwegian Refugee Council, UNHCR, and Action Africa Help International.

I had initially aimed at interviewing 15 participants but only 12 were able to be interviewed. This is because of the difficulty in reaching out to the respondents because their phones were either turned off all the time or the network coverage was not good for communication. I aimed for 15 participants because this would cover different sectors within the camp and would thus give a more diverse overview of the themes. This was to cover teachers, both from the camp and the ones employed by the government, humanitarian workers, refugees from different countries, and a school principal or headteacher. Unfortunately, it was not possible to get in touch with the headteacher and the government teachers since they live out of the camp and the schools were not in session when I was conducting the interviews. More of this will be discussed in the limitations section.

3.4 Sampling Approach

Sampling in this research was conducted from the 12 informants in the population stated above. The informants were selected because they live within the camp and have either study within the

schools in the camp, others are humanitarian workers that have interactions with people within the camp. The informants were selected using the purposive sampling method. The aim of purposive sampling is to sample cases and participants in a manner that those sampled are relevant to the study being carried out (Bryman, 2012). This means that the informants are useful to the study since they have either the experience or information needed for the study being carried out.

I also used the non-probability sampling technique of snowball. Snowball sampling involves using one informant that you already must find others thus they provide referrals needed for the study. The advantage of using this method is that it makes it easy for one to find sources and thus saves on time. It can also be cost-effective and makes it easy for the informants to be at ease with the interviewer since they have been referred by someone they already know. According to (Bryman, 2012) a snowball means that selected participants will lead one to or propose others who have the same experience or one that is relevant to the research. Bryman (2008) indicates that when using snowball part of the disadvantage is that the respondents may be biased because they are selected by people who they know and may want to give information that shares the same characteristics. He also noted that there may be no fair repetitiveness. In view of these disadvantages, in order to avoid a skewed sample, I searched for other informants by myself that did not have the same characteristics as the informants provided through snowball.

I started by simply contacting my former supervisor at Norwegian Refugee Council where I did my internship. She referred me to the NRC area manager in Kakuma who in turn referred me to his colleagues that are also stationed in Kakuma Camp. One of the colleagues gave me a number to contact a refugee who lived in the camp and had some work as a community mobilizer. It is through him that I got 5 other refugees who accepted to have an interview with me.

Through social media, I contacted a prominent personality who currently resides in Sweden but has a foundation in Lodwar that works closely with the communities and schools in Lodwar and Kakuma. She gave me a contact of one of the school's principals within the camp who was willing to do the interview, but we never made it because she was frequently traveling and thus could not get time for an interview. I also sourced my contacts in Kenya for contacts, and a Kenyan journalist acquaintance gave me two contacts of people in the camp that was willing to

have an interview with me.

3.5 Interviews

According to Bryman (2012), qualitative interviews are mostly used to capture the different interviews that are carried out during qualitative research. For this research, the main technique for data collection as stated above interviews. I came up with an interview guide that was meant to guide me through the interviews. The guide was based on my research questions. I formed short, clear, and open-ended questions which gave me an opportunity to ask emerging questions that would come up during the interview and it also allowed the informants to explore their responses without being restricted. I was not able to interview all the informants I had initially planned to, but I finally got enough participants who were helpful in the data collection in the period of 3 months between January to March 2021.

The interviews were mainly focusing on the perceptions, experiences, and concerns of the refugees concerning equity and access to education, tertiary education, and the implementation of policies on access to education in the camp. The humanitarian workers were all of Kenyan origin while the refugees were from 3 different African countries namely South Sudan, Sudan, and Congo. 2 were from Congo, 4 from Sudan, and 1 from South Sudan.

The interviews were ranging 1 hour to 1 hour 30 minutes. This is because there were a lot of interruptions with the network thus more time used. Before the interview, I made sure to explain everything about the study and assured the informants of their privacy and the privacy of the information they have given. All my informants were comfortable speaking in English so that was the language of communication with a few times where we used Swahili in between the conversations with some of the informants.

3.5.1 Rapport with the informants

Different individuals may have various reasons as to why they participate or are involved in research. Some may want to genuinely make a difference and be useful to society and the researcher, others want to be heard as others are basically looking to have new experiences. In whatever case, according to (Josselson,2013) despite the reason for participating, it is the responsibility of the researcher to build a trustworthy relationship that will build an environment where the informants freely express themselves and share their experiences and feelings.

As I started the interview, I gave a background to the informants as to why I am carrying out the research, and assured them that their feedback was important for the study. Some of the informants were a bit shy at the beginning of the interview but gained more confidence as we progressed with the interview. Other times, I had to explain the questions to the respondents when they did not get the essence of the question, but this was not so much. I asked for permission from the informants to record the interviews to help with the transcribing as I also made short notes. Most of the refugees were very excited about the interview and were friendly and so eager to assist and refer me to others.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data analysis was done by transcribing the recordings from the interviews and the short notes written. I did open coding while looking for keywords and ideas. I had to re-read and listen again to the recordings several times to have a better understanding and perspective of the informants. It was easy to remember facial expressions and common words that stood out when the interview was happening.

My study aims to explore several issues: One is the thoughts and perceptions of the informants about integration in Kakuma, their perceptions of education in the camp, and if education is a way of integration. I used different colors on the different respondent's feedback in order to identify them while analyzing. My notes during the interviews included observations I made on the respondents' facial expressions, gestures, changes in intonation, and expressions when participants were talking about different subjects.

According to (Greswell, 2013) interpretation of data is a complex process that involves abstracting out beyond the codes and themes. Personally, I had a challenging time reducing my data to the important themes because it seemed like if some things are left out the information may not be conveyed as accurately as the information would have wanted to be understood.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Before my data collection was started, I got permission from the Norwegian Center for Research Data. Also, a consent form was sent to all the informants before the interview in order to obtain confidentiality, privacy, and integrity of both the informants and me as the researcher with the data given. After transcription, all the recordings were deleted from my devices and the transcripts were coded so that the interviewees could remain anonymous.

3.8 Validity and reliability of research

While doing research, there might be a risk that the findings may be inaccurate or biased due to the subjective and interpretive nature of the data. Validity measures how accurate the data collected is. To avoid this, I ensured I asked the participant to explain further points that I thought had not understood well. According to (Mays and Pope, 2010) one way of minimizing validity errors during a study is using a method that consists of a clear exposition of methods of data collection and analysis. According to Bryman (2012), a study can be referred to as reliable if it can be replicated. This means that the same results will be achieved if someone else used the same steps and analysis to carry out the research. With open-ended questions I was able to form a unique relationship with my respondents which is key to how the interview unfolds. It allows the respondents to be more free and confident. In addition to that, as an interviewer I can't be a neutral observer, thus, I shaped information through my own experiences, interpretations, and assumptions. All the interviews were different from each other even though the questions were the same not just because of the differences in opinions among the informants but also because no interview can be entirely replicable.

3.9 Limitation of the study

One major limitation in my study was that I was unable to go to the camp in-person to carry out the data collection in person. This is because of the travel restrictions that had been imposed due to the corona pandemic. It makes a difference when one does the interviews and data collection in person since you can observe things around the environment, interact more with the informants and get easy access to the informants unlike when you must use the phone or social media. It is easier to build relations in different ways that may glean richer information. It is also easier to see non-verbal signals and communicate how informants feel about the topic.

Another challenge was that the refugees at first thought that this is something that needed to have

certificates at the end of the interview and even get some stipend. I had to inform them that this is purely done for academic purposes, and I have no certificates to give them. Despite that, I had to give them some money for the sake of data that they used for the zoom meetings so that was an expense I had to cover for them.

Also, it was a very worrying time for the refugees in the camp because when I was still collecting data, the Kenyan government said they wanted to close both Kakuma Refugee Camp and Dadaab refugee camp because of security. This made them worried, and they were mad about the decision and thus felt no use in talking about how they felt in the camp if they will no longer be staying there anymore.

In addition to the above-named challenges, I had a really hard time trying to connect with the informants because of internet issues due to the poor network in the camp. Some areas in the camp had better reception so some refugees had to go to these areas in order to communicate but it was not possible for those staying in places that were far from the areas with good reception so as much as they were willing to participate it was not possible.

Despite the challenges, it was still possible to interview the respondents and get their perceptions. For one on one interviews as indicated, I was able to carry out the interviews via zoom and I was able to observe the respondents as we interacted. For the certificates, I was able to inform the informants that the study is done purely for academic purposes and thus there was no monetary compensation apart from the money I had to send for their internet subscription. In addition to that, the fact that the refugees were worried about the closure of the camp gave an insight into my analysis of how the government perceived the refugees thus despite this not being among the themes I had selected for the study, it was instrumental in the findings.

3.10 Summery

This chapter has presented the methods and methodology that I incorporated in my study. It shows the research design, strategy and how the research was carried out, challenges encountered while collecting data, data analysis, and storage of information, and finally includes the ethical considerations while doing the research.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the empirical findings and data collected through the interviews from my informants. The findings are the respondents from my informants based on open-ended questions from the interview guide I was using during the interviews and consists of transcribed data that is thematically analyzed.

While presenting the data in this section, I will include verbatim quotations in order to maintain and give the informant their own voice while at the same time allow the readers of this study an opportunity to have a proper understanding of the perceptions of the informants and how they are related to every theme that comes up from the analysis. As discussed in the previous chapter, the anonymity of the informants is very important and thus I have randomly given the informants numbers as a way of referring to them thus, I will be using ‘informant 1 to 12’ to refer to the different respondents.

4.2 Perceptions and understanding of integration.

Before I conducted my interviews, I gave a brief explanation about the whole study and why I was doing the research. Part of my explanation included what I viewed as integration in the process of doing this study. However, I also wanted to know what my respondents thought about integration. The 12 informants had different views of what they thought integration was but one thing that was common among all the informants was the need for inclusion to be met and for them to feel integrated.

There were various definitions from the refugees, some defined it as being able to integrate with the host, to others, it is being included in the activities of the host community while to others it was sharing of social amenities, etc. The refugees explained integration to be interactions with the host. They all had different aspects of what should be included in order to feel integrated. From aspects of Informant 1, a refugee was in the camp for over 8 years, and for him,

integration means being included in activities that are beneficial for both the refugee and the hosts.

“I believe integration has to involve us who are the refugees together with the host community in activities that are meant to bring us together both financially and socially as we interact and get to know more about each other. It could be having”. To him, inclusion was necessary for integration because it provides an opportunity for interaction to occur and through that, the refugees and the host community can exchange their cultural practices or at least learn about each other's culture. Another refugee expounded that such social interactions involve exchanging values and cultures between both refugees and the hosts.

“I came from Congo and have been here for 15 years. I have 2 children, and both were born here in the camp. I have friends in the camp from other countries e.g., Burundi, Somali, Sudan, etc. I have interacted with them, and we have learned about each other's cultures and values. This is good because it is important to have a good connection with those around you. However, it felt even better when I met and interacted with Kenyans around Kakuma. Before the interactions with Kenyans, it felt that we are in our own world away from our countries. It seemed like we live in two different worlds but after having a few interactions with them and knowing that they are also interested in finding out about our culture we felt more included and welcomed. I have since learned how things are done in a Kenyan way and why as well as taught them how we used to do things in Congo”, informant 5.

When one feels like they are part of a group, there is a sense of belonging that is felt. According to informant 3, the only time to say there is integration is when the refugee community feels like they are part of the welcoming community. “To me, we experience integration when there is no discrimination and that we are included in the community. I used to feel bad the first days in the camp because I was always surrounded by people that were like me. Going through similar issues and the same situation of feeling hopeless because we had to run from our countries. All that surrounded me for a while was hopelessness and despair. But, when we would get into contact with the Turkana people that were around the camp either for business, work, or other purposes, it felt better because we realized they don't just see us as people who have just come to invade their space, but they accepted us, at least most of them did and were willing to interact with us.”

It is important to note that the neighboring Kenyan community that surrounds the Kakuma refugee camp is mostly comprised of families that are struggling economically due to the conditions around the area that make it difficult to engage in agricultural activities. In addition to that, that part of the country has been “neglected” for a long period of time and as a result, is among the most underdeveloped counties in the country. According to Lind (2010), Kakuma highlights that the region in Kakuma and the entire Turkana region has been marginalized for a long period since independence because of the high level of poverty within the region, caused by the dry climate. The leaders that are entirely responsible for making decisions on behalf of the Turkana have been reluctant to make any new changes. Integration, therefore, is a positive process for the community since through the process the Turkana community not only gets to have a peaceful interaction with the refugees but also gains in terms of education through the education system in the refugee camps.

Due to these reasons, some of the families send their children to the schools in the camp since they cannot afford to send them to the public schools outside the camp. Informant 7 says she felt more integrated when she saw Kenyan students together with her in high school in the camp. “Learning with other Kenyan students in the same school made me feel like I was part of the larger community in Kakuma. It meant that we were not just thrown into this camp, doing things on our own and separated from the Kenyans. Also having the same curriculum in school at the camp as the other students outside the camp in the Kenyan schools was a good sign for me since I thought maybe if I study hard and get selected for the scholarships, I would go and take a teaching course then come back to teach in the camp and these gave me motivation even though it had its own challenges with the teachers and learning materials in the school.”

To them, being involved in the lives of the host community and getting the chance to interact with them on a normal basis, sharing the same amenities e.g. schools, and being involved in the same economic and social activities as sharing the market and not just to buy but also sell commodities was an indication of integration. The respondents consider positive interaction with hosts as a good indication that the community has accepted them. Although there would be some elements of resentment from the Turkana community towards the refugees because of the few services they receive from the government, the Turkana community also enjoys the humanitarian support offered by the agencies to the refugees in order to avoid conflict.

For the humanitarian respondents, integration is more about the exchange of culture and the process where communities get to learn new languages. One of them is a humanitarian worker at Action Africa Help International. The organization is mainly concerned with supporting livelihood challenged communities to improve their standard of living and their wellbeing. According to him, integration happens when there is a deliberate effort to join both the refugee and the host communities in a way that there is an exchange of values and culture. When this happens, the refugees get to learn the language of the host and they can both interact with each other.

“I believe integration happens when the refugees are able to interact with the host communities and as a result learn each other's value systems. For this to happen the refugees must first know the language spoken by the host community. Here in Kakuma most refugees, especially those that are not going to school and thus cannot be taught in class, have had to learn Swahili through interaction with others and are able to communicate especially to the elderly Turkana people who do not understand English. Learning Swahili through interaction with other Kenyans for me is already a way of integrating”, informant 9.

“When we talk about integration, we always want to think about a very hectic and wide operation especially by the government and the humanitarian organizations bringing together the refugee and the host communities. But, for me, it is a very natural process that just happens. Though we cannot depend on a fully integrated community happening without external help from the government and NGOs, it starts with some form of interaction between the refugees and the communities receiving them. We are relational beings and at some point as long as the two communities are around each other, if there are no restrictions, interactions are bound to happen. Thus, to me, integration is an effort by the refugees to fit into their new environment through the learning of the hosts’ language, and on the other hand, it is the effort by the receiving community to accept the refugees and teach them as well as learn from them thus having the exchange of cultures and at the end an understanding between the two communities”, respondent 12.

The response from the informants indicates their perception towards integration. It can be noted that the most common thing in the description of integration among the refugee respondents revolved around the quality of their lives and their well-being. This is seen through their need to have acceptance from the host community and their participation in activities that not only bring

them together but also enhance their lives thus improving their well-being.

4.3 Role of education in refugee's well-being

Well-being is a state where one is comfortable and happy. For refugees, comfort and happiness come in different ways for example being able to have a job, enough meals for the family, and even just knowing that there is peace around you. In integration, the well-being of the refugees plays an important role because if they feel threatened or undermined, the process is highly disadvantaged since they will not want to peacefully interact with their host community but rather build a defensive approach.

“I used to have high hopes for my son back in Congo who had an interest in becoming an accountant like his late father. He was looking forward to finishing his grade 10 then do the business subdivision. All these were cut short when we had to flee and come here. When he was joining school here he was discouraged when told to go 2 levels lower than he was in Congo but he just joined as he learned more Swahili and after final exams, he got a C- did a short course on community development and now works as a facilitator in one of the community-based organizations in the camp. Though faced several challenges he is now living a better life and supporting himself compared to those that came at the same time with him but did not want to start over from lower levels. So to me, education plays an important role in our well-being by improving our quality of life”, informant 2.

For most of the refugees, education is important, and they all agree that it changes the quality of life in some instance but one common dissatisfaction from almost all the refugees is the fact that most of them were required to start from a lower level than they were in their home countries. Informant 4 working with one of the agencies indicates that starting lower is what discourages some refugees from continuing with their studies once they arrive in the camp, especially those that were already in high school and are now asked to go back to elementary school. Some of them decide to quit and go try finding some of the informal jobs within the camp which are not very dependable and are very underpaid, while others join vocational training where they are not required to have a high school diploma.

“As an organization, we try to be as inclusive as possible. We make sure that the refugees that

want to continue with education and those that want to go for vocational training are helped to choose what is good according to their interests so that in the end, it may be of use to them whether in the camp or back at their home countries”, informant 4.

Informant 6 is a good example of those that choose to do vocational school instead of starting lower. She came to Kakuma camp when she was in her second year in secondary school. When she came to the camp she was instructed to go back to grade 7 because she did not understand Swahili, as of many others from her country and other countries that do not use Swahili. Most of her classmates had been in the camp for a while and had already learned Swahili though not perfectly, others were from countries like Congo that used Swahili so she felt left out when other students would communicate together in Swahili. “I hated going to school because I felt like I did not belong. The other students had learned Swahili and I always felt left out since it was hard for me through a requirement. Because of this I left and joined vocational training and learned about tailoring. It’s not what I had wished for but I had to do this. I am now a tailor, though it is a lot of us and thus not much pay because of the competition I still manage to earn a living however small. Over the years I have had to also learn Swahili in order to communicate to my clients that do not understand English well”. Education as mentioned before is not only important to the financial well-being of the refugees but also provides the psychological and mental well-being of the refugees.

According to the refugees, education within the camp depended on how good or bad one is in terms of performance. Opportunities to continue with tertiary are very minimal thus most of the refugees go back to vocational school after high school. A few of those that perform well are selected for scholarships with different agencies to the national system education for secondary school, the others from high school are given a scholarship to tertiary education in universities both in Kenya and others go outside the country. According to the informants, those that manage to get these scholarships are very few compared to the rest that remains back in the camp.

“I did not see the need to go back to school because I had to start lower and since most people still remained in the camp after secondary school, I figured I can as well do something else. We may not all be able to perform well but can’t we be allowed to access the quality of education that is better than the one within the camp,” informant 6.

Informant 8 from NRC said much more can be done in terms of better options in education but

so far whatever the organizations have done is to their capacity. “As NRC we have the vocational training where the refugees are taught and can get certification e.g. in tailoring, photography, computer skills, etc. We also have Accelerated learning for children that are left behind in terms of learning and are missing out and involves the youth. We provide learning materials though not enough for all the students and teachers. In addition to that, we provide continuous professional development for teachers. As an incentive for learning, graduates from vocational schools are given business training courses and grants start-up packages to help them build up their businesses and better their lives”. All these are meant to enable the refugees that have been able to go to school to earn a living and improve their well-being.

From the interview with the informants, different refugees have different views of education depending on their situations. Those that came to the camp and were asked to start again from lower levels found a hard time adjusting while those that were born in the camp had an easy time with the system since they were born into it.

Informant 10 was born in the camp after the family fled their country over 20 years ago. His whole life has been within the camp and has gone to school in the camp. According to him, he was not able to get a scholarship but after a mentorship program with one of the agencies, he did journalism and is now a journalist. He is financially dependent and enjoys doing his work which involves photography and now with the pandemic, he and his team are responsible for disseminating information on the regulations by the government about curfews and other conditions, a task which according to him, they do with so much keenness and passion.

There is a difference in terms of perceptions when it comes to education and its value among all my informants. All agree that it plays a role in the quality of life but comes when it is about either vocational school or regular primary then secondary school. Since some of the refugees see no need to start lower than they were in their home countries, prefer vocational education while on the other have, others have no problem starting lower all the way to either get a scholarship or go for vocational training, despite the disadvantages.

From the respondents' feedback, education in the camp is important and plays a role in the quality of life of the refugees. Whether vocational or tertiary, they both were a, means to help the refugees earn a living in one way or another. Whether it was through tailoring or journalism, both had found a meaningful thing to indulge in through education and in some ways got

fulfillment. It is even better for the few that manage to get the scholarships into the national system education since those give them the advantage to be in the system and can afterwards be able to be in the professional job market outside the camp unlike their fellow refugees in the camp.

Although education is important to integration and quality of life, access to the type of education that enhances the well-being of the refugees is also highly differentiated. Access to education at a level much below the level of the refugee not only demoralizes the refugees but also reduces their self-worth, does not add any feeling of achievement, and is not a guarantee that it will always lead to employment lead to integration. These setbacks that are associated with education within the camp are a result of the policies developed by both the government and the agencies in the camp, which are intended to help improve refugee's well-being but in return act as a stumbling block to them.

4.4 Policy implementation and development practice in accessing national system education.

Education is important in integration but highly differentiated. The way policies and development practices shape access is important for integration and well-being. As indicated in the previous chapters in the study, there are several actors involved in ensuring that refugees in the Kakuma camp can access education. Concerning access to national system education, all the refugees had the same response. To them, this is one of the biggest issues within the camp and is one way that affects their integration into the Kenyan community.

According to informant 2, "I felt like it was unfair that we get to sit for the same exam as the students in the schools outside the camp with qualified teachers, considerable amounts of equipment and materials needed for learning while on the hand the schools in the camp are barely enough for all the refugees, with teachers that are mostly former students who are not academically qualified to teach. We do not have laboratories for carrying out the experiments in biology and chemistry, but we are still expected to sit for those exams just like the other students countrywide."

The same sentiments were echoed by informant 12 who works with the Lutheran World Foundation. "As the agencies that are also responsible for education in the camp, we have tried but we can only do so much. The differences in quality between camp-based schools and those outside are very big. The government after deliberation with the UNHCR agreed to allow the

camp-based school to have a unified system with the other schools outside the camp. Although the government is also responsible to send teachers to the camp, the turnover of the teachers is very high as they prefer working in better conditions compared to conditions in the camp thus the agencies are forced to employ refugee students who have finished school to teach the primary school children and sometimes even in high school. However, we cannot overlook the success stories of students from the camp who have done extremely well in the national exams and were among the top students nationally. Thus, despite the many challenges, there are a few refugee students who rise above the problems and still perform well in school”.

Informant 6 was quite dissatisfied with what the government of Kenya has done so far in terms of supporting refugee education. To him, it seems like refugee education is not a concern for the government. The fact that refugees cannot be allowed in the schools outside camp unless through scholarship leaves a larger number of refugees stuck with the camp-based schools. To him, in as much as the refugees are grateful that the government of Kenya allowed host them, they are being denied a fundamental human right to education.

According to informant 8 working as a humanitarian with NRC, the agencies can only do so much especially since they are dependent on donor support. One of the refugee informants who is a teacher also complained that the ratio of teacher to students is 1:150 which is higher than the ratio in other public schools outside the camp and even higher than the ratio recommended by UNESCO and thus the environment is not conducive for teaching. With the high number of students in one class, it is extremely difficult for one teacher to effectively teach since there are diverse types of students. Some are fast in grasping information while others are terribly slow, on the other hand considering the context some students just come to school as an escape from difficult conditions at home thus does not give much importance to studies. All this creates a difficult environment not only for the students but also for the teachers hence the high turnover. According to him, it is the responsibility of the UN together with other agencies and the Kenyan government to work on policies that allow the refugees to at least to be accepted and join in the national education system.

An issue that increasingly emerged in interviews that I had not initially considered in formulating the interview guide and in examining education in integration was the issue of the closure of Kakuma and Dadaab camps. The closure of the camp emerged as critical for the integration and

well-being of the refugees because it introduced huge insecurity in the life of the refugees. According to the refugees, the government (meaning all officials in government and the politicians in general) are more concerned about their own issues and not about the refugees. “For a second time there was tension between Kenya and Somalia and over the years the relationship between the two countries has been declining. The government threatened to close down the biggest refugee camps in Kenya and East Africa. In 2006/7, the government threatened to do the same citing national security concerns both times but did not succeed the first time since they were stopped by the high court. This time the government had given 2 weeks but now has extended to June 2022. It is due to these political issues that the government always portrays all the refugees as a threat to national security when in reality those of us that are actually benefiting from the education and security in Kenya are suffering. I would wish that the government finds a way of sorting issues with Somali because we came here due to the insecurities in that country, as well as other countries around us. The situation is not ok and we cannot go back now”, informant 6. The refugees reflected insecurities towards the closure of the camp because, when the government talks about the refugees as a threat, the host community is automatically alarmed even when everything is as normal as it has always been. There is tension among the refugees and the host and distrust are normally formed thus the well-being and integration of refugees is jeopardized. In addition to this, the refugees fear that the system of education that they had already gotten accustomed to may be disrupted when the camps are closed causing them to start over again.

4.5 Equity in access to education

Equity in access to education involves ensuring that all the refugees are able to access education without any problems. It means ensuring that every refugee is allowed and able to access education despite their physical state. This is to ensure that even refugees that are physically challenged, e.g., the blind have a way to access education.

Interviews revealed that according to some of the informants Some of the refugee informants revealed that nothing much has been done in ensuring equity in education while several NGO informants had contrasting views. To the refugees’ equity means all of them being able to access education without difficulties. For informant 6 there is no equity in terms of education access in Kakuma refugee camp because if you think about the refugees with disabilities, for a long time they were not able to access school especially for the blind or those with difficulty walking. In

addition to that, there are no special schools for children with disabilities thus all of them had to learn in the same class. According to one of the refugee informants, some refugees that were blind had to stay home because they could not walk to school, and for those that managed to go to school despite having disabilities, it was difficult for them to participate in class activities like the other students.

Most refugees had the same thoughts, that these students had to take long walks to school, share the same limited resources with the other students, and considering the number of students it was difficult for the teacher to give them more attention than the others. However, the refugees acknowledged that beginning of this year, an organization called Human Inclusion joined in to help ensure that they have facilitators who go round the schools to ensure that the most vulnerable students like those with disabilities are given priority e.g., given sits in front of the class, etc.

On the other hand, the humanitarian workers confirmed that there are indeed no schools for refugees with disabilities but NRC for example has a 5%disability inclusion policy where they consider those who are most vulnerable for enrollment into the school. This not only involves those with disabilities but even teen mothers and girls that were vulnerable among others. Over the years they have been able to help some of the students with disabilities in some parts of the camp by dropping them from school and picking them up. According to the agency workers, these are the few ways over which the organizations within the camp have been able to ensure that there is equity in access to education within the camp.

4.6 Labor standards and equality between refugees and non-refugee workers

In addition to access to education, which is often a means to gaining employment and enhancing refugee's integration, the form and terms of employment are also important. Through the interview, tensions between the refugee and non-refugee employees emerged as an important issue. Kakuma refugee camp has different organizations that are engaged in managing the camp, by ensuring that the refugees are supported and have been provided with necessities like food, shelter, etc. These organizations are the Norwegian Refugee Council, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Lutheran World Federation, and many other organizations. In addition to these international humanitarian organizations, there are other local community-based organizations that according to the refugees help in enhancing the lives of the refugees in the camp.

All these organizations have opportunities where both refugees and non-refugee individuals can be employed. When asked about equality when it comes to jobs all refugees agreed that there was no equality in terms of employment. It was surprising for me that the refugees think these organizations are treating them unfairly. According to informant 7, he appreciates that they are given an opportunity to work but does not agree with the way issues are handled within the different organizations. He said that in as much as there are refugees who come to the camp with qualifications and years of experience, they are still given lower positions, less pay and less autonomy than their non-refugee counterparts.

In this issue again, the points of view are surprisingly different between the refugees and the humanitarian workers. The latter confirms that the former are given less pay as compared to their counterparts because they receive humanitarian assistance in terms of free food, shelter, education, and medical treatment. On the other hand, their counterparts must pay for every need.

Another refugee in agreement with informant 7 confirmed that they do the same jobs sometimes even more than their counterparts but still get paid less money. Also, he explained that UNHCR who are responsible for the reviewing of salaries have not reviewed their salaries for a while now which is against the labor laws. Unfortunately, I could not clarify these claims from UNHCR since the informant from the organization is not involved in the human relations department.

The refugees had strong feelings towards issues of inequality because according to them, they are given less autonomy, and when consulted for decision making, a decision has most of the

time been reached and it's being done just for formality sakes. With a lot of conviction, the refugee teacher said how it is even worse when asking about the unfair treatment in terms of compensation and they are told that they are doing the work for the benefit of their fellow refugees thus should not complain about it.

4.7 Integration through tertiary education.

Tertiary education is important because it is the gateway to job opportunities both within and outside the camp. The camp is situated in an area that is underdeveloped. Infrastructure has always been poor for a long time and thus tertiary schools like universities and colleges do not consider putting their schools there because even the financial capacity of the people in Kakuma has been very low for a long period of time. Most tertiary schools in Kenya are located in areas that are not only active in terms of economic activities but also have a high level of literacy. There is only 1 affiliate school campus for Masinde Murilo University in Kakuma and thus, this is the school in Kakuma town that offers university education.

According to the humanitarian workers, the refugees selected for scholarships outside the camp get the opportunity to integrate with the Kenyan community around them as well as get integrated into the job market. Some get to join schools in other towns e.g., Kitale, Eldoret Nairobi, etc. This is always an opportunity for the refugees to experience the life and culture outside the camp and be even more integrated. Despite being out of the camp though, the refugees still have restrictions compared to the other students or colleagues.

Although the refugees may not be able to access and utilize all the opportunities in the job market like their fellow students that are non-refugees, the humanitarian worker said that there is still an opportunity for them to still use their earned skills whenever they go back to their home country or even back to the camp. As the LWF respondent said, "No one can take away what they have learned thus the opportunity for them to go to school may not be beneficial to them as they think but if they return to their country, they will have a better chance of getting jobs".

CHAPTER 5

5.0 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I present the reviews of this research. The chapter has 4 main sections that I will discuss. I start by the summary of the previous chapters by briefly discussing the aim, framework, and methodology of the research. I will also discuss and summarize the findings presented in chapter 4 by presenting the data analysis and discussing the data findings. The next section will be the interpretation section where I will link my finding to the existing literature and discuss if they agree with the work that has already been done or not. In this section, I will also focus on interpreting the results of the findings and how they answer the research questions as presented in chapter 1 of the study. Afterward, I will have the implication section which focuses on finding out if the findings analyzed can in any way improve or change the understanding of refugee education and integration. Finally, I will present the limitation section where I discuss the potential limitations to the study as discussed in chapter 3 and propose how these may have affected my findings in one way or another.

5.1 Summary of key findings

The aim of this study was to investigate if education is instrumental in the well-being and integration of refugees in Kakuma refugee camp. Through interviews via zoom, I collected the findings from 2 categories of informants, the refugees and the humanitarian workers in the Kakuma refugee camp. From the interview done by 12 respondents, education indeed has a part

to play in terms of integration and well-being of the refugees. There were some differences in terms of how both groups perceived some issues pertaining to this topic, but they also had the same ideas concerning other issues. An example is a perception of what integration meant to them; all their responses suggest that they perceive that integration happens when both the host community and the refugees interact and learn from each other. From the different perspectives of both the refugees and the humanitarian workers in the camp, different other factors could be considered to have a better way of integration but as it is now, there is some level of integration through education and the two categories of respondents were both positive that education does help improve the well-being of the refugees. In addition to these findings, I was surprised that the issue of the closure of the refugee camps in Kenya by the Kenyan government would be an issue. Several refugee respondents were able to discuss it even though initially I thought it was not significant for the study. But as they complained of the development policies of the government in access to education, most refugees referred to the political wrangles among the politicians and political parties as part of the issues why the government has and is not doing much in terms of ensuring refugees access quality education.

5.2 Interpretation of findings.

This section involves the interpretation of the findings. I discuss the perception of integration, how education contributes to refugee's well-being, how the humanitarian organizations and the government participate in ensuring refugees access the national system education through different policy implementations, equity in accessing education within Kakuma refugee camp, and equality in terms of labor.

5.2.1 Perception of integration

According to Da Lomba (2010), integration is a one-way process where refugees get to learn and adapt to the host society. Contrary to that, the response of the respondents about what integration indicates that the process of integration requires both the efforts of the refugees and that of the host community. According to the respondents, especially the refugees, as much as they work on fitting into the society, the host community also has a responsibility of reaching out to them too, actively interacting with them and involving them for them to feel like part of their new community. This agrees with what Ager and Strang (2004) say that integration requires the involvement of both the refugees and the host community to happen. If the refugees are the only ones reaching out, learning, and making an effort while the host community does nothing, the integration will not be said to happen. It is not one-sided. In other explanation, this may seem to reflect in some ways what assimilation is where only one side does the changing and learning, that is the refugees.

The findings indicate the importance of the involvement of the host community in ensuring that refugees are well integrated. The presence of host community members in the same schools as the refugees, and sharing a market created a feeling of inclusion in the refugees and they felt as part of the new community. Thus, in as much as the other actors like the government and the humanitarian organizations may work on improving the refugees' lives through humanitarian assistance, an effort must be seen from the hosts for there to be a conducive environment of integration.

According to some of the refugees, integration meant that the refugees have rights and opportunities to get citizenship in their host country. For most of the refugees, they can only feel most integrated if they know there is an opportunity for them to gain the citizenship of a country and thus get the rights as citizens of that nation. While at the camp, the refugees do not have rights as the Kenyan citizens e.g., they cannot vote, they cannot freely move within the country unless they are given a "pass" by UNHCR unless, through scholarships, they cannot access the schools outside the camp because they lack documentation for the same. These and many others are the privileges that the refugees cannot enjoy while in the camp. Thus, to them, getting citizenship is a mark that they are fully integrated. This underwrites the suggestion by Ager and Strange (2008), who suggest that 'rights and citizenship' are important when it comes to understanding integration.

The analysis identifies certain elements as key for refugees feeling integrated such as being able to work and interact with the receiving community. As already discussed, it is important that the host community play a part in this process. The humanitarian and government organizations are particularly important in ensuring and shaping opportunities for education and employment. This involves creating an environment where both the refugees and the hosts can freely interact through work, education, and so on. As discussed in the literature review, the integration framework by Ager and Strange (2019), can well explain the above point. In the framework, under markers and means, housing, work, education, and health are the main domains that can be measured to explain integration. Among all these, it takes an effort from the government to create a conducive environment for integration to take place. How does this happen? If the government does not allow the refugees to be included in the national system of education, it means that the refugees may not be able to join the tertiary schools and thus will not be competent to join the job market in the country. Likewise, if the labor laws within a country is not conducive for the refugees to freely access work opportunities that they are professionally qualified, there will be dissatisfaction on the part of the refugees. The humanitarian organizations also have a part to play in ensuring a smooth process of transition for the refugees thus all these actors are important for a conducive environment for the integration process.

As indicated by one of the refugees, building a connection first with fellow refugees helped in proving a good atmosphere for them to extend the interaction to the hosts. This is because they have diverse backgrounds in relation to where they all came from although they have one similarity which is their status as refugees. From the integration framework discussed in the literature review, social bridges as part of social networks are created between people with diverse backgrounds, thus the refugees form social bridges and even social bonds as they interact together and later extend the social bridges to the host community.

From the responses above, the findings on the perception of integration are in line with the theory of acculturation as discussed in chapter 2 of this study. According to Sam and Berry, (2016), acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that happens because there has been contact or interaction between diverse cultural groups and their individual members. Thus, as the refugees from different nations interact with each other and extend the interaction to the host community, acculturation is considered to happen. In the context of the

Kakuma refugee camp, when the refugees from different countries come, they first get into contact with each other, since they are all within the camp. As they identify with each other in terms of their refugee status, they as well get to learn from each other through their interactions and exchange their values, cultures, and so on. This interaction is further extended to the Kenyan community and now the refugees get into interactions with their hosts.

5.2.2 Education and refugee's well-being

The analysis suggested that education is important to the refugees, not just the young ones who were in education when they fled but also the others who needed an education in order to find work within the camp. All the refugees who ran from their home countries had a desire to keep learning after they came to the camp. Some of them had to stop because of different issues that I will discuss in this section. All informants were of the same agreement that in the camp, education is particularly important because it is what creates avenues for employment within the camp. Also, for those refugee students that perform well, they get a chance to study outside the camp for their secondary education or their tertiary education. This is important because it gives them an opportunity to not integrate upwards into the Kenyan community but also an opportunity to be able to join the job market and get professional jobs. From their framework Ager and Strange (2019) outline work as an important aspect of integration. The case of Kakuma shows that this not only allows one to integrate but also enables one to have a sense of satisfaction through being productive. Working especially outside the camp as a professional would mean better salaries and thus an improved lifestyle. But without education, all these cannot be done.

Within the camp, the respondents outlined that just as education would help secure jobs outside the camp it also does the same inside the camp. As indicated in the findings, most of the refugee students that finish their secondary school education are enrolled in short courses within the camp that enables them to be employed back to the schools as refugee teachers and workers in the agencies that are present in the camp. This shows the role that education plays in ensuring the well-being of the refugees.

Yet, education is not only a positive aspect promoting integration. It also becomes an issue around which discrimination and social differentiation occur, processes that undermine integration for the population as a whole and well-being for many. As much as it is an element through which lives are improved through job opportunities, those that do not perform well and

are meant to stay back in the camp see this as a form of discrimination. Access to quality education is a fundamental human right according to the United Nations. For these refugees, they are deprived of this fundamental right because they cannot perform better than others and thus are not able to access quality education outside the camp.

The data from the previous chapter indicates a contrast in how both refugees and humanitarian workers view education in the camp. In a general way, the agencies and the workers who try as much as possible to provide a quality education through the funds from their donors, see this as an important opportunity both for refugees that are lucky enough to be selected for scholarships and those that remain back to get an education. To the refugees, as much as they appreciate the opportunity to learn in the camp, the opportunity to study in schools outside the camp gives them a better chance to integrate with the Kenyan communities. This, according to the UNHCR plan for Refugee Education 2030 strategy does not yet meet the aims of refugee education that were improved from the ones between 2012-2016. This is because in the improved strategy education for refugees was meant to make sure that refugees are increasingly accounted for and involved in the education sector planning goals and action plans, and to also ensure that both refugee and local communities' children are prepared equitably to excel in national systems wherever they live and that their learning needs are addressed through improving partner investments and the programs that are already existing as they support innovative local solutions. The current situation in the camp according to the refugee respondents is different since they are not equitably prepared to excel in the national systems.

The well-being of the refugees refers not only to the external wellness in terms of improved living standards through job opportunities but also refers to their mental well-being. As one refugee respondent indicated, he received more calmness and was able to relate to his situation as a refugee when he went to school, met other refugees that were at some point in distress as him but managed to rise above that and through help from both humanitarian workers and teachers, they got to face their fears and embraced the fact that they can still live their lives and make a meaningful contribution in their lives and that of those around them. It is normal that as the refugees get into the camp, they are faced with pressure, uncertainty, and shock. In addition to these, they are required to fit into the unfamiliar environment and due to this acculturation stress occurs. According to Berry (1997), acculturative stress happens when one is acquiring the

unfamiliar properties of the new culture while still discarding the values from the original culture. Thus, education through the schools acts as an avenue for them to receive mental capacity and wellness to accept their current situation and prepare themselves in handling life in the camp as refugees as well as help integrate them into the unique environment they are now in.

From my own perspective, before the interviews, I thought that education of refugees in the camp was not the best, but it was quality education because it is run by international organizations that in my view have good structures for running activities compared to for instance the government schools in a very underdeveloped area like Kakuma. My assumption was that, because the Non-Governmental Organizations are in charge, then the quality of education services was better in the camp. Considering the findings, this is not the case because it is evident that the government schools that are outside the camp, despite their unpleasant situation when compared to other Kenyan schools around the country, are still better compared to the refugee schools in the camp.

5.2.3 Policy implementation and development practice in accessing national system education.

Access to quality education is among the themes that have different varying perceptions between the refugees and the humanitarian workers. The biggest issue with the refugees when it comes to quality education is the discrimination in terms of who gets to access the national system education and who does not. For those left to study in the camp, there is a negative perspective formed against the agencies and the government. One of the refugees termed it as ‘unfair’ that it is the organizations that get to choose who is given a scholarship and who is not. This policy, according to the findings is both improving access to education while on the other hand risk of demoralizing some of the refugees. In doing so a relationship achieved between the agencies and the refugees is both negative and positive.

According to Ager and Strange’s integration framework, when there is no positive relationship between the refugees and the institutions, there is a sense of alienation. According to their framework, social links happen whenever there is a vertical relationship between institutions and the people. When the refugees feel confident about the processes and policies used by the governments of the receiving nations and the agencies that manage the refugee camps, a positive relationship is formed between them. On the other hand, when they are not satisfied and feel like

there are impartialities, they alienate themselves. When this happens integration is affected whether it is through education, work, or other means. The findings in the previous chapter indicate dissatisfaction by the refugees in the policies and development practices in accessing national system education and some feeling of alienation.

In contrast to the views of the refugees, the humanitarian workers view the policies used to be fair considering they work based on the donations they get. As a way of ensuring that the refugees access quality education as their fundamental right, the UNHCR together with the government came to an agreement of including the national system education into the camps thus allowing the refugees the chance to get the same curriculum as the non-refugee students in the Kenyan schools.

Lack of qualified teachers and learning materials was common in all the respondents as something that affects the education process in the refugee camp. According to the Kenyan refugee Act, the department of refugee affairs is responsible for all the administrative matters that revolve around the refugees. But, as indicated by both the humanitarian workers and the refugees, the government does not do much other than the provision of land. Policies put in place by the government are overlooked by the government officials since the management of the camp is entirely done by Non-Governmental Organizations.

As indicated in the theoretical framework in chapter 2, acculturation involves the exchange of values and customs as well as learning of the new language by the refugees. In the curriculum adopted by Kenyan schools, it is mandatory for the students to learn Swahili, and all the refugee students are required to learn the language. Although this is seen as a way of integration both in the works of literature provided and the theory, it is also considered as a demanding thing in terms of education for the refugees who come to the camp and cannot speak Swahili which is used by most teachers and students in school. Some refugees opted to drop going to school because they could not understand Swahili as fast as they wanted to for them to learn and interact well with the others thus it was unexpected for me that an element that is core when it comes to integration can still be the same thing that may delay the same process. I mention the delayed process because for the refugees that had to drop out of school because of the language they still had to learn it through association with others which takes a longer time than if they were taught in school.

Generally, education is considered an important aspect of integration. From the integration framework in chapter 2, it is through education that the refugees can be integrated into the host community through work. From the responses both from the refugees and the humanitarian workers, it is not possible to progress to tertiary education for most refugees other than the ones who get scholarships, thus the chance to access professional education that can allow them to be included in the job market for professional jobs within the Kenyan setting is close to none. Once again, we encounter an essential element in integration also being part of what may slow the integration process of the refugees because if they are not able to go out and integrate, they stay back in the camps where interaction with the host is not in a larger extent compared to those outside the camp.

5.2.4 Equity in access to education.

This is another theme that saw a difference in the views between the refugees and the humanitarian workers. In the conceptual framework on integration in chapter 2, under Markers and Means, education, work, and social care were among the main domains. When there is enough social care within a community the people feel valued and accepted, this in return contributes to the well-being of the refugees. Likewise as depicted both in the framework and analysis chapters, education provides better and higher chances for employment. Thus, the relationship between education, the well-being of refugees, and integration can be seen. Lack of equity in education ultimately means less chance of working opportunities which in turn may contribute to a lack of well-being for the refugee.

According to the humanitarian workers within Kakuma, a lot is being done to ensure that all the refugees access quality education despite their conditions. Norwegian Refugee Council is working on this by giving priority to vulnerable refugees during admission. This is an excellent way of promoting integration through education while at the same time ensuring equity in terms of accessing the same. Refugee children that would normally not be able to go to school because of disabilities are catered for because of the intervention of the Human and Inclusion Organization which ensures that the refugee children with disabilities are included with the other students.

5.2.5 Equality in the workplace

In the attempt to understanding integration, Ager and Strange's integration framework indicates

that work does not only help improve the well-being of the refugee by getting financial sustenance but also the emotional well-being of knowing that one is productive and contributing to the development of the economy. However, from the findings in chapter 4, most refugees do not agree with the statement above from the framework. This is because to them, there is a lot of impartiality and unfairness in how the humanitarian organizations are treating the refugee workers compared to their non-refugee colleagues. The fact that they are paid less than what the non-refugee workers get shows inequality within the workplace because of their refugee status.

In chapter 2, Ager and Strang (2004) indicate that integration includes the involvement of both refugees and the host community in trying to adapt to each other and integrate thus, there must be an availability of employment, education, housing, etc. On this account, the process of integration may fail to be effective if the refugees have the notion that they are being treated in an unfair manner. As earlier indicated there must be an effort from both the refugees and the host community together with the other actors for the process of integration to occur well.

Discrimination and unfair treatment of refugees in the workplace is considered a violation of their human rights and this may not bring a positive impact on the integration process.

6.0 Conclusion

The initial strategy of this qualitative research as indicated in chapter 3 was to go to Kakuma in person and interact with the respondents and interview them. This would not only allow me a chance to experience their life in the camp but also enable me to observe things that may have not been captured in the interview that I had with them through zoom. As a researcher observation allows one to see the unspoken aspect of the study Interaction. The global COVID -19 context curtailed the possibility to travel to the field limiting my data collection.

Although I was able to do the interviews digitally, this mode limited my sample population. My respondents included only the refugees and the humanitarian workers. As discussed in chapter 2 the process of integration also involves the host community and the government. A comprehensive approach to integrating the views and opinions of the actors involved should be considered and not just 2 of them which was the case in this study. Despite these limitations, the study has gleaned several important findings that help illustrate the relationship between integration, education, and well-being in a practical context, adding depth to the empirical understanding. For example the analysis provides insight into the relationship between the

refugees and the host and the tension that arises out of their relationship. Through the government, the refugees are at some point depicted as a threat to national security, allegations that have led to a decision to close down both Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps. The host community sees the refugees differently not just as a threat to security but also as coming to share in or even take away the little help they get from the government.

Education has also through this study been depicted as a source of discrimination and inequality among the refugees through the policies that are seen to either discredit the education the refugees have had from their countries. Forcing them to start in lower levels.

The results in chapter 4 build on existing evidence that integration is both a process, not just a one-time event, and that it requires the efforts of not only the refugees but the receiving community and the other actors like the government and humanitarian organizations, Penninx and Garce's-Mascarenas (2016). Contrary to my expectations, education especially within the camp is not a guarantee that one can get integrated into the Kenyan community. This provides new insight into the relationship between upward integration which involves getting into the national system education and integration in relation to integration through the camp-based schools.

The results do not completely fit with the acculturation's theory expectation that refugees will adapt to a new system when they encounter new ways of things and languages. For example findings show that refugees who dropped out of school because they found it hard to adapt to the language that was used a lot in school which is Swahili. Although they later learned the language, it was not in the very beginning when they encountered and interacted with the host community.

The findings have several important implications for policy and practice in terms of employment. Unfair treatment towards refugees especially in the working environment brings emotional detachment of the refugees from the work of the organizations even when they participate to some extent. This could be seen from the response when one of the refugees noted that they are only consulted as a way of the protocol even though their opinions may not be considered.

The findings help understand how one can more effectively contribute to integration and education of refugees in future. Through the findings, we can see the close relationship between

education and both the external and internal well-being of refugees. In external well-being, refugees can not only get a chance to study outside the camp after having satisfactory results but even within the camp, they are able to find jobs easily from the agencies compared to those that have not had an education. In internal well-being, they are able to overcome the trauma and stress due to the feeling of accomplishment and achieving in overcoming all they had to just to complete their education.

In order to investigate these issues more comprehensively, comparative analysis with other refugee camps that display varying levels of refugee-host interactions would be important, complementing the current study conducted at Kakuma camp. In particular, it would be useful to do a comparative analysis with a camp with higher degree of interaction between refugee and local host populations, such as Kalobeyei refugee settlement. In addition to a wider scope of study, a larger sample population would help investigate the issues highlighted in the current study in more depth.

Furthermore, the findings of this study show the need to consider education in the context of other factors or remain open to other factors being more important than education, in supporting integration and well-being. Education is a factor that is well suited in contexts where equity and access are less problematic and hence there are fewer avenues for discrimination to take place through education based interventions. In the context of Kenya, the underlying issue of insecurity is an issue that affects the process of integration. The effects are felt much more when the government sees the refugees as a threat like in the current case in Kakuma refugee camp, the impending closure of which is related to the governments fight against terrorism. In conclusion, integration is always positive whichever form it may take. In this form, the refugees in Kakuma camp are integrated into society with economic deprivation, unemployment as well as political tension, and insecurities.

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Appendix

This is a questionnaire for the research that is meant to investigate how education is used to integrate refugees in Kakuma refugee camp

Age:

Gender:

Occupation:

1. What is the definition of integration to you?
2. What needs to happen for you/refugees to feel integrated
3. How is the quality of education in the camp?
4. How does education affect the quality of life for the refugees in the camp?
5. What can you say about the access of education in the camp?
6. What impact does education have on the well being of refugees in the camp?
7. How is education used to empower lives in the camp?
8. Are the government and other Non Governmental Organizations(NGOs) doing anything to ensure equitable and quality education for the refugees? If yes, what are they doing?
9. Do you think everyone in the camp has access to quality education in the camp? (Think of the physically challenged, the poor and traumatised children who might have lost their families etc).
10. What makes the refugees in the camp feel integrated to the communities around them?
11. How does education help integrate the refugees into the community?



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